Local Evaluation of the Syria Crisis in the Scope of the Global Migration System

Fatih ÇAM*

ABSTRACT

The history of migration develops along with the history of humanity. In history, many societies or people have migrated with the aims of finding new living space, reaching to new and livable lands. Even though migration occurs as a result of external obligations which have different sources in many aspects, they may happen voluntarily as well as obligatory reasons. Developments in the internal structures of countries, political and economical difficulties, outbreaking of wars in other countries, natural disasters, famine, frequently seen violations of law and human rights force people to abandon the places they live in legal or illegal ways. Rapid population growth in developing and underdeveloped countries and negative economical conditions related to this, unemployment, developments in means of communication and transportation as a result of globalization, civil wars, terrorism, increase in illegal migrant smuggling and insufficient punishment in this subject, along with human trafficking which has now transformed into a global market, insufficiency of physical and legal restraints in fighting against illegal migrant smuggling can be considered among the factors which give way to the rise in international illegal immigration. On the other hand, for the countries in the region under the threat of hunger and survival due to war, Turkey expresses more than the reasons listed above in terms of factors that cause migration. With its geographical location, and relatively safe and stable social structure, Turkey is no longer a transit place and is seen as a permanent preferred last stop.

*Dr. Hacettepe University. Political Science and Public Administration, Public Administration. Ankara, fatihsib@hotmail.com, ORCID. 0000-0001-0002-0003

Küresel Göç Sistemi Kapsamında Suriye Krizinin Yerelde Değerlendirilmesi

ÖZET

Göçün tarihi, insanlık tarihiyle paralel gelişmektedir. Tarihte birçok toplum veya birey yeni yaşam alanları bulmak, yeni ve yaşanabilir topraklara ulaşmak maksadıyla göç etmişlerdir. Göç, çoğunlukla farklı kaynakları bulunan dış zorunlulukların neticesinde oluşsa da bazen de zorunluluk neticesine ilaveten gönüllülük esasına göre gerçekleşebilmektedir. Ülkelerin içyapılarında oluşan gelişmeler, politik ve ekonomik olumsuzluklar, diğer ülkelerle çıkan savaşlar, doğal afetler, açlık, hukuk ve insan hakları alanlarında sıkça görülen ihlaller insanları yasal ve yasadışı yollardan yaşadıkları yerleri terk etmeye zorlamaktadır. Gelişmekte olan veya geri kalmış ülkelerdeki hızlı nüfus artışı, buna bağlı olarak gelişen olumsuz ekonomik koşullarla birlikte, işsizlik, küreselleşmenin bir sonucu olarak iletişim ve ulaşım olanaklarının artması, iç savaşlar, terörizm, yasadışı göçmen kaçakçılığının artması ve bu alandaki cezaların yetersiz kalması gibi hususların yanı sıra, küresel pazar haline dönüşmüş olan insan ticareti, yasadışı göçmen kaçakçılığı ile mücadelede fiziksel ve yasal engellerin yetersizliği gibi koşullar uluslararası yasadışı göçün artmasına neden olan faktörler arasında gösterilebilir. Öte yandan savaş nedeniyle açlık ve hayatta kalma tehdidi altındaki bölge ülkeleri için Türkiye, göçe sebep olan faktörler bakımından yukarıda sıralanan gerekçelerden daha fazla-

sını ifade etmektedir. Coğrafi konumu, nispeten güvenlikli ve istikrarlı toplumsal yapısıyla Türkiye artık bir geçiş mekânı olmaktan çıkıp, kalıcı olarak tercih edilen son durak olarak görülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Az Gelişmişlik, Geçici Koruma, İşgücü, Göç Politikası, Kimlik,

Introduction

Migration is to change geographical location with a critical expression. However, people leave the lands where they were born and raised. The fact that individuals who decide to migrate may leave the region they live in to go to places they believe have better living conditions (such as Turkey, Europe), has again resulted in these regions being the regions that receive the most immigrants in the world. Since the phenomenon of migration is an irreducibly complex structure that cannot be evaluated with only one dimension, it is helpful to focus on the three basic dimensions of the issue that are being tried to be explained. It is possible to distinguish between economic, political-legal, social and cultural dimensions for the aforementioned basic three dimensions. Turkey is a center of attraction for people living in the region's countries, especially in terms of the relative high level of welfare, security and the window of freedoms created by these. This centrality; It has forced Turkey, and partly Europe, to reconsider its security and immigration policies, with the effect of the recent wars in the Middle East.

