**POLS 334**

**ASYLUM AND MIGRATION IN TURKEY**

**Spring, 2025**

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**Course Description:**

Migration lies at the very core of modern Turkey. The loss of Ottoman territories in Balkans, Caucasia and Crimea made millions of national refugees flee into the heartland. Turkish society further welcomed millions of former Ottoman subjects after the establishment of the modern republic. Since 2000’s, but especially after the Syrian War, Turkey opened its doors to asylum related migrants coming from its Eastern borders. Turkey now tops the list of the largest refugee-hosting countries worldwide with millions of forced immigrants from the Middle East and Africa – bringing many complex issue areas from labor security to healthcare, from integration to foreign policy. Still, forced migration is not the only sort of human movement in the context of Turkey. Ukrainian and Russian migrants with the Russian invasion into Ukraine further add another dimension into already complicated processes in the country.

Of course, not all migration in Turkish context is not forced migration. Economic migration is another key characteristic of migration into, through and from this country. Turkey is amongst the largest sending countries in terms of labor migration – making it the country of origin of a large scale Diaspora spread across the world. Other than that, Turkey hosts large numbers of retired immigrants from Western European states in her coastal cities. The significance of internal migration in shaping modern Turkey is another significant are of discussion especially with the reverse migration trends since the Corona outbreak.

Taking the core importance of Turkey in asylum and migration related discussions, this course aims to familiarize students to the basic concepts, historic background and main issue areas in Turkish migration. In this regard, emphasis will be paid to political, cultural, economic and other social drivers and consequences.

Being an elective course, POLS 334 demands active participation of the students. Upon the successful completion of this course, students are expected to have a sophisticated understanding of asylum and migration in Turkish context, explain basic theoretical perspectives on the subject, and able to discuss the related concepts by taking political, economic and social aspects into consideration.

There are no course pre-requisites for this course.

**Office Hours:** Office Hours: Thursdays 13:00-17.00

* Please send an email to make an appointment ([Nermin.aydemir@antalya.edu.tr](mailto:Nermin.aydemir@antalya.edu.tr)).

**Course Requirements & Assessment**

1. **Attendance & Participation (20%): Attendance and participation is required unless there is a valid excuse.** Attendance and participation make up 20% of your overall course grade. Attending to all the courses does not mean that students will automatically get points from this section as they are expected to actively participate in the class discussions. Active participation means following the course carefully, fulfilling all the requirements under the PBL frame, asking questions when deemed necessary, making comments and giving examples about the relevant topics/themes. Please inform the instructor in advance if you have a valid excuse to attend the class.
2. **Discussion Leadership (10%):** Every week a group of students is expected to lead the discussion under the PBL approach.
3. **Project Proposal (20%):** Students are expected to write a research proposal on the subjects covered throughout the semester.
4. **Mid – Term Exam (20%):** You will have a mid-term exam at the 8th week of the semester.
5. **Final exam (30%):** You will have a final exam at the end of the semester.

**IMPORTANT NOTE: Students who are proven to plagiarize in their assignments will have a ZERO from this assignment and their cases will also be referred to Disciplinary Committee. One should note that PLAGIARISM, which is the practice of using or copying someone else’s idea or work and pretending that you thought of it or created it, in exams and term papers is considered as a crime, and will be subject to disciplinary actions.**

**Operation of the Course**

This course relies on the **problem based learning (PBL)** approach. This approach is mainly built upon active student participation to the in-class debates. It requires all students to read the assigned course material and contribute to the discussions. PBL approach combines lectures with active seminar discussions. Discussion topics for each week are specified in the syllabus. Yet, the specific focus of the discussions will be based on the problem statements raised by the students during “pre-discussion” sessions. Details of these are elaborated below.

**Lectures:** The first sessions of each week are reserved for lectures by the instructor. These lectures will explain the main discussions in the literature. Still, these lectures are not designed in a classical format. Rather, lecture sessions require an active interaction among students and the instructor. Students are required to read the lecture material before coming to lectures and contribute to the discussions during the lecture hours.

**Pre-Discussion:** In pre-discussions, students are expected to define the **problem statement**, which is meant to identify a puzzle and a title for the post-discussion. In other words, pre-discussions determine the specific points that will be discussed in next week’s post-discussion. Students will be given one-page document to read in 7-10 minutes. This will be done after the instructor introduces the weekly topic. Then, a group of students will be responsible for taking notes on the screen. In the remaining 20 minutes, students will have a brainstorm and identify what they know, what they assume and what they want to explore further in order to solve the puzzle. Students are in charge of defining the **learning goals** for each seminar discussion. The learning objectives constitute the joint agreement of the group about the research steps that are needed in order to investigate the puzzle until the post-discussions.

**Post-Discussion:** In post-discussion, students are expected to discuss and share their take on the points specified in the pre-discussion. During the post-discussion you can also exchange additional sources and materials that you found. The student who took notes in the previous pre-discussion will be responsible to introduce the discussion topic and moderate the debate along with the supervision of the instructor. Every student has to make 1-2 minutes’ speech for each concept / problem statement addressed in the post-discussion.

