

STUDYING INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION DISCIPLINE: A METHODOLOGICAL DISCUSSION

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to discuss international migration in terms of the methodology of public administration discipline. Thus, it seeks to gain insight of recent challenges the public administration has faced by utilizing international migration as a global policy issue. Public administration, which has witnessed debates on its object of inquiry, came across new epistemological challenges as public policy issues have become more complicated than ever. This fact forces scholars to consider its scope, unit of analysis, and object of inquiry in that it has faced unprecedented blurring of lines between political and administrative realms. In addition to that, increasing interdependency and interactions across borders have posed challenges against classical notion of the nation state and public administration, including advices for revisiting their previous definitions and constructions as to how we recognize them. International migration constitutes the new policy challenges that public administration has to deal with. This paper argues that public administration should function as Science of the State and respond to contemporary challenges with interdisciplinary methods. To this end, first it sets descriptive elements of international migration. Then, it discusses them in terms of the scope, unit of analysis and research methodology of public administration.

KEYWORDS

International Migration, Public Administration, Science of the State, Methodology.

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F22, H83, B00

1. INTRODUCTION

As the adverse effects of globalization have pushed, international migration has increasingly occupied a remarkable space in policy debates over the last three decades. Behind this fact lies the necessity of developing effective responses and gaining a deeper understanding of its costs and benefits (Adamson, 2006; OECD, 2009; Koser, 2010). Arising from comparative incompetencies and/or weak capacities of the states, the inequalities, notably gaps between wages, skills, and security conditions across countries have played major role in international migration. Yet the states, indispensable actors of governance structures at all levels, are supposed to tackle the international migration issues and constitute the nodal point of policy-making processes (United Nations, 2015; King and Lulle, 2016). On the other hand, United Nations considers international migration, particularly irregular migration as human mobility that results from globalization.

International migration, with its multi-faceted character, provides an available example to question the functionality of classical and/or narrow – Anglo-Saxon – public administration as a scientific discipline. It is well known that international migration touches every aspect of the state. Hence, as the operating arm of the state, public administration has to produce policies, norms, and standards etc. to cope with international migration issues. In its classical –restrained – meaning, public administration is constrained to the executive branch of the state and based on politics-administration dichotomy. On the

contrary, drawing on pertinent literature, this study argues that classical –restrained – approach to public administration is unlikely to holistically address international migration.

Thereby, it should be considered as the *Science of the State* to produce accumulative knowledge, which would merge the conceptual construction of the state and its political, administrative and managerial dimensions. Accordingly, this study contends that public administration should study its object of inquiry in its political and administrative environments, taking into account national and international aspects, and public-private interactions. In doing so, first, it puts descriptive features of international migration through literature review and document analysis. Then it defines public administration discipline as the Science of the State. Finally, it provides with a discussion of how to study international migration issues within the Science of the State.

2. INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION: A DESCRIPTIVE FRAMEWORK

Migration refers to people's movements across borders for a new residence, be it permanent or semi-permanent. Accordingly, international migrants are those who leave their country of residence for any reason except for tourism, health, and business (International Organization for Migration, 2004; World Bank Group, 2016). The duration of stay or departure is the distinguishing feature of international migration. For instance, long-term migration occurs when an individual arrives in a country and resides there more than 12 months. International migration produced a substantive research domain in public administration, namely the migration policy and management (United Nations, 1998; Eurostat, 2001; Berne Initiative, 2005; United Nations, 2013a; 2013b):

Migration policy, which seeks to determine the flows, conditions and consequences of international migration, refers to the state responses, actions, and interventions to deal with pertinent issues in favor of national interests. Related to other policy domains, such as labor market, foreign, and demographic, migration policy includes managing foreigners into and out of national territory. It determines who is to remain on the territory and for how long, for what purposes, and with what rights and responsibilities. The states are supposed to build their own legal frameworks in accordance with international principles and norms. In this context, migration management is built upon a balanced approach which will focus on the root causes of migration in accordance with human security. Cooperation between governments, international organizations, and civil society is also emphasized for the sake of policy coherence.

