

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF PUBLIC SERVICE
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Thesis Booklet of the Doctoral (PhD) Dissertation

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**Reform of the Migration Management in Turkey in the 21st
Century – Opportunities, Challenges and Results**

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1. SETTING OF THE ACADEMIC PROBLEM

The topic of the research is the relation between migration and public administration extended to the impacts of global migration governance, policy transfer and Europeanization, further on it is narrowed to the public management reform, as well as to the migration management reform performed in the Turkish public administration.

According to the Frontex reports, in 2018 and 2019, the Eastern Mediterranean route was the main illegal border-crossing point of irregular migration towards the EU. In order to slow down illegal migration, the EU found the solution in Turkey. Consequently, that is why the EU-Turkey Joint Action Plan and later, the EU-Turkey Statement could be signed.

The number of irregular migrants at the borders of the EU rose in 2014 but in 2015 more than a million migrants arrived in the territory of the EU. According to Frontex data, the number of recorded border crossings was 282,962 in 2014 and 1,822,337 in 2015. Most of the migrants arrived to the Italian border from Africa via the Central-Mediterranean route in 2014, although, in 2015, 885,386 migrants moved to the Greek border from Turkey via the Eastern-Mediterranean route. The latter number was only 50,834 in 2014. The most migrants recorded in the Western-Balkan route entered the EU at a Greek island earlier, and then leaving the EU, they moved further through North-Macedonia and Serbia. The short distance between Turkey and the Greek islands is a determining factor to get to the EU territory.

In 2015, the Migration Working Group of the Hungarian Academy of Science has already revealed in its analysis that – besides other nationalities – the puffer source of Syrian refugees – besides other countries – was the large population of Turkish refugee camps.

The European Court of Auditors confirmed in its special report in 2017 that the Syrian crisis significantly contributed the increasing arrivals from Turkey. In the meantime, the number of Syrians residing in Turkey approached four million. The aspiration for migration could be intensifying by the impacts of the Turkish push-factors and the European pull-factors. According to the Migration Working Group, hundreds of thousands people may leave Turkey even when the situation became stable in Syria.

It is worth studying the drivers and conditions of the 2015 migration crisis due to the humanitarian crises in the Middle East, the high number of internally displaced persons in the region, as well as the huge burden sits upon their host countries, since similar crises could repeatedly due to happen.

The „temporary” status of the Syrians have been residing in Turkey for more than a decade comes to the front due to their number, although, they belong to the same „non-European” migrant group for whom Turkey does not grant asylum on the basis of the Geneva Convention. Syrian citizens do not have a chance to submit individual asylum application despite of other non-European citizens whose number is not negligible as it was more than 114,000 in 2018.

2. HYPOTHESES OF THE DISSERTATION

The dissertation defines the following hypotheses.

H1: Despite of the so called historical reform of the migration management system, it narrowly serves the prevention of the spill over of the irregular migration, therefore, the unstable status of the Syrians residing in Turkey for more a decade could increase their migration aspiration.

H2: Turkey cannot – or for obtaining certain advantages, does not want to – curb irregular migration towards the EU, the issue of migration has become strategically important, therefore, it is working as validation means of interest of international relations and diplomacy in the hands of the Turkish government, strengthening by this the role of the migration diplomacy.

3. GOALS OF THE RESEARCH

The main goal of the research is revealing whether Europeanization and the new institutions (new laws and new management system) came into existence as a result of the migration management reform handle effectively irregular migration from Turkey as transit country towards the EU. The efficacy of the Turkish migration management system has strategic importance for the EU.

The aim of the dissertation to provide an academic analysis about the so called historical reform of Turkish migration laws and the migration management system. The results of the research highlight and explain the historical factors taking effects even today on the Turkish

migration policy and the public administration which may constitute obstacles for full realization of the reforms.

The dissertation would like to throw new light upon the relation and importance of the global migration governance and the Turkish migration policy, as well as it aims to create the actual migration profile of Turkey. In a broader sense, the research and its results wish to contribute to the wider approach of the migration policy by proving the close relations of the international relations, the complex phenomenon of migration, the global migration management and the national public administration.

