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CAN IRREGULAR MIGRATION PROVIDE SAFETY AND SECURITY TO MIGRANTS?

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Abstract

Migration with different types is a phenomenon and part of daily life worldwide. Irregular migration is an effective form of migration, usually due to security reasons. Interstate and internal armed conflicts are among the leading causes of irregular migration activities. The main characteristics of irregular migration are that it is conducted in masses and in an abrupt manner to neighboring countries. States usually do not favor this type of migration, which puts a heavy burden on the shoulders of receiving country. States reinforce their borders with new procedures and physical barriers to prevent irregular migration. On the other hand, irregular migrants try to find refuge and a safe and secure neighborhood to survive. The security of humans is a significant concern in this endeavor. This paper intends to explore irregular migration and human security and examine whether irregular migration can protect what the migrants seek both during and after the completion of the migration.

Keywords: *Migration, Irregular Migration, Human Security, International Security, Security concepts.*

DÜZENSİZ GÖÇ GÖÇMENLERE EMNİYET VE GÜVENLİK SAĞLAYABİLİR Mİ?

Öz

Farklı türlerde göç, tüm dünyada bir olgu ve günlük yaşamın bir parçasıdır. Düzensiz göç, genellikle güvenlik nedenleriyle yapılan önemli bir göç şeklidir. Devletler arası ve iç silahlı çatışmalar, düzensiz göç faaliyetlerinin temel nedenleridir. Düzensiz göçün temel özellikleri, kitleler halinde ve özellikle komşu ülkelere doğru ani bir şekilde gerçekleştirilmesidir. Devletler genellikle göç alan ülkeye ağır bir yük getiren bu tür göç türüne pek olumlu bakmamaktadırlar. Kontrolsüz gerçekleşen bu düzensiz göçleri önlemek için devletler sınırlarını yeni prosedürler ve fiziki engellerle güçlendirmektedirler. Diğer yandan zorunlu göçe maruz kalmış düzensiz göçmenler ise hayatta kalabilmek için sığınacak güvenli ve emniyetli bir yer bulmaya çalışmaktadırlar. İnsan güvenliği bu göçler esnasında büyük bir endişe kaynağı haline gelmektedir. Bu makale, düzensiz göçü ve insan güvenliğini araştırmayı ve düzensiz göçün hem göç esnasında hem de göçün tamamlanmasından sonra göçmenlerin aradığı güvenliği sağlayıp sağlayamayacağını incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: *Göç, Düzensiz Göç, İnsan Güvenliği, Uluslararası Güvenlik, Güvenlik kavramları.*

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1. INTRODUCTION

Migration is not a new phenomenon. Nonetheless, it has begun attracting the international community's attention since the beginning of the 20th century. The exposure to mass migration movements during the First World War has led humanity to understand this phenomenon and take measures to handle this problem. World Economic Forum's Global Risks Report identified large-scale involuntary migration as the most likely global risk. The definition of this risk includes forced migration caused by violence, conflicts, and environmental and economic reasons. This risk is strongly interconnected with other risks considered highly worrisome in the longer term: interstate conflict, state collapse, climate change, and water crisis (World Economic Forum, 2016).

Human security is a vital part of human rights, and this concept cannot be separated from the general framework of these rights. The term "human security" is not new. However, it has become common after the 1975 Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The signing of the so-called Helsinki Accords in early August 1975 was a remarkable feat of multilateral diplomacy: thirty-five European countries, the United States, and the Soviet Union agreed on a document establishing such fundamental rules as the inviolability of post-1945 borders in Europe. In the twenty-first century, "human security" has entered into common usage as shorthand for the concerns and practices managing the many faces of, and close relations between, freedom from fear and freedom from want (Hanhimmaki, 2015: 125).

