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THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN
SECURITIZATION: THE CASE OF
AFGHAN MIGRATION TO TURKIYE
AFTER THE TALIBAN TAKEOVER IN 2021

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Abstract

Migration, defined by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) as "a person or a group of people crossing an international border or moving within a state, regardless of its duration, structure and reason", is a phenomenon as old as human history. In addition to the legal migration movements all over the world, refugees trying to reach other countries illegally are seen as a security problem in the country they went to. Afghan refugee movement, which had a rapid increase with the Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan on August 2021 and the retreating of the USA from the region, became a security problem in Türkiye. In this context, the leading question is that " what is the role of Turkish media on securitization of migration while Afghan refugees are migrating to Türkiye?" This study focuses that, after the Taliban's seizure of power in Afghanistan, how the Afghan migration to Türkiye quickly became a security issue with the effects of the media. As a result, what is wanted to be shown in this study is that the media makes Afghan immigrants a security problem in Türkiye. So, does it do this as a securitizing actor or as a functional actor?

This study makes use of the explanation of the securitization theory of the Copenhagen school, which makes important contributions to security studies and human rights while analyzing the securitization of migration in the sample country of Türkiye.

Keywords: Afghan immigrants, Copenhagen school, Taliban, Turkish media, Securitization

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Introduction

1. Topic, purpose, and Sample Selection

"How was the Afghan migration mobility to Türkiye turned into a security problem?" based on the question, the role of media in securitization will be explained. The effects of the ruling and opposition parties in the media will also be mentioned. Accordingly, the relationship between media and securitization will be explained in the framework of the Copenhagen school.

The aim is to explain the effect of media perception management on securitization through the example of Afghan immigrants in Türkiye. In addition, the influence of the ruling and opposition parties on the media will be seen.

Why Türkiye? Türkiye has always been a living space for migrants and immigrants. After the Arab Spring, the crises in the Middle East countries and especially the Syrian migrant crisis, Türkiye has become the country with the highest number of refugees in the world. Türkiye, which has been hosting Syrian refugees since 2011, has started to witness Afghan migration mobility lastly in 2021, when the Taliban seize power. As a result, Türkiye, one of the countries hosting many Afghan immigrants, was selected for the study of securitization of migration. Afghan refugees are an issue that is on Türkiye's agenda and negative thoughts towards them are rising in the society. Parallel to the increase in the number of Afghan immigrants, it is seen that the negative attitudes and reactions towards Afghan immigrants in the public are increasing day by day. For example, Afghan men shooting and sharing videos of women on social media such as TikTok, the increase in the news of harassment, the worsening of the economy, and the decrease in the purchasing power of the citizens cause negative public reactions against Afghan immigrants. Accordingly, the issue of Afghan immigrants needs to be addressed in terms of both humanitarian and security. So that, while the securitization of irregular Afghan migration in Türkiye will focus on the influence of the media, the stance of the ruling and opposition parties in the media will also be evaluated.

2. Research Questions and Arguments

In this thesis, based on the Copenhagen school from critical security approaches, various assumptions have been made in the Turkish media about Afghan immigrants. In this study, three hypotheses are presented based on the news headlines about “Afghan refugees” in newspapers and internet news with different ideological approaches.

The research questions and hypothesis of the study are as follows:

- There is a relationship between the refugee/immigrants news made by the media and the securitization theory. Does the media make Afghan immigrants a security issue? Based on the Copenhagen school's concept of securitization, it will be explained how the media has made Afghan refugees a security problem in Türkiye.
- Visual materials and news about Afghan immigrants play a role in shaping the reader's point of view. What is the effect of the media in creating a negative view of the public on the issue of migration?
- How does the media affect the human rights of Afghan refugees in Türkiye?

3. Research and Data Collection Method

In this section, detailed information about the scientific methods and techniques used in the study was presented, and the scope and limitations of the study were determined. The choices made at the point of progress of the research are presented together with their justifications.

This thesis analyzes, according to the content analysis, newspaper and internet news about "Afghan immigrants" from 2020 to 2022. The reason why 2020 is taken as the starting year is to be able to see the difference between the period after the Taliban takeover in 2021. The study will be examined until the earthquake that took place in Afghanistan on June 22, 2022. While examining Sözcü, and Yeni Çağ newspapers, which are considered as opposition; Sabah and Yeni Şafak newspapers will be examined as pro-government newspapers.

Based on this analysis, the media's relationship with securitization is examined and its impact on human rights is observed.

In order to obtain quantitative and qualitative data in the study, besides newspaper and internet news, books, articles and theses etc. resources are also used. This study, which has become meaningful with the concept of securitization of the Copenhagen school of critical security studies, examines the relationship between security and media in the context of Afghan immigrants in Türkiye, the country with the highest number of immigrants in the world, in the context of Afghan immigrants.

The fact that concepts such as immigrant, refugee, and asylum seeker take place in the media and the definitions in this news turn into the definition/thought of the public over time necessitate the critical analysis of these news. Here, the reflections of the government and the opposition thought about refugees on the media are also important.

In the first part of the thesis, conceptual explanations about migration, security, and media in international politics will be made and the relationship between them will be examined for a better understanding of the subject. In the second part of the thesis, the basis of the article and the Copenhagen school, which is a critical security approach, will be examined in detail. In the third part, the migrations in Afghanistan will be evaluated from a historical perspective and the reasons will be discussed. In the last section, how the Afghan migration to Türkiye after the Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan was reflected in the Turkish media will be examined based on the concept of human rights and securitization.

Chapter 1 Conceptual Framework

In the first chapter, it will be examined the notions based on the study. As Afghan immigrants in Türkiye are discussed, in order to understand their status in Türkiye, the migration issue will explain. Then, under the title of migration as a concept of migrant, the concept of regular and irregular migrants, and refugee and asylum seeker are going to be explained. In addition, some data about Afghan immigrants in Türkiye will be given.

Then, the meaning of the concepts of security and securitization, which is the subject of the study, will be briefly explained. Security is an important aspect of human rights. At this point, the link between human security and securitization emerges.

Various factors are effective in the process of securitization of an issue. Political party leaders, heads of state, and the media are the most influential among them. The main issue discussed in this study is the effect of the media on the securitization of migration. Based on this, the perception management of the media is also important. Therefore, the meaning of perception management and relations with securitization will be explained.

1. Migration as a Concept Migrant

Migration is a social phenomenon due to the political, economic, and social reasons it has caused in the history of humanity that needs to be analyzing multi-dimensionally. For many years, migration movements have become the most significant issue in the world, not only because of migrating individuals and groups, but also because of the effects on immigrated settlements as well. Besides its reasons and consequences, the migration policies, and practices that countries have foreseen in terms of the structure of the societies they influence have also become a matter of debate.

Throughout history, economic, social, and political reasons have triggered mass migrations. Today, with the development of technology, migration has gained a different dimension with the desire to reach better quality and comfortable living conditions. Therefore, while great mass migrations were

manifested in ancient times due to climate change, famine and political reasons, nowadays, it can be said that mass migrations or movement of people occur mostly because of war (Günay, n.d.) such as war in Iraq (2003-2011) and Afghanistan (2001-2021), and Syrian civil war (2011-present).

What is the migration? A process of moving, either across an international border, or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition, and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, uprooted people, and economic migrants (IOM, 2004).

Migration is a fact of life in today's globalized world. Moreover, migration is increasingly being acknowledged as an issue that needs a global approach. States are not only discussing migration issues at the bilateral level, but also regionally and lately in global environments. That's why a commonly understood language is needed for such international cooperation to be accomplished. In the continuation of this section, the concepts related to migration and the differences between them will be explained.

1.1 Migrant and Immigrant

It is estimated 281 million people, approximately 3.6% of the world's population, currently live outside their country of origin, many of whose migration is characterized by varying degrees of compulsion. (OHCHR,2020) Defining the "migrant" is difficult, because, at the international level, there is no universally accepted definition of migrant. Despite not being defined under international law, The International Organization for Migration (IOM) explains "migrant" as a term "to cover all cases where the decision to migrate is taken freely by the individual concerned for reasons of 'personal convenience' and without intervention of an external compelling factor." (IOM, 2019). A migrant is someone moving place to place most often in search of employment, so generally for economic reasons. (International Rescue Committee, 2018) A migrant is an individual who can return home at any time if they so choose. Turning to immigration, IOM defines a process by which non-nationals move into a country for the purpose of settlement. (Immigration, 31, n.d) An immigrant is a person living in a country other than that

of his or her birth. In other words, an immigrant is an individual who leaves their country of origin and legally enters another country where they are granted permission permanently to settle. Moreover, “immigrant” is not a term used universally to refer to those who are living in a country other than their birth country. “Migrant” or “international migrant” are generally used. The key difference between migrant and immigrant is that migration can occur within the borders of the same country or cross international borders; but immigration occurs when a person crosses an international border and becomes a permanent resident in another country. Consequently, regardless of which term is used, both describe those who have left one place in search of a better life in another place (Godol, 2022).

1.2 Regular and Irregular Migrant

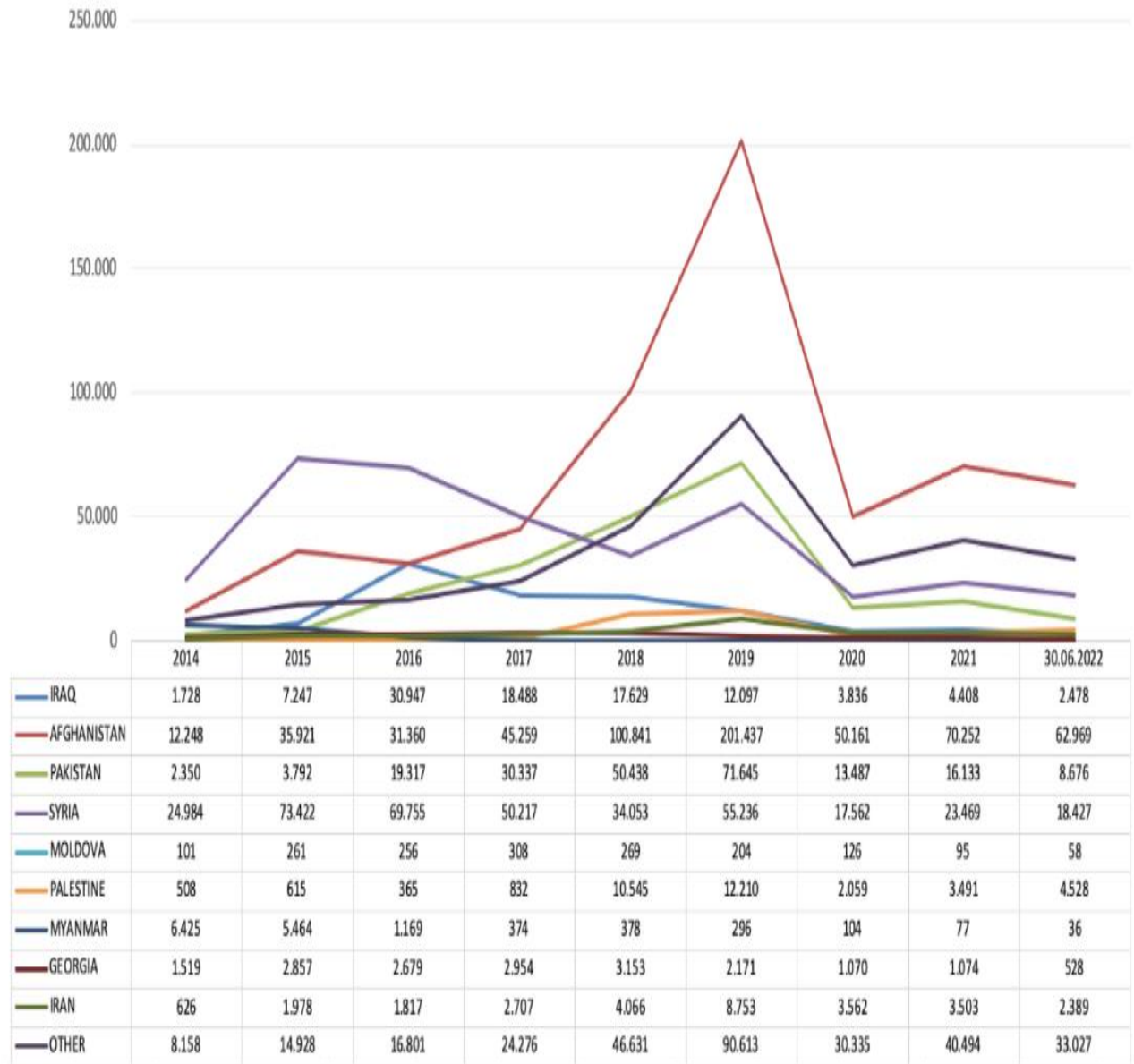
As mentioned above, migration has always been a key component of the human experience. Furthermore, the starting point in most discussions on migration is the number of legal and illegal migrants. On this point, there is a variety of terms used to describe the similar phenomenon such as illegal, undocumented, and unauthorized migrants.

Irregular migration has been the subject of increasing and ongoing public debate in the world. Moreover, this term is a complex and diverse concept that requires careful clarification. According to IOM, irregular migration is a term “movement that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and receiving countries.”. As with the definition of immigration, there is no specific or universally accepted definition of irregular migration. It is significant that there is a diversity of routes into irregularity. Irregular migration and irregular migrant can be explained from three different points. Firstly, irregular migration includes people who enter a country without the authority. Secondly, people who remain in a country in contravention of their authority such as after the expiry of a visa or work permit. Lastly, it covers people moved by migrant smugglers or human trafficking and those who deliberately abuse the asylum system. (Kosher, 2005, pp. 6)

Turning to the terms undocumented and unauthorized, it is sometimes used to denote migrants who have not been recorded and to describe migrants

without documents such as passports. Neither situation applies to all irregular migrants, yet "undocumented" is often used to cover them all. (Kosher, 2005) As a result, regular migration means that migration occurs through recognized, legal channels. According to the Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Interior Presidency of Migration Management (Graph 1), while the number of irregular Afghan migrants have been captured in Türkiye was 50,161 in 2020, this number reached 70,252 in 2021. When we look at the captured irregular migrants by nationality, it is seen that the highest number appertain to Afghan immigrants in 2020 and 2021. Additionally, the number of Afghan migrants apprehended in 2019 peaked at 201,000. Graph 2 with the data for the first six months of 2022 shows the irregular Afghan immigrants caught with 62,969 are again in the first place.