The Turkish migration strategy, migration management practice, the operating of the migration management system and its efficacy has direct effect on the conformation of migration concerning the EU. This was proven by the migration crisis of 2015.

In the dissertation I posed the following research questions:

- Due to what sort of reasons have the attitudes of the Syrians residing in Turkey and other non-European migrants' changed, what push and pull factors induced that they departed en masse towards the EU?
- How did the new migration laws and the operation of the migration management system influenced this migration willingness?
- In broader wording: How the Europeanization, the externalization policy of the EU and certain EU Member States contributed (contribute) to the start of the en masse migration within the classical system of migration (push-pull) factors?

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research was performed between May 2009 and October 2021. The research applied multidisciplinary approach. Accordingly, it joins to history science, public administration science, political science, jurisprudence and European studies. I used qualitative research strategy, since this research form has revealing character, among others, it is based on the qualitative data retrieved by text analysis. It is a proper method to search of the causes of problems and nexus, as well as the motives.

As per the aim of the research it is a basic research which enriches the theory-oriented research aiming at getting relevant knowledge on basic theories. Research types are mixing in various areas of the examination. In certain areas descriptive character was needed to present

some phenomena, functions and situations. Descriptive research is built on existing knowledge and information, it means quantitative secondary data gathering, analysis and evaluation. On the other hand, in other areas of the examination, research aiming at cause and effect tracking was typical, where causality of phenomena, events and processes were examined. The cause is the independent variable, the effect is the dependent variable.

Regarding the type of the method, the examinations building on primary and secondary data are mixing. Logical methods of description, induction, deduction and analogy are also mixing. Examination of the Turkish public administration, the migration management system was primarily based on the Turkish and international literature as secondary data source. The analysis is fact finding, comparative in certain areas of the research, on the other hand it was grouping in character on other areas. Various European and Turkish projects and results of the publications made within Turkish research centres (IMISCO, CARIM, MireKoç, HUGO) served as data sources of the research.

I utilized Hungarian and international literature in elaborating the theoretical framework regarding the public administration and public management part of the research. Presentation of the international migration trends were based on reports of the UN agencies. Among the researcher's networks Academia, Researchgate and GoogleScholar were useful.

Between 2009 and 2013, in the field, I have several meetings with members of Turkish authorities, ministries, offices, security experts of airlines, heads of the representations of international organizations in Turkey, migration researchers of the academia, among them more internationally acknowledged university professors.

In better understanding of Turkish perception of migration, the knowledge obtaining at international conferences, meetings with other immigration liaison officers from the EU and non-EU officers helped. I obtained primary data during field-work by studying the operation of two refugee camps in Hatay province, in 2011. By the participatory observation method, I got acquaintance the camp inhabitants' life, daily routine and life circumstances. I talked to some Syrians in the camp. I studied the phenomenon of illegal bordercrossing on the scene, at the Turkish side of the Turkish-Greek borderline. I had several meetings with experts at airports in Ankara (Esenboğa) and Istanbul (Atatürk, Sabiha Gökçen) about the police experiences and modus operandi of irregular border crossings, between 2009 and 2013.

5. DESCRIPTION OF THE EXAMINATION BY CHAPTERS

The dissertation is divided into five chapters. The first one, the introduction contains the topic of the research, the actuality of the topic, the reasoning of the choice, the academic problem setting, as well as it has the literature review and then, the hypothesis. After the introduction of the goals of the research, the research methodology and the structure of the dissertation are presented.

In the second chapter the theoretical frameworks of the research are explained. Due to the topic complexity and the comprehensive approach, the chapter deals with migration theory framework, the global migration concept and the public administrative science foundation.

