A CULTURE OF MANAGING DIFFERENCE:
THE FIELD OF MIGRATION MANAGEMENT AND SYRIAN MOVERS TO TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis examines migration management in Turkey and its impact upon Syrians as migration patterns, policy, and structure in the country are changing. To address such changes and align policies with European Union and international norms, Turkey enforced the Law on Foreigners and International Protection in April 2014, which signifies a shift in governmental practices and discourses on migration and establishes a migration coordinating directorate. At the same time, local, national, international and supranational governmental and civil society organizations are engaged in responding to the displacement of over 1.9 million Syrians into Turkey's borders and Turkey's migration management has become multi-tiered. To analyze how these various actors contribute to and coordinate in the field, this research questions: 1) What is migration management; 2) How does Turkey's migration management field fit in the global migration governance system; 3) What are the relationships of actors in this field; and 4) Do actors in the field perceive this system as adequate for fulfilling the needs of Syrians in Turkey? This research applies global governance theory to analyze the actors, practices and discourses in the field as evident in organizations' reports and websites as well as interviews with accessible organizations. Syrian migration presents a relevant modern day test of migration management. In analyzing the multi-tiered field of migration management of Syrians in Turkey, this research aims to shed light on the intricacies of migration management and will contribute to literature focusing on better defining and understanding international migration management in today's global world.

Keywords: Global Governance, Migration Management, Turkey

ÖZ

FARKLILIKLARI YÖNETME KÜLTÜRÜ:
GÖÇ YÖNETIMI ALANI VE TÜRKIYE'YE GÖÇ EDEN SURIYELILER

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Bu çalışma Türkiye'de göç yönetimi ve göç yönetiminin -ülkede göç politikası, şekli ve organizasyonel yapısı değişirken- Suriye vatandaşları üzerindeki etkisini incelemektedir. Türkiye, hem bu değişikliğe ayak uydurmak hem de Avrupa Birliği normlarına ve uluslararası normlara uyum sağlamak amacıyla Nisan 2014`te 6458 Sayılı kanunu yürürlüğe koymuştur. Söz konusu kanun, devletin göç ile ilgili yaklaşım ve söylemindeki değişimin göstergesi olup Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğünün temelini oluşturmaktadır. Türkiye sınırındaki 1.9 milyondan fazla Suriyeliye yardım etmek için, yerel, ulusal, uluslararası ve uluslar üstü birçok kurum ve STK seferber olmuşken; Türkiye'nin göç yönetimi çok katmanlı bir yapı teşkil etmektedir. İlgili aktörlerin nasıl katkı sunduklarını ve koordinasyon sağladıklarını analiz etmek üzere, çalışma, şu sorular üzerinde yoğunlaşmaktadır: 1) Göç yönetimi nedir? 2) Türkiye'nin göç yönetim sistemi küresel göç yönetim sisteminin bir parçası olarak nerede yer almaktadır? 3) Bu alandaki ilgili aktörler bağlamında ilişkiler nasıl temellendirilmektedir? 4) Bu sistemdeki aktörler, Türk göç yönetimi sisteminin, Türkiye'deki Suriyelilerin ihtiyaçlarını karşılama noktasında, yeterliliğini nasıl algılamaktadırlar? Bu çalışma küresel yönetişim teorisini, göç yönetimi alanındaki aktörlerin söylemlerinin ve faaliyetlerinin analizine erişilebilir kurumlar tarafından oluşturulan raporları ve web sitelerini, bu kurumlarla yapılan röportajları kanıt olarak kullanarak, uygulamaktadır. Suriyelilerin göçü modern bir göç yönetimi testi niteliği taşımaktadır. Türkiye`deki Suriyelilerin çok katmanlı göç yönetiminin incelenmesiyle bu çalışma, göç yönetimindeki karışıklıklara ışık tutmayı ve bugünün küresel dünyasında uluslararası göç yönetiminin anlaşılmasına ve tanımlanmasına yardımcı olmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Göç Yönetimi, Küresel Yönetişim, Türkiye

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFAD	Turkish Republic Disaster and Emergency Management Authority (*Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Baskanlığı*)
AKP	Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*)
ASAM	Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants
BDP	Kurdish Peace and Democracy Party (*Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi*)
CHP	Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*)
CSO	Civil Society Organizations
DBP	Democratic Regions Party (*Demokratik Bölgeler Partisi)*
ECHO	European Commission's Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection Department
EEC	European Economic Community
EŞİT	Association for Monitoring Equal Rights (*Eşit Haklar için İzleme Derneği*)
EU	European Union
FRONTEX	European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union
G7	Group of seven major advanced/industrial economies
GCIM	Global Commission on International Migration
GDMM	Turkish Republic General Directorate of Migration Management (*Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü*)
GFMD	Global Forum on Migration Development
Göç-Der	*Göç Edenler Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Kültür Derneği*
HDK	Peoples' Democratic Congress Party (*Halkların Demokratik Kongresi*)
HDP	Peoples' Democratic Party (*Halkların Demokratik Partisi)*
HRNGO	Human Rights Non-governmental Organization
HYD	Helsinki Citizens Assembly
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICEM	Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration
ICMPD	International Centre for Migration Policy Development
IHAD	Human Rights Research Association (*İnsan Hakları Araştirma Derneği*)
IHD	Human Rights Association (*İnsan Hakları Derneği*)
IHGD	Human Rights Agenda Association (*İnsan Hakları Gündemi Derneği*)
IHH	*İnsan Hak ve Hürriyet Vakfi*
IHOP	Human Rights Joint Platform (*İnsan Hakları Ortak Platformu*)
IMC	International Medical Corps
IMPR	International Middle East Peace Research
INGO	International Non-governmental Organization
IO	International Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IRO	International Refugee Organization
IS	Islamic State
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
Kızılay	Turkish Red Crescent
KYM	Kimse Yok Mu Association (*Kimse Yok Mu Derneği*)
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender

MHP	Nationalist Movement Party (*Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi*)
MSC	Multi-Service Center
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NIROMP	New International Regime for Orderly Movements of People
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
ORSAM	Center for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PICMME	Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe
PKK	Kurdistan Workers' Party
RRP	Regional Response Plan
TIHV	Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (*Türkiye İnsan Hakları Vakfı*)
TIKA	Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (*Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı Baskanlığı*)
TESEV	Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (*Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı*)
TÖMER	Turkish Education Center (*Türkçe Öğretim Merkezi*)
TÜSEV	Third Sector Foundation of Turkey (*Türkiye Üçüncü Sektör Vakfı*)
TL	Turkish Lira
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Rights and Emergency Relief Organization
UNOCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees
US	United States of America
WASH	United Nations Water, Sanitation, Hygiene Intervention
WFP	World Food Program
WHO	World Health Organization
WMO	World Migration Organization (proposed)
YÖK	Turkish Board of Higher Education (*Yükseköğretim Kurulu*)
3RP	United Nations Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"Indeed, migration is as old as humanity itself."[1]

Migration is not a new phenomenon. Even before the delineation of nation-state boundaries, people migrated – first in response to climatic changes, then to fulfill hunting and gathering needs, later to evade invasion and threat and more recently in search of new agricultural and economic opportunities. By the 1800s, long-distance seasonal and labor migration were common, a pattern which only expanded with the introduction of the steamship and long-distance rail travel.[2] Therefore, the current reality of international economic, forced and career migration is not a new development that has merely emerged with or as a result of globalization. The current approaches and reactions to migration differ, however, from those of the past. Migration policies comparable with those in place today developed with the rise of Westphalian sovereignty and the nation-state and initially aimed to maintain national sovereignty by controlling migration. Overtime, this emphasis on 'migration control' has, however, transformed into an emphasis on 'migration management.'

What is 'migration management'? Although now a common discourse among migration institutions and policy makers, the term 'migration management' is neither well understood nor singular in definition or interpretation. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) defines 'migration management' as:

> A term used to encompass numerous governmental functions within a national system for the orderly and humane management for cross-border migration, particularly managing the entry and presence of foreigners within the borders of the State and the protection of refugees and others in need of protection. It refers to a planned approach to the development of policy, legislative and administrative responses to key migration issues.[3]

In the introduction of their edited book, *The Politics of International Migration Management*, Geiger and Pecoud (2010) problematize the emergence of 'international migration management' as "a popular catchphrase for a wide range of initiatives that aim at renewing the policies pertaining to the cross-border movement of people."[4] Although the term has been

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[1] Massey et al., 1.

[2] Sassen, 9-10, 34.

[3] IOM, "Key Migration Terms."

[4] Geiger and Pecoud, 1.

adopted by a variety of actors at both the international and national levels - respectively including "the IOM (whose motto is 'Managing migration for the benefit of all'), the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the Council of Europe and other international agencies" as well as the governments of Britain and Turkey - Geiger and Pecoud argue that "despite (or because of) its popularity, there has been almost no attempts to understand what 'migration management' actually refers to."[5]

Today 'migration management' remains a popular and intentional discourse to discuss migrants, migration and migration policy and is utilized by various governmental and institutional actors in the field. By borrowing from economic and business practices of 'management,' the use of the term 'migration management' suggests an intentional emphasis on proactively responding to migration[6] as well as a reflection of global trends of increasing multilateral participation by a range of various actors, commonly categorized in the migration field as 'global migration governance.' Although the discourse of migration policy continues to metamorphose from terminology of 'migration control' and 'migration management,' to new conceptualizations of a 'global mobility regime'[7] or a 'migration crisis operational framework,'[8] 'migration management' remains a central discourse of migration policy. Due to the vagueness of this term, despite its continuing and intentional use, this research seeks to contribute to a better understanding of migration management through presenting an overview and analysis of the field of migration management in Turkey and its actors governing Syrian migrants.

1.1 A Brief Introduction to 'Migration Management'

Bimal Ghosh, an adviser at the IOM first introduced the term 'migration management' in 1993.[9] With the IOM's 1997-2001 project, New International Regime for the Orderly Movement of People (NIROMP), the term then became increasingly predominant and was subsequently popularized in Bimal Ghosh's edited book, *Managing Migration: Time for a New International Regime* (2000).[10] From 2000 until 2012, the IOM used the term "in virtually

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[5] Ibid.

[6] Munck, 1239.

[7] Newland 2010, 341.

[8] IOM 2012.

[9] Geiger and Pecoud, 2; Georgi, 56.

[10] Ibid.

all of its statements and publications"[11] and the term continues to frame the IOM's mission of "managing migration for the benefit of all."[12] Due to the centrality of this discourse, Georgi (2010) therefore considers the IOM "as the single most important actor in anchoring the migration management concept…into the emerging global elite consensus on migration policy."[13]

The IOM's development of a new discourse of 'migration management' in the late 1990s and early 2000s reflects a broader transformative trend in migration policy from a unilateral or bilateral responsibility to one that now includes a variety of actors, including governmental, non-governmental, civil society and migrant network organizations working at the local, national, regional, international and supranational levels. Some academics label this the "outsourcing of migration control."[14] Manuel Castells would include it as one part of the Information Age's 'downsizing' of the state and increased multilateralism.[15] Beck (2000) would consider it a component of globalization's "break with the categories of the nation state" that in turn requires the nation state to "share the global arena with international organisations and trans-national social and political movements."[16] Foucauldian scholars (Merlingen 2003; Hindess 2002; Andrijasevic and Walters 2010) interpret it in terms of a neoliberal global governance or governmentality. In terms of migration, these Foucauldian concepts are extended to the categorization of 'global migration governance.'

As all of these approaches recognize, the current reality is that controlling migration is no longer solely a responsibility of the state; other private and public, local, national and international organizations now contribute in framing, defining and shaping how migration is managed. To better understand the discourse of 'migration management,' it is therefore necessary to understand the way in which 'global migration governance' functions, including how diverse actors contribute to the development and implementation of a discourse of 'migration management' in a multilateral 'field' of migration. The necessity of understanding the role of relevant actors and their practices and discourses follows Geiger and Pecoud's suggestion that 'migration management' minimally refers to the trends of: 1) mobilization of the term by *actors,* 2) adherence to distinct *practices*, and 3) reliance on specific *discourses*

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[11] Georgi, 56.

[12] IOM, "IOM Mission to Turkey."

[13] Georgi, 56.

[14] Menz, 118.

[15] Castells 1998, 356-357.

[16] Morris, 2.

regarding migration.[17] In the aim of better understanding 'migration management,' these and other trends will therefore be examined in the case state of Turkey.

1.2 The Case State of Turkey

Turkey is significant due to its changing migration patterns, policy, and organizational structure that both shape and are shaped by Turkey's European Union (EU) accession process as well as the ongoing conflicts in its border states of Syria and Iraq. Four years after the outbreak of the Syrian Civil War in the spring of 2011, the number of Syrian nationals seeking refuge within the borders of Turkey now approximates between 1.9 and 3 million;[18] the recent intensified threat of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) has only caused the number of Syrians fleeing to Turkey for safety to rise further. The arrival of such a large number of Syrians, who are legally neither refugees nor asylum seekers, makes migration management in Turkey both a relevant and a critical case.

The immigration of Syrians and Iraqis to Turkey comes at a time when migration patterns and policy were already changing in the country. Although Turkey was "a typical emigration country for decades," since the late 1980s Turkey's net migration flows approach zero; since the 2000s there is "almost a balance between emigration and immigration."[19] This signifies a shift in Turkey's historical trend as a net emigration country to a reality of Turkey as both a net immigration and a transit country, with many immigrants to the country using Turkey as a mere stop along the way to other destinations, such as Europe.[20] To address such changes in migration patterns as well as to harmonize with international and European standards, national level migration policy significantly changed in April 2013 with the introduction of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (Law No. 6458) and the establishment of a new Directorate General of Migration Management (GDMM). These changes signify a shift in the national government's practices and discourses on migration. Simultaneously, with the global emergence of migration management and the increased role of international organizations, such as the IOM and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the national and local government is no longer the sole actor responding to migration in Turkey, framing practices of migration policy or shaping discourse on this topic. Instead, the actors involved in managing migration in Turkey are part of a multi-tiered

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[17] Geiger and Pecoud, 1-3.

[18] As of August 25, 2015, the UNHCR reported the number of registered Syrians in Turkey as 1,938,999 (UNHCR "Syria Regional Refugee Response"). CSO reports, however, tend to estimate the number of Syrians in the country is more than twice as much as the reports of AFAD and UNHCR (Koyuncu, 42).

[19] Elitok and Straubhaar, 1-2.

[20] Ibid., 4-5.

field that includes leadership, contributions, initiatives, exchanges and interactions among international (IOM), supranational (United Nations - UN), regional (EU) and national government institutions, as well as civil society organizations (CSOs), including non-governmental organizations (NGOs), media associations, migrant networks and research centers.

1.3 Research Questions

Given the changes in global migration management as reflected in the case of Turkey, this thesis aims to map what Turkey's field of migration management means for Syrian nationals in the country by building upon understandings of the key actors, their practices, discourses and cooperation involved in governing Syrian nationals in the country. Approaching migration management as a field in which aspects of global governance are integrated, I pose four questions. The first question presents the overarching question guiding this research: 1) What is migration management and how is it understood, framed and implemented in Turkey? Secondly, I question how migration management in Turkey relates to global governance and its characteristics of power within a broader global system: 2a) How does Turkey's migration management field work as one part of the global migration governance system; 2b) Within the field of Turkish migration management, who exercises power and how; how is this evident in the tactics, discourses, struggles and contestations of each actor? Thirdly, I pose to examine how these actors exist in and function as a migration management field: 3a) What is the relationship of international, European, national and local governmental and civil society organizations within this field; 3b) How do they work together or compete against one another in this field for resources? Finally, I question the actors in the fields' perception of the effectiveness of this migration management field in Turkey: 4) According to the actors in the field, does this system effectively and non-discriminately fulfill the needs of Syrians in Turkey, both in and outside of the camps? These four questions, focusing respectively on migration management as a concept, as a form of governance, as a field and finally testing whether or not this field is effective, thus frame the interviews and research that follows.

1.4 Methodology

These questions will be analyzed by overviewing the history, mission, practices and discourse of key governmental, international and civil societal organizations involved in the field of Turkish migration management as self-reported by these actors in pamphlets and on organizational websites. Additionally, data collected through interviews conducted with thirty-two representatives from twenty-eight active organizations in the field involved in determining practices, framing discourses and engaging in Turkey's migration management of Syrians in Ankara, Gaziantep, Istanbul and Şanliurfa contribute new insight regarding the

humanitarian and human rights response to needs of Syrians, as well as how power is shared and disjointed in the field. At the national level, the role of the Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD) in managing Syrians inside the camps and the role of the Turkish National Police, the GDMM and the local government response to Syrians residing outside of the camps will be examined. Particular concentration will be given regarding the establishment of the GDMM, why the Turkish government created a new directorate founded on the discourse of 'migration management' and what role this organization is now serving among and between the governmental, international and civil societal organizations already working in the country. The UN, EU, IOM and international CSOs and their roles in Turkey have been selected as cases to offer insight regarding the international and external role in the management of these migrant groups. At the Turkish civil society level, the role of Turkey-based CSOs working in the four selected cities are examined to determine CSOs' roles in processing, integrating and managing Syrian migrants; interviewees' opinions regarding media associations' roles in framing the management of Syrians will also be considered. Although not a main focus of this research, the role of localized and informal migrant networks will also be overviewed, since such organizations increasingly have a vital role in the global migration management system by fostering transnational migration.

Gaziantep and Şanliurfa were selected as sites for interviews due to their proximity to the Syrian border and as the two provinces with the highest number of registered Syrians. As of September 2014, 210,625 Syrians were living in Gaziantep (32,941 inside AFAD run camps and 177,711 outside of camps) and 181,044 Syrians were living in Şanliurfa (72,695 inside AFAD camps and 108,349 outside of the camps).[21] Ankara and Istanbul were additionally selected as interview sites as the two largest metropolitan areas in Turkey, where many international and Turkey-based CSOs are based and to which many Syrians are moving, in hopes of finding work in the large metropolitan areas. With an estimated 330,000 Syrians as of November 2014,[22] Istanbul is a common and aspired destination for Syrians, who have settled densely in neighborhoods such as Fatih, Bahçelievler, Başakşehir, Gaziosmanpasa, Esenyurt, Küçükçekmece and Ümraniye.[23] As of November 2014, the number of Syrians in Ankara was an estimated 30,000.[24]

All interviews were conducted in English and Turkish between February and May 2015 in person by the author; one interview was conducted over the phone and one interview

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[21] Migration Policy Center "Syrian Refugees; Turkey."

[22] Erdogan, 14.

[23] Yilmaz, 9-10.

[24] Erdogan, 14.

was conducted with written responses per e-mail. Five interviews were informal and unstructured (with responses gathered through written notes rather than audio recording), but the remaining twenty-eight were semi-structured in-depth interviews in which the same questions were asked and to which the responses were recorded and transcribed. A complete list of the organizations with which interviews were conducted, by location, is available in Appendix 1. In both the unstructured and semi-structured interviews, interviewees were questioned regarding their organization's overall mission and work, their work with Syrians in Turkey, their coordination with other CSOs and governmental organizations and their role in Turkey's migration management system (See Appendix 2, Interview Questions). While interviewees granted oral consent for interviews to be conducted, their responses here reflecting sensitive opinions have been categorized according to the organization type and then randomized through the assignment of a number generated by a random number generator for the sake of anonymity. Therefore, quotations of and references to interviewees remain anonymous while still reflecting the categorization of the organization which they represent and thus allowing patterns and conclusions to be drawn regarding the role and interactions of actors at different levels of governance in the field. The theory of global governance will be applied in analysis to respectively examine cooperation among various actors at different levels of engagement in the governance of Turkey's migration of Syrians and examine aspects of horizontal and vertical power-sharing in the field of migration management.

1.5 Categorization of Interviews

To aid in analysis, the organizations with which interviews were conducted have been categorized as 'civil societal,' 'governmental,' or 'supranational.' Of the thirty-two interviews conducted with various actors in Turkey's migration management field, twenty-three interviews are therefore categorized as 'civil societal,' seven interviews as 'governmental' and two interviews as 'supranational.'

In first turning to the categorization of the majority of organizations interviewed as 'CSOs,' it is important to consider that self-ascribed identities used by and assigned to other CSOs interviewed vary widely and also reflect different international and Turkish approaches to this terminology. In Turkish, the term 'CSOs' (*sivil toplum kuruluşları*) is an all-encompassing term that includes foundations (*vakıf*), associations (*dernek*), sports clubs, unions (*birlik*), trade associations (*ticari kurumlar*) and cooperatives (*kooperatif*). Internationally, the term 'civil society' similarly comprises "associations, foundations, professional organizations, trade unions, religious groups and media institutions" that function independent of the government, but are more commonly distinguished and referred to as

'nonprofit' or 'non-governmental.'[25] 'Nonprofit' is used most commonly in the United States to distinguish an independent third sector (distinct from government and business), that provides services for people in cases when for-profit services remain inadequate.[26] However, these 'nonprofit' organizations are not necessarily considered to be 'non-governmental.'[27] In Turkey, the Turkish Red Crescent (*Kızılay*) is a 'special' nonprofit CSO in this sense: it offers not-for-profit services, remains officially separate from government and business, but has a 'special' relationship with the government, through governmental funding of *Kızılay*'s activities. The term 'non-governmental' has been influenced by the discourse of the United Nations and, particularly in developing countries, is most commonly used to describe a nonprofit sector that serves as a watchdog for human rights in a conflict model society.[28] In the issue of migration management of Syrians in Turkey, Turkey-based CSOs that aim to 'check' the power of the government often self-ascribe as 'non-governmental' organizations; for example, respectively in interviews and online publications, *Göç-Der* and Helsinki Citizens Assembly both self-ascribe as NGOs. Although transnational NGOs (such as Amnesty International) were not included in interviews as a part of this study, these NGOs tend to maintain an emphasis on acting 'non-governmentally' and having a stronger 'anti' government stance as a 'watchdog' as well.

While some organizations with which interviews were conducted self-ascribe as 'nonprofit' or 'non-governmental,' others' terminology, particularly international CSOs', ranges from 'politically-neutral' to 'private' or just 'humanitarian' to describe their work. The Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM) retains a self-ascription as a CSO (rather than an NGO) due to its cooperation with and acting on behalf of the government in some respects; thus it cannot be severed as an organization completely independent from or without governmental influence. Due to the subjective and varying terminology self-ascribed by and applied to other CSOs in the field, for the purposes of this study, CSOs will remain labeled as such for the categorization of organizations interviewed. In the text CSOs that act in a 'nonprofit' or 'non-governmental' role may be labeled respectively to emphasize this distinct role in the field.

Organizations categorized as CSOs have been further subcategorized as either international (meaning that they have been founded outside of Turkey) or Turkey-based (meaning that they were initially established in Turkey). Although the work of Turkey-based

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[25] Bulut and Kösecik, 2; Bhatti, Rubina Feroze.

[26] Bhatti, Rubina Feroze.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

CSOs is not only confined within Turkey's borders, this categorization aims to differentiate between CSOs which are entering Turkey from abroad to respond to the needs of Syrians (international CSOs) versus those CSOs already headquartered and working in Turkey who have merely adapted their ongoing work on-the-ground to additionally respond to the needs of Syrians (Turkey-based CSOs). This distinction aims to emphasize the differing legal processes that international and Turkey-based CSOs undergo, as well as recognize different timing in each of these sub-categorizations' initial response to Syrian migration into Turkey. Similarly, although both Turkey-based and international CSOs active in Turkey may also function transnationally, for the ease of analysis here regarding governance within Turkey, an assessment of the extent to which these CSOs also function transnationally is not included in the scope of this study. Therefore, of the twenty-three CSOs interviewed, seventeen are categorized as Turkey-based CSOs and five as international CSOs. [29]

For the purpose of analysis, 'Turkey-based CSOs' are further subcategorized as either 'humanitarian' (nine interviews) or 'human rights based' (eight interviews) depending on their mission and the assistance they provide to Syrians in Turkey. This sub-categorization does not reflect the ethnic or religious motivation of these CSOs, but instead aims to reflect the main focus of the work with which the CSO is engaged regarding Syrians in Turkey. For example, CSOs such as ASAM are categorized as 'humanitarian' because the relief they provide to Syrians focuses on addressing humanitarian needs of health, education, housing, etc. Although their work also contains human rights focused components, the work is mainly humanitarian based. Contrastingly, *Mülteci-Der* is, for example, categorized as an human rights NGO on this issue. Although this organization's work initially had a humanitarian focus of providing refugees with clothing or food and continues to occasionally include humanitarian aspects, such as organizing Ramadan *Iftar* events,[30] the main focus of the organization is now in providing legal services to refugees, a more human rights focused initiative.

The categorization of 'governmental' organizations encompasses seven interviews with individuals and organizations having a governmental affiliation. Four of these interviews were conducted with individuals working at the national governmental level: three interviews with the advising office of the deputy prime minister working with AFAD and one interview with a representative from the Police Academy. An additional three interviews were conducted

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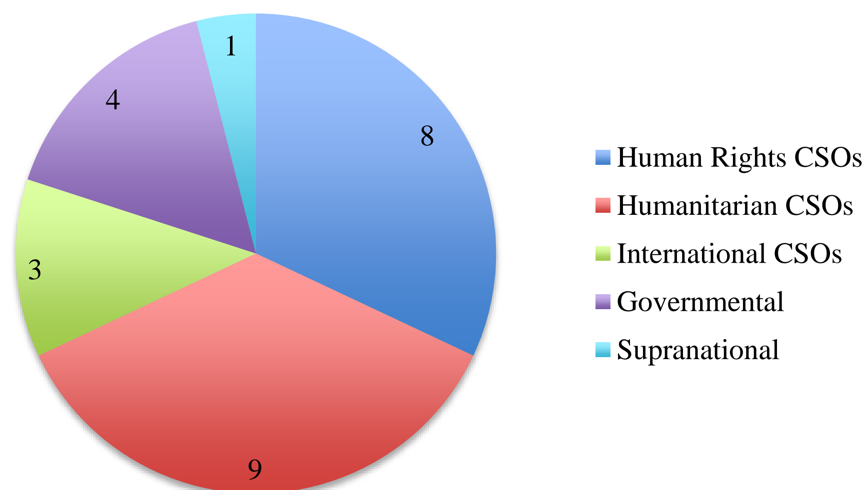
[29] Two interviews with two Turkey-based CSOs occurred in two cities, thus the discrepancy in number of organizations interviewed when compared with the total number of interviews conducted. Similarly, interviews were conducted with two representatives of the same international CSO.

[30] *Iftar* refers to "The meal eaten by Muslims after sunset during Ramadan" (Oxford English Dictionary).

with local level representatives affiliated with the government, including a political party representative in Suruç, employees at a local family health center and the Mufti of Gaziantep, a governmental religious authority. The final 'supranational' categorization includes the remaining two interviews with UNHCR Turkey and the World Food Programme. A complete list of the categorizations to which each organization interviewed was assigned is included in Appendix 3.

Through categorizing organizations with which interviews were conducted as either 'civil societal,' 'governmental' or 'supranational,' the responses of interviewees are more informative regarding their roles as actors in the field of migration management. Particularly regarding cooperation and contestation, categorizing the location of the organization in the field becomes essential. Responses regarding coordination in the field were gathered in twenty-five of the twenty-eight semi-structured in-depth interviews. The distribution of the organizations responding to questions concerning coordination can be seen in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Interviews Regarding Coordination, Analyzed by Type of Organization



In asking interviewees the open-ended questions: "How would you categorize coordination between your organization and [another type of or specific organization]?"[31] all interviewees referred to coordination either in the form of cooperation or information-sharing. 'Cooperation' was used by interviewees to express joint-project, panel and research initiatives, as well as formal and informal agreements and funding from or of the organization in question. 'Information sharing' was used by interviewees to express one-on-one information sharing through reports, informal conversations or joint platform initiatives with the aim of information sharing in mind as well as through participation in regular meetings with the UNHCR or local governorates and the organizations which took part in these.

The explanations of the categorizations and terminology above aim to clarify how this research has been analyzed and how results have been concluded. Applying the categorization outlined above aids in analysis of determining the governing role of each organization and how it contributes to Turkey's overall governance in the field of migration management. To understand this system of governance, however, it is also essential to understand the structure of Turkey's governing and political structure.

1.6 An Introduction to Turkey's Governance Structure

As research focusing on the governance of migration in Turkey with regards to Syrian movement, it is essential that the functioning governance also be considered in the framework of Turkey's political and governing structure. Focusing on how migration is managed within Turkey's borders, the Ministry of Interior is the umbrella ministry at the national level of governance under which most government actors active in the migration management field are located. Under the Minister's undersecretary are the subsidiaries involved in law enforcement in the country: the gendarmerie, the Turkish National Police, the Coast Guard and GDMM.[32] AFAD, along with the Bureau of Border Management, is located as one of the supportive units under the undersecretary's deputies.[33]

Beyond the national level, Turkey consists of eighty-one provinces (*il*) at which regional and local governance plays out. Each of these provinces is comprised of a central district run by a national government appointed governor (*vali*) and other districts (*ilçe*) within the province, which are under the control of an appointed district governor (*kaymakam*). At the provincial level, for example, the Turkish National Police operate under the orders of the

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[31] See exact Interview Questions in Appendix 2.

[32] Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior. "Organization Chart."

[33] Ibid.

appointed governor and district governor. Each urban area within a province is divided into municipalities (*belediye*) that are under the administration of an elected mayor (*belediye başkan*). Some larger cities have one metropolitan municipality (*büyükşehir belediyesi*), rather than having sub-divided municipalities. These urban municipalities are further sub-divided into neighborhoods (*mahalle*) in which elected neighborhood mukhtars (*muhtar*, chief) are responsible for administrative matters, such as residency and voting registration. Towns and districts remain under the responsibility of civil administrators (*mülki amir*) and villages in non-urban areas within each province also have an elected village mukhtar. Another important component of the governmental structure is the mufti (*müftü*), a religious leader and legal expert who serves as the governmental religious authority. In Turkey, muftis work as civil servants appointed by the national government with one provincial mufti appointed to each province as well as one mufti appointed to each district within that province.

Political parties and their associated ideologies play a significant role in both national politics and in everyday affairs in Turkey; they also function as a point of contestation among differing religious and ethnic groups. From 2002 until the June 2015 elections, the Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* - AKP) had won the majority of seats in the General National Assembly and served as the majority party. A conservative democratic party that lies center-right on the political spectrum, the AKP has been contested by two major parties during the past thirteen years. This includes the country's main opposition party, the Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* - CHP), which is a center-left party founded on the ideology of Kemalism and the principles of the founder of the Republic of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The main secondary opposition party has been the Nationalist Movement Party (*Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi* - MHP), a far-right party based on the ideology of Turkish nationalism and populism. Since its founding in 2012, the left-wing Peoples' Democratic Party (*Halkların Demokratik Partisi* - HDP) has gained increasing support among democratic socialists and Kurds. As a result of this increasing support, the HDP passed the ten percent election threshold for the first time in the June 2015 elections. As a new pro-Kurdish party, today's HDP has developed from the Peoples' Democratic Congress Party (*Halkların Demokratik Kongresi* - HDK) and the Kurdish Peace and Democracy Party (*Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi* - BDP) and remains allied with the Kurdish Democratic Regions Party (*Demokratik Bölgeler Partisi* - DBP). Differing ethnic and religious identity often shape individual and regional political affiliations and also pose a point of contestation between local and national governance, particularly in regions where AKP does not win a majority in local parliamentary or presidential elections.

To clarify how this structure works in practice, I will outline the administration in the province of Şanliurfa, where interviews were conducted at both the provincial and district level. As one of the eighty-one provinces in Turkey, Şanliurfa is comprised of one central

district (Şanliurfa) and ten other districts (Akçakale, Birecik, Bozova, Ceylanpınar, Halfeti, Harran, Hilvan, Siverek, Suruç, Viranşehir). The central district of Şanliurfa is a metropolitan municipality (rather than being separated into multiple municipalities) and the elected mayor is Celalettin Güvenç (AKP). İzzetin Küçük is the appointed governor. Suruç is one of the districts located in Şanliurfa province. The appointed district governor is Abdullah Çiftçi and the elected mayor of the city is Orhan Şansal (BDP). The mufti of the province of Şanliurfa is Ihsan Açik and the Suruç district appointed mufti is Ali Çam. In the Şanliurfa province as a whole, there is a large Kurdish population. In the 2014 parliamentary elections, Şanliurfa had a majority of votes for AKP (54.6%), followed by the Kurdish BDP (26.7%). In the recent 2015 parliamentary elections, AKP won seven parliamentary seats (46.78%) and HDP won five parliamentary seats (38.08%). Since political tensions are high in the region, the possible tension between the Turkish national government's appointed administrators under the control of AKP and the local elected officials must be considered as a factor shaping cooperation among governing actors in the field of migration management, particularly in Southeastern Turkey.

1.7 Context of this Research

Although scientific research is always intended to be objective, reproducible and replicable, sociological research, particularly, remains confined and limited by time, space and personal attributes of the researcher. Although these variables are minimized as much as possible to reduce their impact on the outcomes of research, any sociological research occurs within a specific spatial and temporal domain with variables that cannot be controlled as they would be in scientific laboratory research. The context within which and by whom this research was conducted must therefore also be considered in the framework of the study.

Spatially, this research focuses on Turkey's two largest metropolitan areas as well as the two cities in the Syrian border region to which the highest number of Syrians have migrated and reside. Although these interview sites have been selected intentionally, conducting interviews in other locations may result in differing responses from interviewees. Similarly, the temporal domain of conducting interviews in the first half of 2015 may also produce unique results for multiple reasons. First, the time period selected rests in what is currently an emerging climax of Syrian migration to Turkey. Although Syrian migration has been occurring in Turkey since the beginning of conflict in Syria in 2011, the number and intensity of migration have increased in the past two years. Events such as the attacks of ISIS fighters in the Syrian towns of Kobani (*Ayn Al-Arab)* and *Tal Abyad* respectively in September 2014 and June 2015 have resulted in entire villages fleeing to Turkey for shelter. Secondly, coinciding with such events, local, national and international media attention have drawn increasing attention to Syrians within the country, as well as the impacts of Syrian migration to Turkey

within a larger global framework, particularly through increased media coverage of irregular migration from Turkey to the EU. Although major events have significantly changed the situation of Syrian migration in the past eleven months, the months during which these interviews were conducted (February to May 2015), were relatively stable and included neither large protests nor larger than normal episodes of migration. Third, this time period is significant for research as the Turkish government instituted increased restrictions regarding research of Syrians in Turkey as of May 2015. Now, research that involves conducting interviews with or sampling Syrians in Turkey requires governmental approval. Although governmental data regarding the number of Syrians in each AFAD camp and in each city were available in September 2014 (and made available to me by an interviewee in February 2015), such information is no longer publically accessible on the internet as it was previously. In some cases, therefore, statistics regarding Syrian migration used here may seem outdated, but are used because more current data is not publically available. During the period of research, restrictions regarding visits to AFAD camps, meetings with AFAD and the GDMM have increased. Only three months after the conclusion of interviews for this research, conducting the same research would be significantly more difficult.

Since the completion of interviews in May 2015, Syrian displacement has gained a heightened level of media attention as Turkey struggles to meet the needs of Syrians here, as Syrians increasingly arrive in European countries or die en route and as displacement has become increasingly framed as one aspect of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)-led response to ISIS and fighting along the Syrian-Turkish border. Because the context for Syrian migration to Turkey and its perception is constantly changing due to local and national events and national elections and international coverage of such events, the questions that were asked in the context of these interviews may have exhibited drastically differing responses had they been conducted six months prior or six months later. For example, seven months before interviews were conducted in Şanliurfa's province of Suruç, very few Syrians had crossed the border to seek shelter in the neighboring city and interview responses regarding Syrian migration would have been very different. Three months after interviews were conducted, in the same city a bomb explosion killed thirty-two people and again brought the city to the forefront of national and international media as Turkey and the US consequently became militarily engaged in Syria. In August a photo of a deceased child from Kobani (the town across the border from Suruç) washed up on a beach in Bodrum after an unsuccessful attempt at irregularly migrating to Europe again brought the region and the plight of Syrians to the focus of the globe. Within only the scope of eleven months, interview responses, such as those regarding government cooperation and problems resulting from migration for Syrians, Turkish society and the Turkish government, have likely drastically varied and changed.

Finally, the location of the researcher must also be considered in the overall context of this research. As a young, non-Turkish female, my own social location has inevitably impacted - whether consciously or unconsciously - how my research and questions were received, as well as possibly how my questions were answered among respondents. It may also have even impacted which organizations and individuals responded to my initial requests for interviews. Although my written requests for interviews were conducted in Turkish and revealed only my name as a marker of me being a foreigner, scheduling and following up regarding interviews per phone placed me at a linguistic disadvantage, which may have persuaded or dissuaded organizations to agree to meet for interviews. While a disadvantage in some respects, my social location also contributed a distance from my research topic; as neither Turkish nor Syrian, but instead as a 'foreigner,' interviewees may have felt more comfortable speaking directly and openly regarding political issues in Turkey, about which they often assumed I was uninformed.

The issue of language contributes another important context for this research. Interview questions were conceived in my native language of English and then translated into Turkish; interviews were conducted either in English or Turkish. I encouraged interviewees to determine and select the language with which they felt most comfortable for the interview. However, in almost all cases, either myself the interviewer or the respective interviewee were required to participate in the interview in a foreign language. When interviews were conducted in Turkish, I was at a disadvantage as a non-native speaker and sometimes my pronunciation or sentence construction in asking questions was confusing for interviewees. In other cases, my inability to understand the unfamiliar accent or vocabulary of interviewees required interviewees to repeat or reconstruct their answers to accommodate me. When interviewees agreed to conduct interviews in English, I felt that they were unable to fully express their ideas and as a result, in some cases, interviewees were unable to exactly understand the questions being asked and therefore did not answer the questions directly or completely.

These personal, spatial and temporal attributes that shaped the context of this research must be remembered in considering the results and conclusions emerging from this study. Had interviews been conducted in other locations at a different time by a different researcher, the organizations which agreed to hold interviews as well as the responses of interviewees may have differed significantly. Although this research design aims to be objective, replicable and reproducible, some aspects of this research are inevitably variable and shaped by the unique context of the research and the researcher.

1.8 Outline of the Text

In seeking to answer the research questions outlined above, Part I of the text (Chapters 2-4) will address the theoretical and historical background necessary for understanding

migration in present-day Turkey and how current migration patterns and policies have developed overtime. In the second chapter, I overview the theory of global governance and the concept of migration management that are applied to analyze the selected actors, their discourses and practices in the Turkish field. The third chapter extrapolates the development and definition of 'migration management' overtime by contextualizing the shift from migration 'control' to 'management' in the scope of historical global migration patterns and policies. In the fourth chapter, the recent history of migration and the immigration of Syrian nationals into Turkish borders will be overviewed in the context of Turkey's historic legal codes on migration and how these are changing with the country's acceptance of Syrian migrants and as Turkey continues its bid for becoming an EU member state.

Subsequently, in Part II of the text, the different levels of the management of migration in Turkey will each be briefly overviewed. Chapter 5 outlines the roles and interactions of national-level actors in Turkey's field of migration management; Chapters 6 and 7 will, respectively, overview the key international and civil society-level actors engaged in responding to Syrians in Turkey. The final concluding chapter, Chapter 8, will summarize the preceding chapters by drawing on analysis from the interviews collected to provide answers to and reflections regarding the research questions posed. How organizations cooperate or compete with one another and whether a form of global governance is evident in these interactions will be analyzed. The conclusion will additionally map what the field of migration management means for Syrian nationals in Turkey and what needs remain to be met.

1.9 Conclusion

Controlling migration is no longer merely a nation-state responsibility. Global governance of international migration is now a multilateral task, in which multiple states, international and supranational organizations are engaged. At the national level, migration policies also reflect and are framed by such a changing global structure. Increasingly, national migration policy and its implementation involve supranational, international and local governmental and civil society actors in addition to the central governmental role, meaning that national governmental policies regarding migration can no longer be analyzed in isolation.

In seeking to understand the *how* of migration management and given the important changes in migration policy and national structure in Turkey, Syrian migration to Turkey thus presents a relevant modern day test of migration management. In analyzing migration management of Syrian nationals in Turkey, this research aims to shed light on the intricacies of migration management in Turkey and will contribute to literature focusing on better defining and understanding migration management in today's global world as well as shed light on the applicability of governance to the 'field' of migration management.

CHAPTER 2

GLOBAL GOVERNANCE IN THE FIELD OF MIGRATION MANAGEMENT

The central concept of this paper, 'migration management,' is a concept that has emerged in the past twenty-five years and reflects an increased global trend towards multilateralism and global governance. Therefore, an examination of migration management in the case state of Turkey also requires an understanding of 'global governance' - and the Foucauldian concepts of government and governmentality upon which 'global governance' builds. While governance often optimistically focuses on the positive outcomes of multilateral cooperation, this paper proposes that there is both contestation and cooperation among actors in the migration management system. With this approach, this paper analyzes the impact of global governance in the field of Turkey's migration management by examining both cooperative and contested "relationship[s] between people's practices and the contexts in which those practices occur."[34] Therefore, in addition to outlining migration management in the theoretical framework of governance, this paper proposes the possibility for analyzing migration management as a field. With multiple agents working at various levels and with distinct practices and discourses of governance, the interactions of the various actors involved in Turkey's migration management can be better analyzed when approached as an organized field of forces in which both cooperation and contestation are fostered.

2.1 Governmentality

The concept of 'global governance' has emerged from and further builds upon Foucault's core conceptualizations of government and governmentality. Foucault understands the concept of 'government' as distinct from the 'sovereign' rule of Machiavelli's prince.[35] As he explained in a published interview: "the government not only has to deal with a territory, with a domain, and with its subjects, but it also has to deal with a complex and independent reality that has its own laws and mechanisms of reaction, its regulations as well as its

[34] Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 21.

[35] Dean 1999, 17.

possibilities of disturbance. This new reality is society."[36] Government is often simply defined as "the conduct of conduct"[37] to explain government as a function of technology that can be extended to various 'governments': "the government of individuals, the government of souls, the government of the self by the self, the government of families, the government of children, and so on."[38] As Dean explains, since "government concerns the shaping of human conduct and acts on the governed as a locus of action and freedom," "government as the 'conduct of conduct' presupposes the primary freedom of those who are governed entailed in the capacities of acting and thinking" as well as "this freedom and these capacities on the part of those who govern."[39] As a result, "when we govern ourselves and others we exercise our capacities for thinking."[40]

This focus on the capacity for thinking is central to understanding governmentality. Foucault understood as important to the concept of governmentality that: 1) the government takes 'population' as its target object (building upon Foucault's understandings of biopolitics) and relies on political economy as its principle function; 2) there is a linkage between government and other forms of power (such as sovereignty and discipline); 3) population is located amidst apparatuses of security – policies and initiatives – that promote the welfare of the population, as well as governmental apparatuses (institutions) that ensure the population's proper, efficient and optimal functioning; and 4) the result of the process of governmentality eventually becomes 'governmentalized' over time with the governmentalization of the state.[41] As such, governmentality "concerns itself with many forms of power relations"[42] and as a new form of power itself, is relational – including from the bottom-up – and relies on forms of social control different than those applied under disciplinary or sovereign power; for example governmentality contrastingly relies on policies and interventions as apparatuses of security that are based on statistics and empirical norms rather than legal or reforming norms and applies them at the general level.

Building upon Foucault's understanding, Rose and Miller define governmentality as 'mentalities of government,' noting the collective element involved in "any way of reasoning,

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[36] Interview with Michel Foucault, 242.

[37] Dean 1999, 17.

[38] Interview with Michel Foucault, 256.

[39] Dean 1999, 15.

[40] Ibid., 15-16.

[41] Ibid., 28-30; Foucault, 102-103.

[42] Walters 2012, 11.

or way of thinking about, calculating and responding to a problem."[43] Dean offers a second meaning of 'governmentality' as the new form of thinking about and exercising power that emerged in the early modern period in Western Europe and contrasts with other forms of power, such as sovereignty and discipline. Dean additionally suggests that governmentality "can be regarded as a somewhat loose set of analytical tools and concepts" and has therefore "proved especially flexible and adaptable" as a theory.[44] As a result of this flexibility, the popularity of Foucault, and the frequent usage of the jargon of 'governmentality' among politicians and social commentators, the concept has become very popular among academia in the last twenty-five years.[45]

2.2 Global Governmentality

Although Foucault's understanding of governmentality was limited to the state, today, many Foucauldian scholars apply this concept at the global level. From this understanding, with globalization, the role of state governmentality changes as nationalist rhetoric must compete or comply with regional and international values and norms, such as human rights. As a result, the techniques of regulation and discipline used in governmentality also change and become concentrated beyond the state-level. As a result, governmentality arguably now occurs beyond the state-level as a form of global governmentality in which regional and international organizations target states and states' populations.

