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A Security Case In The Context Of National And International Migration Policies: The Case Of Migrations From Afghanistan

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ABSTRACT

Migration is a phenomenon as old as human history. The fact that humanity lived a nomadic life before the transition to a settled life shows that the existence of this phenomenon goes way back. The phenomenon of migration refers to the mobility of individuals or groups from a certain region to a different region. Migrations are divided into different types according to the characteristics they carry. The most notable among these distinctions concerns the legality of immigration. While immigrating from the country of immigration with permission is legal immigration; What is done without permission is called irregular migration.

All of the international migrations seriously affect the sending, receiving and transit countries economically, socially, culturally and politically. Countries that want to be protected from the multifaceted effects of migration develop various policies in order to protect themselves from the negative effects of migration and to manage the migration management process well. These developed policies are of much more critical importance for countries with irregular migration. As a matter of fact, the fact that states have knowledge and permission in legal migrations actually indicates the existence of a certain policy. However, irregular migration shows that countries do not have a certain migration management policy or it does not work well. It is seen that most of the policies taken for irregular migrations focus on the security dimension of migrations. Therefore, irregular migration is a security problem for countries.

Due to its geopolitical position, our country is a region where immigration is experienced intensely. Our country has both immigration and transit country characteristics together. Due to the political crises in the countries in the Middle East, the intensity of migration has increased more. In addition, due to the political events and acts of violence in Afghanistan, a serious wave of migration has directed towards our country.

Within the scope of this study, the phenomenon of security is discussed in the context of national and international migration policies. The implications of these policies for national security are emphasized. In addition, the migration from Afghanistan to our country is evaluated in terms of the securitization approach. As a result of the researches, it is seen that immigration policies are actually a security policy. Countries regulate their immigration policies to protect their national interests and to protect the well-being of their citizens. Therefore, it is seen that realism dominates the emergence of migration policies beyond giving importance to human values. Accordingly, countries generally act in accordance with the interests of the country in migration management and acceptance of immigrants. While some countries accept only those with intellectual knowledge, some countries mostly accept workers who will work in the fields of industry and agriculture. As a matter of fact, both forms of immigrant acceptance reflect what should be according to the current conjunctures of the countries.

Keywords: Migration Policies, Irregular Migration, Migration Management, Security, Afghanistan

1. INTRODUCTION

Migration can be defined as individuals leaving the places they live voluntarily or due to various obligations. Individuals migrate to obtain better living conditions than the living conditions in a certain place or because the living conditions in the place where they live are very difficult. Therefore, there are some reasons that push and pull individuals to change their settlements from one place to another. Today, violence, economic crises and the existence of threats to life safety are the main reasons that push people to migrate. In addition, the fact that economically developed countries have better life opportunities such as much better education and health standards are among the reasons that attract individuals to migrate to these countries.

It is possible to examine migrations by dividing them into types under various headings according to their characteristics. However, from a broad perspective, it is seen that it is more accurate to analyze migrations by dividing them into legal and illegal. Legal immigration refers to the situation in which permissions are obtained for the citizens of a different country to enter the regions within the jurisdiction of the countries. Therefore, there is a legal immigration situation when individuals get permission to enter a different country. Illegal migration is sometimes also defined as irregular migration. In this type of migration, individuals are smuggled into a different country or entering the country for a limited time, violating this period and staying for a longer period of time.

The fact that the reasons pushing and attracting individuals to migrate to very serious levels for some countries cause intense waves of migration from these countries. As a matter of fact, the existence of war and terrorist incidents is the main reason for such intense migrations. Countries that face an intense migration wave are developing various policies in order to manage this migration process. These policies can sometimes be national and sometimes international. Depending on the underlying causes of migration and the impact of migration, it

seems to be a more correct way to resolve this phenomenon with international policies. These policies, on the other hand, sometimes emerge with the decisions taken by a certain country union. As a matter of fact, the decisions taken by the EU regarding migration are of this nature. However, there is a general emphasis on security in these policies. It is seen that the EU considers the phenomenon of migration as a security problem.

In this study, the phenomenon of migration, types of migration, reasons for migration, theories of migration are discussed in detail. In addition, national and international migration policies are emphasized. Based on these policies, it is evaluated how migration is securitized. Finally, the reasons for and effective evaluation of international migration originating from Afghanistan are emphasized. It is focused on how Turkey can follow in this process.

2. THE CONCEPT OF MIGRATION

Although the phenomenon of migration is as old as human history, it is basically a sociological concept. However, this concept emerges as an interdisciplinary phenomenon today. Since the existence of humanity, there have been migrations to meet natural events, basic needs such as nutrition and security, and other needs. When all of the migrations from the past to the present are examined, we encounter either the motivation to meet the basic needs of the people or the desire to achieve a better life. Even if the appearances of these reasons are different, the basis of all of them is that individuals want to leave their places or are forced to do so by others. In its simplest terms, migration is the population mobility that results in the displacement of individuals regardless of the reasons, the way it is done and the reasons (Adıgüzel, 2016: 18).

Since the origins of the phenomenon of migration date back to ancient times, many conceptualizations of migration have been made in this process. The fact that immigration is a sociological phenomenon has also affected many other elements in this sociological structure. As a matter of fact, immigration; It is a very comprehensive social phenomenon that also affects psychological, economic, legal, educational, health, cultural and security factors.

In today's sense, the phenomenon of migration is a phenomenon that matured with the formation of nation states in the 19th century. With the formation of nation states, ethnic and cultural foundations have been influential on the concepts of state and country. Sovereignty rights within the borders determined by the states have started to be used absolutely depending on these ethnic and cultural values. Thus, individuals within the borders of these states began to be called citizens, and those outside the borders were called foreigners. The phenomenon of migration emerges as a phenomenon that complicates this situation. Migration is handled in a trilogy consisting of the concepts of state, citizen and foreigner (İçduygu, Erder, & Gençkaya, 2014: 13). However, we can date this triple situation much earlier than historical documents. In the democracy practices of the Ancient Greek city-states (most famously Athens and Sparta), which became famous for the existence of the first democratic practices in history, individuals' being citizens came to the fore. It is known that foreigners here do not have the right to participate in the administration and they form a social class called "metoikos". Therefore, in the known historical processes, this classification gives information about the existence of the migrating agent and the social structure of this action. Moreover, they attribute a legal position to these individuals.

The United Nations Migration Agency defines a migrant as any person who immigrates regardless of the legal status of individuals, the reasons for migration willingly or unwillingly, whether the borders are international or within the same giants, and regardless of the reasons for migration (United Nations, 2020). However, together with the concept of immigrant from our country, the concepts of asylum seeker and refugee are frequently used and sometimes their meanings are confused. Therefore, definitions of the phenomenon of migration may vary from country to country. As a matter of fact, sociological phenomena should be handled under social values.

