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EVALUATION OF ILLEGAL MIGRATION IN THE LIGHT OF THEORIES1

TEORİLER IŞIĞINDA YASADIŞI GÖÇÜN DEĞERLENDİRİLMESİ

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## ÖZET

Yasadışı göç konusu bugün dünya genelinde çözüm aranan bir sorundur. Kaynak ülkelerde yaşanan istikrarsızlık, iç savaş, terörizm, ayrımcılık gibi nedenlerden ötürü her yıl milyonlarca insan göç etme kararı vermektedir. Yasal yollardan ziyade yasadışı yol ve metotlar ile sınırları aşan göçmenler hedefledikleri ülkelerde yeni bir yaşam arzulamaktadır. Bu çalışmada, İstanbul ilinde yakalanan Pakistan, Afganistan ve Bangladeş uyguklu yasadışı göçmenlerin sosyodemografik özellikleri ile göç nedenleri araştırılmıştır. Çalışmada göç olgusuna teoriler ışığında bir yaklaşım sunulmakta olup elde edilen veriler bu teoriler kapsamında tartışılmaktadır. Araştırmanın en çarpıcı sonuçlarına göre, göçmenlerin hedef ülkelerde yaşayan ve göç öyküsüne sahip tanıdıkları vasıtasıyla göç kararını almaları dikkat çekicidir. Göçün sosyal olarak öğrenildiği önemli bir sonuç olarak elde edilmiştir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Yasadışı göç, teoriler, kaynak ülke, hedef ülke.

## ABSTRACT

The issue of illegal immigration is a problem that is sought for a solution around the world today. Millions of people decide to migrate every year due to reasons such as instability, civil war, terrorism and discrimination in the source countries. Immigrants who cross borders by illegal means and methods rather than legal means desire a new life in the countries they target. In this study, sociodemographic characteristics and reasons for migration of illegal immigrants from Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh caught in Istanbul province were investigated. In the study, an approach to the phenomenon of migration is presented in the light of theories and the data obtained are discussed within the scope of these theories. According to the most striking results of the research, it is remarkable that immigrants take the decision to migrate through their acquaintances living in the target countries and having a migration history. It has been obtained as an important result that migration is learned socially.

 ${\bf Keywords:}\ Illegal\ immigration,\ theories,\ source\ country,\ destination\ country.$ 

# 1. REASONS FOR MIGRATION

The issue of migration is too complex and multidimensional phenomenon to be evaluated on its own. So much so that the explanation of the causes of migration and the determination of its targets can be revealed by the relationship of different disciplines such as demography, geography, economy, statistics, sociology, political science and physics (Bijak, 2006: 3).

According to the United Nations data, in 2005, a total of 191 million people in the world were immigrants. This figure covers an average of 3% of the world's population. Number of immigrants all over the world; It is stated as 8.7 million in 2005, 9.9 million in 2006 and 12.7 million in 2007 (UNODC, 2008).

Economic reasons and life safety are one of the most fundamental reasons for external migration, as well as internal migration (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1973:3). However, although there are many academic studies that deal with migration from various aspects (Abadan-Unat and Keleş, 1975; Abadan-Unat, 2002; Gitmez, 1983; Vassaf, 2002, Kaya and Kentel, 2005), the There is no application yet. Thomas, one of these researchers, examined the motives and motivations for the movements of immigrants in his work in 1938. Although it has been emphasized that migration has a purpose, it has been argued that there can also be aimless, unmotivated and random nomads (Greenwood and Hunt, 2003:15, Thomas 1938).

Urbanization has a great impact on migration. The rapid development of urban areas in the United States and Europe in the 18th and early 19th centuries led to a rapid increase in the population of these cities (Greenwood and Hunt, 2003:3). In other words, the economic growth of cities has deeply affected in-country population movements.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This research is derived from a master's thesis.

Mercantalism, which Weber called political capitalism and early capitalists called commercial capitalism, was born with capitalism (Talas, 1972:2; Kazgan, 1991:28; Hamitogullari, 1982: 2). Along with mercantalism, developments in population, urbanization, trade, industrialization and technology have occurred.

In countries such as Belgium and England, 700 people per square mile fell in 1939. The censuses made at that time showed that the number of people living in cities was increasing. In 1920 the urban population reached 60% in Germany and 80% in England and Wales. The population engaged in agriculture has decreased to 1/3 of the total wage workers in Germany. In the UK, this ratio has fallen below 1/10. On the other hand, those working in the mining and manufacturing sector reached 2/5 of the population. Therefore, urban population growth has been so rapid that in the 19th century, industrial cities grew approximately 6 to 10 times (Heaton, 2005: 3).

People migrated more or less according to the importance of the periods with the expectation of a better life. People who cannot earn their living economically, are involved in the migration process in order to work in countries where job opportunities are high today, as in the past. Reasons such as the unequal distribution of capital and wealth in the world, limited job opportunities and the economic stalemate affecting many countries may cause people to want to migrate.

Many people residing in a settled order migrate today due to oppression, persecution and denial of their social rights. For example, it is stated that most of the Turkmen living in the region were forbidden to be employed in the public sector after the United States invaded Iraq, and those working in the public sector were retired early (Sirkeci, 2008:29).

A report prepared by the International Crisis Group (ICG) reveals that Iraqi Turkmens had to leave their homes due to the Kurdification policies around Kirkuk and their properties were forcibly expropriated (ICG, 2006). Sirkeci (2008: 21–22) stated that some of the Turkmen were forced to join the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), while Arab and Kurdish shopkeepers did not sell goods to those who did not accept (Sirkeci, 2008:21–22).

When the censuses made in Iraq in 1940 and 1950 are examined; The population of Turkmen is 570.000. This figure is only 9% of the total Iraqi population at that time. In 1957, this rate was 21.4%. Considering the growth and population growth in the last 50 years in Iraq and the census in 1957, it is necessary to mention more than 2.5 million Turkmen today. In addition, when the Turkmen who lost their lives for various reasons are included in this figure, an average of 3 million Turkmen should live in Iraq today (Kerküklü, 2004; Sirkeci, 2008:30). However, the ratio of Turkmen in Iraq decreased from 21.4% to 16.3% between 1957-1977 (HRW, 2003:36, ICG, 2006).

