

ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESİ / RESEARCH

REASONS WHY AFGHAN HAZARA ETHNIC ORIGIN IMMIGRANTS DO NOT RETURN BASED ON EXAMPLES FROM IRAN AND TURKEY

AFGAN VE HAZARA ETNİK KÖKENLİ GÖÇMENLERİN GERİ DÖNMEME NEDENLERİ: İRAN VE TÜRKİYE ÖRNEKLERİ

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ÖZET

Afganistan'dan göç eden ve geri dönmeyi planlamayan kişiler, İran ve Türkiye üzerinden diğer ülkelere geçmektedir. Bu göçün nedenleri arasında farklı faktörler bulunmaktadır. Taliban rejimi, eğitim, siyasi, ekonomi ve demokrasi gibi farklı alanlardaki sorunlar nedeniyle insanlar ülkelerini terk etmektedir. Afganistan, tarih boyunca savaşlarla mücadele eden bir ülke olarak bilinmektedir. Ancak, özellikle Taliban'ın hakim olduğu dönemlerde dış göç artmıştır. Uluslararası göçün genişlemesi ve diğer ülkelere yönelen yasadışı göçün artması, sınır bölgelerindeki düzenlemelerin veya vize koşullarının ihlal edilmesine yol açmıştır. Ekonomik nedenlerle tetiklenen yasadışı göç, iş piyasasına giriş, istihdam ve gelir elde etme amacıyla gerçekleşmektedir ve ev sahibi ülke için çeşitli siyasi, ekonomik ve sosyal sonuçlar doğurabilir. Ancak, Afganistan'da göç Nedenleri farklı etnik gruplar arasında farklılık gösterebilir. Afganistan, çeşitli etnik kökenlere ev sahipliği yapmaktadır. Afganistan'da Hazara Bölgesi'ne ait etnik kökenli vatandaşların göç nedenlerini araştırmak amacıyla İran ve Türkiye'de 70 Hazara etnik kökenli göçmen ile anket yapılmıştır. Bu anket, Hazara etnik kökenlilerin göç etme ve geri dönmeme sebeplerini belirlemeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: göç, Afganistan, Hazara etnik

Jel kodları: K37, f22

ABSTRACT

People migrating from Afghanistan who do not plan to return are passing through Iran and Turkey to reach other countries. There are various factors behind this migration. People are leaving their country due to issues in different areas such as education, politics, economy, and democracy under the Taliban regime. Afghanistan has been known as a country that has struggled with wars throughout its history. However, particularly during the periods of Taliban control, external migration has increased. The expansion of international migration and the rise of illegal migration to other countries have led to violations of border regulations or visa requirements. Illegal migration, triggered by economic reasons, occurs to access the job market, gain employment, and earn income, which can lead to various political, economic, and social consequences for the host country. However, the reasons for migration in Afghanistan may vary among different ethnic groups. Afghanistan is home to various ethnic backgrounds. To investigate the migration reasons of citizens of Hazara ethnic origin from the Hazara region of Afghanistan, a survey was conducted with 70 Hazara ethnic migrants in Iran and Turkey. This survey aims to identify the reasons for migration and the reluctance to return among Hazara ethnic individuals.

Keywords: Immigration, Afghanistan, Hazara ethnic

Jel Codes: K37, f22

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1. INTRODUCTION

Afghanistan, the third-largest country for immigration, is positioned on the list of global migration corridors according to the density of migrants, also due to its border with Iran and Pakistan. While the Mexico-US corridor ranks first and the Syria-Turkey corridor ranks second on the list, the Afghanistan-Iran corridor is in the 6th place and the Afghanistan-Pakistan corridor is in the 20th place (McAuliffe, 2021) The next destination for Afghan-origin migration towards Iran and Pakistan has long been European countries through Turkey. In this context, the significance of Iran and Turkey as transit and destination countries for Afghanistan-origin migrations is highlighted. In recent years, the numbers of legal and illegal Afghan migrants have been increasing, especially since 2019. To analyze the reasons for this migration and to provide a ranking among them, we will investigate the reasons why individuals who settled illegally in Iran and Turkey after 2021 have chosen not to return.

Iran and Turkey have been countries that have witnessed a significant influx of illegal migration in recent years. Statistics indicate that 99% of Afghan migrants entered Iran through illegal means to reach European countries either through Turkey or by transiting through Iran. Consequently, Turkey and Iran have hosted migrants, the majority of whom entered without legal permission, leading to various issues in areas such as culture, marriage, employment, education, health, crime, housing, etc., especially creating numerous challenges for Iran. Therefore, it is essential to conduct research on different dimensions to understand the demographic, economic, and social characteristics of Afghan migrants in Turkey and Iran and to compare the results to gain insights (UNHCR, 2023).

According to UNHCR data, when we look at the data of Afghan immigrants in Iran in 2023, we should note that the majority of these numbers are of Hazara ethnic origin. Approximately 3 million Afghan citizens are estimated to be living in Iran. Most of these individuals have been born and raised in Iran over the past four decades. Different categories of Afghans exist in Iran: the country has become the second-largest host of refugees and refugee-like populations globally, following Turkey, with a population of 3.4 million. Additionally, Iran hosts 1.1 million Afghans, including 360,000 Afghans with residence permits, 267,000 Afghans with family passports, and 500,000 undocumented Afghans (UNHCR, 2023).

Afghans use Turkey both as a place to live and as a transit point to reach other countries. A significant number of Afghans enter Turkey through illegal means. Consequently, we can refer to Afghans in Turkey who have no official status or registration, although we do not have clear data on this. However, it is possible to discuss registered Afghans as well. Afghans are generally granted international protection or residence permits. According to the data from the Migration Administration, there are 49,922 Afghan refugees with residence permits and 19,400 Afghan asylum seekers under international protection in the country. Additionally, the data indicates that the most frequently apprehended irregular migrants in Turkey are Afghan nationals. In the first five months of 2023 alone, 17,258 Afghans were caught (Göçİdaresi, 2024).