The starting point of the research is the situation of the Turkish migration management system and its impacts. This topic is examined in the dissertation in comprehensive method, therefore, it is placed into global, regional (European, Middle-Eastern) and national (Turkish) space. The complexity, the interdisciplinary character and the holistic examination of the topic justify the application of the means of more relevant theoretical framework and analytical level during examination. The basis of the research is the international migration towards the EU from or through Turkey therefore, the migration theories and their definitions are indispensable for developing the topic. Nowadays, handling of international migration is not thinkable without the cooperation of the states, since the relevant problems produce impacts which stretch over borders and continents. Consequently, the global migration governance concept is unavoidable when studying migration management system of a country. The reason is that the global cooperation influences the migration management of the states, i.e. compacts concluded within The United Nations or the sustainable development goals, all give tasks for the states. The tasks can be performed when the countries – if it is needed – adjust their migration system to the goals in order to reach them.

Migration management is a part of the public administration as a part of the specialized management. Therefore, the examination of modern and efficient work of public administration, as well as its reforms is also in close relation with the topic. The Turkish Republic is in the focus of the research so the impacts of policy transfer and Europeanization on the public administration, hereby migration management cannot be ignored. In connection with Europeanization concept and examining Turkey, the neo-institutionalism is the logical approach. The reason behind this is that in the history of the country, the takeover of Western patterns has been the basis of modernization for long decades, consequently, sociological

institutionalism is the proper approach, according to which informal norms and customs also influence the actors.

In the third chapter, the examination of Turkey's global, historical migration and regional political situation was presented. Within this examination is extended to the historical determination of migration and the international migration tendencies, the roots of migration in the Ottoman era, as well as in the republican period. The chapter presents the times of migration policy and use of the migration as a tool for lobbying in the international relations arena.

The introduction of the movement of Turkic people, the migration patterns and phenomena of the Ottoman Empire proves that the history of the Empire was essentially determined by the almost constant outward and inward migration. The Ottoman state officially declared itself as immigration country by issuing of the Immigration Code. The classic Ottoman state has tolerant immigration policy due to respecting the three monotheist religions. At the same time, in the late Ottoman era, forced resettlement was already applied. The nationalism undermined the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural order of the Ottoman Empire. The collapse of the Empire and the headway of nationalism in Eastern-Europe and in the Balkan were characterized by the separation of people, as well as the en masse forced resettlement of various ethnic groups: Christians, Jewish and Muslims.

The disintegration of the Empire was slowed down by liberal reforms. The pick of the Tanzimat era was in 1876 with the declaration of the Ottoman constitution. When Ottoman state entered the political modernization era, it could not survive the reform process. Pan-islamism and osmanism failed so the nationalism was the logical choice for surviving and modernization, as well. The peak in reform of the Ottoman state was the establishment of the Turkish Republic, in 1923, although, the republic carried its Ottoman heritage.

Concerning population, the Turkish Republic struggled with demographical and economic challenges in its first decades. Therefore, in the nation building process, Turkey pursued the „open doors policy.” At the same time, settlement was motivated only by Turkish descend and culture based upon the Settlement Law. Consequently, this strategy can be called only „semi” open doors policy. The era of massive emigration, the greatest labour migration to Western Europe started in the 1960s, which additionally, promoted the Turkish efforts of industrialization and modernization. Labour force migration was followed by the migration of family reunification. In the 1980s, the outflow of Turkish asylum-seekers started towards Western European countries. Then, at the beginning of 2000s, economic immigration started

to evolve, as the result of market economy success. Emigration and internal migration had deep societal, economic and political impacts, in fact, migration formed the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish migration policy culture.

Historical evidences suggest that in the first half of the 20th century nationalist ideologies influenced the Turkish migration policy. Traditional Turkish immigration policy was strongly defined by the nation building, the state sponsored immigration and the shaping of homogeneous national identity. After the Second World War the developmental paradigm determined the migration policy, what was advantageous for the labour migration by the mixing of the realist and liberal interpretation of state affairs. In the last thirty years, Turkey faced with the transformative dynamics of migration, when nett migration became positive as number of enters exceeded the number of exits. For long decades, Turkey was known as migration source country but today, it faces with the challenges of immigration, transit migration and massive refugee flows. As a result of the instability in the neighbouring countries, in Africa and in South Asia, as well as the attraction of Turkish economy, the economic irregular and transit migration appeared and increased. It will have long term impact on the history of Turkey that it changed to target country in the last thirty years.