It is impossible to consider policies related to human development and migration separately from the human security approach in the Migration System. In this study, it has been tried to deal with the domestic and foreign legal and socio-economic dimensions of the wars that gained momentum after the Arab Spring and the high-intensity mobility experienced after the deformation of the structure in Syria, on the basis of the parties (target and source) states, as well as the effects on the individual. Again, in the study, which argues that the phenomenon of migration should be reconsidered with political approaches reconciled with human security, theories of migration and the factors that cause migration are examined. In addition, the concepts of human rights and ethnicity within the Migration System were evaluated through different paradigms. As a necessary condition to make a near-term analysis of current policies, examples were selected from the first applications on the basis of migration movements and states. The issue of Syrian refugees, which has recently been tried to draw attention loudly, is also discussed. Restrictive immigration policies, which seem to be a reaction to economic reasons, are increasingly becoming independent of economic explanations. In this respect, this claim brings the phenomenon of migration and the individual into close relation with

ideological and nationalist political contexts. Religious, ethnic, political pressures, overpopulation and wars that cause hunger force people to live elsewhere. Migration, which occurs due to socio-political reasons, brings the concepts of refugee and asylum to the agenda today. In addition to those who migrate due to economic reasons in the world, the existence of people who have to migrate as refugees is increasing day by day.

In a more specific area, when we look carefully at the interaction between Syria and Turkey as countries that have an essential position in the Middle East, it is seen that the Syrian crisis, which has been going on for about eleven years, has turned into a much larger humanitarian dimension. The Bashar Assad regime, which was not pressured as much as necessary by the international powers and supported by Russia and Iran, bears the primary responsibility for the growth of this crisis. 6.7 million people have been displaced in the past eleven years. The number of officially confirmed deaths has been determined as 350 thousand. According to the officially announced figures, it is stated that 3.5 million Syrians took refuge in Turkey. A detailed assessment of the Syrian crisis will be continued in the following sections. Before that, it is helpful to look at the economic, legal and social dimensions of the migration phenomenon.

Economic, Legal, and Sociological Dimensions

The need for labor, which is accepted as one of the most critical factors of production, is also the main determinant of migration. While the need for workers in colonial-oriented countries was initially met by slavery over Africa and used in agricultural workers and service areas, the need for labor began to change with the industrial revolution. One of the consequences of the change is the organized structures created by more qualified worker groups. In this case, the states; abandoned their post-colonial habits and started to develop new control mechanisms on wages, free movement of workers and immigration. After the industrial breakthroughs that started about two hundred years ago, especially in the Western Hemisphere, economic activities rapidly shifted out of agriculture. Businesses and factory owners began to hire workers in droves and pay them regularly. The agricultural sector, which could not meet the needs of the crowded population, had to throw some of these crowds out. At the same time, the prices of agricultural products in the countryside began to decrease. On the contrary, those working in the service or industry sectors in the cities began to live under the guarantee of having a regular income (USAK, 2008, p.263). The fact that the increasing economic investments were made in the cities in large proportions both had an effect on the growth of the cities. It

indirectly reduced the productivity of the people engaged in agricultural activities. This inverse proportion between the decline of agricultural productivity and urbanization has also manifested itself in other public spaces. The fact that services such as education, health and infrastructure services are closer to urban people can be evaluated as a result of investment policies. With the developing technology, the old-fashioned practices used in agriculture have started to be replaced by machines. However, there was a surplus of labor in the field of agriculture.

"Industrialization and non-agricultural factors of production have prepared the necessary economic infrastructure for migration. In addition, poverty, unemployment, and even political pressures are not sufficient to determine migration potential" (Yılmaz-Başçeri, 1998, p.495). While the most important dynamics determining global migration movements in the 20th century is the supply of immigrants due to reasons such as poverty and unemployment in the poor regions of the world, on the other hand, economic approaches based on closing the labor gap in developed areas with the cheap labor of immigrants (ORSAM, 2012, p.10). In recent years, border control and securitization practices, which have been created due to the immigration policies followed in the field of irregular migration around the world, have gradually reduced the acceptance of

asylum seekers. As a result of these policies, it has been determined that people who applied for asylum left the legal ways and turned to other alternative ways. For example, while applications for asylum in France increased by 7.3% in 2020 compared to the previous year, a record number of asylum seekers in Germany, with Syrians in the first place, was reached in 2021. On the other hand, due to the increase in the entry of irregular immigrants in the UK in 2021, a new legal regulation has been made. It is planned to send irregular migrants to third countries until their asylum applications are approved (euronews, 2020&DW, 2022&AA, 2021). Concerning asylum and asylum seekers in international law, the "Geneva Convention on the Legal Status of Refugees" dated 28 July 1951. The Protocol of this convention dated 31 January 1967 began to be stretched by local regulations.

"The growth of the international dimension of the refugee problem and the necessity of removing the unlawful environment that the asylum seeker will fall into due to their lost rights by leaving their country necessitated the regulation of the situation of the asylum seekers in international law. While making this arrangement, the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights was taken as the basis. It was accepted in the United Nations that the countries they migrated should provide these basic rights to the refugees who are faced with

situations contrary to human dignity and therefore have to migrate" (Sönmezoğlu, 1998, p.498).

