

## Hegemonic Relations and Human Rights Perspective of the Forced Migration

### *Zorunlu Göçe Hegemonik İlişkiler ve İnsan Hakları Bakışı*

Buket ÖKTEN SİPAHİOĞLU<sup>a</sup> 

ABSTRACT	ÖZ
<p>Since the end of the Cold War forced migrants including asylum seekers, refugees, and displaced people have increased dramatically. Millions of the aforementioned internally and internationally displaced people are considered 'refugees'. According to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, there are 89,3 million people who are forcibly displaced due to armed conflict, generalized violence, human rights violations, or poverty by the end of 2021. Related research, sometimes, lacks focus on the 'humanistic' side of the situation. This study argues that the human rights perspective is one of the key perspectives that should be entailed in forced migration studies. The states, supranational institutions, and international organizations have the role of 'protecting' these vulnerable people. As an obstacle to hegemonic relations, charity organizations or institutions stand sometimes passive about the protection of human rights. Governmental or supranational support is inevitable for the solution to this problem. Within this direction, this study argues that forced migration studies are strongly engaged in societal criticism of hegemonic relations. Although there are various mechanisms to protect the rights of forcibly displaced people, finding durable solutions still poses a great challenge.</p>	<p>Soğuk Savaş'ın sona ermesinden bu yana sığınmacılar, mülteci akışları ve yerlerinden edilmiş insanlar dâhil olmak üzere zorunlu göçmenlerin sayısı önemli ölçüde artmıştır. Ülke içinde ve uluslararası alanda yerinden edilmiş milyonlarca insan 'mülteci' olarak kabul edilmektedir. Birleşmiş Milletler Mülteciler Yüksek Komiserliği'ne göre, 2021 yılı sonu itibarıyla silahlı çatışma, yaygın şiddet, insan hakları ihlalleri ve yoksulluk gibi sebeplerle 89,3 milyon insan zorla yerinden edilmiş durumdadır. Konuyla ilgili araştırmalar, bazen, durumun 'insancıl' tarafına odaklanmaktan yoksundur. Bu çalışma insan hakları perspektifinin, zorunlu göç çalışmalarında yer alması gereken temel perspektiflerden birisi olduğunu savunmaktadır. Devletler, uluslararası kurumlar ve uluslararası kuruluşlar, bu savunmasız insanları 'koruma' rolüne sahiptir. Hegemonik ilişkilerin engeli olarak, yardım kuruluşları ve ilgili uluslararası organizasyonlar ne yazık ki insan haklarının korunması konusunda bazen pasif halde kalmaktadır. Bu sorunun çözümü için devlet, uluslararası organizasyonlar ve ulusüstü yapılanmalardan destek almak kaçınılmazdır. Bu minvalde çalışma, zorunlu göç çalışmalarının hegemonik ilişkilerin toplumsal eleştirisine güçlü bir şekilde dâhil olduğunu iddia etmektedir. Zorunlu olarak yerlerinden edilen insanların haklarının korunması için çeşitli mekanizmalar olsa da kalıcı çözümler bulmak hala büyük bir zorluk teşkil etmektedir.</p>
<p><b>Keywords</b></p> <p>Forced Migration, Human Rights, Displaced People, Hegemonic Relations</p>	<p><b>Anahtar Kelimeler</b></p> <p>Zorunlu Göç, İnsan Hakları, Yerinden Edilen İnsanlar, Hegemonik İlişkiler</p>

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Öğretim Görevlisi, Ankara Üniversitesi, Avrupa Toplulukları Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi (ATAUM). Email: [okten@ankara.edu.tr](mailto:okten@ankara.edu.tr)  
(Sorumlu Yazar/Corresponding author)