The article examines whether mass irregular migration, which has become an increasing problem in recent years and is expected to continue in the future due to various factors, provides people with the security they desire. The question of whether all dimensions of human security are met both during and after the migration is the main problem. Whether migration always provides security to individuals is a matter of debate. States' view of irregular migration further complicates issues in this area. Because when states are faced with mass and sudden migration activities, they take a negative attitude towards these migration movements due to the difficulties of equipping them with the problems that arise. This attitude leads them to take stricter measures on border security issues and reorganize their immigration policies. In this sense, on the one hand, states are acting contrary to the human rights issues established over many years and their international obligations in the field. One of the leading causes of these migratory movements is armed conflicts. Since inter-state and internal armed conflicts will continue, it is possible to foresee that such migration movements will continue. In this case, due to the current conditions and the states' attitudes, the migration movements made to provide security are not enough to ensure the safety of people.

The article draws attention to this issue and aims to invite the international community to think about the issue and to produce solutions examining the notion of human security and migration nexus. In this paper, migration as a whole is concerned. Nevertheless, the focus will be on irregular migration, particularly those forced to migrate, flee persecution, and seek asylum or protection. The first section discusses the human security concept and its development as human security becomes the central concept within security studies in general. The second section describes irregular migration trends in recent decades, explores the consequences of irregular migration on human security, and concludes with possible mitigation measures. As several motives exist for migration and types of migrants, this paper focuses more on irregular migration by focusing on several conditions in migration routes and situations in the refugee camps; it then tries to give striking examples of what the migrants are facing.

2. HUMAN SECURITY WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE SECURITY CONCEPT AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

Human security has been an issue coming to the agenda for discussion with the age of enlightenment. The concept of security has been constantly discussed and changed concerning the content and the referent object of security. This change usually occurs among the individual, the group, and the state. The referent object of security, surpassing the narrow and broad scope of security studies, varied over time. The traditional concept of security has developed by considering state security as the primary point and emphasizing the protection of state sovereignty. Over time, especially with the influence of liberal thought, in the 18th century, understanding security as an individual benefit has become widely influential in the currents of political ideas. The Latin word "securitas" mainly means the individual's inner state in its classical usage. It is a calm mood expressing a state of

being away from anxiety (Rothschild, 1995: 61). The concept of security changed over time and remained under the influence of the understanding that the state's security emerged in the following periods.

This effect, felt at the highest level with the survival concern of the state, especially in the Cold War period in the 20th century, lost its impact with the end of the Cold War. Individual security, a forgotten aspect of security, has reemerged with the comprehensive evaluation of the concept of security. Therefore, one can say that the understanding of individual/human security has regained its previous status as in the old periods with the influence of liberal interpretation. The horizontal expansion of the concept of security and inclusion of many issues within the idea of security (food security, energy security, environmental security, economic security, etc.) and vertical expansion (individual-group/collective-state-international security, etc.) have been issues and started new discussions about the situation of the concept of security. In this case, a difference has emerged between those thinking that the concept of security should not be considered narrowly and that the fundamental principle should not be missed. Some believe that security includes many issues and that developing security approaches disregarding these issues will be insufficient to explain the concept.

The human rights approach accentuated the safety of humans/individuals and assumed a material dimension in the 1948 United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Universal Declaration of Human Rights). The Declaration is based on a simple principle: the "inherent dignity" of all human beings. The document links human rights to international security, arguing that respect for human rights is "the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in our world" (Hanhimaki, 2015:112). Even though the Declaration is a non-binding document in international law, many international treaties have addressed the issues. The 1949 Geneva Conventions and their commentaries (Geneva Conventions) guaranteeing the rights of civilians in armed conflicts are the most prominent example. With this treaty, humanitarian law has become essential at the international level. Similarly, the Council of Europe was established by the Statute of the Council of Europe (Statute of Council of Europe) in 1949. It formed an institutional structure promoting democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. The European Court of Human Rights, one of its institutions, has also been among the attempts to legally guarantee many sub-issues evaluated within human rights and human security in this context.