**Expected Student Conduct in the Classroom**

ABU students are expected to behave in a certain way during the class hours. The expected student conduct in the classroom includes but not limited to:

* Coming to class on time and not leaving the class early without prior permission of the instructor. If you have any valid excuses, please do inform the instructor in advance.
* Focusing carefully on the course and avoiding engagement with not-class related activities such as checking e-mails from laptops/cell phones, reading not-class related materials such as newspapers and magazines, engaging in side conversations. **Please focus on the class not your cell-phones off during the class time!!!**
* Students are expected to behave mindful about the instructor as well as the fellow students while asking questions and making comments. They should request permission from the instructor before asking a question or making a comment. Also, they should respect other student’s right to ask questions/make comments.
* Students are expected to behave mindful about the physical environment as well. They should be careful not to trash the classroom. Students should clean up their garbage before leaving the classroom.
* Students should keep track of their own attendances to avoid any kind of loss of attendance related data.

**Contents and Timetable – Please note that during the pandemic there might be changes due to unexpected conditions.**

**Week 1: Introduction**

Introduction / Syllabus / Expectations

**Week 2: Migration Policies in the Late Ottoman – Republican Time Period**

* Akgündüz, A. (1998) “Migration to and from Turkey, 1783–1960: Types, numbers and ethno‐religious dimensions”, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 24:1, 97-120.
* Icduygu, A. and D. B. Aksel. “Turkish Migration Policies: A Critical Historical Retrospective.” Perceptions, Autumn (2013): 167–190.
* Kale, B. (2014). “Transforming an Empire: The Ottoman Empire’s Immigration and Settlement Policies in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries”, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 50:2, 252-271.

**Week 3: Population Exchange**

* Hirschon, Renée, ed. *Crossing the Aegean: an appraisal of the 1923 compulsory population exchange between Greece and Turkey*. Vol. 12. Berghahn Books, 2003, chapters 1 and 2.
* Keyder, Caglar. 2003. ‘The consequences of the exchange of populations for Turkey’ in Renee Hirschon (ed.), *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange Between Greece and Turkey*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 39–52.

**Week 4: Migration Politics into Turkey in 2000’s**

* Gökalp-Aras, E. and Z. Şahin-Mencütek (2015). “International migration and foreign policy nexus: the case of Syrian refugee crisis and Turkey”, *Migration Letters*, 12(3): 193‒208.
* Erdogan, M. M. (2020). “Securitization from Society and Social Acceptance: Political Party-Based Approaches in Turkey to Syrian Refugees”, *Uluslararasi Iliskiler*, 17 (68): 73-92.
* Özoflu, M. A., Yiğit Uyar, M. H., Altıntop, A. K., & Uyar, C. (2025). Populist securitization of migration: The anti-immigrant Zafer Party example in Türkiye. *Mediterranean Politics*, 1-28.
* Polat Karakaya, R. (2018). Religious solidarity, historical mission and moral superiority: Construction of external and internal ‘others’ in AKP’s discourses on Syrian refugees in Turkey. *Critical Discourse Studies,* 15(5), 500– 516.

**Week 5: The EU- Turkey Partnership in Asylum – I**

* Aydin, U. and Kirişçi, K. (2013). “With or Without the EU: Europeanisation of Asylum and Competition Policies in Turkey”, *South European Society and Politics*, 18:3, 375-395.
* İçduygu, A. (2007). EU-ization matters: Changes in immigration and asylum practices in Turkey. In *The Europeanization of national policies and politics of immigration* (pp. 201-222). Palgrave Macmillan, London.
* Kirisci, K. (2007). The Limits of Conditionality and Europeanization: Turkey’s Dilemmas in Adopting the EU Acquis on Asylum.
* Muftuler-Bac, M. (2022). “Externalization of Migration Governance, Turkey’s Migration Regime, and the Protection of the European Union’s External Borders”, *Turkish Studies*, 23:2, 290-316, DOI: 10.1080/14683849.2021.1943661.
* Roman E. (2022) The “Burden” of Being “Safe”—How Do Informal EU Migration Agreements Affect International Responsibility Sharing?. In: Kassoti E., Idriz N. (eds) The Informalisation of the EU's External Action in the Field of Migration and Asylum. Global Europe: Legal and Policy Issues of the EU’s External Action, vol 1. T.M.C. Asser Press, The Hague. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6265-487-7_14>
* Şenses, N. (2017). Rethinking migration in the context of precarity: The case of Turkey. In *Politics of Precarity* (pp. 99-117). Brill.