2. REASONS FOR MIGRATION

Afghanistan, a landlocked country located in South Asia and Central Asia, has a complex history marked by conflict, cultural diversity, and geopolitical significance. The country has been inhabited for thousands of years and has served as a crossroads for various civilizations, including the Persian Empire, the Greek Empire, and the Silk Road trade routes. Afghanistan's modern history is heavily influenced by a series of wars and invasions, particularly the Soviet invasion in 1979, which led to a protracted conflict against Soviet forces and the subsequent rise of the Mujahideen. The civil war following the Soviet withdrawal resulted in the Taliban's emergence in the 1990s, which imposed a strict interpretation

of Islamic law until being ousted by a U.S.-led coalition in 2001. Despite significant international involvement, the Taliban regained control in 2021, leading to renewed concerns about human rights, particularly for women and ethnic minorities such as the Hazara community, who have historically faced persecution. The demographic makeup of Afghanistan is diverse, comprising various ethnic groups, including Pashtuns, Tajiks, Hazaras, and Uzbeks. This ethnic diversity has contributed to the complexities of governance and social cohesion, often exacerbating tensions and conflicts. Economically, Afghanistan is one of the least developed countries in the world, heavily reliant on agriculture and international aid. The ongoing instability has severely impacted economic development, leading to widespread poverty and high unemployment rates (WorldBank, 2021).

In today's world, states are facing migration processes due to reasons such as economic problems and political crises, leading to a significant human mobility. Afghanistan has experienced crises in terms of politics and economy due to war and instability, even serving as a source of drugs to generate a stable income during the Taliban era. The attractiveness of large cities, high employment opportunities, and good educational facilities are among the key reasons for migration taking place. Again, in Afghanistan, issues have been encountered on a large scale due to the level of education and even the situation where women did not attend schools during the Taliban era. The main goal in all voluntary and forced migrations is to achieve a better quality of life, but in Afghanistan, generally, there are characteristics indicating compulsory migration and push factors. We can collect the reasons for Afghanistan migration under 3 headings (IOM, 2020)

2.1 Economic Reasons

The economic level of individuals, unemployment, and the resulting living standards are among the primary economic reasons. Particularly, the high rate of unemployment among the young population leads them to experience migration processes more intensely (IOM, GÖÇ VE GÖÇMENLER, 2020). Afghan youth come to Iran and Turkey through illegal means to earn money and work in various sectors illegally. Most of these workers are involved in construction, livestock, and agriculture. People leave their cities and cultures where they grew up for employment purposes, finding themselves in a new culture, language, and work environment. Especially the desire for a good income and, consequently, to lead a quality life is the most significant economic reason for migration in today's world. Expanding on the topic of economic reasons for migration, it is essential to understand the complex interplay between economic factors and human mobility. Economic disparities, such as unequal wealth distribution, lack of employment opportunities, and low living standards, can create a push factor for individuals to seek better economic prospects elsewhere. This is particularly evident in regions with high youth unemployment rates, as young people are often more willing to take risks and seek opportunities in other countries. In the case of Afghan youth seeking employment in Iran and Turkey through undocumented means, the motivation is clear - the pursuit of economic gain. These individuals are driven by the need to support themselves and their families financially, leading them to take on jobs in sectors that may not offer legal employment but provide a source of income. The shift to a new culture and work environment represents both a challenge and an opportunity for these migrants, as they adapt to unfamiliar surroundings in the hopes of securing a better future (IOM, Special issue on Afghan displacement, 2016).

2.2 Political Reasons

One of the reasons for migration in Afghanistan is also political events. Wars, terrorist threats, and certain political developments and agreements also play a role in migration. Among the political reasons that cause migration, there are also revolutions, dictatorships, and exiles, with Afghan political figures standing out as one of the main reasons for not returning to Afghanistan. Particularly in 2021, after the Taliban regained control, the reasons for state officials, especially high-ranking officials, leaving the country and not wanting to return can be explained in this way. Additionally, it is a fact that after World War I, the borders of many countries in Asia and Africa changed, leading to a significant number of

people migrating. In recent times, the internal turmoil and political turmoil experienced in some countries in the Middle East (such as Iraq, Syria, and Afghanistan) have caused millions of people to flee their countries and resulted in a massive wave of migration (IOM, 2020).

Expanding on the political reasons for migration, it is vital to delve into the impact of political instability, conflicts, and governance issues on human movement. Political upheavals, such as wars, revolutions, and dictatorships, create an environment of uncertainty and insecurity, prompting individuals to seek refuge in safer regions or countries. In the case of Afghanistan, the prolonged conflicts, terrorist threats, and political turmoil have significantly contributed to the displacement of many people, forcing them to leave their homes in search of safety and stability elsewhere.

The return of the Taliban to power in 2021 further exacerbated the political situation in Afghanistan, leading to a new wave of migration as state officials, high-ranking individuals, and ordinary citizens feared for their safety and future under the Taliban regime. The reluctance of political figures to return to Afghanistan highlights the deep-rooted challenges and concerns surrounding political stability and governance in the country, which continue to drive migration patterns (Dashti, 2022).

2.3 Socio-Cultural Reasons

Migration must be evaluated from social and cultural perspectives, considering factors such as population structure, education, healthcare, and other social elements (Taşcı, 2009: 189). Social and cultural migration is primarily related to education. This is because urban centers have better educational opportunities compared to rural areas. In Afghanistan, migration for educational purposes occurs both from rural areas to cities and towards developed countries based on educational opportunities.

Migration plays a crucial role in shaping societies and cultures, as it involves the movement of individuals or groups from one place to another, often in search of better opportunities or living conditions. Social factors such as education, healthcare, and access to resources, as well as cultural aspects, contribute significantly to the decision-making process of individuals or communities when it comes to migration.

Education stands out as a key driver of social and cultural migration. Urban centers usually offer better educational facilities, ranging from schools to higher education institutions, which attract individuals seeking to improve their knowledge and skills. In the case of Afghanistan, where educational opportunities may be limited in rural areas, migration towards urban areas or even to developed countries for educational purposes becomes a common phenomenon. The pursuit of education not only enhances individual opportunities but also contributes to the overall development of societies and cultures.

the ethnic groups in Afghanistan demonstrate the country's rich and diverse ethnic mosaic. According to the 2019 data, the ethnic distribution of Afghanistan's population is as follows:

- Pashtuns: Pashtuns, the largest ethnic group in Afghanistan, represent 42% of the total population.
- Tajiks: Tajiks make up 27% of the population and are another important ethnic group in the country.
- Hazaras: Hazaras constitute 9% of Afghanistan's population and generally adhere to the Shia² faith.
- Uzbeks: Uzbeks are another ethnic group representing 9% of the population.
- Aimaqs: Aimaqs represent 4% of the population.

