

MIGRATION AND SECURITIZATION: AN ASSESSMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF HUMAN SECURITY

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ABSTRACT

Migration has become a popular subject in many fields such as international relations, political science, sociology, psychology, security studies, labor economics and public administration. As the number of immigrants in the world gradually increases, the saturation of immigrants in the receiving societies and the irregular and illegal dimension of the process comes to the forefront, the issue of migration has reached at the top of the agenda. Individual or mass mobility, seen as a natural process of humanity, has been subjected to politicization and then to securitization, especially in the late and immediately after the Cold War. Migrants, previously encouraged for the development of national economies, have been mentioned with various security problems and have been expressed as threats through discourse. Immigration, which has started to be seen as a process affecting individual, society, state, region and international security areas, has become an area where the state authorities have focused on as an important subject of discussion. While the national security concerns are more involved in the security-migration relationship, it is remarkable that the relationship between migration and human security is less talked about. Interestingly, the more immigration is associated with security, the more human security concerns are ignored. The security threats forcing individuals to migration, they face during the route, they confront in receiving countries and the problems expressed by individuals in the receiving communities should be addressed in this context. In this study, first of all, the securitization approach and the process of migration getting into the security field will be examined. Then, the relationship between migration and human security will be considered within four headings. This study is thought to contribute to the field in terms of systematically dealing with the process of establishing the relationship between migration and security and revealing the ways in which individuals are affected from this process.

Keywords: Migration, Security, Human Security, Securitization, Migrants.

JEL Codes: F22, F50, F52

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GÖÇ VE GÜVENLİKLEŞTİRME: İNSANİ GÜVENLİK BAĞLAMINDA BİR DEĞERLENDİRME

ÖZET

Göç günümüzde uluslararası ilişkiler, siyaset bilimi, sosyoloji, psikoloji, güvenlik çalışmaları, çalışma ekonomisi, kamu yönetimi gibi pek çok çalışma alanına giren popüler bir konu haline gelmiştir. Dünyadaki göçmen sayısının giderek artması, öncesinin göç alan toplumlarında göçmenlere olan doyumunluk, bu bağlamda sürecin düzensiz ve yasa dışı boyutunun ön plana çıkması süreçleri yaşandıkça göç konusu gündemin daha üst sıralarında yer almaktadır. İnsanlığın doğal bir süreci olarak görülen bireysel veya kitlesel hareketlilik, özellikle Soğuk Savaş'ın sonlarında ve hemen sonrasında önce politikleştirilmeye arkasından da güvenikleştirmeye tabi tutulmuştur. Daha önce ülke ekonomilerinin kalkınması için özendirilen göçmenler, çeşitli güvenlik sorunlarıyla beraber anılmaya ve söylem yoluyla tehdit olarak ifade edilmeye başlanmıştır. Birey, toplum, devlet, bölge ve uluslararası güvenlik alanlarını etkileyen bir süreç olarak görülmeye başlayan göç; önemli bir tartışma konusu olarak devlet yetkililerinin üzerine eğildikleri bir alan haline gelmiştir. Güvenlik-göç ilişkisinde bu kapsamda ulusal güvenlik kapsamı daha fazla yer tutarken, göçün insani güvenlik ile ilişkisinin daha az konuşulması oldukça dikkat çekicidir. İlginçtir ki göç ne kadar çok güvenlikle ilişkilendirilse, insani güvenlik endişeleri bir o kadar göz ardı edilmektedir. Bireyleri göçe iten, göç yolunda karşılaştıkları, varış toplumlarında maruz kaldıkları güvenlik tehditleri ile göç alan toplumdaki bireylerin ifade ettikleri sorunlar bu bağlamda ele alınmalıdır. Bu çalışmada öncelikle güvenikleştirme yaklaşımı ve göçün güvenlik alanına girme süreci incelenecektir. Arkasından ise göçün insani güvenlik ile ilişkisi dört başlık haline ele alınacaktır. Bu çalışmanın göçün güvenlikle ilişkisinin kurulma sürecinin sistematik olarak ele alınması ve bireylerin bu süreçten hangi yönlerden etkilendiğini ortaya koyması bakımından alana katkı sağlaması düşünülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Göç, Güvenlik, İnsani Güvenlik, Güvenikleştirme, Göçmen.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Migration is one of the most serious areas of debate today. Although migration is one of the most important facts in the history of living things, it has recently become a phenomenon that has been extensively discussed thoroughly and academically. The reason behind this trend is the dramatic increase in irregular and illegal migration activities at the global level. This results in migration's being considered as a security issue. The intensification of irregular and illegal migration movements due to various reasons has resulted in today's situation as a comprehensive problem. In particular, the problems of migrant influx created by people fleeing from civil wars or forced to leave their homes due to environmental threats bring about security concerns. Security concerns are intensified to undermine the

stability and order of individuals, communities, political structures, regions and the international arena. Thus, it becomes necessary to take security measures in order to eliminate the problems that arise.

The fact that migration is a historical phenomenon does not indicate that it has a long history of study in the context of security. Although it is impossible to give a definite date for migration to become a security issue and to address it in this context, security debates become more prominent when immigration waves are intensified and these waves are not desired by sending-receiving political entities. Especially at the end of the Cold War period, immigrants started to be associated with social problems and border security, and migration-security studies and discussions were paved the way. With the 1990s, there was a tendency in which immigration was intensely attracted to the political sphere and then included in the security framework. With the change in the perception of security thought in the context of military threats and state security, migration has become an important topic within the new horizon drawn by security studies.

