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*Transit Migration in Turkey:
Trends, Patterns, and Issues*

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ROBERT SCHUMAN CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES

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Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies

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Abstract

As the types, flows, sources, and destinations of migrants have become more diversified in the last two or three decades, various part of the world have been very much affected by this 'new age of migration'. It is within this context that in addition to its well-established character of being a country of emigration Turkey has also increasingly become a major country of immigration and of transit. This new feature has a number of social, economic, and political implications, not only for Turkey, but also for the wider settings of East-West and South-North migration, particularly for those movements from the Eastern-Mediterranean Region to the European Union (EU). This report seeks to provide an overview of some of the main trends and issues in the transit migration flows in Turkey over the last decade. It also seeks to relate these trends and issues to the wider context of the international migratory regimes in the regions surrounding Turkey.

Turkey receives thousands of transit migrants from Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, and some other Asian and African countries, who mainly intend to go to the countries in the EU. While in the late 1990s the Turkish authorities have registered a sharp increase in illegal migrant apprehensions, in the early 2000s there has been a declining trend in the number of apprehensions: after having 28,000 in 1997, 48,000 in 1999, and 92,000 in 2001, the numbers decline to 83,000 in 2002 and 56,000 in 2003. In conclusion, one can argue that this decline happens, mainly and initially in response to external pressures, such as from the EU, rather than domestic policy concerns, and then partly because of the process in which Turkey has demonstrated its own political will to combat trafficking and smuggling through its borders, and to further intensified international cooperation on irregular migration and have generally drawn closer to the European Union.

I. Introduction

The last two decades has been a crucial period for the emergence of some new migratory flows around the world, one in which there has been a step-wise migration rising in some particular peripheral geographies of Europe such as Eastern Europe or Mediterranean Basin. It is within this context that in this essay, using the evidence from Turkey, I demonstrate that what we called 'transit migration' has been accompanied by new international migratory regimes embedded to the changing features of our globalized world. International migratory regimes of the past, in which flows between the sending-components and receiving-components were taken place with a degree of certainty, have been replaced by one in which there has been remarkable cyclical responsiveness of the flows with a certain degree of uncertainty to macroeconomic and macropolitical processes. The phenomenon of transit migration has taken place in such climate.

As one can analytically argue, the term '*transit migration*' is used for the phenomenon where migrants come to a country of destination with the intention of going and staying in another country. What makes the position of these migrants so unique is their own intention-based so-called 'temporary' character in the country of transit together with largely 'irregularity—or 'illegality'—based' nature of their movement. Therefore transit migration is a matter of procedure which is largely determined by the restrictions of the larger context of prevailing international migratory regimes. Indeed, originating from one area, transiting other area(s), and trying to arrive in another area are not an unvarying process, but a context specific one: both local and global, or national and international, contexts matter. As I argued elsewhere (Icduygu: 2000:357), in recent years international migratory flows directed to the European countries have tended to include a large portion of migrants who first come to the peripheral zones of Europe, such as Eastern Europe, Western Asia, and North Africa, intending to enter Europe from those areas. Today, transit migration is an issue of concern to Europe as a whole (de Tapia, 2003). Turkey is one of the 'well-known' countries of transit migration at the edge of Europe. The growing importance of irregular/'illegal' transit migration through Turkey, together with the use of the country's territory as a staging post for onward migration towards the west, pose a major challenge for the Turkish authorities as they seek to control and manage such movements. This essay first elaborates the nature of transit migration in Turkey, and then relates it to the wider context of the international migratory regimes around Turkey. It also elaborates Turkey's policies and efforts aimed at managing the substantial irregular transit migration flows through its territory in cooperation with Western European countries – the main destinations of transit migration through Turkey. I argue that these efforts for migration management can only be understood by referring to the international migratory regimes surrounding these flows.

It is obvious that any discussion of the transit migration must involve the country of origin, transit, and arrival. In the context of the present essay, there is a crucial need to establish the link between the various stages of the transit migratory process originated from various parts of the world, via Turkey to Europe, and to define the position of Turkey as a transit country as a part of these various stages. Hence, with regard to some theoretical and analytical considerations, there are three points which should be made: first, the importance of an understanding of the transit migratory process, with its causes and its consequences, in its totality; secondly, the importance of looking at the totality of transit migration from a historical perspective; and thirdly, the importance of locating and conceptualizing the position of transit country in this migratory totality. This essay, which is in four parts, presents a synopsis of these considerations. After this introductory part, the second part of the essay provides a brief analytical evaluation of the question of how to view the notion of transit migration. Drawing on evidence from the case of transit migration in Turkey, the third part considers various dynamics and mechanisms of the Turkish experience of transit migration in the last two decades. The concluding section comments on policy implications and future developments.

II. How to Look at Transit Migration: Some Analytical Considerations

From an analytical point of view, every migration situation can be divided into four main components: a sending component, a receiving component, a migrating component, and the larger component in which the other three components belong. In transit migration, a fifth component is added to the whole process: transiting component. Among these five, even though it is the presence of the transiting component, i.e. the transit country that functions as the core of the whole transit migratory process, this presence can only be designated in its relative position to the sending and receiving components. At the same time, without seeing the structural interdependency of the transiting component to sending and receiving components, it is almost impossible to explain the whole process. In other words, the different components in a transit migratory process are inseparably linked to each other; and the dynamic character of this process requires that each component in such a process should be seen as a part of a larger whole (Icduygu, 2000: 357).

Indeed, various alternative and challenging theoretical frameworks which are employed to determine the causal and consequential analyses of migration, explicitly or implicitly, use an analytical perspective of this kind to some extent. For instance, Lee (1969: 285-288), highlighting the importance of 'push and pull' factors on the mobility of individuals, concluded that every migration involves an origin, a destination and between these two a set of *intervening factors*. In fact what exists throughout transit migration itself is strongly linked to these intervening factors. As I argued elsewhere (Icduygu and Unalan, 2002) this point may bring us to some explanations about transit migration, which concerns the *uneven acculturation of migration actors* in the globalized migration regimes. While one of these actors, international migrants are becoming increasingly globalized in terms of their positive position in the newly formed international migratory regimes, the other actor, migrant-receiving nation-states, have slow and more reluctant paces in the globalized migration processes. The former is far better incorporated into the process of increasing interconnectedness between societies, in which the intensification of social relations through the global/local nexus dismantles the national and territorial constitution of social action—that is globalization. While anxiety about various types of migration has risen, particularly among richer/central nation-states that are the destination of many migrants, the economic (to certain extent even social and political) settings of these states are somehow compatible enough to the irregular migrants. Numerous numbers of irregular migrants are able to incorporate themselves to the social and economic environments of the receiving countries. Surprisingly, many of economies in the developed world are still absorptive of migrant labour, even often preferring or tolerating the irregular migrant labour. While this clear absorption is somehow in process on the one hand, hardening barriers of immigration against the increased pressure to migrate is also developing on the other hand. Thus, the consequences are anomalous, but also apparently compatible with the international migration market conditions, making millions of the people irregular and transit migrants around the world. Taking the key position of individual migrants into consideration, an elaboration of transit migration should not be confined to the migrants alone, but rather their articulation into the whole migratory regime. It is within this context that one has to deal with the position of irregular and transit migrants in the migratory process—focusing on the question of how more and more potential (irregular) migrants are emerging, while there is nowhere for them to migrate orderly (but somehow many places to go disorderly). The *intrinsic globalization of labour* in the contemporary world political economy, in other words, has *not* been matched by the globalization of the nation-state system on ideological and political levels: nation-states remain ideologically and politically much tied to the territorial world system, with practices to restrict immigration as tight as at any point in the past.

Analytically, if one asks the simple question of 'why we have transit migration', the simple answer to it must be 'because people can not directly migrate from their countries of origin to the targeted countries of immigration'. Consequently, one can think of the presence of some alternative theoretical orientations which focus on the causal and consequential analyses of migration and give the main emphasis to global economic and social dichotomies such as modern and traditional, centre and

periphery, or developed and underdeveloped. These orientations established earlier in the migration literature have several implications for a better understanding of transit migration. In these, a number of scholars (for example, Myrdal, 1963; Amin, 1974; Portes, 1978; Meillassoux, 1981; Petras, 1981; Forbes, 1984) declare that migratory flow takes place through the polarity between places of origin and places of destination, resulting from the uneven development between regions or countries in the world system (Icduygu: 1991). Since a causal-consequential analysis of transit migration is beyond the scope of this study, I will not attempt a detailed discussion of the different and competing theoretical frameworks employed in such causal analysis. However, since Wallerstein's well-known analysis of the modern world system enables us to accommodate the three points made in the beginning of this section in relation to theoretical and analytical considerations in this study—i.e. totality of migration process, historical approach to this totality, and position of individual migrants in this totality—the world system approach is briefly summarized here. Wallerstein (1974a, 1974b) argued for the need to look at economic and social phenomena as part of a world system; on the basis of his writings, Jackson (1986:21) emphasized that social scientists such as Petras (1981) have usefully located the movement of labour across national boundaries within the world system theory.

According to the world system theory, which generates its premises through political economy, it is the process of uneven exchange between geographical regions that determines the emergence of a differentiated structure in the contemporary world economy in which various regions (or countries) may be called core, semi-periphery and periphery. Within the unevenness of the world capitalist development a complex network of cross-national flows of capital, labour, and commodities operates between these three components in the whole system (Wallerstein, 1974a:346-357; Wallerstein, 1974b:387-415; Wallerstein and Hopkins, 1977:111-145). From this perspective, Petras summarizes international migration as follows:

> These flows [of capital, labour, and commodities] bind the peripheral populations to events and decisions in the core, just as they tie the formation of the core to the evolution of the social formations of the periphery. Labour migration is the movement of workers within this historically interdependent grid. Interstate movements of labour are: a) generated in part by the specific economic and political influences of the stronger core economies over the weaker ones, and the pattern of class formation which results; b) drawn from one labour market to another by variations in level of real and social wage remuneration of labour; c) recruited across national boundaries from an international pool of reserve labour; d) regulated by state policies which define the conditions of boundary crossing; and e) shaped by the cyclical rhythms and secular trends of the entry world economy. All of these influences fluctuate in form, content and degree (Petras, 1981:45).

Although this method of contextualizing transit migration as a phenomenon of (labour) migration between core and peripheral countries in the modern world system has been rare in the literature, this is largely because of a misconception about the issues of self-intention, temporariness and irregularity in transit migration. Individual transit migrants are often considered as 'free-will, rational, and economic men and women' whose positions in the various stages of the migratory process are determined by their 'human capital' and their 'own free-will'. It is a general belief that there is a temporary orientation in transit migration generally, at least as far as the temporary nature of stay of transit migrants in the transit countries is concerned. Similarly there is a common understanding that transit migration is largely an issue of irregularity. However, experiences from several countries in the European context make it clear that these arguments may be highly questionable. For instance, transit migration can develop into further emigration and permanent settlement (Papadopoulou, 2004: 170). Transit migrants can regularize their so-called 'illegal' status via the regularization (amnesty) program of the countries of transit or arrival. It is also widely argued that some policies and practices of these kinds (regularization and amnesty programs etc.) in Europe can ironically encourage a form of transit migration in the peripheries of the continent. Consequently, not only because of these, but also looking at the arguments from Petras's writing above, and considering the dynamics and mechanisms which impelled the flow of transit migrants, it is quite appropriate to locate transit migration in Turkey in a context of labour migration which has taken place through a centre-periphery relationship in the world

labour market. In doing so, the aim is not only to be able to reflect the structural and historical background of the transit migratory process over Turkey, but also to be able to understand the position of Turkey as a transit country as a product of the historical-structural process in the world system. The advantage of this approach is that the position of transit migrants is assessed within a framework of social forces and structural conditions in the countries of origin, transit and destination, and it is treated in its `structural context', as part of an international migratory regime (Icduygu, 2000).

