

GLOBAL TURKEY  IN EUROPE

Turkey's Migration Transition and its Implications for the Euro-Turkish Transnational Space

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April 2014

WORKING PAPER 07



Stiftung
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Turkey's Migration Transition and its Implications for the Euro-Turkish Transnational Space

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Turkey Migration European Union EU Enlargement

Abstract

One area of the Euro-Turkish migration regime that has been overlooked is the migration transition of Turkey, as it rapidly develops from a net emigration setting to a net immigration setting. Focusing on the last hundred-year history of emigration and immigration flows in Turkey, this essay analyses various stages of migration transition in the country. Turkey has changed its migration profile from the massive emigration of the 1960s and 1970s to extensive immigration during the 1990s and 2000s. The transformation of Turkey's migration policies has been greatly affected by the country's exposure to globalization and its integration into the European migratory system. At the same time, Turkey's migration transition has also had repercussions on this transnational space. As Turkey undergoes migration transition, the asymmetric relationship between the EU and Turkey tends to evolve towards relatively symmetrical relations as reflected in the readmission agreement and the launching of the "visa liberalization dialogue".

Introduction

Turkey's policies on international migration and migrants, concerning both inflows and outflows, have undergone a great transformation since the early 1990s.¹ This process includes a variety of changes in the administrative and legislative arrangements in the country: from dual citizenship policies to diaspora politics, from asylum regimes to visa regulations, from work permits for foreigners to new border management. This process has been greatly affected by the country's relations with the European Union (EU) and its exposure to globalization. Indeed, Turkey's new policies on international migration are being made in the context of both processes.² Globalization and EU-ization have been a central part of the discourse shaping the debate over these policies since at least the early 1990s. Previously, widespread nationalism and later developmentalism made conservative and conventional national migration policies politically viable. However, since the 1990s and 2000s, the idea that a degree of openness and liberalism could contribute to migration policies has dominated the related domestic policy debates. As a result, the Turkish state has been faced with increased challenges in the so-called management of migratory regimes affecting the country.

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1 Liza Mügge, "Managing Transnationalism: Continuity and Change in Turkish State Policy", in *International Migration*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (February 2012), p. 20-38; Ahmet İçduygu and Damla B. Aksel, "Turkish Migration Policies: A Critical Historical Retrospective", in *Perceptions*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Autumn 2013), p. 167-190, <http://sam.gov.tr/?p=4233>; Seçil Paçacı Elitok, "Turkey's Prospective EU Membership from a Migration Perspective: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back?", in *Perceptions*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Autumn 2013), p. 1-11, <http://sam.gov.tr/?p=4257>.

2 As noted by Flockhart in 2010, "EU-ization' is different from 'Europeanization' because of its focus on the EU and because it is predominantly concerned with 'political encounters', where specific political entities such as the EU and Member State representatives engage in the transfer of institutional and organizational practices and policies". Trine Flockhart, "Europeanization or EU-ization? The Transfer of European Norms across Time and Space", in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 4 (September 2010), p. 790-791. In the context of the EU-ization of migration policies in Turkey, see Ahmet İçduygu, "EU-ization Matters: Changes in Immigration and Asylum Practices in Turkey", in Thomas Faist and Andreas Ette (eds.), *The Europeanization of National Policies and Politics of Immigration*, Basingstoke, Palgrave MacMillan, 2007, p. 201-222; Ahmet İçduygu and E. Fuat Keyman, "Globalization, Security and Migration: The Case of Turkey", in *Global Governance*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (July-September 2000), p. 383-398.

Globalization and EU-ization of Turkey's international migration policies do not mean that these policies are now being completely aligned with modern international standards. Indeed, a number of scholars, policy makers and activists still criticize the country's policies for their failures in dealing with the migratory flows and in providing services for the well-being of migrants.³ The claim being made here is not that the migration policies of Turkey are fully changed and modernized. In fact, these policies are mostly old-fashioned, incomplete, and insufficient. Nevertheless, in recent years, relatively more liberal discourse has been a fundamental factor in determining the policy alternatives available to the Turkish state in its efforts to reformulate its migration policies. The factual transition in migration is accompanied by discursive and policy developments that take place on a terrain fraught with tension between nationalist and statist legacies which are rooted in the politics of the past, and the current worldviews which are based on neo-liberalism in an age of globalism. As such, the Turkish state is steadily adapting itself to the new role that countries play in emigration and immigration in a globalized world that increasingly implies an environment of rights. Migrant-centred perspectives now tend to capture some portions of the state-centred realms of dominant migration policies.

The main purpose of this paper is to advance the understanding of past and present changes in the migratory status of Turkey, as well as to identify the wider economic, demographic and political transformations explaining these trends. A central question is the extent to which the most recent migration- and migrant-related policies are related to and different from past ones and why this is the case. Answering these questions can help us not only to better understand the impact of the past on the present, but also that of the present on the future. In this context, specific reference is made to the migratory system between Europe and Turkey and to its implications for the future of the Euro-Turkish transnational space.

Turkey's Transformation into a Country of Immigration

Turkey has changed its migration profile decisively over the course of the last century, during which it has gone through various stages in migration transition, which are visualized in Table 1. Turkey's history of migration transition incorporates periods where the management of different migration patterns overlapped. Modern Turkey's earliest recorded migration was prompted by the uneasy process of nation-building and the nationalist policies of un-mixing, which created a two-way immigration and emigration circulation cycle. During the 1960s, policies that encouraged mass emigration, especially to European countries, intersected with state-led developmentalist policies, rapid urbanization, and internal migration. Another instance of overlapping occurred with the advent of liberalization and globalization after the 1980s, in which the state became increasingly responsive to the demands of emigrants abroad and the rising flow of migrants of non-Muslim origin. The impact of Europeanization in the 2000s created new alliances, as well as tensions in the management of migration and led to the establishment of new administrative and legal structures, boosting state authority.⁴

The prominent ideology that shaped Turkish migration policies, regarding both immigration and emigration for most of the country's early history was nationalism, which viewed mobility and population management as one of the main tools of nation-state building. During the debate on the establishment of a new ministry on Population Exchange, Development and Settlement, in his address to the Turkish Parliament on 13 October 1923, Mr. Tunali Hilmi, a powerful member of the parliament, conveyed a simple vision of the basic goals of

3 Seçil Paçacı Elitok, "Turkey's Prospective EU Membership from a Migration Perspective...", cit., p. 1; Alexander Bürgin, "European Commission's agency meets Ankara's agenda: why Turkey is ready for a readmission agreement", in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 19, No. 6 (August 2012), p. 883-899.