Despite these initiatives, which gained momentum in the international law with the establishment of the United Nations after the 2nd World War, state security has overridden individual security in the security environment created by the tight bipolar structure of the Cold War period. This period witnessed security studies focusing more on state and military security issues (Baldwin, 1997). With the understanding of security built in the period, the realist international relation approaches being effective, the survival of states has become a priority security issue due to the threats arising from the opposing camps. This period's security activities have also become a structure, placing the "state" at the center of the understanding of security. One of the basic approaches here is the idea that states can be evaluated as individuals within the structure of the international system. In this context, the understanding of state security is not contrary to the philosophy of individual security. According to Kant (Reiss, 1991), states, like individuals, want to be safe and quiet. All wars arise (not because of people but because of the state of nature) to establish a new order between states, leading to the emergence of new units. However, these new units will not be able to survive spontaneously or together with others. Eventually, they will be subject to new revolutions until a constitutionally proper internal order and partly through external agreements. A self-sustaining order is established, such as a legal, civilized collection of states in which state relations are conducted.

According to traditional realist approaches, border security is crucial to establishing state security. The prevention of human trafficking and the strict control of the passage of people across borders for various reasons are directly related to state security (Adelman, 2001). When the bipolar order disappeared and the Cold War began to end, thanks to the normative approaches, the human object reappeared as the element to be protected. It has already started taking the top place on the security agenda. Especially with the inclusion of the concept of human security in the 1994 Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Program, this area has received substantial attention, and the issue has become increasingly discussed and critical. The report accentuated that security was frequently seen in the past axis of disagreements and conflicts between states. However, this situation is changing, and UNDP Human Development Report (Human Development Report,

UNDP, 1994) expressed many risks to security for humans/individuals. With the increase in globalization and the internationalization of political, economic, and social life in this context, the issue of individual security has become an essential and frequently discussed issue, reminiscent of the debates of the enlightenment period (Rothschild, 1995:67). Liberal political thought has substantially impacted it. According to Shklar, based on the political notion of liberalism, all adults should make effective decisions away from fear and benefit from many areas of life without fear. Each individual should have freedom equivalent to others'. The highest aim of liberalism is to guarantee the political conditions under which one can exercise individual freedom (Shklar, 1989: 21). Human security manifests Kant's approach to internationalism and cosmopolitanism, not satisfied with traditional understandings of international politics (Bajpai, 2000: 52).

At the end of the Cold War, the sudden and large-scale humanitarian crises created by civil wars and armed conflicts in many parts of the world effectively made human security a prominent issue. In this period, the concept of state sovereignty, which we call the Westphalian model posing that states cannot interfere in their internal affairs, has become questionable. Moreover, international intervention concepts have been developed if states cannot protect citizens and other people living on their territory against various internal threats and attacks or when the state persecutes its citizens.

Despite all these historical developments and recent academic debates, the answer to the question of what human security is and what it encompasses is unclear because no standard definition exists in this regard. The handling of migration movements arising from humanitarian crises within the scope of humanitarian aid has also been a factor contributing to the development of human security understanding (Truong & Gasper, 2011).

As individuals, how secure and free are we? What factors are challenging and pose risks and threats to our security as individuals? Broadly accepted, human security starts with well-being in physical terms and safety; that is, not having threats to us that may harm our bodies and lives.

It is possible to say that these primary conditions are not accepted as sufficient and that many opinions are expressed. In this case, according to Hampson, it is possible to discuss three approaches to human security, generally based on fundamental human rights, bringing international law to the forefront, and a more expanded version of all these. The first approach covers values for fundamental rights and freedoms and puts their guarantee at the center of human security. Accordingly, it includes the "right to life, the right to liberty, and the right to be happy," comprising the fundamental human rights that exist at birth. It underlies liberal assumptions and their protection and development by the state. The second approach sees human security more from developing international efforts and law, especially on issues such as genocide, war crimes, and the prohibition of weapons harming civilians and non-combatants. This approach involves an understanding that global perspective and international cooperation are essential, especially in guaranteeing human security in all countries. It also includes options focusing directly on humanitarian interventions and special attention to improving the primary living conditions of refugees and displaced people.