International migration policy classifies migrants and the countries. Classification sets legal status of migrants according to the host country's immigration law, such as forced migrants and asylum seekers. For instance, refugees (forced migrants) are unable to return to the country of their nationality or, if they have no nationality, to the country of their habitual residence for racial, ethnic or religious reasons, or being members of a group or political opinion (International Organization for Migration, 2004; O'Reilly, 2012). Irregular migration is illegal since it happens without the approval of the states and violates their sovereign rights. Hence, the status of a migrant may change depending on migrants' choices and/or countries' legal frameworks. The category of denationalized or stateless persons refers to those who are deprived of state protection, thus lacking the rights attributed to a specific nationality. International migration classifies the states as country of *origin*, *transit* or *destination*, which also shapes national policy responses and migration administrations (UNHCR, 2007; World Bank Group, 2016).

Recently, international migration policy has centered on *sustainable development* and *inclusion* in order to benefit from developmental effects of international migration through integration (World Bank Group, 2016). Besides, *resilience* of communities (especially in developing countries) and *return of migrants* to their countries of origin are among the concerns (United Nations, 2015). Emerging global governance on international migration, accompanied by a *migration-development nexus*, urges nations to adopt cosmopolitan norms and multilateral actions at global, regional, and national levels (Koser, 2010; Woods et al., 2013; United Nations, 2013a; 2013b). Policy coherence and multi-policy approaches have occupied considerable place in global migration governance.

One of the primary concerns of international migration policy is the security-migration relationship, which is called *securitization of migration*. Securitization of migration denoted handling international migration as a security issue (Huysmans, 2000). International migration, especially forced or irregular migration, has adverse effects on human security. In addition to that, due to *feminization of migration*,

United Nations has encouraged nations to incorporate a gender perspective into their migration policies and laws to fight against gender-based violence (International Organization for Migration, 2009; United Nations, 2013a; 2013b).

In the final analysis, to produce effective responses, an *evidence-based policy* approach has been highlighted, which aims to discard ideologically-driven politics and replace it with rational decision making that will inform policies with evidence (data) obtained from scientific research (Shaxson, 2005; Sutcliffe and Court, 2005). In this context, international migration also requires evidence-based policy approach in order to prevent partisan and/or biased manipulations from dominating research processes. According to the literature review and document analysis above, descriptive elements of international migration can be analytically put as in Table 1.

Table 1: Descriptive Elements of International Migration

Category	Element	Related Concepts
Epistemology	Migrant Classification	Forced/volunteer; regular/irregular; temporary/permanent
	Country Classification	Origin, transit, destination
	Disciplinary Approach	Multi-disciplinary, inter-disciplinary
	Levels of Analysis	Sub-national (individual, community), national (state), international, supranational (global)
Organization of Authority	Global Governance	Global authority and norms; multilateralism; multi-level governance
	Reliance on Statehood	State sovereignty; state action
Values and Principles	Gender Perspective	Feminization of migration
	Human Rights	Migration as a human rights issue
	Resilience	Inclusion; integration
Policy Process	Multi-sectoral	Migration-Development
		Migration-Security
	Evidence-based	Non-partisan, neutral decision making
	Management	Root causes; cooperation

Dealing with descriptive elements of international migration requires a comprehensive approach to public administration so as to encompass a wide realm outside the mandate of executive branch. To this end, evolution of public administration with its accompanying debates is briefly reviewed below. Public administration discipline as the Science of State is introduced as the holistic response to contemporary (global) challenges including international migration. It should be noted that the state is a political entity having legal jurisdiction and effective control over a specific territory. It makes collective decisions for its permanent population (not only citizens), hold monopoly on the legitimate use of force, and owns an internationally recognized government that interacts with other entities (International Organization for Migration, 2004).

3. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION: THE SCIENCE OF THE STATE

Public administration, which has been supposed to deal with structural and functional aspects of executive branch of the government in Anglo-Saxon tradition, has evolved as a separate discipline differentiating itself from politics and administrative law (Üstüner, 2000; Rutgers, 2010). One may find traces of politics-administration and administration-law separations since the 19th Century beginning from Vivien, who is known to be the first to have asserted separation of politics and administration (Martin, 1987; 1988). Prior to Vivien, public administration had been considered to be the Science of

the State dealing with all aspects of public affairs, which refers to Cameralism (or German Mercantilism) that led to emergence of both modern bureaucracy and public administration discipline in the continental Europe (Şaylan, 2000; Saklı, 2011; 2013).

