

Ozan Sabri Tuncer¹

ORCID: 0000-0002-1379-6648

International Relations and Security Department, Social Science,
Selçuk University, Turkey

Onder Aytac Afsar

ORCID: 0000-0003-1394-3975

International Relations and Security Department,
Social Science and Security, Selçuk University, Turkey

***A critical look at migration and security within
the framework of the Aberystwyth School:
the case of Poland***

Abstract

The problem of migration, which affects the international conjuncture and has been mentioned frequently in the literature over the recent years. Migration has become a major security problem not only for the receiving country but also for the sending countries. While the states acted with the classical sense of security with the 1648 Westphalia system, there were especially critical approaches that wanted to change this perception. Aberystwyth School, one of the critical theories, also argues that this perception should be changed. According to this school, instead of a rigid border and military security, the changing and deepening security problems should also be ad-

¹ **Corresponding author:** Ozan Sabri Tuncer, International Relations and Security Department, Social Science, Selçuk University, Camlaraltı Street, 20100, Denizli, Turkey; email: tuncerozansabri@gmail.com.

dressed. The immigration problem, which became more prominent in the international conjuncture, especially after the Syrian civil war, proves critical security theories. In this article, we tried to explain security problems posed by the immigrant problem in Europe on the Polish example following the Russia-Ukraine crisis. Thus, by referring to the Aberystwyth School principles on Ukrainian immigrants, a diversified security perspective was provided.

Keywords: Poland, security, immigration, Ukraine crisis, Aberystwyth school

Introduction

The current migration crisis remains one of the most important pending issues of the international community, especially the irregular migration phenomenon, and results in spreading conjectures and speculations. Human migration has influenced history since the beginning of civilisation (Ticu, 2021, p. 338). Migration also, directly and indirectly, affected the security of states and people in this historical scene. The concept of security was widely used in the international migration literature with the increase in international mass migrations and human mobility which has turned into a security problem (Simsek & Icduydu, 2017, p. 9). The concept of security has evolved historically due to many variables. It is controversial in many ways because of the dominant relationship of the concept of security with military threats and the perception of state-centred security (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2021, p. 2). Some theorists have concluded that security is “essentially a controversial concept” (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2021, p. 3). While there is no clear consensus on how to define security, it becomes even more complicated when combined with immigration. Many factors contribute to the problem of international migration, including political impotence, wars, terrorist incidents, violations of human rights, disasters, an increase in the unemployment rate, economic inadequacies, and access to better living conditions (Sen & Şimşek Keskin, 2019, p. 186). In international migration studies, the concept of “security” generally encompassed the protection of state sovereignty and national security (Simsek & Icduydu, 2017, p. 8).

According to Walt, the essence of international security is power competition between states, understood in terms of coercive ability (military power). In this view, security is considered narrowly in terms of state survival. The state is taken as the primary “reference object” to be secured and it focuses heavily on military power, which is fundamental (Walt, 1991, p. 212). Modern security theorists, such as Kenneth Waltz and John Mearsheimer also defended the traditional security concept. However, this perception has changed over time, especially within the framework of the developments after the Cold War. Thus, over time, the traditional perception of security has diversified and met with many different concepts. Although traditional security was dominant for most of the 20th century, critical security studies also emerged in this period (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2021, p. 5).

According to David Baldwin, the understanding of security produced by the Cold War started to change and is superior to all other dimensions of military security

(Baldwin, 1997, p. 9). He argues, however, that security becomes an issue when military strength is problematic. Otherwise, it is accepted as a domestic policy issue. However, once the Cold War was over, security was no longer primarily a military issue as it used to be. He argues that many different concepts were involved in security in the post-Cold War period, including environmental security, identity security, and social security (Ticu, 2021, p. 397).

The relationship between the concept of “security” and the phenomenon of “migration” was heavily debated toward the end of the 1980s. At the same time, there was an academic discussion about how to study modernisation and security problems in society. This debate was oriented toward three main axes.

Firstly, the discussion revolved around national security issues and broadening of security studies. Thus, the perception of researchers and theorists was expanded. Security studies evaluated the threats and dangers of migration studies within the scope of national security. The real question was whether security studies should be limited to military threats and the battlefield alone, or whether their scope should be broadened to include non-military, environmental, economic, identity, and migration issues (Ticu, 2021, p. 388).

The second discussion was the deepening of reference issues (about what needs to be secured). This means that “security studies should mainly use state-centred themes that focus on the security of states and their citizens” (Ticu, 2021, p. 389). The discussion includes a wide range of topics, such as the safety of individuals, communities, or humanity as a whole (Ticu, 2021, p. 389).

Lastly, epistemological and ontological axes were drawn about how security should be perceived and what its nature was (Ticu, 2021, p. 390). Thus, critical security gained importance. The concept of national security as a social construct emerged as a different perspective at Aberystwyth School.

Critical security approaches have had a significant impact on security studies since the 1990s. One of the most important topics in literature is the relationship between migration and security. The purpose of this study is to discuss the Aberystwyth School’s contributions to understanding the migration-security relationship, which is one of its approaches in critical security studies. These contributions provide a useful framework for understanding the immigration/immigrant problem faced by Poland and the countries of the region. In the study, we also examined why the Aberystwyth School should be preferred, unlike the theoretical and empirical contributions of the Copenhagen and Paris Schools, which are more discussed in the literature in the context of migration-security connection compared to the Aberystwyth School. The relationship of migration with security will be included in the analysis within the framework of the security relationship of Ukrainian immigrants to Poland according to the Aberystwyth School. The aim of the study is to discuss how the framework proposed by the Aberystwyth School in the context of the migration-security relationship, can contribute to understanding this relationship.