Furthermore, it stipulates that humanitarian interventions using military force should be justified against acts of genocide and ethnic cleansing with the protection of fundamental human rights and human dignity (Hampson, 2012). International interest in human security, typically under the protection of states, has begun to increase. Especially in the post-Cold War period, governments' inability to fulfill this mission within the failed or collapsing state structures has been an issue. In some cases, one could see that state organs threaten the security of human beings/individuals.

The third encompasses all these approaches but looks at them from a more extended perspective. Accordingly, it does not limit human security to the issues described in the first two approaches. It should be examined as a broad concept encompassing economic, environmental, social, and all other threats (actual and potential) to a healthy and dignified human life. Hence, issues such as the global economy, the forces of globalization, and the healthy state of the environment, including the earth's atmosphere and oceans, affect individual security (Hampson, 2012). However, although criticisms suggest that approaching human security as such a broad concept will harm the concept of human security, it is a fact that many factors directly or indirectly affect human security today. Approaches not considering all of these will be far from inclusive and may adversely

affect studies. The relationship between migration and human security, the main subject of this article, is one of the central issues of these approaches. According to the UNDP Human Development Report, the list of threats to human security is lengthy. Still, most fall under seven main categories: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security (Human Development Report, 1994).

The element of migration is always at the center of human tragedy, visible in regions where state authority is weakened and driven to internal conflicts. Thus, security-related concerns have become one of the most common problems of all humanity. These problems usually have global and cross-border implications. As with all other global and cross-border difficulties, it is not an issue solvable by states alone and with unilateral policies. In this context, it is not far from the truth that security has expanded vertically from the state to the individual and the international system. Since the object to be secured (individual, society, or state) will experience security problems and concerns in different situations, we can accept that security expands horizontally from political-military issues to economic, social, and environmental issues. The problem is determining the subject's framework and where these boundaries will be drawn. Despite all these discussions, the concept of security has become an essentially accepted approach to human security by eradicating the security understanding centering on state security as an object to be ensured by the realist policies of the Cold War period. Buzan defines the concept of security as an underdeveloped area needing further studies (Buzan, 2008: 4).

Arnold Wolfers, one of the well-known authors of the field, also accentuated the dominant guidance of national security in his studies. Still, he defined security as an ambiguous concept by attracting the multidimensional and complex structure of the security concept (Wolfers, 1962). It appears to be a different approach, not having to choose between state security and individual security stating that both can coexist and be suggested as objects to be secured. Accordingly, by finding common points between the state-centered and human-centered approaches, the two concepts can be harmonized with each other instead of being the opponent of the other (Kerr, 2013). Human security is a multidimensional concept where many factors interact with each other. This term results from an influential political, economic, social, cultural, and natural environment, not from executing administrative procedures (Alkire, 2003).

3. MIGRATION AND ITS IMPACT ON HUMAN SECURITY

Migration, especially irregular migration, discussed in this study, is a current increasing reality and issue that has become the focus of attention by policymakers and academic circles. In addition, many segments of society remain sensitive to this issue. No universally accepted definition for "migrant" exist. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), a migrant is a person who moves away from their usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for various reasons (Key Migration Terms, IOM).

Irregular migration is a phenomenon examined in many ways regarding its effects. Policymakers are interested in the issue, as irregular migration can include many economic, social, and security impacts. Irregular migration can occur in several ways. Irregular migrants are those entering a country secretly, those with fake documents, and those who enter legally but do not leave the country even though their visa/residence period has expired. These people can also be those who have been granted protection status and have fled armed conflict or bullying in their country. According to the United Nations International Organization for Migration (IOM) 2022 report, as of 2020, the number of international migrants in the world is about 218 million, corresponding to 3.6% of the world's population (World Migration Report, 2022). This number excludes internally displaced people. In general, the causes of irregular migration can have economic, security, and criminal drivers as follows:

- The striking difference in development between countries,
- Increasing economic difficulties in certain regions, especially in the global South,
- Wars and Armed Conflicts,
- Political pressures,

- Increasing migration pressure not to be affected by the tightening migration and asylum seeker policies of developed countries under increasing migration pressure,
- Human trafficking.