In its broadest terms, immigration; It is defined as the displacement that takes place in a short period of time to a significant distance and effect (Erder, 1986: 9). In other words, migration is population mobility that creates changes in the social structure depending on geographical displacement, which has cultural, political and economic dimensions.

The concept in the Glossary of Migration Terms; It is expressed as "the displacement of a person, alone or in groups or groups consisting of a human community, by crossing or crossing the borders or borders determined according to international law, or by leaving their place if they are in a national state" (Perruchoud and Redpath-Cross, 2013: 35-36). Turkish Language Association defines the phenomenon of migration as the work of individuals or communities moving from one country to another, from one settlement to another for economic, social and political reasons, moving, emigration, emigration (TDK, 2018).

Migration is a geographical change of place with the aim of reaching a better situation than the current situation, regardless of whether it is due to any of the necessary reasons such as natural disasters or wars, in the hope of achieving a better life and economic prosperity compared to the current situation of individuals. It can be said that there are many reasons why immigration has become a big problem today. Economic inequality, the inability of states to ensure the safety of their citizens, political interests and acts of violence can be listed as the most important ones. People who face such problems may migrate with a better future and life expectancy, or at least in order to survive (İçduygu and Sirkeci, 1999: 249).

Therefore, migrations can be made according to people's own will, as well as depending on an external coercion. In the presence of these external forces, all people in the society migrate. Especially in the event of wars, people's collective evacuation of a certain region and their search for a place either within the country or in a different country cause different elements of the act of migration. Especially in migrations to a different country, some problems may occur with the people entering the country. The most important of these is the security phenomenon in the receiving country.

Before moving on to the types and causes of migration, the phenomenon of migration is basically divided into two. This phenomenon is divided into two as regular and irregular migration on legal basis. Regular migration refers to the migration that takes place through the use of legal means (IOM, 2020: 14). Population exchanges, individuals going to other countries with education and work permits are evaluated within this scope. It is immigration where the legal demands of states are met by immigrants. Irregular migration refers to the use of illegal ways. It includes acts of unauthorized immigration to regions under the sovereignty of states. This type of migration refers to coming to the country of immigration illegally and working and residing illegally (IOM, 2020: 15).

As can be seen from the explanations given above regarding the phenomenon of migration, a certain position of the individuals who carry out this action also occurs. These people are generally called immigrants and those who migrate illegally are called irregular immigrants. The concept of irregular immigrant is often confused with the concept of asylum seeker/refugee. As a matter of fact, in both cases, there is an illegal entry into the target country. However, there are important differences between them. First of all, while irregular migrants migrate voluntarily, refugees migrate compulsorily. Although irregular migrants aim to live a better life, refugees are often people fleeing oppression and violence. While there is no protection program for irregular migrants in the country they migrated to, a certain protection program is carried out for refugees. Since there are such differences between them, it would be more accurate to make different evaluations for people in both situations.

2.1. Causes of Migration

While giving information on conceptually defining migration above, it was stated that the reason for migration was not very important and a change of residence for any reason was defined as migration. However, due to the sociological position of the migrations, it is of great importance for what reason they were made. As a matter of fact, the reasons for migration are very important in terms of managing these migrations and minimizing the negative effects of migrations. Moreover, determining the causes of migrations also enables the determination of the types of migrations.

The reasons for the phenomenon of migration, which has continued since the existence of humanity and is expected to continue in the future, are multidimensional and diverse. As a matter of fact, the existence of different reasons for centuries has been the main reason for migration. We can consider these basic reasons in three main dimensions as economic, security and socio-cultural reasons.

First, there are economic reasons, which are the driving force of migration. Accordingly, people migrate within or between countries in order to have good economic conditions. Migration movements due to economic reasons take place from rural areas to cities, from small cities to large cities and from peripheral countries to central countries. Different forms can occur in economic reasons (Andres, 2011: 4). As a matter of fact, the inequalities of income distribution in the countries where individuals live cause individuals to experience poverty and migrate in masses (Mutluer, 2003: 13). Similarly, migration may occur due to the rapid increase in the population in the country and the loss of the sufficiency of the economic activity in the country or in a certain region to meet the needs of individuals (Akgür, 1997: 41).

Secondly, there are security reasons for migration. Depending on the wars, terrorist incidents and political conflicts occurring in the countries, individuals may migrate within their country or to a different country in order to ensure their life safety (Castles and Miller, 2008: 74). As a matter of fact, civilians who are not involved in any military party or involvement in wars or internal conflicts may be subjected to various tortures,

abuses and massacres during these events. Individuals are forced to migrate to avoid these situations (Aganoglu, 2001: 62). Individuals may show a tendency to migrate if they do not feel safe in the family or individually in the face of emerging situations. The migrations experienced as a result of the loss of the Balkans in the Ottoman state and the migrations during the events in Syria are examples of these. Similarly, the migration of people to the western provinces due to terrorist incidents in the eastern provinces, especially in the 1980s, is an internal migration, but it shows that this migration was made for security reasons (Gündüz and Yetim, 1997: 109).

Third, there are socio-cultural reasons for migration. According to this, the first reason for migration is due to the increase in population. Population growth is one of the leading social causes of migration in developed and developing countries (Akgür, 1997: 41). Another socio-cultural reason for migration is education. Accordingly, the desire of individuals to receive a better education within the country or in different countries may lead to their migration. Migration may also occur due to conflicts within or between families or social pressures (Akgür, 1997: 65). Migration may also occur due to religious reasons. Migration may also occur because the values or religions that individuals believe in are not socially accepted or they cannot live their religion comfortably as they should. Individuals can migrate in order to escape from the oppression and violence they are exposed to due to their religion. The event known as Hijra in Islam is an example of this (Aganoglu, 2001: 84-89).

2.2. Types of Migration

As different reasons are effective in the formation of migration, the characteristics of migration can also be different. Migration in almost every part of the world is classified under different headings. Migration types are generally; Some classifications are made according to the borders of the country (internal-external), according to the will of the individuals (voluntary-compulsory), depending on the duration of stay (permanent-temporary), depending on the density (individual-mass) (Yalçın, 2004).

First of all, we can divide migrations into two (internal migration and external migration) according to country borders. Internal migration is the change of residence in different regions of the country for various reasons (Sağlam, 2006: 34). Although the reasons for such migrations are various, they are generally migrations to achieve a better economic or social position. Therefore, it can be said that it is from small cities to big cities (Akan and Arslan, 2008: 16). Internal migration, which is the most common type of migration in our country and in the world, migrates from rural areas to urban areas. However, with this migration, various problems may occur depending on the population concentrated in certain regions (Sağlam, 2006: 34-35). On the other hand, external migration, or in other words, international migration, refers to migration from one country to another. While there is no change in the population of the country in internal migrations, an increase or decrease in the population of the country occurs in external migrations (Özyakışır, 2013: 9).

