

People, Power, and Politics in the Post- Pandemic World Order

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Edited by

Ahmet Gökbel, Erman Akıllı
and Burak Güneş

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INTRODUCTION

AHMET GÖKBEL, ERMAN AKILLI,
BURAK GÜNEŞ

The wake of 2020 showed the world that the international system is always open to global crises. Throughout history, several breaking points have had a significant impact on the international system, such as the Peace of Westphalia, the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution, World Wars (I and II), the end of the Cold War, and 9/11. In other words, the world has endured many global crises such as world-wide wars, biohazards, and, most importantly, pandemics that affect millions of people. After the outbreak of the coronavirus pandemic in early 2020, the international system entered a transition process. This transition affected many countries in different ways. Some countries decided to impose mandatory curfews, and some countries closed their borders to foreigners. Moreover, for many countries, medical supplies turned into goods to be traded on the black market, hard to find and very hard to share.

Even though two years have passed since the COVID-19 pandemic became a norm for the international public, its effects, and most arguably its aftermath, still continue. Thus, it is essential to understand the transition mentioned above from different perspectives.

In the late 1980s, conjunctural shifts in international politics provided a new type of ground enhanced by the dissolution of the USSR, in which borders between nation states became fluid. This era, known as “globalization,” provides a broader understanding of international politics, which requires a multi-disciplinary vision in political science. Therefore, today it is impossible to separate international relations from economics or political science from sociology; the disciplines have been entwined. Thus, handling social sciences with a broader understanding is essential. It also necessary to understand and analyze the COVID-19 pandemic and its impact on the international system at the state, design, and society levels. Hence, this book is titled “People, Power, and Politics in the Post-Pandemic World Order” to shed light on world transition within the new terms forced by the pandemic. As editors, we plan to cover this topic over a series of books. This, the first

book of the series, is “People, Power, and Politics in the Post-Pandemic World Order: Pandemic and Global Politics.” The book consists of eleven well-structured chapters.

As mentioned above, world history has been the stage for many crises in different periods. But through those crises, disadvantaged groups, such as migrants, suffer the most. Thus, in times of crisis, migrants should not be neglected. For instance, regarding the COVID-19 pandemic, the postponement of registration processes causes migrant rights to be lost both during and after the pandemic. The lack or incomplete registration of migrants’ data can lead to migrants who are less visible or do not want to be seen as excluded from social and economic life and ignored. The COVID-19 unseen perspective regarding migrants is considered in Abdullah Ayaz’s chapter, titled “A New Paradigm in Migration Management after the COVID-19 Pandemic.”

In his chapter titled “Diplomacy in the Post-Pandemic World Order,” Arif Behic Ozcan asks a question about COVID-19 as both an experience and an opportunity to reconsider our entire expertise in diplomacy to face such risks. To seize this opportunity, states and all diplomatic stakeholders will need a change of mindset from traditional goals and existing value systems.

Ayşe Ataş pursues the question of the COVID-19 aftermath in the Middle East region on the manners of politics and economy in her chapter titled “The Political and Economic Effects of the COVID-19 Pandemic on the Middle East.”

Bengü Çelenk and Burak Güneş question whether climate change, which has been at the top of the agenda when the world is faced with a pandemic, has a direct effect on US military bases. Their article, titled “Climate Change-Related Security Concerns: A Critical Investigation of the Direct Effects of Climate Change on US Military Bases” claims that the US has not yet securitized climate change as an existential threat but that the US government, according to the current study, will inevitably have to securitize it.

In her chapter titled “Human Migration in the Post-Pandemic World,” Dolapo Fakuade employs social control theory to explain and propose a more suitable approach for state management of migrants in the post-pandemic world. Since the rationale for human migration would continue, it is pertinent that countries, especially those receiving migrants, boost their

labor force and improve current policies and practices to avert the migrant crisis in the post-pandemic world.

In his chapter titled “Globalization in the Post-Pandemic World Order,” Kürşat Kan explains the COVID-19 era through the lens of globalization. In doing so, he sheds light on the fundamentals of globalization in world history with the support of globalization theories.