Pagliani, in his 2010 report presented to IOM on human development issues, stated that "sustainable forms of active development are needed for long, healthy, creative lives and for the expansion of people's freedoms." The report was created in order to guide the legal studies and global migration policies to fill the gaps that occurred as a result of the loss of rights suffered by people who had to leave their countries for similar or different reasons. In the report, all dimensions of the phenomenon of international migration and its aspects affecting human life are discussed. In addition to financing, global dimensions, and human security issues, globalization, human rights, democracy, and judicial issues are listed under the headings (Pagliani, 2010). In the report presented by Pagliani, the criteria set by the United Nations include data used to support the official framework in the formation of international migration policies.

The push and pull theory developed by Lee (1969) was put forward to explain the essential characteristics of the migration phenomenon. It is possible to define the push factors as labor migration, which usually occurs as a result of the negative policies of the source countries on migration. Examples of these policies are low wages, unemployment, and high taxes.

Attractive factors can be summarized as the welfare in the target countries, high labor demand, religious and political freedoms, and a relatively good environmental.

In Lee's push-pull theory, positive and negative elements refer to these factors. The existence of significant barriers between the two poles represents the difficulties faced by the modern individual in social ecology. E.g; restrictive immigration laws can be a formidable barrier to prospective immigration. Deciding to migrate and staying permanently in the place of migration are defined as the first obstacles that immigrants think about. Although the logic of the push-pull theory seems like the target (+) attracts and the source (-) repels, it can include opposing motivations at both points (Lee, 1969).

Alternative Approaches to International Migration and the Causes of Illegal Migration

In 1978, Alejandro Portes stated that she did not look at the illegal immigration of Mexicans to the United States as a problem but as a solution to the problem. (Portes, 1978, p.470). In the relevant statement, he mentioned the inability or unwillingness of the United States authorities to manage the country's labor market needs through immigration policy. A similar mismatch between economic need and government policy has been observed in Western countries, particularly in Europe. In 1974, the political

debate was almost frozen. So that; the state had lost its capacity to address national labor shortages through effective migration management. There was a popular perception that there was an immigration crisis. However, this was a crisis of political response to immigrants rather than the management of migration flows (Baldwin-Edwards, 1994, p.1-16).

Much older literature on migration and some contemporary demographic literature assume that population growth is directly related to the migration trend (Ravenstein, 1885, p.167-227). In other words, While a high birth rate leads to high immigration, low population growth may create the need for emigration. However, with sufficient empirical evidence to show that there is no link between them globally, this approach to migration has been abandoned. What matters for countries with high productivity rates, which cover most of the developing world, is the capacity of their economies to absorb new workforces. Vital determinants for future migration pressures will be job creation rather than simple population growth. Recent studies tend to view voluntary international migration as a level of development. This level shows the transition from a very low level of development to an "upper-middle" income level. According to this view, migration does not arise from immaturity, but from the development itself. Generally; the world's main exporters of labor are middle-

and upper-middle-income countries such as North Africa or the Philippines (Haas, 2005, p.678). Olesen refers to these low- and middle-income countries and high immigration rates as "migration communities". Immigration starts to decrease from the countries at the next level of these countries. Olesen, while explaining this level of income between receiving and sending countries, assumes exchange rates from 1/3 to 1/4.5 (accepting the US dollar purchasing parity measurement unit) (Olesen, 2002, p.125-150). Despite the existence of illegal immigration and regulation programs, it can easily be seen all over the world that the number of illegal aliens is stagnant or increasing. E.g; The phenomenon of illegal immigration continues unabated within the USA, especially among Mexicans. In the report published by the independent research organization PEW in 2016, it is estimated that there are approximately 11 million illegally working foreigners in the American (VOA, 2018).

In Europe, on the other hand, the latest situation of illegal immigration is actually more than expected. Illegal immigration takes place in large proportions on the eastern Mediterranean border of Spain, Italy, Greece, Cyprus, and Malta, with sea-connected transport routes. In the late 1990s, the illegal arrival of African immigrants, which started on a small scale and took place by boat, led to great human tragedies in Spain and Ita-

ly. Especially towards the end of the 2000s, regional migration mobility has reached great numbers. All illegal transportation in the region (as far as is known) is carried out by small vessels, under extremely adverse conditions, over small islands (Lampedusa, Fuerteventura; Italy), (Canary; Spain), (Samos; Greece). This issue poses a significant problem for the countries concerned. It is also estimated that more than 10% of those who make it ashore die at sea (Adepojou, 2004, p.67). As of 2020, it has been announced that the number of illegal immigrants entering Germany illegally has increased by two times compared to the previous year and is around 15 thousand. It is estimated that illegal immigrants, mostly from Syria, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Iraq, entered the country by road in truck boxes (DW, 2021).