4 Ahmet İçduygu and Damla B. Aksel, "Turkish Migration Policies: A Critical Historical Retrospective", cit., p. 167.

Turkish immigration policy:

I don't need ostentatiousness but people. Let more than a hundred Turkish families come from Adakale (Ada Kaleb) in Tuna: let them build Anatolian villages on the shores of Sakarya –Tuna of Anatolia – or in any other islet! We should remember: we have a countless number of [my] Turks not only right besides us, in Aleppo and Damascus, but also as far away as Basra, Mecca, Yemen, and not only in Egypt, but in Sudan and Morocco [...] They should all come [...] They should be brought if they don't come [...] The law about "there is no such thing as empty space in nature, it gets filled and it disappears" led me to deep thoughts in school during science classes. Thinking of it in terms of "Sociology," which I had not heard of at that time, the question of "If I don't fill the empty country with Turks, who else would fill it?" would make my soul shiver. It still does [...] Yes, if God bestows us with such a sublime victory; but if we don't respond swiftly in "developing [the country] with population," I would not be providing the real salvation to the nation: We can be sure that if we do not provide such a real victory, then the victory will fall through.⁵

During this period, while people of Turkish origin and Islamic faith were encouraged to migrate to Turkey, non-Muslims in Turkey were discouraged from remaining in the country. According to estimates, nearly one million people of Turkish origin and Islamic faith arrived in the country in the period of 1923-39: around 200,000 from Bulgaria, 400,000 from Greece, nearly 150,000 from Romania and another 150,000 from other parts of the Balkans.⁶ On the other hand, about 16 million people were living in Turkey at the start of the First World War, including 13 million Muslims and 3 million non-Muslims. Among the 3 million non-Muslims were 1.5 million Rums, 1.2 million Armenians, 128,000 Jews and 176,000 non-Rum and non-Armenian Christians.⁷ The mobility patterns based on the forced migration of Armenians and Rums resulted in the reduction of the non-Muslim population in Turkey from 19 percent in 1914 to 3 percent in 1927, and then later on decreased to nearly 1 percent in the 1950s – constituting only 200,000 people.⁸ In short, in the first half of the 20th century, there were mass emigration and immigration movements shaping the Turkish population (see Figure 1 in the Annex).

Nationalist ideology influenced the earliest republican legislation addressing the treatment of immigration and emigration. The state-led emigration was maintained by agreements of reciprocity with other countries (in 1913 and 1925 with Bulgaria, in 1923 with Greece), forced displacements (as in the case of the 1915 Armenian emigration) and migrations triggered by deterrence policies (including The Wealth Tax of 1942). Among the social engineering initiatives for Turkifying the population living in the Turkish Republic were also the administrative and legal arrangements facilitating the immigration and settlement of Turkish populations, which were put in force primarily in the 1930s.⁹ The 1934 *Law on Settlement*, which was designed primarily as a legal tool of immigration and settlement in the country,¹⁰ established two

5 Obtained (and translated) from the Parliamentary Archives of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, by Damla B. Aksel, assistant of the author and PhD Scholar in the Department of International Relations at Koç University, Istanbul.

6 Ahmet İçduygu, Şule Toktaş and B. Ali Soner, "The Politics of Population in a Nation-Building Process: Emigration of Non-Muslims from Turkey", in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (February 2008), p. 358-389.

7 Youssef Courbage and Philippe Fargues, *Christians and Jews under Islam*, London and New York, I.B. Tauris, 1998, p. 128.

8 Ahmet İçduygu, Şule Toktaş and Ali Soner, "The Politics of Population in a Nation-Building Process...", cit., p. 363-365.

9 Ayhan Aktar, *Varlık Vergisi ve Türkleştirme Politikaları*, İstanbul, İletişim, 2000; Ahmet Yıldız, *Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene*, İstanbul, İletişim, 2007.

10 Ahmet İçduygu, "Den Nationalstaat errichten und bewahren, auch in der globalisierten Welt: Der politische Hintergrund internationaler Migration in die Türkei", in Barbara Pusch and Tomas Wilkoszewski (eds.), *Facetten internationaler Migration in die Türkei: Gesellschaftliche Rahmenbedingungen und persönliche Lebenswelten*, Würzburg, Ergon, 2008, p. 3-23; Kemal Kirişçi, "Turkey: A Transformation from Emigration to Immigration", in *MPI's Online Journal*, 1 November 2003, <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/node/4802>; Soner Çağaptay, "Kemalist Dönemde Göç ve İskan Politikaları: Türk Kimliği üzerine bir Çalışma", in *Toplum ve Bilim*, No. 93 (Summer 2002),

divergent statuses by: (a) facilitating the migration and integration of those of "Turkish origin and culture" either as migrants or as refugees, and (b) preventing and impeding the entry as migrants or refugees of those who did not meet this criterion. While these two statuses were in line with what had been the state's migration policy since the late 19th century, they also paved the way for succeeding patterns of migration to and from Turkey. As a result of these patterns of migration, both the quantity and quality of the population of Turkey changed. This in turn meant that the population of Turkey was enlarged, and membership in the national bourgeoisie changed hands from the non-Muslims to the newly enriched Muslim merchants. This new bourgeoisie was also supported by the state elites who were attempting to grow and modernize the national economy through paternalistic policies.¹¹

Nationalism provided the foundation for the migration policies of Turkey in the first half of the 20th century.¹² Exclusion of the non-Turkish and non-Muslim populations and inclusion of Turks and Muslims was the first comprehensive system of migration policy in the country. During the Second World War and the following period, both domestic and foreign policy concerns contributed to strengthening these two-way operations of emigration and immigration. In the decades after the war, however, these factors would converge with the growing liberal economic values, and ultimately would result in significant changes in the Turkish migration policies.

The post-Second World War period had implications on the economic, social and political transformations all around the world, bringing economic dynamism, increases in industrial production, as well as social and geographical mobility. Meanwhile rapid integration of Turkey, both economically and politically, into the world capitalist system was a noticeable part of these transformations. Consequently, all these changes also had implications for Turkey, where traditional migration values of nationalism were affected by a mentality of developmentalism and market freedoms. As a result, the primary focus of the international migration policies in Turkey in this period somehow shifted from a nationalism-centred paradigm to a more developmentalism-originated liberal paradigm (see Table 1 in the Annex).¹³

Formulating a strategy of labour exporting as a tool of its economic development, Turkey entered into new relations with labour demanding industrialized countries through labour recruitment agreements beginning with the 1961 Agreement with Germany. Thousands of Turkish workers left their home to find their employments in various European countries (see Figure 1 in the Annex). Modern Turkey witnessed for the first time in its history mass emigration of its Turkish and Muslim populations abroad. The main goals regarding these labour agreements were different from the viewpoints of the labour demanding versus the labour supplying country (i.e. Turkey), which reflects the classical core-peripheral model of migration theories. The interests of the European core countries were to respond to the post-war labour shortage via short term migration from less developed countries, while the interests of the peripheral countries were to send migrants abroad, in order to benefit from emigrants' economic (export of surplus labour power and remittances) and social (transfer of knowledge and know-how) capital that they would gain in Europe. For both sides, migration was supposed to be temporary.¹⁴

In his talk to the parliament on 25 February 1962, the Minister of Labour, Mr. Bülent Ecevit reflects on the state's perspectives on labour emigration providing the foundation of migration policies with a

p. 218-241; Ahmet Yıldız, *Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene*, cit.

11 Çağlar Keyder, *Türkiye'de Devlet ve Sınıflar*, İstanbul, İletişim, 1989, p. 136-137.

