



**YALOVA UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS ON THE IMMIGRATION
POLICIES OF GERMANY AND TURKEY WITHIN THE
CONTEXT OF AFGHAN IMMIGRATION**

MASTER'S THESIS

HAMED AHMAD

SUPERVISOR: ASSOC.PROF.DR. ZELHA ALTINKAYA

**YALOVA
DECEMBER 2021**



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ETİK BEYAN

Yalova Üniversitesi Lisansüstü Eğitim Enstitüsü Tez/Proje Yazım Kuralları'na uygun olarak hazırladığım bu tez çalışmada; tez içinde sunduğum verileri, bilgileri ve dokümanları akademik ve etik kurallar çerçevesinde elde ettiğimi, tüm bilgi, belge, değerlendirme ve sonuçları bilimsel etik ve ahlak kurallarına uygun olarak sunduğumu, tez çalışmada yararlandığım eserlerin tümüne uygun atıfta bulunarak kaynak gösterdiğimi, kullanılan verilerde herhangi bir değişiklik yapmadığımı, bu tezde sunduğum çalışmanın özgün olduğunu bildirir, aksinin tespiti halinde doğabilecek her türlü hukuki sorumluluğu kabul ettiğimi taahhüt ve beyan ederim.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BSA	:Bilateral Security Agreement
DGMD	:Directorate General of Migration Department
DMT	:Dictionary of Migration and its Terms
EC	:European Community
EPMA	:The European Pact on Migration and Asylum
EU	:European Union
GDP	:Gross Domestic Product
HR	:Human Rights
IOM	:International Organization for Migration
ISAF	:International Security Assistance Force
ISIS	:The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
MMC	:Mixed Migration Center
NATO	:North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	:Non-Governmental Organization
SIS	:Schengen Information System
TIKA	:Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency
TLI	:Turkish Language Institution
TRSL	:Turkish Republic Settlement Law
TRT	:Turkish Radio and Television Corporation
TÜİK	:Turkish Statistical Institute
UK	:United Kingdom
UN	:United Nation
UNDP	:United Nation Development Programme
UNHCR	:United Nations Refugee Agency
USA	: United States of America
USSRSU	:Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic of the Soviet Union
USSR	:Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VİSA	:Visa Information System
YUKK	: Law on Foreigners and International Protection

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AFGAN GÖÇÜ BAĞLAMINDA ALMANYA VE TÜRKİYE'NİN GÖÇ POLİTİKALARI ÜZERİNE KARŞILAŞTIRMALI BİR ANALİZ

ÖZET

Literatürde Afgan göçmenleri ele alan az sayıda çalışma vardır. Bu nedenle, tezin literatüre katkı açısından önemlidir. Türkiye ve AB ülkeleri farklı dönemlerde göç dalgalarıyla karşılaşmışlardır. Özellikle AB ülkeleri, göçmenler tarafından güvenlik, ekonomik ihtiyacı ve eğitim gibi beklentilerini karşılayabilecek ülkeler olarak görülmüşlerdir. Türkiye ilk başlarda hedef ülkeye ulaşmada, geçiş ülkesi durumunda iken, daha sonraları AB'ye geçişin zorlaşması, şartların diğer ülkelere daha iyi görülmesi, din-kültür benzerliği nedenleriyle hedef ülke haline gelmiştir. Afganistan göçmenlerinin Türkiye'ye göç etmelerinin başlıca nedenleri, din-kültür benzerliği, tarihi ilişkileri, güvenlik ve sosyal durumdur. Afganistan'da, 1973 yılında yapılan darbe ile ülkede güvensizlik baş göstermiştir. İlk göç dalgaları başlamıştır. Bu göçler yoğun olarak Pakistan ve İran ülkelerine olmuştur. 1979 yılında SSCB'nin Afganistan'a girmesiyle durum daha da ciddileşmiş, 10 yıl boyunca Afganistan Sovyet Rusya ile savaşıyor ve 1989'da SSCB Afganistan'dan çıkmıştır. Bunun sonrasında iç savaş başlıyor. 1995-96 yıllarında Taliban devreye giriyor, ta ki 2001 yılına kadar. 11 Eylül olaylarının ardından ABD ordusu NATO ülkeleriyle birlikte Afganistan'a giriyor ve Taliban'ın etkisi ortadan kalkıyor. 2002 yılında Afganistan'da seçimler oluyor, İran ve Pakistan'a göç eden vatandaşlar ülkedeki durumun istikrar kazandığını düşünerek ülkeye geri dönüyorlar. 2010 yılından sonra yavaş yavaş Afganistan'da tekrar istikrarsızlık baş gösteriyor, insanlar tekrar göç etmeye başlıyorlar. Bu göç dalgası AB, Türkiye ve İran ülkelerine yönelmiştir.

Bu tezin amacı, Afganistan göçlerinin genel durumunu, göçmenlerin yaşam şartlarını gözler önüne sermek ve Afgan göçmenlerinin özellikle 2000 yılından sonra Türkiye ve AB ülkelerini ekonomik, siyasi ve güvenliğe olan etkilerini analiz etmektir. Yapılan bu çalışmada, önce göç tanımı yapılacaktır. Daha sonra Afganistan siyasi ve ekonomik tarihi incelendikten sonra, Afgan vatandaşları, göçe zorlayan nedenler analiz edilecektir. Türkiye'nin göç politikalarından ve zaman içinde değişen göç anlayışından, Afgan göçmenlerin Türkiye ve AB ülkelerindeki genel durumu, AB'nin ve Türkiye'nin göçe yönelik politikaları, AB'nin yasadışı göç ile mücadele politikaları değerlendirilmektedir. Bu değerlendirme, hem AB'nin politikalarında, hem Türkiye'nin göçe yönelik politikalarının yeniden değerlendirilmesinde ışık tutabilecektir. Türkiye'nin mülteci politikası, uluslararası toplum tarafından katı olarak görülüyor ve sıklıkla eleştiriliyor. Türkiye'nin İskan Kanunu uyarınca uyguladığı etnik ayrımcılık nedeniyle. Türkiye'nin mülteci politikası, göç hareketlerinin değişkenliği nedeniyle oldukça dinamiktir. Tez hipotezi, Almanya'daki göçmen politikasının yasal yapısının, Türkiye'deki göçmen politikasının yasal yapısı kadar destekleyici olmamaktadır. Çünkü Almanya, göçmenlerin işgücü açığını kapatmak için yumuşat ve açık kapı politikasını uyguluyor, ancak vasıfsız ve eğitimsiz göçmenler konusunda yeterince destekleyici değil.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Afgan, Göçmen, Türkiye, Almanya, Göç Politikaları.



A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS ON THE IMMIGRATION POLICIES OF GERMANY AND TURKEY WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF AFGHAN IMMIGRATION

ABSTRACT

Studies on Afghan migration are limited in the literature. Therefore, this thesis is significant for contributing to the literature. Turkey and EU countries have encountered waves of migration in different periods. Especially, the EU countries were seen by migrants as countries that could meet their expectations such as security, economic needs and education. At first, Turkey was a transit country used to going to the destination countries, and then it became a destination country due to the difficulty of crossing to the EU, the conditions are seen better than other countries and the similarities of religion and culture. The major causes of Afghanistan immigrants to migrate to Turkey are religion and cultural similarities, historical relations, feeling secure of their lives and having better social situations. After the 1973 coup, insecurity in Afghanistan arose in the country. The first waves of immigration started. The first migrations were mainly towards Pakistan and Iran. After the USSR entered Afghanistan in 1979, Afghanistan was at war with Soviet Russia for 10 years. Even though the USSR left Afghanistan in 1989, the civil war began in 1996. Taliban controlled Afghanistan until 2001. After the 9/11 attack in the USA, the US army invaded Afghanistan together with NATO allies. The Taliban's influence disappeared. Elections took place in Afghanistan in 2002, citizens who immigrated to Iran and Pakistan think that the situation in the country has stabilized and return back to the country. After 2010, instability started again in Afghanistan, and people began to migrate again. This wave of migration was directed towards the countries of the EU, Turkey and Iran.

The aim of this thesis, to reveal the general situation of Afghan migrations, the living conditions of immigrants and especially after 2000, it is to show the economic, political and security impact of Afghan migrants on Turkey and EU countries. In this study, migration, history of Afghanistan, Turkey's immigration policy and the understanding of immigration that changes over time, the general situation of Afghan immigrants in Turkey and EU countries, the formation of EU on immigration policies, the illegal immigration policy of the EU, immigration and political dialogue between Turkey and the EU have been mentioned. Turkey's refugee policy is considered strict and frequently criticized by the international community. Due to the ethnic discrimination that Turkey applies in accordance with the Settlement Law, Turkey's refugee policy can be considered strict. Turkey's refugee policy is very dynamic due to the variability of migration movements. The thesis hypothesis is that the legislative structure of immigration policy in Germany is not as supportive as the legislative structure of immigration policy in Turkey. Germany applies the soft and open door policy for migrants to fulfill the gap in labor force, but it is not supportive enough in the case of unskilled and uneducated migrants.

Keywords: Afghan, Migrants, Turkey, Germany, Immigration Policies.





1. INTRODUCTION

The words immigration and emigration both refer to leaving one country or region to live in another. Immigration and Emigration share the same Latin root. (Migrare) which means to move, transport. It gives us migration or changing one's place of residence. The real difference between these two words. The "e" in emigration ultimately comes from a Latin prefix meaning "out of". Emigration is migrating out of a country or place. It is leaving it, often due to lack of opportunity or various hardships. The "im" in immigration ultimately comes from another Latin prefix, in, meaning well in or into. So immigration is migrating into a new place typically on a permanent basis. Whether someone is an emigrant or an immigrant depends on their direction, on whether they are coming or going. For instance, if you are Afghan and you are worried that a lot of people are moving to Istanbul. You might say, "Emigration is a real challenge for our nation." Now if you are a Turkish and you are living in Istanbul, you might say that Afghan immigration is really good for our country.

Although the concepts of "migrant", "Asylum seeker" and "Refugee" are used in the same sense, especially by the media, they contain significant differences. In national and international legislation, the concept of "migrant" is very large. Because all kinds of migration movements are included in the scope of the concept. The concept of migration is divided into different types such as short-term, long-term or permanent migration, economic, political, environmental or social migration, voluntary or involuntary migration, international or national migration. Therefore, the concept of immigrants also includes refugees and asylum seekers. According to the 1951 Geneva Convention, "refugees" are people who seek protection in another country (UNHCR, 1951, Art. 1(A)(2)) because of fear of oppression and because of their race, religion, nature, belonging to a particular social group or political opinions. The most important difference between "asylum seeker" and "refugee" is that the asylum seeker applies to an authorized authority for international protection (to gain refugee status), but his or her application has not yet been finalized.

People need to leave their current location for security, economic and political reasons, this displacement is called migration. Immigration can be voluntary or compulsory, individually or collectively. It happens within the same country and

different countries or transcontinental. Human beings have established a close relationship with their birthplace. As a result of this relationship, Customs and culture are formed. Social life, lifestyle, dressing, shelter, food, and so on, it is shaped according to the environment in which the human lives. Because every person has rules in his society as individual has rules and norms and in order to stay there, he must obey those rules and norms; however, as individual obeys the rules and norms, individual assimilates over time and adopts that culture. Migration is a multifaceted phenomenon, and in this sense, migration has a significant impact on the common culture that people create. We should not think about the phenomenon of migration alone, because there must be a number of reasons for the phenomenon of migration to occur. Demographic, political, socio-cultural and economic problems come at the beginning of these reasons.

Security concerns, economic and political reasons, which have been an important issue for people throughout history and these, have played a major role in migrating the people. Migration of Afghanistan, which has not fallen off the world's agenda since the early 2000s and is still an important issue around the world, Especially the first thing that comes to mind is the emergence of the migration wave known as the Arab Spring in North Africa in 2010. Here the wave of immigration has been aimed at EU countries. In this migration phenomenon, Turkey is located as a transit country, in this sense, EU countries and Turkey have been negatively influenced by migration.

A person or group of people crossing an international border or moving within a state. Regardless of the duration, nature and reason changing place of people are movements of population. This includes the migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, people acting for different purposes, such as family reunification. According to the (Turkish Language Institution) TDK(Türk Dil Kurumu), immigration is defined as "the movement of an individual or communities from one country to another country, from one settlement to another settlement relocation, emigration, for economic, social, political reasons.

Migration can be classified in two parts; internal and external migration. Internal migration is the moving out within the same country, from rural areas to urban areas, collective or individual. It could be for job opportunities, economic - social situation

and so on. Migration, either collectively or alone, within the borders of the country to another region is called internal migration. Internal migration can occur from village to city, between the cities or between the villages. Internal migrations can be permanent or temporary. Seasonal agricultural workers are a good example of temporary internal migration.

1.1. Goal of The Study and Significance of Research

This fact of immigration that was available for centuries in the historical process that has followed a wavy course for causes such as; conflict, economic crisis and natural disaster. There is a steady wave of immigration from backwarded, developing countries to the United States and countries of the European Union. Migration due to internal turmoil in Afghanistan has emerged as a way to arrive to the EU, especially using Turkey as a transit way. In this case, Turkey is constantly subjected to waves of irregular migration. In this condition, this research is going to sum up the positive and negative policies of Directorate General of Migration Department (DGMD) on immigration policy which has an essential role in struggling against immigrants from Afghanistan and the policies implemented in order to contribute to the literature.

Firstly, there are few migration studies in the literature, and in my opinion, my thesis will have an important contribution to complete some blanks in the literature. Secondly, there are very few studies on Afghan immigrants, and Afghan immigrants in Turkey are less studied and less researched in the literature. This thesis may lead to a new aspect for Afghan immigrants. At last, this thesis will be important in academic studies to struggle with illegal migration from Asian and Middle Eastern countries in such circumstances that can serve as a great example of future studies and will be added to the literature.

1.2. Methodology

This study utilizes event history analysis and case study on comparison of two countries immigration policies which are an important destination country in Afghanistan emigration. Relevant academic studies which are related to the topic under lens are utilized for analyses. The purpose is to reflect the varied arguments on the topic under investigation by different scholars that will allow for balanced analyses and an informed conclusion in this work. Also, policies made by Turkey

and Germany that are related to immigration are collected and analyzed. The purpose is to obtain statements that would allow for a proper analysis of the immigration policy discourse of Turkey and Germany. It would also facilitate the accomplishment of the aims and objectives of this study.

The thesis is based on literature review on Afghanistan. All the rules, legislation, codes on migration in Germany and Turkey legislated in the parliaments of Republic of Turkey and Germany have been under review. During the study, books and articles and thesis on the illegal immigration. Mostly in the writing of my dissertation benefited from secondary resources, and these sources from articles, books and the theses about migration.

1.3. Extent of the Thesis

The study specifies the international and national regulations, the policies of government and social discourses. Related the rights of Afghan migrants in Turkey with having knowledge from the field experiences, reports and official documents. In my point of view, it emphasizes what Afghan migrant life is like in Turkey. It is assumed that Turkey has an exception in the Middle East as a Muslim country, having same religion and norms by giving a security zone for the all migrants. Somehow, according to reports of human rights organizations and investigation on the ground, Afghan migrants in Turkey face many problems in the exercise of basic rights and reach to main services. From the previous years the world has been facing an improvement in right wing movements as well as an improvement in neoliberal policies. This movement succeeded to handle groups through the policies of the government like the policy of Turkey related to nationalism and neoliberal economic policies. According to this policy, migrants are loaded on the shoulders of receiving countries, which causes the unemployment rates in Turkey and the European Union. Immigrants are subjected to various forms of discrimination in Turkey and EU at the level of individual, institutional and structural.

1.4. Hypothesis of Thesis

To examine how the concepts of migration and migrants have changed from the past to the present compared to both Turkey and Germany, and to reveal the factors involved in the change. Migration events that we encounter in different ways and

regions from the past to the present and the definitions determined for the migrants who are the complementary factor of this, the laws enacted, the policies that are carried out or wanted to be carried out, social struggles and the results that are desired to be reached are constantly changing. As a result of the policies carried out and the social developments desired to be carried out, the concept of immigrants has been diversified and divided into different sub-concepts and the fact that these concepts mean almost no other meanings for both countries, and as a result, countries carry out different policies against the same events constitute the problematic of the study. The word means asylum seeker; it means a person who has taken refuge. In addition, it refers to the situation of individuals seeking asylum in other countries and waiting for help from those countries as a result of hunger, war or political situations that are not optional reasons for them to leave their homeland.

Migration movements, which may arise due to ongoing wars, hunger, future concerns and many other reasons, have caused society and environment to be affected economically, politically and socially on a regional as well as a global scale. On the basis of these relations, an answer is being sought to the question of what kind of influence the migrant has had on Turkey and Germany in terms of meaning, movement, space and society. It has been tried to determine the function of the policies carried out on immigrants or asylum seekers, and ultimately the effects of this function on the local people in the country and the refugees who came there later.

The research will look for answers to the following questions:

1. What is the legislative structure of the Republic of Turkey for immigrants policy?
2. What is the legislative structure of the Republic of Germany for immigrants policy?
3. Is there differences between Turkey Legislation and Germany's legislation for towards to Immigration Policies towards Afghan migrants?
4. What are the policies Turkey and Germany follow towards asylum seekers and the status they give them?

H0: The legislative structure of immigration policy in Germany is not as supportive as the legislative structure of immigration policy in Turkey.

H1: The legislative structure of immigration policy in Germany is more supportive than the case in Turkey.

In the field research, the data obtained as a result of various examinations and the collection of information related to the subject were evaluated. However, the fact that this research has not been done before has made it difficult to conduct field research. In addition to the different policies applied by both countries to immigrants, the different attitudes and practices of municipalities towards immigrants made it difficult to combine and compare immigrants in one place.

A very small part of this study is focused on theory, and accordingly, techniques such as using articles and documents, classifying data, understanding and producing logical solutions have been used. The international migration policy of Turkey and Germany differs. In the study, housing, employment, local administrations and NGO policies for asylum seekers will be examined. The assumption of this study on the monitoring of asylum seekers in cities is: While providing asylum seekers with access to housing, labor and other needs within the framework of the legal responsibility of local governments and the volunteering of non-governmental organizations in Germany; Asylum seekers in Turkey meet these needs with the initiative of local governments and voluntary services of non-governmental organizations.

Turkey's immigration policy is considered strict and frequently criticized by the international community. Due to the ethnic discrimination that Turkey applies in accordance with the Settlement Law, for that reason Turkey's immigration policy can be considered strict. Turkey's immigration policy is very dynamic due to the variability of migration movements. But the legislative structure of immigration policy in Germany is not as supportive as the legislative structure of immigration policy in Turkey since Germany applies the soft and open door policy for migrants to fulfill the gap in labor force, but it is not supportive enough in the case of unskilled and uneducated migrants.

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1.5. Limitation of the Study

The immediate outbreak of the Covid-19 caused my research to be interrupted. So, I had the opportunity to meet with a few Afghans. Many of the Afghans I wanted to talk to did not want to speak because they were too shy and thought I was a cop. When I introduced myself as an Afghan student, they were relaxed and I could win their trust and beliefs. As I understand from the people I met, most Afghans have come to Turkey for having serious financial problems and some of them are for a short period of time to collect dowry money for getting married and some have death threats. I also met with a group of people who want to leave. Considering the reality of Turkey's transit routes, they said that they reach Turkey with a thousand difficulties and illegally, then from here they are trying to cross into Europe. They pay a lot of money to the smugglers who are accompanied them during illegal immigration and they have a resource problem to go to another country. They stay in Turkey illegally on their way to Europe and save money by working illegally, under really difficult conditions and they are being exploited. Those who have saved up their money, when they have the opportunity, try to go to another country illegally by making deals with smugglers. But sometimes smugglers deceived them and took their money if they reject to not giving money then they are tortured even killed by smugglers.



2. LITERATURE REVIEW ON THEORETICAL EXPLANATION FOR INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

People leave their own countries and migrate to other countries for different reasons. In order to better understand these reasons, it is necessary to examine the varieties of migration. The types of migration differ according to the cause-effect relationship, how long it takes, in which masses are intensity, changes in the borders of the country. Explaining in detail the types of migration based on the table below will further help us to understand the phenomenon of migration. In this thesis, the analysis is based on the following definitions.

2.1. The Concept of Foreign Nationality

A foreign national is any person including an organization who is not a national of a specific country. For example, in one country and in its territory, a foreign national is something or someone who is neither a citizen nor a national of that country. In the dictionary of the Turkic language institution (Türk Dil Kurumu), the foreign word is defined as a person of another nationality, a national of another country. The word “nationality” is defined as subject being bound to a state by citizenship. Based on these definitions, we can say that the concept of foreign nationality is the name given to people who are not connected to the country in which they are located by a link to citizenship. Foreign nationals do not have the right to vote in the country of residence and cannot benefit from social services (Doğan, 2019, p. 21).

2.2. The Concept of immigrant

People who immigrate from their country of residence to other countries for different reasons are called immigrants. In the Dictionary of Migration and Its Terms, the word migrant is defined as people who decide to emigrate freely for the purpose of 'Personal comfort' and without any element of coercion from the outside (Doğan, 2019, p. 21).