Adopting the German tradition and prioritizing politics over administration, Wilson (1887) argued that the “administration lies outside the proper sphere of politics”. Extending Wilson’s argument, Goodnow (1900) distinguished politics from administration. White (1926) defined public administration as “detailed and systematic execution of public law”, while, according to Waldo (1948), it was “the art and science of management applied to the affairs of the State”. On the other hand, *Simon (1945)* placed public administration within the boundaries of the activities of the executive branch. These definitions would suffice to indicate three dimensions of public administration, namely the public law, management, executive branch. It is no doubt that these dimensions constitute the components of the statehood. Since the late 1960s, New Public Administration movement, which aimed to address theoretical and practical problems of public administration, has gained prominence with Minnowbrook Conferences. New Public Administration emphasized the principles of social equity and participation in order to overcome the shortfalls of bureaucracy, derived from its centralized and hierarchical structure (Nabatchi et al., 2011). In the early 1970s, as opposed to Wilsonian paradigm, Ostrom (1973)'s democratic administration approach proposed a polycentric (thus democratic) administration, which he defined as “substantial dispersion of authority with many different structures of command”. Adopting methodological individualism, Ostrom (1973) focused on individuals and public service delivery.

In 1980s and 1990s, (New) Public Management (NPM) began to dominate public administration. NPM argued for incorporation of management skills and techniques, such as decentralization, competition, performance measurement, and leadership, into public administration (Perry and Kraemer, 1983; Hood, 1991; Osborne and Gaebler, 1992; Dunleavy and Hood, 1994). Since the late 1990s, the NPM started facing criticism from pro-Waldo scholars due to its adverse effects of technical way of thinking on democratic values as well as administrative fragmentation arisen from excessive decentralization (Peters, 1998; Gruening, 2001; Peters, 2004; Christensen and Læg Reid, 2007; Rosenbloom, 2007; Nabatchi et al., 2011; Bryson et al., 2014). However, this was not a support to Weberian bureaucracy but a demand for returning to democracy and publicness of public administration (Nabatchi, 2012). For instance, according to Denhardt and Denhardt (2007), government should be conducted like a democracy not like a business. In line with this, some approaches have gained prominence, such as representative bureaucracy (Bradbury and Kellough, 2011), public value (Bryson et al., 2014), and behavioral public administration (Grimmelikhuijsen et al., 2017).

Through its evolution, the central debate of public administration discipline has been so-called identity crisis, which centered on its nature, scope and object of inquiry. At the very center of the identity crisis lie the politics-administration dichotomy and erosion of publicness (Güler, 1994). While politics-administration dichotomy ignores political drivers of administrative action, erosion of publicness means prioritizing individual interest over common good. But the primary purpose of public administration is to serve the public. For that reason, public administration as the Science of the State should deal with the state as a whole, taking into account its political, economic and social environment, as well as public-private, national-international, internal-external interactions. Politics-administration dichotomy and erosion of publicness raise new dichotomies, such as bureaucracy-democracy, efficiency-accountability, and citizen-customer.