12 Ahmet İçduygu, "Den Nationalstaat errichten und bewahren auch in der globalisierten Welt...", cit., p. 5-8; Ahmet İçduygu and Damla B. Aksel, "Turkish Migration Policies: A Critical Historical Retrospective", cit., p. 169-180.

13 Ahmet İçduygu, "50 Years After the Labour Recruitment Agreement with Germany: The Consequences of Emigration for Turkey", in *Perceptions*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Summer 2012), p. 13, <http://sam.gov.tr/?p=2727>.

14 Ahmet Akgündüz, *Labour Migration from Turkey to Western Europe, 1960-1974. A Multidisciplinary Analysis*, Aldershot and Burlington, Ashgate, 2008, p. 7-15.

developmentalist approach.

As you know workers from various countries work in Germany. Based on the information we received from Germany I should tell you proudly that the Germans, who are known to be meticulous about work discipline, are more satisfied with the Turkish worker than all other foreign workers. This is a living example of how efficient the Turkish worker can be under the administration of a manager who knows how to employ a worker, who knows the staff relations and the art of managing. [...] Sending workers to Germany is not disadvantageous for the worker's public and professional life, but rather helpful. This is because for a few years now, it has been known that unemployment has become a source of trouble in our country. Under such circumstances, the opening of this door has reduced the problem of unemployment, and increased the possibility for negotiation between employees and business owners. [...] If I understood correctly, a spokesman friend demanded that it be obligatory for the Turkish workers in Germany to send money to Turkey. Our opinion is that this is impractical and against human rights. In practice, many workers already send back money to their families that they leave behind. However, I should note the bitter truth that the difference between the official and free market exchange rate unfortunately decreases the amount of foreign exchange earnings that our country and our treasury receive through the money sent to Turkey.¹⁵

However, many migrants confounded expectations by settling down in Europe, and even bringing their families to join them. The economic downturn in Western Europe in the 1970s ended the recruitment of labour from Turkey; Turkish emigration to Europe, however, did not come to an end.¹⁶ The evolution of Turkish migrant communities in Europe was remarkable.¹⁷ Starting with the outflow of a few Turkish migrants in late 1961, there were more than half a million Turkish migrants and their relatives living in Europe by the early 1970s, almost two million by the early 1980s, more than two and a half million by the early 1990s, and over three million by the early 2000s.¹⁸ What seems primarily to have contributed to this increase was, firstly, family reunification and marriage migration over time, and, secondly, asylum flows – initially due to the military intervention in civilian politics in Turkey in 1980 and later due to an increase in violence surrounding efforts to suppress a separatist movement by Turkey's large Kurdish minority. According to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) statistics, between 1980 and 2010, almost one million Turkish citizens applied for asylum in various European countries.¹⁹

It appears that persisting economic under-development intensified the push factors that encouraged emigration in the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey. It was not, however, only the economic conditions that created extreme push conditions in the country. The political instability that emerged in the 1980s and 1990s, the economic and political liberalization that took place in the 1990s, and, in general, the dynamics of contemporary globalization all contributed to various

15 Obtained (and translated) from the Parliamentary Archives of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, by Damla B. Aksel.

16 Czarina Wilpert, "Returning and Remaining: Return among Turkish Migrants in Germany", in Daniel Kubat (ed.), *The Politics of Return. International Return Migration in Europe*, Rome, Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1984, p. 101-112; Nermin Abadan-Unat, *Turks in Europe. From Guest Worker to Transnational Citizen*, New York, Berghahn Books, 2011; Heinz Fassmann and Ahmet İçduygu, "Turks in Europe: Migration Flows, Migrant Stocks and Demographic Structure", in *European Review*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (July 2013), p. 349-361.

17 Ahmet İçduygu, *Europe, Turkey, and International Migration: An Uneasy Negotiation*, Paper presented at the EUI Migration Working Group, 26 January 2011, <http://www.eui.eu/seminarsandevents/index.aspx?eventid=60065>.

18 Ahmet İçduygu and Kemal Kirişçi, "Introduction: Turkey's International Migration Transition", in Ahmet İçduygu and Kemal Kirişçi (eds.), *Land of Diverse Migrations. Challenges of Emigration and Immigration in Turkey*, İstanbul, İstanbul Bilgi University Press, 2009, p. 9; Heinz Fassmann and Ahmet İçduygu, "Turks in Europe...", cit., p. 349-361.

19 Heinz Fassmann and Ahmet İçduygu, "Turks in Europe...", cit., p. 352.

types of mobilities in the last two decades and are, in large part, responsible for new migration trends:²⁰ among them, in particular, declining flows of new labour migration over time, asylum seekers and irregular migrants, and the increasing movement of highly skilled professionals and students.

Today, it is estimated that 15 to 20 thousand Turkish citizens arrive in Europe annually, and intend to stay long-term.²¹ More than one-third of these are highly skilled professionals and students. There are almost no new labour migrants, except those who arrive through family reunification, asylum seeking, and irregular flows. There are now over 4 million people of Turkish-origin living in Europe, of whom over 1.5 million have taken up the citizenship of their host countries.²² Turkish migrants and their European-born family members are the largest group of non-nationals residing in the EU, accounting for 0.6 per cent of the EU population.²³ Of course, these percentages vary widely from country to country. Given the emerging sizable Turkish immigrant communities in Europe, the Turkish state has been overtly producing proactive policies since the 1980s, in particular during the last two decades, to maintain its ties with the diaspora communities, and to utilize them in its diaspora politics both nationally and internationally. These policies include the formulation of some forms of dual citizenship and voting rights granted to Turkish migrants living abroad, and the provision of institutional assistance for the pro-state lobbying activities of Turkish communities in Europe, on behalf of Turkey. It must be noted here, however, that in the fifty-year history of Turkish labour emigration to Europe, the period of 1960-2010 showed a classical trend of transformation from a net emigration setting to a net immigration setting (see Figure 2 in the Annex).

Even though modern Turkey had been affected by immigration waves since the 1920s, they were based on the arrival of people with "Turkish descent and culture". There was, however, a remarkable change in the early 1980s (see Table 1 in the Annex). The incoming migration during the 1980s was for the first time comprised of "foreigners" who were neither Turks nor Muslim.²⁴ Some of the immigration flows to Turkey were related to the overall globalization process that facilitated and boosted the movement of people as well as goods, technologies, ideas and finances. In addition, the political turmoil and the economic transformations in the region over the last thirty years drove people to move to safer and more developed countries, making Turkey a passageway. In the East, the draconian politics in Afghanistan, Iran and Iraq, especially towards minorities, as well as the humanitarian insecurity after the Iran-Iraq war and the Gulf crisis, pushed people to enter Turkey seeking asylum. In the West, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the socialist systems in Eastern Europe prompted the citizens of these countries to arrive in Turkey in search of temporary work. Moreover, increasing economic prosperity and political stability in the country attracted foreigners of different status such as professionals, sun seekers and retirees, students, temporary or permanent workers, to work, study, or live in Turkey.