The objective of the study is to examine the connection between migration and security within the scope of critical security studies and to reveal the rapidly increasing number of international immigrants in the world in recent years as a result of developments such as civil wars, economic crises, and natural disasters. (Kucuk, 2021, p. 6).

It should also be noted that a fully detailed analysis of the relationship between migration and security is difficult to find in traditional studies that refer to these issues (Ticu, 2021, p. 390). Migration has become an important matter in all these critical security discussions. Again, human mobility caused by the Syrian Civil War and the war in Ukraine is important in maintaining this connection. For all these reasons, a literature review will be conducted and the migration and immigrant problem will be analysed within the scope of critical security studies. In the method of the study, a literature review was conducted. Moreover, current surveys (Made Survey in Turkey and European states) and developments were taken into account.

Since critical security studies include very extensive literature, this article will focus only on the Aberystwyth School. This article consists of five parts. In the first part, the refugee crisis in Poland following the Ukraine-Russia war is discussed. In the second part, the contribution of Aberystwyth School to critical security is discussed with real examples on the security context in Poland. In the third section, the social problems faced by immigrants are discussed. In the fourth chapter, the immigrant crisis in Poland is critically discussed within the framework of Aberystwyth School and human security. In the fifth and last chapter, the contribution of the Aberystwyth School to critical security along with the developments after the Russia-Ukraine war is discussed with its results.

Refugee crisis in Poland after Ukraine-Russia tension

The foundations of the Aberystwyth School were laid by the writings of Ken Booth and Richard Wyn Jones, two important academics working in the field of security at Aberystwyth University (Bilgin, 2008, pp. 89–102). The Aberystwyth School developed a theory in which Booth and Jones stood out, challenging the definition of security as a purely military force (Lykoyannis, 2015, p. 9). Critical Theory brought an important break from the traditional understanding of security by connecting the concept of security to emancipation (Kolasi, 2013, p. 123).

Marxism is at the heart of the Aberystwyth School. The forefathers of this approach, Booth and Jones, were heavily influenced by Gramsci's critical theory and the Frankfurt School. This school sees security as a "derivative concept". Robert W. Cox and Timothy Sinclair recognised the "institutions", social and power relations of their approach, but questioned them; they were interested in their origins and form (Eraliev, 2018, p. 23). The Copenhagen, Aberystwyth and Paris Schools have a great role in the development of new approaches to security and the transformation of the definition of security (Mandaci et al., 2013, p. 107).

Unlike the Copenhagen and Paris schools, this school has a specific definition of security. The Aberystwyth School enlarged the framework of this notion of security at this point by rejecting the traditional understanding of security, which sees the state as the natural protector of its citizens in the context of the migration-security relationship (Eraliev, 2018, p. 24). According to Booth, "security" means the absence of threat (Booth, 1991, p. 319). Emancipation is the freedom from physical and human constraints that prevent people from doing what they want. War and the threat of military

conflict; poverty, poor education, political oppression, etc. is one of these restrictions. Liberation and security are two sides of the same coin. Liberation provides real security, not power or order. By advancing emancipation, this school maintains a “critical” expansion of reflection and adds new concepts to the definition of security to include other non-state security issues such as poverty, environment, and identity (Eraliev, 2018, p. 23).

The association of security with the concept of emancipation by the Aberystwyth School represents the transition from the classical to the new security understanding. (Sandıklı & Emeklier, 2012, p. 58). Liberation, in theory, is “security” (Booth, 1991, p. 319). “Emancipation” is accepted by this school as the aim of critical security studies. For Booth, emancipation means securing people against the pressures that prevent people from doing what they would normally choose to do, while not restricting the freedoms of others.

Booth broadened and deepened the definition of security both locally and globally by making a new security coding with the axis of freedom (Sandıklı & Emeklier, 2012, p. 56). According to the school, security can lead to emancipation by bringing to light “human rights violations, oppression of minorities, the powerlessness of the poor, violence against women” (Kucuk, 2021, p. 14). Thus, Aberystwyth School, in a sense, turned towards social transformation by discovering and enlightening the emancipation of people with the critical dimension of security (Eraliev, 2018, p. 23).

The Aberystwyth School criticises the securitisation theory as its level of analysis focuses on the security of the state and society as well as of the individual. They reinterpreted security as a concept that “frees life from the constraints that determine life and enables the exploration of different life possibilities” (Booth, 2005, p. 58). For example, all kinds of threats such as war, hunger, poverty, famine, natural disasters, and environmental pollution restrain people (Booth, 2005, p. 58). Beyond military threats, many issues such as economic, political, and social problems, environmental pollution, destruction of natural resources, socioeconomic inequality, ethnic conflicts, epidemics, gender, and international smuggling are included in the security agenda (Simsek & Icduydu, 2017, p. 71). With the broadening of the meaning of security, other sectors outside the military field began to be addressed, as well as who can provide security and to whom. It has been possible to give answers to questions beyond the state. According to the Aberystwyth School, ontologically the reference object of security is individuals. According to Booth, it is problematic and confusing to take the state as a central reference object in security studies (Booth, 1991, p. 320). In this sense, while different actors such as states, NGOs, and individuals can provide security, the main actors who need to be protected are individuals (Kucuk, 2021, p. 15). Reducing security to the individual in critical security studies does not mean that state security is pushed to the background. Thus, the Aberystwyth School advocates for broadening the scope and definition of security.