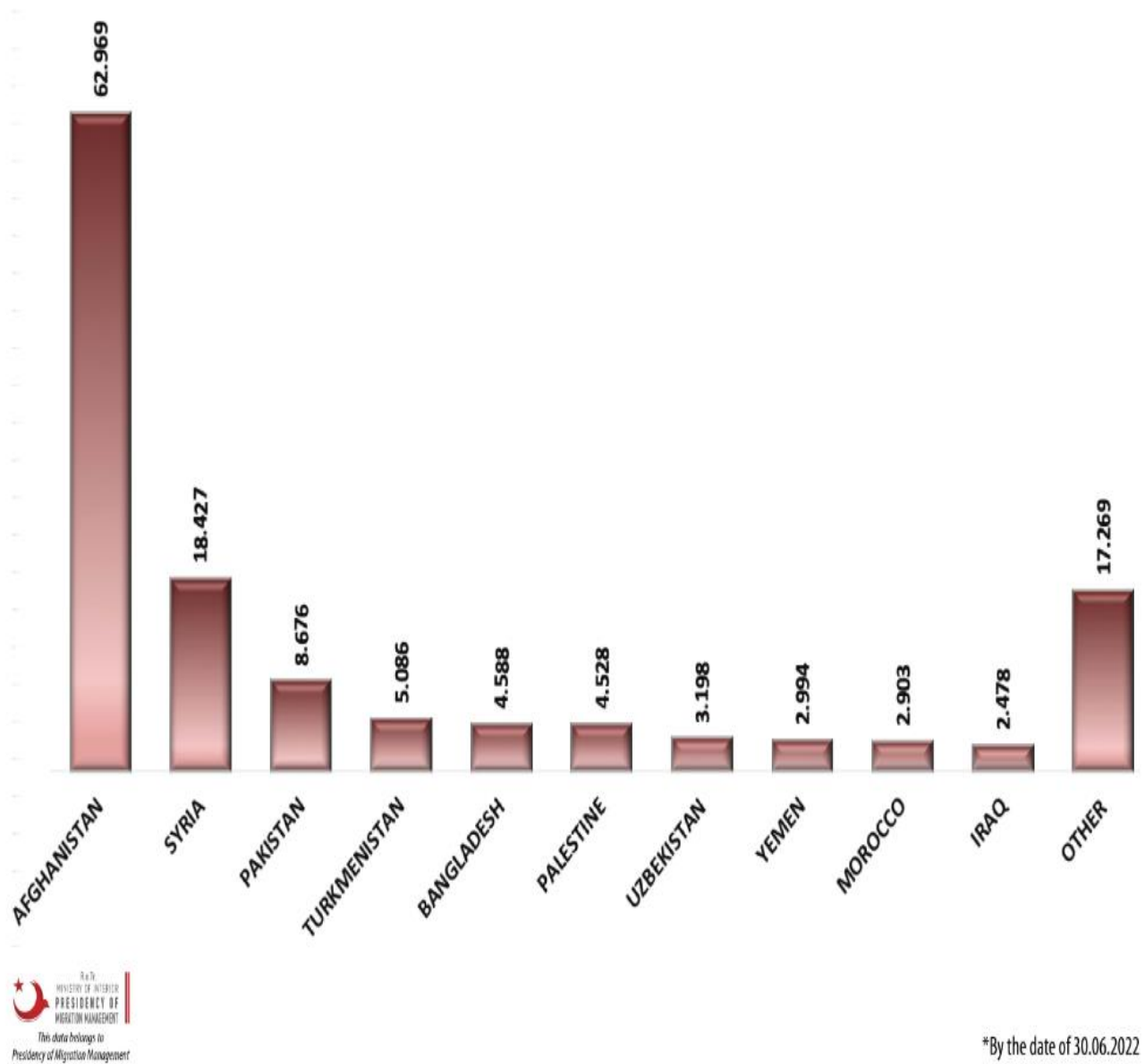
Graph 1: Distribution of Irregular Migrants by Citizenship by Year in Türkiye



*By the date of 30.06.2022

Source: Ministry of Interior Presidency of Migration Management, 2022

Graph 2: Irregular migrants who have been captured in Türkiye from January to June in 2022



Source: Ministry of Interior Presidency of Migration Management, 2022

1.3 Refugee and Asylum Seeker

Two other important concepts related to migration are refugee and asylum seeker. The terms “refugee” and “asylum seeker” are used to explain people who are on the move, who have left their countries and have also crossed the borders. The United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, 1951 as modified by the 1967 Protocol, defines a refugee as a person who “owing to a

well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country.” (Chin& Cortes, 2015) Based on the international refugee law, refugee is someone who seeks refuge in a foreign country because of war and violence, or out of fear of persecution. (Chin& Cortes, 2015) Briefly, a refugee is a person who has fled their own country because they are at risk of serious human rights violations or persecutions. Refugees have right to international protection.

The term “asylum seeker” should be distinguished from “refugee”. An asylum-seeker is a person who has left their country and is seeking protection from persecution and serious human rights violations in another country, but who hasn’t yet been legally recognized as a refugee and is waiting to receive a decision on their asylum claim. (Amnesty International, 2022) To be more precise, asylum seeker is someone whose request sanctuary has yet to be processed. (The UN Refugee Agency, 2022) Moreover, seeking asylum is a human right. In the tables below, the numbers of Afghan refugees and asylum seekers registered in Türkiye in 2020 and 2021 are given, according to the data of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. In 2021, the number of Afghan refugees increased from 4,219 to 7,647, while the number of Afghan asylum seekers reached from 125,104 to 133,062.

Graph 3: Population by country of origin and population type in 2020 and 2021

Year ↓	Country of Origin	Country of Asylum	Refugees under UNHCR's mandate	Asylum seekers
2020	Afghanistan (AFG)	Türkiye (TUR)	4.219	125.104
2021	Afghanistan (AFG)	Türkiye (TUR)	7.647	133.062

Source: UNHCR

2. What is Security and Securitization?

Security is a complex notion. In addition, security is as old as human beings, however, studies on security began to be carried out after the Second World War. Most people agree that a security problem arises when someone threatens another's life or livelihood. Considering the dread that the massacre of Srebrenica in 1995, people were killed. Think about the terror of Rwanda between Tutsi and Hutu in 1994, thousands were killed in three months. Furthermore, the first city to be destroyed by an atomic bomb, Hiroshima, in Japan, and September 11 attacks, those facts resonated with the world. Thus, security means the absence of asset-based threats, as like Wolfers' characterization of security (Wolfers, 1952). Moreover, Buzan's definition is saying that security is a pursuit of freedom from threats (Buzan, 1991: 18).

Security is one of the main concepts of international relations. When defining security in international relations, two questions arise: the first is "security for whom?", and the second is "security against what?". The former answers "who is threatened?", while the latter shows "what is the threat?". For instance, in the Cold War era, the subject of the security is the state. In other words, state-centered security approach is dominant. To be clear, it is the state whose

existence is threatened and who will take precautions against this threat. Answering the second question, during the Cold War period, the threat was centered on military problems such as nuclear threats and armament. Moreover, it can be said that the concept of security is synonymous with the concept of defense in the cold war era. The state-oriented security approach was popularized by the realist school. This situation has caused both conceptual and political/institutional problems. Firstly, since the state is defined both as a subject to ensure security and an object to be secured, it creates a conceptual contradiction. Secondly, according to the approach of realist school, the dissemination of security as a concept that can only be achieved by military means creates an institutional/political problem (Ozcan, 2019). As a result, it causes the convergence of the military bureaucracy and the state bureaucracy. If we explain why, it is a problem that the government agencies became formal government structures that work closely with the military bureaucracy.

The concepts in international relations which is a dynamic field undergo change and/or transformation in accordance with time and conditions. Due to the atmosphere created by the cold war, the concept of security could not be questioned. With the end of the cold war, the understanding of security created by the realist school began to be questioned. This questioning has enabled the concept of security to cease to be a concept that can only be understood in terms of military. Criticisms of security have emerged the need to be understood within the framework of social, political, and human security that directly concerns individuals. Therefore, many studies have been carried out as of the establishment of the security field. McSweeney supported the argument that security is a difficult concept to define, explaining it as "a term that can be associated with a number of other concepts such as peace, justice, dignity, justice, which resists definition" (McSweeney, 1999). Baldwin, on the other hand, questioned the various conceptualizations of security, preferring to call it "a concept that is easily confused and not adequately explained" rather than "controversial" (Baldwin, 1997). However, no agreed definition has been made on what the concept of security means and so debates on the issue still continue.

The concept of securitization has emerged because of the inadequacy and effects of the cold war period security understanding. Securitization is essentially concerned with how an issue is moved out of the sphere of normal politics into the realm of security and the consequences of that. According to securitization, when an event is handled as a security issue, it moves from the realm of normal politics to the realm of emergency politics. In this way, the actions, and policies to be taken on the subject becomes legitimate. Furthermore, Waever, a pioneer of securitization studies, is saying that the main argument of securitization theory is that security is a "speech act". (Waever, 2004) A security problem results from successfully speaking or writing security. Thus, if successfully performed the speech act makes a security problem. (Taureck, 2006) This is best exemplified by the migration issue. Talking about the threat of migration, the influx of people, and how to stop it are examples of speech acts that are causing securitization. In the case of Türkiye, the discourses on the "matter of survival" constitute an essential example of these speech acts. It means that the constitutional order should be protected against internal and external threats and that its continuity should be ensured by not disrupting its territorial integrity. The influx of immigrants, which is seen as one of the factors that create the matter of survival, is thought to cause cultural conflict and the deterioration of the demographic structure and finally may cause terror. The discourse of "matter of survival" can be used to support or change the existing regime by spreading anxiety and fear to the society.

Speech acts on a security issue perform 'securitizing' with words, invokes semantic resources, and the so-called 'grammar of security (Buzan et al. 1998) through which a social affair can be addressed as a 'problem' such as terrorism and migration. In a nutshell, securitization means calling something a security problem and thus, triggering the political measures in order to deal with it. (Banai & Kreide, 2007) The securitization concept, which emerged from the criticisms by Waever and Buzan, who are the leading names of security studies and Copenhagen School, to the realist security approach will be examined in more detail in the second part.

2.1 Human rights, Human Security and Securitization

Initially, the concept of security gained meaning in terms of the relations and disagreements between the states. According to Richard Ullman, traditional security conceptions have been too narrow and military oriented (Ullman, 1983). It can be said that Ullman's analysis is prescient in pointing to a number of non-military threats, including resource scarcity and basic human needs, which have subsequently become the focus of the post-Cold War security agenda. This situation clearly emphasizes that security should be dealt with in the context of individual/societal posture. With the end of the Cold War, the meaning of security widened. Security has ceased to be focused solely on the state but has become the center of security studies on issues such as social security and human security.

Security can no longer be only concerned with national and military security. Security must encompass all aspects of human wellbeing such as health, food, education, living standards, and employment. Based on this, it can be said that human security is a broad conceptual approach applicable to all areas of development policy. On 26 June 1945 the Charter of the United Nations was signed in San Francisco at the conclusion of the United Nations Conference on International Organization and came into force on 24 October 1945. (Willson, 1996) However, the idea of human rights did not begin with the establishment of the United Nations, its roots can be found in different, religions, regions, and cultures. A significant accomplishment in world history was the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the UN General Assembly in 1948. (Hannum, 1995) Furthermore, it was the first time that the international community set down formal standards of human rights and freedoms that should be enjoyed by everyone in everywhere. The Universal declaration of Human Rights was a major breakthrough to provide basic guarantees concerning housing, education, health, food, democracy, torture, protection against enslavement, degrading treatment or punishment. The meaning of human security is defined by international human rights norms. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is meant to make human beings secure in freedom, dignity, with quality, through the protection of their basic human rights. There are linkages between individual, national, and international security that can be

stated quite simply. Buzan's contribution to the concept of security can be considered here. Buzan introduces innovations by expanding the meaning of security and making a systematic list of sectors: military, economic, political, societal and environmental security. It also highlights the importance of considering how these sectors apply to a number of different security reference objects and how the security of a sector or reference cannot be considered in isolation from others, thus laying the groundwork for security thinking in a holistic sense. Individual security must be the basis for national security, and the national security grounded in individual security must be the basis of international security (Ramcharan et al., 2004). In the form of respect for human rights and significant freedoms, national and international security cannot be accomplished without respect for individual security. As it is seen that national and international security are connected to individual security. Moreover, national, and international security are as important as individual security. Individual, national and international improvement requires the protection of human rights. Therefore, we cannot have security without the protection of human rights (Human Security Handbook, 2016).

The world can never be at peace unless people have security in their daily lives. After the cold war and the conclusion of several disarmament agreements, it is difficult to recall that so many generations since the Second World War grew up with the constant fear of a sudden, unpredictable nuclear suicide. United Nations Development Programme's 1994 Human Development Report has brought human security concept to the forefront. Human security is distinguished from previously common state and national security by its emphasis on freedom from want and fear and freedom to live in dignity. (Human development report, 1994) The report defines human security on the basis of seven categories: community security, political security, food security, health security, economic security, environmental security, and personal security (Torun, 2017). Food security does not the issue of existence of food, it is the matter of people always can reach the food. The rapid population growth and industrialization cause negative effects on the environment, so, this is the matter of environmental security. Moreover, threats to personal security can manifest in the form of war,

torture, or child abuse. Those examples show that all human security issues are human rights' concerns.

Nowadays, increasing human mobility with globalization has brought security problems with it. At this point, we witness the relationship between human rights and securitization. International human mobility raises the issue of human rights for immigrants and residents of their country of residence. The fact that both sides consider their security first paves the way for securitization. All seven categories listed above begin to appear under threat and the securitization process takes shape. Migrants seek access to resources in order to live in humanitarian conditions in the country they go to, and these resources are provided to them by the state to a certain extent. On the other hand, the people of the country they go to may begin to feel threatened. For example, the increasing unemployment rate can be attributed to immigrants, or the increasing number of immigrants in a neighborhood can create discourses that "they occupied our neighborhood". If access to services provided by the state, such as health care, becomes difficult, then the public may see migrants as the reason for this. At this point, in a sense, securitization begins to occur at the base.

3. Perception management, Media, and Migration

Information is transmitted through communication or media, raising awareness about the events. Media plays a significant role in the communication between individuals and communities. Moreover, media organizations and tools are responsible for informing society and creating public opinion.

Media affects individuals from everyday life to politics, from social developments to cultural structures, and offers different interpretive practices. The media has the power to influence the individual and society from social relations to dressing preferences, as far as what should be talked about and what should be thought about (Türk, 2014). It has a significant role in the shaping of desired behavior patterns of the masses, especially in the political and economic fields.

Newspaper, one of the important media tools, can be defined as the re-editing and writing of the messages to be conveyed to the target audience according to the structure and ideology of the newspaper (Bıyık, 2014; 87). According to Bourdieu, journalists are interested in extraordinary events (Bourdieu, 2000). If the information is not sufficiently interesting, then the dramatic side of the news is reproduced by the journalists. For instance, the subject of migration or human mobility are sufficiently remarkable and come up with many stories.

The media is defined as the tool that stores and transfers information but also media is one of the areas where reality is most discussed. In the framework of perception management, the media can be defined as a vehicle in which information is reflected, exaggerated, and distorted. When it is accepted that the media texts do not convey the truth as they are and that they are rebuilt, media comes up within the framework of perception management. Perception management is a multidisciplinary concept, and it is important as a method used in areas such as communication, political science, and psychology. Understanding what perception management is varies based on the states, organizations, institutions, and individuals. Some thoughts define perception managements as deceiving the target audience in the line with their own interests, while others see it as a communication discipline to be used for their purposes. States implement perception management in terms of influencing other states, creating an international image, and showing a way to people of the purpose according to their interests. If states apply this practice within their borders, it is called "perception management". Perception management is one of the propaganda methods that is mostly to bring masses to the desire point. It can be referred to by different names such as psychological operation, public relations, public diplomacy and even marketing. Based on this, it can be said that perception management is one of the persuasion techniques. Overall, the purpose is to convince a group of people for specific though. At this point, "What is the best and easiest way to get the message out to the community?" the answer is the media. In this case, while the issue of migration, which is an important source for the media in the international area, is discussed and media is seen an

important tool in the emergence of securitization because of the perception management.

To conclude the first chapter, it is important to understand the status of Afghan immigrants living in Türkiye as of 2021. As mentioned above, it is seen that the number of Afghans with asylum seekers and irregular migrant status has increased. In Türkiye, which is the country hosting the highest number of refugees and asylum seekers in the world, the issue of migration is included in the securitization process with the influence of the media. When we evaluate it in terms of human rights, human security comes first. When a person does not feel safe or thinks their right has been violated, they react to this, and fear begins to emerge. Social security, political security, food security, health security, economic security, environmental security, and personal security, which are mentioned in the seven categories above, become a topic for the media when one of them is threatened. It is ensured that a rapid flow of information occurs in the public through newspapers and news. This is part of the securitization process.

Although Türkiye does not have a border with Afghanistan, the influx of immigration experienced after the Taliban took over the administration has resonated all over the world and has become a hot topic because it directly affects Türkiye.

Chapter 2 Theoretical framework

In the second part, after examining the phenomenon of migration within the framework of critical security approaches, the Copenhagen school and the securitization concept that this school brought to the literature will be explained in detail. Then, what the securitization of migration means and its reflections on today will be discussed. Finally, the role of the media in the securitization of migration will be examined. The purpose of this chapter is to understand migration in terms of security and securitization theory; is to see how a connection can be made between media, migration, and securitization.

2. Migration within the Critical Security Studies

Since its emergence as a separate field of study with the end of the Second World War, security studies have dominated traditional theories that focus primarily on military issues and the survival of states. As mentioned in the first part of this study, critical security approaches have questioned this traditional understanding, especially after the Cold War. As a result of these inquiries, the meaning of security has expanded, and the reference object and actors of security have been deepened.