In an address to a conference on migration, Islam and multiculturalism in Europe in Ankara on 11 April 2013,²⁵ President Abdullah Gül revealed

20 Ahmet İçduygu and Damla B. Aksel, *Migrant Realities and State Responses: Rethinking International Migration Policies in Turkey*, paper presented at the International Workshop of Social Transformation and International Migration (STIM) project on Challenge for Social Theory and National Identities, Sydney, 22-23 August 2013.

21 For some details see, Ahmet İçduygu, *International Migration and Turkey*, 2012, OECD SOPEMI Country Report for Turkey, Istanbul, MiReKoc, Koç University, 2012.

22 Ahmet İçduygu and Damla B. Aksel, *Migrant Realities and State Responses...*, cit.

23 Author's calculation based on data from OECD, *International Migration Outlook 2010*, Paris, OECD, 2010.

24 Ahmet İçduygu and Kemal Kirişçi, "Introduction: Turkey's International Migration Transition", cit., p. 1-25; Ahmet İçduygu, "Den Nationalstaat errichten und bewahren auch in der globalisierten Welt...", cit.; Kemal Kirişçi, "Turkey: A Transformation from Emigration to Immigration", cit.

25 The conference entitled "Migration, Islam and Multiculturalism in Europe" was organized in Ankara on 11-12 April 2013 by Hacettepe University Center for Migration and Political Studies (HUGO). See Turkish Presidency, *Cumhurbaşkanı Gül, 'Avrupa'da Göç, İslam ve Çokkültürlülük' Sempozyumuna Katıldı*, 11 April 2013, <http://www.tccb.gov.tr/haberler/170/85728/cumhurbaskani-gul-avrupada-goc-islam-ve-cokkulturluluk-sempozyumuna-katildi.html>.

the changing nature of migration policies in Turkey.

Turkey is changing. Turkey is a country that has accepted migrants and is used as a transit point for migration to Europe. Not only are people from our neighbouring countries arriving in Turkey, but also people from other parts of the world are coming to our country. As Turkey is enjoying successful economic development, the country is becoming a country of immigration... We used to send our citizens to other countries [...] to Germany [...] to France, to Austria, to Australia [...] we now have thousands of Turkish migrants living in other countries [...] But foreigners are also beginning to live in Turkey [...] We have so many refugees coming to Turkey [...] In the Ottoman period we were a multicultural country, with people of different religion, ethnicity and culture [...] now again Turkey will be a place with this diversity [...] this is the reason that we will now have a new Law on Foreigners and International Protection.²⁶

It is estimated that in the last two decades, more than half a million transit migrants have been absorbed in the country – primarily from Middle Eastern, Asian and African countries – as they tried to make their way to Europe. Another half a million, mostly coming from the post-Soviet countries, have come and worked as irregulars in various sectors. In the same period, more than a hundred thousand asylum seekers have arrived individually in Turkey, in addition to the mass movements of half a million Kurds from Iraq in the first Gulf War in 1991, and nearly a million Syrians fleeing the recent crisis. In addition to these groups, around a quarter of million foreigners, most of which are professionals, students, and retired "sun" migrants, have residence permits and reside in Turkey. As a result, the first part of the 2000s has witnessed immigration flows from four different categories:²⁷ (1) irregular labour migrants; (2) transit migrants; (3) asylum seekers and refugees and (4) regular migrants. The irregular migrants (labour/shuttle and transit migrants) are those who either use Turkey as a way to cross into a third country, or stay or work in the country without the necessary permits. The asylum seekers and refugees are considered in parallel with the irregular migrants, due to their type of entry into Turkey, often via irregular border crossings. Regular migrants are composed of the immigrants and their family members who arrive in Turkey for employment, education, settlement or long-term living and recreational purposes.

A number of factors are behind this transition from a country of emigration to immigration. In general, globalization is clearly a major external force behind Turkey's rapid transformation into a "migration transition" country. However, there were also internal developments within Turkey that have influenced Turkey's transformation into a migration transition country.²⁸ Turkey's new liberal market economy characterized by informality attracts migration into Turkey. Furthermore, government policies have made entry into Turkey much easier than was the case during the Cold War. In fact, the single party rule of the Justice and Development Party (JDP) with its partly liberal stands, has been instrumental in reforming the country's immigration policy since the early 2000s.²⁹ Lastly, Turkey's current ambition to become a member of the EU and the accompanying political liberalization is altering the state's traditional conception of national identity. There has been growing pressure to adopt policies that recognize Turkey's own ethnic and cultural diversity. Inevitably, this has a bearing on how the Turkish state and society regards foreigners and migrants. Similarly,

www.tccb.gov.tr/haberler/170/85728/cumhurbaskani-gul-avrupada-goc-islam-ve-cokkulturluluk-sempozyumuna-katildi.html.

26 Author's translation.

27 Ahmet İçduygu and Deniz Yüsekser, "Rethinking transit migration in Turkey: reality and re-presentation in the creation of a migratory phenomenon", in *Population, Space and Place*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (July-August 2012), p. 441-456.

28 Kemal Kirişçi, "Turkey: A Transformation from Emigration to Immigration", cit.

29 Secil Paçacı Elitok, "Turkish Migration Policy Over the Last Decade: A Gradual Shift Towards Better Management and Good Governance", in *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Spring 2013), p. 161-172, http://www.turkishpolicy.com/dosyalar/files/vol_12-no_1-ELITOK.pdf.

in the context of the EU-Turkey membership negotiation process, the EU-ization of migration policies in Turkey has been a pressing concern on the agenda of EU-Turkey relations. In turn, government policy is under growing pressure to reform and adapt to the realities of Turkey's transformation from being mainly a country of emigration to a country of immigration.

A significant portion of the "non-Turk, non-Muslim" immigration to Turkey since the 1980s is irregular, and such immigrants are defined by Turkish law as "illegal". Until the 1994 *Asylum Regulation*,³⁰ a handful of texts laid down the clauses and modalities regarding the entry, exit, stay and residence of aliens, without touching on topics such as asylum or labour. The 1994 Regulation defined the conditions for applying for asylum in Turkey; however, this remained a limited opportunity for being recognized legally due to the geographical limitation clause of the 1951 Geneva Convention.³¹ Despite criticism, the Turkish state did not lift the limitation and allowed only temporary asylum to non-European asylum seekers until they resettled in a third country. Analysing this from the perspective of the nation-state paradigm and international migration, the policies regarding immigrants in Turkey have been slow to recognize the immigration of non-co-ethnics and move away from the nation-state centred migration policies.