Secondly, we can distinguish two migrations (voluntary migration and forced migration) according to the will of individuals. Forced migrations are defined as individuals leaving their settlements against their will and settling elsewhere due to a necessity (Kaygalak, 2009: 11). These migrations can be in the form of internal migration or external migration. It refers to the situations where individuals leave their places of residence because of war or conflict situations in a certain region or throughout the country. Individuals can migrate to a different region in their country or to a different country. As a matter of fact, in such cases, why the migration is made gains more importance rather than the necessity (Deniz, 2009: 15-16). On the other hand, if individuals voluntarily change their place of residence in line with their own wishes, that is, they migrate, it is called voluntary migration (Kaygalak, 2009: 12). Voluntary migrations, like forced migrations, can be within the country or between countries. Voluntary migration of individuals for reasons such as better economic conditions and better education is this type of migration (Gençler, 2004).

Thirdly, migrations are divided into two (permanent-temporary) depending on the length of stay. In permanent migrations, individuals migrate to live permanently in order to settle in different regions. Individuals can make such a decision at the beginning of their migration, or they may want to go to a certain place temporarily and settle there permanently. For example, after a temporary migration to a place for education, a decision to settle there permanently can be taken. Temporary migrations, on the other hand, are defined as the migration of people for a short time depending on their various wishes and needs in certain periods. Therefore, it determines the nature of the migration process (Sağlam, 2006: 34).

Fourthly, migrations are divided into three depending on the density, in other words, according to the number of people leaving (individual-group-mass). Due to the increase in the number of people affected by the reasons expressed in migration and the increase in the intensity of the impact, there is an increase in the number of

immigrants. In such cases, the number of individuals migrating represents the types of migrations. In individual migrations, reasons such as better education or health are generally effective. On the other hand, exclusion of a certain group or conflicts between families can be effective in group migrations. In mass migration, it refers to the collective migration of individuals due to the war and terrorist incidents in the country (Taş and Özcan, 2018: 40).

Apart from this quartet distinction, it is possible to classify migrations according to certain characteristics. For example, migration according to the qualifications of the immigrants is an example of this. The migration of well-educated people from different countries in the country is described as a brain drain. On the other hand, the migration of those who work as manual workers in the country can be called labor migration.

2.3. Migration Theories

There are various migration theories in the migration and migration management literature. There are various theories that try to explain the phenomenon of migration in terms of its causes and effects. In general, migration theories provide great benefits in understanding and interpreting the situation, although they are not sufficient and generally accepted to explain the migrations that occur for different reasons today. Some of the main ones are described below.

2.3.1. Ravenstein's Laws of Immigration

Ravenstein draws more attention to the economic dimension of the migration phenomenon. Migration actions taken by individuals to provide economic benefits are thought to be very effective. Moreover, it is thought that other non-economic factors will affect this migration wave less. Therefore, the migration trend will be towards the regions where industry and commercial activities are concentrated for a period of time (Sagin, 2018: 22). In short, Ravenstein says that immigration will continue to increase and he foresees the development of industry and branches of industry as the reason for this process, as well as the growth and proliferation of industry and trade places (Yalçın, 2004: 26). Another important point in Ravenstein's laws is that the unit of analysis is the individual and he thinks that the first direction of migration, which is based on economic developments as the driving force in migration mobility, will be from rural to urban (Erdoğan, 2019: 32).

Ravenstein's seven laws are as follows:

- ✓ Migration takes place over short distances. However, these migrations become waves and lead to larger and mass migrations. These migrations are generally made towards big cities and industrial and commercial centers.
- ✓ These immigration-receiving industrial cities and their immediate surroundings are becoming centers of attraction for people. Places left by immigrants are areas where other people will migrate. In this context, the migration that starts with a close distance act as a domino and causes the migration to spread all over the world.
- ✓ Industry and trade in places receiving immigration develop more and attract more workforce thanks to this workforce. As the economic activities in the centers receiving immigrants develop, the intake of immigrants also increases. Therefore, there is a supply-demand situation between these two.
- ✓ The start of migration in a place can cause a wave of migration after a short time. Places that receive a lot of migration cause chain migration as they will migrate,
- ✓ Another type of migration is direct migration to long distances where industrial centers and commercial centers are located, instead of short distances.
- ✓ People living in rural areas tend to migrate more than people living in urban areas. In addition, while migrations from rural-to-rural affect each other and lead to other migrations, this phenomenon is less in migrations from rural to urban areas.
- ✓ It is seen that women tend to be more inclined when the distance of migrations is short, and men are more prone to long-distance migrations (Ravenstein, 1885: 46).

2.3.2. Push Pull Theory

It is a theory that emerged with the article published by Lee in 1966 as "A Theory of Migration". According to Lee, although Ravenstein's work on migration was based on the conditions of the period and was the starting source of migration theory studies, he could not formulate migration at a sufficiently categorical level (Lee, 1966: 47).

This theory focuses more on the migration process rather than the immigrant (Aydemir and Şahin, 2017: 364). The factors identified by Lee regarding migration processes constitute the basic operation and components of

the push-pull theory. Accordingly, there are repulsive and attractive factors both in the places where individuals live and, in the places, they intend to migrate (Aydemir and Şahin, 2017: 365).

Lee tries to reveal the general scheme of migration with the theory he put forward. It also tries to make inferences about the amount of immigration and the characteristics of immigrants (Lee, 1966: 49). According to Lee (1966: 50), the factors involved in the migration process and the migration process can be summarized under four headings. These factors are; 1. Factors related to area of origin, 2. Factors related to area of destination, 3. Intervening barriers, 4. Individual Factors.

When today's migration movements are examined, it is seen that the push and pull theories are valid for both internal and external migrations. But today's migrations have become more complex than Lee mentioned. As a matter of fact, many factors other than push or pull factors are involved in migration processes.

2.3.3. Petersen's Migration Typology

William Petersen has tried to explain the causality of migration, just like Lee's push and pull theory. Petersen, in his work titled "A General Typology of Migration" in 1958, mentions the importance of the historical cycle and states that a totality that works as a push factor in a certain period can function as a pull factor in a certain period. According to Petersen, the variability experienced in the economy affects the society differently from all social classes. With this perspective, Petersen tried to explain migration by considering the individual and class differences of migration (Çağlayan, 2006: 75).

Petersen concentrated on five types of migration. The first of these is the primitive migrations that took place with ecological forcing. Primitive migrations are the movements of the first people on earth to meet their basic needs such as food, drink and shelter. Petersen's second type of migration is forced migration. In forced migrations, people migrate from one geography to another for reasons such as natural disasters, political pressures, wars, and economic reasons. Petersen's third type of migration is directed migration. According to Petersen, if individuals or societies hold the decision-making mechanism in spite of compelling factors, such migrations mean directed migration. Petersen's fourth type of migration is free migration. There are no compelling factors on individuals or societies in free migration. According to Petersen, the determining factor in free migration is the wishes of individuals or societies. Petersen's fifth type of migration is mass migration. According to Petersen, technological developments in transportation roads have massified migration (Petersen, 1958: 259-263).

