

THE EFFECT OF GLOBALIZATION ON MIGRATION-SECURITY RELATIONSHIP

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Abstract

The migration is a process that has created a long and lasting effects which have been sustained since the existence of humanity. However, it has started to be examined under a “security” issue especially in the post-Cold War period. The relevant concern, which started with the increase in the immigrant population within the countries and the number of individuals participating in the migration process, has become a security threat with the illegal and irregular migration. Security problems that lead to migration, stems from migration and affect immigrants are considered in this context. Migration affects individual, societal, state, regional and international security areas and thus the immigration-security relationship becomes comprehensive. Globalization, with its positive and negative outcomes, has serious impacts on migration and security as it has done in almost all other fields. With its political, economic, cultural and social dimensions, globalization has a bi-directional effect on security with its problem-forming and problem-solving characteristic while it plays a particularly encouraging, compelling and triggering role in international migration. The aim of this paper is to systematically address the process the migration-security relationship, whose foundations were laid immediately after the Cold War, has gone through within the scope of the outputs and effects of globalization. The problems at different levels of security analysis arising from migration and the impact of globalization on their occurrence, exacerbation, spread or prevention have been tried to be examined in this study.

Keywords: Migration, Security, Globalization, International Migration, Illegal Migration

KÜRESELLEŞMENİN GÖÇ-GÜVENLİK İLİŞKİSİ ÜZERİNDEKİ ETKİSİ

Öz

Göç hareketi insanlığın var oluşundan beri devamlılığı olan olağan ve köklü sonuçlar doğuran bir süreçtir; fakat özellikle Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönemde güvenliğin bir alt başlığı olarak incelenmeye başlanmıştır. Ülkelerin içerisindeki göçmen nüfusunun ve göç sürecine katılan birey sayısının artış göstermesi üzerinden başlayan ilgili endişe, göçün yasa dışı ve düzensiz şekilde gerçekleşmesiyle birlikte bir güvenlik tehdidi haline gelmiştir. Göçe neden olan, göçün neden olduğu ve göçmenleri etkileyen güvenlik sorunları bu bağlamda düşünülmektedir. Göç; birey,

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toplum, devlet, bölge ve uluslararası güvenlik alanlarını etkilemekte ve böylece göç-güvenlik ilişkisi kapsamlı bir hal almaktadır. Küreselleşme ise olumlu ve olumsuz çıktlarıyla birlikte hemen her alanda olduğu gibi göç ve güvenlik üzerinde de ciddi etkiler doğurmaktadır. Siyasi, ekonomik, kültürel, toplumsal boyutlarıyla küreselleşme güvenlik üzerinde sorun oluşturu ve sorunların çözülmesine yönelik kolaylaştırıcı yönüyle çift yönlü bir etki yaratırken özellikle uluslararası göçü özendirici, zorlayıcı ve tetikleyici bir rol oynamaktadır. Bu makalenin amacını; özellikle Soğuk Savaş'ın hemen sonrasındaki dönemde temelleri atılan göç-güvenlik ilişkisinin küreselleşmenin çıktıkları ve etkileri bağlamında tecrübe ettiği sürecin sistematik bir şekilde ele alınması oluşturmaktadır. Güvenliğin farklı analiz seviyelerinde göç nedeniyle oluşan sorunlar ve küreselleşmenin bu sorunların oluşmalarında, şiddetlenmelerinde, yayılmalarında veya önlenmelerindeki etkisi çalışmada irdelenmeye çalışılmıştır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Göç, Güvenlik, Küreselleşme, Uluslararası Göç, Yasa Dışı Göç

Introduction

Migration movements have taken place in various parts of the world in almost every period of the history and it is not difficult to predict that this process will continue in the future. Official data show that the number of international migrants is increasing rapidly. The number of international migrants, which was 173 million in 2000, increased by 2.4% year-on-year to 191 million in 2005, 220 million in 2010, 248 million in 2015 (UN: 2017:4) and reached 258 million in 2017 (UN DESA, 2017). This interest towards migration and concentration in the field brought about security debates, undoubtedly. The security problems caused by migration and causing migration have become increasingly high-pitched debates. One of the most important factors triggers and scales up these discussions is globalization. Although globalization emerges on the basis of economy, it has attained a structure which is decisive on every area of life. In this respect, globalization has many effects that force migration, encourage and facilitate the process. Although the presence of people on move is not perceived as essentially a negative development defined through interaction, the concentration and disorganization of the process fuel security concerns.