In the 21th century, Turkey entered into a new period of migration transformation. Globalization and Europeanization resulted in the transformation of the migration policies, which is attached to the transition period of migration as cause and consequence. The new migration policies are parts of the Europeanization process. The historically important legal and institutional reform process concerning migration and the pass of the new law on foreigners and international protection reflect the political will that Turkey wanted to fulfil the European requirements and would like to manage and control better the irregular migration flowing in its territory.

Recent global migration phenomena and the introduction of Turkey's regional political environment show what migration and in what Middle Eastern political circumstances with full of conflicts Turkey has to manage migration. Immigrants as diplomatic weapons may play important role in the issues of sovereignty, autonomy and decision making. Turkey's active role and leading activity in the international organizations and informal forums dealing with migration verify that the country wants to be an unavoidable part of global migration governance, strengthening by this its regional and global power. Paradoxically, the dynamics of externalization of the migration control give room for certain autonomy of the Turkish government, which strategically and practically waits for advantage from the European

worries induced by the recent migration movements. The EU–Turkey Joint Action Plan and the EU–Turkey Statement are examples for this. These are in line with that Turkey wants to earn more autonomy recently. This is manifested in not only the competition for regional influence but in the relations with the EU, as well. By that the EU put its strategic interests forward instead of its values which constitute its normative basis, questions the normative power of the EU.

The fourth chapter deals with the impact of the Europeanization on the Turkish public administration. Within this, it examines the evolvement of the Turkish public administrative system in the mirror of public administrative reforms. Further on, it analyses the historical reform of migration management.

The deep conviction of that the only way of modernization is the Westernization is rooted on the last century of the Ottoman Empire and has been attended the Republic of Turkey since its establishment, therefore, Western way of life was deemed as a model. In Turkey, for more decades, important state structural transformation process has been implementing, namely, reviewing of the structure and the functions of the state in order to strengthen the market economy. Although, the most influential external actors of the economic reforms of the 1980s and 1990s were the IMF and the World Bank due to the urgent credit demand, but in the liberalization processes of the 2000s, namely the political and societal transformation the Europeanization was determining external factor.

Concerning the internal factors, the consecutive governments provided the continuance of reforms due to on the one hand, the economy depending on constant external credits, on the other hand, every government univocally supported the EU accession. The recent public administration system of modern Turkey evolved from the almost hundred-year-old, traditionally centralized, strong bureaucratic practice and culture.

Turkish public administrative reforms correspond to the NPM paradigm, Turkey's public administration is based on European traditions, the Anglo-Saxon type of management. In the course of the AKP governance, the embedded paradigm of Westernization has been linked up the Europeanization, since that time EU accession was deemed as the only way of modernization. Recently, it has been changed due to the negative attitude of the EU concerning Turkey EU membership.

Despite of the life style and patterns imported from European countries, Turkey has never been given up completely its traditional societal and cultural character, which was inherited from the Ottoman Empire. Everywhere the conflicts between tradition and modernity can be

seen. In the governance and management the tension between tradition and modernity is perceived.

On 9th July 2018, the form of governance was changed and the presidential system was introduced, by which the centralized state further strengthened, leaving narrow space for decentralization. Transformation of Turkey indicates such a trajectory, which started with the Westernization, in 1923, and then it continued with integration into the globalizing world between 1983 and 1991. Finally, it reached Europeanization by 2000. Today, we see the Europeanization without EU membership.

Making public administration more efficient in the area of migration is a part of – besides the public administration – comprehensive reform processes and is in connection with Turkey's EU accession, namely the Europeanization.