Yet, signs of policy change in the area of immigration are becoming increasingly apparent and the EU has been a driving force in this regard since the early 2000s.³² For example, Turkey, as part of its pre-accession requirements, has to harmonize its legislation in areas identified in the EU "Accession Partnership" document.³³ Specifically, the *Action Plan on Asylum and Migration* adopted by the government in March of 2005, lays out the tasks and timetable Turkey intends to follow in order to adopt EU directives on asylum and migration. It is within this context that Turkey experienced the EU-ization of its migration and asylum legislation. For instance, the Turkish state enacted a new law, the *Law on Work Permits of Foreigners*,³⁴ that enabled labour migrants to obtain their documents in Turkey more easily. The enactment of this law facilitates foreign nationals' search for work and employment in Turkey, and heralds the state's more welcoming attitude towards its migrant labour force. A new *Law on Foreigners and International Protection* was adopted by the Parliament in April 2013.³⁵ Combining the previously planned two separate laws, the *Law on Aliens* and the *Law on Asylum*, this law introduces some landmark reforms that provide Turkey with a modern, efficient and fair management system, in line with core international and European standards. With the new law, Turkey commits itself to integrating immigrants into the country and treating asylum seekers and irregular migrants in accordance with international norms. Considering that these tasks are currently being carried out by the Security General Directorate of the country, but that the General Directorate of Migration Management will replace it gradually after its complete establishment in one year, the developments introduced by this new law mark genuine progress in the idea of "migration management" or "management of immigration" in the country's public policy agenda.

30 Regulation No. 6169 of 1994.

31 Kemal Kirişçi, "UNHCR and Turkey: Cooperating for Improved Implementation of the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees", in *International Journal of Refugee Law*, Vol. 13, Nos. 1-2 (January 2001), p. 71-97; Kemal Kirişçi, "Border Management and EU-Turkish Relations: Convergence or Deadlock", in *CARIM Research Report*, No. 2007/03 (2007), <http://hdl.handle.net/1814/7988>.

32 Ahmet İçduygu and Damla B. Aksel, "Turkish Migration Policies: A Critical Historical Retrospective", cit., p. 180-185.

33 "Accession Partnership" documents lay down the tasks that Turkey has to implement to harmonize its laws and policies with that of the EU *acquis*. There is a whole section relating to issues under immigration. The most recent one is the *Council Decision 2008/157/EC* of 18 February 2008 on the principles, priorities and conditions contained in the Accession Partnership with the Republic of Turkey..., <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/en/NOT/?uri=celex:32008D0157>.

34 Law No. 4817 of 27 February 2003.

35 Law No. 6458 of 4 April 2013. For a detailed elaboration of this legal arrangement, see Esra Dardağan Kibar, "An Overview and Discussion of the New Turkish Law on Foreigners and International Protection", in *Perceptions*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Autumn 2013), p. 109-128, <http://sam.gov.tr/?p=4239>.

Even though Turkey's migration policies have been undergoing a remarkable transformation towards liberalization since the early 2000s, there seem to be various paradoxical developments in the direction of these changes. In some policy areas, including citizenship, the prospects of Turkey loosening its traditional immigration policies seem less likely. Although the new *Settlement Law* of 2006³⁶ has made similar changes towards the liberalization of migration policies, it continues to limit formal immigration to Turkey to individuals and groups of "Turkish descent and culture".³⁷ This approach is very closely related with the traditional conception of "Turkishness" reminiscent of the 1930s. The identifying features of "Turkishness" are not solely related to Turkish ethnicity, but the ability and willingness to adopt the Turkish language and to be a member of the Muslim Sunni ethnic group often closely associated with past Ottoman rule. Technically, Albanians, Bosnians, Circassians, Pomaks, Tatars, and Turks — mostly from the Balkans — who are included in this definition will be able to immigrate to Turkey. Minorities claiming a link to Turkey who are not Sunni Muslims, that is everyone from Armenians and Assyrians to Greeks and Jews, as well as unassimilated Kurds and Alevis are likely to face difficulties in immigrating to Turkey. Such a policy is not in accord with the emerging EU common immigration policy, which increasingly emphasizes civic connections to host territories, and employment prospects rather than ethnic or national origin, as grounds for immigration. Another point, which indicates that the Turkish government has not always taken a position compatible with the harmonization efforts of the EU pre-accession period, is related to the easing of travel restrictions and visa requirements for travellers from nearby countries:³⁸ interestingly, many of these new visa-free arrangements contradict the EU *acquis* and create problems for Turkey's EU membership agenda.

Over the last few years, the policies for preserving ties with emigrant communities abroad have been remarkable.³⁹ Indeed, the reflections of this newly emerged ideological setting of neo-Ottomanism have become very clear with the establishment of a new government department - the Prime Ministry Presidency for Turks Abroad and Relative Communities (*Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Toplulukları Başkanlığı*). The presidency was set up in 2010 with the objective of maintaining and strengthening the relationship of the Turkish state with Turkish citizens living abroad, those of Turkish origin living outside of Turkish territories and with foreign students in Turkey. This is the first time that the emigrants abroad and the Turkish ethnic communities who are not citizens of Turkey have been brought together under the same institutional roof. According to the Presidency, close contact with Turkish citizens living abroad is of the foremost importance and "citizens who are dispersed across the vast geographies in the world, from Germany to Jordan, Balkans to Australia, are increasingly becoming more effective and successful in their residence countries in different fields including economics, science, arts, sports and politics."⁴⁰ Besides this interest, the presidency projects a discourse, which often deploys references to its glorified Ottoman past, to its history, people, and geography. Together this rhetoric and the promotion of the Turkish language and culture abroad through the establishment of Yunus Emre Cultural Centers, reflect the Turkish state's emphasis on making use of the neo-Ottoman discourse as an alternative form of modernity, challenging the linear European model.⁴¹

It appears that since the early 2000s, various external and internal factors have made Turkey take more systematic steps toward institutionalising the "management of international migration flows

36 Law No. 5543 of 26 September 2006.

37 Ahmet İçduygu and Damla B. Aksel, *Migrant Realities and State Responses*, cit.

38 Zeynep Özler, "Visa Politics Under JDP Rule with Respect to EU Visa Policies", in *Perceptions*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Autumn 2013), p. 33-61, <http://sam.gov.tr/?p=4249>.

39 Özge Bilgili, "Turkey's Multifarious Attitude Towards Migration and its Migrants", in *Migration Policy Centre Research Report*, No. 2012/02 (2012), <http://hdl.handle.net/1814/23498>.

40 T.C. Başbakanlık Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı (YTB), *Yurtdışı Vatandaşlar Danışma Kurulu*, Ankara, YTB, 2013, p. 3.

41 Ahmet İçduygu and Damla B. Aksel, *Migrant Realities and State Responses*, cit.

and their outcomes.⁴² It seems that a considerable shift has taken place during the last decade towards a proactive policy-making position on emigration and immigration issues. However, it also seems that the path of policy-making on international migration has not been smooth. Policy makers are faced with several dilemmas. On the one hand, the nationalist restrictive rhetoric that has partly dominated migration policy debates in recent years is unlikely to be matched by the reality of migration flows. On the other hand, certainly, the new liberal tendencies are real and cannot be disregarded. The debate over Turkish migration policies seems to continue to be marked by conflict between traditional and modern forces. Nevertheless, the legislative compromises that result from this conflictual debate are likely to give Turkish policy-makers the tools necessary to carefully and considerably transform the country's migration policies. There is no doubt that for the last two decades, globalization in general and EU-ization in specific have played a significant role in the changes experienced in Turkey. As noted by Sassen,⁴³ "an emerging de facto regime, centered in international agreements and conventions as well as in various rights gained by immigrants, limits the state's role" in managing migration control. To assess the long-term impact of this development, the influence of the EU accession process on Turkish migration policies and the formation of a transnational space between Europe and Turkey in this context will now be explored.