Although there is cross-border human mobility in many parts of the world, today security debates are intensified especially on three migration issues. The first is the situation created by the people who had to flee from Syria, which was dragged into civil war after the so-called “Arab Spring”. The second is the efforts of people from various African countries to cross the Mediterranean into European countries. The third is the “immigration caravan” activity created by the citizens of Central American countries to cross the United States border. These three immigration situations are at the highest level of the security agenda due to the undesired concentration and illegal methods. While states take measures to prevent the crowds appearing beyond their borders, international NGOs and media draw attention to the loss of lives in the process and an unwanted situation arises in the context of

the peace of the international arena. It is possible to state that the reasons of these three migration situations are directly related to globalization. Many situations such as rapid dissemination of ideologies, ideas and information through mass media and especially social media, growing awareness of events around the world, increased social disturbances due to inequalities in income and injustice in societies, a growing body of civil wars and thus failed states because of several reasons especially identity discussions, the deepening of the influence of terrorist organizations and the intensification of individuals seeking a life similar to the standard of living in other countries are directly related to globalization.

The subject of this study is to discuss the impact of globalization on migration-security relationship. How the problems caused by the increasingly intensifying migration waves threaten the security of individuals, states and the international arena will also be discussed. The security problems caused by migration and cause the necessity to migrate are the issues that need to be examined in this context. In this article, firstly, concepts such as globalization, migration and security will be briefly expressed and a conceptual framework will be drawn. Afterwards, the relationship between migration and security, and international migration as a current security agenda topic will be discussed. Finally, the role of the globalization process in the migration-security relationship will be handled. This study, as a beginning, aims to reveal the different dimensions of the migration-security relationship starting from the inclusion of the immigration situation into security studies immediately after the Cold War, especially from the period in which it is associated with the security of society and the state. The main objective of the article is to systematically express the impact of the globalization process on the different dimensions of the migration-security relationship.

1. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

1.1. Globalization

Globalization in its simplest form expresses the process of expansion, deepening and acceleration of interdependence networks around the world (McGrew, 2006: 20). It should be noted that this interdependence has a multidimensional and distinct economic, cultural and political processes (Heywood, 2011:10). Giddens defines globalization as intense social relations where local developments shape the sphere and global developments form local ones (Giddens 1996: 64). Similarly, globalization can be defined as the process of expansion, deepening and intensification of all kinds of relationships all over the world.

Globalization, as a general perception, is defined as a phenomenon that emerged in the economic context in the 20th century. Although the terms “global” and “globalize” (the root of the word globalization) has been used since the middle of the century, citations are heavily referred to

Theodore Levitt's "The Globalization of Markets" article, which makes the word known (Levitt, 1983). Although the twentieth century, when economic relations turn into interdependence, is seen as the emergence of the phenomenon of globalization, a deeper historical framework is drawn due to the existence of dense networks of relations between societies in different periods of history (Grinin and Korotayev, 2013; Temin, 1999; Stearns, 2010, Robertson, 1992). The existence of close relations and interactions between societies with varying dimensions and qualifications hampers the establishment of a specific starting point for globalization. In this context, the World Bank takes globalization into three waves and expresses them as the period of intense economic relations from 1870 to the First World War, the period covered by the economic rapprochements in the sphere from 1914 to 1980s and the period from 1980s to the present. (World Bank, 2002:23-31).

Although defined and recognized through economic terms, the fact that different fields from the process can be deeply affected and that the economy is closely related to institutions such as politics, society and culture has expanded the scope of globalization (Dicken, 2007:3-5). It is necessary to think of globalization as a multidimensional, interdisciplinary, integrated structure, multi-process phenomenon rather than a situation that addresses a single field and expresses a uniform process (Hay and Marsh, 200:3). Globalization constitutes a chain of changes by extending social, political and economic activities beyond political borders, regions and continents, making people more interdependent with the increasing flow of trade, culture and migration, causing the world to be "smaller" with the increase in the speed of movement and communication of thoughts, information, products, capital, people thanks to new means of transportation and communication; increasingly distorting the distinction between local issues and global issues; reflecting global events in the lives of individuals and local developments to the international level (Held et al., 1999:484). While Dator expresses the wide coverage of globalization, he draws attention to a wide list from jet aircraft to container ships, from migrant labor to human rights, from electronic communication technologies to traditional-new media, from popular culture to sports, from global climate change to democracy practices, from belief systems to epidemics (Dator, 2006:13).