Migration has become an important issue in these critical security debates. This is due to the geopolitical displacements experienced after the end of the Cold War and the increased mobility associated with globalization. For example, the refugee crisis that emerged as a result of the Yugoslav War and the Rwandan genocide in the 1990s, and the September 11 attacks that followed, led to discourses that strengthened the migration-security connection. Human mobility in the twenty-first century, caused by the Syrian Civil War and the Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan, also plays an important role in maintaining this connection. Additionally, migration is now listed as a security concern by almost all OECD member countries (Bourbeau, 2006). It should be noted here that critical security studies have not been associated with security as a natural consequence of the above-mentioned developments in migration. Conversely, it should be underlined that migration is framed as a security issue as a result of how actors interpret these events and act when faced with them. (Küçük, 2021).

According to Bigo (1995), security studies fell into a crisis after 1989-91, resulting in the introduction of various “new” insecurities into the field of analysis. Migration emerged as a security issue in a context marked both by the geopolitical dislocation associated with the end of the Cold War and also by wider social and political shifts associated with globalization (Huysmans, 2006). Many scholars choose to present an alarmist Figure of security consequences of the movement of people in studying the migration- security nexus (Bourbeau, 2006). In this part of the study, the relationship between critical security studies, which includes different schools, and migration will be mentioned. Although it is not easy to draw the boundaries exactly, the critical foundations of critical security studies are based on two basic ideas that can be called the Frankfurt and Paris schools. Along with these, Aberystwyth School, Post-structuralist approaches, Feminist security studies and Copenhagen school can be considered as a whole of different security approaches. Critical security studies are a broad area encompassing a range of approaches and analyses drawing on elements of Marxism, feminism, critical theory, critical constructivism and post-structuralism.

It is claimed that migration and security are interlinked (Koser, 2011; Choucri, 2002), however, there is no clear answer if migration causes security threats or security causes migration. According to Choucri (2002), the linkage between migration and security is problematic and challenging. The reason why this problematic is that migration, security and interplay are inherently subjective concepts. This means that the connection is dependent on who defines security and how it is defined (Ullah, et al., 2020). Though migration and security are not entirely separable, not all migration results in security instability. The more significant question is how or when do we deem migration as a threat or security issue? For example, Trump's statement that immigrants from Mexico are generally criminals, murderers, and rapists and that a wall should be built on the Mexican border is presenting the relationship between migration and security as a threat to the public (BBC NEWS, 2015) This example illustrates the importance of this question. It is observed that whole series of factors and transformations have recently combined with the result that migration has been rendered as a security issue in a way that it was not before, at least not before the early 1990s

(Walters, 2010). In fact, it is the result of the political games of Western democracies, led by popular media, experts, governments, and international organizations that shape the migration-security relationship. At that point, while at the same time maintaining a critical distance from objectivist accounts in which 'undesirable' migrants are identified as 'threatening', critical security studies open up the analysis of the migration-security nexus to all its political and social richness (Huysmans & Squire, 2009).

The national security and the protection of well-being of citizens are the topics in the public debate on the migration-security nexus. On one hand, it is argued that national security is at stake due to irregular migration. Because of the rise in the number of irregular migrants, the perception that migration poses a threat to national security intensified. On the other hand, the Figure regarding the role of ethics or conceptions of progress regarding security in critical studies is further complicated by discourses such as "human security" (Browning, 2011). "Human security" is not just an understanding that covers migrants. This term also includes the safety of people living in the migration destination. That's why it gets more complicated. For instance, this discourse developed 1994 Human Development Report, which defined human security as a concern with both "freedom from fear" and "freedom from want" (UNPD, 1995). It can be seen that together with the concept of human security, the phenomenon of migration has become even more specific, revealing a migration-security relationship in which the security of the individual comes to the fore. Today, migration has become an emotional as well as sensitive topic. The questions of 'whose security', 'what security entails', 'what is the threat' and 'how is security to be achieved' are fundamental to understanding the nature of contemporary security debates about migration (Browning, 2017).

2.1 The Copenhagen School and Securitization

In order to understand the securitization of Afghan immigrants in Türkiye , it is necessary to examine the Copenhagen school in detail. The Copenhagen School, which developed rapidly in the 1990s, made important contributions to the understanding of security that started to change with the end of the Cold War,

as mentioned above. Securitization theory, which is one of the most important contributions of the school, is frequently used in international relations and political science studies.

The Copenhagen School is a school that emerged from the work done on security by a group of scientists, such as de Wilde, Kelstrup, Lemaitre, and Tromer, especially Buzan and Waever, in Copenhagen at the Center for Peace and Conflict Research (Baysal&Lüleci, 2011; Bilgin, 2010). Huysmans explains the two motivations of the school as follows: while the school saves security from the narrow military-political approach, it also tries to protect the concept from being inconsistent. (Huysmans, 2007). Since the aim here is to present the approach and contributions of the Copenhagen School, it is necessary to specify the school's view on the concept of security. According to Waever, one of the pioneers of the Copenhagen School, security refers to the existence of a security threat and the situation in which some precautions are taken against it. As a result, the concept of security is not mentioned where there is no threat.

“Securitization” is the concept to be examined. According to the Copenhagen school, security is viewed primarily as a speech act. To explain this, matters can be made into a security problem through speech-act. At this point, the concept of “securitization” emerges. The concept of securitization emerged in Ole Waever's famous article "Securitization and De securitization" published in 1995. This theory was discussed in detail in the book titled “Security: A New Framework for Analysis” published in 1998 and took its place in the academic literature on security studies. According to this theory, calling an issue "security" makes it a security problem and "securitization" comes into existence.

According to the Copenhagen school, the act of securitization has three main elements (Eriş & Öner, 2021):

- Referent object, that is, the item under threat,
- The securitizing actor; element that presents a subject as a security issue because it threatens the referent object

- Functional actors; are the elements that affect the dynamics of the relevant sector (Balzacq, 2005; Miş, 2011).

The first element, the referent object, is the object targeted by the security threat. Objects of referent can be small groups, nations, civilizations, and states. For example, threats such as global warming and nuclear extinction make world peace and humanity a referent object. It is clear from this that securitization can take place at many levels. To illustrate the referent object with an example, the 2001 Bush Government's Invasion of Afghanistan would be a good example. Within the scope of the fight against terrorism, we can say that the closeness of the Taliban with the Al-Qaeda organization was sufficient to declare referent objects. The September 11 attacks were primarily seen as a threat to "world peace". In addition, it can be said that referent objects have been created both because of human rights violations to the people living in Afghanistan and by claiming that there is a threat to the nations and civilizations residing in America and other western societies.

So, who are the actors performing the securitization? The Copenhagen school gives the answer to this question by social actors (Küçük, 2019). It expresses an entity that carries meaning and intention with its action. In fact, the securitizing actor is the person or group that performs the security speech act (Baysal & Lüleci, 2011). These actors may consist of people or institutions that have power and say, such as heads of state, politicians, pressure groups or the media (Buzan et al., 1998. Baysal & Lüleci, 2011; Küçük, 2019). Taking the example of the invasion of Afghanistan, the Bush government can be taken as the actor that carries out the securitization.

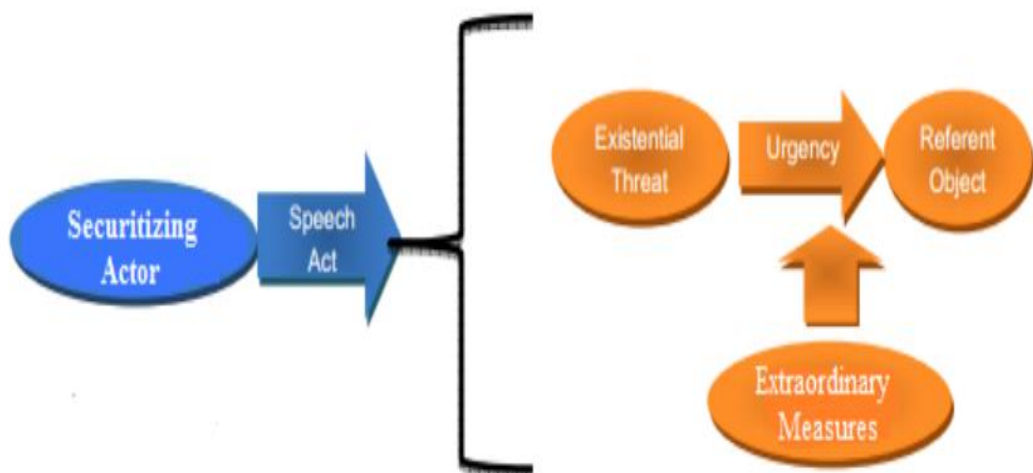
Before moving on to the last actor, it is necessary to draw attention to the relationship between the referent object and the securitizing actor, which is an important point. In many securitization actions, the referent object and securitizing actor are the same. As in the example given above, the securitizing actor also manifests itself in referent object. Since the US state is in question here, some of the US state representatives or the powerful element that we can call the Bush government presents itself, namely the US state, as the referent

object. As a result, it can be said that this situation facilitates the success of the securitization action. In addition, in many securitization actions, the referent object and the audience, the audience to be persuaded, can represent the same group. For example, US citizens have been shown by the Bush government both as a referent object under threat and as a target audience to be persuaded. This again facilitates the act of securitization. It will be easier for the group allegedly under security threat to be persuaded to take extraordinary measures. (O'Reilly, 2008).

The last element is the functional actors, which differ according to the sector in which the securitization action takes place. According to Buzan (1998), functional actors can be defined as actors that affect decisions in the field of security without a reference object or securitizing actor. Here, the media can be shown as an important functional actor. We can say that the media played a major role in legitimizing the US invasion of Afghanistan in 2001. But the media, as we mentioned in the first chapter, is a field that works for the sake of ratings. Therefore, it is very difficult to know whether it is playing a role in securitization or just to get more ratings.

According to Özcan (2013), the schema below represents the simplest and clearest example of securitization process.

Graph 4: Process of Securitization



What does the success of securitization depend on? If we consider the relationship of the three elements above, in its simplest form, the success of the securitization action depends on the securitizing actor's correct analysis of the emotions, thoughts and interests of the target audience. According to Balzacq (2005), this success depends on the convincing of the target audience. Here, persuasion of the target audience means gaining moral and official legitimacy. As the securitizing actor, the Bush government justified the invasion of Afghanistan with the moral support of the public and the official support of the Bush government. In order to carry out the occupation, the approval of the government, as well as the acceptance of this occupation among the public, facilitates the occupation. The essential question here is what is the factor that helps ensure this moral and official legitimacy. One of the answers is the "media". In Habermas's words, the mass media constitute the "public sphere". (Habermas, 2004). As a mass communication tool, "media" provides data at the stage of evaluating social and political phenomena and has great importance to society. Because today, the media is accepted as an actor that has an active role in determining and shaping public interest. After analyzing the securitization of migration, the answer to this will be emphasized.

To sum up, speech act is significant in the process of securitization because securitization emerges by declaring something as a threat and turning something into a security matter. The Copenhagen School contends that securitization is an extreme version of politicization that enables the use of extraordinary means in the name of security (Buzan, 1998).

2.2 Securitization of Migration

As it has been mentioned above, there is a controversial link between migration and security. So, what does securitization of migration mean according to the securitization concept of the Copenhagen school and how does this process develop?

Nowadays, migration has increasingly been described in security terms. The process in which migration discourse shifts toward an emphasis on security has been referred to as the securitization of migration (Ibrahim, 2005). Many

factors are effective in securitization of migration. The securitization of migration takes place in the framework of border security, organized crime and terrorism and, on the basis of social identity with the fear that the homogeneous structure will deteriorate (Kaygusuz, 2021; Telatar, 2019).

Firstly, migrants are seen the outsiders to the community previously constructed through a shared culture and identity. As a result, migration become constructed as fundamental security threats to previously constructed community. In other words, migrants are often seen to pose a threat to “social security” (Browning, 2017) Again, the concept of "societal security", which the Copenhagen school brought to the literature, says that the security agenda should be discussed with a multi-sectoral approach that covers different areas such as military, political, economic, social and environmental. In other words, this concept says that threats to sociological elements such as culture, identity, gender, traditions and religious beliefs should be included in the security agenda (Hisarlıoğlu, 2019; Eriş&Öner, 2021). Migration, which is a threat to societal security, is discussed as a phenomenon that threatens the demographic and social structure. In its simplest form, it can be explained as the invasion of one social group by another social group. For instance, threats to a cultural identity may be manifested through different languages, ethnicities, and religions (Waever, 1993). According to Huysmans (2000), migration is identified as being one of the main factors weakening national tradition and societal homogeneity. Furthermore, Weiner, who was one of the first to analyze the transformation of migration into a security issue, asserts that refugee flows necessarily have an impact on peace and security. Therefore, violation of norms or cultures, usually by a culturally different migrant community, is regarded as a threat to basic values and hence perceived as a security threat.

As mentioned above, the Copenhagen School of Securitization debates that a security complex includes three main elements. Huysmans (1995) details to this study by constructing a security threat as three referent objects which are internal security, cultural identity and welfare state (Huysmans, 2000). Using cultural identity and the welfare state as referent object's is particularly relevant regarding securitization of migration. Additionally, citizens of the host country do

not want to share the welfare state's social and economic rights with migrants (Huysmans, 1995). In this case, citizens see migrants as threatening both cultural homogeneity and the welfare state (Eriş&Öner, 2021). As a result, this point of view creates a distinction of "us" and "them/others".

Secondly, the securitization of migration discourse has been reinforced by the fear that migrants may be supporters for rebellions. Migrants are seen and examined potential contributors to riots and terrorists' activities (Smith, 1995; Collier&Hoeffler, 2000). While the September 11 attacks became an important date in the relationship between migration and security, the terrorist attacks that continued afterward had a negative impact on the relationship between migration and security. After 2001 New York, the bomb attacks that took place in 2004 Madrid and 2005 London (Kaygusuz, 2021; Akkaya, 2019) legitimized the attitudes of the states, and exclusionary mechanisms began to increase against the migrants. Therefore, terrorist acts have led to marginalization/othering in society against foreigners and immigrants. These events, which were also turning points in the securitization of migration, caused the tightening of border controls at the global level and the increase in security mechanisms (Rumelili &Karadağ, 2017). Turning to Huysmans detailed referent object, the efforts to protect internal security are border controls, visa policies, and developments in security mechanisms at the global level. Increasingly border control is happening within states, partly in recognition of the fact that many so called "illegal migrants actually crossed the border "legally" in the first instance (Browning, 2017). In this way the securitization of migration can be seen to have legitimated particular types of bordering practices.

Securitization is the process by which presenting something as an issue of security has the effect of identifying it as being of existential significance that thereby justifies the use of emergency and extraordinary measures to tackle it. Also, as mentioned, the speech-act is part of the securitization process. With the effect of international migration and globalization, the securitization of migration has become inevitable.

2.3 The Role of the "Media" in The Copenhagen School

The media has a significant influence as a functional actor in the securitization process. The reason for this is media is one of the power elements that affect public opinions or in other words, the target audience. So, what role does the media play in the securitization of migration?

First of all, as explained in the first chapter, the media is a mass communication tool that spreads all kinds of messages to different audiences in one direction by arranging it according to its broadcast policy. Mora (2011) stated that the media have five essential functions, information, cultural continuity, socialization, public opinion creation and entertainment. We mentioned that the success of securitization depends on persuading the target audience. At this point, the "public opinion" function of the media emerges as an important point in the securitization process. In addition, since the media functions as a bridge between the rulers and the ruled, securitizing actors can easily reach the target audience, for example the public, through this way. Considering that the media has the claim of being an institution that provides public service with the function of conveying news and information to the society, it can be said that citizens mostly obtain information about security, especially national security, from the media. When talking about the security-media relationship, the concept of national interest often comes up. The discursive support of the securitizing actors' own definitions of national security by the media imposes an important role on the media as a functional actor in the securitization process (Doğan, 2019).

In the securitization process, although the speech act is carried out by the securitizing actors, the media has a great role in legitimizing and forming public opinion. As we mentioned above, forming public opinion provides "moral legitimation". Williams (2003) emphasized the importance of images in his article titled "Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics" and stated that the media play a critical role in securitization. In addition, Miş (2012) emphasized the functionality of the media's way of handling, producing and designing discourse, namely media framing, in securitization processes.

