



## **MENDEL UNIVERSITY IN BRNO**

Faculty of Regional Development and International Studies

### **Effects of Syrian Refugee Crisis on Turkey and European Union: A Comparison Analyzes of EU and Turkey about Measures and Policies**

DIPLOMA THESIS

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Anil Kurt

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## **ABSTRACT**

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze how Syrian Refugee Crisis have become a global issue, what was the background, recent effects on European Union and Turkey. Thesis has been divided into several chapters. Literature overview chapter of the thesis has examined historical evolution of asylum, migration and refugee related theories, and it also has discussed the living conditions of Syrian refugees in both EU and Turkey, Turkey's wish to join EU, and it has questioned that if the refugee agreement was good solution about both joining EU and prevention of refugee fleeing to Europe. Hypotheses have been tested in results chapter. They were about willingness and living conditions. They have been tested by 2 different opinion surveys which were asked to EU and Turkish nationals. To statistically confirm the hypotheses, Chi square analysis has been used. Further, discussion, recommendations and conclusion have concluded the thesis.

**Keywords:** Syrian Refugee Crisis, EU, Turkey, Chi square analysis, willingness, living conditions

## **ABSTRAKT**

Účelem této práce je analýza Syrské uprchlické krize a jak se stala globálním problémem. Co stálo v pozadí a současný efekt na Evropskou unii a Turecko. Diplomová práce je rozdělena do několika kapitol. Literární přehled se zabývá historií a vývojem azylu, migrace a teoriemi spojenými s uprchlíky a také se zabývala životními podmínkami syrských uprchlíků v EU a Turecku. Turecko, které se chce stát členem EU, zpochybňuje, jestli uprchlická dohoda byla dobrým řešením jak vstupem do EU tak prevencí uprchlíků prchajících do Evropy. Hypotézy byly testovány ve výsledné kapitole, které byly o ochotě a životních podmínkách. Byly testovány dva druhy dotazníků, kterými byli dotazováni občané EU a Turecka. K statistickému potvrzení hypotézy byla použita Chi-square analýza. Diplomová práce byla uzavřena uvedením diskuze, doporučeními a závěrem.

**Klíčová slova:** Syrský uprchlická krize, EU, Turecko, Chí-kvadrát analýza, ochota, životní podmínky

**CONTENTS**

- List of Abbreviations..... 6
- 1. Chapter 1: Introduction ..... 8
  - 1.1 Problem Statement..... 8
  - 1.2 Purpose of Choosing This Research Topic..... 8
  - 1.3 Content Following ..... 9
  - 1.4 Hypotheses..... 10
- 2. Chapter 2: Literature Overview ..... 11
  - 2.1 Historical Evolution of Asylum..... 11
    - 2.1.1 Issues of deciding “who is refugee” and their protection ..... 12
    - 2.1.2 Who is refugee? ..... 13
    - 2.1.3 Turkey’s Geographical Limitation..... 14
    - 2.1.4 Important Articles from Convention Related to the Status of Refugees..... 14
  - 2.2 Refugee and Migration Theories ..... 17
    - 2.2.1 World System Theory ..... 18
    - 2.2.2 Socio Cultural Theories ..... 19
    - 2.2.3 Macro Theories ..... 20
    - 2.2.4 Micro Theories ..... 21
  - 2.3 Overview of Syrian Refugee Case..... 26
    - 2.3.1 General Overview of Syria ..... 26
    - 2.3.2 History of Present Syria ..... 28
    - 2.3.3 Background of Syrian Civil War ..... 29
    - 2.3.4 EU and Syrian Refugee Crisis ..... 33
    - 2.3.5 Effects of Syrian Refugees to Turkey ..... 35
    - 2.3.6 Comparison of some data between Turkey and EU..... 40
- 3. Chapter 3: Methodology..... 44
  - 3.1 Methodology..... 44
  - 3.2 Observational Research Method..... 44
  - 3.3 Comparative Analysis..... 44
  - 3.4 Survey ..... 45
  - 3.5 Statistical Analysis ..... 46
- 4. Chapter 4: Results ..... 47

4.1 Introduction .....	47
4.2 Results of 1 <sup>st</sup> Survey .....	47
4.2.1 Willingness to help Syrian Refugees .....	48
4.2.2 Interpretation of 1 <sup>st</sup> Survey Results by Chi Square Method .....	49
4.2.3 Short Summary of Results of 1 <sup>st</sup> Survey .....	52
4.3 Results of 2 <sup>nd</sup> Survey .....	53
4.3.1 Living Conditions .....	54
4.3.2 Living Conditions in Turkey .....	55
4.3.3 Interpretation of 2 <sup>nd</sup> Survey Results by CSM, Turkey as Location .....	57
4.3.4 Living Conditions in EU .....	58
4.3.5 Interpretation of 2 <sup>nd</sup> Survey Results by CSM, EU Countries as Location .....	61
4.3.6 Short Summary of Results of 2 <sup>nd</sup> Survey .....	62
5. Chapter 5: Discussion.....	64
6. Chapter 6: Recommendations .....	66
7. Chapter 7: Conclusion .....	67
8. References .....	69
9. List of Figures and Tables .....	79
10. Appendices .....	81

## **List of Abbreviations**

AKP (Turkish)	Justice and Development Party (Turkish)
BASP	Baath Arab Socialist Party
BREXIT	British Exit
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CSDP	Common Security and Defense Policy
EBCG	European Border and Coastguard Agency
EC	European Commission
ECHO	European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations
EEAC	European External Action Service
EEC	European Economic Community
ENP	European Neighborhood Policy
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
Europol	European Police Office
FSA	Free Syrian Army
GG	German Federal Government
GHA	Global Humanitarian Assistance
Grexit	Greek Exit
HC	High Commissioner
HIP	Humanitarian Implementation Plan
HRW	Human Rights Watch
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IRO	International Refugee Organization
ISIL	Islamic State of Iraq and Levant
JN (Arabic)	Al – Nusra Front
LN	League of Nations

MC	Military Committee
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDF	National Defense Forces
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
ORSAM (Turkish)	Center for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies
PIN	People in Need
PKK	Kurdistan Workers Party
SAA	Syrian Army
SAF	Syrian Armed Forces
SCAF	Supreme Council of the Armed Forces
UAR	United Arab Republic
UK	United Kingdom
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
USA	United States of America
USD	United States Dollar
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WB	World Bank
WW1	World War 1
WW2	World War 2



## **1. Chapter 1: Introduction**

### **1.1 Problem Statement**

Syria is a country which is located in Middle East, neighboring with Turkey to the north, Lebanon and Mediterranean Sea to the west, Iraq to the east, Jordan to the south and Israel to the southwest. Capital is Damascus and total population is currently 18.585 million people. It is very diverse country with various ethnicities. Most of the people are Arabs but Kurds, Turkmens, Druzes, Assyrians, Armenians and Circassians are also living there. Main religion is Islam with mostly Sunnis.

It could be observed that Syria has been witnessed too many times to military intervention and coup attempts since independence. Country was politically unstable. Time after time, governments were ousted and new governments have come. They could not provide the stability. In the end, Ba'ath party excelled with another coup and since 1963 it is ruling the country with one party regime. In 1970, Hafez al-Assad has been president and ruled the country till 2000. His place was taken by his son, Bashar al-Assad as his successor, and still he is the president of Syria. Assad family is coming from the Alawite sect and Alawites are the minority group in Syria. So, minority was controlling the country since 1970. In short, there was no political stability from the very beginning of independence but with Ba'ath party and Assad family it was ensured. In return, democracy lost, corruption and factionalism increased, media and law were controlled.

Arab Spring was turning point for many countries in Africa and Middle East. It was rebellion to all undemocratic conditions. People who wanted to stop weak conditions in their countries filled the streets and showed demonstrations and protests against governments. In some countries, there were conflicts between government forces and protesters so it caused a lot of people died. In the end, Arab Spring succeeded. All states brought new regulations at least. Many of the governors resigned, many presidents and governments were ousted. A few of the presidents did not want to leave their presidency so they fought against people but in the end people won and new elected presidents took their places while previous ones were punished.

Demonstrations and protests jumped to the Syria as well. First, small demonstrations took place in some cities and then it turned into armed conflicts between government forces and rebellions. Syrian president Bashar al-Assad is resisting to the rebels from the beginning and civil war caused chaos, deaths, separation and most importantly refugee crisis came out as millions of Syrian nationals left and seek for asylum in neighboring and European countries. As it affected so many countries it is not a regional crisis but it is a global issue.

### **1.2 Purpose of Choosing This Research Topic**

Syrian Refugee crisis has become the most catastrophic migration crisis in 21<sup>st</sup> century. Since 2011, when the civil war in Syria broke out thousands of people started to flee the country and immigrate to safer places such as Turkey and European countries. This issue affected both Turkey and EU in negative way and made their policies changed. Both of them tried to take

some measures to prevent the crisis but it seems they could not be very successful as war is still lasting and causing a lot of people to leave the country and seek asylum.

Illegal migration is undesirable situation for all the countries. It disrupts economical, social, cultural and political order of a country. Syria case is the clearest example of this breakdown as it affected many countries especially Turkey and EU. So, in order to contribute new perspective to existing migration literature, and examine the EU – Turkey policies regarding the Syrian Refugees, the thesis topic, Effects of Syrian Refugee Crisis on Turkey and European Union: A Comparison Analyzes of EU and Turkey about Measures and Policies was chosen.

### **1.3 Content Following**

This thesis is divided into 9 chapters in order to follow the research properly.

In chapter 1 problem statement, why specifically this topic was chosen, thesis questions and hypotheses will be given.

In chapter 2, literature overview will be done. Especially, how the term “refugee” gradually was evolved by United Nations will be explained and some important articles from UN Convention and Protocol Related to the Status of Refugees will be given to show what parties of this convention must do regarding the rights of refugees. Later on, migration and refugee related theories will be told while especially social theories will be highlighted. In the end of this chapter, overview of Syrian Refugee Case will be given and explained by various subchapters. Background of civil war and current situation with the effects of immigration to Turkey and other EU countries will be analyzed. As Turkey and EU has importance on measures and policies regarding the illegal refugee flow, comparison will be provided.

In chapter 3, methodology of this research will be provided.

In chapter 4, results of research will be given.

In chapter 5, discussion will take place.

In chapter 6, appropriate recommendations will be stated.

Finally, conclusion will be the chapter 7.

## 1.4 Hypotheses

There are 2 hypotheses which will be tested in this thesis. Both of them will be tested by surveys as the criterion is public opinion. Hypotheses were created to reach if the people from different nationalities are agreed with the author in particular issues of Syrian crisis. These issues will be about willingness and living conditions.

Author's main motivation to create these hypotheses was his observation and knowledge which he gained during his studies. Background of this observation started in Turkey because author used to live in Istanbul between 2011 and 2015, so he has seen too many Syrian nationals who were living in streets and outskirts of the city. Number of the Syrians were increasing and those people were filling the streets so author wondered if the Turkish government is willing to welcome this amount of refugees. Besides, Syrian refugees started to flee to EU zone. Therefore first research question has been raised as "how willing are Turkey and EU to help Syrians". Secondly, due to insufficient living conditions in Istanbul, another research question has been raised as "how are the living conditions of Syrian refugees in host countries". These research questions have been source for hypotheses and later on author have created his hypotheses in this basis.