The spread of the affecting and affected areas to a wide range from economy to society, from politics to environment, from art to education brings globalization to the focus of various debates. The first discussion that emerged in this context is whether globalization exists, which is directly related to the essence. The main claim of globalization is to create comprehensive changes on a global scale and to reach all humanity with its effects in many areas. However, it should be noted that a significant portion of the world's population is unaware of the reflections of globalization in economic, cultural, technological and social fields. This is a factor that undermines the nature of globalization to be "global". When the debate on

whether globalization exists or not is overcome, the most important issue that emerges is the positive and negative aspects of the phenomenon. Globalization essentially reflects a process of convergence, interaction and concentration that cannot be defined by negativity or positivity; but the benefits and losses of this process can have undesirable as well as desirable consequences. While globalization has positive effects such as cultural interaction, ease of access to information, effective trade partnerships throughout the globe, it has negative aspects such as decrease in employment, spread of cross-border threats, and increasing environmental problems due to production-consumption frenzy (Burlacu, Gutu & Matei, 2018:124 -125). In this context, there is a period of increasing supporters of globalization as well as opponents of it. Despite the many advantages obtained, there are intense criticisms towards globalization due to the weakening of the state authorities, negatively affecting the poor, and cultural losses (Osland, 2003:139-148). Free movement, which is an outcome of the globalization process, is welcomed by terrorist or smuggling groups as well as by business people, athletes and artists.

Although not a new process, globalization is experiencing its most intense period today. It is not surprising to see a debate on globalization in all aspects of life any day. The increase in human population, developments in the world of science and technology, intensive interaction and communication networks make the globalization process faster, wider and more effective. Globalization is also accepted as a phenomenon that continues its motion by strengthening its own effects.

1.2. Security

Security is one of the phenomena whose conceptual approach has changed the most from past to present and has experienced high level of meaning expansion and structural turbidity. Wolfers explained security in the 1950s by making an overarching definition of security as "... in an objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked" (Wolfers, 1952:485). Security can thus simply be described as the absence or protection of threats and hazards to the valuable ones. Although that simple definition has been validated over time, the type and source of threats and the values that need to be protected have changed considerably. On the classical basis, security was defined as a survival struggle that states sought for in line with their powers and national interests (Morgenthau, 1948:12-17). Security studies carried out to date were performed out on such concepts as state, military strategy, natural sciences and status quo (Williams, 2008: 3). The questioning of the understanding that the state was centered as a reference object, main threats were defined in the military context and national security was the main subject of discussion required a new perspective on security. As Baldwin draws the frame the subjects such as whose security against what threats, for which values, by what means, when

and to what extent should be provided necessitate redefining of the concept (Baldwin, 1997:13-17).

It is possible to express security through different target areas and thus see its expanding agenda. Although it is an area that has been traditionally read on military and political bases for centuries, economic, environmental, social, cultural and demographic issues have been included in the scope of security, especially in the end of the Cold War and the aftermath. Academic studies in this period (Buzan, 1991; Booth, 1991; Buzan and Hansen; Ayoob, 1995; Krause and Williams, 1997; Buzan, Wæver and De Wilde, 1997; Jones, 1999; Booth, 2005) have been important in determining the need for required horizon of the security. With the new understanding in security, the process of bringing the security of individuals and society to the forefront and opening up issues such as migration, poverty, smuggling, epidemics and global warming have been experienced.

Security includes the situation of absence or process of elimination of threats, hazards, risks to the value under the protection umbrella. Security is important to everyone as there are threats that create different kinds of problems and problems in every aspect of daily life or in the international arena. Although there is no consensus on the definition, maintaining of security is seen as the most serious subject of the discussion (Williams, 2008:1). Security can be examined at the individual, societal, state, regional and international levels and has been expanding, deepening and intensifying in the context of different subject areas ranging from terrorism to environmental problems (Buzan, Wæver and De Wilde, 1997). Smith sees security not as a subject or concept, but as a problem that humanity tries to control (Smith, 2010:2-5). This definition is quite striking in terms of demonstrating the sensitivity and importance of the related issue.

1.3. Migration

Migration generally refers to the mobility of people leaving their homes due to various reasons (Segal, Mayadas and Elliott, 2006:2-4). Migration is the situation where people cross spatial boundaries in order to find a new residence (Kok, 1999:20). The problems that migrants experience in their home countries, their inability to access the opportunities they want, attractive economic, social and demographic elements at the target points are defined as the reasons behind migration. In this context, migration refers to a phenomenon that comes with opportunities or appears as a response to crises and, not with the arrival of migrants, but before the journey begins (Segal, Mayadas and Elliott, 2010:3). History is mostly based on the results of the mobility of humanity, and migration movements have existed in every period and in every region, varying in number, reasons and distance.

Although migration is easily explained as the change in the habitual residence of the individual, the process is not simple and uniform. People can leave and return to their countries and the migration status can be short or long term (Skeldon, 2017:7). Migration becomes quite complex when

factors such as the reasons that push individuals to migrate, the expectations of immigrants, the migration routes, the drama in the migration process and the atmosphere in the target country are included. There are many economic, security, social, cultural, demographic and subjective reasons behind migration. The factors that force and encourage individuals to act individually or as a community within the country or across borders reflect a situation that should be read along with the concentration in the migration movement.