Levent Yiğittepe explains the pandemic world order based on the so-called freedom–security dilemma. He investigates the research question through international relations theories. He reviews the applications of European and North American countries in his chapter titled “The Freedom–Security Dilemma in the COVID-19 Period: The Hard Test of Liberal Systems.”

Elshan Bagirzadeh and Turan Suleymanov emphasize the importance of higher education institutions’ contributions to Azerbaijan’s economic development in their chapter titled “The Contribution of Higher Education Institutions to Economic Development in Post-Soviet Countries: The Case of Azerbaijan.”

Orhan Battır reviews the public diplomacy practices of states during the pandemic and their exportation of constructed images to foreign audiences in his chapter titled “Country Image and Public Diplomacy Tested During the COVID-19 Pandemic.”

“There are many hopes after the despair. There are many suns behind the darkness.” Those are the famous words of Rumi, which were written on Türkiye’s humanitarian aid packages that were delivered all around the world in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic. Between 2020 and 2022, more than 2,000,000 people received humanitarian aid from Türkiye. In his chapter titled “Türkiye’s Soft Power: Health Diplomacy in the Pandemic Period – An Evaluation via the Turkish Red Crescent and TİKA,” Recep Şehitoğlu reviews Türkiye’s humanitarian and health diplomacy through Turkish state institutions.

In his chapter titled “COVID-19 Vaccine Allocation in Africa: A South–South Cooperation Toward the Post-Pandemic World?” Sinan Baran analyzes the South–South relations specific to Africa during the COVID-19 pandemic and the ideas and realities of change and transition in the post-pandemic world order among BRICS countries and Africa.

People, Power, and Politics in the Post-Pandemic World Order will be the title of this book series and, as editors, we are proud to present this very first volume of the series on the theme of *Pandemic and Global Politics*. We sincerely hope that this book will contribute to the social science literature and pave the way for further academic research on the post-pandemic world order.

Editors,
Ahmet GÖKBEL, Erman AKILLI, and Burak GÜNEŞ

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CHAPTER I

A NEW PARADIGM IN MIGRATION MANAGEMENT AFTER THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

ABDULLAH AYAZ

Introduction

Nearly 100 years after the 1918 influenza pandemic, which humanity had to fight between 1918 and 1920, a new era of struggle began with the coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic. The COVID-19 pandemic, which broke out in Wuhan, People's Republic of China in the last month of 2019 and then spread rapidly around the world, had a global impact. A century of experience in responding to global pandemics was expected to lead to measures at the global level. Applying solid social protection to every individual, especially in health, is a requirement resulting from technological advances and political, economic, and social developments. However, the main problem since the moment that the COVID-19 pandemic first broke out has been the lack of an institutional system to combat the pandemic. In particular, the weakness of qualified human capital to guide the institutional system has made it difficult to fight against the pandemic.

During what is called the early period of the outbreak, there has been uncertainty caused by the unpredictability of the impact of COVID-19. This unpredictability caused the delay and inadequacy of the measures taken in eliminating the pandemic and, therefore, deepened the negative consequences of the pandemic. Following the declaration of the coronavirus disease as a pandemic by the World Health Organization (WHO) on March 11, 2020, both the quality and quantity of measures were increased worldwide. The primary measures implemented were travel restrictions and the closure of national borders. This measure, which corresponds to inactivity between countries, was followed by a lockdown within many

countries. Reducing mobility, which was first implemented to limit the spread of the pandemic, is a common restriction for individuals with different economic and social indicators. However, the impact of this restriction on groups with different socioeconomic characteristics varies.

Every new decision taken and every new measure put into practice leads to changes in the lives of individuals that they have not experienced before. As the effects vary for different groups, the social, psychological, and economic dimensions of this change also differ. The economic effects of the pandemic can be observed and measured faster compared to other effects on countries and individuals alike. Therefore, the economic dimension of the negative changes caused by the pandemic has been kept on the agenda and discussed more. In addition to the economic effects of the pandemic on society, there are also various issues in several dimensions of life arising from disruptions in the provision of education, health, and social assistance services. The lack of foresight before the outbreak and diversity of symptoms during the time the pandemic emerged slowed down the control mechanism for fighting off the pandemic. Therefore, macro-scale measures were resorted to rather than micro-level measures specific to different socioeconomic groups.