The IOM Migration Data Portal addresses the factors driving people to migrate at macro, meso, and micro levels. Accordingly, the main factors were identified as economic, environmental, human development, security, political, socio-cultural, and individual issues. However, the impact of security issues in large mass migrations cannot be ignored. Here, the issue of security is divided into two categories. The first category includes wars, armed conflicts, and violence, while the second contains topics such as the political situation, repression, and regime change. While some migration drivers, such as economic or environmental factors, are often studied in isolation, a growing acknowledgment suggests that migration is not the outcome of a single factor or a “root cause” but of complex configurations of multiple interdependent and interacting factors. Analyzing such migration driver complexes in detail is essential for understandings why people migrate and why most people never migrate (Migration Data Portal, 2021).

At the end of 2021, 89.3 million individuals worldwide were forcibly displaced due to persecution, conflict, violence, human rights violations, or events alarming public order. This number was slightly more than 40 million in 1991 and has increased in the last decade since 2011. Consequently, 1 in 88 people worldwide was forcibly displaced by the end of 2021. Over two-thirds (69 percent) of all refugees and displaced people abroad came from only five countries. These countries were Syria, Venezuela, Afghanistan, South Sudan, and Myanmar. Children account for 30% of the world’s population but 41% of all forcibly displaced people (UNHCR, 2021).

When we look at the relationship between migration and security, it is possible to draw attention to the problems of state security because states have seen these waves as extremely objectionable concerning national security occasionally in the past. In particular, irregular migration is often described as a threat to state sovereignty (Waever et al., 1993). This belief suggests that irregular migration undermines state authority and violates border control, entry procedures, and immigration regulations. States, as sovereign entities, have dominion over the territory of their countries. They determine who will enter these lands from outside and how. However, the primary method sovereign states use in this regard is to take additional measures by increasing border security recently.

States have used various methods to consolidate their sovereignty and dominate their lands. In recent years, many states have invested heavily in border security measures, such as increasing border security personnel and building new facilities and barriers (Vietti & Scribner, 2013: 23). According to Torpey, the emergence of the passport and its increasing popularity in the last three centuries can be considered within this context (Torpey, 2018). However, states do not see all migration as a security matter. Accepting immigrants competent in specific areas of a country through legal means creates many economic advantages for the receiving country. States’ approach to irregular migration from the security perspective and linking with terrorism causes them to ignore many sub-issues of migration important for states, societies, and migrants (Dannreuther, 2013).

However, when the relationship between migration and security is considered, the issue of human security, an exceedingly hot discussion point, especially in recent decades, comes to the top of the agenda. Considering the masses forced to migrate due to wars, armed conflicts, and bullying, these people have been experiencing security problems from the beginning. Moreover, other states see migration as a security problem for their sovereignty and have resorted to stricter measures on border security. Strict immigration procedures in this context cause these people to encounter insecure environments more frequently during migration. Therefore, people exposed to forced migration are channeled into more dangerous routes of entry into target countries, and often migrant smugglers capture them (Wohlfeld, 2014). The admission of persons subjected to various pressures in their countries and whose lives are in danger of becoming asylum seekers is a generally accepted issue within the framework of the 1951 Refugee Treaty. Instead of being within a specific capacity, this migration usually occurs suddenly and in enormous masses. Incoming asylum seekers stay in the countries they go to for many years. The United Nations High Commissioner for the Protection of Refugees (UNHCR) was initially an organization focused on the needs of people seeking asylum from east to west during the Cold War. Over time,

it has become an organization focusing on the temporary protection of people displaced by civil wars and armed conflicts that have become more intense in the post-Cold War period (Adelman, 2001).

We discussed human security's physical and emotional dimensions in the previous section. Although human security first includes physical security, we have revealed that many factors are necessary to establish security beyond this. Accordingly, when we mention security, in addition to the situation where no threat exists to human life and human dignity, it is necessary to establish the necessary political, economic, and social conditions for people to feel good.