The migration movement, which is a natural adventure of living things, seen as a security problem especially in the post-Cold War period and its rise to the top of security agenda of today can be explained by the “securitization approach”. Outlined by Ole Wæver (1995), the securitization is considered to be the extension of the security agenda and the inclusion of a topic that was not previously covered by security studies, as stated in the relevant section of this study. Speech act used in this process represents an important approach in the security of migration. Besides national and international institutions and intense policy initiatives, state officials' discourses made migration a mandatory field of security studies.

The relationship between migration and security has a multidimensional structure in individual, society, state, region, international levels and political, economic, social and cultural fields. The relationship between migration and human security is the main subject of this study. Although the national and international security is more prominent in the context of migration, the humanitarian dimension of the issue constitutes a serious study issue. Despite the fact that immigration is increasingly subject to securitization process, the general approach of pushing human security concerns out of the agenda is one of the main issues that the study wants to highlight. In the first part of the article, migration as a security topic will be discussed in the context of the arguments of the securitization approach. Securitization will form the theoretical framework of the migration-security relationship examined in this study. Here, it will be tried to discuss why and how migration exists in security debates. In the second part, the relationship between the human security and the phenomenon of migration will be analyzed. After a brief conceptual introduction on human security, this relationship will be examined within the context of the security problems forcing humans to migrate, faced by immigrants during migration movement and felt by immigrants and local community in the country of destination. It will be totally useful and compulsory to utter different aspects of human security such as economic, health, political, food, environment, personal etc. in line with United Nation report related to human development. Particularly in the context of forced and irregular migration, security problems affecting

humans directly and indirectly will be included. Here, the threats and incidents experienced by migrants at various stages of migration will be tried to be expressed through relevant reports and studies. In the conclusion section, a general evaluation will be made by placing the individual at the center of the migration-security relationship. This study is expected to contribute to migration and human security studies, to reveal different dimensions of the migration-security relationship, and to outline how migration process create security effect for humans, especially for migrants. It is thought that the study also will contribute to the field in terms of examining how the securitization process evolved in the direction of migration discussions and in what context human security is involved in this process. In addition, the study of the relationship between migration and security in the context of human security with four sub-titles constitutes the original dimension of the study. Lastly, the answers to the questions of why and how the human security dimension is ignored in the process of that intensifying relationship will be sought in the relevant parts of the study.

2. SECURITIZATION AND MIGRATION'S BECOMING A SECURITY ISSUE

2.1. Securitization

Securitization represents a security perspective that is considered within the scope of the Copenhagen School of International Relations. The securitization approach introduced by Ole Wæver (1995) provided a useful background for reading the post-Cold War era, in which the “new security concept” was developed. The arguments of securitization play an important role in analyzing how the boundaries of the security field are established and how different issues are drawn to the that field. Securitization is seen as a social process involving the identification of a “thing” as a security threat (Buzan and Lensen, 2009, p. 36).

It would be useful to explain the concept of security before outlining the approach of securitization, which is also referred to as a theory. In a general framework, security is related to preserving values. Security is about the absence or prevention of dangers, threats and risks to the valuable ones. While security creates a desired situation where stability, peace and healthy order exist, the factors that cause or have the potential to deteriorate that situation are called security threats. (Wolfers, 1952; Leffer, 1990; Buzan, 1991; Dedeoglu, 2014). Security presents a very important issue as it is the most important need and concern of states as well as people. There have been many changes and developments in the field of security in historical time but the intense interest on the subject has not changed. From the traditional security threat known as war to the present day, many issues have found their place in the security agenda. In a broadening agenda ranging from terrorism to environmental threats, a process in which security definitions differ has been paved (Ullman, 1983; Chipman, 1992; Dalby, 1992; Baldwin, 1997).

The idea of securitization comes to the fore at this point. Wæver set the framework for his approach by making a security definition based on threats and measures. According to Wæver, security

and insecurity reflect situations that vary according to the existence of a threat and the extent to which it can be met (Wæver, 1995, p. 48-53). Within the framework of the Copenhagen School, the sectoral analysis, regional security complexes and the security understanding that emerged on the basis of security have been very important for the emergence of different dimensions of the issue. The Copenhagen School expresses an effort to expand the traditional understanding of security presenting a military threat and a state-centered approach, while at the same time adopting an approach to criticize the entry of irrelevant issues into the security field (Huysmans, 1998, p. 482-486). Securitization represents an approach in which security, analyzed in five sectors by Copenhagen School namely military, political, economic, social and environmental, is expanded thanks to the method of speech act (Akgül Açıkmeşe, 2011, p. 59-60). The idea of securitization concerns the politicization and then the taking of a subject in that was previously outside the field. Securitization is considered as a more extreme form of politicization (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998, p. 23).

According to Wæver, speech act is the tool in ensuring a subject fall within the security field. The securitization authority, which is mostly the people representing the state, uses speech act to create a security threat. The issue that is included in the agenda as a security threat should be told to “the audience”, that is to say to “the society”. When security threat gains ground in the eye of the society, all kind of security measures can be legitimized (Wæver, 1995). In summary, if an external development is defined as a danger to the reference object, the process of becoming a part of the security agenda of the subject has begun, and with the adoption of the process by the target audience, the situation of securitization occurs (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998). Stritzel refers the speech act as an intersubjective act of the securitizing actor towards a significant audience. While the securitizing actor makes its initiative, the audience considers options to accept and reject this move. Securitization can be perceived as a process of negotiation and reconciliation between the actor and the relevant audience on the subject to securitization. Whether the issue can be accepted as a real security threat with stages such as interpretation and representation depends on the discursive association between the securitizing actor and the mass on the proposal (Stritzel, 2007, p. 362-363).