Another important issue in the media, as a functional actor in securitization, is the uncertainty of the intention of the channels that publish the texts and images

in the media. There are different reasons for this. First of all, it is impossible to talk about a uniform media in any country in the world. Therefore, it is impossible to expect a one point of view from the media at the point of securitization. For example, the media can support the government's discourses and policies on immigration. On the other hand, if it does not support it, it is inevitable to produce a discourse against it. But the important point here is whether the media is pro-government or pro-opposition. In other words, the media acts according to its political purpose. For instance, if the media takes a pro-government stance, the thought and view of the power becomes the view supported by that media. At this point, it can be said that the media is divided into pro-government and opposition. The issue of securitization of Afghan Immigrants in Türkiye through the media, which is a case study, will also be evaluated on the basis of pro and opposition newspapers. Also, since rating is important in media, for example, newspapers may report with the intention of increasing their circulation. In other words, the media that indirectly contributed to the securitization action may have done it for commercial purposes, not for political purposes. From these points of view, it can be thought that the media do not fully reflect the truth about security issues. Or the media may exaggerate a security issue or ignore it at all. The agenda of the media is fed by the agenda of politics, and the media also has the effect of shaping the agenda. Today, this situation is reflected in the media, as "migration" is the agenda of politics and policies. The power of the media to both form public opinion and set the agenda is important in the success of securitization of migration. Securitizing actors in the context of securitization theory in Türkiye; they have always seen the Turkish media as a functional actor in their securitization attempts (Doğan, 2019) and since 2011, the refugee crisis that Türkiye has been exposed to has been the focus in securitization process.

In the next section, historical waves of Afghan migration and their causes will be given. These also need to be examined in order to understand how Afghan immigrants are securitized in the Turkish media.

Chapter 3 History of Afghan Migration

The migration of Afghans to Türkiye, which is one of the main starting points of the study, requires examining the recent history of Afghanistan. Images of Afghans who flocked to airports and sought escape from the country in 2021 as a result of the Taliban's capture of Afghanistan had a great impact on the world agenda. At this point, the question of who the Taliban is comes to mind. And why do Afghans want to flee their country? In the third part of the thesis, the formation of the Taliban and the reasons for the migration from Afghanistan will be examined. The aim of this chapter is to "understand what/who the Taliban is" and to examine the reasons for the migrations. Accordingly, it will be tried to give how the securitization of Afghans' migration to Türkiye took place in the last part of the study.

3.1 Who is the Taliban?

Afghanistan, which is on one of the world's great strategic roads, is a country that accepted Islam in the 11th century (DEİK, 2012). In fact, throughout history, Afghanistan, a marginalized Muslim state, has been subject to the occupation of foreign powers as well as internal wars. Afghanistan, which fell into conflict with the United Kingdom in the 19th century, faced the British occupation between 1842 and 1879 (Larson, 2018). Since the second half of the nineteenth century, there were no other factors that would unite the Afghan people, who were struggling to get rid of the British colony, apart from the religion of Islam. Because Afghanistan is one of the countries with the most ethnic diversity. (Afsar et al., 2008). By 1901, Britain and the Soviet Union had determined the borders of Afghanistan and England took over the foreign relations management. Since the 1960s, the Soviet Union began to intervene in Afghanistan's internal affairs and invaded Afghanistan in 1979, using the internal conflicts in Afghanistan as an excuse. When the diametrically opposed Communist Party and Islamic movements grew in strength in the 1970s, Afghanistan's slide into instability began (Katzman, 2010). The Soviet invasion that took place in 1979 in Afghanistan, which has a history full of invasions and instability, can be considered the most fundamental development in terms of understanding the

events taking place today. The Soviet Union's war in Afghanistan was against the Islamic mujahideen. As a result, the Soviet-Afghan war was the beginning of long-term and devastating consequences, including the formation of al-Qaeda and the rise of the Taliban regime, with the concept of "jihad" rising to the level of global violence. Taliban, who emerged because of reactionary backlash to Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and still continues to be a live phenomenon, have been affecting various aspects to Afghan history. In this section, first of all, where the word "Taliban" comes from and how the organization emerged will be discussed. After briefly explaining the history of the organization, its aims and rules will be mentioned.

The Taliban was formed in the early 1990s by an Afghan faction of mujahideen, Islamic fighters who has resisted the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan between 1979 and 1989. Mullah Mohammed Omar Mujahid, the founder of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan /Taliban, served as first leader of Taliban and the head of government. (Bowering, 2012). Additionally, Mullah Muhammed Omar declared himself "Leader of the Faithful" (Johnson& Mason, 2007). This situation showed him to claim his right to "lead not just all Afghans, but all Muslims", that is the most significant milestone in the Taliban's history. (Afsar et al., 2008)

They were joined by younger Pashtun tribesmen who studied in Pakistani madrassas, or seminars; Taliban means "students" for Pashto. These "talibs", now formally calling themselves the "Taliban", presented themselves as righteous religious students on the march for peace. The Taliban's claims resonated with the Pashtun people, and their popularity spread rapidly. Pashtuns comprise a plurality in Afghanistan and are the predominant ethnic group in much of the country's south and east (Katzman, 2010). The Taliban, which is a predominantly Pashtun, Islamic fundamentalists group, ruled Afghanistan from 1996 to 2001 (Katzman, 2010). Some scholars and analysts say that the Taliban regime controlled around 90 percent of the country before its 2001 overthrow. (Laub, 2014)

Taliban argued that the Afghan people had lost their way. So, they claimed that the last few years faced the example of the disaster of a society because there was no sharia law. Therefore, Taliban jurisprudence was drawn from the Pashtuns' pre-Islamic tribal code and interpretations of sharia colored by the austere Wahhabi doctrines of the madrassas' Saudi benefactors (Laub, 2014). Furthermore, they adopt an ultraconservative approach to social issues and politics. The core Taliban message resonated widely, according to the Taliban, Afghanistan needed to return to law and order. Based on that, the organization said that they came to provide security and justice on the basis of Islam. They started this movement for the protection of the faith and the implementation of the sharia law and also the safeguarding of their sovereignty. The Taliban was a militaristic organization eager to turn the clock back to an idealized version of Islamic society (Johnson, 2021). Taliban fighters found themselves among idealistic comrades who shared radical ideas and were fed a heady cocktail of religious dogmatism and militant doctrine. Thus, security has been the primary purpose of the Taliban. In order to protect its security, it has brought some applications under the name of Sharia rules. Based on that, private and public life was restricted by Sharia law. For instance, they banned television and only allowed radio in order to do propaganda, and prayers. Music, dancing, playing, and games were also forbidden. The Taliban argued the "face of a woman is a source of corruption for men." The UN Security Council (1998) has called on the Taliban to end its abusive treatment of women (Laub, 2014).

Only Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Pakistan recognized the Taliban as a government when they ruled between 1996 and 2001 (Rubin, 2002). Islamabad supported the Taliban as a force that could unify and stabilize Afghanistan (Rubin, 2002). Where did the Taliban find its resources and support as a government that could not find a place for itself in the international arena? In fact, the Taliban had a full range of resources. The primary resources are religious allies, manpower, and the drug traffic. Religiously, Osama bin Laden, a Saudi Arabian citizen of Yemeni origin, provided financial support to the "Afghan jihad" in Afghanistan, where he went to fight against the Soviet Union in the early 1980s. Then, Osama bin Laden founded the "Al-Qaeda" organization in Pakistan

in 1988, before the Soviet Union withdrew from Afghanistan. Thus, it began to be supported by the radical Islamist organization Al-Qaeda operating around the world. In 1999, the UN security council-imposed sanctions on the regime because, under the Taliban, Afghanistan became a springboard for al-Qaeda's terrorist operations (Laub, 2014). In addition, there are groups that support or coordinate the Taliban, such as the Central Asian Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan and the East Turkestan Islamic Movement (Afsar et. el., 2008). In Pakistan, the students who are educated in the madrasa constitute support for the Taliban in terms of religious allies and human resources. Moreover, Pashtuns in Afghanistan and Pakistan contribute recruits, support personnel, money, weapons, and an intelligence network to the Taliban insurgency. Drug revenue is the last key resource for the Taliban. According to United Nations Office on Drug and Crime (UNODC), the production of opiates, which are opium, morphine, and heroin, is arguably Afghanistan's largest illegal economic activity since early 1990s (UNODC, 2021). It can be said that Afghanistan has virtually become a narco-state. Although the Taliban was not recognized internationally, it has found human resources and financial support. For instance, several Afghan and US officials have long accused certain countries such as Pakistan, Iran, and Russia, of giving financial aid and arms to the Taliban (Azami, 2021). Moreover, it has been estimated by a classified US intelligence report in 2008 that the Taliban received money from foreign sources, in particular from Gulf states (Azami ,2021; Beale, 2021).

When we look at the organizational structure of the Taliban, at first, they stated that they were only trying for peace and ending the instability and power war in the country, but later they started to take steps towards becoming an alternative government and wanted to have a say in the political arena. As it can be seen, after the Taliban took over the country, after Soviet invasion, they implemented oppressive and strict sharia rules. According to Olivier Roy (1990), who is known for his Central Asian studies, Afghan Muslims have always been tolerant toward members of other religions. The reason why this has prevailed in Afghanistan for years is based on the existence of "Sufistic thoughts". However, Afghanistan's long years of occupation and the existence of a war environment;

it has paved the way for every individual and group who interpret and implement social and political developments from their own perspective to find the environment that will build exploitation, radicalism, and terror in Afghanistan (Hoffer, 2017). In other words, the internal conflicts that took place after the invasion of the Soviet Union destroyed the understanding of tolerant and conciliatory religion among Afghans and became effective in the emergence of a group like the Taliban, which claims to be an Islamist movement that includes violence (Ahmadi, 2011). According to researcher and writer Ahmed Rashid (2007), the Taliban turned this situation in Afghanistan into an opportunity and took actions against the state and the people that would not be compatible with Islam and shaped its ideology in this direction. The Taliban has based its identity on religious references since the first day it emerged. The Taliban has always said that their goal is to establish an Islamic regime and enforce Islamic sharia.

As Benazir Bhutto, who served as prime minister of Pakistan, evaluated internationally, Taliban emerged with Britain's idea, Saudi Arabia's financial support, America's control and Pakistan's discipline (Şahin, 2016). When we look at the reasons why the Taliban has been effectively held power effective in Afghanistan for many years, it is seen that external elements are as effective on the organization as the unstable structure inside. Countries with interests in Afghanistan have intervened in their internal affairs by supporting the Taliban or trying to prevent its development. The organization's internationalization took place with the change in the attitude of the USA, especially after the September 11 attacks. About the strategy of the Taliban, Thomas H. Johnson says that "What the Taliban wants is a return to its pre- September 11 status.... The Taliban are driven by two competing interests: the desire to re-conquer Afghanistan and the desire to establish a caliphate. The former is Pashtun-centric, the latter more Al-Qaeda-inspired."

When the USA's Afghanistan policy is examined, it is seen that it is a two-term process. The relations that developed with the withdrawal of the Soviet Union to Afghanistan in the first period; the second is the period after the September 11 attacks. Taking advantage of the energy deposits of the Central Asian Republics, which gained their independence after the collapse of the

USSR, was an important strategy for the USA. In this context, in order to break Iran's influence in the region, the Taliban provided weapons and financial support under the table. Al-Qaeda leader Osama Bin Laden, whom the White House administration saw as the main responsible for the September 11 attacks and the bombings against their embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, lived in Afghanistan (BBC, n.d.). The USA tried every way to overthrow the Taliban, and as a matter of fact, it achieved its goal. After the events of September 11, the USA intervened militarily in Afghanistan. From October 2001 to July 2021, the US maintained a military presence in Afghanistan for 20 years (Dashti, 2021). Afghanistan, which is a bridge between Central Asia, South Asia and the Middle East, could not achieve peace and stability in the 21st century as it did in the 20th century. To conclude, the history of Taliban remains a matter of fact.

3.2 From Past to Present: History of Afghan Migration

It can be said that migration, which has been on the agenda of humanity throughout history, has become an important problem in Afghanistan. As stated above, instability and occupations have caused economic problems and poverty, and the oppressive regime has made permanent migration movements inevitable in Afghanistan. We can say that Afghanistan has been one of the few countries that "produce refugees" throughout history. According to UNHCR's Global trends report in 2021; 69% of all refugees in the world come from five countries, respectively; Syria, Venezuela, Afghanistan, South Sudan and Myanmar (Global Trends, Forced, 2021). Afghans remained the third-largest population displaced across borders with about 2.7 million refugees at the end of 2021 (Global Trends, Forced, 2020). The countries hosting the largest numbers of Afghan refugees are Pakistan, Iran and Türkiye. The issue of immigration can be seen as one of the rare phenomena that has stabilized in the history of Afghanistan. In order to evaluate the Afghan migration to Türkiye, the migration movements that took place in Afghanistan in the last 40 years can be divided into four basic periods before the Taliban takeover Afghanistan in 2021.

The first wave can be evaluated as before 1979. The drought, famine, insignificance of industrialization, and the inadequacy of employment of workers

and educated people in general in the 1970s caused the migration to begin. Afghanistan's poor economic situation before 1978 triggered an influx of people toward its better-off border neighbors, Iran and Pakistan. (Kuschminder & Dora, 2009). Thousands of Turkmen sought employment in Iran in the 19th century and received official recognition (Margesson, 2007). Geographical proximity and ethnic, cultural, and religious ties facilitated these migrations in this period.

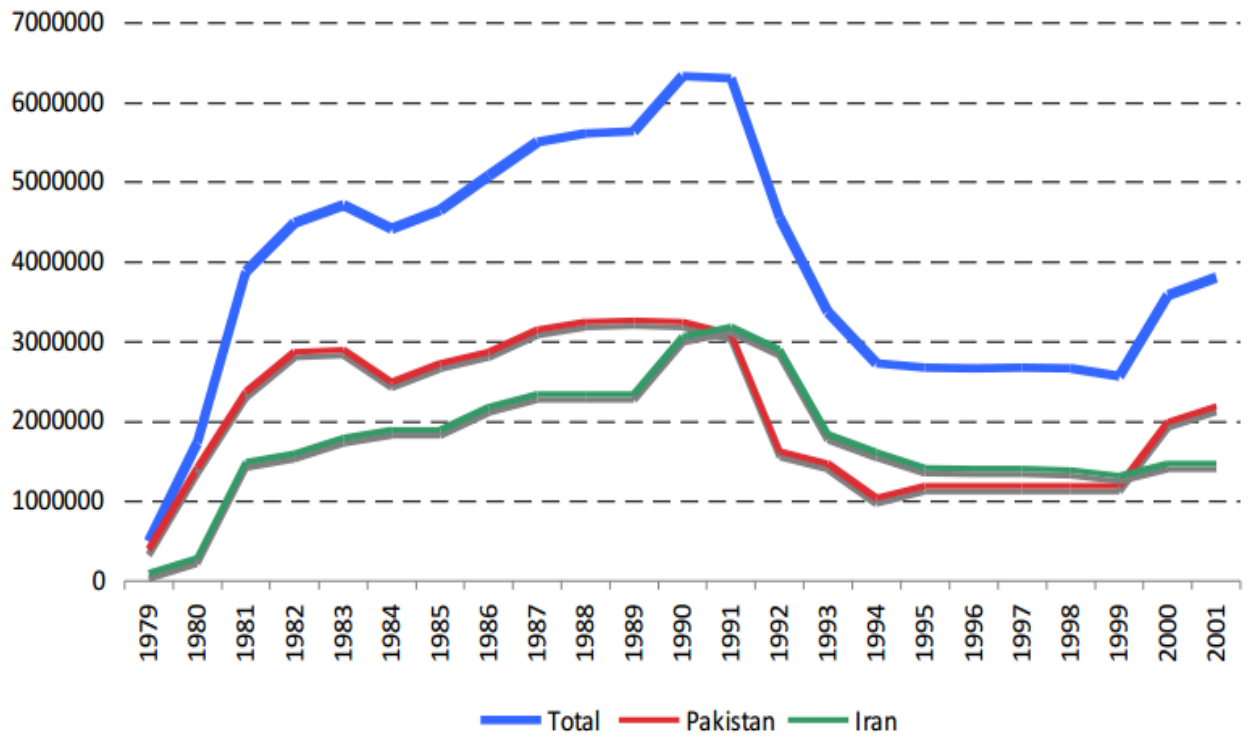
Although there were internal and external migrations in Afghanistan before 1979, the first big wave of out-migration started in 1979 with the Soviet occupation (Yıldırım, 2018). Many refugees left Afghanistan for their safety because the conflict between Soviet soldiers, Afghan soldiers and mujahideen created an unstable atmosphere in which to work or raise family. Between 1979 and 1989, Afghans had to migrate to countries such as Pakistan, Iran, Uzbekistan, and Türkiye (Dashti, 2021). As a result, with the 1979 Soviet intervention, one-third of Afghans, which has a population of about 18 million, left the country (Castles & Miller, 2008, p.247). This means that during the migration, around six million Afghans were forced to migrate. Additionally, many Afghans moved to different parts of the country in order to escape conscription (National Geographic Education, 2012).