According to the Aberystwyth School, although security was traditionally related to the state and its concerns, it will not always remain so. First of all, individuals are considered the reference objects of security and attention is drawn to the fact that different actors are active in the field of security. This school also opens up new areas for us to think about how we can go beyond the insecurities experienced in the field

of migration by “politicizing security” (Booth, 2007, p. 112). It especially contributes to understanding the security problems caused by Ukrainian refugees in the region and the surrounding countries. The fact that Ukrainians and Syrians who were forcibly displaced as a result of wars constitute the largest refugee group in the world is a phenomenon that needs to be examined.

Aberystwyth School theorists contradict the conceptualisation of security, choosing to define the meaning of the term “security” instead as a scientifically tested objective concept “against the real world” (Ticu, 2021, p. 391). This school should be preferred, as it deals with ordinary things in everyday life, people and the state-based security system. In parallel, Booth tried to challenge conceptualisations about the realism of the world by arguing that “critical approaches to international relations and international strategic studies” (Ticu, 2021, p. 392), not by rejecting the idea of realism, but by gaining access to a more sophisticated level. Thus, he tried to be realistic. For him, security means liberation. Security and community are two important values in contemporary society, which have emerged as guiding principles that contribute to the growth of a human rights system that characterises a global culture and can support what might be termed “emancipation politics” (Ticu, 2021, p. 392). For the Aberystwyth School, emancipation is a continuous process rather than an endpoint (Kolasi, 2013, p. 146). The School contributed to broadening its understanding of security in order to address the variety of insecurities that it faces (Bilgin, 2010, p. 84).

For the Aberystwyth School, the security of one comes at the expense of the other, and the concept of security has always held conservative connotations. Therefore, the School does not support the unlimited or unconscious expansion of the safety agenda (Eraliev, 2018). It reveals the politics of “whose security” in the immigration-security debate, pointing to “the security of immigrants and citizens in host communities”. At this stage security for both Ukrainian immigrants and host Poles will be analysed according to the Aberystwyth School’s theory.

Aberystwyth School and the example of Poland

The issue of migration, which is accepted as one of the main issues in today’s international relations, cannot be understood separately from the current global order, economic inequalities, wars or ecological problems caused by globalisation. In the 21st-century global system, the concepts of security and threat are also transformed (Mis, 2011, p. 26). While the causes of migration point to global dynamics, the solution to the problems of individuals experiencing migration-related insecurity is the responsibility of all people, especially those who have access to resources. So, according to the Aberystwyth School, people who have been in tough circumstances due to the dynamics in world politics need to be “liberated”. To achieve this, it is important to accept these individuals as the main reference object of security; because these individuals are shown as “threats” when establishing this connection (Kucuk, 2021, p. 16). It is undeniable that this representation has spawned many exclusionary and discriminatory discourses and practices against immigrants and refugees. One of the reasons for the death of 3-year-old Alan Kurdi, who was trying to reach Europe by escaping

the war in Syria with his family, on the seashore is “the desire of European states to use stricter border and asylum regimes to limit the flow of migrants and refugees” (Kucuk, 2021, p. 17). At this point, in the context of humanitarian security, the transition of Ukrainian individuals fleeing the war to the European Union via Poland and the problems faced by refugees in the meantime are in the scope of this new understanding of security. In addition to all these, the fact that many countries in the EU see Poland as a buffer also creates different security problems.

Russia invaded Ukraine on February 24, 2022, prompting the United Nations High Commissioner for Asylum (UNHRC) to proclaim a Level 3 state of emergency (the highest level) (Cénat et al., 2022, p. 1). Poland forms the longest part of the EU’s external border and it is of great geopolitical importance (Perkowska, 2020) as it borders with three non-EU states and acts as a kind of EU border security. Poland is involved in very important geopolitics, especially in the Ukraine issue. It is possible to describe Poland as the European Union’s gateway to the East. The vast majority of immigrants fleeing the Ukraine-Russia war entered the European Union via Poland. The length of the Polish border with states outside the European Union is 1,580.77 km, while the length of the border with Ukraine is 535.18 km (Perkowska, 2020, p. 3). With this crisis, its importance for the EU has emerged once again.

Russia’s war on Ukraine in February 2022 led to the greatest refugee exodus in Europe since WWII, with UNHCR estimating 6.3 million refugees (2022). Approximately, 3.5 million war refugees crossed the Polish border in the first two months, with more than 95% of them being Ukrainian residents (Duszczuk & Kaczmarczyk, 2022, p. 166). While the population of Ukraine was around 44 million before the Russian war, it is now estimated that 17.7 million people need protection and humanitarian assistance. It is also assessed that 6.6 million people were displaced within the country in this attack (OCHA, 2022).