As such, it has become a necessity for people who have been stripped of all their social opportunities to migrate. Today, when not only Iraq but also problematic regions such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, African countries and East Turkestan are examined, it can be better realized how important social problems are in migration. In addition, sexual or ethnic discrimination, especially in Africa, should be evaluated within this scope.

In order to continue their lives, people first want to meet their security needs with their basic needs such as eating and drinking.

Early humans developed primitive weapons to defend themselves against wild animals and other tribes. Over time, the size of the need for security has changed, and nuclear weapons, beyond the conventional weapons of today, have created the feeling that people live under a constant threat.

While today's world discusses the development of democratic rights on the one hand, wars, political violence and especially terrorism force even the most stable countries (Hazır, 2001:1). For example, today's unending conflict 'terrorism' has led to the displacement of many people in the world today.

With the general definition of terrorism; It is the threat or violence of violence designed to create an atmosphere of fear or horror in order to bring about some political and social change (Jenkins, 1990:28). Or, terrorism is the conscious and planned use of violence or the threat of violence by a group in order to advance its illegal strategic and political aims by intimidating and scaring a smaller target audience through the civilian and innocent victims attacked or intimidated (Ergil, 1991:171; Beşe, 2002:23).

Election races, lobbying, protests, legitimate objections and even civil disobedience are among the conflict patterns adopted by democracy (Hazir, 2001:21). However, terrorism, which is the most serious problem of

today, trying to spread its ideologies through armed conflicts rather than democratic conflicts; It threatens states, societies and individuals both physically and psychologically. Terrorism and violence in countries such as Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq, Sri Lanka and India caused people to migrate to other countries by being displaced. It can be thought that the deaths of hundreds of people, including political leaders, as a result of bombs exploding in rallies, even in election races in the name of democratization, encouraged people who were worried about their safety to migrate.

In addition to terrorism; It can be thought that wars, ethnic cleansings, and honor killings push people to fear for their lives. In addition, the violence and wars seen in countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq and Palestine today; civil wars in countries such as Rwanda, Congo and Somalia; The harsh and radical forms of government in countries such as Iran, Myanmar and Saudi Arabia have made people feel that their lives are not safe.

# 2. THEORIES AND MIGRATION

In the light of migration theories, although recent studies are mostly about external migration, it is thought that the starting point of migration theories is to define internal migration (Korys and Okolski, 2004).

The fact that the studies to be carried out on migration are only statistically oriented brings along certain problems. Statistics only give information about the masses, but not a detailed analysis of the attitudes and actions of particular people. For this reason, cause-effect relationships cannot be discovered through statistics (Dönmezer, 1994:35). Therefore, using sociological theories and views directly and indirectly related to the concept of migration is important in terms of revealing the causes and consequences of the concept of migration.

When the theories on migration are examined, it is seen that there is no unity in the literature. Those who try to explain migration for economic reasons have mostly classified it as 'micro and macro theories'. However, in this study, the theories will be presented as a whole without separation.

*Macro theories* usually say that the system prepares the migration, that the system in the space, the production and distribution in the space should be done in a planned manner. Therefore, he states that migration is functional. In this respect, macro theory, for production;

1-Labour is displaced,

2-Capital is displaced,

3- He pushed the system to the forefront in terms of migration, saying that the market would change its place.

*Micro theories* approach to immigration. It defines migration as the way individuals will resort to in order to achieve their goals while living in society. From this point; the individual carries out the act of migration rationally and voluntarily. So micro theory;

1-The individual wants to increase the number of opportunities he has,

2-The displaced person wants to increase his occupational, economic and social mobility,

3-He put forward his main philosophy by saying that he wants to shape his life style himself.

Today, since the control of production and consumption in the underpopulated regions is slow, capital owners attack the densely populated regions in order to grow. This situation accelerated urbanization and turned the acceleration of migration in this direction.

Ravenstein, who published his first work in 1885, focused on the immigration problem in England. Ravenstein, who dealt with the subject without making a distinction as micro or macro theories, tried to explain migration according to the UK population data (Greenwood and Hunt, 2003: 3).

Ravenstein bases his 'Laws of Migration' on 5 main pillars (Ravenstein, 1885 cited by Dorigo and Tobler, 1983; Greenwood and Hunt, 2003).

- 1. Migration Distance: Immigrants; prefers short-distance routes rather than long-distance routes.
- 2. Principle of Movement: People are constantly in motion. When there is a migration from the rural and close to the city areas to the city, a gap will form in the rural and close to the city areas. These gaps will also be filled with immigrants for the workforce at the same rate. This explanation of Ravenstein is

defined as the 'principle of motion'. There will be something moving so that the void that occurs can be filled with other things.

- 3. Swallowing Process: As a requirement of the previous law, people who migrated to cities become a part of the economic system in that city after a certain period of time. Immigrants coming to the rural areas evacuated by these people will one day migrate to the cities and they will be a part of the economic system in the city. It is at this point that cities will grow continuously (spreading and absorbing are concepts that arose on this basis). As the city 'spreads', it 'swallows' newly arrived immigrants (workers) (Yalçın, 2004:24). In other words, even if a mass will be formed with migration, the need for terms of trade and labor will melt this surplus.
- 4. Counter Migration Wave: Every migration wave creates a counter wave that meets it (Yalçın, 2004:24). Ravenstein in this part; emphasizes that the more immigration a settlement receives, the more immigration will occur from that place. In fact, he refers to a cascading migration system here too.
- 5. Distinction between Distant and Near Migration: Ravenstein distinguished between distant and near migrations. He says that close migrations will occur gradually, but distant migrations will be directly to industrial and commercial centers without steps.

The theory of push and pull was first put forward by Everett Lee, who was influenced by Ravenstein's views (Dorigo and Tobler, 1983: 2). Therefore, the basis of the 'push and pull forces' approach is based on Ravenstein's immigration laws (Oberai, 1990:108). The main point emphasized in the theory of push and pull; It is the evaluation of the pros and cons between the place where a person will migrate and the place where he/she currently lives. The phenomenon of migration is shaped according to the intensity of the pros and cons (profit-loss) that occur in the mind of the individual.