The securitization process has three important elements: securitizing actor, reference object and functional actor. These elements constitute the factors necessary for an issue to become a security threat. The securitizing actor fulfills the functions of identifying and bringing up the security threat by performing the speech act. The reference object refers to the entity that must be protected against external threats. Also it symbolizes a value, such as an individual, group, state, or environment, which requires immediate action to ensure security. The functional actor refers to structures that are effective in the field of security for the realization of the securitization initiative but do not have the identity of a securitizer (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998, p. 35-36).

Environmental issues have been on the agenda only after government officials see them as threats to their borders and resources. Migrants or refugees are considered in this context when they pose a

threat to the economic and social integrity of a state (Özyılmaz Kiraz, 2019, p. 30). The discourse style of the securitizing actor and the preferred references are very important in conveying the issue to the audience. The audience's readiness, trust in the securitizing actor and its ability to rationalize the issue directly affect the process. In addition, the nature of the situation which subjects to speech act and the effect of it on the audience are determinants of this process (Balzacq, 2005, p. 191-192).

On the other hand, while addressing the issue of securitization, it is necessary to mention the desecuritization approach, which is expressed as the fall from the agenda of an issue previously seen as a security subject. It is possible to state that the enlargement process in the security agenda is at the basis of the desecuritization, also. On the one hand, while there are some new issues mentioned in the field of security, it is seen that on the other hand, some of the issues have fallen off the agenda. For example, in the post-Cold War period, while new threats were added to the agenda, some issues were excluded from the definition of “threat and violence” (Krause and Williams, 1996, p. 249).

2.2. Migration into Security Area

The collective mobility of people naturally arouses concern and fear around the world and causes long-standing cultural identity, belonging and security patterns to become uncertain. The main concern in this context is the undesired or unlawful or unregulated human mobility. With this idea, a disturbing discourse on migration is gaining popularity and nation-states are taking various steps to prevent migration for security reasons (Bourbeau, 2011, p. 1). Migration has been increasingly presented as a threat to public order, cultural identity, the national economy and the labor market, especially in the post-Cold War era and in the “Western” world. Thus, the front of the securitization process was opened (Huysman, 2000, p. 752).

As the mobility of people started to be studied both in the context of “Migration Studies” and “International Relations”, the foundations of the migration-security connection began to be laid. Firstly, the politicization process of migration and then the association of the process with integration, multiculturalism, citizenship and welfare constituted the first lines of academic research in this context (Bourbeau, 2011, p. 33-34).

Although there is a will to present a general approach as part of the post-Cold War security agenda, migration has also taken place in the previous period (Weiner, 1985; Marrus; 1985; Benedict, 1989; Salt, 1989). Migration was one of the issues that has come to the top of the agenda especially with the detente period of the Cold War. The growing mobility between people across borders and the various troubles that emerge in receiving societies has developed a view based on concern. This situation paved the way for the securitization of migration.

There are various reasons behind taking migration to the field of security. Such headings as forcing. Changing security approaches in the very end and after the Cold War, the fact that the states that previously needed immigrants gradually gave up this tendency, the process' becoming irregular and

illegal with the indispensable increase in the number of immigrants, the problems occurring in sending and receiving societies, the force on state borders within the globalization process may be counted as headings in this context. The migration process and migrants are seen as a security problem that is sometimes present and sometimes created. The securitization approach outlined in the previous pages provides a valuable explanation.

On the basis of the migration-security relationship, there is the idea that the definition of threat is associated with the situation of immigrants and immigrants (Huysmans and Squire, 2009, p. 171). Especially after the end of the Cold War, the discussion and transformation of the nature and function of the national borders opened the way for commemoration of migration with security. While states express their border security and related policies, they draw a direction through human mobility, also (Andreas, 2000). The association of migrants with the identity debates and a number of terrorist attacks that took place especially in Western states also constituted the background of thought in this context (Adamson, 2006, p. 165-167). Besides, the addition of “illegal, illicit and unlawful” words to the migration and the immigrants has led to the shadow of security in this area (Dauvergne, 2008). The debate in this area is defined by the result of the difference between the old situation and the new understanding. In the light of various developments, migrants, who had previously been “cherished” by developing and developed economies and favored for global economic integration, have become “persona non grata”. Thus, instead of the perception of human mobility in the forefront of a real migration process, opinions on the mobility of insecurity and risk have started to emerge.

Legal arrangements on the issue and the steps taken for border security in the process of securitization of immigration were particularly important. Bilateral or multiple agreements, international or national organizations, deportation and extradition arrangements within sending and receiving states, intensified conventions and protocols, increased border controls have been significant developments in establishing the migration-security relationship (Bourbeau, 2011, p. 1). The first step in reconciling migration with security was to define the situation through mobility. Security has been seen as a factor that shapes, limits and influences this mobility. Thus, threat definition has been developed over irregular mobility which is not secured (Huysmans and Squire, 2009, p. 174). As Rudolph points out, the new security approach coincides with national interests and policies in three dimensions: geopolitical security, production and welfare, social stability and integration. Migration, on the other hand, constitutes a situation directly related to these three areas that constitute the “grand strategy” of states (Rudolph, 2003, p. 605).