Douglas Massey defines the general characteristic of the New World Migration System as follows. First, most immigrants come from countries with limited capital, low job opportunities, and inadequate labor reserves. The imbalance in labor supply and demand in the developing world is much worse than during the industrialization of Europe. Second, countries of immigration are much more "capital-intensive" and much less "labor-intensive" than in the past. International migrants now fill marginal gaps in high-segment labor markets. Third, this economic marginalization of immigrants has led to a sociopoliti-

cal perception that immigrants are no longer needed, despite the persistent demand for their service. The last characteristic revealed is that there are five migration systems in the world; North America, Western Europe, Asia-Pacific, Gulf Region, and South America. Immigration countries that feed these regions; historical ties are shaped by trade, politics, and culture. Yet these countries are exploited, poor, and relatively southern (Pellegrino and Taylor, 1998, p.5).

More than half of labor migrants and a higher proportion of refugees originate from Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The changing political, economic and social structure of the world since the end of the eighties the last century has made the populations of the former socialist countries a labor reservoir ready for the use of developed capitalist countries. The vast majority of the global migration population occurs as a result of the migration movements of people who had to migrate from the southern regions of the earth to the Northern regions, including Western Europe, the USA, and Canada. A smaller part of this population, although not geographically, goes to Australia, which we can count as a Northern country in terms of socio-economic development and cultural "identity"; still another part consists of those who immigrated to oil-exporting Middle Eastern countries (Massey, 1988, p.233).

From the perspective of Turkey, it can be mentioned that its geopolitical location, cultural, religious, and sometimes biological kinship relations are among the main reasons why it is preferred by asylum seekers. Depending on the reasons listed, Turkey initially accepted those coming from the countries of the region as guests after the 2010s. At the point reached today, granting citizenship has been made easier. Turkey, which does not have sufficient legislation and experience on immigrants and mobility from abroad, or was caught unprepared, could not produce general and permanent policies. Institutionally, especially the migration mobility originating from Syria was perceived as a security issue. Currently, migration management is carried out by the General Directorate of Security under the Ministry of Interior and the provincial governorships in line with the general policy of the administration.

Human Rights and Migration in the Shadow of Wars

The phenomenon of migration within the new world system continues to be in the interest of researchers with its causes and consequences. The concepts of Human Rights, Ethnicity, and Minorities, which are frequently encountered at all stages of migration processes, have also been used many times in the cause and effect areas of the study. Sometimes the problems related to these concepts in the source countries play a major role in the decision to migrate. Sometimes the same concepts enter the definition of new problems in the target country. Migrants may encounter rights violations in their new living space or may find themselves in destination or transit living areas where there is not enough tolerance towards ethnicity or minorities.

Historically, one of the first important documents of human rights, Magna Carta Libertatum is known as a document in which English immigrants had their rights and laws accepted against the king in 1215. Two other important historical documents are the declarations published in Habeas Corpus (1679) and the Bill of Rights (1689) in England. These documents are believed to form the basis of today's human rights. In the modern sense, the United Nations published the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on 10 December 1948, providing an international and legal basis for the protection of human rights. Fundamental rights and laws such as the right to life thought, expression, equality, private life, and security, which are at the center of the immigration phenomenon, are guaranteed in this way. After the 1990s and especially after the end of the Cold War, the concept of human rights has been enriched in terms of quality and quantity. Concepts such as the right to live in free and democratic regimes, humanitarian crimes, food safety, environmental problems, and the right to treatment have become sensitive issues for international courts, orga-

nizations, and the new world system (Çakmak, 2012, p.9-12).

Another concept that touches on the cause-effect problem in migration is ethnicity. ethnicity; or in other words, the concept of the ethnic group is defined ambiguously in sociology. The term race versus ethnicity can be considered a somewhat broader concept. It is a concept that has emerged to explain the characteristics of a social formation, the identification of the members of the group with that formation, and the political, cultural, or racial ties (Glazer and Moynihan, 1975, p.55).

Along with the Marxist and first sociological view given above, the cultural view also deals with ethnicity independently of the will of the individual. In other words, ethnic belonging is surrounded by innate, given, and indescribable qualities. Irrational loyalties that exist in all societies are based on blood, race, language, region, and similar elements. Ethnic groups or societies are built on primordial realities, not only in third-world countries but also in modern states. The concept of ethnicity is one of the important concepts that are decisive in today's political and social life. It is not possible to evaluate new ethnic formations without evaluating this concept (Taştan, 2010, p.199).

After the first two explanations, the concept of minority, which is another complementary and distinctive con-cept of the migration phenomenon, comes. Although this term seems like a legal concept, it takes the basis of its existence from a certain socio-cultural reality. The socio-cultural reality that forms the basis of this concept is based on the phenomenon of "being seen as different" or "othering". The equivalent of this phenomenon in social reality can sometimes be religious differences, and sometimes linguistic-cultural differences. The phenomenon that is the subject of the concept has a two-sided paradigm dimension. These are divided into two internal and external definitions. Because, although the concept is "one-sided", the subject of a determination from above, the consent and readiness of the other party to be defined as such is also an important factor in terms of definition. For this reason, an anthropological perspective on how social groups and communities that are candidates for such a definition see themselves, and the common definition of this candidate group or community from outside is legally important (Aydın, 2005, p.122).