III. Transit Migration in Turkey: Background

Apart from the two studies of IOM, *Transit Migration in Turkey* (IOM, 1995) and *Irregular Migration in Turkey* (Icduygu, 2003), there is very limited scholarly studies of transit migration in Turkey. Therefore, there is no reliable, concrete, and direct information available on this phenomenon, particularly with the question of what happens to these flows in the last few years. It is clear from the frequent media report, however, that Turkey has been at the centre of transit migration flows, even though there is a declining trend in recent years. It was not an exaggeration to claim that there were media reports almost every other day, if they were not on everyday, either mentioning transit migrants being apprehended in Turkey or talking about illegal migrants coming from Turkey and landing on the coasts of Greece, Italy or France. The examples of media reports below did not only reflect the persistence of the irregular migration over time, but they also indicated the diversity of this phenomenon in terms of its characteristics.

Case 1: 26 April 1996, Turkish Daily News, Turkey

On April 18, a Greek patrol boat fired warning shots and wounded a Turkish fisherman after a Turkish boat allegedly dropped off eight illegal Iranian immigrants on a Greek island. The Iranians had paid the boat owners US$1,000 to US$4,000 each. Turkey officially protested the incident, saying that it occurred in Turkish territorial waters. Days after this incident, the Greek coast guard stopped a Turkish speedboat carrying illegal immigrants by firing at the engine and arresting the captain. The speedboat had 12 Iraqis aboard who were taken into police custody. Greek officials allege that the Turkish captain had been seen smuggling illegal immigrants to other islands in the region in the past. In recent years, Turkey has become a major transit point for illegal migrants, mostly from Iran and Iraq.

Case 2: 7 October 1997, Reuters, Turkey

Turkish police arrest 150 illegal immigrants in Istanbul who were mostly from the Middle Eastern countries, and were about to leave for Europe.

Case 3: 10 January 1998, The Associated Press, Turkey

Turkish authorities arrested 83 would-be immigrants hoping to sneak into western Europe in separates raids along the Aegean coast and the Greek border, the official Anatolia news agency reported Tuesday. Forty-two Iraqi Kurds and one Senegalese were apprehended near this northwestern city bordering Greece. Another 39 Iraqis were caught in the Aegean coastal town of Bodrum. Anatolia did not say when the arrests were made. Turkish authorities have rounded up thousands of foreigners in a crackdown on illegal immigration this month after European nations pressured it to take better control of its borders following an exodus of Kurds and other foreigners to Europe. But many of the would-be immigrants are released within days and only a handful is deported.

Case 4: 16-31 October 1999, Asian Migration News, the Philippines

Minister for Immigration and Multicultural Affairs Philip Ruddock recently announced Australia's more intensified campaign against irregular immigrants. This warning is primarily targeted to

would-be illegal entrants in what are considered as high-risk countries such as China, Iraq, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, and Turkey.

Case 5: 6 August 2000, The Associated Press, Turkey

Turkish authorities in Erzurum have detained 109 (or 80) illegal immigrants, believed to be Afghans, Iraqis, Iranians, Pakistanis, Moroccans, and Azeris. They were bound for Italy and claimed they paid the driver of the lorry US$ 2,000 each to be delivered to Istanbul. They were detained near the towns of Meric and Ipsala, near the Turkish-Greek border. They would be immediately deported due to lack of funds.

Case 6: 20 September 2001, Turkish Daily News, Turkey

Some 182 Afghanistan citizens, who feared an attack against their country from the United States and tried to enter Turkey and the Greek islands from Mugla, were captured, bay security and gendarmerie forces arrested the immigrants, who were trying to move to the Kos Island from Datca, Milas and Bodrum bays. The forces established barriers in every district and town around Mugla. Boats belonging to bay security command continue to patrol 24 hours a day. Officials said all measures were being taken against illegal immigration.

Case 7: 12 April 2002, The Associated Press, Turkey

Police have detained 185 illegal migrants in eastern Turkey, a Turkish news agency reported. Paramilitary police in the eastern Anatolian province of Van stopped two trucks in the town of Ercis Friday, and found 74 people who were apparently planning to go to Istanbul, the Anatolia news agency said. In separate operations, police found another 111 illegal migrants in the same province, Anatolia said. The detained migrants were mostly Iraqis, but included people from Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan. Thousands of illegal migrants, mostly from the Middle East and south Asia, pass through Turkey each year on their way to Western Europe. European countries have pressed Turkey to halt the flow of migrants.

Case 8: 10 September 2003, BBC News, the UK

More than 20 illegal immigrants thought to be mostly from Pakistan have been found drowned on the Greek border. A search began after the first bodies were discovered on the banks of the river Evros on Tuesday. Up to 26 bodies—including two women—have been found so far, although the authorities are not yet certain if they died as a result of a vessel capsizing. Tens of thousands of illegal immigrants try to enter Greece every year. Correspondents say most fatal accidents involving migrants occur in the Aegean Sea, as migrants try to sail from Turkey to Greece. It is the first time so many have drowned trying to cross the Evros, according to Reuters news agenc.

Case 9: 22 August 2004, Anadolu Agency, Turkey

Turkish police reported that one Afghan died when a boat carrying illegal migrants sank off Altinoluk hamlet of Edremit town in western Balikesir province on Sunday.

Case 10: 5 April 2005, Kathimerini English Edition, Greece

A boat carrying illegal migrants from Mauritania and Somalia to Greece capsized yesterday off the coast of Turkey, the Anatolia news agency reported. One migrant was missing, and 19 migrants and the Turkish captain swam ashore, the agency reported. The Turkish coast guard was searching for the missing migrant in the Aegean Sea, off the coast of Aliaga in western Turkey.

In the absence of reliable quantitative and qualitative sources of information on illegal entries/departures and transit migration, the cases of media reports above provides us with very valuable information. Taking these ten cases above (and the five additional cases in Annex 1) into

consideration, one can sketch a relatively full picture of the dynamics of illegal entries and transit migration in Turkey in the last eight years.

- These illegal entries/departures and transit migration are persistently going on, but possibly with a declining trend in the last two-three years.
- It is difficult to tell whether the authorities are becoming more stricter or the flows are declining, or both.
- Entry points to Turkey are mainly on the Iranian and Iraqi borders, Van province is a well-known example, and the departure points are in the western part of the country, mainly on the coastal areas such as the provinces of Istanbul and Izmir, or close to the border with Greece such as Edirne province.
- Those who enter Turkey illegally are mainly from two neighbouring countries, Iran and Iraq, but also from a variety of countries such as Bangladesh, Ghana, Nigeria, Pakistan, Algeria, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Indian, Palestinian, and Azerbaijan.
- Turkish citizens, in particular, Turkish citizens with Kurdish origin, are also involved in these illegal departures from Turkey to find their way to the West.
- There is a wide use of smugglers and traffickers by these migrants to order to facilitate their move.
- The amount of money paid for these smugglers and traffickers seems to be around US$ 1,000-7,000, depending on the characteristic of smuggling and trafficking.
- Means used by these migrants to come to Turkey are usually by foot and by car, bus, or truck, and to leave Turkey are by foot, by truck, and by sea—but sea-travel has gaining primary importance within whole outgoing movement.
- Problem of illegal entries/departures and transit migration in Turkey begun to be recognized widely by the national and international authorities.
- There is a considerable decline in the numbers of transit migrants in the country in recent years.

IV. Transit Migration in Turkey: The Context

It is now more than two decades that Turkey has been a well-known country of destination, transit and origin, in the irregular migratory movements in its neighbouring regions (IOM, 1996; Icduygu, 2000; Icduygu and Keyman 2000, Icduygu, 2003) (see Table 1). A significant part of these irregular flows to Turkey is the transit migration through Turkey which exclusively targets the West—particularly Europe. It seems that there are four particular reasons, which seem to be shaping the irregular migratory movements to Turkey. *First*, the ongoing political turmoil and clashes occurring in neighbouring areas have pushed people away from their homelands with the hope of a better life, security and protection from persecution. *Secondly*, Turkey's geographical location between East and West, and South and North, has made the country a transit zone for many migrants intending to reach western and northern countries. *Thirdly*, the policies of so-called 'Fortress Europe', applying highly restrictive admission procedures and increasing immigration control around the continent, have diverted the Europe-targeted immigration flows to the peripheral zones around Europe, like Turkey. *Fourthly,* Turkey's relative economic prosperity in the region acts as a magnet attracting from diverse countries migrants who want to earn their lives.

Historically, there are four distinct periods of irregular migration to Turkey: 1979-1987; 1988-1993, 1994—2000/2001, and 2001 onwards. These periods attest to the change in the characteristics of the migrants and of migratory flows, as well as the changes in Turkey's migration policies and practices. These periods also clearly reflect the nature of transit migration in Turkey.

During the first period, which might be named as the *fertilization period*, irregular migration was mainly a result of the continuing influx of Iranians following the regime change in 1979. Most of them stayed in Turkey only temporarily, and left again for the European countries or for North America. In

other words they were mostly transit migrants. The second period, which signifies the *maturation period* of irregular migration in the country, stretching from 1988 to 1993, was characterized mainly by two entirely different migratory flows: first, massive arrivals of asylum seekers from Iraq and Bulgaria; and second, movements of economically motivated migrants from the former Soviet Republics. While most of the Kurdish asylum seekers from Iraq left again, almost half of the Turkish Bulgarian asylum seekers settled in Turkey. Most from the former Soviet Republics stayed in Turkey only for few months and had actually been shuttling between their home countries and Turkey for the purpose of trade and other economic activities. In this period, while the transit migration of Iranians and Iraqis was going on in a small scale, the main type of the irregular migration was a 'shuttle-type' or 'circular' one. The third period, beginning with Turkey's 1994 Regulation on Asylum,[1] did not only mark the new policy changes towards migration flows to Turkey, but also witnessed the continuing, diversifying and increasing irregular migration flows to the country. One may call these years from 1994 to 2000/2001 as *the saturation period* of irregular migration in Turkey. Thus, there were more transit migrants generally and more which had drifted into irregularity by overstaying and remaining in the country illegally. As Turkey increasingly turned into a transit country for thousands of irregular migrants and asylum seekers, the Turkish authorities began to pursue a more active and targeted policy to deal with such flows from 1994 to 2000/2001. In the period 2001 onwards that indicates *a period of degeneration* for the irregular migration in Turkey, the issues of irregular migration, trafficking and smuggling have become hot issues both domestically and internationally, and consequently Turkey has started pursuing even more active policies to deal with them. Thus, this period did not only bring a declining trend of these flows but also caused a new stage in which not only new policies and practices of the state came to the fore but also forms of irregular migration took a different shape and became more institutionalized.[2]

V. Transit Migration in Turkey: Numbers, Patterns, and Trends

Before discussing the transit migratory flows in Turkey, we need to have a clarification on the position of asylum seekers in the country who are often misinterpreted as they are seen a part of irregular migration in Turkey. In fact, Turkey is one of the countries where the categories of asylum seekers and economically motivated irregular migrants tend to overlap the most. This is partly because both types of flows originate in the same countries, namely Iran and Iraq, and partly because both types of migrants are involved in illegality due to their entries, stays and prospects of departure, which, as previous studies have shown,[3] depend very much on the same or similar dynamics and mechanisms of the migratory and asylum regimes in the region. This mixed picture of asylum seekers and irregular economic migrants is mainly due to the fact that these groups make their entries to Turkey through the same or similar illegal border-crossings in the hands smugglers or traffickers. Meanwhile, Turkey's position in respect of the 1951 Convention and its geographical limitation excluding non-European asylum seekers who, however, account for the majority of migrants in Turkey, is a further factor contributing to an environment in which these economically motivated irregular migrants and politically mobilized asylum seekers are often inseparably merged.

