

MIGRATION AND TERROR PARADOX IN THE CASE STUDY OF MERSİN¹**Ahmet MAZLUM**

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*Received: 06.11.2017**Accepted: 22.03.2018***ABSTRACT**

In this paper, Migration-Terrorism relationship/non-relationship in the example of Mersin province is described in a paradoxical framework. While it was a small fishing town with 650 inhabitants in 1850s, the population of Mersin today has reached about 1,787,649 (according to estimated data for 2017) and become one of the largest metropolitan city of Turkey. The population of Mersin, which was 843,931 in 1980, has nearly doubled in the last 30 years (1.647.899 in 2010). So, what was the most important reason for this rapid increase? Among the most important factors is undoubtedly the phenomenon of terror. Appearing after the end of ASALA (Armenian terrorist organization), the PKK terrorist organization has been at the top of Turkey's agenda for the last 40 years. The terror ravaging eastern and south-eastern Anatolian provinces, people's lack of safety of life and property or evacuation of villages and settlements by security forces for security reasons have caused massive migrations. Most of the cities in Turkey have been affected by these migrations. However, the city that received the most migration and therefore most affected has been Mersin. The main reason of the rapid population growth of Mersin is the forced migration into this city from the Eastern and South-eastern Anatolia regions. The city that grew due to terrorism suffered the paradox that a part of the population it received later formed the human resource of terrorism. This paradoxical structure is not only the biggest obstacle in front of social integration in Mersin, but also the biggest cause of urban tension.

Keywords: Migration, terror, differentiation, integration, paradoxical structure.

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INTRODUCTION

When human history is examined, it is seen that there are a few break points throughout the process. The Renaissance, the Philosophy of Enlightenment and the French Revolution in the intellectual and political realm and the Industrial Revolution in the economic realm constitute the major fracture faults. The industrial revolution has taken hold of many European countries, mainly the homeland of England and a large part of the world over time. This effect continues its own existence in different dimensions today. This historical phenomenon (Industrial Revolution) that emerged as a result of the collapse of the feudal system in the Middle Ages under the influence of internal and external dynamics has played a major role especially in the formation of cities. Cities have come to the stage of history as economy, science, culture, art, politics, briefly as the cradle of civilization. The cities that emerged as a reflection of these historical and social developments have provided jobs/livelihoods to people on the one hand, and have revealed the need for Labor to be run in these areas on the other. When this requirement was not met enough from the cities, the countryside was needed and as a result, urban-rural interaction emerged.

Urban-rural interaction, a reflection of the demand for the labor force, has created the fundamental dynamics of the migration phenomenon to emerge in mass proportions. The emergence of migration has led to the occurrence of gigantic problems in cities that are the cradle of civilization.

Our country, which missed the industrial revolution, met rural-to-urban migration that is a result of urban-rural interaction as a result of developments after World War II. The population components 75% of whom were living in the countryside and 25% of them in the urban areas in the first years of the Republic become reversed today. According to 2016 data of TSI (Turkish Statistical Institute), the rate of the population living in provincial and district centers was 92.3%. This indicates that the population rapidly migrates to the provincial and district centers and moves away from agricultural and animal husbandry activities peculiar to rural areas. Urban population finds employment opportunities in the sectors such as industry, service, and tourism on the one side, and turns into consumers on the other.

As a settlement and living place today, cities have brought about a different and more advanced society with demographic/morphological, economic, social, cultural and managerial dimensions in the modern context of the urbanization process, but paradoxically as a result of developments in the modernity project (such as informality and differentiation instead of formality and integration), they have begun to strangle with a wide range of urban/social problems (Kocacık, Çağlayandereli, Mazlum, 2011: 141-147). This has revealed urban separation, spatial differentiation and urban tension in many places rather than urban integration.

The cities of a society have been /are largely shaped by the society and political institutions. Therefore, if we want to have an opinion about a civilization, it is sufficient to look at the cities that are considered the cradle of civilization (Tekeli 2014: 64). Urbanization in Turkey, just like population growth, was first perceived as a positive social process and supported by the political institution with State policies. However, when the

urbanization process, which became unmanageable and chaotic after 1970, came into existence as a problem, the positive outlook turned in to the negative one and it began to be perceived as a problem that must be solved/taken precautions.