Considering an atmosphere where global inactivity was implemented as a precaution, migrants were the ones affected the most by this measure because it inherently involves mobility among the various socioeconomic groups affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. In addition to the vulnerabilities of the migration process, migrants, who also have different disadvantageous characteristics, have faced new difficulties due to the measures implemented in response to the pandemic. Migrants, asylum seekers, and refugees associated with migration, described as the group¹ paying the ultimate price in the pandemic, face significant challenges in accessing basic welfare services such as food, shelter, health care, and education. Migration management, which is designed to solve these problems, and the support of externalization policies have made the insolvency chronic for migrants whose living standards have become more difficult during the COVID-19 outbreak. The externalization policies already implemented before the pandemic with the aim of limiting the migration to certain geography rather than improving the welfare of migrants have been realized inevitably because of the global inactivity during the pandemic period. However, the weakening in the welfare indicators of migrants, the continuation of migration mobility even if it was at a slower pace despite the pandemic, and the unequal practices and rights losses suffered by migrants during the pandemic period reveal the necessity

of a new migration management approach determined by a new paradigm after the pandemic.

First, this study explains the global situation of migration mobility before the COVID-19 outbreak. Then, the changes in the social and economic activities of migrants caused by the COVID-19 outbreak are evaluated based on data obtained from reports published in the period from 2020 to 2022. Next, the effects on migrants of the precautions and measures applied to fight against the pandemic and their effects on the countries where they are located are analyzed. Finally, a perspective on how migration management should be handled after an outbreak is established based on the experience and information gained during the pandemic period. The main objective of the study is to determine the policies that will protect vulnerable socioeconomic groups against unequal and unfair practices in unexpected crises, such as the COVID-19 outbreak. Measures implemented on a large scale and based on the assumption that each individual has the same conditions can adversely affect the social and economic indicators of individuals and groups with poor socioeconomic characteristics. Therefore, the lessons learned in crises such as pandemics need to be reflected in policies to protect migrant groups.

A qualitative research method was adopted in this study with the aim of both understanding the process in which events and activities occur and observing the effects of this process. By characterizing COVID-19 as a case, this method enables us to reveal the expectations of migrants regarding access to welfare services, living standards, and difficulties, as well as migration management after the outbreak. A case study was selected as the qualitative research design. For the case study design corresponding to the in-depth examination of one or several situations within a limited time frame, the study was based on the following three criteria: 2020–2022 as the time frame, the COVID-19 outbreak as the situation, and the reflection of this situation on migrants. Multiple data collection tools were used for the examination of documents and reports published over the three-year period of the study. The content analysis of the obtained data created four themes, namely, access to welfare services, living standards, challenges, and lessons learned in migration management.

General Outlook of Migration Mobility in the Pre-Pandemic Period

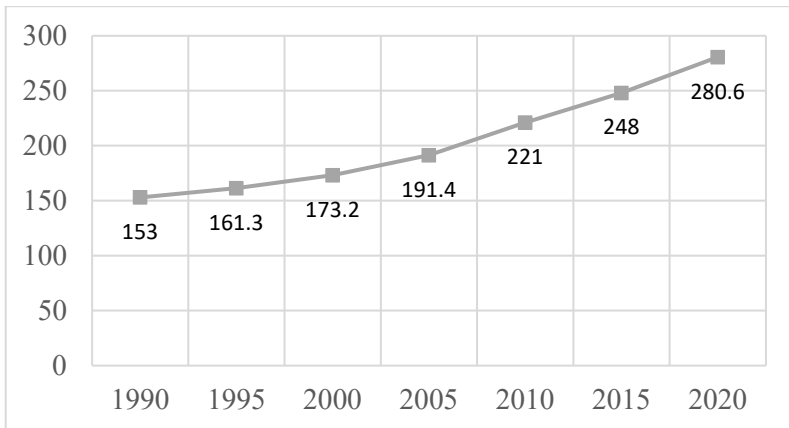
When considering humanity, movement and mobility are inevitable. This is why migration represents a common feature for every individual, society, and country globally. Although the reasons for migration, the direction of migration mobility, and the socioeconomic identities of migrants differ, migration continues to exist independently of time. The fact that the reasons affecting its emergence are in an undefined framework ranging from economic, political, social, demographic, and environmental makes migration a more complex concept (Black et al., 2011). This complex nature of migration management and process becomes more complicated when the diversity of the reasons for migration is considered along with other factors such as migration being time-independent, migration rules being different for every country, and the uniqueness of human nature.