In addition to economic concerns, individuals assess their place of living with needs such as the safety and health of themselves and their relatives. Beyond compelling or encouraging ones, one of the most important factors that determine how, where and on what basis to migrate and affect the decisions of migrant candidates is the legal rights they can access. In general, migrants tend to go either to the countries closest to them or to countries where policies for migrants are most advantageous (McKay, 2009:15). This situation creates waves of migration, which are gradually increasing towards economic, social and legally developed countries. For example; half of all immigrants around the world are directed to 36 member states of the OECD (OECD, 2018).

Migration constitutes a topic that stands at the top of the agenda as a reflection of the search for a new life caused by compelling reasons or limited opportunities. Basically it can be said that migration is in contradiction with the facts that people cannot easily break away from the ancestral land they bond with (Ekici and Tuncel, 2015:9) and going beyond the boundaries of the states they created causes security problems (Poku and Graham, 2000:1-3). But this activity has become an activity that attracts more and more people. This situation has serious impacts on the sending and receiving regions in social, cultural, demographic, economic and political terms. These effects have positive and negative aspects; however, especially with the new century, many countries state that the number of immigrants is higher than desired and that the disadvantages of the process have become dominant (Elliott, Mayadas and Segal, 2010:19-20).

2. GLOBALIZATION-MIGRATION-SECURITY TRIANGLE

2.1. The Relation of Migration and Security

In general terms, to say that migration is a security issue will not be the right definition for this common tradition that is similar to the history of humanity. What makes the phenomenon of migration a matter of security is that the mobility is irregular and illegal. Until the post-Cold War period, immigration has been largely regulated and controlled by country borders and related legislation, but under the influence of the new international order and globalization, it has begun to be used with negative adjectives including “illegal” and “irregular” (Gök: 2016:66). When taking place outside the desired or preferred boundaries, migration brings with various problems. The

diversification of the areas where these problems are seen and the intensification of the threat perception intensify the security aspect of migration. Commemorating the insecurity situation with the immigration, associating the threat discourse with the immigrants and the necessity for securing the migration mobility has been the constitutive elements of this discussion (Huysmans and Squire, 2009:3-4).

In general terms, it is thought that there are compelling reasons behind people leaving their countries and trying to cross the borders in search of a new life. Many compelling reasons have been associated with security issues. In this context, the various threats to which immigrants are directly or indirectly affected are very decisive. Civil war, terrorism and environmental problems can be given as examples. According to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (IDMC), the number of internally displaced persons in 2017 was around 40 million due to violence and environmental problems worldwide (IDMC, 2018:1-8). People who feel that their lives, values and futures are in danger and who think that the authority to provide security is weak are searching for a place to be protected. In addition to the security reasons that trigger the migration, the security problems caused by the migration should also be mentioned. The political, economic, social and public-related issues associated with immigrants in the countries of destination constitute the areas of concern directly related to security. In addition, the security problems that individuals are exposed to on the migration route are another dimension of the relationship in this context. Such situations as the attacks against migrants on the way, problems of not reaching their basic needs, the abuse of illegal groups, epidemics and the loss of lives come out forefront.

The changing view of security at the end of the Cold War and immediately after it emerged as a product of both theoretical debates and practical events. With the analysis of security at different levels of analysis rather than being state-based and bringing the issues behind the primary policies to the agenda, a new understanding of security began to be felt. Migration has become an important topic of the agenda of security, which extends from economic struggle to energy, environmental problems and terrorist acts (Waever et al., 1993; Huysman, 2000; Choucri, 2002; Şener, 2017). In a long period of history, while the main threat perception was military, other problems were pushed behind the scenes of the security agenda, but study on the migration from different perspectives created a new field of study. Expression of migration as a threat posing problem especially on the security of society (Waever, 2008:584-585) has created an impact in this context. Defined from the perspective of “protection of human, individual” and draws a collaborative security framework (Dean, 2008:3-4) changing security perception put migration very top of the list.