While the increase in education, health, housing, unemployment, crime, and criminality are considered an important social problem, on the other hand, the “poor peasant migration” and “disability of the slums to integrate into the city” have been identified as the main cause of urban problems and interest has been directed to this area. However, for the present at least, this common approach is insufficient to explain the multidimensional characteristics of the urbanization process in Turkey. The urbanization process, which took place with rapid population growth in Turkey, not only changed the position of the population in the geography of the country but also changed the composition of the population living in various settlements. Internal migration movements are no longer limited to rural-to-urban migration, as is thought. On the contrary, especially in recent times, the fact that the migration between cities and even the migration between villages is a very important point... The areas that lose population do not only send ‘peasants’, but also other groups living in cities and towns, and, more importantly, their cultural, economic and social accumulations. It can be said that the selectivity and direction of migration cause social, cultural and economic erosion in the villages and cities of the migrant areas (Behar 1999: 123-124). For example, recent research on heterogeneous cities such as Istanbul, Antalya, Denizli, Eskisehir, Bursa and Mersin shows that those coming to these cities are not only “villagers”, but they are predominantly those coming from various regional cities (Mazlum 2010: 1-2).

Today, the postmodern paradigm is based on socially decentralized and fragmented subject. However, it is no more likely that today's cities can be explained from this point of view. Because today's urban formations can simultaneously experience social differentiation/social integration, order/chaos, traditional/modern dilemmas and contradictions. This appearance, rather than a morphological/demographic situation, is experienced as a cultural process, causing judicial, legal, economic and political consequences to emerge. It seems that the resulting table does not have the ability to be corrected/removed by means of local or central planning or community engineering etc. Current local/national measures and practices do not give hope, at least not recently. Many cities, transformed into metropolises with the process of globalization, can embrace social layers of multiethnic, multi-faith, and different social statuses. This situation that seems to be positive in terms of the formation of a tradition of coexistence and the development of democratic culture, leads to urban tension, and even leading cities to unmanageable together with increasing social distance, increasing the income and consumption imbalance between the layers. This situation, if necessary and adequate measures are not taken in the future to affect the peace and peace of our country in the face of a candidate as a social threat.

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In this section, the concepts of migration-urbanization, terrorist-terrorism will be briefly explained and a general theoretical and conceptual framework will be formed.

What is Immigration?

Migration is not just a behavior and change of place particular to human beings. Many living creatures in nature perform seasonal or longer-term displacement movements because of nutrition, shelter, breeding, natural disasters and so on.

Mankind's adventure of migration is almost as old as its own history. In its early days, it was similar to other living things in nature as it was migrating due to the scarcity of resources or natural disasters. In the historical and evolutionary process, the differentiation of man from other Living species has made him superior in his war against nature. With scientific progress, the discovery of technology and its use of technology against nature and other living things have made it the ruler of nature.

Migration which is as old as human history is not only a morphological and demographic phenomenon but also a phenomenon with social, cultural, economic, political, anthropological, psychological and sociological dimensions. Moreover, the reasons and outcomes are different and versatile, but it is a condition that can be universally accepted in all parts of the world.

Because it is a multi-faceted concept and phenomenon, it is a concept that emphasizes different dimensions with many definitions. According to Özer (2004: 11), "Migration is the population movements that change the structure of society with the social, economic, cultural and political dimensions of the geographical change process. In this context, according to özer (2004: 11), "migration is the population movements that change the social, economic, cultural and political dimensions of the geographical displacement process and the social structure of the society. Migrations take place in two forms: internal migration and external migration. Internal migration is a change of place in the country in order to settle permanently among the settlement units. In other words, internal migration is defined as the amount of those who live in a certain area of settlement within a certain period of time by their own will who move their places out of the area of settlement in question. External migrations are population movements that are made from one country to another to stay, work and settle for a long time." In this definition, Özer explains the internal emigration through voluntary/willpower, but some settlements in our country have been evacuated by local residents or by law enforcement forces due to terrorism and security.