It is possible to state that the relationship between migration and security was initially discussed within the framework of societal security. When the problems related to various economic and employment issues, public order problems, and anti-foreigner tension in the receiving countries were expressed as a threat to the desired social order situation, the scope of the issue began to emerge. Wæver (1993) describes social security as the internal and social face of security, and explains the term on

sustainability of language, culture, religious and national identities and traditions, with reasonable change. Demographic factors that will lead to the cultural existence and traditional life of the society have been associated with this area of security.

Speech act is one of the most important pillars of the securitization process of migration. The discourse in this context is based on the presentation of migration as an external threat to societies. In this sense, the promotion and persuasion activities of the securitizing factor towards the society (the audience) are very important in making migration and immigrants a subject of security (Bourbeau, 2011, p. 44). The expression of migrants' cross-border mobility within the scope of illegal activities, discussion of the quality of the measures in this context, and the reconciliation of certain crimes in society with foreigners have served to securitization of the issue. A blazing example of this is the urgent calls of leaders and other officials of the European states on the people fleeing the Syrian Civil War in their efforts to reach out to the European countries today.

According to the report of the International Organization for Migration, the number of immigrants in the world has increased to approximately 272 million (IOM: 2019, p. 2). In the previous year's report of the same institution, this figure was 258 million (IOM, 2018). Previously, the number of immigrants in the world was 173 million in 2000, 191 million in 2005, 220 million in 2010 and 248 million in 2015 (IOM, 2017, p. 4). The increase in the number of migrants has also formed the basis of security concerns. The proliferation of individuals on migration routes has an effect that increases the illegal and irregular dimension of the process. Particularly with the saturation of the economies that need migrants for the support labor force interest in this field has increased inversely as states have increased their restrictions on foreigners. Apart from these figures, millions of people in Africa, the Middle East, South America and South Asia are waiting for their turn in hopes of a new life. Today, while migration becomes a vital necessity for some people, the process itself is encouraging. Despite millions of examples of immigration adventures that fail in some way, individuals do not back down from this initiative, relying on the slightest hopes and throwing themselves into the migration routes.

The increasing demand for migrants came to an end when the states attempted to bring the issue into the political sphere. The politicization of migration has been the first step in bringing the issue to the agenda. As a second step, the process of linking migration and immigrants to security has been experienced. The process of securitization has been the expression of migrants as people pushing national boundaries, creating burdens beyond providing benefits to economies, creating negative effects on local culture and social structure and being involved in various criminal events. With the reflection of such discourses in the speeches of political leaders and the discussion in the media, the attempt to securitization of immigration has been completed.

In the 1950s and 1960s following the Second World War, states such as France, Germany and the Netherlands pursued tolerant and encouraging policies for migrants, which were seen as cheap, flexible

and fresh labor for the revival of the collapsed economies in Europe (Huysman, 2000, p. 753-754). There is no doubt that this approach aimed to create the most qualified and the cheapest labor force needed for economic development. These processes continued until economies reached a certain level and the domestic market was saturated with migrant workers.

In this context, the securitization of migration has legitimized the ability of states to take more serious and harsh legal and security measures. The introduction of migration as a disturbing illegal phenomenon has in fact resulted in more illegal immigrants. While the illegal situation of immigrants is seen as a serious problem by the states today, most of the time this process has not proceeded. Sensitive status associated with illegality forces migrants to live and work what they are obliged to, not in the way they want to.

The migration policies of the states that are receiving or in the target position of the migration waves are formed within this scope. Although there are various differences in immigration policies, basic texts are prepared with various concerns. States' immigration policies are constructed in various frameworks, from the control of inflows to the state to the protection of citizens in the “unfair” competition against migrant workers, according to the priorities set. In the first case, the laws and regulations related to border control, sanctions in this scope, return conditions, immigration control systems are at the agenda, while the second case comes to the forefront of the steps related to the community and employment (IOM, 2003, p. 9). While immigration policies are handled on the basis of national interests, protection of social structure and culture and stability of the country's economy against the increasing number of immigrants worldwide, the issue of human security remains quite behind the scenes. For states, border security is more important than an immigrant in a difficult situation approaching the border. On the other hand, many of the steps taken for migrants generally lead to reinforcing the perception of “security problem” for migrants instead of solving the problems.

International initiatives have not led to bring solution for increase in the number of immigrants, for worsening illegal situation, and for the problems leading to migration. For example, despite the arrangements made under the United Nations (UNHCR, 2007), migrants and refugees continue to remain a serious global issue. Although the security of individuals is tried to be guaranteed by both international organizations and legal regulations, the international community seems to be far behind to solve that problem.

The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks of Al Qaeda also played a major role in securitization of immigration. When the identity analysis of the terrorists who carried out the attacks brought along the “immigrant” label, public focused on nationalities of terrorists more than the attack itself. Especially, the use of “foreigner” and “terrorist” words together and one after the other by the American authorities paved the way for the securitization process. Thus, security measures implemented in many procedures, ranging from the increase in the evaluation criteria of immigration applications to the USA to the

tightening of the control practices for people coming to the country for touristic purposes, have been carried out.