The following factors give the historical character of the reform of migration management:

- Previously, the migration area was characterized by police predominance, but it has gradually changed and a new institution took over its role. By this, in immigration policy the policing centred decision making got into civilian public administration.
- Asylum and generally, the rights and obligations, as well as the societal integration of foreigners were regulated by a law for the first time.

In Turkey, the first asylum law – and based on that – the regulation on temporary protection status has been born. By this, Turkey has created the conditions under that the people fled from Syria can regularly reside in Turkey. At the same time, these conditions are differing from the opportunities of the asylum-seekers coming from other non-European countries. They – despite of the Syrians – are allowed to submit individual asylum application and their applications are examined individually whether they are eligible for international protection. In the case they are eligible for protection, they are allowed to participate in resettlement program, within which a third country may receive them. The reason of this is that in Turkey they cannot get refugee status according to Geneva Convention, since Turkey applies the Convention with geographical reservation.

It was presented that the legal status of the nearly four million people under temporary protection has become uncertain due to the collision of the international protection statuses. Their livelihood and negative perspectives – as a primary push factor – promote the

secondary migration to the territory of the EU via Greece. They fled from Syria due to lack of human security, they searched for security in Turkey and then, they move on, again, due to lack of security and the lack of stable, secure future towards the EU.

The aim of the EU-Turkey Joint Action Plan in 2015 was to make Turkey to control its borders more efficiently from the aspect of migration towards the EU and to make Turkey to create better conditions for Syrians in Turkey. According to studies, Syrians undertook the dangerous travel from Turkey to Europe in 2015 and 2016 due to two main reasons. The first is the so called situation category, the other is the strategic category, and both may be deemed as push factors. For the migrants residing in Turkey, the situation reasons are coming from if they perceive their situation secure or uncertain and they can see their way to Europe secure or not. The situational push factor might have been the political uncertainty in Turkey or the security situation in the country.

Among the strategic push factors, there are the reasons attached to the difficulties of residence in Turkey and the hopelessness of return to home. Besides the victimization of crimes, the vulnerability of the Syrians residing in Turkey brings up a security aspect as well which comes in the front even more in crises, the risk of trafficking in person. This crime that substantially hits Turkey is attached to the human security deficit caused by crises, the defencelessness and increased vulnerability.

The fifth chapter presents the results of the examination and the conclusions based on the theoretical frameworks, the migration theory studies, the global migration governance, the public administration theory, as well as the sociological institutionalist approach and the Europeanization. Following the new academic results, the dissertation is closing with the recommendations for practical application of the results.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Analysing the Turkish migration policy in the **push-pull system of migration theory** it can be stated that in the initial phase of the Republic of Turkey, as the sole secular nation-state in the region, based on the determining ideology of nationalism, the immigration of Muslims with relation of Turkish ethnic was motivated by the state. Those people were not deemed as migrants but rather who return home. This is called old immigration oppositely the increasing immigration of non-Turkish and non-Muslims from the 1990s that is deemed new immigration. The base of this is the common memory of the Ottoman past which lives deeply

in the conscience of Turkish people, further forming their view on their place in the world. Even today, the conviction is hold up, according to which the non-Turkish and the non-Muslims foreigners reside in the country only temporarily. This perception linked up the stand point that those migrants should not be integrated into the society. It seems like the conscience slowly adapt to reality and the ideas of the EU, according to which migration cannot be controlled upon religion and ethnicity. Due to the geographical reservation of the Geneva Convention, non-European asylum-seekers may also stay in the country until another country received them. This procedure also contributed to that Turkey – besides immigration and emigration – has become the country of transit.

Since the 1960s Turkey mainly was deemed as source country due to the Turkish guest workers migrating to Europe. It has a long-term impact on the history of the country that Turkey has been transformed the target county of migration during the last three decade. Since 1954, Turkey had to manage more mass migration crises. Due to the focuses of crises in the Middle East, migration policy has changed according to security and humanitarian aspects. In the case of the Syrians residing in Turkey initially the humanitarian aspect prevailed, but in the last period security and economic aspects came to the front. The situation of the Syrians has been residing in the country for more than a decade is still managed by temporary means while their number is close to four million. Despite of this the Turkish standpoint is that Syrians have to go home.