Push and pull theory is divided into two as hard and soft for international migration (Öberg, 1996: 336-367). The first group is those who have experienced dramatic situations, namely humanitarian crisis, armed conflict, environmental destruction; the other is poverty, social exclusion and unemployment, which are seen as less problems (Bijak, 2006: 6).

The main reason of "push" is unemployment and low income. "Attractive Powers" generally create high income and employment opportunities (Çelik, 2006:150).

Economic instability in the place of residence, family or social problems or personal reasons can also be counted among the driving factors (Kleiner, 1986:305-317). In addition to these, facts such as political turmoil, chaos, ethnic cleansing or terrorism should be considered among the driving factors.

Hope for a better life, wealth, job opportunities, safe land, etc. are the attractive forces.

However, despite the abundance of attractive and repulsive factors, it is possible to come across people who do not migrate. Because the human being, who is a rational being, calculates the return of that thing before doing something (Yalçın, 2004:33). Despite all the problems, people who think that they will be happy in their own country may not decide to migrate.

Although Everett Lee did not evaluate migration only from an economic point of view in his book A Theory of Migration, which he wrote in 1966, those who came after him (Batty, 1976; Benneth and Gade, 1979; Bjerhammer, 1972; Bröcker:1980; Clark and Ballard, 1980; Ritchey, 1976) ) associated this theory more with economic migrations. On the other hand, war, terrorism, etc. No reference has been made to this theory regarding people who have migrated from their homelands for reasons.

Center-periphery theory; According to this, the world consists of two main parts: central (developed) countries and peripheral (undeveloped) countries (Kızılçelik, 2004: 74-76). The center is connected to the periphery by invisible networks. In other words, development and underdevelopment are interdependent structures of the single world system (Morawska, 1990; Kızılçelik, 2004; Yalçın, 2004).

Central countries want the economies of these countries not to develop in order not to lose the dependency of the surrounding countries on them, but to increase it. Therefore, he emphasized that it is necessary to make as little investment as possible and to prevent it from becoming a cheap and quality labor force (Yalçın, 2004: 36). This may be a factor that accelerates the migration process. As Rist (1978: 17) states, migration is not a tool that carries undeveloped countries to modernity, but rather a tool that triggers poverty and resource depletion (according to the Marxist approach, helping to accelerate the understanding of exploitation).

Center-Periphery theory also describes migration as a chronic syndrome. Indeed, in the light of this theory, the core countries are always doomed to remain as the center, and the peripheral countries as the periphery. Therefore, it is emphasized that the problem of migration will continue to grow by becoming chronic.

The greatest contribution to the central periphery theory was made by Wallerstein under the name of world system theory (Ragin and Chirot, 1999). On the basis of this theory, it is seen that there is a third country system, which can be called as semi-periphery, together with the core and peripheral countries. Semi-peripheral countries are countries that desire to be a center but struggle to become a periphery in this process. In this context; The emergence of the terms source, transit and destination country has been with Wallerstein's world system theory.

It can be thought that Wallerstein brought a Marxist approach to the phenomenon of migration with his world system theory. The source of emigration is the expansion of the world market. Capitalist development in the center seeps into non-capitalist societies, which increases the rate of migration. Migration is a result of deviation and displacement caused by capitalist development. In the world system where production has become a certain monopoly, citizens of countries that cannot produce and therefore cannot exhibit economic developments work on behalf of developed countries in order to cultivate the land, transport raw materials and produce products. Due to this monopoly system, economic leaps should not be expected in peripheral (undeveloped) countries. (Wallerstein, 2005).

In Network theory, migration is another very useful view in definition. Networks are formed as a result of migration in the world. The intensity of movement of people increases or decreases according to the strength and resistance level of these networks. Network theory is supported by elements such as friendship or sharing the same origin (Taylor, 1986; Massey et al., 1993). According to Wilpert (1992: 178); Pioneer immigrants form the infrastructures that connect the sending and receiving communities. New migration waves activate this established network and those who come later benefit from the experiences of those who came first (Yalçın, 2004:50). The most important role of this network is to help the migration flow between source and destination countries by reducing various difficulties (not only material but also psychological) (Bijak, 2006:6). Indeed, the existence of strong networks can trigger this phenomenon for migration movements to occur.

Marxist theory of immigration; approached from a very different perspective. According to Marx, capitalism is a dynamic system and is based on a rapid technical development and capital accumulation action (İlkin, 1976:44).

Marxist thought can be evaluated under seven main headings. In the first article, it is stated that the political, social and cultural characteristics of societies are a function of their economic status.

Secondly; history progresses in class struggles, and in these class struggles people gain economic benefits. Based on this, it is thought that societies will evolve in the form of primitive communism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism and socialism (İlkin, 1976:44).

As the third; Marxism can dominate in industrialized societies. In other words, it is not expected that Marxism will prevail in underdeveloped and traditional societies.

Fourthly; he stated that the profits of capitalism from foreign investments will follow a decreasing course and eventually collapse (Rostow, 1999:125).

In the last three propositions, it is stated that capitalism will experience crises due to many internal contradictions and produce chronic unemployed people (Torun, 2003:39).

In theory, it is stated that investments and services realized with a capitalist approach give birth to colonialism. In fact, poor societies are not unilaterally exploited. Capitalist companies sell the goods they produce with cheap labor that migrated or been transferred from poor countries to these poor countries. Capital owners become partners in a very profitable process in terms of both having uninsured and cheap labor and creating a market.

Perhaps the greatest emphasis of Marxist theory is on the theory of "alienation". Since capitalist relations of production are mainly based on private property and making profit is the most important principle, an alienation arises between individuals. This alienation is not only against people, but against nature, in short, against everything. Therefore, it can be thought that the immigrants who will be part of the capitalist system have been cut off from their land, past and culture.