## 1. Introduction

'Migrants', 'refugees', 'asylum-seekers', and 'internally displaced people' are frequently confused concepts. To analyze migration studies in detail, these concepts should be clarified. A refugee is primarily someone who is forced to flee their country of origin due to conflict, violence, or persecution. They are unwilling or unable to return based on a demonstrable threat due to their race, religion, political stance, or social status. Although the legal regulations vary over time, the right to asylum and migration are concepts that are as old as humanity. Nomadic people created the migration concept which can generally be described as the movement of people from one place to another, either through their country of residence or across an international border. The duration can be either long or short; the movement is still considered migration. The main emphasis of forced migration studies lies in the fact that this migration movement is voluntary or not. Such that, there is a considerable amount of people who are involuntarily/unintentionally/ forcibly displaced from their usual residence. It is required to note that forced migration, like the concept of 'migrant', has not any universally accepted definition and it is not defined under international law. International Organization of Migration (IOM) has a frequently used definition of a migrant: An umbrella term, not defined under international law, reflecting the common lay understanding of a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons (Definition of migrant, [www.iom.int](http://www.iom.int)). In return, refugees are defined under international law. The 1951 Refugee Convention is a key legal document and defines a refugee as: "someone unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion" (What is a refugee, [unhcr.org](http://unhcr.org)). Asylum seekers, on the other hand, are the people who move on the world searching for protection and gaining status but have not yet been given one. Forcibly displacement, as a concept, includes both internally displaced people and the people who are displaced around the world. This study, by the way, rather directs itself to displacement around the world.

Although the experience of migration may seem like only a spatial change at first glance, it is an individual's experience. It deeply shakes all the sociological and psychological stages of its cognitive and behavioral structure. Without any doubt, one of the most important of these stages is the people who immigrated for a compulsory reason they had to carry a given status and they had a new identity. In general, migration depends on various factors. Migrants connote every individual who has become a citizen and continues to benefit from the protection of their country of citizenship. Immigration status is mostly determined by voluntary reasons and attractive conditions.

This study consists of five parts first of which aims to shed light on the conceptual framework of refugee and forced migration mainly going through definitions. In the second and the third part, recent numbers about forcibly displaced people are evaluated, and probably the most 'humanitarian' aspect- the human rights perspective- of the subject is reviewed. In the fourth part, hegemonic relations lying under the forced migration are discussed reminding the fact that these vulnerable people should be protected by governments and supranational institutions. Turkey- hosting the largest number of displaced people- is discussed as an example in this part of the study. The fifth and the last part lists the suggestions for providing humane living conditions for displaced people.

With these in mind, this study aims to draw attention to forcibly displaced people, their legal rights, and status as well as their current presence in the world. To be aware of how we should entitle these people, definitions and conceptual framework is included in the study. The study in the last instance purposes to contribute to migration literature with human rights perspective and hegemonic relations to the issue.

## **2. Defining and Categorizing Forced Migrants and Refugees**

Peterson (1958: 261) defines forced migration addressing also impelled migration in which the migrants retain some power to decide whether or not to leave whereas when it comes to forced migration they do not have this power. Peterson also gives a striking example of this difference with the Nazi's policy of encouraging Jewish emigration by various anti-Sacts and laws and later policy of herding Jews into cattle trains and transporting them to camps. On the other hand, Speare (1974: 89) points out that a migration movement can be regarded as involuntary only if, "a person is physically transported from a country and has no opportunity to escape. Movement under threat, even the immediate threat to life, contains a voluntary element, as long as there is an option to escape to another part of the country, go into hiding or remain and hope to avoid persecution." This idea highlighted by Speare brings the discussion to a different point since forced migration of often regarded as a type of movement that a person realizes when s/he thinks s/he is in danger. However, the emphasis on 'forced makes one think about to what degree the person must migrate.

The concept of displaced people started to be used after World War II, and it is evolving itself then in scientific studies rather than instead of defining its boundary strictly. Since, the focus in this research area is people, states, institutions, and also situations it can be said that it will continue to change in the future. Castles (2003b: 17) argues that forced migration results from a social transformation in the South and it is also a reason for this transformation. When the conflicts, generalized violence emerged in the world starting from the 1960s, and at the same time state formations accelerated around the World. These developments also coincided with the incorporation of the Cold War into the bipolar world.

Different definitions from different scholars help widely understand the concept as well as shed light on these frequently confused terms. Apart from the official or legal definitions, Olson (1979: 130) states that:

"Refugees differ from other, spontaneous or sponsored migrants, largely in the circumstances of their movement out of one area to another, and the effects these have on them in the settlement and adjustment phases of their relocation. Refugees are forced to leave their homes because of a change in their environment which makes it impossible to continue their normal life. They are coerced by an external force to leave their homes and go elsewhere."