Employment, which is recognized as one of the main reasons for migration, is considered a dimension of economic migration (Lozej, 2019; Wu et al., 2020). In migrations due to the need for housing, the need for a living space as a physical structure arises (Wang et al., 2017). While the demand for welfare is also among the primary reasons for migration (Liu, 2010), there is transitivity between the reasons even if they are examined independently of each other. Thus, migration can occur for a single reason or it can be a phenomenon triggered by a combination of various reasons. Considering global warming and the COVID-19 pandemic, the impact of environmental and health factors that attracted attention as the causes of migration in the 2000s is expected to increase in the following period. The loss of living space or a decrease in the quality of the existing environment following a natural disaster such as floods, earthquakes, fires, or climate crisis are considered among the environmental factors. Therefore, environmental factors are included in the literature as a cause of migration (Mueller et al., 2020). The demand for access to health care or living in a healthy environment also leads to migration (Anglewicz et al., 2019).

When all these reasons are considered, the existence of very difficult mobility to manage inevitably emerges. Migration, which is imagined abstractly when reflected in the figures, is seen as more prominent in its complexity and magnitude with concrete data. The number of migrants worldwide reached 281 million in 2020, and the number of forcibly displaced people, including 26.4 million refugees, exceeded 89 million (IOM, 2021). Comparing the 10-year period after 2000, the migrant population was 150 million in 2000 and 214 million in 2010. The increase

of 64 million in the number of migrants over the course of 10 years indicates that migration management will become more difficult day by day, quantitatively.

When the migration data of 2019, before the outbreak, and 2020, when the pandemic occurred, are compared as the threshold values, it shows that future projections are made by considering different events or developments such as COVID-19 in migration management. The number of migrants worldwide for the period from 1990 to 2020 is shown in Figure 1. According to Figure 1, the number of migrants increased from 153 million in 1990 to 280.6 million in 2020. Despite the impact of COVID-19, there was no considerable difference between 2019 and 2020, showing that migration did not lose speed despite the measures to prevent mobility.

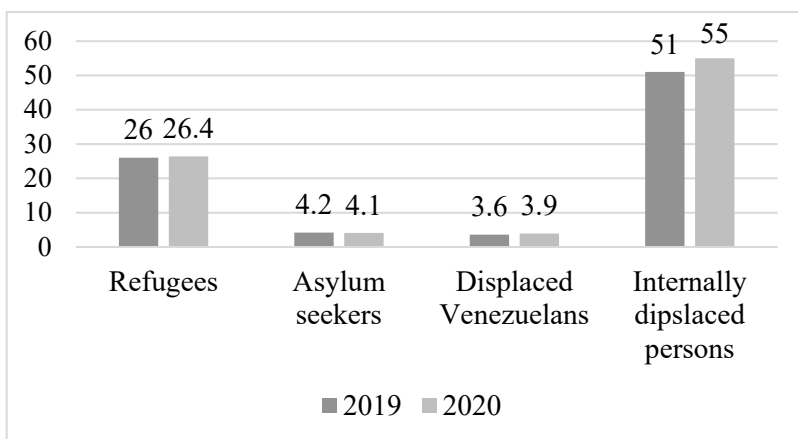


Source: UN DESA, 2020.

Figure 1. Number of migrants worldwide (millions), 1990–2020.

The number of migrants was 272 million in 2019 and approximately 281 million in 2020, with an increase of only 9 million due to the measures implemented to fight against the COVID-19 outbreak. Migration continued even at a time when borders were closed, each country had travel restrictions in place, and mobility was reduced to a minimum. When the data of refugees and asylum seekers—who differ from migrants due to their fragile characteristics—are examined, it is clearly seen that migration continues to exist in all cases. The number of displaced people, which would be expected to decrease due to COVID-19 measures, increased from 84.8 million in 2019 to 89.4 million in 2020.