Studying Turkey in the context of the **global migration governance**, regarding migration it can clearly be seen that Turkey remarkably actively participate in the work of every global, regional and local organization. It contributes to the realization of the Global Migration Compact and the sustainable development goals, as well. At the same time, Turkey, being active in global migration governance does not fully participate in the international refugee system, the only area of migration governance where strong multilateral framework exists.

In the theoretical framework of **public administration**, it can be stated that despite of the reform – called historical – of the Turkish migration management system, this system, as part of the public administration, only limitedly serves the prevention of overflow of irregular migration. Therefore, the ambiguous situation of Syrians have been residing in Turkey for more than a decade, as well as, the other non-European asylum-seekers may strengthen their migration ambitions. Applying the approach of the sociological institutionalism and the

Europeanization as independent variable, the reform of the migration institution system is deemed as a result of the Europeanization. The new law(package) was elaborated by European pattern in which asylum was regulated by law for the first time. Migration institution system also was transformed by European pattern, establishing the civilian (non law-enforcement) General Directorate of Migration Management. During last decades, the officials working in the area of migration regularly participated in study visits in EU Member States and in various trainings organized by international organizations (UNHCR, IOM, EASO). Those opportunities significantly promoted the takeover of informal norms, routines and customs in professional area. The dependent variable is the national policy, the existence or the lack of Europeanization intention. The reform process in the area of migration and the new law on foreigners and international protection reflected the political will that Turkey wants to fulfil the requirements of Europeanization and wants to manage and control efficiently the irregular migration in its territory. At the same time, the lack of adaptation intention is indicated by that regarding the new law, the Turkish government does not take the opportunity to perform a real historical reform by lifting the geographical limitation attached to the Geneva Convention and the application without geographical limitation. Therefore, the reform of the migration management system makes the existed migration policy more manageable instead of the comprehensive transformation.

The issue of migration has become strategic important. According to the proactive foreign policy, Turkey use migration diplomacy consciously in order to reach foreign policy interests in case of the EU Member States and even the entire EU. Concerning the management of irregular migration towards the EU, Turkey does not want to prevent the overflow of irregular migration sometimes, in order to get certain strategic advantage. Due to the impact of the tensions induced by the migration crisis of 2015, the externalization of the EU migration control has given certain strategic autonomy to the Turkish government.

Turkey's status has been changed in the transforming Middle East. Acquirement of strategic autonomy against allies, as well, the independent, autonomous activity and the emergence of the tradition of strong state and strong leader, the concentration of the internal power, the introduction of the presidential system, show that the goal is Turkey's rise as a great power. Among the ambitions of Ankara, there is a goal that the Turkish economy will be among the ten most developed countries of the world by 2023, the centenary of the founding of the Republic of Turkey. The fast economic success established the increasing regional influence of the country. In terms of the „New Turkey” President Erdoğan's global vision is that Ankara

will rise as a great power via influence on Muslims in the late Ottoman territories. His goal is to make Turkey great as an independent Middle Eastern power first in the region, then globally. The President may fulfil the dream of many Turks, the late Sultans, Atatürk and his own, as well.

The dissertation presents that the Westernization and modernization efforts dated back to Ottoman past, seems like faulting by that the EU accession negotiations probably will not bring positive result for Turkey by 2023, the centenary of the foundation of the Republic of Turkey. Historical roots and Ottoman traditions related to status and reception of foreigners still have determining importance even today. The Turkish migration policy culture is shaped by the imperial legacy. The presidentialization of the politics, and then the introduction of the presidential system, the strong, centralized executive power and its public administrative tutelage over the local administrative organisations, which play important role in local service and integration of Syrians, means obstacle for decentralization. The uncertain livelihood, the negative perspectives, as well as pull factors (e.g. aid) of certain European countries promote secondary migration towards the EU.