² The Hazaras are one of the ethnic groups of Afghanistan. They generally live in the central and western regions of the country, particularly in the provinces of Bamyan, Daikundi, and Ghazni. Hazaras are mostly affiliated with Shia Islam and speak Hazaragi, which is a dialect of Persian.

- **Turkmens:** Turkmens make up 3% of Afghanistan's population. **Balochs:** Balochs are another ethnic group representing 2% of the population. These figures reflect Afghanistan's ethnic diversity and the presence of various cultures (TANIWAL, 2019).

Since 2017, all Hazara ethnicity athletes, politicians, academics, and technical experts have been forced to migrate from Afghanistan. According to studies conducted by the IOM and UN, the most prominent national athlete who stands out is a taekwondo athlete. They expressed that they had to leave Afghanistan due to ethnic discrimination (McAuliffe, Word Migration Report 2018, 2018, s. 170-190).

In another example, every year a suicide bomber or a bomb is placed on the door of Hazara ethnic girls' schools. For example, there was a suicide bomb attack on a girls' high school in the Hazara region in 2022, and an attack on a hospital in the same neighborhood in 2018, and these incidents consistently occur only in neighborhoods with certain ethnic backgrounds (Euronews, 2022). There has always been genocide against suicide bombings at religious events and peaceful protests (Euronews, Euronews, 2021) (Sabah, Sabah, 2016). Taliban closed girls' schools, but Hazara ethnic citizens living in rural areas experienced this problem the most (Hamedani, BBC, 2021).

PURPOSE of the STUDY

We used interview and questioning methods. In a pilot interview, 5 questions were asked, but when the questions were too many, illegal immigrants preferred not to answer to avoid the answers. On the other hand, individuals are afraid and do not share their information. Especially in Iran, they do not even tell their real names. Former civil servants do not talk about their jobs. We found the solution in the form of a single question. It is difficult to have sufficient information about undocumented migrants since they are not registered. First, it is a very difficult task to interview individuals who migrated illegally. On the other hand, when we ask a question like "why don't you go back?", there was a reaction and psychological failure to answer. The question asked changed to 'why you left homeland'. The province with high immigration in Iran is Mashhad province and it was chosen because it shares a border with Afghanistan. In Iran, the survey was conducted in a meeting room in the city of Mashhad during the winter of 35 at the same time. Likewise, one of the reasons why Turkey chose the city of Kayseri as one of the provinces with Hazara ethnic origin and illegal living is that we can gather 35 people at the same time. Then we grouped these answers into different categories. Research by the IOM, UN and Harvard searches shows that Hazara ethnicity refugees have experienced genocide and inequality (Thames, 2022), but there has been no academic study on this matter.

Method

The survey involved interviews with 35 Afghan migrants living in Meshed province in Iran and Kayseri province in Turkey, where questions about the migrants' return were asked. Individuals who are forced to migrate often must leave their countries due to economic hardships, terrorism, security issues, and internal conflicts. Since the questions were open-ended like interview according to pilot result.

Sample:

- Must be Afghan and Hazara
- Must have migrated from Afghanistan after 2021.
- Must have settled in Mashhad or Kayseri.
- Must have an illegal status.
- Must be over 18 years old.

Individuals meeting these criteria were surveyed in two study areas. It is not clear exactly which category these candidates are in. They are individuals who left their home country as illegal refugees but later acquired immigrant status illegally. In the pilot study, to address the immigration problems of Hazara

ethnic immigrants, mostly after the 2021/August events, candidates were required to answer the question "When did you leave your country?". the question "Why don't you return back to origin country?" was not welcomed and caused an adverse reaction. That's why the question form was changed to "Why did you leave your country?". They do not give answer to question about the job by directly question but with this question we got the answers of their jobs. Reasons for leaving will be considered reasons for not returning, and the answer to this question is answered on the condition that it does not exceed one page.

Question

- 1- Gender.
- 2- when you leave your homeland.
- 3- why you leave your homeland.

Here, in accordance with the purpose of the study, only participants who met the criteria we determined were found and a survey was conducted. The meeting place of those who met these criteria was previously determined and a survey was conducted with all of them on the same day in Iran It was also applied in Turkey in the same way at different date.

Data Collection

each participant was interviewed face-to-face and asked questions, with the answers recorded in hard copy. The responses were later digitized. Analyses were conducted using Excel with the help of pivot tables.

Table 1 Mashhad interview Gender Result

Gender	Count
M	21
F	14
Grand Total	35

Table 1; In the survey conducted in Mashhad, 35 participants took part, with 21 male and 14 female.

Table 2 Kayseri Survey Gender Result

Gender	Count
M	20
F	15
Grand Total	35

The table 2 illustrate that in the survey conducted in Mashhad, 35 participants took part, with 20 male and 15 female.

3. MIGRATION FROM AFGHANISTAN

Afghanistan has struggled with a series of conflicts and instabilities over the past 40 years. Here are some key points from this period:

Soviet Invasion (1979-1989): In 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. This invasion sparked a major resistance in the country. Afghan resistance fighters fought against Soviet forces, resulting in significant losses during this period (Aljazeera, 2023) (Askarzada, 2018, s. 70).

Withdrawal of the Soviets and Civil War (1989-2001): In 1989, the Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan, but the country continued to experience a civil war. Conflicts broke out between different ethnic groups, leading the country into further instability (Aljazeera, 2023) (Çınarlı, 2009, s. 155).

Taliban Era (1996-2001): The Taliban gained control over a large part of Afghanistan in 1996. During this period, strict Islamic law was implemented. The Taliban provided refuge to terrorist leader Osama bin Laden, leading to the US intervention following the September 11 attacks (Aljazeera, 2023) (Askarzada, 2018, s. 103).

The US occupation and its aftermath (2001-present): In 2001, the US and its allies intervened in Afghanistan by overthrowing the Taliban. However, in the following years, instability persisted in the country. The Taliban continued its resistance in the southern regions of Afghanistan and along the Pakistan border. In 2020, the US and the Taliban signed the Doha agreement, but conflicts persisted. In 2021, with the withdrawal of US troops, power was handed over to the Taliban. This transfer of power marked a significant shift in the ongoing conflict in Afghanistan (Aljazeera, 2023).

