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**Implementations of Turkey's Syrian Refugees Policy
in the Framework of EU Agreement on Refugees**

Bachelor thesis

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Study programme: B6701 Political Science
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Hradec Kralove, 2021

Declaration of Authorship

I hereby attest that this thesis and its content is based on my own work, unless stated otherwise. All the references and sources of information used to compose this thesis have been quoted and acknowledged, under the supervision of my supervisor.

In Hradec Králové 17.04.2021

.....

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Annotation

NIGMEDZIANOV, BULAT. *Implementations of Turkey's Syrian Refugees Policy in the Framework of EU Agreement on Refugees*. Hradec Králové, Philosophical Faculty, University of Hradec Králové 2021, 68p. Bachelor thesis.

This bachelor thesis deals with the implementation of the agreement between the EU and Turkey, which aims to address refugee issues. The thesis interprets individual EU projects under the agreement's facility that focus on the integration and support of Syrian refugees into all spheres of Turkish society. This work conveys a unique view of a country that has received large numbers of refugees. The practical part of the bachelor's thesis is an analysis of documents related to individual projects of the European Union to help Turkey in resolving refugee issues. For these purposes, a qualitative method of research is used. Furthermore, the interviews conducted with the staff of the community centers for refugees and the local population are interpreted here. These interviews convey the personal experiences of people working with refugees or living in border areas.

Key words: refugees, Turkey, European Union, Syria.

Anotace

NIGMEDZIANOV, BULAT. *Implementace turecké politiky pro syrské uprchlíky v rámci dohody EU o uprchlících*. Hradec Králové, Filozofická fakulta, Univerzita Hradec Králové 2020, 68 s. Bakalářská práce.

Tato práce se zabývá implementací dohody mezi EU a Tureckem, která má za cíl řešit uprchlickou problematiku. V práci jsou interpretovány jednotlivé projekty EU, které se zaměřují na integraci syrských uprchlíků do všech sfér turecké společnosti. Toto téma zprostředkovává jedinečný pohled na zemi, která přijala velké množství uprchlíků. V praktické části bakalářské práce je provedena analýza dokumentů, které se vážou k jednotlivým projektům Evropské unie na pomoc Turecku v řešení uprchlické problematice. K těmto účelům je využita kvalitativní metoda výzkumného šetření. Dále jsou zde interpretovány rozhovory, které proběhly s pracovníky sociálních center pro uprchlíky a místním obyvatelstvem. Tyto rozhovory zprostředkovávají osobní zkušenosti lidí, kteří pracují s uprchlíky nebo žijí v pohraničních oblastech.

Klíčová slova: uprchlíci, Turecko, Evropská unie, Sýrie.

Zadání bakalářské práce

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Název bakalářské práce: **Provádění Turecké politiky syrských uprchlíků v rámci dohody EU o uprchlících.**

Název bakalářské práce AJ: Implementations of Turkey's Syrian Refugees Policy in the Framework of EU Agreement on Refugees.

Cíl, metody, literatura, předpoklady:

Popis a cíle: V této práci bude přezkoumáno provádění dohod EU a Turecka v rámci problému uprchlíků. Diskutována bude zejména praktická realizace konkrétních projektů EU zaměřených na integraci syrských uprchlíků do turecké společnosti v různých oblastech. Toto téma bude analyzováno jako jedinečný příklad země, která přijala obrovské množství uprchlíků. Metoda výzkumu: Jako hlavní výzkumná metoda bude v této práci použita kvalitativní metoda. Použitím této metody bude provedena analýza dokumentů jako forma kvalitativního výzkumu, ve které výzkumným pracovníkem budou interpretovány dokumenty s cílem vyjádřit hlas a význam kolem hodnotícího tématu. Také v rámci kvalitativního výzkumu budou vedeny polostrukturované rozhovory. Polostrukturované rozhovory budou sloužit k získávání soustředěných a kvalitativních textových dat. Rozhovor bude sloužit k objasnění oblasti výzkumu nebo specifických výzkumných otázek. Tato metoda může odhalit bohaté popisné údaje o osobních zkušenostech účastníků. Informace získané během polostrukturovaných rozhovorů mohou přesunout inovační proces z obecných témat na konkrétnější pohledy (faktory a proměnné). Může být využita k vytvoření předběžné hypotézy, vysvětlit vztahy a vytvořit základ pro další výzkum. Výzkumné otázky: Jakých výsledků dosáhlo Turecko a EU v rámci dohody o uprchlících? Jaké obtíže byly překonány a jaké problémy jsou dnes na programu? Jaký dopad mělo Turecko na otázku migrace v kontextu syrského konfliktu i na celosvětové úrovni? Praktická část: Syrští uprchlíci v Turecku se nacházejí převážně v Istanbulu, Sanliurfé, Hatay, Gaziantepu, Mersinu, Adaně a Kilisu. Pro praktickou část této studie mohou být rozhovory vedeny přímo s pracovníky migračních center a táborů, v případě možnosti se samotnými migranty žijícími v humanitárních oblastech v Turecku. V rámci výzkumu bude realizována spolupráce s 'The Turkish Red Crescent'.

Data a literatura: Hlavními zdroji dat a literatury budou různé zprávy o migraci z Evropské komise, Evropské rady a Mezinárodní organizace pro migraci (OSN), delegace EU do Turecka a také materiály z různých nevládních organizací. a související literatura a studie o migrační politice a souvisejících problémech. 1. Bugra Kanat Kilic and Ustun Kadir. 2015. Turkey's Syrian refugees. Toward Integration. Ankara: SETA. Dostupné na: http://file.setav.org/Files/Pdf/20150428153844_turkey%E2%80%99s-syrian-refugees-pdf.pdf 2. Delegation of European Union to Turkey. Regular Reports on Turkey. Dostupné na: <https://www.avrupa.info.tr/en/regular-reports-turkey-744> 3. Effects of the Syrian Refugees on Turkey. TESEV. Dostupné na: http://tesev.org.tr/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Effects_Of_The_Syrian_Refugees_On_Turkey.pdf 4. European Commission. Annual Reports on Migration and Asylum. Dostupné na: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/networks/european_migration_network/reports/nationalreports_en 5. Human Rights Watch Turkey. Reports. Dostupné na: <https://www.hrw.org/tr/world-report/2019/country-chapters/325436> 6. Independent humanitarian organization ?Hayata destek?. Dostupné na: <http://www.hayatadestek.org/> 7. International Organization for Migration, Turkey. Reports. Dostupné na: <https://turkey.iom.int/reports> 8. Operational Data Portal by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee. Dostupné na: <https://data2.unhcr.org/> 9. Syria Crisis Response and Resilience Programme by United Nations Development Programme. Dostupné na: http://www.tr.undp.org/content/turkey/en/home/library/syria_programme.html 10. The Turkish Red Crescent <https://kizilay.org.tr/> 11. Zeybekoglu Emerhan and Johansson Bo. 2003. Migration and Labour in Europe. Views from Turkey and Sweden. Istanbul: Marmara University Research Center for International Relations (MURCIR) and Swedish National Institute for Working Life.

Garantující pracoviště: Katedra politologie,
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Content

Introduction.....	10
1. Prerequisites for the conclusion of an agreement between the EU and Turkey	13
1.1. Explanation of the concepts	13
1.2. Legal status of the refugees in Turkey	14
1.3. Agreement on refugees: negotiations, budget, criticism	15
1.4. Visa-free entry to EU for Turkish citizens	20
2. Syrian conflict and the implementation of the Turkey-EU agreement.....	23
2.1. Syrian conflict and refugees.....	23
2.2. Operation Source of Peace	24
2.3. Operation Spring Shield.....	26
2.4. International organizations and conflict resolution efforts.....	27
2.5. Interview	28
2.6. Turkey and EU negotiations on conflict.....	35
2.7. Last negotiations on agreement and Covid 19 impact.....	38
3. Infrastructure and projects for refugees.....	42
3.1 Red Crescent's Community Centers	42
3.2. Projects under the agreement's facility	43
3.3. Education, employment, and health	45
3.4 Results, impact, and challenges.....	52
3.5 Return refugees back to Syria	54
Conclusion.....	56
Bibliographic list.....	58
Figures and Tables	64
List of appendices	65

List of abbreviations

DW - Deutsche Welle

EU – European Union

GRC - Global Refugee Compact

IOM - International Organization for Migration

IRC - International Rescue Committee

MOU – Memorandum of Understanding

OAU - Organization of African Unity

TEPAV - Economic Research Foundation of Turkey

UN – United Nations

UNFPA - United Nations Population Fund

UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNICEF - United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

WHH – Welt Hunger Hilfe

Introduction

On March 18, 2016, the European Council and Turkey entered into an agreement, the main goal of which is to stop the flow of illegal migration through Turkey to Europe. According to the EU-Turkey agreement, all new illegal migrants and asylum seekers arriving from Turkey to the Greek islands and whose asylum applications were deemed inadmissible must be returned to Turkey. To end the illegal business model and offer migrants an alternative to risking their lives, the EU and Turkey decided in March 2016 to join forces to end illegal migration from Turkey to the EU. Author of the EU-Turkey agreement is Gerald Knaus ¹. (European Council, 2016)

More than 6.7 million Syrians have been forced to leave their country since 2011, and another 6.1 million have been driven out of their homes but remain trapped inside the country. Most Syrian refugees have moved in search of security in neighboring countries such as Turkey, Jordan, and Lebanon. It is important to underline that more than 3.5 million Syrians currently live in Turkey. (UNHCR, 2021)

In this bachelor thesis, the implementation of the agreements of the EU and Turkey within the framework of the refugee issue will be reviewed. In particular, the implementation of specific EU projects aimed at integrating Syrian refugees into Turkish society in various fields will be discussed. This bachelor thesis will cover the time period mainly from 2016, when the agreement itself was signed, and until 2020, when the coronavirus infection affected absolutely all segments of the population, including refugees, which ultimately made their position even more vulnerable.

Before the global outbreak of coronavirus in 2020, the problem of refugees was very urgent and visible in the political agenda and media: there was active negotiation process between Ankara and Brussels, and numerous projects were implemented within the framework of the agreement. The relevance of the refugee problem in the future will also depend on the COVID-19 pandemic, since number of the refugees in April 2020 reached a historic low of 9,000 applications (a decrease of 87% compared to January 2020). But due to vaccinations, new waves of refugees could very soon provoke an

¹ Gerald Knaus (Austria) is the founding chairman of the European Stability Initiative (ESI), working on South East Europe and the Caucasus, European enlargement and the future of EU foreign policy. <https://www.esiweb.org/esi-staff/gerald-knaus>

emergency situation again, forcing the EU and Turkey to resume the negotiation process (Valdai, 2021)

Meanwhile, the agreement between the EU and Turkey will expire after the completion of the facility projects in accordance with the agreement on the final transfer of EU financial assistance. The last tranche under the agreement was carried out in December 2020. The 6 billion budget was divided into 8 contracts and the last payment of the contract was 780 million euros. The European Commission assesses particular success within the framework of the agreement in such areas as health and education. (European Commission, 2020) However, a renegotiation of the deal will require renewed negotiations on Turkey's EU membership, or at least renewal of the Customs union.² (Valdai, 2021)

The problem of Syrian refugees in Turkey is considered by many Turkish and foreign researchers, most often focusing on a specific area such as health, children, education, and economics. Within the framework of this work, the author will try to consider the problem of Syrian refugees in the most comprehensive way, analyzing the infrastructure created for refugees in Turkey "under the roof" of the agreement between Turkey and the EU, implemented through projects and funding instruments.

Research method: The qualitative method will be used as the main research method. Using this method, the analysis of documents will be carried out in order to assess the current status and its application in the analysis of the studied topic, namely the reporting documentation of international organizations that regulate and implement the goals of the agreement between Turkey and the EU. Since one of the main methods of qualitative research is interviews or focus groups, interviews will be included as part of the practical part of this work. This tool will allow to study the opinions, views, experiences, and motivations of people who are directly involved in the problem, specifically by their work or base in the border regions of Turkey. For this work, a structured type of interview was chosen, since pre-created and planned questions for all respondents will allow the author to adhere to the research topic and get a wide range of

² The EU and Turkey are bound by the Customs Union Agreement, which entered into force on 31 December 1995 and is a member of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership.