Hypotheses will be tested by an "opinion survey" so they are not the actions of Turkish government or EU actions. As we said before hypotheses are author's ideas so the results of this opinion survey will show if his ideas will be supported by respondents. In addition, in the opinion survey, options will be presented in yes/no format so we will get concrete answers from respondents.

Primary aim of these 2 hypotheses is therefore to prove that both Turkish and EU nationals support author's hypotheses which were set based on his observation.

- First hypothesis will be supporting that **even though any of the parts (Turkey and EU) are not so eager, Turkey is more willing than EU to help Syrian refugees.**
- Second hypothesis is going to test that **Syrian refugees live in better conditions in EU countries compared to their living conditions in Turkey.**

## 2. Chapter 2: Literature Overview

Literature overview of this thesis will be respectively analyzing the historical evolution of asylum, refugee and migration theories, and finally overview of Syrian refugee case.

### 2.1 Historical Evolution of Asylum

It should be known that asylum to other countries has long history. Some scholars believe that asylum has taken its place more than 3500 years ago. In the past it is seen that a lot of people were forced to migrate to other lands. Scientific researches show us these forced migration repeated numbers of times in the past. According to *Tevfik Odman (1995)*, even in the Aztecs times (14<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> centuries) there are proofs of migration, such as regulations of refugee protection in their inscriptions.

Similar examples can be seen in Roman Empire, as *Taner Kilic (2006)* mentioned in his journal, in the polis (city-states) of Ancient Greece, in Medieval Europe, in Islam history when the first believers had too much pressure and it turned into persecution so they migrated to Abyssinia, and also in Ottoman Empire right of asylum was provided for the Jews who run away from Spain.

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, asylum concept came out as more problematic issue than it was before because of the growing population and their movements. For example, between 1846 and 1939, around 59 million people left Europe for the new settlements in the other continents (*Stephen Castles, 2014: 5*). In addition, according to the United States Committee, in 1959 it was estimated that there were 15 million refugees, in June 1968 the estimate had increased to 17.2 million people (US Committee, World Refugee Report 2, 1970).

The reasons for migration vary for different refugee groups as do their opportunities for asylum and resettlement. *Austin T. Fragomen, Jr.* says: “The Mozambique refugee fleeing to Zambia may have had an entirely different motivation from the Tibetan refugee fleeing to Sikkim. The situation resulting in the displacement of the Palestinian Arab refugee is dissimilar to the factors resulting in the displacement of the Indonesian Chinese refugee within Indonesia. The opportunities for permanent resettlement and integration of the Bulgarian refugee in Belgium are more substantial than those of the Chinese refugee from Communist China in Hong Kong. However, each refugee is a person desperately in need of assistance”.

Especially since year 2000, reasons for illegal migrations have been caused mainly by civil wars, religion and conflicts, and the origin countries were the ones from developing world. These countries were ones of the most contributors of world migration population. Additionally, there are new difficulties in the form of immigrants from the developing world, mainly from Eritrea, Ivory Coast, and Somalia (*Samuel Antwi Darkwah – Eva Taterova, 2013*). While there have been intensive debates concerning the status of illegal immigrants from these countries. In 2011, civil war in Syria broke up and caused millions of people to search asylum in safer and more developed world.

One of the foremost members of developed world, EU and other European countries started to struggle with undesired demand of illegal migration. According to *Petr Blizkovsky (to be published)*, “European countries have to address the issue of illegal immigration. Indeed the Arab Spring as well as increasing unrest in certain parts of Sub-Saharan African has progressively augmented the number of migrants seeking to reach European countries”. As it is understood from above, even though there are different motivations which were behind of migration, there real reasons for asylum and illegal migration have been mainly caused by conflicts and civil wars that pushed people to flights.

In short, World Wars, international conflicts and collapsed Empires caused mass migrations in the world. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, asylum and migration became one of the biggest issues. Specifically, in Middle Eastern countries asylum phenomenon increased its intensity (*Baldwin – Edwards, 2005*).

So the asylum issue brought political, economical, and cultural problems in immigration country. As well as, people who live as refugees in these countries faced with strong human rights violations (*James M. Jaranson, 2004*).

So, the world leaders started to seek for solutions by United Nations leadership. It all began after the World War 1 (WW1) to determine who is refugee and what his rights is. At the beginning of these searches, the League of Nations which was established after World War 1, created a High Commissioner (HC) and HC began to take some measures for Russian, Armenian and German asylum seekers. Due to the inability of taken measures to the asylum issue, this time United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) was established after the World War 2 (WW2) and UNRRA left its place to International Refugee Organization (IRO) in 1947. These two institutions were the foundations of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which was established in 1950 and continues its activities for refugees today.

### **2.1.1 Issues of deciding “who is refugee” and their protection**

The term refugee and refugee protection have been always crucial. There were a lot of migrants who seek for asylum but there was no universal protection and the states did not know which agreement they should implement towards these migrants.

As we mentioned above, first initiatives were taken by League of Nations (LN) by High Commissioner for Refugees in 1921 but it was limited and obviously it was a decision which was made only for people who are from Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) or whom cannot benefit from the protection of USSR.

Nevertheless, we could say that World War 1 made initial contribution to emerge the talks “who is refugee”.

More importantly, after the World War 2, refugee question became highly politicized and UN’s first institutional response to the problem came by the International Refugee Organization (IRO) (*Goodwin – Gill, 2008*). IRO was rejected by Soviet Union and its allies and remained funded by only 18 of the 54 governments of UN. At the time, thousands of

refugees and displaced persons were resettling under the IRO's instructions and through government selection schemes, individual migration, and employment placement (*Holborn, 1975*). In fact, it was not organized and there were no proper rules to follow while settling.

Finally, in 1951, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) took IRO's place. UNHCR's main purpose was to bring international protection for refugees and looking for permanent solutions. Its mandate was including refugees who were recognized under the earlier agreements, but also seeking for solutions. So, UNHCR's responsibilities were intended to be implemented by new treaty to provide universal protection without geographical or temporal limitations but the question "who is refugee" still remained unsolved and it was forwarded to the Conference by General Assembly (*Goodwin – Gill, 2009*).

### **2.1.2 Who is refugee?**

According to the United Nations (UN) Convention and Protocol Related to the Status of Refugees (1951), Section A:

Refugee was defined; "as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well - founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it" (UNHCR, 1951).

Further in Section B it is explained what should be understood from the definition of refugee in section A.

Article B continues as "for the purposes of this Convention, the words events occurring before 1 January 1951 in article 1, section A, shall be understood to mean either:

- (a) "Events occurring in Europe before 1 January 1951"; or
- (b) "Events occurring in Europe or elsewhere before 1 January 1951", and each Contracting State shall make a declaration at the time of signature, ratification or accession, specifying which of these meanings it applies for the purpose of its obligations under this Convention" (UNHCR, 1951).

As we can see from the Convention's definition of refugee above, there are "time" and "place" limitations. It must be understood that refugee definition was including both the events occurring before 1 January 1951 and events occurring in Europe or elsewhere before 1 January 1951. So, it is clear that Convention did not meet the requirements for people who suffered after 1951 or people from outside of Europe.

Following 16 years refugee definition was unsolved till the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees. In the end, 1967 Protocol removed the time limitation so people who

suffered and had persecution after 1951 were included as refugee too. Additionally, Protocol recognized “asylum seekers who may come from outside Europe” as refugee as well.

Protocol was seemed like amending the 1951 Convention and helping the definition, but as it is crucial subject to gather all states together and tell them to implement all the rules by UNHCR about refugees, some of them acceded only to the Protocol and some of the states remained party only to the Convention (*Goodwin – Gill and McAdam 2007*). Because every state has its own law and policies, so implementing the rules which UNHCR determined is difficult. Nevertheless, many of them agreed on changed refugee definition in article 1A and obeyed the protocol. Only Madagascar and Turkey retained the geographical limitation.

### **2.1.3 Turkey’s Geographical Limitation**

Turkey has already accepted to be part of Geneva Convention, and it also ratified the 1967 Protocol on July 1968 but remained in geographical limitation principle. Currently, Turkey is the only country which is implementing European or non – European Refugees distinction effectively.

Therefore, Turkey is able to give refugee status only to citizens of European Council. It provides “temporary protection” to people who come from countries which are not members of European Council. Due to geographical limitation, while Turkey is giving these people a temporary protection it also trying to domicile them in countries like Canada, United States of America (USA), and Australia by UNHCR.

Turkey’s geographical limitation is strongly criticized by national and international human rights organizations. Turkey is offered to remove this principal to overcome European or non-European distinction when it is defining the refugee.

Currently, Turkey has no attempt of removing geographical limitation, even the “Foreigners and International Protection Law” project by Ministry of Interior was designed under this limitation principle. Even though there are critical advices from authorities, millions of Syrian Refugees are still living under temporary protection by year of 2016, and the Syrian nationals are devoid of their rights to be refugee because they are not considered as refugee in Turkey but the immigrants who live under temporary protection.

### **2.1.4 Important Articles from Convention Related to the Status of Refugees**

#### **Article 3 – Non Discrimination**

“The Contracting States shall apply the provisions of this Convention to refugees without discrimination as to race, religion or country of origin”.

Although Turkey’s geographical limitation seems non discriminative, in fact it is discriminative limitation because, Turkey does not accept any asylum seeker from outside Europe as “real” refugee. In this sense, we can say that all of the Syrian refugees in Turkey are under temporary protection and they were not accepted as refugee although Turkish

government proceeds some improvements about temporary protection (*Meltem Ineli – Ciger, 2014*).

In addition to this, we can give more examples about discrimination against refugees. On July 11, 2015, President of USA, Donald Trump has said that “if you are from Syria and you are a Christian, you cannot come into this country, and they're the ones that are being decimated. If you are Islamic... it's hard to believe, you can come in so easily”. As it is understood from this speech, there are all the features of discrimination which was mentioned in article 3.

And even though EU's one of the main principles is human rights and respect to all people who have different backgrounds, there are many countries which show horrible reactions against refugees in Europe.

In short, discrimination is still huge problem and it seems that it will remain as strong as now in the future.

#### Article 22 – Public Education

1. “The Contracting States shall accord to refugees the same treatment as is accorded to nationals with respect to elementary education” (UNHCR, 1951).
2. “The Contracting States shall accord to refugees treatment as favourable as possible, and, in any event, not less favourable than that accorded to aliens generally in the same circumstances, with respect to education other than elementary education and, in particular, as regards access to studies, the recognition of foreign school certificates, diplomas and degrees, the remission of fees and charges and the award of scholarships” (UNHCR, 1951).

Refugee children were called “lost generation” when the civil war started in Syria. It brought not only displacement but also too many deaths. Children who were not protected or could not get away from the conflict areas either died or were orphaned. Successful ones came into a neighborhood country but lack of education they seem like they will not be able to become useful individuals or not have a good job in the future.

Indeed, public education is tough issue to implement perfectly if you consider there are a lot of school aged (between 5 and 17) Syrian children in different countries.

Human Rights Watch (HRW) Organization published several reports which inform us clearly about Syrian school aged children who have no access to schools. According to HRW Lebanon report on July 19, 2016; nearly 500.000 school aged children are registered in Lebanon and more than 250.000 children have no possibility to attend the schools.