It is within this context that one should distinguish between these two types of transit flows that contributes to the insertion of irregular migrants into Turkey: asylum seekers and refugees on the one hand, and undocumented or clandestine migrants on the other. However, we should note that in quantitative terms asylum seekers form a minor part of the irregular migration flow to Turkey (see

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1 For some details of the Regulation, see, for instance, Kirişçi (2002), K. 'UNHCR and Turkey: Cooperation for Implementation of the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees', International Journal of Refugee Law, 13(1/2): 71-97.

2 With the term 'institutionalization', we refer to the environment in which migratory networks formed by irregular migrants, traffickers and smugglers became more established operating as a self-reliant system.

3 IOM (1996) *Transit Migration in Turkey*; Icduygu, A. (2000) 'The Politics of International Migratory Regimes: Transit Migration Flows in Turkey', pp. 357-67.

Table 1). Asylum seekers constitutes only less than five per cent of the total amount of irregular migration in Turkey, but almost all of them—both those who are accepted as refuges and those who are rejected cases—are emerged as the transit migrants as they are obliged to go to a third country as the process explained below.

Flows of asylum seekers and refugees to Turkey: Turkey has become a major country of asylum since the early 1980s.[4] Basically, first, the regime change in Iran and then the war and political turmoil in Iraq contributed to the asylum flows to Turkey. Besides the mass influx of Iranians in 1980s, and that of Iraqis in the late 1980s and early 1990s, there have been ongoing flows of individual asylum seekers, mostly from these two countries, consistently fleeing into Turkey. Although Turkey still does not accept non-European refugees on *de jure* basis—based on its ongoing geographical limitation in the 1951 Geneva Convention—it is a *de facto* situation that almost all asylum applications in the country come from non-European countries. Today, Turkey is a *de facto* country of asylum, receiving approximately 5,000 asylum applications each year in the last five years. As a pragmatic solution, the Turkish authorities together with the UNHCR Office in Ankara handle all the applications and then for those accepted non-European cases, the UNHCR tries to find a re-settlement country outside Turkey. As far as the records of the last two years are concerned, those who applied for asylum in Turkey have been coming from more than 30 different countries, mainly from the Middle East and various countries of Africa and Asia. Iran and Iraq are the two main source countries of the asylum seekers. For instance, in 1999 3,800 Iranians and 2,500 Iraqis sought asylum in Turkey. The corresponding figures in 2000 were 3,700 and 1,600 respectively (see Table 2). There are also nearly 100 asylum seekers coming annually from countries as diverse as Afghanistan, Algeria, China, Kenya, Sri Lanka, Somalia, Nigeria, and Uzbekistan.[5] Trends in the asylum applications in 2001 and 2002 indicate that there were some major changes in terms of numbers coming from the main source countries. Accordingly, the number of asylum seekers between these years coming from two main source countries, Iran and Iraq, declined considerably: especially the ones from Iraq decreased as low as 974 whereas Iranians amounted only to 2,505. Although there was a notable increase in the numbers of Afghani refugees before the US intervention in 2001, the numbers significantly dropped after this period. Trends in the asylum applications in 2001, 2002 and 2003 indicated that there were some major changes in terms of numbers coming from the main source countries: there were less than 400 Iraqi asylum seekers in 2003 compared with nearly 1,000 in 2001; while the number of Iranian asylum seekers slightly increased from 2,500 in 2002 to over 3,100 in 2003 (see Table 2). There was a remarkable change in the composition of asylum seekers to Turkey in 2003, as the numbers coming from some African countries increased. For instance there were 183 Somalian and 64 Sudanese citizens who sought asylum in 2003.

Putting it briefly, Turkey, based on its ongoing position with 'geographical limitation' to the 1951 Convention, gives only a type of temporary protection to the recognized refugees and expects them to re-settle to the third countries. Therefore these refugees in Turkey are *de facto* transit migrants. It also happens that those rejected asylum seekers often try to find their chances in the West and they become transit migrants who intend to leave Turkey instead of going back to his or her country of origin.

Movements of undocumented or clandestine migrants: As noted elsewhere,[6] irregular migration flows to Turkey carry two main types of immigrants to the country. The *first* one involves the influx of foreigners mostly coming from the Eastern European countries such as Romania and Moldova or from the Russian Federation and Ukraine who have streamed into Turkey in search of jobs. For instance, it was reported that some Turkish textile and construction industries in the Western regions of the

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4   Kirişçi, K. (2001) *Justice and Home Affairs, Issues in Turkish-EU Relations*, Istanbul: Tesev Publications.

5   BFBA at the Directorate of General Security of the Ministry of Interior (2001).

6   See, Icduygu, A. (2001).

country relied on East European migrants for labour in late 1990s and early 2000s.[7] Similarly, countless middle—and upper-middle class families are known to employ domestic helpers, mainly Moldovan women. Meanwhile, many nightclubs or bars employ Ukrainian or Moldovan showgirls. Many of these migrants are persons who have entered Turkey legally but overstayed their visas or failed to get their visas renewed.

The *second* form of irregular migration to Turkey is the movement of transit migrants who came to Turkey mainly from the Middle East (mostly Iranians and Iraqis) and from various Asian (such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka) and African (such as Nigeria, Somalia, Republic of Congo) countries. These migrants often see Turkey as a transit zone and attempt to go to the developed countries of the West. Most of these transit migrants are often those who are in the illegal entries and departures category, and sometimes are overstayers; but while waiting for their departure they often work illegally.

Although even some top officials[8] pronounce the presence of 'almost one million illegal foreign workers' in Turkey, there is naturally no direct and reliable data that indicate the exact number of irregular migrant workers in Turkey. However, some indicative numbers are available. The Bureau for Foreigners, Borders, and Asylum (BFBA) at the Directorate of General Security of the Ministry of Interior reported that some 11,000 irregular migrants were apprehended in 1995. The figure had risen to 29,000 in 1998 and it reached to 47,000 in 1999 and nearly doubled and peaked to 94,000 in 2000. The figures had declined below 84,000 in 2002 and then to 54,000 in 2003 (see Table 3). There were more than 450,000 apprehended cases of irregular migration over the nine years from 1995 to 2003, giving an annual average of over 50,000. The first ten source countries between the years 1995 and 2003 are Iraq (24 per cent), Moldova (10 per cent), Afghanistan (8 per cent), Pakistan (7 per cent), Iran (5 per cent), Romania (4 per cent), Ukraine (4 per cent), Russian Federation (3 per cent), Georgia (3 per cent), and Bangladesh (3 per cent) (see Table 3).

Based on the statistics on apprehended cases, it can be suggested that approximately 60 per cent of these migrants were transients within these nine years.[9] Compared to their non-transit counterparts (who were mostly the labour—or trading-migrants from the East European and CIS countries), there was an increase in the numbers of transit migrants in Turkey in the period of 1998-2000. Moreover, while the proportion of transit migrants declined after 2000, the proportion of migrant workers mostly coming from CIS and other former Soviet Republics increased (see Figure 1). For instance, in 1999 the proportion of transit migrants was 59 per cent and that of migrant workers was 41 per cent. However, in 2003 the proportions were 44 per cent for the former and 56 percent for the latter. These declining numbers of apprehended transit migrants in the recent years may be viewed as an indicative of both less illegal border-crossings in Turkey and improved methods of control and apprehension applied by the Turkish authorities. Of course, there were possibly some other reasons behind this change including the declining migration pressures in some of the origin countries such as Afghanistan, Iran, and Iraq.

As far as the availability of any direct or indirect data on transit migration in Turkey is concerned, there are two other sources in which one can make judgments on the nature and changing character of the transit migration through Turkey over time. The first one, the asylum figures in Europe provided by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), is a type of indirect data which reflect some features of the transit migration in Turkey. The second one, the illegal migration data compiled by the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD), is partly a type of direct, and partly a type of indirect, data which signal the recent ongoing trends in transit migration via Turkey.

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7   See, Icduygu, A. (2004).

8   For instance, Mr. Yasar Okuyan, the Minister of Labour in the 57th Government of 1999-2002 quite often gives the figure of '1 million illegal migrants' living in Turkey. Later, various government officials have also referred to the same figure.

9   This is a rough estimation formulated through grouping the countries of origin of the apprehended case as 1) countries of origin for transit migrants (such as Iran, Iraq and Pakistan) and 2) countries of origin for irregular migrant workers (such as Moldova, Ukraine and Romania).

Looking at the asylum statistics of the UNHCR, one could speculate on Turkey's role in transiting those asylum seekers from its neighbouring countries to Europe. For instance, in 2000 Afghanistan, Iran and Iraq were among the top five countries of origin for asylum seekers to Europe, involving more than 99,000 people who accounted for almost 23 per cent of the asylum seekers to this continent (see Table 4 and Figure 2). One could claim that a significant proportion of these asylum seekers used Turkey as their bridge to go to Europe. In 2001, a total of 112,000 asylum seekers from Afghanistan, Iran and Iraq arrived in Europe, making more than a quarter of the total number of asylum seekers to the continent. In 2001, there were approximately 93,000 asylum seekers from these three countries, accounting for more than one-fifth of the all asylum seekers to Europe. Again for many of them, Turkey was probably transit zone for their passage to Europe. What was obvious was that in 2002-2003 there was a declining trend of the arrivals of asylum seekers originating from Turkey or transiting through Turkey as far as the origin countries such as Afghanistan, Iran, and Iraq are concerned. In 2003, there were less than 50,000 asylum seekers from these countries to Europe, consisting of only less than 14 per cent of the total asylum seekers to the continent.