The reduction of adaptation of Europeanization was contributed by the changes taking place in the Middle East influenced by global politics and the competition for influence, where Turkey has lost its previous magnetism and it got into hostile atmosphere. Presumably, it is coming from the actual Turkey's international relations and the recoil of Europeanization that President Erdoğan wants to control issues „at home and in the world” for which he needs strategic autonomy. This may be an explanation for the introduction of presidential system in Turkey, the independent national interests prevail and not European or international requirements give direction for Turkey in the future.

The dissertation presents the challenges, opportunities and results regarding the migration management system. The reforms were presented in the area of migration that Turkey has introduced. At the same time, it was found that despite of the so called historical reform of migration institution system, the status of non-European asylum-seekers in Turkey did not changed. The situation of millions fled from Syria was deemed temporary, but by today it has become permanent but it is still managed by temporary means.

To sum up, in the case of the new law, the Turkish government does not take the opportunity to carry out a real historical reform by lifting the geographical limitation attached to the Geneva Convention and the application without geographical limitation. In the certain periods

influenced by historical and political impacts, the changes of the dynamics of Turkey's migration show that both, historical legacy and reforms exist in migration policy. This policy is still under transformation due to constant migration pressure, fast changes of global migration and the Europeanization. Therefore, Turkey's migration strategy directly affects migration concerning the EU.

7. NEW ACADEMIC RESULTS

Based on the research, I deem the following statements as academic results.

1. I proved that despite of the so called historical reform of the Turkish migration management system, the migration management system only restrictedly serves the prevention of the overflow of irregular migration.
2. I verified that the situation of the Syrians residing in Turkey for a decade is still managed by temporary means without the intention of integration, therefore, their uncertain status may strengthen their migration intention.
3. I verified that it indicates the lack of adaptation of Europeanization that in the case of the new law, the Turkish government does not take the opportunity to carry out a real historical reform by lifting the geographical limitation attached to the Geneva Convention and the application without geographical limitation. In the migration policy both, historical legacies and reforms exist. The reform of migration management system, led by the public administrative resilience, made the existing migration policy more manageable instead of a comprehensive transformation, consequently, the reform did not reached the planned policy achievements.
4. I proved that the issue of migration has strategic importance. Turkey, in order to get certain strategic autonomy, does not want to prevent irregular migration towards the EU. Migration works as a mean to reach foreign policy interests in international affairs and diplomacy for the Turkish government, strengthening the role of migration diplomacy.

8. RECOMMENDATIONS

The researched draw attention to the following areas:

- the importance of knowing the historical roots of migration processes;
- historical and political background elements of the Turkish migration policy;
- context between changes in global and regional politics and migration management;
- opportunities of migration diplomacy;
- highlighted role of global migration governance;
- achievements of the Europeanization, at the same time, the limits of normative power of the EU;
- the impacts of functioning of Turkish migration laws and the migration management system on the irregular migration towards the EU;
- the push and pull factors due to which the Syrians residing in Turkey does not deem their residence in Turkey as a durable solution.

According to these, it is worth continuing the research as we can witness the change of the Europeanization in Turkey.

9. PRACTICAL UTILIZATION OF THE RESEARCH RESULTS

The achievements of the research can be used in the following areas:

- The research can be used in education at the National University of Public Service Faculty of Law Enforcement for migration specialization.
- The research can be used as migration literature.
- Research questions may contribute to preparation of foreign policy decisions.
- The research can be used during preparation of migration policy decisions as academic background.