The definition of Olsen implies that all of the refugees are forced migrants at the same time and they basically cannot stay in their homeland or home city. Different from Speare (1974: 89) Olson leaves no space in his definition about what choice these vulnerable people have to hide or wait in their homes for the conflict or war or terror in their country/city to stop. Hugo and Bun (1990: 19) contribute to the literature by stating that forced migration on a permanent and temporary basis has been a survival strategy for people that face natural or human-caused disasters as well as conflicts and other obligations. On the other hand, The UN Refugee Agency

(UNHCR) handles the definition of the 'forced migration' to avoid conceptual confusion by explaining that forced migration has no officially accepted definition and suggests that this usage is not convenient as the term 'refugee':

The UN Refugee Agency makes the following explanations for conceptual confusion:

“‘Forced migration’ is not a legal concept, and similar to the concept of ‘migration’, there is no universally accepted definition. It covers a wide range of phenomena. Refugees, on the other hand, are clearly defined under international and regional refugee law, and states have agreed to a well-defined and specific set of legal obligations towards them. Referring to refugees as ‘forced migrants’ shifts attention away from the specific needs of refugees and from the legal obligations, the international community has agreed upon to address them. To prevent confusion, UNHCR avoids using the term ‘forced migration’ to refer to refugee movements and other forms of displacement.” (Refugees and migrants frequently asked questions, [www.unhcr.org](http://www.unhcr.org))

A question here arises whether every refugee is a forced migrant or not. Initially, it must be highlighted that refugees constitute the largest category of migrants (Peterson, 1978: 550). Still, a forcibly displaced person can belong to any of these groups: internally displaced people, refugees, and asylum seekers. In this study, we mean all the internally displaced, refugees, and asylum seekers as the displaced people.

In forced migration, people are faced with a sudden and unexpected situation. In addition to the socio-economic difficulties brought about by being confronted with; asylum, they also face legal problems of statuses such as being legally a 'refugee'. In this manner, seeking asylum or gaining refugee status stands out as an important human rights problem today.

Statelessness is also defined by UNHCR as the punishment of governments by amending their citizenship laws and can leave people and the former Soviet Union can be given as an example of this circumstance.

Governments may amend their citizenship laws and denationalize whole sections of society to punish or marginalize them or to facilitate their exclusion from the state's territory. The formation of new states, resulting from decolonization or the disintegration of a federal polity, may leave thousands or even millions of people stateless or with a disputed claim to citizenship. (The State of the World's Refugees, [unhcr.org](http://unhcr.org))

Apart from the reasons stated above, there is another type of (or reason) forced migration. People trafficking and smuggling as Gallagher (2002: 25) clarifies, are based on deception and coercion as well as exploitation. Mostly smuggled migrants are men and they sell mostly the women and children (trafficked women and children) for sexual services and labor.

### **3. (Forcibly) Displaced People in the World: Recent Numbers in 2021**

According to data from the end of 2021 as shown in Figure 1 below, 83,9 million people in the world are forcibly displaced. 48 million of these people are internally displaced people, 27,1 million are refugees, 4,6 million are asylum seekers, and 4,4 million are Venezuelans. Interesting data gathered from United Nations Refugee Agency shows that:

- 69% of these people originate from just five countries
- million displaced people returned
- 3.8 million refugees hosted in Turkey
- 41% of forcibly displaced people are children



within or outside their country. This means that more people leave their homes than the population of Egypt, the 14th most populous country in the world. Forced displacement has nearly doubled since 2010 (79.5 million today versus 41 million in 2010). 80% of the world's displaced people live in countries or regions affected by severe food shortages and malnutrition. Many of these countries face climate change and other disaster risks. More than three-quarters (77%) of the world's refugees are in prolonged displacement. For example, the situation in Afghanistan has been going on for more than 50 years. More than 8 out of 10 refugees (85%) live in developing countries, often neighboring the country they were forced to leave (unhcr.org.tr).

#### **4. Human Rights Perspective**

Forced migrants around the world have human rights, like all human beings. Under normal circumstances, they are eligible to enjoy the full range of civil, political, economical, social, and cultural rights that are set out in international law as well as human rights treaties and customary international law. They have very few exceptions different from the citizens like the right to vote, and the right to stand for public office (McAdam, 2014). Unfortunately, the rights of forced migrants and displaced people are violated frequently. The examples can be seen in various cases. Like McAdam exemplifies, some asylum seekers are held in mandatory detention or prison in some countries. Furthermore, many of these people are abused and treated badly even in the territories of the countries and also on their way between the borders. There are some institutions established to maintain the protection of migrants' rights. UNHCR (United Nations Refugee Agency) and OHCHR (United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner) are the most important among them. UNHCR was established by the United Nations General Assembly in 1950 with the mandate of leading and coordinating the international response to protect refugees and find solutions to their problems. Its main purpose is to protect the rights and well-being of refugees (History of UNHCR, unhcr.org).