The migration movement in our country is usually tried to be explained by the pull-push model. Pushing causes, the reasons why the population migrate from the to rural settlements where they live to urban settlements, are composed of socio-cultural factors such as the inadequacy of the land they had, insufficiency/ lack of income, the rapid increase in the population, the pressure of tradition, customs and morals. The pulling reasons are the factors such as the need for labor in urban areas, high-income opportunities and living standards compared to rural areas, widespread education, health and social security services, and seeking an autonomous and free life (Mazlum 2010: 110).

The rapid and uncontrolled migration and the consequent urbanization process put pressure on institutions such as economy, education, and health. As the capacity to absorb the migration of urban spaces decreases, this pressure increases and leads to significant social problems (Erjem, 2009: 11).

The urbanization process arises in two ways, one with a population increase in itself, and the other through immigration. This process, which can be regarded as a morphological and demographic phenomenon at first glance, contains very different meanings beyond that. In this context, the short definition of urbanization is useful. City and urbanization, according to Sencer, "is the settlement, which has a differentiated and organised physical, social and managerial integrity, with a population above 10 thousand concentrated in non-agricultural sectors" (1979:8). Kiray, one of the doyen names of Turkish Sociology, defines the city as "the settlement forms where non-agricultural production is carried out and, more importantly, the distribution of non-agricultural production and control functions are collected according to the specific technological levels of size, heterogeneity and integration levels" (1998: 28). Wirth, one of the most important representatives of the Chicago school, says that "for sociological purposes, a city is a relatively large, dense, and permanent settlement of heterogeneous individuals." (2002: 85).

It is possible to say that urbanization is occurring in Turkey, a developing country, by means of external stimuli. To summarize these stimuli;

- 1- The pushing power of the villages (the higher fertility, the inefficiency of arable land, and mechanization are more effective than the pulling power of cities),
- 2- The fact that the urbanization process is concentrated in centers with commercial and political characteristics instead of industrial focal points in the style we encountered in Western countries,
- 3- The fact that there is no 'urbanization consciousness' in those who flock to metropolises from rural areas,
- 4- The absence of a functional relationship between industrialization and labor, as in developed countries, led to the emergence of this process (Mazlum, 2010: 110).

Terror

Although the notion of terrorism does not go as far as the concept of immigration to the beginning of human history, it has a rather old history. The concepts of violence and terror can sometimes be mistakenly used instead of each other. Every act of violence is not terrorism, but every act of terrorism involves violence. In this sense, "violence and the security problems that it unfolds are phenomena that have existed with humanity since the beginning of history, since ancient times when myths and legends reigned. Investigations by anthropologists have shown that acts of violence have been a widespread and inevitable part of our social lives since the early days of history. The reason why we have to live together with violence is that the source of violence is humanity. Violence and terror are inevitable wherever there are people. In that case; violence and

terror are at the same time cultural, and it is, therefore, natural that the types, purposes, and applications of these actions differ according to culture and atmosphere. The only thing that does not change is that violence in general, terror in particular, exists in every culture and every period " (Bay-Mazlum 2016: 443-444).

The main aim of terrorism is to shake up a social unity by creating fear, panic, and anxiety in the society and in this way reaching political purpose. According to Cirhinioglu, "terror is not only aimed at fear and destruction. It moves by including politics. Hence, the perspective on politics affects individuals and societies as they approach the concept of terror "(2004: 29). In other words, terrorism is a violent or threatening act with the aim of adopting certain thoughts and behaviors by intimidating, suppressing and frightening people/society (Gül, 2012: 7).

Terrorism and terrorism are concepts that are not agreed on but are concepts that are used instead of each other but do not have the same meaning. The fact that the powerful Western Imperial countries use terrorism as a means and, and appeal to it if necessary, and support terrorism against their opponents prevents the framework of these concepts from being clearly defined.

"Terrorism is a recurring act of violence that is used by individuals, groups or government officials with a secret cover for their own, criminal or political purposes. Thus, in contrast to the assassination, those who are directly exposed to violence are not actually the main targets" (Schmid 1998). It is unnecessary and useless to extend the definitions of terror and terrorism. The truth is that our country has been fighting terrorism for many years. Turkey, which was the target of ideological terror based on the right-left conflict in the pre-1980 years and the activities of the Armenian terrorist organization ASALA, has been subjected to the terrorist acts of the PKK, which emerged from the ethnic basis since the 1980s. According to experts ' calculations, Turkey, which has spent nearly \$ 400 billion on terror, has sacrificed more than 40.000 people to terror.