Figure 2 shows a comparison of different migrant groups within the scope of displaced persons for 2019 and 2020. The number of migrants under the displaced person category, except the asylum seeker category, increased compared to the previous year. This increase was low compared to other years. It can be seen that the global inactivity practices in response to the COVID-19 outbreak reduced migration mobility. In fact, this situation has created a beneficial picture in terms of the policies of migration management that are built on preventing migration. However, the unsustainability of COVID-19 measures indicates that this inactivity will not continue. Therefore, there is a need for a new paradigm in migration management based on the lessons learned from the problems arising in migration management and the inequalities suffered by migrants during the COVID-19 period.



Source: IOM, 2021.

Figure 2. Number of migrants under different displaced person categories (millions), 2019–2020.

This paradigm needs to be shaped according to fair principle that cares about burden-sharing rather than externalization policies such as preventing migration, reducing migration mobility, or keeping migration within certain borders. In this context, how migration management is shaped in the COVID-19 period and the lessons learned by taking into account the problems and demands experienced by migrants will be instructive. The assessment of migrants, who were discarded and whose current situation has worsened with the measures taken during the COVID-19 period, will strengthen countries in migration management for any possible crisis or unexpected development after COVID-19.

Migration Management and Problems Experienced by Migrants in a Pandemic Period

Before the COVID-19 outbreak, the issue of migration was seen as an issue that needed to be managed and controlled on the world agenda. Themes such as migration mobility, the direction of this mobility, the number of migrants, the problems faced by migrants, bureaucratic and legal processes, access to welfare services, and so on were the main topics within the scope of migration. In different parts of the world, there was common migration mobility, regardless of the changing reasons. In monitoring and recording this mobility, country-based data such as nationality, country of origin, source and destination countries, and income-oriented socioeconomic data such as age, gender, marital status, education, and occupation of migrants were used. When the pre-pandemic data is examined, the lack of health-centered data draws attention.

The recorded data of migrants generally includes descriptive information such as nationality, age, gender, education level, and professional qualifications. The consistency of these data is because regular migration has a higher rate than other types of migration. Although the issue of migration on the world agenda is determined by a focus on forced migration caused by the wars and conflicts that have emerged recently, a closer look at the whole picture shows that most of the migrants are regular migrants who have migrated to different countries, especially for employment. The fact that the problems experienced by regular migrants due to the measures implemented against the pandemic during the COVID-19 period are visible and well known is a result of their registration. However, the problems faced by migrants who must start their migration journey illegally cannot be ignored.

The first concrete symptom in terms of the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on regular migrants is that the increase in the number of migrants remains low compared with other years. This quantitative decrease is a rational and expected situation due to the method for combating the pandemic centered on immobility and the fact that the migration movement, which is inherently mobile, is located at opposite poles. However, in addition to the decrease in numbers, the problems experienced by migrants have deepened with COVID-19. Since the beginning of the COVID-19 outbreak, both refugees, who had to leave their countries for compulsory reasons, and migrants, who migrated to different countries for reasons such as work and education, have faced very different problems. When these problems are evaluated according to migrant categories, the issues

experienced by refugees in accessing international protection come to the fore.

Refugees were either unable to apply for asylum in the countries where they were present during this period or the application process was too long. Due to the prolongation of the process, there has been a loss of rights and an unnecessary waiting period for access to international protection identity and social rights. This situation has made the lives of the already vulnerable refugees more difficult, deprived them of the rights that their international protection status would provide them, and increased their victimization.