Problems related to minorities can be moved to a universal dimension by leaving the internal affairs dimension of the countries in terms of international rights. In order to achieve this, a minority definition was made by the United Nations Human Rights Commission in 1947. "In a non-dominant situation, numerically less than the rest of the population of a state, its nationals differ from the rest of the

population in ethnic and linguistic characteristics. Although not overtly, have a sense of solidarity towards preserving their own culture, traditions, and language" (Çakmak, 2012, p.11). The sense of belonging, which is formed and stabilized to a certain extent within the dialectic formed by internal and external perspectives, emerges in the socio-cultural field. At this point, in addition to the three concepts listed above, the idea of "identity" occurs. The concept, which is important in terms of defining the relationship of the individual with the minority group or community to which their feels himself/herself, is the subject of legally based explanations in the international arena of the source-target countries that produce migration policies.

Global and Regional Migration Policies from Past to Present

Recently, open border practices in immigration control have been advocated as a phenomenon of the 20th century around the world (Pluto, 2004; Harris 2001). However, feudalism has absolute experiences that this is not possible. E.g; During the reign of Elizabeth I in 1662, slavery movements were restricted in the lands under the rule of the Pope. It was partially abolished in 1795 and Irish citizenship in the United Kingdom was fully granted in 1800. As a result, large numbers of poor Irish people emigrated to England. (Torpey, 2000, p.66-67). Similarly, from 1548 to 1807, as a result of the loosening of hereditary slavery

and other heavy state controls in German lands and among Prussian peasants, it was seen that the freed labor force turned to free markets (Torpey, 2000, p.59). These two local examples, which took place in the feudal period, have created the opinion that mobility is a social phenomenon that should be avoided in terms of the control of a qualified workforce. From the 1820s, a great immigration process started with free trade conditions, especially in Great Britain (Timmer and Williamson 1998, p.739-771). Germany brought the issue of immigrant rights to the agenda for the first time in 1856, and upon insistence, immigrants' rights and settlement permits were given to them. In the following years, immigration controls were loosened in German territories (including the Netherlands) as well as in European states such as England, France, Belgium, and Scandinavian countries that accepted mutual agreements (Torpey, 2000, p.77). However, globalization trends gradually began to restrict immigration around the world and in America, Canada, Argentina, and Brazil in the 1870s (Timmer and Williamson, 1998, p.739). While both external and internal migration was restricted during the 1918 congress in the USA, the same law was amended in 1919 to cover only external migration (Torpey, 2001, p.264). The universal consequences of immigration restrictions in the 1920s continued until America became a significant destination country (Andreas and Snyder 2000, p.31-54).

Britain introduced restraint policies in 1905 out of fear of Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe. Until 1930, there was only 1% of the foreign population in England, including Irish immigrants. Simultaneously, immigration controls and restrictions were resurrected within countries dominated by authoritarian regimes, such as the Soviet Union, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Portugal. Thus, II. Before World War II, many countries introduced an immigration management practice similar to the absolute feudal period restriction terms. Starting from the end of the 19th century, the globalization process was moved away. With heavy and limited commercial activities, the workforce was also relatively free. However, the 20th century saw an irreversible change in migration management. The change meant the displacement of authority at the local level with the nation-state. The displacement of authority has created a huge capacity strain and increased the utility of modern technology documentation. Individual freedoms and a liberal approach, which are features of the modern Welfare State, did not match the interventionist state's perception of the central authority. Thus, the central authority II. It lost its place in the Modern World-System that developed after World War II (Torpey, 2000, p.38).

With the rise of modern welfare state citizenship and nationalism, one of the cornerstones of contemporary

migration management has taken its place. Post-war human rights protection systems have been realized within the new trend before the European Court of Human Rights. In this context, the 1949 Genoa Conventions for protecting stateless people and refugees guided the process (Skran, 1995, p.78). As for job migration, the ILO put forward an agreement in 1949 that included an unskilled labor policy, which is now ratified by 45 countries. This agreement provided the main directions and necessary guest worker resources to be followed in the process of economic expansion in Northern Europe (Cenova, 1949). In particular, the settler societies of the New World (Australia, Canada, and the USA) favored permanent rather than temporary labor migration. They continued this approach until the late 1980s (Freeman and Birrell, 2001, p.525-551). In the late 1950s and 1960s, when economic prosperity saw an increase, much of the developed world was dominated by labor shortages, and the economic need for migration was evident. The type of migration, and varied according to historical, cultural, and geographical parameters. For example; Colonial citizenship rose in post-colonial countries such as France, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom. Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and Belgium relied on what they defined as temporary labor (Gastarbeiter). The New World encouraged permanent migration. On the other hand, Southern Europe was primarily a labor exporter

to Northern Europe. The oil crises of 1973 are a clear turning point in the history of immigration policy. Northern European countries stopped recruiting unskilled guest workers and tried, albeit unsuccessfully, to send back existing ones. Southern European countries started by making a policy change away from labor exports to the labor market. They continued, first with the return of their own workers, and then with the recruitment of labor elsewhere in the 1980s (Pellegrino and Taylor, 1998, p.5).