Despite common allusion to 'global governmentality,' the terminology of the concept is debated and diverse. Jaeger (2010) argues that global governmentality does exist, as modeled through United Nations (UN) reform and biopolitics. Hindess (2002) instead recognizes a 'supra-national regime of government' rather than a global one and Kelly (2010) rejects 'global biopolitics,' concluding that in the absence of a global population, the global phenomena is instead one of biopolitical imperialism. Larner and Walters (2004) qualify 'global governmentality' by considering globalization itself as 'governmentality' and Neumann and Sending (2007) consider 'international' similarly. Andrijasevic and Walters (2010) and Merlingen (2003) more broadly argue that governmentality can be applied beyond populations and instead to states at the global level, as evidenced in the role of international governmental organizations.

The concept of global governmentality is most commonly applied to migration in terms of three topics. The first focuses on the biopolitical governmentality of migrants as

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[43] Dean 1999, 24.

[44] Ibid., 3.

[45] Ibid., 1-2.

populations. Bulley (2014), for example, examines refugee camps as spaces of exception (Agamben 1995, 1998) in which refugees form a distinct displaced population, "which can be known and controlled via its aggregation, calculation and disaggregation into different categories of subjectivity."[46] Thus camps rely on biopower and governmentality to 'massify' the individual refugee into a population "that can be measured and calculated on the basis of birth rates, mortality rates and the fertility of a population."[47] The second topic focuses on migration governmentality in terms of border management. Similar to the refugee camp, borders exhibit a space of exception. For both travellers and migrants, the control of borders, the issuance of passports and visas not only manages the movement of the international population through configuration of the individual in terms of health, wealth, labor/leisure and risk, but also trains individuals to self-manage their behaviors in this process of movement.[48] The final topic focuses on global governmentality in terms of the conduct of states, rather than the conduct of population. For example, Merlingen (2003) analyzes how the IOM and other international governmental organizations "conduct the conduct of countries."[49]

2.3 Global Governance

Regarding migration, however, there is an even broader range of literature that analyzes migration in terms of global governance. 'Governance' had long been used synonymously with 'government,' but has a new centrality today[50] "as a new field of social and political analysis."[51] As Betts (2011) explains in his edited volume: "Govern*ance* distinguishes itself from govern*ment* insofar as there is no single authoritative rule-maker."[52] Instead, like neo-liberal globalization,[53] governance is a process that is always evolving and extends beyond government.[54] In this 'new governance,' "traditional goals of governments – welfare, prosperity, and security" – are "now sought through process of concertation, interaction, networking, piloting and steering…through a host of private, para-state, third

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[46] Bulley, 70.

[47] Foucault 2004 in Bulley, 243.

[48] Salter, 176, 180.

[49] Merlingen 2003, 362.

[50] Rosenau, 184.

[51] Rose, 15.

[52] Betts 2011a, 4.

[53] Overbeek 2000, 1.

[54] Rosenau, 185; Walters, 29.

sector, voluntary and other groups."[55] As such, Rose (1999) explains: "governance directs attention to the nature, problems, means, actions, manners, techniques and objects by which actors place themselves under the control, guidance, sway and mastery of others, or seek to place other actors, organizations, entities or events under their own sway."[56] In addition to being normative – either 'good governance' or 'bad governance' – governance "tries to characterize the pattern or structure that emerges as the resultant of the interactions of a range of political actors – of which the state is only one."[57] Despite attempts to characterize the patterns and structures of interactive governance, the boundaries between public and private and national and international are blurred, and "policy formation in international contexts is increasingly *informalised*."[58] Sassen (1996) labels this as a "*de facto* transnationalizing of immigration policy."[59]

Although 'governance' is a helpful concept for understanding the interdependence and proliferation of control mechanisms to various actors,[60] its promises as a concept of "greater inclusion and participation" through "the space of a liberal game of assimilation" to effectively minimize the ongoing reality of conflict, struggle and chaos.[61] Additionally, while 'governance' is often understood as a phenomenon of globalization that focuses on 'steering' and 'regulation,' Walter reminds that it should not be forgotten that such elements of 'governance' were also present in the postwar welfare state and are not only a result of globalization.[62] Similarly, governance should not be oversimplified as a response to the metanarrative of 'complexity' in the new millennium.[63]

Although Foucault did not use the term 'governance,' this concept has grown from his understandings of 'government' and 'governmentality' and is also applied in literature to the global level. Global governance, however, remains "a murky and often poorly defined term."[64] Betts (2011) offers as a working definition of global governance: "the 'norms, rules, principles and decision-making procedures that regulate the behaviours of states (and other transnational

[55] Walters, 29.

[56] Rose, 16.

[57] Ibid., 16.

[58] Overbeek 2000, 7.

[59] Sassen 1996, 1 in Overbeek, 8.

[60] Rosenau, 183-184.

[61] Walters, 33-35.

[62] Ibid., 38-39.

[63] Ibid., 40.

[64] Betts 2011a, 4.

actors)'" and that represent a "process that is contested by a range of actors at several stages: agenda-setting, negotiation, implementation, monitoring, and enforcement."[65] Governance can be considered 'global' not because of the 'level' at which governance occurs, but instead because "it is constraining or constitutive of the behavior of states (and other transnational actors)."[66] This understanding of governance as global is "useful insofar as it highlights the move away from individual nation-states having absolute authority over policy-making towards a situation in which the behavior of states and other actors is constrained and shaped by a range of institutions which exist beyond the nation-state."[67]

Unlike global governmentality, global governance can occur either 'top down' or 'bottom up.'[68] Although a top-down global governance in the form of a supranational global migration organization does not exist per se, bottom-up global governance of migration does exist in the form of 'policy networks' (Slaughter, 2004) that combine common threads of governmental responsibilities for problem-solving purposes, often on the basis of intensive interactions among government officials (bureaucrats, regulators, legislators, judges) with similar functional portfolios."[69] Through such networks, global governance goes beyond "formal multilateral institutions" and also includes inter-state cooperation, regional organizations and non-state actors from both the private and public sector.[70] As such, although the UN is central to global governance, global governance is a broader system that "includes systems of rule at all levels of human activity."[71]

Therefore, migration governance can be understood as occurring through the various actors interactively addressing governmental responsibilities of migration. Literature on global governance therefore frequently focuses on the main global actors involved in governing migration, including the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) (Newland 2012), United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) (Loescher and Miller 2011) and International Organization for Migration (IOM) (Ashutosh and Mountz 2011). As actors involved in the network of managing migration in Turkey, the roles of UNHCR and IOM in global migration governance will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

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[65] Abbott and Snidal 2009, in Betts 2011a, 4.

[66] Betts 2011a, 4.

[67] Ibid., 5.

[68] Newland 2010, 334.,

[69] Ibid., 335.

[70] Betts 2011a, 6.

[71] Rosenau, 181.

Despite the 'global' focus of global governance, due to the new importance of actors at all levels, the range of global governing principles to the local and national levels and the possibility for both 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' global governance, local government and civil society organizations are also increasingly a vital 'level' at which migration governance occurs and which should not be overlooked. As the Transatlantic Council - an initiative of the Migration Policy Institute that examines and informs migration policy - noted in the summary of its 2013 plenary meeting: "While cities and regions experience both the positive and negative effect of immigration firsthand, they are typically at arm's length, *at best,* from the policy reins that enable and shape these movements."[72] As a result of this disjuncture, increasingly, more work is being done locally, which requires "better cooperation between different levels of government – and with the private sector and civil society."[73] Therefore, the role of Turkey-based and local civil society organizations (CSOs) and initiatives will also be included in analyzing how Turkey's field of migration management reflects trends towards global migration governance.

2.4 Governance and Migration Management

Additional literature on governance further specifically combines the concepts of migration management and governance, as this research will also do. 'Migration management' remains a contested term. The global shift in terminology from migration *control* to migration *management*, aims to signify a shift from national governments' tendency to control migration through restrictive and reactive policies towards a more human rights based, proactive response to migration that aims to manage, check and balance "flows of people across borders."[74] Although the two concepts, *control* and *management,* may not always have explicitly different apparatuses or results in reality, the nominalism of naming implies a shift in policies as well. This shift reflects historical changes in world political events, the use of these terms in the global arena as well as borrowing from economic and business practices of 'management,' which will be examined in-depth in the subsequent chapter.

On the global level, much like global migration governance, international migration management discourses emphasize a focus on cooperation between states, a favoring of proactive – rather than reactive – policies, a call for holistic approaches for all migrant groups and reliance on actors beyond the government.[75] Although the discourses on migration

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[72] Papademetriou, 1.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Munck, 1239.

[75] Pecoud, 338-339.

management often focus on the conceptualization of a triple-win possibility for sending and receiving countries as well as the migrants themselves, the practices are generally less soft and less consensual.[76] Thus, practices such as counter-trafficking, trainings for transit and sending country civil servants, migration-policy development, development projects, and return migration and reentry programs all fall under the umbrella term 'migration management.'[77] Morris (2002) and Rygiel (2012) therefore criticize migration management as a form of exclusionary governance that is used to allow for the restriction of rights and the creation of citizens and non-citizens. The discourse is further criticized for its basis on racist restrictive policies[78] and classist concerns that national protectionism and protectionist policies remain determined by dominant states and their affluent populations rather than by a global majority.[79] Newland (2010) criticizes the use of 'migration management' with regards to governance "as a slightly old-fashioned, preglobalization assumption of state control over migration processes."[80] She alternatively suggests the use of the term 'global mobility regime,' which emphasizes states as "only one of a number of important actors."[81] Elitok (2013) reminds us that "the boundary between management and governance is still not clear and most of the time these two concepts are used interchangeably."[82]

Geiger and Pecoud (2010) summarize these criticisms regarding the implication of migration management as a concept succinctly:

> While the concept of migration management has a clear history and a relatively precise meaning, one should, however, note that on other occasions it functions as a kind of empty shell, a convenient umbrella under which very different activities can be regrouped and given an apparent coherence, thus also facilitating cooperation between actors who would otherwise have little in common. The notion seems to lack substance even in the eyes of those supposed to put it into practice.[83]

Due to these criticisms, Morris (2002) even further questions whether migration management is not merely another umbrella form of *controlling* migration. Although the multilateral approach to migration governance is a reality, the terminology 'migration management' aims

[76] Geiger and Pecoud, 10.

[77] Ibid., 6.

[78] Munck, 1239.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Newland 2010, 341.

[81] Ibid., 342.

[82] Elitok, 162.

[83] Geiger and Pecoud, 3.

to maintain states as the central actor in determining policy.[84] Such critiques pose the question: Is migration actually less controlled now than it was in the Interwar and Post-war periods?

2.5 Why 'Migration Management'?

Despite the criticisms of this terminology, this paper maintains 'migration management' as a basis of its terminology of analysis for two reasons. First and most importantly, for the examination of the case state of Turkey, the use of the term 'migration management' is intentional, due to the Turkish government's recent establishment of a Directorate General of Migration Management. As with the use of any terminology, we must remember the nominalism involved in naming and labeling. Although it remains difficult to determine whether Turkey's shift from the terminology of migration *control* to migration *management* translates into significantly differing practices, the discourse has changed. The use of *management* in the naming of Turkey's new directorate responsible for overseeing migration suggests that Turkey seeks to constitute migration as a *management* problem, rather than one of *control* or regiment. Additionally, it suggests the intended continued central role of the Turkish government in responding to migration. Although the state is no longer the sole actor involved in 'migration management,' Turkey nonetheless has kept this terminology as part of its official discourse, suggesting that Turkey is "keen on keeping states at the centre of the picture" of migration management.[85]

Secondly, despite the criticisms outlined above, migration management continues to be a common term included in literature concerning governance and governance of migration. Pellerin (2014) theoretically and historically outlines "governance of migration management as a process of negotiating power and responsibilities between various actors, and as the production of a normative framework, around which various objectives and interests on immigration regulations and agency participation are organized, negotiated and re-defined."[86] Together with Newland's (2012) references to "the opening of the current chapter in the history of the governance of international migration,"[87] Pellerin's (2014) observations on 'global migration management initiatives' will be included in the subsequent chapter's overview of the history of migration patterns and governance.

Additional literature on migration management and governance focuses on rights and citizenship. In a comparative study of migration management in Germany, Italy and Britain,

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[84] Ibid., 15.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Pellerin, 39.

[87] Newland 2012, 228.

Morris (2002) outlines how these countries utilize rights as a form of governance, identifying the "granting and withholding of rights as a possible basis for the management of migration."[88] Although international conventions maintain the international assimilation of the rights of migrants, Morris identifies that national distinctiveness of policies and civic stratification across Europe remains the norm.[89] Due to this national level distinctiveness, she argues, "the elaboration of rights for categories of non-citizen also provides the opportunity and the means for exercising surveillance and control" as a means of biopolitical governance.[90] Rygiel (2012) outlines how detention serves as a technique of governance in migration management in Canada by placing those "excluded from the polity" in detention camps and therefore constituting citizen and non-citizen populations, respectively as those outside and inside detention.[91] In Europe, similarly, migration and asylum policies are increasingly 'externalized' "by using third countries or transit countries bordering the EU, such as Morocco, Libya and Turkey, not only to host but also to detain and process refugees."[92] In the case of Turkey, the government also aims to externalize Syrian migration through its plan to establish a buffer zone within Syria along the border that might serve as "a haven for the millions of Syrians who have fled across the border into its territory."[93] This implies that Turkey hopes to move Syrian camps into such a buffer zone beyond Turkey's territory and thus externalize the migration that has already become internalized. This would most likely result in an externalization of migration management similar to that which the EU has used to host, withhold rights from, detain and process migrants.

2.6 The 'Field' of Migration Management

As outlined above, the theories of global governance and global migration governance are commonly applied in studies of migration and are helpful for understanding the interdependence of and extension of control mechanisms to various actors.[94] However, these theories - like the terminology of 'migration management' - optimistically analyze the multilateralism of migration as a positivist triple-win possibility that minimizes the reality of

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[88] Morris, 7, 146.

[89] Ibid., 103.

[90] Ibid., 146.

[91] Rygiel, 212.

[92] Ibid. 213.

[93] Cunningham.

[94] Rosenau, 183-184.

conflict, struggle and chaos.[95] However, there is a competitive nature to the incorporation of various levels of actors and organizations to the governance of management as well. To emphasize both the competitive and cooperative aspects of migration governance, I find it useful to therefore approach migration management in Turkey as a 'field.'

Approaching migration management as a 'field' draws on an approach based in the physical sciences that "posits an enveloping gravitational field that we can neither see nor measure except via its effects."[96] In the social sciences, this conceptualization of 'field' "serves as some sort of representation for those overarching social regularities that may also be visualized (by competing theoretical orientations) as quasi-organisms, systems, or structures"; thus field terminology allows for examination of the transmission of 'force,' even though *how* this transmission occurs may not be clear.[97]

In the field of Turkey's migration management, the management of Syrian migration is being passed like a ball between various actors on a multi-tiered field including the local, regional, national, international and supranational levels. Although these actors are not divided into two competing 'teams,' they are generally either acting in a governmental or civil societal function. Together, these actors cooperate with and compete against other actors in the field as they 'pass' the management of migration amongst themselves, with each actor in the field 'playing' in a specific 'position:' humanitarian assistance, human rights promotion, influencing policies, funding other actors, managing camps or sharing information. Despite the differing positions and skills in the field, each of the 'players' aims to support the needs of Syrians in the field and ensure that their movement is managed; how this can best be done is debated among them.

Considering Turkey's migration management of Syrians as a field - whether as a gravitational field, a place for the transmission of force or as a sports field - is helpful, I argue, to better understand the actors engaged in migration management in Turkey and how these actors, their practices and discourses are cooperative or competitive in comprising the overall migration management of Syrians. With multiple agents working at distinct levels and with various practices and discourses in the field of migration management in Turkey, the interactions of these various actors can be better analyzed when approached as an organized field of forces in which both cooperation and contestation are fostered.

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[95] Walters, 33, 35.

[96] Martin, 3, 5.

[97] Ibid., 8-9.

2.7 Conclusion

Building upon Foucault's conceptualizations of 'government' and 'governmentality,' this chapter has presented a genealogy of the development of a Foucauldian concept of 'global governance.' Although Foucault's understanding of 'government' was limited to the nation state's conduct of conduct, subsequent scholars have extrapolated this terminology to extend government and governmentality to the global level. Regarding migration, Foucauldian scholars most commonly refer to elements of a 'global governance of migration' in which supranational governing bodies from the top-down and policy networks and non-state actors from the bottom-up act to fulfill governmental functions. When applied to the concept of migration management, global governance is evident through the multilateral cooperation, proactive migration policies and reliance on actors beyond the governmental level for assistance in this management.

Therefore, approaching migration management from a Foucauldian understanding of global governance emphasizes the reality of migration management as both a 'global' and a 'governance' issue. From the top-down, although a global regime for the administration of global governance does not exist, - although some might argue that the IOM currently fulfills this role - international norms and institutions continue to govern migration on an international scale. These actors and norms subsequently 'conduct the conduct' of national governments, their actions beyond their borders, as well as their laws and policies within their borders. Although academia continues to distinguish between international and national policies, in reality national policies also become internationalized in their governance from above and national migration management policies cannot so simply be isolated from global ones. From the bottom-up, migration management becomes globally governed through the involvement of local and regional state and non-state actors in responding to and fulfilling governmental responsibilities to migration. In some cases, for example in the coordinated migration management efforts of CSOs from the bottom-up and the UNHCR from the top-down, the fulfillment of governmental migration responsibilities may even supersede national governmental functions.

Conceptualizing migration management as a *field* of governance enables increased focus on the top-down and bottom-up actors involved in the fulfillment of government responsibilities regarding migration management. Furthermore, this approach focuses on these actors' interactions, contestations and cooperation with other actors in the field rather than considering these actions in isolation. Such an approach recognizing and acknowledging the intricacies and overlapping aspects of individual actors' initiatives at various levels provides a more holistic understanding of migration management while also reflecting that today's migration management occurs on multiple levels - from top-down involvement of international norms and policies, supranational organizations such as the UNHCR, international

organizations such as IOM and regional governmental organizations such as the EU to the bottom-up involvement of local and national level civil society and governmental organizations and initiatives. At the center of migration management remains the national government.

Despite the admitted problematics of the terminology of 'governance' and 'migration management,' global governance nonetheless facilitates a conducive and useful framework within which the migration management system within nation-states - such as Turkey - can be considered. This theoretical approach contributes to critical analysis of the current role of governmental and CSOs at all levels in 'managing' migration while framing this national governmental migration management action within a global system. Therefore, before examining the ways in which Turkey's migration management response to Syrians is no longer the sole action of the Turkish government, but instead a reflection of global governance, the global context that has shaped and birthed modern-day migration patterns, policies, practices and discourses in Turkey must be understood. Recognizing the global influences in governing modern-day migration management, the next chapter turns back in time to the origins of migration and presents a genealogy of global migration patterns and the policies and actors that have historically governed these movements. This history of global migration and the discourses used to frame migration overtime will reiterate the foundations upon which the modern-day field of Turkey's migration management of Syrians has been sowed and governed.

CHAPTER 3

A BRIEF HISTORY OF GLOBAL MIGRATION: FROM 'MIGRATION CONTROL' TO 'GLOBAL MIGRATION MANAGEMENT'

As Massey et al. (1998) remind us: "Indeed, migration is as old as humanity itself."[98] Thus, a 'brief history' of global migration has neither a distinct spatial nor temporal beginning. People have always been on the move. Overtime, however, how people move, how often and frequently they move and to where and from where movement occurs has changed. Similarly, as these movements of people, ideas, cultures and materials have changed throughout history, attempts at governing migration - from the local to the global - have also changed.

The current conception that migration should be *managed* has not always been the governmental approach to migration, nor have previous migration patterns demanded such an approach. Since the invention of the steamship and long-distance rail travel in the nineteenth century and as global movement has increasingly become the norm, nation-states continue to search for an adequate means of regulating such movement. In response to global patterns of movement but also with the rise of the sovereign state in the seventeenth century and nationalism in the twentieth century, the aim of national governments has transitioned towards a greater focus on controlling migration. The twentieth century's World Wars, the end of the Cold War and the changes accompanying globalization in a neoliberal framework are additional turning points in both how people migrate as well as in how migration is perceived and how governments respond. Prior to World War II, supranational and regional organizations like the United Nations (UN) and the European Union (EU) either had not yet been established or filled a role of minimally aiding states in controlling migration. Although state governments previously aimed to independently or bilaterally control migration with reactive or repressive migration policies, today's governments – together with the UN, International Organizations (IOs), civil society organizations (CSOs) and migrant networks – instead aim at and speak of global governance geared towards international multilateral and national multi-tiered migration management. Although it is controversial the extent to which 'control' and 'management' actually represent distinct realities in practice, this shift in terminology suggests a new intentionality in approaching migration as a management problem, rather than as a problem that must be controlled. This preference towards migration

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[98] Massey et al., 1.

management as national and global jargon also reflects a broader neoliberal global shift as well as the borrowing of management practices from business discourse and models.

This chapter overviews the emergence of this terminological metamorphosis as reflected in migration patterns, world political events and the introduction of new terms of discourse, and how these factors impacted global migration policies. By presenting this chronological overview of migration patterns, world events, migration discourses and policies, this chapter aims to emphasize the convergences and divergences of migration policy and migration discourse overtime. The chronological transition of global migration discourses and policies will be outlined according to Massey et al.'s (1998) division of the modern history of international migration into a: 1) 'mercantile period' (1500-1800), 2) 'industrial period' (1800-1925), 3) period of 'limited migration' (1925-1960s) and 4) 'post-industrial migration' (1960s-2000s).[99] Based on Faist's recognition of September 11, 2001 as an important turning point for its reinforcement of a "so-called migration-security nexus,"[100] 5) post-September 11, 2001 will be added as a final and current 'period' within which global migration patterns and policies will be considered. Although the post-September 11, 2001 securitization of migration[101] is not the focus of this research, current national migration policies around the globe reflect this overall securitization trend and migration management must therefore also be considered in this framework.

For each of the five turning points of migration, the historical trends in migration patterns and governance policies will first be identified, followed by an overview of the main international actors involved in global governance during more recent periods and their discourses on migration. This brief genealogy of migration trends and policy responses aims to illustrate how migration discourse has progressively transitioned – with the emergence of the processes of neoliberalism and globalization – from being perceived as something that must be controlled by individual nation-state governments to something that now should instead be managed by a multiplicity of diverse actors – including state and UN organizations, as well as other IOs and CSOs. Specific emphasis will be given to the existing global policies and frameworks on the implications of governance for refugees and asylum seekers. This will provide a better context for understanding the migration patterns and resulting policies towards these groups in Turkey and will provide historical insight into Syrians' current legal status of 'temporary protection.' To conclude, the historical patterns, convergences and divergences in migration and global events, as well as the governing strategies, identities, practices and actors

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[99] Massey et al, 1-2.

[100] Faist 2004, 1.

[101] Ibid., 2.

involved in migration 'control' and migration 'management' will be comparatively summarized.

3.1 1500-1800: 'Mercantile Period'

While people have always been geographically mobile, until the early 1800s migration was relatively limited.[102] Massey et al. (1998) categorize the period from 1500 to 1800 as being "dominated by flows out of Europe," including flows of agrarian settlers, administrators and artisans and entrepreneurs engaged in colonization and mercantilist capitalism.[103] At the same time, however, the Transatlantic Slave Trade was also an ongoing stimulator of mass migration, albeit forced. During this period an estimated 8,647,800 slaves embarked from various locations in Africa; only an estimated 7,331,800 disembarked.[104] The three countries receiving the highest numbers of slaves during this period were Portugal (which received an estimated 3.3 million slaves, most of whom continued on to Brazil), Great Britain (receiving almost 3 million slaves) and France (receiving almost 1.2 million slaves).[105] At the same time, within Europe, temporary labor migration and long-distance seasonal migration as well as movement of religious and political refugees were common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and receiving communities were generally welcoming to migrants.[106] Despite the labor migration resulting from economic shifts of the eighteenth and late nineteenth centuries, there was "little border control and [a] lack of bureaucratic and technical state capacities for such control."[107]

3.2 1800-1925: 'Industrial Period'

3.2.1 Migration Patterns: Rise of Regional and Global Migration

With the beginning of the industrial period in the early 1800s, widespread emigration of approximately fifty million people from Europe to the Americas and Oceania occurred prior to World War I.[108] During the nineteenth century, labor migration within Europe became more widespread, "involving ever-larger numbers of people," who "importantly shaped the economic and social life."[109] The 'in-migration' of religious and political refugees was also

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[102] Massey et al, 1.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Sassen, 9-10.

[107] Ibid., 3.

[108] Massey et al, 1; Sassen, 42-43.

[109] Sassen, 14; 9-10.

common and was considered "a positive matter" under mercantilist policy.[110] Although "governments were keen to hang on to their population,"[111] labor immigrants and refugees were not perceived as a threat.

In this period, the history of refugee movements also shifted. Sassen denotes 1848 as an initial turning point, "when the political refugee…was lost in a new crowd of displaced persons who were economic refugees without means."[112] This 'lost' sense of the political refugee also reflects the decreased stability of migration in the late nineteenth century as "the building of new cities, new factories, new railroads and tunnels, meant the destination [of migrants] were always changing."[113] During this period, the meaning of 'refugee' also changed. Prior to the 1800s, refugee "referred mostly to Protestants forced to leave France at the end of the seventeenth century."[114] In 1796, this understanding was extended "to anyone leaving his or her country in times of distress" and in Germany after 1870, '*Heimatslos*' (without a home) and '*Staatenlos*' (stateless) were used to denote refugees.[115] With the collapse of Empires' reshaping of physical borders based on conceptions of ethnic and nationalist belonging, those not fitting the newly selected ethnic framework in their country became displaced within their own borders - outsiders, although they had not physically crossed any borders at all. In response to this 'nationalist fever' across Europe at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, newly 'displaced' groups often migrated beyond new constraining physical borders and refugee flows increased as people became "less willing to be ruled by 'foreigners' than had been the case earlier."[116] 2.5 million Jews fled from Eastern Europe and hundreds of thousands of refugees emerged from the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and resulting nationalist battles, such as in the Balkans.[117] Population exchanges based on ethnic classification, such as the Greek-Turkish exchange in the mid-1920s, occurred with increased frequency. More commonly, ethnicity became a marker of allegiance and newly constructed the understandings of 'insider' and 'outsider.'[118]

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[110] Ibid., 11.

[111] Ibid., 12.

[112] Ibid., 33.

[113] Ibid., 34.

[114] Ibid., 35.

[115] Ibid., 35.

[116] Ibid., 37.

[117] Ibid., 77.

[118] Ibid., 77-78.

3.2.2 Migration Policies: The Beginning of Migration Control

Although labor migrants and political and religious refugees were welcomed into new mercantilist communities at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the reality of migration control had significantly changed by the end of the First World War. With increasing nationalism in the nineteenth century, states increasingly expressed and sought to defend their right to exclude non-subjects (and later non-citizens) from their borders and thus *control* migration based on the seventeenth century conceptualization of state sovereignty.[119] Such control was defended as a right and necessity for preserving national culture, defending liberal values and the rule of law, protecting the economic and social rights of its citizens and adhering to the principles and practice of democracy.[120] Under these precepts that supported states' rights to control immigration, migration policies began being overwhelmingly designed by and for the benefit of core developed countries that generally 'received' immigrants; population became "viewed as a vital element of national security" that must be protected and preserved.[121]

Membership and exclusion on the basis of ethnicity and nationality also became increasingly important, as evident in its use as the basis for population exchanges and restrictive immigration policies. In this period, for example, the United States of America's (US) immigration policies were racially and ethnically based, prohibiting naturalization of non-whites (Naturalization Act of 1790), immigration of Chinese labor migrants (1882 Chinese Exclusion Act) and immigration of "foreign contract workers to prevent them from being used as strike breakers."[122] The 1924 Johnson Act further restricted Jewish immigration and closed the US to "most transatlantic migration."[123] In response to the US's closure to immigration and the rise in migration in Europe, Western European states were forced "to address the matter of refugees coming from the east. They could no longer be simply shipped to America."[124] With this new reality and the hasty dissolution of states, neither labor migrants nor refugees were welcomed as they had been in the past.[125]

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[119] Taylor, 563.

[120] Massey et al, 1; Taylor, 566-570.

[121] Miller, 28-29.

[122] Ibid., 29.

[123] Sassen, 87.

[124] Ibid., 77.

[125] Ibid., 37.

By the end of the First World War, Western European states had increased their reliance on the interstate system and "had developed the full technical and bureaucratic capacities to control their borders and regulate a growing share of activities and events taking place in their territories."[126] Overall, migration policies of most core developed countries in this period shifted from minimalistic policies to a reliance on reactive, restrictive and closed-door policies for controlling migration – including implementing border control, internal law enforcement and measures against trafficking – but did not include complementary or proactive measures to address the root causes of migration, particularly employment supply and demands.[127] Similarly, these new policies were poorly equipped to address sudden changes or increases in migration, were costly, and furthered tensions between nations.[128]

3.3 1925-1960s: 'A Period of Limited Migration'

3.3.1 Migration Patterns: Postwar Refugee Flows

During this period of war and postwar, voluntary transatlantic migration was limited. The economic effects of war, the 1930s' economic crisis and Great Depression and restrictive immigration policies in the interwar period "stopped virtually all international movement…except for a small amount of return migration."[129] However, at the same time, movement within Europe intensified and became more common. The First World War's dissolution of the Czarist, Astro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires and the rise of "nationalism and ethno-religious enmity" in the process of new state-building[130] led to "huge flows of involuntary migrants,"[131] refugees, and displaced persons.[132] In the interwar period new political refugee flows of Italians escaping fascism and Germans escaping Nazism further increased mass expulsion occurring as part of the state-building processes.[133] Following the Second World War an additional estimated 60 million European civilians were forced to

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[126] Ibid., 5.

[127] Ghosh 2000b, 14.

[128] Ibid., 22-3.

[129] Massey et al, 2.

[130] Miller, 30.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Massey et al, 2.

[133] Sassen, 83; 90-91.

move.[134] In the postwar decade, 9.5 million people became refugees as persecution and expulsion continued in the postwar state-building process.[135]

3.3.2 Migration Policies: Stricter Control

With the beginning of the First World War, many core immigration countries, including the US, passed restrictive immigration laws as a further means to ensure their control of migration.[136] Following the war, states increasingly favored isolation and preferred restrictive immigration policies; when necessary, immigration regulation was achieved through bilateral treaties.[137] In Europe, the strengthening of border enforcement and increased reliance on the interstate system on the basis of nationalism and sovereignty became "the key to the creation of the stateless person, the identification of refugees as such, and their regulation or control."[138]

In response to this new reality of the stateless person, as well as the mistreatment of foreign and migrant laborers in the US – Mexican laborers participating in the Bracero Program and Japanese-Americans in Internment Camps – and those forced to work across Europe in labor and concentration camps under German rule during World War II, the post-war period saw an increased focus on human rights and an increase of international instruments and organizations regarding migration.[139] These new IOs aimed to serve as new models for international migration[140] while also contributing to the emergence of global governance as a new norm. Such organizations included the establishment of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in 1948, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees (UNRWA) in 1949, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in 1950 and the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) (the predecessor to the International Organization for Migration - IOM) in 1951.

3.3.3 A New Actor: The United Nations, Human Rights Framework and Asylum Law

This shift towards international organizations, instruments and benchmarking represented a new centralization on neoliberal global governance at which the UN was centered and included a focus on human rights and governing human mobility, particularly of asylum seekers and refugees. With the establishment of the UN in 1945, the UN would become

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[134] Ibid., 79.

[135] Ibid., 84.

[136] Massey et al, 2.

[137] Miller, 31.

[138] Sassen, 84.

[139] Miller, 31.

[140] Ibid., 31-2.

the umbrella intergovernmental organization guiding UN branch agencies and legal conventions and declarations. In 1948 the UN General Assembly's adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) both reflected a global concern and established a new global precedent for emphasizing human rights for all people. Regarding migration, UDHR Article 13(2) stipulates the freedom of emigration – "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country" – and Article 14(1) stipulates the right to asylum – "Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution." However, the specific stipulations accorded in the right to seek asylum remain unclear, particularly regarding when temporary protection can or should be administered. Despite such minor indiscretions, these articles have become the basis from which additional legislation regarding migrants, asylum seekers and refugees has been framed.

New intergovernmental cooperation also converged in its recognition of the refugee crisis resulting from the Second World War and the need to address refugee concerns. The International Refugee Organization (IRO) was first established in 1946 as a UN specialized agency to deal more in-depth with aspects relevant to refugees; the IRO was, however, unpopular among member states and in 1951 the UNHCR was instead established as an alternative, intended to operate only for three years. At its establishment, the UNHCR focused mainly on assisting European refugees who had fled from fascist and communist regimes[141] and the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees reflected these aims. The 1967 additional protocol removed the limitations of the definition of refugee by geography or time and the 1951 Geneva Convention and its protocol subsequently became "the key legal document in defining who is a refugee, their rights and the legal obligations of states."[142] Thus, a refugee came to be defined in Article 1 as any person who:

> …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.[143]

Additionally, in Article 7 the convention outlines that contracting countries must grant "refugees the same treatment as is accorded to aliens generally"[144] and further "binds

[141] Crisp 2003b, 76.

[142] UNHCR, "1951 Refugee Convention."

[143] UNHCR "Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees."

[144] Ibid.

signatories to observe the right of first asylum and the principle of 'non-refoulement.' "[145] As such, these international conventions came to serve as the basis for responding to migration and refugees at the national level.

Although sovereignty implied a nation-state's right to control immigration, the post-war human rights framework also emphasized emigration and freedom of movement as rights of every human,[146] creating 'liberal asymmetry' (Cole 2006) and disjuncture between receiving countries' sovereignty and the ability for migrants to enact their own rights to emigration.[147] This asymmetry is most evident in the increasing mobility of refugees and displaced persons, who have a right to emigrate from their country, but as recognized in General Comment 15 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, "it remains in principle a matter for the State to decide who it will admit to its territory."[148] Additionally, due to the unplanned costs and absence of necessary infrastructure for responding to sudden displacement of persons, receiving countries responding to humanitarian crises in the late twentieth century struggled to meet displaced people's needs. These struggles were expounded by countries' necessity to work in isolation due to the absence of well-coordinated efforts among countries.[149]

3.3.4 The Roots of the International Organization for Migration

Due to the struggles of countries to independently respond to these new patterns of migration, the ICEM was established in 1951 as an organization independent of the UN. The ICEM's aim was to resettle people displaced by the war; in the 1950s ICEM assisted approximately one million migrants with transportation needs. Later, in 1989, the ICEM changed its name to become the International Organization for Migration (IOM).

3.4 1960s-2000s: 'Post-industrial Migration'

3.4.1 Migration Patterns: A Global Phenomenon

In this period, according to Massey et al. (1998), "immigration became a truly global phenomenon."[150] Migration, while continuing as a local and regional event, also went global, as origins and destinations of migration began to change. As Massey et al. notes, "the global

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[145] Meissner, 74.

[146] UN General Assembly, "Universal Declaration."

[147] Kalm, 30-31.

[148] UN General Assembly, "International Covenant"

[149] Ghosh 2000b, 16.

[150] Massey et al, 2.

supply of immigrants shifted from Europe to the developing countries of the Third World."[151] European countries that had formally had net emigration to the Americas and other colonies began receiving immigrants in the 1960s and 1970s[152] as "new flows from North and West Africa as well as Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union" began.[153] During this period, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden all had guestworker or workforce migration programs and countries such as "Turkey, Morocco and Tunisia emerged as important labor-supplying countries" for such programs.[154]

In addition to an increase in labor immigration to post-industrial societies, the number of asylum seekers to Europe also rose in the late 1980s and early 1990s.[155] The collapse of the communist regime alone led to the east-west movement of 1.3 million people, contributing to the rise of asylum seekers.[156] Conflicts in Bosnia, Kosovo, the former Yugoslavia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Northeast Africa, Iraq and the Gulf further unpredictably displaced or spurred migration of millions of people around the globe, many with destinations of the US, Australia and European states. Overall, between 1965 and 1990, the absolute number of global migrants rose from 75 million to 120 million.[157] In Western Europe, for example, this rise in absolute migration translated into an increase in migration as a percentage of the total population from 3.6 percent in 1965 to 6.1 percent in 1990.[158] These shifts in migration patterns meant that migration now increasingly occurred from "densely settled" industrializing countries "to densely settled post-industrial societies."[159]

3.4.2 Migration Policies: Globalization and Post-Cold War Reconceptualization

The rise in global migration led governments and populations of receiving countries to respond more critically to immigration, both of labor immigrants as well as asylum seekers, particularly those from the former Eastern Bloc. As Sassen notes regarding the case of Europe, "by the mid-1980s anti-immigrant sentiments and fears of invasion were once again voiced

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[151] Castles and Miller 1993 in Ibid.

[152] Ibid.

[153] Sassen, 100.

[154] Ibid., 96.

[155] Ibid., 106.

[156] Ghosh 2000b, 6-7.

[157] Ibid.

[158] Ibid..

[159] Massey et al, 2.

even in relatively liberal countries such as France."[160] Anxiety only increased with the end of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the demise of communist systems in Eastern Europe,[161] as evident in the concerns of traditional core receiving countries included in the Group of Seven (G7), the European Economic Community (EEC) and EU regarding a possible wave of migration in the beginning of the 1990s.[162] Although these fears did not unfold as reality, they did, nonetheless, lead to a reexamination and reconceptualization of national security.[163] In Europe, this securitization of migration resulted in continued reliance on the interstate system[164] while also recognizing "the necessity of envisaging a more comprehensive right to mobility."[165] At the same time, the twentieth century's focus on economic liberalization, a greater reliance on a global market and the rise of economic interdependence have led states to agree to the "greater need for orderly movement of persons between societies for economic purposes."[166] Pellerin (2014) therefore categorizes the first half of the 1990s as the first period of global migration management. In 1993, the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) was established and the EU began discussions on migration and asylum.[167] Additionally, the IOM broadened its mandate in the 1990s.[168] However, despite this expansion of multilateral approaches to migration, "global governance of international migration was seen as an intrusion on national sovereignty."[169]

3.4.3 A New Discourse: 'Management'

Policy changes regarding migration and the introduction of 'migration management' at the end of the twentieth century must be understood in terms of the world political events overviewed in this chapter, as well as with the rise of a new discourse of 'management' in both the private and public sector. 'Management' emerged as a discourse in business and public administration in reaction to the financial crisis of the 1970s. Classical administration was criticized for its underperformance, "increasing fiscal deficits,"[170] inability to efficiently

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[160] Sassen, 100.

[161] Miller, 33; Pecoud and de Guchteneire, 5.

[162] Ghosh 2000b, 10.

[163] Miller, 33; Pecoud and de Guchteneire, 5.

[164] Sassen, 84.

[165] Pecoud and de Guchteneire, 1.

[166] Miller, 45.

[167] Pellerin, 42.

[168] Ibid.

[169] Newland 2010, 332.

[170] Homburg, Pollitt and van Thiel, 1, 4.

achieve the given rules and bureaucracy's identification as a "stumbling block to good governance."[171] As a result, in the 1980s and 1990s, reforms in both rhetoric and practice[172] "were introduced in Anglo-American democracies to transform traditional models of governing."[173] These reforms aimed to "improve the efficiency of government, strengthen the hand of elected politicians in shaping public policy, and enhance public participation."[174] Overtime, a new rhetoric of 'managerialism' rose in popularity, with which "concepts like efficiency, results orientation, customer orientation and value for money were placed on the agenda of administrative reform."[175]

Slowly 'new public management' also emerged as a new paradigm "in how the public sector is to be governed," emphasizing efficiency[176] and relying on contracting as "the medium of communication in the public sector"[177] and the 'horizontal'[178] involvement of a variety of actors beyond 'classical' government's political officials.[179] Slowly, this discourse of management was implemented in the public sector as governments around the world began "to experiment with and actually implement benchmarking, performance-related budgeting, accruals accounting, contracting-out, public-private partnerships and so on."[180] Although the implementation of new public management across countries has convergences in its focus on division and decentralization of the bureaucracy, emphasis on contracts, deployment of markets and attention for management systems, skills, measurement and quantification,[181] its appearance and implementation are different in each country, due to the concepts' adaptability, rather than its reliance on "a coherent set of ideas and tools."[182] In many countries the adoption of a 'management' discourse in the public sector has resulted in the outsourcing (and privatization) of public services in an attempt to decrease public expenses. In the case of 'migration management,' public responsibilities have also been outsourced to a range of

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[171] Peters and Savoie, 29.

[172] Homburg, Pollitt and van Thiel, 1.

[173] Peters and Savoie, 29.

[174] Ibid.

[175] Homburg, Pollitt and van Thiel, 1.

[176] Lane, 3, 9.

[177] Lane, 147.

[178] Howard and Phillips, 316.

[179] Peters and Savoie, 39.

[180] Homburg, Pollitt and van Thiel, 2.

[181] Ibid., 4-5.

[182] Ibid., 199.

agencies such as the IOM, UNHCR and CSOs which are now responding to governing processes (such as registration) as well as human rights and humanitarian needs of migrants.

Although the discourse of 'management' promotes 'horizontality,' intentionality of 'management' and new reliance on decentralization, "most government officials found no significant change" from the classical paradigm, in either accountability, performance or efficiency.[183] Academics recognize that "there has been little effort to specify the details of how horizontal programs could actually operate, beyond vague principles like collaboration, dialogue, incentives, learning, and mutual respect."[184] Very similar criticisms are also raised with regards to the extension of the rhetoric and discourse of 'management' to the concept of 'migration management' and its field.

3.4.4 A New Actor: IOM and Migration Management

It was in this Post-Cold War context that the term 'migration management' was first conceptualized. In response to the international migration system's difficulty of coping "with the new challenges that movements of people now entail,"[185] various global commissions, committees and directors expressed a newfound interest in creating "a comprehensive, multilateral approach to the management of international migration – and of greater awareness of the inadequacies of a unilateral, reactive, and essentially restrictive migration policy."[186] This led to IOM adviser Bimal Ghosh's conceptualization of the term migration management in 1993 and its use in a 1997-2001 IOM project, New International Regime for the Orderly Movement of People (NIROMP).[187] The vision for NIROMP rested on the "economic necessity of a shift from national migration policies to an international regime" for the post-Cold War globalization of migration.[188]

These new 'necessary' global rules and norms to address the potential post-Cold War migration crisis are outlined in Ghosh's edited 2000 book entitled, 'Managing Migration.'[189] The book proposes the creation of a liberalized General Agreement on Movements of People that would "provide an international regime for the movement of people" and would address

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183 Peters and Savoie, 35, 39.

184 Howard and Phillips, 318.

185 Ghosh 2000b, 6.

186 Ghosh 2000a, 1-2.

187 Geiger and Pecoud, 2; Kalm, 56.

188 Straubhaar, 111-112.

189 Geiger and Pecoud, 2.

economic and political aspects of migration.[190] Due to the ineffectiveness of the reactive and restrictive migration control policies of the twentieth century, Ghosh instead suggests that regimes "follow a pragmatic approach focusing on what is politically achievable and operationally viable" in the form of regulated openness, which would shun exclusion while also not advocating the liberal doctrine of free movement.[191] Effectively, 'regulated openness' would allow for the convergence of various modes of migration regulation and would effectively establish a transnational regulation of migration.[192] A supranational singular global regime is suggested to manage migration instead of increased regionalization or differentiation between economic and non-economic migration with the recognition that global migration is fueled by both economic and non-economic incentives and that flows of economic migrants and political refugees are commonly interwoven.[193] In the absence of a fully established international framework and UN institutions prepared to regulate migration in this way at the time,[194] the NIROMP emphasized the allocation of "a larger share of responsibility for ensuring the protection of forcibly displaced persons" to CSOs, particularly those focused on human rights and relief.[195]

The envisioned NIROMP aimed "to make movements of people more orderly, manageable, and productive and to provide, for this purpose, a comprehensive, multilateral framework which combines and balances the interests of all the parties involved."[196] Combined with the proposals of the NIROMP, Ghosh's conceptualization of 'migration management' thus relies on three pillars: 1) "To bring together and possibly harmonize the policies and interests of all states concerned with migration;" 2) the establishment of "a new international framework agreement on global mobility and migration;" and 3) an increased role "of actors other than governments, including intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, private companies and expert panels…in migration policy-making and whose activities were therefore to be better harmonized."[197]

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[190] Straubhaar, 130.