Although the analyzes of Max Weber and Karl Marx on the nature of modern capitalism are similar, their emphasis and the political effects of their theories are different (Durakbaşa, 2002:33). According to Honigsheim (1984:556); Since Weber's parents were Protestant, they had to emigrate from their hometowns under pressure from the Catholics. In this respect, it is thought that Weber's views may be important on the issue of migration.

According to Weber; There are energies in societies in general terms. The energies are used for production, but because some energies cannot be used for various reasons (limitation of labor opportunities, no need for unqualified labor, wrong channeling of the workforce and trying to suppress it, etc.), a tension arises. Tensions in societies can be reduced through mobility. According to Marx and Weber, immigrants who pass through these stages become slaves of capitalism (Honigsheim, 1984: 556; Torun, 2003: 39).

Auguste Comte (1798-1857), one of the positivists, mentions that human behavior can be measured by moral rules (Durakbaşa, 2002:18-19). Comte states that all social problems (moral crisis, political crisis, etc.) result from the coexistence of incompatible thought systems such as mental confusion, theology, metaphysics and positive sciences. He emphasizes that if a common social teaching is formed in the minds, all the turmoil will end (Kösemihal, 1982: 154). As a matter of fact, political turmoil, economic problems and wars that push people to migrate are entirely due to the inability to achieve social consensus.

Henri de Saint-Simon (1760-1825), who came to the fore with his ideas after the French Revolution, emphasized that the rising bourgeoisie in the society gradually dominated the public sphere, monopolized the production factors and the first steps of the industrial society were taken. It is emphasized that urbanization and therefore migration are experienced with industrialization.

The Darwinian approach has been applied to the issue of migration. The main element of Darwinism; "The survival of the fittest or the survival of the fittest". However, he talks about evolution on humanity. In this respect, it seems possible for people to migrate in order to live (in order to adapt and adapt to life). Social demands differ from time to time. Preferential motives that lead people to different behaviors in order to meet these demands; some values, aspirations or ideals (Bottomore and Nisbet, 1990: 180-182). Failure to realize these ideals may cause population movements, that is, evolution (going to places where they can realize these ideals). Indeed, this is called migration.

Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) brought together the theory of evolution and liberal individual ideology in his view, The Principles of Social Darwinism. Spencer, evolution; he says that it is only linear, continuous and inevitable towards a certain direction (Durakbaşa, 2002:22). From this point of view, the evolution in societies is from negative to positive. That is, poor societies will evolve into wealthy.

Durkheim's division of labor, Marx's class conflict, Weber's rational rise, and his assertion that the contemporary world is the urban world (Slattery, 1985:18) are also important in terms of explaining that the direction of migration is constantly towards developed countries. It is mentioned that immigration, industrialization, labor and money will turn poor societies into wealth.

Another view is the socialist view. The socialist view envisages the selection of individuals most prone to integration among those who will come with external migration (Yalçın, 2004:42). It is possible to evaluate the socialist view as the modern approach of Darwinism. This view, in which it is argued that compatible species can live in society, is seen in practices such as the Green Card of the United States of America and the qualified worker project of the Netherlands.

According to the idea of heterogeneity; Whether society evolves or not, whether there is equal opportunity or not, there will be migration. People do not migrate due to evolution. Individuals migrate according to their own rational consent and values.

According to the modernization theory; If the market mechanism works with a free market economy without interference, a balance can be achieved between the sending and receiving places. Thus, migration takes place from regions with relatively low growth rates to regions with higher growth rates. This situation; It reduces the employment pressure in the place of immigration and reduces the demand for labor in the place of immigration. Within this mechanism, migration evolves according to the region with the higher growth rate. In the meantime, a surplus of production occurs in the place of migration. Naturally, this region, whose population has decreased, receives immigration from a third place. Thus, the region can keep its population at a normal level (Turner, 1991:136; Rosenberg and Birdzell, 1992:78).

Functionalist theories; they are interested in how to maintain stability in society (Bozkurt, 2004:246). Capitalist entrepreneurs who focus on the distribution of goods and services will make more profit if they find a market for a new service or product. The desire for growth and more profits will lead to the demand for cheap labor.

According to the dual (mutual) labor market theory; It is argued that migrant labor is a necessity for developed countries (Piore, 1979). Migration differs according to the characteristics of labor demand. In other words, the aims of the immigrants in the source country are shaped according to the infrastructure of the destination country. The job market in the target country is segmented. Immigrants take on 3D jobs (dirty, dangerous and difficult) while local workers (citizens of that country) work in more impressive jobs. In addition, the migrant workforce has a more flexible structure as a production factor than the local workforce (Bijak, 2006:10). Worker demands and preferences can be changed as desired, and more difficult conditions can be imposed on working hours and working conditions compared to local workers (Massey et al., 2002:431-466).

According to the theory of intervening opportunities, which is Stouffer's view; It is revealed that migration is associated with the abundance of opportunities where people migrate (Clifford, 1970:11). In other words, knowing that there are many opportunities in the destination is a kind of trigger for the migration movement. In addition, even the immigrants themselves may become the owners of new opportunities through the economic organizations they are in after a while. In other words, they can employ an immigrant who came to the city after them as a worker in the workplace they established (Gürkan, 2006:38).

According to the differentiated opportunity theory of Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin; The concept of migration can be defined in a relative way. In traditional societies, people who feel or see themselves as unsuccessful will be in a quest to be successful. (İçli, 2007:101). Therefore, they can migrate. Those who cannot migrate legally or are hopeless may be involved in illegality.

According to the voltage theory; individuals migrate because of the tensions created by the effects of environmental forces that they deem harmful (İçli, 2007:100).

The theory of inequality and imbalance draws attention to inequalities and imbalances in the social system. He says that social injustice, inequality and imbalances in societies create migration. For example, inequalities in wage levels, areas of unemployment, differences in environmental indicators. This theory; brings both the system and the individual to the fore. Starting from this point; Understanding the motives that create inequalities in people can affect the rate of migration.