HRW Jordan report on August 16, 2016 informs us; there are 660.000 Syrian refugees are registered in Jordan and almost one in three (226.000) of them are school aged children. Over 80.000 of these children did not receive a formal education during last education year, in 2016.

As greater and more problematic example to others, HRW Turkey report on June 20, 2016 tells that; Nabi Avci, the Education Minister made a statement that only 325.000 Syrians are



attending to schools out of more than 756.000 school aged children registered in Turkey. According to his statement, around 75.000 of these are attending to schools which are under Ministry of Education and, 250.000 of children are having education in “temporary” education centers (Hurriyet, 2016).

It is understood that providing public education in these countries is insufficient. The majority of the school aged children are not able to participate to schools. These countries had no capacity to educate young refugees so far as there are many refugees. In brief, some of the contracting states are still no capable to implement article 22 and if situation does not change, there will be plenty of uneducated “adults” soon.

#### Article 33 – Prohibition of Expulsion or Return (“Refoulement”)

1. “No Contracting State shall expel or return (“refouler”) a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion” (UNHCR, 1951).

2. “The benefit of the present provision may not, however, be claimed by a refugee whom there are reasonable grounds for regarding as a danger to the security of the country in which he is, or who, having been convicted by a final judgment of a particularly serious crime, constitutes a danger to the community of that country” (UNHCR, 1951).

The word non-refoulement derives from the French *refouler*, which means to drive back or to repel. And, non refoulement principle is one of the cornerstones of international refugee law (*Goodwin – Gill, 2007*). As it is mentioned in article 33, no contracting state shall send back a refugee to the place which his or her life is threatened. The aim of this principle is basically to protect the refugees and provide them to use their rights to live and freedom from persecution.

Persecution itself is not described in 1951 convention even though it is main threat reason. But, article 33 refers to threats to life or freedom so, it should be understood that persecution includes the threat of death, or the threat of torture, or cruel, inhuman or degrading threat or punishment.

In our case, for example, various minority groups, including Christians, have been subject to attacks and persecution in Syria by Islamist Extremists. According to the UNHCR; there are approximately 24.000 or 1.2% Christians out of the approximately 2.1 million Syrian refugees registered with UNHCR in Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and Lebanon. Most of them cannot find a place for themselves in refugee camps in neighborhood countries because of the persecution, and being threatened by majority (*Johnston, 2016*).

Regarding the Article 33, non refoulement principle may not be available for a refugee if there are serious reasons to believe that he or she has committed a war crime, being a threat to the people, or acts against to the purposes of the UN. Then, this kind of people will lose the refugee status and the state where he or she lives in will have a right to not to accept this person in its country.

## 2.2 Refugee and Migration Theories

According to the *Anthony H. Richmond*: “Sociological theories of international migration (including refugees) should be capable of explaining the scale, direction and composition of population movements that cross state boundaries, the factors which determine the decision to move and the choice of destination, the characteristic modes of social integration in the receiving country and the eventual outcome, including remigration and return movements”.

In this thesis, theories will be generally focused on sociological aspects and impacts of migration. Especially in our case it has seen that social integration and the problem of Syrians’ cohesion have been less adaptable compare to other elements such as economy, politics, and religion so author as well believes social effects of refugees are the most difficult one to handle by receiving country.

From old to new, macro to micro, some of the crucial theories with specific focus on social theories regarding the migration will be explained and further they will be helpful to analyze the results.

Below, the table 1 shows relations between some disciplines and migration research.

Table 1: Relations between some disciplines and migration research

Discipline	Research Question	Levels of Analysis	Dominant Theories	Sample Hypotheses
Anthropology	How does migration effect cultural change and affect ethnic identity?	More micro/ individuals, households, groups.	Relational and Transnational.	Social Networks help maintain cultural difference.
Demography	How does migration affect population change?	More macro/ populations.	Rationalist	Immigration increases the birth rate
Economics	What explains the tendency to migrate and its effects?	More micro/ individuals.	Rationalist, Cost – Benefit, and Push – Pull.	Incorporation depends on the human capital of immigrants.
Political Science	Why do states have difficulties to control migration?	More macro/ political and international systems.	Institutionalist and Rationalist.	States are often captured by pro immigrant interests.
Sociology	What explains immigrant incorporation?	More macro/ ethnic groups and social class.	Structuralist and Functionalist	Immigrant’s incorporation is dependent on social capital.

Source: Author’s adaptation from Brettell, C. (2014). *Migration Theory*

Above, the table illustrates that in different disciplines research questions and used analysis and theories vary. Research questions in the table are just sample questions which most likely may ask in terms of those disciplines. So, in following we will find the answers of those questions in related theories and disciplines.

### **2.2.1 World System Theory**

World Systems Theory proposes that wealthy countries benefit from other countries and take advantage of those countries' citizens and capital. This model recognizes the minimum benefits which are appreciated by “low” status countries in the world system. Sociologist *Immanuel Wallerstein* developed this theory and he argues that the way a country is integrated into the capitalist world system determines how economic improvement begins in that country (*Reus Smit and Snidal, 2008*). According to *Wallerstein*, the world economic system has a hierarchy of three types of nations, these are core, semi peripheral, and peripheral nations.

Core nations are dominant and capitalist, featured by high levels of industrialization and urbanization. They are capital intensive, have high wages and advanced in high technology production patterns. They have strong central governments, controlling extensive bureaucracies and powerful militaries. Core countries own most of the world's capital and technology so they have big control on economic cooperation and world trade as well. They are also the cultural centers which attract celebrities and intellectuals. So, many people are admired by core countries and dream about to live there.

Peripheral countries are the opposite nations in this system and they are less developed and less urbanized. Their economies are usually dependent on agriculture sector and they have low literacy rates. They are the source of cheap labor to core countries. The wealthy citizens in peripheral countries take advantage of the poor laborers, it is easy to afford them because they are cheap, and they benefit from each other's economic relations with the core country's capitalists.

Semi-peripheral countries are the nations in the midway between core nations and peripheral nations. They are the weaker members of developed regions or the leaders of former colonial countries. They are being both exploited by the core countries and take place in the exploitation of the peripheral areas.

As per World systems theory, migration is a characteristic of financial globalization since firms and organizations presently keep running over the world. Because of the joining of peripheral countries' economy into worldwide industrialist economies, this theory sees a migration flows inescapable. Individuals who live under poor conditions in peripheral countries move to core countries to achieve better economical standards. The world system model also emphasizes that migration in fact is likely between past colonial powers and their former colonies because of the preexisting connections in transportation and communication infrastructures, administrative links, and linguistic and cultural commonalities (*Morawska, 2007*).

On the other hand, there are some critiques to the world systems theory and they discuss that it only explains the economical migrants or labor migration to reach better conditions. Even though economic migration and forced migration are different types of migration, they are both about individual migration because they are individuals' choices.

But forced migrants nevertheless, in most of the situations, have a choice of where to go and look for protection, and this preference can be based on economic gain purposes. In short, although world systems theory related with economic migration, it can still be applied in forced migration.

### **2.2.2 Socio Cultural Theories**

*Whitaker's* (2002) studies on the effects of refugees in host communities also should be considered as important work. He tells that social relations between refugees and hosts also had negative results. Based on his research, refugee camps and settlements have been home for drunkenness, prostitution, and social confusion. And also rate of heavy crime such as murder, armed robbery, and illegally owned firearms increase faster. According to his studies in Western Tanzania, local host communities and their properties are frequently stolen by cooperation of refugees and other local hosts, besides they are engaged to establish criminal organizations to sustain their crimes in settlements. This case study revealed that this is mainly as a result of despair and unemployment drove them to establish such crime organizations. On that basis *Whitaker* (2002:345) assumed that the unexpected presence of refugees and aid resources changed social and economic opportunities for host communities in both negative and positive ways. For example the local hosts who already had access to resources, education, or power positively take advantage of refugees for their own benefit, especially with increased local rise in trade and business.

*Sanjugta* (2002) investigated the socio-cultural impacts of refugees on developing or host communities. This study includes social, relational, religious, linguistic and ethnic qualities that arise when a large group of refugees reaches a particular host society. In relation to the communities in Pakistan and Tanzania, he searched these two of the world's leading refugee hosting countries. Pakistan currently offers asylum for nearly 2 million Afghans, this number of displaced people have been changing by time. It has been both increasing and decreasing since 1979, which is the date when the country was invaded by Soviets. As a result of socio cultural change in particular society, sometimes the host government is responding negatively to the refugees because of the feeling that refugees may undermine the national security.

Regarding the cultural identity, ethnic and group identification is usually an element in the structure of conflict (*Smith*, 2001). According to it, host societies can ignore the refugees and they sometimes find refugees socially unacceptable for a variety of reasons. According to *Smith*, these reasons can range from cultural incompatibilities to economic fears such as employment, land and other resource use. Competition for resources, services and opportunities can lead to security or conflict, while cultural similarities help developing bonds of solidarity and coexistence among refugees and hosting people.

### 2.2.3 Macro Theories

As it was mentioned before asylum and forced migration are not new topics but description of “refugee” was defined in 20<sup>th</sup> century. Due to this fresh word which is gained to our literature, refugee related theories are more limited than general migration theories in broad framework. So in the migration theories that are accepted as macro most of the writers ignored the refugees or politically motivated migrants and they have more focused on voluntary migration. In most cases economic factors are assumed to be predominant by *Richmond*. However, there are also macro theories with social aspects that can be implemented on refugees.

One of the social macro theories was brought by *Hoffman-Nowotny*. (*Richmond*, 1988). He emphasized the importance of structural tensions which derived from inequalities and status inconsistencies in the sending country that generated anomic tendencies. The tensions may be resolved by emigration to a country where status aspirations can be attained. He used the term “under casting” to describe a process where structural tensions in the sending country are relieved by emigration but may be transferred instead to the receiving country which must find ways of integrating the newcomers. For instance, according to *Hoffman-Nowotny* foreign workers were supposed to stay temporarily in northern Europe, their descendants will be able to live there and playing significant role in those societies. In short, here he has given importance to social and cultural disturbances in society that were brought by immigration.

Apart from this discomfort, immigrants can bring new skills to receiving country or fill the need for cheap labor. In this sense, *Richmond* and *Zubrzycki* identified 6 different theoretical models of immigrant adaptation.

Table below shows the model and describes the theories briefly. Even though they mostly examined the characteristics of these theories to find the relation with economy of host country, some features are emphasizing the social changes in society.

Table 2: 6 different theoretical models of immigrant adaptation

Functionalist Assimilation Theory	Marxist Conflict Theory	Colonial Domination Theory	Pluralistic Theory	Dual Labor Market Theory	Structural Change Theory
Most immigrants join the system at the bottom and there is gradual convergence over time towards the characteristic of majority the population.	Mainly supports the functionalist model and adds immigrants constitute the “reserve army” which means cheap labor for economy.	According to colonial model immigrants are economic elite who may or not may in the host country in a permanent basis.	There are variations in capacity for upward mobility in different groups. So, most wanted group will rise to higher status in time.	Immigrants are cheap labor along with some who are highly skilled labor that has been key aspect for stratification and segmentation.	Immigrants are not only passively adapting or being assimilated group but also the agents of social changes in receiving society.