The concept of immigration is by definition a very complex structure. This is because it covers very different people, situations, and the environment. It includes all recognition of how long the migrants will stay in the country/place of immigration, whether they will remain permanent or not. In this sense, it is possible to describe the immigrant in very different ways. These differences can be shown as examples of migration policies of countries, different migration policies of countries, drawing borders between countries, keeping migration records.

As the types of immigration have changed, accordingly the concept of immigrant has gained different meanings.

Globalization has a huge impact on the migrations that have occurred in recent years. With the effect of globalization, different types of migration have emerged. When looking at globalization in general terms, countries should get closer to each other with positive developments such as the development of technology, increasing relations with each other, softening the differences of opinion, increasing interaction in trade. This convergence can be in areas like economic, cultural, social, and so on. In this sense, the phenomenon of globalization is a phenomenon that covers the whole world and affects all aspects of social life (Gulfer and Şirin, 2014, pp. 554-556).

The increase in global trade and investment provides the change of migrant flows. In this sense, countries with developed economies have high labor demand and high labor force in their countries with underdeveloped economies are driving global labor migration. Globalization increases labor mobility between countries. As another factor; global economic crises and downturns in countries also affect migration trends. There is a stagnation in migration flows, this recession should not be considered a complete cut and does not contribute greatly to the change of migration trends.

If the impact of demographic changes on immigration and migrant phenomena is mentioned; Global population growth shows significant differences between developed countries and underdeveloped countries. The rapid growth of the population is causing economic difficulties, forcing people to immigrate from their places of residence and results in a decrease in the population and aging of the population in developed countries. The low birth rate in developed countries speeds up the aging of the population. Another factor can be said to be the formation of migrant networks. The common networks of human communities who immigrate from certain regions are very effective in pushing people to immigrate and increasing human mobility. These networks affect the trade and economic relations of countries that give immigration and receive immigration, as well as increase the efficiency of the current relationship (Görgün, 2017, pp. 1318-1320).

Pushing and attractive factors can be mentioned as the reasons for immigration of immigrants. The reasons mentioned as driving factors are war, instability, unemployment and so on, which force a person to immigrate from his or her home country. The attractive factors are the reasons that attract migrants to the destination country. Attractive factors can be counted as;

security, job opportunities, educational opportunities. The situations that cause migration are generally social, environmental and humanitarian reasons.

2.3. Asylum Seeker

Explaining the concepts of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers is of great importance in terms of understanding this written thesis. As mentioned in the Geneva convention; There are a number of differences between immigration, refugee and asylum seeking. Refugees and asylum seekers can be called migrants, however, it cannot be called an asylum seeker or refugee for every migrant. According to the definition mentioned there; the asylum seeker is expressed differently while the person who voluntarily leaves his country of residence in order to achieve better living conditions. Before we begin to explain the concept of refugees, it should be noted that; The concept of asylum seeker is the name given to people who migrate to another country in the period of time before they gain refugee status. The concept of asylum seekers is a very important concept that needs to be explained in order to fully explain the concept of refugees (Kızılay, 2017, p. 2).

Due to the negativities and unfavorable conditions in their homeland, people leave their places and escape to other countries and take shelter in those countries. They try to hold on to their lives there in line with the refugee policy in these countries where they went. Each country has a concept of refugees and political laws and practices that it applies in its own interests. Immigrants applying for asylum in that country where they went, they get this name so that they are able to take shelter in the country until the conclusion of the refugee application. Here, it is useful to mention the refugee concepts of Turkey and the EU countries (Zorba, 2020, p. 25).

According to the Turkish Republic Settlement Law (article 3/3), the refugee is defined as follows; Refugees who temporarily seek shelter in a necessity at Turkey not for the purpose of settling are called asylum seekers. The concept of asylum is that people seek asylum in another country if they are in danger or restricted from living in their home country. Documents must be ready before coming to the applied country. These documents can be identity information, photographs, birth certificates, fingerprints, and so on, and these demands may show variability depending on the country. According to the IOM, the asylum seeker: Individual is defined as a person seeking security in a country other than his own country in order to protect himself /herself from persecution or serious harm and who waits for the result of his/her

application for refugee status within the framework of relevant national or international documents (Perruchoud and Redpath, 2013, p. 74).

2.4. Refugee

Those who leave necessarily from his own country of origin for war, coup, and so on. and go to other countries for reasons, after applying for asylum in the country they went to and being in the country for some time as an asylum seeker, fulfilling the necessary conditions of the country of application, people who have rights in that country are called refugees. Being a refugee is a legal status. In addition, every refugee is protected by UNHCR. If the rights of refugees are mentioned, every refugee has the right to security and asylum. The security mentioned here is not only physically, but also the rights granted to other foreigners in the country in which they seek refuge, such as the rights of assistance, basic needs, economic and social, the right to work, and education. So that, people with refugee status become free in the country where they take shelter, and there is thought and social freedom. These rights are recognized to refugees as well as to every individual. Refugees must also comply with the legal and social rules of the countries in which they take refuge (Perruchoud and Redpath. 2013, pp. 64-65).

The UN Geneva Convention is the basis for policies to regulate refugee movements for European countries. With the Geneva Convention, the concepts of refugees and asylum seekers were defined and migration policies determined in accordance with their own interests were implemented. According to the UN Convention on Geneva (1951), refugees are "due to their race, religion, nature, belonging to a particular social group or political opinions, who are outside the country of their citizenship because they are justly afraid of persecution and cannot benefit from the protection of this country, or who do not want to benefit due to the fear in question; or any person who does not have a nationality but who is outside his / her country of residence as a result of such events, cannot return there or does not want to return because of the fear in question. Turkey, on the other hand; Despite receiving immigration for many years, the legal regulations on the issue have not yet been settled. Turkey does not have a comprehensive legal regulation on this issue. Immigration department was established in 2013 and in 2014 it became operational under Internal Affairs (Yılmaz, 2014, p. 1).

2.5. Education of immigrants

Migrations, whether compulsory or voluntary, are very challenging and difficult. It is quite corrosive to leave the environment where they live and settle elsewhere, to adapt there, especially when it comes to international immigration. A different language, culture and environment can have a negative impact on the adaptation of migrating people to new living conditions. During this adaptation process, They may face discrimination and bullying in the country of immigration and may be deprived from some of their rights.

Children, all immigration because they are weak and vulnerable and they are shockingly affected by violations of rights in their compliance processes. Therefore, children should fully benefit from education and health services during the migration and integration process. Every individual has the right to education. People and their children who fled their country and took refuge in another country also have the right to get education and should benefit from the educational opportunities in the country in which they go. The quality of children's education is also very important in terms of building their future and adapting to social rules. There are regulations in the documents of international law regarding the education right of immigrants. Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), Convention Against Discrimination in Education (1960), UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) and There are regulations relating to subject in the European Convention on Human Rights (Topcuoğlu, 2012, pp. 25-27).

The differences between the education level of the immigrated place and the education level of immigrant children affect the quality of education both for immigrants and the national economy. While the lack of the official language of the countries where the migrants migrated negatively affects the education of children, adults cause problems such as inability to find work, difficulties in social life. Children who need to be educated have to work in such situations and their education is disrupted (Börü and Boyacı, 2016, p. 29).

The role of the teacher in the quality of education is also very important. Although the role of the teacher is important for all students, it is even more sensitive in migrant students. Here, the teacher should recognize and struggle with communication problems arising from cultural differences. This struggle will have a positive impact on the education of immigrant student. According to the Ministry of Education, most of the foreign children in primary and secondary education are children from Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Iran and Bulgaria (Topcuoğlu, 2012, pp. 27-30).

2.6. International Migration

Although international migration, when first viewed may come to mind, human mobility from underdeveloped or developing countries to developed countries, International migration is a multidimensional phenomenon. It is a concept that has changed from the past to the present. Although war, economic insufficiency, instability within the country, race-religion-sex discrimination are the main reasons. But the reasons and types of international migration are also changing with the changing world order. Globalization has a huge impact on the phenomenon of migration, international migration has accelerated with globalization. The globalization mentioned here: The idea, trade and money flows around the world are increasing, and people are more in touch by crossing the cultural boundaries. This communication technology and culture become global scale for economic reasons and so on. The world is now moving away from the concept of nation-state to approaching the concept of globalization (Alarçin, 2019, pp. 9-11).

With the effect of globalization, new international divisions of labor and opportunities have emerged, which has directly affected migration. People have started to migrate to different countries to take advantage of job opportunities. Technology also has a significant impact here, people are aware of these possibilities in the world through technological developments. Another effect that should be mentioned here is the development and increase of communication possibilities. The development in communication opportunities from past to present has made it easier for people to be aware of each other. The internet, one of the most important of these, provides great comfort in accessing information as well as ease of communication. The spread and development of mass communication tools has affected migration in every sense (Alarçin, 2019, pp. 20-21).

Another factor affecting international migration is the facilitation of transportation. The availability of safer and more comfortable transportation opportunities in the air, on land or at sea allows people to move quickly and effortlessly. In addition to being fast in transportation, it has become cheaper. As convenience increased, interest and demand increased and prices decreased. This situation has provided the possibility to facilitate international migration. Tourism is also a type of migration, and the impact of globalization has contributed greatly to its development. Especially technological opportunities have affected mass communication tools. All of the factors here are interconnected; the development of technology, ease of access

to information, facilitation and cheapening of transportation all these factors affect tourism and international migration (Alarçin, 2019, pp. 21-23).

The emergence and expansion of connections between cities, regions and forms of governance has led to the development of international social networks. In a sense, this resulted in the loss of the meaning of geographical boundaries. Here, the concept of the loss of meaning of geographical boundaries is that people adopt a different understanding by ignoring factors such as religion, culture and origin differences. The emergence of the concept of international migration also affects migration and the concept of migrants. Especially in recent years, innovations in communication and transportation technologies connecting countries, people and cultures have influenced migration. One of the situations that may be involved here is that the immigrants can easily relate and provide transportation from different regions, the environments in which they can migrate (Alarçin, 2019, pp. 23-26).

After the disintegration of Soviet Russia, the Soviet system collapsed and the capitalist system began to expand around the world. The capitalist system changed the balance and changed the route of migration. Capitalism puts a specified field in a profile of its own choice, trying to direct the existing capital. In other words, capitalism builds a new geography. This drives the geography it builds. It gives direction to culture, globalization, connections, and communication.

The increase in political instability and conflicts has affected migration with the effect of globalization. The effect here is to encourage immigration. Political instability may be due to reasons such as coup, resignation of the administration and deficiencies in administration. In addition to this, violent events such as civil war and terrorist incidents affecting from outside pushing people to immigrate. These kinds of violence caused living problems, poverty and inequality that leave people to immigrate. They are turning to immigration to protect and support their families as well as to protect from any terrorist incidents. The occurrence of environmental disasters such as drought, tsunami, and the drying up of drinking water sources and the increase in intensity are the driving factors for people to go to different regions. The effect of globalization in this situation is that people are aware of the changes and better conditions in the globalized world. In this sense, immigration internationally causes very serious changes in the social order, culture, economic and political order.

2.7. Types of immigration

People migrate for certain reasons. In order to better understand these reasons, it is necessary to examine the varieties of migration. The types of migration differ according to the cause-effect relationship, how long it takes, in which masses are intensity, changes in the borders of the country. Explaining in detail the types of migration based on the table below will further help us to understand the phenomenon of migration. People need to leave their current location for security, economic and political reasons, this displacement is called migration. Immigration can be voluntary or compulsory, individually or collectively. It can happen within the same country and different countries or transcontinental.

Migration is a multifaceted phenomenon, and in this sense, migration has a significant impact on the common culture that people create. We should not think about the phenomenon of migration alone, because there must be a number of reasons for the phenomenon of migration to occur. Demographic, political, socio-cultural and economic problems come at the beginning of these reasons. Security concerns, economic and political reasons, which have been an important issue for people throughout history and these, have played a major role in migrating the people. Migration of Afghanistan, which has not fallen off the world's agenda since the early 2000s and is still an important issue around the world, Especially the first thing that comes to mind is the emergence of the migration wave known as the Arab Spring in North Africa in 2010. Here the wave of immigration has been aimed at EU countries. In this migration phenomenon, Turkey is located as a transit country, in this sense, EU countries and Turkey have been negatively influenced by migration.

A person or group of people crossing an international border or moving within a state. Regardless of the duration, nature and reason changing place of people are movements of population. This includes the migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, people acting for different purposes, such as family reunification. immigration is defined as "the movement of an individual or communities from one country to another country, from one settlement to another settlement relocation, emigration, for economic, social, political reasons (Türk Dil Kurumu, (TDK), Turkish Language Institution, 2021).

According to definitions, migration can be classified into two parts; internal and external migration. Internal migration is the moving out within the same country, from rural areas to urban areas, collective or individual. It could be for job opportunities, economic - social situation. Migration, either collectively or alone, within the borders of the country to another

region is called internal migration. Internal migration can occur from village to city, between the cities or between the villages. Internal migrations can be permanent or temporary. Seasonal agricultural workers are a good example of temporary internal migration.

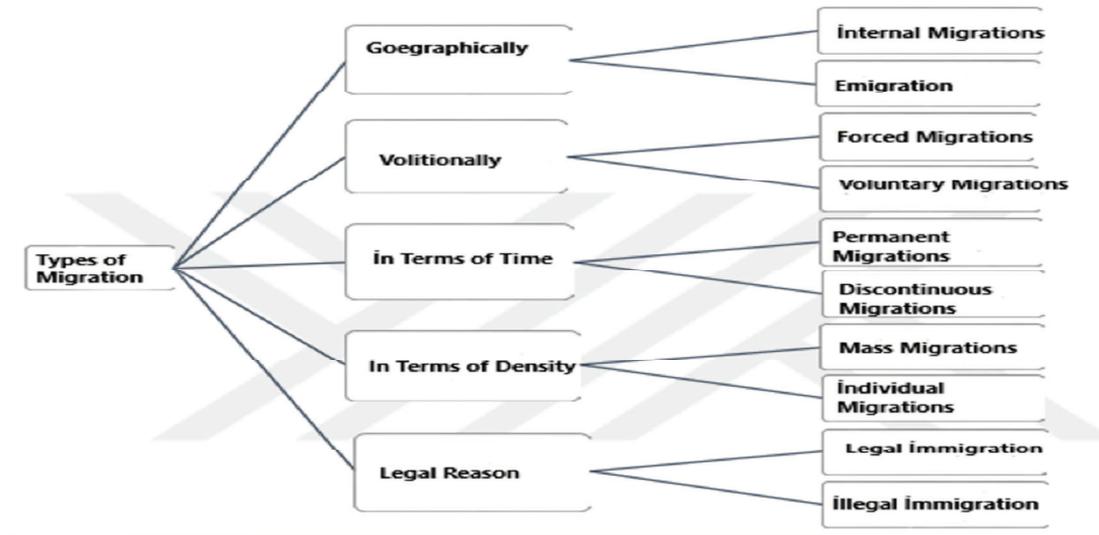


Figure 2.1. Types of Immigration

2.7.1. Geographical migrations

Migration in geography usually refers to the movement of humans from one place to another. It occurs when the perceived interaction of Push and Pull factors overcome the friction of moving. Push factors: elements of the origin that are perceived negatively leading to a desire to leave. Pull factors: elements of the destination that are perceived positively leading to place-attraction. Friction of Moving: costs in time, finance and emotions in leaving one location and moving to another. Geographical migration is divided into two parts, Internal and External Migration.

Internal Migration: Migration, either collectively or alone, within the borders of the country to another region is called internal migration. Internal migration can occur from village to city, between the cities or between the villages. Internal migrations can be permanent or temporary. Seasonal agricultural workers are a good example of temporary internal migration. In the dictionary of Migration Terms, internal migration is described as; For the purpose of having a new residence or as a result of a new residence, people migrate from one region to another region of the same country. This migration can be temporary or permanent, internal migrants change places within the country of origin, but they still stay in the country of origin, for example, migration from rural to urban (Gürsoy, 2019, p. 12).

External migration: External migration occurs internationally, in this case, external migration; it includes the emigrating country, the destination country and the transit countries. This affects politics, laws, societies and the environment between countries. In these affected areas, it can have negative results as well as positive results. In the (Dictionary of Migration and its Terms), (Göç ve Terimleri Sözlüğü), external migration is mentioned as follows: People temporarily or permanently leave their country of origin or their usual country of residence to settle in another country. Therefore, it is possible to cross an international border. External migration increases the population density of the migrating country, while reducing the population of the migrating country. Again, in this direction, external migration is done to increase the person's own level of welfare in another country. likewise, a person leaves his or her country compulsorily due to violent events in his or her country (Gürsoy, 2019, p. 13).

2.7.2 Migrations in terms of volunteering

Migration based on one's free will and initiative. People move for a variety of reasons, and it involves weighing options and choices. Individuals who are interested in moving often analyze the push and pull factors of two locations before making their decision. For example: Volunteering is a great way to meet new people, improve your language skills, and develop your social skills. You will have the chance to get involved in important projects, give back to your community, and gain experience in new areas.

Compulsory Migration: The situation when people are forced to leave their places of residence against their will is called compulsory migration. Driving factors are influencing the occurrence of compulsory migration. These factors are natural disasters, unemployment, violent events (war, coup and so on.), security needs, and political influences. Compulsory migration occurs mainly due to violence. Terror and war are extremely tiring and exhausting for people. At first people who try to deal with these factors have to migrate during the process. The migration mentioned here takes place in masses and in countries with high levels of prosperity (Bartram et al, 2014, pp. 151-153).

Voluntary Migration: It is called for people to leave their places of their own consent. The reasons for voluntary migration are the idea of living in a safer environment, expectation of education (brain drain), expectation of job; desire to build a better life, and so on. In this sense, there is a positive developing migration for voluntary migration. There is no repulsive situation or coercive force for people who migrate (Bartram et al, 2014, pp. 153-156).

It seems sufficient to have the necessary reason for one or more of the family members to find or settle in another country as pioneers. In this way, voluntary migrations continue by establishing a life in the country where the person goes and encouraging the rest of the family members to emigrate. After the Second World War, European countries received migrations from developed or underdeveloped countries due to insufficient labor force. The migrations that Germany received from Turkey and Greece in the 1970s can be given as an example of voluntary migration. In this type of migration, migrants make their own decisions to emigrate. The decisive factor in voluntary migration is the inner worlds of individuals. The process results in the decision to emigrate.

2.7.3. Temporal migrations

Migration for a specific motivation or purpose with the intention that afterwards there will be a return to the country of origin or onward movement. The temporal Migrations consist of Permanent and Temporary Migration. Permanent Migration: It is the migration of people from where they live to another place with a plan to be permanent. There are no time restrictions on permanent migration, they act without planning to return to their homeland. Permanent migrations may occur for political, economic, social or natural reasons.

Examples of natural causes can be given the 1999 Marmara earthquake. It can take place domestically or internationally. Temporary Migration, here we are talking about immigration, is usually intended to work abroad in a specific or in the form of a seasonal worker. Students who went abroad due to their school-internship are also included in this group. In temporary migration, it is determined how long the migrants will stay in the place where they go. An important group of temporary migrants consists of seasonal migrants, who combine activity at several places according to seasonal labor requirements (Gürsoy, 2019, p. 16).

2.7.4. Migrations in terms of intensity

Mass Migrations: In mass migration, people change their place in large groups. The large groups mentioned here are not the family members; it is the migration of the communities in which they live. Mass migrations occur for reasons such as war, insurgency, coups, and natural disasters. As an example of mass migrations here, there is a benefit referring to migrations of Afghanistan, which is also the main topic of our thesis. Migrations of Afghanistan started with the coup in 1973, and these migrations were mass. In the continuation of the process, when the events of September 11, 2001 were added, the migrations were further intensified and the

migrations have extended to Turkey. Individual Migrations: In individual migration, a person is the only one who makes the migration single or with his/her family. They plan themselves and carry out the migration here and it can happen for personal reasons. Examples include hostility between families, problems within the family, and so on. can be given as personal reasons (Gürsoy, 2019, pp. 16-17).

2.7.5. Legal migrations

Legal (Regular) Migrations: Legal immigration is the migration of people who decide to leave their place of residence and consider living in other countries by fulfilling the conditions and responsibilities of those countries. Legal immigration, it may be permanently for the purpose of residing in that country such as, providing educational opportunities, family situations and working conditions. Immigrants who enter a country legally can benefit from education, health care and social service in that country. They migrate from country to country for the purpose of investing and can be permanent in that country (T.C. Kalkınma Bakanlığı, 2014, pp. 11-14).

Illegal (Irregular) Migrations: It refers to the migration of people into a country in violation of the immigration laws of that country, or the continued residence without the legal right to live in that country. People who want to legally immigrate and reside in a country, when they are not legally accepted to that country or cannot enter the country for any reason, then they take illegal routes. The reason for this is mostly, the procedures that are applied legally are very challenging. For this reason, people find illegal ways to enter the country they want to immigrate to. In other words, they use different ways under very difficult conditions, putting their lives in danger by changing many countries to go to the target country (T.C. Kalkınma Bakanlığı, 2014, pp. 14-17).

2.8. Theoretical Explanation on Migration

Currently, the number of studies on migration has been increasing. And hopefully this theoretical approach will have a good effect on literature. However, the first academic work on migration that reflects a social reality is Ravenstein's work named The Laws of Ravenstein, the second is Lee's Theory, Stouffer's Theory of Mobility. The macro and micro theory of neoclassical economy.