Policies directly related to the phenomenon of migration in the world and in Europe have been progressing at the level of central planning and on a large scale from past to present. Over the past century, immigration has been seen as a preferred and partially controlled phenomenon for the western hemisphere, conformity for colonial purposes as a permanent source of labor. Moreover, it was considered normal for the newcomers to become strong enough to form a political front in the current social conditions and to turn into a domestic political element. On the other hand, neither in the past nor today, the issue of migration has not occurred in a consent-based context for immigrants and Turkey, nor has the politicization of newcomers been discussed. However, the increasing intensity of Syrian immigration after 2011 has led to a change in these conditions. In addition to the vast majority of people who wish to stay in the country per-

manently, a population of millions, including those born in Turkey, is discussed as an issue that needs to be taken into account in the general politics of the country. In other words, the politicization process of Syrian refugees is accelerating (Akman, 2022, p.99).

Migration, Integration and Global Solutions

With the partial exception of Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom, since 1974 most immigration policy options are clearly frozen. Even so, the entry of illegal immigrants and asylum seekers, even in the US and UK, provided the main source of cheap illegal labor. So official immigration policies are only part of the issue (Freeman and Birrell, 2001, p.525-551). But for decades, a relatively open immigration policy has been accompanied by massive illegal immigration, albeit with a points system that favors skilled workers and family immigration. In Europe, Southern European countries accepted fewer legal immigrants compared to others. Most immigrants have been affected by visa ending, illegal work, and illegal entry. Therefore, short-term legal statuses were granted through legalization programs. Illegal immigration and illegal work are also not limited in Southern Europe, although overall immigration and employment appear to be restricted in the northern European countries or the wider Anglo-Saxon world. Massey considers an essay theorizing the capacity

of the state to enforce restrictive immigration policies and why illegal immigration has consistently been on the rise around the world. It puts forward a line of thought about state capacities ranging from authoritarian gulf countries to traditional settled countries with structures that support immigration. The problem with this approach is that even the Gulf states have high numbers of illegal immigrants. In fact, these countries seem to have very little information about how many migrant workers there are (Massey, 1999, p.303-322).

An alternative approach questions why the state's capacities to manage migration seem so inadequate given the needs of the labor market. Two explanations can be offered to this question. First; For almost all countries, it is difficult to predict economic needs in the near future, which often overlook or overestimate the need for temporary labor. In addition, they cannot react quickly to changing market conditions. The consequences of wrong guessing are bad. In particular, employers find greater confidence and flexibility in using the illegal immigrant workforce. Second, the liberalization of immigration policy has to be put in a political place. This policy is unlikely to be followed if voters are not convinced of the need for a migrant workforce or feel threatened by job struggles or salary levels (Baldwin and Edwards, 2005, p.8).

As noted above, the "stable" immigration policy of 1974 appears confusing at first glance in light of the increasing liberalization of the factors of production in advanced capitalism. Increasing trade and capital transfer in the EU resulted in the liberalization of the labor movement along with the deregulation of state firms. The cyclical aspects of globalization at the end of the 19th century reveal the same thing. What appears to have happened, however, is that governments have lost control of capital transfers and currencies and taken control of immigration policies while opening their markets to global trade, which is essentially synonymous with the protection of the country's borders. That is the last bastion of sovereignty (Schain, 2004, p.150-170). In fact, restrictive immigration policies, seen as a logical response to the economic crisis, have become independent of economic imperatives. It is closely tied to ideological and nationalist political contexts rather than pragmatic (Pastore, 2007, p.56-62). Any future crisis, particularly concerning national security or counter-terrorism measures, can be reconciled with tighter border control and restrictive immigration policy (Adamson, 2006, p.165-199). As a result of this politicization of migration management, illegal immigration and illegal employment have become essential structural components of modern capitalism (Palidda, 2005, p.63).

Former immigrants and potential immigrants are well aware that illegal immigration is the most effective way to find a better life and a job in the world's richest countries. At the same time, they know by hearsay that legal immigration is not an easy path for unskilled or skilled workers. Therefore, at the beginning of the 21st century, the phenomenon of illegal immigration can be defined as internalized in a structural sense. The relentless arrival of Africans by boat to small islands in the Mediterranean is a humanitarian crisis. This crisis is the result of the mismanagement of world migration for nearly three decades. However, structural problems do not have easy solutions. Illegal immigration is no exception. Government policies, like global warming or other fundamental issues, are almost universally renewable.

One of the important consequences of illegal immigration is the security dimension. The influx of foreigners, which affects the community life in the target countries, is often discussed with its economic or political aspects. However, in the post-September 11 periods, high sensitivities have emerged in the West in the field of security. This has resulted in the evaluation of immigration policies in the EU and the USA from a security perspective.