MIGRATION AND TERROR STUDIES/FIELD LITERATURE

In the studies carried out in different disciplines/fields of social sciences, the scientific explanation of migration and terror interaction was made. Although migration and crime interactions are relatively intensive in the literature, migration and terror interactions are the subject that has newly started to be studied. Although there is an indirect correlation between immigration and crime in the revealed studies, it is claimed that there is a direct correlation between immigration and terror.

At the beginning of the most important elements lying on the basis of social conflict or differentiation today, ethnicity (and the emerging ethnic-Ethno nationalism) is ultimately a cultural feature/problem. The main characteristic that separates an ethnic group from others is its unique cultural structure and social values system that the group creates in its historical past. The geographical environment in which each ethnic community is inhabited builds a distinctive cultural system with the influence of the production relations and other communities in which it interacts. Approaches to biological properties on the basis of ethnicity are not

accepted today and are not supported by scientific data. Therefore, it would be more accurate to consider ethnic differentiation, conflict or separatist formations as economic-based cultural processes.

First of all, when we look at the relationship between Immigration and crime, it is seen that the issue of 'foreign criminality' was dealt with by American criminologists for the first time. The researchers examined immigration as a variable while trying to determine the causes of the rapidly increasing crime/criminality rate in industrial cities. Research findings have often found that migration remains at a low rate of crime. Accordingly, it is stated that the high rate of guilt attributed to foreign workers is a myth of xenophobic philosophy (Alpaslan 1975: 113).

Criminologist Ramiro Martinez, Jr. (2000) and sociologist Matthew T. Lee explored the perception of 'migrants more criminally', using a combination of different approaches in the 1990s. According to the opportunistic approach of researchers, legal opportunities are not equal for all individuals in society, and migrants are relatively poor and have a high crime rate, which complicates them by not having the opportunity to obtain their requests legally. According to the cultural approach, if the culture of violence is widespread among migrant groups, criminal behaviour can be normalized. According to the approach of social disorganization, criminal incidents may increase in places such as immigrant neighborhoods where the institutions and organizations acting as social control tools in society are weakened. Martinez and Lee concluded that migration did not directly increase crime when they evaluated these theoretical approaches in combination with empirical research results and Statistics. According to the data available, the crime rate of migrants is lower than that of the natives, while the social environment in which migrants reside (without migration / domestic discrimination) is available for the reproduction of the crime (Martinez & Lee 2000: 485-524; güneş 2012: 85-87).

During World War I and after World War I, there were mass migrations. Sociologist W.I. Thomas (1863-1947) and philosopher and sociologist F.W. Znaniecki (1882-1958) investigated the influence of Polish peasants on other countries in Europe and on migration to the United States and its traditional connections in the immigrant community (1918). In this monographic study that the researchers based on former peasant and new worker the Polish people's life stories and the content analysis of their letters sent to their home land, the researchers have determined that in general, the crime rate of immigrants is lower than the local population. According to the researchers, 'villagers strive to be compatible with their behavior and protect their efforts even if their social environment changes dramatically. However, when' (Alpaslan, 1975: 115). (Alpaslan, 1975: 115).

Bianchi, Buonanno, and Pinotti investigated the relationship between migration and crime in the Italian cities between 1990 and 2003 and found that there was scarcely any relationship between violence, crimes against property and drug crimes and Immigration. "Considering that only the crime of theft was significantly affected by immigration, but the ratio of the crime of theft was only 1.5%, the researchers observed, "villagers strive to be compatible with their behaviour and protect their efforts even if their social environment changed

dramatically. However, when they could not get to the regular community life they longed for, mental illness and guilt could emerge " (Alpaslan, 1975: 115). It is also stated that the relationship is not very important." (Bianchi et.al. 2008: 10; Güneş 2012: 87).