Nowadays, the relationship between migration and security is established through the evaluation of threats to the transparent and open society life, the national economies with rising firewalls, border security, local cultural fabric, regional dynamics and stability and the continuation of the international order. In the debates on current issues of international security, international migration is also included besides issues such as terrorism, civil wars and environmental disasters. Undoubtedly, the explanations of the authorities of the states that are the target of the immigrants are very important in the formation of this situation. US President Donald Trump's statement that he sees the immigrants who want to cross the Mexican border as a “national threat”, the Hungarian Prime Minister Obran's attitude that they will have to “use force” if the Syrians are bound to their borders, King Abdullah of Jordan's statement that the resources allocated to the Syrians in his country “put public services, infrastructure and the economy in danger”, the British authorities' criticism of the European Union's position on immigrants during the Brexit debates, the increasing support to political discourses on anti-immigrant and the urgent expulsion of illegal immigrants in Italy can be cited as recent examples for securitization of migration. An important stage of the securitization process is completed with the acceptance of the discourse on immigration of the state administrators by the citizens of the developed countries where immigrant waves are directed. This is because the perception of immigrants as an external threat is that citizens feel both their individual and national security at risk. Thus, the establishment of a strict attitude towards immigrants at national, regional and international levels, implementation of preventive policies and taking urgent measures in this context become legitimate and necessary.

In summary, migration emerges as an undesirable phenomenon as it changes from a preferred and regular process to a wave of intense demand. In this context, it is said that the discourse of the leaders of the states with the increase of legal regulations and the activities of the related institutions and organizations pave the way for the securitization of migration. While one view considers migration and the emergence of migrants as a positive development (such as the Paris School researchers), the other view thinks that this trend will bring about a negative attribution.

3. MIGRATION-HUMAN SECURITY RELATIONSHIP

Although the relationship between migration and security has been dealt with mainly on the basis of the state and within the framework of national security, the examination of the immigrants and individuals in the immigration community has followed a parallel course. The process of migration, which has been subject of securitization owing to concern on protection of state borders and homogeneous structure in the society, has now begun to be addressed in a broader context by relating directly to the lives and living conditions of individuals.

It is necessary to mention the existence of persons seeking asylum among immigrants as well as many other factors in commemorating migration with human security. While the asylum seeker is already joining the migrants for reasons adorned with various security concerns, this creates an impact highlighting the political and security dimension of migration (Huysman, 2000, p. 755). There are serious vital reasons for people leaving their homes or not being able to return. This situation is so significant in the migration-security relationship discussions.

The fact that migration has become a marked field of study in the field of security and the association of migrants with security problems or threats have brought about the discussions on human security. It is possible to examine the relationship between human security and migration under various headings. In this context, it will be an approach to address the issue in a broad sense, considering the security problems that compel people to migrate, which are encountered during the migration process and that affect the security of destination society.

Reducing the security debate within the scope of migration to the individual level represents a normative and ethical approach. With this approach, the issue of migration has getting out of the monopoly of the field of national security and has gained a reflection of investigation both into human that is a deeper level and international security areas (Huysmans and Squire, 2009, p. 170-171). The main question to be asked in this context is: Is it useful for individuals to consider migration in the context of security? In the general framework, the issue of securitization has a controversial framework because it is thought that securitization is used to legitimize the policies of the states and spread their spheres of influence. On the other hand, discussing and reviving the security problems experienced by migrants and citizens in the receiving communities may pave the way for constructive measures to be taken.

3.1. Human Security

Human security is both a new and an old issue. It is old because before the idea of the security of political structures emerged, individuals' own security was the main issue. With the formation of state structures, the central object of the security umbrella became the state. The state also undertakes the duty of protecting its citizens. However, in the historical process, the survival of the state has become a priority issue, while human security remains in the background. It is also new because it is a product of a recent time to discuss in an academic understanding of a security approach in which human is centered.

The questioning of the state and military threat-based assertions of traditional security within the framework of critical approaches has opened the way for new subject areas and new

reference objects to be brought into the agenda with the processes of enlargement and deepening. The increase in the framework in which the security threat occurs or threatens, and the debate on what / whose security should be ensured is the product of this process (Krause and Williams, 1996). In particular, the détente period in the Cold War, increase in economic dependence and the policies of states called the Third World to be outside nuclear debates led to discussion of different issues as well as a state-centered security approach (MacFarlane and Khong, 2006: 127-128). This is because the security assessments have been based on security for whom/ what, security against whom/what and security by whom/what (Baldwin, 1997; Buzan, 1997; Jain, 2006).

Human security states human being's safety. It reflects the thinking approach where people are at the center of security concerns. (Floyd, 2007, p. 40). While human security is generally considered in the axis of being away from physical threats and fears, it can be considered in a wide range from meeting the needs such as education and health to reaching the opportunities of realizing themselves (Peoples and Vaughan-Williams, 2010, p. 125-126). Talking about the safety of people raises the question of who will do the job of protection. The individual is not an asset that can protect himself/herself or should protect himself against security threats, and the job of protection should be done by a larger and more competent entity, such as society, government or international organizations (Floyd, 2007, p. 40).