2.4.4. Crossing Opportunities Theory

The theory is generally supported by mathematical formulas, considering that there is a direct relationship between mobility and opportunities, and predicts that the distribution of available opportunities over the area is the result of many geographical, historical, economic, social and political factors and may change according to the event (Stouffer, 1940: 487).

Stouffer's theory aims to explain the phenomenon of migration with a one-dimensional variable and explains the migration to developed industrial cities, metropolises or megapolises and mostly on an economic basis (Aydemir and Şahin, 2017: 364). However, the theory does not provide the information necessary to describe the migrations that occur with the complexity arising from the government problems in the countries and the migrations that occur due to the wars.

In addition, although it is not a very comprehensive and widely used theory, it is seen that this theory can be used more frequently, especially in economic-based migrations and labor migration studies (Çağlayan, 2006: 78).

2.4.5. World Systems Theory

The World Systems Theory was developed by Wallerstein in the 1970s from a Marxist point of view (Sayın, 2018: 45). The theoretical approach developed by Wallerstein, capitalism and its different reflections are the main factor determining today's economy and the structure of migration, and according to Wallerstein, the basis of international migration is not the dual market structure known or seen in national economies, but the expanding one from the 16th century to this time. is the world market (Güllüoğlu, 2012: 67).

The world system theory assumes that international migration follows the political and economic organizations of the growing global market (Abadan-Unat, 2002: 63). The World Systems Theory argues that the main reason for the formation of migration is towards large and economically proven cities. For this reason, migration formation is constantly oriented towards developed countries according to the World Systems Theory. The

theory argues that in the global market, countries that are good in economy and countries that have a stable political profile will be the focus of attention in migration.

3. IMMIGRATION POLICIES

Just as the phenomenon of migration cannot be conceptually fit into a certain area or mold, it is very difficult to limit migration policies to a certain extent. As a matter of fact, migration, which is a global phenomenon, is an important issue in almost every country in the world. It is expected that each country will develop some policies regarding immigration from different countries.

In this study, since it is thought that it is very difficult to examine migration policies on an international scale and cannot be fit into a certain scope, it is focused on making an evaluation specific to the European Union. As a matter of fact, the fact that our country, which is one of the countries affected by the migrations originating from Afghanistan, has borders with the countries in the European Union confirms the validity of this feature.

3.1. European Union Migration Policies

While the European Union was in a kind of economic cooperation when it was first established, over time it went beyond this structure and became a supranational policy making center. Moreover, it has attained a structure where decisions to be implemented in the member states of the union are taken in relation to many issues by exceeding its borders only in the economic field. One of such decisions is the development of trade through the free movement of goods in the member states, and the establishment of cultural unity by increasing EU citizenship and human mobility. While various freedoms and rights are recognized for citizens in member states, this situation determines how to apply to foreign citizens throughout the union. Especially with the application known as "Schengen Visa", the borders of the nation state have been stretched to a great extent. While making such applications together; It also determines what kind of policy will be applied to the citizens of countries outside the Union. This situation constitutes the immigration policy of the union. In this framework, the EU tries to implement regulations that facilitate the mobility of the citizens of the member states within the Union and restrict the movements of the third country citizens towards the Union. The EU has established the legal limits of these studies with a series of treaties and regulations.

The first initiative within the European Union regarding the issue of migration started with the "Trevi Group" (1986). This initiative is a working group by the ministers of the member states of the union, which proposes regulations only in the field of migration. At the meeting of the ministers who formed this group in 1987, the issue of migration within the scope of the European Union was discussed. In addition, the framework of the studies planned to be carried out on migration in the future has been established (Lodge and Bayburtlu, 2002: 23). Within the scope of this general framework, it consists of issues such as immigration problems in countries, visa, border control of the union, control of member states' borders and asylum (Bunyan, 1993: 9).

The European Union's implementation of policies restricting migration movements at the end of the 1970s and the implementation of practices such as family reunification created a contrast. Moreover, this situation has increased the discussions about the security of the borders of the union. The Schengen Agreement (1985) was signed as a result of the efforts to establish common borders within the scope of the Union. Within the scope of this agreement, relocation within the borders of the union has become easier.

One of the initiatives to manage migration in the European Union has been made with the Maastricht Agreement, one of the main agreements of the union. With this agreement, an institutional structure was established by cooperating between states on issues that concern the union in general, such as migration and asylum. With the treaty, formations such as "Trevi" and "Migration Group" were combined and the "Trevi Group" was integrated into the third foundation of the EU, "Justice and Home Affairs". Thus, migration and asylum issues, which were previously coordinated between states, have turned into a structure that authorizes EU organs in this field, as well as intergovernmental cooperation, with this agreement (Somuncu, 2006: 46).

The fact that the economic conditions and living standards in the European Union are above a certain level has also increased the migration movements towards this country. The continuous increase in the flow of immigrants and asylum seekers has raised concerns about the security of the country's borders, while creating serious pressures on the asylum systems. At this point, the primary concern of the European Union has been to develop a system that will quickly address the situation of asylum seekers who have somehow entered the Union's borders. The establishment of certain procedures within the scope of this system has also been one of the primary objectives of the union (Bingöl and Özdemir, 2014: 146). For this purpose, the EU issued the Dublin Regulation in 1997 in order to establish procedures and speed up the processes in asylum processes. The

most important feature of this regulation is that it includes the recognition by all countries of the decision taken by any of the EU member states regarding asylum seekers. A person whose asylum application is rejected is prevented from applying to other countries.

One of the turning points regarding the EU's migration policies and migration management is the Amsterdam Agreement, which entered into force in 1999. With this agreement, immigration and asylum issues, which were included in the column of "Justice and Home Affairs" in the EU acquis, were moved to the first column named "European Communities" under the fourth title of "Visa, Asylum, Migration and Other Policies Regarding Free Movement of Persons". has had superior authority and responsibility (Şemşit, 2018: 270). In this way, the inclusion of these issues, which were determined as areas of common interest in the Maastricht Treaty, under the umbrella of the Community with the Amsterdam Treaty, gave a binding character to immigration policies.