Europe, Turkey, and International Migration: Forming a Transnational Space⁴⁴

In 1963, two years after the initiation of intense migratory movement from Turkey to Europe in 1961,⁴⁵ Turkey received associate membership in the European Community with the signing of the Ankara agreement. Migration from Turkey to Europe – in the words of Article 12, the "gradual realisation of the free flow of workers" to the European Community – was considered a significant and positive issue, and treated accordingly. Later, Article 36 of the Additional Protocol of 1973 noted that "the free movement of workers among Turkey and the member states of the European Community will be gradually realised from the end of the 12th year until the end of the 22nd year after the Agreement comes into effect in compliance with the principles set forth in Article 12 of the Association Agreement."⁴⁶ It is important to emphasize that in the period in which the Ankara Agreement was signed, Europe's reconstruction and economic development following World War II was still continuing. Therefore, there was an intense demand for foreign labourers in the European labour market. Consequently, on the basis of bilateral agreements, thousands of people from Turkey moved to European countries (beginning with Germany) as workers. In short, the first half of the 1960s and 1970s were years when European economies required labour, and guest worker migrants from Turkey filled that economic demand.

However, 42 years after the Ankara agreement, in the Negotiating Framework regarding Turkey's accession to the EU of October 3, 2005, it was stated that long transition periods, derogations, specific arrangements or provisions of permanent protection might also apply to the free movement of people when necessary. Such conditions again emphasized the importance of the issue of the free

flow of workers in the Euro-Turkish space, yet it was now viewed in a *negative* light.⁴⁷ Given that in Europe during the early 21st century, international migration was increasingly becoming "a broad catch phrase that embraces such diverse processes as the maintenance of political stability, economic development, demographic change, and shifting ethnic allegiances,"⁴⁸ the emergence of new perspectives on international migration under changing economic, social, political, cultural, and demographic conditions was an expected development.

For Turkey, which inched open the door to the EU by obtaining a date for accession talks on December 17, 2004, and entered a new and challenging period in its forty-two year long journey towards EU membership with the decision to start negotiations targeting full membership on October 3, 2005, issues of international migration have become pressing concerns, particularly as they influence EU relations. This step towards membership, while considered a "historical milestone", at the same time signals the beginning of a challenging process of negotiation for both Turkey and the EU. Various reports by the European Commission on Turkey emphasize that this EU enlargement will be different from previous ones, in large part because of serious concerns over migration. As the hegemonic actor in the process of accession, the EU has the primary power to set the agenda in which various migration and membership issues are carefully intertwined.⁴⁹ For instance, in one of the earliest key EU documents, which signalled the start of the membership negotiation process between the EU and Turkey, the *Recommendation of the European Commission on Turkey's progress towards accession* dated October 6, 2004, the following points are stated:

With over three million, Turks constitute by far the largest group of third-country nationals legally residing in today's EU. Available studies give varying estimates of expected additional migration following Turkey's accession. Long transition periods and a permanent safeguard clause can be considered to avoid serious disturbances on the EU labour market. However, the population dynamics of Turkey could make a contribution to offsetting the ageing of EU societies. In this context, the EU also has a strong interest in that reforms and investments should be made in education and training in Turkey over the next decade [...] The management of the EU's long new external borders would constitute an important policy challenge and require significant investment. Managing migration and asylum as well as fighting organised crime, terrorism, trafficking of human beings, drugs and arms smuggling would all be facilitated through closer cooperation both before and after accession.⁵⁰

By establishing these arguments before the start of accession talks, the EU document not only had a decisive impact on pro- and anti-positions towards the accession of Turkey in EU circles, it also widely shaped the discourses of the pro- and anti-positions towards EU membership in Turkey. It is within this context that discussions of the issue of international migration in the EU in relation to Turkey focus on two points of concern.⁵¹ The *first* point of concern is whether or

47 Ahmet İçduygu, *Türkiye-Avrupa Birliği İlişkileri Bağlamında Uluslararası Göç Tartışmaları*, cit.

48 Kimberley A. Hamilton, "Europe, Africa, and international migration: An uncomfortable triangle of interests", in *New Community*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (October 1997), p. 550.

49 Ahmet İçduygu and Ayşem Biriz Karaçay, "Demography and Migration in Transitions: Reflections on EU-Turkey Relations", in Seçil Paçacı Elitok and Thomas Straubhaar (eds.), *Turkey, Migration and the EU: Potentials, Challenges and Opportunities*, Hamburg, Hamburg University Press, 2012, p. 19-38, <http://www.hwwi.org/publikationen/edition/edition-hwwi-band-5.html>.

50 European Commission, *Recommendation of the European Commission on Turkey's progress towards accession* (COM(2004) 656 final), 6 October 2006, p. 5, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/en/NOT/?uri=celex:52004DC0656>.

51 Refik Erzan and Kemal Kirişçi (eds.), *Turkish Immigrants in the European Union. Determinants of Immigration and Integration*, London and New York, Routledge, 2008; Ahmet İçduygu, *Türkiye-Avrupa Birliği İlişkileri Bağlamında Uluslararası Göç Tartışmaları*, cit.; Kemal Kirişçi, "Turkey's Pre-Accession and Immigration Issues", in *Population Challenges, International Migration, and Reproductive Health in Turkey and the European Union: Issues and Policy Implications*, Istanbul, Turkish Family, Health and Planning

42 Secil Paçacı Elitok, "Turkish Migration Policy Over the Last Decade...", cit., p. 161-172.

43 Saskia Sassen, *Losing Control? Sovereignty in an Age of Globalization*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1996, p. 67.

44 Based on Ahmet İçduygu, *Europe, Turkey, and International Migration: An Uneasy Negotiation*, cit.

45 Bülent Çiçekli, *The Legal Position of Turkish Immigrants in the European Union*, Ankara, Karmap, 1998.

46 Ahmet İçduygu, *Türkiye-Avrupa Birliği İlişkileri Bağlamında Uluslararası Göç Tartışmaları*, İstanbul, TÜSIAD, 2006, <http://www.tusiad.org/information-center/reports/international-migration-debates-within-the-context-of-turkey-european-union-relations>; Ahmet İçduygu, "The Politics of Demography and International Migration. Implications for the EU-Turkey Relationship", in *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (March 2010), p. 59-71.

not possibly intense migratory flows due to the free circulation of labour will create serious adjustment problems for the labour market and migrants. This point is often made with special reference to the adjustment problems encountered by Turkish migrants in Europe.⁵² Related to this point, on the flip side of coin, is the question of whether or not Turkey's demography will produce migration flows that could play an ameliorating role regarding the challenges of population shrinkage of working age adults and a mounting elderly population in the EU. The *second* point of concern is whether or not Turkey, in its position as a "receiving country" and as a "transit country", will be successful in producing and implementing policies in compliance with the EU's international migration and asylum regimes. This point is directly related to questions surrounding the border control and management problems that are believed to be associated with Turkish membership.