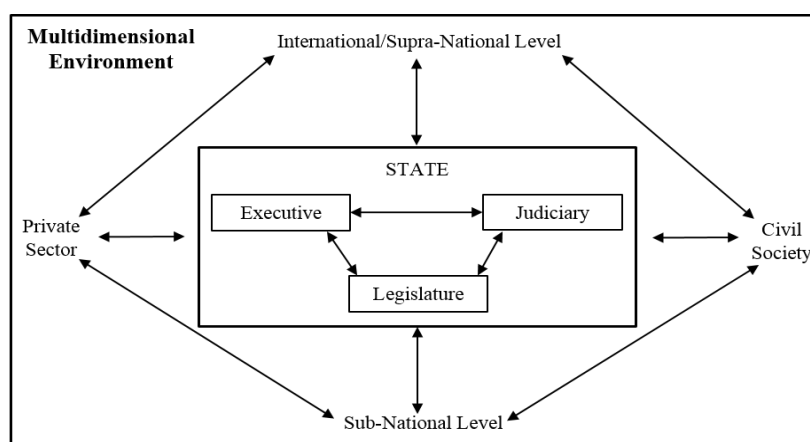
In order to eliminate those dichotomies and maintain publicness of public administration in research, a holistic approach is needed. Depending on the scope, questions and the goals of the research, this would selectively combine politics, administrative law, and management techniques, as well as sociology, psychology, and economics, while establishing causality relations at all levels of analysis. Raadschelders (1999), identifying public administration both as multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary, asserts that identity crisis of public administration discipline stems from its disciplinary structure. However, as it has increasingly used the theories and conceptions of other disciplines, interdisciplinary character of public administration is now widely accepted (Leblebici, 2001; Raadschelders, 2011, Eryılmaz, 2011, Saklı, 2011). Accordingly, this study argues that Science of the State that utilize tools and methods of other disciplines and/or work in collaboration with them will be competent to produce knowledge about today's complex interactions, including international migration, and to overcome identity crisis.

It is evident that studying with varying levels (units) of analysis will be the first step to reach an understanding of a Science of the State. This would require co-use of different levels of analysis and/or connecting them to each other. Here, the State would constitute the nodal point for varying levels of analysis. Public administration as the Science of the State would thus allow researchers to cover all branches of the State with a holistic manner. For instance, given the extended process of public policy across all branches of the state, it would prevent producing partial knowledge about the object of inquiry. In the final analysis, this approach to public administration represents vertical and horizontal integration in research design.

Public administration as the Science of the State would also connect politics and management. In this context, it would be possible to establish an analytical relationship between policy decisions and managerial requirements and techniques in the analysis. In this way, management techniques would keep underlying publicness. Because, reducing public administration into management skills prevents researchers from asking policy related research questions and thus erodes the publicness of the State. Since publicness encompasses all areas of public policy, interdisciplinary design would be possible in public administration research, reflecting state's multidimensional structure with its social, political and economic aspects.

The study also argues that investigating the nature of the concepts would proliferate research questions and close the gap between politics and administration both in practice and the theory. Investigating a concept connotes spatial and temporal exploration of it by asking descriptive questions, such as who produced it, how it is presented, what its contextual structure is, and for whom and what it has implications. Thereby, underlying politics could be revealed. Public administration as the Science of the State would accordingly accept the State as the main object of inquiry, in its broader environment of interactions (See Figure 1).

Figure 1. State as the Object of Inquiry



As can be seen in Figure 1, the Science of the State considers the State as a whole, combines individual and global levels; and designs research taking into account the object of inquiry (the State) within its multidimensional environment of the facts and values, as well as social, political, environmental, and economic conditions. This approach could be helpful to explain the object of inquiry as it would reflect the complex structure in which contemporary challenges occur and responses are developed.

4. STUDYING INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

As explained elaborately in the previous sections, international migration yields practical consequences and poses epistemological challenges for both the State and the discipline of public administration (See Table 1 and Figure 1). Here, it is aimed to provide a conceptual framework for associating descriptive elements of international migration to the State and the public administration

discipline. State conceptualization is built upon the basic tenets of liberal theory of the State (Heywood, 2004; Schultz, 2010), which defines a state with its descriptive components. Public administration, as a specific type of organization, is composed of its main structural constituents that cover all bodies of the state (See Table 2). Because, publicness and administration cannot be limited to executive branch and are common to entire structure of the state.