Ousey and Kubrin examined the interaction between violence and migration movement for the 1980-2000 period of 159 American cities with a population of at least 100,000 and, contrary to popular opinion, observed a direct and positive interaction between Immigration and Crime (2009: 465; sun 2012: 88).

Nunziata, for example, analyzed migration and Crime data in 17 countries of Western Europe in the 2000s and found that migration did not affect the victimization of crime (Nunziata 2011; Güneş 2012: 89).

Organised crime, which has many different branches, such as drug and weapons trafficking, prostitution, counterfeiting, migrant and organ trafficking, constitutes a special area of crime and is often associated with migration. For example, as Giddens observed in England, the Japanese Yakuza gangs and Italian and American mafia representatives have been involved in Britain. Among the latest arrivals are some criminals from the former Soviet Union (2012: 877). According to Robert M. Lombardo, a field investigator in criminal law in the United States, the association of organized crime with immigration does not fully reflect the reality. As the author found in his book 'Organized Crime in Chicago: Beyond the Mafia', the organizing crime in Chicago was before the Italian migration, and for almost 50 years independently of the Italian participation, the black community of Chicago was influenced by this area. Well, where do you rely on this "criminal import" model information, most of them are being transmitted from popular, non-academic sources (04 February 2013).

Gottfredson, who evaluated the above data and others in total, found that there was an incompatibility between theories claiming that migration increased criminal behaviour and practical studies that determined that migration had no direct impact on the crime. Gottfredson criticizes reports of high crime rates of migrant families (which include criminal-justice system data used in these reports, such as capture and imprisonment) as they may contain attitudes towards the administration to draw attention to migration (Gottfredso, 2004: 6; Güneş 2012: 87). According to Ousey and Kubrin, theoretical studies that claim that migration has increased crime are ignoring demographic-economic-social structure changes caused by migration. Therefore, they cannot see that migration can play a protective role against crime (2009: 465-466; Güneş 2012: 88).

According to the evaluations of Places et.al , in order to address the discrepancy between the theory and practice observed in immigration – crime interaction, it is necessary to include the data circle of the analysis in the social conditions of the countries and the different mechanisms of justice. (1996: 16-19; Güneş 2012: 88).

MERSİN IN SPATIAL AND CULTURAL

Despite the fact that it is historically very old, Mersin's appearance on the stage of history as a city is found in the mid-19th century. When the city examines its history, very different things will be seen. In order to understand the immigration which Mersin has taken much higher than the average, it is essential to look into

the past. Because in the 1800's the city's establishment was also caused by immigration. We can understand the issue by looking at from this point of view. At that time, the city assessed the immigration it received in itself and gave them bread to the new-comers and shared what they had with them. People of different ethnicity and belief groups have often been able to live together in peace and tranquility, turning their diversity into a cultural richness. In this sense, Mersin was a city of culture and civilization. However, it is a little more difficult to say the same for today.

What makes Mersin unique in terms of urbanization in the sociological context is that the city was founded with migrations, that it was subjected to intense and massive migration in a short period of time, and that migration has tangible, visible effects in all areas, from the identity of the city to its institutions and lifestyle (Mazlum 2010: 133-134).

Although Mersin is historically an old city, it is quite new as a settlement unit. "In essence, Mersin is a city of 150-160 years, a city founded in the 1840s, shaped in the 1850s. It was a fishing village with a population of 630 in the 1850s. While the civil war was continuing in America, America, which could not send the cotton that it had promised to Europe, discovered Çukurova while looking at where they could produce it in the world geography. When Çukurova was discovered, cotton planting was possible in the vicinity of Tarsus, Adana, and Mersin, but there was no farmer and farmer culture. There are only yuruk nomads in this region, making livestock, fruit, and so on. There was no one knowledgeable with agriculture and farming. Then the Levantine groups from Lebanon had solved the problem by bringing fellahs (agricultural workers of Arabic origin) from Syria, Jordan, Lebanon" (Mazlum 2010: 134).

