

Abstracts (İngilizce özetler)

Migration policies and “human security”: The case of Syrian refugees in Turkey

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While the Syrian refugees have become the world's largest refugee population, Turkey has been hosting the largest share with almost three million. With the mass exodus of Syrian refugees to Europe, especially in the summer of 2015, the issues of “border security” and controlling of the flow of refugees have been raised. Many states, especially the EU Member States, have spent large amounts on border security to stop the flow of refugees.

Restrictive immigration policies and regulations of the EU force refugees attempting to reach Europe through irregular and hazardous routes. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), there are 1,005,504 migrants and refugees arrived in Europe by sea and land in 2015, 363,401 by sea in 2016 and 13,924 by sea in the first two months of 2017; 5,079 migrants and refugees fleeing war and poverty lost their lives in the Mediterranean Sea in 2016. In this paper, I will discuss the causes of the movement of Syrian refugees from Turkey to Europe and the impact of migration policies on the settlement decisions of Syrian refugees in the context of “human security”, based on in-depth interviews with Syrian refugees living in İstanbul, Ankara, Gaziantep, Kilis, Hatay, Şanlıurfa and Mardin between January and October 2015. Drawing on my fieldwork, I argue that policies focusing on “human security” provides a more effective approach to the solution of many of the underlying problems that drive migration.

Keywords: Syrian refugees, migration policies, human security, European Union, Turkey



Syrian refugees in Turkey: An analysis of the politicisation process

AHMET İÇDUYGU

Since 2011 Syrian citizens have been subject to the most extensive forced migratory movement of recent history. In addition to internal displacement within their own country, they initially crossed the national borders to go to neighbouring countries, such as Lebanon, Turkey, and Jordan, and then arrived in other geographies, mainly at Europe. At present, they have reached and continue their lives in all four corners of the world. Turkey can be considered the country most affected by this extensive asylum movement: up to today, around three million Syrian citizens have been registered as refugees in Turkey. Initially, it was thought that the Syrian crisis will be resolved soon and those refugees will return home. It is within this context that Syrian refugees were welcomed as "guests" in Turkey. Once it was understood to be a protracted situation, they were provided with "temporary protection status", and finally, in 2016, a debate emerged on the likelihood of their "naturalization" in Turkey. Although this mass refugee movement to Turkey has affected the country enormously, both in quantitative and qualitative sense, its politicisation process has been a difficult and slow one. If one considers that a topic only becomes a political issue when it receives attention or elicits disagreement, it can be said that in the six years after their arrival in Turkey, only within the last two there has been a slight politicisation of migration or asylum issues in the country. This article, while evaluating the politicisation of Syrian refugee issues in Turkey, suggests an analytical framework involving the processes, institutions, structures and agencies driving their politicisation.

Keywords: Syrian refugees, politicisation, politicisation of migration, Turkey, European Union



Istanbul, a paradise or a nightmare for refugees? The life-worlds of Syrians in urban space

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This paper aims to provide an overview of Syrian migration to Istanbul since the eruption of the civil war in Syria in March 2011. The field research conducted with the locals in six districts of Istanbul (Küçükçekmece, Bağcılar, Başakşehir, Fatih, Sultanbeyli and Ümraniye) depict that many individuals have already begun scapegoating the displaced Syrians for the ills of the contemporary urban space. This study utilized qualitative and quantitative research methods, conducting structured surveys

with the Syrian households in these six districts, open-ended interviews with local populations, *muhtars*, NGO representatives, school administrators, hospital administrators, as well as with the representatives of the Syrian associations established in Istanbul. Focus group discussions were also held with the members of the Syrian communities residing in these districts. The research findings will be revealed in this article. It is found out that a majority of the Syrians in Istanbul originate from Aleppo, the third biggest cosmopolitan city of the Ottoman Empire after Istanbul and Izmir. Based on the assumptions of the Network Theory in migration studies, the paper will argue that refugees also follow certain historically existing networks of community and fellowship. It will also be argued that the second reason of choosing Istanbul is mainly to find job opportunities, a rationale complementary to the existing networks. It is also found that urban settings potentially allow for better housing, better educational opportunities and more diverse, stable employment opportunities.