<https://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/countries-and-regions/countries/turkey/>

opinions within the framework of the studied problem. In total, interviews were conducted with 7 respondents within the framework of two interviews directly with specialists working with refugees and local residents. The respondents were selected based on the geographical place of work and place of residence directly related to refugee issues, that is, the border areas of Turkey and Syria. Also, the author's own research, namely interviews, will allow comparing the data with already existing data from surveys and interviews conducted by other organizations. These interviews will help the author get closer to answering questions that reflect the main goal of this bachelor's work, namely, to show the results achieved under the agreement and the impact of Turkey itself on refugee issues.

This method was also chosen because it implies that the researcher, as part of his work, interacts and works in collaboration with the study groups and acts as a tool for collecting and analyzing data. In this case, this is communication with a representative of an organization for refugees, local residents, collection and analysis of reports from international organizations involved in this context, analysis of existing interviews in text and video formats with refugees and other stakeholders directly related to the problem of Syrian refugees in Turkey (Political Science Research)

Scientific questions: What are the results achieved by Turkey and the EU in the framework of the agreement on refugees? What difficulties have been overcome and what problems are on the agenda today? What impact did Turkey have on the issue of migration in the context of the Syrian conflict on the EU level?

Practical part: Syrian refugees in Turkey are located mostly in Istanbul, Sanliurfa, Hatay, Gaziantep, Mersin, Adana and Kilis. For the practical part of this study, interviews can be conducted directly with the staff of the migration centers, as well as with local population living close to Turkish-Syrian border's cities. Within the framework of the research, cooperation with the Turkish Red Crescent will be implemented in the format of study visit to a social center for refugees.

Data and literature: The main sources of data and literature will be various reports on migration from the European Commission, the European Council, as well as materials from various intergovernmental organizations such Turkish Red Crescent, UNHCR (UN), and related literature and studies on migration policy and issues.

1. Prerequisites for the conclusion of an agreement between the EU and Turkey

In this theoretical part will reveal the main concepts used in the work, namely the definition of the term refugee and declarations that determine the legal status of refugees in Turkey within the framework of the EU-Turkey agreement. The main points of the agreement, as well as criticism of the stakeholders to this agreement, will be considered.

1.1. Explanation of the concepts

Since this study deals with the concept of "refugee", it would be useful to consider the origin and formulation of this term by the relevant organizations and international law. The word 'refugee' is often used by the media, politicians, and the public to describe a person who has been forced to leave their usual place of residence. In general use of this term, there is usually no difference between persons who have had to leave their homeland and people who have been resettled within their own country. Too much attention is paid to the cause of the escape. Whether they are people fleeing persecution, politically motivated violence, civil conflict, ecological disaster, or poverty, it is assumed that the term refugee is suitable for everyone. (Úřad Vysokého Komisaře OSN pro uprchlíky, 1997:51)

However, international law defines the term refugee much more specifically. According to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, the word 'refugee' refers to a *person who is outside his or her home country on the grounds of racial, religious or nationality, because of his or her affiliation with a particular social group, or because of his or her political views, or does not want to take advantage of the protection of this country.* Here, the term refugee is used to refer to persons who have been forced to leave or stay outside their home country due to a serious threat to life and liberty. This comprehensive approach to refugee definition was formally expressed in the 1969 Reform of Refugees - Organization of African Unity (OAU), which arose in response to the escalation of the problem of aft refugees during the struggle for national

independence. The 1951 Convention states: The term refugee refers to any person who, as a result of external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in the country of origin or nationality, whether forced to leave all or part of its territory, place of habitual residence and seek refuge elsewhere outside the country of origin or nationality. (Uřad Vřsokeho Komisaře OSN pro uprchlíky, 1997:52)

Summing up the concept of a refugee, one should also mention the term migrant, which is often confused by many. According to the UN, a Refugee is any person who, due to well-founded fears of becoming a victim of persecution on the basis of race, religion, citizenship, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his citizenship and cannot enjoy the protection of that country or does not want to use such protection because of such fears. The definition of the term “refugee” can be found in the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, as well as in regional refugee instruments and in the UNHCR Statute.

Regarding the concept of migrant, there is no legally agreed definition, but the United Nations defines a migrant as “a person who has lived in a foreign country for more than one year, regardless of the reasons for migration (voluntary or involuntary) and migration methods (legal or illegal)”. However, in normal practice, this definition also includes certain types of short-term migrants, such as seasonal agricultural workers who come for short periods of time to plant or harvest agricultural products. (United Nations) In the scientific literature, is it possible to find many definitions of migration, but among the many formulations we can mention the concept of migration formulated by Rybakovsky, which is quite firmly widespread not only in scientific, but also in educational literature. Migration is the process of moving people across the borders of certain territories with a permanent change or a more or less long time of permanent residence, or with a regular return to it. (Rybakovsky, 2019:14)

1.2. Legal status of the refugees in Turkey

Turkey adheres to a) the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, and b) the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees, which means that only foreign nationals fleeing to Turkey due to events in Europe and seeking international protection

can be considered refugees. Turkey has also introduced c) a new law on migration - Law No. 6458 on Aliens and International Protection of 11 April 2013. Under this Law, applications for international protection submitted in Turkey by those fleeing Europe can be granted with the provision of refugee status; those fleeing from outside Europe can obtain conditional refugee status under international protection provisions until they move to a third country.

Despite this ambiguous legal definition, all applications for international protection are subject to asylum procedures without discrimination, in accordance with the 1951 Geneva Convention, the 1967 Protocol, and Law 6458 on Aliens and International Protection. Refugees and conditional refugees alike have the right to social security, health care, the right to work, employment and education. (Kurt, Aydin 2016)

1.3. Agreement on refugees: negotiations, budget, criticism

Following the summit on March 17-18 in 2016, the EU and Turkey signed an agreement, the essence of which is as follows:

- from March 20, 2016, migrants who try to enter Greece from Turkey without submitting an application for asylum to the EU will accordingly be returned to Turkey at the expense of the EU;
- for every Syrian who is intercepted and returned to Turkey, a new Syrian will be sent to the EU, which is not trying to illegally enter EU territory;
- Turkey will take all necessary measures to curb the land and sea flow of migrants to the EU;
- by June 2016, the EU will take all necessary measures to remove restrictions on visa liberalization, and Turkey is committed to do everything to meet the necessary EU standards;
- the EU will transfer 3 billion euros to Turkey and finance other refugee protection projects in Turkey;
- the EU will start negotiations on Turkey's accession to the EU, but they will take place without prejudice to the interests of the EU countries.

At the end of the summit, EU leaders indicated that the agreement did not resolve all issues, and Hungary and Slovakia refused to participate in the Syrian repatriation program in a 1: 1 ratio, after which the points were finalized as follows:

- all new illegal migrants or asylum seekers whose applications were deemed ineligible to cross the border from Turkey to the Greek islands as of 20 March 2016 will be returned to Turkey;
 - for every Syrian returned to Turkey from the Greek islands, another Syrian will be resettled to the EU directly from Turkey;
 - Turkey will take all necessary measures to prevent the opening of new sea or land routes for illegal migration from Turkey to the EU;
 - after irregular border crossings between Turkey and the EU have ceased or significantly reduced, a voluntary humanitarian admission scheme will be activated;
 - implementation of the roadmap for visa liberalization will be accelerated with a view to abolishing visa requirements for Turkish citizens by the end of June 2016 at the latest. Turkey will take all necessary steps to fulfill the remaining requirements;
 - the EU will work closely with Turkey to accelerate the disbursement of the originally allocated € 3 billion under the Turkey Refugee Fund. Once these resources are fully utilized, the EU will mobilize additional funding for the Facility up to an additional € 3 billion by the end of 2018;
 - the EU and Turkey welcomed the ongoing work to modernize the Customs Union.
 - the accession process will be intensified: Chapter 33 will be opened during the Dutch Presidency of the Council of the European Union, and preparatory work for the opening of other chapters will continue at an accelerated pace;
 - the EU and Turkey will work to improve humanitarian conditions inside Syria.
- (European Commission, 2016)

As soon as the Agreement between Turkey and the EU was signed, some organizations and politicians started to criticize the agreement. The human rights organization Amnesty International called the agreement “a historic blow to human rights.” The international organization IRC also stopped supporting several life-saving and migrant assistance programs. The European Commissioner for Human Rights, Nils Muiznieks, expressed that these agreements raise “serious concerns” from the perspective

of respecting human rights. He also noted that the agreement between the EU and Turkey “was only a patch to cover one of the holes in absolutely inactive agreements between the European countries themselves on the issue of migration”. The Egyptian Foreign Ministry also criticized the agreement. Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Ahmed Abu Zeid expressed Egypt’s concern over the recent agreement between Turkey and the European Union. He expressed regret that the suffering of refugees, Syrian or otherwise, is being used to achieve political gains, in violation of the provisions and principles of international law, abandoning the obligations imposed by relevant international agreements. (EuroNews, 2016)

German publisher DW claimed with great criticism, that during the agreement, instead of improving the humanitarian situation in refugee camps, Angela Merkel and her European colleagues over the past two years have done everything to endure the suffering of migrants beyond the threshold of Europe - to where they will not be under the constant eye of the cameras. The publisher also emphasizes that despite such obvious flaws in the agreement, they are currently not developing serious alternatives in Brussels, Berlin, or Athens. (Deutsche Welle, 2018)

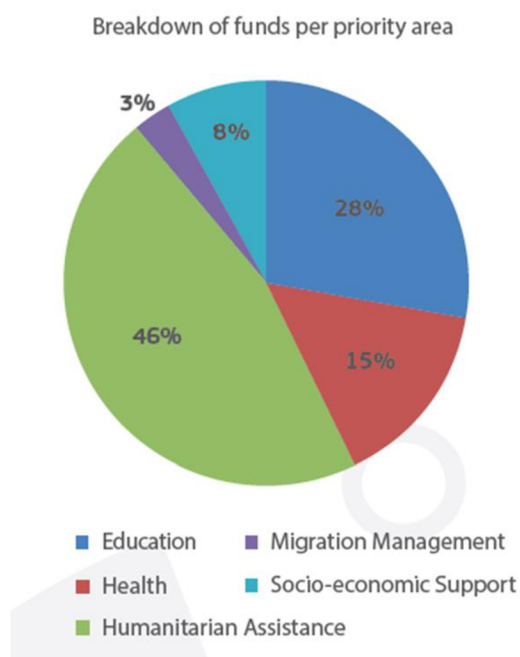
As for the criticism from the population of Turkey, we can add to this the reaction to the result of the agreement between Turkey and the EU - because of which the society has gained the opinion that the increase in unemployment in Turkey is caused by Syrian refugees who are taking jobs from the Turks. Resentment of citizens is also caused by the fact that the authorities allocate funds for the maintenance of illegal immigrants. In August 2019, Al Monitor reported that about 70 % of the Turkish population is negative about the presence of refugees in the country. (Gazeta, 2020)

The main document that discloses the distribution of the budget within the framework of the Agreement is the Facility Table designed by the European Commission. This document, which is being always updating, covers the reporting period from 2016 to 2021. This document lists all the accepted projects that were concluded and paid. According to the official document, the total budget of the EU Fund under the Agreement is 6 billion euros for humanitarian and development activities: 3 billion euros for 2016-2017 and 3 billion euros for 2018-2019. Both tranches taken together, all operating funds have been reserved, contracts have been signed for 4.7 billion euros and almost 3.7 billion

euros have been disbursed. Operating funds for Facility for 2016-2017 are also fully used, of which 2.6 billion euros have been disbursed. For 2018-2019, contracts were concluded for 1.78 billion euros, of which more than 1 billion euros were spent.