Similarly, the illegal migration data compiled by the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD), focusing on the data from the Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries, do not only reflect the involvement of Turkey as a transit country attached to Europe but also reveal the changing nature of transit migration via Turkey (Futo and Jandl, 2004). For instance, many of about 12,000 Afghans, 28,000 Iraqis, 5,000 Pakistanis, and some of about 6,000 Chinese, 5,000 Indians, and 2000 Bangladeshis apprehended in the CEE countries in 2002 indicated that they used Turkey as a transit zone to arrive in Europe (see Table 5). However, in 2003 there was a considerable decline in the total number of migrants coming from these countries: around 5,000 Afghans, 6,000 Iraqis, 7,000 Pakistanis, 5,000 Chinese, and 3,000 Indians and Bangladeshis were apprehended in the CEE countries in 2003. These figures from 2002 and 2003 indirectly reveals that even in the period of early 2000s when there has been a decline in the transit flow in Turkey, it has still been the case that there were possibly some ten thousands using Turkey as a transit zone in their migratory journey to Europe.

VI. Transit Migrants in Turkey: Evidence from the 1995 and 2003 IOM Studies[10]

By comparing the two unique surveys on transit and irregular migration in Turkey conducted in 1995 (IOM, 1995) and in 2003 (Icduygu, 2003), here I present an overall picture of the transit migrants in the country. These studies on irregular and transit migration in Turkey intend to provide an insight to a certain extent into the actual nationality mix or the personal characteristics of transit migrants in Turkey, and convey relevant information about the transit migration in Turkey.

The 1995 IOM study was based on interviews with 159 individual transit migrants in Turkey and conducted in Istanbul and Ankara. This study reflected five major groups of transit irregular migrants in Turkey: Iranians, Iraqis, Bosnians, Africans and the others who were mainly Asians (see Table 6). Among them only some of the Bosnians were the migrants who considered staying in Turkey or going back home as their options, while the other were fully transit migrants who were trying to migrate to other countries. As for the gender distribution, almost three-quarters of the sampled migrants were males. Three-fifth of the 159 respondents was below the age of 30 and more than three-fifth was either single or divorced. Most of them were born in cities, received some education and had been employed prior to their migration (see Table 6). A considerable number of these migrants arrived in Turkey without valid documents and they were not clearly informed about the country before arrival. Almost one third of the respondents were planning to use traffickers/smugglers to reach their final destination countries, mainly Denmark, Greece, Sweden and the UK (United Kingdom) and Australia, Canada, the USA (United States of America).

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10 See Icduygu, A. (2002).

The 2003 IOM study was based on interviews with 53 irregular migrants and conducted in Istanbul and Van provinces. Iranians and Iraqis each made up approximately one-quarter of the sample, Afghanis made up another 14 per cent, with the remainder coming from some of the Eastern European and CIS countries, as well as from Africa. Only from those who came from the Eastern European and CIS countries were not transit migrants. Consequently, the 2003 IOM study mostly reflected the cases of migrants who perceive Turkey as a transit area *en route* to the developed countries of the West. This group involved migrants who also entered Turkey illegally and wanted to leave the transit country illegally. Meanwhile, there were also respondents, citizens of Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union, who had initially legally entered the country but drifted into illegality later on.

Although the predominant impression of transit migrants is that of young, unmarried, poor, unskilled males from a rural background, with little formal education, the actual profile of those interviewed in Turkey is quite different. For instance, as shown by the 2003 IOM study, currently transit migrants in Turkey are mainly young, married men and women, from diverse national and ethnic backgrounds and with a considerable degree of formal education and experience of living in urban areas (see Table 6). Almost two-thirds of the migrants had already worked in their countries of origin before migrating. When asked about their approximate monthly income, some 55 per cent reported that their income was either low or below average, while four percent had not received any income at all. Quite differently, however, the 1995 study indicated, two-thirds of the respondents told that their income was average. That means that the newcomers had a lower economic status when compared with their 1995 counterparts.

In the 2003 IOM study, nearly 40 per cent cited the lack of employment opportunities and/or relative poverty as having prompted them to migrate. Almost two-thirds claimed to have left for political reasons, and almost half referred to social, cultural or religious difficulties for their reasons for leaving their homelands. Another 42 per cent expressed concern over the possibility of a war (see Table 6). Clearly, combinations of reasons accounted for both push and pull factors, with the mix and respective intensity depending on each personal experience. Results of the 1995 IOM survey also indicated that migrants came with the similar reasons as well.

A large proportion of the transit migrants interviewed for the 2003 IOM study had entered Turkey without any valid travel documents. Only two-fifths had entered Turkey with both a valid passport and a valid visa. In 1995, however, only two out of five respondents entered Turkey without a valid document. This indicated that there were more illegal entries in 2003 when compared to 1995. As discussed above, this increase in figures towards the 2000s also confirmed by the official statistics but with the counter-trafficking activities engaged by Turkish authorities, there is a considerable decrease in the number of illegal entries and departures.

By its very nature transit migration tends to become intertwined with asylum seeking processes. When asked whether they had applied for refugee status, 67 per cent replied that they had not whereas 27 per cent had applied for asylum, of which only six per cent had actually been granted refugee status. As far as the 1995 study is concerned, the numbers of asylum applications and number of granted refugees in 2003 were on the decline. It was obvious that for many it would have been impossible to migrate to Turkey without the help of smugglers. In fact, 62 per cent arrived with the help of smugglers. When asked about the reasons for coming to Turkey, 50 per cent said they had done so because Turkey was a neighbouring country. Prior information concerning the country of destination usually plays an important part in the decision to migrate and the successful adaptation to new circumstances. It also influences the migrant's choice of destination country.

Access to sufficient financial means obviously plays a determining role in the decision to migrate. The wish to migrate implies substantial financial sacrifices for the potential migrant and any family members. Transit migration even more so, despite the perils involved. In particular, the need to bribe and pay smugglers makes the whole process of transit migration extremely expensive. Thus, to facilitate their departure from their home countries, 45 per cent of the migrants had made some kind of

payment either as bribe or cash down payment to the smugglers. On average, payment of smugglers cost the migrant some USD 825, ranging from a minimum of USD 50 to a maximum of USD 3,500. The average cost for the passage to Turkey amounted to USD 1,433, ranging from USD 100 at the low end to a maximum of USD 15,000. When compared with the average costs of the year 1995, migrants were paying less money in 2003 in terms of US dollars.

Contrary to the general perception that migration flows were fuelled by an extensive social network among migrant families in the countries of origin and of destination, only 18 per cent of the migrants interviewed mentioned the likelihood of family members joining them in Turkey. This would seem to indicate that their decision to migrate was taken individually and less related to family migration history through Turkey. However, and notwithstanding such declarations, family and migration connections seem obvious. Almost sixty per cent of the married couples interviewed were living in Turkey with their spouses, and about 46 per cent of those couples had their children with them.

In the IOM 2003 study, only 16 per cent had a residence permit and none had a work permit. As transit migrants cannot be hired legally, they are usually to be found in precarious and low-paid jobs (so-called 3D jobs: dirty, difficult and dangerous). However, in 1995, a quarter of the respondents had residence permits, and nine percent had work permits. Almost 70 per cent of our respondents reported that their income was either low or below average, with five per cent claiming to have no income at all. Only two respondents reported that their income levels were above-average in Turkey. Housing conditions for transit migrants were generally very poor. Half of the respondents shared rented accommodation, 10 per cent lived alone, eight per cent lived with friends, four per cent with relatives and four per cent lived at their workplace, while six per cent lived in hotels and 10 per cent in shelters.

In the 2003 study, fifty-nine per cent of the sample group had already attempted to leave Turkey previously. In 1995, however, nearly seventy-one per cent were in the same position. Half of them in 2003 had tried to enter Italy, 12 per cent aimed to go to Germany while another 12 per cent had tried their luck to enter any other third country. Asked to explain their preferences for certain destination countries, only five per cent of the respondents referred to the ease of obtaining a visa as the primary incentive. Forty per cent chose their final destination because they have family members living there. Twenty-six per cent said that having friends in the destination country was an important factor in their decision, and sixty-one per cent thought that they would be able to improve their standard of living in the destination country. Most of the respondents acknowledged that as the preferred northern and western European countries of destination had tightened their admission policies, it would be necessary to enter the country illegally and subsequently look for means of regularizing their status.

VII. Transit Migration in Turkey: Smuggling or Trafficking?

As I argue in a recent study (Icduygu and Toktas, 2003), in the course of regional or country cases such as Eastern Europe, the Balkans, Russia and China, our understanding of the complexities of human trafficking and smuggling has made considerable progress. This deepened understanding has resulted mostly from empirical research. Among the conclusions that might be drawn from the existing literature on human trafficking and smuggling are the following: they are controlled by criminal syndicates; they lead to situations of bounded labour and virtual slavery; they involve kidnapping and forced exploitation, particularly of women and children (IOM, 2000: 9).

Our findings on the human trafficking and smuggling in Turkey differ considerably from the ones shown by previous studies conducted in the other parts of the world. We argue that in order to gain a better understanding of the causes and consequences, the magnitude and the international ramifications of human trafficking and smuggling in our region of study, it is necessary to realise that the traffickers and smugglers do not necessarily constitute a large, comprehensive and centralised criminal organisation. Generally speaking, independent individuals or groups specialised in particular aspects of the operation who combine and coordinate their efforts at various stages along the smuggling process carry out people smuggling. They normally have access to the latest

telecommunications technology such as mobile phones and can change and adapt their strategies rapidly depending on new situations, in terms of reinforced border controls along particular borders or regarding the most profitable means of transportation. This study did not conclude that people smuggling was either similar or even closely linked to drugs or arms smuggling organizations, whose structure and method of operation appear more centralised and hierarchical compared to those of people smuggling.[11]

Even though they are not supported by a centralized organizational system, this study surmises, smugglers nevertheless run their operations effectively with the help of and ubiquitous recourse to modern communications technology, which allows them to interact swiftly and globally to exchange pertinent information, without leaving tell-tale traces. They work through a string of contacts including people able to supply various services such as accommodation and local transport, forgers of documents, corrupt officials, transport agencies and many more.

For the duration of the smuggling operation, from the point of departure to destination, the link between migrants and smugglers is held together by their reciprocal interest, on the one hand, and the unequal power relationship on the other: the migrants' dependence on the know-how and methods used by the smuggler and the latter's retention of power and manipulation, welded together temporarily by the same objective—to reach the point of destination. It is here that the smuggler takes his reward and pockets the profits, and the migrant receives his opportunity to make a better life for himself.

However, given the growing numbers of migrants and the burgeoning demand for passages from all corners of the world, the smuggling business can no longer rely on ad hoc operations supported by the punctual recourse to and intervention of individual collaborators for services along the way. As is true of all undertakings based on a demand and supply relationship, smuggling, if it has not done so already, will become a more organized, more centralized and more business-like activity in order to respond to the demand and to take full advantage of the vast profits to be reaped.