3.1 Taliban

When we look at the history of Afghanistan, there are numerous examples of the new regime mistreating those who worked under the old regime. Indeed, the overthrown Afghan regime could not reconcile with the Taliban, ultimately leading to the Taliban gaining control of Afghanistan in such an atmosphere. Consequently, many individuals who worked in the security institutions of the deposed regime felt that their lives were in danger and chose to leave the country. In this context, it is evident that many states, primarily the US, have evacuated Afghan individuals who worked for them as well as those working in security institutions over the past 20 years. Security officials of the deposed regime who cannot leave legally are trying to migrate through illegal means. This highlights the precarious situation faced by individuals associated with the former regime in Afghanistan (Andishmand, 2021) (Aljazeera, 2023) (IOM, 2016).

After seizing control of Kabul, the Taliban immediately declared a general amnesty. However, this amnesty primarily applies to high-ranking officials of the deposed regime. It is claimed that many individuals who worked in the security institutions of the deposed regime, especially in rural areas, have become targets. The UN alleges that the Taliban has killed 100 individuals associated with the deposed regime in Afghanistan. Many individuals who worked in the security institutions and bureaucracy of the deposed regime have fled to neighboring countries due to the fear of being targeted by Taliban fighters. It is known that among those who have fled to neighboring countries are individuals who worked as local power figures in the deposed regime. In addition to fear, over the past 20 years, a new generation has emerged in Afghanistan within the framework of liberal values. The Taliban, on the other hand, conveys the message that it will govern the state with Sharia law, signaling the end of the democratic era, and is implementing this approach. Indeed, it is observed that many families have left Afghanistan to educate their daughters. Therefore, the policies of the Taliban are also forcing Afghan youth to migrate. Consequently, hundreds of university professors, political analysts, representatives of civil society organizations, and journalists have migrated to foreign countries through legal and illegal means (Aljazeera, 2023).

Long-standing wars, instability, and underdevelopment have encouraged long-term migration from Afghanistan to Europe. Illegal migrants from Afghanistan to Western Europe generally pass through either the Eastern Mediterranean route or the Western Balkans route. Both routes are commonly used and expose migrants to various dangers, including physical attacks, robbery, and even death. Migrants facing these dangers not only encounter risks stemming from illegal actors and smugglers but may also

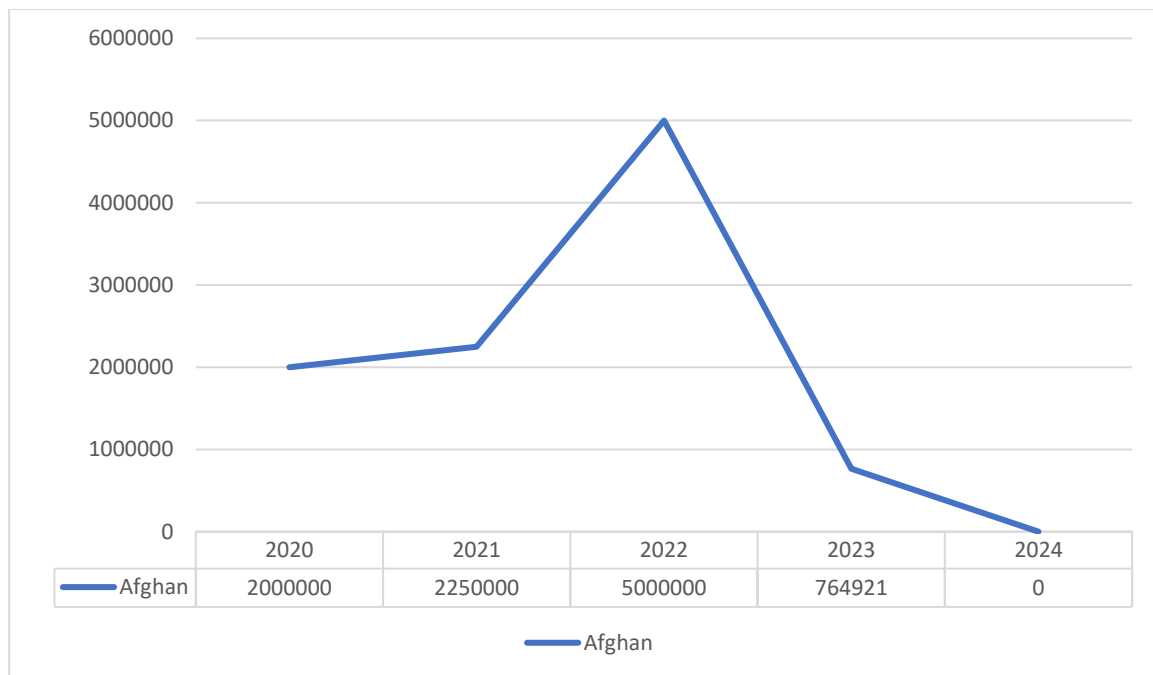
be harassed by border security forces in some cases. In recent times, with the increase in migration to Iran and Turkey, new problems and laws have emerged.

3.1.1 Iran

In Iran, all Afghans must be registered in a state system called "Hamayesh" to be supported and access necessary services. Individuals with documents generally have access to health, housing, and education services, but unfortunately, they are seen to have weak access to services related to gender-based violence. Migrants with good access to education and housing services often have weak access to health, legal aid, and protection services without documents. Civil society organizations are rarely found in Iran and if they exist, they are subject to strict regulations. Migrants often rely on the wide social network of the Afghan community living in Iran. (Iran-göç-idaresi, 2022, s. 450-460) (IOM, 2016) (BBC, 2023). We do not have access to the exact number of immigrants in Iran. But we will base our figures on the figures from UNHCR.

At the end of 2022, the estimated number of refugees from Afghanistan had significantly increased due to revised estimates of Afghans hosted in the Islamic Republic of Iran following a headcount exercise conducted by the government. With over 3.4 million refugees and refugee-like populations, Iran became the second-largest refugee-hosting country in the world after Turkey. Additionally, Iran is home to more than 1.1 million Afghans of varying statuses, including 360,000 Afghans with Iranian residence permits, 267,000 family passport holders, and 500,000 undocumented Afghans. Almost you can see after 2021 the population of Afghan in Iran became about 5000000.