The second wave of Afghans migration started with the Soviet military withdrew in 1989. After 10 years of occupation, war broke out between the mujahideen who could not share the power. The power struggle that started between these mujahideen, who saved Afghanistan from the occupation, dragged the country into civil war and once again mass migration began. Furthermore, some sources says that refugees who left Afghanistan because of Soviet invasion returned to home after the Soviets withdrew. The civil war that broke out with the withdrawal of the Soviets from the country created new refugees. Five million Afghans left the Afghanistan at the end of the second wave.

The rise of the Taliban, which came to power in 1994 after the civil war, initiated the third wave of migration. The pressure and bans imposed by the Taliban on educated segments, artists, and women, especially religious minorities, caused an increase in migration during this period (Lucia.2015). Those

people fled Taliban persecution. The fourth wave started after 9/11 attack in 2001 with the fall of the Taliban (Yıldırım, 2018).

Graph 5: The number of Afghan refugees between 1979 and 2001



Source: UNHCR, 2009

The line chart above illustrates the number of Afghan refugees between 1979 and 2001. Generally, the refugee outflows from Afghanistan began with Soviet invasion and continued to increase during the Soviet occupation. In 1990, Afghanistan saw the peak of the refugee flows after the Soviet withdrawal, with approximately 6 million Afghan refugees. The number of refugees began to increase again with the Taliban gaining power in 1996 and reached around 4 million refugees in 2001 with the fall of the Taliban. Both Pakistan and Iran welcomed the refugees a banner of Muslim solidarity during the initial refugee outflows (Kuschminder, 2009). Although both countries followed an open-door policy towards Afghan immigrants, the perspective of Afghan immigrants changed negatively because they experienced economic difficulties in the following periods.

Afghans make up one of the largest refugee populations in the world (UNHCR). As can be seen, the instability, natural disaster, chronic poverty, and conflict environment that has continued for the last 40 years has made migration permanent. According to the 2020 report published by the Afghanistan Ministry of Refugees and Repatriations, it is stated that there are currently 6 million 5 hundred thousand Afghan immigrants around the world (MORR, 2022).

3.3 Reasons for Migration from Afghanistan

Afghanistan's historical experiences have been the main driving force of Afghan mobility. Due to Afghanistan's rich underground resources and to have authority in the region, it has always been the focus of foreign actors. Both the intervention of foreign powers and the civil wars have prevented stability in the country. In addition, due to its geographical location, having difficult climatic conditions and hosting many ethnic groups brought economic competition and difficulties. In this section, the reasons for the migrations that have been going on for years in Afghanistan will be examined under economic, political, and terrorism headings.

3.3.1 Economic Reasons

Afghanistan continues to be one of the least developed and poorest countries in the world, although its economic process is occurring through the reconstruction effort (Kuschminder, 2009). Agriculture and animal husbandry play an important role in Afghanistan's economy. Although only 15% of Afghanistan's land is arable, its economy is mainly based on agriculture and animal husbandry. (T.R. Kabul Embassy Commercial Counsellorship, 2017). Industrial production, on the other hand, is limited to small-scale production such as soap, furniture, and textiles. In general, its basic economic policy is based on the provision of foreign aid and foreign investment.

Industrialization was neglected in the 1960s and 1970s, which led to an increase in unemployment (Obayd & Karataş, 2021). The oil crisis that broke out in 1973 also caused the migration of Afghan workers (Kronenfeld, 2008). Until the Soviet occupation, hundreds of thousands of workers emigrated from

Afghanistan (Stigter, 2006) and labor migration gained momentum (Castles & Miller, 2003). In the 20 years between 2002 and 2022, the socio-economic imbalance between urban and rural areas continued despite the development assistance of the international community. Most of these aids were limited to big cities and did not reflect on rural areas (Dashti, 2021). In addition, the people struggling with the drought and famine had to migrate to the big cities due to economic concerns. When we look at it, we can say that the first-degree economic income of Afghanistan, which has an agriculture-based economy, has been adversely affected because it has a difficult geography and because the people engaged in agriculture in the rural areas migrate. This situation naturally led to the continuity of internal and external migration.

3.3.2 Political Reasons

As mentioned above, Afghanistan has not been able to achieve political stability throughout history; It was either invaded or struggled with a civil war. The political turmoil started in 1973 when the king of Afghanistan was overthrown by a coup. The conflict further escalated by an ensuing coup, which took place in 1978. Therefore, the first Marxist and pro-Soviet Union regime came into power in Afghanistan (Agah, n.d.). Then, USSR sent soldiers to Afghanistan to support puppet regime. During the time when the communist party was in power in Afghanistan, they began torturing, detaining, and executing opponents and the vast majority of ordinary people who refused to accept regime as legitimate government (Agah, n.d).

Then, the occupation of the Soviets, which caused the first great mass migration movement, is an important political and military reason. During this occupation period, which lasted for about 10 years, 5 million people had to migrate to Pakistan and Iran (Jackson, 2009). With the Soviet exit from Afghanistan in 1989, an authority gap arose. Armed conflicts and internal conflicts arose between different groups that emerged during this authority gap (Boran, 2021). While Afghanistan thought it got rid of the occupation, this time it started to struggle with internal turmoil and migration continued. Insecurity and fighting across the country between the Mujahideen and the communist administration,

followed by fighting between rival Mujahideen groups caused political instability and then migration.

Following this process, the establishment of the Taliban in 1994, and its ruling between 1996 and 2001 led to another political migration wave. Taliban who imposed Sharia law over people and perpetuated mass killing in several part of Afghanistan once again forced most people to flee. Many people leave out of fear of being killed for retaliation from the Taliban or the government.

The attacks of September 11, 2001, which is an important turning point in world history, caused the last and ongoing process of Afghan migration. The al-Qaeda organization that carried out the attack was also a sponsor of the Taliban and Afghanistan suffered from the consequences of this attack. Although the USA initially supported the Taliban administration in order to have a say in the region, it changed its policy after the attacks and intervened militarily in Afghanistan. With the intervention of the USA, the phenomenon of immigration continued and became permanent for Afghans.

3.3.3. Terror

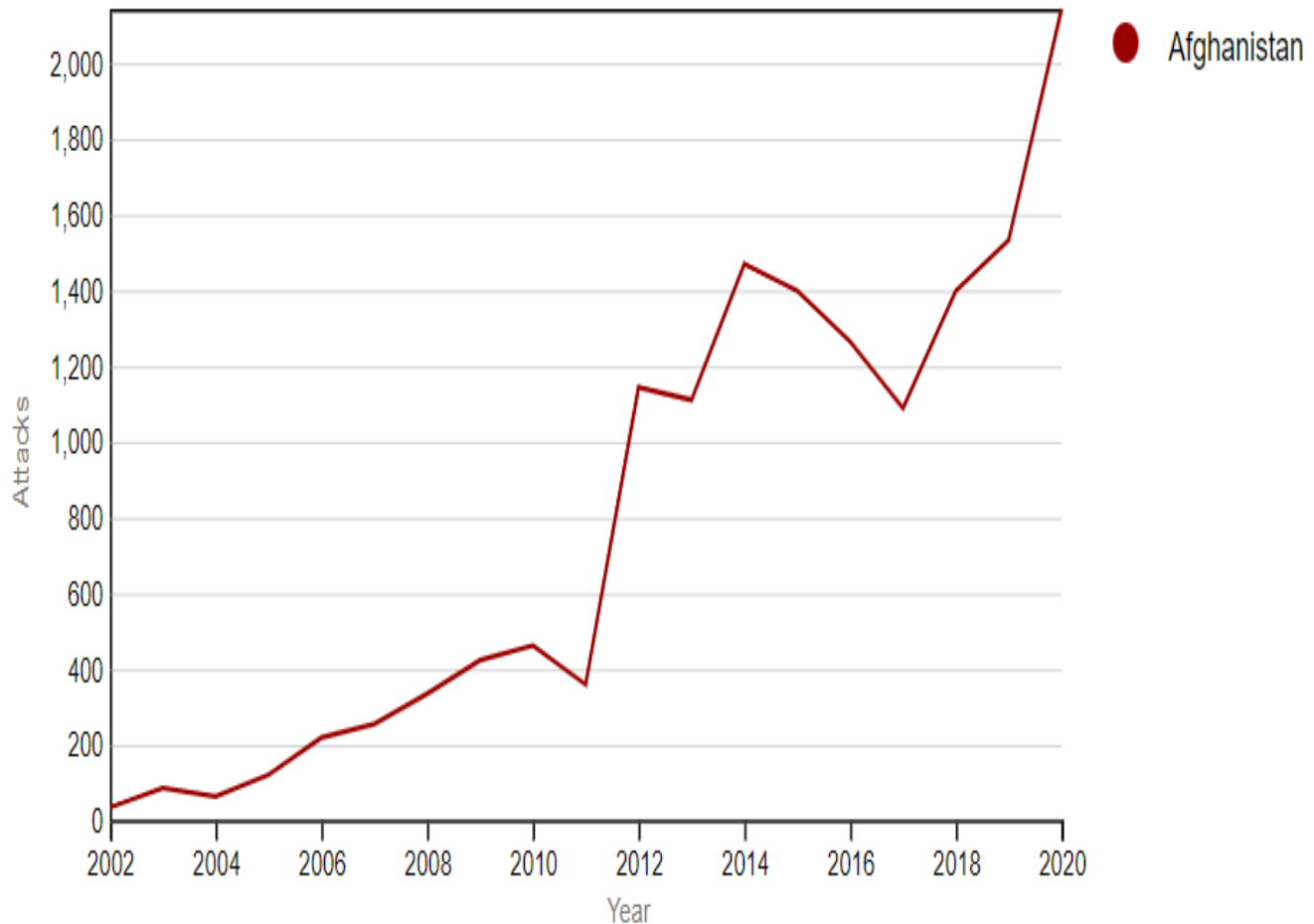
Conflict and insecurity, the factors highlighted as the main drivers of migration in the literature (Lucia, 2015), have become the subject on which Afghanistan is consistent. High civilian casualties, the mobile nature of the conflict, the general deterioration of security, intimidation and harassment by government and anti-government elements are all direct causes of displacement (Lucia,2015). Afghanistan has become a country known for terrorism, along with social, economic and political instability, as well as being a conflict area of superpowers. Afghanistan has become the starting point of radical organizations such as Al-Qaeda, the Taliban and DAESH, which brings the "global terror" phenomenon to the agenda and has become a country where they set up bases (Obayd & Karataş, 2021). The drug production and trade, which is one of the important sources of the Taliban, was mentioned above. The drug problem, which the Afghan people have made free to produce on the condition that they do not use them, has adversely affected everything from trade to politics, from international relations to the fight against terrorism. Overall, the security problems

caused by the authority gap due to political and administrative instability and the presence of drug trade, which provides a great source of income for terrorist organizations, have made the country open the radical terrorist groups.

The Taliban carried out a series of bold terror attacks in history, especially after the USA invasion. For example, according to the Counter Terrorism Guide in 2008 more than 100 were killed, and many more were wounded in a suicide bombing in Kandahar; in 2009, a suicide bomber killed 25 police officers, and wounded many more in Tarin Kot and the Taliban claimed responsibility (Counter Terrorism Guide Historic Timeline, n.d)

According to the Global Terror Database, the line chart below shows the number of terrorist attacks between 2002 and 2020 in Afghanistan. The line chart illustrates that the number of terrorist attacks in Afghanistan has continued to increase over the years. Besides, the Taliban was blamed for the most of these terrorist attacks.

Graph 6: The number of terrorist attacks from 2002 to 2020 in Afghanistan



Source: Global terrorism database

After the USA invasion, even if the Taliban lost land in the countryside, they carried the struggle against the occupation forces to the cities and started terrorist acts against civilian elements in the cities. Dozens of civilians lost their lives, especially in attacks on the Afghan police force and army (Cankara & Çerez, 2020). The Taliban also attacked schools, radio stations, and government offices (Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 2020, United States Department of State). Furthermore, the Taliban threatened journalists, and civil society alleged the Taliban attacked media organizations. The security situation remained a problem largely due to insurgent and terrorist attacks. According to the United Nations, the Taliban carried out a deliberate campaign of violence and

intimidation, including on polling centers located in schools and health facilities (Afghanistan 2020 Human Rights Report). To sum up, the effect of terroristic activities is the weakening the rule of law and extension of corruption, which in turn it damages the trust between people and government.

Terrorism has worsened the condition for humanitarian efforts. In other words, terrorism restricts the environment for the people to enjoy of their fundamental rights and freedoms. For instance, education in Afghanistan is being threatened by terrorism. As a result, the number of children going to school has been decreased because the Taliban either closed or burn schools. Out-of-school children and drop-out rates show that poor educational attendance in Afghanistan is not driven by high drop-out but by being out-of-school, and not starting school (UNICEF, 2021). Afghans have fled and are fleeing because of insecurity, lack of education facilities, economic poverty and absence of government services. Terrorism badly effects all areas of economic, social, cultural and political life in a country at violence as like Afghanistan.

As a result, Afghanistan is a country that has been under Soviet occupation for about 10 years and then occupied by the USA for 20 years. Besides, due to the civil wars, Afghanistan could not establish unity within itself, and the Taliban organization caused Afghanistan to create a detrimental effect on the world. Prolonged occupations, war environments, instability, and insecurity were the factors pushing people to migrate. In addition to these, the poor economic situation that makes it difficult for people to reach basic needs, children's access to education through challenging and dangerous ways, and perpetual terrorist attacks are other reasons that have caused Afghans to migrate. The reasons why Afghan immigrants came to Türkiye, which is one of the migration routes and its effects on the public will be explained in detail in the next section.

CHAPTER 4 The Case of Afghan Refugees in Türkiye

After examining the situations in Afghanistan in the last 40 years, the purpose of the formation of the Taliban, and the reasons for the migration from Afghanistan, this section will examine the Afghan migration to Türkiye. In order to understand the securitization of Afghan immigrants in Turkish media, as important as it is to understand the Taliban and the reasons for Afghan migration, it is just as important to understand the reasons why Afghans choose Türkiye. Therefore, first of all, the reasons why Afghan immigrants came to Türkiye will be explained.

While there are reasons for migration from one country to another, there are also some effects and consequences of migration. So, what are the effects of Afghan migration in Türkiye? In order to better evaluate these effects, it is also important what the public thinks about Afghan immigrants. First, the effects of Afghan migration on Türkiye, and then the opinion of the public will be tried to be reflected with sections from two survey companies, Konsensus and MetroPOLL, and the street interview of Voice of America and Sözcü newspaper.

In some periods, media organs make news under the influence of the media boss or other powers they are affiliated with. In Türkiye, after 2002, it is seen that there has been a change in both the political life and the ownership structure of the media. Based on this, “Yeniçağ and Sözcü” newspapers will be considered as opposition, “Sabah and Yeni Şafak” newspapers as pro-government, and this power-media relationship will be explained in general terms.

Then, an in-depth analysis of how Afghan immigrants were represented in these newspapers between 2020-2022 will be given. Finally, the representation of Afghan immigrants in the Turkish media will be evaluated in terms of securitization.