“OHCHR works to promote, protect and fulfill the human rights of all migrants, regardless of their status, with a particular focus on those migrants in vulnerable situations who are most marginalized and at risk of human rights violations. OHCHR promotes a human rights-based approach to migration, which places the migrant at the center of migration policies and governance, and seeks to ensure that migrants are included in all relevant national action plans and strategies, such as plans on the provision of public housing or national strategies to combat racism and xenophobia (About migration and human rights, ohchr.com).”

The International Organization of Migration (IOM), being the leading intergovernmental organization in the field of migration, also aims to support vulnerable and needier migrants around the world. As a related organization to the UN, has 174 member states, 8 states holding observer status, and offices in over 100 countries (Who we are, iom.int).

Before criticizing the effectiveness of these international organizations, it is plausible to first understand that it has become hard to distinguish the group of migrants and asylum seekers since they have increased a lot lately. Both asylum seekers and the other group of migrants leave their homes because of a variety of reasons including but not limited to war or persecution, natural disasters, conflict, economical reasons, and searching for a better life. Nonetheless, they sometimes use the same routes which harden for the states to differentiate and categorize this kind of migratory movement (McAdam, 2014).

According to Çakmak (2018: 359) refugee or asylum status, which is given especially in the cause of forced migrations due to war, often in which all acquired statuses of the immigrant in the past have been shattered. This status carries it to a new layer of status, where it can become obsolete or lose its meaning altogether. In addition, this new status has been shaped within the framework of rights on the axis of refugee/asylum and also necessitates the experience of a social structure that it is unfamiliar with.

Effective and reliable protection of human rights can be achieved when rights are politically enacted, recognized, and accepted in the particular institutions that arise through membership in a political community which means the nation-state (Arendt, 1985). This perspective argues that rights cannot be achieved outside the borders of the nation-state. Some scholars suggest in this case either a 'postnational membership' which allows for the displaced people to benefit from their citizen rights out of the territory or finding solutions for people not to displace and be able to live in their home countries. Agamben (2001: 168, as cited in Yilmaz, 2018, 768-769), on the other hand, argues the political framework of nation-states is what makes it hard to protect those who are not citizens. His argument demonstrates that the language of the 1789 Declaration has been incorporated into the structure of the modern state and that the bare natural life, or the occurrence of pure birth, is what emerges as the carrier of human rights. The best evidence of the phenomena of birth in terms of rights may be found in the first article of the Declaration, which declares that people are born and live in freedom and equality. The objective of all political communities, according to the second clause, is to safeguard the environment and the inalienable rights of the people. The reason why the Declaration could give sovereignty to the nation with the statement that the principle of sovereignty essentially belongs to the nation is this element of birth has already been engraved in the very heart of political society. Thus, the very clear summary of Agamben's critics of the modern nation-state system is the reality that it means the state that makes birth or births the basis of its sovereignty.

396

## **5. Hegemonic Relations**

Forced migrations are like economic wars, military coups, crises, and the collapse of empires one of the events that cause the change in socio-cultural values. The forced migrants who face these new values immediately faced an inevitable trauma. Their adaptation to new cultures is painful. Because the value system was maintained by the people who migrated to the country, the nation-state as positioned in the city, popular culture, and the education of some systems, as Cohen (1999, 66) put it, remained for "symbolic notation" (cited in Tekin, 2011:98). The most important task falls to governments and related international organizations and supranational institutions. Polzar (2008) argues that there are well-documented examples of refugees and displaced people explicitly avoiding sources that are meant to protect them. If they are not avoided, they can meet these kinds of sources as a family member, community support, job opportunities, and religious organizations.