Parsons' (1902–1979) AGIL formula (Adaptation: Harmony, Goal Attainment: Reaching Goals, Integration: Integration, Latency: Potential); Like the theory of inequality and disequilibrium, it argues that social integration will occur through the fair distribution of scarce resources. Corruption rates and the unjust distribution of gross national products in underdeveloped countries in the world today prevent the distribution of scarce resources within social integration.

According to Parsons' voluntary action principle; people choose between different actions within the framework of values and norms, taking into account scarce resources (Turner, 1999:280-281). Migration is the act of people after considering and deciding how to make the best use of scarce resources throughout their lives.

In the rational decision-making process; individuals desire to improve their own quality of life before emigrating. Also; makes a decision on education, health and life safety issues. This decision process is individual. Expectations and earnings are also calculated when choosing something. From this point; Migration reflects a conscious and selective decision process.

New economic theories focus on the migration of households, not the migration of individuals. It is mentioned that individuals make profit and loss calculations as a result of their family decisions, rather than their individual decisions. Because it is thought that when people take their families into account, the risks they take will decrease and they can achieve more rational results (Stark and Bloom, 1985, Stark, 1991, Bijak, 2006:12).

Parekh's migration theory classification; explains migration from a quite different perspective. According to this view, which takes the theory of opportunity as their starting point; If there is demand in terms of labor in a country, the migration process will flow into that gap. However, it is stated that as soon as the need in the

country is over or employment is limited, immigration will stop and immigrants who cannot find a job will return to their countries (Yalçın, 2004:40).

According to the ethnic and nationalist view, which is a conservative approach; Immigration should be given as a right only to those of that country's culture or race (Yalçın, 2004:44). From this point of view, this approach is dominant in Germany, Turkey and many other countries. For example, according to the legislation of our country; immigrants are defined as 'foreigners of Turkish descent and culture-bound' (No. 5543 Settlement Law, 2006).

Toynbee's challenge-response theory; He followed a line close to Marxist thought. According to this view, any social change event can be interpreted as a challenge-response process. Humans potentially have a certain amount of energy. What is meant by "energy" is all kinds of creative qualities possessed by human beings (Duran, 1993:4–8). Considering that the universe is the force that compels humans, humans are also creatures that resist and respond to this force. For example; In order to fight poverty, people (in theory can be thought of as poverty defiant) would prefer a difficult and risky illegal migration. In addition, they can be re-involved in the migration process in order to respond to the challenge despite being caught many times.

Is migration a phenomenon learned in the social process? Or has immigration become hereditary in poor societies?

The issue of illegal immigration is also important in terms of social learning processes. Migration can be defined as a phenomenon that is learned and taught in society, not something that is noticed by itself. Again, in the social learning process, friends can also be a role model. For example, peer groups can be a source of information or an exemplary model for migration (İçli, 2007).

When we look at the symbolic (Interaction) approach and the social learning process in the same line; Families with informal means of socialization have an important place in society. Regarding economic behavior, families affect children's attitudes towards work and career processes (Bozkurt, 2004:248). Therefore, children can learn their attitudes about work from their parents.

From Sutherland's theory of separating combinations; It is possible to make various inferences about immigration. Migration can be learned through behavior. People cannot learn the routes of illegal immigration unless they are involved in this crime and there are people who went illegally before them or they flock to the border of the neighboring country at the cost of saving their lives. Migration; In humans, it is not inherited like animals.

In illegal migration, interacting with people who will facilitate the use of scarce resources in the destination country is an important element in making the migration decision. This issue should be considered in parallel with Parsons' principle of voluntary action and network theory.

Illegal immigration behavior takes place in intimate groups. Communication tools are also an important factor in accelerating illegal immigration. For example, acquaintances in the source and destination countries are in constant contact. This situation can be shown as a sign that the individual transfers the migration to the next ones.

If we look at the differential empowerment theory regarding social processes, a similar picture will emerge.

The more positive definitions people have about a behavior, the more likely they are to engage in that type of behavior (Siegel, 1989, İçli, 2007:122). People may migrate when their positive ideas about migration outweigh their negative opinions. So much so that although illegal immigrants know that they have committed a crime, they think they have no other choice and can neutralize this crime by themselves.

## **3. METHODOLOGY**

According to the data of Istanbul Police Department, Foreigners Branch, Tracking Control Bureau, 815 illegal immigrants were apprehended in June, July and August 2008. Of these, 396 are Pakistan, 160 are Afghanistan and 50 are Bangladesh.

is a national.

Those between the ages of 18 and 50 who volunteer to participate in the study. Since the number of female immigrants was low, they could not be included in the scope of the research.

A questionnaire consisting of 58 questions was applied to 262 people using face-to-face interview technique. Due to the language problem; In the survey study, assistance was received from 6 translators whose mother tongues were Urdu, Persian and Bengali.

In the process of preparing the survey questions, previous studies and the opinions of experts working in the field were used. While creating the survey questions, it was aimed to reveal the socio-economic profiles of illegal immigrants and the reasons for their migration.

## 4. RESULTS

Of the 262 Asian illegal immigrants selected as the sample, 41.2% were Pakistani, 42% Afghanistan and 16.8% Bangladeshi nationals. 50.4% of them live in the village, 18.7% in the town and 30.9% in the city. The individuals in the sample group are the youngest 18 and the highest 48 years old. The mean age is  $25.4\pm5.05$  years. 53.1% of the sample is between the ages of 18 and 24. More than half of the total are primary and secondary school graduates. 51.9% are single and 42% are married. Single immigrants do not have children. On the other hand, 44.3% of married immigrants have children. When the professional careers of Asian illegal immigrants are examined; It is seen that 35.9% are workers and 35.1% are tradesmen. Although 71% of them have a job that generates economic income, 80.2% of the whole sample considers the job opportunities in their country insufficient. 68.7% of the sample earn less than \$50 per month in their country. This rate includes the unemployed and earns an average of 40.87±31.43 US dollars per month. Therefore, it is seen that 58.4% of them do not have any assets.