Source: Brownsey, K. Lorne. (1990). *Canada-Japan: views on globalization*.

On the other hand, between the macro theories, there are issues which believed political economy can cause the creation of refugee source. Political imbalance in a country can force the people to more developed regions as they can aim to live in better conditions. A central problem in the study of refugee movements is the relation among economic and political determinants of population movement. The theories considered till present have been generally applicable to movements of people from poorer to richer areas, from regions of economic underdevelopment to countries that are experiencing growth.

Zolberg has pointed out that “refugee movements do not constitute a collection of random events' but form distinct patterns which are related to political transformations, such as the break-up of former colonial empires”. As it will be seen in the following part, our case has come out from the political transformation, lost democracy, war and rebellions against government could be considered as examples of it.

**2.2.4 Micro Theories**

Social psychologists have been looking for the questions of motivation and the decision to move, creating the theories about the forces behind the migration. Apart from forced migration and refugees, migration is an individual choice of people although decisions to immigrate somewhere may be made in consultation with family members or others in a close community or religious group. Most micro level studies of migration decision making have

been directed between those individuals whose main motivation has been family gathering or economic related. A distinction is generally made between “push and pull” factors, which must be taken into account as crucial theory (Richmond, 1988).

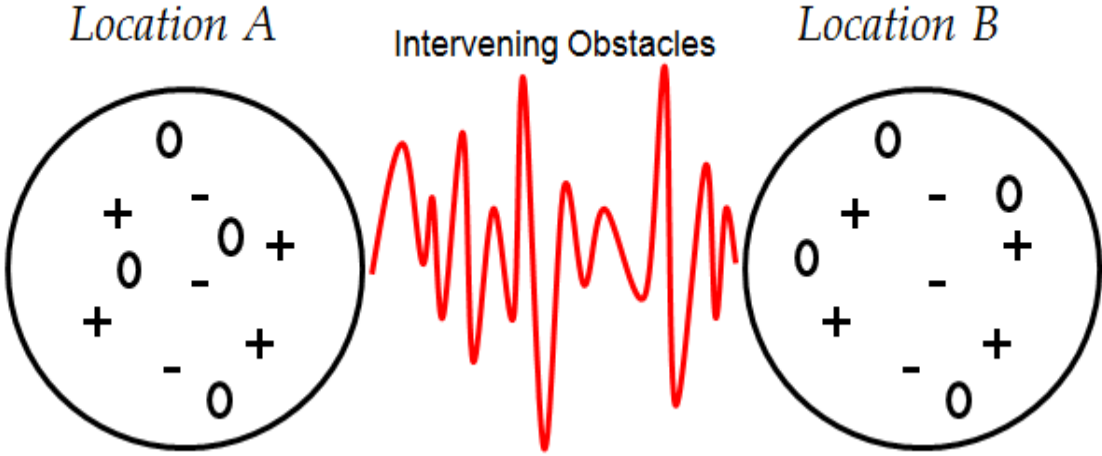
*Ernst Ravenstein* (1881) is widely regarded as the earliest migration theorist. *Ravenstein* is an English geographer, and he established a theory of human migration in the 1880s that still constitutes the basis for modern migration theory. It considered the implications of distance and different types of migrant, according to him there are some push and pull process but he mostly studied on pull factors as they were more attractive to migrants. He concluded that if there are unfavorable conditions in one place, it "push" people out, and if there are favorable conditions in an external location, it "pull" them out.

Many theorists have followed the *Ravenstein's* theory, and the dominant theories in contemporary scholarship are more or less variations of his conclusions. *Everett Lee* (1966) reformulated *Ravenstein's* theory to give more emphasis to “push” factors. The graphic in the following page gives some reasons for push and pull factors. Further, Lee underlined the effect that interfering barriers have on the migration process. He discussed that different variables like distance, physical and political obstacles, and having dependents can interrupt or even can prevent migration.

According to *Lee*, the factors which come into the decision to migrate somewhere and the process of migration might be summarized under four headings, and these are; factors associated with the area of origin, factors associated with the area of destination, intervening obstacles, personal factors. The first three of these are indicated in the chart below. In every area there are plenty factors which act to keep people within the area or attract people to area, and there are others which tend to push them. These are shown in the diagram as + and - signs. There are others, shown as zeros (O's), to which people are essentially indifferent. Some of these factors affect most people in much the same way, while other people affect different people in different ways.

*Lee* pointed out that the migration process is selective because differentials such as age, gender, and social class affect how persons respond to push and pull factors, and these conditions also shape their skills to overcome interfering obstacles. In addition, personal factors such as knowledge of a potential receiver population, person's educational background and the family roots can facilitate or retard migration.

Figure 1: A visual of Lee's Pull and Push Factors



Source: Author's Adaptation from Lee, E. (1966). *A Theory of Migration*

In our case, it is possible to illustrate the intervening obstacles as refugee agreement between EU and Turkey, effects of human smugglers, crossing the sea and current political situation.



On the other hand, push factors could be considered as war, discrimination, political fear, persecution, hunger and lose of human rights. Pull factors could be almost everything in the table below.

Table 3: Examples of the push and pull factors by author

PUSH FACTORS	PULL FACTORS
Lack of enough jobs	Job opportunities
Less opportunities	Better living conditions
Inadequate conditions	The feeling of having more political and/or religious freedom
Desertification	Enjoyment
Famine or drought	Education
Political fear or persecution	Better medical care
Slavery or forced labor	Attractive climates
Poor medical care	Security
Loss of wealth	Family links
Natural disasters	Industry
Death threats	Better chances of marrying
Desire for more political or religious freedom	Respect to human rights
Pollution	Peace in country
Poor housing	
Landlord/tenant issues	
Bullying	
Discrimination	
Poor chances of marrying	
Condemned housing	
War	

Later on, some theories were formed by refugee traumas determined and supported by several authors. During partition of British India into India and Pakistan in 1947, 15 million people were displaced and around 1 million people died. Based on this participation experience *Keller* (1975) has defined the trauma of becoming a refugee. The author suggested stages in the refugee generating process, starting with a rejection of the idea that disaster is about to happen and a determination to carry on as normal a life as possible, followed by the trauma of flight, which in turn leads to long-term effects, including feelings of guilt, invulnerability and aggressiveness.

Also, according to *Lam* (1983), related to study of Vietnamese and Chinese refugees in Canada showed that the resettlement process often involved downward occupational mobility, deadly behaviors, a preoccupation with family reunification, and a deep desire to escape dependency. As it is understood from the studies, immigrant adaptation has not been so easy at all. It should not be forgotten that every migrant/refugee has different mental strength and for some it is not easy to overcome the challenges and start a new life in different country. In past years, more serious traumas on refugees have been experienced and based on those traumas “social displacement syndrome” was determined. *Tyhurst* (1977) says this indicates itself in a mixing of depression, anxiety, apathy and hypochondria which at the beginning stages are often taken into account as it is essentially safe in that they may be slight to the point of not exceeding any limits of normality. These stresses do not require treatment by powerful drugs but rather the best results are obtained by mobilizing the patients socially and interpersonally.

*Kunz's* Kinetic Model of Refugee Theory gives us detailed information about behaviors of refugees towards displacement. He has described the typology of refugees and possible social attitudes during and after the displacement process. According to *Kunz*, flight and settlement models of refugees fit to 2 different kinetic types. One of the types is anticipatory refugee movement and another one is acute refugee movement.

Anticipatory refugees feel the danger earlier than others so they prepare themselves to leave orderly before the crisis occur. They are frequently accompanied by all family and already ready to start a new life. This kind of refugees will immigrate to safer places as soon as the receiving country is willing to take them in. Compare to acute refugees, their possibility to experience the traumas are lower as they were prepared it also in mind. On the other hand, acute refugees' response the overwhelming push where people are forced to leave their home in a last minute. They are not prepared for the flight and basically focus on surviving in the disaster zone. Therefore, they are more likely to have traumas and differences on their attitudes in their new environment (*Williams and Westermeyer, 1986*).

## **2.3 Overview of Syrian Refugee Case**

This part describes the subchapters which will follow themselves in logical order and introduces the effects of Syrian refugee crisis and their effects on Turkey and EU.

Respectively, these subchapters are:

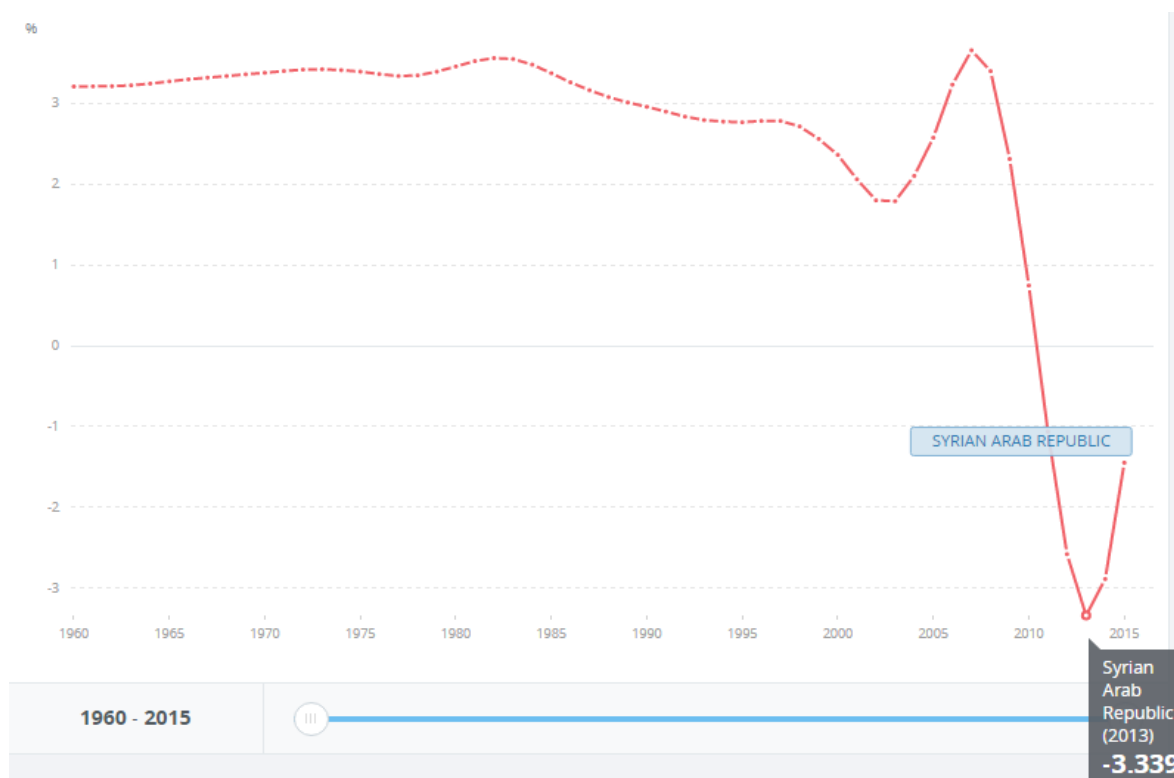
- General Overview of Syria
- History of Present Syria
- Background of Syrian Civil War
- Recent Agenda of EU and Refugee Effects
- Effects of Syrian Refugees to Turkey
- Turkey's Wish to Joining EU
- Turkey – EU Relations during Syrian Refugee Crisis

### **2.3.1 General Overview of Syria**

Syria or officially known as Syrian Arab Republic is a country in the Middle East which shares its borders with Turkey to the north, Iraq to the east, Jordan to the south, Israel to the southwest and Lebanon to the west. Country has also coast with Mediterranean Sea to the west.