Keywords: Syrians, Aleppo, Istanbul, Networks, integration



Migration and security: Critical approaches

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In the last three decades, a vibrant and vast literature of critical security studies has analyzed and criticized the construction of migration as a security issue in Europe. This article aims to provide an overview of this literature with a view toward assessing its relevance in the context of the contemporary refugee "crisis" facing Europe. In particular, four core critical security concepts will be introduced: securitization, societal security, security technologies, and desecuritization. The securitization theory conceptualizes security as a speech act and thereby a self-referential discursive practice in which an issue becomes securitized and presented as a "threat" against the referent object regardless to a real existential threat. Societal security is one of the sectors introduced by the securitization theory where an issue is viewed as a potential threat to the identity, welfare and "homogeneity" of a society. Ontological security is the security derived from the ability to maintain a consistent self-narrative, and underscores the importance of adapting the self-narratives of host societies to avoid the perception of migration as a threat. The process of securitization is not limited to the discursive acts, but also involves the security technologies of control in everyday practice of policies embedded into technologies of electronic walls, visa procedures, finger prints and biometric technologies for identifying and controlling activities. Finally, the study will touch upon the ways in which an issue is desecuritized and "normalized" by moving it into the ordinary sphere and hence, withdrawing it from the realm of exception.

Keywords: Refugee "crisis" in Europe, securitization theory, securitization of migration, societal security, security technologies, desecuritization



Geopolitics of migration and a different analysis of Turkey's geographical limitation

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The geopolitics of refugee mobility towards Turkey has historically been active since Khomeini's Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1979, the Iran-Iraq War between 1980 and 1988, Saddam Hussein regime in Iraq, the First Gulf War in 1991, the US invasion of Iraq in 2003, and the recent turmoil in Syria. Each specific episode or historical juncture has led to the massive flow of thousands of individuals who have left their home countries and arrived in Turkey with an intention to find a safe haven. Turkey's geographical limitation on the 1967 Additional Protocol on the Status of Refugees does not permit the individuals of these countries to settle in Turkey as refugees. Accordingly, the main rationale of the article is to analyze the geopolitics of non-European refugee mobility towards Turkey, specifically focusing on the role of geographical limitation, which creates a multi-layered refugee regime both at the global and domestic scales. Based on Michel de Certeau's (1988) analytical distinction between the strategy and the tactic, on the one hand, the paper will regard the geographical limitation maintained by Turkey's refugee regime as a strategy to filter and eliminate asylum applicants from non-European countries. On the other hand, the geographical limitation creates an opportunity and a spatial kind of tactic for non-European asylum applicants, especially Iranian and Iraqi asylum applicants, for their resettlement into a third country via Turkey.

Keywords: Geopolitics of mobility, non-European refugees, Turkey, geographical limitation, strategy, tactic



Transformation of migration policies in Turkey: From international production of migrant illegality to deserving foreigner?

AYŞEN ÜSTÜBİCI

Using the case of Turkey, this paper explains external and internal dynamics through which irregular border crossings have become a policy concern beyond the EU borders. The political will to stop irregular entries into the EU, has given rise to increasing investment of the EU in border infrastructure, increasing activities on international and national civil society on immigration issues, also to changes in the legal infrastructure in both nation-state contexts, in countries such as Turkey neighbouring the EU. Through the analysis of policy changes and public statements of policy makers in post-2000 period, the paper analyses the emergence Tur-

key as transit spaces by looking at the EU's impact on the political and institutional context of the governance of irregular migration. The transformation is explained using the concept of "international production of migrant illegality". The analysis bridges emerging literatures on the external dimensions of EU border and migration policies from international relations with sociological literatures on the legal production of migrant illegality and on migrant deservingness. Considering the developments in the context of Syrian war, making Turkey top refugee hosting country in the world, the article analyses the emergence and transformation of irregular migration policies in Turkey emphasizing its international dimensions and implications for the production of differentiated legal status amongst migrants.