4.1. Reasons for Afghans immigrating to Türkiye

In addition to the internal turmoil, the devastating effect of external interventions has led the people of Afghanistan to migrate, and Türkiye has been

one of these migration routes. One of the starting points of this study is that the number of Afghan immigrants tends to increase in Türkiye with the Taliban's seizure of power in 2021. The reasons for preferring Türkiye by immigrants from Afghanistan, who are increasingly seen on the streets in Türkiye, will be examined.

The migration spreading from Afghanistan to the world is one of the biggest forced migration waves of the last forty years. However, unlike some recent forced migration movements, such as the migration that started from Syria since 2011, it has not been experienced suddenly and intensely. Although Türkiye does not have a border with Afghanistan, especially in the process following the US intervention, immigrants from Afghanistan have started to come to Türkiye since 2003 (Bozok & Bozok, 2018). The biggest reason for this can be seen as Iran and Pakistan's change of Afghan immigration policy because Iran and Pakistan closed their borders to Afghan Refugees (Castles & Miller, 2008, p.248). In addition, there have been changes in the level of aid and services provided by Pakistan and Iran to refugees. For example, Iran has increased the cost of living for Afghans and implemented policies that prohibit Iranian employers from hiring Afghan workers (Geyik Yıldırım, 2018). On the other hand, Pakistan closed Afghan refugee camps in its border areas (Marchand et al., 2014). Due to this attitude of Iran and Pakistan, many Afghan migrants left these places and took refuge in Türkiye. Iran and Pakistan have changed their immigration policy due to their economic difficulties; Afghan immigrants are in economic trouble and Türkiye's economic conditions are at a better level, which has made Türkiye a target country. Among the economic and social reasons for the migration from Afghanistan to Türkiye, the continuation of Taliban oppression, limited rights and freedoms, and difficulty in accessing social services such as health and education should be counted.

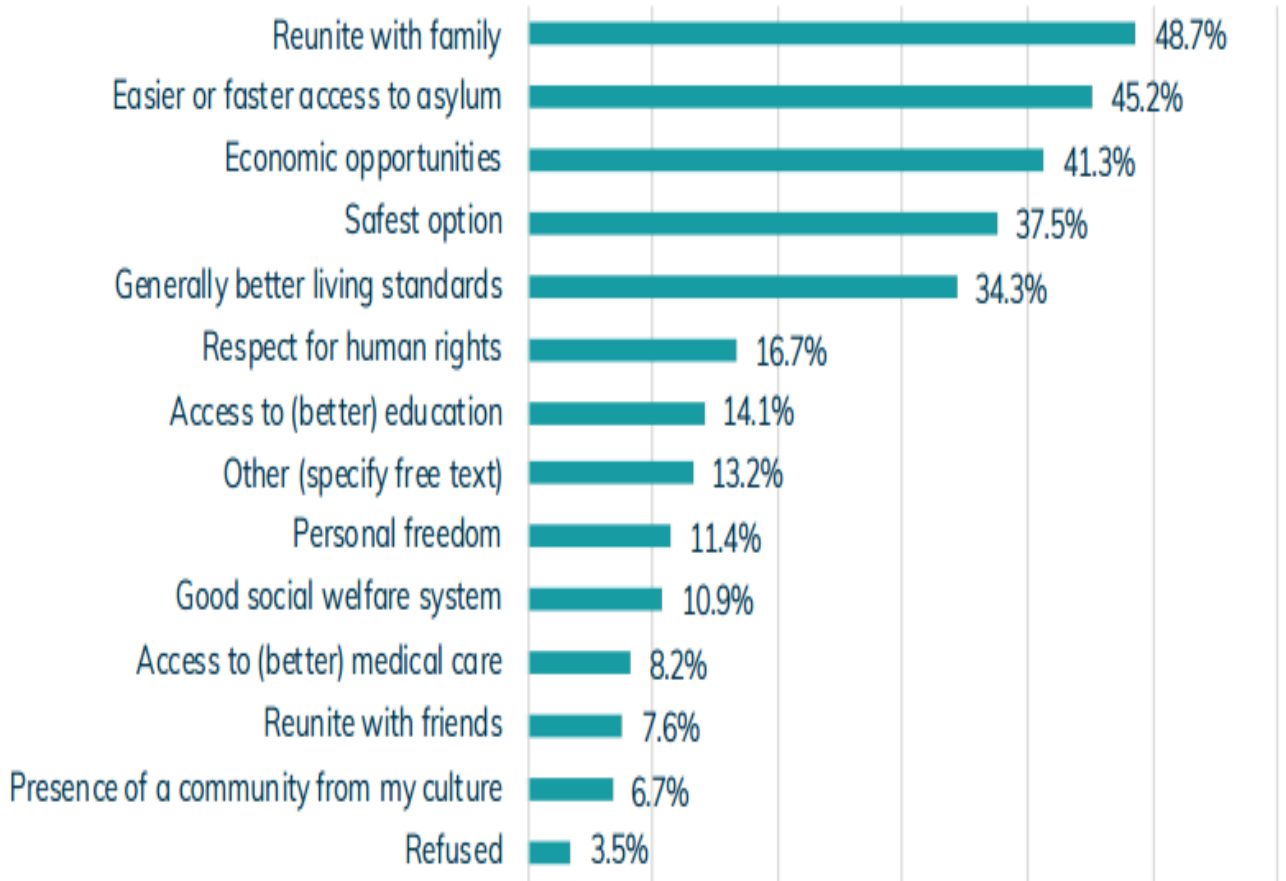
Türkiye has always been a country of migration throughout history due to its proximity to European countries. Therefore, the reason for the increase in Afghan immigration in Türkiye is that it is used as a transit country to pass to third countries. For example, in a study in 1995, 135 out of 159 people from Iran, Iraq,

Afghanistan and African countries evaluated Türkiye as a transit country. (İçduygu & Aksel, 1012, p17).

As stated, Afghanistan does not have a direct border with Türkiye and immigrants are trying to reach Türkiye's borders by passing the difficult geographical conditions of different countries. As Sibel Karadağ (2021) emphasized in the report prepared on behalf of the Association of Research Migration, they take the risk of this long, difficult, and potentially fatal migration route. The question, "Why Türkiye?", becomes important for the public at this point. When the interview group of Sertaç Tümtaş (2021) is focused, three answers stand out. First, as explained above, irregular migrants in Türkiye can work for relatively higher wages compared to Iran and Pakistan. The second is those who see Türkiye as a stage for the transition to Europe and are here to save money. Finally, it includes those who see Türkiye as historically, culturally and religiously close and prefer to stay here.

Furthermore, according to the research report of the Mixed Migration Center, which was published in 2020, "family reunification" comes first when looking at the reasons why Afghans come to Türkiye. This is followed by easier or faster access to asylum, economic opportunities, the safest option, and generally better living standards (Buz et al., 2020).

Graph 7: Reasons for coming to Türkiye (Multiple choice, n=341, 2,021 reponses, %)



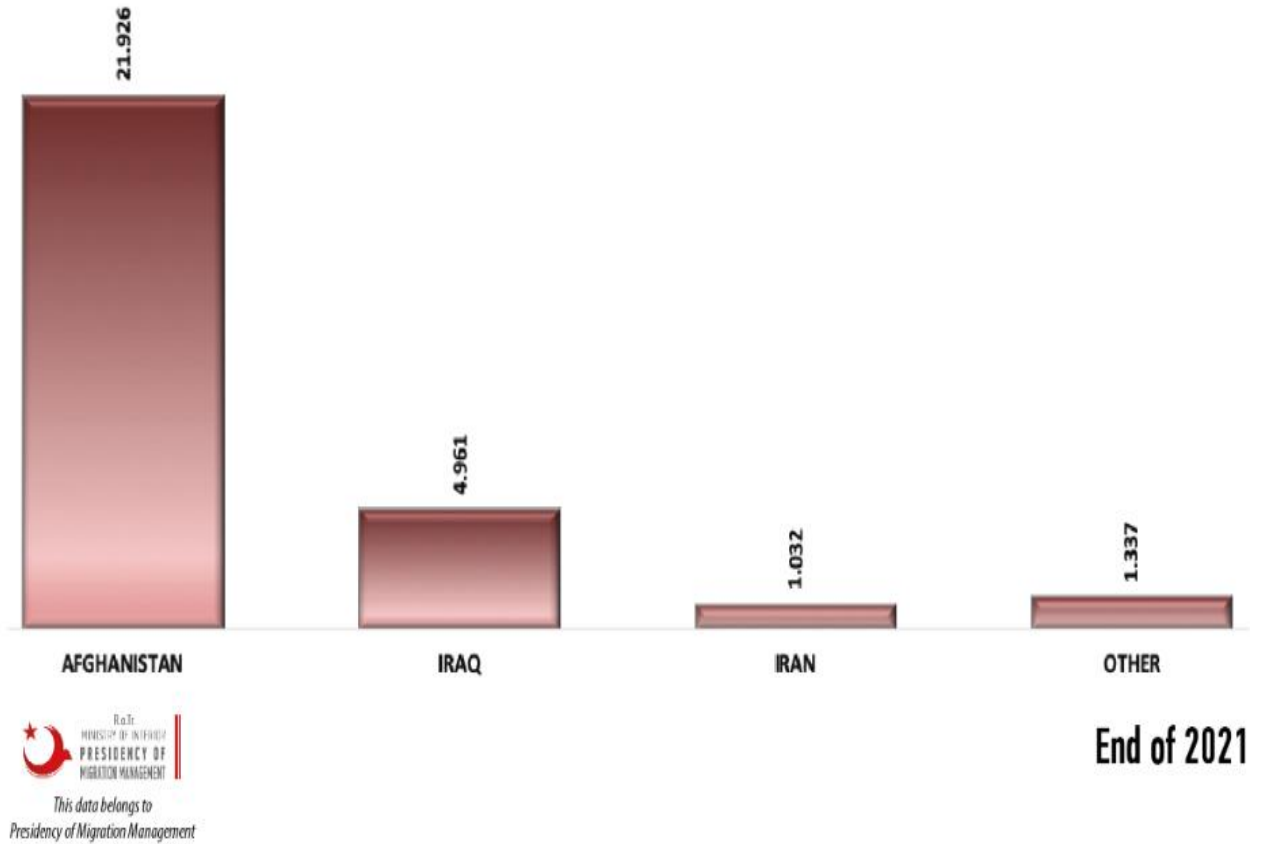
Source: Mixed Migration Center

The first migrants from one society, that is, pioneer migrants, have to overcome some obstacles in order to adapt or participate in the social and political life of the country they go to. For this reason, they feel the need to come together to protect and express their interests in a society they are foreign to (Faist, 2003). With ties such as friendship and kinship, migrants establish a network within the settled population. Thanks to this network, information about the place of migration is provided and the costs and risks of migrating are reduced. Migration flow will increase after the number of migrants in a given area exceeds a certain threshold; it will be easier to establish network relations that reduce the cost and risk of migration. (Massey et al., 2014) It should also be noted

here that, according to Gurak and Caces (1992), migration networks have essential functions.

So, what are these migration networks? These are factors such as the reduction of disruptions that may arise due to migration, the continuation of immigrants' ties with their own society, the adaptation of immigrants to their place of residence, and the reduction of risks and costs of migration. According to the above research report of the Mixed Migration Center, having the highest rate of Afghan immigrants immigrating to Türkiye by family reunification can be considered as an indicator that the number of Afghan immigrants residing in Türkiye has exceeded a certain threshold and migration networks have been established.

Graph 8: First three nationalities applications for international protection



Looking at the Presidency of Migration Management data above, Afghan immigrants rank first among the migrants applying for international protection. These statistics show that the fact that Türkiye is both a destination country and a transit country for Afghan immigrants is effective in the migration of Afghans seeking international protection to Türkiye.

4.2 The Effects of Afghans Immigration on Türkiye

The contact of Afghan refugees, one of the largest refugee groups in the world, with Türkiye dates back to the 1979 Soviet occupation. Türkiye officially faced Afghan immigration for the first time in 1982. The first article of the “Draft Law on the Admission and Settlement of Turkish Noble Immigrants from Afghanistan to Pakistan”, which was adopted by the Turkish Grand National Assembly, gave the opportunity to those from Turkish origin Afghan families who wanted to settle in Türkiye (TBMM, 1982). This law, adopted in 1982, allowed

refugees of Turkish origin from Afghanistan in Pakistani camps to settle in Türkiye (Öztürk, 2014; Kahraman, 2017).

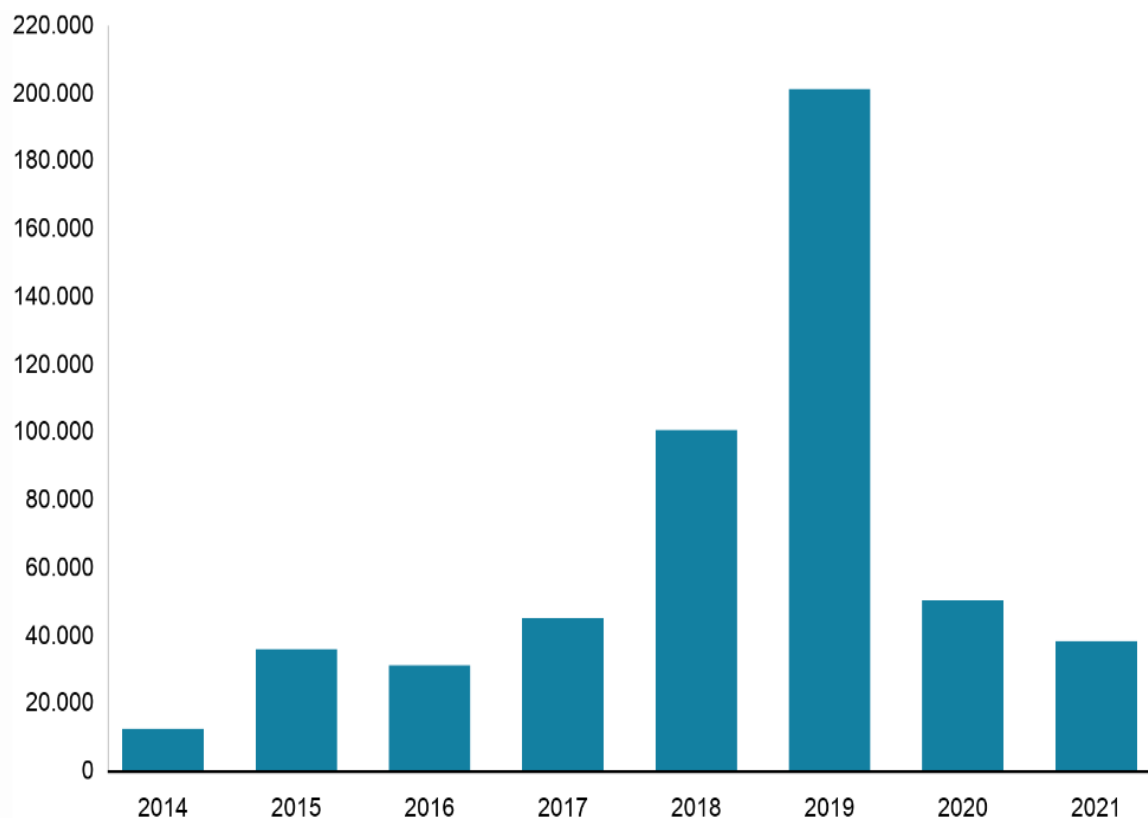
Between 1982 and 1987, 4,500 immigrants of Turkish origin who came to Türkiye from Afghanistan were accepted (Bentzin, 2010; Taşkın 2014). It is seen that the third-generation individuals from the immigrants who came in this period mostly received higher education and took part in the state staff such as governor, doctor, and officer (Şimşek, 2021). So, it can be said that the immigrants of Turkish descent from Afghanistan were almost completely integrated into Türkiye. There are factors that facilitate the integration of Afghan immigrants of Turkish descent, who were accepted by the law passed by Türkiye in 1982. It can be said that this was successful due to the limited number of immigrants to 4500, being cautious and controlled, and cultural proximity.