Regarding human security, for example, in the case of migration due to the possibility of being attacked or political pressures, the question of whether it is possible to eradicate them in the newly settled place is critical. Because people resort to migration to eliminate these worries and fears, if this anxiety situation continues in the newly settled area, migration to another place may reoccur. This situation can last until security concerns disappear. The path to migration caused by political pressures is usually a slower act. It is seen as a situation in slow motion rather than a sudden decision and a quick action compared with a life-threatening case. The conditions that migrating people face during the relocation process are also challenging regarding security. Especially, people illegally migrating have to cross large seas, mountainous terrains, and deserts with prudent vehicles and in highly unfavorable conditions because they cannot do it as usual due to the strict border control policies mentioned.

Geographical conditions are critical obstacles causing them to endanger their lives. These difficulties in the execution of forced migration cause the issue of human security to enter a troubled situation. According to IOM Data, between 2014 and 2020, more than 40,000 migrants died during displacement, and the loss in 2020 alone is 4,200 people (IOM, 2021). Paradoxically, facing a problem such as losing one life while seeking protection is possible. According to the Amnesty International report, approximately 120 thousand asylum seekers arrived in Europe from irregular migration from the routes coming through the Mediterranean in 2019. Especially in the passages through Libya, severe problems occur due to the internal turmoil in Libya. Because of the inadequate shelter conditions in detention centers, arbitrary practices, and human rights violations, asylum seekers experience crucial security problems. In addition, these people, often remaining between the conflicting parties in the country, try to continue their life-threatening migration journeys, and dozens of people lose their lives during this journey. Many European countries are making every effort not to take these people. Occasionally, members of non-governmental organizations in trying to alleviate the vital difficulties of these asylum seekers in their migration journey by providing humanitarian aid are also subjected to harsh treatment by states (Amnesty International, 2019).

Every year, tens of thousands of people try to enter the U.S. illegally from the Mexican border region. For all immigrants, this journey is exceedingly challenging, but the situation of women is much more difficult. According to Amnesty International, in 2010, six out of every ten women trying to enter the United States were sexually assaulted during their migration journey (Amnesty International, 2010). Colombia and Peru are the two countries in the American region receiving the most Venezuelan asylum seekers. Around 3 million Venezuelan asylum seekers are present in these two countries as of 2022. Venezuelan refugee women in these regions are forced to continue facing violence in their houses and at work. In Colombia, for example, sexual violence against Venezuelan women increased 25-fold between 2017 and 2020 (Amnesty International, 2022). Women, a substantial part of the irregular migrant population, are often discriminated against in many places and forced to do lower jobs. Some observers explain it as a violation of human rights by comparing human trafficking with the slave trade (Koser, 2009: 587). Today, especially within the scope of irregular migration, most asylum seekers, 83% according to UNHCR data, are in low- and middle-income developing countries (UNHCR, 2021). In addition to economic problems in a major part of these countries, the issue of guaranteeing fundamental human rights is also troublesome. This factor raises concerns for the individual safety of migrants, especially asylum seekers, within the scope of irregular migration.

These countries' refugee policies are also critical. For example, Kenya is one of the countries hosting the most refugees in Africa. Kenya currently hosts 555,000 refugees and asylum seekers, mostly from Somalia and South

Sudan. These refugees and asylum seekers are mainly housed in camps in Kenya (UNHCR, Kenya overview). The current legal regulations regarding asylum seekers in Kenya stipulate that these people should live in camps. However, UNHCR has prepared a socio-economic development program with the Kenyan government to enable these asylum seekers to work in some sectors according to their abilities and thus contribute to the Kenyan economy and integrate into society in this way (UNHCR, KISED, 2022). In this context, the state may loosen the compulsory residence policy in the camps with the new regulations. One of these camps, Kakuma camp, houses nearly 200 thousand refugees. A camp of this size presents many challenges for asylum seekers and the host country. These and similar camps are in remote areas, and not enough data on the centers complicate the issue further. Turkana region, where the Kakuma camp is located, is one of the poorest regions in northeast Kenya. The area's people live on minimal agriculture due to the drought. In addition to providing advantages such as job opportunities to the region's people, the camp has adverse effects on people without sufficient education and having difficulty finding a job due to the price increases in the area (Garcia et al., 2018).