According to the information given by the Polish authorities, as of May 15, 2022, the number of registered persons with a PESEL² number rose to 1.1 million with a very special demographic structure (Duszczuk & Kaczmarczyk, 2022, p. 167). The biggest task in this humanitarian crisis is left to the Polish people and the state. The main reasons influencing irregular migration through Poland include EU membership, Schengen state status, and the recent economic growth of the country (Perkowska, 2020, p. 3). The immigrants passing through the Polish border created a very intense wave of migration in the first days of the war. Their main motivation was to escape the direct threat to their lives, and as their destinations, they selected the EU Member States with better life conditions. If we look at the history of Ukraine, it is known that there were four waves of intense migrations: (i) The first wave with ca. 1.5 million immigrants between 1880–1914; (ii) The second wave, between 200 and 300 thousand in the years 1914–1939; (iii) The third wave, between the end of 1939– and 1950s with over 300 thousand people; (iv) The fourth wave between 2012 and 2016 with 14.5 thousand people. This fourth wave is estimated to have resulted from worsening socioeconomic conditions as well as political problems at the end of 2013 (Bilan, 2017, p. 74). Ukrain-

² The Pesel number is the code required for residence in Poland. It can be thought of as a nationality number.

ian immigrants moved to many European states, especially border countries. According to the Ukrainian state statistics, 56.2% of the labour migrants were in Poland in 2008 and the effect of this rate on the labour market was negative (Bilan, 2017, p. 70).

In addition, although the influx of immigrants in 2008 was smaller compared to other immigration waves, it is known that the largest part of undocumented immigrants came to Poland. Similar information from the Polish state supports these findings. According to Polish officials, between the beginning of 2014 and February 18, 2015, 2,318 Ukrainian residents applied to the Polish government for asylum and sought refugee status (Bilan, 2017, p. 81). Since 2015, the number of Ukrainian refugees in Poland has been over 20 thousand, which is huge for the growing and developing Polish state (Bilan, 2017, p. 82). In 2015, the number of asylum-seekers from Ukraine who entered the EU surpassed 22,000 people. This figure is 33% higher than in 2013. The countries with the highest number of asylum-seekers in this fourth wave are Italy, Germany, Spain, and Poland (Bilan, 2017, p. 81).

The Polish state was greatly concerned about the influx of immigrants on its borders. This concern is reflected in the statements made by the official authorities and the policies they put into practice. As of November 2021, when the migrant crisis started to emerge as a serious problem, concerns increased rapidly in Poland. Indeed, words made by Polish Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki against Russian President Vladimir Putin can be interpreted as proof of this (Hatap & Yeltin, 2022, p. 109).

While there are security problems for the receiving states and local people, there are some for immigrants as well. These include unemployment and economic-based marginalisation in the regions they go to, associating immigrants generally with crime, malnutrition and lack of access to healthcare among others. In terms of the receiving state, some problems such as the perception of insecurity and an increase in economic burden emerged. New security problems emerged in real life as it is claimed by Aberystwyth School. Again, the idea of providing security for both the state and the individual gave good ground for the theory with the developments.

For the purpose of this study, we will call another and the largest number of immigrants the fifth wave, which took place in 2022. It is estimated to be 6.6 million people. This figure is the largest of the mass migrations in Europe in the post-WWII period (OCHA, 2022). Since the beginning of the Russian occupation, 5.3 million Ukrainians have entered the EU (FRONTEX, 2022).

The immigration systems of European countries were not ready for this fifth wave. They have not yet recovered from the problems caused by the migration wave of immigrants who fled the Syrian civil war and wanted to enter the European Union through Turkey. What is more, the intense influx of immigrants deeply affected the immigration policies of the already existing European states. As the migration movements became widespread in the post-WWII period, the foreign population and labour force rose dramatically (Bilan, 2017, p. 109). According to a study conducted in 2022, 6.9 million individuals evacuated Ukraine, with 2.2 million registering in European countries, including 1.3 million in Poland, 971,000 in Germany, 413,000 in the Czech Republic, 160,000 in Italy, 145,000 in Turkey, and 133,000 people in Spain (UN Home Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 2022). In our study, we focus on Poland, which was exposed to the flow of immigrants about seven years ago and is

home to 1.3 million people in the immigration flow, which we call the fifth wave. While it has become a great burden for the developing economy even in the number of immigrants in 2015, the economic burden that fell on the Polish due to the influx of 1.3 million people will be better understood in light of the economic data that will emerge in the coming years.

According to the current figures, there are 7,678,757 Ukrainian immigrants across Europe. The number of Ukrainian refugees under temporary protection in Poland is 1,436,558 (Operational Data Portal, n.d.). This figure constitutes a very serious burden for the developing Polish state. Judging by the official data of the Polish government, from January 2021 to August 2022, there was a net decrease in the unemployment rate (Yayınlanan, 2022). However, in the coming months, it will be possible to provide forecasts about the increasing unemployment rates of Ukrainian refugees.

It is known that between February 2022 and September 2022, inflation increased continuously in Poland and this rate was 17.2 in September 2022 (Trading Economics, n.d.). Housing prices in Poland increased by 14.0% in the first quarter of 2022 compared to the previous year (Euronews, 2022). Pre-existing economic problems are as effective as the effects of Ukrainian immigrants in this increase. However, considering the housing needs of Ukrainian immigrants, this rate is expected to grow, as in the case of Syrian immigrants coming to Turkey. It is also known that in May 2022, rents in Poland increased by 13.9% in a Year on Year (YoY). It is thought that especially with the arrival of winter, the need for shelter will increase even more and this rate will move upward depending on economic factors. The Polish currency (zloty) has declined in comparison to the previous year due to rising inflation against the euro. Considering the effects of COVID-19 and the developing Polish economy, inflation may increase further along with the influx of Ukrainian immigrants.

It is clear that for the developing Polish economy, adding the immigration problem to the negative effects of the COVID-19 process will impose an extra burden on the state budget. As it can be seen from the 2022 report of the World Economic Forum, this judgment supports the idea that the economic recession in the COVID-19 process, the restrictions on tourism activities and the decrease in foreign trade will adversely affect the finances of developing countries in particular as even developed countries have entered recession in many commercial areas. During the World Economic Forum, it was also said that the COVID-19 pandemic would result in limiting job opportunities for immigrants in the future and 85 million jobs will be damaged by 2025 (World Economic Forum, 2022). Because of this forecast, many countries have taken new measures and developed some radical discourses, especially on immigration.