According to the United Nations Report of 1994, human security states that the issue is of universal concern, its elements are linked to other security areas, protective measures are important, and its main trait is being people-centered. In this context, human security is considered as a two-way process: First, "safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression", and second, "protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life-whether in homes, in jobs or in communities (UN, 1994, p. 22-23). In this report, human security is addressed on the basis of meeting the basic needs of people and keeping them away from their fears. It is stated that human security has seven basic issues: economic security, food security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and personal security (UN, 1994, p. 24-25). While these subject areas reflect the different dimensions of security that need to be taken to the agenda, they are the product of an approach that focuses on people. Such an approach means preventing threats in related areas and meeting the demands of individuals, ensuring global security. From this point of view, a main line has emerged for the establishment of a migration-security relationship. Threats and deprivation in areas such as economic, food, environmental, community and personal are the triggering and coercive factors

behind migration. In another way, what people who fall into the migration route want to reach is about having better conditions and protection from related dangers.

Having a wide place in the Critical Security Studies, human security has been important in terms of bringing a different side of security to the agenda. Based on the idea of human development and wellbeing, it has brought along an approach that bases the human and redefines the reference object outside the state (Peoples and Vaughan-Williams, 2010, p. 120-121). By criticizing traditional security, Ken Booth sees security and emancipation as two sides. He argues that emancipation provides real security and refers to emancipation as salvation from physical and human constraints that prevent individuals from making choices freely (Booth, 1991, p. 319).

Considering globally, transnational threats such as famine, ethnic conflicts, terrorism, environmental problems, and smuggling groups affect people in many ways in many parts of the world. Individuals feel threatened by rapidly spreading diseases, security threats, inequality of opportunities, internal conflicts and poverty (UN, 1994, p. 34). Individuals whose protection needs are not met in their living spaces tend to leave in a planned or forced manner. With the desire to avoid such dangers, individuals see migration as a way to escape, but they may remain in an illegal and more dangerous situation.

Human security can be expressed as a broad framework that includes meeting the needs of the people, providing the continuity of development, and carrying the decent values to the future (Ahsan, 2016, p. 20-37). Although human security is traditionally thought of as protecting people from physical threats, the complexity of a human being makes it necessary to bring up the issue in many different dimensions. In this context, it is considered in a wide range from military threats to quality education, information security and health services (UNESCO, 2008; Schittecatte, 2006; den Boer and de Wilde, 2010).

3.2. Reduction of Migration to Human Security

3.2.1. Security Issues Forcing People to Migrate

There are many reasons for people starting the migration movement and getting an immigrant identity. Sometimes humans voluntarily seek new life in different countries, sometimes there are situations that force them to leave their homes. Various kinds of atrocities, human rights violations, armed conflicts and natural or man-made disasters in their countries lead people to seek asylum (Crepeau, Nakache and Atak, 2007, p. 312). Ethnic cleansing, exile and slavery still exist in some parts of the world, and such problems can create asylum seekers

and refugees (Adamson, 2006, p. 171). People facing with threats that directly or indirectly shake their security and not having adequate safeguards may attempt to seek “safe zones” inside or outside the country. This quest forms one of the most serious security issues of today. In particular, people are dragged into migration paths due to hurricane disasters, terrorism, civil wars and floods. According to the Annual Report of the Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (IDMC), in 2017 there were more than 40 million new people who had to leave their homes worldwide (IDMC, 2018). Only in the first half of 2019, there were more than 10 million displaced people worldwide. Approximately 7 million people were forced to leave their homes due to disasters and more than 3 million people had to leave their homes due to violence and conflicts (IDMC, 2019, p. 3). While the situation of individuals who has had to leave their homes within the country is sometimes temporary and somehow the order is maintained over time, sometimes the displacement situation becomes permanent and the search for a new place becomes obligatory increasing the number of immigrants given above.

Internal and international migration is a process that is becoming increasingly compulsory and forced by circumstances. Sometimes natural disasters such as droughts and floods, wars, and problems such as ethnic conflicts and terrorist attacks seem to be triggers of migration (Weiner, 1992-1993, p. 92-95). Today, forced migration is far ahead of voluntary migration. There lie serious security reasons behind such mass human movements examples as disintegration of Yugoslavia, dramatic civil war in Rwanda, Gulf Wars with Iraq under Saddam regime, Libya, Yemen and Syria which dragged into civil war during the Arab Spring and, South and Southwest Asia owing to inhuman living conditions.

Undoubtedly, people can make voluntary and preferred migrations for the purposes of getting better education, working at higher wages or living in more suitable locations according to their own criteria in terms of political, cultural and natural aspects. But beyond this, there are factors that displace people suddenly or gradually. In this context, the issue of asylum seekers and refugees, which is generally evaluated under the title of migrant, emerges with a general view. As it is underlined in the texts of Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951 and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1967, individuals who are persecuted because of their race, religion, nationality, belonging to a certain social group or who want to flee or don't want to return to their countries owing to fear of persecution seek for asylum and reach refugee status (UNHRC, 2010). Feeling and facing pressure, discrimination, interference with freedom of thought and speech, and impositions on political, belief and sexual identity in their origin countries, individuals do not feel safe and begin a search for new lives in different

countries. They differentiate from the so-called regular or economic migrants and bring security concerns to the forefront, thus (McKay, 2008).

Considering the security problems that push people to migrate, it is necessary to draw attention to the threat of terrorism. As a recent development, hundreds of thousands of Iraqi and Syrian citizens who had to leave their homes during the Syrian Civil War, with the expansion of the activity area of DEASH (ISIS), were forced to flee both in and out of the country. On the other hand, there are tens of thousands of people in Niger, Nigeria, Chad and Cameroon who were forced to leave their homes due to the activities of Boko Haram terrorist organization (Şen and Çiçek, 2018). When the current political instability and harsh living conditions in this region coupled with terrorism, about 2.5 million people were forced to leave their homes (OCHA, 2018). As long as states fail to resist terrorism, it would be natural for many regions to have forced migration.