As this study has found, instances of trust and a measure of empathy underlying the smuggler-migrant relationship exist, though while mutual trust is needed to facilitate human transaction, this does not change the exploitative nature of human smuggling and trafficking. Whether a more business-like structure and organization, as opposed to the personal idiosyncrasies and interests of the individuals and smaller gangs who currently dominate the market, will make the smuggling of migrants more or less humane, more or less exploitative of human determination born of despair and exasperation, and whether it will continue to drawn on human frailty, gullibility and opportunism on both sides remains to be seen.

VIII. Concluding Remarks

Like many other countries in Europe and in its periphery, Turkey has to deal today with an ongoing irregular inflow of foreign nationals. Given its geographical position as the natural crossroads between Asia, Africa and Europe, Turkey, being both a country of destination and transit, has to deal with irregular migration flows on the front line. Considering that migrants heading for Europe or other more developed parts of the world most of the time stay only on a temporary basis in Turkey, while some of the new entrants in the country intend to settle and work for a limited period of time, one can view that Turkey has become a country with multiple roles in irregular migration. In addition, being a country of asylum makes Turkey's position even more complicated. Another interesting feature of migration in Turkey is the diversity of migrants' national background: authorities in Turkey have identified 163 nationalities arriving in the country in the past eight years. All these are important

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11 In fact, the security authorities interviewed in this study have also repeatedly and overwhelmingly emphasized the differences between drug trafficking and human trafficking.

factors that help to explain some of the difficulties facing the Turkish system in adapting in administrative, legal, financial, social, economic, and cultural terms.

Today, the experience in various countries and international settings (supranational entities like the EU and intergovernmental and international organizations such as IOM, ILO, OECD, or CoE) provides a wealth of information, guidelines, and regulations on how to deal with irregular migration and employment. This experience proves that enforcing minimum standards and regulations on migration, labour and workplace serves as an effective deterrent to irregular migration and employment, by discouraging sub-standard exploitative conditions. It is within this context that Turkish authorities have recognized the need to establish, modernize, and improve the country's laws, policies, practices and administrative structures for ensuring regular migration and employment. As often discussed in the last couple of years, this has been done in parallel to the country's candidature for accession to the EU. Turkey has been very active to harmonize its legislation with the *acquis communautaire*. Such efforts at harmonization apply in the field of irregular migration in general, and to the trafficking and smuggling issues and their labour outcomes in particular. It is anticipated that the related migration policies and practices in Turkey will be brought into line with the standards and norms set by the EU. Hence, Turkey has recently taken several steps towards convergence with these standards by changing, or planning to change, its relevant laws, policies, practices, thereby consolidating its status as a long-standing, devoted accession candidate to the European Union. Some remarkable examples of these efforts are the following three. First, the new Law, which adds some articles to the Penal Code and amends the Law on Combating Benefits-Oriented Criminal Organizations, has been adopted by the Parliament on 3 August 2002. This law introduces the definition of the human trafficking and smuggling into Turkish legal system and prescribes heavy penalties for the traffickers and smugglers. Second, the *draft Law on Work Permits for Foreigners* has been approved by the Turkish Parliament on 27 February 2003. With this law, Turkey regulates the new rules for the access of migrant workers to the labour market in the country. For instance, according to new rules foreigners have been allowed to be employed as domestic workers, a situation which was not permitted before the new legislation. Third, the amendment to Article 5 on citizenship has been approved by the Parliament on 4 June 2003. With this amendment a prohibition period of three years has been imposed for application for citizenship. In the previous arrangement, a foreign woman may acquire Turkish citizenship immediately after marrying a Turkish national.

The use of Turkey's territory as a staging post for onward migration towards the West, particularly the European Union, still poses a major challenge for Turkey as it seeks to control and manage such movements, which are often seen as one of the most difficult issues to be dealt with by Turkey in its accession to the Union. An Action Plan on asylum and migration issues in Turkey recently prepared by the Turkish Ministry of Interior and the UNHCR office in Ankara is a important step which must be taken into consideration within the context of this accession process (TMOI and UNHCR, TURKEY, 2005). A significant portion of this Plan, which is devoted to the notions of irregular and transit migration, and trafficking and smuggling, signals that transit migration flows are considered as one of the most important policy issues, not only for Turkey, but also for the wider context of the international migratory regimes connecting Turkey with the EU (see Annex 2).

In relation to irregular migration, transit migration, and trafficking and smuggling, everything depends on implementing an integrated and consistent policy designed to govern and properly manage immigration. What are essentials for this management are *orderliness, protection, integration, and co-operation* (CoE, 2003: 27). There is need for: (a) developing a set of measures to be able to manage migration in an orderly manner; (b) providing an appropriate capability for protection and for dealing with disorderly movements; (c) providing an environment conductive to integration; and (d) engaging in dialogue and co-operation with all involved countries.

To achieve these aims, Turkey is making every effort to cooperate and has introduced new legislation and amended its aliens' law and penal code, and has tended to create reception and readmission centres. While considerable progress has already been made regarding the introduction of,

and changes to, relevant policies and practice, much remains to be done. However, Turkey also feels that it is caught between a rock and a hard place: For instance, on the one hand, it is under pressure from the EU to strengthen its capability to control irregular migration, for which the government would have to assign vast additional resources, which it does not have. On the other hand, the Turkish authorities are expected to liberalize their existing immigration policies and practices, which equally implies additional administrative responsibilities and financial outlay, all of which exceeds the country's available resources. Therefore, to be in a position to comply with such demands, Turkey requires greater access to international assistance and technical cooperation. What is also required is that Turkey try to establish an effective administrative, legal and financial infrastructure to be in a position to control irregular migration and irregular employment of foreigners, and to combat trafficking and smuggling by: (1) developing and strengthening its financial and technical resources available to deal with irregular migration and employment effectively, (2) implementing fully various new immigration-related legislations without any delay, and taking necessary steps towards their implementation, (3) ensuring the necessary cooperation and coordination among the different national authorities and institutions which are currently dealing with various aspects of irregular migration and employment in an independent and uncoordinated manner, (4) cooperating with international organizations, such as IOM, UNHCR and ILO, as well as the European Union to gain information and ac cess to education and t raining programmes on irregular migration and prevent irregular labour and exploitation, (5) cooperating with all other related origin, transit, and destination countries.

As far as transit migration flows are concerned, what is also something that might not be ignored by policy makers or practitioners is having a view of burden-sharing rather than burden-shifting. Today, not only Turkey, but also its migration-related counterparts, face many challenges in relation to the management and control of irregular migration flows involving all these countries. As it is discussed above, the countries in the relative-West, in particular, are greatly concerned over irregular migration flows through the countries in the relative-East. This presents the transit countries in the relative-East with a dilemma. On the one hand, the countries in the relative-East are under pressures from the countries in the relative-West to improve their control mechanisms and law enforcement capabilities to combat and stem the flow of illegal migrants, but on the other hand, the countries in the relative-East cannot realistically be expected to comply with such demands without the necessary assistance and resources to do so. Therefore, one can advocate the need for burden-sharing between the countries of the relative-East and those of the relative-West, especially in relation to a phenomenon such as irregular transit migration that ultimately targets Western European countries.

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Map 1: Routes of Transit Migrants to Turkey
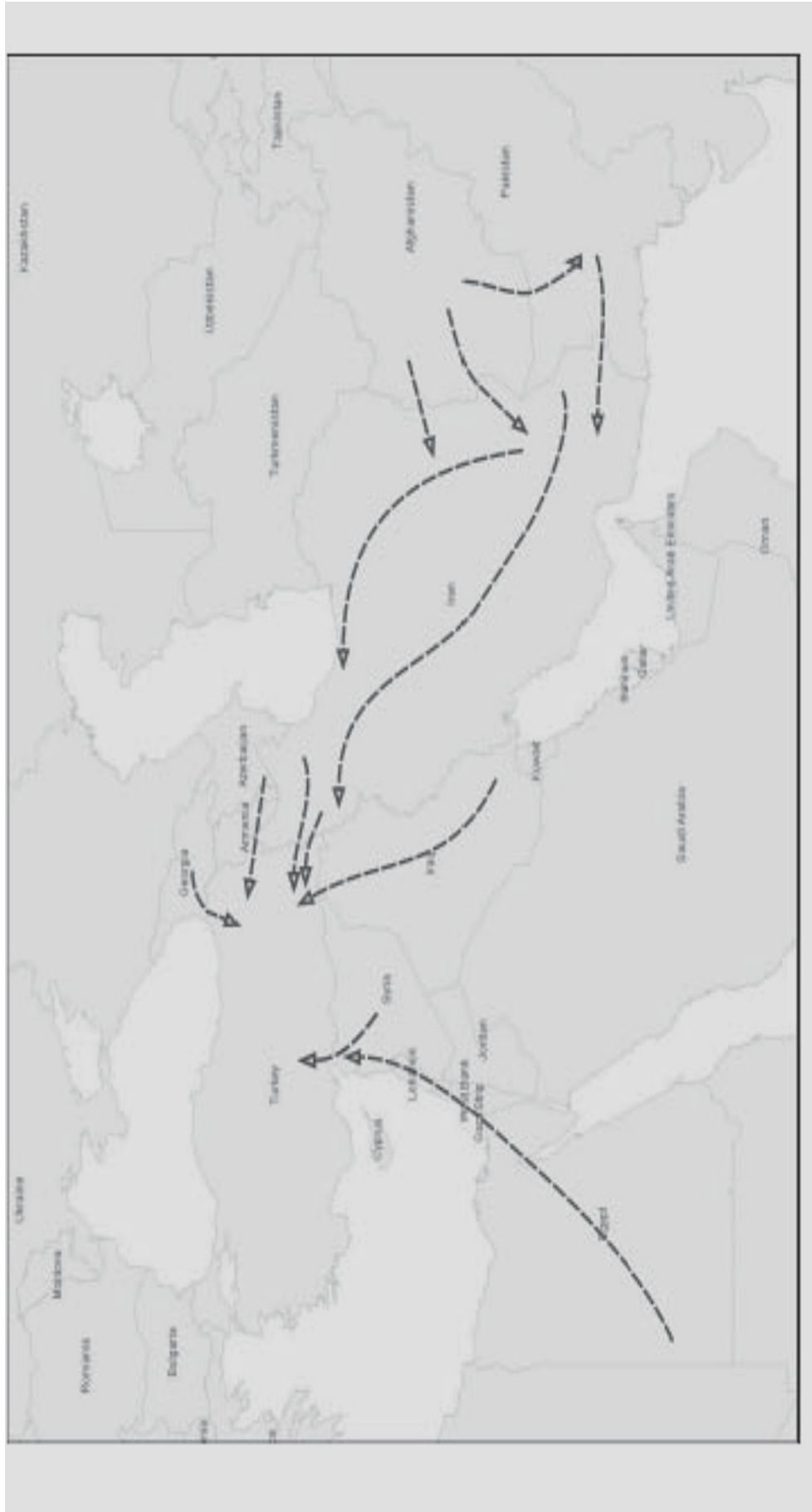
Source: Icduygu (2003).

Map 2: Routes of Turkish Migrants from Turkey

Source: Icduygu (2003).