With this process, in the next periods, it has become easier for Afghans to come to Türkiye because friendship and kinship ties have enabled them to establish migration networks. From these dates until the Taliban's recapture of Afghanistan in 2021, "Afghan immigration continued in waves," as Bozok and Bozok (2018) said. Moreover, as Stephaine- Kaytaz (2016) emphasized, Türkiye has been among the closest countries to seek refuge for Afghan refugees, who have been increasingly turning to Türkiye since 2007.

There are Afghans of different statuses in Türkiye. Firstly, there are Afghan immigrants who entered Türkiye illegally and have no registration. The fact that Afghans rank first in irregular migrants apprehended since 2018 is proof of this. On the other hand, as mentioned before, some of the Afghan immigrants registered in the country are those who apply for international protection status. Lastly, another group is Afghans living in Türkiye with a residence permit. The status of Afghan immigrants has started to change over the years in Türkiye. As mentioned in the first chapter, looking at the 2000s, it is seen that the illegal entry of Afghan immigrants to Türkiye jumped to 100.841 in 2018, and this reached 201.437 in 2019. Afghan families of Turkish descent, who were accepted and settled in Türkiye in a controlled manner with the law adopted in 1982, mostly left

their place to irregular immigrant groups due to the chronic instability in Afghanistan.

Graph 9: The number of Irregular Afghan Migrants those who have been captured by years



Source: Hamsici,2021

When evaluated on a country basis in the last year, Afghans are in the first place among the irregular migrants who have migrated to Türkiye intensively. It is thought that the influx of immigration, which has been experienced for 10 years due to the war in Syria in 2011, was replaced by Afghan immigrants in 2021.

In addition to the consequences of migration, there are also the consequences of irregular migration that should also be mentioned. So, what are the consequences of the irregular of Afghan migration? And how these consequences affect to Türkiye? While irregular migration has consequences for immigrants, it also has serious consequences within the destination/transit country. These results will be explained in a sub-title from the public's perspective

on Afghan migrants in Türkiye. The reason why I focus on these two questions here is that they affect the public, media and political discourse in Türkiye; as a result, it leads to securitization.

4.2.1 People's Perspective on Afghan Immigrants in Türkiye

To summarize in the light of the above information, Afghan nationals rank first among the irregular migrants apprehended in Türkiye in 2021 and 2022. Again, in Türkiye, Afghan immigrants are by far the first among the immigrants who apply for international protection. When this is the case, Afghan immigrants in Türkiye come to the fore.

In order to understand the consequences of irregular Afghan migration in the destination/transit country and to see how these results shape people's perspectives, first of all, the consequences for immigrants will be briefly mentioned. Increasing border controls lead immigrants to more dangerous and difficult alternative routes. Irregular migrants, from drowning at sea to dying from lack of air in a truck; embark on this path as they risk serious risks such as abuse and rape. The consequences of irregular migration on immigrants are not limited to these security-related problems. Immigrants who enter and live in the country without permission face the risk of exploitation by their landlords and employers. For example, because they are illegal workers, violate the residence permit rule of the country they are in, and know that they will be deported if caught, they have to consent to all kinds of working conditions and methods applied by their employers. In addition, since they are not registered, they do not have the right to benefit from any social services, such as health and education.

When considered in general, it is known that the phenomenon of migration creates a negative impression on the societies in destination/transit countries. Emerging prejudices prevent objective evaluation of the main results of migration, and it is stated that they affect perceptions negatively in this direction. Regarding the immigrant population in the countries receiving irregular immigration; it raises concerns that it is stealing jobs from the local population, placing a heavy burden on their country's social welfare system, and causing their wages to drop (Gençler, 2002). As a result, when irregular migration results in competition for

scarce jobs, it can turn out xenophobic sentiments within host populations (Koser, 2010). But the most important thing is here, these sentiments are directed not only at irregular migrants, but also at ethnic minorities, refugees, and also established migrants (GCIM, 2005). The preference for foreign labor instead of domestic labor may become a subject of complaint for the unemployed. In addition, it is claimed that the bargaining power of the workers of the host country decreases, and it becomes more difficult for them to receive their social rights (Gençler, 2002). Therefore, it is argued that the wages and working conditions of the host country workers are adversely affected. The fact that Türkiye, which hosts the largest number of refugees in the world, faced the phenomenon of Afghan immigrants in 2021, after the Syrian refugee crisis it has been experiencing since 2011, has caused these effects to be more prominent and considered in the public.

Another issue is the assertion in political and media discourses that irregular migration poses a threat to state sovereignty (Waever et al., 1993). The argument that irregular migration threatens state sovereignty is the perception that states are overwhelmed by enormous numbers of irregular migrants. According to this understanding, it is the sovereign right of the state to control those who want to cross its borders (Koser, 2010). Irregular migration, on the other hand, prevents the exercise of this right but constitutes a crime.

In addition, it is stated that irregular migration is a threat to state security and public security (GCIM, 2005; Koser, 2010). The reason for this is that irregular migration and asylum routes can create a channel of passage for potential terrorist groups. Looking at the history of Afghanistan; due to its commemoration with the September 11 attacks, its closeness with Al-Qaeda, and the country's becoming a home for terrorist organizations it is inevitable that the political discourses, the media, and the public's point of view in Türkiye shape negatively for Afghan immigrants.

With the Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan in 2021, hundreds of Afghan immigrants, who were seen crossing into Türkiye on the Türkiye-Iran border, have been and continue to be a hot topic in Türkiye. What do the Turkish people think

about the transition of Afghans to Türkiye? The results of the survey conducted by two survey companies, which are Konsensus and MetroPOLL, in Türkiye for public opinion on "refugees and Afghan immigrants" in 2021 will be given.

Firstly, Konsensus Research Company conducted a survey with 1500 people using the telephone survey method between 4-10 July 2021. The research, which states that the margin of error in the 95 percent confidence limit is +/- 2.5 percent, was conducted in Türkiye's 667 districts, 87 electoral districts and 81 provinces. In the survey, in which the subject of 'immigrants', which has been discussed frequently in Türkiye recently, was addressed, the participants were asked, "Do you agree or disagree with the statement that no more asylum seekers should be accepted in Türkiye?" question was posed. While the rate of those who said they agreed with this statement was 67.7 percent, the rate of those who partially agreed was 23.2 percent, and the rate of those who said "I do not agree" was 9.1 percent. The rate of those who say they agree with the statement "No more refugees should be admitted to Türkiye" is 58.6 percent higher than those who say they do not agree. (Memurlarnet, 2021; Internethaber, 2021).

Secondly, while the immigration wave from Afghanistan was on the agenda, MetroPOLL Research Company shared the results of the survey on asylum seekers. MetroPOLL Research Company President Özer Sencar stated that they reached a striking result in their latest research on immigrants. In the survey, 67 percent who were asked the question "Should the borders be opened to immigrants or closed" said that the borders should be closed completely to immigrants, while 24 percent stated that they were in favor of opening the gates to those who want to take refuge in Türkiye (Sondakika, 2021).

With the title "What do Turks think about the arrival of Afghans in Türkiye?", a street interview was held in Voice of America in Istanbul. The street interview of Voice of America (VOA), financed by the United States of America, will be explained. In the video, eight Turkish citizens expressed their views on Afghan immigrants (Çolak, 2021).

The first interview was conducted with a retired citizen named Necmettin Dönmez. The rhetoric “the borders have turned into a colander” draws attention. In Turkish, this idiom is “riddle someone/something with something or “riddle with holes”. It is understood from this that the people question border security. In addition, Iran's opening its border gates with Türkiye to Afghan immigrants has been a subject emphasized by Necmettin Dönmez.

The second interview was conducted with clinical psychologist Aylin Kaşko. She talks about the reflection of the Afghan Immigrants who entered Türkiye via Iğdır and Van on the cameras. And she continues as follows: “It was an unpleasant sight. This makes us think that we have a security vulnerability. If the gates are opened without control and anyone can easily enter through the border gate, then the worries and fears of the Turkish citizens are very valid. I am not a fan of separating them. Türkiye has a serious refugee problem and they (Afghans/Refugees) need to be accommodated in the best possible way, in order not to discriminate against them. I think they spread very uncontrollably. We see they are involved in too many crimes or bothering the public around us.”

The third interview includes the words of Talha Özer, a university student: “I think that the arrival of Afghan immigrants to our country has increased after the US withdrawal from Afghanistan and especially after Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's meeting with Biden. Afghan immigrants used to come, but now they are coming in “flocks”. I think this will negatively affect Türkiye in the future. I think it will create a deficit in Türkiye's internal security. I am a humanistic person, but at the same time, I have to think realistically. Each country must have a capacity for the number of refugees it can receive. Because it is necessary for our safety.”

In the fourth interview, retired Metin Kılıç expresses his perspective on Afghan immigrants with these words:

“Although I am pro-government, I say that the border gates should not be opened. There is already the Syrian refugee problem. I do not welcome opening doors to Afghans. We are in economic turmoil. This Afghan migration will have negative effects on us. Illegal immigration can be prevented, if desired, as in all illegal works.”

In the fifth interview, the words of a student named Atakan Kemal Gözükızıll are included.

“I see that the reason for the increase in reactions to Afghan immigrants is the decrease in the labor force and the young people's concerns about the future. Therefore, the Turkish people do not look favorably towards Afghan immigrants.”

In the sixth interview, private sector employee Ersin Kaya said,

“The rate of unregistered unemployed will increase even more. There is no job for our people anyway, the number of unemployed will increase even more. This situation is worrying...” He expressed his thoughts on Afghan immigrants.

In the seventh interview, retired Perihan Dural,

“On the one hand, people feel sorry for Afghan immigrants. On the other hand, you see that our young people are unemployed. Employers employ them (Afghans) to avoid paying insurance and Turkish youth are unemployed.”

Eighth interview worker Kadir Halıcı,

“I am very worried. After all, you meet another culture. Just as the Syrians brought us down, the Afghans will bring us down. According to one study, a person's personality is equivalent to the average of the five people they meet. If we count the countries with which Türkiye has intense relations: Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Iran come to my mind. In other words, in our country, these are the averages. Our quality of life is declining. I saw on the news that 900 immigrants entered through only one border gate. I'm sad watching these, I feel bad. Then people can't find jobs because they work without insurance. Therefore, employers in Türkiye are reducing wages.”

If we list the prominent thoughts against Afghan immigrants in this street interview; questioning border security, causing unemployment problems, future concerns, and internal security concerns.

Sözcü Newspaper, one of the newspapers with the highest circulation in Türkiye, conducted a street interview on March 26, 2022 (Serim, 2022). While the opposition says that they will send the refugees back to their countries when they

come to power, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who criticizes the words of the opposition, says "we will not send the refugees". The public's opinion was taken in the street interview about this issue. "Citizen's response to immigrants" was chosen as the headline. The question "what do you think about Syrian and Afghan refugees?" was posed to the citizens in this interview. In the interview, citizens stated they were worried about Afghan immigrants and that they were in a difficult economic situation.

4.3 Turkish Authorities, Turkish Media, and Afghan Immigrants

In this section, the media-power relationship in Türkiye will be examined. The reason for mentioning the media-power relationship is that two of the four newspapers selected for the study under the next title are pro-government; the other two represent opposition newspapers.

As regulator and funder, the state, making up the political majority, exerts strong control over the media. Pro-government media coverage is not new issue. Press-government relations have taken shape depending on the political characteristics of each period, and although the media's pro-government broadcasting has not changed in essence, it has emerged as forms of relations that are referred to by different names in each period due to the difference in periodical characteristics. Turkish media has always been marked by a high degree of political parallelism. In Türkiye, after 2002, there has been a transformation in the ownership structure in the media with the changing power as a result of the effect of conservative thought on political discourse. As a result, it is seen that the conservative mindset is quite effective in both political life and the ownership structure in the media after 2002 in Türkiye. The conservative bourgeoisie, which became more active economically and politically with the Justice and Development Party (AKP) coming to power in 2002, radically transformed the media sector like other parts of society as a result of its relations with the government.

Among the newspapers considered pro-government, Sabah newspaper will be evaluated first. Berat Albayrak, the son-in-law of AKP's leader Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, became the CEO of the "Çalık Group", which became more

popular with the AKP government, in 2007 (Öztürk, 2010). Then, it is seen that Sabah was transferred to Çalık Group in 2007 (Ayan, 2018). This situation brings the group's relationship with AKP power to the agenda. The transfer of Sabah to the Çalık Group, which is known to be pro-AKP, is an example of the government's intervention in the ownership and control structure of the media. Later, Sabah newspaper was acquired by Zirve Holding in 2013 (Şık, 2017). Known as the power behind Zirve Holding, Kalyon Group has become one of the rising companies in this period, known for its closeness to AKP leader Erdoğan and for taking many public tenders (Ayan, 2021). The transfer of Sabah from Çalık Group to Zirve Holding, owned by the Kalyon Group, paved the way for this publication to remain under the control of the AKP.

Since 2005, AKP has encouraged investment groups close to itself to establish television groups that will be close to the government (Ayan, 2019). Albayrak Holding, one of these investment groups, established the channels "TVNET and Ülke TV" (Ayan, 2021). These channels continue the news policy close to the government. When the "Yeni Şafak" newspaper and established TV channels are considered, Albayrak Holding's support for power emerges. Finally, both newspapers are the second and ninth newspapers with the highest circulation, respectively (Speedmedya, 2022).

Turning to the opposition newspapers, the newspaper "Sözcü", which was founded in 2007, has an understanding that criticizes the AKP government. It defines itself as a "newspaper with an understanding of publication based on Atatürk's principles". (Sözcü, 2022). Giving the impression that the newspaper would be shut down before the operation carried out on Sözcü newspaper in 2017 (BBC News, 2017; Ayan 2021) brought to mind the thought that the AKP government carried out a planned operation against this newspaper (Ayhan, 2022.). The newspaper "Sözcü" has the highest circulation among the opposition newspapers and is in the third place in general.

Finally, "Yeniçağ" newspaper started its life in 2002. The concessionaire of the opposition newspaper, which started its publication life with a "nationalist" publishing approach, is Ahmet Çelik, one of the founders of the Good Party.

(Yeniçağ, 2020). Determining the "founding philosophy of the Republic of Türkiye" as its publishing principles, the newspaper ranks 18th in the circulation order (Speedmedya, 2022).

4.3.1 Representation of Afghan Immigrants in Turkish Media

Public opinion is a space where general opinions are gathered from discussions and speeches (Türk, 2019). Due to its nature, it is open to all kinds of outside intervention and direction in forming a general opinion. The media not only has severe effects on public discourse and thoughts but also plays a role in the social shaping of certain prejudices within the framework of the dominant discourse. In the representations of immigrants in Türkiye, it is seen that the media affects the public perception of issues related to immigrants and is effective in exhibiting positive or negative behaviors towards immigrants. Immigrant representations in the media determine the framework, under which headings and how the issues related to immigrants will be discussed (Pandir, 2015). In other words, these representations in the media have the function of influencing perceptions as well as giving direction to them.

Previously, the public's opinion of Afghan immigrants was given. One of the important factors in the formation of these thoughts is newspapers. The news, images, and the way the news is processed in the newspapers play an important role in the formation of the opinions of the masses. It is stated by Van Dijk (1988: 144) that when interpreting a news text, the focus is on the first phrases and sentences in the news text. In this respect, news headlines are important in terms of understanding the ideological discourse and reading the news correctly (Göker&Keskin, 2005).

The newspapers, which continue their journalism activities in daily printed newspaper format and online pages, are Sözcü (2007) and Yeniçağ (2002) newspapers on the opposition side; pro-government Yenisafak (1995) and Sabah (1985) newspapers. After eliminating the repetitive news in the context of the research, 14 news about Afghan immigrants were discussed. As stated before, the study covers the years 2020-2022. It is important to exemplify the representation of Afghan immigrants in the Turkish media between 2020-2022 in

order to understand the negative view of the public on Afghan immigrants and the effect of the media on the securitization of Afghan immigrants.

The news, which was determined in accordance with the findings that gave the context of the securitization theory, was evaluated by content analysis. As a result of the research, it has been seen that the news and visuals about Afghan immigrants and asylum seekers in these selected newspapers have the characteristics of reinforcing the "securitization" theory. On the other hand, it has also been observed among 14 news that there is news with neutral features.