The parents of 63% of the sample group, the mothers of 14.5% and the fathers of 10.3% are living. Parents of 12.2% died. Immigrants have a relatively higher education level than their parents. Especially the education level of mothers is quite low. 43.9% of mothers are illiterate. 35.5% of the fathers are primary school graduates and 27.9% are literate. What fathers and mothers have in common is a sharp decline in secondary school attendance after primary school. On the other hand, it is striking that 35.9% of the immigrants are secondary school graduates. In the family, 48.5% of the fathers are tradesmen and 37.4% are workers. It has been determined that only 5% of the mothers work as workers (95% of them are housewives). The fathers of the people included in the sample usually earn less than fifty dollars in their country (53.8%). Fathers earn the lowest monthly income of 0 (unemployed), a maximum of 500 dollars, and earn an average of 57± 40.4 US dollars per month. 34.4% of families earn a maximum of \$50 per month in their country. A minimum of 0, a maximum of 500 US dollars is earned and a monthly average of 92.13±61.16 US dollars constitutes the family income. The fathers of 67.3% of the 168 people who have other employees in their family, and the fathers and siblings of 25.6% are working. 56.1% of the sample group stated that they were subjected to violence by family elders. 77.2% of those who answered the question experienced violence from their father. 86.8% of those who have children have less than 5 children. 64% of 114 people who have children are taken care of by their spouses. It is seen that 27.2% of them immigrated as a family. 50.4% of the sample has 5 or more siblings.

18.7% of the sample group immigrated to another country before. 42.9% of these immigrants preferred to go to Iran and 24.5% to the United Arab Emirates before. 79.6% of these immigrants worked as daily workers. An acquaintance of 90.1% of the whole sample went abroad illegally. Friends of 78.9% and relatives of 21.1% are still abroad. 26.3% of illegal immigrants were previously caught and deported within the borders of the Republic of Turkey.

66.8% of the sample migrated for economic reasons, 17.6% for life safety and 15.6% for both economic and life safety reasons. 3.1% of those who migrated for economic reasons were deceived. 26% of them decide to immigrate through their acquaintances abroad (the ratio becomes 34.1% when we add friends and relatives to acquaintances abroad), and 23.3% through their friends in their country. Moreover, spouses of 17.9% encouraged migration. Regarding immigration, it is quite interesting that smugglers advertise in the media and attract people to the illegal immigration process.76.7% of the sample wants to go to European Union countries. Greece is the first country preferred by immigrants with 29.8%.75.2% of them stated that they were afraid of being caught by the security forces during the journey. 95% stated that they are afraid of dying at any stage of the illegal immigration process. Fearing to die during the migration process, 45.4% of the 249 people thought to return, were subjected to violence or threatened by smugglers, and 27.3% thought they had nothing to lose and continued on their way. 77.9% of them declared that they know that it is a crime to enter a country's territory without permission. 54.6% said they would find a job through their friends, 16% on their own, and 15.3% through a smuggler who took them to the target country.

88.2% of the sample prefer to work in every job provided that it is not a crime. 9.9% stated that they are ready to accept any kind of job in order to earn money quickly. When the respondents who participated in the survey were asked which profession they would like to work in, 66% stated that they had no idea, and 17.6% preferred construction work. Although 58% of them stated that they plan to return to their country after earning money abroad, 41.2% of them stated that they wanted to stay in the country they went to. 68.3% stated that they do not think of starting a family in the target country or taking their family in their country with them. 70.2% of the sample group who have immigrated illegally do not want a relative to go to another country illegally. After being deported from Turkey, 39.7% of the sample group stated that they would immigrate to another country, 5% would come back to Turkey, 36.3% were undecided, and 19.1% would work in their country.

Target Country	Pakistan		Afgha	nistan	Bang	adesh		
	n	%	n	%	n	%	р	$x^2$
Greece	41	38	27	24,5	10	22,7		
Italy	15	13,9	19	17,3	10	22,7		
France	16	14,8	8	7,3	0	0		
England	15	13,9	9	8,2	1	2,3	0.000	02.54
Spain	7	6,5	7	6,4	-	-	0.000	92,54
Germany	12	11,1	4	3,6	-	-		
Saudi Arabia	1	0,9	-	-	7	15,9		
Turkey	1	0,9	36	32,7	16	36,4		

#### Table 1 : Target Country Comparison by Country of Sample

\* column percentages.

38% of Pakistanis aim to go to Greece, 32.7% of Afghans to Turkey, 24.5% to Greece and 45.4% of Bangladeshis to Greece and Italy.

Reason	Pakistan		Afgha	nistan	Bangladesh			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	р	$x^2$
Economic Reasons	74	68,5	56	50,9	37	84,1	0.000	60,69
Deceived	1	0,9	-	-	7	15,9		
Economic and life safety	19	17,6	22	20	-	-		
Life safety	14	13	32	29,1	-	-		

 Table 2: Comparison of the Reason for Migration by Country of the Sample

\* column percentages.

68.5% of Pakistanis, 50.9% of Afghans and 84.1% of Bangladeshis migrate for economic reasons. 29.1% of Afghans immigrate for security reasons and 20% for security of life and economic reasons.

Tablo 3 : Com	parison of I	Migration ]	Backgrounds	by Countr	y of Sample

Immigration	history	Yes		N	lo		
		n	%	n	%	р	$x^2$
Pakistan		12	11,1	96	88,9		
Afghanistan		12	10,9	88	89,1	0.000	50,53
Bangladesh		25	56,8	19	43,2		

\* row percentages.

While 88.9% of the Pakistani sample and 89.1% of Afghans have not migrated to another country before, 56.8% of Bangladeshis have immigrated to another country before.

Person to find a job abroad	Friends		Own		Relatives		Smugglers			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	р	$x^2$
Pakistan	64	59,3	11	10,2	23	21,3	10	9,3	0.000	24,46
Afghanistan	58	52,7	26	23,6	5	4,5	21	19,1		
Bangladesh	21	47,7	5	11,4	9	20,5	9	20,5		

 Table 4 : Comparison of the Ways of Finding a Job Abroad by Country of the Sample

\*row percentages.

Half of the sample will have a friend who will find a job abroad. In addition, it is noteworthy that 19.1% of Afghans and 20.5% of Bangladeshis are self-employed by human traffickers.