Keywords: International migration, European Union migration and border policies, governance, migrant illegality, legal status, Turkey



Relationality of the discipline of criminology and social policy in the context of governmentality

BORAN ALİ MERCAN

Social policy in Turkey has been thus far defined traditionally as a whole of judicial reforms that aim to harmonise the relations between labour and capital. Instead of taking on this quite limited approach, this article examines social policy as the technology of governmental reason with regard to crime as a social question. It is suggested that criminological research and theories have given a certain direction to the social policy formation of the modern-state apparatus in the West. The evidences of the early Chicago School research put forward the micro-level, community-based programs to fight against crime, whilst the macro-level, nation-based, income-improving welfare programs were derived from the suggestions of Strain Theory and American Subcultural Theories. In the post-1970s, Social Control Theory however emphasises on the rational choices of individual and the concept self-control. The police-security apparatus of the modern state intervenes in public and private lives through a series of security techniques that, on the basis of individual, focus on crime prevention, harm-reduction and risk management, rather than resorting to interfering in the social life by means of social policy projects. Social policy and criminology thus refer to the academic discourses that can never be considered independent from each other in administrating crime as the social question.

Keywords: Crime, social policy, criminology, order, governmentality



How will the documentaries of Gezi Resistance be made? A conceptual framework essay

ERSAN OCAK

Starting in North Africa, later spreading to Middle East, USA, Europe and Latin America, all the resistance movements made social, political and economic demands of a wide range, under different names such as Arab Spring, Occupy Movement, Los Indignados (Hardt ve Negri, 2013). In the same vein, as one of the new social movements, on 27 May 2013, Gezi Resistance started at the Gezi Park in Istanbul and spread to many other cities of Turkey in a short time. During the Gezi Resistance, multitudes, which have heterogenous features, used informal networks for organising and recorded almost all the instances of the Resistance with their cameras within a vital force and capability. Cameras were everywhere! In a sense, a multi-layered documentary of the Gezi Resistance were being made. The vital force of the Gezi Resistance, which has increased the capacity of the multitudes, also enfolded the filmmakers. At this point, filmmakers asked themselves the same basic question: How can the Gezi Resistance Documentary be made? How should it be made? One of the possible new documentary form and mode of production, which could enable us not only to conceive but also convey the Gezi Resistance, is to make actors of the Resistance to participate to the production process with their own audio-visual material. For being able to develop this documentary form and mode of production, first of all we need a conceptual framework. Hence, this paper is an attempt to constitute this conceptual framework.

Keywords: Gezi Resistance, documentary cinema, collective memory, technique, montage, new media



Non-deliberated publicity: Democracy Watch in the process of reconstructing national community

BUKET TÜRKMEN - BÜLENT KÜÇÜK

This essay analyses the (trans-)formation of public sphere in Turkey by studying the collective mobilization that was organized by the government and local municipalities under the rubric of "Democracy Watch" immediately after the 15 July coup attempt. For this purpose we partook in several demonstrations in different sites in Istanbul and interviewed activists during the summer of 2016. Our attempt was to scrutinize this collected data within the broader context of the changing discursive and administrative practices of the Turkish state under the leadership of the AKP government. Our overall reflection is that the AKP government's policies in the post-coup era drastically empty out the ideological content of the dominant neo-liberal model of "servant state" and embark on another type of (authoritarian) regime. The administrative techniques conducted in this new period overshad-

ow and preclude what government representatives have called the “politics of service”, whereby a mixture of disciplinary and sovereign logics of Turkish nationalism begin to constitute the principal axis of the new conduct.

In this sense, the political conjecture studied reveals a certain structural transformation in state rationality, which the essay tries to give shape. Within this direction, we read the democracy watches and the rallies that stage the “national accord” in the main urban squares as practices, which fabricate popular consent for the nationalist-disciplinary policies that are intensified in the post coup period. These practices refer to a politics of fear, silencing the political opposition, and further accumulating and monopolizing power by replacing the previous politics of service. In this process, we argue, democracy watches do not advance the construction of democratic public space(s) where everybody can speak and differences are recognized and negotiated. Rather they signify the total colonization of the public through the expropriation of the language and counter memories of critical voices.

Keywords: Public sphere, Democracy Watch, July 15, coup, servant state, JDP, square movements, social movements