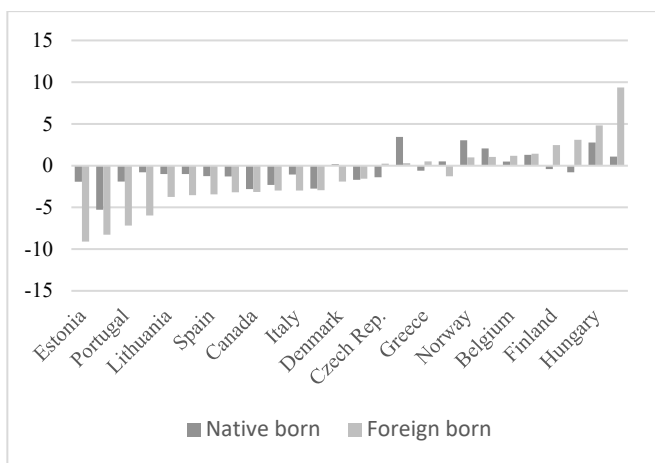
Disruptions in bureaucratic procedures not only result in certification procedures being delayed. Refugees who do not qualify for international protection cannot benefit from welfare services, especially health care. The dangerous side of the COVID-19 pandemic represents a major threat to the life of refugees outside health care. Therefore, refugees' access to health services, which is one of the most critical issues of the pandemic, was not realized or became very difficult. Refugees infected with COVID-19 have been excluded from treatment services. Those who received treatment incurred the cost of a higher fee for health care because they were not covered by international protection. Similar problems continued to occur later in the pandemic, especially after the introduction of vaccines in the fight against COVID-19. Refugees have faced problems in accessing vaccines in this process. The exclusion of unregistered migrants from vaccination shows that migrants can often be ignored even in the field of health, which is a basic welfare service.

In addition to bureaucratic procedures and access to welfare services, travel restrictions imposed during the pandemic have directly affected the mobility of refugees. The inactivity put in place as a priority measure in fighting the pandemic has caused great difficulties for refugees in terms of travel from transit countries and arrival in the countries or cities they target and seek asylum in. In this process, their long stays in different countries and the lack of identity have increased the uncertainty, along with indifference. Additionally, their movements were limited by the closure of the border as well as the adverse economic conditions in the country where they were currently located. For those who implement migration policy according to the approach of "stopping and preventing migration," this immobility can be seen as an opportunity. As a matter of fact, according to the data of the European Border and Coast Guard Agency (FRONTEX) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the number of migrants trying to reach

Europe from Libya decreased by 49% in February and March 2020, and this downward trend continued in April (Papademetriou, 2020).

Another effect on regular migrants of the travel restrictions imposed to ensure immobility was that at the beginning of the pandemic, migrants who were in different countries, especially for employment, could not return to their countries of origin because of the suspension of international flights. During this period, some migrants could not return to their home countries at the end of their legal right to stay in their country of residence. Even though the forced stay did not originate from the migrants themselves, their requests to renew their residence permits could not be met. They could not even apply for an extension of residence permits due to quarantine decisions, a reduction in working hours of public institutions, or closure. To find a solution to this, many countries around the world have extended the legal stay of migrants through administrative decisions. Although this practice was a solution for residence permits, practices such as the closure of the workplaces where the immigrants work, construction sites that were shut down, and a reduction in the number of employees, have left migrants in an economically difficult situation. Although evacuation flights were carried out to ensure that migrants returned to their countries, this was not always possible under the pandemic conditions, and many migrant workers experienced severe problems in the fields of accommodation, food, and health services.

The reduction of working hours due to the COVID-19 outbreak and the slowdown of economic activity have brought about an economic contraction at the global level. In 2020, the global economy shrank by 4.3% (WESP, 2021). This decline in the gross product also points to the loss in employment and growing unemployment. Since the service sector was a facilitator in the spread of the pandemic and the measures taken to combat the pandemic required a slowdown and pause in the service sector, the economic contraction and employment losses were especially felt in the service sector. The concentration of migrants in the labor force in the service sector exacerbated the negative impact of the current employment situation on migrants.



Source: OECD, 2022.

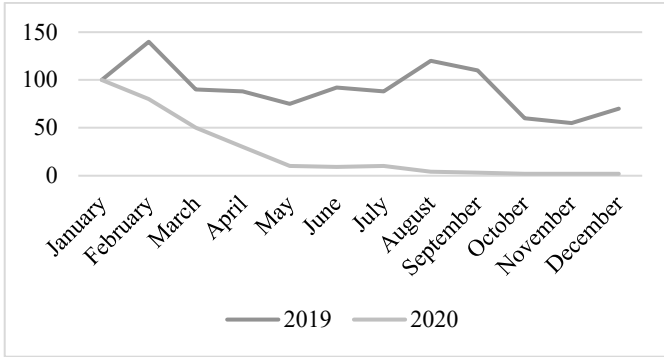
Figure 3. Foreign nationals and citizens employment change rate in 2021 relative to Q2 2019 (%).