# 5. DISCUSSION and CONCLUSION

It is important that less than half of the immigrants are married (including 190 children) and more than half (63%) of their parents are alive, yet they are involved in the migration process. In terms of rational decision making process; immigrants decide on their own for immigration. The new economic theory stated by Stark and Bloom (1985), Stark (1991) and Bijak (2006:12); mentions the influence of households on the migration of individuals. In line with this view, which states that individuals will make a more rational decision when they think about their families, it is thought that immigrants migrate after receiving the support of their parents and spouses. Moreover, almost one in five people said that their spouse encouraged them to emigrate. This reveals the importance of family members in taking the decision to migrate.

On average, one out of every four immigrants (27.2%) migrated as a family. Sirkeci (2008), on the other hand, determined that 40% of the immigrants migrated with their family and friends. Thus, it has been understood that even children learn about migration at a young age. Considering that the new economic theories focus not on the migration of the individual, but on the migration of the households; It can be said that immigration can occur as a result of household or family decisions rather than individual decisions. As a matter of fact, the study overlaps with new economic theories in this respect.

A large part of the sample (90.1%) knew a person who had gone abroad illegally before. In addition, Sirkeci (2008) in his study; He found that one out of every two interviewees knew someone who had immigrated illegally. More than half of the sample had traveled legally but became illegal as the visa expired. In the study of Black et al. (2006:553-559); It was determined that 25% of the sample's relatives, 25% of their friends and 16% of their families had migrated illegally before. In this respect, it is thought that friendship and kinship relations have an important place in migration and that the findings are consistent and parallel with social learning, differential connections and network theories.

When the people who are active in taking the migration decision are examined; It has been observed that almost one out of every ten people (9.2%) made the decision to migrate themselves. The rest must have had someone's support or opinion before they migrated. That's why; The decision to migrate is considered to be a difficult decision to make.

In the sample, one out of every three people (34.1%) decided to migrate through an acquaintance (friend, relative, etc.) who went abroad illegally before. This situation overlaps with network theory, social learning theory and differential empowerment theory, but not with dual labor market theory.

According to Wilpert (1992: 178), there are invisible networks that connect immigrant and immigrant societies. New migration movements take place thanks to these networks. Taylor (1986), Bijak (2006), and Massey et al. (1993) also stated that network theory is supported by factors such as friendship or sharing the same origin. Indeed, almost all of the sample had an acquaintance who immigrated illegally before. From here, new immigrants are thought to follow in the footsteps of previous immigrants.

The more positive definitions people have about a behavior, the more likely they are to engage in that type of behavior (Siegel, 1989, İçli, 2007:122). Since people in the source country are in contact with their acquaintances who have immigrated illegally, the illegal migration movements of immigrants can be explained by differential empowerment and social learning theories. Because friends or acquaintances are a role model. In this study, it is thought that especially peer groups constitute an information source or an exemplary model for migration.

According to the dual (mutual) labor market theory; job markets are formed according to the migration direction and movements of people (Piore, 1979). However, in this study, the vast majority of immigrants want to go to previously established job markets in order to find a job. In this respect, the findings cannot be explained by the dual market theory.

40% of the sample is a person they know in their country; On average, one out of every five people (17.9%) stated that their spouse encouraged them to migrate. In this study, the migration decision-making processes of immigrants showed parallelism with new economic theories (where families are effective in making migration decisions). Because immigrant spouses support themselves can be explained by this theory.

According to the symbolic (interaction) theory, families can affect children's attitudes towards work and career processes in relation to economic behavior (Bozkurt, 2004:248). The fact that some of the immigrants are pushed to the migration process by their families also overlaps with this theory.

In terms of interveining opportunities theory, which is Stouffer's view; people decide to migrate in relation to the multiplicity of opportunities where they migrate (Clifford, 1970:11). As a matter of fact, as Gürkan (2006:38) states, after a certain time, immigrants can employ immigrants who come after them as bosses wherever they go. Therefore, economic immigrants think that they can earn a better living in the places they go. In this perspective, the fact that a large proportion of immigrants (66.8%) migrate for economic reasons can be explained by the theory of intersecting opportunities.

Push and pull theory is divided into two as hard and soft (Öberg, 1996: 336-367). The first group consists of those who experience a dramatic situation (armed conflict, war, environmental destruction, etc.), while the other is the factors that are seen as less of a problem (poverty, social exclusion and unemployment) (Bijak, 2006:6). According to this theory, it is expected that people will flee from violent areas more. However, despite the war, terrorism and violence in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Bangladesh, the migration of people mainly for economic reasons does not coincide with the hard/soft distinction in the push-pull theory.

The reason why immigrants migrate can be explained by Parsons's AGIL formula and voluntary action principle, as well as opportunities theory and push-pull theory. According to Parsons; The individual desires to benefit from scarce resources by taking into account different values. In this respect, immigrants want to go to rich countries in order to benefit from scarce resources. For this reason, European countries have been chosen as the target.

According to the tension theory, individuals migrate due to the tensions created by the influence of environmental forces that they deem harmful to them. In this respect, the tension theory and the tendency of immigrants to migrate are similar. Because the war, conflict and economic problems in the country they live in increase social tension. This situation can accelerate social mobility (migration).

The theory of inequality and imbalance draws attention to inequalities and imbalances in the social system. This theory states that social injustice, inequality and imbalances in societies create migration. In the light of this theory, it is thought that people migrate mostly for economic reasons because of these social injustices in societies.

In the Darwinian approach, which states "the survival of the fittest or the survival of the fittest", people evolve towards the positive. With this approach, it is thought that immigrants have great problems due to their economic and life safety and they try to adapt to life or become a compatible species by migrating.

According to the idea of heterogeneity, contrary to Darwin, migration will occur whether society evolves or not, whether there is equality of opportunity or not. No findings related to this idea have been obtained.

According to the modernization theory, the fact that migration takes place towards places with a high growth rate indicates the direction of evolution. In addition, Durkheim's division of labor, Marx's class conflict, Weber's rational rise, and his revealing that the contemporary world is the urban world (Slattery, 1985:18) are important in terms of explaining the evolution towards developed countries. The findings in this study show parallelism with the Darwinian view, Herbert Spencer's (1820–1903) Theory of Social Darwinism's Principles and the Modernization Theory. Because the direction of migration is from poor Asian countries to developed and industrialized European cities.