Table 1: Indicative Number of Migration to Turkey, 1997-2003

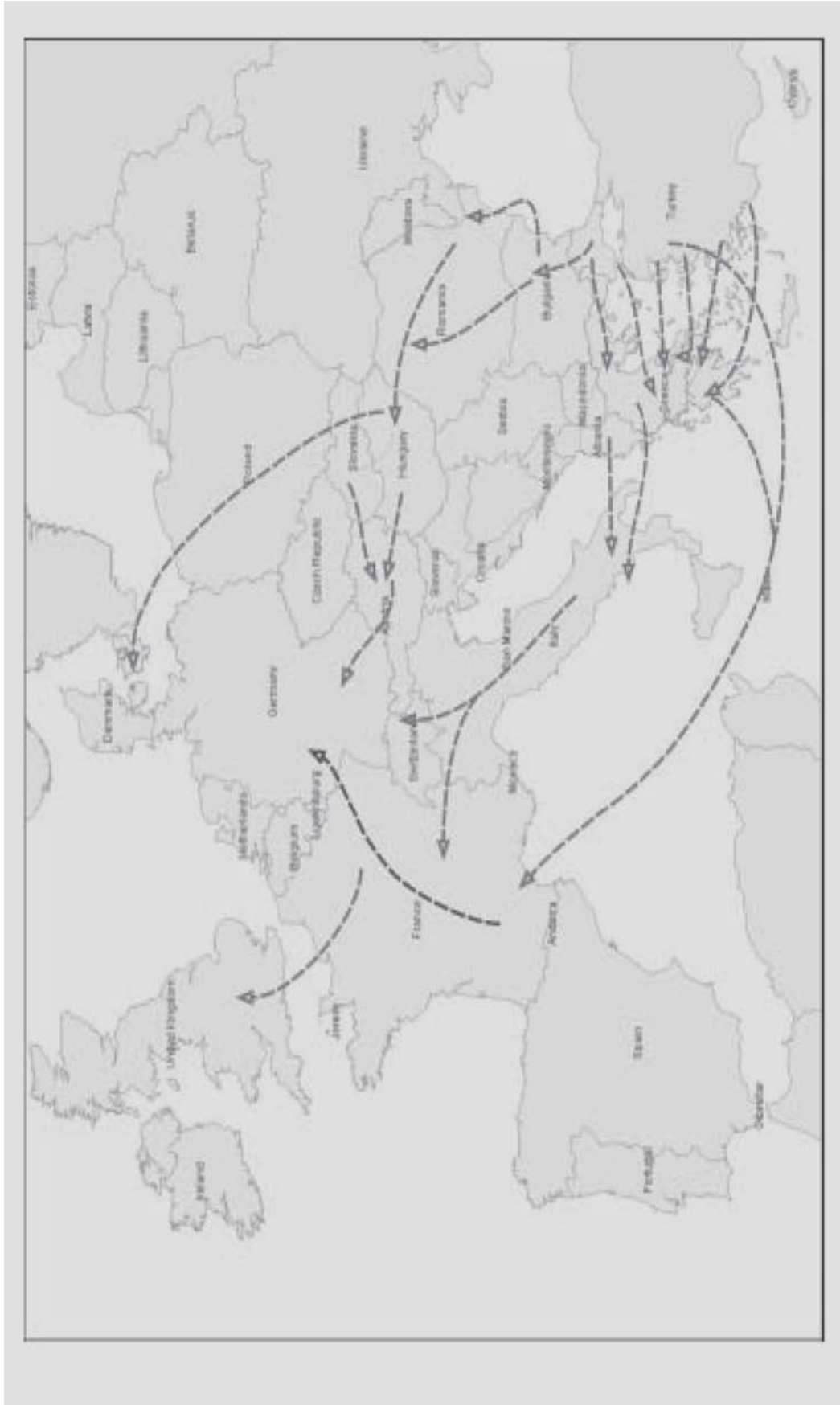|	*1996*	*1997*	*1998*	*1999*	*2000*	*2001*	*2002*	*2003*
Undocumented Migration	**18800**	**28400**	**29400**	**31600**	**94600**	**92400**	**82800**	**56200**
Illegal entries					51400	57300	44200	30348
Overstays					43200	35100	38600	25852
Asylum application		**5100**	**6800**	**6600**	**5700**	**5200**	**3794**	**3966**
of which: Afghan					100	400	47	77
of which: Iran		1700	2000	3800	3900	3500	2505	3108
of which: Iraq		3300	4700	2500	1600	1000	974	342
Residence Permit					168100	161254	**157670**	**152203**
of which: work					24200	22414	22556	21650
of which: study					24600	23946	21548	21810
of which: other					119300	114894	113566	108743

Sources: UNHCR Ankara Office (2002), Bureau for Foreigners, Borders, and Asylum at the Directorate of General Security of the Ministry of Interior, Icduygu (2004).

Table 2: Asylum Applications in Turkey, 1997-2003

Year	*Countries of Origin*			
	Iran	**Iraq**	**Other**	**Total**
1997	1392	2939	117	**4448**
1998	1979	4672	187	**6838**
1999	3843	2472	290	**6605**
2000	3926	1671	180	**5777**
2001	3475	998	704	**5177**
2002	2505	974	315	**3794**
2003	3108	342	516	**3966**

Sources: UNHCR Ankara Office (2003), Icduygu (2004).

Table 3: Irregular Migration in Turkey, Apprehended Cases, 1995-2003

Country of Origin	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	Total
Afghanistan	24	68	81	921	2,476	8,746	9,701	4,246	2,178	28,741
Albania		1		9	792	1,026	1,137	580	341	3,886
Algeria	27	25	69	207	102	430	305	542	378	2,085
Armenia	4	2		1	98	474	452	505	494	2,030
Azerbaijan	21	3	3	10	620	2,262	2,426	2,349	1608	9,302
Bangladesh	113	322	301	2,408	1,193	3,228	1,497	1,810	1722	12,594
Bulgaria	21	22	39	103	1,005	1,699	1,923	3,132	989	8,933
Egypt	4	12	99	29	94	382	184	182	222	1,208
Georgia	37	9	9	5	809	3,300	2,693	3,115	1,826	11,803
Germany		1	1		372	629	458	586	988	3,035
India	2	25	18	102	189	779	599	475	846	3,035
Iran	252	362	364	1,116	5,281	6,825	3,514	2,508	1,620	21,842
Iraq	2,128	3,319	5,689	14,237	11,546	17,280	18,846	20,926	3,757	97,728
Macedonia	1				439	488	384	197	185	1,694
Moldavia	19		17	5	5,098	8,312	11,454	9,611	7,728	42,244
Morocco	28	53	93	295	369	1,401	849	603	361	4,052
Nigeria	1	20	30	84	137	450	301	733	117	1,873
Pakistan	708	435	307	1,798	2,650	5,027	4,829	4,813	6,258	26,825
PRC				1	115	545	264	674	787	2,386
Romania	68	12	107	36	3,395	4,500	4,883	2,674	2,785	18,460
Russia	5	4	52	2	1,695	4,554	3,893	2,139	2,130	14,474
Sierra Leone				20	42	462	273	121	14	932
Stateless					61	322	235	0	0	618
Syria	78	86	144	476	776	1,399	782	462	623	4,826
Tunisia	3	48	81	44	76	255	216	191	274	1,188
Turkey					2,085	3,289	5,304	6,951	5,660	23,289
Ukraine	9	4	17	4	1,715	4,527	3,451	2,874	1,947	14,548
United Kingdom		2		4	233	643	423	451	510	2,266
Uzbekistan	1	1			142	587	535	533	584	2,383
Other	7,808	13,948	20,603	7,382	3,632	7,695	8,055	6,908	8,461	84,192
Unknown		20	315	127	292	2,998	2,499	1,934	826	9,011
Total	**11,362**	**18,804**	**28,439**	**29,426**	**47,529**	**94,514**	**92,365**	**82,825**	**56,219**	**461,483**

Sources: Bureau for Foreigners, Borders, and Asylum at the Directorate of General Security of the Ministry of Interior, Icduygu (2004).

Table 4: Asylum Applications Submitted in Europe, 1999-2003

Country of Origin	2000(N)	2001(N)	2002(N)	2003 (N)	2000(%)	2001(%)	2002(%)	2003 (%)
Afghanistan	29928	49914	25470	13644	7.0	11.1	5.9	3.8
Iran	27472	13546	10289	11009	6.4	3.0	2.4	3.0
Iraq	42244	47538	50058	24287	9.8	10.6	11.5	6.8
Turkey	28219	30148	28455	23321	6.6	6.7	6.6	6.5
Others	253968	279407	287109	286053	64.0	61.1	65.4	79.8
Total	**429024**	**448565**	**434037**	**358314**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Sources: 'Asylum Applications Lodged in Industrialized Countries: Levels and Trends, 2000-2003', Geneva, March 2003, Population Data Unit7PGDS, Icduygu (2004).

Table 5: Number of Apprehensions in the CEE Countries Related to Border Violations by Country of Origin, in 2002 and 2003

| Country of origin of apprehended persons	Apprehensions in the 17 responding countries	Apprehensions in the 17 responding countries	Change 2002 to 2003
	2002	**2003**	**%**
Afghanistan	11890	4527	-62
Bangladesh	1862	2562	38
China	6229	5273	-15
India	6126	3514	-43
Iraq	27729	5607	-80
Pakistan	4958	7172	45
Turkey	10207	8524	-16
Total of the countries above	**69001**	**37179**	**-46**

Source: Futo and Jandl (2004).

Table 6: Transit Migrants in Turkey (IOM Research)

| Country of Origin	1995 (159 Migrants)		2003 (53 Migrants)	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
Afghanistan	3	2	7	13
Iran	33	21	13	25
Iraq	60	38	14	25
African (various)	40	25	11	21
Others	24	15	8	16
Sex				
Male	118	74	31	58
Female	41	26	22	42
Age				
17-24	53	33	15	28
25-29	42	26	14	26
30-34	27	17	12	23
35-39	18	11	3	6
40 +	19	12	9	17
Civil Status				
Single	92	58	23	43
Married	57	36	25	47
Separated	2	1	2	4
Divorced/ Widowed	8	5	3	6
Education				
No Schooling	5	3	4	8
Primary	18	11	7	13
Secondary	84	53	27	51
Tertiary	41	26	12	23
Post-Graduate	11	7	3	6
Employment				
Full-time/ Self-employed	48	30	26	50
Part-time	74	47	2	4
Occasional	5	3	4	8
Housewife/ Student	29	18	17	32
Unemployed	3	3	3	6
Motives for Migration				
Economic	57	36	20	40
Political	90	56	37	74
Educational	39	24	7	14
Family	21	13	9	18
Social/Cultural/Religious	63	39	24	48
War/ Conflict	74	46	21	42
Military Service	28	24	7	14
Other	13	8	4	8

Sources: IOM (1995), Icduygu (2003).