Operational funds of € 3 billion for Facility for 2016-2017 have been fully committed and contracted, with a total of 72 projects implemented and showing tangible results. In connection with this progress, the European Commission has paid more than 2 billion euros, and the remaining amount is to be paid during the implementation of Facility projects until mid-2021. In addition, a second tranche of € 3 billion was mobilized for 2018-2019, which allowed the continued successful operation of Facility. An operating budget of € 3 billion for 2018-2019 has been allocated € 1.2 billion.

Fig. 1 – Breakdown of funds per priority area (European Commission 2019)



The structure of the report includes such items as the funding instrument, implementing partner, priority area, a description of a specific project along with details of budget expenditures. The first tranche was made in the amount of 3 billion euros for the period 2016-2017. The main funding instruments are Humanitarian Implementation Plan (HIP) Turkey, Humanitarian Implementation Plan (HIP) Syria Regional Crisis, EU Regional Trust Fund in Response to the Syrian Crisis (EUTF), The EU's Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace (IcSP).

The main partners coordinating projects under the Agreement are such humanitarian international organizations and units as UNFPA, Relief International, UNHCR, WHH, UNICEF, IOM, World Vision, Danish Refugee Council, Danish Red Cross, Concern Worldwide, Médecins du monde, GOAL, Save The Children, CONCERN Worldwide, World Bank, Turkish Ministry of National Education, Ministry of Health, Turkish Directorate General for Migration Management (DGMM).

Projects are divided into areas such as protection, health, health protection, education, basic needs, protection of basic needs, socio-economic support, educational infrastructure, municipal infrastructure. The expense item also includes administrative costs, which include the cost of administrative support in the framework of trainings, conferences, IT and rental of premises.

Among the main projects implemented under the Agreement are projects aimed at responding to refugee protection needs, supporting migrants upon their return to Turkey, covering food, health care, transport and accommodation expenses since 4 April 2016, increasing the long-term resilience of refugees and migrants by increasing their emotional, mental and physical well-being, expanding access to non-formal education programs, facilitating the return to formal education for vulnerable children - refugees in Turkey, providing comprehensive protection services to vulnerable refugees in certain provinces, facilitating access for the most vulnerable refugees to social services in Turkey, reducing the risks of major refugee protection problems through targeted awareness raising, providing information and assistance in protecting vulnerable refugees and their linkages with protection services, providing vital primary health care to the most vulnerable populations and increasing their resilience and well-being through integrated interventions.

Other projects include those aimed at supporting the most vulnerable refugee women and girls in accessing sexual and reproductive health, sexual and gender-based violence services and strengthening protection as part of the humanitarian response in Turkey. Supporting access to education, food aid for vulnerable Syrians living in host communities and those currently living in camps. Providing financial assistance and protection to refugees from camps and newly arrived refugees, providing them with essential food, support for adaptation and cultural sensitivity, medical services. Ensuring

access to tertiary, vocational and distance education, facilitating access to work for refugees through training, stimulating entrepreneurship opportunities and strengthening labor market institutions, improving and ensuring the living conditions of refugees and host communities, and contributing to climate protection by ensuring sustainable energy in public schools, providing two million people with access to primary health care and mental health rehabilitation services for one million people. Improving employment opportunities for Syrian refugees and host communities through inter-language education, vocational training, on-the-job training, construction and equipment of new schools in provinces with a high concentration of Syrian refugees.

To ensure effective and successful coordination of projects under the Agreement, the Fund's Steering Committee provides strategic guidance on the type of activity to be funded: namely, what amounts and what financing instruments should be used in a given situation. The Steering Committee is chaired by the European Commission and is composed of representatives from EU member states, with Turkey acting as the main consultant. Decisions are made based on an assessment of the need and in accordance with the procedure for attracting financial instruments.

Analyzing the second annual report on the EU Refugee Fund in Turkey shows the results achieved so far and how vital the Fund is to support refugees and host communities in Turkey. As noted in the fourth report dated 30.04.2020, the greatest progress was made in 2019 in mobilizing funds for the Facility. All commitments under the Facility's operating package were committed, more than two thirds of which were contracted, and more than half were disbursed. (European Commission, 2020)

1.4. Visa-free entry to EU for Turkish citizens

The EU began a dialogue with Turkey on visa liberalization on December 16, 2013 in parallel with the signing of the EU-Turkey Readmission Agreement. The dialogue is based on the Roadmap for achieving visa-free travel with Turkey (Roadmap). This roadmap sets out the requirements that Turkey must meet in order to allow the European Parliament and the European Council to include Turkey on the visa-free list, which will allow Turkish citizens holding a biometric passport in accordance with EU

standards to travel for a short time (i.e. 90 days within any 180-day period) in the Schengen area without a visa. (Timofeev 2016:65)

In recent years, the Turkish authorities have further intensified their efforts to fulfill the conditions of the Dialogue on Visa Liberalization, including, for example, opening the labor market for non-Syrian refugees and providing non-discriminatory visa-free access to Turkish territory for citizens of all 28 EU member states. The European Commission recognizes the good progress made by the Turkish authorities to date and encourages them to intensify these efforts to meet all the requirements for obtaining visa liberalization.

According to the latest report, five of the 72 requirements have not yet been fully complied with by the Turkish authorities. 5 criteria still to be met by Turkey:

1. Adoption of measures to prevent corruption provided for in the Visa Liberalization Roadmap, ensuring the effective implementation of the recommendations of the Council of Europe Group of States against Corruption (GRECO).
2. Bringing personal data protection legislation in line with EU standards, in particular to ensure that the data protection authority can act independently, and that law enforcement is regulated by law.
3. Conclusion of an agreement on operational cooperation with Europol.
4. Offering effective judicial cooperation in criminal matters for all EU member states.
5. Revision of anti-terrorism legislation and practice in line with European standards.

The roadmap contains 72 benchmarks across five thematic groups, namely: document security; migration management; public order and safety; basic rights; and readmission of illegal migrants. According to the latest data, of these, Turkey has so far met 66 criteria and six have not yet been met. (European Commission, 2016)

Since 2015, Turkey has moved from a policy of providing temporary refuge to refugees to an integration strategy, while encouraging their voluntary return to their homeland. According to statistics from the General Directorate for Migration of Turkey, in 2018 254 000 Syrians voluntarily returned to Syria. (Yavchan, 2019)

At the same time, Turkey is actively working on the integration of Syrians into its society. Tools for implementing integration policies are implemented through many

projects affecting many areas of social life and are implemented by various local and international organizations.

After the main wave of influx of refugees from Syria to Turkey, EU funding was mainly focused on humanitarian assistance. With the passage of time and a slight stabilization of the situation, the EU financial support is mainly aimed at long-term projects for refugees. Such as training Syrians for competition in the labor market and financing language courses and training.

Since 2016, the Ministry of Education of Turkey and the EU have gradually closed temporary education centers, where classes are mainly taught in Arabic, and transfer Syrian children to regular schools. With EU financial support, Turkey is building two hospitals along the Syrian border, as well as 55 schools, community centers and training centers. The government also made it easier for Syrians to obtain work permits, but by this time only 32,000 of the 3.6 million registered Syrian refugees had received them. (Akyuz, Aksoy, UNESCO Digital Library)

Based on the foregoing, it is understandable that after the lapse of time from the very beginning of the mass resettlement of Syrians to Turkey, the Turkish government, together with the EU, has to change the refugee policy, taking into account the new prevailing reality, namely the fact that many refugees remain in Turkey by opening own business and learning Turkish, and that the refugee agreement itself and its terms are closely intertwined with other open questions between Turkey and the EU, including visa liberalization.

2. Syrian conflict and the implementation of the Turkey-EU agreement

In the practical part, the main reasons for the outbreak of the Syrian conflict will be revealed, which caused the migration crisis and caused the need for an immediate response from the EU and Turkey and the creation of an Agreement. The attempts and actions of international organizations in regulating the Syrian conflict, negotiations between Turkey and the EU, as well as the impact of the pandemic caused by coronavirus infection in 2020 will also be considered. As the main element of the practical part of the work, interviews with employees of Community Centers for refugees, with the local population will be presented, and already existing surveys and statistics conducted by other authors and organizations will be included and compared.

2.1. Syrian conflict and refugees

The civil war in Syria is a multilateral, multi-level armed conflict in Syria, which began in the spring of 2011 as a local civil confrontation, which gradually developed into an uprising against the Bashar al-Assad regime, which over time not only involved the main states of the region, but also international organizations, military-political groups and world powers. Refugees of the civil war in Syria are citizens and permanent residents of the Syrian Arab Republic who fled from their country or were forced to leave their place of residence in search of asylum during the civil war. Assistance to internally displaced persons in Syria and to Syrian refugees in neighboring countries is mainly provided through the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. (CRS, 2020)

Almost immediately after the start of the armed confrontation between the Syrian government and the opposition in March 2011, the consolidation of numerous political and military groups in the country and abroad began. The aim of some was to carry out political reforms and liberalize public life, while others called for the immediate overthrow of the Bashar al-Assad regime. The internal Syrian opposition advocates dialogue with the government, while the external insists on overthrowing the regime. (Aljazeera, 2018)

Speeches by the Syrian opposition began in late February 2011 under the slogan of changing the constitution and abolishing the one-party system, in which the Ba'ath party, led by President Bashar al-Assad, exercises power. A month later, a demand for his resignation followed. According to the Syrian authorities, they are fighting international terrorist groups that receive support from abroad. But the world community has divided on the issue of conflict in Syria. The United States, Turkey, as well as France, Britain and most other EU countries announced their support for the Syrian opposition, which in November 2012 joined the National Coalition of Syrian Revolutionary and Opposition Forces (NKSROS). Saudi Arabia, Qatar and other Arab Gulf countries consider the NKSROS "the legal representative of the Syrian people." It is they who provide the main material and technical assistance to the opposition, blaming the ruling regime for the conflict, which claimed, according to UN estimates, more than 100 thousand lives. All BRICS countries - Russia, China, India, Brazil, South Africa, as well as Iran and a number of Latin American countries are opposed to a violent change of power and for deciding the future of Syria exclusively through negotiations between the authorities and the opposition. (BBC, 2011)

According to the UN, at the beginning of 2016, 13.5 million Syrians needed humanitarian assistance, of which more than 6 million had the status of internally displaced persons and more than 4.8 million were refugees outside Syria. (Amnesty International, 2016)

2.2. Operation Source of Peace

The military operation of the Turkish armed forces and the pro-Turkish armed groups of the Syrian opposition, which invaded the north of the Syrian Arab Republic against the backdrop of the ongoing civil war in the country, was officially announced by Turkish President Recep Erdogan on October 9, 2019 and was called the "Source of Peace". (Anadolu Agency, 2019) It is interesting to note in this context that the UN Security Council also has the authority to establish safe areas and has done so in the past in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1993 and in Rwanda in 1994. (BBC, 2019)

Turkey conducted this operation in order to ensure national security. The Turkish side considers it unacceptable that members of the RKK terrorist organization from Kandil are trying to create a zone of their dominance in the region. Turkey did not get results from negotiations with the United States over two years to find a political solution to this problem, so Turkey's main goal was to create, within the framework of the territorial integrity of Syria, a safe zone free of terrorism, where refugees can live in peace. Turkey repeatedly appealed to Europe with a call to share financial costs for the maintenance of 3.5 million Syrian refugees, but did not receive support. Turkey had no choice but to create its own safe zone to solve this problem. (Kommersant, 2019)

This operation presented itself as an act of self-defense against Kurdish terrorists. Many countries, however, reacted negatively to the actions of the Turkish army, calling them aggressive. All EU countries favored ending the operation, except for Hungary. Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations Peter Siyyarto after meeting in Baku with Turkish Foreign Minister Mevlut Cavusoglu, Ankara's solution to the migration problem "towards Syria, not Europe" meets the national interests of Hungary. The DPA news agency quoted a Hungarian politician as saying: "The national interests of Hungary dictate our desire to avoid hundreds of thousands or even millions of illegal migrants appearing on the southern border of Hungary." The UN Security Council was also unable to condemn because of the veto of Russia and China. In the League of Arab States, Qatar, Libya, and Somalia vetoed a decision against Turkey. (Deutsche Welle, 2019)