Graph 1 Afghans in Iran



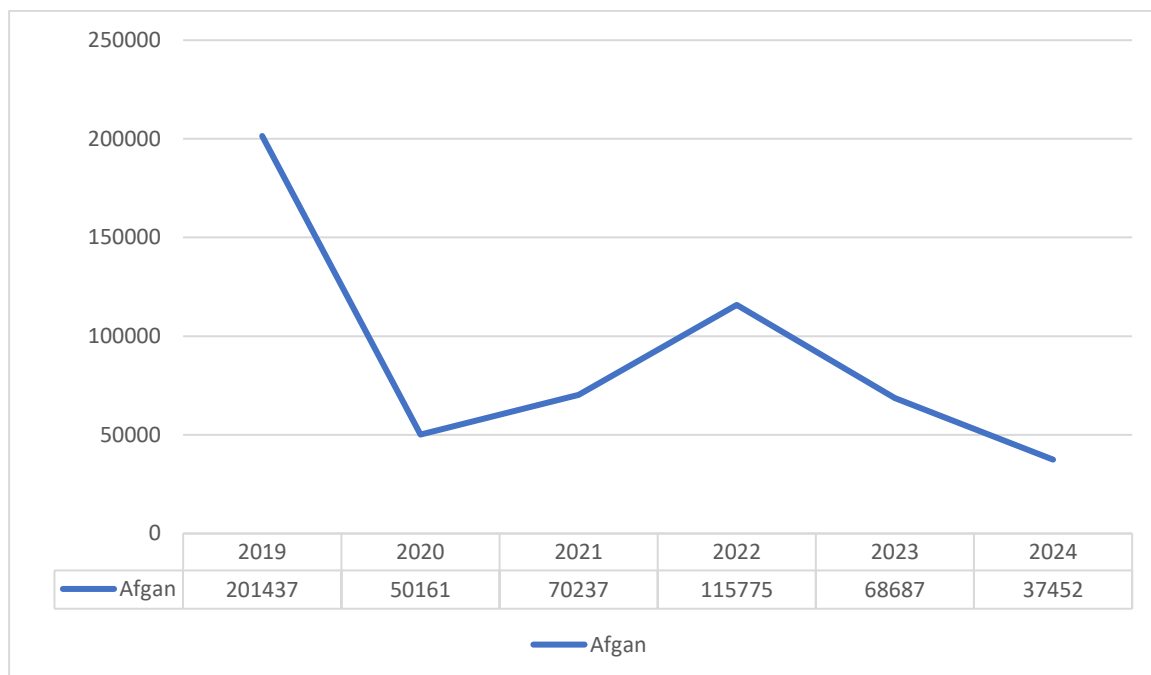
source: [UNHR](#)

3.1.2 Turkey

Turkey is the third country hosting the most Afghan immigrants after Iran and Pakistan. In Turkey, migrants can apply for international protection at the migration office. When migrants apply for protection, they are generally required to be relocated to smaller cities rather than centers in big cities.

Individuals with documents usually have good access to primary health services and legal aid, while their access to secondary health services is weak. Those without documents have almost no access at all. In the province of Van, which is a border neighbor with Iran, the lack of access becomes more pronounced, as it is seen as the primary destination for large migrant groups. There is a serious problem with access to services, especially among Afghans, as most aid organizations in Turkey are focused on Syrian citizens, and unfortunately, there is no centralized return system (Şimşek, 2021) (BBC, 2023) (IOM, 2016). According to the data of the Directorate General of Migration Management of the Republic of Turkey, the number of Afghan refugees who arrived in Turkey through irregular migration is as follows:

Graph 2 ; Afghans In Turkey



source: [TC immigration office](#)

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) data, there are 116,400 Afghan refugees under international protection in Turkey. (UNHCR, 2023) (TC.Göç-İdaresi, 2023). We can see the top rate in 2019 before and 2022 after the changes of regime. As can be seen in both countries, an increase in migration is observed after 2021³.

4. RESULTS OF INTERVIEW

When we divide it into general categories, although the reasons found in the research differ between men and women, they can generally be summarized as follows.

- Family Security
- Life Safety
- Religion, Sect
- Education

³ In August 2021, the Taliban took over Afghanistan and American forces left Afghanistan.

- Economy
- Inequality
- Ethnic Origin Genocide
- Security
- Women's Rights
- Taliban

The table3 provides a breakdown of Mashhad survey results by gender, showcasing the various reasons why individuals, both male and female, have migrated.

For males (M), the reasons for migration include concerns related to family security, life safety, religion or sect, economic factors, inequality, being victims of ethnic origin genocide, security issues, and the presence of the Taliban. The most common reasons for male migration in this survey are ethnic origin genocide and security concerns.

For females (F), the reasons for migration are focused on issues such as religion or sect, education opportunities, inequality, being victims of ethnic origin genocide, and women's rights. The most common reasons for female migration in this survey are education and being victims of ethnic origin genocide.

In our Mashhad survey, we have a total of 35 participants. Among our participants, there are 21 males and 14 females, all of whom have come to Iran through illegal means. While men express that they do not want to go back due to ethnic genocide, for women, education and ethnic genocide are the reasons. The issue of women's education can be evaluated as a form of inequality and contrary to democracy based on the strict laws imposed on women by the Taliban. The limitations on women's access to education under the Taliban regime highlight a broader pattern of gender-based oppression and suppression of women's rights. By restricting women's educational opportunities, the Taliban not only perpetuates a cycle of inequality but also undermines the principles of democracy and human rights.

Table 3 Mashhad Survey

By Gender	Result Figures
M	21
Family Security	1
Life Safety	1
Religion, Sect	4
Economy	2
Inequality	1
Ethnic Origin Genocide	5
Security	4
Taliban	3
F	14
Religion, Sect	2
Education	5
Inequality	1
Ethnic Origin Genocide	5
Women's Rights:	1
SUM	35

Mashhad answers female.