Nonetheless, investigating the problems in the camps in-depth and collecting healthy data about these places is a separate issue. Research conducted in refugee camps in Kenya using data gathered from 209 women depicted that refugee women experiencing past-year partner or conflict-related violence may have an increased risk of depression, anxiety, or post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Service providers should be aware that compared to the general refugee population, women experiencing violence may require additional psychological support and treatment services (Hossein et al., 2021).

Lebanon has an increasing number of Syrian refugees, and their presence affects political, economic, and social stability there. The population of Lebanon is 6.7 million (The World Bank, 2022), and Lebanon hosts 1.5 million Syrian refugees. Lebanon has the highest concentration of refugees per capita worldwide, and refugees represent almost one-quarter of the Lebanese population. Due to economic hardships, nine out of ten Syrian refugees live in extreme poverty. They can hardly get a valid legal residency, hampering their access to essential services and civil documentation and increasing the risk of deportation (UNHCR Fact Sheet, 2022). The other main problem with the refugee situation is that Lebanon is not a party to the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol. Lebanon's current policies aim to decrease the number of Syrians and argue that Lebanon is not a country of asylum. This condition puts a considerable burden and massive impact on the UNHCR's ability to perform its international protection mandate (Janmyr, 2018).

These examples indicate that migration and moving from original habitation to flee from armed conflicts and oppression do not always wholly guarantee human security needs. However, one might argue that receiving protection even at the primary level is far better than being attacked and harmed; nevertheless, we need to approach the problem from a holistic human security perspective. When irregular migration results in economic hardships in receiving countries, it can generate xenophobic sentiments within host populations. In cases when migration results in competition for jobs it can cause xenophobia directed at migrants. More importantly, these sentiments are often directed not only at migrants with irregular status but also at established migrants, refugees, and ethnic minorities (GCIM, 2005). When such sentiments receive substantial media attention, irregular migration can also undermine public confidence in the integrity and effectiveness of a state's migration and asylum policies. If irregular migration leads to competition in the already inadequate business areas in the target country, it can also cause xenophobia. In this case, these negativities begin to affect not only irregular migrants in that country but also settled ones. If this situation reaches further dimensions, it may mean that the state will tighten its immigration policies (GCIM, 2005). Another challenge is that migrants, in some cases, are denied many public rights, such as emergency medical services, let alone seek their rights for fear of being sent back in many instances (Koser, 2009). "Go back home!", "Go back to Mexico!", "Deport! Deport!" These were the words used by anti-migration demonstrators in southern California town of Murrieta when Mexican migrants were taken to a detention center in their town (Martinez and Yan, 2014). Almost one year after this incident Syrian refugees experienced similar reaction from the local people in Sweden and there were even several attacks to 17 immigration centers in 2015 (Anderson, 2015). These incidents in the U.S.A and Sweden are not isolated or exceptional: They are the reaction of local people indicating xenophobia against immigrants (Arrocha, 2019 :249). The rise in populism and manifestation of populism: 'enemy politics' as a populist alternative to democratic representation is also a cause of this tendency in xenophobia (Ruzza, 2018). In some cases, the ruling political

parties used the migration crisis to stir up fear towards migrants and Muslims among voters and getting the initiative from the radicals. In 2026 the Poles and Hungarians depicted the highest fear and hatred of migrants and Muslims in Europe (Engel, 2018).