As part of the analysis of the academician of the Yıldırım Beyazıt University, the head of the Center for Russian Studies (RUSEN) Salih Yılmaz, the most important achievements of Turkey in the context of the Syrian civil war can be noted, namely: 1) Turkey has received about 4 million refugees from Syria. 2) Turkey, having carried out Operation Shield of the Euphrates, neutralized 4,000 Daesh terrorists. 3) Turkey has taken all necessary measures and resources so that millions of refugees do not rush to the EU. 4) Turkey seeks to prevent the deaths of hundreds of civilians in the southeastern districts due to members of the ALAC based in northern Syria. (TRT, 2019)

2.3. Operation Spring Shield

In October 2019, after the creation of a safe zone, the operation on which ended on October 22, Kurdish self-defense units were withdrawn outside the 30-kilometer zone from the border. Security in this area is supported by the Russian military police, patrolling the area together with the Turkish army. The return of refugees is complicated by the fact that in large cities and towns located in the war zone, infrastructure, according to various estimates, is destroyed by 40-70%. (RBC, 2018)

The armed confrontation between the Turkish army and the Syrian government forces in late February - early March 2020 in the Syrian province of Idlib was called the "Spring Shield". The goal of the operation was the prevention of crimes committed by the "Bashar al-Assad regime", the elimination of radical elements and the prevention of migration. As Murat Eshiltash, director of the Department of Security Studies at the SETA Political, Economic and Social Research Foundation, points out in his analysis, Turkey demonstrated its military potential with the Spring Shield operation. Throughout the civil war, Turkey and Syria had never before clashed on such a scale. (TRT, 2020)

The operation lasted one week, from February 27, 2020 to March 5, 2020 in Idlib. As a result of the operation, the conflicts ceased. Turkey and Russia signed a ceasefire on March 5, 2020. In accordance with the ceasefire agreement, it was decided to begin joint patrols by Turkey and Russia along the M4 motorway section from Turumba to Ain El Gavr and establish a safe corridor 6 km north and 6 km south of the M4 motorway. After which, Turkey opened its doors to refugees on the European side of the border. About 150,000 refugees migrated across the Merich River to Europe. (Anadolu Agency, 2020) According to the Minister of Internal Affairs of Turkey Suleiman Soilu, more than 110 thousand Syrian refugees entered the territory of Greece. They get to Greece, across the Edirne border, crossing the Merich River, or overland - making gaps in the border fence, Sabah newspaper reports.

2.4. International organizations and conflict resolution efforts

The escalation of the conflict forced Western countries to actively discuss ways to end hostilities. The first attempts to resolve the conflict were made within the framework of informal associations of a number of countries. One of them was the 'Friends of Syria Group', which includes Turkey, the United States, Britain, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Egypt, the United Arab Emirates, Jordan. The group was formed after Russia and China blocked the UN Security Council draft resolutions on Syria, blaming the Syrian authorities for the bloodshed. (Schoon, Duxbury, 2016, Sociological science)

In March 2012, Kofi Annan proposed to the Syrian government a "six-point plan" for a peaceful resolution to the conflict: Syrian authorities were invited to work with the UN Special Envoy. Secondly, the plan calls for an end to hostilities and a cessation of violence in all its forms and by all parties, an end to the transfer of troops to settlements and the use of heavy weapons. The third paragraph concerns the provision of humanitarian access to all areas affected by the fighting. The fourth paragraph calls for the acceleration of the pace and scale of the release of arbitrarily detained persons. The fifth paragraph calls for freedom of movement throughout the country for journalists, and the sixth is a proposal to pledge respect for freedom of association and the right to peaceful demonstrations. However, the disruption of the truce between government forces and the opposition actually marked the failure of the Annan plan. The logical outcome of these events was the departure of Kofi Annan from the post of UN and LAS special envoy. (United Nations News, 2012)

On June 30, 2012, the first international conference was held in Geneva (Geneva-1). It was attended by permanent members of the UN Security Council (Russia, USA, UK, France and China), as well as representatives of the EU, the League of Arab States and Turkey. Neither representatives of the regime, nor opposition forces participated in the conference. The main result of the meeting was the adoption of the Geneva communiqué, which fixed the basic principles for resolving the conflict - the creation of a transitional government, including members of the government and the opposition; revision of the Syrian constitution; holding presidential and parliamentary elections. At

the end of 2016, new negotiations were initiated by Russia, Turkey, and Iran. Thanks to their joint political and military efforts, a ceasefire was established in Syria on December 30, 2016. At the initiative of Moscow, in January 2017, a series of meetings of the Syrian opposition and government forces was organized in the capital of Kazakhstan, Astana. For the first time, representatives of the belligerent Islamist groups were present at the talks, with the exception of the Islamic State and Jebhat al-Nusra. The main result of Astana was the formation of a working group of Russia, Turkey, and Iran to comply with the ceasefire. (TASS, 2017)

The Syrian crisis, which began in March 2011, has become a global conflict in which the interests of both states and great powers clash. Meanwhile, the situation in Syria after the suppression of ISIS provided an opportunity to begin a political settlement of the conflict. However, the actions of external actors, using the difficult situation in Syria and the presence of various opposition groups here to advance their interests, significantly complicate this process and are the main reason for the continuation of the crisis and, as a result, aggravate the speedy resolution of the migration crisis. (Dolgov 2016:87)

2.5. Interview

As part of writing this thesis, a study visit was made to the city of Reyhanli to the Community Center for Refugees of the largest and leading humanitarian organization in the Republic of Turkey - the Turkish Red Crescent. This region was chosen due to its strategic geographical location in the context of Syrian refugee crisis and the highest concentration of offices of various international organizations working with refugees and the direct location of this city with a Syrian border.

During the visit, information was provided on the basic services of the center and the region in the context of the migration crisis. It is worth noting that this region is visited by many researchers and journalists dealing with migration issues, studying the unique approach to Turkey in integrating an unprecedented number of internally displaced persons. During the study visit, a meeting was held with the main coordinator of the Community Center in the city of Reyhanli, Hatay province with Ms.Torun. During the

meeting, the activities of community centers and the current situation with Syrian refugees in Turkey were discussed.

Situation in this region during the visit was especially very unstable due to recent terrorist attacks there. According to the internal rules of Community Centers, photography and video filming in the centers is prohibited without special media accreditation. Interviews were also conducted anonymously as part of the study visit and the presentation of the center.

Question	Employee 1	Employee 2	Employee 3
What do you think about the Turkey and EU policy/agreement on refugees in general?	This is a good solution that coordinated the actions of many organizations under one agreement	I believe this agreement is correct, thanks to which the actions of many organizations were united under one roof.	This agreement gave us the opportunity to cope with the crisis
What is the effect of your project on refugee issue?	We help Syrian families, children in their integration in Turkey through our services	Thanks to our centers, in addition to school education, children can receive additional courses, acquiring new skills, and socialize	Thanks to our projects, especially for children, we see that they experience less stress due to forced relocation, they feel more comfortable.
Which problems do you face with in your work/project?	First of all, we face cultural differences and language barriers.	Most often these are cultural differences.	Cultural differences, stress
What is the result of the project on	Our services and projects in	We see that people have where to	All our services and projects are

refugees which you work on?	cooperation with other humanitarian organizations help our guests feel at home	come, find a solution to their problems	aimed at helping with integration
Is your project under EU "Facility for refugees" program? If no, from which institution do you get funded?	Our centers are co-financed within the framework of the agreement between Turkey and the EU and also on the basis of the organization's own budget	-	-
What is the implementation of the EU/Turkey refugee agreement like? Why? (as a metaphor) optional	This agreement is like a helping hand to a friend, to another nation.	-	it is an opportunity to make your personal and professional contribution to the solution of the migration crisis

Based on the interviews conducted with the employees of the Community centers for refugees, it can be concluded that they clearly understand their role and function, are satisfied with their work and purpose, more often with the opportunity to make their personal and professional contribution to solving the refugee crisis, the opportunity to be part of the agreement and the implementation of its goals, including personal satisfaction and a direct connection between the education received, previous work experience and current professional occupation.

A Metropoll poll in September 2012 found that 52% of Turks initially disagreed with the Turkish authorities' decision to allow Syrians to enter the country, and 66% said

they should refuse to admit additional refugees. At that time, there were only about 80,000 Syrian refugees in Turkey, mostly in camps that are located far from major Turkish cities. Currently, there are 50 times more refugees in all 81 provinces. Terrorism associated with the Syrian civil war has intensified and exacerbated the discontent of the Turkish society towards refugees. The bombing of Reyhanli on Turkey's southern border in May 2013, which killed 53 people and injured several dozen, may have played a key role in its way. There were many refugees in Reikhanli, just 5 kilometers from Syria. (73) The source of the bombing was not clear; The Turkish government arrested several Turks allegedly linked to Syrian intelligence.⁷⁴ But for most Turks, the important fact was that the attack was clearly linked to the Syrian war, suggesting that Turkey's support for the Syrian opposition and the reception of refugees could be fatal within Turkey. (Center for American Progress, 2019)

In the framework of this bachelor thesis during the visit to Hatay province, author also made several anonymous interviews with local people based in Reyhanli and Hatay cities.

Question	Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4
How has the massive arrival of refugees changed your life?	The massive arrival of refugees negatively affected our security	Of course, this is the security and instability of the border region.	Since I live in Hatay, I do not see big changes for myself, but I do not like begging	I understand that it is hard for refugees and it is not their fault that they have lost their home. Anyone can be on their place
Why didn't you move to another city?	I will not move since my business is here	I moved my family to Hatay, however my	This is my homeland and I have a stable job here, I do	Here are my parents and the family business.

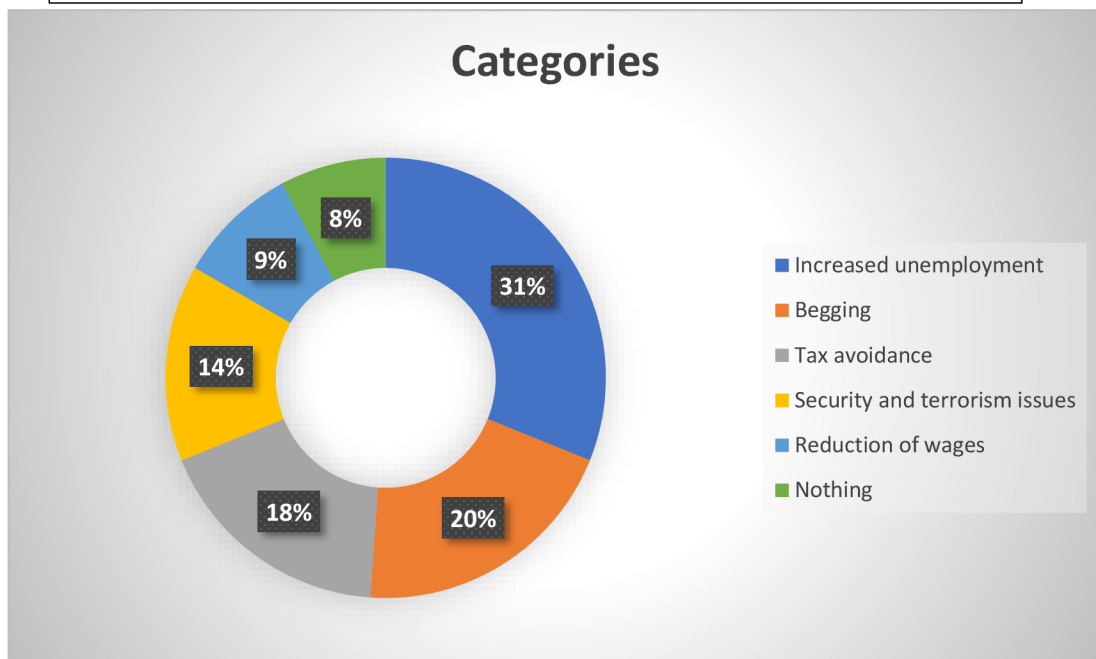
		business is here	not want to move to another city	However, for study I am moving to Antalya, in the summer I will return for holidays
How do you feel about refugee issues?	We are tired of this situation and want to resolve it as soon as possible.	This situation negatively affects our economy and security	Due to the refugee crisis, our economy is in dire straits, our taxes go to their upkeep	I feel compassion and hope for a quick resolution of the crisis.
Basic information about the interviewee	Male, 27 years old, owner of a barbershop, Reyhanli	Male, 43 years old, cafe owner, Reyhanli	Male, 38 years old, taxi driver, Hatay	Female, 18 years old, student, Reyhanli

Based on interviews with the local population in the border area, it can be concluded that mainly people are worried about the increased instability and security in the region with the beginning of the massive arrival of refugees. They also believe that their taxes go for refugee support in Turkey and that the migration crisis is a financial burden for the state and causes lower wages and competition. However, they also note that they have feelings of compassion and are sympathetic towards refugees. The respondents also note the desire of many Syrians to move to larger cities to do business, however, Syrians living in border cities, expect to return home and not plan to work and, accordingly, move to large cities.