The host countries, on one hand, have a key role in the integration of the forced migrants, on the other hand, they may need help through dealing. Syrian people in Turkey may be a good example for explaining this fact. As a result of conflicts arising in April 2011 in Syria, mass migration movements to the neighboring countries led Turkey to face an unprecedented amount of mass migration movement which is recorded as one of the highest in history regarding the people migrated in such a short period. This mass and immediate movement are not only traumatic for migrants but also for the target country. This social event is also a social

trauma and holds many problems in it. Turkey, for more than 10 years, hosts more than 4 million people- not officially regarded as refugees but in everyday language and sociologically they are refugees- and finance them mostly at its own expense.<sup>1</sup>

What is often overlooked is that different countries interpret refugee laws to differ according to themselves. That creates difficulties for the people who choose to seek new opportunities in a different country than their first country of claiming asylum, they are treated as *migrants* and lose privileges that they gain by being *refugees*. This also can result in the return of asylum seekers who do not first apply to the first closest safe country to their homeland and prefer to start a new life in a faraway country. When these vulnerable people cannot gain a refugee status because they search for a more hospitable country than a nearer country, their rights are abused and unfortunately, they are often exploited by employers. Even more, their children are not accepted children and they are not given health services.

According to Polzar (2008), some refugees and displaced people around the world like the urban refugees in Africa or failed asylum seekers in Europe, use 'invisibility' as a source of survival. Such that, the state or other related institutions are not there or prefer not to help these people to regulate their life, it is better for the state in these cases to overlook displaced people. Scott (1998) argues that this happens not by design rather by default. In this example, European Union (EU) is one component of the hegemonic relations. Syrian asylum-seekers mostly aim to arrive in EU countries because of better living conditions, however, they were not welcomed by the EU countries, and Turkey was shown as a better option and they were directed to Turkey. In return, Turkey was given a very small amount of the money that it had spent on them for years. Besides, they were treated unfortunately inhumanely when they attempt to reach Europe.

397

## 6. Suggestions for Providing Humane Living Conditions

The first responsibility for the vulnerable people searching for asylum is to provide them with secure places to live and ensure their protection. The measures that are taken for these people should be sustainable and humane. These are not limited to providing them immediate shelter, and legalizing their status but include providing their integration to the host country once they are settled in one place. If they are still on the way they should be protected from individuals and groups involved in human trafficking and migrant smuggling syndicates. In this scenario, local communities, civil society, the private sector, and regional and international agencies as well (Caballero- Anthony, 2016: 3). Another point that should be kept in mind is the possible prevention of these migration movements. That means solving the problem before it emerges: helping and supporting the countries which face real economical struggles and are under threat of terrorism and war as well as climate change. As Erdoğan and Cantürk (2022, 147)

---

<sup>1</sup> Turkey is a party to the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol, which form the basis of international refugee law and regulate international protection obligations. However, Turkey has become a party to the 1951 Refugee Convention by limiting the definition of refugee in terms of history and geographical area. The Convention, therefore, applies only to persons seeking asylum because of events that took place in Europe before 1 January 1951. Turkey, -without the date and geographical area limitation of the 1951 Refugee Convention- is a party to the 1967 Protocol, which aims to apply to all refugee movements while the geographical limitation continues to be valid, only in Europe He stated that he is obliged to grant refugee status within the scope of the events that occurred. Turkey is a party to both regulations with geographical limitations. This means that it will not grant refugee status to asylum seekers from outside European countries (Topal, 2015: 9).

also point out climate change has a significant impact on global migration, which leads to both voluntary and forced migration from environmentally disadvantaged countries. Migration literature is already familiar with war and persecution and economic distress, but it is merely newly talked about “climate refugees”. According to Ekşi (2016: 9) the status, protection, and resettlement of climate refugees are not clarified in international law. For this reason, states’ international law, human rights law, and environmental law obligation to protect climate refugees in the context of and, if so, what the scope of this obligation would be is not clear yet. In other words, states that are affected by climate refugees or environmental factors compel or encourage people to provide protection. Since there is no international regulation yet, there is a need for setting regulations to clarify their legal situation. Derrida (2000) frames hospitality in his research taking in the migrant or asylum seeker as the guest who tries to get through the entrance door. In this regard, he argues that the stranger (in this study we assume this stranger is either a refugee, asylum seeker or forcibly displaced person) owes the other person courtesy. However, by classifying the other person as a stranger, one has already introduced the conditionality circles of family, nation, state, and citizenship. There may be someone else who is still more foreign than the other since their foreignness extends beyond just being foreign in terms of their language, family, or citizenship. Derrida suggests that there is much to learn about hospitality, so it is undoubtedly necessary to learn everything there is to know about it. It is also important to bring this knowledge to the highest and fullest level of consciousness that is humanly possible. However, it is also important to understand that hospitality gives itself and gives itself to the thought that goes without what is known. As long as the states strictly protect their borders, this human-friendly perspective of the vulnerable people in the world does not seem to be adopted.