We can verify the above information when we look at the historical records. At the end of the nineteenth century, we see that the Mersin flag was connected to the province of Adana and consisted of the districts of Mersin and Tarsus. During this period, the Muslim Turks, non-Muslim Armenians, Catholics, Greek Orthodox, Protestants and Jews were living within the district of Mersin (Tutank 2004:23). In the historical process, the first one of the many ethnic groups to settle in Mersin, the city of tolerance and peace, which hosted lots of cultures were Christians. Mersin is one of the few cities in which different religions have formed their communities and founded their churches and synagogues, and where various religions, such as Muslims, Jews, Christians, Arabs, Armenians, Turks, Assyrians, and various peoples have managed to live together.

It can be said that after Istanbul, Mersin is a small miniature of Turkey, a city that can be considered a prototype. With migrations from every region of Turkey, it exhibits a mosaic image with its very different ethnic and religious foundations (Mazlum 2010: 134-135).

Mersin's population today is 1.787.649, according to 2017 data. However, it is estimated that the population growth is not caused by natural dynamics, but by the vast majority of the population coming through migration. Today, approximately 70% of Mersin's population is composed of immigrants. This figure

corresponds to approximately 1.251.000 people. In such a population composition, social integration is very difficult to achieve.

In Turkey, Mersin is the leading city where the number of local people is smaller than that of the immigrants. It has gained the majority of its population through migration. This population, besides the advantage for Mersin, also brings serious disadvantages and social problems. Starting in the 1980s, mainly after the 1990s, the mass migrations from the Eastern and South Eastern Anatolian regions due to terrorism changed the social, economic and cultural structure of the city.

There are 15 new immigrant neighborhoods through immigration, mainly the Mediterranean and Taurus central districts. Şevket Sümer, Güneş, Yeni Hal, Çay, Çilek, Özgürlük, Karacailyas, Kurdali, Mustafa Kemal, Portakal, Demirtaş, Eğriçam, Afet, Batikent were the result of this migration. These neighbourhoods are generally slum neighborhoods, and they are areas with a low standard of living, which are built of the low standard of housing, barrack or tin-type materials, which are out of city law. These neighborhoods are a homogenous structure of Kurdish citizens and new places in the ghetto trend. As is known, the urbanization process in Turkey is not planned under the leadership of the public, nor does it take place within the open market rules organized by the public. The new settlements around our big cities are largely occurring in a process where the rules are not clear and the institutions are not easily perceived, except for the rules of urban law" (Erder 2002: 53).

Mersin city is a city that experiences intensive immigration-terrorism interaction. The terrorist acts that gained speed in the East and southeast of the country in the 1990s have been the most influential factor in migration. People have been forced to migrate for reasons such as security of life and financial difficulties depending on it, and the oppression of the terrorist organization. The neighborhoods and settlements that were formed in Mersin after the migration were ironic, and became the vital point support for the terror. Though the local authorities issue a statement "One of the interesting points emerging during the field survey in Mersin is that the local discourse on Kurdish citizens who are victims of forced migration is focusing on the social-economic problems faced by migrants, while the National popular press is presenting Mersin as a time bomb and keeping it in a more problematic ideological discourse.... As many have emphasized, this problem is not a problem between the citizens of Kurdish origin and others residing in the city, but rather an issue that the media has escalated." (Yaka, Işık et. al. 2008:25), it reflects a social situation in which urban tension is maximized, as opposed to the situation shown. In the studies carried out by American scientists, we should not be deceived by the fact that migration and criminal interactions do not have significant results. Because immigrants there are people who are not Americans and other national officers. Immigrants arriving in Mersin are Turkish citizens of Kurdish origin, non-foreign nationals. Therefore, the variables are not exactly the same as the US. Consequently, the results will not be the same.

It has also revealed by some other researchers that in today's cities where urban tension or separation is experienced, the indicators linked to unemployment, poverty, urban deprivation, social assistance and other

victimization are not distributed in a balanced way in metropolitan cities and are intensified in some parts of the city. Şevket Sumer, Sun, Yeni Hal, Çay, Çilek, Liberty, Karacailyas, Kurdali, Mustafa Kemal, Orange, Demirtaş, Eğriceç, Disaster, Batıkent have come into existence as a result of the migration and they are spatial units bearing these characteristics. These spatial areas are also where drug use and trafficking have recently started to be widespread. In addition, the use of young children as labor, prostitution, theft and other incidents in these neighborhoods are more than others. Drug use and trade are driving these spatial areas into the process of becoming suburb in recent times. "Drug sub-culture on the scale of the city of Mersin (in particular) assumes the role of identity providers of disadvantaged groups or individuals who have migrated to the city but have not been integrated into the city. Therefore, drug sub-culture is a major obstacle to integration with the city, but it also means the formation of a new, different social anomalous structure in the urban environment." (Tanaydın 2017: 3).