The Tampere Program, the first of the multi-year programs initiated with the Amsterdam Treaty, was prepared in 1999. Freedom in the Program covering the period between 2000-2005; the basis of security, freedom and justice has been accepted and it has been stated that freedom should take priority over security when a choice has to be made in any situation (European Council, 1999). The Tampere Programme, which reflects the approaches of the Council of Europe regarding immigration, depending on the Amsterdam agreement, the policy proposed in relation to immigration is in four categories. These; 1-European asylum system, 2-Legal migration and integration, 3-fair treatment to citizens of non-EU countries, 4-Cooperating with source and transit countries to combat illegal immigration (Koçak and Gündüz, 2016: 75)

Another important policy regarding migration in the European Union is the Charter of Fundamental Rights. This charter regulates the fundamental rights of EU citizens and the EU's responsibilities to citizens. With this regulation, the prohibition of slavery, human trafficking and forced labor was introduced (Article 5), while the right of asylum was guaranteed provided that the 1951 Geneva Convention was respected (Article 18). In addition, the return of asylum seekers to a country where they are at risk of facing the death penalty, torture and other inhuman treatment or punishment (Article 19) and race, language, religion, etc. any form of discrimination is prohibited (Article 21) (EUR-Lex, 2012).

The policy attitude of the European Union that puts freedoms at the forefront has changed after the September 11 Attack and a more security perspective has prevailed (Karataş, 2020: 742). The approach that prioritizes freedoms has been pushed into the background, and policies have been developed in which security concerns are at the forefront. Since this period, EU countries have started to see immigration as a security threat. Accordingly, it convened in Seville in 2002 to establish measures regarding irregular migrants coming to the EU. At this meeting, there were proposals to implement a tougher immigration policy regarding immigrants. Moreover, some member states have created new laws against illegal immigration. Therefore, this meeting held in Seville shows that security has come to the fore in the EU's migration policy.

Another important regulation related to the immigration policies of the EU is the Hague Programme. In this program, decisions were taken to establish common asylum and migration policies in EU member states. It is aimed to establish a harmonious and effective asylum procedure and it is envisaged that the operational cooperation in this field will be maintained through the "European Refugee Fund". Also, for this purpose, it was requested to accelerate the "Visa Information System" process, the foundations of which were laid in the Tampere Program (European Council, 2005).

Another important regulation is the 2008 Immigration and Asylum Pact. This arrangement is a political document in which EU member states make commitments to each other, their citizens and the rest of the world. This regulation is not legally binding and aims to bring vitality to EU migration management. This regulation was created around 5 basic principles (Council of the European Union, 2008: 4):

- ✓ Regulating legal migration to take into account the priorities, needs and reception capacities set by the member states and to promote the integration of migrants;
- ✓ Control irregular migration and encourage voluntary returns to countries of origin or transit;
- ✓ To make border controls more effective,
- ✓ Establishing a European framework for asylum,
- ✓ Establishing a comprehensive partnership with non-EU countries to promote synergies between migration and development

Another important migration policy study of the EU is the Stockholm Programme. In this program, it was emphasized that the EU's foreign policy and immigration policy have very close relations. In addition, the strategic importance of the "Global Migration Approach" has been recognized in this program. Within the

framework of this approach, it is recommended to develop coordination and use all migration management tools strategically. In addition, as a requirement of the said approach, cooperation with countries that provide migration and transit has been emphasized (European Council, 2010: 28).

3.2. Turkey's Migration Policies

It is possible to see the reflections of the immigration policies adopted during the Republican period in the legal regulations made naturally. These regulations, which were shaped according to the understanding of the nation state in the first years of the Republic, entered into a significant change as of 2001 and tried to harmonize with the EU policies, which started membership negotiations.

Turkey has enacted resettlement laws on different dates in order to regulate the rights and responsibilities of immigrants and their resettlement. Starting from the first years of the Republic, the Settlement Law No. 885 of 1926, Settlement Law No. 2510 of 1934 and the Settlement Law No. 5543 of 2006, which are still valid, have been implemented respectively. When the aforementioned laws are examined, it is observed that the principles in the understanding of immigration and resettlement are preserved.

After the First Gulf War in 1991, the mass migration from Northern Iraq to Turkey and the increase in the number of asylum seekers from Iran and some other Asian countries brought up the inadequacy of Turkey's legal infrastructure regulating this area, and Turkey briefly called it the "1994 Asylum Regulation". Turkey tried to close this gap with the stated regulation. Although Turkey signed the "1951 United Nations Convention on the Legal Status of Refugees", the first real international agreement regarding refugees, in the same year and ratified it in 1961, it did not make any arrangements for this agreement in its domestic law until 1994. In this respect, the 1994 Asylum Regulation is the first national regulation of Turkey directly related to refugees (İçduygu and Aksel, 2012: 40).

Law No. 6458 on Foreigners and International Protection, which was enacted on April 4, 2013 and entered into force as of April 11, 2014, filled an important gap in the Turkish legal system. Because until this date, the entry and residence of foreigners in Turkey were regulated by two laws of 1950 - the Passport Law No. 5682 and the Law No. 5683 on Residence and Travel of Foreigners in Turkey (Genç, 2014: 47). Therefore, it can be said that until this law, which is "Turkey's first immigration law," was enacted, Turkey tried to solve its problems related to international migration in a structure that was far from the legal and institutional framework. With this law, which was prepared within the framework of harmonization with the EU acquis, the mobility of foreigners in Turkey was regulated in detail and brought into a modern form. With the "Regulation on the Implementation of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection" issued on March 17, 2016, the procedures and principles for the implementation of the Law were determined.

4. MIGRATION AS A SECURITY PHENOMENON

Seeing the phenomenon of migration as a security issue and dealing with them together started with the Cold War period. Especially after the cold war period, the increase in migration mobility and the phenomenon of migration began to take an intense place in security studies (Telatar, 2019: 20). As a matter of fact, the concepts of security and migration are closely related to each other. Immigration and security directly affect each other. On the basis of this, it is due to the fact that migration activities do not only affect the buyers. The direction of immigration affects the country, its citizens and country policies. Therefore, it is closely related to the concept of security.

The gradual growth of migration movements and the greater influence of all countries of the world make migration global. This situation makes it necessary to consider the concepts of migration and security together. These actions, which may lead to the violation of national borders, make countries uneasy in terms of their security. The intense human mobility that emerged with the end of the Cold War has begun to be defined more as a national security threat by the states out of the framework of classical security definitions (Gök, 2016: 68). The occurrence of a westward migration from many different countries in a short time and the rapid change in the existing structure of the countries as a result of migration emphasized the necessity of the concept of security.

The acceptance of immigration as a kind of national security or border security rather than classical security understandings has reached its peak with the September 11 Attack (Telatar, 2019: 21). In other words, September 11, which is an important turning point in the migration literature, and the various terrorist attacks that took place along with it, revealed how international migration can be associated with the issue of security (Bodur-Ün and Paydak, 2017: 189). In the periods after this event, immigration policies began to be handled on

the axis of security. As a matter of fact, at this point, states focus more on their national interests in determining policies by approaching the phenomenon of migration more realistically (Telatar, 2019: 23). With a realist understanding, the interests of states come to a central position in the phenomenon of migration. At this point, immigrants are pushed into the background. The existence of such an approach, especially in countries that receive immigration, shows that the understanding of security is highly effective in immigration policies (Gök, 2016: 69). The bombing attacks that took place in New York on September 11, 2001, followed by Madrid in 2004 and London in 2005, and which continued afterwards, had negative effects on the approach of states to the issue of migration. After the attacks, while the justification of terrorism legitimized the attitudes of the states, exclusionary mechanisms started to increase by the states (Yılmaz, 2008: 177).