- You can't find what freedom is in a society where there are no women's rights. Women who are treated like slaves will make mistakes if they stay there. All women should leave that country. Let them rule a country where there are no women. All women who stay there are powerful.
- Being a Hazar in Afghanistan is a sin. On top of that, being a girl is a sin. I see no reason for a Hazar girl to live in Afghanistan. There is no freedom, democracy is only for the Taliban. The day I left, I had no feelings, as if I was leaving a foreign place, there is no love for the homeland because I have never seen any love from this homeland.
- I was appointed as a religion teacher. I have a bachelor's degree in theology from Iran. But since I am Shii, I cannot teach theology and religion at the university.
- It's as if Shiites are not human in the eyes of the Taliban, as if everyone is clean and beautiful but a Shii girl is a criminal.
- My mother was sick, and we went from the town to the capital. On the way they took my father out of the car and beat him. When we got to the Hazara tribe, my mother said let's go to Iran and we will evaluate my illness there. We came to Iran and the reason for this was not because of my mother's illness but because they shot my father there.
- They tried to wipe out Hazaras in masse twice in history, but they continued. This time they ignored Hazaras and failed again during the republican period. But now they either kill you or don't give you a job because you are Hazara, you can't even buy bread.
- A suicide bomber comes to our school. My sister can't go to school anymore and my father is scared. I can't go to university either because girls can't go to university. Every day there is a new rumor about this. One day it opens but when we get to the university gate, they ask for our names and this raises suspicion and in order not to give our names we don't attend classes and go home.
- Except for the Taliban oppression. And except for the ban on girls studying. In many regions in Afghanistan, school buildings are either non-existent or in very poor condition. The lack of infrastructure, basic services such as clean water, electricity and toilets make it difficult to access schools and reduce interest in girls' education. My daughter has now given up studying and has given up her life. I am a teacher, but I could not convince my daughter. My daughter told me that if I study and become a teacher, what good would it do if I could not work and stayed home.
- The crime of Hazaras is their ethnicity. In Afghanistan they are treated differently because they are Shii. Outside of Afghanistan they are also treated differently because their eyes are different. Here they call them Japan or Chinese every day and I don't like it.
- The position I worked, because I was a Hazara was given to a male employee of another ethnicity. There are no women's rights, but they still need me because I am a master, and I was hired on a contract basis. I experienced problems every day in this job because I was a Hazara, and I could not stand it anymore and I left.
- I dropped out of school because of the recent situation in Afghanistan. I was a dentistry student in Kabul, but my house is in Mazar sharif. We have no teachers, no education, girls must be oppressed in every way in this country and how can we continue in a country where these rights are not present?
- one day there will be a suicide bomber, one day the schools will close, one day the Taliban will come and take the girls away and one day they will probably cause the girls unnecessary problems, so it is best to leave while they are still in the beginning. I would rather leave a place where I have no future, where I cannot study and where I cannot be free.

- My father was martyred, we are 2 siblings, and we left the country with my mother. We want to go to university, we want to study, but a girl without a father is immediately married off in Afghanistan and considered a housewife. I don't want to be like that.
- A woman faces inequality not only from the Taliban but also from those who are not part of it. In the past, there was only male-female inequality; now, if you are a woman and not part of the Hazara and Taliban regime, you will face difficulties even in getting bread in that country. I cannot endure this inequality. I had a small business, and just as I was starting to stand on my own feet, everything was taken from me. Even if I die, I will not return.

Mashhad answers male.

- My daughter was martyred at school. I have another daughter and I don't want to lose her.
- I am a taxi driver. When I leave home in the morning, I don't know if I will return home in the evening or not. Every morning, I say goodbye to my family as if I will not be able to return home, and I don't want that.
- I am a doctor and studied dentistry. Since I am Shii, I was rejected from the jobs I applied for because they stigmatize me as a Shii and look down on me everywhere.
- Being a Shii is sect.
- I do not want to live in a country where my sect and religion will hinder my work.
- My children are young and cannot work. I am the only one working at home, but it is not like before. In the past, a certain amount was paid to the state. I have had to pay more than I earned in the last 2 months as taxes in the name of Islam. How can I live in such a system?
- unemployment. I am a university civil engineering graduate and I must sell cosmetics with a wheelbarrow to meet the needs of the house.
- I am a farmer and I used to do agriculture in Behsud. I have always faced inequality from job interviews to land transactions because I am a Hazara. Nomads can enter my land every year because I am a Hazara, but I cannot do the same. I want to sell my land in the Behsud region, but I cannot even sell it.
- I am a head teacher and I must go back and forth from Ghazni province to the tribe. Because I am Hazara, I was stopped and beaten by the Taliban every time. My teacher friends of other ethnic backgrounds get paid more than me. They come every year on a contract basis and are assigned to universities after a year, but I have been a teacher for 10 years and I have not been promoted to education abroad. Recently, they said that Hazaras should go, and I left.
- We were 5 siblings in Kabul. I lost 2 of my siblings JONBESH ROSHANAI in 2016 in Dehmezeng. 1 of my siblings was martyred while he was still a student at Kabul University. We only have 2 siblings left. If this is not genocide, why aren't there suicide bombings and explosions in universities, schools and hospitals of other ethnicities?
- I am Hazara and it is clear as day that Hazaras are not wanted in Afghanistan. I am a journalist and the real news I write is collected from Hazara regions. But when I come to the publishing part, all the news is deleted, and the problems and agenda of other regions are included.
- I am an athlete, and I won many medals but the no one did not and will not support me because I am a Hazara. I won a medal for my country, but I have never received a thank you letter from the state.
- I have no chance of promotion in the government body I work in because I am Hazara and I have been working in the same place for 10 years, I have a master's degree, but someone from a different ethnicity who has just finished his bachelor's degree and has no work experience can be my manager, but I have no chance of promotion.

- There was concern about security, but after the Taliban came in 2021, I witnessed a theft every night, and in every theft, we only saved our lives when we saw people injured or killed.
- Everyone walks around the streets with a gun. I want to live in a place where I will give as much as I want to how I will die.
- I am a taxi driver, I am not afraid, I cannot ask for a fare from anyone, but what if they are Taliban soldiers?
- Not only me, but also no one else is a murderer and financially secure, theft, mugging and killing people for money due to unemployment has become normalized. During the Republic period, I was removed from my police team duty and people who did not know this job were brought to my place, they took me by force every day to put their affairs in order. When I could not go, they took me by force, and I was threatened to kill. I worked at the police department, but it was a desk job and since the Taliban came, they have taken me in for questioning at least 10 times and each time I said goodbye to my family. There can be no more important reason to leave my country than this.
- It is a society where the Taliban is against education. I was a fine arts student, but there are no teachers left in universities. Universities are closed. How long will I wait for this situation to improve? Waiting is not a solution. If those people improve until I finish my education outside, I will go back. If not, I will not be able to exhibit in the department I love, nor will they leave me a place to work.
- I had a shop in Kabul but far from home I have 4 daughters a family of 8 in total and my mother and father are still alive, and we live together. I am always outside at work and my father is old. My daughters do the shopping for the house. But after the Taliban came, they couldn't leave the house, we get help from the neighbor's children to buy bread. They can't go to school. My oldest daughter was working but she can't work either. So how are we going to live? We thought about it and moved here for now, God knows what will happen in the future.