Overall, according to the UN estimates Syria's population is 18.585 million, with 0.33% growth rate as of November 2016. After 2007, growth rate started to decrease gradually and when the civil war broke out in 2011, it dropped under 0 (UNdata). Between 2011 and 2015 it remained negative but in 2016 it came back to positive level. So far country has seen the lowest growth rate with -3.339 in 2013.

Figure 2: Syria's population growth rate



Source: World Bank (data for population growth between 1960 – 2015)

Capital city is Damascus, located in the southwest of country, near Lebanon. It has population around 1.569 million people nowadays. And, the largest city is Aleppo which is located in the northwest of country, near Turkey. Aleppo has currently population of 1.602 million people, but it is decreasing everyday due to the war and air strikes.

Syria is very diverse country that includes various ethnic and religious groups inside. As I cannot reach the latest proper data about percentages of these groups due to the active displacements, known last demographic data will be used here to understand the spread of ethnic and religious groups.

Syria is largely Arabic country. Most of the populations belong to Sunni Islam, it contains 73% of all population. Sunni Arabs in Syria became the strongest supporters of the rebel forces because they have always been the majority who led by minority. So, main aim is for them in civil war to take over the control for Sunnis and send the Shiites and Christians to other countries.

Then, Shia Islam comes with around 11% and it is equal to 2.1 million of total population. The biggest supporters of this sect are Alewites and current president Bashar al-Assad is also one of them. When father of Bashar al-Assad, Hafez al-Assad came into power in 1971, the era of governance for Shiites started and Syria has been ruled by Shiite leader till present.

Additionally, other Muslims who believe Ismaili or Twelver Shia sects include 2% of country. The second major religious group in Syria is Christians with 10% and thirdly Druzes who are essentially supporters of Shia, follow it with 3%.

Besides largest ethnic group Arabs, other major groups in Syria are Kurds with 2 million. They have been seeking independence for years and according to them civil war in country might be an opportunity to make their dream come true.

Syrian Turkmens are the thirds biggest ethnic group who has been living in the regions over centuries. They are not recognized as minority by Syrian government and even though they are called Turkmens in daily life, in fact they are specified as Muslims in demographic record. Because of they are not counted with their nationalities in censuses, there are no exact data about their population but approximately they are around 0.75-1.5 million.

Another ethnic minority is Assyrians, they have more or less between 0.9 and 1.2 million people of total population. They are one of the oldest civilizations in the world and they are seeing themselves as the original residents of the region. They are Christians and they were discriminated all the time and often attacked by extremist Islamist groups.

Lastly, there are Armenians, Circassians and Iraqi and Palestinian refugees who contain the 1% of the total population. (Syriancivilwarmap.com, 2016)

### **2.3.2 History of Present Syria**

Syria was under control of Ottoman Empire between 1516 and 1920. When Ottoman Empire joined the World War 1, it lost the territories in southeast. In the end of the war, Kingdom of Syria came into existence but these lands were already shared by the allies and France occupied this territory. Independent Kingdom of Syria lasted only several months and war between France and Syria occurred. By this war, Syria became mandate of France and it was ruled by France till 1946.

After World War 2 started, France was invaded by German soldiers and Paris was occupied in 1940. During this time France fell and was governed by Vichy Government. At the same time British soldiers were in Syria too. Syria claimed its independence in 1941 but it was not accepted by France and Great Britain till the beginning of 1944. In the end of war, UN was established and UN Charter was ratified also Syria was one of the founding member states of UN, therefore French mandate was officially terminated and Syria declared its independence in 1946.

Syrian independence was followed by political disruptions and instability. In 1948, Syria fought with newly created Israel and Syrian soldiers were repelled from the Israeli territories. In 1949, national government was overthrown by a military coup. It was only a start of coups chain, because after this coup another one occurred and then another... In last 10 years since independence, Syria has experienced 4 coups and 20 different cabinets. They all caused the economical decrease and political fluctuations in the country.

In 1956, Suez Crisis emerged and Sinai Peninsula was invaded by Israel, for all that Syria declared the Martial law in order to prevent possible attacks by Israel. At that time, there was a fear of Israeli invasion in neighborhood countries because Western states were helping it to extend its lands. In November 1956, Syria signed a pact with the Soviet Union, it was providing strength for Communist influence within the government and in return planes, tanks, and other military equipment being sent to Syria. This pact frightened the Turkey as it thought there is a possibility for Syria that might attempt to retake Iskenderun city which was located in Syrian territory in Ottoman times but from 1939 it belongs to Turkey. On the other hand, Syria and the USSR accused Turkey for stacking its troops to the Syrian border. Because of military tension between Syria and Turkey during this time, Communists gained more control over the Syrian government and military. Actually, it was the beginning of moderate relations in present for Russian Federation and Syrian governments.

Due to the regional political instability, Syria and Egypt decided to merge and create United Arab Republic (UAR) in 1958. So, political parties of Syria and Soviets increased its power, nevertheless Syrian Ba'athist politicians were disturbed by the party's weak conditions so they decided to create a secret Military Committee (MC) and one of the members was Hafez al-Assad. Ultimately, this union did not last long because a coup occurred in Syria in 1961.

In 1963, another coup realized and new era with Military Committee begun and Ba'ath party was dominant in new government. After 7 years other coup which is called Syrian Corrective Revolution held in Syria and made Hafez al-Assad head of government.

Since Hafez al-Assad came into power as president in 1971, Syria was ruled by him till he died in 2000. Hafez al-Assad was one of the members of Ba'ath Party which has been ruling the country since 1963 to nowadays. After he died, his son Bashar al-Assad, without any opposition, took over his place as his successor. In short, for last 16 years Bashar al-Assad has been president of Syria.

### **2.3.3 Background of Syrian Civil War**

It all begun with Arab Spring in 2010. People started to demand democracy, freedom and human rights, due to the unemployment, corruption, degeneration, high inflation, and poor living conditions in Arabic countries.

First, it started in Tunisia and spread throughout the other Arabic countries and their surroundings. Countries like Djibouti, Mauritania, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Somalia and the Western Sahara had witnessed minor demonstrations and protests. Algeria, Iran, Lebanon, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, Oman and Sudan had larger street demonstrations and some uprisings. Lastly; Iraq, Libya, Syria, and Yemen, Bahrain and Egypt had major protests, rebellions and conflicts. On the other hand, Turkey faced the fear of uprisings, government thought it might jump to Turkey and caused strong demonstrations and protests but government followed a moderate policy.

In Tunisia, President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali who was ruling the country for 24 years was ousted and its government overthrown and he was forced to flee to Saudi Arabia. In 2014, Tunisia established unicameral parliamentary republic.

In Egypt, government overthrown and President Hosni Mubarak transferred his place to Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) after 18 days of the demonstrations. He has had served the country as president for 30 years.

In Yemen, Over 10.000 people died in protests. Government overthrown and President Ali Abdullah Saleh was ousted. He was in charge as president for 22 years.

In Libya, there are estimated over 40.000 people died during the uprisings. President Muammar Gaddafi was overthrown. He came into power with coup and was leading the country for 42 years. Between 1979 and 2011, he ruled the country without having any official status or title of presidency. He was lynched by people and died in 2011.

As it is seen from the other Arabic countries, there were undemocratic governance types mostly with despotic regimes. Most of the leaders have had the presidency over 20 years and it made them control everything in their countries but mass protests and uprisings. As a result, people wanted democracy and better life standards so they filled the streets and seek their rights. In the end state leaders were ousted or in some countries they changed the government and all of them brought new regulations to improve the political and social situations in countries.

On the contrary, Syria and President Bashar al-Assad are still resisting the conflicts and oppositions. As we mentioned before, Bashar al-Assad has come into power after his father died in 2010. Since 1970, there are presidents only from the Assad family and it made them so powerful in the country. Family owned the security forces and it had potent influence on majority, especially on Sunnis. Also, Baath party was the only party in the country and it was ruling since 1963. So, it could be assumed that there is strong central power which is ruling the country undemocratically for years.

Regarding the economy before civil war, the poorest regions have always been the cities like Daraa and Homs and these cities were hosting mostly Sunnis. Right before the war, rural areas of these cities had drought and it negatively affected the economy, as well as the local habitants. Besides, state's economical policies mostly have been useful for minority who had close relations with government. These people were mainly coming from the Alawite or Shii routes. Lastly, at the beginning of 2011, Syria's economy was affected by fluctuation of Arab Spring and it was worsening. Also, it has seen the higher young unemployment. So, it was an opportunity for people to change injustices in the country, and they went to the streets and protested the government.

It first began with small demonstrations then these protests grow and turned into bigger uprisings. People rebelled against political corruption and human rights violations. In the end of April 2011, protests spread through the country so Syrian Army (SAA) was sent to

suppress the uprisings. Army opened fire to protesters and it caused oppositions to arm and attacks to army and government buildings.

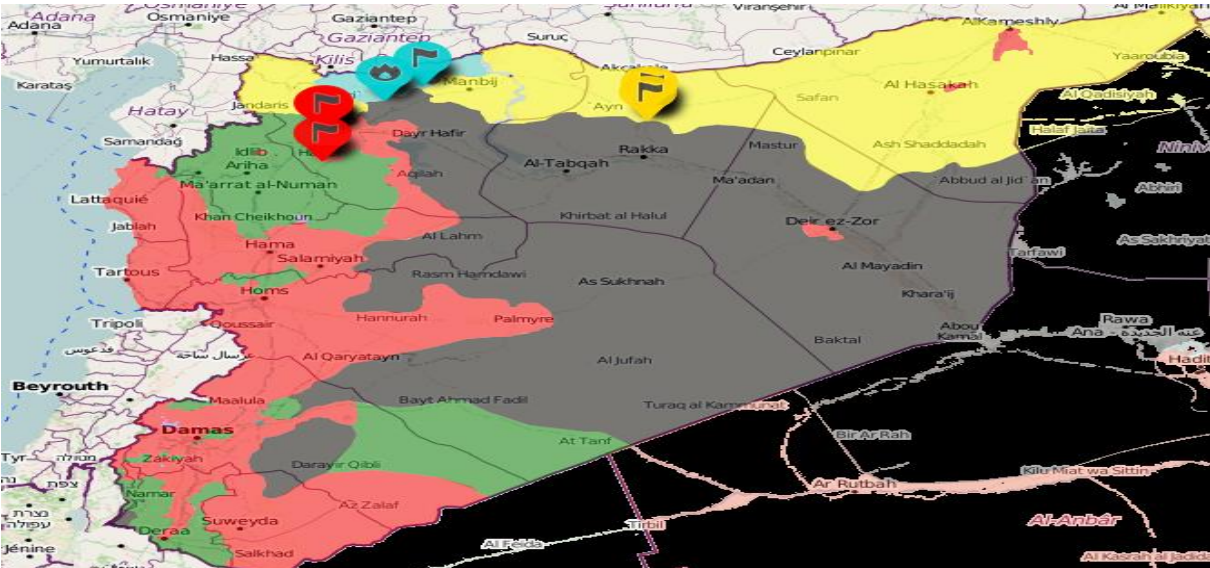
Previously, we have mentioned that Syria is ethnically and religiously very diverse country. By the help of uprisings, a gap occurred in Syria and country divided into many different groups who are looking for get more advantageous and more control over the people. So, nowadays the war is being fought between 4 main factions but these factions are feeding from various sub organizations and also they are supported internationally.