Considering migration within the scope of security does not mean that this mobility is a direct security problem and immigrants are a threat. It is necessary to say that one of the factors in the emergence of the current

civilization is the displacement movements of humanity throughout history. However, especially after the Cold War, migration has been subjected to a tendency of “securitization” when it is associated with crime rate, unemployment, security problems, border violations, strengthening of smuggling groups and cultural deterioration (Bigo, 2002:63-66). According to Ole Waever, who introduced the concept to literature, securitization refers to the process of making a subject a security threat through discourse. The state authorities have the right to take all kinds of measures and to take the necessary action on the subject included in the field of security via speech act; because now the issue is built directly as a threat to the essence of individuals and the state (Waever, 1995). Since the end of the Cold War, migration has also become one of the issues securitized. Migration process, which is referred to as illegal, irregular, insecure, uncontrolled definitions and immigrants considered as threat, danger and risk are also included in the scope of security studies (Huysman, 2000; Bourbeau, 2011:11-28; Castelli Gattinara and Morales, 2017:280- 284; Türkeş-Kılıç; 2018:9-11).

The situation that can be defined as a security problem arises from the irregular and illegal part of migration. On the other hand, mobility is not an undesirable situation with the continuity of regular migration, the acceptance of the sending and receiving states and the provision of legal conditions. For example, according to the International Organization for Migration, despite the disadvantages that emerge, immigrants make up 3% of the world's population and 9% of the total national income, offer opportunities for intercultural interaction, contribute to economic mobility both on the road and in the target countries, create new line of business and diversify employment, carry various skills with them (IOM, 2018). When considered in this context, the migration movement is not a direct security problem, but it is necessary to focus on the idea that the negative situations associated with the process can be related to security.

Migration is closely related to individual, societal, state, regional and international analysis schemes in which security is handled. With deepening of security, in other words, within the scope of the understanding that different reference objects were taken to the center as well as the state illegal immigration has been one of the types of threats opened to discussion. The security problems that make migration compulsory, which occur during mobility and that occur at the destination of migration, also affect different areas closely.

While the physical, psychological and economic threats to which immigrants are exposed are directly related to individual security, demographic, economic and cultural problems that occur in societies where immigrants leave and participate have effects in the field of societal security. The situation of cross-border illegal migration poses a serious danger to the state security since it undermines sovereignty. Forced migration movements in the Middle East, North and Central Africa, Central America, etc., endanger regional security by shaking dynamics and stability. In the broadest

context, international security debates intensify as a combination of all negative processes related to migration. The people acting on the globe, illegal strategies applied like human smuggling, problems experienced by the states and the precautions to be taken on the global scale constitute an important security issue in this context.

Migration has increasingly become one of the most important areas of struggle for the state. Due to the ineffectiveness of discouraging or dissuasive policies, harsh interventions, strict measures and controversial deportation movements come into prominence against people who illegally push the borders of the country. States that do not want to experience the problems posed by illegal aliens, while taking preventive measures to prevent border violations, there are also initiatives for those entering the country from strict surveillance to sanctions (Broeders and Engbersen, 2007:1592-1595). National security measures have been used throughout history to stop foreigners; but in this process, they were considered as hostile armies and illegal crime groups. Nowadays, many countries are allocating increasing budgets in order to prevent the migration waves towards borders and are trying to take harsh measures. For example, while the US strengthens the wall on the border with Mexico, Jordan says that it will not accept more migrants to the country, and then, under the “Mare Nostrum Project”, which is also owned by the European Union, Italy tries to prevent immigration from the Mediterranean crossings while active anti-illegal rhetoric rises from many OECD countries. When migration is seen as a security threat, especially when considered as a serious danger to political and cultural integrity, it brings about the necessary answers such as border controls and monitoring of people moving across borders. In this context, all kinds of mobility and normal transitions are also covered by security surveillance (Shepherd and Weldes, 2008:530).

The illegal and irregular dimension of immigration is increasingly challenging against security and order. As this challenge evolves into security issues in different areas, the migration process and migrants are referred to with a negative label in the relevant context. Examining migration as a security issue will, as a general attitude, create differences in the view of existing migrants in all states and societies, and will raise objections to future migrations, also. The intense association of insecurity shows that as much as illegal, legal migration may be considered an undesirable process.

2.2. Impact of Globalization on Migration-Security Relationship

Today, many discussions are based on taking into account the positive and negative aspects of the globalization process. The relationship between migration and security is also dealt with by examining the various dimensions of globalization. The analysis of the effects of globalization on encouraging, compelling or facilitating immigration as well as the consequences of this situation on security constitute the basis of the

discussion. The relationship between globalization and both concepts / phenomena plays a decisive role in the security assessments of migration.