At this point, it is worth mentioning that the Aberystwyth School prefers to “reveal the politics of security” instead of “taking the problems out of security” (Oancă, 2022, p. 11) to deepen the concept of security. This means that security should not be left to a political monopoly and draws attention to the discourses of politicians.

It is observed that the vote rates of populist parties increased in EU countries between 2015 and 2020. Such parties managed to come to power (Oancă, 2022, p. 11). Xenophobia, discrimination, marginalisation, and immigration have begun to be seen as invaders. The article showed that immigrants are beginning to be viewed as invaders

(Oancă, 2022). It also draws attention to the fact that these discourses are frequently used in election rallies of political parties, especially in Europe (Bulut & Akin, 2020, p. 72). Generally, immigration and anti-immigrant discourses have increased all over Europe in recent years, and these issues seem to raise security concerns. This is a result of the anti-immigrant rhetoric in Europe finding support in the parliaments of these countries, especially in the 2000s (Mandacı & Özerim, 2013, p. 106).

Drawing attention to this perception, the World Economic Forum 2022 Report argues that the negative attitudes of states towards cross-border migration, especially the ignorance of the future effects of the post-pandemic process, the state of future employment trends, and the increasing national interest stances of many countries are effective. It also concluded that the economic consequences of the COVID-19 outbreak have encouraged some political leaders to adopt more hostile attitudes toward immigration (Global Risk Report, 2022). Many academic studies on asylum-seekers and refugees residing in Europe emphasised state policies and steps to deter refugee immigration. These political attitudes also produce a positive result in terms of votes (Simsek & Icdydu, 2017, p. 13). Despite the growing negative attitude towards immigration, states in Europe are on the rise in parliament. Across Europe, the populist (especially those on the ideological right) won a majority of votes in the last legislative election, according to an analysis of data from the Pew Research Center's ParlGov, primarily a clearinghouse for international political information (Silver, 2022).

The Ukrainian conflict has exposed numerous types of racism in which some individuals think they are inferior because of their skin colour. For starters, journalists, political analysts, politicians, and the vast majority of the general public have inferred that European Union citizens deserve more dignity and respect than others. A war waged in a European country came as a surprise to many journalists, and others said that it was not a "third-world country". Other reporters added they were not in the Middle East or Africa and said that Ukrainian migrants were civilized from the middle class and deserved to live since they had blond hair and blue eyes like any European family (Cénat et al., 2022, p. 1). By making such claims, Westerners minimise violence against individuals in other countries. This, once again, demonstrates the importance of the Aberystwyth School's perception of security in terms of revealing the politics of security (Cénat et al., 2022, p. 1).

Evaluation of the Polish refugee crisis within the framework of the Aberystwyth School and human security

In the literature, the nexus between migration and security became more prominent in 2001, particularly, in European countries. The impact of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, on the securitisation of migration was widely discussed, and it is generally agreed that these terrorist attacks gave securitisation actors in the EU an opportunity to establish a link between migration and terrorist threats, which in turn worsened the image of irregular migrants (Turgay, 2021, p. 11). As human security thought advanced, a new sort of transnational morality arose in which distrust of other people became a universal moral imperative rather than a question of preserving re-

gional or national sovereignty (Wagnsson et al., 2010, p. 5). International migration threatens national security. State and individual security are thus threatened. It can be said that the irregular migration crisis, which is one of the most pending international problems, has the power to fundamentally affect countries, regions, and even the international system. As a matter of fact, the ongoing wars, conflicts, and instability in Syria, Afghanistan, Libya, Ukraine, and many parts of the world are the most obvious indicators of this (Hatap & Yeltin, 2022, p. 101).

In the context of migration and security in literature, a trend to link migration and crime rates can be noticed. A field study in Turkey has shown that Syrian immigrants are thought to increase crime rates (Memiş, 2015, p. 106). Another survey revealed that crime rates are both higher and more unsafe (Dogan & Surum, 2020, p. 88). In a survey conducted in Europe, 51% of the respondents believe that immigrants increase crime rates (Kocak, 2016, p. 83).

According to a study conducted in North America in 2017, they did not want irregular immigrants because they separated immigration as regular and irregular and thought that irregular immigrants would cause some economic and social problems within the country (Bulut & Akın, 2013, pp. 81–82). Immigrants are excluded because of their low income, social exclusion, stigma, social and psychological criteria, and the uncertainty of their future position as depicted in the European Social Survey conducted in 2012 (Bilan, 2017, p. 71). Immigrants, who are known as invaders, foreigners and free-riders, have begun to distance themselves from society. Thus they are in disharmony with society, they are distanced from it (Bulut & Akın, 2013, p. 82).

The problem of immigration affects society and health security in many ways. Refugees and asylum-seekers, who often become forced migrants due to push factors, have problems in accessing health services, which constitute the basic needs and human rights (Sen, 2017, p. 187). Children are generally absent from the field of IR and security studies (Wagnsson et al., 2010, p. 2) and their safety was not the subject of extensive research in the literature. In terms of children's safety, the subject of their health is of key importance, also in view of an increased epidemic risk due to a lack of vaccinations among certain groups. Population movement and concentration of displaced population in crowded areas at border crossings can increase the risk of measles, flu, and other diseases transmission in the immigrant community (WHO, 2022). Given the high proportion of children in the refugee population, many of them may remain susceptible to common diseases and the risk of epidemics is considerable.