The table 4 presents the results of the Kayseri Survey, showcasing the reasons for migration based on gender.

For males (M), the reasons for migration include concerns related to religion or sect, economic factors, being victims of ethnic origin genocide, security issues, and the presence of the Taliban. The most common reasons for male migration in this survey are ethnic origin genocide and the presence of the Taliban.

For females (F), the reasons for migration are focused on issues such as religion or sect, education opportunities, being victims of ethnic origin genocide, security concerns, and the presence of the Taliban. The most common reasons for female migration in this survey are education and being victims of ethnic origin genocide

In our study in Kayseri, we have a total of 35 participants, with 20 males and 15 females. While the male participants express that they do not want to regress primarily due to the ethnic origin genocide, the females cite leaving Afghanistan for educational purposes as the reason

Table 4: Kayseri Survey

By Gender	Result Figures
M	20
Religion, Sect	3
Economy	1
Ethnic Origin Genocide	7

Security	3
Taliban	6
F	15
Religion, Sect	2
Education	5
Ethnic Origin Genocide	4
Security	1
Taliban	3
SUM	35

Kayseri answers female.

- I just want to live. I can go and wash dishes in another safe country, but I can't teach in Afghanistan anymore. According to the Taliban, a woman can't be a teacher. But there are women teachers in other regions. they don't want Hazaras to be in the government or to rise.
- My fathers had surrendered all their weapons to the state during the republican period, like other Hazaras. When the Taliban came in 2021, weapons came from neighboring villages of other ethnic origins, no one surrendered their weapons except the Hazaras. They came and started to take tribute from our villagers even though we are neighbors. Our vehicles should pay taxes to other villages they pass through to go to the city. Just because we are of Hazara ethnic origin. People who did not have money were forced to sell their daughters. Even if there was a marriage, which family would accept the marriage of a girl under the age of 18?
- There is no education anyway. Women don't need education. They will eventually get married and become housewives, servants to their husbands, first or second wives. I think that's why they restrict education.
- My father took us from school because he was afraid, they would send a suicide bomber to the school. We went to Iran and came to Turkey via Iran. We have been here for about a year.
- Even slaves were given the right to education.
- My mother is a teacher, my father is a doctor, they are educated people, but they cannot work. I think the Taliban regime in Afghanistan needs education and they will improve but my youth and education will be a big problem in the future by violating the rights of the new generation.
- In most countries, Afghan women can qualify for educational scholarships, university scholarships and even living scholarships by meeting certain conditions. I also want to benefit from these rights.
- I worked as a security guard at the airport for 5 years. After the Taliban came, they fired me because I was a slacker, but they didn't fire me because my neighbor's daughter was wearing a cardigan. I couldn't do any other job, so I had to leave Afghanistan.
- We couldn't leave the house for 2 months because they would kill the Hazaras. My brother and father couldn't go to work. Only 1 person could go to work. My brother waited with us so that nothing would happen to us. My father sold our house and car with the lie of working and brought us here.

- Here they told me that I don't look like Afghans, Afghans said I have brown and curly hair. But I am Hazara and there are those who haven't heard the name Hazara, and everyone thinks that Afghans have always been famous for wearing chadors and long clothes, maybe we Hazara women have fought for this, but we have not been seen or heard everywhere because of censorship.
- I don't understand why they see only Hazaras as enemies, when in fact Hazaras have made the greatest sacrifices for Afghanistan's progress. My father would come home once a month just to keep the state's construction work going and to keep it working.
- Every day there are kidnappings and dead bodies found without ransom demand. My family made this decision because of this fear, and it is the right decision.
- I was a high school math teacher. By the time the Taliban understands humanity, my knowledge will have been wasted, so I left. Of course, I want to be in my own country if they improve one day. I do not want to get married; I am 32 years old, and I will never get married. My father has left me enough inheritance, and the Taliban soldiers have made me uncomfortable every day to possess this inheritance. My mother and I left Afghanistan in 2022.
- I am an anesthesia specialist. I am not allowed to leave; how can I live in a place where I am forbidden from working. Let's say we could not train a female doctor. A male doctor will come and examine a Taliban's mahram. Is it that hard to understand? They said they did not need women, so I left the country.

Kayseri answers male.

- I know most of the people here, they are either teachers or people who have studied medicine, we all have different reasons, but in general, the Hazaras are Shii Muslims and are at risk of being excluded and mistreated by the Sunni majority. This religious discrimination is one of the reasons why the Hazaras migrate. I am a public administration teacher, I left Afghanistan because I could not handle and explain democracy, how could I bring bread to my home. The Taliban, as a group that has targeted the Hazaras, seriously threatens the security of the Hazaras. Especially since the re-establishment of the Taliban government in 2021, violence has increased. Women are no longer seeking women's rights. Women do not even have human rights. Every day a new law is introduced for girls, one day they cannot study, one day only in selected departments, but universities in general have become a dream for our girls. There were those who wanted to tie themselves to a plane and get away. Everyone sees this behavior as wrong. But there and in that environment, people did not think of themselves, but their families. They resorted to that method because they thought that if they were caught, their families would be found, and their crimes would be resolved.
- I was a civil servant. My duty was taken away from me because I was a Hazara. They searched my house. They took my personal car because they thought it might be state property. I left Afghanistan thinking that one day they would take my life too.
- I had 200 sheep in the Behsud region. Within 6 months, Taliban soldiers took 150 of them, I don't know if they were taken as war booty, for food for the soldiers, or as taxes. Then I sold the remaining sheep and came here. But in general, this has always been a problem in the Hazara region.