According to the International Labor Organization (ILO), as of June 2020, 400 million full-time workers have lost their jobs worldwide since the beginning of the pandemic (ILO, 2020). When the employment rates of the employees who lost their jobs were compared according to their migrant and citizen identities, it was seen that the exposure level of migrants was higher compared to citizens (see Figure 3). The employment rates of foreign nationals and citizens in OECD countries in 2021 compared with the second quarter of 2019 are shown in Figure 3. Accordingly, as seen in both 2021 and the second quarter of 2019 employment change, foreign employees are at risk of further unemployment and loss of employment.

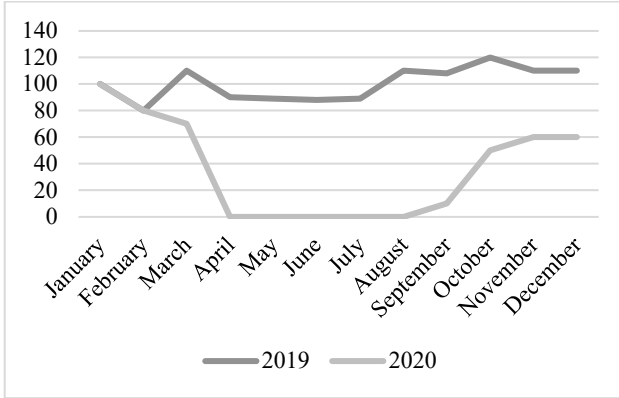
From the employer's viewpoint, Asian and Gulf countries, which host large numbers of migrant workers, have been deprived of a significant amount of labor due to travel restrictions. This situation has led to losses in production and disruptions in the service sector for countries in need of foreign labor. The change in the migrant workforce in Asian countries in 2019 and 2020 is shown in Figure 4. According to the data, the number of foreigners with work visas in Japan decreased from 100,000 to about 100 in one year. In the Republic of Korea, there has also been a significant decrease in the number of migrants coming to the country. In the March–June period of 2020, there was a decrease of approximately 80% in the acceptance of visas required

for different types of employment. In Malaysia, following the regulations put in place after March 2020, the sharp decline in the number of foreign workers has been replaced by a relative upward trend.

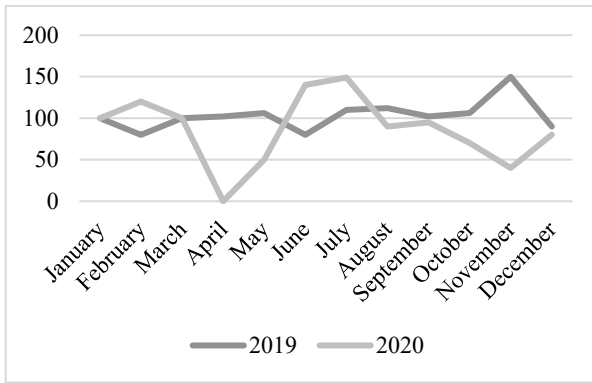
The Republic of Korea



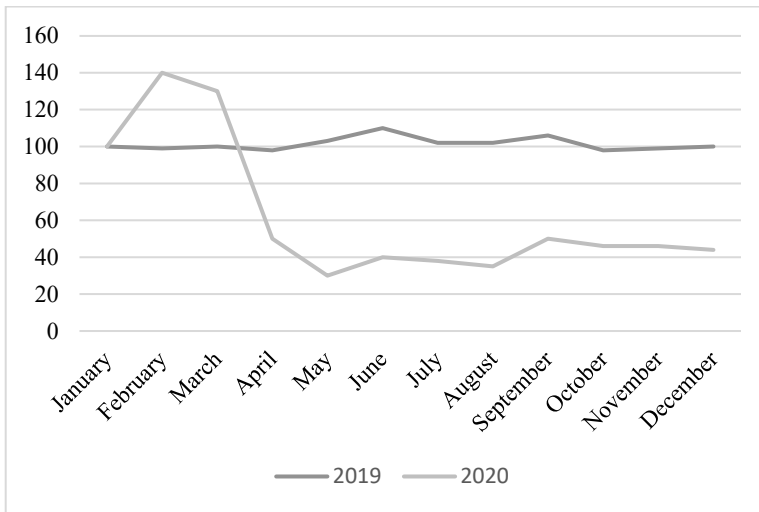
Japan



Malaysia



Thailand



Source: Labor Migration in Asia: Impacts of the COVID-19 Crisis and the Post-Pandemic Future Reports.