3.2.2. Security Problems on Migration Route

The illegal dimension of immigration brings along a grueling process. The journey, which begins after migrants leaving their homes, becomes rather dangerous, pushing individual boundaries considerably. Illegal migration is filled with deceptions, abuse, suffering, hunger, illness, attacks and life-threatening situations. The inherent illegality of such journeys and the helplessness and vulnerability of the majority of people on the road increase the level of danger. Migrant caravans (which have become an increasingly popular phrase) are candidate of victims of adverse weather conditions, lack of physical needs, state law enforcement agencies, criminal organizations, traffickers, relentless waves and tired ships.

The migration waves that take place in many parts of the world today bring a bitter landscape. For instance, Lampedusa, which was once a touristic Mediterranean island in its own right, now rises above one of the largest tombs in the world. The journey of hope from African and Middle Eastern countries ended with the sinking of boats or fishing vessels for many immigrants. In 2015, around 900 people drowned in the boat capsized off the coast of Lampedusa. This event is one of the dozens of immigrant disasters that occur every month and are no longer reflected in statistics. On the other hand, in 2013, 92 people died of thirst and fatigue when their vehicles broke down while trying to cross the Sahara Desert. In 2015, dozens of people died of suffocation in a truck haulage in Austria. Pakistani and Afghan nationals' bodies who wish to migrate to European countries via Turkey, can be mostly accessed during detailed searches or only after snow melts. According to the statistics of Migration Data Portal, more than 4000 people die on migration routes annually since 2014 (Migration Data Portal,

2019). According to the data of “Missing Migrants Project” conducted by IOM, more than 33.000 people lost their lives between 2014-2019. Of course, this number can only be defined on the basis of recordable deaths. In the light of regional assessments of 2019, vehicle accident and inability to access required treatment for Africa, suffocation and unknown causes for America, inability to access required treatment and hunger for Asia, suffocation and hyperthermia for the Mediterranean, drowning and suffocation for Europe, vehicle accident and artillery fire for the Middle East are leading causes of migrant deaths (IOM, 2019). It is also a painful situation for people who set out with the hope of a better quality of life to lose their lives on the road.

Under this heading, it is necessary to mention the threat posed by illegal groups during migration. The most important convergence of migration and organized crime is the human trafficking groups to which migrant-candidates apply to cross borders. Human trafficking, which has become a global market, creates a new trend area for illegal groups and leads to abuse of individuals seeking a new life (Adamson, 2006, p. 192-194). Human traffickers have made vulnerable persons and individuals forced to migrate especially for various economic and social reasons as targets for their economic interests. In this context, it can be observed that people on the road to migration are in danger of being used in human trafficking activities by organized crime groups. Subsequently, migrants constitute a group at risk for sexual abuse, forced labor, slavery, organ trade or similar activities (Clark, 2003, p. 247-249).

Human trafficking and human smuggling (trade) are two intertwined situations in the field of migration. Immigrants who want to reach illegally developed countries find themselves in the hands of smuggling groups and pay such groups for travel, of which amount vary according to various criteria. However, such organized groups also engage in smuggling and use completely unprotected and helpless migrants for their purposes through torture, blackmail, forced detention and deprivation (OECD, 2015, p. 1-2). The fact that the migrants who apply to illegal roads are completely unregistered, are lacking of records in their state of origin, have limited means of seeking even basic rights, are lacking of people to call them make it easier for them, especially women and children, to be trafficked.

The illegal migration path manifests itself as a route full of dangers. Mined lands, harsh natural conditions, days of waiting and hiding in inhuman conditions, hunger, accidents, personal or infectious diseases are now common risks faced by immigrants. As mentioned above, while such problems can result in death, on the other hand, they can lead to serious injuries, permanent damage, abuse, material losses and moral destruction.

3.2.3. Security Problems in the Destination Countries

The most serious problem today in this context is that migrants are often called “illegals, outlawed or illegal foreigners” in the communities in which they have arrived, as the borders of migration have shifted from the law to out of law and from the regular to irregular (Dauvergne, 2008, p. 15). The scene of people seeking illegal immigration that pushes the border walls shapes the “image of migrant” in the minds of individuals in the target communities. There are varying rates of reaction among local people who see their safety and living standards at stake due to immigration. This reaction can sometimes turn into discrimination, xenophobia and even racism.

The association of immigrants and situations such as loss of cultural identity, deterioration of the economy and the increase of internal security problems constitute a rising reaction in this context. Domestic political or social groups occasionally try to relate the concepts of migrant, foreign, refugee and asylum seeker to various problems in order to carry out their policies and to gather support (Huysman, 1995). Such a situation creates various responses against immigrants. It is also possible to observe behavioral attitudes ranging from verbal opposition to xenophobia, from othering to racism.

Today, illegal immigrants or foreigners whose status is not yet established do not have access to the rights that can be exercised by citizens and legal immigrants in the business world. Such differences and discriminatory practices may occur as in working hours, holidays, wages, personal rights, and etc. (Williams, 2008, p. 24-26). The disadvantageous situation experienced both in economic terms and in the context of workplace safety is also closely related to human security.