[191] Ghosh 2000b, 25.

[192] Overbeck, 64.

[193] Ghosh 1995, 407.

[194] Overbeck, 64.

[195] Loescher, 211.

[196] Ghosh 2000c, 221.

[197] From Ghosh (2000c) in Geiger and Pecoud, 3.

As conceptualized, this new international migration regime would eliminate "duplication of international responsibility,"[198] reduce avoidable costs or losses and reap gains by reducing "mismatch and tension in domestic labour markets and enhanc[ing] global economic growth and prosperity through a more efficient allocation of human resources," as well as subsiding "the growing fear...that movements of people are getting out of control."[199] Such a regime, argues Ghosh, would not intrude upon state sovereignty, but would instead function "as a mutually convenient agreement, freely negotiated by independent states, to enhance their common interest." [200] Such a regime, as envisioned by Ghosh, would supranationally aim to globally govern migration from a top-down approach.

3.5 Post September 11, 2001: 21st Century Migration

The post-Cold War problematization of migration that initiated the shift towards encouraging 'migration management' has not faded in the last two decades. Despite moves towards managing and de-stigmatizing migration through the creation of global consensus, what Faist (2004) terms a 'migration-security nexus' has been reinforced following September 11, 2001. This 'migration-security nexus' refers to the "connection between international migration, on the one hand, and human and state security, on the other hand" and reflects a heightened securitization of migration. [201] As such, following September 11, 2001, migration has increasingly been perceived as a threat to security and cultural identity as well as a global governance problem dominated by decisions and perspectives of developed nations.[202] Core receiving states continue to introduce "a barrage of measures intended to deter or prevent the arrival of people who intend to request refugee status" or seek employment.[203] Restrictive migration policies – including "visa requirements, carrier sanctions, preboarding documentation checks…and readmission agreements with transit countries"[204] – remain a reality and an obstacle to immigration. Rygiel further outlines how detention is now used "as a technology of citizenship to govern mobile populations and their rights to movement, with the effect of undermining established refugee rights to movement" in the case state of

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[198] Ghosh 1995, 415.

[199] Ghosh 2000c, 227-228.

[200] Ibid., 243.

[201] Faist 2004, 3.

[202] Munck, 1227-8, 1232.

[203] Crisp 2003b, 82.

[204] Ibid.

Canada.[205] The 'externalization' of migration is now becoming a common phenomenon in Europe as well.

Ghosh (2000) and others have heralded the idea that migration – when managed effectively and efficiently – can be a 'triple-win,' "benefiting all parties" involved, "including receiving states, sending countries and migrants themselves."[206] However, the reality of a 'triple-win' effect of migration is not clearly supported by actual data, and many countries – particularly core developed nations that typically receive migrants – are skeptical of the possibilities of migration management, although they also recognize the weaknesses of former reliance on control.[207]At the same time, as Castells (1998) outlines, the role of the state has been 'downsized' and instead management occurs multilaterally at both the global intergovernmental (UN, IOM) and local (government, civil society, migrant networks) levels [208] as well as through national state-level formal and informal cooperation in governing.[209]

3.5.1 Global Governance of Migration: A Need for a Global Migration Regime?

Advocates of migration's ability to have 'triple-win' effects commonly advocate the establishment of a global migration regime beyond the UN to most effectively 'manage migration.' Although the UN served as one of the main intergovernmental organizations framing refugee and asylum law following the Second World War, there is no UN branch solely and holistically responsible for the broad scope of migration. Additionally, there are critics who no longer view the UN frameworks established in the post-war era as relevant to twenty-first century patterns of displacement and also recognize that the UN - while a key actor in managing migration - does not meet all of the needs of twenty-first century problems. As Jeff Crisp (2013) notes: "Since the late 1980s, the political and economic underpinnings of asylum that existed in the 1960s and 1970s have been progressively dismantled;"[210] the Cold War context of refugee and asylum upon which the 1951 Convention and the UNHCR were established are no longer directly relevant today. Today's refugees are more commonly displaced as a result of violent armed conflicts or political persecution and funding for refugee assistance is no longer framed as an important component of fighting communism as a global

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[205] Rygiel, 212.

[206] Geiger and Pecoud, 9; See also Kalm (2010), Scheel and Ratfisch (2013).

[207] Munck, 1236.

[208] Castells 1998, 356-357.

[209] Miller, 39.

[210] Crisp 2003b, 77.

threat.[211] These changes in global politics and the nature of conflict from which refugees flee has also made it more "difficult to make a sharp distinction between 'refugees' and 'economic migrants.'"[212] Therefore, many advocate for movement away from strict categorization of 'migrants' as either 'economic migrants' or 'refugees.' Although such a movement would be helpful to no longer limit the categorization of migration as only economic or refugee, it would cause confusion regarding the rights of in-between migrants, such as asylum seekers. To minimize such possible confusion, Ruud Lubbers, former UNHCR Commissioner, has additionally suggested the creation of a complementary set of multilateral agreements, envisioned as a Convention Plus to the 1951 Geneva Convention to address new and relevant aspects of refugee movement with the creation of overarching policies.[213]

Others, such as Ghosh, advocate for the establishment of a global migration regime beyond the UNHCR. One such envisioned regime is the World Migration Organization (WMO), which has been proposed by Jagdish Bhagwati and Arthur Helton. This organization would be part of the UN system and would act similarly to the World Trade Organization, except with a focus on migration. Bhagwati argues that "such a central organization would be in a position to (i) compile existing migration laws and regulations and codify 'enlightened' immigration policies and best practices; and (ii) establish a comparative 'immigration scoreboard' showing the degrees of openness of different countries towards immigration, in order to pressurize countries with restrictive immigration policies to open up."[214] According to Ghosh, the creation of a WMO:

> …could be of enormous help in developing and negotiating the new international regime, including a set of agreed norms…if, and when a new migration regime is adopted by the international community, a strong international body will be needed to facilitate and oversee its application, monitor progress made and ensure all necessary follow-up action.[215]

The creation of a WMO is, however, only one policy option for establishing a global migration regime. As Newland (2010) overviews, other policy options include: "creat[ing] a new agency," "designat[ing] a lead agency from among existing agencies," "bring[ing] the IOM into the UN system," or creating a "coordination model" or a "leadership model."[216] She

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[211] Crsip 2003a, 5.

[212] Crisp 2003b, 81.

[213] Ibid., 87.

[214] Ghosh 2007, 111-112.

[215] Ibid., 112.

[216] Newland 2010, 338-339.

argues that currently, the creation of "an evolutionary model" based on consensus building, such as that established by the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD), holds the greatest promise.[217] However, governments seem reluctant to the establishment of a whole new global organization to deal with international migration[218] or to the cession of further power to such an organization.

The creation of any sort of global migration regime therefore remains criticized. Many - both academics and politicians - question whether there is even a need for such a regime for global migration governance. Therefore, it seems unlikely that such an organization will gain enough state support to be realized in the near future.

3.5.2 New Initiatives: Global Migration Management

Despite the absence of a supranational top-down global migration regime as envisioned by Ghosh or the clear emergence of any of the models outlined by Newland (2010), other state and UN-led initiatives on migration are occurring at the global level. These initiatives signify a new period for global migration governance, with broader multilateral efforts, more interconnection between initiatives and an increased coordination of state controls and a promotion of migration flows.[219] For example, in 1999, the UNHCR created the mandate of the Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of Migrants.[220] In 2001, the IOM established an International Dialogue on Migration.[221] In the same year the Swiss-led Berne Initiative was established and its 2004 publication – launched along with the ICMPD – *International Agenda for Migration Management*, aimed "to assist government migration practitioners in developing effective measures for the management of migration" through offering "a non-binding yet comprehensive reference system."[222]

In 2003, the UN established the Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM) "to place international migration on the global governance agenda." [223] An independent body, the GCIM set forth six Principles for Action regarding international migration. [224] Regarding governance of international migration, the GCIM recommended

[217] Ibid., 240.

[218] Ghosh 2007, 112.

[219] Pellerin, 42, 44-45.

[220] Newland 2010, 332.

[221] Ibid.

[222] The Berne Initiative, 4.

[223] Munck, 1227.

[224] Global Commission on International Migration, vii.

national governance based on agreed objectives, international community support for capacity-building and interstate cooperation based on bilateral agreements at the regional and global level.[225] Most notably, a 2005 publication states: "the Commission proposes to the UN Secretary-General the immediate establishment of a high-level inter-institutional group to define the functions and modalities of and pave the way for, an Inter-agency Global Migration Facility."[226] In 2006, this interagency group was organized as the Global Migration Group, which aims at "sustaining inter-agency cooperation" regarding international migration, as well as contributing to the GFMD.[227] The GFMD, with its first session held in 2007, serves as a venue for informal discussion of policies, challenges and opportunities among policy makers, CSOs and migrant organizations.[228] Just as the UNHCR now serves as the global refugee regime,[229] the GFMD functions as the global development regime. In 2013, the UN General Assembly additionally held its first High Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development and adopted an eight-point agenda on 'Making Migration Work.'[230] These formal and informal guidelines, forums, and dialogues are all pieces that comprise and contribute to global migration governance today.

3.5.3 New Decentralized, Local Actors: CSOs and Migrant Networks

In the absence of a global regime for international migration, filling the gap between national governance and international policies today remains largely a responsibility of CSOs and migrant networks. Migration networks have emerged as a means of connecting countries and facilitating transnational lifestyles among migrant groups as well as a means of facilitating further migration, particularly as people tend to migrate to places where family or friends may be already located.[231] With a trend towards increased privatization and governments' encouragement of cooperation with civil society and even non-governmental actors, CSOs have come to fill an increasingly larger responsibility for managing migration and in general contribute as important actors in global governance. CSOs range from national level initiatives that work closely with government and UN organizations to small, local or regional initiatives inspired by human rights or religious frameworks. Transnational non-governmental

[225] Ibid., 67-72.

[226] Ibid., 73.

[227] Global Migration Group.

[228] Global Forum on Migration and Development.

[229] Loescher and Miller, 189.

[230] United Nations General Assembly, "High-level meetings"

[231] Pecoud and de Guchteneire, 5.

organizations (NGOs, such as Amnesty International) further transverse this range through their work across the globe and beyond the national level.

Due to this broad range and diversity of civil society actors responding to migration, migration management requires moving beyond the global regime level to also consider national and local CSO initiatives and their roles in working with migrants and with the respective national government. In some countries, CSOs have even become the key actors responding to migrants and their needs. In Japan, for example, due to Japan's restrictive national policies regarding migrant support Dean and Nagashima (2007) argue that "until now the burden of responsibility for supporting asylum seekers and refugees in Japan has fallen upon NGOs."[232] Instead many academics and actors in the field suggest the possibility of burden-sharing, in which national governments and CSOs share responsibility in responding to migrants and their needs.[233] This, they argue, would facilitate "cooperation between different levels of government – and with the private sector and civil society,"[234] as a more sufficient response to migration at the local and national levels. This decentralization of migration would allow the engagement and cooperation of different levels of governance by encouraging governance from the bottom-up, in which information and data are shared from the local civil society and government levels and is passed to national and international decision makers; by incorporating local on-the-ground actors, this system of burden-sharing would improve the accuracy of and speed with which information is obtained among higher levels of governance. The role of civil society and migrant networks in bottom-up governance of migration will be further addressed in Chapter 7.

3.6 Conclusion: Governance of Migration Management

This chapter has aimed to outline both the consistencies and divergences in global migration patterns and policies over time. Although we tend to consider how our current global reality is unique from historical patterns, with regards to migration, the movement of people remains consistent. Whether voluntary or forced by external economic, environmental, labor, political or religious circumstances, whether transcontinental or from a neighboring village, whether through regular or irregular means, people have always been mobile. Furthermore, external actors - slave traders, mercantilist traders, Empires and later nation-states to name a few - have always sought to regulate movers and govern their migration.

However, within these consistencies of movement and an attempt to govern movement overtime there have been divergences shaped by local, regional and international

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[232] Dean and Nagashima, 504.

[233] Ibid.

[234] Papademetriou 1.

events such as drought, economic needs, famine, oppression and war. As a result, who has moved - by what means, to where, for how long and why - and which external actors have governed this migration and how, have altered, diverged and evolved overtime. For example, in examining the divergences in who moves and by what means, the emerging ability to migrate to more distant places more quickly has become more common since the invention of the steamship and long-distance railroad in the nineteenth century. As a result of advances in technology, for how long and to where people choose to migrate has also changed; today, movement of people, ideas, symbols, material and culture has become increasingly transnational as evident in the emergence of transnational corporations and families as a new norm.[235]

Who migrates has also changed overtime. As Castles and Miller (2009) note, migration has become feminized since the 1960s, when women began playing a "major role in labour migration."[236] Similarly, the majority of forced migrants - refugees, asylum seekers and those fleeing from conflict and violence - are women and children. In the twentieth and twentieth-first centuries, the movement of people is now more often the inevitable result of violent displacement of people on a large scale that consequently impacts global movement patterns and migration policies; as conflict and displacement spread beyond nation-state boundaries, why people move - the causes of migration - and how nation-states and other actors respond to migration have also changed overtime.

Divergences in who has governed and how they have governed migration throughout history reflect historic changes in conceptualizations and governance of space and population. As the space of governance has changed, so too has the governor: from feudal manors governed by the lord and the king, to the multi-ethnic Empire governed by an Emperor, to the uniform nation-state governed by a government to conduct the conduct of the state and its population. As the global political context has transitioned from a nation-state to a global system in the post-World War II and Cold War periods, our space of governance has moved beyond the nation-state level to a 'global,' 'multilateral,' 'neoliberal' or 'transnational' level. We are even governed by supranational entities as well, including the UN, multilateral corporations, transnational corporations, international organizations and the global economy.

These changes in models of governance and who governs overtime have also impacted how migration is governed and by whom. Although in the multi-ethnic Empire migration was welcomed and minimally governed locally, the rise of the uniform nation-state led to a transition towards governments' unilateral and bilateral control of migration through

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[235] Faist 2000, 11-15.

[236] Castles and Miller, 12.

apparatuses of nationalistic discourses, population exchanges and restrictive policies that confined movement based on the borders of nation-states and restrictions of ethnic belonging. With the rise of a supra- and transnational governing space, nation-states aim to manage migration through multilateral agreements, regional migration zones (EU), international organizations (IOM) and supranational entities (UN). At the same time, migration is also being governed from the bottom-up, from local and regional governmental and non-state civil society actors.

As these changes in governance reflect, the discourse towards migration has shifted overtime from one of welcoming the migrant to attempting to control the migrant. Today, as migration increasingly transcends nation-state boundaries,[237] the discourse towards governing migration focuses on 'management' - proactively governing migration from both the top-down and bottom-up levels of governance through new practices of benchmarking and the introduction of new international instruments and conventions. This discourse of 'managing migration' differs from the former discourse of 'controlling migration' in many ways, which are outlined in Table 1. As is clear in the table, the shift from approaching the governance of migration as a problem that needed to be 'controlled' to one that should be 'managed' is accompanied by changes in who governs migration (actors), how this governance is framed and discussed (discourses) and how it is governed (practices and instruments).

Global migration patterns and how they have repeated and diverged overtime have been considered in this chapter in the context of historical events and conceptualizations of governance. Overtime, models of governance have changed and as a result how migration is governed - and by whom - has also changed. As migration governance increasingly occurs at a global level, international and supranational actors increasingly influence and shape nation-states' governing policies and practices from the top-down. From the bottom-up, local and national migration patterns and the actors, discourses, practices and instruments governing the field of migration management vary from country to country. As a result of increased global governance of migration, in some countries migration discourses have led to new policies that now play an important role in managing migration patterns and governing migrants; in other countries, these policies are only newly emerging.

The next chapter will move from the global lens to zoom-in on one such country - Turkey. Turkey poses an excellent modern-day test for examining migration management. Not only has Turkey in the last fifty years adopted many international norms governing global migration, but it has also changed its own national policies and implementing instruments to reflect international and EU norms. This has led to the introduction of a new governmental

[237] Faist 2000, 11.

actor allocated to govern migration (the Directorate General for Migration Management) through coordinating across levels of governance and working together with local CSOs and academics as well as regional (EU), international (IOM) and supranational (UNHCR) organizations. Considering the global foundation laid forth in this chapter, the subsequent chapter now examines how these global transitions in migration patterns, governance and discourse have played out in the case state of Turkey since the founding of the Republic and how they continue to be framed by the global patterns, practices, discourses and instruments outlined above.

Table 1: The Transition in Migration Governance: from Control to Management

Discourse	'Control'	Transition	'Management'
Predominant periods	• 1800-1925 • 1925-1960s	1945-1990s	• 1990s-2000s
World Politics Context	• Rise of state nationalism • World War I and II • Cold War	Cold War	• Fall of the Soviet Union • Process of globalization
Actors	• Nation-states • Interstate system	Establishment of international organizations related to migration	• UN, UNHCR • IOM • EU, FRONTEX • CSOs/NGOs • Migrant networks
Discourses	• Nationalism • Sovereignty • Ethnicity, Race		• Globalism • Neoliberalism • Management
Practices	• Ethnic classification • Population exchanges • Exclusionary, restrictive policies and immigration laws • Increased border enforcement	Introduction of benchmarking	• Benchmarking • Visa requirements, carrier sanctions, preboarding documentation • Counter-trafficking • Detention • Externalization of migration
Instruments	• Bilateral treaties	Introduction of many international instruments, conventions	• Signing and Ratification of international instruments and conventions (See Table 2)
Related discourses	• Cold War: Arms *Control* • Gun *Control* • Crime *Control*		• Business *Management* • Information *Management* • Emergency, Disaster, Risk *Management* • New *Management* Practices

CHAPTER 4

MIGRATION PATTERNS, MANAGEMENT AND THE EUROPEAN UNION ACCCESSION PROCESS IN TURKEY

This research focuses on Turkey as a case state due to Turkey's current shifts in migration patterns and policies that reflect various aspects of global governance in multiple ways. Although Turkey is traditionally characterized as a 'sending' country of migration - particularly due to the large number and high profile of labor migrants and refugees emigrating to Europe in the second half of the 1900s - it has, in reality, long been a country of immigration, transit and asylum as well. From 1923 to 1997, more than 1.6 million people immigrated to Turkey.[238] The majority of immigrants were of Muslim ethnic groups and included many Turks returning from the Balkans, Caucasia and Central Asia from 1920-1950 and later from Bulgaria in the 1990s. Additionally, many Azeris, Ahiska Turks, Chechens, Iranians and Uzbeks transited through Turkey - especially prior to 1991 - before seeking asylum in a third country.[239] This use of Turkey as a transit country reflects the country's geographic location as a 'bridge' that has created a precedent for past and current asylum seekers from Africa, Asia and other Middle Eastern countries who continue to consider Turkey as a transit stop before seeking asylum or irregularly migrating on to third countries, with Europe often as the aspired destination.[240] Today, the particularly high rates of Afghani, Iraqi and Syrian transit through Turkey on their way to Europe epitomizes Turkey's important geographic function as a transit country. With relatively consistent patterns of immigration and transit immigration overtime, today, Turkey's migration patterns are diverging. Since the late 1980s, as labor emigration to Europe subdued and non-Turkish groups fleeing the Iranian Revolution in the 1980s and later the 1990-1991 Gulf War increasingly migrated to or through Turkey,[241] Turkey's net migration flows have begun approaching zero, meaning that the number of immigrants to and emigrants from Turkey are nearly equal.[242] Since the 2000s, immigration numbers to Turkey have even begun to surpass emigration rates and with high

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[238] Kirişci 2002, 11, 15.

[239] Ibid., 11-15.

[240] Ibid., 17-18.

[241] Seyhan, 188; Kirişci 2002, 27; Icduygu and Sert, 4; See also Law 5543, 2006 and Kirisci, 2003.

[242] Elitok and Straubhaar, 1-2.

rates of Syrian migration to Turkey since 2011, today, Turkey is newly emerging as a net immigration country.[243]

As migration patterns from, to and through Turkey have changed overtime, so too have the policies that the Turkish government applies to govern migration within its borders. In the early Republic, migration policies reflected the Republic's aim to foster state-building through the acceptance - and even promotion - of immigration of Muslim and ethnic Turkish groups.[244] With a shift in who was immigrating to Turkey from the 1980s onward, the Turkish government became increasingly 'unreceptive' towards such migrations.[245] As a result, migration policy became more restrictive with the issuance of a new immigration law in 1994. Since the 2000s, as Turkey has slowly emerged as a net immigration country and as it has begun its accession process to the EU, Turkish migration policies have also reflected these two realities. In the past fifteen years, Turkey has introduced a range of new migration policies, mechanisms and structures, all which aim to align Turkish national migration governance with that of EU - and international - norms.

Thus Turkey's changing migration policies become not only about EU Accession or changing migration patterns, but also come to reflect the demands and desires of global migration governance. EU and international conventions, treaties and norms are now reflected in the new national migration policies that the Turkish government is enforcing.[246] As such, the field of Turkish migration management lies within the broader field of global migration governance outlined in the previous chapter. By examining Turkey as a case, how a nation-state's migration management integrates top-down and bottom-up governance becomes clearer. Turkey's recent changes in both migration patterns and policies and the evidence of global governance impacts upon the nation-state and local level make Turkey an exemplary and timely case for examining governance in the field of migration management.

Moving from the broader lens of global migration governance and zooming in on the case state of Turkey, this chapter, therefore, aims to overview the genealogy of Turkey's migration patterns and migration policy. As in the last chapter, particular emphasis will be given to migration patterns of asylum seekers and Turkey's corresponding laws regarding asylum and refugees, since Syrians currently protected under temporary protection hold a legal status most closely aligned to these groups. Particularly since the 2000s, the international and

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[243] Elitok and Straubhaar, 1-2.

[244] Duvell, 42.

[245] Danis et al.

[246] Soykan 2010.

EU role in governing Turkey's field of migration management will be outlined, reflecting the reality of global migration governance.

4.1 1923-1960s: Immigration and the Early Republic

4.1.1 Migration Patterns

Particularly in the early years of the Republic, many Muslim ethnic groups and Turks from the Balkans, Caucuses and Central Asia[247] immigrated to Turkey. Immigration from the Balkans between 1923 and 1960 totaled 1,204,205, including 374,478 Bulgarian, 269,101 Yugoslavian and Macedonian and 121,351 Romanian immigrants.[248] In some cases, immigration also occurred as the result of formal compulsory population exchanges with other countries; the Greek-Turkish exchange in 1923 is most notable, as a result of which 407,000 Greeks immigrated to Turkey between 1923 and 1960.[249] Already in the early Republic Period, Azeris, Ahiska Turks, Chechens, Iranians and Uzbeks began using Turkey as a transit country[250] from which to settle in countries further west. Although these groups are not counted as immigrants – since they are granted neither legal status as immigrants nor aimed to stay here long term – and therefore statistics of recorded immigration and transit migration are unavailable, these early migratory patterns established a precedent for Turkey as a transit country that continues today. Throughout this period, irregular and seasonal labor migration were also common.[251] During and after the Second World War, Turkey also opened its doors to refugees from Europe, including providing "refuge to 800 German Jewish professionals and allow[ing] many others to transit the country" on their way to settle in Israel.[252]

4.1.2 Migration Policies

Global movements and national policies regarding immigration in the first half of the twentieth century often reflected the new importance of nationalism and sovereignty, the accompanying global 'un-mixing' of peoples[253] and encouragement of population exchanges, immigration and emigration on ethnic bases.[254] In its state-building process, the early Turkish Republic similarly aimed to boost its population and create "a homogenous sense of national

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[247] Kirişci 2002, 11.

[248] Andrews (1989) in Çavuşoğlu, 134; Çavuşoğlu, 133.

[249] Çavuşoğlu, 133.

[250] Kirişci 2002, 15.

[251] Ibid., 13.

[252] Erdem, 93.

[253] Marcus 1985 in Icduygu and Kirsci 2009, 2.

[254] Seyhan, 188.

identity in an otherwise ethnically and culturally diverse country."[255] As a result, immigration policies relied on a "nationalistic approach to migration and asylum issues"[256] that traditionally favored Muslim and ethnic Turkish groups.[257] This preference is outlined in the 1934 Law on Settlement (No. 2510), which "allowed only immigrants of Turkish descent and/or culture to settle in Turkey."[258]

As a signatory to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and having ratified the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its Protocol, Turkey's policy on asylum rested solely – until recently – on the basis of this Convention and Protocol. Although Turkey actively advocated for the Convention, including how to define a refugee and the inclusion of a geographical limitation that recognized only Europeans as refugees, Turkey did not ratify the convention until 1962. Accession to the 1967 Protocol occurred in 1968. Dates of Turkey's signature, ratification and accession of international laws are overviewed in Table 2.

Since Turkey maintains the geographical limitation that recognizes only Europeans as refugees, the Convention establishes a two-tiered asylum system in Turkey.[259] The first-tier relates to asylum seekers from European countries and "is deeply rooted in Turkey's role as a western ally neighboring the Soviet Union during the Cold War."[260] As a result, Turkey traditionally recognized only as refugees those coming from European countries; as a result, very few such asylum seekers stayed in Turkey during this period (except in the case of marriage with a Turkish national), and the majority instead resettled in third countries.[261] Turkey's second-tier of the asylum system developed in response to immigration of Iranians in the 1980s.[262] Prior to 1979, Turkish authorities generally "refrained from granting refugee status" to non-European groups and they were instead "allowed to stay in the country on an unofficial basis or have been allowed to benefit from the laws that allow people considered to be of Turkish descent to settle, work, and eventually obtain Turkish citizenship."[263] The

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[255] Kirisci 2007, 93.

[256] Soykan 2010, 219.

[257] Duvell, 42.

[258] Seyhan, 188; Kirişci 2002, 27; Icduygu and Sert, 4; See also Law 5543, 2006 and Kirisci, 2003.

[259] Kirişci 2002, 14.

[260] Icduygu and Kirisci, 15.

[261] Kirişci 2002, 14.

[262] Icduygu and Kirisci, 16.

[263] Ibid., 15.

exceptional status granted to these groups reflects the groups' Turkish ethnicity, their adherence to Islam as well as possible "political considerations and the fear of offending the governments of Azerbaijan, Russia and Uzbekistan."[264] However, this openness towards informal immigration began to change in the 1970s and 1980s.

Table 2: Turkey's Dates of Signature and Ratification or Accession of International Laws and Standards regarding Human Rights and Migration

	Turkey's date of signature	**Date of ratification or accession**
1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights	10. November 1948	
1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees		30 March 1962* (ratification)
1967 Geneva Protocol		31 July 1968* (accession)
1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights	15. August 2000	23. September 2003 (ratification)
Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights	3. February 2004	
1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights	15. August 2000	
International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families	13. January 1999	27. September 2004 (ratification)
Agreement on the legal status, privileges and immunities of the IOM		16. October 2003 (ratification)

**With geographic limitations*

4.2 1960s-2000s: Emigration, Asylum and Transit Migration

4.2.1 Migration Patterns

Turkey's characterization as a 'sending' country reflects the emigration from Turkey during the second half of the twentieth century. In the 1960s and 1970s labor emigration from

[264] Ibid., 15.

Turkey was high, particularly to Germany.[265] Later this emigration to Europe continued in the form of family reunification as well as the expansion of labor emigration to new emerging markets in Australia, Libya, Saudi Arabia and Iraq.[266] Following the military coup in Turkey in 1980 until the early 2000s, many asylum seekers also fled to Western Europe, "fleeing from the consequences of the Turkish military intervention in civilian politics and the increase in the violence surrounding efforts to suppress the PKK."[267] In the 1990s alone, "there were almost 340,000 Turkish citizens who applied for asylum in various European countries."[268]

However, immigration to Turkey also continued during this period and in the 1980s Turkey increasingly became a destination for migrants from "new regions of origin" and with new motivations for migration.[269] During this period, many immigrants to Turkey - both European 'Convention refugees' and non-European 'non-Convention refugees' - came fleeing political unrest or violence, in search of employment opportunities or for a mere stop along the way to a more distant destination; often these push and pull factors of migration overlapped.

The 1979 Iranian Revolution marks the 1980s as a turning point in Turkey's immigration patterns. During the 1980s, Turkey served as a transit country for up to 1.5 million Iranians, with individuals eventually continuing on to third countries in Europe and North America.[270] Subsequent regional conflicts, including "the 1980 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the 1980-88 Iran-Iraq War, the 1988 Halabja massacre" and the 1990 Gulf War resulted in additional regional "massive and sudden forced migration" to Turkey.[271] These events, their displacement of large numbers of people, and the role of Turkey as a transit stop en route to third country destinations became the precedent for asylum seekers from Africa, the Middle East and Asia using Turkey as a transit country until today.[272]

The dissolution of the Soviet Union also contributed to increased immigration of asylum seekers and labor migrants into Turkey during this period. From 1970 to 1997, Turkey

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[265] Ibid., 11.

[266] Ibid., 11; Icduygu and Kirisci, 4-5.

[267] Brewer and Yükseker, 649: Icduygu and Kirisci, 5; PKK is the abbreviation for the Kurdistan Worker's Party.

[268] From UNHCR The State of the World's Refugees: Fifty Years of Humanitarian Action (New York: Oxford University Press for UNHCR, 2000) in Kirişci 2002, 11.

[269] Danis et al, 443.

[270] Erdem, 95.

[271] Danis et al, 462.

[272] Kirişci 2002, 17-18.

granted protection to 13,500 European first-tier asylum seekers under the 1951 Convention.[273] In addition to those granted official protection, 300,000 Turks and Pomoks returned to Turkey after being expelled from Bulgaria in 1989, and between 1998 and 1999, an additional 20,000 Bosnians and 17,000 Kosovars were granted temporary asylum and protection in Turkey.[274] In the 1990s, with the dissolution of the Soviet Union, individuals from Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Moldova, Romania, Russia and Ukraine also increasingly overstayed their visas in Turkey, engaging in irregular "trade and other economic activities," such as farming, construction and domestic work in middle class homes in the west of Turkey.[275] From 1989 to 1996, the number of such economic migrants increased from under half a million to over 1.6 million, a number that includes many young women coming to work in the entertainment, prostitution, tourism and domestic sectors.[276] Kaska (2005) estimates this number remained between 1.3 and 1.4 million in 2000.[277]

Another significant group of immigrants to Turkey emerging in this period originates from Western Europe. As Elitok and Straubhaar (2010) outline, the Western European immigrant group is comprised of European retirees settling in the Aegean, returning Turkish retirees and "highly-skilled migrants with Turkish background" (e.g. German-Turks) as well as expatriate workers and professionals migrating for work-related reasons and students coming for educational purposes.[278] As of 2007, their numbers were estimated between 100,000 and 120,000.[279]

4.2.2 Migration Policies

As a result of these new and increasing patterns of migration in "seeking protection from political persecution and violence," transiting irregularly, seeking economic opportunities and returning or retiring from Western Europe at the end of the twentieth century,[280] Turkish immigration policy was also changed in this period. With increased immigration of non-Turks and non-Muslims, the 1980s mark "a striking shift in the immigration history of Turkey"; rather than being welcomed under the auspices of ethnic,

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[273] Kirişci 2007, 94.

[274] Erdem, 94.; Kirişci 2007, 93-94.

[275] Sahin-Mencütek, 149; See also Kaska, 740.

[276] Sahin-Mencütek, 149.

[277] See Kaska 2005, 2 in Sahin-Mencütek, 149.

[278] Elitok and Straubhaar.

[279] Kirişci 2007, 94.

[280] Icduygu and Sert, 3.

religious and linguistic ties, most migrants post-1979 “were ‘uninvited’ and unwelcome.”[281] The Turkish government’s ‘unreceptive attitude’ towards these new and increasing patterns of immigration was reflected in the issuance of a new immigration law in 1994.[282] The ‘Regulation on the Procedures and Principles Related to Mass Influx and Foreigners Arriving in Turkey or Requesting Residence Permits with the Intention of Seeking Asylum from a Third Country’ placed a number of pre-conditions for asylum applicants as well as requiring both Europeans and non-Europeans to apply for residence permits during their stay.[283] The law emphasized security rather than human rights and was therefore criticized for “undermining the rights of asylum seekers and refugees by denying them access to asylum procedures or failing to provide them adequate protection by violating the principle of *non-refoulement*.”[284]

A new emphasis on the securitization of migration also increased political, social and media attention and denigration of asylum seekers, transit migrants and irregular migrants to Turkey. This is evident in Turkey’s argument “that they had no obligation to recognize asylum seekers reaching Turkey via third countries” as well as the increased governmental and societal discourse of such asylum seekers as ‘illegal.’[285] With this securitization perspective towards migrants who would previously have been considered asylum seekers, apprehensions of irregular migrants began to occur more frequently; from 1995 to June 2006 “180,000 nationals of Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, and Syria” were apprehended.[286] The governance of migration also began to change as the Turkish National Police and other officials working on issues of asylum began participating in training programs and increasingly working together with civil society actors.[287]

4.2.3 Turkish Migration Policy in an EU Context

Turkey’s recent migration policies changes have developed in response to international events and global trends. Since 1999, when Turkey began its EU Accession process, the EU has played a major role in recommending and defining how Turkey should govern its population to align with EU and international policies, including in the field of migration. This internationalization and Europeanization of the governance of Turkey’s

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[281] Danis et al, 461.

[282] Ibid..

[283] Kirişci 2002, 20; Kirişci 2014, 7.

[284] Kirisci 2014, 7; Kirişci 2007, 95.

[285] Kirişci 2002, 19.

[286] Kirisci 2007, 94.

[287] Ibid., 95.

migration management field will be outlined in section 4.3.2; here, the historical emergence of the EU's migration governance prior to Turkey's beginning of the accession process will be highlighted. As a geographically designated economic and political union, the EU's focus on migration has become an increasing concern for its preservation of economic and political stability in the past thirty years. Following the oil crisis in 1973 and the halting of the European guestworker programs in which many Turks had participated, EU member states increasingly established "restrictive immigration policies that aim to control unwanted flows."[288] Irregular migration to Europe, however, did not decrease as a result of these restrictions.[289] In the mid-1980s, the "idea of a common European immigration policy began" both as "a response to the changed nature of migration to EU countries and a consequence of EU integration itself."[290] As a result, in 1985, France, Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Belgium established the Schengen Agreement, beginning "the process of establishing common policies on asylum, immigration and visas, police cooperation and the exchange of information between national immigration and police authorities."[291] The law fully came into force in 1995, and by then "all member states, except the UK and Ireland, joined the agreement."[292] In 1999, the Amsterdam Treaty additionally "moved the asylum and immigration issues from third pillar to first pillar, which requires supra-national cooperation instead of an inter-governmental approach, and was the time for laying down the principles of a common EU asylum and immigration policy."[293] As a result, the European Council "underlined the importance of readmission agreements with third countries and the obligations of those countries towards the Union in combating human trafficking" and aimed at 'management of migration flows.'[294] It was in this context that Turkey began its accession process towards becoming a member state of the EU in the 2000s.

4.3 2000s: 'Net Immigration'

4.3.1 Migration Patterns

As outlined above, the increase in immigration as well as the decline in labor emigration in the late twentieth century marked a shift that continues to contribute to Turkey's

[288] Soykan 2010, 207, 210.

[289] Ibid.

[290] Moraes, 117.

[291] Ibid.

[292] Soykan 2010, 211.

[293] Ibid., 215.

[294] Ibid., 215.

reality as an immigration country in the new millennium.[295] The new economic, asylum, irregular and leisure migration from new countries of origin that rose at the end of the 1990s has continued in the new millennium. For example, irregular migration has continued to rise since 2000 and in 2007, the number of irregular immigrants in Turkey was estimated between 150,000 and 1 million.[296] Parallel to the rise in irregular migration, apprehensions of irregular migrants are also increasing. According to Wissink et al (2013), 56,219 irregular migrants were apprehended in 2003 and the subsequent years saw even higher numbers of apprehensions: 61,228 apprehensions in 2005, 64,290 in 2007 and 65,737 in 2008.[297] Thereafter, however, these apprehensions decreased, with only 34,345 apprehensions in 2009, 32,667 in 2010 and 44,415 in 2011.[298] Additionally, as a result of the 1990 and 2003 Gulf Wars by 2007 there were 10,000 Iraqis living in Turkey.[299] Overall, with an increase in economic, educational and irregular migration during this period, Turkey's net migration has been approaching zero since the 2000s, signifying a new reality of Turkey as an immigration and transit country.[300]

4.3.2 Migration Policies: Turkey's EU Accession Process and National Reforms

With the EU's declaration of Turkey as a candidate country in December 1999, the subsequent accession partnership document adopted in December 2000 and the national program issued in April 2001 have outlined the requirements for reform to which Turkey must adhere before becoming an EU member state. Like all candidate countries, Turkey must adopt the EU *acquis* on asylum and harmonize its practices with EU Justice and Home Affairs issues (including asylum, irregular migration and visas).[301] Additionally, the EU stipulated that Turkey pass a law regulating refugees and removing the geographic limitations of the 1951 Convention and its Protocol. Annually, Turkey's progress towards fulfilling these demands is summarized in the EU Action Plans and Regular Progress Reports. Since the onset, Turkey's need to "decrease the number of illegal entrants trying to reach Western European countries" has been a main concern for the EU.[302] For example, in 2003, the EU Action Plan:

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[295] Duvell 2014, 37.

[296] Kirisci 2007, 93.

[297] Wissink et al, 1088; See also *Mülteci-Der* Report (2010).

[298] Ozcurumez and Yetkin, 447.

[299] ORSAM, 17.

[300] Elitok and Straubhaar, 1-2.

[301] Kirişci 2002, 8.

[302] Commission of the European Communities, 47.

> …called for further actions such as setting up a specialized unit in the field of migration and asylum, establishing a country of origin system, building reception, return and accommodation centres for asylum seekers, enacting an Asylum Law together with a Law on Aliens, establishing an integration system for asylum seekers and migrants, and lifting the geographical limitation in line with the completion of the EU accession negotiations.[303]

The 2005 Action Plan further outlined the tasks and timetables for establishing such a "fully fledged national status determination system."[304]

As Elitok (2013) points out, "Turkey's long-standing gaps coincided with the prerequisites of EU membership, and this combination caused an evaluation of Turkish migration policy,"[305] which has resulted in a transformation of these policies since the beginning of EU accession. These transformations - in the form of signature to international conventions, readmission and visa liberalization agreements, participation in reform initiatives and the formation of new structures for governance and the passage of new migration related policies - are evidence of the internationalization and Europeanization of Turkey's migration governance to align with EU prerequisites for membership. The significant number of bilateral agreements, initiatives and enforcement of new national policies that Turkey has undergone as part of this Europeanization process is evident in Table 3.[306]

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[303] See Ay 2005, 49 in Soykan 2010, 221.

[304] Kirisci 2007, 96.

[305] Elitok, 165-166.

[306] Soykan 2010, 221; Elitok, 163; Elitok and Straubhaar, 7.

Table 3: Turkish Bilateral Agreements, Initiatives and National Policies Concerning Migration since 2000s

Year	Agreements		Initiatives	New National Policies (Law No.)
	Readmission	Visa		
2000-2004	Greece, Syria, Krgystan, Romania		**2004:** Asylum-Migration Twinning Project with Denmark and England	**2003:** Work Permits for Foreigners (4817); Foreign Direct Investment Law (4875)
2005-2009	Ukraine		**2008:** National Bureau for Asylum and Migration founded	**2006:** New Settlement Law (5543) **2009:** Turkish Citizenship Law (5901)
2010-2014	Bosnia, Herzegovina, Moldova, Nigeria, Pakistan, Russia, Yemen, European Union	Albania, Azerbaijan, Jordan, Libya, Lebanon, Syria, Tajikistan	**2013:** GDMM founded	**2014:** Law on Foreigners & International Protection (6458)

The number of new national laws concerning migration that were passed in the 2000s are significant for their reflection of EU requirements for Accession. The 2003 new law on 'Work Permits for Foreigners' (No. 4817) eased foreigners' ability to work in Turkey.[307] The 2006 new Settlement Law updated the 1934 Settlement Law, although it does continue "to limit immigration to Turkey to individuals and groups of 'Turkish descent and culture.'"[308] Simultaneously, Turkey has been moving towards the creation of a new law on asylum. As part of the process towards the new law Turkey took part in an Asylum-Migration Twinning Project[309] with Denmark and England in 2004, which produced a 'National Action Plan on

[307] Icduygu and Sert, 4.

[308] Kirisci 2007, 96.

[309] According to the European Commission "European Neighbourhood Policy" website, Twinning projects are "an instrument for the cooperation between Public Administrations of EU Member States (MS) and of beneficiary countries…to provide support for the transposition, implementation and enforcement of the EU legislation (the *acquis*)."

Asylum and Migration (NAP)' as the basis for the 2014 'Law on Foreigners and International Protection' (No. 6458). In moving forward with the new law's drafting, in 2008 a national Bureau for Asylum and Migration was additionally established under the Under Secretary of the Ministry of Interior. The Bureau was "mandated with preparing new, modern, and comprehensive migration legislation and administration that would better serve Turkey's interests, meet EU requirements and response to the often critical ruling of the European Court of Justice."[310]

With these steps towards alignment with EU migration policies, Turkey's migration policies have become increasingly Europeanized since 2000; both the EU accession requirements and Turkey's reality as an immigration country continue to frame Turkey's project of "establishing a migration-management regime."[311] At the same time, however, Turkey also maintains "international political and economic interests beyond the EU," some of which continue to conflict with the EU requirements to adopt the EU migration policies and visa country list.[312] As Turkey continues to pursue its goal of the early 2000s to become an EU member state, further reforms - especially the lifting of the geographic limitation - still remain to be realized.

4.4 Since 2010: Today's Migration

4.4.1 Migration Patterns

While immigration patterns emerging in the 2000s have continued since 2010, the most significant immigration to Turkey since 2010 is related to the "mass migration from Syria triggered by the uprisings and the civil war" that started in the spring of 2011.[313] As violence broke out in Syria, Syrians began entering Turkey in April 2011 and in October of the same year Turkey announced an open door policy, offering Syrians 'temporary protection' and welcoming them to the country as 'guests.' As of the end of August 2015, Turkey hosted 1.9 million registered Syrians, more than any other country.[314] As of mid-2014, Turkey was the fourth largest recipient country of refugees in the world.[315]

Syrians in Turkey live across the country, both in cities and in camps established to host them. As of February 2015, there were twenty-five nationally-administered refugee

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[310] See Acikgöz and Ariner in Duvell, 42.

[311] Içduygu and Sert 2009, 8.

[312] Duvell, 42.

[313] Icduygu et al, 4.

[314] UNHCR: Refugee Regional Response.

[315] UNHCR: Mid-Year Report 2014, 5.

camps for Syrians in Turkey and an additional two camps were being constructed. The majority of camps are "concentrated in five provinces adjacent to Syria: Hatay, Kilis, Gaziantep, Sanliurfa and Mardin." [316] An estimated 76 percent of Syrians in Turkey, however, live outside of the camps and therefore "lack formal access to assistance for shelter, health and food."[317] In border provinces, Syrians residing in camps and cities now form large minorities and have become the majority in some border cities.[318]

Without any end to the violence in Syria in the near future, the mid to long-term future of Syrians in Turkey - as well as the present response - remains a main social, political and economic question being raised by politicians, citizens and academics alike.[319] Particularly in the border provinces, the high numbers of displaced Syrians - and in some cases, emerging majorities - has led to raising costs of rent and basic goods, work competition and increased ethnic and religious tensions and asymmetry.[320] As marriages among Syrians and Turkish citizens and the number of Syrians born in Turkey increase and the residence of Syrians in Turkey continues, whether Syrians could or will become Turkish citizens through marriage or extended-stay is increasingly a main question raised in political and civilian arenas.[321]

Syrian movement to Turkey is significant for its timing, its size, and the granting of temporary protection to such a large group.[322] The timing of Syrian movement to Turkey is significant since Turkey is currently in the process of reforming its migration laws to harmonize and align with EU and international regulations. While dealing with Syrian movement into the country, Turkey is at the same time working to implement a new migration law enforced in April 2014 - the Law on Foreigners and International Protection - that also changes who coordinates processing, registration and services of migrants and how this is accomplished. The size of Syrian movement to Turkey is significant because it is one of the largest groups of immigration that the country has seen since the early Republic's return of ethnic Turks from surrounding parts of the Ottoman Empire or the transit of Iranians in the 1980s; Syrian movement also represents one of the largest groups of immigrants of whom the majority are ethnically non-Turkish. The significance of immigration of a group of this size -

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[316] Kirisci 2014, 11.