Another survey conducted in September 2018, 83% of Turks said they had a negative attitude towards Syrian refugees, and only 17% said they had a positive attitude towards them. Voters in all five major parties held negative views, but only marginally.

Supporters of Erdogan's AKP and Kurdish Human Rights People's Democracy Party (HDP) were only slightly less negative than supporters of the secular opposition Republican People's Party (CHP), ethnic Turkish nationalists from the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) and similarly the nationalist Good Party (Iyi parti). In a survey conducted at the same period, the purpose of which was to find out the true reasons for the discontent of the local population in refugees, 28% complained about the increase in unemployment among the Turks. Begging is in second place (18%), followed by tax evasion - 16%, the growth of terrorism and security problems - 13% and wage cuts - 8%. Only 7% said that “nothing [regarding refugees] upsets me”. (Center for American Progress, 2019)

Fig. 2 – Reasons for the discontent of the local population in refugees (American Progress, 2019)



According to the TEPAV report, there are about 10,000 registered businesses in Turkey, wholly or partially owned by Syrian refugees, employing approximately 44,000 Syrians as well as thousands of Turks. With the average Syrian refugee family of six, Syrian businesses that are wholly or partially owned by Syria are likely to serve more than 250,000 Syrian refugees. As of mid-2017, Syrian refugees had invested \$ 334 million at the time. - More than 6,000 Syrian companies are registered in Turkey. Most Syrian businesses are small, with an average annual income of \$ 463,000. 74% of Syrian-owned companies have fewer than 10 employees, 24% have 10 to 50 employees, and only

2% have 50 to 250 employees. However, every year since 2013, Syrians have opened in Turkey has more companies than any other foreign group. (Center for American Progress, 2019)

The issue of employment in Syria is today one of the most acute in Turkey. It is widely believed in Turkish society that Syrian refugees undermine the employment prospects of Turkish workers; According to a poll conducted in late 2017, 71% of Turks believe this. According to the same report, the main complaint of Turks about Syrian refugees is that they contributed to the rise in unemployment in Turkey. Some Turkish leaders and experts dispute this conclusion, insisting that the Syrians are mostly doing work that the Turks would not do anyway. (Brookings, 2020)

In 2016, the Turkish government announced a work permit system to tackle the Syrian employment problem, but the program is not popular because only about 32,000 Syrians have received work permits to date. When applying for a work permit, Syrians face a number of obstacles and constraints: for example, in order to obtain a work permit, refugees must work in the province in which they are registered as being under temporary protection. However, since registration is required within 10 days from the date of arrival in Turkey, this province is usually the province where the refugee entered Turkey. Thus, a disproportionate number of refugees are registered in provinces bordering Syria, while jobs tend to be found elsewhere - in major cities in western Turkey such as Istanbul, Izmir and Bursa. These destinations are naturally the place where many refugees go and work regardless of registration, but they do it within the shadow economy. (Center for American Progress, 2019)

According to another poll of Turkish citizens conducted by the Voice of America agency in Turkey, the purpose of which to find out the attitude of the local population towards the Agreement between Turkey and the EU and the mass resettlement of Syrian refugees to Turkey, the opinion of the local population is divided into two groups. The first group, negatively related to refugees from Syria, usually live-in large cities, or in cities that are located in close proximity to the Syrian border, as it is in these cities that a large number of refugees are concentrated. As a rule, the local population notes the discomfort caused by the Syrian settlers, in particular their behavior, cultural differences in daily life and work, as well as the "increased burden" on the country's infrastructure

and economy. It is important to note that people from the first group also note the fact that they realize that refugees are in a difficult situation, and it is impossible to generalize the opinion about the whole nation, because of only a few negative cases. Turkish citizens understand that among the Syrians there are also many educated and cultured people who, by the will of fate, found themselves in a difficult life situation. The second group has a rather positive attitude towards accepting such a large number of refugees and is proud of their country, for showing compassion, brotherhood and giving a helping hand to a neighboring country. However, in general, there is a tendency that the local population across the country looked at this situation more positively at the very beginning of the Agreement in 2016 than at present. It is important to note that one of the negative factors affecting the negative perception of refugee acceptance is the lack of awareness of the local population about the funding of refugees in Turkey, mainly from EU funds. (Amerikan Sesi 2017)

Based on the above, it can be concluded that the biggest obstacle to the implementation of an open program for the integration of Syrian refugees is the prevailing negative perception of refugees by the Turkish community. However, this situation may also be caused by the lack of awareness of the local population about the sources of funding, about the principles of the Agreement between Turkey and the EU, which entails misconceptions. Of course, awareness of refugee financing under the agreement alone cannot resolve absolutely all the grievances of the local population, especially the issues of unemployment and security, as solutions and improvements to these problems and ways to improve processes remain open. However, a greater awareness of the population about the principles of refugee financing can also contribute to reducing the level of anxiety among local citizens.

2.6. Turkey and EU negotiations on conflict

The EU and Turkey play an important role in each other's foreign policies. Geographical Neighborhood, Membership of Turkey and the EU in NATO, Customs Union of the EU, and Turkey (1995), the mutual influence of cultures laid the long-term dialogue between the two parties and contributed to its development. Turkey's accession to the EU has

become a common topic in the study of international relations. The path of Turkey began with Ankara's application to create an association with the 1959 EEC, followed by the association (1963), an application for accession to the EEC (1987), the Customs Union (1995), and Turkey being recognized as an official candidate for entry in the EU (1999) and the start of negotiations (2005), which have not been completed so far. (Timofeev 2016:63)

After the beginning of 2011, a series of revolutions broke out in the countries of North Africa and the Middle East, which ultimately led to prolonged internal conflicts and civil wars, especially in Libya and Syria. As a result of these events, in relations between the EU and Turkey, relevance has acquired a new aspect - migration. Since 2011, hundreds of thousands of refugees have been migrating from several countries, primarily from Syria, to neighboring states, including Turkey. Some of them seek to stay in Turkey, others use it as a transit country. The growing influx of migrants is of concern to the EU and Turkey. Negotiations between the two parties to resolve this issue became a chance to find compromise solutions for both sides. (Timofeev 2016:63)

According to the EU Border Agency (Frontex), since 2011 (Franco-British intervention in Libya, the beginning of the civil war in Syria) to 2015 the number of illegal EU border crossings increased from 141,030 to 1,822,260 cases, i.e. almost 13 times. The main share of migrants in 2015 on the key - East Mediterranean - route was Syrians – 46 %. (Frontex, 2015)

As Timofeev noted in his study, the EU is not the main destination for the migration of Syrians, who, according to March 2015, migrated primarily to neighboring countries: Lebanon (1.1 million), Jordan (626 thousand), Iraq (244 thousand) and Egypt (133 thousand). 1.7 million Syrians went to Turkey, and 217 thousand elected Europe (International Organization for Migration. 2015 Situation Report on International Migration. Migration, Displacement and Development in a Changing Arab Region. (UNHCR. 204 p.)

In March 2016, the Swiss newspaper Temps reported that out of 1.2 million migrants who entered the EU, 800,000 made it through transit through Turkish territory. At the same time, another 2.7 million migrants are in Turkey and may also be trying to get to Europe. As R. Parkes notes, in this case we are talking about far from the most

disadvantaged migrants, since those who have enough money to travel to Europe are, as a rule, more educated and ready to start a “life from scratch” in Europe, whereas those who remain in the Middle East are primarily concerned with survival rather than future planning. (EU Publications)

Although an increase in the flow of migrants occurred several years in a row until 2015, the first decision to combat illegal migration was announced by EU leaders on April 23, 2015. One and a half weeks after the shipwrecks of ships transporting hundreds of migrants from Libya to Europe, the EU issued a statement on strengthening its presence at sea, combating carriers of illegal migrants and preventing illegal migration. Among other measures, it was about intensifying contacts with Turkey in connection with the situation in Syria and Iraq. (European Council, 2015)

From April to September 2015, the EU took a number of steps to formulate and implement a policy to combat the migration crisis, and from the very beginning it was about the need to coordinate efforts with neighbors, including Turkey. Already in the program on migration adopted on May 13, the EU noted the prospects of deepening cooperation with Turkey and providing assistance to Syrian refugees in this country. The growing flow of migrants to the EU through Turkey forced Brussels to take into account the seriousness of Turkey's role as a transit country and facilitated the start of high-level negotiations. October 5, the head of the European Commission LC. Junker met with Turkish President R.-T. Erdogan, and on October 8, Turkey, together with Lebanon, Jordan, the countries of the Western Balkans and EFTA, participated in the EU conference on solving the problems of the Eastern Mediterranean and West Balkan routes. Its participants made several practical decisions, including those related to Turkey: supporting its economy through public and private funding, providing assistance to those in Turkey humanitarian assistance to refugees, attention to the borders of Turkey and the EU (the Greek-Bulgarian-Turkish border agreement of May 2015 was given as an example), promotion of police cooperation. The parties announced their desire to fight ISIS and seek a political settlement in Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan. (Timofeev 2016:64)

On November 29, 2015, the EU – Turkey Summit opened in Brussels. European side offered the Turkish side to keep refugees seeking to enter the EU (to start with 2.2 million Syrians), as well as to block illegal migrants on the border with the EU, while

accepting repatriated from Greece. In response, Turkish Prime Minister A. Davutoglu not only repeated his condition on visa liberalization for Turks, but also added two more to it: financial assistance (at least 3 billion euros per year) for arranging refugees in Turkey, as well as the resumption of negotiations on Turkey's entry weight. The new conditions did not please the Europeans, but time and the constant flow of migrants worked for Ankara. As a result, the parties accepted half solutions. The EU promised Turkey to allocate 3 billion euros for the arrangement of migrants, although without specifying, for 1 or 2 years - as Ankara fulfills the EU conditions. (Timofeev 2016:65)

The 2015 refugee crisis has had a big impact on relations between Turkey and the European Union. They have become more functional, based on interdependence, as well as the relative deviation of the EU from the political conditions of membership. March refugee agreement between the EU and Turkey, concluded for deeper functional cooperation with material and regulatory concessions made by the EU. (Saatçioğlu 2020:169)

Further discussion was against the backdrop of internal discussions in the EU and the continued influx of migrants: in January 2016 alone, another 100 thousand migrants entered the EU (in 2015, this figure was reached only in June). On February 3, EU countries found a compromise of three billion euros: 1 will be allocated from the EU budget, and 2 more from the budgets of the EU countries. (European Council, 2016)