First side is Syrian Government, it is using Syrian Armed Forces (SAF), National Defense Forces (NDF) to suppress the rebellions. Internationally, Russia, Iran, Iraq are assisting weapon and economical support to government. On the contrary, there is Syrian Opposition which includes several sub groups who gathered for one main purpose; to defeat Bashar al-Assad and his forces. Free Syrian Army (FSA) is the main armed forces of opposition army, and they are supported by countries like Turkey, Qatar, USA, Saudi Arabia and France. Another main group is the worst for every individual states, it is Islamic State of Iraq and Levant (ISIL). It carries the biggest threat for any people in the world, it is a terrorist organization and its military forces contain professional or volunteer militants from all over the world. Lastly, Federation of North Syria (SDF) is the self-declared establishment of the Kurdish government forces which is supported by western countries to counter ISIL.

In addition to these sides, Al-Nusra Front (JN) is combating against Syrian Government Army. It is created in 2012 and accepted as a terrorist organization. Its aim is to overthrow Assad regime and establish an Islamic State in Syria. Moreover, minority groups like Turkmens, Assyrians and Druzes took part in this war as they want to change the discrimination towards them by majority.

To understand better who occupied where, there is a screenshot of interactive war map of Syria below which shows the current occupations by different sides as of November 12, 2016.

Figure 3: Interactive war map of Syria as of November 12, 2016



Source: <https://syria.liveuamap.com/>



According to the map, grey areas are under control of ISIL. Areas that were occupied by them lie in Iraqi lands too but mostly in eastern part of Syria.

In order to prevent ISIL process there is SDF on the north which its territories showed by yellow color. SDF's dominancy starts from the border with Turkey and lies on the northern part of Syria. In this territory SDF forces are supported by Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) which is officially another terrorist organization, mainly operates in eastern part of Turkey, and northern parts of Syria and Iraq. Interesting thing is, even though PKK is terrorist organization and kills numerous Turkish soldiers treacherously, Turkey as well as the other western states are supporting PKK to counter with and remove ISIL. So, mainly SDF and its territory Rojava line has much importance, especially for Turkey. If this line collapses then ISIL's next border will be with Turkey.

On the north, blue areas show where the Turkish tanks and troops came into Syria to combat against ISIL. Turkish troops are still in those areas and fighting with SDF against ISIL.

Red areas are under control of the Syrian Government Army and green areas are under control of FSA. It cannot be seen by map but Aleppo on the north is controlled by FSA but after Russia joined the war actively, Russian jets are bombing the city every day and city is under siege by Syrian Armed Forces. Bashar al-Assad increased its power after Russia started to help him. According to him retaking Aleppo will be springboard and increase his power again. He also aimed to clean/kill these areas and in October 2016 he has said "You have to keep cleaning this area and to push the terrorists to Turkey, to go back to where they come from or to kill them. There's no other option" (Reuters, 2016).

If his words actualize one day, then big issue will occur in Turkey. That would affect Turkey's internal order while Turkey is having more than 3 million Syrians and just had a coup attempt in last summer (2016). As well as the relations between EU and Turkey would have different extent.

On the other hand, every day countless civilians are dying in Aleppo because of Russian air attacks and conflicts between 2 sides. There is literally nothing related to human rights when both sides are cruel and doing whatever they need to take the city. But, in the end there will be anything remains from the city. At the same time, Syria and mainly the big cities like Aleppo, Damascus and Homs are emptying because every day a lot of people are changing their places internally and many of them are trying to escape from country and seek asylum in neighboring and EU countries.

Due to the civil war and increasing numbers of civilian deaths in Syria, thousands of people aimed to move to European countries over Turkey. They came into Turkey from the southern border and settle in many cities of Turkey. While most of Syrian asylum seekers are staying in Turkey, most of them dreamed to immigrate to EU because of better life standards. They illegally cross the Mediterranean Sea and arrive Greece. At the same time, thousands of them who are temporarily living in northern African countries also try to arrive southern EU countries such as Italy, Spain and Greece. Here, Greece has more importance than other EU

countries because of its economical problems and also it is the first point for entering the EU so it was having much more refugees than the other EU countries at the beginning.

### **2.3.4 EU and Syrian Refugee Crisis**

After the civil war broke out in Syria, thousands of people began to flee from country and try to find safer places to live in other countries. It first brought too many asylum seekers to neighbor countries. In the Middle East, Lebanon, Jordan and Israel were the most attractive destinations for immigrants. But, Syrian migrants were wishing to get into Europe to sustain their lives in better standards. Turkey has been the main transit country to get into Europe, from the western regions of Turkey migrants tried their chances to arrive to Greece and rest of the others also tried to go to Italy through Northern Africa. Greece was the major destination country in EU and it was the most important path to Schengen area. Then, a lot of Syrians have been challenged to arrive to Balkans in order to take place in countries like Slovenia, Hungary and Austria. Because, their main aim was to reach more developed countries that they wanted to live. Clearly, these countries were Germany and Sweden in far distance. During the following years after 2011, high number of refugees filled European countries. As a result it has created economical, social and political problems. Those numbers of refugees have not been accepted in some of the EU countries and they were also undesirable for the most of the Europe. So, EU tried to prevent these immigrants to make the refugee flees lower. In March 2016, EU and Turkey have agreed on a cooperation which both of the parts would benefit and thought it could be a solution. It was a refugee agreement and it was simply saying that if there might be illegal way of entering to EU by migrants who pass over Turkish borders then Turkey has to get them back into Turkish territory. This agreement has been accepted and it is currently in force since March, 2016. Additionally, EU agreed on giving 3 billion Euros as aid for Turkey, and additional 3 billion Euros assistance for Syrian refugees in Turkey. Additionally, the European Commission (EC) is one of the greatest supporters of various helpful projects completed by its philanthropic accomplices that provide millions of people with life-sparing help containing nourishment and safe drinking water, non-sustenance things, shield, crisis medicinal medications and insurance. In Turkey, the Commission's helpful financing is supporting defenseless displaced people who have fled savagery in Syria, particularly exiles who are living outside of camps. The Commission's projects give fundamental help to the most powerless outcasts, including nourishment help and crisis things, access to social insurance and to assurance administrations. As indicated by the European Commission's September 2016 Report; in 2016, the EU with Member States propelled the Facility for Refugees in Turkey to convey productive and integral support to Syrian and different outcasts and host groups in close collaboration with Turkish experts. The Facility gives a joint coordination instrument to activities financed by the EU spending plan and national commitments made by the Member States. It is intended to guarantee that the necessities of exiles and host groups are tended to in a complete and facilitated way. The Facility has a €3 billion spending plan for 2016 and 2017 to bolster philanthropic mediations and long haul help for outcasts countrywide in Turkey.

On 3 June 2016, ECHO published a Humanitarian Implementation Plan (HIP) for Turkey mobilizing €505.65 million of the budget of the Facility. €165 million has already been

contracted for humanitarian operations in Turkey until August 2016. So, one of the refugees' effects was economically. EU under its budget had to donate big amount of money for refugees to live in better conditions. Also the countries in EU donated individually which means they spent money on refugees instead they could spend the same money for their development. Besides, they gave money to UNHCR to use for refugees. Below you can see the top 10 donors, among them there are Germany, Sweden, Norway, Netherlands and Denmark from Europe also EU itself has taken the 2<sup>nd</sup> rank.

Figure 4: Contributions to UNHCR for the budget year 2016

**Contributions to UNHCR for the budget year 2016**  
(as at 30 April 2016, in US dollars)

<b>Donors</b>	<b>Contributions</b>
1 UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	684,833,023
2 EUROPEAN UNION	259,906,118
3 JAPAN	157,674,256
4 GERMANY	130,008,656
5 CANADA	115,255,394
6 SWEDEN	107,995,545
7 NORWAY	61,056,954
8 NETHERLANDS	50,854,574
9 DENMARK	50,732,307
10 AUSTRALIA	45,942,378

*Source: UNHCR 2016 Report*

Aside from that, a few researchers surmise that short term fiscal help won't be sufficient. To be sure, it diminished relocation stream to Europe transitory, yet current circumstance demonstrates that there are as yet many individuals who wish to live under the better conditions so they long for to go to EU. Something else is Turkey will require more help to suit the displaced people and give them protect, sustenance, training, wellbeing administrations and work. Contrast with a large portion of the European nations Turkey can furnish these administrations with less quality, unpredictable ways. Thus, it is exceptionally prescribed that either Turkey ought to get more support from EU or EU ought to look for long term arrangements as it is huge issue additionally for European nations than Turkey.

Terrorism and Reflections to EU

Europe experienced numerous serial terrorist militant incidents that have never observed in 21st century. Paris assaults, bombings in Brussels, and Nice terrorist militant assault were shocking and they had enormous effect on European individuals. Here, the primary shortcoming was European intelligent. EU did not know where these individuals originated

from and how could they arrange these assaults. It was realized that every one of these occurrences made by radical islamists begun from ISIS who turned out when Crisis happened in Syria. These assaults are precisely identified with EU's security issue. EU expanded the measures directly after the rates. European Police Forces risen in each huge city after the assaults. Security controls expanded in the outskirts, particularly in the Greece as it was viewed as that a portion of the psychological militants came into Schengen region from entering to this nation. In the meantime, Islamophobia and patriotism publicity stunts expanded in Europe. A portion of the European nationals considered Syrian displaced people as they are extraordinary islamists, so abuse against outcasts begun in Europe. Then again, EU looks to counteract conceivable terrorist oppressor assaults so it is attempting to enhance its military knowledge. In addition, a few states needed to utilize compel so they are supporting the air strikes that driven by United States against the Islamist State which have camps in Syria and Iraq.

Rising number of terrorism in Europe brought social challenges as well. Because, refugees can change the EU citizens' psychology and behavior after they are taking immigrants. At first there were feelings like humanity and compassion, but the increasing number of refugees and the permanent status of this migration fear were replaced with socio behavioral changes in some people against refugees. In addition, increased number of terror attacks in EU carried these treatments up. Furthermore, growing number of murders, rape, thievery found place in European media. So, nationalism along with racism increased among EU nationals.

According to a study which focused on reflections of nationalism in EU media, a survey was taken place about the comments on the news from several newspapers related to Syrian refugees in Europe. Top 3 comments in social media were about identity, insult and religion. %19 of the total comments included hatred against Syrian identity, %16 of them included contents with insult, and %14 of them included discourses against religion.

In short, it could be said that incoming Syrian nationals are causing social problems in their destination countries and terrorism made EU concerned about security.