It should be noted that children under the age of 15 living in conflicted countries are almost three times more likely to die from diarrheal diseases caused by the lack of safe water and hygiene than from violence. However, unsafe food consumption poses the greatest risk for children under five years of age. The risk of foodborne and waterborne illness in camp-like settings is higher than in refugee populations integrated into host communities (WHO, 2022).

The security problem should not only be seen as a problem of the receiving country, but also of the sending country. In 2018, a study revealed that male and female trafficking in a conflict-ridden country (UNODC, 2018a). In addition to these, they faced many problems such as survival, education, health and lack of legal rules (UNODC, 2018b). What is more, some immigrants are abducted and forced to work

in other migration flows, which has a negative impact on individuals from both receiving and sending countries (UNODC, 2018b). Finally, the negative attitudes of citizens in immigration countries towards immigrants also threaten individual security.

Evaluation of the Polish refugee crisis within the framework of the Aberystwyth School and human security

Preventing potential clashes between Ukrainians and Poles is a major concern. A big foreign population influencing the host community's daily life has the potential to provoke conflict. Tensions are easily prevented in the short term due to the uniqueness of the scenario, but they will undoubtedly occur in the medium and long term. Those who rely on public services, in particular, may see their living standards fall as a result of the presence of a large number of war refugees who will also be entitled to state assistance. A similar situation might emerge in the job market, with potentially disastrous consequences, particularly, at the local level. These dangers must be identified, monitored, and managed by well-planned public policies, including public awareness campaigns (Duszczyk & Kaczmarczyk, 2022, p. 170). As stated in the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report, human security is defined as "security against chronic threats such as hunger, disease and oppression", and "protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in daily life patterns", but such problems are still encountered today. (Akyesilmen, 2012, p. 81).

Another critical issue to solve is energy security. Following the Ukraine-Russia conflict, European governments' attitudes and political discourses created a new security concern that impacted both states and individuals. It emphasises the fact that the security dimension of emerging concerns on the political agenda is sometimes an unintended consequence of conventional security challenges. As a result, a rogue state might risk a power outage, or a civil war could result in refugee flows that undermine European security as well as the assurance of energy supply and control (Ticu, 2021, p. 398). British Prime Minister, Liz Truss, in her statement on the Ukraine-Russia war, mentioned that a new security problem arose for many European states as a result of Russia's curtailment of energy supply (Russell, 2022), which view is also an expression of perspective of the Aberystwyth School.

Genuine security necessitates not just the absence of protection from a military threat, but also the management of many threats to governments and people's economic and social-political well-being (Ticu, 2021, p. 397). In the 21st century, an increase in idealistic tendencies regarding human rights, law, international cooperation, free trade, democratic governments, and social developments aimed at ensuring security and eliminating war. It introduced us to different dimensions of security. This might be interpreted as a shift from state security to individual security. Although security has always been associated with the state and its concerns, this will not always be the case. Aberystwyth School is living testimony of this (Mis, 2012, p. 39). In the 7th European Migration Form Report, the idea of human security was examined from the perspective of economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security. Under these headings, human security is defined

in a broad framework that includes protection from epidemics that threaten the lives of individuals, inequality of economic opportunity, forced displacement, environmental factors, inability to preserve their culture as a society, and protection from all kinds of political pressure, including state oppression (European Economic and Social Committee, n.d.). It can be said that the existence of these concepts is a result of the changing and deepening perception of security. It demonstrates the significance of critical security within the context of the Aberystwyth School and the new security concerns mentioned above. As a result, attention is directed to the presence of new security challenges in addition to the traditional security view. Thus, in addition to the critical security studies in the literature, new security problems arising from the principles of the Aberystwyth School are mentioned.

Legal processes are applied to facilitate the adaptation of immigrants to the country they go to. Studies were carried out for the integration of immigrants into society. Applications to combat immigrant unemployment. Some of the studies we encounter in EU countries are the practices that are an economic burden such as creating camps and living spaces before the immigrants arrive at the borders of the country (Kocak, 2016, pp. 75–88). These practices show that the security relationship between the immigrant and the immigrant (individual and state) has deepened and diversified. Thus, we met with new security concepts beyond the classical security perception. The emerging new perception of security constitutes a solid defence for the Aberystwyth School.

Conclusion

The Aberystwyth School aimed to reconstruct security rather than refer to its narrow and exclusionary character. In this sense, the concept of security has been expanded to include a critical attitude toward traditional military security. This school aimed to liberate security. It defined emancipation as removing the physical and human limitations that prevent individuals and groups from doing what they want to do. The elements of insecurity experienced by real people and groups formed the starting point of Aberystwyth School. Individuals are its main object of reference, thus ensuring global security through the emancipation of individuals and groups.

After the Ukraine Crisis, millions of people had to leave the countries due to their security concerns. This new situation has brought many security problems such as political, social, economic, etc., in terms of human security as well as emigration and immigration countries. Classical security approaches, which take the state as a reference object with a more realistic perspective are insufficient to explain such new security problems in the international arena. At this point, Aberystwyth School, which is based on both human and state security, offers a conceptual and theoretical framework to explain the refugee crisis, which is the migration phenomenon in which humanitarian crises are most painfully experienced in the era of globalisation. In this study, the problems experienced by Polish and Ukrainian individuals were analysed within the framework of Aberystwyth School's security perception.