While the issue of irregular (illegal) migrations is already considered a security threat, it is seen that security also comes to the fore in legal migrations. For countries that accept immigrants, citizens of a different country are taken to the borders of the country with very serious restrictions. Moreover, these people are given limited mobility opportunities in the country. As a matter of fact, it is considered that the entry of immigrants into the country poses a cultural threat rather than just a physical security phenomenon. Accordingly, all social, cultural and economic elements related to migration are being secured (Telatar, 2019: 26-27).

The issue of migration is one of the most used concepts of social security and securitization in the literature (Rumelili and Karadağ, 2017: 3). In this process, migration; securitized by the individual, the state, and society. It is seen that individuals migrate with security concerns, but it causes new security problems in the target countries both for themselves and for the individuals in the society they live in. Immigration is securitized on the basis of the identity of the society, fearing that their homogeneous structures will be destroyed by the societies. States, on the other hand, securitize migration within the framework of problems such as border security, organized crime and terrorism (Telatar, 2019: 20).

Migration movements in the 20th century shifted from Asian and African countries to countries in Europe and North America (Kanpolat, 2012, p. 8). As a matter of fact, it is known that the level of economic development is quite effective in such migrations. As this is the case, the countries to which the immigrants are headed have tended to take important policies on immigration. Especially countries in the European continent receive the majority of immigration. The distinguishing feature of Europe, as one of the most important migration routes of the world, from other regions of the world that receive immigration is the integration movement that started in the continent after the second half of the 20th century and the European Free Zone developed accordingly (Kanpolat, 2012, p. 11). Integration policies that started with the import-export areas growing with the European free zone and integration studies have brought Europe to a very attractive position in terms of migration.

In this section, it is necessary to briefly mention the institutions that have been created or already given responsibility for migration in the EU's common migration policy formation studies, which have been discussed in detail above. In particular, responsibilities have been imposed on security-oriented institutions to prevent illegal immigration.

Schengen Information System (SIS) The foundation of SIS was laid in 1995 and it has been actively used by EU members. At this point, it should be noted that although not a Schengen member, the UK has been included in the SIS system and has agreed to cooperate with other countries. This is an indication of the importance given to SIS in the EU. In this system, which was called SIS II after 2013, the technical infrastructure was developed and the security of the external borders was tried to be ensured. Thanks to the database for immigrants, the system both contributes to common immigration policies and provides a large database where all immigrants are registered to EU member states. In Article 96 of the Schengen Agreement, it is stated that persons who will pose a threat to security in the Schengen area and to public order by the member states must be prevented from entering and registered in the SIS. In making this determination, it is aimed to prevent illegal migration at the external borders of the Schengen area and to ensure regional security by placing responsibility on the member states (Özcan, 2017: 190-195).

In 2003, EURODAC (European Asylum Dactyloscopy Database) was established to take fingerprints of immigrants and transfer them to the information system. At this point, third-country citizens who entered the EU territory illegally are fingerprinted, and if these people apply for refugee status to EU members later, their records in the system are forwarded to the member state that evaluates the status, and people are sent back to the safe country in accordance with the Dublin Convention. Another purpose of EURODAC is to prevent repeated applications to EU member states for refugee status and the re-application of a person whose application has been rejected. When evaluated in this context, it can be said that EURODAC has an important place in the creation of the EU's common migration policy and the functioning of the SIS.

In a way, EU institutions legitimize the use of extraordinary tools while developing migration policies. Since the establishment of FRONTEX, it has been discussed which of the freedom and security dilemmas of EU immigration policies is dominant and on which concept FRONTEX was founded, when the purpose and mission of its establishment is examined, it is seen that it is the most important securitization move developed by the EU (EUR-Lex, 2019). The first concrete step was taken with the establishment of FRONTEX in 2014, following the identification of discourse and threat, which are the first pillars of securitization (Neal, 2009: 341). FRONTEX functions as a security control mechanism within the EU and its most important task is to conduct risk analysis. The institution evaluates the risk factors for the external borders of the EU and prepares reports about them.

It is a subsidiary of EUROSUR FRONTEX, which started its operations in 2013. The aim of this institution is to ensure that member states work in cooperation to prevent illegal immigration and migrant deaths (European Commission, 2013). In addition, it organizes intergovernmental cooperation to prevent illegal immigration by coordinating information from FRONTEX. The institution has tried to prevent the tragedies experienced by intervening quickly, especially in the events that caused the death of immigrants as a result of the sinking of boats or boats carrying refugees at sea. At this point, the institution is in the nature of an answer to the criticisms that the human rights dimension is put in the background in EU migration policies (Bostancı, 2018: 62-63).

5. INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION FROM AFGHANISTAN

Afghanistan is a country that is located in the Asian region due to its geographical location and is important for other countries with its location. Its geographical location is generally located at the intersection of Central Asia, India and the Middle East, and is bordered by Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan in the north, China (East Turkestan) in the east, Pakistan in the south and southeast, and Iran in the west (Oğuz, 1999: 33).

The fact that the country's geography is quite wide and that there are border neighbors belonging to various ethnic groups has brought ethnic diversity in Afghanistan. For this reason, it becomes very difficult to talk about a single ethnic community in Afghanistan. The population of the country is also home to different ethnic groups such as Pashtuns, Tajiks, Turks (Uzbeks, Turkmen, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz), Hazaras, Kafirs (Nuris), Charaymaks, Baluchis, Hindus, Arabs (Karataş and Çolakoğlu, 2018: 369). According to the 2004 Afghanistan Constitution, more than 14 different ethnic elements in the country are recognized at the constitutional level (art. 4) and their existence is guaranteed. It is also stated in this Constitution that the expression "Afghan" does not reflect a certain race, that it is a matter of being a citizen and should be regulated by law (Karataş and Çolakoğlu, 2018: 370). However, in practice, this generally refers to the "Pashtun" ethnic identity (Maley, 2009: 8).

The lack of a certain spirit of unity in the country has also caused the citizens living in the country to migrate to different countries as a result of the problems (war, political instability, economic problems, terrorism, etc.). Especially since the late 1970s, the constant movement of Afghans from and within Afghanistan has been formed as a result of the combination of security, conflict, political and economic factors (Mixed Migration Centre, 2020: 2).