More humanitarian aid should be delivered to the people who are in need. According to Zaman et. Al. (2022: 25), where individuals reject the official system, even to the extent of trying to remain invisible, it should be known that the system has failed. Individuals may also try to deceive the state-led/formal humanitarian system to obtain social protection for which they are not considered eligible. A greater understanding of the blind spots in the state-led/formal humanitarian system, and an appreciation of how social protection looks from the perspective of those who need it, would provide a clearer basis for analysis of these interactions.

## **7. Conclusion**

Refugees, displaced people, and asylum seekers are both conceptual and meaningful gained a considerable amount of importance since World War II. Not all of the terms in migration studies have an internationally accepted definition and are defined under international law. There are frequently used definitions like in the glossary published by IOM or UNHCR. Besides, the definition of prominent migration studies scholars is also well used. According to the most recent numbers, there are around 82.4 million people displaced throughout the world. This number is the highest number ever recorded. For sure, there are comparatively newer reasons like climate change, emerging in recent years. Even so, the reasons for displacement shortly emerge because of war and persecution, environmental pollution, natural disasters, political oppression, and commercial development. It is crucial to note that all of these people add up to life, a family, and much more. Taking that into consideration, protecting these people and their rights is the responsibility of the whole world. Some organizations aim to protect these vulnerable people however they still lack to realize this goal. UNHCR and OHCHR can be

counted as the most important international organizations that aim to protect the rights of displaced people and refugees. However, since the migratory movements around the world increased substantially recently, it is harder either for the states or for the international organizations to differentiate and categorize the group of migrants and displaced people. Some scholars, on the other hand (like Polzar, Hammond, and Scott), defend that states and organizations prefer to see displaced people or some refugees not to see those emerge as the invisible people. Invisibility is for this argument a source of survival for a group of people like urban refugees in Africa and failed asylum seekers in Europe.

This article argues that the most important task falls to states, supranational and international organizations about the protection of displaced people. Such that, they become displaced and sometimes even stateless because of the wrong politics of the states as well as wars and conflicts and also the strict government policies that make non-citizens like second-class people and attach importance to birth for the making of the modern nation-states as Agamben (2001 as cited in Yılmaz, 2018) clarifies. The EU, for example, did not want to welcome refugees fleeing from the Syrian civil war starting in 2011. Although the Syrian government may seem in this example as the source of this displacement; the neighboring countries as well as their related supranational institution- the EU- is one of the actors involved. The vulnerable people fleeing war and persecution aim to reach Europe, where they believe they can live in better conditions. However, the EU preferred to send them to Turkey, their transit country on the way. Today, Turkey is the leading country in the world in terms of refugee numbers it is hosting and unfortunately both hosting countries and displaced people need more help than moving frequently from one place to another. Besides, solutions to the problems in the sending countries or cities may well be counted as one of the most important points regarding the displaced people.

### Kaynakça

- Arendt, H. (1985) *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, New edition with added prefaces, New York NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich
- Caballero- Anthony, M. (2016). Forced Migration: Some Sobering Realities, *RSIS Commentary*. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/CO16157.pdf>
- Castles, S. (2003a). The International Politics of Forced Migration, *Development* 46, 11–20. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1011637003046300>
- Castles, S., (2003b). Towards a Sociology of Forced Migration and Social Transformation, *Sociology*, 77(1), 13-34. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0038038503037001384>
- Concern USA, *Refugee, Asylum Seeker, Migrant, IDPs: What's the Difference* Accessed: <https://www.concernusa.org/story/refugee-migrant-asylum-seeker-idp-difference/>
- Çakmak, F. (2018). Zorunlu Göç Sürecinde Mekânın kaybı ve Evin Yitimiyle Başlayan Yersiz Yurtsuzluğun Ürettiği bir Travma Olarak Kimliğin Anonimleşmesi, *Turkish Studies Social Sciences*, 13(18), 349-364. <http://dx.doi.org/10.7827/TurkishStudies.13811>
- Derrida, J., (2000). Hospitality, *Angelaki: Journal of Theoretical Humanities*, 5 (3), 3-18, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09697250020034706>
- Ekşi, N. (2016). İklim Mültecileri, *Göç Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 2 (2), 10-58. <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/648074>
- Erdoğan, Z., & Cantürk, S. (2022). Understanding the Climate-Conflict-Migration Nexus: Immigration from Climate-Conflict Zones to Turkey. *SİYASAL: Journal of Political Sciences*, 31(1), 137–155. DOI: 10.26650/siyasal.2022.31.994670