In order to examine the impact of globalization on the migration-security relationship, it will be useful to consider the connection of the process with both facts, firstly. In the aftermath of the Cold War, security has experienced process of transformation in the international system, whose structure, struggle areas and centers of interest have changed greatly. There are views and a comprehensive literature in this context that the role of globalization in economic, social, cultural and political fields has positive and negative effects on security (Cha, 2000:392-396; Ayoob, 2005:6-15; Kirshner, 2006:6-35 Brauch, 2008:26-29; Scholar, 2012:62-64). From a general point of view, it is believed that the outcomes of globalization increase threats to the physical and psychological integrity, material and moral values of individuals, create traumatic situations for states' sovereignty and border security, trigger social crises and disintegrations, and bump up the capabilities and capacities of terror and crime groups, affect international security through global threats, invalidate existing security measures and defenses, afflict the dynamics of societies and nations with global economic and social crises, and intensify inequality and injustice throughout the world. On the other hand, new methods for taking measures against the increasing number and types of threats with technological developments, declining tendency of hot conflicts due to intensified cooperation in the international arena, more effective preventive activities with the development of intelligence structures' impact areas, fast reactions to crimes and security problems with the development in transportation and communication fields can be thought globalization's positive sides on security. Through the process of globalization, a security understanding has emerged in which subject areas, analysis evaluations, structures of threats and central objects have changed.

It is possible to examine the effect of globalization on migration, which is the second pillar, in different dimensions. It should be noted that especially international migration is an important dimension of globalization and is directly related to social, economic and political developments at global level. Globalization accelerates migration by facilitating the process and sometimes makes it obligatory in many parts of the world (Koser, 2007:28-31). With the effect of globalization, the existing migration process has accelerated. Because of the inequality that globalization is responsible for the global economic distribution, the migration process becomes an economic necessity rather than a choice for immigrants (Ciarniene and Kumpikaite, 2008:43). The problems caused by the increasing effectiveness of multinational corporations, transportation facilities, developments in communication and the desire for a better quality life just like in developed countries have attracted an increasing number of people to migration mobility and globalization to the debates within this process (Graham, 2000:186-188). Both positive and negative outcomes of globalization

constitute a factor that determines the dimensions, intensity, route, duration, and permanence of human mobility. It is possible to see similar effects of globalization in the processes of a person who takes illegal actions to cross the country of his relatives live with the intention of escaping the civil war in his hometown and of an entrepreneur who moves his technology company and employees to another country in order to reach a wider range of opportunities.

The threat of migration, which is seen as an expression of an irregular, unorganized and compulsory process, (Abiri, 2000:71-72) comes to the fore as a current debate on globalization. Particularly towards the end of the twentieth century, the shortage of workers in developed economies and the immigration movement that has been intensifying in this context have left states in a very difficult issue to intervene (Hardwick, 2014:208-210). Such developments as problems in state sovereignty, inadequate immigration policies, increasing illegal immigration, intensification of identity problems, and imbalances of sectors and economies are associated with globalization (Hollifield and Wong, 2015:250-253). In the migration-security debate, globalization is involved in the context of increasing migration waves due to the occurrence or intensification of security problems and ineffective measures to prevent unwanted migration.

“Mobility and free movement” are among the most emphasized features when defining globalization. While short-term or long-term human mobility in this context is seen as a blessing of globalization, migration has become a major problem. The migration movement, which occurs in the case of illegal and opposing target states, constitutes an undesirable aspect of globalization due to the security problems it creates. It is necessary to state that the population, which is one of the components of the state structure, is under great threat with the migration process in terms of both the receiving and sending states. The communities where immigrant caravans have left and reached are increasingly faced with demographic challenges. The point that should be mentioned as a footnote is that the decrease in the need of foreign workers and the slowdown in the growth rates of the economies that grew at a great speed up to the 90s played an important role in the reconciliation of migration with security (Temin, 1999:85). Countries that pursued policies of attracting migrants to meet the growing demand for workers also appear to be the most severe anti-immigrant policies in the 90s that have argued that migrants are a security problem.

It is possible to express the impact of globalization on the migration-security relationship primarily in the context of the negative and coercive situations in the countries of origin of migrants. The global economy does not provide the same positive financial benefits to all humanity and economic inequalities between states, societies and individuals are increasing rapidly (Cohen, 1996; Reinert, 2004; Mills, 2008:3-6). It is possible to state that the globalization process causes the accumulation of almost all the wealth of the world in certain countries, similar to the period

of geographical discoveries. Economic problems can also bring about serious problems such as health, food and education. Many people who cannot raise their living standards in their own countries, find jobs or earn enough wages tend to leave their homes. On the other hand, the fact that globalization fosters and intensifies the debates such as identity and sect within the state and nation structure creates polarization and conflict environments leading to civil wars. Today, Syria, Afghanistan, Sudan, South Sudan, Somalia, Myanmar, Democratic Republic of Congo, Eritrea and Burundi are among the countries with the highest number of immigrant origins (UN: 2018:4-21). In addition, the threat posed by the terrorist organizations, whose capabilities, action capacities, spheres of influence, weapons and tools they possess, and the level of interaction with other groups increased through globalization process, are among the forces of migration. Up to the present millions of people have been forced to leave their homes with the fear and actions of terrorist organizations such as DAESH, Al-Qaeda and Boko Haram. Especially in countries where state structures have difficulty in struggling against and are unable to protect their citizens, individuals seek alternative alternatives for short-term escapees without the danger of terrorism.