**Week 6: The EU- Turkey Partnership in Asylum – II**

* Ihlamur-Öner S.G. (2022) The Global Politics of Refugee Protection and Return: The Case of the Syrian Refugees. In: Kassoti E., Idriz N. (eds) The Informalisation of the EU's External Action in the Field of Migration and Asylum. Global Europe: Legal and Policy Issues of the EU’s External Action, vol 1. T.M.C. Asser Press, The Hague. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6265-487-7_13>
* Lehner, R. 2019. “The EU-Turkey-’deal’: Legal Challenges and Pitfalls”, *International Migration,* 57 (2): 176–185.
* Léonard, S. and C. Kaunert (2021). “De-centring the Securitisation of Asylum and Migration in the European Union: Securitisation, Vulnerability and the Role of Turkey”, *Geopolitics*, DOI: 10.1080/14650045.2021.1929183
* Sert, D., Alparslan, Ş. (2022). Externalising Externalisation and Bad Governance of Migration in the EU: Turkey Learning from Europe. In: Soyaltin-Colella, D. (eds) EU Good Governance Promotion in the Age of Democratic Decline. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-05781-6\_4
* Smeets, S. and D. Beach (2020). “When success is an orphan: informal institutional governance and the EU”
* Üstübici, A. 2019. “The Impact of Externalized Migration Governance on Turkey: Technocratic Migration Governance and the Production of Differentiated Legal Status”, *Comparative Migration Studies*, 7, 46.

**Week 7: Study Visit**

**Week 8: Mid-Term Week – No Class**

**Week 9: Labor Migration to Europe**

* Akgündüz, A. (2008). Labour Migration from Turkey to Western Europe, 1960–1974: A Multidisciplinary Analysis (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351005784>
* Kaya, A. (2013). Multiculturalism: The culturalisation of what is social and political. Perceptions, 18, 63–91. Retrieved from <http://ipc.sabanciuniv.edu/en/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/Perceptions-Autumn20131.pdf>
* Gökçe Yurdakul (2006) State, Political Parties and Immigrant Elites: Turkish Immigrant Associations in Berlin, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 32:3, 435-453, DOI: 10.1080/13691830600555244

**Week 10: Diaspora Engagement Policies**

* Aksel, D. B. (2014). “Kins, Distant Workers, Diasporas: Constructing Turkey's Transnational Members Abroad”, *Turkish Studies*, 15 (2), 195-219.
* Arkilic, A. (2020). “Empowering a Fragmented Diaspora: Turkish Immigrant Organizations’ Perceptions of and Responses to Turkey’s Diaspora Engagement Policy”, *Mediterranean Politics*, DOI: 10.1080/13629395.2020.1822058
* Başer, B. and Öztürk, A. E. (2020). “Positive and Negative Diaspora Governance in Context: From Public Diplomacy to Transnational Authoritarianism”, Middle East Critique, 29:3, 319-334.

**Week 11: New Trends in Turkish Emmigration**

* Elveren, A.Y. (2018). Brain Drain in Turkey: A Literature Review. In: Brain Drain and Gender Inequality in Turkey. Palgrave Pivot, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-90860-1\_3
* Kasli, Z., and Z. Yanasmayan. (2020). “Migration Control, Citizenship Regime, and the Spectrum of Exclusion in Turkey”, Crimmigrant Nations, 315-336.
* Ozcurumez, S. and D.Y. Aker 2016 “What moves the highly skilled and why? Comparing Turkish Nationals in Canada and Germany”, International Migration, 54(3): 61–72.

**Week 12: Retired Migration to Turkey**

* Balkir, C. and B. Kırkulak. (2009). “Turkey, The New Destination for International Retirement Migration” in H. Fassmann, M. Haller, D. Lane (Eds.) Migration and Mobility in Europe: Trends, Patterns and Control, Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd.
* Kahveci, C., Karacan, E. and K. Kosnick. (2020). “Tactical mobility: navigating mobile ageing and transnational retirement between Turkey and Germany. A comparison between Turkish-German and German retirees”, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 46:15, 3157-3173, DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2020.1724532

**Week 12: Urkanian and Russian Migration into Turkey**

* Ayla Deniz & E. Murat Özgür (2022) The establishment of the Ukrainian diaspora in Turkey through migrant associations: ‘We feel as part of the diaspora from now on.”, Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, 22:2, 243-261.
* Deniz, A., & Özgür, E. M. (2022). Local, Institutional, or Transnational? Social Networks of Russian Marriage Migrants in Turkey. European Journal of Women’s Studies, 29(2), 347–363. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13505068211063605>.

**Week 13: Internal Migration**

* Erman, T. (2001). “The Politics of Squatter (Gecekondu) Studies in Turkey: The Changing Representations of Rural Migrants in the Academic Discourse” *Urban Studies* 38 (7): 983-1002.

# Halil I. Tas & Dale R. Lightfoot (2005) Gecekondu Settlements in Turkey: Rural—Urban Migration in the Developing European Periphery, Journal of Geography, 104:6, 263-271.

# Keleş, R. (2003). The periphery in the center: Some political features of Turkish urbanization. *Ekistics*, 211-217.

* Öztürk, M., Topaloğlu, B. Hilton A. and J. Jongerden (2018). “Rural‒Urban Mobilities in Turkey: Socio-spatial Perspectives on Migration and Return Movements, *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 20:5, 513-530.

**Week 15: Guest Lecturer**