2.8.1. Ravenstein's Laws of Migration

Today, more interest is being given to the concept of migration in scientific studies and the number of works prepared on this topic is gradually increasing. However, the first academic work on migration that reflects a social reality is Ravenstein's work named "The Laws of Migration" published in 1885 (Kaysılı, 2013, pp. 20-25).

The vast majority of immigrants move only short distances. This resulted in a wide shift or displacement of the population, which produced waves of migration. Waves of Migration are heading towards major industrial and commercial centers that have the capacity to absorb immigrants. Fast economic development in a city attracts migrants from nearby areas around the city. In this way, the decline in the population observed in rural areas is compensated by immigrants from distant places. This process continues until the impact of the rapidly developing city is felt in the most remote and marginal part of the country. Ravenstein made two additions to his thoughts in his 1889 article with the same name. The first, even if bad or repressive laws, heavy taxes, bad climatic conditions, generate waves of migration, none of this can be compared to the waves of migration that economically people create by wanting to be better. The other is that migration is constantly increasing and continuing. As the reason for this process, it shows the development of industry and, accordingly, the proliferation of industrial and commercial centers (Ravenstein, 1889, pp. 285-290).

Ravenstein's Immigration Laws study only describes internal migrations and does not provide information on international migration. However, Ravenstein's work is important in that it is the first in the context of scientific migration studies and has historically provided the basis for the theories and models of migration that have come from behind.

2.8.2. Lee's theory

Another particular point of attention in Lee's push-pull theory is the preventive factors between the place of living and the target region where it is intended to migrate. Accordingly, when all the factors in the place of residence and the place to be migrated are made equal, it is not a sufficient explanation to link the migration trends to the fact that the individual factors specific to the migrant or potential migrant alone are different. In order to carry out the analysis more accurately, the obstacles between the place of living and the target to be migrated should also be taken into account. In Lee's theory, these inhibitory factors are divided into macro and micro. As an example, factors such as legal and social uncertainty that will

occur with migration distance from migration, transportation costs and opportunities can be given as micro factors based on individual differences and various situations of an individual. Macro factors can be exemplified by higher levels of factors such as strict immigration laws, immigration systems that refer to race or national identity, physical adaptation to migration and strength controls. Lee believes that understanding migration is a difficult and complicated phenomenon. Therefore, it is insufficient to address only push-pull factors, however also the micro and macro factors that may prevent migration (Çağlayan, 2006, pp. 6-9).

2.8.3. Stouffer's theory of mobility

According to the theory of opportunities proposed by Stouffer and intersecting, the density of people migrating to a particular city is closely related to the abundance of opportunities encountered in that place. In his 1940 article intersecting opportunities: A Theory on mobility and distance for the American Journal of Sociology, Stouffer came up with a new theory that sought to mathematically describe the phenomenon of migration. Stouffer said the study was a very good way to do it, it has focused on the reasons why people move to the regions where industry and trade are concentrated. He took an approach that emphasized attractive factors and focused on the distance to the area receiving migration (Gürsoy, 2019, p. 10).

2.8.4. The macro and micro theory of neoclassical economy

Immigration was the result of rational decisions made by individuals with a desire to raise the standard of living by going to places that offered higher wages. In this model, rational individuals decide to migrate by calculating benefits and costs. According to the theory, the decisions that lead to migration movements arise as a result of the imbalance in the labor markets (Erkiral-Tavas, 2015, pp. 41-43).

The macro theory of neoclassical economics, on the other hand, suggests that migration is caused by the geographical difference in labor supply and demand. In countries with more labor force compared to its capital, wages are determined at a low level in a balanced market; in countries with less labor force compared to its capital, wages are determined at a higher level. Therefore, employees in countries where wages are balanced at low levels, they migrate to countries where wages are balanced at high levels. Thus, as a result of the migrations, wages increase with the decrease of labor supply in countries where capital is relatively small; Wages are falling as labor demand decreases in countries where capital is relatively high. In this way, there is a balance in international wages. According to the theory, the wage difference is not a

necessary condition for the international migration movement; Households can find strong incentives to diversify their risk through transnational mobility, even in the absence of wage differences. The elimination of wage differences between countries does not mean that the international movement will stop. If other markets are not available, imperfect or unbalanced in the immigrating countries, the effects of promoting international migration will continue (Massey et al, 2014, pp. 4-6).

2.9. Causes of Migration

The positive or negative reasons would push people to migrate. People would migrate due to socio-economic, political and socio-cultural, security and natural reasons. Apart from that Employment opportunities are the most common reason due to which people migrate. In this sense, countries which people migrate from; receive immigration, and countries in transit are affected by these reasons.

2.9.1. Socio-economic reasons

When migration is considered, economic reasons are seen as the main reason. A better life, economic comfort and job opportunities are the socio-economic reasons that push the migration most. People are migrating to regions or countries with high labor force and good welfare levels due to insufficient employment opportunities and economic insufficiency in the region where they live. It is necessary here to mention job migration, which has a very important place among socio-economic reasons. Job migrations occur in the form of a return to the workforce by migrating to the place where they are needed for a certain period of time. These job migrations can be within the same country as well as internationally. An important example of this is the immigration of workers from Turkey to Germany. Workers who immigrated here to Germany temporarily remained in the country for the rest of their time (Dönmez-Kara, 2015, p. 16).

2.9.2. Security reasons

Although there are mainly economic reasons when looking at the reasons for migration, security reasons also cover a very important area. Violent incidents such as war, civil unrest and terrorism make people living in the country feel insecure. People deprived from a security environment tend to migrate to safe countries. Therefore, people begin to migrate for security reasons. In this context, migration and security are two inseparable concepts. Security related

migrations are seen as a threat to some countries, that's why different immigration policies have been developed (Aksoy, 2012. P. 299).

In the 1994 Human Development Report published by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), human security is explained in seven headings; Economic, food, health, environment, personal/individual, social, and political factors. These are the factors that indicate that the person is safe. It can be said that the safety of the person is endangered if he is deprived of any of them (Gulfer and Şirin, 2014, pp. 563-575).

2.9.3. Political and socio-cultural reasons

Immigrations for political reasons also cause a change in the social order, therefore, it would be more accurate to examine the two factors together. People who immigrated by leaving their own countries for political reasons take their religion, culture, ethnic structure, education and lifestyle with them to the countries where they immigrate. Although a special role is played by the socio-cultural component of migration processes, which requires a new vision of migration as a social process that forms a modern society, which becomes a recipient of new cultural codes or complexes of values and norms, behavioral stereotypes, models of interpersonal communication. And immigrants take their culture to the countries of destination, language and culture differences soften and assimilate over time, as they must comply with the conditions of the countries in which they emigrate. In this sense, a multicultural society is formed in receiving countries of immigration (Dönmez-Kara, 2015, p. 20).

But apart from economic factors, there are political factors that force people to move from their home country to another country. Such as: War, persecution and the absence of political rights are the predominant political factors in migration. Political reasons, which we consider as one of the main reasons of immigration, including wars, revolutions, martial law, and so on. This can be called immigration due to the increase in violence. Countries are the main source of migrations whose main source is war; it consists of 55% Afghanistan, Somalia, Iraq, Syria and Sudan (UNHRC, 2013).

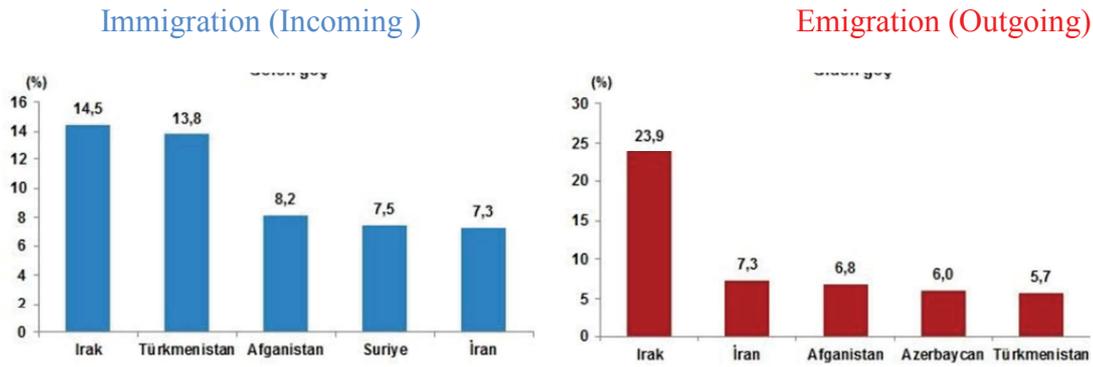


Figure 2.2. The Top five Countries that come to Turkey Highest Migration

The countries mentioned in the table above can also be evaluated as countries that immigrate to Turkey for political reasons. If we give a few examples of migrations for political reasons; the result of the war in Syria flows of immigrants occurred to Turkey and surrounding countries, in 1980s the immigrations of Turkish citizens to Turkey as a result of the pressure on Turks in Bulgaria and some of these are migrations that occur due to the political instability in Afghanistan, which is the main topic of this thesis. When we look at the differences between immigration and emigration. The words immigration and emigration both refer to leaving one country or region to live in another. Immigration and Emigration share the same Latin root. (Migrare) which means to move, transport. It gives us migration or changing one's place of residence. The real difference between these two words. The "e" in emigration ultimately comes from a Latin prefix meaning "out of". Emigration is migrating out of a country or place. It is leaving it, often due to lack of opportunity or various hardships. The "im" in immigration ultimately comes from another Latin prefix, in, meaning well in or into. So immigration is migrating into a new place typically on a permanent basis. Whether someone is an emigrant or an immigrant depends on their direction, on whether they are coming or going. For instance, if you are Afghan and you are worried that a lot of people are moving to Istanbul. You might say, "Emigration is a real challenge for our nation." Now if you are a Turkish and you are living in Istanbul, you might say that Afghan immigration is really good for our country.

2.9.4. Natural reasons

Migrations due to natural causes; it is the separation of people from their places of residence due to environmental reasons such as volcanic eruptions, climate change, earthquakes, global warming, tsunami, depletion of energy resources, drought. Migrations that occur due to natural causes are massive. The drying of the Aral Lake can be given as an example. It has defined the story of the Aral Lake in Central Asia as one of the greatest natural disasters caused by human hands throughout history. It showed unplanned irrigation projects as an example as the reasons for drying the lake. The drying of Lake Aral caused the climate to change, the rain decreased and the green space to shrink. Thus, people had to migrate. Another example is the nuclear accident at the Chernobyl power plant, which occurred on April 26, 1989 in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic of the Soviet Union. The bill for this accident was quite heavy and affected people for many years (Dönmez-kara, 2015, pp. 17-20).

Brown (2008), In his article, he mentioned that unfavorable climatic conditions, which are expected to lead to the problem of not being able to reach basic needs due to drought and water shortages in the near future, and natural disasters such as floods, tornadoes, hurricanes, and tsunamis caused by global warming, can also lead to the growth of the volume of global migrant, refugee and asylum seeker flows. Migrations which are mentioned to occur due to natural causes can happen domestically and internationally.

3. HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF EMIGRATION IN AFGHANISTAN

Afghanistan, officially known as the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, is located in the middle of Central Asia and South Asia and It is a country that is the bridge of between these two geographies.



Figure 3.3. Afghanistan Map

Afghanistan geographically, Afghanistan has Pakistan on the east and south, Iran on the west, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan on the north, and a small border with China on the east. Due to its current location, Afghanistan has no coastline. Afghanistan, geographically, has one of the hardest conditions in the world. Two-thirds of the country is covered with mountains, and the mountains rise to a height of 6,000 meters in places. It has geographical diversity such as forests, deserts, mountains, green areas. It is rich in stream water and its most important stream water is Hilmend. There are rugged mountainous terrains and plains in the north east and south of the country, there are Hindu Kush Mountains in the northeast, Soleyman in the south and Bendi Turkestan Mountains in the north. There are large deserts in the southwestern regions. It has underground resources such as natural gas, oil, coal, chromium, sulfur, iron and is quite rich in this regard (Habibi, 2011, p. 47).

3.2. General Structure and Demographic Structure

Afghanistan is a country that has been giving immigration for many years. Factors such as instability, terrorism, economical situation and financial difficulties in the country pushed people to immigrate. Migrations have taken place towards surrounding countries, Turkey and

EU countries. The country's population is thought to be 32.5 million in 2015. There has been no official census in Afghanistan since 1979, and this information is based on the estimates of the Afghanistan Statistical Institute. Afghanistan is a multinational country, the largest groups can be listed as follows: Pashtuns, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Hazaras and Turkmens. There are minority groups in the country that do not exceed 5% percent of population, these are Baluch, Nuristani and Arab minorities (Ghobar, 2001, pp. 27-33).

The country also has a variety of languages due to the existence of different nations. As stated in Article 16 of the Constitutional law, Dari (Afghan Persian) and Pashto are the second official languages of Afghanistan. Groups living in different regions mostly use their own languages. These are Uzbek, Turkmen, Peshai, Nuristani, Baluch and Pamiri languages. The official religion of the country is Islam; Sunnism is considered the largest sect and Shiism the second largest sect. Afghanistan has been culturally influenced and diversified due to its presence at the intersection of east and west roads. However, Afghanistan, which has historically been seen as the center of trade, due to its location, has been exposed to the invasion of various countries such as Arabs, Turks, Iranians, Mongols, Greeks, British and Soviets throughout history. For the foreign countries, it was seen as a way to reach the warm waters of India and the Gulf.

Water is one of the most valuable natural resources in Afghanistan. Despite this, the majority of Afghans do not have access to healthy and drinkable clean water. The war environment in the country has affected even natural resources, desertification has expanded and drought has occurred. Agricultural production is negatively affected by climatic conditions. 20% percent of the current population lives in urban areas and the remaining 80% percent lives in rural areas. Afghanistan, which is very troubled economically and one of the main sources of livelihood is agriculture. 85% percent of the population makes their living from agriculture. However, despite this, the country is not self-sufficient in agriculture, that's why the country has to import food. Mass migrations have also negatively affected agricultural production (Ghobar, 2001, pp. 35-40).

Health services are in a difficult situation in the country. The difficulty of accessing nutrition and clean water also affects health services. Health centers are not common throughout the country and the utilization rate is quite low. Health centers are insufficient in terms of equipment and health personnel. Such exposure intensifies an already poor health situation, with acute respiratory illnesses, diarrhoeal diseases, and malnutrition killing and weakening

the children of Afghanistan. There is a critical shortage of healthcare workers at every level. Healthcare facilities are in urgent need of restoration.

3.3. History of Afghanistan

Due to its strategic position between regions and intercontinental, Afghanistan has gone through challenging periods and has an important place in political history. Especially in its recent history, it has been exposed to invasions and had to struggle with factors such as coups and terrorism. Afghanistan is a key point for entry and exit to the Middle East, It is in the door position for warm water. In this sense, there were conflicts between Russia and Britain in order to control Afghanistan. The British had taken control of Afghanistan. In 1919, when Amanullah Khan was at the head of the country, Afghanistan gained its independence against British forces. During this period, Amanullah Khan established close friendships with Turkey and the Turkish-Afghan alliance was signed between the two countries. At first, Afghanistan received support from Turkey as a military structure, but this was undermined by Turkey's membership in NATO in 1952. Thereupon, Afghanistan had to send its military students to Soviet schools, which affected the military structure (Dashti, 2021, p. 3).

By 1929, Amanullah Khan had left the country due to opposition to reform movements. On January 17, 1929, Habibullah Kalakani, who was a member of one of the groups that revolted against Amanullah Khan, took over the country. Only this suzerainty was limited to cities such as Kabul, Ghazni, Kandahar, Mazar-i Sharif and Herat. As a result, the turmoil within the country increased further and conflicts began. After these turmoil, Muhammed Nadir Khan took over the administration of the country. Nadir Khan tried to reduce the Soviet influence in the country and suspended Amanullah Khan's reforms. Nadir Khan was assassinated in 1933. After that, Zahir Shah became king and the country's form of government became a monarchy. For 40 years, this form of government has dominated the country. In 1953, General Mohammed Dawod became prime minister of country and received assistance from the Soviet Union in economic and military fields. In the process, Mohammed Dawod's political position increased, and after 10 years, in 1963, Zahir Shah dismissed him, citing Mohammed Dawod's closeness to the Soviet Union (Dashti, 2021, p. 14-20).

In 1973, Muhammad Dawod carried out a military coup, seized the power and declared the Republic. This coup was the first military coup of Afghanistan. Muhammed Dawod got closer to the USA, therefore he opposed left wing groups. The main reason for the tension was the arrest of Babrak Karmal and Nur Muhammed Taraki, members of the pro-Soviet Democratic

People's Party. As a result, a coup was organized by the Democratic People's Party against Muhammad Dawod in 1978, and he and his family were killed. As a result of all these events, Nur Mohammed Taraki was appointed prime minister, but Hafizullah Amin, who became deputy prime minister in September 1979, organized a raid to kill Taraki and succeeded. Then Hafizullah Amin became the new prime minister. During this period, Islamist and conservative groups began to arm themselves and started the fight against change (Mizbazada, 2008, pp. 31-33).

On December 27, 1979, the USSR invaded Afghanistan. In 1980, Hafizullah Amin was killed and Babrak Karmal was brought to the administration of the country with the support of the USSR. Babrak Karmal is also a member of the Democratic People's Party. In the process, the people took action against the Soviet Occupation. Many civilians and insurgents were killed in clashes between groups opposed to the Soviets and Soviet soldiers. Soviet forces damaged agricultural lands and villages, and forced Afghan citizens to emigrate to Pakistan and Iran. The United States (US) has supported groups that are resisting the USSR's invasion of Afghanistan. The US has provided weapons to the Afghan insurgents through Pakistan. With these supports, the Mujahideen gained strength, and thus the Soviet Forces lost thousands of their soldiers as a result of the resistance of the Mujahideen. In the continuation of the process, on May 4, 1986, Babrak Karmal was replaced by Nejjibullah (Mizbazada, 2008, pp. 35-39).

3.3.1. Civil-society and democracy

It is possible to divide the income distribution of the society in Afghanistan as low, middle and high income. The upper class in the country has a significant influence in domestic and foreign trade, economy, political sphere and sometimes industrial fields with many banks and private companies. At the same time, it is possible to divide the society into two classes: intellectual and working class. However, after the outbreak of the civil war in the country, the intellectual and wealthy people preferred to continue their lives in other countries. The population living in cities consists of teachers, students, intellectuals, civil servants and traders. In fact, most of the population still lives in rural areas. The reason for this is the terrorist attacks in Afghanistan, foreign interventions, the destruction caused by the civil war, the state's inability to create enough job opportunities, the insufficient development of the industrial sector and the scarcity of factories. More than 90 percent of the people live in detached houses. More than 50 percent of the population lives without electricity and almost all cities do not have sewerage (Salihy, 2019, pp. 35-36).

Afghanistan has a traditional social structure. “It is still possible to talk about feudalism and semi-feudalism in Afghanistan. In some parts of the country, especially in the eastern and southern parts of the country, people resolve their internal problems in accordance with their traditions or according to the religion of Islam by consulting (jirga) among the tribes (Gubar, 2009: 14- 15).” Although the Afghan state and people tried to get rid of this structure from the past, unfortunately this structure still continues today. However, Amanullah Khan, who gained the independence of Afghanistan from the British and paid great attention to modernization, worked to achieve the transition to a conscious and modern social structure by getting rid of this structure. Again, during the time of Zahir Shah, various reformist practices were used to create a modern social structure by getting rid of the traditional structure. However, the modernization steps were interrupted by the emergence of radical groups such as the Mujahideen and the Taliban on the Afghan stage, but on the contrary, political power is divided into modern and traditional (Majeedi, 2021).

Until Afghanistan gained her independence in 1919, issues such as the right to politics, social rights, the right to form a constitutional party and the right to establish a non-governmental organization were not on Afghanistan's agenda. However, after gaining independence, the first constitution came into power for the first time. Until 2001, Afghanistan witnessed some reforms, foreign intervention, revolutions and civil wars. Despite this, social developments took place from time to time. It will be possible to refer to the beginning of reforms and social development to the era of Amanullah Khan, who led the struggle for Afghanistan's independence. Because although it was interrupted until 2001, issues such as forming a party, establishing social institutions, and establishing student and women's unions have always been on the agenda (Sadat, 2019).

3.4. Migrations of Afghanistan in Chronicle Order

Migration in Afghanistan's history is a frequent phenomenon due to its strategic position. Likewise, internal conflicts and political instability due to its geographical location and multinational structure have caused migrations from time to time. Afghans left their homeland in four waves of migration. The first wave occurred during the 1979 Soviet invasion. Some refugees left Afghanistan for their own safety. Conflict between Afghan soldiers, Soviet soldiers, and the mujahideen created an unstable environment in which to work or raise a family.

3.4.1. Pre-1979

The country entered a different period with the invasion of the Soviet Union in 1979, the pre-1979 period will be mentioned under this title. In the pre-1979 period, migrations from Afghanistan were mainly directed to Iran and Pakistan. The main reasons for this can be said to be the fact that they are neighboring countries to each other, economic opportunities, cultural and ethnic ties. Migration in Afghanistan's history is a frequent phenomenon due to its strategic position. Likewise, internal conflicts and political instability due to its geographical location and multinational structure have caused migrations from time to time.