Being among the most important reasons of global climate change and the decrease in natural resources, the excessive consumption and consequently the race of production at the level of frenzy, the greedy policies of states and multinational companies, and the danger of depletion of above ground and underground resources poses serious security threats for people. It should be noted that people in countries that are particularly targeted by hurricanes and floods have to leave their homes. That compulsory abandoning evolves from a temporary situation and becomes a migration process to find safer habitats against environmental threats. Furthermore, it is not difficult to predict that future immigrants will consist of people living in countries where sufficient natural resources such as water, forest, vital minerals, fertile soil are exhausted. In this context, it should be noted that the number of international migrants will increase each year and the population in the land with scarce resources will decrease gradually. It is not difficult to imagine a world where environmental threats will pose a problem that drives people from place to place.

As the demand and tendency towards migration on a global scale has shifted to illegal ways, human trafficking has become one of the current agenda of international security. Although it is not possible to reach certain numbers, the report prepared by the United Nations on the subject shows that in 2016, approximately 2.5 million people are in an illegal process with the dream of immigration (UN, 2018b:5). The illegal means used by the people who do not have the right to immigration in the context of the legal regulations of the countries create a serious economy for the smuggling groups while many immigrants die or disappear in the process, fall into the

networks of harmful people, and damage to the immigration policies and border security of the states (IOM, 2016:5-19).

A period is being experienced in which state sovereignty is increasingly questioned with open economic policies, effectiveness of international organizations and companies, increasing capacity of crime groups, cultural interaction between societies, identity awareness and discussions, developments in information and technology that are closely related to globalization. According to international law, the state is the only authority over the country, only control mechanism at the border crossing, and the only permissive mechanism for foreigners entering and exiting the country (Pazarıcı, 2008:152-161; Sur, 2017:114-122; Reçber, 2016:113-116). Illegal immigration is thus seen as a direct attack on the sovereign rights of the state. This kind of movement, which pushes the land and sea borders, challenges the established order, and poses a danger to the state of public order and stability within the country, is seen as one of the biggest security problems of the states in the modern period. This is because states are expected to be the sole authority over borders, land, sea and air countries and to control mobility. The mobility created by immigration and the violation of boundaries which are thought to be intact and immutable structures, the attempts of migrants in the context of their individual security to undermine the safety of others and the emergence of public order problems in areas where irregular human movement is concentrated are at the center of the discussion (Choucri, 2005:47-50). In this context, states are taking harsher measures in order to prevent illegal immigration, implementing strict security measures especially at border points, increasing border walls and intensifying their patrols, and hiring technological surveillance (Broeders and Engbersen, 2007; Koslowski, 2011; Sheryazdonava, 2015). It is inevitable that states that are unable to regulate the passage at their borders and cannot identify the people who are illegal in their countries are at the center of discussions of sovereignty, security and public order. The increasing demands of modern age individuals in almost all countries, not meeting these demands under the roof of the states they live in, and the high standard of living in developed countries trigger the increase in migration globally. People who can gather news about the rest of the world with the opportunities provided by technology, observe different living conditions through social media, have almost all kinds of communication opportunities, use different transportation routes and vehicles, learn about the gaps in the regulations in international and national law, and get in touch with smuggling groups may constitute aggravating conditions on national and international securities.

An important dimension of this issue is xenophobia and advanced racism initiatives in the society in which migrants participate. Marginalization in the receiving societies and tendency to set direct connection of immigrants to various crimes have become widespread. The fact that societies in some countries where extreme prejudices against