When states face massive migrations, they will be stuck between two options. The first one is opening borders within humanitarian, universal, and legal values. In contrast, the second includes worries that the economic, social, political, and cultural systems they have created over long centuries will come under tremendous pressure. For this reason, the international community may resort to more international intervention to prevent humanitarian crises and mass migration in conflict zones. In this case, the UN could expand the scope of foreign interventions under its responsibility to protect (R2P), alleviating further erosion of the already problematic concept of state sovereignty. All these developments can bring new paradigms to the functioning of international relations because the phenomenon of migration (regular/irregular) is rapidly advancing toward becoming a factor that can shake the structure of the global system.

In many cases, to ensure their national security, states will make stricter adjustments to migration legislation and take measures to improve border control and security, thus seeking to guarantee sovereignty over the country's territory. However, all these efforts will ultimately lead to consequences complicating the security conditions of people forced to migrate. Here, the issue of state security of the receiving states and the human security of the people migrating conflict. This situation is similar to a zero-sum game, where one wins and the other loses. Bringing it to a circumstance where it will be profitable for both sides is one of the most critical global issues that have recently stood before the international community. Currently, the solutions that states mostly resort to always offering interim results and postponing the problem. Mass migration is a rapidly growing phenomenon. A day will come when the issue will be much more extensive and cannot be delayed further. In that case, the solutions will become more complex. Therefore, the international community should stop refusing to consider unpleasant consequences and look for ways to find an appropriate, reasonable, and humane solution to this global problem. Just as concrete steps have recently been initiated on the threat of climate change, similar approaches will be the most appropriate course of action to reach a solution.

4. CONCLUSION

With the help of the normative approach and value system, people in danger of vital issues and lacking human security have been granted rights, such as asylum/protection internationally. However, this system, operating without a severe problem under usual conditions, has begun to be disrupted by the increase in mass migrations, as often experienced in recent years. The solution to the problem becomes more complicated with the economic, social, and security issues in the countries where the refugees go. It is a fact that severe differences exist in the economic and development levels of countries, political structure, and social and political rights granted to individuals. The issue becomes even more challenging if people living in disadvantaged geographies exploit this value system and want to migrate to developed countries for reasons other than war and life dangers. In that case, they can lead to xenophobia, and radical ideas can become more robust and dominate the administration in host countries. Indeed, the distinction between those displaced by war, armed conflict, or political repression in their country and those displaced by pleasure is becoming increasingly blurred. Accordingly, the liberal values system established over the centuries, which is the value of providing shelter and protection to people in difficulty, may disappear.

If the reasons causing migration are not eliminated, migration will remain an inevitable reality. Trying to establish state security without ensuring human security cannot make an adequate contribution to the solution of the issue in this case. The difference in development between the global South and the North will continue to cause problems in all areas. In this case, all the unilateral measures states take to protect their national security against mass migration waves will be insufficient. The most permanent and sustainable approach is to solve the problems at their source and to prevent people from being forced to relocate for security, economic, political, cultural, and social reasons. It is one of the primary challenges that will seriously affect the global stability of the international community in the coming decades. However, despite all this, the phenomenon of migration will not be ultimately zero.

The differences in development and welfare levels between countries exist, and people desire to live in other places. Moreover, the need for a young and dynamic labor force is present in many developed countries, and the economic advantages of a cheap and trained force are apparent. Therefore, the phenomenon of migration through legal or illegal means will continue.

States should conduct new studies on migration and migration policies within the framework of internationally recognized human rights. In addition to guaranteeing the fundamental rights and freedoms of migrants, they should develop procedures for their integration into society. These include the social and political fields as well as economic issues. Additional studies will be appropriate for more disadvantaged groups, such as women and children.

In this regard, civil society is becoming an increasingly influential actor in the international community and has essential duties. Global civil society, managing to influence states and international organizations on many issues, can affect states' migration policies at local and international levels. It enables them to approach the problem from the human rights and security perspective because many dimensions of the relationship between migration and human security exist. What is discussed here is that forced migration is usually resorted to when a threat to fundamental vital values is faced in the country of migration. If the migration action was successfully brought to a safe end, human safety would be ensured to a considerable extent. However, other social, economic, and political issues need to be resolved, which are essential dimensions of human security.

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