Ethnopolitical and sectarian conflicts and disagreements are another issue that Turkey has considered from the very beginning with its knowledge and experience. This issue seems to be analyzed from different perspectives. On the one hand, in addition to the general trend, it has already become internalized within the country, on the other hand, negative perspectives among some segments in terms of democracy, human rights, and citizens' legal rules continue to remain on the agenda. However, respect for differences, mother tongue, or belief issues is also in the background. Recently, the official ideological perspective contains undefined directives and policies in terms of form, forced by the EU progress drafts. Moreover, this normative and institutional distancing is the only instrument in the management of minority-majority beliefs within the country. For now, these studies have been successfully managed both within the country and in neighboring countries. The Middle East and Mesopotamia, which are problematic regions, it has been the ground for events that resulted in the end of human lives at different levels of violence from time to time. Other states in the region have taken their share of such events in the secondary areas of problematic ethnopolitical relations, in terms of the current tension. These relationships include physical security as well as individual citizenship and the state, as well as other security dimensions. For example; ethnopolitical conflict, if no immediate solution is found, will lead to situations ranging from socio-economic security problems to large-scale border changes in the long run.

While these conflicts in the region as a whole were regular and relatively uneventful until 2010, the states of the region had to face these conflicts in a short time. As a result, it has been concluded that these problems will not be resolved at the level of intra-union agreements with active obstructions (Arab League) by these states. On the other hand, in the north-facing part of the Levant Region, more policies were carried out for adaptation to Russia since the early 1950s. The clashes didn't seem too dangerous outside of the Arab League. However, by leapfrogging, both in the short term and in the long term possible, these issues would not remain united. In other words, the "new face" of the Middle East will change. The trend has a lot of this potential.

Another vital point within the scope of migration is the existence of active immigrants and the passive structure affected. In fact, all the efforts of the states are aimed at preventing the deterioration of the existing ideal patterns as a result of migration. Although the period after the second world war is considered a milestone for worker migration from the Balkans, North Africa, and the Middle East to Europe and other industrial centers of the world, the momentum gained by globalization in recent years has been a factor that triggered. Within the scope of this migration wave, Europe and North America have become an important target areas for those living in all the regions listed above, again with the effect of globalization. When the migrations to Europe are examined, it can be easily seen that apart from individual immigrants, they are also exposed to mass flows. The situation that led to the first of the mass migration movements started to meet the labor needs of the Western European states in order to rebuild their economies that were destroyed in the years following the Second World War. In this context, Western Europe witnessed the migration of workers from former colonial countries and other third-world countries after the war.

By the 2020s, the fact that the borders within Europe became unprotected by regional conflicts, combined with globalization, partially explained the mass migration. Racism and xenophobia, which are experienced from place to place in Europe today, and hate crimes that develop parallel to this cannot be evaluated independently of the anti-immigrant axis. In particular, one of the locomotive forces that feeds xenophobia is anti-immigrantism. The ethnic and cultural heterogeneity created by the migration wave in Europe can be shown as the source of these problems because all kinds of political, social, and economic stalemates can be seen as a result of this heterogeneous structure. The fact that immigrants who cannot find the welfare, rights, and freedoms they seek in their own country, turn to the prosperous countries within the EU borders, sometimes legally and some-

times illegally, causes the union to review its immigration policies. For this reason, the EU expands border controls and implements visa applications with more stringent measures. However, these measures do not always give the desired result. Because criminal organizations were formed that gathered people who could not enter the union through legal means in a planned way and brought them to the EU borders. This has made the problem of human trafficking uncontrollable. The basic psychological dynamic that makes the fight against migrant smuggling and human trafficking difficult is that members of organizations or groups that participate in crime interpret this job as helping those in need.

Conclusion

There is a process in which large masses are deeply affected by the wars in the Middle East and in the north of Turkey. The physical relationship of the rising tension without losing its speed with Turkey, which also includes ancestry relations for societies, has a more important place compared to other geographies. As a matter of fact, depending on the issues mentioned up to this point, national and international conditions will have changed relatively or at least will continue to change as soon as they reach the reader.

In this context, it is necessary to mention the Ba'ath Party, which has left its mark on the recent history of Arab peoples in Syria and therefore in the Middle East. The Ba'ath was established in Syria in the 1940s and 50s as a reaction to the obsolete western regimes that existed in the Middle and Near East. Michel Aflaq1, the father of Ba'ath (Arab Socialist Revival Movement), is a Christian Arab. Thus, the title of representative of social and political identity seems appropriate for the Ba'ath rather than an Islamic mass party. The movement, which has found support in almost all Arab countries, basically aims to establish a single and free Arab state in the Middle East. The last stronghold of Ba'ath, which has moved away from its purpose in the hands of dictators over time, is Syria and the current Assad regime (Cıngı, 2011, p.14).