2.7. Last negotiations on agreement and Covid 19 impact

In 2020, negotiations between Turkey and the EU within the framework of the Refugee Agreement continued. EU Foreign Service continues to evaluate the implementation of the EU-Turkey deal. EU officials note that the assessment will include topics such as visa liberalization and customs union, which were also mentioned in the 2016 agreement. In March 2020, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan paid a visit to Brussels, where the main agenda was to discuss strategies for more effective implementation of the Agreement. Erdogan began negotiations with President of the European Council Charles Michel and President of the European Commission Ursula von der Leyen. (Deutsche Welle, 2020)

According to the latest June 2020 report from the Turkish mission, there are only 4 million refugees and asylum seekers in Turkey to date, including nearly 3.6 million Syrian citizens and about 330,000 registered refugees and other nationalities seeking asylum. More than 98 % of Syrian refugees live throughout Turkey in 81 provinces. By the end of June, 10,294 households had received COVID-19 lump sum cash payments. 47,600 hygiene kits delivered and distributed to refugees and host communities in 38 provinces through 62 partners in June 2020. In response to the COVID-19 pandemic, in partnership with the Directorate General for Migration Management (DGMM), UNHCR in Turkey initiated an emergency cash assistance program targeting the most vulnerable refugees who are being harmed by the COVID-19 pandemic, on a one-off basis. Aid of 1,000 Turkish Lira per family is transferred through the Turkish Postal Service (PTT). The scheme aims to initially reach up to 20,000 households. (ReliefWeb 2020)

Against the backdrop of the COVID-19 pandemic, many of the most important world events receded into the background, including the Syrian conflict. The situation with coronavirus made it impossible for any migration from Syria. On March 18, the Turkish Sabah newspaper reported that Turkish leaders banned civilians from passing through the checkpoints of Ondjupinar and Chobanbey in the Kilis province on the border with the Arab Republic. Now through these checkpoints only transport with commercial cargo is passed. This is the order of the Turkish Ministry of Commerce. Private individuals will no longer be able to cross the border. This also applies to Syrian refugees. (Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 2020)

The Syrian authorities only at the end of March announced that the first person had appeared in the country, and they still report three dead from the virus, but experts question such low numbers. Until the beginning of March, mosques near Damascus were open to pilgrims from Iran and Iraq; the military fighting on the side of the Syrian army were quietly moving. In early March, Syria still imposed a curfew and forbade people from moving between different provinces, and closed schools, bazaars, and restaurants. (BBC, 2020)

As of April 23, new infections have not yet been reported. Moreover, for more than a month now, the virus has helped ensure a fragile truce. A ceasefire was reached between Turkey and Russia on March 5, after more than two months of a massive military

operation by the Syrian government forces against the armed opposition in Idlib, supported by Russia. Before the pandemic, it was difficult to believe in a truce because there were fierce battles, and the previous ceasefire lasted only a few days. But at present, all external players are busy fighting the pandemic, and although the ceasefire was violated several times, the residents of Idlib calmly go to bed for the first time since December 2019 and see a clear sky above with no bombers. According to humanitarian organizations, thousands of Syrians living in refugee camps near the Turkish border began to return home or to the ruins of their homes in Idlib. One of them believed that the truce would last for some time, and before the start of the Muslim post he wanted to be closer to home. Others decided to return, understanding that when the virus overtakes camps crowded with people, there would be no protection against the virus in crowded conditions and in the absence of minimum living conditions. Hospitals and even medical posts were bombed in the provinces; in camp conditions, the elementary requirements of self-isolation and frequent hand washing are simply not feasible. (Novaya Gazeta, 2020)

According to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), food prices are skyrocketing and still hard to reach. The rates of undernourishment among pregnant and lactating women are catastrophic: currently 1 out of 5 women is undernourished compared to 1 out of 20 in 2019. An increase in stunting among children under 5 years of age was reported in Idlib. Coronavirus and lack of resources can exacerbate this situation and limit access to humanitarian assistance. Experts expect a twofold increase in the number of people in need of humanitarian assistance, to 265 million people by the end of the year, including conflict zones such as Idlib. (Anadolu Agency, 2020)

In the beginning of 2021, Turkish President Erdogan held talks with the head of the European Commission, Ursula von der Leyen. During the talks, Erdogan noted that the most important tool that can be used at the first stage for a positive agenda in relations between Turkey and the EU is the renewal of the migration agreement, and 2021 offers a new effective environment for cooperation in the field of migration. (Ria News 2021) The fact that in 2020 the number of refugees arriving in Greece has dropped to 15,000 indicates that the Turkey-EU Agreement is working. Migration expert Gerald Knaus, one of the main creators of the concept of the Agreement, said that in 2020, about 90% of Syrian refugees who have been living in Turkey for years did not leave this country. In

Knaus's view, the decision of many Syrians to stay in Turkey is due, among other things, to the fact that hundreds of thousands of Syrian children already go to school there, and their families have access to health and social care systems. (Deutsche Welle, 2021) On March 25, a video conference was held at the summit of the members of the European Council, where the leaders of the EU countries decided to postpone any new decisions regarding relations with Turkey until June and try to find an approach to solving key problematic issues. It was also noted that the EU is strategically interested in maintaining stability and security in the Eastern Mediterranean and mutually beneficial relations with Turkey, as well as that they value Turkey's reception of about 4 million refugees from Syria and that EU assistance to refugees and their host communities will continue. It is proposed to strengthen cooperation with Turkey in combating illegal migration and protecting borders. (European Council, 2021) The positive results of the joint work of the EU and Turkey within the framework of the Agreement were also highly appreciated by the UN, as noted, in Europe there is a tendency towards a decrease in the flow of migrants, in 2020 their number decreased by 23%. (Izvestia 2021)

As we can see, the main factor that significantly influenced the situation with the Syrian refugees in Turkey and the migration crisis in general is the pandemic. Despite the more vulnerable situation in which refugees find themselves due to the spread of the virus, the intensity of the military conflict in Syria has decreased along with the migration flow. Also, these factors, after the end of the main peak of the pandemic, can stimulate the resumption of negotiations between Turkey and the EU, not only regarding the migration crisis, but also related important topics that remain open between the parties for quite some time.

3. Infrastructure and projects for refugees

The final chapter of this bachelor's work will review the Red Crescent Social Centers, major projects under the Agreement, and alternative projects managed by local government and non-profit organizations. Further, the infrastructure created for refugees in Turkey under the Agreement will be examined in detail, including the main areas of life such as health care, education, and work. At the end of the chapter, the main results of the projects, the impact and difficulties that have arisen during the implementation of projects under the agreement will be disclosed.

3.1 Red Crescent's Community Centers

The Turkish Red Crescent opened its first Community Center in Sanliurfa on January 20, 2015. Currently, 15 Community Centers are already operating, which are established in Sanliurfa, Istanbul, Konya, Ankara, Kilis, Bursa, Izmir, Adana, Mersin, Gaziantep, Hatay, Kayseri, Kahramanmarash and Mardin, where services are provided not only to refugees, but also to the local population.

The main goal that these Community Centers are called upon to support is to promote community sustainability and a culture of peaceful coexistence by expanding the psychological, social, and economic well-being of all vulnerable groups and individuals. As part of the integration policy, these centers are engaged in adaptation in education in Turkey (information on legal rights and humanitarian services), Turkish language training, vocational training, individual and group psychosocial support, group therapy, individual therapy, music and master classes, medical information and fact-finding studies, information meetings for women, crafts, clothing production, art and design training, career guidance. (Turk Kizilayi)

On July 7, 2019, a car with a bomb exploded, killing three Syrian citizens. According to the governor of the city, Hatay Rahmi Dogan, two Syrian citizens in the car were killed in an explosion and subsequent fire, and another man was injured, who later died in the burn ward at Iskenderun State Hospital. The explosion occurred about 750 meters from the building of the district governorate in the city center. As it was found out later during the explosion, the car was in motion. It was also reported that the target of the bomb car was people leaving Friday prayers at the nearby Sultan Mehmet Mosque,

located about 50 meters from the site of the explosion. Reyhanlı borders with Syria, and the city center lies north of the border, and the border gates of Tsilvegesu, the main point in Syria, are about five kilometers away. The area has been home to a large number of Syrian refugees since the conflict erupted in Syria. (Daily Sabah, 2019)

3.2. Projects under the agreement's facility

Thanks to European Union Information Center in Antalya and negotiation with commercial coordinator of the Gaziantep Chamber of Commerce Mr. Arabo it was possible to learn about project for refugees, which is managed by Gaziantep Chamber of Commerce and calls as The Syria Desk. Gaziantep is an economic center in southeast Turkey; the number of Syrian companies increased from 3 in 2010 to more than 1,000 in 2016. As a result of rapid growth, the Gaziantep Chamber of Commerce decided to create the world's first Business Support Service for the refugee community.

The conflict in Syria has affected not only public life, but to a greater extent business life. Syrian businessmen have been hit hard by this war. Many of them lost their factories, companies and were forced to move their business to neighboring countries such as Turkey. As a result of this conflict, the Syrian business community in Gaziantep has grown significantly over the past couple of years, and refugees have begun to focus on long-term income.

The main task of the Bureau is to establish contact with the Syrian business by overcoming language barriers and assisting them with their requirements, needs and problems. In creating the idea of the "Bureau of Syria," the Gaziantep Chamber of Commerce took important steps to appeal to Syrian business; to reduce their problems by providing all kinds of information, such as; consultations related to registration procedures, tenders and grants, financial incentives, visas for third-country nationals, work permits, citizenship procedures, banking, foreign trade and the problems of transferring the Syrian business community to relevant authorities at local and national levels.

As the Gaziantep Chamber of Commerce emphasizes, this idea is not only beneficial for Syrian enterprises, but also potentially formalizes many unregistered Syrian

enterprises and ensures their work on an equal footing with other existing members. On the other hand, the Syrian Bureau provides services to enterprises that would like to hire Syrian refugees, providing advice on work permits and other procedures. (Source: documents provided by Gaziantep Chamber of Commerce)

Table 1 – Age groups of Syrian refugees living in Turkey (Assi, Elhan, Public Health 2017)

Age group (years)	Males (n)	Females (n)	Total (N)
0–4	248,452	231,702	480,154
5–9	260,848	254,168	506,016
10–18	351,666	311,400	663,066
19–24	320,235	229,287	549,522
25–29	209,177	148,286	357,463
30–34	173,452	126,626	300,078
35–44	204,382	167,824	372,206
45–59	143,282	137,981	281,283
60–90	79,551	60,965	212,306

According to the latest data from the European Commission, more than 1.7 million refugees in Turkey are supported by the largest humanitarian program 1) EU - Emergency Social Security Net (ESSN). This program provides financial assistance to the most vulnerable Syrian refugees. 2) The Conditional Cash Transfer for Education (CCTE) program supports families with children in school. More than 620,000 refugee children go to school and in 2021 this program will support 700,000 children. It is planned that under the financing of the Agreement, more than 750,000 Syrian children and youth in Turkey will gain access to education and up to 365 schools will be built. 177 health centers for migrants have been established, employing more than 3400 medical workers. 13 million medical consultations were provided, and over 4 million doses of vaccines were provided to migrant infants and pregnant women. The EU also responded quickly to the pandemic and mobilized € 98 million in support, in particular for the most vulnerable refugees. (European Commission, 2020)

Currently, new projects are being developed and implemented, for example: the SIHHAT 2 project will focus on improving the quality of medical services for migrants, as well as on the integration of medical services and medical personnel into the Turkish health system. The Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services of Turkey is implementing two projects in the field of social protection assistance. A municipal infrastructure project with the French Development Agency (AFD) will focus on the construction or rehabilitation of water, sewerage and solid waste systems. Two projects with the Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (KfW) aim to strengthen social and economic support for refugees. Finally, a new € 6 million component will be added to the International Center for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) 'Enhacer' project to support the creation of new employment opportunities for Syrians in Turkey. (European Commission, 2020)