### **2.3.5 Effects of Syrian Refugees to Turkey**

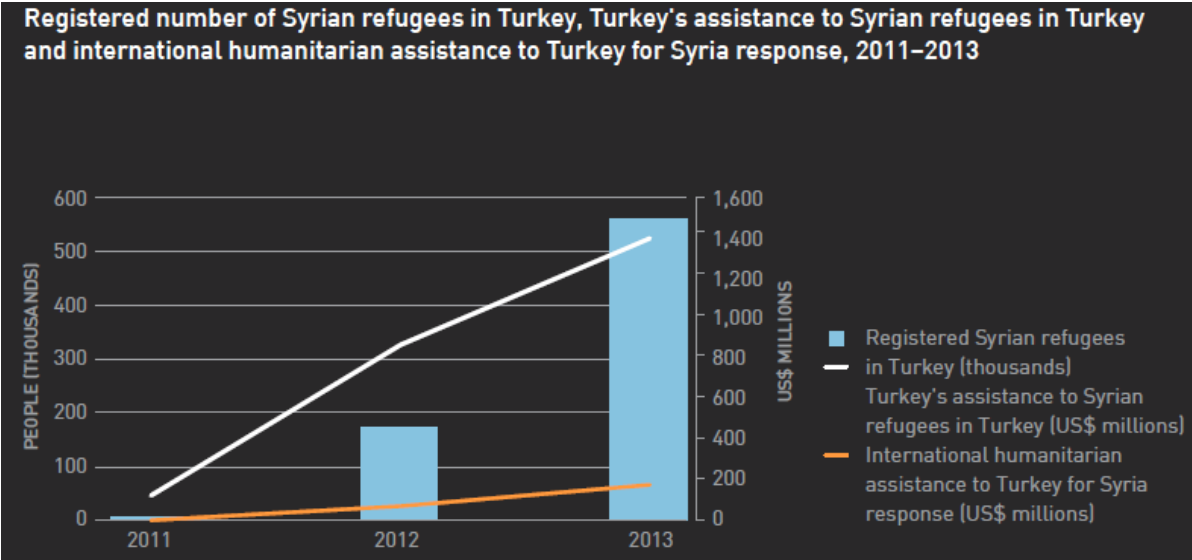
As the conflict will enter its 7<sup>th</sup> year soon, every day the number of Syrian Refugees are growing in Turkey. Up to date number of registered Syrian refugees in Turkey is 2.8 million according to the government officials. In addition, there are Syrian refugees without any registration so it is estimated that number of total Syrian refugees in Turkey is more than 3 million and it makes Turkey a country which hosts more Syrian refugees than any other country in the world. Besides, currently the biggest city in Syria, Aleppo, is under siege by Syrian government forces and Russia. Especially eastern Aleppo is under Russian and Syrian air strikes. According to People in Need (PIN), a humanitarian NGO based on Czech Republic, 250.000 people face ongoing air strikes, and many civilians are murdered every day. Population is challenging with hunger as the places under siege has no enough food sources. So, it is expected that new Syrian refugee flows will come into the Turkey.

According to Global Humanitarian Assistance (GHA) 2015 Report, Turkish government spent

1.6 billion United States Dollars (USD) in 2013 on hosting Syrian refugees with building 22 refugee camps, providing food, education, and health services help. This was considerably more than the total international humanitarian assistance which is given globally by many other major donors. The graphic below shows the assistance to Syrian refugees between 2011 and 2013.

Development Cooperation

Figure 5: Development assistance to Syrian refugees in Turkey



Source: Development initiatives based on OECD DAC, UN OCHA FTS, UNHCR data and Turkish Development Assistance reports, 2015

Furthermore, In 2015 President Erdogan emphasized that Turkish government has already spent 8.5 billion USD to support the refugees. It means, between 2013 and 2015 Turkey increased its assistance almost 5 times bigger than the period between 2011 and 2013.

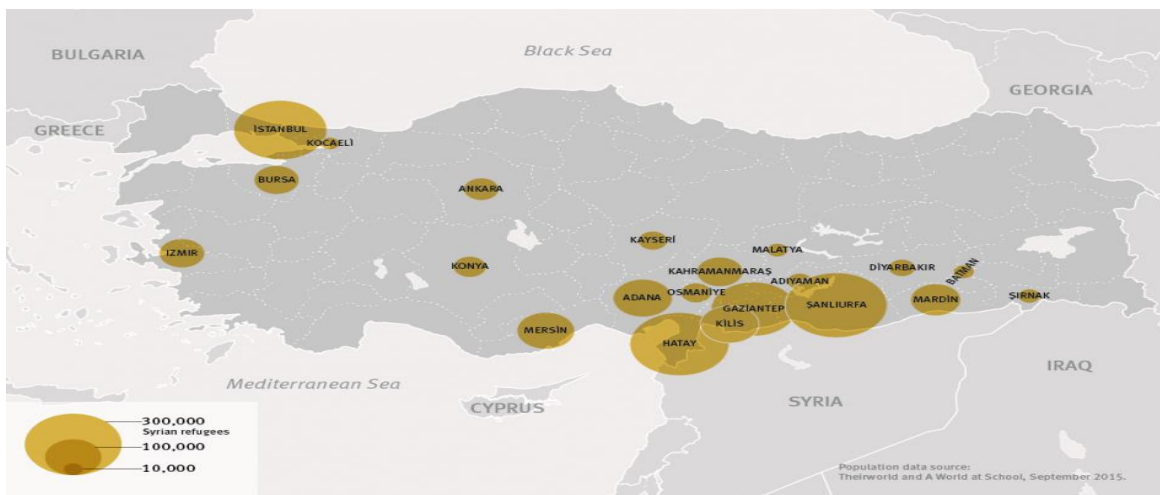
The most argued aspect of the refugee crisis was the legal status of the Syrian nationals who are coming to Turkey. Turkey is party to the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol, which is the key legal document defining who is a refugee, their rights and the legal obligations of states. However, as it was mentioned before Turkey brought a geographic limitation when it signed the convention, under which it only recognizes the people coming from Europe as refugees while other people who are arriving from elsewhere can only stay temporarily under the status of asylum seeker. So, Syrian nationals are under “temporary protection” and recognized as asylum seekers in Turkey.

Syrian refugees in Turkey therefore do not have same rights with regular refugees in other countries. On the other hand, Turkey brought several special regulations and directives to assist Syrian nationals under temporary protection legally. It included the right to stay in Turkey for an “acceptable” period of time and “a temporary asylum right” was provided until a third country will accept them as a refugee. In short, Turkey has provided temporary protection for all arrivals, including people who do not have a passport.

Further, due to the ongoing war and lack of hope of return has made it clear that most Syrians are likely to stay in Turkey more than expected. This situation has forced Turkey to make some political changes in relation to status of Syrians. Turkey allowed them “temporary” integration with the labor market in Turkey. This gave Syrians who are holding the “temporary protection identity card” the right to gain a work permit. This was a turning point for determining the rights and obligations of Syrians in Turkey.

When the Syrian nationals came into Turkey they first reside only in the borderlands, then they gradually spread to the rest of the country. According to the data of Ministry of Interior, they do not live only in 8 cities in Turkey by 2015. Nevertheless, important part of asylum seekers is concentrated in the border provinces except the larger cities in Turkey. Therefore, Turkish population of around 10 million people in border provinces had to host nearly 1.2 million Syrians.

Figure 6: Syrian population in Turkey



Source: Human Rights Watch, 2015

As it is seen from the Syrian population map above, Turkish cities next to the Syrian border have the bigger population than the rest of the cities. Especially, Hatay, Gaziantep and Sanliurfa have about 300.000 Syrian asylum seekers. So, these people have some particular effects first on the border provinces and then the other cities.

#### A) Social Effects

First of all Syrian issue in Turkey is a social integration issue. Due to different languages, cultures and lifestyles between local people and asylum seekers several problems are arising. Due to the emergence of polygamy divorces have increased, woman and child abuse increased, ethnic and sectarian polarizations have come out in some cities, and rise of unplanned construction caused different social problems.

Marriages with Syrian women have risen especially in border provinces. Single or already married guys would like to get marry with Syrian women and it has caused some divorces and family problems. Guys who would like to marry with a Syrian woman goes to intermediary and pay some money, also he has to pay bride price to parents of Syrian woman. By this kind

of marriages parents of the women think that they are saving their daughters' lives and get extra money to cover livelihood expenses. On the other hand, among these kind of marriages there are child brides, and this causes child abuses.

Syrian people living in city centers prefer suburbs in general to pay low rents. A few families can stay together in homes that are already on bad terms. This, above all, encourages irregular construction and rise of slums by Syrians. Local people who have income expectancy are building illegally, unhealthy and irregular constructs on top of their homes. This deepens the problematic urbanization problem which has been there already.

Another social problem created by asylum seekers is child labor. Only a small proportion of Syrian children living outside the camp can receive education. The first reason is that the state or non-governmental organizations are not yet able to provide this opportunity adequately. Another factor that is as effective as this one is that Syrian families are encouraging their children to work harder than sending them to schools. Because of the need for money, children are employed on almost every field. Children who are selling different products on the streets are the proofs of this way of thinking. In addition, Syrian children are working as apprentices in factories and other shops because they seem like cheap labor force.

Another concern which is coming out especially in some border states is the increase of demographic change that creates the sense of insecurity. It is particularly observed at the provinces of Hatay, Gaziantep, Sanliurfa and Kilis which are right next to the Syria. Kilis is the most important example of it. In Kilis, which is a very large Turkmen city, the local people have a feeling of being minority in their cities. Although some of the Syrians are Turkmen, the vast majority have Arabic roots. It is possible to say that the population of Arab Alawites is also concerned in Hatay as Hatay has big amount of Arab Alawite population. The fact that the vast majority of the Syrians are Sunni and existence of them in the city is changing the fragile demographics in the city, which creates a sense of insecurity among Arab Alawites.

## B) Economical Effects

The common effect that asylum seekers create in all the cities economically is the increase in rents. While this creates opportunities for the home owners, it creates distress for the tenants. Connected to the increase in rents, it has become extremely difficult to find rental houses in the border provinces. Home owners want to give their home to Syrian nationals. It is stated that the old tenants were took out and the houses were rented to Syrians with higher prices than it were. It seems that the demand created by the Syrians has been used as an opportunity by the home owners. Another economic effect in the border provinces is the rise of living standards. As demand has increased, basic foods and home prices have risen. For these reasons, the inflation rate in some provinces is above the Turkey average.

The second complaint which is most often expressed on the economic scene is that the Syrians are employed as cheap labor on illegal routes in industry, agriculture and small businesses. Based on ORSAM's survey (2015) study, according to the findings of the report examining the economic effect of the Syrians on Turkey, 40% to 100% of those who lost their

jobs in the border provinces believed that "they lost their jobs due to the Syrians ". This situation causes a response in the form of job opportunities were stolen from the hands of local people.

Another economical effect is about smuggling. Smuggling in the border was a situation that exists already before the civil war in Syria. However, with the crisis, the size of smuggling has increased. In addition, a limited number of families started to make profit from the smuggling which was before a benefit for large number of people. Before war people who were living in the southern region of Turkey would go to Syria to make some shopping and get cheaper gas and products but now because of the security reasons, these people cannot go to Syria, instead only border villagers began to smuggle so the limited number of people who get big amount of benefit has taken place of large amount of people who used to get less benefits.