One of the biggest reasons for the Afghanistan migration in the pre-1979 period was the lack of good economic conditions. Due to economic conditions, there have been intensive migrations to Iran and Pakistan. The people have migrated to Iran and Pakistan because their economic situations are better compared to Afghanistan. In addition to the economy, while industrialization has progressed worldwide, industrialization has not developed in Afghanistan, and sufficient job opportunities have not been provided for the educated and equipped population. For these reasons, migrations have occurred to neighboring countries. In addition, the drought, which is a natural disaster occurring in the country, has also caused migrations. In 1970, a drought occurred in Afghanistan. The people living in the north and northwest of the country were forced to immigrate. With the sudden rise of oil prices in 1973, job opportunities increased in the Middle East and many Afghan immigrants migrated to Middle Eastern countries, especially Pakistan and Iran. Seasonal migrations have taken place in the country, especially from the north side to Pakistan. Especially in winter, these people who do not have much choice, have migrated to Pakistan as seasonal workers and stayed in the country (Ghobar, 2001, pp. 53-68).

Migration in Afghanistan's history is a frequent phenomenon due to its strategic position. Likewise, internal conflicts and political instability due to its geographical location and multinational structure have caused migrations from time to time. The country entered a different period with the invasion of the Soviet Union in 1979; the pre-1979 period will be mentioned under this title. In the pre-1979 period, migrations from Afghanistan were mainly directed to Iran and Pakistan. The main reasons for this can be said to be the fact that they are neighboring countries to each other, economic opportunities, cultural and ethnic ties.

3.4.2. The period between 1979-1992

In 1979, Soviet Russia invaded Afghanistan. With the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the first major wave of foreign migration took place in the country, at that time there were thousands and millions of citizens in the country at that time, and one third of this population migrated from the country. This Soviet invasion of Afghanistan caused a wave of migration, displaced the people, caused them to face death, and disrupted their order and peace. Those who had the opportunity to immigrate have emigrated, but those who did not have the opportunity, they continued to live under pressure in the country or settled in different places within the country. The number of immigrants within the borders of the country is as high as those who immigrate to foreign countries. Internal migrations started in 1979 and continued intensely until 2001 due to the pressures under the administration of the Taliban between 1994-2000. The USSR ended the occupation in Afghanistan with the Geneva Agreement signed in 1988 and completely withdrew from Afghanistan in 1989. During the continuation of the process, conflicts broke out between the Mujahideen groups in the country, which caused civil war. In early 1990s, in addition to factors such as civil war and insecurity caused by the disagreements between the mujahideen, there was a drought, and as a result of these events, the current foreign migration flows in the country intensified and reached its peak. In other words, although the Soviet occupation in the country was finished, migration mobility, chaos, insecurity, economic problems, and political problems continued to increase (Rahimi, 2018, pp. 31-44).

In 1988, the Geneva Agreement was signed between Afghanistan and Pakistan, under the guarantor of the USSR and the USA, and the USSR soldiers began to withdraw. After that, in 1989 Afghanistan was freed from Soviet troops. After the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country, Najibullah remained in power for another three years. In this process, Moscow continued to provide aid and in September 1991 announced that it had stopped aiding. As a result of these events, Ahmad Shah Massoud, the head of one of the Mujahideen groups, took down Najibullah in 1992. In the continuation of the process, there were disagreements between different groups within the Mujahideen about who would be in power. One year later, the Mujahideen agreed among themselves and the idea of forming a government which led by Burhaneddin Rabbani was accepted, and Rabbani was declared the head of state. In this process, the Taliban became stronger and confronted the government of Rabbani. At the same time, the Taliban have become a strong opponent of Rabbani's government (Batoor, 2018, pp. 13-18).

3.4.3. The Period between 1992-2001

After the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, many Afghan citizens who immigrated to Pakistan and Iran returned to their countries hoping that stability had been achieved and wishing to live in peace despite the ongoing conflict and the problem of central government in their countries (1992-1996). However, citizens who returned and did not leave the country soon had to flee from the country. The number of returned Afghan citizens who emigrated from the country before 1990 is quite small. The victory of the Mujahideen in 1992 gave people hope, for these reasons, approximately 2 million people (Afghans, stable refugees..) who left their country have returned to Afghanistan. By 1997, an estimated 4 million refugees had returned from Pakistan and Iran. The changing refugee policies of countries also have a great impact on these returns. While there has not yet been a calm environment in the country after the Cold War, The Mujahideen group led by Ahmad Shah Massoud overthrew Najibullah from the country's administration and captured Kabul in 1992. Disputes arose among the Mujahideen after these events, incidents have grown and the civil war has begun. In 1995, the situation in the country is that each group is strong and dominant in a certain region, and the general picture in the country is that different groups have shared the country. In this situation, the Taliban, which Pakistan supports militarily, began to take control of the country (Rahimi, 2018, pp. 44-56).

Tensions and hopelessness have again arisen in the country by the rise of the Taliban. The second wave of immigration took place in Afghanistan due to the Taliban's coming to power, their repressive attitudes and their Islamic impositions. The wave of migration caused by the rise of the Taliban consisted primarily of minority groups such as Shiite Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus, the vast majority of whom were represented by women and children. This migration wave started in 1994 and continued until 2000. Due to the repressive attitudes of the Taliban, many people have been displaced inside the country while external migration took place (Rahimi, 2018, pp. 58-63).

The Taliban continued to expand, capturing 12 of the 31 provinces and becoming the largest force in Afghanistan. In 1996, the Taliban captured the capital city of Kabul and started the practice of Radical Islam. In continuation of this process, Pakistan, the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia have announced that they have officially recognized the government of Taliban. When the Taliban captured Kabul, it captured three-quarters of the country, and the

U.S. recognized the Taliban as the de facto ruler of Afghanistan. This period continued until the US attack on Afghanistan together with NATO in 2001.

3.4.4. Post-2000 period

On September 11, 2001, three passenger planes were hijacked in the United States and crashed into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York, and one plane crashed into the Pentagon in Washington. A different passenger plane has also fallen down in rural area of Pennsylvania. As a result of the incident, about 3 thousand people died. The United State has blamed Al Qaeda and Osama Bin Laden as responsible for these attacks. The United States asked the Taliban to hand over Osama Bin Laden, but the Taliban did not agree. The United States entered the region with NATO forces on the grounds that they had settled in Afghanistan. Thus, a new war began in Afghanistan and this was the beginning of a new era. The country has suffered a lot of civilian casualties in this process, but despite all these events, the Taliban's influence has decreased, but it has not been destroyed (Mizbazada, 2008, pp. 43-49).

The war with the Taliban, which was formed as a result of the military intervention in Afghanistan by the United States and NATO forces after the September 11, 2001 attack, caused the third largest wave of migration in Afghanistan. Afghanistan has become the center where the terrorist organization Al-Qaeda is located. That is why the United States initially cut off its support for the Taliban over time. As a result of Al-Qaeda's bombing of the US embassies, the US and the UN imposed an embargo on Afghanistan. Adding to the process of the events of September 11, 2001, the United States declared war on Afghanistan on the grounds that Al-Qaeda was located in Afghanistan and that the Taliban supported them. This US initiative has reduced the influence of the Taliban, but has not been able to completely eliminate it (Rahimi, 2018, pp. 64-70).

The constitution was accepted in 2004 and Hamid Karzai became the President of Afghanistan by a majority of votes. Parliamentary elections were held on 18 September 2005. A summit was held in Bonn, Germany on November 27, 2001, with the aim of recovering the current situation in Afghanistan; bring together independent groups in the country, reaching a compromise, determining the government and authorities that will be established after the influence of the Taliban, and creation a new constitutional infrastructure, to shape the country's future in some sense. The meeting, called the Bonn Summit headed by the UN and the United States, Afghan officials representing different groups within the country attended

this meeting. The Bonn Summit lasted for 14 days and finally the Bonn Agreement was signed on 5 December 2001. With the agreement; It was decided to establish a six-month interim temporary board of directors under the chairmanship of Hamid Karzai. A total of 29 representatives from 11 Pashtuns, 8 Tajiks, 4 Hazaras, 2 Uzbeks, 2 Turkmen and 2 other groups were appointed to the ministerial council, which was established under the interim administration headed by Hamid Karzai (U.S.-Afghanistan Relations After the Events of 9/11: Invasion to Cooperation). ISAF (International Security Assistance Force) was established under the leadership of NATO in accordance with the decisions taken at the Bonn Summit. The purpose of ISAF is to ensure security in the country and provide humanitarian assistance. With the coming of Karzai to power, Afghanistan has opened up to the world and democracy and civil movements have once again come to the agenda. In this context, there are three types of non-governmental organizations in Afghanistan: village organizations, "Jirgas", national and international". In November 2003, NATO appointed Hikmet Chetin from Turkey as its top representative in Afghanistan and announced that the purpose of this mission was to ensure the security of Afghanistan (Hameedi, 2011, pp. 3-4).

Four years after the 2005 elections, re-elections were held on 20 August 2009. Participation is thought to be below 50% due to the Taliban frightening the public about the elections. Karzai won the election by a majority of votes, although the results of the election were not reliable. After Karzai won the elections again, he took a positive attitude towards the Taliban, he brought this attitude to the agenda and was accepted in Loya Jirga (Grand Council of Afghanistan). On July 20, 2010, the international community and the Afghan government agreed that the responsibility for security in the country would be transferred to Afghan forces by 2014. On November twenty, US President Obama announced that he had decided to withdraw troops from Afghanistan as of 2014. In July 2011, Veli Karzai, the step-brother of Hamid Karzai and also the Chairman of the Governing Council of the city of Kandahar, was assassinated by the Taliban. In November of that year, Loya Jirga (Grand Council of Afghanistan) agreed to a ten year strategic partnership between Afghanistan and the United States, and announced that U.S. forces would continue to have a presence in the country after 2014 (Hameedi, 2011, pp. 5-6).

Pakistan and Iran have reduced aid to Afghan refugees and created difficulties, they have taken a hostile attitude, and some international organizations have prepared programs for Afghans to return, and the reasons for their return have had a forcing effect on Afghans' return to their

countries. This and more factors have led to citizens returning to the country despite the poor conditions in Afghanistan. In addition, Australia, The UK and other Western countries have sent asylum seekers to Afghanistan. Such situations have pushed people to illegal immigration. The movement of illegal immigration has increased and illegal migrations are taking place in very dangerous conditions, people have resorted to these routes at the expense of risking their lives (Rahimi, 2018, pp. 70-85).

In this process, conflicts continue in some parts of the country. The Taliban attacked U.S. military vehicles in 2003 and carried out other incidents. Clashes broke out between Taliban and U.S. troops in 2006, and US and European soldiers and many Afghan citizens were killed. In response to these incidents, U.S. forces have launched attacks on Taliban bases. Despite these US interventions, the Taliban has become increasingly powerful in the country. In early 2012, the Taliban announced that they would open a political office in Qatar's capital, Doha, to hold peace talks with the United States and the Afghan Government, Hamid Karzai has also announced that he supports this political office, which will be opened. In February, the United States announced that by the middle of 2013, its troops would no longer be fighting in Afghanistan, and that the U.S. influence in Afghanistan would be training, advice and support.

Presidential elections were held once again in Afghanistan on 5th April, 2014. This election has been a turning point in a sense for Afghanistan, which has a difficult political past. The establishment of the government was also delayed due to reasons such as the announcement of the result of the elections held, which was delayed by 6 months, and the inability to share ministerial posts. After a rivalry between Abdullah Abdullah and Ashraf Ghani Ahmedzai, Ashraf Ghani won the election and became the new President of Afghanistan. Abdullah Abdullah was appointed as the Chief Executive Officer. Ashraf Ghani's first actions after taking the Presidential seat; Signing the (BSA- Bilateral Security Agreement) with the USA and signing the (SOFA- Status of Forces Agreement) with NATO and Partnership for Peace. The gradual reduction of the presence of U.S. troops in Afghanistan is one of the most important consequences of the agreement (Hameedi, 2011, pp. 9-11).

After Ashraf Ghani took the presidency in 2014, the security situation in Afghanistan began to become worse. The Taliban have been strengthened again as a result of the administration's insufficient security practices. The Taliban, which has taken control of strategic areas within the country, has increased its violent actions and caused unrest in the country again. In mid-April, the Taliban carried out suicide attacks on NATO bases and embassies in Kabul,

Afghanistan. On May 22, a NATO summit was held in Chicago and it was agreed to leave full responsibility for security in Afghanistan to Afghan forces until the end of 2014 however, the decision to hand over security responsibility to the Afghan forces was postponed for an indefinite time as a result of the attacks by Taliban members who were involved in Afghan soldiers in September. In January 2013, Obama met with Hamid Karzai and as a result of the meeting; by spring, NATO's situation in Afghanistan would be more in the form of training, counseling and assistance, and security responsibility would be transferred to Afghan forces. On June 18, security responsibility was officially transferred from NATO to Afghan forces. On the same day, the Taliban opened a political office in Qatar, but the opening of the office with the words 'Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan Taliban Office' on the door caused a reaction from Afghanistan and the United States. Due to this, tensions between the United States and Afghanistan have arisen due to the office being opened, and on July 9, the Taliban closed the office due to problems between the United States and the Afghan Government (Hameedi, 2011, pp. 7-8).

The next presidential election was scheduled for April 20, 2019, but was postponed twice and held on September 28, 2019. In the elections, 14 candidates were nominated for the Presidency and the two strongest candidates among the candidates are Abdullah Abdullah and Ashraf Gani Ahmedzai. These two names became rivals again after the previous elections. Due to the allegations that the election results were not transparent and the objections made, the results of the Presidential elections were announced on 22 December 2019. Ashraf Ghani Ahmedzai was re-elected president of Afghanistan as the winner of the 2019 election. Abdullah Abdullah, the second most powerful candidate, was appointed president of the Afghan National Council for High Reconciliation. The purpose of this office is to manage the situation of peace and reconciliation between the Taliban and the Government of Afghanistan. The re-strengthening of the Taliban and the interference in people has led to an increase in external migration in Afghanistan. These external migrations are aimed at Europe, Afghan immigrants have used Turkey as a transit country on this journey. Another factor in Turkey's transit migration country is that Germany accepted migrants in 2015. Along with this, EU countries have loosened their borders and facilitated the passage of migrants from Afghanistan and other countries. However, border crossings are becoming more difficult in 2016, and migrants who came to the country with the aim of using Turkey as a transit country remain in Turkey. Thus, the number of immigrants in Turkey has increased day by day and Turkey has become a target country (Oghli, 2020, pp. 4-8).

3.5. Security Phenomenon and Causing Factors of Afghan Migration

After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan caused a wave of migration, displaced the people, caused them to face death, and disrupted their order and peace. Those who had the opportunity to immigrate have emigrated, but those who did not have the opportunity; they had to stay and continue to live under pressure in the country or settled in different places within the country. The number of immigrants within the borders of the country is as high as those who immigrate to foreign countries. Internal migrations started in 1979 and continued intensely until 2001 due to the pressures under the administration of the Taliban between 1994-2000. The USSR ended the occupation in Afghanistan with the Geneva Agreement signed in 1988 and completely withdrew from Afghanistan in 1989. During the continuation of the process, conflicts broke out between the Mujahideen groups in the country, which caused civil war. In early 1990s, in addition to factors such as civil war and insecurity caused by the disagreements between the mujahideen, there was a drought, and as a result of these events, the current foreign migration flows in the country intensified and reached its peak. In other words, although the Soviet occupation in the country was finished, migration mobility, chaos, insecurity, economic problems, and political problems continued to increase (Ghobar, 2001, pp. 70-77).

Another factor is the rise of the Taliban, tensions and hopelessness have again arisen in the country. The second wave of immigration took place in Afghanistan due to the Taliban's coming to power, their repressive attitudes and their Islamic impositions. The wave of migration caused by the rise of the Taliban consisted primarily of minority groups such as Shiite Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus, the vast majority of whom were represented by women and children. This migration wave started in 1994 and continued until 2000. Due to the repressive attitudes of the Taliban, many people have been displaced inside the country while external migration took place. The war with the Taliban, which was formed as a result of the military intervention in Afghanistan by the United States and NATO forces after the September 11, 2001 attack, caused the third largest wave of migration in Afghanistan. Afghanistan has become the center where the terrorist organization Al-Qaeda is located. That is why the United States initially cut off its support for the Taliban over time. As a result of Al-Qaeda's bombing of the US embassies, the US and the UN imposed an embargo on Afghanistan. Adding to the process of the events of September 11, 2001, the United States declared war on Afghanistan on the grounds that Al-Qaeda was located in Afghanistan and that the Taliban supported them.

This US initiative has reduced the influence of the Taliban, but has not been able to completely eliminate it (Sadat, 2019).

3.5.1. Security phenomenon and migration in Afghanistan

War conditions cause favorable situations for the destruction of human development. It has caused widespread corruption in political, economic and cultural fields and confronted society with various problems. However, in contrast to war conditions, peace serves the needs of everybody in the best possible way and raises human development cycles to high levels. Throughout history, Afghanistan has been regarded as the battlefield of the colonial countries of the world. This rivalry between colonial countries has harmed Afghanistan and prevented Afghanistan from building its own future. This process, which was ongoing from British intervention to invasion of the Soviet Union created political conditions that hinder the development and triggered civil war in Afghanistan. In addition to the attacks of colonial countries, Afghanistan has always been a victim of ethnic politics. Besides, In Afghanistan, ethnic politics have a lot of negative consequences. However, it is possible to say that the most destructive one is the national identity crisis.

The U.S. attack and previous Soviet intervention have completely shaken Afghanistan's security situation. Even before these periods, the country, which had problems due to the constant change of power and the understanding of tribalism within the country, lost its security status after interference in its internal affairs and wars, People who did not feel safe enough in their homeland were forced to immigrate to other countries, could not be comfortable in the places where they immigrated, and after a while they were seen as surplus in the countries and their existing rights were taken away.

Due to the events of September 11 and the perception created by the United States, the perspective of the countries on Afghanistan and its people has changed, and the Afghan people have been treated as terrorists because of the perception caused by al-Qaeda and the Taliban. For these reasons, refugees have been deported to their country that they are linked to terrorism, they have lost their rights in the countries where they are immigrants, once again their safety has been compromised and they have faced very bad situations.

Despite the fact that it has been 20 years since the American intervention in Afghanistan in 2001, the Taliban and Kabul forces are still at war. Apart from the Taliban, terrorist organizations such as Hakkani groups and ISIS have also emerged in the country. Both the

Afghan government and the people are in struggle with these organizations. Despite its difficult history, Afghanistan is still struggling, but the Taliban's insistence on war and its refusal to negotiate peace extinguishes public hope, and people, especially the young population, are migrating from the country.

As of 2014, the political instability and the security situation in Afghanistan are deteriorating due to the fact that the Taliban's power, which decreased with the intervention of the United States, has continued to increase over time. Today, Afghanistan is still in a conflict and complex country situation, with internal turmoil, economic problems, continuing the lack of policies. The construction of nation and state understanding in Afghanistan has not yet settled in the eyes of the people and political authority (Migration from Afghanistan to Turkey after September 11). This gap of political authority constantly pushes people to immigrate (Köçer, 2019, pp. 8-9).

Afghanistan seeks rational and peaceful means to overcome these challenging crises. In these cases, it would be more consistent to resolve Afghanistan's internal problems by using influential elements such as diplomacy. Diplomacy plays a very important role in ensuring peace and stability in Afghanistan. Because, by using diplomatic means, country politicians can create permanent peace in Afghanistan and provide hope for progress in the country.

3.5.2. Sources of migration in Afghanistan

One of the main reasons why Afghanistan has been migrating for many years is the effort to create a Modern Nation-State and the opposition to this effort (From the book World Conflicts). One of the most important examples of this is, the opposition to the reforms of Amanullah Khan and as a result of the developing incidents, the government was disbanded and Amanullah Khan left the country. Another reason for migration is; It is the understanding of tribalism that develops due to the fact that the country has a multinational structure (from the book). This tribalism is at the root of the reasons why the administration and the people cannot reconcile. Similarly, ethnic groups living in the region dominate the region from time to time, this is the situation in which other groups cannot accept the administration because of the strangeness of this situation and the lack of integrity in the spoken language. The largest groups living in the country; Pashtuns, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Hazaras, Turkmens and minority groups; Baluch, Nuristani and Arab citizens (Arslan, 2015, pp. 10-15).

Afghanistan is a geographical bridge between Central and South Asia. Due to its strategic location, it has been subjected to abuse, invasion and intervention throughout history. The intervention of Soviet Russia in Afghanistan with the idea of landing in Hot Waters and the developing events, Pressure from the Taliban government, the entry of the United States and NATO into the country, drought are the main reasons for migration in Afghanistan. In these waves of migration in Afghanistan, external factors are as effective as internal factors. The continuation and impact of immigrants caused by the war situation as a result of the occupation carried out by the USSR still continues even today. For Afghanistan, immigration is an unchanging phenomenon in its history. Interventions and occupations of the country, which are life and security threats to the people living in the country, have caused civil war and economic problems and poverty (Obayd, 2017, pp. 1-2).