- Gallagher, A. (2002). Trafficking, Smuggling, and Human Rights: Tricks and treaties, *Forced Migration Review* 12, 25-28. <https://www.fmreview.org/sites/fmr/files/FMRdownloads/en/development-induced-displacement/gallagher.pdf>
- History of UNHCR, Accessed: <https://www.unhcr.org/history-of-unhcr.htm>
- Hugo, G., Bun C.K. (1990). Conceptualizing and Defining Refugee and Forced Migrations in Asia, *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science*, 18 (1), 19-42. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24491752>
- International Organization for Migration, *Who we are*, Accessed: <https://www.iom.int/who-we-are>
- IOM Definition of Migrant, Accessed: <https://www.iom.int/about-migration>
- McAdam, J. (2014). Human Rights and Forced Migration (in) *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies* ed. by Elena Fiddian-Qasimiyeh, Gil Loescher, Katy Long, Nando Sigona.
- Olson, M.E. (1979) Refugees as a special case of population redistribution. Pp. 130-151 in L.A.P. Gosling and L.Y.C. Lim (eds.) *Population Redistribution: Patterns, Policies and Prospects*. New York: United Nations Fund for Population Activities.
- Peterson, W. (1958). A General Typology of Migration, *American Sociological Review*, 23(3), 256-266. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2089239>
- Peterson, W. (1978). International Migration, *Annual Review of Sociology* 4, 533-575. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2945981>
- Polzar, T., Hammond L. (2008). Invisible Displacement, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21(4), 417-431. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fen045>
- Scott, J. (1998). *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Speare, A. (1974) The relevance of models of internal migration for the study of international migration. 84-94 in Tapinos, G. (ed.) *International Migration: Proceedings of a Seminar on Demographic Research in Relation to International Migration*. Paris, CICRED.
- Tekin, F. (2011). Kültürel Travma Olarak Zorunlu Göç, *Selçuk Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 25, 91-100. <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/151706>
- The UN Refugee Agency, *What is a Refugee*, Accessed: <https://www.unhcr.org/what-is-a-refugee.html>
- The UN Refugee Agency, *The State of the World's Refugees*, Accessed: <https://www.unhcr.org/3eb7ba7d4.pdf>
- The UN Refugee Agency, *Refugees and Migrants- Frequently Asked Questions*, Accessed: <https://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/3/56e95c676/refugees-migrants-frequently-asked-questions-faqs.html>
- The UN Refugee Agency, *Global Trends Forced Displacement in 2021*, Accessed: <https://www.unhcr.org/62a9d1494/global-trends-report-2021>
- Topal, A.H. (2015). Geçici Koruma Yönetmeliği ve Türkiye'deki Suriyelilerin Hukuki Statüsü, *İstanbul Medipol Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi* 2(1), 5-22. <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/download/article-file/1102155>
- United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, *About Migration and Human Rights*, Accessed: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/migration/about-migration-and-human-rights>
- Ünal, S. *Dünyadaki İnsanların %1'i Yerinden Edilmiş Durumda: UNHCR Küresel Eğilimler Raporu*, Accessed: <https://www.unhcr.org/tr/24189-dunyadaki-insanlarin-1i-yerinden-edilmis-durumda-unhcr-kuresel-egilimler-raporu.html>
- Yılmaz, S. (2018). Modern Yurttaşlığın İstisnaları: Hannah Arendt ve Giorgio Agamben'in Görüşleri Çerçevesinde İnsan Haklarının Eleştirisinde Mülteciler ve Kamplar, *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi*, 73(3), 763-786.
- Zaman, T., Collyer, M., Sabates-Wheeler R., Szyg C. (2022). Beyond Rights-Based Social Protection for Forcibly Displaced People, Better Assistance in Crisis Research. [https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/20.500.12413/17177/BASIC\\_Working\\_Paper\\_6.pdf?sequence=5&isAllowed=y](https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/20.500.12413/17177/BASIC_Working_Paper_6.pdf?sequence=5&isAllowed=y).