10. DOCTORAL CANDIDATE'S RELEVANT PUBLICATIONS

1. SZUHAI, Ilona (2020): Hogyan befolyásolták egyes történelmi időszakok a migráció dinamikáját? [How certain historical times influenced the dynamics of migration?] *Belügyi Szemle*, 68. évf. 2020/9. sz. 109-125.
2. SZUHAI, Ilona (2018a): *Nemzetközi migráció a 21. században*. [International Migration in the 21st Century] Budapest, Dialóg Campus Kiadó.
3. SZUHAI, Ilona (2018b): A németországi török diaszpóra kialakulása és migrációjának dinamikája. [Evolution of the Turkish Diaspora in Germany and the dynamics of its migration] In GULYÁS, Éva (szerk.): *Migráció és a bevándorlókhoz való viszony Németországban és Magyarországon – Tanulmányok*. [Migration and attitude towards immigrants in Hungary and in Germany – Studies] Győr, SZE Deák Ferenc Állam- és Jogtudományi Kar Jogelméleti Tanszék.
4. SZUHAI, Ilona (2017): Migráció és emberkereskedelem válság idején – A szíriai konfliktus és a kiszolgáltatottság kapcsolatának dinamikája. [Migration and Trafficking in Persons in Times of Crisis – Dynamics of the Connection between the Syrian Conflict and Vulnerability] *Magyar Rendészet* 2017/3. 75-89.
5. SZUHAI, Ilona (2016): A történelmi hagyományok szerepe a török migrációs politikában. [The role of historical traditions in the Turkish Migration Policy] *Acta Humana: Emberi Jogi Közlemények*. III. évf. 2016/4. sz. 79-90.
6. SZUHAI, Ilona (2015): Rethinking the Concept of Failed States. *Central European Papers*. Vol. 3. No. 2. 99–110.
7. BÓDI, Stefánia – SZUHAI, Ilona (2015): Szuverenitás és a migráció – a migránsok egyes csoportjainak jogi helyzete. [Sovereignty and Migration – Status of Certain Groups of Migrants] *Polgári Szemle*, 11. évf. 4-6. sz. 154-173.
8. SZUHAI, Ilona (2014): A magyar és a török migrációs jog- és intézményrendszer összehasonlítása – egy kutatás első eredményei. [Comparison of the Hungarian and Turkish migration laws and the migration institution systems] *Pro Publico Bono: Magyar Közigazgatás; A Nemzeti Közszolgálati Egyetem Közigazgatás-tudományi Szakmai Folyóirata*. 2. évf. 1. sz. 117-126.
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11. DOCTORAL CANDIDATE'S CURRICULUM VITAE

Ilona Szuhai started her professional work at the Ministry of the Interior. Since 2000 she is working for the General Directorate of Aliens Policing (and its predecessors). Between 2004 and 2007 she was the Head of International Relations Department.

Between 2009 and 2013 Ilona Szuhai was the first Hungarian Immigration Liaison Officer deployed in Turkey by the Hungarian Office of Immigration and Nationality within the EU co-financed project of „Operating of Immigration Liaison Officers’ Network by Developing Cooperation of Member States” She has obtained working experience in several migration-related projects in international and multicultural environment as coordinator and Junior Project Manager.

Since 2013, she has been teaching at the National University of Public Service, since 2014, she is an Assistant Lecturer. She teaches subjects in connection with migration policy of the EU, international migration as well as Hungarian aliens policing.

Ilona Szuhai graduated at the Hungarian Police College, then obtained diploma at the József Attila University at the Faculty of State and Law in Szeged, Hungary. In 2003 she passed the bar examination, and in 2008, the consular examination.

Ilona Szuhai graduated at the FBI National Academy trimester in Quantico, in 1998, by this she obtained a certificate in criminal justice at the University of Virginia, USA. She obtained a certificate in Refugee Law at the International Human Rights Institution in San Remo, Italy. She is a member of the FBI National Academy Associates (FBINAA).

Ilona Szuhai graduated in 2016 at the Doctoral School of Public Administration of the National University of Public Service. Her research area is public administration in European and international space. Within this, the reform of the Turkish migration management as well as the management of the consequences of the Syrian humanitarian crisis in Turkey.

Since 2013, she has 28 publications of which two are English and seven are Hungarian academic journal articles. She is the author of numerous English and Hungarian book chapters

and conference publications. She is a co-author with more lecturers of the National University of Public Service.

She has advanced level English language certificate extended with public administration and law terminology and has basic level Turkish language certificate.