[317] Ibid., 15.

[318] Ibid., 11.

[319] Cagaptay and Menekse, 6.

[320] Ibid., 8, 10.

[321] Ibid., 10.

[322] Kirisci 2014.

and at a time when migration policy and structure are already underway - is further accelerated by the Turkish governments' decision to grant Syrians the legal status of 'temporary protection.' As neither refugees nor future citizens, this legal status places Syrians in a unique in-between position of 'protracted uncertainty' regarding their future place in Turkish society.[323]

4.4.2 Migration Policies: the Syrian Crisis and Law 6458

The granting of 'temporary protection' to Syrians and today's regulation of who governs Syrian migrants and how, reflect the new policies of Law 6458 - the Law on Foreigners and International Protection - that entered into force in April 2014. Prior to this law, in its initial response to the beginning of the conflict, the Turkish government "designated the Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD) as the lead organization to coordinate the response to the crisis" in May 2011.[324] Although "AFAD took the initial lead in arranging for shelters for the first group of refugees" the Directorate General for Migration Management (GDMM) established under the 2014 Law on Foreigners and International Protection is newly responsible for managing Syrians in Turkey, particularly with regards to registration.

As the first Syrians fled to Turkey in 2011, the Law on Foreigners and International Protection was being prepared by the Bureau for the Development and Implementation of Asylum and Migration Legislation and Strengthening the Administrative Capacity. This Bureau, "founded under the Ministry of Interior in accordance with Turkey's EU accession process,"[325] demonstrates the direct results of Europeanization on Turkey's migration reform. The new law has a broad scope, regulating "both international protection and the statuses and the rights of foreigners in the country."[326] The law "repeals the provisions of the Law on Residence and Travel of Aliens in Turkey (Law No. 5683) entirely and the Passport Law (Law No. 5682) partially."[327] In addition to harmonizing visa policy and residency permit requirements for tourists and long-term visitors to the country, the law is significant as the "first law regulating practices of asylum in Turkey."[328] As such, the new law is an important

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[323] Biehl 2015.

[324] Ibid., 14.

[325] Soykan 2012, 38.

[326] Ibid., 41.

[327] Icduygu et al, 7.

[328] Soykan 2014, 41.

step in improving Turkey's preparation and ability to more efficiently manage the problematic aspects of migration as well as benefit from migration to Turkey.[329]

Regarding asylum, the law "defines the rights that asylum seekers and recognized refugees will enjoy with respect to access to public services including employment," the right of asylum seekers "to access to asylum as well as judicial appeal procedures," and places the administration of the new asylum status determination system under the auspice of the newly established GDMM.[330] The law further allows for the Turkish asylum system's management to "be taken over by a civil authority under the Ministry of Interior and a standardized practice will be ensured across the country."[331]

The law and its "new framework that it committed to introduce are rather 'participatory'" and increase multilateral and multi-tiered decision-making and implementation.[332] Even in the formation of the law, "for the first time NGOs [non-governmental organizations] and academics were not only observers of the process but active participants in the decision-making process" and the number of involved actors has increased in the application of the law's regulations.[333] For example, the law authorizes the GDMM's cooperation with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), International Organization for Migration (IOM), and "other institutional organizations and non-governmental organizations," which "should enable a better coordination to emerge."[334] This authorization - and its inclusion in the new law - reflects the global migration management discourse that also encourages and fosters such multi-level coordination with regards to managing migration (See Chapter 3). Additionally, the law creates a Migration Policy Board and Migration Advisory Board, respectively, for determining "Turkey's migration policies and strategies" (Article 105(3)) and to "monitor migration practices and make recommendations; consider new regulation in planning in the field of migration…consider legislation and implementation related to migration" (Article 114(3)). These boards' terms of reference "are open to the idea of cooperation with the international community"[335] and aim to help facilitate the cooperation envisioned as a core component of

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[329] Duvell 2014, 42-42.

[330] Kirişci 2014, 9.

[331] Soykan 2012, 41.

[332] Elitok, 167.

[333] Ibid.

[334] Kirişci 2014, 37.

[335] Ibid.

the GDMM. This focus on coordination with other actors - civil society organizations, migrant networks and research centers - means "government is no longer the sole actor of governance."[336] Instead, migration management in Turkey is increasingly multi-leveled and multi-structured. Furthermore, the "increased involvement of multiple actors"[337] reflects the reality of multilateral migration governance, while also reflecting the demands of global – and European – harmonization processes.

The law as well as Turkey's additional readmissions agreements (See Table 3),[338] is a significant initiative in the Europeanization of Turkish immigration law, as "the law meets practically all the EU's requirements, including the establishment of a specialised agency to deal with the reception of asylum-seekers and process their applications as well as the incorporation of the existing EU *acquis* in this area."[339] As a new specialized agency focused solely on migration, the GDMM has re-conceptualized how the national Turkish government coordinates migration governance - and between whom. Furthermore, the scope of the directorate even extends beyond the national level with the opening of new offices in all eighty-one provinces and moves beyond the governmental framework by encouraging collaboration with civil society organizations, academic institutions and international and supranational organizations, both public and private.

The design of the new law and the establishment of a new directorate and overall structure for the governance of migration management in Turkey aims to fulfill EU accession requirements. Government publications, for example, even recognize that the new law is the response to legal motivations (*hukuki etkenler*) and the EU harmonization process.[340] The EU, in its 2014 Progress Report, also recognizes the new law and the establishment of the GDMM as "a substantial step towards alignment with EU standards on international protection"[341] that has 'moderately advanced' "alignment in the area of justice and home affairs."[342] The only EU requirement left unfulfilled by the new law is a lifting of the geographical limitation of the 1951 Geneva Convention that limits 'refugees' to include only people displaced from Europe. Although the law is heralded for its harmonization with EU and global migration policies,

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[336] Elitok, 167.

[337] Ibid., 167.

[338] Ibid., 163.

[339] Aydin and Kirisci, 375-6.

[340] İçişleri Bakanlığı 2014, 'Göç', 14.

[341] European Commission, 64.

[342] Ibid., 68.

from a human rights standpoint, the law still has legal shortcomings, including its allowance for administrative immigration detention in Turkey, detention for irregular migrants, and its adoption of concepts of "first country of asylum or a safe third country."[343]

For Syrians migrating to Turkey in the past four years, the new law is significant for its definition of 'temporary protection,' the legal status under which Syrians are permitted to enter and stay in the country. Under Article 91 of Law 6458, temporary protection is granted "for foreigners who have been forced to leave their country, cannot return to the country that they have left, and have arrived at or crossed the borders of Turkey in a mass influx situation seeking immediate and temporary protection." As such, under 'temporary protection,' Syrians' admission to Turkish territory is unobstructed, forced returns are not permitted and basic needs, including shelter, food and medical support, are legally being granted.[344]

4.5 Conclusion: Turkey's Migration Governance

With currently changing migration patterns, policies and governance structure that reflect the broader global trends in migration patterns, policies and governance, Turkey is a relevant modern-day case for examining how migration management occurs within a nation-state and by whom - and at what levels - this management is governed. As a country formed following the First World War and during a global rise of nationalism and emphasis on state-building, the Turkish Republic's early migration policies reflected early twentieth century redefinitions of belonging and an encouragement of migration policies that strengthened national and ethnic uniformity. As immigration patterns transitioned in the 1980s and 1990s to also include more non-Turkish movers, Turkey's migration policies became more restrictive, controlled and securitized - as evident in the 1994 Asylum Law, - a governance approach that reflects global migration discourses, trends and governance. Today, Turkey's changing migration policies are also a result of internationalization, Europeanization and globalization of migration governance as evidenced in Turkey's discourses emerging since the 2000s that focus on securitization and 'illegal' migration as well as a reform and harmonization of its national migration policies. As it aims to fulfill its EU Accession requirements, the Europeanization of Turkish migration policies is most recently evident in the enforcement of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (Law 6458), which establishes Turkey's first asylum law as well as fulfills many requirements of the EU Justice and Home Affairs. The increased role of EU and United Nations (UN) actors on national policies reflects one way

[343] Soykan 2012, 43.

[344] RSN 2014b.

in which global governance and its accompanying increased role of influence from beyond the state have evolved in Turkey.

With March 2015 marking the beginning of the Syrian war's fifth year, the need for adequate programs and funding for displaced Syrians is only increasing. Due to its geographic border-sharing with Syria and its potential for serving as a geographic transit point to move onwards to Europe, Turkey has received more Syrians seeking refuge than any other country. Combining with international and local civil society support since 2012, the Turkish government has been attempting to best coordinate its national response to Syrian movers, although it often criticizes that the EU and international community should do more.[345] In addition to offering insight into the models of global governance of migration and how this governance is influential at the national and local level, examining Turkey's management response regarding Syrians is both timely and relevant for understanding how the international community is now responding to Syrian movement into Europe and across the world.

Part I of this text has overviewed the genealogies of the concepts of global governance and migration management as well as the global and Turkish contexts of migration patterns and governance. Today, global migration patterns and international apparatuses of governance - such as international norms, conventions, treaties, and discourses - influence and shape national governance as well. In the case state of Turkey, since the 2000s the Europeanization and internationalization of migration governance in the country have been particularly high as Turkey aims to align its migration management with global - and European - migration governance standards. At the same time as Turkey reforms and restructures its migration governance model, it is also responding to the immigration of an estimated 1.9 million displaced Syrians. How, then, is Turkey managing Syrian migration? Who are the main actors engaged in this management and how do they govern? Is there evidence of global governance engaged in this national level response as well? Is this enough to meet the needs of Syrians?

Part II of the text will turn to examine these research questions more closely by examining the actors playing a significant role in Turkey's migration management field and analyzing how they cooperate and compete in their coordination efforts. Closing the curtain on Act I, the stage has been set with the theoretical and historical global contexts amidst which Turkey's current migration patterns, management and governance must be understood and framed. Act II will, in turn, examine and analyze the present-day migration management field in Turkey and its response to a new migrating group at various levels of governance: the governmental (Chapter 5), the supra- and international (Chapter 6) and the civil societal (Chapter 7). Through examining the various types and levels of actors involved, Part II

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[345] See Davutoglu, "Turkey cannot deal with the refugee crisis alone."

presents how global migration governance is evident in the specific governance of Syrians in Turkey’s migration management field.

CHAPTER 5

GOVERNMENT ACTORS IN TURKISH MIGRATION MANAGEMENT

Migration control and the formulation of effective migration policies have historically been categorized as the responsibility of sovereign national governments. As a result, governments previously worked solitarily and later bilaterally to formulate appropriate emigration and immigration policies with other countries of concern. In an era of global governance, however, such exclusive isolated or bilateral work of national governments is no longer a reality. Instead international migration has become a multilateral affair and national migration regulations similarly include a multitude of actors at various levels of governance in managing migration. At the core, however, governments at the national and local levels nonetheless continue to be key actors in governing migration.

In Turkey, the government also remains a key actor in the governance of migration and in creating policies, overseeing their implementation, securing borders and coordinating an appropriate response to the needs of migrants and foreign nationals within the borders. In terms of responding to Syrian migration, in the absence of one national or local office prepared to respond to such high numbers of immigration to Turkey, multiple ministries and directorates are involved in fulfilling a specific need in coordinating a response at the national, provincial and local levels. At the national level, the three predominant actors in the field of migration management central for facilitating this multi-office coordination are the Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD), the Turkish National Police (*Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü*) and the new Directorate General of Migration Management (GDMM). At the provincial and metropolitan level, governorates (*valilik*), district governorates (*kaymakamlik),* municipalities (*belediye*), neighborhood mukhtar (*muhtar*, chief) and even government affiliated mufti (*müftü*) are the main government actors responding to Syrian migration. Familiar with the direct impacts and daily consequences of Syrian migration to their districts and neighborhoods, these local governmental leaders play a role in responding to local and immediate needs of Syrians within their respective provinces, cities, neighborhoods and districts. At both the national and local levels, as well as across these levels of governance, these various actors are working to coordinate a managerial response to Syrian migration to Turkey. In this chapter, the roles of these actors are overviewed with an emphasis on the interaction and cooperation among these national, provincial and local government actors and with other governing institutions.

5.1 The Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD)

The Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD) is a unique actor in its response to the immigration of Syrians to Turkey. The presidency was established in 2009 under Law No. 5902 and combined the previous work of the former General Directorates of Emergency Management, Civil Defense, and Disaster Affairs. Today, AFAD works mainly as the Turkish national emergency and risk management office with the task of assisting citizens facing 'unwanted circumstances,' whether natural or man-made.[346] In addition to its domestic response to emergencies and disasters, AFAD is also active internationally and provides assistance to countries in the aftermath of natural disasters, such as to the Philippines and the Balkans in 2014 and recently to Nepal in 2015, as well as generally providing assistance in the Middle East and North Africa.[347] According to the self-description on AFAD's website:

> The Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency is a dynamic, flexible and work-focused institution that ensures collaboration between all institutions and organizations of the country for planning, steering, supporting, coordinating and ensuring the effectiveness of activities that are necessary for the completion of the works carried out to prevent disasters and minimize losses, respond to disasters, and engage in post-disaster recovery, and is a multi-dimensional institution working with multiple actors, that promote rational utilization of resources in this area, and that believes in multidisciplinary working.[348]

AFAD's self-ascribed 'multidisciplinary' and 'multidimensional' approach to emergency response and its emphasis on 'collaboration' seems to reflect the discourses of 'new public management' (See Section 3.4.3), concepts which also carry over to discourses of 'emergency' and 'risk' management. The naming of the office as a Disaster and Emergency *Management* Presidency seems to suggest an intentional following of the general trends towards 'management' discourse. On the AFAD webpage, the Presidency additionally states its intention to shift from 'emergency management' to 'risk management' discourse.[349] In both of these discourses, an "important trend…is to bridge the gap between the public and private sectors, to create mutually beneficial partnerships, share information and knowledge, and…to improve communication."[350] Risk management, however, differs from emergency management in its focus to identify possible losses that could be "faced by an organization and selects the most appropriate techniques for treating such exposures."[351] Therefore, AFAD

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[346] Interview with National Government Representative 2.

[347] Interview with National Government Representative 2; AFAD, "About Us."

[348] AFAD, "About Us."

[349] Ibid.

[350] Baird, 33.

[351] Rejda and McNamara, 62.

and its focus on *management* of emergencies and risks is another example of how the public sector has adopted concepts of 'management' from the private sector. Even AFAD has extended this concept of 'management' to the realm of migration.

5.1.1 AFAD and its 'Management' of Syrians in the Camps

AFAD's main responsibilities as Turkey's Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency have no direct connection with migration or immigration. Nonetheless, in addition to acting as an emergency and risk management office, AFAD has also been delegated the responsibility of responding to and managing the immigration of Syrians to Turkey. AFAD's most obvious role in managing this immigration is in its leading responsibility for the administration of temporary shelters (commonly referred to as 'camps' or 'refugee camps,' and labeled here as such as well) together with the respective provinces in which they are located and the Turkish Red Crescent (*Kızılay*).[352] AFAD and *Kızılay* run the camps with coordination from the Presidency of General Staff (*Genelkurmay*), the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of the Exterior and the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA).[353] According to February 17, 2015 informational notes on the AFAD camps, there were then a total of 238,904 Syrians staying in the twenty-five camps; the distribution of camps and Syrians in camps across the country can be seen in Table 4.[354] The total amount of AFAD's spending towards the camps as of February 17, 2015 was approximately over 1 billion US dollars (2.7 billion Turkish Lira-TL); the total European Union (EU) spending, including civil societal organization (CSO) support, totaled just over 5 billion US dollars.[355] As of February 2015, two additional camps were under construction with the plan of being opened according to needs and additional immigration.[356]

The AFAD camps host Syrians in either tents, partitions and/or containers and provide "shelter, food, health, security, social activities, education, religious services, translation, communication, banking and other services" through the support of *Kızılay* and other "relevant ministries and public corporations and organizations."[357] Camps include schools (a total of 963 classrooms), "mosques, trading centers, police offices, health centers, media briefing units, playgrounds, television salons, markets, sewing classes, water depots, purification

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[352] Interview with National Government Representative 2.

[353] Özden, 6; AFAD "Insani Yardimlar."

[354] AFAD "Geçici Barınma Merkezleri Bilgi Notu."

[355] Ibid.

[356] Ibid.; Interview with National Government Representative 3.

[357] AFAD "Giris."

centers, transformers and generators."[358] Health and education are of particular concern in the camps. In terms of education, as of February 17, 2015 there were a reported 70,056 students and 2,984 teachers (including both Turks and Arabs).[359] 11,717 adults were then attending adult educational courses, and 39,598 had previously completed such courses.[360] The twenty-five camps included twenty-one health centers with a total of eighty-four local and twenty foreign doctors.[361] As of February 17, 2015 a total of 44,248 infants had been born in the camps.[362] AFAD publications, in line with the government discourse towards Syrians, emphasize the Turkish responsibility to the Syrians through highlighting Turkey's "historical, cultural and neighborhood ties" with Syria that foster Turkey's welcoming of its "Syrian guests."[363]

AFAD used to be responsible for assisting the Turkish National Police in registering Syrians upon their arrival and then taking them "to one of the refugee camps where they are given ID cards."[364] However, with the rise in the number of Syrians entering Turkey in 2013 and 2014, the process of registration was passed to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which - together with the CSO Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM) - was responsible for registering Syrians through the end of 2014. Now, with the establishment of the GDMM, registration of Syrians, as well as the registration and issuance of residency permits to all foreigners in Turkey, is the responsibility of the GDMM, as will be discussed below.

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[358] Ibid.; AFAD "Geçici Barınma Merkezleri Bilgi Notu."

[359] AFAD "Geçici Barınma Merkezleri Bilgi Notu."

[360] Ibid.

[361] Ibid.

[362] Ibid.

[363] AFAD 2013, 3.

[364] Özden, 6.

Table 4: AFAD Camp Statistics as of February 17, 2015, alphabetical by province

Province	Camp	Type of Shelter	Population	Total Number
Adana	Sarıçam	2,162 tents	10,920 Syrians	10,920
Adıyaman	Merkez	3,346 tents	17,406 Syrians	17,406
Gaziantep	İslahiye 1	1,898 tents	9,593 Syrians	43,708
	İslahiye 2	394 tents	8,407 Syrians; 2,927 Iraqis	
	Karkamış	1,686 tents	7,186 Syrians	
	Nizip 1	1,858 tents	10,518 Syrians	
	Nizip 2	938 containers	5,077 Syrians	
Hatay	Altınözü 1	263 partitions	1,400 Syrians	14,888
	Altınözü 2	622 tents	2,675 Syrians	
	Yayladağı 1	236 tents; 310 partitions	2,800 Syrians	
	Yayladağı 2	510 tents	3,038 Syrians	
	Apaydın	1,181 containers	4,975 Syrians	
Kahramanmaraş	Merkez	3,346 tents	17,406 Syrians	17,406
Kilis	Öncüpinar	2,063 containers	13,022 Syrians	37,274
	Elbeyli Beşiriye	3,592 containers	24,242 Syrians	
Malatya	Beydağı	2,083 containers	7,749 Syrians	7,749
Mardin	Midyat	1,300 tents	3,012 Syrians; 3,041 Iraqis	10,908
	Nusaybın	3,270 partitions	3,966 Iraqis	
	Derik	350 tents	889 Syrians	
Osmaniye	Cevdetiye	2,012 tents	9,194 Syrians	9,194
Sanliurfa	Ceylanpınar	4,771 tents	20,363 Syrians	86,995
	Akçakale	5,000 tents	27,365 Syrians	
	Harran	2,000 containers	14,109 Syrians	
	Viranşehir	4,100 tents	18,586 Syrians	
	Suruç	6,600 tents	6,572 Syrians	
TOTAL	**25 camps**	**54,837 structures**	**238,904 Syrians 9,934 Iraqis**	**248,838**

Source: AFAD. "Geçici Barınma Merkezleri Bilgi Notu." Accessed 17 February 2015. www.afad.goc.tr

Due to the careful processes of registration and collection of data about the population of Syrians living in camps and their needs, the basic living, education and health standards of Syrians in the AFAD-run camps are self-reported to be distinctly better than those of Syrians living outside of the camps. According to a report by AFAD, the majority of Syrian women living outside of camps find that their residences are neither large nor comfortable nor warm

enough, although over 3 out of 4 women did consider their homes safe.[365] Contrastingly, in camps a majority found only the climation of the tents and containers to be insufficient (77.8%).[366] Similarly, while the majority of those outside the camp also found that basic needs - clothing, kitchen supplies, food, furniture for sleeping and fuel - and access to diapers and feminine products were insufficient, in camps all needs other than an insufficient supply of clothes are noted as being sufficient.[367]

Although AFAD-run camps provide shelter, clothing, food and electronic food cards, education and healthcare, the majority of Syrians live outside of the camps. UNHCR reported 1.9 million registered Syrians in Turkey as of August 2015, but only 259,323 Syrians were staying in AFAD affiliated camps as of May 2015.[368] The preference of Syrians to reside outside of camps reflects the common perception of life in the camps as difficult, restrictive and lacking in freedom.[369] As one interviewee commented:

> [Syrians] have groveled from Syria and arrived here only to flee from illnesses; they do get some aid but they are asked to go to camps where life is tough. Those who lived in the camps for four years now come to me and say, 'I have been living for three years having everything but freedom. I escaped Syria for freedom and yet it is prison again.'[370]

Others also fear that reports and rumors of assault and rape occurring in the camps may be true.[371] This means that although AFAD responds to the Syrian crisis inside the camps, the majority of Syrians, their concerns and needs remain beyond the jurisdictional reach of AFAD.

5.1.2 AFAD: a Coordinating Body for Migration Management?

With the particular issue of immigration, AFAD works to coordinate the ongoing efforts among government offices - including ministries and the security offices of the military, police and secret service - both at the border and inside of the country. [372] An estimated twenty-two or twenty-three ministries are involved in this coordination, including the Ministries of Interior and Exterior, Commerce, Education and Health and the Prime Ministry, with AFAD as their central coordinator.[373] An advisor to the Deputy Prime Minister cited that as a result of these coordination efforts people will often call AFAD and make their claims known or ask questions for support; often it turns out that the issue is not directly AFAD's responsibility, but that with such information AFAD can then address the issue to the

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[365] AFAD 2014, 43.

[366] Ibid., 47.

[367] Ibid., 44, 48.

[368] UNHCR Regional Refugee Response; AFAD "Barinma Merkezlerinde Son Durum"

[369] Interview with International Civil Society Representative 3.

[370] Ibid.

[371] Koyuncu, 39.

[372] Interview with National Government Representative 2.

[373] Ibid.

responsible offices, where they then begin working on it. As a representative in another interview shared:

> AFAD is an umbrella directorate that does all kinds of work related to Syrians in Turkey. It coordinates all of the aid organizations…AFAD does the registration and re-placement of Syrians to the camps. A registered Syrian is under the Migration Management Directorate's responsibility. AFAD is an institution that is responsible for aid, the initial protection of Syrians and the coordination of receiving assistance.[374]

This emphasis on coordination and AFAD's role as a managerial coordinating body of migration management actors including international and Turkey-based, government and civil society organizations was supported by interviewee responses regarding their coordination with AFAD as well. Five of the nine Turkey-based humanitarian CSOs interviewed noted either the affirmative existence or 'some' level of cooperation or information sharing with AFAD, but only one of the eight Turkey-based human rights CSOs reported cooperation with AFAD and only one noted information sharing with AFAD, as shown in Figure 2. Both international CSOs, however, noted some coordination with AFAD, as did the World Food Program. In most cases, examples of 'cooperation' with AFAD involved CSOs' access and ability to deliver humanitarian relief items to or organize programs in the AFAD-run camps. The differentiation among different types of CSOs and the particularly low response regarding cooperation with AFAD among human rights CSOs likely reflects the different foci of these CSOs. In providing humanitarian assistance, humanitarian-based CSOs are working more directly in connection with AFAD, and sometimes even extend their assistance inside of the camps, whereas human rights focused CSOs infrequently have a need or ability to access the camps, which reduces their interaction with AFAD. The one human rights CSO respondent who noted positive cooperation with AFAD summarized AFAD as 'friendly' and 'welcoming' while also noting that despite their openness, they are more focused on the infrastructural aspects of the Syrian immigration than the migration aspect of it.[375]

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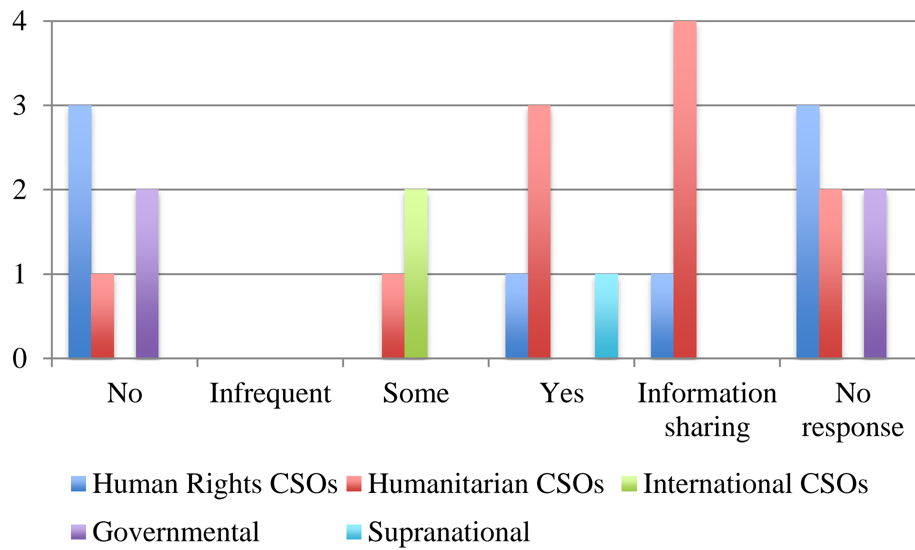
[374] Interview with National Government Representative 4.

[375] Interview with Turkey-based Human Rights Civil Society Representative 1.

Figure 2: Coordination with AFAD



5.2 The Turkish National Police

The Turkish National Police is one of four law enforcement agencies in Turkey. The other three agencies include the Gendarmerie, the Coast Guard and the Customs Office, working respectively in rural areas, along the border and coast, and with regards to the import and export of goods in the country. Contrastingly, the National Police are responsible for law enforcement in Turkey's city centers. Along with their overarching responsibility to maintain law and order, the National Police were also responsible for all aspects of overseeing foreigners in the country, including their registration and processing of residence permits, prior to 2013. With the enforcement of Law 6458 in 2014, these responsibilities are currently being transitioned to the responsibility of the GDMM. This transition of duties must legally be completed by 2017 and is therefore ongoing as the National Police continue to provide assistance in the hiring and training of GDMM staff and experts as they begin working in the field. For example, the former Foreigners section of the Istanbul Police Headquarters is now "operating as a provincial migration administration with a civil director, newly assigned immigration experts and previous policemen who managed the former administrative duties."[376] Thus, the transition is underway, but will require a "gradual transitory period."[377]

[376] Interview with National Government Representative 4.

[377] Ibid.

As a result of this transition, as stated in an interview, the "police have pretty much wriggled their way out of migration management. This is a good thing for both police and for migration management…For now, the only relation between the police and foreigners is security based," it is no longer administrative.[378] As a result of this transfer of power, the National Police no longer have any specific responsibilities in responding to Syrian immigration; however, "as an institution that engages a lot with society in everyday life and provides public safety, [the police] have a lot of work related with Syrians."[379] For example, in some regions where there is a high concentration of Syrians, tensions are on the rise and disagreements and provocations have occasionally escalated to fights, to which the police have been called to respond. Additionally, police continue to administer detention centers, where many irregular migrants, including Syrians, are detained following an apprehension. However, as one interviewee argued, this is not suitable work for the police, since police are not trained to supply a humanitarian approach to irregular migrants in the country. Instead, the police would be better involved in migration management in roles of border crossing or deportation. As one interviewee stated, for now, however, "the police play a minor, a secondary role in migration management. This is the best way."[380]

5.3 Directorate General of Migration Management (GDMM)

With the establishment of the new GDMM, many of the previous responsibilities of the Turkish National Police and AFAD are now being transferred to the new Directorate General, as outlined above. As one national government interviewee shared: "Migration management is now the responsibility of the General Directorate."[381] The GDMM was established on April 11, 2013 in conjunction with Law 6458. As outlined in Chapter Four, the establishment of the GDMM - like the enforcement of Law 6458 - was a step in aligning Turkish migration policy and institutional structure with European and global frameworks. For example, the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) had a project entitled "Institutional Development and Planning Support for Turkey's new Directorate General for Migration Management" that was funded by the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office in 2013 and 2014 and aimed to shape the development and opening of the GDMM through direct involvement. As outlined in Article 103, the GDMM "has been established…to implement migration policies and strategies, ensure coordination among relevant agencies and organisations, and carry-out functions and actions related to the entry

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[378] Ibid.

[379] Ibid.

[380] Ibid.

[381] Ibid.

into, stay in and exit from of foreigners in Turkey…" Article 104(2) further outlines the GDMM's authorization "to ensure cooperation and coordination with public institutions and agencies, universities, local governments, non-governmental organizations, and private and international organisations." Due to the recent establishment of the GDMM, many of its capacities are only initially being filled. For example, the Directorate's website does not list its goals or objectives regarding migration. At a presentation at the end of 2014, however, a representative from the GDMM migration research department outlined the plans for a 'Migration-Net' (*Göç-Net*) to foster cooperation and serve as a legal and administrative infrastructure for effective migration, while also recognizing that the GDMM is just an initiator of policies that must be implemented by the government and civil society.[382]

Two initiatives in conjunction with articles 105 and 114 that are underway are the development of, respectively, a Migration Policy Board – with governmental representatives from various agencies – and a Migration Advisory Board – currently composed of 61 "academic, civil society representatives and experts."[383] As the name suggests, the Policy Board will be responsible for determining "Turkey's migration policies and strategies" (Article 105(3)) and the Advisory Board will "monitor the migration practices and make recommendations; consider new regulation in planning in the field of migration…consider legislation and implementation related to migration" (Article 114(3)). These boards' terms of reference "are open to the idea of cooperation with the international community"[384] and aim to help facilitate the cooperation envisioned as a core component of the GDMM.

As a very new institution, GDMM's involvement in responding to Syrians in Turkey remains limited, especially as the processes of registration are only now being transferred from AFAD, the National Police, UNHCR and ASAM to the jurisdiction of the GDMM. Currently, the GDMM's overall efforts seem to be engaged in educating the public and Turkey's foreigners regarding the overall Law on Foreigners and International Protection. A July 2014 publication with such a purpose outlines Law 6458 and aims to make migration definitions and topics overviewed in the law accessible to the public. The only mention of Syrians is their inclusion as an example of a group under 'temporary protection' with the inclusion of a picture of one of the AFAD-run camps.[385] In the July 2014 edition of the *Migration Post*, another article outlines an initiative for Syrian nationals, which is occurring in Afyonkarahisar and

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[382] Sağıroğlu 2014.

[383] Kirişci 2014, 37.

[384] Ibid.

[385] T.C. İçişleri Bakanlığı 2014, 'Göç', 26-27.

aims “to minimize the problems the Syrian nationals face, to improve their living conditions, and to establish a bridge between the Turkish people and the Syrian nationals.”[386]

The July 2014 *Migration Post* additionally highlights cooperation initiatives of the GDMM such as multiple meetings with CSOs, local and regional authorities and various migrant groups. Reporting these initiatives suggests the reality of the GDMM in offering a new role for facilitating cooperation among and between civil society groups. When questioned regarding cooperation with GDMM in the form of joint initiatives or projects, however, interviewees overwhelmingly cited infrequent or only occasional coordination with GDMM. Of the twenty-one interviewees responding to this question, only four individuals reported cooperation through shared activities and only seven reported information sharing to the directorate, as shown in Figure 3. Interestingly, however, more human rights based CSOs mentioned information sharing with the GDMM than any other group, which likely reflects the more policy and legal interest of human rights based CSOs. As a new directorate created with the adoption of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection, the majority of interviewees responded critically of the branch offices responsible for migration management, with many citing uncertainty regarding the directorate, its employees and its function; many disregarded the directorate as “new” or “a bubble” that is therefore still not fully functioning. Others noted that GDMM does not yet have the full power, functioning structure or long-term vision necessary to fulfill all of its responsibilities outlined in Law 6458; additionally, as new officers are hired to fill these new positions, they require more thorough training based on human rights and legal procedures, including the specific legal proceedings of the new law.

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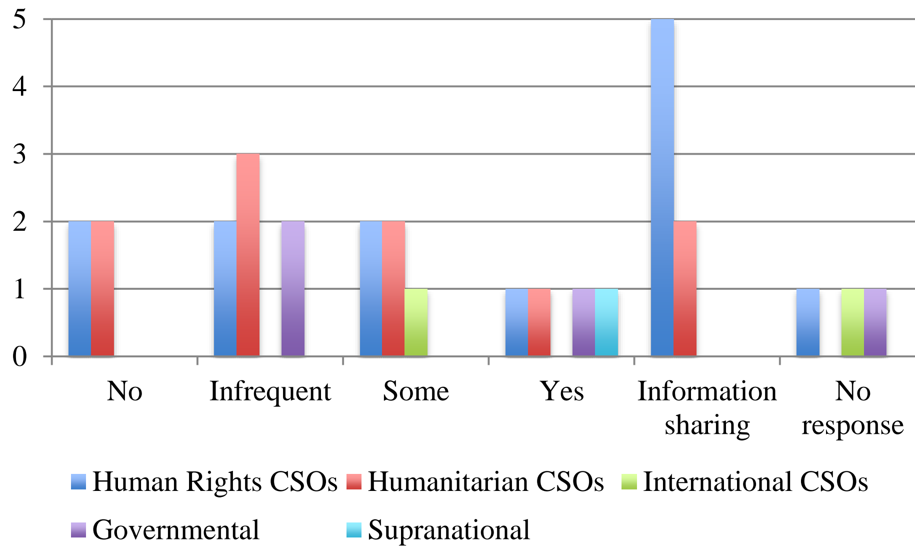
[386] T.C. İçişleri Bakanlığı 2014, ‘Afyonkarahisar,’15.

Figure 3: Coordination with GDMM



The higher affirmative responses of human-rights based CSOs regarding information sharing with GDMM may reflect the engagement of some of these CSOs in framing and drafting the Law on Foreigners and International Protection. This previous close involvement with officers at the directorate may continue to provide a basis for continued coordination with GDMM. Some CSOs active in shaping the Law on Foreigners and International Protection, however, did contrastingly cite that cooperation with GDMM has instead decreased or become more difficult since the enforcement of the new law in April 2014.

With the new national directorate serving as the responsible government branch for migration management, the level of reported coordination regarding actors working with CSOs seems lower than would be expected. This, however, is likely to change as the directorate's mission and the tasks of its employees develop overtime. If the GDMM's current projects continue and expand, this directorate has the potential to become a future lead actor in facilitating cooperation among organizations working with Syrian nationals, even if at the moment GDMM efforts seem to be more focused on foreigners and other groups under international protection. As one interviewee stated in responding to the question regarding how problems of Syrians can best be dealt with: "One solution might be exactly that, a very strong GDMM."[387]

[387] Interview with Turkey-based Human Rights Civil Society Representative 1.

5.4 Local Government

Since Syrians are settling mainly in cities along the southeastern border and in the metropolises of Ankara and Istanbul, while the overarching national government response and policies are essential in effectively responding to the needs and concerns of Syrians, provincial and local governments are often more accountable for and knowledgeable about directly responding to the needs of Syrians and problems, conflicts and opportunities that result with the immigration of such a large group and such high concentrations of these groups in local areas. Due to their local capacity and more specific information regarding the needs of Syrians in certain areas, local municipalities, districts and local neighborhood authorities such as the muhktar (*muhtarlik)* become an important point of contact, and in some cases providers of assistance, for Syrians in the country.

Although individuals interviewed for this research were not specifically questioned regarding their coordination with local governance, many interviewees nonetheless noted the importance of the local government in similar roles of providing assistance and engaging in local level coordination. For example, two interviewees noted the important role of the muhktar in facilitating closer connections with a smaller, constrained and local constituency. The international CSO International Medical Corps (IMC - of which ASAM is an implementing partner) informs the local respective muhktars to advertise their programs and services at nearby Multi-Service Centers. The World Food Program also relies on the assistance of muhktars for their coordination of food distribution. Provision of shelter and food for Syrians in Izmir and Ankara is also often the responsibility of the municipality[388] and CSOs, such as *Cansuyu*, admitted their support for municipalities in fulfilling this role. In Izmir, the municipality has often also been involved in assisting *Mülteci-Der* in the provision of food, blankets and clothes for Syrians as well as co-organizing and supporting special activities, such as Ramadan *Iftar* or a children's festival. Governorates were also mentioned by another interviewee as the responsible body for providing services such as Turkish language courses.[389]

These responses of interviewees regarding the current and potential role of the local governance echo the findings and suggestions of CSOs and Platforms engaged in the migration management field as well. In Istanbul, for example, in interviews conducted by *Göç Der* and the Association for Monitoring Equal Rights (EŞIT) with Syrian Kurds, a number of interviewees commented on receiving one-time monetary assistance in the amount of 500 TL

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[388] Interview with National Governmental Representative 1.

[389] Interview with Turkey-based Human Rights Civil Society Representative 2.

or food and clothing from the municipality for a few days, while others commented that the municipality merely told them to return to the camps.[390] In this report, the majority of interviewees, however, commented that they had not received any assistance from the government and relied instead, much more heavily on local Kurdish networks and connections with relatives and families (See Section 7.3).[391] In an expanded report by the Monitoring Platform for Refugees Coming from Syria to Istanbul (*Suriye'den İstanbul'a Gelen Sığınmacıları İzleme Platformu)* - a joint platform encompassing human rights and humanitarian CSOs, research centers and foundations[392] - interviewed thirty-six families including Syrians with Kurdish roots and Turkmen Alevis. Of those interviewed, two interviewees applied for support from the municipality, two from the police station (*Karakol*) and one from the local muhktar.[393] These examples, although few, are important in illustrating the local governmental role in responding to Syrian migrants' needs. Not only does the Turkish national government play an important role in fulfilling needs in camps and through other means, but the local governments are also key components of this governance. In many provinces, the roles of AFAD and GDMM have now even become increasingly localized with the opening of provincial offices that facilitate and foster support with local governance. In Hatay, for example, the governorship of Hatay is even included as one branch involved in cooperation with AFAD.[394]

When interviewees responded regarding their own organization's coordination with the Turkish government, many responded that they had good coordination and were acting together with the governorate (four respondents), municipality (two respondents), muhktar (one respondent), provincial directorate (one respondent) and respective provincial offices of education, health, etc. The higher reported coordination with the governorate likely reflects many governorates' recent introduction of weekly information sharing and coordination

[390] Göç Edenler Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Kültür Derneği and Eşit Haklar için İzleme Derneği, 28-31.

[391] Ibid., 25-31.

[392] This report of the Monitoring Platform for Refugees Coming from Syria to Istanbul included the cooperation of: *Eşit Haklar İçin İzleme Derneği, Göç Edenler Sosyal Yardımlaşma Kültür Derneği, Hayata Destek Derneği, İnsan Hakları Derneği İstanbul Şubesi, İnsan Hakları Vakfı İstanbul Şubesi, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Göç Çalışmaları Merkezi, Kadınlarla Dayanışma Vakfı, Sosyal Hizmet Uzmanları Derneği İstanbul Şubesi, Sosyal ve Kültürel Hayatı Geliştirme Derneği,* and *Toplumsal Hukuk Araştırmaları Vakfı.*

[393] Suriye'den İstanbul'a Gelen Sığınmacıları İzleme Platformu, 40-41.

[394] Göç Edenler Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Kültür Derneği and Eşit Haklar için İzleme Derneği, 7.

meetings among CSOs and local governance, similar to the meetings held by UNHCR.[395] When interviewees responded to the questions regarding their coordination with the GDMM, coordination with local government was often a point of comparison:

> There hasn't been a lot of coordination with the [GDMM]; we worked more with AFAD and the governorates. [396]
>
> Right now there isn't any [coordination with GDMM]…we work with the governorate, the municipality, the ministries, the special provincial administration and the provincial Family and Social Politics Ministry.[397]
>
> With the GDMM we don't have anything at the regional level…we meet more with the Family and Social Politics Ministry, the Ministry of Health and sometimes with the governorate.[398]

These quotations suggest that despite the legal concentration of power with the GDMM, the on-the-ground decisions and response remains a role of the local governance.

The importance of local governance was also reflected in interviewees' responses to the question: "Who should play an important role in solving problems that have resulted from Syrian migration?" One interviewee stated that the municipality and governorate have the most important role, because "they have observed the regional needs and can best plan…they are more local." [399] Many interviewees suggested that a coordinated response was necessary to effectively solve issues of unemployment, shortage of provisions, long-term integration, and rising tensions between Syrians and Turks. When asked who should coordinate such a response, several responses also referenced the importance of local governance:

> The government, with the coordination of the governorate, the provincial governorate and the muhktar [should coordinate a response.][400]
>
> The government will [coordinate a response]…The current governance is among local municipalities, provincial governorates and governorates."[401]

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[395] Interview with Turkey-based Humanitarian Civil Society Representative 3.

[396] Interview with Turkey-based Humanitarian Civil Society Representative 7.

[397] Interview with Turkey-based Humanitarian Civil Society Representative 3.

[398] Interview with Turkey-based Humanitarian Civil Society Representative 2.

[399] Ibid.

[400] Interview with Turkey-based Humanitarian Civil Society Representative 8.

[401] Interview with Turkey-based Human Rights Civil Society Representative 3.

> The best coordination would be together between CSOs, our civil authorities (*mülki amir*) and the governorate.[402]

As evident in these responses, among actors in the field, an active local government role is considered essential for a well-coordinated response to the needs of Syrians. Due to local governments' direct interactions and responsibility to respond to both the needs of Syrians living in their jurisdiction and the concerns of their constituents, a recent 2015 report by the Center for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies (ORSAM) and the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV), also recommends, like many interviewees, that more authority be given "to local governments and enabling coordination between local governments and provincial authorities" as well as "building more capacity and providing extra budget for municipalities."[403] As noted in the report:

> One of the biggest challenges in the struggle with the Syrian refugee crisis is the lack of coordination between central and local authorities. Actually, local governments have better information about the issue. However, for different reasons, they are unwilling to take a risk by acting without directives from the central government. It could be beneficial to give more authority to the local governments in handling these kinds of issues.[404]

In a report by the Monitoring Platform for Refugees Coming from Syria to Istanbul (*Suriye'den İstanbul'a Gelen Sığınmacıları İzleme Platformu)* it more specifically suggests that the initiative of the neighborhood muhktar (*muhtarlik*) should be utilized as the first point of contact for applications for assistance and that the muhktar and local municipality should coordinate with the governorship to solve problems together and help ensure that Syrians are aware of their rights and receive the health, educational, social and legal assistance to which they have a right.[405] Specifically regarding the needs of children, governorships and local municipalities should coordinate their efforts to render service for children's education, social needs and psychological support. Two examples of such successful coordination at the local level of governance that will be briefly outlined here are the Suruç Municipality's response to the escalation of Syrians fleeing from violence in Kobani and the increased role of local governance in Şanliurfa, as exemplified in its coordination and support of a local humanitarian aid CSO platform. These two coordination and response efforts illustrate the potential for broader and more frequent successful coordination initiatives by local governments. At the

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[402] Interview with Turkey-based Human Rights Civil Society Representative 4; *Mülki Amir* refers to civil authorities, including the governor, the vice governor, the provincial governor, the provincial governor candidate and the legal affairs office.

[403] ORSAM and TESEV, 36.

[404] Ibid.

[405] Suriye'den İstanbul'a Gelen Sığınmacıları İzleme Platformu, 23.

same time, these two cases exemplify the engagement of various actors from various levels in governing Turkey's migration management from the bottom-up.