When it is focused on the representation of Afghan immigrants in the Turkish media, it is seen that they are evaluated as a "threat" to "community and state security". In general, the themes coded with the "security" label in Sözcü and Yeniçağ newspaper texts appear as "negative representations" of Afghan immigrants. This news with security content; deals with issues such as conflicts, sexual abuse, criminal offenses, and border violations that are thought to be caused directly or indirectly. On the other hand, it can be evaluated in neutral category the news about deported Afghan immigrants in Sabah and Yeni Şafak newspapers.

According to the news published in the "Sabah" newspaper in 2020 under the headline "Deported Afghans were sent back to their countries by plane" (Figure 1), 178 irregular immigrants of Afghan nationality were caught and deported. In addition, based on the data of the Ministry of Interior, the information that 18,256 illegal immigrants from Afghanistan were sent back to their country was included in the news. Although including the data of the competent authority and especially the use of the phrase "Afghan immigrants deported" constitutes a positive representation for the government, it is not possible to evaluate it in the same way for Afghan immigrants. Here, the authorities and indirectly the government's fulfilling their "duty of catching and deporting illegal immigrants" can spread a sense of "trust" among the people. On the other hand, emphasizing and repeating the numerical data of "Afghan illegal immigrants" in the news brings up the "threat" discourse. In terms of discourse, it brings to mind "border security, increasing number of asylum seekers and related problems".

Figure 1: "Deported Afghans were sent back to their countries by plane"

Sınır dışı edilen Afganlar uçakla ülkelerine gönderildi

DHA



Source: Sabah, 08.06.2020

If we look at 2021, it is seen that the news about Afghan immigrants is concentrated in the Turkish media. This situation was also reflected in the news, especially with the increase in the images of Afghan immigrants crossing the Türkiye-Iran border illegally. After two news examples of the threat of "sexual abuse" are announced in 2021, two news stories about the border security problem will be interpreted. Finally, two statements by opposition parties in the news about immigrants and refugees will be discussed.

Sexual abuse is a crime and a security threat. The headline was "A pervert of Afghan nationality terrified the young girl! He attempted sexual abuse, hit her on the head with a stone" (Sözcü, 2021). In the news content, camera recordings of the event were included. The combination of the terms "Afghan pervert" and "sexual abuse" reinforces the view that Afghan immigrants are a "threat". News

headlines are essential in terms of coding (Pandır&Efe, 2015). The coding in this news is also a "threat" coding. As it can be understood from here, the theme of "threat" comes up with the subject of "sexual abuse". To give additional information to this news, the young girl (Ayşegül Aydın) who was attacked lost her life, and the first hearing of the case was held on 22 September.

Another sexual abuse news was published by Yeniçağ newspaper: "It turned out that the perverted man was Afghan. He followed the young girl to her home." news titled. In this news, the death of the young girl (Ayşegül Aydın), mentioned in the previous news, was referred to and the phrase "perverted Afghan male" was used. Both situations reinforce the "threat" theme.

Figure 2: "The perverted man turned out to be Afghan. He followed the young girl to her home. Ayşegül died because of an Afghan."



Source: Yeniçağ, 25.11.2021

The subject of "border security", another threat theme, took place in the news. In the report of the newspaper "Sözcü", it is mentioned that the immigrants fleeing the persecution of the Taliban entered Türkiye illegally. The given title "Another Afghan raid! This is how they were viewed", and the image shown in

Figure 3 was included in the news. "Border security", which stands out with visual coding, is included in the news as a "threat" theme and "security problem".

Figure 3: "Another Afghan raid! This is how they were viewed"



Source: Sözcü, 20.07.2021

In the news of the newspaper "Yeniçağ", the "uncontrolled wave of migration" of Afghans and "the majority of Afghans immigrants consisting of young men" was mentioned. This news, as seen in Figure 4, is given with the following headline: "Afghans unfurled the Taliban flag in Istanbul last year. So, what will the newcomers do?" (Yeniçağ, 2021). The phrase "Afghans unfurling the Taliban flag" in the headline reinforces the "threat" discourse. The reason for this is that the Taliban is recognized as a terrorist organization in the international arena. In the images shared on social media, the display of young men, instead of women, children, and the elderly, among those crossing the Türkiye-Iran border was again reflected in the news as a "threat" element.

Figure 4: “Afghans unfurled the Taliban flag in Istanbul last year. So, what will the newcomers do?”



Source: Yeniçağ, 10.08.2021

The last two news items evaluated in the news of 2021 are the statements made by the opposition parties, the Homeland Party, and the Good Party. The news of the "Sözcü" newspaper was given with the headline "Very harsh refugee statement from Muharrem İnce". The leader of the Homeland Party, Muharrem İnce, said that after the Syrian immigrants, irregular immigrants, mostly Afghans, entered Türkiye through the Iranian border, "The state has to ensure border security." (Sözcü, 2021) said. The fact that he draws attention to border security as a party leader reinforces the "threat" element.

Another one is in the "Yeniçağ" newspaper with the title "Let's ask the national will, will the refugees stay, or will they go?" (Yeniçağ, 2021). The news included that one of the Good Party leaders made a "referendum call" for Syrian and Afghan refugees to stay or not in Türkiye. A political party member calling for a referendum on such an issue and its reflection in the news may strengthen the perception that refugees, along with Afghan immigrants, pose a "threat".

When it comes to 2022, it can be seen in the newspapers "Sabah and Yeni Şafak" that the news about the deportation of Afghan immigrants is concentrated. It has been seen that news about Afghan immigrants making posts that pose a threat to security on their social media accounts and that they are involved in crime are included in the "Sözcü and Yeni Çağ" newspapers.

According to the news of Sabah newspaper, dated 10 June 2022 and titled "Afghan immigrants were sent back to their countries", it was stated that 221 Afghan immigrants were deported. Likewise, according to the news of Yeni Şafak newspaper on April 9 and May 7, 2022, it was reported that 454 and 192 Afghan immigrants were sent back to Afghanistan, respectively. Although the theme of "repatriation/deportation" does not present a positive Figure for Afghan immigrants, it can be considered as "neutral". Sometimes this content can be used for the themes of "security and threat" in the context of "border security and problems thought to be caused by asylum seekers".

The sharing of videos and images that drew reaction on social media by Afghan immigrants living in Türkiye has been another topic in the news. The news of Yeniçağ newspaper titled "Afghan with rifle and rocket launcher on the coast of Istanbul" constitutes the theme of "threat". As seen in Figure 5, the mention of Afghan immigrants who share videos with guns on their "TikTok" account, which is a social media channel, as "what kind of an asylum seeker" in the news content, strengthens the view of Afghan immigrants as a threat.

Figure 5: "Afghan with rifle and rocket launcher on the coast of Istanbul. What kind of asylum seeker is this?"



Source: Yeniçağ, 06.05.2022

The news about another social media posting was presented under the title "Afghans who secretly videotaped Turkish women". As can be seen in Figure 6, the headline of the news is made with visual coding. This news about sexual harassment reinforces the idea that Afghan immigrants pose a threat to security.

Figure 6: “Afghans who secretly videotaped Turkish women”



Source: Yeniçağ, 08.05.2022

There are also representations where Afghan immigrants are dealt with together with issues such as "crime and violence". This news makes it easier for Afghan immigrants to be seen as a threat to society and a security problem. The first example is the news titled “5 Afghans who took 7 people hostages were detained” from Sözcü newspaper. In the news content, a statement was made as "5 ransomers of Afghan nationality were caught". (Sözcü, 2021).

Another news report from Sözcü newspaper mentions that the argument between two Afghan shepherds resulted in murder. As can be seen, the news titled "Afghan shepherds clashed with each other" (Sözcü, 2022) is a "murder" news. Situations where immigrants from Afghanistan are involved in criminal offenses cause them to be directly represented as a source of threat.

In the content analysis applied in the study, the prominent titles, themes and subjects in the text and visuals were examined. The meanings they produce in the representation process of Afghan immigrants are discussed. As a result of the content analysis, four news samples from Sabah and Yeni Şafak newspapers, which are close to the government and partially critical of the Afghan immigrant issue, are given. The reason why only four examples are included is that the

theme of "captured and returned Afghan immigrant" is repeated in these newspapers.

On the other hand, in the "Sözcü and Yeni Çağ" newspapers, which are considered to be oppositional, there are "security"-themed news about judicial crime, border security and sexual abuse, including the phrase "Afghan immigrant". When compared, it was determined that these news in "Sözcü and Yeni Çağ" newspapers were not found in "Sabah and Yeni Şafak" newspapers.

The media is effective in the formation of ideas and attitudes about social issues. Moreover, How Afghan immigrants and asylum seekers are represented in the media and which forms of representation are frequently used have an impact on the securitization of Afghan immigrants in Türkiye. The next title will explain the role of the media in the securitization of Afghan immigrants in Türkiye.

4.3.2 Securitization of Afghan Immigrants and Turkish Media

The rising trend of the number of Afghan immigrants in Türkiye in the recent period has been the starting point of this study. With the Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan in 2021, "Afghanistan and Afghan immigrants" began to appear more in the press. It was an inevitable result that the news and images in the newspapers started to create a representation of "Afghan immigrants" in the process. It was seen that the "threat and security" factor came to the fore in the 14 news stories examined above to exemplify the Afghan immigrant representation. So, what does the "Afghan immigrant representation" in the newspapers affect? This question can be answered in two ways. First, these representations are effective in portraying Afghan immigrants as "a threat to public peace and state security". Second, we are constantly exposed to news in the media. Therefore, we can say that the media representations of Afghan immigrants and asylum seekers affect the "public perception", considering that the media can shape the individual's worldview. In summary, the representation of Afghan immigrants in the press affects the perception of "threat" and the public perception.

Another question is, how can the role of the media in the securitization of Afghan immigrants be explained? First of all, as mentioned in the second part of the article, in order for an issue to become a security issue, it must point to a "threat" or the "other" discourse against the concept of "us". It can be seen these two signs in the analyzed news. For example, in addition to the increasing Afghan migrant trend, with the Taliban's seizure of Afghanistan in 2021, news and images of Afghan immigrants illegally entering Türkiye increased in the national and international press. The presence of elements posing a threat to the security of society and the state in the news points to Afghan immigrants as a "security problem". In addition, the phrase "Afghan immigrant" in the headlines reinforces the threat element along with "othering". Moreover, security is viewed primarily as a speech act. It means that matters can be made into a security problem through speech-act. As a result, a security problem results from successfully speaking or writing. Newspapers serve as an important tool for creating and presenting a "speech act" about Afghan immigrants. In the sample news analyzed above, "threat" coding was made with the written speech acts; this has made it easier for Afghan immigrants to be seen as a "security problem". For example, each news content that Afghan immigrants are involved in crimes such as sexual abuse, murder, and abduction is an example of a speech act, that is, securitization.

Also, for securitization to be successful, the target audience must be convinced. Newspapers can easily reach many audiences and are effective in shaping people's thoughts. Newspapers serve as a tool for appealing to and persuading the "target audience". However, it should not be forgotten that although the media is a tool to convey information, it is an area where the reality of information is discussed. Information can be exaggerated and distorted. It is known that public tensions regarding refugees in Türkiye have been high since 2011. The agenda on the "refugee" has gained new momentum with the "Afghan immigrant" issue. This is newsworthy for newspapers; makes it easier for newspapers to reach the "target audience". If we interpret this situation within the framework of perception management, newspapers can direct the "target audience" in line with their own views and interests. For example, the use of the

phrase "Afghans who have illegally entered Türkiye" instead of "Afghan immigrants who have been arrested or deported" in the headlines increases the likelihood of news coverage. This is also important in terms of "perception management" or "public opinion making". As a result, newspapers reinforce the opinion that "Afghan immigrants pose a threat to society and state security" in public opinion about Afghan immigrants.

After mentioning the speech act, which is the cornerstone of the securitization action, it is necessary to mention the three main elements of the securitization action. First, the reference object means that an item is threatened. In the news reviewed, we stated that Afghan immigrants are seen as a "threat to border security" and "a threat to public peace and state security". In other words, the reference objects presented here are "border security" and "community peace and state security".

The second element, the securitizing actor is the actors who present a situation as a security issue according to the securitization theory, perform the security speech act, and represent the people and institutions that have power. The last actor functional actors are the elements that affect the dynamics of the relevant sector. Although newspapers have an effective role in securitization, they are considered as "functional actors", not "securitizing actors". In fact, as we mentioned before, the media provides important support to the securitizing actor in order to "build legitimacy" about an opinion or "convince the target audience" according to the securitization theory. Despite being a functional actor, newspapers have played a role in the securitization of Afghan immigrants in Türkiye in terms of addressing the target audience and presenting the speech act. Based on this, it can be said that the atmosphere exists for the securitization of Afghan immigrants.

To summarize Chapter 4 can be said that there are four important points. Firstly, it is worth noting that the migration of Afghan immigrants to Türkiye is not a new phenomenon, but a prominent phenomenon in the news with the coming to power of the Taliban in 2021. Secondly, with the Syrian refugee crisis in the last 10 years, a certain part of the Turkish public has a negative point of view

toward the concepts of "refugee, asylum seeker, and immigrant". It can be thought that the reflection of the Afghan immigrants' immigrating to Türkiye in the news strengthens this negative opinion of the public. Another point is that the "Afghan immigrant" phenomenon since 2021 has come to the fore with the coding of "threat and security" in the news. Finally, it was seen that the news about "Afghan immigrants" took place more in pro-opposition newspapers. The combination of all these has facilitated the securitization of Afghan immigrants through the media.

Conclusion

Türkiye has been a country of immigration throughout history. Afghan immigrants used Türkiye as a transit country from time to time or migrated here. People began to flee the country after the Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan in 2021. The images of the fleeing, which can be called the "human drama" at the Afghanistan airport, were reflected in the media, and it arouses repercussions all over the world. In reality, the entire world witnessed a "desperate fleeing," rather than a migration process. As Geyik Yıldırım (2018) said, the migration process can sometimes turn people into the protagonists of a tragic play staged by heartbreaking human drama. On the other hand, it can also lead to the proliferation of rigid political practices, the emergence of hostile attitudes, and the legitimation of othering. One of the significant factors affecting the formation of both situations is the media.

After Türkiye faced the problem of Syrian refugees in 2011, the issue of "Afghan immigrants" came to the fore as the balance in Afghanistan changed in 2021. In fact, the Republic of Türkiye has been hosting Afghan immigrants for years. However, with the Taliban's seizure of power and the consequent people starting to leave their countries, the public perception has considered "Afghan immigrants" as "a new refugee crisis".

Journalists deal with extraordinary events; this brings out their tragic and dramatic sides. The phenomenon of "migration and migrants" is also a newsworthy issue. The media, as a powerful actor, can define the issue of migration as a threat to "national security". It has been seen how Afghan immigrants came to the forefront as a "security threat" in the representation of them in the Turkish media. The media plays a role in the "securitization of Afghan immigrants" as it reaches a large number of people and has the power of perception management. The perception of the "new refugee crisis" in the public also facilitates the role of the media in "securitization" in this regard. Of course, the historical background of Afghanistan and the Taliban; and the fact that Türkiye has been intertwined with the phenomenon of "migration and refugees" for more

than 10 years can be considered as other factors that facilitate the media's role in "securitization".

Moreover, the fact that the AKP government has followed an "open door policy" (Balkılıç& Teke Lloyd, 2020) on Syrian refugees for a long time can be considered as another factor that facilitates the media's effective role in the "securitization of Afghan immigrants". Because it is seen that the news of Afghan immigrants who entered Türkiye illegally or who were caught and deported has increased. This situation causes "security concerns" in the public. Therefore, "The representation of Afghan immigrants in the newspaper" in Türkiye paved the way for Afghan immigrants to become a "securitized" issue.

News headlines along with visual materials in newspapers about Afghan immigrants and refugees cause people to be worried about "Afghan immigrants". This study, conducted specifically on "Afghan immigrants", actually shows that there is a relationship that cannot be ignored between "migrant/refugee news" published by newspapers and "securitization theory." Although the media is not considered a securitizing actor, it is effective as a functional actor in the securitization process, considering that it is successful in creating public perception. While Afghan immigrants' "threat" coding ensures the "securitization theory" to be effective, it may negatively affect their "human rights" or prevent them from coming to the fore.

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