The fact that powerful countries such as Soviet Russia, the United States and China moved in accordance with their own political interests in the region has negatively affected Afghanistan throughout history. This caused internal turmoil in the country, changes in administrations, coups and migrations. The reality of the Taliban, which continues even today, has quite worn out the Afghan people. People have immigrated within the country or to other countries in the hope of getting rid of the influence of the Taliban or suffering less harm.

3.6. Migrations from Afghanistan to the Pakistan and Iran

The immigrations of Afghans mainly happened towards Pakistan and Iran for reasons such as religious, cultural and geographical closeness, as was the case before 1979. During Afghanistan's first wave of migration in 1979, both Pakistan and Iran warmly welcomed incoming refugees and carried out a policy of Muslim solidarity. Immigration to these countries, kinship ties and social networks facilitated the transition of Afghan immigrants to Pakistan. Pakistan has had a strong relationship with Afghanistan since its establishment (Kuschminder and Dora, 2009, pp. 10-12).

Pakistan has mostly been associated with the Pashtun tribe, which is located near the border. The Pashtuns, who are predominantly in Pakistan's northwestern region, have been in contact with relatives on the border with Afghanistan and they were able to enter and leave the country comfortably, including during the closing period of the borders. Pakistan has signed an agreement with the UN for Afghan refugees and received financial assistance from the international community. Iran, on the other hand, has not received any assistance for refugees. When we look at statistics, today Pakistan is home to more than 1.4 million registered Afghan

refugees, many of whom entered the country some 40 years ago, after the Soviet invasion in 1979. Hundreds of thousands more joined them after the US invasion in 2001.

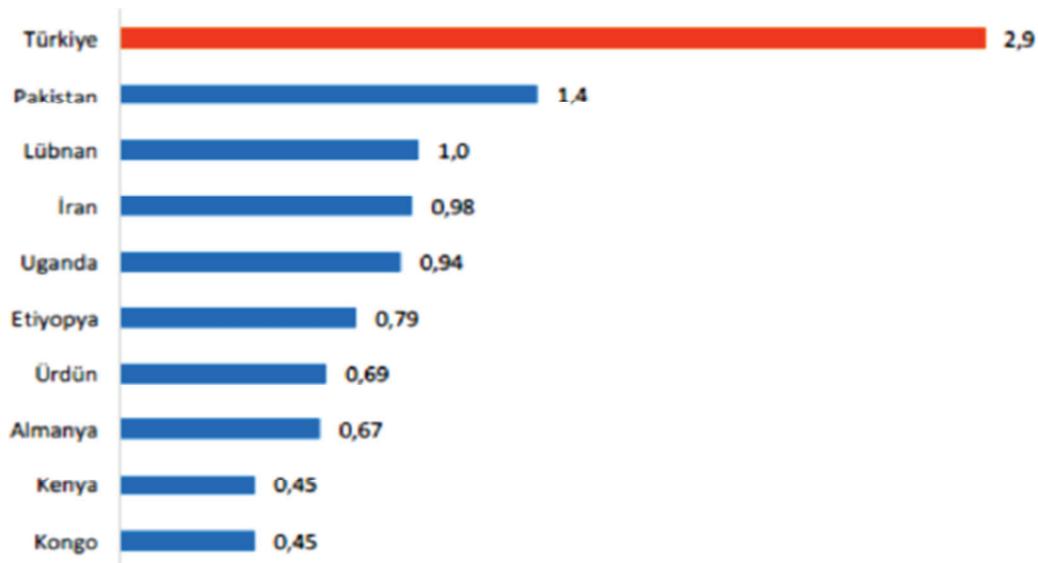


Figure 3.4. The Countries that Host the Most Protection Seekers in the World 2017.

Iran implemented an open-door policy in the first wave of migration from Afghanistan. Afghans who migrated during this period were given refugee status. In 1990, the number of Afghan immigrants in Iran exceeded 3 million (Irregular migration, security and policy examples of Iran and Turkey). With the victory of the Mujahideen in 1992, many Afghan migrants were hopeful and returned to Afghanistan. In the continuation of the process, the presence of the Taliban, the pressures they have applied and the rising civil war have once again increased the migrant movement towards Iran. In this wave of migration, Iran did not follow an open door policy as it followed at the first moment, did not recognize the old rights of migrants, restricted their job opportunities, generally followed a difficult policy and put pressure on them to return to Afghanistan. In 1997, Iran announced that all Afghan refugees had to leave the country (Afghans, Stable Refugees). Even today, Iran is among the countries with the highest number of immigrants. The number of people migrating from Afghanistan has reached 6.5 million in the last 30 years. It is known that three million of this number took refuge in Iran and 3.5 million in Pakistan (Kuschminder and Dora, 2009, pp. 10-12).

3.7. Migration from Afghanistan to Turkey and Europe

Migration is a phenomenon that exists in Turkey's past. During the establishment of the Republic, it was aimed to create a homogeneous Turkish and Muslim society in the newly

created country, and with this project, Turkish citizens have emigrated from the Balkans, and non-Muslims living in the country have left the country. Afghan immigrants of Turkish origin were accepted into Turkey from Pakistan with the law published at the time. Nowadays the situation of the Afghans who are immigrating to Turkey is very different. Turkey is a transit country for Afghan migrants in the direction of migration to Europe. It is a very important transit route for groups that immigrated to Europe illegally. These illegal migrations are taking place at the cost of losing their lives while trying to cross to Europe (Yıldırım, 2018, p. 3).

In the first period in which Turkey was a transit country, over time it has become a destination country. In this sense, it is affected by irregular migrations. At the same time, the group of migrants who want to use Turkey as a transit country if it is not possible to cross into Europe then they reside in Turkey as illegal. In recent years, Turkey has become both a transit and destination country for people who have immigrated from Countries such as Pakistan, Syria, Iraq and Uzbekistan as well as Afghanistan (Doğan, 2019, p. 8).

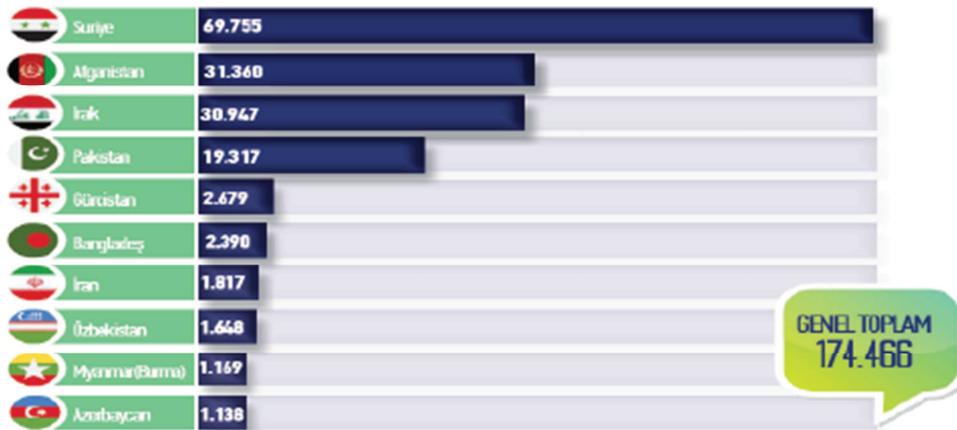


Figure 3.5. Number of Applicants for International Protection in Turkey 2019

Most of the migrants from Afghanistan have migrated to Pakistan and Iran, which are border neighbors. A certain group of migrants have also migrated to more distant countries. The United States and Germany are the leading countries where Afghans migrate outside neighboring countries. Factors such as economic opportunities, security situation and living standards that exist in these two countries are attractive to immigrants. In particular, the open door policy for refugees that Germany followed in the 1970s attracted Afghan immigrants, in this sense, Germany is in a very attractive position for immigrants. Germany; It hosts 22,000 Afghan refugees and is popularly referred to as "Europe's Kabul" due to the density of Afghan immigrants in the city of Hamburg (Monsutti, 2008, p. 10).

Generally European countries have been unwilling to accept refugees to their countries. For these reasons, a very small number of Afghan immigrants have been accepted in Europe compared to Iran and Pakistan. Immigrants who took refuge in Europe before the year of 2000 were mostly resettled in the countries of the Netherlands and Germany, and a certain part of them were given refugee status. The remaining group of migrants is illegally residing in Europe. It has become increasingly difficult for migrants to enter Europe and they are trying to enter Europe illegally, putting their life safety at risk due to the harsh attitudes of the European countries. However, illegal immigrants who are caught are not accepted into the countries, they are arrested and deported (Kuschminder and Dora, 2009, pp. 22-24).

3.8. Macroeconomic Factor Affecting Afghan Immigration

The macroeconomic indicators are significant factors influencing the choice of destination country for Afghan immigrants. Table 3 gives the population, GDP, and per capita income statistics of Neighboring Countries of Afghanistan. Turkey, Germany and the EU had the best indicators even though these countries are not neighboring countries on the Afghanistan border.

Table 3.1. Macroeconomic Indicators of Neighboring Countries (2020)

	Population	Gross Domestic Product (GDP)	Per Capita Income USD \$
Afghanistan	38,041,757	20,116.14	516.7
Uzbekistan	33,580,350	59,929.95	1,750.7
Turkmenistan	5,942,094	45,231.43	7,612.0
Russia	144,406,261	1,483,497.78	10,126.7
India	1.366,238,018	2,660,245.25	1,927.7
Pakistan	216,565,317	262,610.00	1,188.9
Iran	82,913,893	203,471.30	2,422.5
China	1.408,692,960	14,722,730.70	10,434.8
Turkey	83,429,607	719,954.82	8,536.4
Germany	83,092,962	3,846,413.93	46,208.4
EU	513,565,145	15,292,101.40	34,149.3



4. COMPARABLE ANALYSIS OF IMMIGRATION POLICIES OF TURKEY AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

The phenomenon of migration and waves of migration are frequently encountered in the history of Europe. In a sense, these immigration waves have a great impact on the political, cultural and social point of today's Europe. As mentioned in the previous chapters, Europe was affected by wars (especially after World War II) Europe has accepted labor migrations due to the need for young labor (Western Europe). This has brought with it family reunions and illegal immigration along with immigration. As a result of the Oil Crisis in the 1970s, illegal immigration, which multiplied under the influence of family reunions in the 1980s, and the waves of migration encountered after the collapse of Soviet Russia in the 1990s, anti-immigration policies began to be created. Later, after the Arab Spring, a new migrant crisis and especially Europe, which was faced with a large amount of illegal immigrants, concentrated on illegal immigration policies and implemented anti-immigration policies. It is known that these illegal immigrants, especially consisting of Syrians and Afghans, mostly reached the EU through the sea borders after the Arab spring. For the Afghan people it is too hard to get visas from the EU, fulfilling the criteria visas are completely difficult. There are two main criteria for determining the authority authorized to issue visas. The first standard is that the consular or diplomatic officials of the country are given the right to evaluate visa applications. In this system, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is involved in this evaluation process regarding the procedures of application in terms of issuing visas. The second system is that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs comes across only as a competent authority for foreigners to stay and settle. The authority that evaluates the applications within the member state is carried out by the relevant ministry responsible for the foreigners. For these reasons, many Afghan citizens can not come to the EU legally, then they are forced to choose illegal ways (Özgen, 2010, pp. 94-96). Agreements and laws made by Europe in line with the fight against illegal immigration, compelling and taking more time of procedures for legal permits, rejection of asylum applications and being returned to the country of origin after rejection, these lead Afghan immigrants to enter the EU illegally. Based on these situations, we can say that the main reason for illegal Afghan migration to the EU is the EU's anti-migration policies. In line with anti-immigration policies, readmission agreements of Europe with Afghanistan and Turkey prevent Afghan migrants from staying in the European Union. For example, according to the agreement signed between the EU and Afghanistan in 2016, immigrants who are in the

union and whose asylum applications are rejected are sent back to their home countries. As reported by TRT, 3,290 Afghans were returned to their country in 2015, and in 2016 this number reached to 9,640, and along with this, there have been declines in the acceptance of asylum applications from Afghan immigrants over the years. The reasons for Afghan migrants who do not want to emigrate to their neighboring countries, many of them are suffering with bad economic conditions and internal problems.

4.1. Immigration Policy of Turkey

Turkey is a country that combines the continents of Asia and Europe in terms of geographical location. In other words, it is a bridge between two continents, Asia and Europe. Due to its current location, it has been on the migration route for years and has been giving and receiving migration. Migration movements in Turkey have brought together different social structures and cultures and contributed to the multicultural structure of Turkey.

4.1.1. International migration towards Turkey

Turkey has been experienced and affected by regular and irregular migrations throughout its history. Due to this location, citizens of underdeveloped and developing countries with security-economic concerns in their own countries have become a transit route used by individuals or groups who want to go to EU countries because they see Europe as in a position with economic, social opportunities and job opportunities and no security problems. As we have mentioned here, Turkey has recently become a destination country while being a transit country on the way to Europe. Turkey is at the center of migration movements to Europe and it is an important position regarding the security of the EU Countries. In these migration movements, where the security of the West is aforementioned, Turkey has had to comply with the EU in the political migration policies that it has developed. Along this migration route, which has been significantly affected on both sides, Turkey has been under a great burden along with making it difficult to cross into Europe. The migration movements which took place in the early 1970s crisis, during the Cold War and later due to the internal turmoil in the Middle Eastern Countries affected the economic, political and security phenomena of Turkey. The biggest impact of this is on Syrian citizens who were placed under 'temporary protection' in Turkey after the 2011 Syrian civil war (Kartal and Başçı, 2014, pp. 3-5).

Another situation that Turkey needs to deal with in this migration position is irregular migrants. People who have entered the country to go to the EU countries are risking their lives

by trying to continue their journey illegally and they are becoming a serious problem for Turkey. The fact that the EU is closing its borders and tightening border controls on illegal immigrants causes illegal immigrants who are trying to cross to Europe to stay in Turkey. Migrants who stay in the country work at cheap prices in hard work in order to survive and find shelter in the country. The limited opportunities and the fact that they accept cheap jobs cause the market to fall and this leads to the fact that the current situation of unskilled workers in the country remains unemployed.

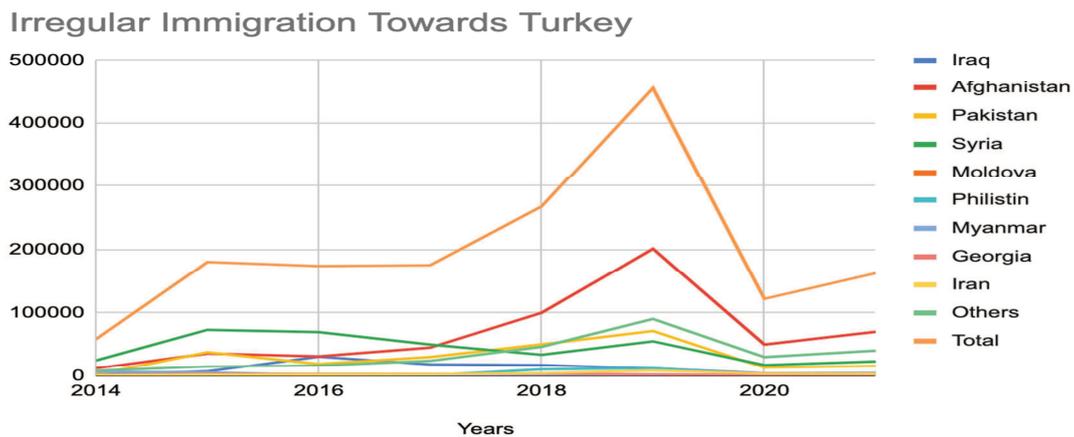


Figure 4.6. The Number of Irregular Migrants Caught by years, 2021.

As it is shown in the graph and table, the total number of irregular immigrants increased from 58.647 in 2014 to 454.662 people in 2019.

Table 4.2. Nationality Distribution of Irregular Migrants Caught by Years, 2021.

Years	Iraq	Afghanistan	Pakistan	Syria	Moldova	Philistin	Myanmar	Georgia	Iran	Others	Total
2014	1728	12248	2350	24984	101	508	6425	1519	626	8158	58647
2015	7247	35921	37921	73422	261	615	5464	2857	1978	14928	180614
2016	30947	31360	19327	69755	256	365	1169	2679	1817	16801	174476
2017	18488	45259	30337	50217	308	832	374	2954	2707	24276	175752
2018	17629	100438	50438	34053	269	10545	378	3153	4066	46631	267600
2019	12097	201437	71645	55236	204	12210	296	2171	8753	90613	454662
2020	3836	50161	13487	17562	126	2059	104	1070	3562	30335	122302
2021	4408	70252	16133	23460	77	3491	77	1074	3503	40494	162969

4.1.2. Turkey's immigration policy between 1923-1960

In the early years of the Republic, Settlement laws were applied in terms of immigration policy and management. The Settlement Laws aimed to increase the Turkish population in Turkey, increase the general population, and bring people who will be economically and socially diverse to the country. In total, three Settlement Laws have entered into force since the period after the proclamation of the Republic. The main purpose of these laws that came into force is to control immigration movements and make legal arrangements. The mentioned laws are; The first is the Settlement Law No. 885, which entered into force in 1926, the second is the Settlement Law No. 2510, dated 1934, and the third is the Settlement Law No. 5543, dated 2006 (Şakacı, 2020, pp. 1-3).

In the migration policies implemented in Turkey during the period covering the years 1923-1950, there was an intensive effort to create a nation-state. There were serious population losses in the country due to the wars, so migration was approached positively at that time. For this reason, immigration agreements were made with countries such as Greece and Bulgaria. The main goal of the migrations carried out is the resettlement of people of Turkish ancestry and culture in Turkey within the framework of the concept of nation-state creation.

With the "Contract and Protocol on Population Exchange " signed on January 30, 1923, as a precondition of the Lausanne Peace Treaty, which is one of the most important of these immigration agreements, immigration organization was carried out between Greece and Turkey (Lausanne Treaty, 1923). In the exchange, the Greeks living within the borders of Turkey and the Turkish-Muslims living in Greece have been displaced. The country has not yet allocated enough resources to the migrants because of the newly coming out of war, but there has been support for houses, land, as well as livestock or their own craft. In this way, the conditions of the migrants were tried to be improved. Similar to the agreement with Greece, the Turkish-Bulgarian Residency Agreement was signed with Bulgaria on 18 October 1925. According to this agreement, Turks residing in Bulgaria will be able to immigrated to Turkey according to their wishes. The migrating Turks will be able to bring their goods and animals with them. Between 1923 and 1936, a total number of 198,688 Turks living in Bulgaria immigrated to Turkey (İçduygu et al, 2014, pp. 139-145).

The settlement law no. 885 of 1926 was implemented as a migration policy until 1934, with the principles such as the entry and resettlement of immigrants in the country. The Settlement Law No. 2510, which entered into force in 1934, regulates the admission of refugees and

immigrants to the country. One of the most important articles of this law, Article 3, determines the population that is taken as the basis for migrations, which is the provision of 'residents or nomadic individuals and tribes of Turkish descent and people who have settled in Turkish culture'. According to this article, immigrants to be admitted to the country after 1934 under the Settlement Law; those of Turkish origin are limited as nomadic or settled people and those who have adopted Turkish culture (İnan, 2016, pp. 25-28).

The Law No. 2007 on Arts and Services Allocated to Turkish Citizens in Turkey came into force on 16 June 1932 in order to support the employment status of the people who settled in Turkey within the scope of the Settlement Laws, to ensure their employment and to enable them to practice their profession. This law no. 2007 plays a very important role in the development of working life. With the entry into force of law No. 4817 in 2003, law No. 2007 was canceled. On September 4, 1936, an immigration agreement was signed between Romania and Turkey and at that time 120,136 immigrants of Turkish origin came to the country (İnan, 2016:16-19).

4.1.3. Immigration policy between 1960-1980

Turkey has entered a different period in terms of immigration in the period after 1950. Membership in NATO, the 1951 Geneva Convention and the establishment of the UNHCR have given direction Turkey's migration policies, and this effect has not only affected the migration policies of the 1950s-1980s, but also the migration policies of the following years. In terms of migration management in Turkey, two basic laws were first used, the Passport Law No. 5682 adopted on 15.07.1950 and the Law no. 5683 on the Residence and Travel of Foreigners adopted on 24.07.1950. According to these laws, people who will enter the country will be turned back if they are without a passport or visa. However, these laws were not sufficient for Turkey's immigration policy and regulations. Migrations that should be mentioned first during this period; Bulgarian migrations occurred between 1950 and 1952. During these years, the migration to Turkey was influenced by the Bulgarian Government increasing pressures and forcing the immigration of people of Turkish origin, Turkish minorities living in Bulgaria seeing Turkey as close to them with factors such as religion and culture, and having relatives in Turkey. Unlike previous migrations in the period after 1950, Bulgarian immigrants mostly took shelter in the country with the support of their relatives and families. İnan stated that Turkey's membership in NATO was instrumental in forcing the

Bulgarian Government to migrate Turkish minorities and in its implementation of this policy (İnan, 2016, pp. 19-20).