5.4.1 Suruç's Local Government Response

An example of a successful decentralized local government response to the needs of Syrians has been taking place in the municipality of Suruç in the province of Şanliurfa since the end of 2014. As I learned in my interview with a Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP) representative in Suruç, together with local CSOs, the district governorate (*kaymakamlık*), the municipality's representative to parliament, the municipality's co-chairmanship (*eşbaşkanlık),* the HDP, the Democratic Regions Party (*Demokratik Bölgeler Partisi* - DBP), the Democratic Society Congress (*Demokratik Toplum Kongresi* - DTK) and *Kızılay*, the municipality of Suruç has opened local camps for Syrians who began fleeing the attacks of Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) fighters on the Syrian border town of Kobani (*Ayn Al-Arab*) in September and October 2014.[406] According to the municipality, prior to the attacks of 2014, the Suruç municipality had been supplying Kobani with aid and was therefore already familiar with the village's leaders and residents before an estimated 220,000 Syrians crossed into Turkey at the end of 2014. At first, temporary camps were set up in public housing units (*lojmanlar*), wedding halls, municipality buildings and private homes. Quickly, six tent camps (See Appendix 4) and one container camp were then set up in neighborhoods and villages to better house 53,000 Syrians from Kobani who had come to the town of Suruç and its villages;[407] the majority of Syrians with relatives in Suruç continued to stay in the homes of their relatives. Although the national government did not directly assist the municipality, according to the coordinator of the response efforts, CSOs and international humanitarian aid associations arrived in Suruç to help. Additionally, the municipality established its own decentralized system for registering Syrians from Kobani (separate from the GDMM or the AFAD national registration process) and distributing food and non-food items to the camps and homes where they were staying; camps also include schools where Kurdish language education is being offered, since this is the language that most Syrians from Kobani speak. The political issue of language education has remained a contested one that has prevented the Suruç municipality from incorporating their camps into new or existing AFAD camps.

When interviews were conducted in April 2015, many of the Syrians from Kobani were returning back across the border to continue to protect their town from ISIS fighters. Three tent camps had been emptied completely and others were also emptying out and being consolidated; as of April 2015, the number of Syrians in Suruç dropped from 53,000 to 18,000,

[406] European Union Institute, "Syrian Refugees."

[407] See Appendix 4 for photographs from one of the Suruc camps.

as people returned to Kobani. The tents and non-food items provided by the Suruç municipality are taken across the border and individuals and families temporarily return to Turkey to obtain some items unavailable to them within Syria - such as baby formula - or for brief relief from the violent and uncertain conditions of life in Kobani. This relief and the rapid return to Syria are possible due to the coordination initiated by the local government of Suruç.

5.4.2 Coordination in Şanliurfa

Another coordinated response to Syrian immigration and local government leadership therein is also occurring in the nearby city of Şanliurfa through the establishment and work of the Şanliurfa Humanitarian Aid CSO Platform (*Şanliurfa Sivil Toplum Kuruluslari Insani Yardim Platformu*).[408] As interviewees explained, the platform has been working since 2012 and is comprised of sixty local and Turkey-based humanitarian aid organizations, such as *Deniz Feneri*, *Insan Hak ve Hürriyet Vakfi* (IHH) and *Hayrat* Humanitarian Aid Association, working in coordination with the Municipality President, Municipality and Governorate; the mufti also occasionally promotes campaigns with the Platform. As one interviewee stated regarding the Platform's inception:

> There was a need. There was no unanimity regarding who was doing what where. We came to fill a gap: the governorate, the municipality, the mufti, the official offices and associations said, 'There is an emergency situation here, there is a war. Let's move.'[409]

The Platform receives international donations and collects on average 400 to 500 TL a day in local donations from tourists and pilgrims passing its container office in the touristic Balıklıgöl area in the old town. The Platform mainly provides provisions, such as normal food items of tea and sugar, but also distributes 7000 loaves of bread every day through its mobile bakery, runs a clothing store in the district of Ahmetbahçe where people can buy clothes with electronic cash cards, provides assistance for covering costs of medication, wheelchairs, surgery, prosthetic legs, rent, required travel or relocation and assists in cross-border transport to Syria through coordination with Syrian CSOs. Like the distribution of bread, teams distribute most items by driving around the city. Representatives of the Platform's participating CSOs meet weekly to discuss the current numbers of Syrians, the needs and where aid has been given and how.

This Platform is one example of the coordinated effort going on in Şanliurfa. As another interviewee stated: "In my opinion, especially when compared to other places, there

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[408] See the Platform's website for more information: http://www.urfastk-iyad.org/.

[409] Interview with Turkey-based Humanitarian Civil Society Representative 4.

is more successful work occurring in Urfa."[410] This 'success' is attributed to AFAD's umbrella coordination under which organizations working in Şanliurfa, including the UNHCR, Concern, ASAM and IMPR Humanitarian, meet weekly to discuss needs and the work that is being done and to collectively coordinate the distribution of aid and resources.[411] These frequent AFAD-coordinated meetings illustrate how Turkey's migration management of Syrians is being governed locally. Here, the national presidency of AFAD becomes localized and the governance of migration moves beyond the national level to include involvement from top-down (UNHCR) and bottom-up (local platform initiatives, CSO involvement) organizations. Furthermore, in addition to incorporating national and local government, these information sharing meetings include all levels of CSOs from the very local to the international.

As reflected in these information sharing meetings, the governance of Syrian migration management in Şanliurfa surpasses national government initiatives and has become very diverse and multi-tiered. As a result of the emergence of and coordination among all sorts of actors ranging from religious to secular, from humanitarian to human rights, from local to supranational and from public to private, Şanliurfa is often cited as the exemplar case for how migration management of Syrians should be governed and function. As another interviewee observed, regarding Şanliurfa's response to Syrians: "Urfa is one of the bravest cities I've seen."[412]

5.5 Conclusion: Role of and Coordination with the Turkish Government

Despite a shift towards multi-level coordination and responses towards migration, the Turkish government retains a central role in governing migration management at both the national and local levels. However, the national government's migration management is also governed by other actors in the migration management field. Although the national government seems to be the central coordinator of migration management within its borders, Turkey's agreements, initiatives, policies and structure of managing migration have all been guided, influenced and promoted by the international actors of the UN and IOM as well as the regional EU. As suggested by global migration governance, migration management - even within the borders of a nation-state like Turkey - is now governed from above by apparatuses such as international conventions, norms and discourses. Increasingly, Turkey's migration management is being internationalized and Eureopeanized and, as a result, is being governed by actors in the global field. At the same time, Turkey's national government response to

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[410] Interview with Turkey-based Humanitarian Civil Society Representative 6.

[411] Ibid.

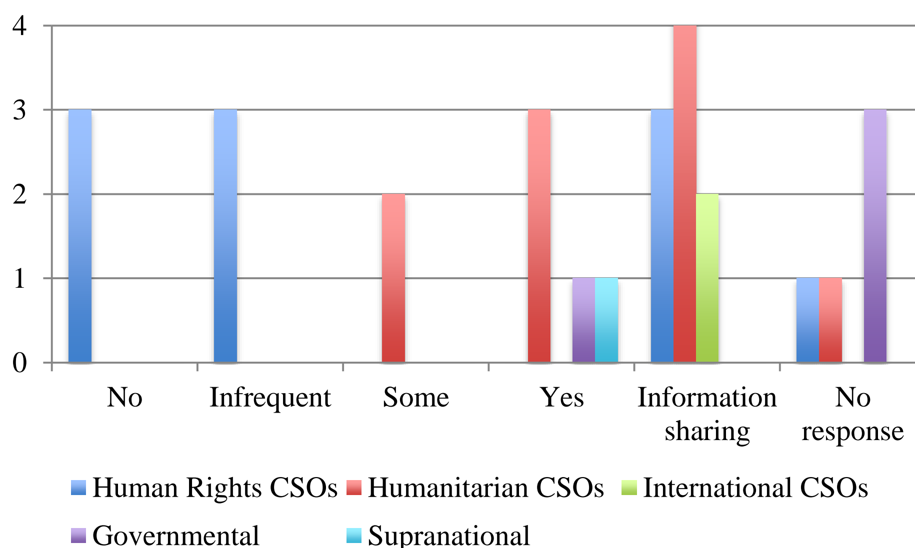
[412] Interview with International Civil Society Representative 5.

migration management is also being influenced from the bottom-up - from local government, non-state, private and civil society actors.

The involvement of other actors from civil society and government institutions expanding beyond the national governmental level is also reflected in the responses of interviewees and the recommendations of Turkish think tanks regarding how the Turkish government governs migration. In responses to questions with interviewees regarding coordination with the Turkish government, all of the Turkey-based humanitarian CSOs interviewed noted either the affirmative existence or 'some' level of cooperation or information sharing with the government; only three of eight Turkey-based human rights CSOs, contrastingly, identified cooperation with the Turkish government through information sharing, as seen in Figure 4. As discussed above, humanitarian CSOs also noted a higher level of coordination with AFAD, whereas human rights CSOs noted a higher level of information sharing with GDMM.

This distinction likely reflects the difference in missions of humanitarian and human rights CSOs and their corresponding tasks and initiatives offered for Syrians in the country - respectively in delivering aid relief and in educating and ensuring Syrians' rights. For example, humanitarian-based CSOs are working more directly in connection with AFAD inside of the camps and the local government municipality and governorate regarding the distribution of aid and humanitarian assistance and its distribution, whereas human rights focused CSOs infrequently have access to the camps, reducing their interaction with AFAD, but more frequently bring cases or situations of injustice to the attention of the GDMM or UNHCR.

Figure 4: Coordination with the Turkish Government



Politics and political party affiliations likely also play a role in the distinct roles and coordination of humanitarian and human rights CSOs in Turkey. Many Turkey-based humanitarian CSOS, for example, include in their mission the importance of Islam as a basis for providing relief, food and shelter to the impoverished and those in needs. As a result of religious motivations, the rhetoric of humanitarian CSOs is therefore more frequently in-line with the discourse of the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP). This was also evident in interviews with representatives from Turkey-based humanitarian CSOs, who praised the Turkish government and its response of welcoming their Syrian 'brothers' into the country as 'guests.' With a closer alignment of political goals and religious motivations, the possibilities for the cooperation of Turkey-based religious humanitarian CSOs and the ruling AKP government are also more closely aligned, implying that fewer governmental restrictions would arise for these CSOs. Contrastingly, multiple human rights-based CSOs responded more harshly regarding the efforts of the Turkish government; these organizations' often more 'liberal,' 'leftist,' and non-governmental human rights frameworks more frequently clash with those of the ruling party, thus hindering possibilities for coordination and cooperation.

The levels of cooperation and information sharing with the Turkish government asserted by international and Turkey-based CSO interviewees illustrate that the actors and forces in Turkey's migration management field extend both horizontally - to supranational, international and European actors, as well as local actors - and vertically - to other national and local level civil society actors. The Turkish government's governance of migration management itself is neither the responsibility of one agency nor does it occur at one level of governance. Instead, even the government's position in the migration management field requires multiple actors - multiple Ministries, AFAD, the National Police, the GDMM - who are responding at multiple levels - local, national, regional and international. As the Turkish national government's initiatives, policies, laws and structure for managing migration have been governed by global actors, norms and discourses, the Turkish national government's role in migration management is currently in a state of transition. Even how migration is governmentally managed at the national level is evolving as national governmental responsibilities remain shared among ministries and are now shifting to become the domain of the newly established GDMM. With the enforcement of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection and its establishment of the GDMM, the GDMM is legally proscribed as a new actor to coordinate this multifaceted and multilateral response; however, the GDMM's leadership on-the-ground and its local reach is not yet felt among actors in the field. GDMM's position in the migration management field is not yet the governing agency of migration that it has been legally proscribed to become. As the legal processes of registration and responses to social needs are transferred from the National Police and AFAD to the

GDMM, how this new directorate fits into the complicated puzzle of national and local migration governance - and whether its piece fits into the current framework - still remains to be seen. Until then, however, the other actors in Turkey's migration management field continue to exert force upon how the national government and the other actors in the field govern the movement of Syrians into Turkey's borders.

As the theory of global migration governance asserts, migration governance has become increasingly global, framed by supranational and international actors, their discourses and practices. The next chapter, again zooms out to examine how the case state of Turkey and its national government's governance of migration are situated in the global migration management field. In doing so, the next chapter outlines the international and supranational - governmental and not - actors asserting force in Turkey's migration management field.

CHAPTER 6

INTERNATIONAL ACTORS IN TURKEY'S MIGRATION MANAGEMENT

As outlined in the previous chapter, despite the shift towards a global governance of migration, national actors remain central in Turkey's migration management. However, how national actors manage migration often reflects international or European norms; in this way, national governance is governed by decisions and requirements of external actors. An increased number and predominance of international actors in the Turkish migration management field responding to Syrian migrants, particularly since the end of 2012, similarly reflects broader trends towards global governance of migration and how external actors have come to play a more involved role in national governance. From the beginning of the Syrian conflict in March 2011 throughout 2012, the Turkish government continued as the sole financer and provider of aid to Syrians in the country; however with an increasing number of Syrians entering Turkey, the government requested United Nations (UN) assistance at the end of 2012.[413] As a result, the UN and the Turkish government together created a Regional Response Plan (RRP) and a Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP) to more effectively and cooperatively respond to the needs of Syrians in the country.[414] As a result, the response to Syrians in Turkey has come to include more UN and international involvement since the end of 2012. According to the 2014 United Nations High Commissioner on Refugee's (UNHCR) Regional Response Plan, the number of civil society organizations (CSOs) providing assistance to Syrians in Turkey has also increased since the middle of 2013.[415]

In examining the current role of international institutional actors and international CSOs in the field of Turkey's migration management of Syrians, this chapter outlines the role of the UN and its corresponding agencies, the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the European Union (EU) and international CSOs now present and active in Turkey. In addition to overviewing these actors, their role in governing migration management within Turkey and their response to Syrian migration, their coordination and engagement with other actors in the field will also be highlighted.

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[413] UNICEF. "Syria Emergency Response."

[414] Ibid.

[415] UNHCR. "2014 Regional Response Plan: Turkey."

6.1 United Nations

After the establishment of the UN in 1945, a number of additional system agencies were established to address specific concerns across the world such as economics (World Bank Group), health (World Health Organization - WHO), children's rights (UN Children's Rights and Emergency Relief Organization - UNICEF) and international collaboration through education, science and culture (UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization - UNESCO). Today, in response to the Syrian conflict, the UN has been influential in shaping international policy, as well as in serving as a coordinating body for relief and resilience in the region impacted by Syrian emigration. As Merlingen (2003) argues, international governmental organizations, such as the UN, take on a role as the 'international conduct of the conduct of countries.'[416] In the case of the management of Syrian migration to Turkey, UN leadership in shaping a discursive environment for targeting political intervention[417] is evident in the UN's 3RP outlining a "nationally-led, regionally coherent strategy which is built on the national response plans of the countries in the region."[418] More specifically for Turkey, the UN-initiated Syria RRP overviews Turkey's response plan to Syrian migration and provides mid-year updates regarding "progress to date along with the revised needs, financial requirements and response indicators which have been updated following the mid-year review."[419] According to the 3RP Regional Progress Report released in June 2015, "the international community is falling short of meeting the needs of refugees from Syria and the countries generously hosting them."[420] According to projected funding needs, Turkey requires 624 million US dollars in funding, but has only received 85 million.[421]

In addition to its role in predicting needs, benchmarking progress and indicating financial requirements, the UN is also active on the ground in responding to Syrian displacement. For example, under UN Security Resolutions 2139 and 2165 the UN established a humanitarian pooled fund in Turkey in July 2014, which aims to "expand and enable the humanitarian assistance in Syria" by offering "flexible and timely resources to partners thereby expanding the delivery of humanitarian assistance, increasing humanitarian access and

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[416] Merlingen 2003, 367; See also Scheel and Ratfish, 926.

[417] See Scheel and Ratfish, 926.

[418] UN "3RP," 6.

[419] UNHCR "2014 Regional Refugee Response Plan Turkey," 5.

[420] UNHCR, "3RP Regional Progress Report 2015," 2.

[421] Ibid., 3.

strengthening partnerships with local and international non-governmental organizations."[422] The UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) is also a key office supplying funding for Turkey-based and international CSOs. According to OCHA's website, the Turkey Country Office is mainly involved in supporting and coordinating cross-border humanitarian assistance operations for humanitarian partners from Turkey, such as international and Syrian CSOs and governmental and other authorities working mainly in southern Turkey.[423] The three other UN agencies most predominant in the field of migration management in Turkey are the World Food Programme (WFP), concerned with fighting hunger worldwide, UNICEF and UNHCR. The roles and actions of these UN agencies will be outlined here with regards to their work in Turkey.

6.1.1 World Food Programme

The WFP was established together with the Food and Agriculture Organization in 1961 with the aim to eradicate world hunger as the "food aid arm of the United Nations system." [424] Through government and donation-based funding, the WFP works in approximately eighty-five countries to provide food aid "to save lives in refugee and other emergency situations; to improve the nutrition and quality of life of the most vulnerable people at critical times in their lives; and to help build assets and promote the self-reliance of poor people and communities, particularly through labour- intensive works programmes." [425] According to the WFP website, "on average, WFP reaches more than 80 million people with food assistance in 75 countries each year."[426]

According to an interview with a WFP representative in Gaziantep, WFP has also been working to provide food to Syrians living in Disaster and Emergency Management Authority (AFAD) camps in Turkey's southeast since July 2012. Together with the Turkish Red Crescent (*Kızılay*) and AFAD, WFP distributes food aid through an E-food card (*E-gıda kartı)* system in which families are given an electronic card with a total of 85 Turkish Lira (TL) per person in two installments each month.[427] The WFP and *Kızılay* contribute per person 50 TL and AFAD adds the remaining 35 TL; according to the WFP it is possible to provide one person a varied and healthy 2,200 calorie-diet each day with 85 TL per person per

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[422] Humanitarian Response. "HPF."

[423] UNOCHA. "Turkey Country Office."

[424] World Food Program "About."

[425] Ibid.

[426] Ibid.

[427] World Food Program "Birleşmiş Milletler Dünya Gida Programı (WFP) Şanliurfa Faaliyetleri."

month.[428] The card can be redeemed only at markets inside the camps or pre-agreed markets in city centers close to the camps appointed by WFP, *Kızılay* and the Turkish government; in Şanliurfa twenty-seven markets have such agreements.[429] Since beginning its work in Turkey in July 2012, WFP has reached approximately 220,000 Syrians in twenty-two camps.[430]

As noted above, WFP has close cooperation with AFAD and *Kızılay*; in addition, the WFP representative mentioned WFP's close cooperation with local governorates and relevant ministries, including the Turkish Republic Ministry of Family and Social Policy (*T.C.Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı*). WFP's coordination with the government, the General Directorate for Migration Management (GDMM), IOM and UNHCR were categorized as 'good,' while coordination with local and international CSOs was categorized as 'very good'; coordination has a broad range and coordination meetings occur regularly in which both WFP and local and international CSOs participate.

6.1.2 UNICEF

The UNICEF response to Syrians in Turkey is particularly active with regards to education, child protection and health and nutrition. Reports on the UNICEF website indicate significant emphasis on education in Turkey, including a two-year project that concluded in April 2015. The project, entitled "Support for Syrian Children in Turkey" and funded by the EU, focused on providing quality education for this group under the coordination of UNICEF, AFAD, the Turkish Republic Ministry of National Education (*T.C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı*) and *Kızılay*.[431] The UNICEF website also notes as achievements of the first six months of 2015: the March opening of a new educational center in Nizip in the Gaziantep province and an additional April opening of a similar center in Kahramanmaraş, the satisfaction of Syrian teachers working under a UNICEF incentive program and the satisfaction of Syrians in Şanliurfa with UNICEF and IOM supported school service buses.[432] Additional UNICEF non-education focused support in this period included the donation of winter clothing to Syrian children in Suruç, support of an International Young Leader Academy to bring together Syrian and Turkish children in Gaziantep in January and emphasis on the importance of UNICEF's Child Friendly Spaces in the AFAD camps in Adana, Harran and Suruç.[433] With regards to

[428] Ibid.

[429] Ibid.

[430] Ibid.

[431] UNICEF. "UNICEF ve AB'den Suriyeli Çocuklara Önemli Destek."

[432] UNICEF. "Basin Merkezi."

[433] Ibid.

health, UNICEF is the lead agency engaged in the Water, Sanitation, Hygiene (WASH) intervention; this program aims to ensure that Syrians have "access to safe, sanitary and hygienic living environment."[434] By coordinating work in these various sectors and by serving as an advocate for and distributor of international funds - such as a July 2015 donation of $2 million from the German government denoted for educational support for Syrian children in Turkey - UNICEF continues to play an important role, particularly in coordinating with the Turkish government, AFAD and select international CSOs to provide key resources and services for Syrian children.[435]

6.1.3 UNHCR Turkey

Turkey's cooperation with the UNHCR began in 1979 with the arrival of migrants fleeing the Iranian Revolution. This initial UNHCR involvement in Turkey reflected UNHCR's pre-1990s primary concerns of responding to cross-border population displacements and focusing their work in countries of asylum.[436] In the early 1990s, UNHCR and Turkish government relations become tense over disagreement regarding the movement of Gulf War Kurds into northern Iraq and Turkey, for whom Turkey was legally bound to provide first asylum.[437] However, with the improvement of the asylum situation in Turkey by the late 1990s, "the UNHCR and the Turkish government return[ed] to the close cooperation that had characterized their relationship until 1994."[438]

With a significant role in the country during the last decades of the twentieth century, the UNHCR has, in the words of Aydin and Kirişci (2013), "left a deep imprint on Turkey's asylum system and its reform."[439] This is evident in the UNHCR's advising role regarding Turkish national asylum and migration policies, including the status determination process, resettlement issues, the implementation of 'non-refoulement,' its contribution "to the socialization of officials and civil society activists into recognizing and respecting the rights of asylum-seekers and refugees,"[440] and most recently in its co-leadership in framing the 2014 Law on Foreigners and International Protection.

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[434] UNICEF. "2014 Syria Regional Response Plan: WASH."

[435] UNICEF. "Basin Merkezi."

[436] Crisp 2003b, 79.

[437] Meissner, 77.

[438] Kirisci 2007, 95.

[439] Aydin and Kirisci, 384.

[440] Ibid.

Today, the UNHCR's mission and response in the global field has shifted from 'refugee protection' to 'humanitarian aid' and the UNHCR is now "at the forefront of recent efforts to respond to mass population movements" throughout the world.[441] With this shift, UNHCR funding is more often allocated "to security requirements for relief workers and the delivery of supplies, rather than to refugees themselves."[442] Similarly, the UNHCR is increasingly working in refugees' countries of origin and in areas impacted by armed conflict, rather than working in the country of asylum, as was the trend pre-1990s.[443] Crisp (2003) suggests that this change in approach reflects growing "competition in the humanitarian sector."[444] Despite the UNHCR's changing and expanding role in responding to refugees and asylum-seekers, in 2010 Turkey and the UNHCR Office in Turkey still had not formalized a Host Country agreement[445] and with the beginning of the Syrian conflict, the Turkish government "chose not to cooperate with the UNHCR beyond ensuring supplies of tents for camps and overseeing voluntary return."[446]

However, with the increase in the number of Syrian movers to Turkey in the summer of 2012, Turkish government cooperation with the UNHCR "began to improve and intensify,"[447] and the UNHCR was allocated the oversight of the registration process for incoming Syrians at the end of 2012. As demands for registration increased, the UNHCR's capacity became insufficient and registration was further allocated to the Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM), a CSO implementing partner of the UNHCR.[448] Today, in contrast to past trends, the Turkish government is working very closely with the UNHCR Office in Ankara, particularly on status determination for refugees, as delineated in Law 6458.[449] Today, on-the-ground, UNHCR serves as a support mechanism to the Turkish authorities in its provision of core relief items and material and technical assistance for Syrians.[450] For 2014, the UNHCR had planned to focus much of their work in Turkey on Syrians, including "working with the government and partners in addressing the increased

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[441] Crisp 2003b, 76.

[442] Meissner, 88.

[443] Crisp 2003b, 79.

[444] Ibid.

[445] Soykan 2012, 39.

[446] Kirisci 2014, 38.

[447] Ibid., 38

[448] Ibid., 9.

[449] Kirisci 2007, 95; See UNHCR Syria Regional Response Plan March 2012.

[450] UNHCR 2014c.

number of arrivals of individuals seeking protection," maintaining cooperation with "the main ministries and State institutions" as well as assisting expert CSOs.[451]

Today, UNHCR's central role in supporting and cooperating with the Turkish government continues. As listed on the UNHCR's Syria Regional Refugee Response website, the agency's in-country partners include IOM Turkey, AFAD Turkey, *Kızılay*, the Turkish Republic Ministry of Health (*T.C. Sağlık Bakanlığı*), WFP Turkey and WHO Turkey.[452] Additionally, UNHCR coordinates with CSOs such as ASAM (discussed in Section 7.1.1) and the Human Resources Development Foundation (*İnsan Kaynağını Geliştirme Vakfı*) as implementing partners.[453] These lists illustrate the formal and documented cooperation between the UNHCR and the Turkish government as well as with International Organizations (IOs) and CSOs in Turkey. Although other reports argue that the "UNHCR provides only technical support to the government for registration, identification of vulnerable groups and [the adoption of] a community based approach in the camps,"[454] the UNHCR does additionally encourage and support the involvement of the international community as well as partnering and funding projects on the ground; although less a direct response to the needs of Syrians, it is nonetheless an important support mechanism to the overall response.

When interviewees were asked regarding their cooperation with UNHCR, the responses were high and positive. Six humanitarian and three human rights CSOs, as well as two international CSOs interviewed expressed their engagement with UNHCR in information sharing, more than with any other actor questioned (See Figure 5). Interviewees mentioned their organizations' participation in both international and national annual meetings (*Mülteci-Der* and *Cansuyu*, respectively) and local monthly and bi-monthly information sharing meetings (Anonymous CSOs). Additionally, five CSOs, including UNHCR's implementing partner ASAM, expressed their coordination with the UNHCR through joint project-implementation. However, other CSOs voiced more criticism of the UNHCR, despite their cooperation and information sharing. One representative from a Turkey-based human rights organization mentioned their adoption of a 'goodwill agreement' with the UNHCR rather than becoming an implementing partner: "…we get the cases and then we transfer these to the UNHCR here in Ankara if they want to claim asylum…our work is recognized by UNHCR,"

[451] UNHCR 2014a.

[452] UNHCR 2014b.

[453] UNHCR 2014c.

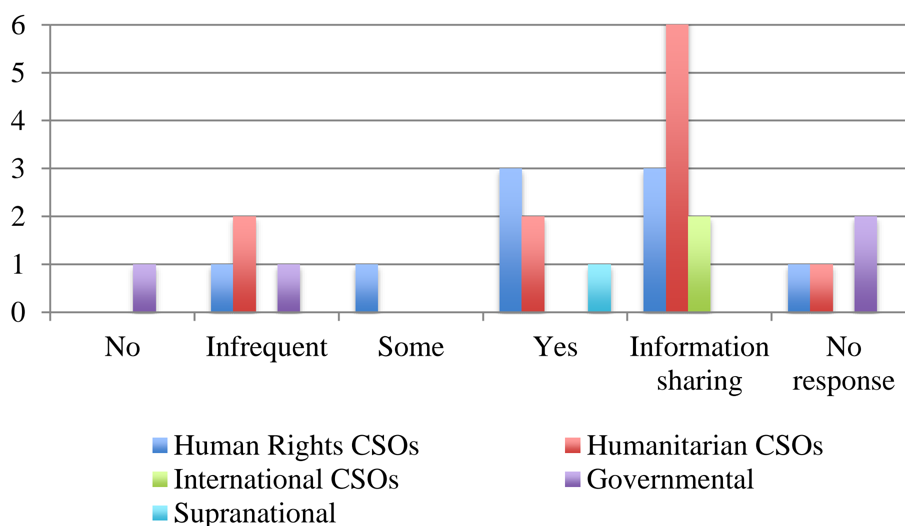
[454] Özden, 6.

while autonomy as an organization is still maintained.[455] Another Turkey-based human rights NGO, additionally noted their conscious choice to not become an implementing partner of UNHCR:

> They are in the position of last instance; once they decide to refuse something, we have no authority to object. They make wrong decisions from time to time and then they come under our criticism. Thus, this relationship is not coordination. I personally facilitate the coordination, but we have problems in terms of local communication.[456]

Other Turkey-based humanitarian CSOs voiced similar concerns: "There is coordination but they are very isolated. It is really hard to reach them. We have demanded appointments a couple of times, but it hasn't worked yet."[457] Another humanitarian representative succinctly summarized: "We see them occasionally carrying out some small activities in the camps, but it is not the way it should be. They should be engaged a lot more."[458]

Figure 5: Coordination with the UNHCR



[455]Interview with Turkey-based Human Rights Civil Society Representative 1.

[456] Interview with Turkey-based Human Rights Civil Society Representative 5.

[457] Interview with Turkey-based Human Rights Civil Society Representative 8.

[458] Interview with Turkey-based Human Rights Civil Society Representative 4.

Local level CSOs' perception of UNHCR disengagement from the field likely reflects the differing placement of CSOs and UNHCR in the migration management field and their divergent functions of governing Syrian migration. For local CSOs, the main priority is meeting the needs of Syrians on site and ensuring the fulfillment of their rights; with this aim, local CSOs likely perceive this work as the most important and therefore feel that the UNHCR and other national and international actors should also be more engaged at this level of governance. However, the UNHCR's location in the migration management governance field is much different than that of a local CSO. As a result, UNHCR has a broader scope that encompasses a multi-country response, funding of and partnerships with a range of CSOs, reforming and aligning national refugee policies and the oversight of registration and asylum applications (in special cases when applicable), in addition to meeting the needs of Syrians in multiple local settings. Beyond this disjuncture of the scope and position in the field of local CSOs versus UNHCR, some CSOs also resented that communication with the UNHCR - as with the national Turkish government agencies - has become more difficult since the enforcement of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection. As interviews were conducted at a time when the national government and UNHCR were becoming increasingly hesitant to share data and information with local CSOs and the public, the comments of such organizations likely also reflected these new emerging realities. Similar perceptions were also shared regarding the IOM - another key policy framing organization involved in national level migration management, but one almost all together absent from the on-the-ground migration management field.

6.2 International Organization for Migration, Turkey

After the UNHCR, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) can be categorized as the "second-largest intergovernmental organization in the field of migration"[459] and functions under the central motto: 'managing migration for the benefit of all.' The IOM functions independently from the UN and is not legitimized by international law.[460] Instead, the IOM functions as a private organization that, through contracts with federal governments, is delegated to frame and implement migration services.[461] As a result of this unique yet powerful functional role in the international arena, Ashutosh and Mountz (2011) categorize the IOM as having an 'in-between nature' and being 'in-between locations.'[462] Institutionally

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[459] Georgi, 46-47.

[460] Ibid.

[461] Ashutosh and Mountz, 22.

[462] Ibid.

it is not a CSO, but "is an inter-governmental organization whose 'members' are nation-states" and which "represents a novel form of neoliberal governance and is indicative of the transformations of sovereignty that extend beyond capital flows to include the management of migrant bodies."[463] Ashutosh and Mountz (2011) conclude, the IOM "stands at the intersection of the nation-state, international human rights regimes, and neo-liberal governance."[464]

This modern-day role of the IOM has roots in the post-World War II era. Following its founding as the Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe (PICMME) in 1951 in response to the high number of migrants displaced by the Second World War and its aftermath, PICMME underwent a number of name changes before becoming the IOM in 1989.[465] Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the organization worked closely with UNHCR to organize research projects and seminars as well as provide transportation and resettlement for migrants from non-European countries.[466] In the 1980s and in the beginning of the 1990s, as migration patterns shifted, "the IOM was now given the task of promoting the organized transfer and the regulated mobility of migrants, migrant workers, refugees, displaced persons and other individuals in need of international migration services."[467] Correspondingly, the IOM began new areas of work, including strengthening its research and policy, increasingly focusing on reducing trafficking and 'illegal migration' and building capacity.[468] It was during this time that Bimal Ghosh first envisioned the term 'migration management' (See Section 3.4.4) and the IOM first began its work in Turkey.

The Turkish government and IOM began working together in 1991 and signed a bilateral agreement in 1995; in November 2004, following the beginning of Turkey's EU accession process and in response to the influx of displaced persons from the 2003 Iraq War, Turkey became a full member of IOM.[469] This agreement and the response to displaced Iraqis in the early 2000s reflected IOM's increased engagement "in emergency and post-conflict operations" at the turn of the millennium.[470] The IOM additionally played an important role in guiding and accompanying the Turkish government's revision of migration policy and its

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[463] Ibid.

[464] Ibid.

[465] Georgi, 50.

[466] Ibid., 51.

[467] Ibid., 52.

[468] Ibid., 54.

[469] IOM 2014a.

[470] Georgi, 56-57.

harmonization with EU and international standards in the 2000s that have resulted in the recent enforcement of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection.

There are currently two IOM offices with thirty-four staff members engaged in thirteen IOM projects in Turkey, as well as working closely with the UN and affiliate agencies.[471] The IOM in Turkey's main objective "is to support the Turkish Government's efforts to establish an effective, human rights oriented approach to Turkey's regional migration challenges."[472] In this role, the IOM in Turkey "operates in areas of emergency refugee assistance, assisted voluntary return and almost every major aspect of migration management, including but not limited to promoting legal migration, migrant health and harnessing remittances."[473] Since 2010, the IOM has also been involved in development migration in Turkey. In 2013, the IOM published reports on human trafficking, irregular migration and migrant children and also has a publicity campaign to raise awareness for the national Turkish hotline *ALO 157*, a hotline for human trafficking assistance. According to IOM Turkey informational sheets that aim "to provide a brief overview of an IOM project, key area of activity or policy," IOM Turkey is engaged in various aspects of Turkish migration-related services, including counter-trafficking, immigration and border management, labour migration, migration and health, movement and resettlement, private sector and technical cooperation on migration.[474]

The IOM also works together with the Turkish government to support Syrians in the country. It has "declared the Syria crisis a [level 3] corporate emergency which facilitates immediate funding for life saving programmes" and prioritizes "provision of emergency shelter materials, distribution of non-food items, needs assessments/needs analysis, emergency healthcare and referrals, transportation…livelihood support."[475] From July to November 2013, the IOM worked with AFAD to provide "transport to more than 12,000 Syrians in Adiyaman camp" allowing their "access to medical facilities" and purchase of essential supplies.[476] Additionally in 2012 and 2013, the IOM assisted "with the provision of non-food relief items, water and sanitation facilities, transportation assistance, telecommunications equipment and

[471] IOM 2014a.

[472] Ibid.

[473] Ibid.

[474] IOM Informational Sheets, 2015.

[475] UNHCR 2014b.

[476] IOM 2013.

evacuation assistance."[477] Currently, the IOM continues with its "multi-sectoral assistance" by additionally focusing on its "winterization and voucher program in Hatay…access to schools in Urfa and Mersin provinces, and support for a food kitchen in Gaziantep."[478] The IOM also remains involved in resettlement programs, although the UNHCR is responsible for interviewing and approving applications in Turkey after which the process is handed over to the IOM to oversee the operational portion of the resettlement. As a result, although IOM contributes as an actor managing migration of Syrians in Turkey, their presence in the field is low; instead the IOM coordinates more directly with either the UNHCR or the Turkish government.

This low presence of the IOM directly in the field was reflected in the responses of interviewees when questioned regarding their coordination with the IOM; low levels or the absence of coordination with the IOM were noted across all levels of governance, with only one international CSO (International Medical Corps) and one Turkey-based CSO (IMPR Humanitarian) noting coordination and information sharing with the IOM, as see in Figure 6. Multiple interviewees expressed that they have no contact with IOM beyond seeing the IOM representative at UNHCR and working group meetings. A representative from a humanitarian CSO criticized IOM for not helping more in the field: "They came here several times. They do nothing but gather data."[479] This perception of the IOM as inactive and distant in its response reflects the IOM's top-down inter-workings with the Turkish government or UNHCR rather than with actors in the field.

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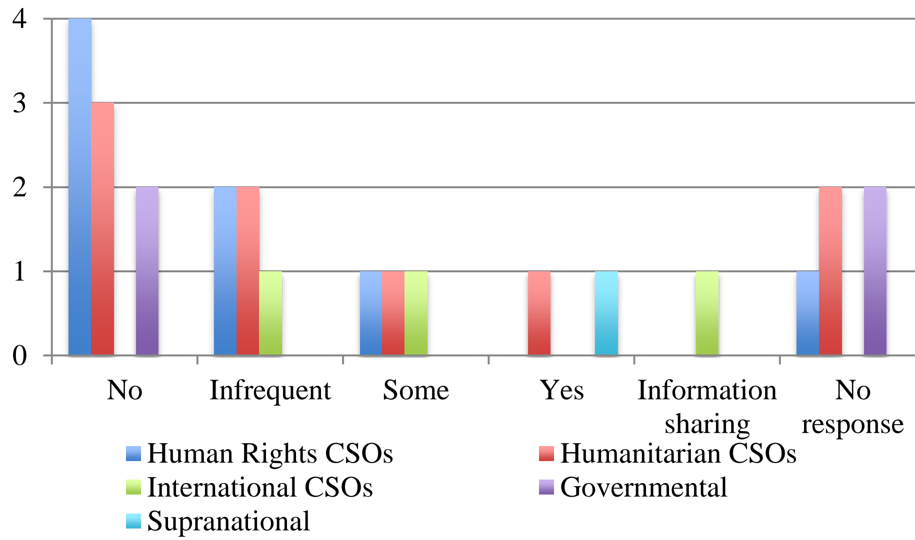
[477] Ibid.

[478] Reliefweb.

[479] Interview with Turkey-based Humanitarian Civil Society Representative 4.

Figure 6: Coordination with IOM



6.3 European Union

As outlined in Chapter Four, the EU has played a very influential role in framing and shaping Turkey's migration policies, particularly since Turkey began its EU accession process. Although the role of the EU in shaping and contributing to Turkey's harmonization and policy reform process has already been overviewed, it is important to also consider the contributions of this supranational organization when considering international and supranational actors involved in Turkey's migration management. One of the main ways that the EU supports Turkey's response to Syrian migration is through the European Commission's Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection Department (ECHO). ECHO offers funding - a total of 817 million Euro since January 2012 - that "provides medical emergency relief, protection, food and nutritional assistance, water, sanitation and hygiene, shelter, health and logistics services" both inside and outside of Syria.[480] In interviews, many respondents also optimistically mentioned their organizations' receipt of project or grant-based funding from ECHO for projects that go to support similar humanitarian aims for Syrians in Turkey.

In the future, the influential role of the EU in externally managing migration in Turkey is likely to continue and may become more encompassing. Recently, as irregular migration events - including smuggling, Mediterranean boat crossings and irregular border crossings - from Turkey and North Africa as geographic transit regions have become more prevalent in

[480] European Commission. "Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection."

European and world news, the EU is applying renewed pressure to these regions and to Turkey to reduce irregular and transit migration into the EU territory. Based on recent events as well as media reporting on and increased global awareness of these events, it becomes likely that national and EU mechanisms for securitizing and reducing irregular migration will continue as a trend that is currently changing and will impact the Turkey-EU migration foci of the future as well. In July 2015, Hungary prepared to build a border barrier to reduce irregular transit and the number of asylum seekers entering the country - and thus the EU - from Serbia. At the end of August 2015, the movement of Syrians and other migrant groups - at times successful and at times deadly - to the EU was the front page story of almost all international news sources. To illustrate just a few of the headlines regarding the distribution of Syrian and refugee related events in a variety of international news sources:

> August 24, 2015 in *The Guardian*:
> "Merkel and Hollande plan an EU-wide response to escalating migration crisis"
>
> August 25, 2015 in *The Washington Post*:
> "Refugees race into Hungary as border fence nears completion"
>
> August 25, 2015 from *ABC News*:
> "Up to 3,000 refugees, migrants expected every day in Macedonia, UNHCR"
>
> August 26, 2015 in *The Toronto Star*:
> "Greece has taken 200,000 migrants this year, minister says"
>
> August 27, 2015 in *The Guardian*:
> "Dozens of migrants found dead in parked lorry in Austria"
>
> August 28, 2015 in *The Washington Post*:
> "Boat sinks off the coast of Libya, killing as many as 200"

With the current movement of Syrians and other groups to the EU even being compared to the post-World War II refugee crisis,[481] the EU's focus on incoming movers and how to respond to Syrians and other groups seeking asylum within the EU is likely only to expand. As the EU also aims to increasingly externalize their governance of migration (to beyond their borders), how Turkey manages its migrants on the edge of these EU borders will continue to have an impact on the EU. As the successful and unsuccessful attempts of displaced Syrians, Iraqis and others to reach EU countries from Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan through regular and irregular transit become increasingly reported in international media and perceived as a global event, it becomes likely that not only the EU, but also the global community will turn to focus more on Turkey's governance of migration in the future as well.

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[481] Urban, "Europe is Facing the Biggest Refugee Crisis Since WWII."

6.4 International CSOs

As noted above, the Turkish government initially restricted incoming international aid and UN support until the second half of 2012. Since then, the Turkish government has, however, become more elastic in its response; today there is now broader inclusion of UN bodies, IOs and international CSOs engaged and incorporated in responding to and providing humanitarian relief to Syrians in Turkey. Although throughout the 2000s foreign associations remained unable to open branches in Turkey,[482] there are now a number of international CSOs operating and active in responding to the needs of displaced Syrians and Iraqis in Turkey as well as across the border in Syria and Iraq. Some such international CSOs based in Turkey include Big Heart Campaign (United Arab Emirates), Caritas (Catholic Church), Concern Worldwide (US), Hand in Hand for Syria (Syrian diaspora in the United Kingdom), Global Communities (US), International Medical Corps (US), Mercy Corps (US), Norwegian People's Aid, Norwegian Refugee Council and *Welt Hunger Hilfe* (Germany - World Hunger Assistance). Although there are a number of international CSOs with many offices across the country, acquiring interviews with this group was restricted by institutional provisions that limit formal interviews without the approval of the international headquarters as well as hesitations regarding sharing information that may have negative implications for continuing their work in Turkey. As a result, only four representatives from international CSOs agreed to interviews, including one interview with an International Medical Corps (IMC) representative from the Istanbul office and three representatives from international CSOs working in Gaziantep and Şanliurfa who requested they remain anonymous.

Similar to Turkish CSOs, the focus of many internationally-based CSOs working in Turkey is either emergency humanitarian assistance or human rights based; many international CSOs have additionally adopted 'resilience based' models, which intend to provide assistance in a way that will foster long-term self-sufficiency among Syrians. In categorizing such target groups, many of these CSOs focus on providing relief to 'vulnerable households' - families with low access to income such as single parent households or households with a family member who is chronically ill or disabled and families with pregnant or lactating women.[483] Some internationally-based CSOs, such as IMC, administrate their services through community, women's or multi-service centers where they offer nutrition assistance and training, distribute shelter kits or electronic cash cards for purchasing food and household goods, supply families with access to clothing stores, teach language, handicraft or skills classes to promote empowerment and self-sufficiency and serve as a first stop for access to

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[482] Bulut and Köşecik, 4.

[483] Interview with International Civil Society Representative 2.

health and psychosocial needs. Since internationally-based CSOs that have the capacity and funds to work in Turkey have broader access to project funding from UN, EU and national government grants and private foundations, these CSOs have a larger pool of funding than most Turkey-based CSOs and are able to subsequently provide monetary or personnel assistance for schools - including training teaching staff, covering the costs of teachers' salaries or pupils' transportation costs to school - or to the support and implementation of broader scale projects, such as the UN WASH program. Many humanitarian focused international CSOs are also involved in delivering and distributing food and non-food items inside the AFAD camps and camps across the border in Syria or Iraq.

IMC's work in Turkey, for example, has two components: Emergency Response and Multi-Service Centers (MSCs). Emergency Response teams offer "a holistic and integrated response including health, physical rehabilitation, nutrition, protection, gender-based violence services, mental health, psychosocial support, and non-food item distribution."[484] As explained in an interview with an IMC representative, the other main component of IMC's mission in Turkey is their MSCs in Istanbul-Tarlabaşı and Istanbul-Fatih, İzmit, Sakarya (focused on work with Iraqis) and Gaziantep; two new MSCs, one in Adana and another in Gaziantep, were scheduled to open as of March 2015. As the name suggests, MSCs aim to provide multiple services to Syrians and Iraqis in Turkey in the space of one building. It can be described as a multi-story building that contains an entry-level reception where rights are explained and needs are assessed; according to one's needs, the various floors of the building offer medical and psychological care, educational courses, nutrition assistance and baby and child-friendly spaces. In addition to working closely with UNICEF for the funding of its child and baby-friendly spaces, IMC has as one of its main implementing partners the Turkish CSO ASAM, and additionally receives funds from ECHO, US and British governmental departments, as well as private foundations such as the Melinda and Bill Gates Foundation and the Hilton Foundation.