immigrants exist is composed of immigrants or children of immigrants expresses an interesting contrast (Ciarniene and Kumpikaite, 2008:44). With increment of the immigrant population, in some countries, anti-foreigner movements have been considered as a matter of domestic politics, and especially radical parties have started to gather supporters on this issue. In Europe, the securitization policies of radical parties, especially through discourse, has triggered racist approaches in this context (Mandacı & Özerim, 2013:106-110). Especially in societies where there is a high concern about the protection of homogeneous nation-state structure, negative attitudes towards foreigners and immigrants are observed more intensely. It is possible to observe the increasing tension between the masses who claim the responsibility of immigrants in the deterioration of the peace of the society, the shaking of the economic balances and the degeneration of cultural values and the people who are seeking for a future in a different country. The figures in the “International Migration, Racism, Discrimination and Xenophobia Report” prepared under the guidance of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights show that one in 50 people in the world has the status of migrant workers, refugees, asylum seekers or immigrants; this situation creates a multi-faced structure with different beliefs, languages, cultures and ethnic origins in the receiving societies. In some countries this is positively addressed as a cultural richness, while a growing number of people think that migration is a problem that brings about identity debates. Negative feelings towards immigration may be manifested as physical or psychological violence that occurs through racism or xenophobia in both the transition and destination countries (ILO, IOM and OHCHR, 2001). It will not be wrong to state that the increasing influx of immigration under the influence of globalization, the spread of thought currents against this and the dynamics within the already shaking nation-states will be a subject of greater debate and problematic.

The changing character of struggle and war with globalization constitutes a different dimension of the subject. Instead of hot conflicts between states, new types of wars bring immigrants to the agenda. Adamson draws attention to the suspicion that immigrants may be used for the “fifth column activities” in the country (Adamson, 2006:36-37). The possibility of using foreigners as a means of propaganda, psychological warfare, sources of intelligence and espionage constitutes the main concern for the receiving state. Migrants' open and secret ties with their origin countries, rather than integration with the receiving society, constitute the undesirable situation in this context and they are considered as a potential internal threat by the states concerned.

Conclusion

People who are dissatisfied with their living conditions for any reason or even deprived of their basic needs are knocking on the countries where they can find “a new life”. The concentration of this quest rather than the

formal-legal application process is manifested as illegal international migration. The phenomenon of migration composes one of the most serious issues in the current security debates, thus. It is worth noting that some of the developments that have emerged as the products of the globalization process have a triggering effect on international migration. As stated in the related section, almost 4% of the world's population is moving across borders because of compelling reasons as well as encouraging ones. Globalization constitutes both compelling and encouraging-facilitating factors of migration.

Especially after the Cold War, migration has become one of the sub-headings of security and “securitization of migration” has become an increasingly common tendency. Individual security in the context of the dangers faced by migrants, national security in the scope of violation of borders and sovereign rights, regional security with the shaking the dynamics in the region of mobility, societal security due to questions of different dimensions in the receiving society, and international security with the emergence of many problems in the global arena come to the fore. Security problems forcing migration and caused by it have become a serious issue that has echoed throughout the world.

As mentioned in some places in the study, there are both positive and negative aspects of globalization and there are various results depending on them. It is possible to state that general security problems are intense in the regions where the negative outcomes of globalization are observed more. For example; it should be noted that individual, societal and national security are also threatened in African countries where income inequality and unemployment are more prevalent. On the other side, it is a natural situation that the citizens of countries that are able to follow technological developments closely and use such opportunities to ensure public order feel more secure. The target points of people in the countries where the security problems arise dramatically are the regions where a modern and safe civilization is established by benefiting from the “blessings of globalization”. The states where the security umbrella is inclusive are becoming increasingly attractive for many people around the world for the purposes of a decent life, economic security, psychological integrity, quality education and self-realization.

Many assessments on globalization point increase in “fierceness” in near future. It is not difficult to predict this situation will cause environmental threats, economic crises and identity conflicts more intensely in many different parts of the world. It would not be wrong to point out that such developments would lead to an increasing number of people seeking to live away from their homes and countries, and accordingly, the destination states of migration would be stricter in border and internal security policies.

It is not realistic to draw a positive atmosphere when projecting the future at a time when drought, hurricanes and floods are gradually increasing, the number of states having lost the character of being the state

and being unable to meet the essential security needs of citizens is rising, the masses having no access to the basic needs like water, food and shelter is multiplying, terrorist acts and civil wars are becoming more fierce day by day in many countries, hundreds of millions of people are subjected to political pressure and torture and trying to get along with a dollar per day. It should be noted that these conditions will add new waves of migration to the number of migrants over 250 million. It should also be added that as long as the social, economic and cultural positive dimensions of globalization do not affect fairness to all humanity, every person will be a candidate for forced migration with security concerns.

Prevention of new migration waves is closely linked to ensuring national, regional and international security and stability. Where only a small part of the world can benefit from the positive outcomes of globalization, the troubles experienced by the remaining population will take time, but will be detrimental to everyone. The struggle for seeking a new life of millions of people who have security concerns in extreme terms or who cannot find what they are expecting from the global economic distribution is considered in this context. The most important part of the prevention of illegal and irregular migration is the elimination of the reasons that make people leave their homes and the creation of opportunities to connect migrants to the countries of their birth.

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