The existence of reasons such as the lack of political stability in the country in Afghanistan, the economic difficulties caused by the existence of the constant war and chaos environment, the people's unwillingness to be under one roof on the issues that are the future of the country have caused the Afghan people to migrate.

5.1. Political, Social and Economic Situation of Afghanistan

Today's borders of Afghanistan were finalized with the Durand Line signed in 1893, and the determination of this modern border was not realized by ethnic or cultural events, but by the effect of political events (Sivrioğlu and Türkoğlu, 2017: 23). The country has a mountainous area and its largest cities are respectively; Kabul, Kandahar, Herat, Mezar-i Sharif, Kunduz and Celalabat (Oğuz, 1999: 33).

Because Afghanistan is located on the Silk Road, it has been constantly invaded by Persians, Greeks, Huns, Mongols, Arabs, British and Russians (Oğuz, 1999: 34). These occupations and wars with other countries affected the ethnic structure in the country and triggered migration movements within the country.

Afghanistan is a country that consists of different ethnic groups in general. For this reason, a certain language, culture and social life could not be established in the country. The fact that each ethnic group is affected by a different culture and communicates in different languages has prevented the unity that should be established in certain areas in the country. Therefore, the country can be evaluated in terms of sociocultural diversity. The Pashtuns, known as the majority of the population, have caused the use of Persian and Pashtun, which can both

manifest themselves politically and are mostly spoken in terms of language, throughout the country. In general, Pashtuns have an important place in the country in terms of culture due to their large population.

Afghanistan politics has been evaluated in a complex structure from past to present. The invasion of Afghanistan by the USA and its allies on October 7, 2001, under the name of Operation Enduring Freedom, ended on November 14, 2001, with the loss of Kabul by the Taliban, and with the withdrawal of the Taliban on November 27, 2001 in Bonn, Germany, under the leadership of the UN. A conference that lasted 14 days was organized and Afghanistan Transitional Government was established under the chairmanship of Hamid Karzai and came to power in Kabul on 22 December 2001 (Yegin, 2015: 31). After the US occupation, the power that will rule the country, albeit temporarily, was established outside the borders of Afghanistan (Sivrioğlu and Türkoğlu, 2017: 308). Afghanistan is an Islamic Republic and is politically governed by the presidential system in Afghanistan, and the President can be elected for a maximum of two terms, by being directly elected by the people for a five-year period (TC Kabul Embassy, 2017: 3). However, with the Taliban seizing the administration of Kabul, the capital of the country, in 2021, an administration was established in the country under the control of this organization rather than this constitutional order.

The existence of a democratic structure on the basis of the country cannot be mentioned, and the pressure of local tribal leaders called "Islamic radicals" and "war lords" on society is quite high (Sivrioğlu and Türkoğlu, 2017: 310). The struggles that have existed in the country for many years have also prevented the development of the country's economy. The internal turmoil in the country, especially in 1979 and before, and the US occupation afterwards, led to illegal economic activities in the country and did not allow it to develop. Afghanistan, where there is a great employment problem for production, and whose big cities and towns are damaged in general, is an agriculture and livestock country (Yoldaş, 2007: 6). In the country, which is based on agricultural production, agriculture is carried out in primitive conditions and is greatly affected by climatic conditions (Obayd, 2017: 133). Although Afghanistan's economy is poor, it is located in a very rich geography in terms of underground resources. Among the country's resources, there are many important mines used in the chemical and fertilizer industry, as well as petroleum, natural gas, coal, copper, iron, gold, salt, limestone and marble (Efegil, 2000).

5.2. Reasons for Immigration from Afghanistan

Conflict and bloody incidents are not the only reasons for the migration of Afghan people. Conflict and the ongoing turmoil within the country can be shown as a driving factor for migration, but lack of education, economic problems, oppressive policies applied to women, financial impossibilities and security concerns can also be counted among the reasons for migration. It is thought that the reasons such as Geographical Structure, Excess Number of Ethnicity, Drug Economy, Corruption, Inadequacy in the Education System, Dysfunction of Law, Unavailability of Water and Underground Resources are highly effective on migrations.

In the Afghanistan survey, 65% of the immigrants have no job and livelihood opportunities, 9% have conflicts within the country and lack of general security, 7% lack of economic growth and welfare, 6% have debts due to financial problems, and 6% have ten of them decide to migrate due to the threats posed by the atmosphere of insecurity in the country (IOM, 2019: 14).

While it is accepted in the studies conducted throughout the country that the reasons for migration are due to economic reasons and the presence of violence, this situation does not consist of only the listed reasons for women. The 2022 Gallup polls showed Afghan women to be the least satisfied in the world with their freedom to choose, who don't know what to do with their lives. About two-thirds of women complain that women are not treated with respect (Nusratty and Ray, 2022). In the research conducted by the same research group in 2018, it was shown that the rate of women who want to leave the country exceeds men, and this number is 47% for women and 35% for men (Ray, 2019). The number of women who want to leave the country is quite high due to the implementation of extremely restrictive policies towards women.

5.3. Irregular Migration from Afghanistan to Turkey

Turkey, with its geopolitical location, assumes the position of a bridge between the Asian, European and African continents, and its proximity to Europe creates a point of attraction for people who immigrated from Asia (Cankara and Çerez, 2020: 455). For this reason, Turkey qualifies as a country that has received immigration throughout history due to its geographical location. It is considered as a transit point for those who want to escape from terror and bloody events, especially due to the presence of the Middle East and neighboring countries, which have recently assumed the position of a troubled region (Geyik-Yıldırım, 2018: 144).

Occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet Russia, change of regime in Iran; Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq causing legal turmoil and wars in the Middle East; Events such as the disappearance of the communist regime in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union led to migration to Turkey and other countries (Geyik-Yıldırım, 2018: 144). The phenomenon of migration, which emerged as a reaction to the events experienced, has closely affected Turkey, which is a transit country. In this context, while the first big wave of immigration to Turkey was from Syria in 2011, this wave of immigration was followed by those who migrated from Afghanistan and Iraq.

Looking at the statistics of arrivals and departures from Turkey, an effective increase has been observed in the number of foreign citizens both coming to Turkey and going to another country in the last ten years. In 2017, this figure was more than 32.8 million (İçduygu et al., 2014: 7).

Since it is a neighboring country to Turkey, the vast majority of those coming from Iran (91%) enter Turkey without going through a different country, while the vast majority of those coming from Afghanistan (90%) enter Turkey through other countries. While three quarters of it passes through Iran, 14% comes to Turkey through both Pakistan and Iran (Eryurt and Koç, 2017: 99).

In general, the fact that the control of the Turkish-Iranian border is very difficult makes it very difficult to know the net number of illegal immigrants of Afghan nationality, and the difficulty of living conditions in Afghanistan, the confusion and the ongoing conflict situation shows that the number of those leaving the country will continue to increase day by day (Cankara and Cookie, 2020: 457).