The example case of IMC suggests that international CSOs working in Turkey would tend to have high levels of official cooperation with UN and EU organizations as well as the Turkish and international governments, in addition to occasionally and selectively arranging partnerships with Turkey-based CSOs. As expected, the additional international CSOs interviewed expressed high levels of cooperation with Turkey-based CSOs and high levels of information sharing with other international CSOs, the IOM and UNHCR. For example, an anonymous interviewee in Gaziantep categorized the organization's cooperation with Turkey-

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[484] International Medical Corps. "Turkey."

based CSOs as ‘very strong,’ using the evidence of working groups linking local and international CSOs and other international actors as well as promoting information sharing with IOM and UNHCR. [485] The responses regarding coordination with the Turkish government, however, differed. While some international CSO representatives expressed positive coordination with the Turkish government, others answered the question regarding coordination with Turkish government ironically:

> Since the beginning, we have been in dialogue with the Turkish government…The Turkish government is quite accepting of us and…at this conference that we had there was a good level of participation from the Turkish government, especially down in the south.[486]

> It is funny because I think the answer is expected to be bad. But we do advise them of what we are doing and we work in cooperation with the government…We need to do this to function…It is kind of understood that we have the blessing of the Turkish government, whether it’s said or not.[487]

This interviewee additionally expressed positive relations with AFAD, labeling them as ‘very friendly’: “[When we go to the camps] we’ll go and say hello and we have relationships with all of these groups on the ground.”[488] Another interviewee, however, noted the difficulty of working in Turkey as an international CSO due to the high taxes they are required to pay and “the complicated system of bureaucracy that inhibits their work” by requiring that each foreign CSO report to multiple local and international ministries and directorates for all of the various activities with which the CSO is engaged.[489] A Turkey-based CSO representative stated the potential for a greater presentation and participation of foreign CSOs in the Turkish response to Syrian movement, but noted that in order for that to be realized, a compromise to accommodate each other’s requirements must be put into place.[490]

6.5 Conclusion

Since the emergence of supranational and international organizations following the Second World War, these actors have become increasingly involved in regulating and governing national level politics and policies. When examining Turkey’s modern-day migration management, the role of actors such as the UN, EU and IOM in governing - from the top-down - national level governance cannot be overlooked. Having been influential in

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[485] Interview with International Civil Society Representative 2.

[486] Interview with International Civil Society Representative 6.

[487] Interview with International Civil Society Representative 2.

[488] Interview with International Civil Society Representative 2.

[489] Interview with International Civil Society Representative 1.

[490] Interview with Turkey-based Humanitarian Civil Society Representative 9.

guiding Turkish migration policy for multiple decades (See Chapter Four), the UN, EU and IOM have only recently become actively engaged in responding in the field of migration management of Syrian movers to Turkey. With the Turkish government's allowance for supranational and international organization engagement in responding to Syrian movement to Turkey in mid-2012, these actors and international civil society organizations based abroad have become key actors in this field. In the past three years, the international community has thus become an active member in addressing the humanitarian and human rights needs of Syrians on-the-ground as well as shaping and stipulating the national migration policies that govern them in Turkey.

This role of international and supranational actors in guiding national policy as well as collaborating with national and local actors in Turkey demonstrates the extent to which top-down global migration governance impacts the migration management field in one case country. On the ground, the UN agencies of WFP, UNICEF and UNHCR are additionally active players in the field respectively providing food, education, health and overall humanitarian assistance in coordination with the Turkish government and international and Turkey-based CSOs. Furthermore, the EU, the UN and its agencies play an essential coordinating role in building partnerships through regulating and funding many of the initiatives of international and Turkey-based CSOs as well as providing the Turkish government with financial, administrative and material support. The UNHCR, for example, serves an essential function as a coordinating body for arranging monthly and annual informational sharing meetings as well as facilitating working groups, in which many local and international CSOs participate to discuss needs in the field as well as the distribution of aid and goods. Although not visibly active in the field, the IOM also attends such information sharing meetings and works closely with the Turkish government and UNHCR at a higher level of administration. On the ground, however, international CSOs remain a key actor in responding to the needs of Syrians, particularly due to their experience in similar situations around the world, their international support and sources of funding as well as their potential for cooperating and fostering local CSO initiatives as an agent 'in-between' formal governmental, international or supranational agencies. If regulations for international CSOs' work in Turkey are eased, internationally-based CSOs may become even more important in providing and facilitating a cooperative response for Syrian support and integration in the long-term.

In these respective roles, supranational and international actors extend their ideological, financial and structural practices, discourses and norms not only to the national governmental level, but to the local governmental and civil societal levels as well. Although in many ways the national Turkish government remains as the central coordinator for migration management in the country - as outlined in Chapter Five, - supranational and

international actors' force in the Turkish migration management field at times determines and at other times supersedes the national government's force in the field. This broad and influential international presence in Turkey's provision of aid to and the fulfillment of basic rights of Syrian movers within its borders reflects the reality of a globalized and globally governed world, in which national conflicts spread beyond borders and governance of people occurs at various levels and through various actors. Simultaneously, the approach to and regulations of such events with global consequences are increasingly internationalized from the top-down. On the other side of the spectrum are, however, additional actors responding to Syrian movement into Turkey from the grassroots, local, civil society and network levels. These actors, in exerting governance into the migration management field from the bottom-up, fill another position in the migration management field. To complete the analysis of the multiple levels of governance in Turkey's migration management field, the next chapter will address how these civil society actors function, coordinate and contribute to the broader field of Turkey's migration governance.

CHAPTER 7

CIVIL SOCIETY MANAGEMENT: CSOS, MEDIA ASSOCIATIONS AND MIGRANT NETWORKS

Having introduced and analyzed the role of government actors - national and local - (Chapter 5) and the international and supranational actors (Chapter 6) most involved in the field of Turkey's migration management, this final chapter in Part II turns to examine the forces of actors engaged in governing migration of Syrians from the bottom-up - civil society. Working as a form of bottom-up governance, civil society "is constituted by various organizations, such as associations, foundations, professional organizations, trade unions, religious groups and media institutions, which are independent of state apparatus or formal administrative, judicial and parliamentary structures of state."[491] In a civil society - in theory at least - these independent apparatuses interact with each other freely and "state inspection and constraints are not all-powerful."[492] In the field of Turkey's migration management, civil society - particularly through the engagement of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the reporting of media associations - is also an essential component responding to and framing the discourse on Syrians in Turkey from the bottom-up. Although there has not traditionally been a strong civil society organization (CSO) base in Turkey, Turkey-based humanitarian and human rights CSOs are increasingly responding to the needs of Syrians in the country and catering their programs to address these needs or incorporating new aspects into existing programs that respond to these needs. Inevitably, media associations play a central role in selectively managing imagery and framing the language of the public discourse towards Syrians in Turkey. Additionally acting to informally provide aid to Syrians are migrant networks, which serve as the most local level hosts in welcoming Syrians, in responding to their needs and assisting during their stay in Turkey.

This chapter explores the Turkey-based civil society and migrant network perspective and response to Syrians in Turkey and the management of their migration. In the first section of the chapter, CSOs' general role in Turkey and the more specific roles of interviewed Turkey-based humanitarian and human rights CSOs will be analyzed. This section discusses selected humanitarian and human rights CSOs; due to the high number and broad range of such CSOs engaged in responding to Syrians' needs in Turkey, those selected for inclusion in

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[491] Bulut and Kösecik, 2.

[492] Ibid., 1-2.

analysis here include CSOs with which interviews were conducted as well as other remaining CSOs that play a major role in the migration management field. The second section of the chapter reflects briefly on the role of media associations based on opinions of interviewees regarding media coverage of Syrian migration and how media associations frame public discourse on Syrians in Turkey. The final section provides a theoretical overview of migrant networks in the field of migration management, using examples from the case of Syrians in Turkey. Recognizing the important role of bottom-up formal and informal civil society responses in 'articulating values and interests' as a form of 'checking' state power, this chapter focuses on the bottom-up governance of CSOs, media associations and migrant networks towards Syrian migration in Turkey.[493]

7.1 CSOs and Syrian Migration

In Turkey, civil society is considered weak, when relatively compared with other countries around the world. As Bulut and Kösecik (2002) state: "The development of civil society organizations in Turkey is still incomplete and their significance and influence level in Turkish society and politics is relatively low."[494] Regarding CSOs, an interviewee from a Turkey-based human rights NGO optimistically echoed: "…in Turkey NGOs are really very weak. They don't have any finances, they don't have any support from the government…but the NGOs are the ones who can change something."[495] The traditionally low influence of CSOs and NGOs emerges from Turkey's historical precedent of an Ottoman emphasis on "respect for authority…over citizen empowerment and participation" as one component of its 'modernization' efforts and the subsequent evolution of this concept under Kemalist ideology, which promoted a strong '*devlet baba'* (father state) and a norm of 'state corporatism.'[496] As a result of the traditionally strong state in Turkey, civil society has traditionally been weak. Prior to the 1980 military coup there were only 38,354 CSOs in Turkey,[497] a statistic comprising all "organizations outside state institutions or bodies set up by individuals on voluntary bases," including "'pressure groups,' 'interest groups,' 'democratic public organizations,'" and others.[498] Following the coup and the return to civilian rule, principles of a centralist state were increasingly rejected and new CSOs were increasingly established

[493] Kubicek, 761.

[494] Bulut and Köşecik, 2.

[495] Interview with Turkey-based Human Rights Civil Society Representative 7.

[496] Bulut and Köşecik, 2; Kubicek, 762-763.

[497] Şimşek, 48.

[498] Bulut and Köşecik, 2.

(including Human Rights Association - IHD, environmental, women's and community and economic development organizations).[499] CSOs continued to emerge during the 1980s and 1990s and again came under closer focus in 1999 following their "unexpected and unprecedented mobilization" response in searching for victims, providing supplies, legal advice and education services after the August 17, 1999 earthquake that caused extensive damage throughout the Marmara region and in Istanbul.[500] When the government constrained CSO engagement by centralizing earthquake relief efforts, "over one hundred NGOs published a manifesto in all the major newspapers, calling on the state not to centralize relief efforts and to extend gratitude to NGOs instead of belittling and threatening them."[501] The grassroots mobilization of relief and the subsequent resistance to state centralization of relief efforts illustrated the potential for civil society as "a vibrant force in Turkey."[502]

Since the August 17, 1999 earthquake, the role of CSOs and NGOs in Turkey remains limited, but increasingly optimistic. In 2004, there were about 61,000 CSOs in Turkey, one-third of which were located in the country's three largest cities (Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir).[503] According to the Third Sector Foundation of Turkey's (TÜSEV) 2011 report, the number of foundations had reached 4,547 in 2011 and associations numbered 86,031; additionally accounting for unions, trade associations and cooperatives, the number of CSOs in 2011 in Turkey totaled over 150,000.[504] The rise in the number of CSOs in Turkey reflects initiatives of the EU in encouraging the expansion of CSOs as a basis for fostering democracy,[505] as well as the 2004 enactment of a new Turkish Associations Law, which removed many of the former legal restrictions in place for such organizations and the subsequent adoption of a Foundations Law in 2008.[506] Although under these legal changes associations and foundations in Turkey are now able to form temporary platforms and initiatives, open representative offices abroad and are no longer required to obtain authorization for foreign funding or inform local government of general assembly meetings, additional legal barriers remain in place and further reform has not been initiated since 2008.[507]

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[499] Duncan and Doby, 44.

[500] Kubicek, 766.

[501] Ibid., 767.

[502] Jalali, 130.

[503] Şimşek, 48.

[504] TÜSEV, 14.

[505] Şimşek, 70.

[506] The International Center for Not-for-Profit Law.

[507] Ibid; See website for up-to-date information on Turkish legal policies concerning CSOs.

Since 2011, many CSOs in Turkey, particularly associations and occasionally unions, have become involved in responding to Syrian migration into the country. Much like the August 17, 1999 earthquake, the Syrian conflict and the resulting movement of Syrians into Turkey will likely become a turning point for the role of CSOs and their interactions with one another, with the government and with broader international actors. In examining CSOs responding to Syrian movement into Turkey, Turkey-based CSOs are subcategorized as either humanitarian or human rights focused. Although the missions of these CSOs incorporate aspects of both categorizations, by labeling the core mission as either humanitarian or human rights focused contributes to more specific analysis regarding cooperation.

7.1.1 Turkey-based Humanitarian CSOs

The first and initial need and response of CSOs in Turkey to Syrian movers has been a humanitarian one. As Massey et al. (1998) explain, "Humanitarian groups help migrants by providing counseling, social services, shelter, legal advice about how to obtain legitimate papers, and even insulation from immigration law enforcement authorities." [508] The humanitarian response addresses the initial and basic needs of shelter, food, clothing and health, commonly on the basis of religious and/or secular human rights principles. Many of the main secular and religiously motivated humanitarian CSOs working in Turkey also have an international and transnational presence in addition to their work in providing non-discriminatory humanitarian relief to Syrians in Turkey. Here, selected key secular and religious humanitarian CSOs, including organizations with which interviews were conducted, their work and coordination will be overviewed to demonstrate the response and coordination efforts occurring from the civil society level.

7.1.1.1 An Overview of Selected Secular Humanitarian CSOs

The largest and oldest humanitarian organization in Turkey, the modern Turkish Red Crescent (*Kızılay*), has developed from 'Hilâl-i Ahmer Cemiyeti,' founded by the Ottoman Empire in 1868 and today offers a range of domestic and international services promoting health, including supporting blood donation, hosting a call center, bottling mineral water, responding to national emergencies such as earthquakes and supporting longer-term international projects.[509] Although *Kızılay* is legally a nonprofit CSO, it works together so closely with the Turkish government and AFAD - including receiving funding from the Turkish national government - that it is often perceived as part of the government. Therefore, although it is included here as a secular humanitarian CSO, it should be considered as having a unique categorization: Although a humanitarian CSO, its responsibilities and role have

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[508] Massey et al, 44. See Christiansen 1996.

[509] Türk Kızılayı.

become almost fully integrated as a governmental function. Due to this unique status and close governmental affiliation, *Kızılay* was one of the first organizations to respond to Syrian entry into Turkey since 2011. It has been working particularly close with the Turkish government and the Emergency and Disaster Management Presidency (AFAD) to extend humanitarian relief to Syrians inside the AFAD-run camps.

The Association for Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM) is a less governmental CSO than *Kızılay*, but still holds a unique in-between position given its close cooperation in assisting the Turkish government. ASAM also receives extensive support from abroad, including from European Union (EU) programs, United States (US) offices, the British Embassy, International Medical Corps (IMC), Concern Worldwide, and the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees (UNHCR).[510] The organization was founded in December 1995 in Ankara with the aim of solving problems faced by migrants, including access to basic and human rights and fundamental needs; ASAM's work includes providing psycho-social, rights and legal counseling and providing initial health services in conjunction with IMC's multi-service centers.[511] Today, ASAM has sixteen offices and its workers in twenty-one cities include those registering asylum seekers and migrants, psychologists, social workers, health educators and language interpreters.[512] In its role as an implementing partner of the UNHCR and due to the strain on UNHCR staff and facilities, ASAM's services were employed through 2013 and 2014 to aid the UNHCR in pre-registering asylum seekers.[513] As explained by an ASAM representative, the UNHCR also supports ASAM's Emergency Response Program, which is active in providing Syrians in Suruç with food assistance, mats, bedding, blankets, kitchen sets and feminine hygiene products. A representative from the ASAM Gaziantep multi-service center described regional coordination with UNHCR, UNICEF, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the Turkish government as 'very good', and a colleague in the Şanliurfa field office affirmed this opinion; both representatives stated that there was, contrastingly, no current coordination with the Directorate General for Migration Management (GDMM).

International Middle East Peace Research (IMPR) Humanitarian emerged from the Ankara-based International Middle East Peace Research Center, a research center to promote broader academic and research perspectives on the region, from the region. IMPR's partners and donors include UNHCR, United Nations Population Fund, EU Humanitarian Aid and

[510] SGDD 2014b, 5-7; 13.

[511] SGDD, 2014a.

[512] Ibid.

[513] Kirisci 2014, 9; SGDD 2014b, 2.

Civil Protection (ECHO), the US Department of State, the Danish Refugee Council, Save the Children, International Rescue Committee and IMPR; unlike ASAM, IMPR Humanitarian works as an independent organization, rather than as an implementing partner of any of its partners or donors. As an IMPR Humanitarian representative explained, IMPR was working in the region prior to the Arab Spring and therefore immediately began work after the onset of the Syrian crisis through a joint project with the UNHCR to fulfill basic needs of Syrians living outside of the camps in the provinces of Batman, Diyarbakir, Mardin and Şanliurfa. Since this initial project, IMPR Humanitarian has expanded their work along the border from Hatay to Mersin and also now works in Ankara. In Şanliurfa, IMPR Humanitarian runs both a community and a women's center that offer psychosocial support, vocational training and other forms of educational courses for Syrians displaced there. A representative from the Şanliurfa community center noted coordination with IOM, AFAD and *Kızılay*, in addition to extensive coordination with international CSOs and close coordination with UNHCR; while coordination with the government occurred on the local level, only limited coordination with the GDMM was noted.

Support to Life is another Turkey-based humanitarian CSO that works in the country and the region to offer humanitarian protection and assistance and post-disaster relief and recovery on the basis of a community-based approach that aims to involve the community and the affected population as much as possible. As explained in an interview, Support to Life supports an e-card voucher assistance program and a protection program - including a community center that provides psycho-social support and in-house and outreach to the community - for Syrians, as well as offering similar programs for displaced Iraqis in Turkey. In addition to having *Diakonie* Emergency Aid[514] as an international CSO partner (until 2013 work was coordinated with the Danish Refugee Council), the association works mainly on institutional grants from UNHCR, UNICEF, IOM and ECHO. Although there is no direct coordination reported between Support to Life and local CSOs, there is information sharing at UNHCR Cluster meetings and an initiative aimed to partner international CSOs with local Turkish affiliates. Beyond formal coordination with the Turkish government, there is close communication with local governments and local AFAD offices, although there is no regular contact with the GDMM. One-on-one meetings occur regularly with IOM and UNHCR.

An interview was additionally conducted with *Imkander,* an association founded in 2009 to support refugees of the Circassian war and their families who reside in Turkey. Interestingly, although the association's work and mission centers on supporting Circassians

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[514] *Diakonie* is a Germany-based social welfare organization of German Protestant Churches; for more information, see www.diakonie.de.

in Turkey, since the beginning of the conflict in Syria, Syrians have approached the association for assistance and the association also now accepts requests for assistance from Syrian families, women and individuals in need. Community members are able to donate money to support provisions of food, clothing, blankets and medication for Syrians. Together with Circassian women, Syrian women now also attend Turkish courses offered by the association.

7.1.1.2 An Overview of Selected Religious Humanitarian CSOs

Interviews were conducted with representatives from offices of three of the largest and most predominant Turkey-based religious humanitarian CSOs: *Cansuyu*, *İnsan Hak ve Hürriyet Vakfi* (IHH) and *Kimse Yok Mu* Association (KYM). Although these associations all have broader missions of domestic and international humanitarian relief, since the beginning of the Syrian conflict and the movement of Syrians to Turkey, these relief organizations have also raised numerous funds and offered support for Syrians in Turkey and in the region.

IHH is a Turkey-based humanitarian relief foundation that was institutionalized in 1995 and works domestically and internationally in providing basic needs such as water, blankets, cleaning supplies, feminine hygiene products and baby formula following a disaster, emergency or during a war; IHH has also been active in responding to the needs of Syrians in Turkey since the beginning of the Syrian conflict and was initially most active in distributing goods and medication directly in the camps. Since then, IHH support has continued through fundraising campaigns, such as the December 2012 'One Bread One Blanket' campaign that was supported by religious, governmental and civil society organizations across Turkey, including AFAD and *Kızılay*.[515] However, IHH also works more locally. For example, in the city of Şanliurfa, IHH supports Syrians registered with the organization by providing direct donations of food, assistance with home repairs, cash assistance and psychological, medication and health support. IHH has also participated in cross-border transport and the delivery of humanitarian aid to Syrians in their aid offices across the border.[516] IHH Şanliurfa works together with other Şanliurfa-based CSOs as a member of the Şanliurfa Humanitarian Aid CSO Platform (*Şanliurfa Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları İnsani Yardım Platformu;* See Section 5.4.1) as a means of fostering communication and coordinating relief efforts. Through regular meetings with other CSOs and occasional meetings with AFAD and *Kızılay*, this cooperation effort helps regulate which organizations have distributed aid where, how and in what form and how this reflects the needs among applicants. Beyond the local level, the IHH interviewee also expressed positive and frequent coordination with government, AFAD and *Kızılay* representatives, while coordination with the GDMM, IOM and UNHCR were less frequent,

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[515] IHH, 2014c.

[516] IHH, 2014b.

but were still described as positive; only relations with international CSOs were described negatively.

KYM was officially founded in 2002 after emerging as a relief organization during the 1999 Marmara earthquake. KYM is financed completely by donations - monetary and in-kind - which have been received from over 3.26 million people since the organization's establishment. These donations are either allocated for a specific project or location (*şartlı bağış*) or are given as general donations. As of April 2015, KYM had assisted 110,000 Syrians in Adana, Gaziantep, Hatay, Kilis, Malatya and Osmaniye through donations of over 70 million Turkish Lira (TL); in Kilis, KYM additionally runs a food truck that provides 3500-4000 Syrians with hot food and in Malatya KYM contributes to the school in one of the AFAD camps. KYM also supports the UNHCR's e-card voucher system. Main coordination occurs with local AFAD offices, UNHCR and UNICEF.

Cansuyu was founded in 2005 and works as a Turkey-based religious CSO that aims to provide those suffering from terror, disaster and war in Turkey and abroad with food, baby formula, clothes, health services, education, fuel, housing and shelter, opportunities for marriage and to start a family, employment and residence. *Cansuyu* has been supporting Syrians since the beginning of the conflict and provides support and basic needs items to Syrians in Turkey and Lebanon in addition to sending convoys of aid supplies into Syria from Turkey. The organization also focuses on raising awareness and fundraising for necessary donations and supplies, as in their 'One Bread for Syria' campaign, which invites individuals to engage in the project by giving donations, volunteering, giving their contact information or simply praying.[517] *Cansuyu*'s coordination with the Turkish government is newly emerging through participation in AFAD's meetings and support of their work in the camps, although there was no reported coordination with GDMM in a February 2015 interview. A *Cansuyu* representative reported that the organization does not have any coordination with the IOM and that UNHCR coordination is limited to participating in its annual meetings and occasional one-on-one meetings.

7.1.2 Turkey-based Human Rights CSOs

Beyond the humanitarian focus, Turkey-based human rights CSOs address additional rights-based needs of Syrians and other individuals and groups. Often their work is less coordinated with the national government than the work of humanitarian CSOs and, as a result, human rights CSOs often take on a role juxtaposed against the government as a 'non-governmental' organization. As Griffin (2013) notes: "Human rights nongovernmental

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[517] Cansuyu, 2014b.

organizations (HRNGOs) play a key role in protecting and promoting human rights around the world."[518] Nationally, regionally and internationally, HRNGOs are an acknowledged player in the civil society field and one to which the EU, governments, CSOs and the community turn for assistance.[519] In addition to the presence and active role of transnational HRNGOs in Turkey, such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, national and local Turkey-based HRNGOs are also an increasingly important player and claims maker in the field.

As Syrian movement into Turkey has continued over the past four years, human rights needs of Syrians have joined humanitarian needs as an area of concern for Syrian migrants. Human rights violations have demanded that overarching human rights CSOs, refugee rights organizations and CSOs focused on ensuring the rights of other specific minority groups become engaged in responding to the human rights issues facing Syrians in Turkey as well. Therefore, interviews were also conducted with a total of eight representatives from seven Turkey-based human rights focused CSOs that are active in responding to the Syrian movers to Turkey, even if this was not previously the focus of their organization. Three of the interviewed human rights CSOs work as broad and all-encompassing human rights CSOs (*Mazlumder,* Human Rights Association - IHD, and Helsinki Citizens Assembly - HYD), two as refugee rights CSOs (*Mülteci-Der* and International Refugee Rights Association) and two in supporting the human rights of a specifically targeted minority group (*Göç-Der* and *Kaos-GL*). These CSOs, their work and an overview of their interworkings are outlined below.

7.1.2.1 Mazlumder

Established in 1991, *Mazlumder* now has thirty offices promoting human rights and human rights awareness through seminars, conferences, panels and symposiums in nearly all of Turkey's main cities.[520] As an organization working in the promotion of general human rights, *Mazlumder*'s work has included publications and conferences regarding freedom of expression, the press and separation of power, judicial independence, the democratization question and the 'Kurdish question' in Turkey, as well as reports on the Arab Spring in Tunisia, Egypt, Syria and Bahrain. *Mazlumder* has also become involved in the human rights concerns of Syrians in Turkey, particularly since Syrian movers began residing outside of AFAD camps and their initial funds began to run out, forcing some to resort to begging, to living with multiple large families in small unsanitary homes and Syrian girls and women to engage in prostitution or marry a second time. In May 2014, for example, *Mazlumder* published a very

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[518] Griffin, 5.

[519] Ibid.

[520] Mazlumder, 2014a.

thorough compilation on the lives of Syrian women living outside of refugee camps in Turkey.[521] As such, *Mazlumder* aims to provide academic and public information on the human rights violations of Syrians in Turkey, as well as occasionally offer direct services to this group. This is achieved through cooperation with local CSOs and, in some cases, *Mazlumder's* functioning as an umbrella organization that coordinates local level CSO projects and initiatives. This role of Turkey-based CSOs as a facilitator of coordination with other local and like-minded CSOs suggests an important form of governance in which multiple organizations combine their skills and assets to manage migration - and other issues - together. While it happens on a larger metropolitan and provincial scale through platform initiatives such as the one in Şanliurfa (discussed in Section 5.1.2), coordination of local and smaller scale CSOs is also occurring - often under the guidance of one larger CSO, such as *Mazlumder.* In Ankara *Mazlumder*'s coordination includes CSOs such as *İnsan hakları örgütü*, IHD and other smaller scale CSOs; in Gaziantep, coordination includes *Bülbülzade*, IHH, *Vahdet Der*, *Sufa Der* and *Ilim Yayma* as well as informational sharing meetings with the Turkish government and occasional meetings with GDMM and UNHCR.

7.1.2.2 Human Rights Joint Platform (IHOP)

The Human Rights Joint Platform (IHOP) was founded in 2005 as a collaborative initiative between Helsinki Citizens Assembly (HYD), Human Rights Association (IHD), *Mazlumder*, Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (TIHV) and Amnesty International Turkey.[522] After TIHV and *Mazlumder* separated from the platform in 2007 and 2009, respectively, and two new members joined in 2013, the current collaborators of the platform include HYD, Human Rights Research Association (IHAD), IHD, the Human Rights Agenda Association (IHGD) and Amnesty International Turkey.[523] IHOP is an independent sharing environment for these five groups concerning progress of human rights, freedoms and democracy in Turkey in the form of events, working groups and strategic goal planning.[524] Concerning migration, the platform has hosted a Turkey Refugee Rights Coordination Group since 2010 that includes the additional participation of *Mazlumder* (discussed above) and

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[521] Mazlumder, 2014b.

[522] IHOP, "Kurumsal Yapı."

[523] Ibid.

[524] Ibid.

Mülteci-Der (discussed subsequently).[525] The Coordination Group aims to increase awareness of the problems facing refugees and 'irregular migrants' in Turkey, particularly with regards to state migration policies, monitoring of applications, EU institution-building efforts and international human rights norms.[526]

Interviews were conducted with two NGOs involved in IHOP: HYD and IHD. In 1986, prison-convicts, authors, journalists, doctors, lawyers, architects, academics, engineers and members of various occupational groups joined together and established IHD. In 2015, the volunteer association had thirty active offices across the country, with the Ankara and Diyarbakir offices serving as central offices. Victims of human rights violations are able to bring their cases to IHD, which in turn meets with related institutions, prepares a press release, organizes protests and writes reports. The majority of cases involve political individuals, but since 2011 Syrian applicants experiencing human rights violations have also submitted applications to IHD. IHD has also published reports on the human rights violations and needs of Syrians. To aid their activities, the Gaziantep IHD office cooperates with local CSOs such as *Bülbülzade*, *Ka-Der* and *Mazlumder*.

Five years after the founding of IHD, diverse writers, academicians and activists founded HYD in Istanbul in 1991 as a local NGO, but overtime HYD has also become engaged in international activities and now has a network in France and England. As an HYD representative described, the Assembly works on topics of human rights, democratization, EU, minorities, peace and reconciliation, environmental sustainability, human protection, and - now since the beginning of the 2000s - support for refugees through research, the production of publications and the organization of events. Beyond IHOP, HYD also coordinates with international CSOs, AFAD and UNHCR; while HYD has a relationship with the GDMM and the IOM, it does not extend to direct coordination.

7.1.2.3 Topic Focused Human Rights CSOs

While *Mazlumder* and the NGOs involved in IHOP work as general human rights CSOs, other CSOs engaged in the response to Syrian movers in Turkey are focused on one target group with regards to human rights. As would be expected, refugee rights focused CSOs, such as *Mülteci-Der* and International Refugee Rights Association, are also responding to Syrian migration. *Mülteci-Der* was founded in 2007 in Izmir, with the aim of assisting irregular migrants in the Izmir district of Basmane, one of the points for irregular Mediterranean boat crossings to Greece. Initially, this assistance was focused on distributing humanitarian aid, but now assistance has evolved to focus on providing migrants and asylum seekers with legal

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[525] IHOP, "Türkiye Mülteci Hakları Koordinasyonu."

[526] IHOP, "Türkiye Mülteci Hakları Dernegi."

assistance about access to and claiming asylum in Turkey; the cases of those who are interested are then transferred to the UNHCR Turkey office in Ankara, with which *Mülteci-Der* has a goodwill agreement. The association is funded through project grants from ECHO and previously also had support of the Netherlands Embassy, Norwegian Refugee Council and the EU; in addition to being a member of the IHOP Refugee Rights Coordination group, *Mülteci-Der* has close coordination with other CSOs in Izmir - including unions, - attends international UNHCR meetings and also works with *ProAsyl*, a refugee rights organization in Germany, for supplying data for written reports on Greece and Turkey in exchange for funding. Although coordination with the Turkish government and GDMM was previously good, since the adoption of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection, relations have become more strained.

The International Refugee Rights Association is a new association formed in 2013 in response to the high number of refugees and Syrians in Turkey. The association aims to fill a perceived gap in the humanitarian and human rights response to refugees in the country, namely legal assistance regarding opening a case, deportation and the residence process. Based in Istanbul and working in twenty-six provinces in Turkey, the International Refugee Rights Association coordinates occasionally with organizations such as Amnesty International Turkey, ASAM, IHH, *Mülteci-Der* and UNHCR.

In addition to refugee focused CSOs that have now broadened their target population to also focus on protecting and ensuring the rights of Syrians, interviews were also conducted with two non-refugee focused CSOs that have nonetheless become engaged in working with Syrians: *Göç-Der* -focusing on the Kurdish diaspora in Western Turkey - and *Kaos-GL* - focused on the rights of individuals identifying as lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender (LGBT) in Turkey. Although the position of general human rights and refugee-related CSOs in Turkey's migration management field is logical, the location of two non-refugee focused NGOs in governing migration management may be less expected. Although *Göç-Der* is focused on the Kurdish diaspora that had been forced to migrate from Southeast and Eastern Turkey to the Marmara Region in the 1990s, they are now also engaged in initial support for Syrian Kurds, including participating in migrant network campaigns to gather money and products for Kurds in Kobani. Due to their specific target group of Kurds in Turkey, they have now expanded their work to also address the needs of Syrians in Turkey who are ethnically Kurdish. Similarly, *Kaos-GL*, with its broader mission of 'struggling for LGBT rights in all kinds of fields,' also has a responsibility to provide social and legal assistance for LGBT refugees during their stay in Turkey. As a result, *Kaos-GL* is also involved in assisting LGBT Syrians, particularly in contacting the UNHCR to register for resettlement, since UNHCR considers LGBT Syrians a 'vulnerable' group that is therefore eligible for resettlement.

7.1.3 Discussion Regarding CSOs in Turkey

The Turkey-based CSOs overviewed above represent only a small fraction of the CSOs active across the country at the local and national levels of migration management. However, the engagement of these Turkey-based CSOs - even those which previously had neither a humanitarian, human rights nor migration focus - in the field of migration management gives a glimpse into how migration management of Syrians has now become broadly governed by various actors from various levels and with various aims. As outlined above, most CSOs expressed most common coordination with other Turkey-based CSOs; such high-levels of coordination are also reflected in the efforts of joint platforms, such as IHOP. When the responses of CSOs regarding cooperation are isolated and hierarchically graphed, as shown in Figure 7, it suggests that while cooperation is most prevalent with other Turkey-based CSOs, cooperation decreases as the level of governance becomes increasingly national and international. Interestingly, however, CSO cooperation with UNHCR remains higher than would be expected given the low levels of cooperation with the national government and the IOM; this high level of cooperation with UNHCR likely reflects UNHCR's role as a funder and joint partner in many local CSO projects. Although international ties with the UNHCR are somewhat stronger than national ones, horizontal ties with other CSOs (both local and international) remain the strongest indicated level of cooperation.

The trends of responses regarding CSOs' coordination in the form of information sharing are, however, distinct from CSOs' direct cooperation. This is seen in Figure 8, in which the isolated responses of CSOs regarding information sharing are hierarchically categorized. While CSO cooperation suggested more horizontal CSO-level linkage, information sharing has strong vertical trends, with frequent information sharing with UNHCR and the Turkish government, as well as some CSO-level ties. When all types of organizations are considered, information sharing is contrastingly strongest with the UNHCR, followed by the Turkish government, local CSOs and the GDMM; coordination through information sharing is more evenly distributed than cooperation levels, suggesting that information sharing occurs more commonly across both vertical and horizontal levels whereas direct cooperation remains more horizontal. Regarding vertical information sharing, CSOs reported high levels of coordination through information sharing with the UNHCR, whereas most CSOs did not cooperate or share information with the IOM. Some interviewees mentioned occasional coordination with the IOM, but noted that such coordination was most commonly instead facilitated by the UNHCR.

Figure 7: Cooperation of Civil Society Organizations

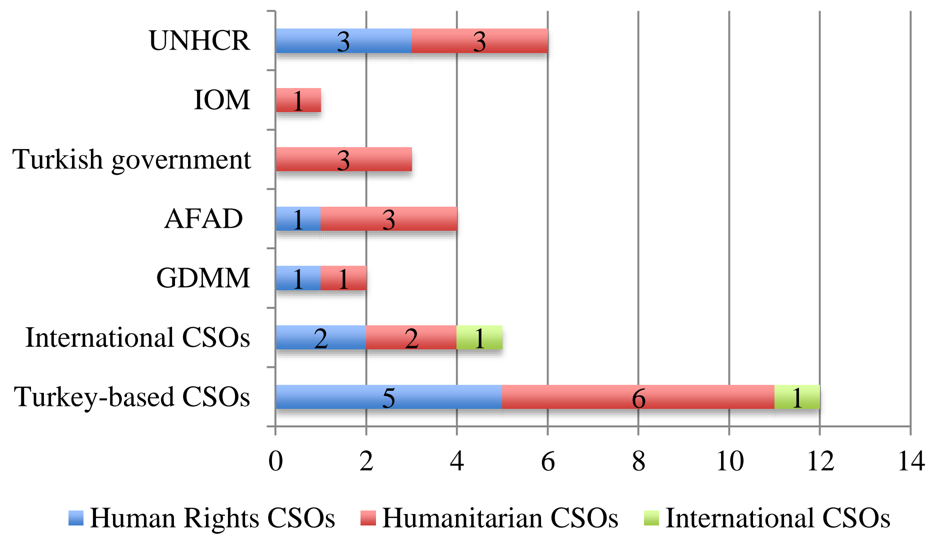
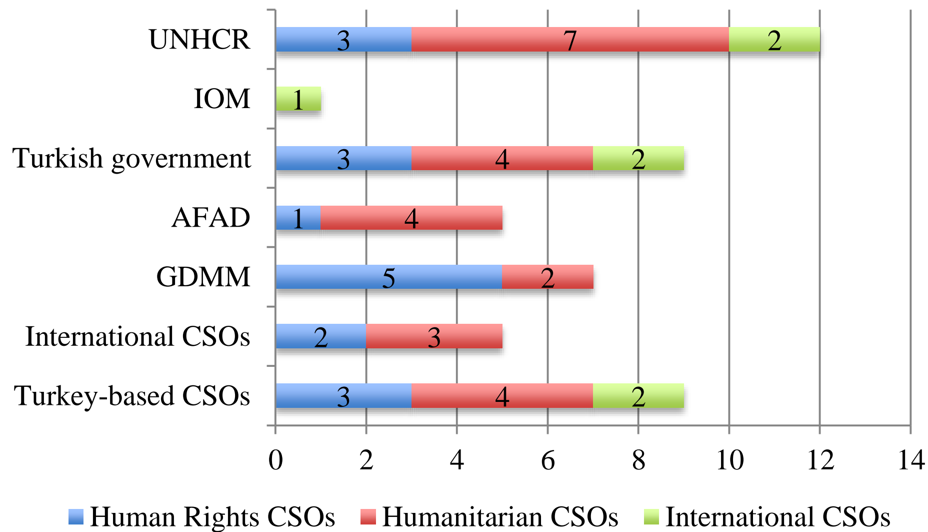


Figure 8: Information Sharing of Civil Society Organizations



With high levels of both cooperation and information sharing among Turkey-based and international CSOs, these initial results suggest that horizontal cooperation and information sharing at the CSO-level are common. Information, however, is more commonly shared from those working directly in the field to the higher-level bodies, such as the Turkish national government and UNHCR. Interestingly, Turkey-based humanitarian CSOs and international CSOs have vertical cooperation with the Turkish government and with AFAD, whereas Turkey-based human rights CSOs do not, but the majority do participate in information sharing with the GDMM (See Figures 2-4 and analysis in Section 5.5). The

existence of vertical coordination reinforces the important reality of Turkey's migration management governance occurring from the bottom-up - from the local to the national and supranational. This differentiated coordination likely reflects the differing position of humanitarian, international and human rights CSOs in the field of migration management. Since humanitarian and international CSOs often work more closely AFAD and governmental initiatives in providing relief, their coordination reflects this closeness in the field. Contrastingly, human rights CSOs often have a more 'non-governmental' focus that aims to control and 'check' the functions of the government; with their additional legal perspective on human rights, multiple human rights CSOs discussed above mentioned their previous involvement with the GDMM in shaping and drafting the Law on Foreigners and International Protection. Both the 'non-governmental' and legal aspects of human rights CSOs have contributed to the present-day rapport with the GDMM rather than other governmental agencies, such as AFAD (See analysis in Section 5.3). With the new national directorate serving as the responsible government branch for migration management, the level of reported coordination regarding CSOs' coordination with the GDMM seems lower than would be expected. This, however, is likely to change as the directorate's mission and the tasks of its employees evolve overtime.

7.2 Perceptions on Media Associations' Coverage of Syrian Migration in Turkey

When functioning independently from the government, media associations enter the field as another key civil society actor. As in the case of crises, domestic or international events and longer-term social movements, media shapes and is shaped by the events on which it reports. With regards to social movements, Tarrow (1999) points out that media can even *transform* an event; rather than being "neutral bystanders in the framing of movement events… the media is affected by the structure of the media industry," as well as by sympathetic journalists, corporate aims to sell newspapers and the goal of increasing viewership.[527] In humanitarian aid work, the reality is that the media also plays a central role in determining to which crises or regions the public will target their donations and consequently to where aid will be delivered. As a representative from a Turkey-based humanitarian CSO noted: "The Turkish media's reflection of the world's problems plays an important role. If a topic is heavily emphasized in the media, citizens direct their donation towards it, and we align donations accordingly."[528] Another interviewee echoed this opinion, further asserting:

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[527] Tarrow, 116.

[528] Interview with Turkey-based Humanitarian Civil Society Representative 5.

> I think also the media's focus on particular communities and towns [being impacted by the Syrian crisis] directs the international eye to those places, whereas it's not always the most vulnerable place. So for example, there are camps that nobody beyond humanitarian workers and people living on the border or in Turkey have heard of…it's just a lack of good reporting…a mismatch between the needs and where international attention is going…[529]

Another interviewee reflected on the 'mismatch' of media reporting and reality: following the September 2014 Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) attack of the border town of Kobani, the town gained international news coverage around the world; now however, the town is no longer visible in the media and it is as if the liberalization has been completed, but that is in reality not the case.[530]

Although media coverage of Syrians is not the central focus of this research, sixteen interviewees responded to the question "What do you think about media coverage of [the problems facing the Turkish government, Turkish society and Syrians] in Turkey?" in their interviews. In addition to stating their personal opinions, most respondents voiced their observations regarding the topics that are reported in the media regarding Syrians and the discourse that these reports promote. Interviewees stated that although there was initially limited or only positive media coverage regarding Syrians in the country to reinforce the message that the Turkish government and citizens were effectively helping Syrians (three respondents), the media coverage of Syrians now focuses heavily on negative events such as demonstrations, violent encounters or attacks, perceived economic consequences and perceived stereotypes (nine respondents).[531]The perception of media among those interviewed suggests media's common role in either positively or negatively - rather than objectively or realistically - portraying an issue to its audiences. Although it is true that each media source presents a different message corresponding with their politics, most respondents expressed that the current media coverage shows Syrians in a negative light, contributes to the production of hate speech[532] and the creation of polarized enemy groups in society.[533] For example, a 2014 report by the Turkey-based human rights NGO IHD includes examples of three articles' exemplifying local media's negative portrayal of Syrians; their headlines read:

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[529] Interview with International Civil Society Representative 2.

[530] Interview with Local Governmental Representative 1.

[531] See also the July 2014 IHD report, "Gaziantep İlinde Yaşayan Suriyeli Sığınmacıların Durumuna İlişkin Rapor" for specific examples of media coverage of Syrians in Gaziantep.

[532] Interview with Turkey-based Human Rights Civil Society Representative 1.

[533] Interview with Turkey-based Human Rights Civil Society Representative 3.

Syrian Refugees in Karkamış and Nizip Raise Tension, Injured Soldiers[534]

Head of the barbers becoming Syrian[535]

Syrian anger turned to action[536]

In all of these articles, being Syrian is portrayed as negative by linking 'Syrians' with violent and angry acts; the second headline portrays someone - negatively - 'becoming' Syrian. Some examples of headlines regarding Syrians published during the time period when interviews were conducted further illustrate the negative media portrayal of Syrians:

In Izmir tension between Syrians and Shopkeepers[537]

Syrian's Fight in Izmir ends bloodily[538]

Although two interviewees did note the positive efforts of media - in reporting on gender-based violence issues, the potential for media as a promoter of humanitarian fundraising campaigns to aid Syrians and the slight improvement in media not being as negative now as it was one year ago - the majority of interviewees did not describe the media associations' portrayal of Syrians in Turkey positively. As one interviewee noted: "Media looks for the scandal types of things, not the real matters. It may help if they do their job, their humanitarian job…In this case, I would advise them to just forget about their media mission, to look for the humanitarian mission. So that they can assist the people who try to help [Syrians]."[539] As a CSO, media associations play a central role in shaping public opinion and future research should consider the role of the media to a broader extent.

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[534] Translated from the Turkish: "Suriyeli Mülteciler Karkamış ve Nizip'te Olay Çıkarttı. Yaralı Askerler Var," 5 February 2013. http://www.gaziantephaberler.com/suriyeli-multeciler-karkamis-ve-nizipte-olay-cikartti-yarali-askerler-var-haberi-25527.html; See IHD 2014.

[535] Translated from the Turkish: "Berberlerin başkanı Suriyeli oluyor," 13 June 2014. http://gaziantep27.net/guncel-berberlerin-baskani-suriyeli-oluyor-477779.html; See IHD 2014.

[536] Translated from the Turkish: "Suriyeli öfkesi eyleme dönüştü," 8 July 2014. http://gaziantep27.net/asayis-suriyeli-ofkesi-eyleme-donustu-478371.html; See IHD 2014.

[537] Translated from the Turkish: "İzmir'de Esnaf ve Suriyeliler Arasında

Gerginlik."*Haberler.com*. 13 May 2015, Accessed 14 September 2015, http://www.haberler.com/izmirde-esnaf-ve-suriyeliler-arasinda-gerginlik-7307321-haberi/.