- I had just gone to Afghanistan at the beginning of 2021. With the money I collected, I brought 8 containers of electronic goods (TV, computer) to Afghanistan and left without selling any of them.
- Hazaras give opportunities to families especially their daughters when you look at it, there are many educated people in Hazaras. Although their population is small, they have always given importance to family. But after the Taliban came, the culture of Hazaras is different and opposite with a patriarchal structure. I have 3 daughters, 2 of them are university students and the other one is a doctor, and she was working. All of them had to stay at home or get married. I took my daughters and came to Turkey; I am here until I find hope.
- Hazaras were always an unwanted element. The same thing happened during the Republic period. In the past, they tried to wipe out the Hazaras, and now they only kill and disturb people in the Hazara regions.
- My secret is that I was born Hazara. I can't change my ethnicity.
- Hazaras have suffered hardships in every period but not as much as this period. You do not own anything; everything belongs to the Taliban army.
- I am a truck driver. You could carry goods anywhere in the past, but after 2021, I was beaten every time, whether by security or Taliban soldiers, just because I was a pest.
- Hazaras must leave Afghanistan. If it were not for that necessity, they would not sacrifice themselves on the Iranian border, the Turkish border or in the Greek seas.
- They do their best to wipe out the Hazaras.
- My life and the lives of my family are more important than anything else. Even if there is no Taliban, there is theft. There are kidnapping problems right now, so I took my family out of Afghanistan. I have German citizenship, but my children do not have citizenship and I will take care of their affairs and take them away.
- I am a taxi driver, and my car was stolen twice, and my money was taken by force. I left the car so that I wouldn't be taken the next time.
- It's very hard to live every second afraid that someone will kill me, that's why I left.
- The Taliban is at the top of everything and cannot govern. They even took the power to govern but cannot do it.
- The Taliban organization aims to divide Afghanistan by fighting among themselves, and we are the ones suffering from this.
- I was a soldier of a minister, so the Taliban comes every day and asks me questions about the former minister and takes me away, then they leave me, this is disturbing.
- These problems arose when an organization that had previously only existed in rural areas was brought to the city.
- My problem is the thoughts of the Taliban. They hold on to the mindset of the ancient Arab tribes before Islam came. Taliban soldiers moved in next door to my house. He got married twice in 2 months. Both of his wives were worse than slaves. In the evenings, there would be sounds of beatings and girls crying. They can't run the country with such an organization.

According to the answers the reasons for the difficulties faced by Hazaras under Taliban rule and the factors affecting their decision to migrate become even clearer through individual experiences. Here are a few important points that can be evaluated in this context:

1. Education Rights: Hazaras, especially women, are deprived of their right to education. In an environment where female teachers and doctors cannot find jobs and their education is obstructed, women are losing their futures and financial independence. The statements of women in Kayseri emphasize that the restriction of educational rights endangers not only individuals but also the future of society.

2. Security Fear: Both men and women live in constant fear due to the violent policies of the Taliban. Assassinations, femicides, and general security issues force people to flee their homes. Alongside these escape stories, the bullying and violence that Hazaras face in their daily lives comes to the forefront.

3. Religious and Ethnic Discrimination: Hazaras are Shii Muslims, and therefore they are subjected to discrimination under the Sunni Taliban regime. This religious and ethnic discrimination strengthens the motivation of many Hazaras to migrate. The historical struggles and targeting of Hazaras contribute to their continued discrimination as a community.

4. Family and Social Structure: Decisions to migrate are shaped not only by individual choices but also by families' efforts to protect their future. Families' desire to raise their children in a safe environment is one of the most important reasons for migration. Some individuals express that the restrictions on the education of women in their families represent a significant loss for the future of society.

5. Economic Difficulties: The economic hardship faced by Hazaras under the Taliban regime is also a crucial factor. Unemployment, unjust loss of property, and general economic uncertainty are among the reasons why people choose to migrate to other countries.

6. Hopelessness and Fear of the Future: Hazaras are losing hope in their current situation, leading them to seek a better future by deciding to migrate. In an environment where educational battles have been lost and human rights are completely disregarded, the struggle for survival drives many individuals to leave their homeland.

In conclusion, the complex situation faced by Hazaras is an issue that requires examination at both individual and societal levels. Various elements such as education, security, economic opportunities, and human rights deeply affect the lives of Hazaras and shape their migration decisions. The stories of individuals provide tangible examples of these problems and demonstrate the need for greater awareness of the humanitarian crisis faced by Hazaras

CONCLUSION

Looking at the history of Afghanistan, this country has been a source of migration throughout its history. However, for the past half century, Afghanistan has been one of the countries that has had the highest number of immigrants worldwide. It is known that those who immigrate from Afghanistan come from all sectors and regions. For half a century, Afghans have gone to foreign countries as migrants, so it is not possible to talk about a state that does not have Afghan migrants in the world. There are many reasons for immigration originating from Afghanistan. However, it can be stated that the most important reasons are war and instability. Because war threatens the ontology of the people, destroys all the structures of the country, and prevents the basic rights of the people from being provided. According to the political developments in Afghanistan, there have been fluctuations in immigration. Whenever stability and security are achieved in the country, a decrease in immigration is observed; however, when insecurity increases, an increase in immigration is also observed. People generally leave the country with the desire to reach a better future and a prosperous life; and one of the main reasons for Afghans to immigrate is their desire to save their lives.

In the survey conducted, it was found that Afghan migrants, particularly those of Hazara ethnic origin, have left Afghanistan primarily due to their ethnic background and the historical persecution consistently faced by the Hazara ethnic group. The Hazara people in Afghanistan have been subjected to systematic discrimination, violence, and even genocide throughout history, which has forced many of them to leave Afghanistan. During the genocide, sometimes perpetrated by rulers and groups, Hazara ethnic Afghan migrants have been forced to migrate for reasons less economically driven compared to migrants of other ethnic backgrounds. Unlike migrants of other ethnic backgrounds, Hazara Afghan migrants have been compelled to migrate due to reasons that are not predominantly economic in nature. Generally, the reason for Afghan refugees of Hazara ethnicity to migrate is believed to stem from feeling marginalized and the fear of a recurrence of historical genocide. Our survey study has strengthened our thoughts on this matter. Finally, in Afghanistan, men can somehow survive, but women are really struggling to survive.

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