3.3. Education, employment, and health

1) Education

According to Turkish law, basic education for children consists of 12 years, divided into 3 levels of 4 years each. All children under the jurisdiction of Turkey, including foreign nationals, have the right to access basic education services provided by public schools. All children registered as beneficiaries of temporary protection are eligible to be registered in public schools for basic education. Temporary protection recipients, including Syrian refugees, are also eligible for higher education in Turkey. To apply and enroll in a higher education institution, students must have 12 years of basic education in Turkey or similar experience from their home country. Turkey requires passing the standard university entrance exams and the additional requirements of each university for admission to universities. Students who started their studies at a university in Syria but were unable to complete it can ask the universities to recognize the loans they have received. The decision to recognize loans obtained from Syrian educational institutions is considered by each university on a case-by-case basis and may differ from one faculty to another. (AIDA, 2020)

Tuition fees for Syrian students are covered by the Office for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB), but this assistance does not apply to tuition at private universities. Students will still need to pay for local transportation, books and accommodation. There are a number of organizations that provide scholarships for Syrian students to pursue higher education in Turkey. These organizations include: YTB, UNHCR through the DAFI Fellowship Program and NGOs. Scholarships awarded through these programs cover tuition costs and pay students a monthly living and living allowance. (UNHCR)

According to statistics from the Council of Higher Education, the number of Syrian students studying at Turkish universities increased from 14,747 during the 2016-2017 academic year to 33,000 Syrians in the 2019/20 academic year. According to the Office of Continuing Education, 599,475 Syrians received government vocational and other training in 2019. Refugees can also take advantage of free language education courses, as well as vocational courses offered by the state educational centers that are part of each provincial national department of education, regardless of age. Some NGOs also provide free language courses and vocational training for persons granted temporary protection in some localities in Turkey. (AIDA, 2020)

The Turkish education system plays an important role in the integration of Syrians into Turkish society. One of the most striking decisions of the Turkish government is aimed at the integration of Syrian refugees, so that soon all Syrian students will attend Turkish public schools. From the very beginning, Turkey accepted refugees in Turkish schools, but not many children from Syria attended them. In September 2014, Turkey opened temporary training centers that taught a modified Syrian curriculum in Arabic. As of August 2017, there were 404 such centers. However, these centers were created with the expectation that the refugees would soon return to Syria. Presumably due to the fact that many Syrians remain to this day in Turkey, the government decided to transfer Syrians to the Turkish state education system. In 2017, using targeted funding from the European Union, the Turkish government began providing cash assistance to encourage refugee families to send their children to public schools through a program known as Conditional Cash Transfers for Education (CCTE). In 2017, the government began phasing out temporary education centers with the aim of completely closing them within three years. (Sarmini, Topcu, 2020)

The schooling rate of Syrian refugee children in Turkey has reached 63.4% - which, according to Turkish authorities, is a high rate for displaced children. As of the 2019-2020 school year, more than 684,000 of the 1.08 million Syrian school-age children were in school across the country. The highest level of schooling is observed among Syrian primary school students (about 90%), followed by secondary schools (70%) and senior grades (32%). Lower school attendance among high school-age Syrian refugees is due to the fact that they go to work to help their families. Turkey is keen to accept these children who have dropped out of school in vocational schools. Turkey has also helped over 289,000 Syrian children gain access to education in Syrian cities liberated from terrorist groups by the Syrian opposition with the support of the Turkish army. (Daily Sabah, 2020)

2) Employment

Syria may still remain insecure and a peaceful resolution to the conflict may seem a long way off. In 2017, the European Court of Human Rights ruled that Syria is unsafe to return and that forced return would constitute a violation of the right to life. There are numerous reports of how many refugees faced conscription, detention, and accidental arrest. Organizations such as Human Rights Watch systematically criticize the forced return of Syrian refugees as a violation of the principle of non-refoulement. These conditions are significantly different from the conditions for voluntary, safe, and sustainable return to Syria, as advocated by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. (International Justice Resource Center, 2017)

A Plan for Turkey, which says: "Efforts to secure livelihoods and job creation need to be significantly expanded to meet growing self-reliance needs and prevent employment frustrations that can exacerbate social tensions." (Reliefweb, 2020) European Union Fund for Refugees in Turkey (FRIT), which has been in operation since 2016 and closed two years later, is also placing increasing emphasis on improving livelihood opportunities for refugees and vulnerable communities. (InfoMigrants, 2020)

Brookings regrets in his article that EU Commissioner Dimitris Avramopoulos, in his historic speech at the Turkish Ambassadors' Conference in early August, highlighted EU-Turkey security cooperation rather than the Global Refugee Compact. He calls on signatories to "promote economic opportunities, decent work, job creation and

entrepreneurship programs for host community members and refugees” to support sustainable livelihood opportunities and increase the resilience of host communities by providing “inclusive economic growth for host communities and refugees “. A similar idea is also supported in the 2018 EU Needs Report for Turkey, which outlines a long list of “priority actions” to improve the self-reliance of Syrian refugees by giving Turkey access to “export markets and the provision of export and trade services, namely preferential status for certain products “. With this in mind, the EU and Turkey should begin to formulate a strategy that will allow Turkey to expand its agricultural exports to the EU in exchange for bringing Syrian refugees into the formal economy. (Brookings, 2019)

The work permit fee is 347 TL / 53 EUR. According to the Regulation, temporary beneficiaries cannot be paid less than the minimum wage. The number of work permits issued to beneficiaries of temporary protection has slowly increased since the adoption of the Regulation on 15 January 2016. In Sanlıurfa, for example, the Association of Syrian Businessmen signed an MOU to invest 80 million Turkish liras to create 20 factories with a total capacity of 1,500 workers. According to the Ministry of Labor, Family and Social Services, as of February 29, 2019, the number of companies with at least one Syrian founder is 15,159. (AIDA, 2019)

According to the data from Communication Center under the President’s Office (Cumhurbaşkanlığı İletişim Merkezi, CİMER), the number of work permits issued to Syrian recipients of temporary protection from January 1, 2016 to September 30, 2018 was 27,930 people. Of these, 25,457 permits were issued to men and 2,473 to women. The main provinces issuing work permits to persons with temporary protection were: Istanbul, Gaziantep, Bursa, Kahramanmaras, Mersin, Ankara, Konya, Hatay, Kocaeli and Adana. (AIDA 2020)

Table 2 – The main occupations for which the Syrian beneficiaries of temporary protection received work permits (ODATV, 2018)

Profession	Number of permits
Manual laborer	2,411
Textile worker	1,117

Errands runner	653
Physician	554
Nurse	543
Administrative manager	521
Office clerk	460
Support staff	452
Cleaner	433
Others	20,786
<i>Total</i>	<i>27,930</i>

The total number of work permits issued to beneficiaries of temporary protection increased to 32,199 as of November 15, 2018. Their number as of March 31, 2019 is 31,185. Although the updated statistics for the full year 2019 no, the reports cite 113,134 work permits issued to immigrants in Turkey between January and October 2019, mainly to immigrants from Syria, Kyrgyzstan, Ukraine, Turkmenistan, Georgia, Uzbekistan and Russia. Tthe figures show that the number of work permits issued is still a small percentage of temporary protection recipients between the ages of 19 and 64 in Turkey. (AIDA, 2019)

3) Health system and insurance

All registered persons with temporary protection, whether residing in camps or outside camps in Turkey, are covered by the Turkish General Health Insurance System (GSS) and are entitled to access health services provided by public health providers. Medical services cease to be free after the amendment of the legislation on December 25, 2019, where they must pay the fees determined by the Ministry of Internal Affairs for access to primary and emergency medical services and medicines. However, this does not apply to vulnerable groups. Persons eligible for temporary protection, but not yet registered, have access only to emergency medical care and infectious disease services provided by primary health care facilities. Temporary protection recipients are only entitled to access health care in the province where they are registered. However, if appropriate treatment is not available in the province of registration, or when it is deemed necessary for other medical reasons, the person concerned may be referred to another province. There is a so-

called "Income Test", which is designed to assess funds and classifies the recipient by income level. Individuals from class "G0" receive insurance premiums for medical services in full, and individuals from categories "G1", "G2" and "G3" proportionally cover part of their medical expenses on their own.

Recipients of temporary protection have the right to access primary diagnosis, treatment and rehabilitation in primary health care facilities. Healthcare providers also provide screening for infectious diseases, specialized services for infants, children and adolescents, and maternal and reproductive health services. Free health insurance for registered beneficiaries of temporary protection also extends to mental health services provided by public health facilities. A number of NGOs also offer a range of psychosocial services to people with disabilities in some parts of Turkey. The University of Marmara confirms the need for increased support for the mental health of displaced people in a 2018 study that shows that 6 out of 10 Syrian refugee children suffer from mental disorders such as post-traumatic stress disorder and depression. With financial support from ECHO, by the end of 2019, within the framework of the Geçici Koruma Altındaki Suriyelilerin Sağlık Statüsünün ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarafından Sunulan İlgili Hizmetlerin Geliştirilmesi (SIHHAT) project, 18 temporary migrant health workers were established in the province. The migrant health centers employ 790 people, mostly Syrian doctors, 790 nurses, 300 support staff, 84 technicians and 960 assistants.

According to the SUT, people covered by the general health insurance scheme must contribute 20% of the total cost of prescription medication. The same rule applies to recipients of temporary protection, while the rest were previously covered under AFAD. The language barrier is one of the main problems faced by persons using temporary protection when trying to access medical services, which is also confirmed by numerous surveys. The language barrier also hinders access to treatment for mental illness. Although there are interpreters in some public health facilities in some provinces in southern Turkey, most health facilities, including migrant health centers, do not have such an interpreter service. The main practical obstacle for refugees is that hospitals in Turkey make appointments by telephone. Since the call centers for hospital appointments do not serve potential patients in any language other than Turkish, foreign nationals need the help of a Turkish speaker already at the stage of registration at the hospital. The Ministry of Health operates a toll-free hotline that provides limited distance interpretation

services for temporarily protected persons, doctors and pharmacists. However, the hotline does not provide beneficiaries with any general health system advice or hospital appointment assistance. As mentioned earlier in this work about the Red Crescent, the organization also operates community centers that provide health and protection services. These centers identify the needs of beneficiaries of temporary protection, such as access to health care, and also offer psychosocial support. (AIDA. 2019)

Taking into account the above information about the problems of the health care system for refugees in Turkey, these problems are still being solved, for example, in terms of language support for refugees when they go to hospitals. According to the WHO European Office, the organization works closely with the Turkish Ministry of Health to provide culturally and linguistically sensitive health services to Syrian refugees. WHO in Turkey:

- supports 7 refugee medical training centers where Syrian doctors and nurses receive on-the-job training while providing medical services to Syrian patients;
- trains translators from Arabic to Turkish who can serve as guides for patients at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels of care;
- Provides continuing medical education for Turkish and Syrian health professionals in the diagnosis and treatment of mental illnesses such as depression, anxiety and PTSD; and
- trains and recruits Syrian community personnel to provide home care for the elderly and disabled in Syria.

Since the launch of WHO's refugee health program, nearly 2,000 Syrian health workers have been trained at 7 refugee health training centers to work in a network of up to 178 health centers across Turkey. The Turkish Ministry of Health has already hired more than half of them to provide medical services to Syrian refugees. (World Health Organization, regional office for Europe)

A Turkish study of the health needs and access to health care of Syrian refugees in Turkey, conducted by Turkish researchers, concludes that Turkish migration regulations prevent refugees from fully enjoying refugee rights. This is due to an increase in the number of refugees as well as an increase in the financial and human resources required for the provision of medical services. As the authors of this study note, refugee-

friendly multidynamic systems, the provision of preventive health services (including primary and secondary prevention capabilities) and an increase in the number of national and international organizations will help solve the problem of an imperfect health system for refugees and improve medical support for refugees in general. (Assi, Ilhan, Health needs and access to health care: the case of Syrian refugees in Turkey, 2019)

3.4 Results, impact, and challenges

As discussed in previous chapters, a lot has been achieved within the framework of the refugee crisis between Turkey and the European Union, especially in the areas of health care, education and access to the labor market, which together create a full-fledged infrastructure consisting of the main spheres of human life. Turkey and the European Union faced a difficult task, since in the current situation of the migration crisis caused by the prolonged military conflict in Syria, both sides needed to find a consensus, while preserving their own interests and priorities, in our case, these are the interests of the member states of the European Union and Turkey with its 85 million population. Despite the difficulties encountered in the implementation of the Agreement, as well as criticism, which is also absolutely natural in politics and not only, the results of the Agreement are quite obvious, since the massive flow of migration has really decreased, several million refugees are safe in Turkey and have access to many resources provided under the Agreement, which is also in parallel accompanied by the conditional stabilization of the military conflict in Syria, including the impact of the pandemic caused by the coronavirus infection around the world, which is also mentioned in this work in the framework of the latest statistics.