[538] Translated from the Turkish: "İzmir'deki Suriyelilerin Kavgası Kanlı Bitti." *Haberler.com.* 28 May 2015, Accessed 14 September 2015. http://www.haberler.com/izmir-deki-suriyelilerin-kavgasi-kanli-bitti-7357531-haberi/.

[539] Interview with National Governmental Representative 3.

7.3 Migrant Networks

Migrant networks, also known as 'auspices' of migration (Tilly and Brown 1967), 'migration chains' (MacDonald and MacDonald 1974), or the 'family and friends effect (Levy and Wadycki 1973),[540] are an important phenomenon, because they change patterns of migration. As "interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin," migrant networks raise opportunities of migration by lowering costs, decreasing risk and increasing returns.[541] Not only shaping economic migration, migrant networks also impact the desired destination for individuals and families who are forced to migrate. Where new migrants already have local villagers or family members living or are assured that they can receive institutionalized support, migration becomes more certain and safe. As a result, at the most basic level migrant networks are familial and function informally rather than being organized as formal CSOs. As Danis et al. (2009) note in a case study of Iraqi, Afghan, Maghrebi and Iranian migrants in Istanbul, familial ties offer principal and primary support for survival, incorporation and overall assistance and relief, "regardless of the national, ethnic, religious or economic status."[542] Until recently in southern Turkey, Syrian families living along both sides of the border were divided from relatives by a border that did not historically prevent movement, trade or exchange back and forth between the two countries. For many families in this situation, migrating to Turkey at the onset of violence in Syria merely meant coming to stay with relatives here on this side of the border. It is the families hosting such movers that respond most directly to the needs of their Syrian family members for clothing, housing and income.

Linguistic, ethnic and religious affiliations also serve as a basis for the formation of migrant networks and create a possibility for constructive social capital.[543] For example, Syrian Turkmens' ethnic and linguistic affiliation with Turks allows for easier language learning and incorporation into society. For Syrian Kurds, for example, ethnic ties have served as an essential basis for the establishment of networks; *Göç-Der* functions in many ways as such a facilitating migrant network. According to *Göç-Der* and Association for Monitoring Equal Rights' (EŞIT) publication of interviews conducted with Syrian Kurds, the majority of interviewees commented that they had not received any assistance from the government and

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[540] Massey et al., 43.

[541] Ibid., 42-3.

[542] Danis et al., 457.

[543] Ibid., 457-458.

instead relied much more heavily on local Kurdish networks and connections with relatives and families.[544] Of the nineteen Syrian Kurds interviewed in the study by EŞIT, six mention the importance of familial presence as a reason for coming to Istanbul and eleven acknowledge assistance from 'Kurdish friends' and 'Kurdish neighbors.'[545] As one interviewee further explained, Kurdish networks in Istanbul function on the basis of solidarity, particularly after the ISIS attack of Kobani in September 2014[546] and the attack of Suruç in July 2015. Now, Turkish and Syrian Kurds work together to assist Syrian Kurds in Turkey with clothes, personal items, food supplies and finding jobs. The Kurdish community in Istanbul also "established a campaign to collect money and buy products, like pads for women, for Kurds in Kobani."[547] Like linguistic and ethnic affiliations, religious affiliations provide similar support, with Christian Turks or foreigners in Turkey offering support to Syrian Yazidis and Christians and Sunni CSOs and mosque communities supporting Syrian Sunni Muslims in Turkey.

Despite the potential for similar religious, ethnic and linguistic affiliations to produce effective networks that foster positive social capital, in other cases, aid on the basis of such affiliations has inversely led to negative results. This was the case for Turkish *Alevis* (adherers to *Alevism,* a mystical branch of Islam) in Istanbul's Gaziosmanpaşa district who opened their Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Association's assembly and worship house (*cemevi*) for Syrian Alawites (adherers to a branch of Shia Islam) to stay there in September 2013.[548] Although the two religious groups have important distinctions in belief and practices, the similarities among the two groups presented a basis for affiliation in providing this Syrian group with assistance and shelter. However, this assistance was perceived as unfavorable by some, as evident in the evening attack of the *cemevi* days after the Alawites were welcomed in.[549] Two gunmen came to the *cemevi* looking for the Syrians and threatened the association members, claiming: "You can't allow Syrians to stay here."[550] Although no one was injured, the attack suggests that

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[544] Göç Edenler, 25-31.

[545] Ibid.

[546] Interview with Turkey-based Human Rights Civil Society Representative 7.

[547] Ibid.

[548] See "Suriyeli aleviler artık cemevinde." *Milliyet Gazetesi,* 1 September 2013. Accessed 14 September 2015, http://www.milliyet.com.tr/sadece-insan-gibi-yasamak istiyoruz/gundem/detay/1757460/default.htm.

[549] See "Suriyeli Alevilerin sığındığı cemevine silahlı saldırı." *Radikal.com.tr,* 7 September 2013. Accessed 14 September 2015 http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/suriyeli_alevilerin_sigindigi_cemevine_silahli_saldiri-1149706.

[550] Ibid.

attempts by civil society and migrant networks are not always viewed favorably either within the association or within the broader community.[551] Representatives from the *cemevi* claimed that the attack was related with Turkey's Syria politics, but whether this is true or not was not known.[552] As this example suggests, although migrant networks offer a valuable opportunity to foster positive social capital on the basis of similar religious, ethnic and linguistic bases, such initiatives are not always successful.

Although interviews were not conducted with Syrians or Turkish citizens regarding participation in migrant networks in the framework of this research, additional ethnographic research should be conducted to understand how these transnational networks are initiated, function, expand and how long they continue to play such an important role in a large scale migration, such as that of Syrians to Turkey.

7.4 Conclusion

Actors at the civil society level of the management field, including humanitarian and human rights organizations, media associations and migrant networks, comprise the most foundational response level to Syrians residing in Turkey. By working on-the-ground with Syrians themselves, CSOs and migrant networks are often most attune with continuing and emerging humanitarian and human rights needs and are able to best assess how these needs can be fulfilled. Media associations, contrastingly, select the on-the-ground needs and events of Syrian migration on which to report; this power allows private media to not only govern what civilians know about Syrian migration, but to also shape how they think about and perceive Syrian migration and how it is being managed. In these roles, media, networks and organizations reporting on or engaged in Syrian migration contribute to how Syrian migration in Turkey is governed from the bottom-up.

Working on-the-ground in the field, CSOs and NGOs gain valuable information regarding the number, demographics, distribution and needs of Syrians in the country. Holding this information that is essential for regulating - and thus governing - the Syrian population, CSOs and their on-the-ground knowledge become very valuable for other actors in the field as well. Through vertically sharing such information with the UNHCR and the Turkish government - at the local and national levels - from the bottom-up, local CSOs become central actors in making the local-level needs known to higher levels of administration and thus governing national and supranational decisions in the migration management field. While contributing to supranational and national methods of governance, local CSOs also benefit

[551] Ibid.

[552] Ibid

from this joint-governance in the form of funds or partnerships - such as ASAM with both the Turkish government and UNHCR or HYD and *Mülteci-Der* with the UNHCR - or through their ability to influence government decision-making and policy - such as *Mülteci-Der*'s ability to take part in drafting the Law on Foreigners and International Protection. By further coordinating horizontally with other local CSOs and the local government through sharing information, establishing and collaborating in joint platforms, facilitating joint activities or publishing collective reports, CSOs' force in the field becomes stronger through their unification of governance. When CSOs, such as *Mazlumder*, adopt a coordinating umbrella function for smaller CSOs, a broader and more effective response to local needs occurs.

For these reasons, the position of CSOs in the migration management field adds a critical role in governing migration management as well as determining how other actors in the field govern Syrian movers. While current coordination contributes significantly to how the migration management field is governed, even greater coordination and communication of the actors in the field could be more effective and efficient in sharing information, allocating responsibilities, enforcing legal parameters, regulating movement and residency of Syrians and - from a human rights perspective, most importantly - meeting the needs of Syrian movers themselves. Humanitarian and human rights CSOs are working to address the respective humanitarian and human rights needs of Syrians, but as Syrians likely become longer-term permanent residents in Turkey, Turkey-based CSOs with a focus on integration would be beneficial for filling this current gap. Additionally, although horizontal cooperation with other local and Turkey-based CSOs was common among interviewee responses, interaction with international CSOs was limited. This may be associated with a language problem, in that many Turkey-based CSOs do not include staff fluent in English or other foreign languages essential for fostering such coordination, accessing internationally published reports and statistics or applying for grant funding; it could also reflect a disjuncture resulting from foreign CSOs' unawareness of legal policies and constraints under which Turkey-based CSOs are required to function.

While this chapter has focused on the role of humanitarian and human rights organizations, media associations, and migrant networks as key actors from Turkish civil society in responding to Syrians in Turkey, additional research should expand discussion of the role of media associations and migrant networks. Longitudinal discourse analysis of the coverage, language and visual portrayal of Syrians in multiple diverse Turkish and international media sources would draw a clearer conclusion regarding the role of the media in impacting Turkish and international public opinion regarding the Syrian conflict and Syrians in Turkey. Additionally, transnational ethnographic research on familial, ethnic, linguistic and religious migrant networks would contribute to a better understanding of migrant networks through analysis of a new and emerging case.

Having outlined the main actors engaged in the Turkish migration management field, it becomes clear that the governance of Syrians within Turkey is not solely the responsibility of the national Turkish government. Instead, as Part II has outlined, governance and management of migration in Turkey engages both government and civil society actors across all levels; Turkey's migration is managed by migrant networks, humanitarian and human rights organizations and local governments from the bottom-up and supranational and international organizations from the top-down. At the national level, the Turkish national government - including AFAD, the GDMM, the national Police and a variety of ministries - as well as national public media and nationally-based civil society organizations are both governed and are governing the actors below and above them. Particularly in the case of Turkey, the European Union also plays a pronounced role in governing Turkey's migration management field through determining national governmental policies, but also through funding local and national civil societal projects and programs. As Part II of this text has illustrated by examining the diverse levels of the field, Turkey's field of migration management has been impacted by global migration governance. Today in governing migration, bottom-up and top-down actors join with the national government in attempting to coordinate or 'manage' Syrian movers to Turkey.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

In applying concepts of global migration governance to analyze the field of migration management with regards to Syrian movement to Turkey, this research has focused on how Turkey governs and manages difference. In examining Syrian movement as a case for how migration management governance occurs at the national level, the extent to which Turkey's migration governance is internationalized and Europeanized from the top-down by external international, supranational and regional actors becomes pronounced. At the same time, Turkey's civil society and local government actors are contributing to Turkey's migration management from the bottom-up. These distinct and emerging roles of the local, national, regional, international and supranational actors in governing the field of modern-day Syrian movement to Turkey have been framed and developed in the context of historical global and Turkish migration patterns, policies and models of governance. With this approach it becomes apparent that although movement to and from Turkey (and around the globe) has long been the norm, Turkey's migration patterns and policies have historically fostered immigration along ethnic and religious similarity; until recently Turkey has functioned as a net emigration country. Since the new millennium, however, Turkey is now increasingly facing immigration of non-Turkish and non-Muslim individuals and groups as it emerges as a net immigration country. As a result, Turkey is today not only working to increasingly manage its migration, but also to respond to its migrants' cultural, linguistic, religious and ethnic differences.

Since the 2011 outbreak of the Syrian Civil War and the subsequent rise of the Islamic State of Syria and Iraq (ISIS), those fleeing to Turkey include more Syrians and Iraqis each day. As of August 2015, 1.9 million registered Syrians resided in Turkey. As a result, Turkey is the regional country receiving the most displaced Syrians and is now the country hosting

more refugees than any other country in the world.[553] These changing domestic-level migration patterns in Turkey are occurring simultaneously as the country continues to reform its national-level policies to harmonize with regional European Union (EU) and global standards in a post-9/11 era in which migration is increasingly securitized and globally governed. As a result of evolving national, regional and global trends in migration patterns and policies, new methods of governance have emerged. Today's migration governance adopts economic and business practices of 'management' from the private sector, encourages new migration policies and occurs on multiple levels through the incorporation of global actors (such as the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees - UNHCR, - and International Organization for Migration - IOM) and emerging local civil society actors (including civil society organizations - CSOs, - non-governmental organizations - NGOs) to join national governmental migration management. Accompanying these new migration management actors and practices, new discourses have emerged evoking human rights, emphasizing proactivity and ensuring checks and balances in managing flows and movement of people. As these emerging actors, practices and discourses have developed in the current global framework, global migration governance and international migration discourses increasingly emphasize cooperation between governments as well as civil society actors in the field. How these trends of cooperation and information sharing among supranational, international, national and local governmental and civil society actors occur in Turkey's management of Syrians have been outlined in Part II.

To what extent can we, therefore, speak of a migration management system or a field of migration management in Turkey? In returning to this overarching question posed at the onset in framing the research, interviews and analysis offered thus far, this concluding chapter will explicitly address and answer this and the other research questions regarding the field of migration management in Turkey, how this system works in the global migration governance system and how this system functions in responding to the needs of Syrians in Turkey.

8.1 Migration management in Turkey: Observed and Perceived

The first question guiding this research questioned what migration management is and how it is understood, framed and implemented in Turkey. As outlined in Chapter Three, migration management has emerged since the 1990s from a previous discourse of migration

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[553] UNHCR. "Syria Regional Refugee Response"; Although Turkey does not legally consider Syrians as refugees, the UNHCR does; this legal differentiation means that according to UNHCR statistics, Turkey now hosts more refugees than any other country.

control (See Table 1). The IOM has been a key and central actor in labeling and defining migration management as:

> …encompass[ing] numerous governmental functions within a national system for the orderly and humane management for cross-border migration, particularly managing the entry and presence of foreigners within the borders of the State and the protection of refugees and others in need of protection. It refers to a planned approach to the development of policy, legislative and administrative responses to key migration issues.[554]

This definition acknowledges the necessity of a 'planned approach' to fulfill 'numerous governmental functions within a national system.' According to theories of global migration governance, in a global era, the 'planned approach' to fulfill these 'numerous governmental functions' incorporates and relies on cooperation among various levels of governance. In Turkey, since the enforcement of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection in April 2014, migration management is now the delegated responsibility of the Interior Ministry's newly established General Directorate of Migration Management (GDMM). As the national government's designated new governing body for administering a 'planned approach' to migration, the GDMM is still in initial stages of regulating and establishing its policy, legislative and administrative responses to migration, as it continues to hire and train its staff, open provincial offices and take-over migration-related responsibilities from the National Police, UNHCR, and other ministries. Although GDMM works closely with IOM and UNHCR, few CSO representatives interviewed in this research expressed coordination with the GDMM.

Both globally and in Turkey, the extent to which the concepts of migration control and migration management distinctly differ still remains unclear despite the conscious shift towards a 'management' discourse by many institutions and countries, including Turkey. Within Turkey's migration management field, 'migration management' remains an over-used, poorly defined yet popular catchphrase, just as within the global community. Curious about actors in the field of migration's understandings of this obtuse term, at the conclusion of interviews conducted for this research respondents were open-endedly asked regarding their understandings of the term 'migration management,' which institutions are responsible for this management in Turkey and the role of their organization in Turkey's migration management system. The broad range of responses of seventeen interviewees regarding their understanding of the term 'migration management' seem to reflect the term's overuse as a popular catchphrase. Two respondents admitted their unfamiliarity with the term, while four linked it with government communication with, understanding of and fulfilling the needs of migrants.

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[554] IOM, "Key Migration Terms."

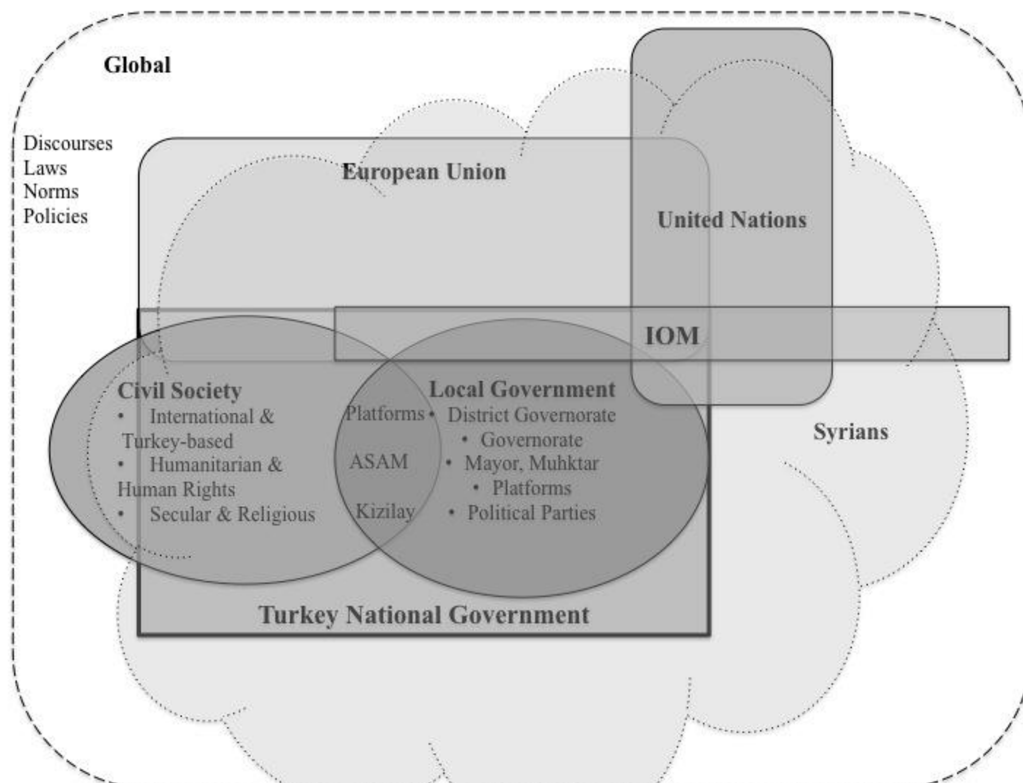
Three linked the term with policy, two with border crossings and control, two with a decrease of east-west migration, and one respondent each mentioned migration management in terms of coordination, planning or history. Despite the range of responses regarding the meaning of the term, respondents agreed that migration management in Turkey is the responsibility of the GDMM (nine respondents, seven of which mentioned GDMM first as the leading responsible body). Seven interviewees noted the 'ministries' (with five specifying the Ministry of Interior) and five the 'government' as responsible bodies. Six respondents each stated the Disaster and Emergency Management Authority (AFAD) and civil society as responsible actors and three respondents each mentioned the responsibility of the police and Turkish Red Crescent (*Kızılay*). Only two respondents each mentioned the responsibility of international CSOs and local government. While it is unclear whether the GDMM was listed as the most important responsible actor in responding to Turkish migration management due to the associated inclusion of 'migration management' in its directorate title or whether interviewees actually regard this directorate as most responsible, the discourse of migration management and the directorate's linked responsibility are at least being successfully transmitted. Despite very diverse understandings of the term 'migration management' a majority of respondents assign this responsibility to the GDMM, with just over 40% mentioning the GDMM first in the line of responsibility. Although only six respondents attributed CSOs a responsibility in migration management, of thirteen CSO representatives, ten responded that their organization was involved in Turkey's migration management in some way, whether through supportive information sharing (five respondents), advocacy for migrants and raising awareness (three respondents) or humanitarian support for migrants (two respondents). Two interviewees each expressed their desire to be more involved in the regulation, planning and implementation of Turkish migration policy.

These responses from actors in the field suggest that despite the absence of a unified concept of migration management, the term and its implementation remain framed as a responsibility of the GDMM and the Turkish ministries and government. Although the governmental role remains perceived as the central responsible entity in the implementation of migration management, civil society organizations are also eager to be more involved in implementing and claiming stakes in this managerial process. These responses suggest that despite a lack of clarity regarding migration management as a term, among actors engaged in responding to Syrian movers in the country, the concept of migration management in Turkey is understood as a coordinated effort at which the GDMM, Ministry of Interior and national government are central. Although migration management remains state-central, there is also coordination and influence from other levels of actors; it is therefore possible to talk about a migration management field in Turkey.

8.2 Turkey's migration management and global governance

The second question framing this research focuses on how the global governance system functions in the field of Turkish migration management and who exercises power in this field. An answer to the first half of this research question (2a) - how Turkey's migration management field works as one part of the global migration governance system - requires examining Turkey's migration management field in a broader global context. Although Turkey's governance of migration occurs at the national level - through ministries and their agencies, such as AFAD and GDMM - the national context within which migration is approached has been globally governed. By again zooming out to view the global context for Turkey's migration management, as illustrated in Figure 9, it becomes clearer as to how Turkey's migration management field works as one part of the global migration governance system. With its placement in a global context, Turkey's migration management is influenced by international norms, global trends of multilateralism and increased local involvement and discourses framing migration, such as securitization. Framers of global migration governance - such as the United Nations (UN), IOM and EU - and their requirements for membership and cooperation have also been adopted by the national Turkish government in how migration is nationally governed.

Figure 9: The Global Location of Turkey's Field of Migration Management



The second part of this research question (2b) questioned who exercises power within the field of Turkish migration management and how, and how this is evident in the tactics, discourses, struggles and contestations of each actor. The main actors exercising power in governing Turkey's migration management field are included in Figure 9 and, as the diagram suggests, the assertion of power is both multi-tiered and multi-sided. The exercise of power is multi-tiered through its inclusion of actors at various levels of governance: supranational (UN), international (IOM, international CSOs), regional (EU), national (Turkish government, civil society actors and joint cooperative platforms) and local (government and civil society actors). At the same time, however, the actors exercising power are also multi-sided, meaning that they are diverse and polarized; on the broad scale, actors can be distinguished as governmental versus civil societal, while within the civil societal actors in Turkey's governance further divisions include secular versus religious, humanitarian versus human rights focused and politically conservative versus politically liberal. Thus, the actors involved in governing Turkey's migration management are neither vertically nor horizontally uniform.

Given these actors, who asserts power? At the center of the field, the Turkish national government wants to maintain power - and sovereignty - over their national territory by also regulating the governance of migration into and within its borders. Within the national governmental structure AFAD and - increasingly - the GDMM act as the coordinating bodies for migration management; however these agencies' power in the field is limited since the national government, not its agencies, has the power to determine how these agencies act. This assertion of power becomes more complex when we consider that the power of the national government is framed by international and EU norms; in reality, the national government's adherence to these norms is governed from the top-down. Additionally, local and international governmental and civil societal actors working in the field give the national government power through cooperating from the bottom-up and through sharing information. Since government, according to Foucault, serves as the 'conduct of conduct' and governmentality the 'conduct of populations,' governance of migration management similarly requires the ability to conduct and manage populations, organizations and government; thus the national government's governance requires the raw numbers, information, data and statistics regarding the Syrian population, statistics to which actors working on-the-ground have access and which they are able to collect. Given these contributions of actors from various levels of governance, it becomes clear that Turkey's migration management field is placed in a broader global migration governance framework in which power is asserted and influenced by a variety of actors.

As such, power is not unified in this governance structure. Instead, there is a disjuncture between those asserting power externally or from the top-down and those

positioned and acting in the field. These contestations can be drawn on multiple nexus. For example, policy shapers - the IOM, EU, UN and national government - and their assertion of power in the form of the implementation of international norms and new policy regulations are disjointed and often distanced from the work of the local government and international and local CSOs working on-the-ground to govern migration locally. Due to this disjuncture, local actors often remain unaware as to how international and nationally asserted policies and legal implications should be enforced in the field. As a result, nationally asserted policies may, in practice, remain unenforced in the field and struggles arise, as a result, between these two components of actors. Similar contestations of power also occur along the schisms of governmental versus civil societal, within which CSOs engaged in governing migration contest between humanitarian and human rights focused, religious and secular and pro-AKP and pro-opposition party politics.

This contestation of power is exemplified in the discourses used by various actors along these various spectra to discuss Syrians and their migration. When referring to Syrians and their movement to Turkey, the Turkish national government, religious and pro-AKP actors use the discourses of 'guests' or 'brothers' to emphasize a religious 'duty' or 'obligation' to 'welcome' and 'host' Syrians in the country. Actors more oriented towards policy implementation refer to Syrians according to their legal status as persons or groups 'under temporary protection'; among more human-rights focused governmental, UNHCR and CSO representatives this status shifts to label Syrians as 'refugees' and 'displaced persons' even if this discourse clashes with their legal standing within Turkey. Regarding the migration of Syrians, international and human rights actors frame the movement of Syrians as a humanitarian 'crisis' while the media proclaims a refugee 'crisis' and migration scholars, an 'influx' of Syrians; all three of these discourses reflect the global migration governance discourse of migration's securitization and the national government's need to secure and guard itself and its citizens from such 'crises' and 'influxes.' Through discourses and tactics such as these, the multiple actors in Turkey's migration management field contribute to its governance while at the same time being governed by the other actors in the field holding the power of data (local on-the-grounds actors), the expertise of international practices (UN, EU and IOM) and the facilitation of coordinative governance (UN, IOM, EU, national government and CSOs).

8.3 The field of migration management in Turkey

Given all of these actors and their assertions of power in governing and being governed by other actors in the field, where are these actors placed in Turkey's migration management field and how do they relate - do they coordinate through working together or instead compete against one another? The third question framing this research focuses on this

element of Turkey's migration management field by questioning how international, European, national and local governmental and CSOs organize and work together or compete against one another in this field for resources.

The second part of this text has outlined the key actors engaged in responding to Syrian migration in Turkey and, I argue, therefore key actors in the field of Turkish migration management. At the national governmental level, the actors engaged in the response to Syrian movers include a number of ministries, as well as AFAD, the Turkish National Police and the new GDMM who have each taken leadership in coordinating response efforts; as the transition of coordinating responsibilities to the GDMM is completed, the GDMM has become the key actor engaged in overseeing and incorporating the numerous governmental functions of migration management, although a successfully integrated management that includes international and local CSOs does not yet seem to be a reality. This national management is strongly influenced from above by UN and IOM input, as well as the regional role of the EU. These actors assert influence over the Turkish national government in shaping migration policies and also, since the end of 2012, work together with AFAD and the GDMM to respectively assist with relief efforts in the camps and oversee asylum applications and resettlement initiatives. These supranational actors, particularly the UN and EU, further play a central role in funding and supporting the work of international and Turkish CSOs and NGOs providing humanitarian and human rights support to Syrians in Turkey on-the-ground; often through such funding agreements, elements of global governance are further asserted through requirements for implementing apparatuses such as progress benchmarking, assessment based distribution of funds, performance-related budgeting, and contracting-out. On-the-ground, migrant networks and local governments join international and Turkey-based CSOs in informally contributing to fulfill Syrians' humanitarian and human rights needs.

Along with the introduction of each actor, how these actors relate to and coordinate with other actors in the field has also been overviewed. The responses of interviewed actors regarding their relationships and links with other major actors in the field have been visualized in Figures 2-6 and discussed throughout Part II of the text. From these analyses, it is possible to assert some generalized claims regarding the relationships of international, European, national and local governmental and civil society actors in the field. Regarding relationships of CSOs with the national Turkish government, all humanitarian CSOs interviewed claim some form of cooperation or information sharing with the Turkish government and coordination with AFAD is particularly strong due to its humanitarian relief focus in the camps. While human rights CSOs share information with the Turkish government, most noted no or infrequent cooperation with the government; instead their cooperation with the national government more commonly materialized in the form of cooperation with the GDMM, likely due to the legal focus of human rights organizations, with which GDMM is most engaged.

Contrastingly, international CSOs share information with the Turkish government - likely because this is one of the stipulations for their permission to work within the country - and have some cooperation and information sharing with both AFAD and GDMM.

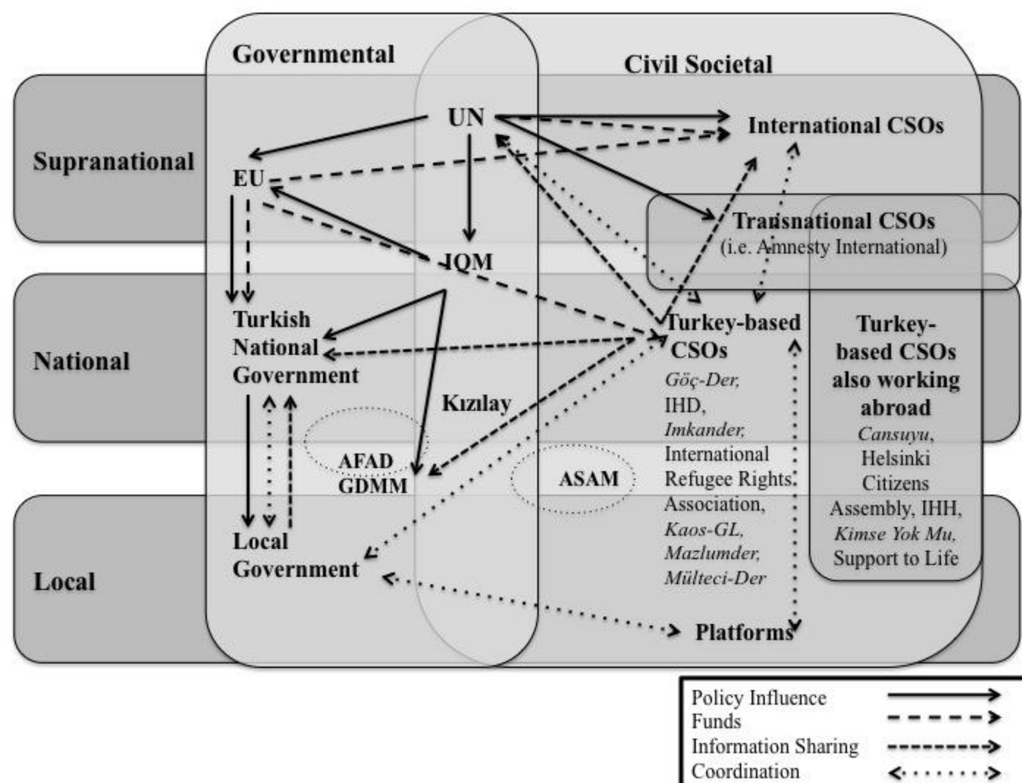
Relationships of CSOs with international and supranational actors varied dependent upon which organization was discussed. With the supranational UNHCR, humanitarian and international CSOs expressed relationships in which information was widely shared, while humanitarian CSOs also asserted cooperation with UNHCR. Some human rights CSOs similarly expressed sharing information and cooperating with UNHCR. These high levels of information sharing from CSOs to the UNHCR likely reflect the UNHCR's organization of and participation in regular information sharing meetings at the local levels; additional cooperation is fostered in the form of UNHCR partnerships and project funding for local CSOs. Contrastingly, little coordination or information sharing was expressed by CSOs with the IOM. This likely reflects the disjuncture of IOM as a policy-shaping organization while most CSOs work responding to Syrian migration on-the-ground.

CSOs play a key role in governing other actors in the field through the sharing of information from the bottom-up. CSO cooperation is strongest with the UNHCR, then among other local CSOs and finally with the Turkish government. Similarly, information is most widely shared among CSOs at the local level in addition to being shared to international CSOs and the UNHCR in higher tiers. The analysis of these key actors engaged in responding to migration in Turkey and their cooperative and information-sharing based coordination suggests that there are disjunctures in the field and how migration management is governed at each level; the most basic distinctions in the field are between governmental and civil societal actors as well as between these actors' levels of governance - local, national, regional, international and supranational. These distinctions in the field result in disjunctures in the collective and coordinated response to Syrian migration. While including coordinative aspects, the national government response and the local response do not represent a coordinated migration management response. Instead, in Turkey, there seem to be overlapping and parallel sub-fields of migration management as visualized in Figure 10.

As suggested in this diagram, governance of migration occurs at the local, national and supranational levels, contributing a horizontal structure between which force is asserted in the field. Across these three levels, the majority of actors in the field are either functioning in a governmental or civil societal role. Exceptions and actors which cannot be strictly categorized as either-or - such as the UN, IOM *Kızılay* and the Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM) - are evident in their placement in the 'in-between' area created where these two roles overlap. In the center of Turkey's migration management field are the national governmental actors - the Turkish national government and its accompanying ministries, presidencies and directorates - and national civil societal actors -

Turkey-based CSOs - engaged in responding to migration within the national borders. However, also influential in determining and shaping this field is the top-down influence of international and supranational actors, including the UN, EU and IOM. The local government, CSOs and migrant networks on-the-ground and locally responding to Syrian migration create a third and final tier of migration management.

Figure 10: Forces in the Field of Migration Management in Turkey



Although there is a distinct rupture between the realms of each of these levels, there is coordination among the various tiers of governance, in the form of policy influence, funding, information sharing as well as direct coordination through joint-initiatives, projects, publications and platforms. These forces in the field are defined with arrows indicating the direction and type of force among actors in the field. Due to the complexity and overlapping of the distribution of these forces - intricate and specialized for each actor in the field - only the main forces in the field are included in Figure 10. To give a better understanding of how these forces are asserted upon and by single entities and how governance occurs in Turkey's migration management field, Figures 11 and 12 illustrate the respective positions of AFAD and ASAM in the field and the forces asserted by and upon them. These two actors have been

selected as one unique governmental and one unique civil society actor placed in the national tier of governance, but with strong roles in asserting a number of forces into the broader field while also being governed by other actors in the field as well.

Figure 11: AFAD's position in governance and in the field

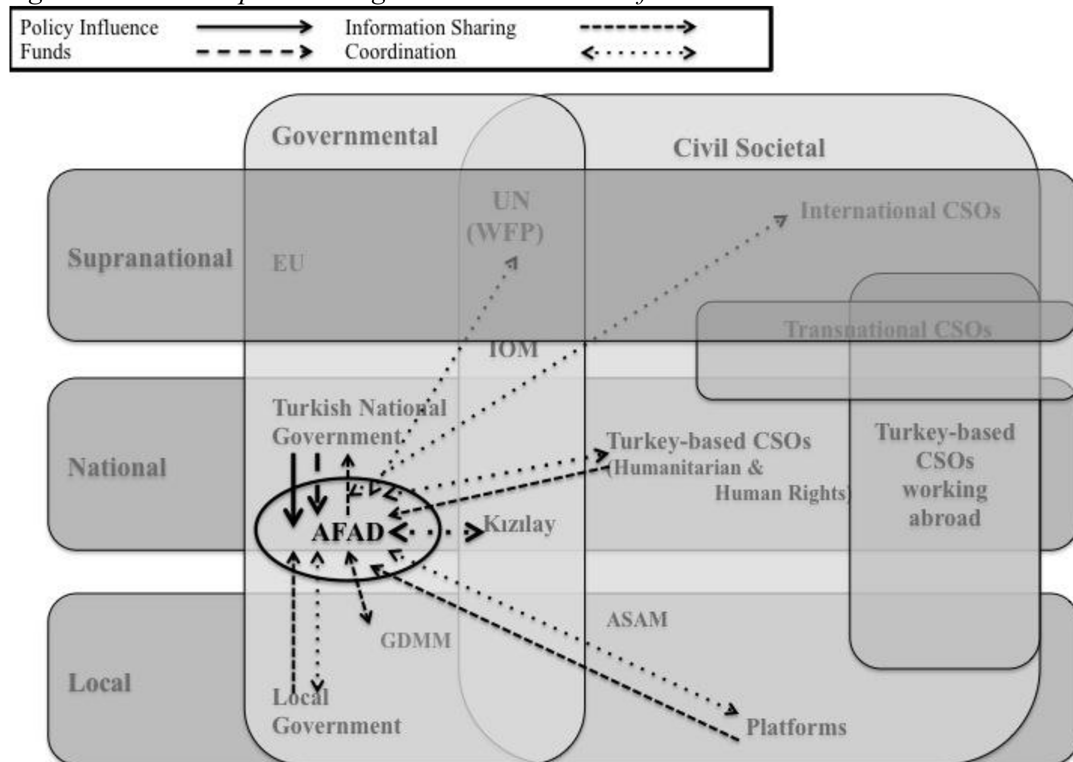
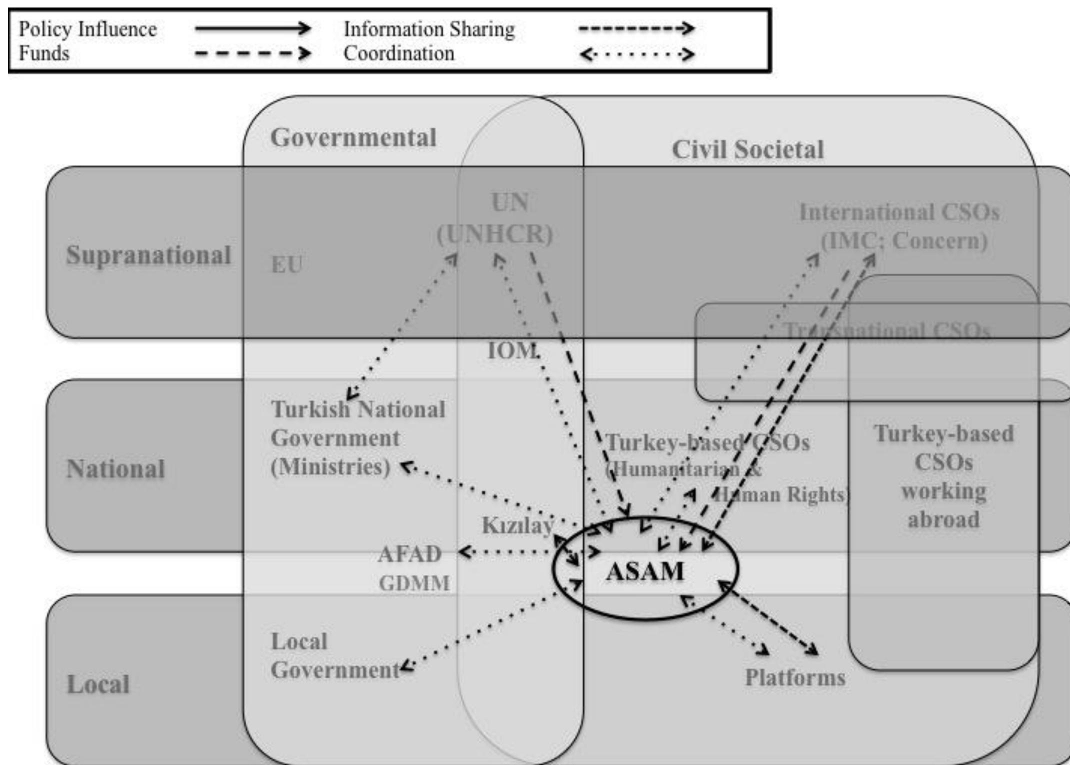


Figure 12: ASAM's position in governance and in the field



8.4 The field(s) of migration management and the needs of Syrians

The final research question addresses whether the current governing of migration management, as illustrated in Figure 10, effectively and non-discriminately fulfills the needs of Syrians in Turkey according to the actors interviewed in the field. As part of the interviews conducted for this research, interviewees were questioned regarding their opinions and observations concerning the most critical problems for Syrians in Turkey and for the Turkish society, which the movement of over 1.9 million people has also inevitably impacted. Of twenty-five responses to the open-ended question, "What are the most critical problems of the Syrian flows for the Turkish State, for the Turkish society and for the Syrians?," fourteen interviewees noted the problem of unemployment and lack of access to employment, nine mentioned shelter and rent, nine mentioned language, seven mentioned education, and six each mentioned nourishment and healthcare. Of thirteen responses regarding the most critical problems of the Syrian flows for Turkish society, eight respondents mentioned some form of exclusion, discrimination or underlying tensions between Turkish residents and Syrians; the stated grounds for these tensions were related mainly to the perception of many Turkish

citizens that Syrians cause a rise in unemployment and rental prices, as well as a fear of multiple marriages with Syrian girls.

Furthermore, in light of the common themes of interviewee's responses, I assert that one of the major underlying accelerators of Syrians' problems with shelter, nourishment, unemployment, discrimination, education, language, healthcare and psychosocial support is Syrians' legal status of 'temporary protection' in the country. Biehl (2015) considers temporary legal status a 'protracted uncertainty' for migrants and their host societies. Due to this uncertainty, Syrians remain uncertain regarding their long-term future. Will they be able to remain in Turkey or will they be sent back to Syria - or somewhere else? Will the lives they are establishing for themselves in Istanbul continue or will they be forced to settle in camps? The 'temporariness' of their legality as well as their perception as 'guests' in the country does little to encourage Syrians to learn Turkish, invest in enrollment in the Turkish education system or root themselves in this new country if they may only be torn from it again. On the other side, the 'temporary' legal status of Syrians encourages Turkish society to perceive Syrians' stay as temporary rather than attempting to foster relationships with this new group. This is evident in low or zero Turkish attendance at CSO events or activities intended to foster such interaction between Turks and Syrians.[555] Even the Turkish government's hesitancy to allow settlement outside of camps or to provide work authorization reflects Syrians' in-between status.

While CSOs in Turkey are active in responding to humanitarian and human rights needs of Syrians, CSO activities for long-term integration are also limited due to this 'temporary' status. CSOs focusing on long-term integration are missing from the field, due to a lack of knowledge regarding the long-term status of Syrians. Nonetheless, as many interviewees suggested, a long-term integrative policy would best address this. As one interviewee stated:

> The current legislation does not stipulate permanent residency for [Syrians] - who we call 'guests' but are [legally] under temporary protection - it just mentions long term residency and nothing more. Because of this, we should at least make a temporary integration plan in order that we can protect, educate and employ women and children who need help with the sensitive topics I mentioned. It seems that they may not be able to eventually return to their country…Turkey has to deal with this problem somehow.[556]

In light of the responses of interviewees, it seems that Syrians' legal status in Turkey as 'temporary' is one of the underlying factors that contributes to other problems facing Syrians

[555] Interview with Turkey-based Human Rights Civil Society Representative 1.

[556] Interview with National Governmental Representative 4.

in the country. How this temporary sense of (not) belonging underlies other major problems facing Syrians becomes more clear when these problems are analyzed individually.

8.4.1 Shelter and Nourishment

Although Syrians residing in AFAD and Suruç local camps are adequately provided with shelter and food-items, these two basic needs continue to be major concerns for Syrians living outside the camps, with many living in crowded, unsanitary and unsafe conditions. Although Syrians continue to receive assistance through e-cards or direct donations of food and non-food items from international CSOs, local government offices, migrant networks and CSOs - such as ASAM, *Cansuyu,* IHH, Support to Life and *Kimse Yok Mu* Foundation - this assistance remains inadequate for many Syrians, particularly those newly arriving in Turkey, who may not yet be aware of such non-governmental assistance.

Furthermore, although most migrant networks, local governments and CSOs offer food assistance through e-cards or directly, shelter and rental assistance is less available to Syrians outside of the camps. In Şanliurfa, for example, the average Syrian household size is eleven people living together in one apartment.[557] The high costs of rent in Turkey (when compared with Syria), as well as the reality of a discriminatory tendency of landlords to falsely inflate rental prices for Syrians or to prohibit Syrian tenants from living there at all only further aggravates the ability of Syrians to obtain necessary shelter. The government, already offering shelter to Syrians in the camps, generally does not provide Syrians outside of the camps with additional assistance to meet this need. In a report by Göc-Der and EŞIT, Syrians who inquired to local government officials regarding rental assistance were told to go to the camps.[558] Other than this, neither the Turkish government nor civil society have offered effective solutions to meet this basic need, one which is only further impeded by Syrians' inability to be regularly employed or provide a steady income for themselves and their families.

8.4.2 Unemployment and Regular Employment

These predominant themes of unemployment and the lack of access to an adequate and steady income were named by interviewees as additional major problems for Syrians. Due to the inability to work legally under their status of temporary protection, many Syrians work irregularly, with women frequently working in the textile industries and men generally working in heavy industries, while children and youth collect plastic on the streets.[559] This work is performed at wages significantly lower than required by law and in unsafe conditions.

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[557] Sanduvac, 6.

[558] ESIT.

[559] Interview with Local Governmental Representative 2.

For example, a resident of Suruç or Akçakale would be paid 50 Turkish Lira (TL) per day, but a Syrian may work for only 20TL a day.[560] As a result, many employers hire Syrians to reduce their expenditures; this irregular employment, however, only fuels mistrust of and discrimination towards Syrians among Turkish citizens, who increasingly blame high Turkish unemployment on Syrians' irregular work. Those Syrians who are unable to find irregular work often resort to begging or, in some cases, marrying their young daughters to Turkish men willing to pay high prices for such an arrangement.