In the event that social integration cannot be achieved, the emergence of social conflict areas and differences instead of harmony will be inevitable. These two facts/processes are being experienced in Turkey. There is a phenomenon of migration on the basis of this process in our country. The process of migration from rural to urban, which started with mechanization in agriculture in the 1950s, continues even though it has changed its quality and its momentum in the present day. The phenomenon of migration, which could be reduced to general reasons such as the provocation of the countryside and the attractiveness of the city until the 1980s, gained a new dimension with the addition of the terrorist process in 1980s-1990s. The PKK terror, which was formed on the ethnic separatism and separatism, which emerged mainly in the eastern and southeastern Anatolia regions, gave a new look to the migration phenomenon.

As a result of immigration, people were forced to leave their living spaces either with the pressure of the terrorist organization or due to the safety concerns or the state's mandatory village evacuation (for safety reasons). Immigration from these regions were mainly concentrated in Central Anatolia, Marmara, Aegean and Mediterranean regions, especially in big cities. Many provinces, especially Istanbul and some cities, have taken their way from these immigrants, while Mersin is at the forefront of this issue. After immigration due to terrorism in Mersin city center, about 15 neighborhoods have formed. The neighborhoods such as Şevket Sumer, Sun, Yeni Hal, Çay, Çilek, Liberty, Karacailyas, Kurdali, Mustafa Kemal, Orange, Demirtaş, Eğriceç, Disaster, Batıkent have come into existence as a result of the migration and they are spatial units bearing these characteristics.

Although not all of these neighborhoods, the majority of them have been covered in the process by the effects of their homogenous structure, which is on an ethnic basis. It has been found that there are too many people who do not see Mersin city center and the sea although they lived here for many years. After a while, these neighborhoods, which could not benefit from the city rant, turned into the human resources of the separatist organization. These neighborhoods are the places where the most criminal incidents and terrorist movements occur in Mersin. Of course, it is not ethical and societal right to label immigrants living in these neighborhoods

and see them as potential sources of terrorism. However, it is impossible to ignore the fact that the terrorist organization exploited people living in these regions and tried to create a potential for itself.

As mentioned earlier, social exclusion/isolation is increasing in these neighborhoods, which reinforces the tendency of slums to become Varosha. Social exclusion corresponds to the process of preventing or ensuring that people are deprived of poverty, basic educational skills, or being pushed out of the community and their participation in social life by means of discrimination. In general, the conceptualization of social exclusion is the inability to access basic services such as education, health, housing, or the disadvantage of the transportation process and the possibility of benefiting from the city/rent. Some social scientists prefer the concept of "othering" rather than social exclusion. In this two-way relationship, the ones who otherize loads all the negativity to those who are otherized. Once gathered under the category of "peasant in the city", the people of the slum are now being otherized under the concept of "suburban". It is no longer the morally upright, disciplined, and orderly peasant family in slums; it is not the one who threatens the basic principles of the Republic such as secularism; it is the fundamentalist, radical leftist, Kurdish nationalist, as well as the one who surrenders to the city by encircling the city.

These neighborhoods, made up of victims of terrorism living in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia themselves, have transformed into neighborhoods or settlement areas that feed terror after a while. These residential areas, which are attracting attention as units with low urbanization, have also experienced ghettoization caused by the process of separation and othering instead of urban / social integration. The results of another study reveal an even more frightening picture and show that a social mental trauma / division has begun to emerge. According to this study conducted by Yaka-Işık et.al in 2008 (76), "What the Mersin events have reminded us of or as a desire to offer is this: "The Kurds did not belong to Mersin, they came to Mersin later and had a strong belief that they were from Diyarbakir. Kurdish originers from Diyarbakir should go back there."Thus, the public seemed to have given up hope for the first time in a province or region of the country. In order to save their cities, Mersin, Manisa, Izmir, Bursa and Istanbul, they clearly expressed the division in their intellectual geography. If the citizens of Kurdish origin returned to Diyarbakir, the other cities having the similar fate with Mersin such as Manisa, Istanbul, Izmir, Bursa Sakarya would be saved" .