In light of the fact that the latest influx of refugees is bigger than any other migration flow so far (it is likely to exceed two million people), it should be noted it may

cause some difficulties. The Polish people and state are in danger of facing humanitarian crises due to: (i) an increase in rental prices and housing; (ii) the obligation of the Polish government to allocate more budgets for the supply of medical care and medicine compared to previous years; (iii) rising cost of living and problems in meeting basic needs; (iv) energy consumption increase in the winter months and the energy problem as well as (v) discrimination, etc.

In the context of human security, such problems threaten individual and state security. Moreover, the fact that immigrants are unemployed and have low or no income in Poland, which will be an economic burden to the state and will increase public spending. Immigrants are considered cheap labour which negatively affects the economic security of both individuals and states.

The new understanding of “security”, which argues that security is not only about the detection and elimination of military threats, upon which the purpose of security policy is not only to prevent wars but to ensure the happiness and well-being of people, is now on the agenda and has begun to be accepted.

References

- Akyeşilmen, N. (2012). İnsan Hakları İhlalleri İnsani Güvenliğe Bir Tehdit Mi? İnsani Güvenlik: Tehditler, Riskler ve Krizler. *Uluslararası İnsani Güvenlik Konferansı Serisi*, 18–19, 81–82. CPRS.
- Baldwin, D.A. (1997). *The concept of security*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bekaroğlu, E.A., Doğan, N., Süleymanoğlu Kürüm, R., & Cin, M. (2022). *İstanbul Göç Araştırması*. İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Basınevi.
- Bilan, Y. (2017). *Migration of the Ukrainian Population: Economic, Institutional and Sociocultural Factors*. Ubiquity Press.
- Bılgın, P. (2008). Critical Theory. In P.D. Williams (ed.), *Security Studies: An Introduction*. (89–102). Routledge.
- Bılgın, P. (2010). Güvenlik Çalışmalarında Yeni Açılımlar: Yeni Güvenlik Çalışmaları. *Stratejik Araştırmalar*, 8(14), 69–96.
- Booth, K. (1991). Security and Emancipation, *Review of International Studies*, 17(4), 313–326.
- Booth, K. (2005). *Critical Security Studies and World Politics*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Booth, K. (2007). *Theory of World Security*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bulut, Y. & Akin, S. (eds.). (2020). *Yerel Ulusal ve Kültürel Boyutlarıyla Göç ve Mülteci Sorunu*. Çizgi Kitapevi.
- Buzan, B. (2008). The Changing Agenda of Military Security. *International Relations*, 5(18), 107–123.
- Cénat, J.M., Darius, W.P., Noorishad, P.-G., McIntee, S.-E., Dromer, E., Ntunga Mukunzi, J., Solola, O., & Williams, M.T. (2022). War in Ukraine and racism: The physical and mental health of refugees of color matters. *International Journal of Public Health*. <https://doi.org/10.3389/ijph.2022.1604990>
- Duszczek, M. & Kaczmarczyk, P. (2022). The war in ukraine and migration to Poland: Outlook and challenges. *Intereconomics*, 57(3), 164–170. <https://www.intereconom->

- ics.eu/contents/year/2022/number/3/article/the-war-in-ukraine-and-migration-to-poland-outlook-and-challenges.html
- Eraliev, S. (2018). *Securitized migration: Russian policies in dealing with labour migrants from Central Asia*. PhD Thesis, University of Tsukuba.
- European Economic and Social Committee. (n.d.). *European Migration Forum*. <https://www.eesc.europa.eu/en/sections-other-bodies/other/european-migration-forum>
- FRONTEX. (2022). *5.3 million Ukrainians have entered EU since the beginning of the invasion*. <https://frontex.europa.eu/media-centre/news/news-release/5-3-million-ukrainians-have-entered-eu-since-the-beginning-of-invasion-HbXkUz>
- GOV.UK. (2023). *Ukraine Family Scheme, Ukraine Sponsorship Scheme (Homes for Ukraine) and Ukraine Extension Scheme visa data*. <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/ukraine-family-scheme-application-data/ukraine-family-scheme-and-ukraine-sponsorship-scheme-homes-for-ukraine-visa-data--2>
- Hatap, F. & Yeltin, H. (2022). Göçün Güvenlikleştirilmesi Bağlamında Avrupa Birliği'nin Belarus Göçmenleri Krizine Yaklaşımı. *Uluslararası Eşitlik Politikası Dergisi*, 2(1), 99–117.
- Kocak, O. (2016). Öğrencilerin Çalışma Yaklaşımına Yönelik Beklentilerinin Değerlendirilmesi. *Yalova Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 66–91.
- Kolası, K. (2013). Eleştirel Teori Ve Güvenlik: Kimin İçin Güvenlik? *Uluslararası İlişkiler Kütüphanesi*. (121–154).
- Kucuk, M.N. (2021). Rethinking the migration-security nexus: critical security approaches, emancipation and Syrian refugees in Turkey. *International Relations*, 18(69), 3–28. <https://www.uidergisi.com.tr/yazilar/rethinking-the-migration-security-nexus-critical-security-approaches-emancipation-and-syrian-refugees-in-turkey>
- Lykoyannis, Y. (2015). *EU's immigration policy for the Black Sea region: FRONTEX and the securitization of immigration*. Unpublished Master Theses. International Hellenic University School Of Humanities, Black Sea Cultural Studies.
- Mandacı, N. & Özerim, M.G. (2013). Uluslararası Göçlerin Bir Güvenlik Konusuna Dönüşümü: Avrupa'da Radikal Sağ Partiler ve Göçün Güvenlikleştirilmesi. *Uluslararası İlişkiler Dergisi*, 10(39), 105–130.
- Memiş, H. (2015). İç Savaş Nedeniyle Kilis'te Yaşayan Suriyelilerin Oluşturduğu Sosyo-Ekonomik Algılar Üzerine Bir Araştırma. *Elektronik Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 14(52), 100–114.
- Miş, N. (2012). *Güvenlikleştirme Teorisi Ve Türkiye'de Güvenlikleştirme Siyaseti 1923–2003*. PhD Thesis. Institute of Social Science, Sakarya University.
- Miş, N. (2011). Güvenlikleştirme Teorisi ve Siyasal Olanın Güvenlikleştirilmesi. *Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi*, 6(12), 345–381.
- Oancă, A. (2022). Popülist Söylemde “Güvenlik” ve “Kriz” Kısa Bir Keşif Çalışması. *Uluslararası İlişkiler Dergisi*, 15(1), 7–27.
- Operational Data Portal. (n.d.). Ukraine Refugee Situation. <https://data.unhcr.org/en/situations/ukraine>
- Peoples, C. & Vaughan-Williams, N. (2021). *Critical Security Studies*. Routledge.
- Perkowska, M. (2020.) La respuesta polaca contemporánea a la inmigración irregular. *Revista Española de Investigación Criminológica*, 18(2), 1–33. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.46381/reic.v18i2.371>