Table 2: Implications of International Migration for the State and Public Administration Discipline

State/Public Administration		Descriptive Elements of International Migration	Implications for the State and Public Administration
State	Sovereignty	Global Governance	Delegating and/or sharing sovereign authority to/with supranational and non-state actors
	Use of Force	Legitimacy	Non-state based legitimacy of the use of force for and against migrants
		Monopoly	Abandoning state monopoly on use of force for and against migrants in favor of non-state actors
	Citizenship	Identification and Classification of Individual Migrant	Migrant as a non-citizen; state-migrant relationship in terms of citizenship rights and responsibilities
	Territory	Cross-border Quality	Population flows across borders and violation of national territory
	International Relations	Classification of States	Changing responsibilities and responses of states according to their classification as origin, transit and destination
		State Action	State as the indispensable actor for the implementation of international migration policy
Public Administration	Public Policy (Process)	Global Public Policy	Globalization of public policy process
		Evidence-based Policy Making	Apolitical policy process and decision making
		Multi-Sectoral View	Public policy process based on migration-development nexus and migration-security relationship
		Management of International Migration	Focus on root causes; cooperation as a means of effectiveness
	Public Organization (Structure)	Governance	Global authority; multi-level governance; multilateralism; networks; accountability, norms
	Public Service (Function)	Definition	Broadening and redefining the term “public” to include non-state domain
		Provision	Provision by non-state actors; provision for non-citizens
	Research	Disciplinary Approach	Multidisciplinary; interdisciplinary
		Units/Levels of Analysis	Sub-national, national, international, supranational
		Classification of States and Migrants	Different characteristics of units of analysis; detection of overlapping features
	Approach (Paradigm)	Value-Based	Gender Perspective; Human Rights; Resilience (Inclusion, Integration)

As shown in Table 2, consequences of international migration for the state have to do with sovereignty, use of force, citizenship, territory, and state’s international relations. Its cross-border nature forces states to act in accordance with *non-state claims of sovereignty and use of force* at global level. Therefore, legitimacy and monopoly that stem from sovereign authority of nation states are constrained in favor of non-state sources of political authority. Furthermore, migrants as non-citizens are regarded as individuals for which states have responsibility to provide basic services and more. This fact is not

compliant with citizenship conceptualization of nation state, which draws a boundary for an individual regarding his/her relationship with the state. That would mean changing characteristics of state-citizen relationship and demands a *broader conception of citizenship* so as to embrace non-citizens in political context. So, states need to define their relationships with non-citizens by developing new patterns, that is to say, *conditional/flexible citizenship*. This fact can also be interpreted as acknowledging a right of choice to individuals to decide on sovereign authority under which they want to pursue their lives.

In consequence of its cross-border nature, international migration has given rise to new challenges for the conception of territorial integrity of nation state, particularly, with respect to irregular migration. In this context, territorial integrity is becoming a dependent variable of migration flows. By focusing on the protection of national borders, modern conception of state has defined all others as outsiders, enemies or intruders. Nevertheless, international migration and pertinent policies at global level urge states to adopt *flexible regimes of territorial integrity* to control migration flows across borders. Besides, international migration policy classifies states as origin, transit and destination. This classification connotes varying responsibilities and responses of states, which is instrumental to managing international migration. Thus, state as the sole political authority in international relations is evolving to an instrument and is considered to be indispensable at execution level (state action), as opposed to its recognition at political level.

International migration has consequences for public policy, public organization, public service, and public administration research, as well as its paradigmatic structure. The public policy process of international migration has been globalizing while it is assumed to have an apolitical foundation relying on evidence-based policy approach. Ultimate political authority has been positioned above the national jurisdictions while evidence base has been built at national level. State action is indispensably needed to produce reliable data and manage migration process. In addition to that, a multi-sectoral view combining international migration policy with development and security policies has been increasingly encouraged to achieve policy coherence.

Public organization is an entity established and operated in accordance with the public law under public property, motivated by public interest, and embodied by public personnel to provide public services (Karasu, 2009). However, the organizational type required by the international migration differs from this definition. The public organization envisaged by international migration policy is the one that is subordinated to global authority, structured for multi-level governance (vertical) and multilateralism (horizontal) in networks, and accountable to international norms. This fact broadens the conception of publicness in favor of non-state domain. While publicness of public organization emanates from state-citizen (society) link of nation state, the organizational type of international migration policy and management would prioritize non-state entities and functions over publicness. This would lead to the reconfiguration of state-citizen relationship by delivering public services to non-citizens and taking binding inputs (norms, standards, definitions, concepts) from international level.