Another of the migrations covering the 1950-1980 period is the Yugoslavia migrations that took place between 1952-1967. Similarly, the reasons for the migrations are that they are a minority in the country where they live, that they see Turkey as close to them in terms of culture and religion, and family-relative effects. However these immigrants are different from others, and had to be sent a notary-certified letter of invitation by a relative or relative living in Turkey in order to emigrate to Turkey. According to the 1951 Geneva Convention, Turkey has accepted that it has to do its part in respect of migrants in an international sense in accordance with the agreement. According to this agreement, only those who come to Turkey from Europe can be granted 'refugee' status and migrants from outside of Europe can be granted 'temporary protection' status. Due to Turkey's inclusion in the 1951 Geneva Convention and the increasing demand for immigration to the country, UNHCR opened a representative office in Turkey. UNHCR's mission in the country is to support refugees and asylum seekers in matters such as financial and medical assistance, accommodation, social-judicial and education until they find a permanent place with the migration to the country (İçduygu et al, 2014, pp. 145-156).

4.1.4. Immigration policy between 1980-2000

By the 1980s, Turkey had received intensive migration from neighboring countries and Middle Eastern countries such as Afghanistan, Iran, and Iraq. These migrations took place for the purpose of asylum and to use Turkey as a transit country. As in previous years, in the period covering the years 1980-2000, individuals of Turkish-Muslim origin from the Balkan Countries immigrated to Turkey within the scope of the Settlement Law or freely. According to the law No. 2641, which entered into force in 1982, immigrants of Turkish origin living in Afghanistan were also admitted to Turkey under this migration policy (Yıldırım, 2018, pp. 7-9).

Immigration from Bulgaria to Turkey within the scope of the Settlement Law continued after 1980. During this period, individuals of Turkish origin who wanted to come to Turkey could also immigrate by applying to Turkish Representative Offices and obtaining a visa. Due to the fact that there is too much migration from Bulgaria to Turkey that the country cannot handle. Turkey has had to follow a different policy and has increased control at the borders and made it difficult to cross (İçduygu et al, 2014, pp. 157).

Migrations to Turkey between 1980 and 2000 have a huge impact on Turkey the state of violence and political instability in the source countries. During this period, Turkey was used as a transit country for the transition to EU countries. For example, the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union increased migration due to the fact that Afghans used Turkey as a transit country to go to European countries. Similarly, regime changes in Iran and Iraq and the violence caused increased immigration to Turkey. With the effect of these migrations, Turkey has issued a different ordinance in order to reduce the intensity of migrants and to make migration difficult, especially after 1994. According to this ordinance, those who apply for asylum in Turkey must fulfill certain conditions. The first regulation on asylum seekers and refugees in Turkey was established by the General Directorate of Security on September 14, 1994 under the title of 'Circular on Procedures and Principles to be Applied to Foreigners Who Come collectively to Turkey's Borders for asylum and possible population movements with individual foreigners who applied asylum to Turkey or request residency permission from Turkey to apply asylum to another Country (İçduygu et al, 2012, p. 36).

4.1.5. After 2000

In the 2000s, Turkey faced waves of immigration from many different countries. These countries are especially Middle Eastern countries where there are political instability, economic problems and insecurity. Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan and Syria, which caused a wave of massive migration after the 2011 Syrian civil war, are the ones that have caused a wave of migration. Afghanistan is a geography dominated by political instability and an environment of conflict that has been going on for many years. Therefore, it has become a country that is a source of refugees. Turkey has been affected by the waves of immigration from Afghanistan. After 2000, Turkey has become an important location for Afghan immigrants both as a transit route and as a destination country (Yıldırım, 2018, p. 13).

Migration studies carried out in Turkey until the 2000s are aimed at the resettlement of people of Turkish origin. After 2000, Turkey paid attention to the studies on migration and tried to create migration policies by facing the intensity of migration from different countries. During this period, migration policies were tried to be developed in accordance with the EU due to the effect of the EU harmonization process. The EU integration process and single party rule have been instrumental in the past decade of Turkey's migration policy reforms. However, related changes started before Justice and Development Party rule, and have continued beyond the

period in which the EU process had momentum in Turkey, suggesting that this transformation has taken on a life of its own (Işıkçı, 2017, p. 5).

After September 11, 2001, the perspective on migration and migrants, especially groups in the position of refugees, has changed in a negative direction. Afghanistan, which is directly related to the events, has had its share of strict rules on migration from the surrounding countries and the EU. The hard attitude of the EU and other countries to immigration has also affected Turkey's rules regarding immigration. In other words, in the post-2001 period, it was mainly focused on security. There have been concerns that violent migrations will affect the security situation of the target countries (Yıldırım, 2018, p. 14).

Turkey's candidacy for the EU was formalized at the Helsinki Summit on December 9-10, 1999, and following this process, a Partnership Document was signed between the European Commission and Turkey on 08.03.2001. The Accession Partnership Document is a document that includes what Turkey must do in order to become a member of the EU, and it also covers the Copenhagen Criteria. The document includes the conditions to be fulfilled and the steps to be taken, especially in terms of harmonization with the EU acquis. Within the scope of the Participation Partnership Document, there are also conditions that Turkey must meet regarding migration. These are the ones that are going to:

- Harmonization with the policies of the EU,
- Adopting and implementing EU migration-related practices in the process of accepting, re-accepting and deporting migrants in order to prevent irregular migrations,
- Strengthening border management and preparing for the Schengen system,
- Removing the geographical limitation of the 1951 Agreement, strengthening the system for receiving and evaluating asylum applications, and creating a sheltering facilities and a social support system for asylum seekers and refugees (İçduygu, 2012:38).

Turkey's agreements on migration in accordance with EU migration policies during the EU integration process have affected future migration policies, the process, and also migrants. Some arrangements have been made in line with the harmonization with EU immigration policies; The Asylum Regulation made in 1994 and the Asylum and Migration Action Plan were adopted in 2005. At the same time, a National Action Plan was organized in 2005 to identify and address deficiencies in immigration laws, and the Law on Foreigners and International Protection Act No. 6458 was adopted in 2013 (Çakı, 2018, pp. 35-41).

A Joint Action Plan has been prepared between Turkey and the EU at the EU Leaders Summit in 2015. The Action Plan has been prepared in order to prevent the mass migration of Syrians, to support the areas where the Syrians are under temporary protection in Turkey, to control the migration flows towards the EU and to ensure cooperation between the EU and Turkey on migration. Regarding migration-related policies, in the Ninth Five-Year Development Plan (2007-2013), issues related to migration to Turkey were touched. In the published report, it was decided to establish the organization for Migration and Asylum in order to combat illegal migration and asylum movements, and it was mentioned that legal and institutional arrangements will be made related to migration (26215 sayılı Resmi Gazete, 01.07.2006). The tenth (2014-2018) and eleventh (2019-2023) Five-Year Development Plans also mentioned the arrangements to be made regarding migration. In the eleventh Five-Year Development Plan, it is mentioned that research centers will be supported for the purpose of establishing policies in the fields of migration, that efforts will be made to improve the conditions of people under temporary protection, and that the migration strategy document will be issued (T.C. Strateji ve Bütçe Başkanlığı, 2018, pp. 4-12).

Other laws and regulations regarding immigration and immigrants in Turkey;

The land and sea borders of Turkey and Greece have an important role in migration to Europe. In November 2001, the Protocol for the Re-acceptance of Irregular Migrants was signed between the two countries in order to regulate these migrations. Law No. 4817 on Work Permits of Foreigners, which was officially published on 27.03.2003 and entered into force (25040 sayılı 06.03.2003 tarihli Resmi Gazete). With this law, it is aimed that foreigners who live and want to work in Turkey get a work permit and the rules have been determined. This law no. 4817 was repealed by the International Labour Force Law No. 6735 (ICC), which was published in the Officially No. 29800 on August 13, 2016.

The Foreign Direct Investment Law No. 4875 entered into force on 17.06.2003. With the entry into force of this law, the Law No. 6224 on the Promotion of Foreign Capital dated 18.01.1954 was repealed. In this law, it is aimed to protect the rights of foreigners who will invest in Turkey, to encourage foreigners to invest and to increase foreign investments. The Turkish Citizenship Act No. 403 dated February 11, 1964 was amended again in June 2003. In this arrangement, the steps have been taken by Turkey to comply with EU standards and the idea of preventing fake marriages have been effective. Some changes were made in the Settlement Law No. 5543 on 26.09.2006. Although some changes have been made, the status of

immigrants has not changed and they have continued to be defined as people who are Turkish noble and connected to Turkish culture (Yılmaz, 2006, pp. 5-10).

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) first opened its offices in Turkey in 1991 following the aftermath of the Gulf War. IOM's partnership with the Republic of Turkey was formalized in November 2004 when Turkey was granted member status to IOM. The partnership between IOM and Turkey continued since then, including support drafting the Law of Foreigners and International Protection, as well as establishing the Ministry of Interior's Directorate General for Migration Management in 2013. Now in its 29th year of operations in Turkey, the mission addresses the full scope of migration issues, supporting and developing government capacity to manage migration. Alongside IOM's role in addressing the needs of migrants during crises, the mission works in close collaboration with the Government of Turkey to address the longer-term impact of migration, including migrant assistance programmes, labour integration and migration management, immigration and border management and research and data collection on migrant movement. With almost 30 years of operational experience in Turkey, the Mission is now one of the largest globally and has more than 1,200 staff working across the country, with sub-offices in Istanbul, Gaziantep, Hatay, Sanliurfa and Izmir and head office in Ankara (IOM Turkey, 2021)

The Law on Foreigners and International Protection numbered 6458, prepared by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, entered into force on 11.04.2013. Although it does not regulate all issues related to foreigners, a number of confusions have been organized regarding the employment of foreigners in the legislation. In general terms, the regulations on foreigners cover international protection and related administrative organization issues. Article 103 of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection concerns the establishment of the General Directorate of Migration Department and regulates its establishment. Following the publication of the Law No. 6458 in the official newspaper No. 28615, the General Directorate of Migration Department was established and started its activities in 2014 (T.C.İçişleri Bakanlığı Göç İdare Başkanlığı, 2013) (<https://www.goc.gov.tr/gigm-mevzuati>) 11.4.2013.

4.1.6. Historical relation between Afghanistan and Turkey

Afghanistan; Due to its geographical location, it has been under Turkish influence in history. It has been the settlement of nomadic Turkish peoples (Hun, Harzemshah, Ghaznavid, Babur, Timur, Turkmen and Uzbek) and has been affected. The region where Afghanistan is located now is the South Turkestan region. In the past, the Turks lived there, many Turkish states have

been established in this geography over the centuries. Over time, the Afghan tribes that lived there established an Afghan state. Hazara, Karakalpak, Kyrgyz, Turkmen, Kazakh and Uzbek Turks living as a minority in Afghanistan have settled in the north of the country with the Hindikush mountainous region.

In the 1920s, political relations were established between Turkey and Afghanistan. In fact, the friendship between Turkey and Afghanistan dates back to the Republican period. Afghanistan became the first country to recognize the Republic of Turkey and at the same time signed the first international agreement of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. The agreement was signed in Moscow on March 1, 1921. In this agreement, it is aimed to support Turkey's military and technical support to Afghanistan, The university infrastructure has been created in Afghanistan; the Departments of Medicine and Bacteriology, the Faculty of Engineering, the Faculty of Fine Arts have been opened, the Military Academy and the State Conservatory have been established. Technical specialists, health professionals, doctors, faculty members, military personnel and instructors for different fields have been sent from Turkey These steps were taken by the King of the period, Amanullah Khan. Amanullah Khan tried to modernize the country quickly, and in this sense he followed the example of Turkey. He visited Turkey in 1928 and signed the second Turkish-Afghan alliance (Nimani, 2014, p. 4-9).

Turkey has supported Afghanistan in international politics and has made efforts for political stability. It has made efforts to eliminate Afghanistan from being a geography that is a base for extremism, terrorism and drug trafficking. In late 2000s, Turkey cooperated with Pakistan and Afghanistan to ensure security and political stability in Southeast Asia. The aim of this cooperation is to provide solidarity between countries and to resist terrorism. It has made efforts to improve the current situation in Afghanistan, to streamline the army and to improve education. Turkey has provided assistance in Afghanistan through TIKA (Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency). It has been supported in education, health, infrastructure and many other fields.

4.1.7. Reasons of Afghan migrants to Turkey

Three “fragmented” phases would be considered in analyzing Afghan immigration to Europe as their final destination. The first phase starts with departure from Afghanistan and moving to its neighbors, Pakistan or Iran. Migrants and refugees then move to Turkey from those countries either on foot or by a vehicle and often assisted by migrant smugglers. Land routes involve harsh physical conditions and Afghans often encounter safety concerns. Once arrived

in Turkey from the eastern borders, Afghans either move towards urban areas in the eastern provinces or directly to western provinces. In case of onward movement, the second stage involves crossing into Bulgaria via land or into Greece via land or sea. The final stage involves the movement from Greece or Bulgaria to the next destination in Europe. The entire journey often involves long waiting periods in order to finance the next phase. Sometimes the next phase never takes place and then transit countries become a destination. Turkey provides an interesting case in this regard, as it has served as both a transit and destination country either *de facto* and or *de jure*.

The main reasons for Afghan immigrants to come to Turkey can be listed as its important location on the European road route, cultural proximity and religious values between the two countries, and the opportunity for immigrants to see the economic and social conditions in Turkey. As we have often mentioned before, Turkey's 'transit route' position in east to west migrations causes it to face migrations from different countries. Some migrants who have left Afghanistan and migrated to countries such as Pakistan and Iran now choose Turkey as another stop. The exclusionary attitudes and deprivation of rights they suffered in Pakistan and Iran upset people and they have gone in search of another country that they saw close to them. The phenomenon of religion is also effective here, religious values also greatly shape the cultural structure of society. Religious influence is observed, as well as social values, way of life, family structures. Afghanistan and Turkey are mostly made up of citizens who have adopted the Islamic religion in this sense, Afghan citizens come to the country thinking that they will be welcomed in Turkey (Deniz, 2015:2017, p. 9).

Another reason why Afghan immigrants choose Turkey is the minority Turkmen groups living in Afghanistan. In the history of Turkey, a group of Turkmens living in Afghanistan were brought to Turkey during the Settlement Policy and when Kenan Evren was President. These Afghans of Turkish origin also consider Turkey close to them because of their ancestry and turn to immigration. Political changes in Afghanistan also affect migrations and intensity from Afghanistan to Turkey. The people, who thought that the situation in the country would worsen with the withdrawal of the USA from Afghanistan in 2013, concentrated on immigration and in this period, Turkey had its share of immigration. At the end of 2013, there was an increase in immigration from Afghanistan to Turkey.

4.1.8. Legal aspect of Afghan migrants to Turkey

Most of the Afghan immigrants in Turkey come illegally. According to the Migration Statistics Report published by the Red Crescent (Kızılay) in 2018. The total number of irregular migrants caught in 2017 was 175,752. In this statistic, Afghanistan was in second place with 45,259 people (Kızılay, 2017, p. 12).

Afghans enter Turkey illegally so they come with the help of smugglers. These organized human traffickers charge money to migrants and when they can not get their money then they threaten to kill people and their families. Smugglers often bring migrants into the country on foot, in certain places by vehicles and under very harsh conditions. In the study published by Yıldırım (2018), one of the asylum seekers described his illegal migration journey as follows: (Yıldırım, 2018, p. 23).

We came to Turkey from Iran with the smugglers in Iran. The journey took three days. We were traveling at night. We paid 900 dollars per person on the way to Turkey. We used to pay more for this money on the way from Afghanistan to Iran. We walked for 14 hours. We slept on rocks on the mountain. After a while, they put us in pickup cars and brought us group by group. When we came to the Turkish border, other smugglers in Turkey took us from there (Yıldırım, 2018, p. 23).

Based on the statement given here, it can be said that the outcome of this journey is not certain and it is a journey that is open to abuse, violence and different risks. So why are these people not entering the country legally and applying for these ways? The main reason for this is that the visa requirements are very hard, getting vize is extremely hard, there is a possibility of not being accepted, and the prices for flight are very high. Private agencies take out the visa of Turkey with prices of 3000 dollar to 4000 dollar. That's why many people cannot provide and can not enter Turkey legally. A certain group can also be listed as being unaware of this aspect of the journey. These people who have nowhere to go, who are fleeing danger, often do not have time for this journey, and legal proceedings take a long time, and the lack of certainty is one of the other factors.

4.1.9. Problems of Afghan immigrants in Turkey

The problems faced by Afghan immigrants in Turkey are generally related to taking shelter, protection, health, employment and education. The vast majority of Afghans migrating in Turkey are staying in the country illegally, and this situation causes them to be deprived of the rights got benefit by other immigrants and asylum seekers. The language barrier is at the root of the problems faced by immigrants. Language is a communication tool in accessing health services, the quality of education that they receive, and adaptation to social life in the country.

The lives of Afghan immigrants who emigrated to Turkey, which are quite difficult, are becoming more difficult because they are stuck in a language barrier. For example, a person who wants to go to the hospital needs an interpreter because individual cannot explain his/her own problem, and interpreters work at prices that are too heavy for immigrants. Similarly, the education of children who need to start school is disrupted due to the language barrier problem, which affects not only immigrant students but also other students in the classroom environment. Afghan immigrants were raised in a culture where women were at home and men worked. Afghans, who continue this lifestyle after immigrating to Turkey, learn the language more quickly as men are outside and participate in social life, and women cannot progress in this sense and constantly need their men as translators. In this sense, women are moving away from social life and being confined to home.

The majority of Afghan migrants who immigrate to Turkey apply to the relevant places for international protection. According to the study published by Mixed Migration Center (MMC) in 2020. Most of the applicants for international protection have applied to the Provincial Directorate of Migration Department and UNHCR. This community of immigrants is unaware of their rights as immigrants until they reach the relevant places, which negatively affects the safety of these people (Mixed Migration Center, 2020, pp. 3-5).

After entering the country, accommodation is one of the biggest problems for these people. Those who have relatives or friends in Turkey are staying with them for a while, but those who do not have a place to stay are facing serious problems. It is quite difficult for people who have difficulty even fulfilling their basic needs to create their own layouts within the country. The main problems in the field of health are the lack of health records of Afghan immigrants in Turkey, the fact that although health services are free, medicines are paid with high prices, and the most problematic barrier is the language barrier. Many migrants complain that there are no interpreters in hospitals or that interpreter fees are high. The group of Afghan migrants living in difficult conditions in Turkey and working with low wages are not able to benefit from health services efficiently.

Afghan immigrants work in daily jobs in Turkey, in power based jobs, long working hours, cheap and hard jobs, and they work in these jobs without any security, uninsured and unregistered. So in a sense, these people are being exploited in the job market. Afghan migrants complain alot about their working life, although some of them say that they are satisfied with their general situation in Turkey and do not suffer from discrimination and

oppression in society. Many times, Afghans are generally happy to live in Turkey, but they complain about their working life, from cheap labor sources and financial difficulties.

The status of Afghan asylum seekers who come to Turkey is different from those who have been given refugee status. This is based on the fact that the status of 'refugee' contained in the 1951 Geneva Convention is given only to migrants from Europe, and people from outside Europe are given the status of 'asylum seeker'. In 2011, Turkey faced a large wave of migration from Syria. Turkey has placed these Syrian refugees under 'temporary protection'. Syrian refugees who are under temporary protection can legally obtain needs such as social assistance, health, education and shelter. The rights of Afghan immigrants and Syrian immigrants in Turkey are slightly different, and Syrian immigrants have a more advantageous situation. For example, Syrian immigrants are given priority over work permits and receive results faster than Afghan immigrants. In the case of getting a work permit of Afghan immigrants, for instance an Afghan immigrant can work legally under the condition that five Turkish citizens should work in a factory, while Syrian immigrants have one Turkish citizen in the form of one Syrian immigrant. There are a number of such privileges.

Afghan and Syrian child immigrants benefit from free education in Turkey, but they have serious language problems. Learning a language they do not know and then receiving education in this language is both challenging and reduces the quality of the education that they have learnt. Of course, the group of children receiving education that we are talking about here is the group registered and stayed in Turkey legally, children belonging to families living unregistered in the country cannot benefit from these educational rights. Even though children who go to school have problems with adaptation, they get along with their friends and adapt to social life more easily in Turkey.

4.1.10. Legal Status of Afghan Immigrants and Making Some Regulations

Afghan immigrants should be considered in two conditions here, those who come to the country legally and those who come illegally. Afghan migrants who come to the country legally, no matter how they apply for protection, the status they receive are not 'refugee' status. This is because the 1951 Geneva Convention, to which Turkey is a party, only gives 'refugee' status to those who come from Europe. There is an intensive migration flow to Turkey from the Middle East, Asia and African countries. People who come from such regions and apply international protection from Turkey are given the status of 'conditional refugees'. This status, previously called 'asylum seeker', has been changed in the Law on Foreigners and International

Protection (YUKK) regulation and defined as a 'conditional refugee'. The definition of conditional refugee status in the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (YUKK):

Due to events occurring outside European countries; for reasons justified that he will be persecuted because of his/her race, religion, nature, belonging to a particular social group or political opinions, and after the procedures given to the foreigner who is outside his/her country of citizenship and who does not benefit from the protection of this country or who does not want to benefit from such fear, or who is outside the country of residence where he/she previously lived as a result of such events, who cannot return there or does not want to return because of such fear (Özçelik, 2013, p. 228).