Gravitating towards these two areas of concern, which also include a type of cost-and-benefit analysis among economic, social, cultural, political, and demographic spheres, the climate of membership negotiations between the EU and Turkey has often been coloured by debates over international migration issues. While the process of membership negotiations has been going on, states on both sides have become directly or indirectly, implicitly or explicitly deeply engaged in migration-related issues. During the course of this engagement, while the EU naturally was often an agenda and tone setter, Turkey often tried to alter the tone of the debates.

Certainly, concern about the issue of the "free circulation of labour", which was quite often described as an influx of Turkish migrants fleeing into EU countries after Turkey's membership, contributed to the calls for long transition periods, derogations, specific arrangements, or provisions of permanent protection. These calls were heavily responsible for the fact that debates over Turkish membership have been dominated by the question of migration. At the level of economic interest, this is closely tied to labour market issues.⁵³ As the unemployment rate in many EU states seems to be highly disturbing for native workers, and even more alarming for migrants, the idea of restrictions on migration from a prospective member state is appealing for many. Similarly, for the dominant social-cultural and political interests in many EU-states, it is also desirable to prevent migration flows from Turkey at a time when there is growing concern about the integration of current Turkish immigrants, and more importantly, concern about the definition of European identity, and the place of immigrants and especially Muslims in Europe.⁵⁴ Despite the fact that these economic, social-cultural and political interests feed pessimistic views, some argue that the relatively young population of Turkey could be a partial remedy for the labour market needs of the EU, particularly if it can use the power of its demographic windows of opportunity efficiently by investing in the education and training of its youth for contemporary labour market needs.⁵⁵

Not surprisingly, these demographic concerns at the EU level, which regard Turkish membership positively have also been widely shared and used by advocates of pro-EU positions in Turkey. These advocates even argue that the demographic transition in Turkey will reach a stage within the next two-three decades where increased aging and a shrinking working age population will make Turkey unable to export its labour to other countries.⁵⁶ Moreover, as the central argument of

this essay underlines, as Turkey is experiencing a migration transition, emigration flows will naturally fall and immigration flows rise, making the country mostly a country of destination rather than a country of departure in the future. As a result, the size of the first, and partly, second generation migrants in the Turkish communities in Europe, who are more prone to integration difficulties in settlement countries, will eventually decrease; and thus the dominant rhetoric on the integration difficulties of Turkish migrants will gradually lose cogency. Over time, during the integration process many Turkish migrants and their family members have already integrated themselves successfully into the receiving communities. As noted by Toktaş,⁵⁷ despite their differences in ethnic background, language, faith, gender, age or town of origin, the members of Euro-Turkish communities have experienced integration in their new homelands to varying degrees. More than the first-generation migrants, the second, third, even fourth generations today represent a unique profile of denizens or citizens in the emerging cosmopolitan environment of a new multicultural Europe. These Euro-Turks are today the main actors of the transnational space formed between Europe and Turkey.

Even more important than free movement today is the issue of Turkey as a country of immigration and transit, which has led to the very deep penetration of migration-related issues in EU-Turkey relations. Since the 1990s, the involvement of Turkey in irregular migration flows, both as a source and transit country, has proven to be among the most contentious issues in the EU.⁵⁸ Due to its geographical position between Europe, Asia and Africa, Turkey has emerged as a major corridor for irregular migrants and asylum seekers who are coming from politically and economically unstable neighbouring countries and who are aiming for better and safer lives in Europe. For the EU, fighting against irregular immigration has been a central priority of the Union's common immigration policy. Therefore, a number of broad policy areas, such as border security, combating "illegal" border crossings, "illegal" employment, return, and developing a common asylum policy have inevitably become intrinsic to EU-Turkey relations. For both the EU and Turkey, these aspects of irregular migration are very closely linked to their similar economic and political interests, yet it appears that they are engaged in very different strategies to their own benefit.

One could expect that both the EU and Turkey would not have many conflicting positions in terms of realizing the strict control of borders, providing close supervision and management of the movement of people across those borders, combating illegal migration, and developing a common asylum policy, if Turkey were to perceive that there is burden sharing in this negotiation period, rather than burden shifting. For instance, after a tortuous negotiation process, on December 16, 2013, the EU and Turkey signed the Readmission Agreement, which facilitates the readmission of third country nationals and thus functions to combat irregular migration flows, in return for the "visa liberalization dialogue" which targets a visa-free regime for Turkish citizens who are currently subject to a harsh visa procedure before entering European countries.⁵⁹

Foundation (TAPV), 2004, p. 193-202.

52 Ayhan Kaya and Ferhat Kentel, "Euro-Turks: A Bridge or a Breach between Turkey and the European Union? A Comparative Study of German-Turks and French-Turks", in *EU-Turkey Working Papers*, No. 14 (January 2005), <http://www.ceps.be/node/1035>.

53 Hubert Krieger and Bertrand Maitre, "Migration Trends in an Enlarging European Union", in *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (March 2006), p. 45-66; Ahmet İçduygu and Ayşem Biriz Karaçay, "Demography and Migration in Transitions...", cit.

54 Esra Lagro, "Why is President Sarkozy Actually Against Turkish Accession to the EU? Facts and Challenges", in *Perceptions*, Vol. 13, Nos. 1-2 (Spring-Summer 2008), p. 58-78, <http://sam.gov.tr/?p=1977>.

55 Hubert Krieger and Bertrand Maitre, "Migration Trends in an Enlarging European Union", cit.

56 Atilla Hancıoğlu, Banu Ergöçmen and Turgay Ünalın, "The population of Turkey at

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57 Şule Toktaş, "Introduction: 50 Years of Emigration from Turkey to Germany. A Success Story?", in *Perceptions*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Summer 2012), p. 6, <http://sam.gov.tr/?p=2725>.

58 Europol, *Facilitated illegal immigration into the European Union*, September 2009; Frontex General Reports 2008 and 2009, available at <http://frontex.europa.eu/about-frontex/governance-documents>.

59 Ahmet İçduygu and Damla B. Aksel, *Two-to-Tango, in Migration Diplomacy: Negotiating Readmission Agreement between the EU and Turkey*, Migration Research Center (MiReKoc), Koç University, 2014 unpublished.