CONCLUSION

The topic of the interaction between migration and terrorism concerns all the migration-receiving and emigrant countries at the moment. Especially in the places where immigration is taking place, it is misleading to establish a linear relationship between immigration and terrorism, although the perception of 'terrorists emerging from foreigners' is widespread, and empirical examples support this. In fact, those coming with migration are the people who are worried about themselves and their families' future, who want to work in peace and order, to be educated and to have a comfortable life. Although the media often reports the criminality of immigrants with sensational news, the research and statistics have not been able to pinpoint an urgent aspect of the issue. According to many research results, the crime rate of immigrants is not higher than the domestic population.

For example, according to the data of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, when the crime rate of Syrians living in Turkey whose number exceeds 3-million is compared to the events related to public security in Turkey, it is seen that the rate was 1,32% annually between 2014-2017 (İçişleri Bakanlığı, 05 Temmuz 2017). When we look at the causes of immigration crime, it can be said that the leading factor is the discrepancy in the social values and cultural conflicts. The other reasons barring this are easing the crime rather than causing it (Alpaslan, 1975: 129-130). Prevention of foreign crime is primarily based on education, and studies in the field of migrant education should be planned and accelerated. (Alpaslan, 1975: 130).

The above statements are mainly concerned with foreigners who have come through international migration. The crime rate of immigrants cannot be compared with the situation in Mersin in this sense. At this point Mersin's situation is specific. 70% of Mersin's immigration status is not of international quality but of national quality.

Today, the biggest problem of Mersin and several other metropolitan cities is the inability to integrate the incoming migrants into the city. They were unable to create belonging because this population was homogeneous in their own facilities and in the residential units they created they could not benefit from the city's facilities. The lack of belonging to the city and the limited socio-economic opportunities offered can turn into a unique opportunity for terrorist organizations. In this context, Mersin "is of vital importance not only for the understanding of " the life areas of this population living on the edge of the city, the role of social, cultural, political and economic processes in the context of unemployment and spatial decomposition but also for the analysis of the present problems and the situation of the future cities and dynamics, problems and solutions to be faced." (Yaka-Işık et. al 2008: 28).

Especially after 1990, the pressure of the terrorist organization, the concern of the security of life and property, and the need to evacuate the village were not compatible with the city because these people had already been forced by terrorism. Those who came before 1990 continue their existence as people who have adopted themselves as the people of Mersin and have a job by which they can make their living easily.

The difference of Mersin from other cities is that people exposed to terrorism and effects in many localities form homogeneous culture islets in the city after migration. The inadequate efforts of local governments have created obstacles for these people to become urban-conscious and to develop a sense of belonging to the city. This situation has led to the transformation of the places that are formed as a result of terrorism into places that support terrorism, where terror finds its habitat. The fact that these people live in very bad conditions, the crowded families, and the fact that all the households live in the same room and the unemployment is so high have laid the foundation for a great number of unlawful acts. The findings of Güneş's study support this argument. "There is no sense of getting revenge on the past consciously, but there is a sense of vengeance. They have created a totem, they are opposed to all ills in their lives or they are creating an illusion just like the one in psychology and accuse the state and they are looking for the source of all the negative things in the past ... The separatist terrorist organization is also trying to keep this idea alive with the propagation of personal

mistakes made in the past by some public officials in the government. In addition, some families are trying to give this feeling to the children who came there after 90's, who were born there and have never seen their homelands in their lives by telling legendary stories "(2012: 103-104).

In short, Mersin is a city where ghetto neighborhoods emerge because of the lack of integration of the migration population into the city. These neighborhoods became an identity in which those who were victims of terrorism formed the infrastructure of terrorism over time.

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