Afghan immigrants can stay as asylum seekers or conditional refugees in Turkey by applying to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). These immigrants, who left their home countries due to religion, sexual factors, ethnic origin, and danger of death, can stay in Turkey until they go to a third country under the protection of the UNHCR. This group, who has taken refuge in Turkey in order to settle in a third country, is submitting their files to the UNHCR. The relevant Provincial Migration Department (İl Göç İdaresi) takes an interview and evaluates the file owners and, if they are appropriate, they are resettled in the third country. The assessment processes of these files take two or seven years and most of them are rejected. The groups applying for international protection to UNHCR are mostly people from countries such as Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan. The most comprehensive law on the status of temporary protected persons, asylum seekers, conditional refugees and other foreigners in Turkey is Law on Foreigners and International Protection. This section has been created in accordance with the regulations specified in the Law on Foreigners and International Protection.

Certain services and facilities are provided to Afghan immigrants who are in the position of asylum seeker or conditional refugee and continue their lives in Turkey. These are mainly facilities such as education, health, employment, social support and benefits. People who have applied for asylum (except for persons with disabilities, elderly, pregnant, unaccompanied minors, torture-sexually assaulted and so on) are responsible for their housing needs in Turkey and can reside in the Turkey. These persons are prohibited from traveling freely within the country, and in such a case, they are required to get permission from the relevant places. People who have applied for international protection are considered to have been given residence permits along with an identity document.

Regulations have been made in the Law on Foreigners and International Protection regarding the employment of asylum seekers or conditional refugees. Accordingly, asylum seekers can work within the country within certain conditions and restrictions, and the identity documents

issued to migrants can also be considered a work permit document. Afghan immigrants can apply for a work permit 6 months after they are accepted for asylum (Article 89). Work permit applications are made by the Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services (T.C. İçişleri Bakanlığı Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü, 2013, p. 40).

Regarding the health services of Afghan refugees, according to Article 89 of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (YUKK), people who have applied for asylum in Turkey and taken under international protection can benefit from the Social Insurance and General Health Insurance Law in case they do not have any health insurance or ability to pay, and with this law, they can access health services and are provided free of charge. Health is the most basic need of the person and a very important issue, so this right is very advantageous. Again, a similar situation is the social assistance services, migrants who have international protection status or have applied for access to these services for free if they are in need (T.C. İçişleri Bakanlığı Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü, 2013).

This type of aid is usually made through foundations. Foundations provide certain assistance to such needy asylum seekers regarding basic needs such as foods, cash assistance, sheltering and education. However, asylum seekers who are registered in the country can get benefits from these practices and illegal immigrants cannot get benefits. In such cases, foundations can guide the immigrants to the relevant places and provide the needed assistance after the necessary procedures. As mentioned in the previous section, the children of Afghan migrants who have been staying under temporary protection have the right to free education in Turkey. These children study together with Turkish students, take advantage of free textbooks and take advantage of free course facilities.

4.1.11. Impact of Afghan immigrants to Turkish labor market and economy

Participation in the labor force differed depending on the status held by foreigners and their position. While it was possible for individuals with Temporary Protection Service, who are Conditional Refugees and Applicants to participate in the labor force after a period of 6 months, it was immediate for the holders of Secondary Protection and Refugee Status. Another problem has been the issue of diploma equivalence. The fact that the diplomas obtained in their own countries are not sufficient within the framework of the Turkish Education System has reduced the participation of immigrants in the active labor force in an official way. Individuals who did not participate in the labor force through official means tended towards informal unemployment.

Afghan immigrants, who are estimated to be half a million in Turkey, have some effects on the job market, but it is very difficult to evaluate these effects only on the basis of Afghan immigrants. Turkey receives immigration intensively and the changes that occur are a general effect of immigration. Afghan immigrants have direct or indirect effects on the labor market and economy. A certain part of the Afghan immigrants who come to Turkey for working and earning money to remove their problems. After working in the country for a while, these immigrants are thinking of returning to their own country or going to another country with their savings.

Afghan immigrants who come to Turkey for work or to use it as a transit route are generally labor-intensive, whether they are in the country legally or not, (of course, there are exceptions who have a higher education, doing their profession, and so on.) because a significant part of this group consists of people experiencing economic problems. When it comes to the employment of migrants, their employment differs according to the region in which they live. As an example, those who are close to the holiday areas work in those areas such as housekeepers, cleaners, and so on., those who live in the agricultural areas work in jobs such as agricultural labor, shepherding, and those who live in big cities work in industrial areas, construction, food and beverage sector, guard, or trade areas (bagel maker, painter, balloonist), and in addition, those who work informally in small businesses jobs by doing whatever work is given to them. In general, immigrants who have language proficiency are able to find work more easily and working conditions are improving slightly. It can be said that gender-based roles are effective in the employment of Afghan women immigrants, and in this sense, their fields of work are narrowing. Women work in jobs such as babysitting, cleaning, housework, jobs that can be done from home.

The demand of Afghan immigrant families for low income work due to reasons such as crowded family structure, lack of options, and poor conditions can be seen as a threat to citizens of Turkey who work or can work in the same jobs and causes competition. Turkish citizens may think that their jobs are taken by Afghan immigrants. This competition for work reduces job opportunities and worsens conditions. Immigrants working illegally are dependent on and at the mercy of the owner for work. Job owners who take advantage of the weakness of immigrants, burden their workers with heavy work, extend their working hours, aggravate their conditions, in other words, they exploit Afghan labors.

According to the data published by the Turkish Statistical Institute, the unemployment rate in August 2020 was 4 million 194 people with an unemployment rate of 13.2%. The current unemployment rate is quite high. However, the informal work rate was announced as 32.9%. Informal work is mostly seen in the agriculture-livestock sector, followed by the construction and service sector hotels or restaurants. This group is made up of unskilled workers, and in the same way, the majority of registered or unregistered migrants, such as Turkish citizens, are included in this group. These immigrants, who come to Turkey illegally and work unregistered and mostly in unskilled jobs, have a negative impact on the current job market. They directly affect the unskilled job market in Turkey. When these people are working with very low wages they are added to the unemployment problem in the country, the job potential of Turkish citizens decreases and the opportunities and prices of the job market decrease (TÜİK,2020).<https://data.tuik.gov.tr/Bulten/Index?p=Isgucu-Istatistikleri-Agustos-2020-33792>

There are different opinions in the literature about the effects of immigrants on the Turkish economy. Some groups talk about the negative effect, while others think that there is no effect. Nevertheless, such situations as the participation of immigrants in active business life, the rents they pay, the use of public transportation, the expenditures they make within the country are an effect of them on the economy. People living in areas where immigrants live intensively think that immigrants have a negative impact on the economy, however, they think that housing prices, food- drink and basic needs have increased due to immigrants. The main reason for this is the effects of immigrants on the labor market. The impact of migrants on the labor market can also be considered as a positive effect, as it closes the gap in the service sector (Aygül, 2018, pp. 8-10).

The economic contribution of the Afghan immigrants to the country will be at a certain level due to the low level of education and their aspirations for unskilled jobs. At this point, Turkey's management of the employment of migrants is very important. If skilled and talented people are provided with proper employment, their impact on the economy can be positive. In other words, whether migrants are burdensome for Turkey depends in some sense on migration management and strategic steps, and in fact, this issue is a very open topic for discussion.

Afghan immigrants working for very low wages is seen as an advantage for job owners and causes an increase in informal work. The situation of employing informal workers provides less liability on taxes paid. Although it is considered an advantage for employers, this situation

‘leads to a decrease in tax revenues, variability in the costs of firms, deterioration in full competition, a decrease in the level of prices, a loss of income for domestic workers, an increase in unemployment data, creates a congestion in the socio-economy’ in the economy. Inflation is an unavoidable situation in countries where illegal immigration is a reality. The main reason for this is economic deficits caused by informal work, deficits that develop in the balance of supply and demand. In the supply-demand imbalance, it can be shown by example that immigrants receive a share of agricultural output even though they do not contribute agriculturally (Aygül, 2018, pp. 6-7).

The burdens are also increasing on the basis of the public services that municipalities in the regions where the immigrants live are obliged to provide them. The burdens are also increasing on the basis of the public services that municipalities in the regions where Afghan immigrants live are obliged to provide them. Education, water works, cleaning. Migrants are also now receiving a share of services, and with the increasing population in the region, the demand for services is also increasing, which requires the municipality to spend more, in some cases resulting in insufficient spending. Expenditures can be a burden in the long term. For example, on the basis of children attending school, the teachers who provide education, textbooks, and other services at the school are paid by the government for free, and over time, these expenses are reflected as a tax burden on citizens of the country.

4.2. Immigration Policy of the European Union

The foundations of the need to create an area of freedom, security and justice were laid by the free movement of persons, which is one of the four fundamental freedoms within the EU. During the EU integration process, the concept of free movement of persons has changed over the years. The Paris Agreement of 1951, which established the European Coal and Steel Community, allowed citizens of the six member states to work in all member states. With the 1957 Treaty of Rome, it was aimed to establish a common market between the six member states. Article 48 of the Treaty. According to this article, workers of a member state have the right to free movement in that country if they have the opportunity to work in another member state. Article 48 came into force in 1968 as a result of Italy's efforts to enact this article in order to decrease the problem of unemployment. Although Italian citizens are the most prominent beneficiaries of this right, labor mobility among member states has remained limited over the years (Castles and Miller, 2008, pp. 153-158).

Intensive migration processes to the EU started with the end of the Second World War and the labor shortage that was exposed with the progress of the industrial sector. The labor supply that developed due to the war continued with the migration of labor to Europe. In this process, it initiated the concept of 'guest worker' throughout the continent. The economic stagnation caused by the Oil Crisis in 1973 also increased unemployment and affected the migration of guest workers to the European Union. For this reason, countries in the continent have changed the regulations on migration and continued with tightening the rules and guest workers who have previously come to countries have implemented policies that encourage them to return to their source countries, however, the desired success was not achieved and this process continued with the reunification of guest workers and their families. In other words, immigration policies after this period cover the process of family reunification (Özerim, 2014, p. 22).

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, an intense wave of immigration towards the EU took place. Austria and Germany have been the two countries mostly affected by immigration. For this reason, policies have been started to be developed and implemented to prevent migration. The EU countries that had immigration before, these two countries have become countries that receive migration together with the migration wave. This period continued until the beginning of the 2000s. The EU is trying to act in the common interest of limiting migration and has gone for stricter regulations. In the following years, the Arab Spring that started in 2010 affected the EU as well as the surrounding countries. The EU, which has been subject to many legal and illegal migrations, has been forced to regulate its migration policies even more strictly (Aykaç and Yertüm, 2016, pp. 2-5).

4.2.1. The period before 1999

A joint asylum development process of the EU began with the Geneva Convention. In the convention, definitions of refugees and asylum seekers are made and define restrictions related to the subject. The period before 1999, It is necessary to start with the Schengen Agreement signed on 14 June 1985 between France, West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, which are members of the European Economic Community, in order to completely eliminate customs and police controls between countries and to ensure free movement between countries. Although the agreement was signed in 1985, implementation started on 26 March 1995. On 19 June 1990, an agreement was signed on the concrete implementation of the Schengen Agreement. In this agreement, issues related to the

development and operation of a database covering the member states of the convention, the issue of the removal of border controls, and the one type of visas issued are regulated. Italy was included in the agreement in November of the same year, Spain and Portugal in June, and Greece in November 1992. The European Single Act was signed in 1986 with the aim of creating a mechanism for political cooperation in Europe between EU member states. The agreement aims to increase the political and economic cooperation between the member states of the EU and to increase the cohesion between the countries. However, by 1992, innovations were made to move the union to the single market, new areas within the scope of the European Community were identified and changes were made to the institutions. Another innovation brought by the Single European Act is the introduction of the rule of "majority of votes" in the decision-making process. The place of this concept in the decision-making process is quite important (Aykaç and Yertüm 2016, pp. 5-7).

In the period before 1999, EU refugee policies have undergone major changes. Policies aimed at establishing a Common Market within Europe, removing borders between countries and the Schengen Agreement, which gives EU citizens the right to free movement, and restricting the number of asylum seekers and refugees within the EU have been developed. Accordingly, as a situation directly affecting asylum seekers contained in the 1990 Dublin Convention, an asylum seeker who applies for asylum in one of the European countries and is rejected cannot apply for asylum in another European country, and according to this agreement, the status of asylum seekers has been determined. However, in the continuation of the process; restrictions have been imposed in various situations, such as restrictions on movement within the EU, participation in political and social life, work and accommodation within the EU.

The Maastricht Treaty is a fairly comprehensive integration initiative, and the Justice and Internal Affairs Cooperation section has also been created in relation to migration regulations. In this direction, regulations have been made on issues such as asylum policy, external border controls, migration policy for immigrants from a third country, illegal residence-work, drug trafficking, fraudulence, criminal and judicial cooperation, customs cooperation, Police cooperation (especially regarding drug trafficking and other types of serious crimes), and European Police Office (Europol). The Maastricht Treaty was first decided to conclude a new Treaty on the European Communities at the Summit held in Maastricht in 1991, and accordingly it was signed in 1992 and entered into force in November 1993. According to this agreement, it was decided that the group using the name 'European Community' was named

'European Union'. In this way, the EU has entered a new era, the legal structure within the union has been regulated and the 'three basic pillars' that are essential for the union have been established. The Economic and Monetary Union, the Common Foreign and Security Policy, and the Cooperation in Justice and Internal Affairs are mentioned with the Three Main Pillars' (The Maastricht Treaty, 1994; The Treaty of Amsterdam, 1997).

The Treaty of Amsterdam, signed in 1997, is an agreement on the enlargement policy of the European Union. The articles that are incomplete or need to be changed in the founding agreements of the EU have been regulated and the institutional structure within the union has been structured. In the Amsterdam Treaty, studies have been carried out and expanded in the field of freedom, security and justice. Migration issues were added to this topic and important regulations were made regarding migration. It has been decided that foreigners who will enter the European Union's borders, people who will not stay for more than three months, countries that will receive visas when crossing external borders will be determined, conditions and one type of visa-related studies will be conducted. Conditions will be set for the free movement of these people in the Union. Regulations have also been made regarding the free movement of foreigners. Accordingly, the EU citizens or third country nationals will be able to move freely within the internal borders of the Union. As for immigration, articles related to asylum, and temporary protection, (Article 63-2b) burden sharing, (Article 63-3a) conditions for legal entry into the country, (Article 64-4) illegal immigration and migration policy for third-country citizens have been regulated. There have been some member states that have approached these articles differently, some member states accepted and some did not accept. In other words, the Union determines the conditions for migration and asylum, but countries evaluate the applications (Baldaccini and Toner, 2007, pp. 1-3).

4.2.2. The period between 1999-2004

The Council of the EU held the Tampere Summit on 15 October 1999 regarding the implementation of the Amsterdam Treaty and the Union's regulations on a field of freedom, security and justice. The Tampere Summit is the EU's first multi-annual programme and covers the years 1999-2004. At the summit, it was decided to establish offices dealing with migration flows to the Union, readmission agreements and return to the origin country, regulations on illegal migration (human trafficking, abuse, and so on.), regulations on visas and joint policy, and the establishment of offices dealing with visas issued jointly by the Union. In other words, the management of migrations to the Union and the common

understanding of asylum are discussed roughly related to migration. The Amsterdam Treaty and the Tampere Summit have established (legally) the main areas for migration management in the European Union, and the security phenomenon is also seen in this process (Baldaccini and Toner, 2007, pp. 3-5).

The EU declared the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU in 2000 to protect the rights of migrants against the negative impact on human rights of restricting policies applied to migrants. These terms are in a sense a list of human rights and have no legal basis when published. In the continuation of the process, its legal binding was mentioned and with the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty on 1 December 2009, the EU found the legal basis for the Charter of Fundamental Rights. The rights and situations of asylum seekers are clearly specified in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights. For example, article 18 deals with the right to asylum and asylum is an attached conditional right (The EU Agency of Essential Rights, 2014, p. 23).

Migration and asylum issues were also discussed at the Seville Summit held in June 2002. According to the arrangement made at the Summit, a common migration policy with member states should be developed in order to combat irregular migration movements towards the EU. It was decided that the way to combat irregular migration will be to tighten border controls and impose sanctions on third countries that are incapable of preventing illegal immigration. In the declaration published at the Thessaloniki Summit held in 2003, one year after the Seville Summit, regulations regarding migration were included. There is a title in the declaration called 'Migration, Borders and Asylum' and this part of the declaration is mainly related to the integration of immigrants (Bababayiğit, 2014, p. 59).

4.2.3. The period between 2004 and 2009

By 2004, the number of countries that were members of the EU had increased from 15 to 25, and the borders of the union had expanded. In November, the EU adopted the Hague Programme, which will cover the five-year period (2005-2010) after the Tampere Summit. This program was created based on the facts of justice, security and freedom, and the goals to be achieved in these fields were determined. One of the very important issues of these goals is the acceleration of the process of establishing the Schengen Information System and the Visa Information System. In this way, the following of foreigners and asylum seekers within the EU will be easier and situations such as asylum applications can be monitored. In this program, which also analyzes what was carried out on migration and asylum issues after the Tampere

Summit, the problem of illegal migration, the prevention of migration to the EU, returns to the origin country, and so on. goals such as cooperation with origin and transit countries and setting a common migration policy were mentioned in the issues (Guild et al, 2008, p. 7).

Following the Hague Program, a document entitled 'Towards a Common Migration Policy' was published by the European Commission in December 2007. In the document, it was mentioned that the union should focus on the common migration policy and the importance of cooperation. In September of the following year, the European Union's general migration policies; The 'European Pact on Migration and Asylum' has been adopted to regulate relations between asylum policy, external border controls, repatriation, readmission agreements, illegal-legal migration and origin-transit countries and the European Union. In this pact, it is stated that the way to regulate or prevent migration flows to the EU can be achieved by cooperation with countries in the origin and transit positions, and it is specified that this is a mutual benefit (Baldaccini and Toner, 2007, p. 5-19).

At the post-2001 regulations in the EU, it is seen that the 'security' factor comes to the fore. In this, the impact of the events of 9/11 is clearly seen. The EU, which is trying to handle illegal migration caused by the events of September 11, is trying to develop policies on this issue. Since the 'Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe', signed with the idea of a common constitution of the European Union, was rejected by the referendum in France and the Netherlands and could not enter into force, the Lisbon Treaty was signed on 12-13 December 2007 and entered into force in 2009. In the Lisbon Treaty, issues related to migration and asylum were mentioned under the heading of Freedom, Security and Justice and some changes were made. In the agreement, general provisions on migration, security, asylum, border controls, asylum and migration policies, judicial cooperation on civil matters, cooperation on criminal matters, police cooperation sections have been established in relation to migration, security, asylum issues. Here again, the regulations related to external border controls, immigration and asylum procedures and international protection are discussed (Bababayigit, 2014, pp. 64-65).

4.2.4. The period between 2010 and 2015

The third five-year programme covering the years 2010-2014 in the EU was announced in December 2009 with the Stockholm Programme. The content of this program, which focuses on the fields of freedom, security, justice, immigration, asylum, security, justice and EU citizenship issues has also been discussed. In this program, the safety of EU citizens is given

priority. Again in this program, it is aimed to conduct studies on the issue of combating irregular migration and increase sanctions related to the situation of employment of these migrants. In the Stockholm Programme, Europe of rights; Europe of law and justice; A Europe that protects its citizens; Introduction to Europe in the Global World; Europe of responsibility, solidarity and partnership on migration and Asylum; Europe's role in the global world is shaped around the issues (The Stockholm Programme, 2009).

Generally when we look at the immigration policies of the EU, their policies are about responsibility, solidarity and partnership on migration and asylum issues; The EU's goal in migration policy is a comprehensive migration policy aimed at the future. According to the needs of the EU member states, migrants should be accepted and this situation should be turned into an advantage. In order to prevent migration and asylum, the specified policies should prevent illegal migration and take control of it. It is necessary to pay attention to the security of external borders and tightening the border controls. Related to this, the issues mentioned in the 'Immigration and Asylum Pact' are emphasized again. Sending illegal immigration back to origin and transit countries, tightening border controls, regulations on asylum, each country should take its own decision on legal immigration and cooperating with origin and transit countries on illegal immigration.

Looking at the evolution of migration policies in the EU, it is seen that the common policies on this issue focus on struggling with illegal migration and border controls rather than on legal migration or integration issues. Therefore, there is a security-oriented development in the Europeanization of these policies. In this section, the development of the EU common migration policy is examined. In this section, the development of the EU common migration policy is analyzed in terms of Europeanization and securitization. In this context, the development of migration policies was evaluated by conducting text analysis of every five-year programme prepared for the development of treaties, summits and the field of freedom, security and justice. In the development of migration policies, it has been evaluated that the discourse used regarding migration has changed over time within the framework of various global and internal factors, and it has been revealed that the securitization approach is the dominant discourse and that migration is considered a security and threat element. However, the Stockholm Programme aimed to improve other aspects of migration other than security by getting rid of some of the security oriented discourse and emphasized the need to establish a multidimensional and comprehensive migration policy.

4.3. The Migration Policy of Germany

Germany is one of the leading countries in the establishment of the EU and has a large share in the development of the common migration policy, so it is very important to examine Germany's migration history. Germany was a country of immigration until the 1950s, but after the 1950s, with the end of the Second World War and the development of industry, it has become a country that receives migration. There are two important periods related to immigration to Germany, during these periods intense immigration was occurred. These periods are the first period covering the years 1960-1973 and the period 1990 (Hollifield et al, 2014, pp. 224-235).