While the vast majority of Afghan refugees are in Iran, as a result of the US embargo, Iran has put into effect a reverse policy of sending Afghan refugees from their country. For this reason, Afghan refugees, known as cheap labor and preferred, started to be deported with the deterioration of the economy. Unemployment, labor exploitation, financial difficulties and other difficulties in social life also accelerated the Afghan migration from Iran to Turkey (Geyik-Yıldırım, 2018: 151). Thus, as a result of the US embargo in Iran from the Turkey-Iran border, there have been many Afghan refugees.

As a result of the researches, the findings in the profiles of Afghans show that the majority of Afghans surveyed are male (66%) and relatively young, between the ages of 18 and 30 (65%) (Mixed Migration Centre, 2020: 3). The fact that most of the Afghan asylum seekers are men can be thought to be due to the fact that the migration route is known as quite tiring and dangerous.

The fact that irregular immigrants from Asian countries are only men and that they do not have a family environment increase their criminal tendencies, and the fact that some of them are young and in adolescence causes them to be abused. According to those working in the field of migration in Turkey, about 30 thousand Afghan immigrants entered our country from Erzurum in the months of 'January, February and March' of 2018. Considering the ongoing violence in Afghanistan, the drought and thirst caused by terrorism, it is inevitable to think that this number will increase gradually (Arınç, 2018).

6. EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION

Migration refers to individuals going to other places due to various problems they encounter from the places they live in or with the intention of getting a better situation. It is a mobility caused by the dissatisfaction of individuals, usually depending on economic, social, political and environmental factors. Migration can be between regions within a particular country or between different countries. Migration to different countries can cause some problems in the receiving countries. As a matter of fact, even meeting the basic needs of the individuals who came with immigration in order to continue their lives affects the balance in the society. In some cases, it may seem very useful in terms of providing cheap labor. However, the fact that people from different ethnic backgrounds, speaking different languages and having different cultural values start living in the same place can create various problems. Countries face migration waves at different levels due to their geographical locations. Therefore, there may be variations in the immigration policies of each country.

Especially after the cold war period, since the content of the security concept was evaluated much more broadly (Karataş, 2021: 1655), the states started to consider their migration policies under the security concept. Accordingly, realism-based migration policies and migration theories, which are the dominant approach in the international arena, have been put forward. Sometimes it is the policies that a country puts forward and implements, and sometimes the policies created by an international organization are also acted upon. In particular, the fact that the EU is a region where immigrants demand a lot has created the need for a policy that should be implemented throughout this union. The EU's policies on migration management are designed to

consist of three main pillars: legal immigration, illegal immigration and a common asylum system. The TREVI group, which met in 1976 on migration management within the EU, addressed the phenomenon of migration as a threat for the first time. With the creation of this group, the importance of the concept of migration has increased significantly across the EU. It has been discussed that illegal immigration is a factor that threatens the security of countries. Thus, the first steps towards securitization theory were taken.

The Syrian refugee crisis, which continues to be experienced today, has revealed that the EU and its member states are in a security spiral while forming their migration policies. According to the EU, the recognition of illegal migration as a political, economic, social and cultural threat for both the EU and its member states leads to anti-immigration rhetoric, actions and policies. The increase in these anti-immigration actions and discourses has caused both national and EU migration policies to become very rigid. This situation has accelerated the process of securitization of the migration phenomenon. The implementation of very strict policies regarding the acceptance of immigrants by the EU has caused individuals to turn to illegal ways.

Considering on a global scale, people in regions where there are political conflicts, economic problems, terrorist acts and wars migrate intensively. Afghanistan is one of these countries. Afghanistan is a country that has been in turmoil since 1979. Firstly, with the Russian occupation, the country was drawn into a great war. Afterwards, with the US intervention in 2001, the country's confusion increased exponentially. Since the person or persons who came to the administration could not create a certain peace in the country, the turmoil continued to increase. The Taliban's takeover of the country in 2021 further increased this turmoil. Migration events first started in 1979 with the intervention of the USSR. It continued in 2001 with the US intervention. The repressive policies of the Taliban increased this even more.

If we look at the reasons that push the Afghan people to migrate, first of all, the fact that the Taliban caused confusion in the country and the atmosphere of insecurity due to the confusion manifests itself. The fact that the Taliban organization effectively creates an atmosphere of chaos in almost every part of the country and causes explosions in their living spaces are among the important reasons that push me to migrate. Among the other reasons that push the Afghan people to migrate are the drought caused by the damage to the soil as a result of these explosions, and the unemployment seen in almost all of the country as a result of drought. Another main reason is that there is no unity in the country due to the fact that there are many different ethnic origins in the country. Pashtun, Uzbek, Turkmen etc. The existence of different ethnic elements such as As a matter of fact, the fact that different ethnic elements are at war among themselves prevents the people from being in unity. This situation causes people not to trust anyone except their relatives, but it is among the factors that trigger their migration.

The fact that there are many reasons for migration in Afghanistan and there is a severe discontent lead individuals to immigrate from the country. There is intense migration from Afghanistan to the nearest neighboring countries. However, due to the lack of a politically and economically favorable environment in these countries, they migrate by using these countries as transit countries. Afghan immigrants coming to Turkey generally come from Iran. Some immigrants use Turkey as a transit country to cross into Europe. However, due to the strict policies of the EU, immigrants coming to Turkey have no other way but to immigrate illegally.

Afghan immigrants in Turkey are considered as irregular immigrants. Because they enter Iran without a passport or even if they enter with a passport, they do not leave the country within 3 months. Political troubles and terrorist incidents in Afghanistan in recent years (after 2021) show that the number of Afghan immigrants in Turkey will increase in the future. Studies show that Afghans are reluctant to return to their country. It can be deduced that Afghans who have immigrated from their countries are satisfied with Turkey, do not want to go because it is a peaceful environment, do not have as much trouble as they do in their countries, and are free to receive education. It can easily be concluded that the incoming Afghans can convey these reasons to their other Afghan friends and acquaintances, and make the migration process permanent.

Turkey is an important country due to its geographical location and migration events in the historical scene. The opening of its borders to both Europe and the Middle East, which has been constantly confronted with migration events from the past to the present, shows that it should always be prepared for migration events in terms of Turkey. As a matter of fact, after the political crisis in Syria, which is our border neighbor, the direction of the great migration wave to Turkey has proven that this should be the case.

Turkey is seen as an important transit route for Afghan immigrants due to both being a gateway to Europe and religious similarity. Although it is seen as a transit route, it also becomes a country where immigration is made directly. Of course, Turkey's protection of people damaged by the war is a requirement of both humanitarian and

international law. Therefore, it welcomes both Syrian and Afghan immigrants. The humanitarian behavior of Turkey, which is a powerful and effective state in the region, is a reflection of the Ottoman state tradition.

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