- Russell, G. (2022). Ukraine war and energy crisis on Truss agenda as British PM speaks to Biden. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2022/sep/07/ukraine-war-and-global-energy-crisis-on-the-agenda-as-truss-and-biden-speak-for-first-time>
- Sandıklı, A. & Emeklier, B. (2011). Güvenlik Yaklaşımlarında Değişim ve Dönüşüm. *Wise Men Center for Strategic Studies BILGESAM*. https://www.academia.edu/3549642/G%C3%BCvenlik_Yakla%C5%9F%C4%B1mlar%C4%B1nda_De%C4%9Fi%C5%9Fim_ve_D%C3%B6n%C5%9F%C3%BCm
- Sen, G. (2017). Uluslararası Göçün Sağlık Güvenliğine Etkisi: Türkiye'deki Suriye Göçü Örneği, 2. *Uluslararası Sağlık Bilimleri ve Yaşam Kongresi* (180–190). İletişim Yayınları.
- Sen, G. & Şimşek Keskin, H. (2019). Türkiye'deki Kamu Yönetimi Öğrencilerinin Suriyeli Sığınmacılara İlişkin Tutumları. *MANAS Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 8(2), 1958–1974. <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/mjss/issue/44816/459684>
- Silver, L. (2022). Populists in Europe – especially those on the right – have increased their vote shares in recent elections. *Pew Research Center*. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2022/10/06/populists-in-europe-especially-those-on-the-right-have-increased-their-vote-shares-in-recent-elections/20>
- Simsek, D. & Icdydu, A. (2017). Uluslararası Göç, Politika ve Güvenlik. *Toplum ve Bilim Dergisi*. (6–11). İletişim Yayınları.
- Tarihi, Y. (2022). Türkiye, Avrupa'da konut fiyatlarının en çok arttığı ülke oldu. *Euronews*. <https://tr.euronews.com/2022/07/12/turkiye-avrupada-konut-fiyatlarinin-en-cok-arttigi-ulke-oldu>
- Ticu, I. (2021). Migration as a (non)traditional security issue of the risk society. *Postmodern Openings*, 12(2), 387–409. <https://doi.org/10.18662/po/12.2/314>
- Trading Economics. (n.d.). *Polonya – Enflasyon Oranı*. <https://tr.tradingeconomics.com/poland/inflation-cpi>
- Turgay, S. (2021). Avrupa Birliği'nin Göçü Güvenikleştirme Politikasında Frontex'in Rolü. *Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Siyaset Bilimleri Çalışmaları Dergisi*, 5–26. <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/download/article-file/2271456>
- UN Home Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA). (2022). *Ukraine: Situation report – last updated*. <https://reports.unocha.org/en/country/ukraine>
- UNODC. (2018a). *Countering trafficking in persons in conflict situations: Thematic paper*. https://www.unodc.org/documents/human-trafficking/2018/17-08776_ebook-Countering_Trafficking_in_Persons_in_Conflict_Situations.pdf
- UNODC. (2018b). *Trafficking in persons in the context of armed conflict*. www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/glotip/2018/GloTIP2018_BOOKLET_2_Conflict.pdf
- Wagnsson, C., Hellman, M., & Holmberg, A. (2010). The centrality of non-traditional groups for security in the globalized era: The case of children. *International Political Sociology*, 4(1), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-5687.2009.00090.x>
- Walt, S.M. (1991). The Renaissance of security studies. *International Studies Quarterly*, 35(2), 211–239. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2600471>
- World Economic Forum. (2022). *The Global Risks Report 2022*. https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_The_Global_Risks_Report_2022.pdf

- WHO. (2022). *Ukraine crisis. Public health situation analysis – refugee-hosting countries*.
<https://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/352494/WHO-EURO-2022-5169-44932-63918-eng.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y>
- Yayınlanan, S. (2023). Polonya – İşsizlik Oranı. *Investing.com*. <https://tr.investing.com/economic-calendar/polish-unemployment-rate-650>