In particular, people who have entered into transit or destination countries without permission and registration are a target of illegal groups and people inside. People who encounter problems such as violence, abuse, rape, fraud and abduction don't or cannot take legal action because of their illegal conditions. This shows that illegal immigrants are vulnerable and unprotected. Illegal immigrants fearing deportation are unfortunately forced to endure the assaults and abuse they have been subjected to and are unable to exercise their rights.

3.2.4. Security Problems Faced by People in Arrival Society

It is stated that the host country's confronting with a population movement coming from different ethnic, cultural and ideological origins and the intensifying global migration has a disruptive effect on issues such as national identity, homogeneous culture and lifestyle in the

context of social security (Rudolph, 2003, p. 605). People who continue their daily lives with certain patterns within the society to which they are part and connected with various social networks find themselves in interaction with crowded groups participating newly. While this interaction sometimes creates a cultural richness, irregular situations can be accepted as a threat by local people to “social structure, integrity and consensus”. While there are sometimes obvious indicators for this concern among the public, sometimes the approach of securitization can create this perception.

It is stated time to time that the influx of migrants directly or indirectly fosters existing internal conflicts, increases the activities of illegal groups and forms a channel for terrorist activities (Adamson, 2006, p. 191). This raises security concerns in destination communities. Members of terrorist or illegal organizations can also be hidden within the immigrant masses reaching the border gates of another country. For instance, it was uttered several times by authorities that DEASH’s members infiltrated within the group of Syrians searching safe heaven in Turkey to escape the terror elements.

Another concern for individuals in immigrant societies is the association of immigrants with crime. Various studies have been conducted on the immigrant-crime relationship (Butcher and Piehl, 1998; Hagan and Palloni, 1998; Mears, 2001; Ousey and Kubrin, 2018). Although immigrations are associated with various crimes in society, it is not correct to draw a direct framework for the migration-crime relationship. There is no doubt that some of the immigrants are involved in or forced to participate in various judicial events in their communities. The mention of immigrants, especially illegal immigrants, in their environment or in the media for any crime has negative effects on citizens. Immigrants labeled as an external threat in the context of the securitization process can be perceived as the causes of the disruption of public order in society. It should be noted that, despite the existence of unfair labeling and various prejudices, not all immigrants have the same character. Although the immigrants living in harmony in the arrival societies and complying with the social rules to the maximum compose the majority, some immigrants find it difficult to integrate into the new society and take part in illegal activities mostly due to their past experiences.

CONCLUSION

Migration has two sides. The first side comes out in a voluntary and legal way for better education, higher earnings, better living standards and the desire to recognize different cultures. The other side is the situation of forced migration in the context of reaching basic needs and providing life safety, rather than seeking to achieve better. Previously receiving countries can no longer respond to the intense

demand for immigration for various reasons and take strict measures against the cross border mobility. This situation paved the way for the discussion of migration and migrants primarily in the political dimension and then in the security dimension. Defining the migration process and demand by the target states as a threat to border security, national economy and social integration has resulted in securitization of migration.

Mainly, the securitization of migration brings about a negative situation in terms of migrants. However, the establishment of the migration-security relationship poses a positive situation since it raises the issue of human security; because irregular and illegal immigration routes are full of serious dangers. The discussion of migration-human security provides an opportunity to discuss the problems that force people to migrate, which they face in the migration path and that they face in the destination society. Thus, it puts a road map in front of the developed state officials who declare the will to reduce the migration waves.

It can be thought that defining migration through security would mean discussing security problems in the process and afterwards and increasing solution attempts. However, as stated throughout the study, securitization of migration is a process carried out and shaped by the receiving states. The process here is based on national and social security concerns of these states and mediates legitimizing the policies they will implement. Thus, the emphasis on security becomes controversial. Especially the security problems of individuals who are the main actors and mostly victims of the migration situation are put in the background. For this reason, human security is a topic that should vigorously be emphasized and reflected in academic studies while discussing migration. It would not be wrong to state that the securitization process paves the way for extra security problems other than drawing attention to the security problems that occur for people at all immigration stages.

Even the states with the highest pitch opposing discourses against immigrants today are not totally against immigrants. States desire to choose the immigrants to their countries according to certain criteria, in fact. Migration waves created by compulsory conditions constitute a completely undesirable situation. In order to prevent these waves, national policies are formed, border controls are increased and attempts are made to identify illegal people within the country. Countries where migration waves have been directed or are assumed as a transit identity are often left alone. Such states as Turkey, Mexico and Italy sometimes become helpless facing migrant caravans including millions of people. Therefore, the necessity of international initiatives instead of national approaches emerges.

This requirement is defined by the increase in the number of immigrants in the world each year and the spread of migration routes to many parts of the globe. Terrorism, civil wars, interstate wars, environmental disasters, unemployment and hunger can have compelling effects in many parts of the world, resulting in a quite number of people leaving their homes. Undoubtedly, it will be quite natural that new millions will join the millions on the path of migration in the future. Such intense human

movement will have more intense effects on origin, transit and destination countries. The need for global governance is seen as a major requirement for monitoring, controlling and preventing migration waves that will directly affect the order of individuals, societies, states, regions and the international arena. Irregular and illegal migration, as an international issue with many different dimensions, awaits the concrete steps of the international community. In this context, the first step will be to address the security problems on the migration route and causing compulsory migration with a human-based approach.

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