Concluding Remarks

Certainly, Turkey has entered into a new era of migration transition in the early 21st century. Its migration profile has changed from the massive emigration of the 1960s and 1970s to extensive immigration during the 1990s and 2000s. This essay examined the evolution of international migration starting with the early 20th century in the context of the broader transition process and offered prospects regarding an ongoing migration transition in the early 21st century in the country. Historical evidence suggests that migration policies, concerning both emigration and immigration, in the first half the 20th century in Turkey were influenced by nationalist ideologies. What determined the migration policies of the post Second World War period was the idea of developmentalism that gave preference to labour emigration with a mixture of realist and liberal understanding of state affairs. Finally, Turkey has been faced with the dynamics and mechanisms of an authentic migration transition for the last two-three decades: net migration has become positive with more arrivals than departures. Globalization and EU-ization have produced a transformation of migration policies that goes hand by hand, as both a cause and a consequence, with the migration transition. In particular, it is obvious that the new migration policies are a part of the process of EU-ization. More caution however is needed when relating the migration transition in Turkey strictly to EU-Turkey relations. Naturally, the differences between the migratory regimes of Turkey and the EU member states are still such that it is not possible to speak of a uniform regime. Yet migration regimes are in need of amendment rather than outright replacement or elimination. In the last two decades, the phenomenon of convergence has been broadly reflected in similar approaches: for instance, in spite of some

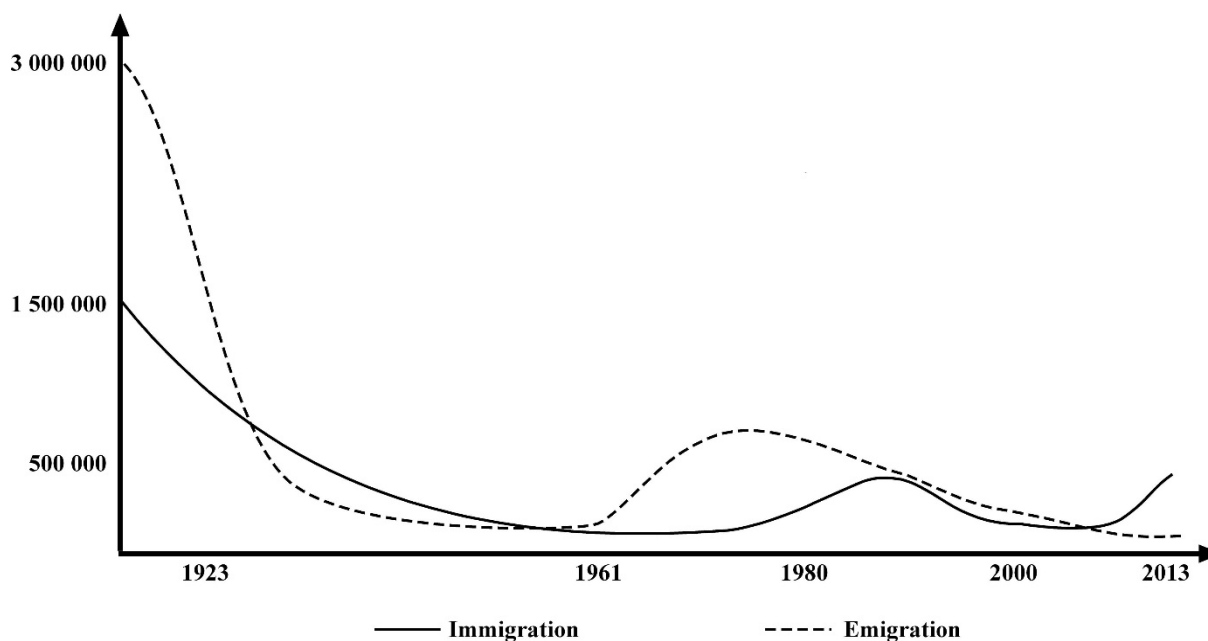
pressures from the EU for a restrictive migratory regime, some of the latest policy developments, such as visa-free-arrangements with many countries and a very generous asylum system, can be characterized as liberal. At the same time, Turkey's domestic and neighbouring conditions – particularly of political instability – are so different that diverging patterns are as likely to emerge as converging ones.

Although Turkey is also linked to other migratory regimes outside Europe, such as the ones in Australia, the Commonwealth of Independent States, the Middle East and North Africa, and North America, its integration into the European migratory system is long-standing and dynamic. Since the early 1960s, the transnational space involving Europe and Turkey has been enlarging. As Turkey has experienced its own migration transition and become a country of immigration and transit, this transnational space has grown even bigger, involving other parts of the world, and thus strengthening the migratory links between Europe and Turkey. Whether Turkey becomes a full member of the EU or not, it appears that the transnational space of EU-Turkey relations shaped through international migration flows will remain a platform of both conflict and co-operation that offers immense political leverage for both the EU and Turkey during the course of talks both inside and outside of the accession negotiations. It also appears that as Turkey undergoes migration transition, the asymmetric relationship between the EU and Turkey, which was reflected in Turkey's emigration flows, is tending to evolve towards a relatively symmetrical relationship between them. Indeed, the heavy negotiation period of the EU-Turkey readmission agreement and the launching of the "visa liberalization dialogue" was a clear sign of this move towards symmetry-based relations between the EU and Turkey.

• **Table 1 | An Overview of the International Migration Transition in Turkey**

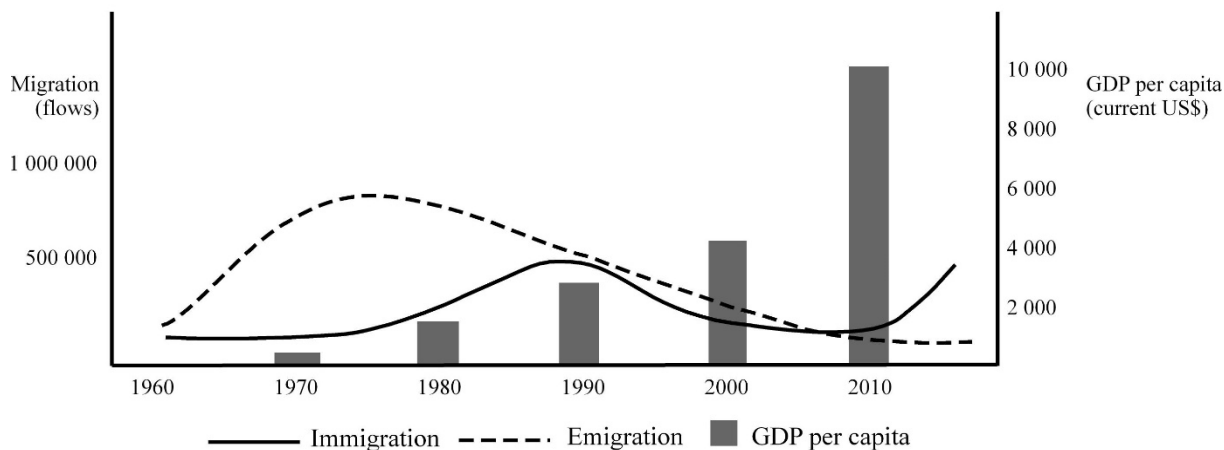
Period	Dominant Types of International Migration	Dominant State Ideology Related to Migration
1923-1960	Emigration of non-Muslims Immigration of Muslims and/or Turks	Nationalism/Statism
1960-1980/90	Labour Emigration (Muslims and/or Turks)	Developmentalism/Liberalism
1990-2010	Immigration of foreigners (non-Muslims and/or non-Turks)	Neo-liberal Institutionalism

• **Figure 1 | Various Stages of the Migration Transition in Turkey, 1923-2013**



Source: Author's calculation based on data collected over time from various sources.

• **Figure 2 | Classical (Labour) Migration Transition in Turkey, 1960-2013**



Source: Immigration and Emigration: Author's calculation based on data collected over time from various sources. GDP: World Bank Data Bank.

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