After the rapid development of the industry during the period between 1960 and 1973, an unskilled and cheap labor shortage emerged in Germany. In the period covering between 1960-1973, 2.6 million workers immigrated to the country. Migrations include not only the working group, but also their families. These workers are defined as 'Gastarbeiter', which means guest workers. The main countries where the migrants come from are Spain, Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece, Portugal, Turkey, Tunisia, Morocco and South Korea. The aim of worker migrations is for workers to return to their home countries after working for a certain period of time, but many of them stayed in Germany permanently. This migration period ended with the Oil Crisis that erupted in 1973. After the 1973 Oil Crisis, there have been changes in Germany's migration policy, and it has been more cautious about immigration than before. After this process, there was no acceptance of migration except for migrations due to family situations (Özerim, 2014, pp. 22-25).

The second largest wave of emigration occurred after the unification of Germany in 1990. In 1992, Germans who had immigrated to the Soviet states returned to Germany again and intensive asylum applications were made from different countries. There upon, Germany has changed its asylum and migration policy and has made new applications; The Law on Foreigners (1991), the Law on German Citizenship (2000), the migration law were amended in 2005, and new amendments were made to issues such as the work and accommodation of foreigners in the country. The 1991 Foreigners Act is one of the first steps towards the social integration and integration of migrants in the country. Germany makes it easier for the young group living in Germany to become citizens and it is very important in this sense, young people between the ages of 16 and 23 can become citizens if they fulfill certain conditions. Later, in 2000, this law was changed by the German Citizenship Law. According to this new

law, the right to citizenship is obtained by birth (provided that the child's family remains legally in Germany for 8 years, provided that the child should be born in Germany or that one of the child's parents should be a German citizen) and the conditions of being of German origin (Wagner et al, 2005, pp. 2-4).

By 2001, Germany organized a comprehensive migration policy. In this direction, the Ministry of Internal Affairs appointed a commission. This commission presented a comprehensive report covering and regulating asylum, temporary and permanent migrants, humanitarian aid for migration and skilled labor force migration. In other words, Germany wants the migration of qualified and skilled people during this period, so its migration policy has changed to cover qualified people and target labor migration. Along with this immigration policy, Germany has started to develop policies for the social cohesion and integration of immigrants. Integration also has 7 tasks. These are housing, education, German as a second language, job training and labor market integration, physical and mental health care, access to services and security. The reason for this is that during the migration process, problems such as ethnic identity debates, gaining a political identity and xenophobia have developed and become the subject of discussion. For this reason, the issue of social integration and integration has been on the agenda a lot. On this issue a report on the status and status of migrants or foreigners has been prepared every year since 2003. Germany, which has a predominantly elderly population, has developed such an immigration strategy by aiming to increase its population due to the low birth rates. The Immigration Law entered into force on January, 1st, 2005. The Migration Law was intended to direct, control and limit the arrival of foreigners in Germany, and there are many shortcomings. Later, in 2007, the law was revised again and further strengthened with the regulation. In its new form, the law covers immigration to the country, a process in which a residence permit is given for a period of time by giving a probationary period if they fulfill certain procedures (Bulkan, 2018, pp. 53-58).

There are two important laws related to asylum seekers in Germany, the Asylum Law and the Residence Law. The Asylum Law covers all processes with asylum application and rejection. The law on residence, on the other hand, covers all foreigners entering the country and organizes the movement of foreigners in the country (entry, exit, employment). People stay in the country by applying for asylum or requesting international protection. For these people may be granted refugee or asylum seeker status. On status and migration issues Germany is subject to the 1951 Geneva Convention and it has to act with the EU common migration

policies. Asylum seekers who are accepted as refugees in Germany can benefit from social assistance under this status for 15 months and they have equal rights with German citizens regarding residence permits given to individuals (Bulkan, 2018, pp. 59-62).

The Immigration Law 14 came into force in January 2005, The Nationality Law has been changed and a new Residence Law has been enacted. For the first time, the focus has been on long term permanent residence and the integration process for migrants, especially skilled workers. In addition, the immigration rules, which are spread across various laws and regulations, are combined in the new Residency Law. These residence titles were simplified and reduced to two, such as "temporary residence permit", "permanent residence permit", and the principle of "support and duty" was introduced. Immigrants learned the German language and culture, and integration classes became an integral part of this principle. In addition to the new residence law, the immigration law has systematized the changes in the German citizenship law. In general, a German citizenship is obtained by birth. With the amended National Law, it has become possible to obtain German citizenship by the birth of a foreign child in Germany and the fact that the parent has an 8 year permanent residence in Germany. The new legal immigration structure, which came into force with the immigration law, has been changed many times over the years. In particular, the Law on The Implementation of Migration and Asylum Regulation in 2007, the Internal Migration Control Act of 2008, the EU's Migration and Asylum Directives in 2011 and finally the EU's High Qualified Professional Directive implementation law in 2012 were examples of this situation (Gesley, 2017, pp. 6-10).

Until now, Germany has often been considered one of the exemplary countries of the European integration process. Although the regulations and practices that are often tried to be implemented at the EU level are adapted to German local laws without facing any opposition, there are some reservations among German governments and other national actors regarding the adaptation of migration policy to local laws. One of the important points to be emphasized here is the fact that one of the reasons for this generally high level of cohesion between the EU-level arrangements and Germany's local laws is Germany's position and role in the EU. It can be said that Germany has the feature of being one of the important countries in determining the EUagenda due to its economic and political power.

It is necessary to focus on the effects of relations between the EU and Germany and the EU migration policies that are generally being implemented on Germany's migration policies.

Because, with the further strengthening of European integration with the EU, national migration policies are also affected, and contrary to popular belief, this is not always an interaction that restricts the sovereign rights of nation-states on issues such as migration policy. Although there are no major inconsistencies between German migration policy and EU policies, it can be seen that EU migration policies do not have a transnational enforcement power over EU member states, or rather, the sovereignty of nation-states on the issue of migration has not decreased due to EU migration policy. As one of the reasons why there is a relative cohesion between the German migration policy and the EU migration policy, the massiveness of Germany can be shown in the EU's decision making processes.

4.4. Comparable Analysis on Policies of Turkey and Germany Towards Immigrants

Turkey opened its borders to the victims of the Syrian civil war both within international obligations and humanitarian responsibilities. According to Turkey, the Assad regime was about to end and relying on this prospect, Turkey announced an Open Door Policy for the Syrians who flee from the conflict. It was provision of admittance to Turkish territory for anyone coming from Syria, even for the ones who lack required documentation like identification or passport. This policy ensures respect for the principle of non refoulement and undertaking of the Turkish government to offer optimum standard of living and humanitarian assistance for the refugees. Following these developments, in addition to the increasing criminal and terrorist activities coming from the other side of the Syrian border, an apparent revision was made in border policies. Turkey de facto ended Open Door Policy after 2016 and started to build a wall that exceeds 900 km along its Syrian, Iraqi and Iranian borders in order to both combat terrorism and reduce irregular migration (Kirişçi, 2013).

Turkey, who handled the situation from mostly humanitarian perspective until 2016, started to revise its border policies, especially after the repeated terrorist attacks stemmed from the Open Door Policy. States have interests and responsibilities in controlling their territorial borders for various reasons, such as providing the control over their populations, limiting access to labor markets and public goods, and sustaining internal security. When the borders are removed or opened in an uncontrolled way, some of the objectives of the state for the establishment of internal security are also eliminated automatically. Receiving anyone who, naturally, has no official documents to declare to a country, contains all kinds of risks both for the hosting state and its communities. As mentioned above; though there is not a very strong connection, there

is a possibility of a connection between the definition of a person who has nothing to declare and a person who has nothing to lose.

Germany as the main actor who plays a role in dealing with migrants in the EU has a long history of migrant protection regimes. This is inseparable from the tradition and norms of the political and legal system, which is already attached to the Germans about the sustainable migrant government. Therefore, Germany Chancellor Angela Merkel's open-door migration policy in Germany 2015. Realities of shouldering Europe's migrant crisis are coming home to Germany, amid daily reports of clashes in asylum seeker homes; bureaucrats overwhelmed by a backlog of registration claims and deep divisions within chancellor Angela Merkel's conservative ranks over how to manage the enormity of the challenge.

However, the government of Germany outlined a nine-point plan to increase security in Germany in facing migrant crisis: first an early-warning system to identify radicalization among migrants; second an increase in staff at Germany's intelligence agencies; third an information technology office to focus on tracking internet communications between jihadists; fourth regular joint exercises with the police and the military to practice counter-terrorism measures; fifth expanding research on terrorism and radicalization; sixth improving European cooperation on intelligence sharing; seventh restricting the sale of weapons online; eighth a national registry to monitor people entering and leaving the country; and ninth making it easier to deport asylum seekers who break the law (Stivani, 2018, p. 10).

On the economic side, migrants have an impact on the good and the burden on Germany finances. In the political and social sphere, the migrant crisis tends to have a negative impact, making it difficult for Germany to help and analyze the problems caused by migrants. Therefore, the German government needs a generally acceptable and reliable policy at all times. The conclusions obtained in the analysis of this study show that some Germans hope this positive image will help remove some stains in the past against Germany's reputation. The German government says that now Germany has become home to migrants where Germany once made hundreds of thousands of people migrants.

A comparison of immigration policies applied by Germany and Turkey have been given at table four.

Table 4.3. A Immigration Policies of Turkey and Germany in Comparison

	Turkey	Germany
1: Applied Policy	Turkey has been implementing an Open Door Policy for immigrants and especially Syrian Immigrants since 2011. The policy applied is human-based.	Germany has implemented and continues to implement an Open Door Policy for immigrants and Syrian immigrants. In addition to being human-based, the policy applied also has an economic basis.
2: Statuses	Turkey grants three different international protection status to individuals seeking asylum in accordance with the relevant law. These include: Refugee, conditional refugee and secondary protection statuses. As of the end of 2017, Temporary Protection Service was provided to an average of 3.4 million Syrian individuals who had been in Turkey.	Germany grants three different international protection statuses for individuals seeking asylum. These are: Refugee, secondary and humanitarian protection statuses.
3: Freedom of Movement within the Country	Turkey imposes a city restriction on individuals whose application for international protection is accepted. However, the Temporary Protection Service does not follow a policy limiting the movement within the country.	Germany has imposed a limitation on the freedom of individuals who have entered the country and whose stay in the country has been approved or left for time to be approved by the "Königsteiner Schlüssel" system. 'Königsteiner Schlüssel' means the freedom of individuals who have entered the country and have been approved to remain in the country.

Table 4.3. Immigration Policies of Turkey and Germany in Comparison

<p>4: Language Course</p>	<p>Turkey does not implement a compulsory Turkey does not implement a compulsory language course program for all migrants. It allows them to teach Turkish as a result of the courses opened by civil society, universities and related departments that have followed a policy on incentives and encouragements.</p>	<p>Germany applies compulsory or rightfully granted language courses that can extend from at least 660 courses to a maximum of 960 courses for all individuals who have accepted asylum indiscriminately.</p>
<p>5:Financial Aids</p>	<p>Turkey provides 120 Turkish Liras per person per month through the Red Crescent Card within the scope of the Social Cohesion Assistance (SUY) program jointly run by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies (ASPB) provided by the EU.</p>	<p>Germany provides pocket money of €135 per person for individuals whose refugee status is accepted (if they are still in the camps). If individuals have left the accommodation centers and have found a home for themselves, they can receive 354 Euros, excluding rental assistance. According to the OECD (The Organisation For Economic Co-Operation And Development), Germany provides €670 monthly cash support to an asylum seeker.</p>

<p>6: Labor Force</p>	<p>Participation in the labor force differed depending on the status held by foreigners and their position. While it was possible for individuals with Temporary Protection Service, who are Conditional Refugees and Applicants to participate in the labor force after a period of 6 months, it was immediate for the holders of Secondary Protection and Refugee Status.</p> <p>Another problem has been the issue of diploma equivalence. The fact that the diplomas obtained in their own countries are not sufficient within the framework of the Turkish Education System has reduced the participation of immigrants in the active labor force in an official way. Individuals who did not participate in the labor force through official means tended towards informal unemployment.</p>	<p>Labor force participation varied according to legal situations. While labor force participation for individuals with refugee status was immediately possible, while for individuals with asylum seeker or secondary protection status, it started 3 months after receiving the status. Another problem has been the issue of diploma equivalence.</p> <p>The fact that the diplomas they received in their home countries are not accepted as equivalent in the German Education System, that they must be supported by the necessary courses, or encountered after arriving in Germany, German language which is essential for integration into German society, has led to individuals being directed to jobs that require less language skills.</p>
<p>7: Impact on Society and the Environment</p>	<p>Immigrants have both influenced the society in which they came from and have been influenced by that society. They have also changed their environment in their new region, where they carry their culture.</p>	<p>Immigrants accepted by Germany in different statuses have been in a bilateral interaction with the local people. The environment, on the other hand, has been affected by this interaction situation; it has undergone changes and transformations.</p>

5. CONCLUSION

The most important difference between Germany and the Republic of Turkey regarding refugee status is that the Republic of Turkey makes a geographical reservation to the Geneva Convention and only recognizes refugee status to people coming from Europe. Due to geographical reservations, Turkey's refugee policy is considered strict and frequently criticized by the international community. Due to the ethnic discrimination that Turkey applies in accordance with the Settlement Law, Turkey's refugee policy can be considered strict. Turkey's refugee policy is very dynamic due to the variability of migration movements. In addition, these policies continue to change in light of the refugee crisis and in the process of EU membership.

There is no general policy in the EU that all member states should implement when it comes to migration, refugee and asylum seeker. However, since 1999, the EU has been working on a common legal framework to complement some aspects of national asylum procedures and to ensure that the policies pursued by member states are in line with each other. Of course, refugee policy changes over time according to the geographical location of the countries and the concrete facts they face. However, this change has accelerated in recent years due to the civil wars in the Middle East from the point of view of Turkey and Germany. As a result, it is seen that the refugee policy implemented by the Republic of Turkey has opened its door to migrants, asylum seekers and refugees from many different countries, different religions and different races throughout its history, despite being legally limited by geographical reservations, both because of trust concerns and as part of the nation-state establishment philosophy. This shows the policies of the Republic of Turkey are thought to be an extension of the refugee policy implemented by the Ottoman Empire.

Afghanistan is geographically far from Turkey, but there is a close relation between two countries in terms of history, politics and culture. Afghanistan, which was invaded by great powers in its history, it was occupied by major powers such as the Alexander the Great, the Mongols, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and finally, after the September 11, 2001 attack in USA, the United States set the stage for the US intervention in Afghanistan, and although it has been 19 years since this intervention, it is impossible to mention that the country has not still stabilized. The invasion of the Soviet Union, followed by the civil war and Taliban rule, and ultimately the intervention of the United States, led the country into instability for more

than 40 years. After the escape of Taliban from power, the Republic of Turkey is the forefront country in terms of aiding the Afghan people, Turkey has one of the best relations with Afghanistan. At the same time Turkey is in the NATO and coalition forces. In addition, Turkey is one of the countries that strives to ensure stability in Afghanistan and tries to have a good image of the country in the international community. In the process, the republic of Turkey has been the focus of attention of the people of Afghanistan with its friendly position until today. In the back ground of this sincerity and friendship between the two countries, it has a special importance that Afghanistan was the first country to recognize the Turkish Grand National Assembly.

After 2001 wars against the Taliban have left many as migrants in the country, and those with the means to emigrate in the hope of living a comfortable life. The people, who have lost hope of a permanent stability of the country, have been leaving their homeland every day. It is a fact that the people of Afghanistan, who took refuge in Pakistan and Iran, which are neighbors of the country, despite having many risks, generally aim to come to Turkey illegally and to cross to Europe. Turkey is the destination point for most of the immigrants who left Afghanistan as a result of the endless war and poverty for more than 40 years. The important factor here is the respect and trust shown by the Turkish administration and the Turkish people to the people of Afghanistan. The reason why the people of Afghanistan prefer Turkey is that Turkey does not seek a geopolitical calculation on Afghanistan, and the basic factor in the friendly relationship is brotherhood and humanity. Because Turkey does not conduct sectarian and ethnic-based politics on the issue of Afghanistan, such as Iran and Pakistan. The historical friendship between Afghanistan and Turkey is based on sincere and unrequited friendship cooperation. The common situation of the people who migrated from Afghanistan to Turkey and in general the difficulties faced by these migrants were tried to be explained respectively. It seems that the people of Afghanistan have had to face a number of challenges for many years, and this situation continues today. The instability continues in the security, political, social and economic field that led to the escape of the people of Afghanistan from the country, and the people of the region who are suffering from this situation choose Turkey in order to continue their lives in more comfortable conditions.

There are some reasons that Afghan migrants want to go to Europe as their final destination, and Turkey, and there are three “fragmented” phases. The first phase starts with departure from Afghanistan and moving to its neighbors, Pakistan or Iran. Migrants and refugees then

move to Turkey from those countries either on foot or by a vehicle and often assisted by migrant smugglers. Land routes involve harsh physical conditions and Afghans often encounter safety concerns. Once arrived in Turkey from the eastern borders, Afghans either move towards urban areas in the eastern provinces or directly to western provinces. In case of onward movement, the second stage involves crossing into Bulgaria via land or into Greece via land or sea. The final stage involves the movement from Greece or Bulgaria to the next destination in Europe. The entire journey often involves long waiting periods in order to finance the next phase. Sometimes the next phase never takes place and then transit countries become a destination. Turkey provides an interesting case in this regard, as it has served as both a transit and destination country either de facto and or de jure.

Currently, mass migrations from Afghanistan to Turkey are continuing. Some of the asylum seekers who have fled from the wars use Turkey as a transit country, while others are settled in Turkey to continue living permanently. Undoubtedly, most of these migrants flock to the country by taking advantage of the regulations made by Turkey regarding migrants. For many years, European countries' restrictions on migrant acceptances were cleared in 2015, and Germany said it would accept new migrants, this has led many people, especially Syrian immigrants, to flock to Turkey. European countries that cannot handle the new wave of migrants decide to accommodate these migrants in Turkey by making changes to the acceptance of migrants. The European countries, which plan to transfer funds to Turkey in the face of staying these migrants in Turkey, have not reached an agreement. The shutting down of the routes of migrants to Europe has left Turkey in a difficult situation. With the regulation imposed by European states on the accepting of refugees, Turkey has been removed from being a transit place where it has become a target country. Especially in recent years, most of these immigrants who have flocked to Turkey have been living in different provinces of Turkey either formally or informally. It is known that many of the unregistered migrants who entered to Turkey illegally work as illegal workers in major cities of Turkey. Especially the economic problems that these migrants who have taken refuge in Turkey from poor countries will bring to the country are increasing. In a country where migrant workers exist, the job wages of unskilled workers are falling and the unemployment of local people is increasing.

The massive flow of immigrants to Turkey in recent years have also changed the country's situation with regard to the international migration regime. While Turkey is an immigrant country, it is now a country that receives immigration and has become a destination country

for immigrants. With the increasing flow of immigrants, Turkey has become both a sending and receiving country. Turkey, which is experiencing such a high population mobility, should make a serious adjustment to its immigrant acceptance policy and develop a new perspective on migrant acceptance. Immigration to Turkey creates an increase in the population of the country. As a result of mass migrations, the population in the country is complicated in many cities and this structure directly or indirectly affects the stability of the country. If the giving and receiving migration of Turkey is compared, so it is seen that there is a big gap between them. This imbalance in society also affects the workforce. As a result of the entry of cheap workers into the market, unemployment in the country is increasing, which negatively affects people with low income levels in society. As can be seen in many countries of the world, with the increase of informal workers, situations such as racism and marginalization are likely to come up with the increase of unregistered workers. As a result of the poverty that will spread throughout the country, it is possible that governments will have to deal with problems such as unemployment. In this context, Turkey, which will face various problems with the acceptance of migrants in the future, Turkey will need to be sensitive about migrants, asylum seekers and refugees. The high number of foreign workers in Turkey causes increased unemployment as well as the creation of illegal sources of income for some factories. When we look at the number of migrants accepted by Turkey, Turkey accepts a significantly higher number of migrants than the number of migrants accepted by Western European countries. If this number increases in the future, it will create difficulties for Turkey, which has not more capacity compared to Western European countries, to handle such waves of migrants. With these migrations, it is possible that there will be between the local population and the migrant population.

In general it is possible to say that the situation of Afghan immigrants who took refuge in Turkey is not good. Migrants living in Turkey are more secure in their lives than in their home countries, but are financially struggling. Although the Law on Foreigners and International Protection No. 6458 law that immigrants also have the right to work and that they can apply for a work permit if the job owner wishes, individual has the right to employ at least one foreigner among five Turkish citizens at his/her workplace due to the difficulties of the process. Job owners prefer to employ illegally, if individual employs legally then the individual has to pay at least one and a half times the minimum wage. Because of this situation, even immigrants who have been living in Turkey for many years are fighting for their lives for an uncertain future under harsh conditions. Another of the main problems of

Afghan migrants in Turkey is education. For the young, refugees can continue their education in public schools until high school, but the conditions for entering university and continuing higher education are more difficult.





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RESUME

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