In fact, the majority of the people in Syria, which is under the rule of Shiite power, are Sunni. The right-wing populist structure in Turkey updated its attitude towards Syria, which has a Sunni majority among its Muslim neighbors, with anti-Assad rhetoric after the Arab Spring. In addition, Turkey, with the dynamics of its imperial past, attaches great importance to welcoming regional asylum seekers apart from the fact that it is a requirement of international legislation.

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[1] Ahmet Michel Eflak was born in Damascus in 1910. He is a politician who played an important role in the Arab nationalist movement. Although he adopted nationalist views at a young age, his thoughts on Marxist ideology developed with the education he received in France between 1923-and 1934. For detailed information on the subject. Dr. Cantürk Caner, "Syrian Ba'ath Party: Ideology, Organization, and Power", Arab Spring and Syria, IQ Publications, Istanbul-2012.

However, today foreign and Muslim immigrants do not only come from Syria. The importance of this fact can be seen in the social reluctance towards asylum seekers or immigrants, especially in the provinces on the southern border and throughout the country. However, these Muslim immigrants find the opportunity to keep their identities and basic religious values alive within the framework of Islam in Turkey compared to western countries.

State security principles and customs play a role in creating favorable conditions for immigrants. The perception of immigrants, who bring cheap labor and above-average economic turnover to Turkey, is quite different from the Western perspective. While for the West it creates a basis for vital problems such as foreign migration, security, and multiculturalism, for Turkey these concerns have been dormant for a long time. However, refugees, especially those originating from Syria and Afghanistan, have begun to create serious security problems within the social fabric. The issue of citizenship and large refugee populations in certain provinces cause society, some sociologists, and some politicians to worry about the future.

"Syria is the most complex country in the Middle East in terms of its demographic structure. The country has a heterogeneous population of over 20 million, including Christian Arabs, Druze Sunnis, Kurds, Syrian Turks, Alevi Nusayris, Assyrians, and other non-Muslims" (Adıbelli, 2012, p.11). In this demographic structure, the civil war that took place after the Arab Spring was especially effective for Syria. This wave of mobilization and rebellion has in the past worried Turkey in terms of instability and escalation of chaos, taking into account the condition of being the longest land border neighbor. At this point, it is clear that these concerns are not unfounded. The friendly relations between the two countries, which had reached the highest levels until 2011, have now been broken due to the inhuman and bloody acts that took place in Syria. The Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) have been granted cross-border operation permits by the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM) in order to intervene with the terrorist organizations that have gained strength in the instability environment in the region.

As stated above, the resulting instability has brought the migration wave almost to the point of spiraling out of control. Especially after June 2011, direct migration flows from Syria to Turkey and from Syria to Europe via Turkey started. These asylum seekers have now become a domestic issue in Turkey. Since the migration flows began, these figures are considered to be 4 million registered in the provinces of the region and throughout Turkey, excluding the camps. According to the report published by the Human

Rights Association (İHD) at the end of 2014, almost all of the Syrians who took refuge in Turkey are of Kurdish, Turkmen, and Alevi origin (ihd, 2014, p.1). In the same report, general numerical information about asylum seekers was given and explanations were given in the light of national/international legislation. In this respect, the basic legislation covering Syrian refugees has been listed under the titles of the right to health, the right to education, the right education, the right to children, the right to shelter, the right to work, and the access to public services, especially the right to asylum. In the report, it is seen that social exclusion and discrimination are frequently emphasized in the interviews with Syrian refugees.

However, the Republic of Turkey continues to take a series of measures and make regulations against the growing and increasingly inextricable Syrian influx. For this purpose, the directive on international migration management, which entered into force on March 30, 2012, was developed and enacted on April 4, 2013, under the name of "Migration Law". Within the scope of the directive stated at the beginning, the Open Border Policy, is guaranteed not to send anyone back against their will, to meet the basic and urgent needs. Then, with the Immigration Law, which was developed for the ever-changing and growing problems, the migration management was completely transferred to the General Directorate of Migration

Management. The decisions taken at the beginning were continued by the general directorate.

In the last 5 years, biometric data of existing Syrians has been started to be collected. The obtained data and analyzes contain important parameters for Turkey. The main assumption is that this immigrant population will have to stay in the country for many years. In this case, it was agreed that a "middle class" should be formed from refugees. Thus, the issue of social integration and securitization (in terms of the target country) of the Syrians living outside the camps in Turkey, at approximately 86%, is emphasized. In this direction, one of the main aims is to provide Turkish education to the population suitable for education. According to the data of the Directorate of Migration Management, only 51,500 of the approximately 4 million Syrian refugees in Turkey stay in temporary shelters. The rest are scattered in different cities, especially in Istanbul and border cities. As of 2022, the number of Syrian refugees living in Turkey is more than the population of many countries. The policies that the central government has implemented and the facilities it provides for a while cause an increase in the number of asylum seekers and their permanent residence intentions. Policies from the guest discourse to citizenship constitute the main axis of Turkey's immigration policy.

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