Although the October 2014 Regulation on Temporary Protection provides for "the possibility to apply for work permits in certain sectors and regions,"[561] this has not yet been consistently or nationally implemented. At the end of 2014, an additional proposal concerning working conditions for Syrians was submitted to the Council of Ministers; when approved, it must also be approved by the Parliament before entering into force.[562] Although the approval of the additional proposal is seen by many as the best solution to Syrian irregular employment and reducing societal tension between Turkish citizens and Syrians, others worry that the new law may only allow camp residents to work, thus functioning merely as an incentive for Syrians to move to the camps and not actually improving the well-being of those Syrians residing outside the camps.[563] In light of the opinions shared in multiple interviews, actors in the field agree that a legal measure from the Turkish government allowing Syrian employment in the country is the necessary step to minimize Syrian unemployment as well as decrease rising tensions of the Turkish society.

8.4.3 Discrimination

Discrimination from Turkish citizens and institutions as well as rising tensions among Turkish and Syrian neighbors are increasingly problematic for both Syrians and Turkish society. This discrimination is arguably rooted in Turkish citizens' perception that unemployment and the recent rise in housing and food-item prices are results of Syrians' irregular employment and presence in the country. Discrimination towards Syrians is often subtle, but is very exclusionary. Two common examples that emerged in interviews are hesitations and excuses to not rent to Syrians and children being told not to speak with Syrian children at their schools. As mentioned repeatedly in interviews in Gaziantep and Şanliurfa, the fear of multiple marriages, particularly in the border region, is another source of tensions between Turkish citizens and Syrians. Without the ability to work, desperate Syrian families

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[560] Interview with International Civil Society Representative 1.

[561] Malkin and Danforth 2014.

[562] Yeginsu 2014.

[563] Interview with International Civil Society Representative 1.

will sell their young daughters to Turkish men for second marriages. Many Turkish women and wives see this as a potentially invasive threat to their marriage and family stability, thus fueling further tension and providing a basis for discrimination of and distance from Syrians.

Other times, however, discrimination becomes explicit and often violent. A 2014 IHD publication includes examples of more violent discrimination of Syrians in Gaziantep. In December 2013, twelve year old Syrian Muhammed Nur El Hüseyin didn't return home and was found dead the next day with five piercing cuts and bleeding in the brain as a result of being struck in the head with a hard object.[564] In May 2014, after a fight with almost fifteen Gaziantep residents, two Syrians were discovered severely injured in a parking lot in Gaziantep's Eski Sahinbey municipality.[565] In another case of harassment, three Syrians aged thirteen, fifteen and twenty were verbally harassed by Turkish residents on the shared mini-bus to the district of Nizip; the Turkish residents accused the Syrians of screwing up the country (Turkey) and being dishonest and dishonorable.[566] When one of the Syrians began to reply, two non-Syrians living in Gaziantep punched them and forced them to get off the bus.[567] Additional examples of discrimination have been reported in the media and include similar aspects of harassment, violence and even death. In some cases, homes in which Syrians were residing have been attacked, stones have been thrown and, in Ankara, fires have even been started.[568]

In addition to reporting cases of discrimination, media associations also fuel further discrimination through their selective and negative portrayal of Syrians as causes of high unemployment, rent or food rates or as those 'stealing' jobs, education, healthcare and family stability from Turkish citizens. Although the slightly improved media portrayal of Syrians in the past year is likely a result of Turkish government trainings with the media,[569] only minimal additional action has been taken by the Turkish government to reduce the sources and rumors that fuel the tensions between Turkish society and Syrians.

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[564] IHD 2014.

[565] Ibid.

[566] Ibid.; The Turkish words said to the Syrians were reported as: "*memleketi bok ettiler, namussuzlar, serefsizler.*"

[567] Ibid.

[568] See "Ankara'da Suriyeli gerilimi: Çok sayıda yaralı var." *Radikal.com.tr,* 8 May 2014. Accessed 15 September 2015, http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/ankarada_suriyeli_gerilimi_cok_sayida_yarali_var-1190889.

[569] Interview with International Civil Society Representative 6.

8.4.4 Language and Education

A related component of Syrian integration into Turkish society, as well as a basic need of Syrian children and youth, is education. Although education is one of the rights provided to Syrians under temporary protection according to the October 2014 Directive, inability to access adequate education remains one of the main problems for Syrians in Turkey. Due to the 'protracted uncertainty' (Biehl 2015) of temporary protection, which education curriculum Syrian children should be taught, in which language this education should be offered and who should teach these classes remains a contested topic. There is a shortage of space in Turkey's schools and a shortage of teachers, causing many urban schools to run double-shifts, with Turkish children attending in the morning and Syrian children in the afternoon. Additionally, Syrian high school and university certificates and diplomas often remain unrecognized in Turkey, excluding young Syrians from studying at Turkish universities and subsequently excluding them from the Turkish workforce, even if they could be legally employed.

At the national level, the National Education Ministry (*Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı*), AFAD and the United Nations Children's Rights and Emergency Relief Organization (UNICEF) have held coordination seminars to engage with interested experts and provincial national education directors to provide a basis for a coordinated response to education.[570] Similar regional coordinating committees have also been established based on this model.[571] For older students, coordination has begun between the Board of Higher Education (YÖK) and the Turkish Education Center (TÖMER), facilitating opportunities to learn Turkish and register as 'special students' or take special lessons to continue their education at the university level.[572] However, due to the temporary protection status under which Syrians are legally protected in Turkey, a number of barriers remain for Syrians to continue their education in Turkey across all levels.

Language remains one of the major hindrances to education as well as employment and social integration. As one interviewee noted: "Because of the language barrier, they know something and they go somewhere to ask for it, but they need interpreters with them… Language is a huge issue."[573] Although Turkish and Arabic education is offered in AFAD camps, in some TÖMER branches and by some CSOs (including ASAM, *Imkander* and IMPR Humanitarian), the majority of Syrians outside of camps still do not have access to such courses. Additionally, education for non-Arab Syrians is not offered in their native language

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[570] Seydi, 277.

[571] Ibid., 277.

[572] Ibid., 281, 285.

[573] Interview with Turkey-based Human Rights Civil Society Representative 1.

in the AFAD camps. This is particularly an issue for Kurdish Syrians, creating an incentive for Kurds to live in municipality camps or outside of the camps, even if their needs cannot be fully met outside of the camps.[574]

8.4.5 Health Care and Psychosocial Support

Access to health and adequate psychosocial support were also cited among interviewees as a major problem for Syrians. Particularly since Syrians must be registered to access medical support, unregistered Syrians remain unable to receive such care. Although the Turkish government has permitted registered Syrians legal access to free medical care at any state hospital and immunizations at family health centers, multiple interviewees stated that Syrians nonetheless are frequently turned away from such hospitals, either on the basis of discrimination or the misinformation of staff regarding Syrians' legal right to access medical care for free. Syrians' ability to access Turkish medical support for free is however also an additional source of tension within Turkish society, in which Syrians are perceived as taking "everything for free," including healthcare.[575] Just as there is a shortage of housing, of schools and of teachers, there is also a shortage of doctors and nurses, making these resources a source of tension between the groups.[576]

To address both this shortage as well as the lack of access to psychosocial support and medical care for unregistered Syrians, many CSOs also work to fill the gap by providing psychosocial, medical and pharmaceutical support for Syrians. Examples of such care include the multi-service centers run by ASAM and International Medical Corps (IMC), the *Suriye-Nur* Foundation, which runs a medical center offering all forms of care, and various CSOs, including IHH and *Imkander*, working to distribute pharmaceutical assistance. Like the needs of food, shelter, education and language, medical and psychosocial support allocated by the Turkish government continue to be supplemented by the work of international and Turkey-based CSOs.

8.5 The current reality and future of coordinated migration management in Turkey

The current reality of migration management in Turkey is constantly changing: mutating and being molded. As of September 2015, the migration management of Syrians in Turkey seems to function based on occasionally overlapping horizontal and vertical disjunctures in which actors are located in the field of governance. Between and among actors at various levels and in various locations in the field, there are links and assertions of power through funding, influencing policy, sharing information and facilitating cooperation. This

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[574] Interview with Local Governmental Representative 1.

[575] Interview with Local Governmental Representative 2.

[576] Ibid.

research has included interviews with actors at various levels of the governance of migration management in Turkey. While the Turkish government and the GDMM remain the central actors responsible for coordinating the migration management of Syrians, the UNHCR and other international and Turkey-based CSOs remain central in offering a more locally-based on-the-grounds management of this migrating group. While interviewees engaged in the governmental and non-governmental response to meet the needs of Syrians in Turkey acknowledge that the responsibility of Turkey's migration management rests with the GDMM, coordination most frequently occurs among other actors in the field. When the needs of Syrians are evaluated, the disjuncture between the Turkish governmental, international and civil societal responses and the lack of adequate coordination between these groups becomes more apparent. Although coordination is taking place with regards to vertical information sharing, more extensive cooperation does not seem to be occurring between actors on-the-ground and the national governmental level.

The multitude of actors in the fields of migration management in Turkey supports the global governance framework for migration that would suggest greater involvement of international, supranational and non-governmental civil society actors. However, the current coordination of these actors does not seem to function as one effective management system. This is likely associated with the new establishment and slowly strengthening position of the GDMM, designated to serve as the main migration management government body in Turkey. As the GDMM tries to fill the shoes previously worn by UNHCR, the National Police, AFAD, and various government ministries, the reality of Turkey's migration management and the shape and outline of its field - and the actors in it and how they interact - will continue to evolve. For now, although Syrian migration into Turkey is being managed, it is not being managed as efficiently or effectively as would be required to meet the needs of the over 1.9 million Syrians in the country. As current global and regional events evolve, new migration patterns will continue to shape future migration policies and attitudes towards migration in Turkey and around the world. However, as migration patterns change and the policies that regulate this are framed, people will continue to move, just as they always have, and governmental and civil society actors will continue to respond, just as they always have.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

LIST OF ACTORS INTERVIEWED, ALPHABETICAL, BY LOCATION

Ankara
Advisor to the Deputy Prime Minister (3)
Cansuyu
Helsinki Citizens Assembly (HYD)
Kaos GL
Kimse Yok Mu (KYM)
Mazlumder
Mülteci Der Izmir
Police Academy
UNHCR Turkey (Interview per email)

Gaziantep
Anonymous Family Health Center
Anonymous International CSO 1
Anonymous International CSO 2
Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM)
Gaziantep Office of the Mufti
Human Rights Association (IHD)
Mazlumder Gaziantep
World Food Programme

Istanbul
Göç Der
İmkander
International Medical Corps
International Refugees Rights Association
Support to Life (Interview per phone)
Suriye Nur Derneği (2)

Şanliurfa
Anonymous International CSO 3
Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM)
IHH Şanliurfa
IMPR Şanliurfa
People's Democratic Party (HDP) Representative, Suruç Municipality
Şanliurfa Civil Society Organization Platform
(Şanliurfa Sivil Toplumu Kuruluşlar Platformu)

APPENDIX 2

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

General Organization/Institution

1) What is the mission of your organization/institution?
2) When was the organization/institution founded? In what cities and regions does the organization/institute work? Is the organization working outside of Turkey? How many employees and volunteers does the organization have?
3) What programs does the organization/institution offer or support? What programs has the organization/institution organized in the past?
4) What is the organizations' target group for these programs?
5) How is the organization and its work funded? Do you receive support from EU grants?
   - From the government?
   - From private donations?
   - From International NGOs?
   - From other NGOs?

Organization's Coordination

- How would you categorize coordination between your organization and local NGOs?
- How would you categorize coordination between your organization and International NGOs?
- In what capacity is there shared coordination? Cooperation?
- Have you ever held a shared event or project with a local NGO? A national NGO? An International NGO?
- How would you categorize coordination between your organization and the Turkish government?
- How would you categorize coordination between your organization and AFAD?
- How would you categorize coordination between your organization and GDMM?
- How would you categorize coordination between your organization and IOM?
- How would you categorize coordination between your organization and UNHCR?
- How would you categorize coordination between your organization and religious organizations?

Syrians in Turkey

1) Since when has your organization worked with Syrians in Turkey? How did the work begin?
2) What programs and support does the organization offer for Syrians in Turkey?
   - Is assistance given for rental services? (Monetary or direct?)
   - Is assistance given for food needs? (Monetary or direct?)
   - Does the organization offer courses for Syrians? (ie. Turkish, skill courses)
   - Does the organization offer or assist with psychological services, therapy or counseling?
   - Does the organization offer or assist with health services?
3) What is the target group for these programs?
   - Men, women or children?
   - In which region (cities and camps) does the organization offer its support and programs?
   - What is the religious orientation of participants? Do you know?
   - What is the ethnicity of participants? Do you know?

- Does the organization work with Syrians in camps or out of camps?

4) What are the most critical problems of the Syrian flows: for the Turkish State, for the Turkish society and for the Syrians?
5) What do you think about media coverage of these problems in Turkey?
6) How do you think that these problems could be dealt with?
7) Which of these parties could play the most critical role in dealing with these problems: local NGOs, national NGOs, international NGOs, municipalities, AFAD, the Turkish government?

Migration Management in Turkey

1) Has your organization's work or activities changed in anyway following the enforcement of the New Law on Foreigners and International Protection in April? If so, how?
2) What do you understand by the term 'migration management'?
3) In your opinion, which institutions are responsible for migration management in Turkey? Whose responsibility is the management of Syrians in Turkey?
5) What role does your organization play in Turkey's migration management?

APPENDIX 3

CATEGORIZATION OF ORGANIZATIONS INTERVIEWED, ALPHABETICAL

<u>International NGOs</u>
Anonymous International NGO (3)
International Medical Corps
Suriye Nur Derneği (2)

<u>Turkey-based NGOs*</u>
Humanitarian Turkey-based NGOs:
Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM) (2)
Cansuyu
IHH
Imkander
IMPR Humanitarian
Kimse Yok Mu
Şanliurfa Sivil Toplumu Kuruluşlar Platformu
Support to Life

Human Rights Turkey-based NGOs:
Göç-Der
Helsinki Citizens Assembly (HYD)
Human Rights Association (IHD)
International Refugee Rights Association
Mazlumder (2)
Mülteci Der
Kaos-GL

<u>Government organizations</u>
National:
Advising office to the Deputy Prime Minister (3)
Police Academy

Local:
Anonymous Family Health Center
Gaziantep Office of the Mufti
People's Democratic Party (HDP), Suruç Municipality

<u>Supranational:</u>
UNHCR Turkey
World Food Programme

*Of the above Turkey-based NGOs, those with an international scope and also working abroad are: Cansuyu, Helsinki Citizens Assembly, IHH, Kimse Yok Mu, Support to Life

APPENDIX 4

PHOTOS FROM A SURUÇ CAMP

APPENDIX 5

TURKISH SUMMARY

Bu tez Türkiye´de göç yönetimi ve göç yönetiminin ülkeye taşınan Suriyeliler üzerindeki etkisini incelemektedir. Göç yönetimi Uluslararası Göç Örgütü tarafından şöyle tanımlanmaktadır:

> *Özellikle hem Devlet sınırları içerisinde yabancıların girişi ve mevcudiyetini hem de mültecilere ve korunma ihtiyacı bulunan diğer kişilere sağlanan korumayı yönetmek üzere, sınır ötesi göçleri düzenli ve insani bir şekilde yönetmek için çeşitli devlet kurumları ile ulusal bir sistemden oluşan yönetim*-i tanımlayan terim.[577]

Geiger ve Pecoud (2010)'a göre 'göç yönetiminin' en az üç farklı unsuru kapsamaktadır: 1) Göçe müdahaleyi meşrulaştırmak ve onu kavramsallaştırmak isteyen *aktörler* 2) göç politikalarına ve göç yönetimi düşüncesini geliştiren uygulamalara karşılık gelen *pratikler* 3) göçün ne olduğu ve nasıl yaklaşılması gerektiği ile ilgili *söylemler*.[578] Bu tez, göç yönetimindeki bu farklı yaklaşımları sentezleyerek, Türkiye´deki göç yönetimi aktörlerini belirlemek ve bu aktörlerin bireysel ve kolektif olarak göç yönetiminde nasıl rol oynadıklarını- ne tür faaliyetlerde yer aldıklarını ve ne tür söylemlerde bulunduklarını- analiz etmek üzere yönetişim teorisini göç yönetimine uygulamaktadır.

Bu çalışma küresel yönetişim teorisini, göç yönetimi alanındaki aktörlerin söylemlerinin ve faaliyetlerinin analizine erişilebilir kurumlar tarafından oluşturulan raporları ve web sitelerini, bu kurumlarla yapılan röportajları kanıt olarak kullanarak, uygulamaktadır. Foucault ve takipçilerinin geliştirdiği "yönetim" ve "yönetimsellik" kavramlarını temel alan "küresel yönetişim", devletlerin kendi nüfuslarını kontrol eden ulusal devlet yönetiminin ötesine geçerek bu kavramları küresel ölçekte uygulamaktadır. Göç alanında, "küresel göç yönetişimi" kavramı, göç realitesinin hem 'küresel' hem de 'yönetişim' kısmına vurgu yapmaktadır. Bu teorik çerçeve göç yönetimini, kendi nüfuslarını kontrol eden ulusal devlet modelinin ötesine taşıyarak, çok katmanlı ve daha fazla aktör, söylem ve faaliyet kapsayan bir seviyede değerlendirmektedir. En üst seviyeden en alttakine, Birleşmiş Milletler, Avrupa Birliği, Uluslararası Göç Örgütü gibi uluslararası kurum ve kuruluşlar, ulusal devletlerin politikalarını etkileyerek, şekillendirerek ve hatta yönetimlerini yöneterek göç sorununu uluslararası bir arenada ele almaktadırlar. Tersi yönde, alt seviyeden üste, göç yönetimi yerel

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[577] IOM Uluslararası Göç Örgütü, "Uluslararası Göç Hukuku, Göç Terimleri Sözlüğü."

[578] Geiger ve Pecoud, 1-3.

ve bölgesel olarak devletin yükümlülüklerine yardımcı olan gayri resmi organizasyonları da içine alarak küresel bir şekil almaktadır. Göç yönetimini daha ötede, yönetişimin içinde bir alan olarak kavramsallaştırmak, göç yönetimi ve bu alandaki etkileşimler, çekişmeler ve işbirliği konusunda hükümetin sorumluluklarını üstlenen aşağıdan yukarıya ve yukarıdan aşağıya aktörlere daha fazla odaklanılmasını sağlar.

Bu kuramsal çerçevede bir ulus-devlette göç yönetiminin küresel bir bağlamda tahlili için Türkiye bir vaka çalışması olarak seçilmiştir. Tarih boyunca göç biçimleri ve politikaları geliştikçe, 20. yüzyılın başında imparatorlukların çöküşü ve devlet inşasıyla beraber birçok ulus devlet göç kavramını yeniden tasarlamaya başlamıştır. O dönemde yeni oluşmakta olan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ilk göç politikaları da 20. yüzyılların ilk yıllarında yeniden tanımlamakta olan aidiyet kavramı, ulusal ve etnik aynılığı güçlendirmeyi hedefleyen göç politikalarını yansıtmaktadır. 1980 ve 1990'larda Türkiye'ye göç kalıpları daha çok Türk olmayan göçmenleri içerecek şekilde değişmesi üzerine Türkiye'nin göç politikaları da 1994 İltica Kanunu'nda görüldüğü gibi daha kısıtlayıcı, kontrollü ve güvenlikçi bir hal aldı. Bu yönetişimin eylem ve söylemleri ortaya çıkan küresel yönetişim trendlerini yansıtmaktadır.

Bugün Türkiye'nin göç biçimleri ve politikaları tekrar değişmektedir. Göç yönetişiminin Uluslararasılaştırılması, Avrupalılaştırılması ve küreselleştirilmesi sonucunda Türkiye'nin söylemleri 2000'lerden itibaren güvenlik ve 'yasadışı' göçmenliğe odaklanırken, Türkiye'nin uygulamaları Avrupa Birliği katılım kriterleri ile uyumlaştırılmak üzere, ulusal göç politikaları Avrupalılaşma ve uyumlaştırma çerçevesinde reform edilmektedir. Küresel akımları takiben, Türkiye'nin yönetişim yaklaşımı, göçmenliğin kontrolü yerine şimdi göçmenliği yönetmeye dönüşmektedir. Bu sürecin en yeni adımı Nisan 2014 yılında çıkan Yabancılar ve Uluslararası Koruma Kanunu No. 6458'un infazıdır. Bu kanunun yürürlüğe girmesiyle Türkiye'nin ilk iltica yasasının kurulduğu, Avrupa Birliği Adalet ve İç İşleri'nin gereksinimlerinin birçoğunun sağlandığı ve Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü isimli yeni bir ulusal birim kurulduğu görülmektedir. Avrupa Birliği ve Birleşmiş Milletler'nin ulusal politikalarda artan rolü, küresel yönetişim ve onunla beraber devlet dışından gelen tesirin büyüyen rolünün Türkiye'de nasıl değiştiğini yansıtmaktadır.

Aynı zamanda Türkiye, Suriyelilerin Türkiye'nin sınırlarından geçmesini yönetmeye çalışmaktadır. Suriye'yle uzun bir sınırı paylaşması ve Avrupa'ya geçmek için bir transit (aktarma) ülke olması dolayısıyla Türkiye çatışmadan kaçan Suriyelileri en çok kabul eden ülkedir. 2012'den beri uluslararası ve yerli sivil örgütler ile çalışarak Türkiye hükümeti Suriyeli göçmenlere karşı ulusal sorumluluğu en iyi şekilde eşgüdümlemeye çalışmakla beraber Avrupa Birliği ve uluslararası toplumu daha fazla yardım konusunda

eleştirmektedir.[579] Eylül 2015 itibaren Türkiye'nin sınırlarına sığınan Suriyeli sayısı 1,9 – 3 milyon arasındadır.[580] Ne mülteci ne sığınmacı olan Suriyelilerin Türkiye'ye gelmesi Türkiye'nin göç yönetimini incelemesini hem uygun hem oturaklı kılmaktadır. Küresel göç yönetişim modellerinin ulusal ve yerel seviyede etkilerine ışık tuttuğu gibi, Türkiye'nin Suriyeli göç yönetimi, uluslararası toplumunun Suriyelilerin Avrupa'ya ve dünyanın her dört köşesine göç etmesini nasıl karşıladığının anlaşılmasına katkı sağlamaktadır.

Göç yönetimine küresel yönetişim veçhelerinin izlenebilir bir alanı olarak yaklaşan bu çalışma, göç yönetimiyle ilgi dört ana soru sormaktadır. Birinci soru bu çalışmayı yöneten kapsamlı bir sorudur. 1) Göç yönetimi nedir, Türkiye'de nasıl anlaşılmıştır, nasıl bir çerçeveye oturtulmuştur ve nasıl uygulanmıştır? İkinci soru Türkiye'de göç yönetiminin, daha geniş küresel sistem içerisinde küresel yönetişim ve bu yönetişimin güç nitelikleriyle nasıl ilişkilendirebileceğini sorgulamaktadır. 2a) Dünya göç yönetişim sisteminin bir parçası olarak Türkiye'nin göç yönetimi nasıl çalışmaktadır? 2b)Türkiye'nin göç yönetim alanındaki gücünü kim ve nasıl kullanmakta; bu her aktörün taktik, söylem, çaba ve mücadelelerine nasıl yansımaktadır? Üçüncü olarak göç yönetim alanında bu aktörlerin nasıl ortaya çıktığı incelenmektedir: 3a) Bu alanda uluslararası, Avrupalı, ulusal ve yerel hükümet ve sivil toplum kuruluşlarının ilişkileri nasıldır? 3b) Bu alandaki aktörler beraber nasıl çalışmakta veya rekabet etmektedirler? Son olarak göç yönetimi alanındaki aktörlerin göç yönetiminin etkinliğini nasıl algıladığı sorgulanmaktadır: 4) Alandaki aktörlere göre mevcut sistem mülteci kamplarında veya kamplar dışında yasayan Türkiye'deki Suriyelilerin ihtiyaçlarını hem etkili hem de ayrımcı nitelikte olmayan bir şekilde karşılayabiliyor mu? Sırasıyla göç yönetimine bir kavram, bir yönetişim formu ve bir alan olarak odaklanan ve bu göç yönetiminin etkili olup olmadığını sorgulayan bu dört soru böylelikle yapılan mülakatları ve araştırma tezini şekillendirmektedir.

Yazar, Şanlıurfa, Gaziantep, Ankara ve İstanbul'da Suriyeli göçmen meselesine dahil olmuş ve göçmenlerle ilgili faaliyet yürüten 28 aktif kurumdan 32 temsilci ile röportajlar gerçekleştirmiştir. Bu mülakatlardan elde edilen veriler, göç yönetimi alanındaki kurumların güçlerini nasıl birleştirdiklerinin veya ayrıştıklarının yanı sıra Suriyelilere insani yardım ve insan hakları açısından nasıl yaklaşıldığına dair yeni bir anlayış ile katkı sunmaktadır. Şanlıurfa ve Gaziantep, gerek sınıra yakın olmaları gerekse de Suriyelilerin en çok kayıtlı

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[579] Başbakan Davutoğlu: "Turkey cannot deal with the refugee crisis alone."

[580] BM Mülteci Yüksek Komiserliği'ne göre, ağustos ayın sonunda Türkiye'de kalan 1.938.99 kayıtlı Suriyeli vardı: UNHCR "Syria Regional Refugee Response." STK raporlarına göre Türkiye'de kalan Suriyeli sayısı BM Mülteci Yüksek Komiserliği ve AFAD'in tahminlerinden iki kat daha yüksek olabilmektedir: Koyuncu, 42.

oldukları iki şehir olmaları nedeniyle yapılan mülakatlar için uygun görülmüştür. Eylül 2014 itibariyle, 210,625 Suriyeli Gaziantepte (32,941'i AFAD'a bağlı kamplarda 177,711'i diğer kamplarda olmak üzere) ve 181,044 Suriyeli Şanlıurfa'da (72,695'i AFAD'a bağli kamplarda 108,349'u diğer kamplarda olmak üzere) yaşamaktadır.[581] Yine Ankara ve İstanbul da, hem birçok uluslararası sivil toplum örgütlerine ev sahipliği yapmaları hem de birçok Suriyelinin iş bulma umuduyla geldikleri, Türkiye'nin en büyük iki metropol şehri olarak, yapılan mülakatlar için uygun şehirler olarak seçilmiştir. Tahmini olarak 330,000 Suriyeli, Kasım 2014 itibariyle,[582] yoğun olarak Fatih, Bahçelievler, Başakşehir, Gaziosmanpaşa, Esenyurt, Küçükçekmece ve Ümraniye olmak üzere, İstanbul'u mesken edinmiş bulunmaktadırlar.[583] Yine Kasim 2014 itibariyle, Ankara'daki Suriyeli sayısı tahminen 30,000 civarındadır.[584]

Tüm mülakatlar Türkçe ve İngilizce olarak, Şubat-Mayıs 2015 arasında ve (biri telefon aracılığıyla, bir tanesi de e-posta yazışması olmak üzere) yazar tarafından yüz yüze gerçekleştirilmiştir. Beş mülakat enformel bir şekilde (ses kaydı yapılmayıp, cevaplar tutulan notlarla tamamlanmıştır), diğer yirmi sekiz mülakat kapsamlı bir şekilde, sorulan soru ve cevaplar ses kaydına dayalı olmak üzere, daha sonra ses kayıtlarının çözümlenmesi ve kullanılması şeklinde gerçekleştirilmiştir. Her iki durumda da, mülakat yapılan kişilere kurumlarının genel misyon, vizyon ve çalışma alanları, Türkiye'deki Suriyeliler ile yaptıkları çalışmalar, diğer sivil toplum örgütleri ve resmi kurumlar ile varsa ne şekilde koordinasyon sağladıkları ve Türkiye göç yönetimi sistemindeki rolleri hakkında sorular yöneltilmiştir. (Bakınız: Appendix 2, Mülakat Soruları).

Görüşme yapılan kurum ve kuruluşlar resmi, sivil toplum ve uluslar üstü olarak kategorize edilmiştir. Türkiye'de göç yönetimi alanında görüşme yapılan otuz iki aktörden yirmi üçü sivil toplum, yedisi resmi ve ikisi uluslar üstü niteliktedir. Sivil toplum örgütleri, ya uluslararası (Türkiye dışında kurulup faaliyet gösterenler) ya da Türkiye tabanlı (temel olarak Türkiye'de kurulanlar) olarak daha alt kategorilere ayrılmış olup, görüşme yapılan bu yirmi üç sivil toplum örgütünden on yedisi Türkiye tabanlı sivil toplum kuruluşu ve beşi uluslararası sivil toplum kuruluşu özelliği taşımaktadır. Analizin amacı doğrultusunda, Türkiye tabanlı sivil toplum örgütleri, misyonları ve Türkiye'deki Suriyelilere sağladıkları yardım göz önüne alınarak, insani yardım temelli (dokuz tanesi) ve insan hakları temelli (sekiz tanesi) kuruluşlar olarak daha alt kategorilere ayrılmıştır. Bu alt kategorilere ayırma durumu sivil toplum kuruluşlarının etnik veya dini motivasyonlarını yansıtmayı hedeflmemekte, bunun yerine

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[581] Migration Policy Center "Syrian Refugees; Turkey."

[582] Erdogan, 14.

[583] Yilmaz, 9-10.

[584] Erdogan, 14.

Türkiye'deki Suriyelilerin yardımına koşan sivil toplum kuruluşlarının yaptıkları çalışmaları odak noktası haline getirmeyi hedeflemektedir. Resmi kuruluş kategorisinde yapılan yedi mülakat üst düzeyde yetkili şahıslar ve kurumlar ile gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bunlardan dördü ulusal devlet düzeyindeki yetkililer ile, üçü AFAD ile çalışan başbakan yardımcılığı danışmanlık ofisi ile ve bir tanesi de bir Polis Akademisi yetkilisi ile yapılmıştır. Ek olarak, taşradaki devlet yetkilileri, Suruç'ta bir siyasi parti yetkilisi ve Gaziantep Müftülüğü olmak üzere üç adet mülakat daha gerçekleştirilmiştir. Son olarak, uluslar üstü kategorisinde yapılan diğer iki görüşmeden biri Birleşmiş Milletler Mülteciler Yüksek Komiserliği Türkiye Temsilciliği ile, diğeri Dünya Gıda Programı ile yapılmıştır.

Bu metin iki parçaya ayrılmıştır. 1. Bölüm göç yönetimi ve küresel göç yönetişim kuramının arka plan literatürünü sağlamakla beraber hem küresel hem de Türkiye'deki göç kalıpları ve politikalarının genel görünümünü sunmaktadır. 2. Bölüm ise üç aşamada Türkiye için göç yönetim alanındaki aktörleri tanıtıp incelemektedir: 1) Kamusal –ulusal bakanlıklar, Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı, ulusal güvenlik kuvvetleri, Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü ve mülki amirlikler; 2) uluslararası ve uluslar üstü kurumlar – Uluslararası Göç Örgütü, Birleşmiş Milletler, Avrupa Birliği ve uluslararası sivil toplum kuruluşlar ve 3) sivil toplum kuruluşları; Türkiye'de yerleşik insan hakları ve insani yardım üzerine çalışan sivil toplum kuruluşlar, medya dernekleri ve göç ağları. Her bir bölümde bir düzeye bakılmak üzere, ikinci kısımda Türkiye'de göç yönetimi alanında hangi aktörlerin faaliyette bulunduğu ve yönetişime, politika etkileme, fonlama, bilgi paylaşma ve diğer aktörlerle işbirliği kanallarıyla nasıl katkı sağladığı özetlenmiştir. Alandaki aktörlerle yapılan mülakatlar temelinde, araştırma soruları su şekilde cevaplandırılabilir:

1) Göç yönetim nedir? Türkiye'de göç yönetimi kavramı bir bütünsellik arz etmemektedir. Fakat kavram ve uygulaması Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü, Türk bakanlıkları ve hükümetine sorumluluk yüklemektedir. Hükümetin göç yönetimi uygulamasında esas sorumlu birim olarak algılanmasına rağmen, sivil toplum kuruluşlar yönetim süreçlerinde fazla görev alma uygulama konusunda isteklidirler. Alınan cevaplar, ülkeye gelen Suriyeliler ile ilgilenen ilgili aktörler arasında var olan göç yönetimi kavramındaki muğlaklığa rağmen, Türkiye'de göç yönetimi kavramı Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü, İçişleri Bakanlığı ve ulusal hükümetin merkezinde yer aldığı eşgüdümlü bir çaba olarak anlaşılmaktadır. Göç yönetimi devlet-merkezli bir yapıya sahip olsa da, bu eşgüdüm sayesinde Türkiye'de göç yönetim alanının varlığından söz edilebilir.

2) Daha geniş küresel bir bağlamda göç yönetim alanı nasıl çalışmaktadır? Kim, nasıl yetki kullanmaktadır? Türkiye'nin göç yönetişimi ulusal düzeyde çalışmakta ise de – bakanlıklar ve Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı ve Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü aracılığıyla – göç yönetimine ulusal bağlamda yaklaşım, küresel seviyede yönetilmektedir. Küresel bir bağlamın içinde oturtulduğunda, Türkiye'nin göç yönetim alanı, uluslararası

normlar, çok yanlılık başta olmak üzere artan yerel katılım ve göçmenliği şekillendiren söylemlerden - güvenlikleştirme gibi – ve küresel akımlardan etkilenmektedir. Birleşmiş Milletler, Uluslararası Göç Örgütü ve Avrupa Birliği gibi küresel göç yönetimini şekillendiren kurumların, ülkelerce göçün nasıl yönetilmesi gerektiğine dair üyelik ve eşgüdüm gereklilikleri, Türkiye hükümeti tarafından kabul edilmiş durumdadır. Ulusal hükümet bünyesi altında Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı ve artan şekilde Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü, göç yönetiminde koordinasyon birimleri olarak çalışmakta; ancak hükümetin esas güce sahip olması ve diğer kurumlarına nasıl davranacaklarına karar vermesi dolayısıyla birimlerin alandaki gücü sınırlı kalmaktadır. Ulusal hükümetin gücünün de uluslararası kurumlar ve Avrupa Birliği normları tarafından belirlenmesi, güç iddiası konusunu daha karmaşık kılmaktadır. Gerçekten ulusal hükümetin bu normlara uyması yukarıdan aşağı yönlüdür. Buna ek olarak, yerel ve uluslararası resmi ve sivil aktörlerin bu alandaki çalışmaları, bilgi paylaşımı aracılığıyla aşağıdan-yukarıya, ulusal hükümete güç vermektedir. Çeşitli yönetim seviyelerinden sağlanan bu katkılar ele alındığında, Türkiye'nin göç yönetim alanının daha geniş bir küresel göç yönetişimi ölçeğinde yer aldığı daha açık görülmektedir. Ayrıca bu yönetişim yapısında güç merkezileştirilmiş bir halde değildir. Aksine aktörler ve üstlendikleri çeşitli roller arasında kopuşlar görülmektedir: ulusal ve uluslar üstü, milli ve yerel, resmi gayri resmi, laik ve dini, insani yardım veya insan haklarına odaklanmış ve Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi'ye destek veren ve muhalefet partilerine destek verenler.

3) İlgili aktörler Türkiye'nin göç yönetim alanında nerde yer almakta ve birbirleri ile ilişkileri nasıldır? Aralarında koordinasyon mu yoksa rekabet mi var? Çeşitli aktörlerin göç yönetim alanındaki uygulamalarına ve söylemlerine bakıldığına, göç yönetiminin yerel, ulusal ve uluslar üstü seviyede olduğu daha açık görülmektedir. Bu üç yatay seviye arasında, aktörler ya resmi ya da sivil olarak rol üstlenmektedirler. İstisna olarak tanımlanan veya kesin olarak tanımlanamayan aktörler - Birleşmiş Milletler, Uluslararası Göç Örgütü, Kızılay ve Sığınmacılar ve Göçmenlerle Dayanışma Derneği gibi – resmi ve sivil rollerin kesişiminde yer almaktadırlar. Türkiye'nin göç yönetim alanının merkezinde milli hükümet (bizzat görevdeki hükümeti bağlı bakanlıkları ve genel müdürlükleri) ve sivil toplum aktörleri (Türkiye'de yerleşik sivil toplum kuruluşlar) yer almakta ve sınırlardaki göç ile ilgilenmektedir. Ancak Birleşmiş Milletler, Avrupa Birliği ve Uluslararası Göç Örgütü gibi uluslararası ve uluslar üstü aktörlerin yukarıdan aşağıya etkisi de bu alanın şekillenmesinde etkilidir. Suriyeli göçmenleri karşılayan yerel yönetim, yerel sivil toplum kuruluşlar, göçmen şebekeleri de göç yönetiminin üçüncü ve son aşamasını oluşturmaktadır. Bu üç katman arasında belirgin kopuşlar olmasına rağmen, politika etkisi anlamında, fon sağlama, bilgi paylaşma, ortak çalışmalar yürütme, projeler yapma, yayınlar yapma ve platformlar oluşturma gibi doğrudan işbirlikleri görülmektedir.

4) Son olarak, küresel göç yönetişimi, ilgili aktörler ve bu aktörlerin Türkiye'deki göç yönetimi alanındaki yerleri düşünüldüğünde, mülakat yapılan aktörlere göre bu yönetişim biçimi hem etkili hem de ayrımcı nitelikte olmayan bir şekilde Türkiye'deki Suriyelilerin ihtiyaçlarını karşılıyor mu? Mülakat yapılan yirmi beş kişiye sorulan "Türkiye devleti, Türkiye toplumu ve Suriyeliler için Suriyelilerin göçün beraberinde getirdiği en önemli sorunlar nelerdir?" sorusuna verilen cevapların on dördü işsizliği ve iş imkanlarına erişimi; dokuzu barınak bulabilmeyi ve kira ödeyebilme problemini, dokuzu dil sorununu, yedisi eğitim olanaklarına erişimi ve altısı beslenme ve sağlık hizmetlerine erişim sorunlarını işaret etmişlerdir. Suriyeli göçün Türkiye toplumuna getirdiği en önemli sorun şeklinde sorulan soruya alınan on üç yanıtın sekizi dışlanmaya, ayrımcılığa veya Türkiye'deki ikamet eden ve Suriyeliler ile yaşanan gerginliklere vurgu yapmaktadır. Bu gerginliklerin temelinde Türk vatandaşların Suriyelilerin işsizliğe ve yüksek kiralara neden olduğu algısı ve Suriyeli kızlar ile çok evlilik korkusu yattığı algısı ön plana çıkmaktadır.

Bununla beraber mülakatlardan alınan yanıtların ortak temasına dayanarak Suriyelilerin Türkiye'de barınak, beslenme, işsizlik, ayrımcılık, eğitim, dil, sağlık hizmetleri ve psikolojik destek konularındaki sorunlarına dayanak teşkil eden nedenin Suriyelilerin hukuki statülerinin 'geçici koruma' olduğu kanısına ulaşılmaktadır. Biehl (2015)'e göre \`geçici koruma\` statüsü göçmenler ve konuk eden toplum için 'uzun süren bir belirsizlik' yaratır. Bu belirsizlik Suriyelilerin uzun vadeli geleceklerini planlamalarına engel teşkil etmektedir. Öte yandan, yasal konumlarının "geçiciliği" Suriyelilerin Türkçe öğrenmesine, eğitim sistemine dahil olmasına ve belki yine gitmek zorunda kalacakları yeni ülkeye adapte olmasına ön ayak olamamaktadır. Diğer yandan 'geçici' yasal statüye sahip olmaları, Türk toplumunu bu yeni ve geçici grupla kaynaşmasını engellemektedir.

Türkiye'deki sivil toplum kuruluşlar Suriyelilerin insani yardım ve insan hakları ihtiyaçlarına aktif bir şekilde karşılık vermesine rağmen, 'geçici' statüsü sivil toplum kuruluşların uzun vadeli entegrasyon çalışmalarını sınırlı kılmaktadır. Gelecekte Suriyelilerin nasıl bir statüsü olacağı bilinmediği için uzun vadeli entegrasyona odaklanan sivil toplum kuruluşları bulunmamaktadır. Ancak mülakat yapılan bir çok kişinin belirttiği gibi, gerekli olan uzun vadeli entegrasyon sağlayan bir politikanın varlığıdır. Mülakat yapılan bir kişi bunu şöyle ifade ediyor:

> Yasa şu anda bu grup için misafir olarak adlandırdığımız geçici koruma altındaki bu kitlenin kalıcılığını öngörmüyor sadece uzun vadede ikamet edebileceklerini belirtiyor. Bundan daha fazlasının belirtmiyor. Belirtmediği için de biz en azından geçici entegrasyon planı yapmalıyız ki o entegrasyon planıyla bu bahsettiğim hassas konularda ihtiyacı olan, özel ihtiyaç sahibi olan çocuk ve kadın kitlesini sağlıklı

şekilde koruyalım istihdam edelim, eğitelim. Nihayet öyle görünüyor ki ülkelerine gidemeyecekler... Bir şekilde bu problemle başa çıkmak zorundadır Türkiye.[585]

Mülakatlarda ortaya çıkan yanıtlar ışığında, göre Suriyelilerin Türkiye'de yasal statüsünün 'geçici' olması ülkedeki Suriyelilerin diğer sorunlarını artıran önemli bir faktördür.

Türkiye'deki göç yönetimi gerçekliği sürekli bir şekilde değişmektedir. Eylül 2015 itibariyle Türkiye'deki Suriyelilerin göç yönetimi, zaman zaman aktörlerin yönetişim alanında bulunan yatay dikey kopuşların üst üste gelmesi temelinde çalıştığı izlenimi uyandırmaktadır. Alanda çeşitli yer ve düzeyde bulunan aktörler arasında politika etkisi, bilgi paylaşımı ve koordinasyon sağlama aracılığıyla güç birliği mevcuttur. Bu araştırma göç yönetişim alanında farklı seviyedeki aktörler ile yapılan mülakatları içermektedir. Türkiye hükümeti ve Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü Suriyelerin göç yönetimi konusunda ana aktörler olmasına rağmen, Birleşmiş Milletler Mülteciler Yüksek Komiserliği ve diğer uluslararası ve Türkiye'de yerleşik sivil toplum kuruluşlar daha yerel olma bağlamında merkezi rol oynayan aktörler olarak önem kazanmaktadır. Mülakat yapılan kişiler, Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü'nü Türkiye'de göç yönetiminde yetkili kurum olarak kabul etmelerine rağmen, diğer aktörler arasındaki koordinasyonun daha yüksek düzeyde olduğunu belirtmişlerdir. Suriyelilerin ihtiyaçları incelenip değerlendirildiğinde, aktörler arasındaki kopuşlar ve koordinasyon eksikliği daha da belirginleşmektedir. Dikey yönlü bilgi paylaşımında eşgüdüm olmasına rağmen aktörler ve ulusal hükümet arasında daha kapsamlı bir işbirliği görülmemektedir.

Türkiye'nin göç yönetimindeki çok aktörlü yapı, uluslar arası, uluslar üstü ve sivil sivil toplum kuruluşların dahil olmasını destekleyen bir küresel yönetişim çerçevesine sahiptir. Fakat ilgili aktörler arasında mevcut eşgüdümün etkili bir yönetim sistemi olarak çalışmadığı görülmektedir. Bunun muhtemel bir nedenini Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü'nün Türkiye'de esas göç yönetimi aktörü olarak yeni ve gittikçe güçlenen rolüne bağlamak mümkündür. Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü, Birleşmiş Milletler Mülteci Yüksek Komiserliği, ulusal polis teşkilatı, Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı ve çeşitli devlet bakanlıklarının rollerini üstlenmeye çalışırken, Türkiye'nin mevcut göç yönetim ve alanının şekli -ve alandaki aktörler ve birbirleri ile etkileşimleri- değişmeye devam etmektedir. Şimdilik Türkiye'deki Suriyeli göçü yönetilse de, göç yönetimi Türkiye'deki 1,9 milyon Suriyelinin ihtiyaçlarını karşılayabilecek düzeyde yeterince etkili veya verimli değildir. Mevcut küresel ve bölgesel durum değiştikçe gerek Türkiye'de gerekse dünyadaki yeni göç olayları, göçmenlikle ilgili tutumlar değişmeye devam etmektedir. Ancak göç olayları değiştikçe, ilgili politikalar değişmekte, insanlar göçmeye devam etmekte ve resmi ve sivil aktörler gerekli önlemleri, her zaman yaptıkları gibi, almaya devam edeceklerdir.

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[585]Türkiye'deki bir ulusal devlet görevlisi ile yapılan mülakattan.

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