Speaking about the difficulties that have been overcome during the period of the Agreement, one can note a rather worthy response to a kind of “challenge” of Turkey in accepting a huge number of refugees, a quick response and the creation of a “healthy” infrastructure and atmosphere in the country, which is manifested in the absence of manifestations of local discontent. population, which could be expressed in a more severe form, for example in the form of protests, due to changes in the country's economic areas and security, especially in the border regions of Turkey. Competent policy and crisis management of the local state, as well as the local mentality of the Turkish people, which

traditionally manifests itself in hospitality, demonstrate their results in receiving a huge number of "guests". Perhaps now, after more than 4 years have passed since the entry into force of the Agreement, we can already say that the main crisis has been overcome, but now it remains to work on improving the existing shortcomings in the created infrastructure for refugees in such areas as health care, education and the market labor, and policies for the return of refugees or final integration in the country. As discussed in the previous chapters, new major projects in health and education are on the agenda today, which were stimulated by funding from the final tranche of 6 billion euros. The pandemic also had a strong impact on the migration crisis, temporarily stopping it, but after the end of the pandemic and mass vaccinations, the migration crisis could again become a hot topic, which could further stimulate new negotiations between Turkey and the European Union. The refugee agreement, as well as the migration crisis itself, which we are considering in this paper, is a link in the current and future negotiations between Turkey and the EU related to the negotiation process of both parties in such areas as Turkey's accession to the EU, visa-free regime for Turkish citizens in EU, renewal of the customs union and cooperation in the field of migration in general. Turkey's progress in migration policy and internal jurisdictional issues will be directly related to the further course of negotiations with the EU, among other things, many other various factors, including the development of the Syrian military conflict and the pandemic, may affect the negotiations.

The example of Turkey, which has hosted a huge number of refugees, is an excellent example of crisis management and border policy for the whole world, which is also confirmed by the Director General of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) William Lacey Swing. (Anadolu Agency 2017) Turkey's example can stimulate people around the world shows a deeper understanding of the situation that caused the massive displacement, including compassion, since no country, nation is immune from similar situations in the future, after all, any person can be a refugee for various reasons. Turkey's example, as well as support and cooperation with the EU, can serve as an example for a better approach to resolving migration crises in the future, which can also serve as an incentive for other countries to change their border management policies and strengthen humanitarian cooperation with border countries. The example of the EU in the development of integration humanitarian projects, as well as funding strategies and

a generally inclusive approach to solving crisis situations together with other EU members, can also be considered by other countries with the aim of preventing, managing and cooperating in crisis situations not only at the national but also at global level.

3.5 Return refugees back to Syria

It is important to note the fact that even despite cases of repeated returns of refugees that are not in Turkish interests, the country has taken measures to simplify this process. First of all, the Turkish government began issuing permits for short-term visits to Syria. This simplified the movement of refugees during religious holidays. The aim of these actions was to reduce the anxiety of refugees and asylum seekers about returning to Turkey. Turkey allows Syrians to travel to Syria for the holidays, as well as for the purpose of visiting relatives, to study and work, guaranteeing the preservation of their status upon returning. Thus, refugees have the opportunity to assess the current conditions in their country and, as a result, have reliable information regarding their return. Short-term travel permits are expected to allow refugees to assess the benefits and costs of returning home and will facilitate the voluntary return of refugees.

The author of a study on the policy of returning refugees to Syria, notes that according to the Turkish border services, Syrians rarely return to their homeland. In 2018, approximately 76% of them returned back to Turkey, which indicates that any program for the return of refugees will be ineffective until the situation in Syria itself changes. (Yavchan, 2019)

Those who identify with Turkey to a greater extent and know the Turkish language better are less interested in returning to Syria. This is also confirmed by research conducted among Syrian students in Turkey. Despite the fact that most students are interested in contributing to the restoration of Syria (and some of them even chose their future specialization based on these preferences), many of them do not want to return to Syria in the near future. At the same time, those with a higher level of education and higher income are not necessarily less interested in returning. In turn, those who are most likely to return to their homeland are those who still have a family in Syria. (Erdoğan, 2020)

According to the same study, the author points out that, from the point of view of the majority of Syrians, there are no prerequisites for return (security, economic stability, quality of infrastructure and legal guarantees of inviolability - of themselves and private property). From the perspective of the UN and the International Organization for Migration (IOM), security conditions in Syria do not facilitate the return of refugees, and therefore these structures do not facilitate the return of Syrians from Turkey. At the same time, being a party to the UN Convention on the Status of Refugees, Turkey is bound by non-refoulement obligations, which means that it does not have the right to forcibly return / deport Syrian refugees. (Yavchan, 2019) Based on the above research findings, we can conclude that due to the fact that the security situation inside Syria itself has not yet been fully resolved, it is difficult to expect a success in the policy regarding the return of Syrians home at the present time.

Conclusion

In the conclusion of this work, it will be logical to return to the initially set goals of this study, namely: to determine what results Turkey and the EU have achieved in the framework of the refugee agreement, what difficulties have been overcome and what problems are on the agenda today, and what impact Turkey has had on the problem migration in the context of the Syrian conflict at the global level. This study is a kind of comprehensive analysis of the Turkey-EU Agreement on Syrian Refugees; however, it also reveals the multilateral essence of the situation caused by the Syrian conflict and its consequences.

In this bachelor thesis, based on reports from key organizations involved in the implementation of the Agreement, the main aspects of refugee life, including education, medicine, and the labor market in Turkey, were considered. The budget allocated by the EU within the framework of the Agreement and projects aimed at the adaptation and integration of refugees in Turkey, affecting many areas of life, among which it is especially worth noting psychological assistance, educational and language projects, integration projects in the field of culture and entrepreneurship, were also considered.

As part of the practical part of the work, the author made a study trip to the "place of events" in order to have a direct dialogue with the employees of the largest and most important player in the Turkish Red Crescent and local people. This visit within the framework of this thesis was especially useful for a deeper understanding of the problem, a unique opportunity to ask questions and communicate with specialists directly working with the aim of implementing the agreement between Turkey and the EU and migration policy in general from the very beginning of this agreement.

In this work, the author tried to consider the problem of Syrian refugees in the most comprehensive way, examining and analyzing, in chronological order, the main events related to the Syrian conflict and the Refugee Agreement. Recent events and their impact, such as the Coronavirus pandemic, were also considered, given how vulnerable groups of people are more at risk of infection due to living in camps and the novelty of the problem, since the authorities not only in Turkey but throughout the world had to quickly respond to a completely new challenge that no one was ready for.

In the final chapter of this work, the author, based on the analysis done, approached a logical conclusion, thereby trying to come to answers to scientific questions set initially as the goal of the work. Within the framework of the agreement, the main crisis was overcome during the resettlement and subsequent integration of the main number of refugees into the territory of Turkey, along with the achievement of significant integration results in various fields. Together with the improvement of the already established infrastructure for Syrian refugees in Turkey under the agreement, the impact of the pandemic as an external factor will regulate the speed and motivation of Turkey and the EU in resolving other open issues between the parties, which are closely intertwined with the Syrian refugee agreement. Answering scientific questions, the author came to the conclusion that the Agreement on Refugees between Turkey and the EU and its implementation has brought serious and visible results, however, it needs further improvement of already established and existing policies and projects, being at the same time a unique example of humanitarian cooperation and crisis resolution from Turkey and the EU for the whole world.

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Figures and Tables

Fig. 1 – Breakdown of funds per priority area. Available on: https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/frit_factsheet.pdf

Fig. 2 – Reasons for the discontent of the local population in refugees. Available at: <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/reports/2019/03/13/467183/turkeys-refugee-dilemma/>

Table 1 – Age groups of Syrian refugees living in Turkey - Assi, Elhan, Public Health 2017. Available at: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0033350619301490>

Table 2 – The main occupations for which the Syrian beneficiaries of temporary protection received work permits. ODATV. 2018. Available at: <https://bit.ly/2TOFQ5v>

List of appendices

- a) Photos from Reyhanli visit
- b) UNHCR table
- c) Turkey-Syrian border map

Appendices

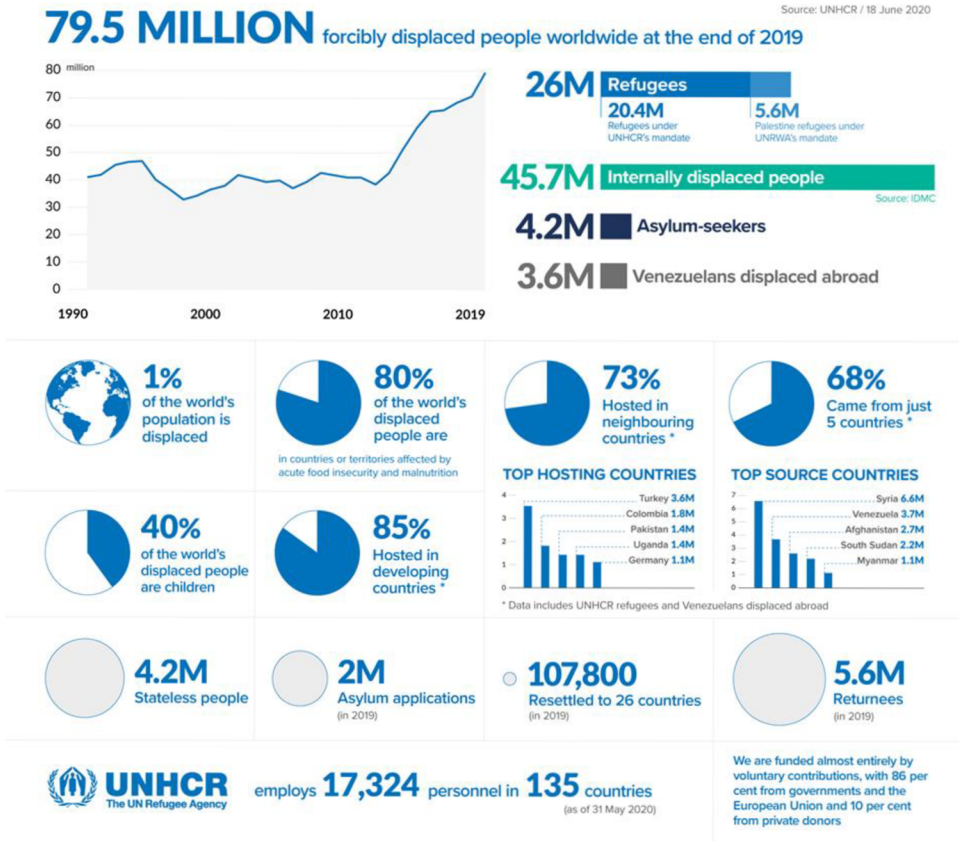
A1. Bulat Nigmedzianov. 2019. Bulat Nigmedzianov with head of the Reyhanli Community Center Ms. Torun.



A2. Bulat Nigmedzianov. 2019. Bulat Nigmedzianov close to the Turkish-Syrian border in Reyhanli, Hatay/Turkey.



A3. UNHCR. 2020. Available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/tr/en/figures-at-a-glance>



A4. Human Right Watch. Available at: <https://www.hrw.org/modal/46523>