Figure 1: Number of Transit and Non-Transit Irregular Migrants in Turkey, 1995-2003
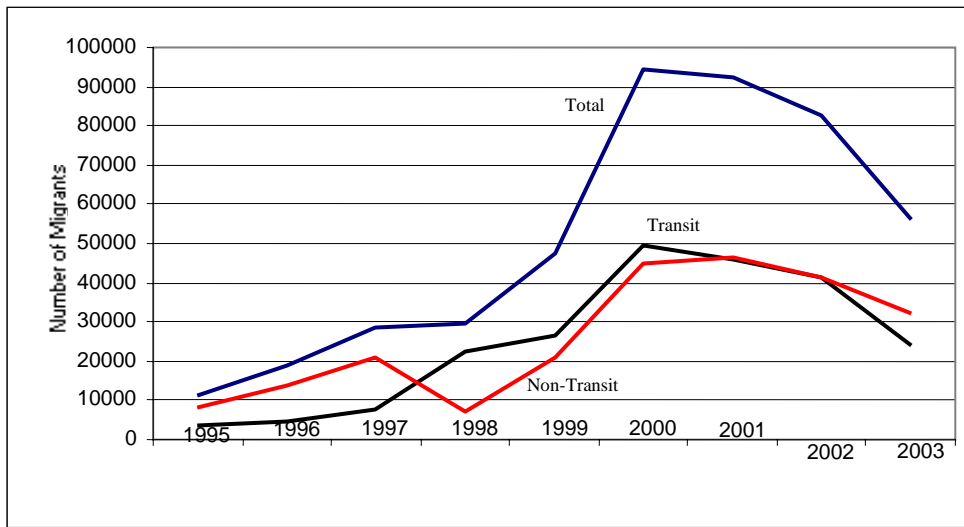
Source: Calculated by the author from Table 3.

Figure 2: Number Asylum Seeker from 2000-2003 to Europe, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and Turkey
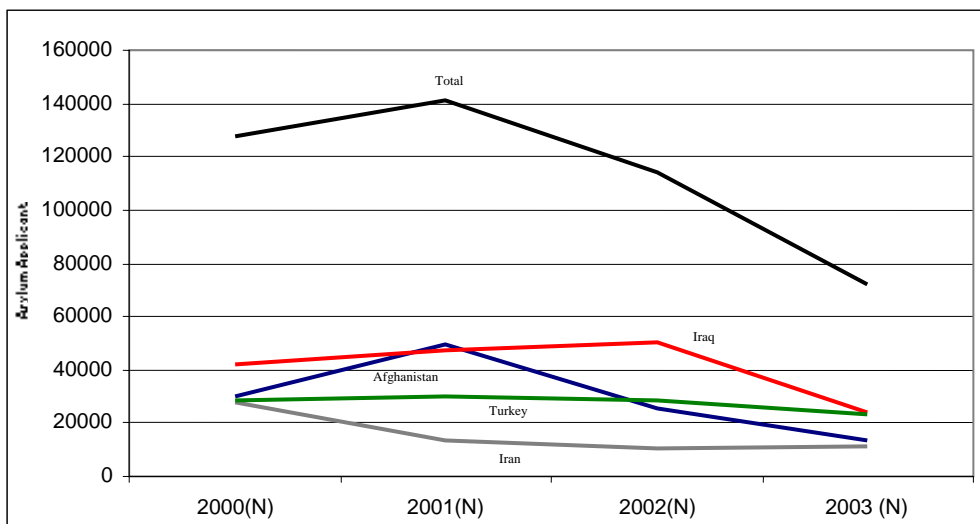
Source: Calculated by the author from Table 4.

Annex 1

Selected Transit Migration Cases from Media

Case A: 14 January 1998, Reuters, Turkey

Turkish police have detained 46 foreign migrants and two Turks who tried to help them leave the country illegally, Anatolian news agency said on Wednesday. The migrants, mostly from Iraq, were seized overnight as they were heading for a boat to take them from the western Aegean province of Izmir to nearby Greek islands. Police have arrested hundreds of suspected illegal migrants in ports and cities across western Turkey since European Union demanded that it act to stop a recent wave of migration to Italy. People from Bangladesh, Nigeria, Pakistan and Algeria were among those seized on Tuesday night after a tip-off that they were traveling on a coach towards a coastal departure point. Two suspects were detained on a boat allegedly waiting to ferry the migrants, Anatolian said. Police said earlier this week hundreds of illegal migrants were to be expelled from Turkey after a massive weekend round-up in Istanbul. The largest number of detainees came from the mainly Kurdish north of Iraq. Courts often release migrants attempting to leave the country illegally because chronic high inflation has eroded fines to little more than a dollar. Migrants, seeking passage to EU countries, pay smugglers large sums of hard currency to ferry them to the Italian or Greek coasts. Others try to cross the land border with Greece.

Case B: 1-15 November 1999, Asian Migration News, The Philippines

Turkish police authorities arrested 282 illegal immigrants trying to cross Greece. Among those arrested were Asians from Iraq, Iran, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Afghanistan and Pakistan. Turkey is considered to be one of the main routes used by Asian and African illegal immigrants to cross Europe.

Case C: 28 July 2000, The Associated Press, Turkey

Turkish security forces have arrested 460 illegal immigrants in the Aegean provinces of Izmir and Edirne. On 21 July, 207 (or 209) migrants were arrested in Seferihisar, including 62 Turkish nationals and other Asian nationals such as Afghans, Sri Lankans, Bangladeshis, Indians, Pakistanis, Palestinians, Iraqis, and Iranians. Another group of 150 immigrants were arrested on 26 July in the same area. In Edirne, 103 people, who were suspected to be headed for Greece, were detained.

Case D: 10 July 2001, Turkish Daily News, Turkey

Seven illegal immigrants detained in Izmir Following the detention of 56 illegal immigrants last Thursday, seven more refugees were detained on Monday. The seven, who were from Afghanistan and had entered Turkey illegally, were seized in Cesme and Urla, in the province of Izmir. According to officials, the gendarmerie captured four of the illegal immigrants, who wanted to immigrate illegally to European countries through Greece by boat, in Cesme. Besides that, three other illegal immigrants were detained in Urla. Gendarmerie officials said they would be deported after interrogation and the appropriate legal procedures.

Case E: 15 March 2002, Agence France Press, Turkey

Security forces in the southern Turkish province of Adana have detained 327 people who were planning to sneak into Italy, the Anatolia news agency reported late Thursday. The group was caught early Thursday in a wooded area near the town of Tuzla where they had been taken by trucks and were waiting to board a ship, the report said. The majority of the detainees were Turkish citizens from the country's mainly-Kurdish and impoverished southeast and east, while three of them had Azerbaijani passports, the report said. The detainees told police that they had paid between 5,000 to 7,500 euros (4,400 to 6,600 dollars) to people smugglers for the planned

journey. Located at the crossroads of Asia and Europe, Turkey lies on a major human-smuggling route between the two continents.

Annex II

Extracted from TMOI and UNHCR, TURKEY (Turkish Ministry of Interior, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) (2005), Asylum and Legislation, Başkent Matbaası, Ankara, pp.27-33.

3.2.7. *Improvements in Struggle against Illegal Migration Statistical Aspects of the Activities in this Field*

Turkey proves its stance in this field by taking measures against illegal migration at the national level and actively participating in international processes of identifying problems, exchange of information, joint struggle and cooperation and effectively struggles to prevent illegal migration over Turkish territory and deport illegal migrants staying in Turkey.

Thanks to the ambitious stance of security forces, Turkey shifted migrant traffickers to southern (Iraq-Syria-Lebanon) and northern (Iran-Caucasus -Ukraine) routes particularly in 2000 and 2001. Moreover, vessels carrying illegal migrants changed their routes and recently vessels departing primarily from African countries are destined to Italy and France and those coming from Sri Lanka and India are following the Suez Canal to reach the coasts of Southern Greek Cyprus, Greece and Italy. For the years between 1995 and 2004, respectively 11362, 18804, 28439, 29426, 47529, 94514, 92362, 82825, 56219 and 50529 illegal migrants totaling to 512009 were captured attempting to illegally enter or leave Turkish territory or staying illegally in Turkey.

As a result of activities carried out in this field, more concentrated operations were conducted against migrant trafficker organizations. 98 organizers were captured in 1998 with an increase to 850 in 2000, 1155 in 2001 and 1157 in 2002 (grand total for 1998-2002: 3895). The year 2003 witnessed the capture of 937 illegal migrant traffickers and up to now for 2004 their number has been 520 and they all have been subjected to judicial action.

Aliens willing to enter Turkish territory at the border gates but suspected to be involved in illegal migration or attempting to use false documents are not admitted into Turkey. Thanks to the training seminars provided to the personnel on counterfeiting, 6069 aliens in 1999, 24504 in 2000, 15208 in 2001 and 11.084 in 2002 were rejected at the borders. It was the case for 9.362 aliens in 2003 and 7888 in 2004 (1999-2004: 74.700). Preventive activities against illegal migrant trafficking via maritime transportation have been accelerated due to the measures taken and within this framework, the number of vessels allegedly departing from Turkey to Europe decreased from 19 in 2000 to 17, 2 and 1 in 2001, 2002 and 2003, respectively. On the other hand, 20 vessels/boats about to leave Turkey were ceased in 2003 and a total of 1529 illegal migrants and 20 organizer migrant traffickers planning to escape were captured both on-board and ashore.

Transit migration from Turkey to Europe is practiced primarily by vessels and boats illegally leaving territorial waters over the Aegean Sea and the Mediterranean. Illegal migration via maritime transportation has been avoided to a considerable extent thanks to the coastal controls and air-borne preventive operations carried out in coordination by helicopters of Coastal Security units and police helicopters deployed in İzmir, Antalya and Muğla.

Improvements in the Legislation

As an addition to the amendments in the Law on Employment of Aliens in Turkey and the Turkish Citizenship Act; Turkey ratified on 13 December 2000 the Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and two Protocols regulating trafficking in migrants and human beings undersigned in Palermo on 12 December 2000. The Convention and its protocols were approved in Turkish Grand National Assembly and published in the Official Journal No 25052 of 18 March in full-text format. Accordingly, as it is the case for trafficking in human beings, the arrangement based on Article 201/a of the Turkish Penal Code became effective in advance following its publication in the Official

Journal No 4771 of 9 August 2002. This Article foresees that migrant traffickers be sentenced to 2-5 years of imprisonment (4-10 years under aggravating conditions) and a fine of minimum TL 1 billion, relevant tools be confiscated and economic activities of front organizations be suspended. New version of the Turkish Penal Code to become effective as of April 2005 incorporates associated arrangements.

The amendment made in the Citizenship Act No 403 in 2003 serves for avoiding marriages of convenience instrumental for obtaining citizenship and settling in Turkey, thereby eliminating a method utilized by human smugglers and traffickers. Likewise, Law No 4817 on Work Permits of Aliens put into force in 2003, complementary implementing regulation and the circulars published have been contributory in preventing illegal and low-paid employment of aliens and in legal control and management of employment-oriented migration.

Conclusion of Readmission Agreements

In the medium term, Turkey shall put into force arrangements aligned with the EU Acquis in connection with practices like readmission, deportation etc. within the framework of illegal migration. Turkey follows a policy of undersigning readmission agreements with primarily the source countries and progressively transit countries and countries of destination and is expecting a reply for her proposals dated 2001 and 2002 to conclude readmission agreements with various countries. In this context, firstly the neighboring countries in the west and east and then other source countries are targeted in concluding readmission agreements.