Although Marxist theory seems to have adopted a parallel line with Darwinism regarding the displacement of societies, it emphasized that evolution would take place not by the capitalists but by the masses of the people. In other words, even if people migrated for economic reasons, they will see the true face of capitalism in time and realize that they can become rich by evolving towards socialism. It is emphasized that the first displacement is fake and that real evolution will take place with the turn to socialism afterwards. No findings were obtained in terms of this theory.

In addition, Marx referred to instability, not stability, in society with his 'Conflict Theory'. Considering that immigrants migrated due to instability and problems (war, economic reasons, etc.), it has been realized that migration can be explained by conflict theory. In fact, the repeated illegal immigration of immigrants despite being caught repeatedly is important in terms of reflecting the severity of the instability in their own lands.

Standing close to the Marxist line, Toynbee's challenge and response theory argues that human beings challenge challenges. It is emphasized that people who suffer from poverty, life security or discrimination in their country challenge the universe. This is why a difficult and risky illegal immigration phenomenon may be preferred. The data in this study is thought to be consistent with Tonybee's approach. Because despite being caught many times, immigrants can immigrate illegally again.

At the beginning of Ravenstein's immigration laws is the 'migration distance'. In other words, Ravenstein mentions that immigrants prefer short-distance routes rather than long-distance routes (Dorigo and Tobler, 1983; Greenwood and Hunt, 2003). However, the concept of 'short distance' stated in Ravenstein's immigration law is relative. It is not known to whom or for what it was short. In this study, it is evaluated that the distance is not short, as most of the sample wants to travel thousands of kilometers to Europe. In addition, in the study of Brewer and Yükseker (2007), the desire of immigrants to go to Europe via Turkey while there is a shorter route to reach destination countries cannot be called short-distance migration. From this point of view, the purpose of illegal immigrants; It is thought that the goal is to reach the target with the least risk and the distance can be ignored in order to reduce this risk.

Ravenstein also introduced the concept of near and far migration. He states that those who migrate from a close place will settle in places close to the city centers, while those who migrate from a far place will settle directly in the city or industrial centers (Dorigo and Tobler, 1983; Greenwood and Hunt, 2003; Yalçın, 2004). In this context; According to Ravenstein's theory; A person who goes to England from France to work must migrate to the countryside, and an immigrant from Pakistan must migrate to the city centre. Access to financial resources is vital for the human being called homo-economicus (economic human). Asian illegal immigrants did not consider 'staged migration' because they wanted to go to places where they could earn money.

According to Parsons' voluntary action principle; As a result of different actions, people make choices within the framework of values and norms, taking into account scarce resources (Turner, 1999:280–281). Again, it was stated that people migrated within the framework of their own values and norms, rather than making a distinction between close and distant ones. Therefore, it is thought that the sample chose the places where they migrated and they did this within the framework of values and norms.

In Marxist theory, the greatest emphasis has been placed on 'alienation'. According to Marx, capitalist relations of production are based on private property. This will cause alienation among people. Despite Marx's view, this study does not coincide with the aim of immigrants to find employment in the target country through citizenship, friendship or acquaintance.

According to Wallerstein's world system theory, capitalist development has caused deviant behaviors and displacements (migration) in societies. In the world system where production has become a monopoly, citizens of states that cannot produce have struggled to live (Wallerstein, 2005). Therefore, relationships supported by factors such as friendship or sharing the same origin (network theory) (Taylor, 1986; Massey et al., 1993), plus-minus (profit-loss) analysis (push pull theory) (Öberg, 1996:336–367; Bijak, 2006:6; Çelik, 2006:150) is thought to create an attractive factor for potential immigrants and can push them to the decision to migrate. Immigrants who want to go to European countries that can produce show a meaningful course of action according to the world system theory. Because a very small part of the immigrants stated that they will find a job in the target country, and the rest will do this through a friend, it can be explained with the network, push-pull and world system theory in the migration decision. In addition, the fact that all immigrants stated that they migrated for various reasons, but all of them wanted to find a job and work, shows that economic factors have a very important place in the basis of migration.

When the relations of illegal immigrants with human smugglers are examined; It was observed that a large part of the sample contacted smugglers through a friend (66%) or a relative (21.4%). In terms of benefiting from scarce resources in the destination country, the interaction of immigrants with people who will facilitate them is an important factor in making the decision to migrate and emigrate. This is in line with Parsons' principle of voluntary action, network theory, social learning theory, and discriminant combinations theory.

According to the dual (mutual) labor market theory (Piore, 1979), which argues that migrant labor is a necessity for developed countries, and the macro theory, which advocates labor migration; migrant workers take on 3D jobs (dirty, dangerous and difficult) wherever they go. (Bijak, 2006:10). As a matter of fact, it is thought that the undecided immigrants in this study will also work in this type of work.

According to functionalist theories, capitalists aiming at the distribution of goods and services need new markets and markets (Bozkurt, 2004:246). Supply must be increased to meet demand in newly discovered markets. To produce more goods, workers will be needed who can work more than usual or at night, but who will be paid less in return. This expectation will also be closed with immigrants. As a matter of fact, it can be said that the findings on migrant labor can be explained by functionalist theories.

In Marxist theory, it is emphasized that capitalism dominates in industrialized societies. It is mentioned that the capitalist system, which will not be able to respond to the demands of internal and external resources, will enter into new searches (Torun, 2003). At the beginning of these searches is cheap labor. Cheap labor to be met from traditional and poor societies will be important in terms of opening up the contradiction that capitalism has within itself. Therefore, capital owners will take advantage of the desperation of illegal immigrants and make them work cheaper. It is expected that these works will be 3D works.

The fact that about one out of every two Pakistani, Afghan and Bangladeshi people found a job abroad reveal is that the network theory should be interpreted the same according to the countries and that the way Asian immigrants find employment in the destination country is generally similar.

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