In this context, public service has shifted from in terms of its definition and provision. The international migration broadens the conception of public. Here, the term “public” is widened to encompass non-citizens and non-state services, as well as non-state providers. The public organizations which are indeed the organizations of public services and is established according to them have turned out to be organizations of thematic policy domains, such as international migration. So, while previously legitimacy of public organization would come from service provision, now it would stem from their internationally responsive thematic structures. Since public service is intertwined with public organization, the main components of it, that is to say, public law, public interest, public property, and public personnel, have been transforming. Both the “public” and “administration” have changed over time. Neither public contains only the state and its bureaucracy nor the administration can be restrained by administrative and/or managerial techniques.

International migration and pertinent policy approaches at international level point to a wider conception of statehood beyond national borders, sovereignty claims, territories and citizenship. In other words, political authority is being organized around the state in broader sense. This fact reveals that a broader understanding of public administration discipline as the Science of the State could respond to these developments. So, the scope of public administration and its research should cover the structures and actions of the state as a whole with its relations in the environment. The nature of international migration necessitates a multi-level and multidimensional research design in order to

reveal root causes. In this context, the unit of analysis of public administration research cannot be limited to individual (migrant) or administration etc. since international migration includes a variety of units of analysis and it embraces state central to analysis in research. Public administration research should connect different levels of analysis and establish links between values (gender perspective, human rights, resilience) and the facts.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

International migration is a multifaceted phenomenon with its social, economic and political aspects, as well as human rights dimension, and thus requires interdisciplinary and/or multidisciplinary approaches. International migration has been on its way to become a global public policy and has yet to create a common understanding at international level in consequence of varying and conflicting interests of the states. In this context, it is a multidisciplinary issue, encompassing economics, politics, law, sociology, and psychology as well as management sciences. This fact encourages scholars to approach international migration beyond technical and apolitical means.

Here, it should be noted that the separation of politics and administration in the practice of public administration would not mean the politics-administration dichotomy in theoretical perspective of public administration as a scientific discipline. In other words, we may argue that a bureaucracy neutral to politics may be practical in implementing political decisions but we cannot set apart politics and administration from each other yielding a dichotomy in research, except for the analytical benefits. Therefore, politics-administration dichotomy should be addressed taking into account this theory-practice distinction. However, this premise is open to dispute and problematic since policymaking is inherently a political process. Given the multidimensional character of international migration, it is obvious that evidence-based policymaking approach should be enhanced with a politically sensitive view.

The public administration as the Science of the State would allow combining different levels of analysis. In this context, epistemology of international migration would depend on togetherness of varying levels/units of analysis. But state should be considered to be central to analysis. Discarding politics-administration dichotomy together with purely technical way of thinking would enable revealing underlying politics of international migration. This will help scholars relate a variety of disciplines with each other and establish relations between different levels of analysis from individual to international and vis a vis. The public administration as the Science of the State examines the state as a whole without limiting itself with executive branch and administrative/managerial aspects in studying international migration.

That international migration broadens the agenda of state and takes it with its environment necessitates a wider conception of public administration. Unless public administration widens its agenda, it will not be possible to produce knowledge and develop responses to challenges of international migration. International migration changes the conceptions of both public and administration. Publicness should be considered in a broader sense so as to include non-state domain while administration in classical terms fails to address contemporary issues of international migration. It will not be possible any more to explain structural and functional aspects of public administration without taking into account the state as a whole and its environment in which it operates in interaction with non-state entities.

Necessarily, public administration as the Science of the State will study non-state actors and their influence on state structure and functions. In terms of international migration, it corresponds to examining multi-level and multi-actor character of policy and distinguishing non-state inputs from national inputs in policy process. Thus, extracting descriptive features and characterization of publicness of national migration policy will be possible in an analytical manner and with a holistic approach. Here, it is argued that interdisciplinary structure of public administration as the Science of the State would not exacerbate its identity crisis. On the contrary, a comprehensive approach to public administration will enrich its tools and methods, as well as its scope to explain the facts in their multidimensional environment.

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