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THE MIGRATION FACTOR IN MODERN POLITICAL SCIENCE: SECURITIZATION OF MIGRATION

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Abstract

In this article, the migration factor is studied in modern political science, starting with the reasons for the emergence of migration, the tendency of its politicization and securitization (security) is revealed. Today, theoretical aspects of how migration has become a politicized factor of security are studied.

KEYWORDS: Migration, polarization, political process, securitization.

INTRODUCTION

Political theory studies and investigates political processes in connection with various socio-economic events and changes in society. Migration, which has a history as long as the history of mankind, has been scientifically studied since the last century. This was caused by the influence of migration on socio-economic and demographic changes in society, on political processes. Thus, the problem of migration entered political science. The entry of migration into political science was connected with its politicization. The politicization of migration was signaled by French politician and opposition leader Le Pen's (father of Marine Le Pen) claim in the 1970s that "two million (African) immigrants are the cause of two million French unemployment." [1] Of course, at that time, migration was not yet considered a "threat" and, therefore, was not securitized. However, the introduction of migration into political processes has become the center of debate, where its causes and consequences in not only socio-economic, but also cultural, political, environmental and security fields are widely studied.

Concept and essence of migration

It is known that migration is divided into internal and external. Migration within a country is internal migration, while inter-state migration is external migration. External migration is also known as international migration. There are many definitions of migration, but scholars define international migration as a person or a group of people leaving their country for a period of at least 12 months to study, work, or live in another country[2].

There are different views and theories about the causes of migration. The first migration theory (1885) was Ravenstein's law, and later migration theories increased. These include Stouffer's theory of intersecting opportunities, Lee's push-pull theory, Petersen's "Five types of migration" theory, macro-micro theories of neoclassical economics,

world systems (center-periphery) theory, migration systems theory, network theory, the theory of institutional and cumulative causes of migration and others.

The above theories show that there is no way to stop or prevent international migration today. This means that migration has a great impact on political processes globally. With globalization, the rapid spread of goods and services, technology, labor, and cultures has also ensured an increase in international migration. This led to a change in the political culture of states and societies and increased its influence on political processes. In particular, with the increase in the number of immigrants, the formation of heterogeneous ethnic groups, cultures and societies has become the center of discussion in Europe and North America, where there are many immigrants. This seems right in one respect. Because, according to the data of 2018, 4.561 billion in Asia. people live, and if only 2 percent of them are considered immigrants, 746.4 million people live in Europe. and 11.5 percent or 1 in 9 people are immigrants. 579 million in North America people live and 10 percent or one in 10 people are immigrants. With this, we can understand the significant influence of heterogeneous ethnic groups and cultural societies in Europe and North America. Therefore, in Europe and North America, immigration is becoming politicized and in some cases securitized. As Kostakopoulou points out, immigration policy is a matter of high politics, that is, it is closely related to national sovereignty and nationality[3].

The impact of migration on the political process and political culture

As political scientists Almond and Verba wrote, in societies with a "participant" and "civic" political culture, as long as political activity is high, the issue of migration will have an open discussion center. The standard conclusion is that increased immigration leads to discontent among local populations, leading to increased support for anti-immigration populist, far-right, and conservative parties[4]. The results of scientific research conducted by researchers A. Alesina and M. Tabellini show that cultural forces (factors) are more important than economic forces (factors) in

the causes of discontent of the local population. The reason, according to the researchers, is that, firstly, when immigrants differ from the local population (ethnically, racially, culturally), resentment arises more. Second, local residents' opposition to immigration is largely influenced by stereotypes and misconceptions. For example, local residents view the immigrant population as excessive and believe that immigrants are poor, poorly educated, and culturally distant[5].

The influence of migration on the political process and political culture during and within the framework of globalization is studied through the theory of polarization. The concept of polarization is the main point of conflict between cultures characterized by global mistrust. This theory argues that cultural identity is a global distrust of the clash of civilizations rather than tolerance in political cooperation. Furthermore, while technological changes and the globalization of information increase opportunities for intercultural communication and sharing of experiences, it suggests that it can also be easily used for conflicts such as hatred, ethno-nationalism and racism[6].

The most famous and controversial example of this theory is Samuel Huntington's "The Clash of Civilizations". According to Huntington, with the end of the Cold War, the current situation in the world may lead to cultural wars and even a "global war of civilizations" due to cultural differences, not political or economic[7].

From this point of view, Huntington divided the world into nine civilizations. These civilizations are: China, Japan, India, Buddhism, Islam, Orthodoxy, Western Europe, North America, Latin America. As noted, these civilizations differ sharply from each other in many aspects, such as their values, traditions and customs, social relations, philosophical assumptions, and views on life. According to Huntington, the history of mankind is the history of civilizations. Based on this, immigration is also described as a "fear" or "threat" of a culture that carries foreign cultures. Such "fear" and "calls" that are sent to people's subconscious make them an object of securitization of migration.

Securitization of migration

The increase in migration with globalization ensured that it became a factor of securitization. The concept of securitization, which was introduced to science for the first time (1995) by the researcher Ole Waever, in contrast to traditional concepts of security, proposes that security problems and issues appear as a speech act (speech act)[8]. More precisely, the theory of securitization explains how and why a certain problem of society becomes a security problem. Any public issue can go from non-political (non-politicized) to political (politicized) to security (securitized)[9].

Securitization of any issue is not a positive trend, rather it curtails democratic norms. For example, a political leader's statement that immigrants are a threat to peaceful social life cannot be seen as a mere assessment of the situation. According to the theory of securitization, this expression means that the presence of immigrants was transferred from the non-politicized sphere to the political sphere (politicized) and then to the security sphere (securitized). As a result, radical measures such as the police arrest of securitized immigrants as a threat to social peace, their forced detention in camps, or relocation (deportation) are legalized. Because "safety is about survival" and anything goes to ensure survival[10].

Securitization is more related to the concept of social security in the context of migration. Social security does not refer to the state, but to the protection of social identity, individuals or community units. These communities can be nations, religious or ethnic communities[11]. Social security is defined as "the preservation of language, culture, religion, national identity, customs and traditions" and "the ability of a society to maintain its essence in the face of changing conditions and despite existing or potential threats" is described[12].

CONCLUSION

We can see that the impact of migration on political processes is studied and researched within the framework of political culture and political socialization, within the framework of political activity and political participation, within the framework of changes such as polarization,

homogenization and hybridization of cultures together with globalization. These studies prove that in countries with a "participant" – "civic" political culture, immigrants have more opportunities to be politically active and, at the same time, have higher opportunities to influence the political culture. This, in turn, leads to the emergence of negative and positive perceptions and scientific approaches about immigrants.

The Copenhagen school, which studied the theory of migration securitization, proved that migration has become one of the problems perceived as a potential threat to social (community) identity and caused migration to be expressed as a speech act by politicians and mass media. At the same time, the events of September 11, 2001 and the subsequent terrorist attacks in Europe led to the actualization of the securitization of migration in the 21st century and the expansion of cases of viewing it as a threat to peace.

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