Figure 4. Decline in labor migration inflows to Asian destination economies (thousands).

The decrease in the participation of the foreign labor force in working life and the problems experienced caused economic losses in terms of the economies of the countries where remittance has an important share. In addition to being considered an economic cost on a country-by-country basis, this situation has revealed the problem of economic income for households whose family economies depend on family members working abroad. Table 1 show the estimated loss of remittances due to COVID-19 by the recipient country. According to these estimates, which are calculated according to two scenarios, South Asia, which will be worst affected by the COVID-19 outbreak according to the first scenario, will lose \$18.3 billion. South Asia was followed by Southeast Asia, with a loss of \$6.2 billion, and the People's Republic of China, with a loss of \$3.5 billion.

Table 1. Remittance loss estimate from recipients.

Remittance Recipients	Amount (\$ million)		% of Baseline	
	Baseline	Worst Case	Baseline	Worst Case
Global	-57.603	-108.617	-9.7	-18.3
Asia	-31.356	-54.255	-11.5	-9.8
Australia and New Zealand	-29	-299	-4.7	-10.8
Central Asia	-2.228	-3.366	-15.7	-23.8
East Asia, excluding the PRC and Japan	-716	-1.660	-7	-16.2
Japan (Japan)	-211	-497	-5.7	-13.3
People's Republic of China	-3.493	-7.886	-5.6	-12.6
Southeast Asia	-6.187	-11.660	-9.9	-18.6
South Asia	-18.276	-28.621	-15.8	-24.7
Pacific	-116	-267	-5.7	-13.2

Source: Labor Migration in Asia: Impacts of the COVID-19 Crisis and the Post-Pandemic Future Reports.

The problems faced by migrants due to the COVID-19 pandemic have not only caused migration mobility to stop or slow down. They have also led to international protection application procedures for refugees becoming more complex; problems in accessing welfare services, especially health care; extended stays without registration in another country; and a loss of economic income. Additionally, labor shortages have emerged in countries with a high proportion of the migrating labor force. Because of the slowdown in economic production activities due to COVID-19, employment rates have decreased. Migrants are among the labor groups most affected by this decline. In the final stage, the decline in remittances means economic losses

both for economies based on remittances and for households that drive the family economy according to remittances.

Results: Migration Management Perspective with Lessons Learned from the COVID-19 Outbreak

The COVID-19 pandemic, which emerged nearly a century after the 1918 influenza pandemic, the last major pandemic the world experienced, has revealed how unprepared the international community is for such a global health emergency. A chaotic atmosphere was created with the panic triggered by being unprepared, especially at the beginning of the pandemic. The lack of planning in the fight against COVID-19 has increased both the social and economic costs of the pandemic. In the later periods of the pandemic, attempts were made to mitigate the damage by correcting the mistakes made and increasing international cooperation. The COVID-19 period, which started in 2020 and continues to have an effect even if it is thought to be nearing its end, should also be considered an instructive period. In order not to repeat the mistakes, misconduct, and problems experienced by vulnerable groups, especially migrant groups, lessons should be learned from what has happened. The lessons learned are expected to shape migration management as well as other areas.

In terms of migration management, it can be said that the biggest victimization in the pandemic period is the disruption of travel for accessing international protection and asylum. Migrants' access to welfare services provided by host countries, especially health care, employment, education, and social assistance, depends on their possession of international protection status (refugee, conditional refugee, subsidiary protection, temporary protection, or humanitarian residence). However, there have been problems in accessing international protection, especially due to quarantine measures implemented in the early stages of the outbreak. This situation has made it difficult for migrants to find a place in social and economic life. However, the difficulty in accessing health services, which have become vital during the pandemic period, is a socioeconomic priority. Although the host countries took facilitating decisions for accessing health services and COVID-19 vaccines in the later periods, the unity of practice could not be achieved in the international arena, and the problems experienced by migrants continued.

The move of migrants who had to leave their countries for reasons such as conflict and internal turmoil was frequently interrupted due to travel