As for readmission of Turkish citizens, Turkey exercises a very practical method and accordingly, pursuant to ICAO Convention, illegal migrants departing from Turkey are readmitted if they are returned by the same flight of departure or the next flight to Turkey. Information on the agreements and protocols to which Turkey is a signatory as regards readmission of illegal migrants is specified below:

Greece: Turkey and Greece undersigned "Cooperation Agreement Against Crimes Particularly Terrorism, Organized Crimes, Drug Trafficking, and Illegal Migration" on 20 January 2000 and it became effective on 17 August 2001 in Turkey. Subsequently, for the purposes of implementing Article 8 thereof regarding readmission of illegal migrants "Protocol on Readmission of Illegal Migrants" was concluded on 8 November 2001 and the implementation stage commenced as of the beginning of 2002. Following its approval on the basis of the Cabinet Decree 2002/3914 of 12 March 2002, the Protocol was published in the Official Journal 24735 of 24 April 2002. It was approved also by the Greek Parliament at the beginning of August.

Syria: an agreement on readmission of illegal migrants was undersigned with Syria on 10 September 2001. This agreement was approved on the basis of the Law No 4901 of 17 June and put into force following its publication in the Official Journal 251482003 of 24 June 2003.

Kirghizistan: a readmission agreement exclusive for the citizens of two countries only, was concluded on 6 May 2003. The said agreement was approved on the basis of the Law No 5097 of 12 February 2004 and became effective following its publication in the Official Journal No 25376 of 17 February 2004.

Romania: an agreement on readmission of illegal migrants was undersigned on 19 January 2004. Moreover, negotiations with Russian Federation, Uzbekistan, Belarus, Hungary, Macedonia, Ukraine, Lebanon, Egypt, Libya and Iran are underway. Readmission agreements were proposed to Pakistan, Bangladesh, India, People's Republic of China, Tunisia, Mongolia, Israel, Georgia, Ethiopia, Sudan, Algeria, Morocco, Nigeria and Kazakhstan.

3.2.8. Steps Taken in Combating Trafficking in Human Beings

Turkey ratified on December 2000 the Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and its two Protocols regulating trafficking in migrants and human beings undersigned in Palermo on 12

December 2000. The mentioned Convention and its protocols were approved in Turkish Grand National Assembly and published in the Official Journal No 25052 of 18 March in full-text format.

The amendment to Turkish Citizenship Act No 403: having become effective following its publication in the Official Journal No 25127 of 3 June 2003 the new arrangement aims to avoid marriages of convenience and envisages the amendment of Turkish Citizenship Act No 403. Under afore mentioned arrangement, aliens marrying Turkish citizens may be involved in the naturalization procedure 3 years after the marriage contract has been concluded, provided the investigations prove that "the alien in question does not have a profession inconvenient for marriage, the spouses do not live with other partners but together, and have no connection with human trafficking". Ministry of Labor and Social Security has drafted the Law No. 4817 on the Work Permits of Aliens as ratified by the TGNA and published in the official journal on 6th March 2003 in order to prevent illegal employment. The regulation to provide the implementation of the law was enacted in 6th September 2003.

The article of the TPC regarding the trafficking of humans: The crime of human trafficking was defined in Article 2/b of the "Law No. 4771 on Making Amendments to Various Laws" endorsed by the General Meeting of the TGNA on 3rd August 2002 and enacted after the publication in the official journal No. 24841 of 9th August 2002 that foresees an amendment to article 201 of the TPC on migrant trafficking. The perpetrators of this crime should be imposed a heavy imprisonment of 5 to 10 years unless the crime is of an organized nature where the penalty to be imposed should be increased one fold. The declaration undersigned at the 3rd Ministerial Meeting of the Stability Pact Task Force organized in 11th December 2002 in Tirana with the participation of Turkey includes a commitment which foresees that "the statuses of those subject to human trafficking shall be legalized, necessary help shall be provided to victims of human trafficking willing to bear witness and temporary residence permits shall be issued until their procedures have been completed" in the countries of South Eastern Europe and the Balkans, where the problem of human trafficking is severe.

It has been regulated by a circular to identify the victims of human trafficking keeping in mind the position of individuals involved and the oppressive and forceful characteristics of the crime of prostitution; to ensure the application of the relevant legislation by the Provincial Directorates of Security, Gendarmerie Headquarters and Coastal Security Commands; to provide health care and psychological rehabilitative support to the victims to the highest extent possible; to allow for the temporary residence of the identified victims according to their consent at first stage without resorting to deportation from Turkey; to identify and apprehend the interest oriented and organized individuals or networks committing such crime and to initiate the legal/administrative process against these individuals or networks in line with the recently enacted legal arrangements.

According to the regulations;

- Viewing the crime of human trafficking within the scope of TPC 201/b has once more been put in the agenda and a guide has been prepared with the title "Guide to Combat Human Trafficking" involving the approach to victimized women and the way to combat such crime.

- The exit procedures for victims of human trafficking in Turkey should be subject to no fee or fine, and there should be no decision to impose a temporary ban on entry to Turkey.

- Necessary measures have been taken to ensure female personnel of civilian clothing to be in charge of all processes, which require direct contact with the victims; and to avoid a situation which requires the victims, the traffickers or people affiliated to them to be in the same room if confrontation or identification is required during the investigation.

- Special measures should be applied to ensure that the best interests of children are taken into account in all procedures which apply to juvenile victims.

- Individuals, who have been identified as victims of human trafficking and who require medical treatment, should be transferred to health care institutions to receive treatment free of charge according to Resolution No. 2003/6565 of the Council of Ministers of 5th December 2003.

- Within the framework of international practices and recommendations regarding the treatment and rehabilitation of victims, the trial procedures for the accused, and the issuing of residence permits to victims; the residence permits to be issued to individuals of foreign nationality, who have been identified as victims of human trafficking, should cover longer periods; therefore, training provided to the relevant personnel included issuing up to 6 months of temporary residence permits to those individuals of foreign nationality, who were identified as victims of human trafficking, requesting it, and extending the residence permits for additional periods up to 6 months if deemed necessary after following the trial procedures of the suspects and the period of treatment of the victims.

- Measures shall be taken to prevent the exposition of victims as the victims are making a voluntary and safe return to their countries or being transferred to another province during the course of the investigation; to complete exit and document control procedures at the border gates on paper without taking said individuals to passport control booths during their return and to lead individuals directly to the airplane.

- Transfer of victims to a shelter in Istanbul, which shall provide accommodation opportunities for victims of human trafficking, has been arranged within the framework of the protocol undersigned by the Human Resource Development Fund (HRDF) and our Directorate General.

3.2.8.1. Works towards Establishing International Cooperation for Combating Human Trafficking

Turkey undersigned 67 Security Cooperation Agreements with 43 countries for cooperation in the combat against organized crime and terrorism. All agreements bear provisions for the establishment of cooperation for combating illegal migration and human trafficking. Cooperation protocols have been proposed to Ukraine, Georgia, Bulgaria, Romania, Moldova, Russian Federation, Azerbaijan, Belarus and Uzbekistan within this framework in order to activate the relevant clauses of the said agreements; a Memorandum of Cooperation for Combating Human Trafficking and Illegal Migration was signed with Belarus on 28th July 2004 and was put into practice.

3.2.8.2. Works for the Protection of Victims

The practice of issuing at first stage up to 6 months of temporary residence permits based on the request of the victims shall continue keeping in mind the period required for the treatment and rehabilitation of victims and the trial procedures for the accused. A total of twenty five women of foreign nationality have been issued residence permits up to date.

Another important issue in combating human trafficking is the protection, rehabilitation, treatment, psychological support and accommodation of the victims of human trafficking. Cooperation protocols have been undersigned in line with the international model and practices between the Directorate General for Security, the Gendarmerie General Command under the Ministry of Interior and HRDF, an NGO working to protect the victims in Turkey within the context of combating human trafficking, and a shelter has been built within the scope of these protocols through the cooperation of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Human Resource Development Foundation and is currently in operation in Istanbul for the victims of human trafficking. Those victims of human trafficking requesting to return are safely returned to their countries in cooperation with HRDF and in contact with the representatives of IOM. A total of fifty-one victims were safely returned to their countries this year.

3.2.8.3. Campaigns for Creating Public Awareness

Two panels on "Combating Human Trafficking" were organized with the contribution of the UN Population Fund in 2002 and 2003 by the Directorate General for Women's Status and Problems in Turkey with a high participation rate. These panels organized to create public awareness in combating human trafficking aimed to deal with human trafficking and to ensure that all members of the society

take an active role in combating this crime. Furthermore, studies for another project have been started with IOM with the title "Aiding Victims of Human Trafficking in Turkey". Within this framework are the preparation of materials for combating human trafficking as well as training and awareness raising campaigns targeted at officers combating human trafficking. The Twinning Project titled Institutional Capacity Building in Combating Human Trafficking, the contractual studies of which are in progress, shall provide for a more detailed approach in addition to such works for creating public awareness.

3.2.8.4. Training Activities on Human Trafficking

Seminars on Combating Human Trafficking have been organized with the participation of the Security personnel working in the field of combating human trafficking and the representatives of relevant ministries and institutions. Cooperation between the police force and NGOs, among the police forces in the international level, and among international NGOs, best practices and practices in the EU member states were discussed in the seminars. EU funded training activities for the police force have been initiated in line with the protocol signed by the Ministry of Interior and HRDF.

3.2.8.5. Twinning Project for Strengthening the Institutional Capacity in Combating Human Trafficking

A project for "Building Institutional Capacity in Combating Human Trafficking" has been prepared and is planned to be run by the Twinning Mechanism within the scope of Turkey-EU Financial cooperation in 2003, where such project shall be incorporated into the works of the Ministry of Interior oriented towards combating human trafficking, which involves various dimensions such as the deception in particular of women and children by false promises, bringing them from their countries, sexually exploiting them, forcing them to work, and involving them in slavery and organ trade. The mentioned project shall be conducted with the participation of the Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Labor and Social Security, Ministry of Exterior, Ministry of Health, Social Services Child Protection Agency, and Directorate General for Women's Status and Problems under the coordination of the Ministry of Interior. The aim of the project is to adopt a strategy to prevent human trafficking and to pave way for its implementation by sectoral action plans in line with the targets of attaining minimum standards to decrease human trafficking and strengthening relevant institutions operating against human trafficking. The objectives and expectations have been defined as follows:

- Developing in Turkey a strategy and a policy for combating human trafficking.
- Increasing public sensitivity to the combat against human trafficking.
- Developing psychological, legal and social assistance programs for victims.
- Developing programs of return and integration to the society.
- Identifying whether there is a need for new arrangements in this field by examining the current legal arrangements and making preparations for the new arrangements.
- Providing training to the police, gendarmerie, prosecutors and legal authorities, which combat human trafficking, and to the NGOs in order to enhance cooperation.
- Disseminating international cooperation among law enforcement units.