### C) Political and Security Effects

The political influence of the Syrians in Turkey must be evaluated by two different perspectives. The first is the political influence of the Syrians in Turkey. These effects include the emergence of a conflict with the local population, increased security concerns among the local population and political polarization. On the other hand, the political environment in Turkey is one of the factors which is determining the view towards the Syrians. Political preferences sometimes provide a more tolerant approach to the Syrians. On the contrary, there may be a reaction between people who are not directly involved with the Syrians because of political preference. In this respect, it is also possible to say that the Syrian question is an element that fosters political polarization in the country.

One of the greatest fears of the local people is that they feel themselves open to terrorist attacks. There is an idea that there might be people who want to provoke the Syrians or punish the Turkey. Some people believe that among the Syrians there might be people who belong to Assad, or the ISIS members or the PKK. So, the fear of these elements is widespread.

Besides, because of they are living in difficult conditions can uncover suitable conditions for the development of all types of crime and violence. It can be said that young people who have not been educated, have a low income level, and who are experiencing an identity crisis in the sense of being excluded might create many crime sources in the future. This lost generation will may be the source of mafia and robbery in the future even though it is not felt yet.

### D) Effects on Fundamental Services

Syrian people who are living in the camps do not suffer from basic services such as health and education. On the other hand, Syrians who are outside of the camps can benefit from state hospitals free of charge if they register. Even though hospitals in Turkey serve enough situation in some hospitals have changed after the Syrians. For example, the state hospitals in border provinces serve only to Syrians between 30% and 40% of the total service. For this reason, there is a capacity problem in state hospitals in the border provinces. In these provinces, not only the asylum seekers in Turkey, but also people living in Syria and injured



by conflicts are being treated. For this reason, there is a capacity problem in terms of both physical conditions and healthcare workers. Local people who think they cannot get services also reacting.

Another impact related to health services is the negative impact of community health. Even some diseases and vaccinations that are not seen in Turkey have become visible in the children. In this context, children in the 0-5 age group in the border provinces were given vaccinations in order to prevent the reemerge of those particular diseases.

In terms of education, only those who enter the country with a passport or those who have a residence permit can get education in public schools. But then there is a language problem in public schools. Apart from that, some initiatives taken by non-governmental organizations and cooperation with Syrians but it just started and it offers opportunities only for limited number of people.

Another effect that the Syrians have created on cities is the issue of municipal services. After the Syrians, extra burdens such as garbage collection, traffic, water supply and distribution, municipal cleaning, municipal services, construction control, cultural activities have increased under the responsibility of the municipalities. So, the municipalities cannot afford enough services due to the budget they take and the lack of infrastructure in the cities. Every municipality takes particular budget from the state to cover the expenses of services which are proportionally the number of the population in the city. But, after the Syrian nationals these numbers suddenly increased and the budget became not sufficient. Also, the present infrastructure in the cities is built for the population before the immigration so it is suffering from the rise of too many people in the cities. It is seemed that if the problem of population density cannot be solved, municipalities will need to get more budget and renew the infrastructure for better services.

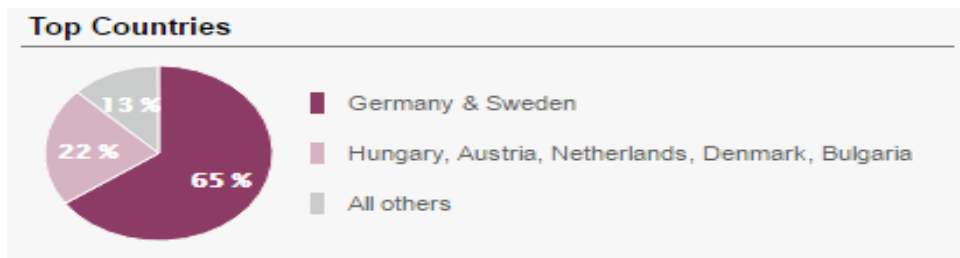
### **2.3.6 Comparison of some data between Turkey and EU**

#### **A) Refugee Population**

According to last updated (22<sup>nd</sup> of Dec 2016) data of UNHCR, there are 4,861,112 registered Syrian refugees including Turkey, Middle Eastern and North African countries. As we mentioned before, registered Syrian nationals in Turkey is 2,814,631 but with the unregistered ones the number increases to more than 3 million people.

On the other hand, data provided by UNHCR tells that between April 2011 and October 2016, total Syrian asylum applications to EU countries plus Norway and Switzerland are 866,831. Top countries that received highest number of applications were Germany (456,023) and Sweden (109,970). Both these countries have received **%65** of all asylum applications to EU+ countries from Syrians.

Figure 7: Percentages of received asylum applications by EU+ countries



Source: UNHCR, 2016

Further, Hungary, Austria, Netherlands, Denmark and Bulgaria are equal to **%22** of total asylum applications, and the rest have received **%13** of them.

## B) Refugee Agreement

One of the most important facts to prevent refugee flow to Europe was refugee agreement on 18 March 2016 between EU and Turkey. According to the European Commission, EU and Turkey have agreed on some crucial action points;

- “all new irregular migrants crossing from Turkey into Greek islands as from 20 March 2016 will be returned to Turkey,
- for every Syrian being returned to Turkey from Greek islands, another Syrian will be resettled from Turkey to the EU taking into account the UN Vulnerability Criteria,
- Turkey will take any necessary measures to prevent new sea or land routes for illegal migration opening from Turkey to the EU, and will cooperate with neighboring states as well as the EU to this effect,
- The fulfillment of the visa liberalization roadmap will be accelerated for Turkish citizens at the latest by the end of June 2016,
- The EU, in close cooperation with Turkey, will further speed up the disbursement of the initially allocated 3 billion euros under the Facility for Refugees in Turkey.”  
(European Commission, 2016).

Actually, this agreement was the biggest cooperation between EU and Turkey, but as the European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker has said changes to Turkey's laws on terrorism were one of a number of conditions that needed to be met for visa liberalization, Turkey's visa free regime to Schengen zone suspended.

On the other hand, president Erdogan claimed that visa issue was part of a deal aimed at easing Europe's migration crisis. But, obviously rising number of terrorism incidents in Europe and Turkey as well pushed EU politicians to increase the security measures which might come over Turkey.

Author believes that both of the sides were benefiting by the refugee agreement until Turkey's visa free regime to Schengen zone was freezed, later on president Erdogan accused EU of breaking its promises. As part of the March agreement, Turkey was promised aid, visa free

travel for its nationals and accelerated membership talks and if it does not fulfill its promises Erdogan threatens the EU to release the refugees by opening border gates.

### C) Financial Assistance

Below, you will see the comparison of financial assistance by both EU and Turkey.

“European Commission humanitarian funding for Turkey since the start of the crisis is **€588 million**. In addition to it, The European Union and its Member States are funding the “Facility for Refugees in Turkey” which provides **€3 billion** to address needs of refugees and host communities with humanitarian and development assistance in 2016 and 2017.” (Eco Factsheet of European Commission, January 2017).

“The European Commission in partnership with the World Food Program (WFP), the Turkish Red Crescent and Turkish government institutions is rolling out the Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN), a single card social assistance scheme that will allow up to 1 million refugees cover their basic daily needs. With an initial budget of **€348 million**, this represents the biggest humanitarian project in the history of the European Commission.” (Eco Factsheet of European Commission, January 2017).

Overall, the EU is the leading donor in the international response to the Syrian crisis, with over **€6.6 billion** from the EU and Member States collectively mobilized in humanitarian and development assistance (European Commission, September 7, 2016)

“On the other hand, in January 2017, the Government of Turkey estimated that it has spent over **€11.4 billion** to provide assistance for refugees since the beginning of the Syria crisis.” (European Commission, January 2017).

Besides, as we mentioned before in the end of chapter 2, there was huge difference between Turkey’s assistance and International Humanitarian assistance to Syria crisis during the period of 2011 – 2013.

According to the Turkish authorities, costs related to the influx reached approximately **US\$ 800 million** (approximately **€616 million** in May 2013) as of April/May 2013 (UNHCR, Turkey Response Plan, 2013).

The European Commission has spent **€265 million** in humanitarian assistance for Syria and neighboring countries. (European Commission, June 2013)

In short, Turkey has been providing more financial assistance than EU to Syrian crisis. Turkey was already contributing to assistance from the beginning as you can see above in given period (2011 – 2013), and these amounts gradually increased. It seems, Turkey is still helping financially more than EU as it has more Syrian population.

Table 4: HDI ranking of the selected countries

Countries	HDI Rank
Norway	1
Switzerland	3
Denmark	4
Netherlands	5
Germany	6
Ireland	6
Sweden	14
United Kingdom	14
Luxembourg	19
Belgium	21
France	22
Austria	23
Finland	24
Slovenia	25
Spain	26
Italy	27
Czech Republic	28
Greece	29
Estonia	30
Cyprus	32
Slovakia	35
Poland	36
Lithuania	37
Malta	37
Portugal	43
Hungary	44
Latvia	46
Croatia	47
Romania	52
Bulgaria	59
<b>Turkey</b>	72

Source: UNDP, Human Development Report 2015

### **3. Chapter 3: Methodology**

#### **3.1 Methodology**

As Syrian Refugee Crisis is challenging topic, various methods were used to obtain valuable information for this research. These methods include; Observational Research, Comparative Analysis, a Survey and Statistical Analysis. All statistics in the following pages will be illustrating the data between 2010 and 2017.

#### **3.2 Observational Research Method**

This method was used to express author's own observations from streets, media, and conversations with other people. As author has been in Turkey between 2011 and 2015, he had a chance to observe and interact with Syrian nationals. So, author knows how refugees feel to live in Turkey, what are the basic challenges for them, and their thoughts towards the crisis. On the other hand, author also knows the feelings and thoughts of Turkish people regarding the Syrian refugees in Turkey. Author only did not know the ideas of EU citizens about the crisis and refugees in general. So, the survey in this thesis gave him a chance to listen EU citizens' opinions about the crisis. In short, observational method included the interaction with 3 different nationality groups (EU, Turkish and Syrian). Syrian refugees and Turkish citizens were observed between 2011 and 2015, in addition while author was questioning the Turkish people and EU citizens by his opinion surveys (2016 – 2017), he has got some data and general overview of people towards the crisis.

#### **3.3 Comparative Analysis**

It was actually the main method to realize the differences between EU and Turkey. As this thesis a comparison analysis of EU's and Turkey's policies and measures towards Syrian refugees, comparative analysis was used and resources were provided by official reports of several organizations such as UNHCR, UNDP and EU commission mainly (all data in these reports give information from between 2010 – 2017). In addition, useful statistics, charts and comparison data were also used in this thesis. Data which gives comparative information about EU and Turkey was first used in chapter 2. In the chapter 2, there will be a Syrian refugee population chart (2015) from Human Rights Watch to show how many refugees does Turkey have, EU Commission's reports (2013 – 2017) regarding to financial assistance to Syrian refugees. Also another financial assistance data from UNHCR (2011 – 2013) will be illustrated. Additionally, there will be statistics from World Bank (WB) (2015) about GDP per capita for Turkey and EU countries. Lastly, UNDP (2015) Human Development Index will give additional information about development levels of both parties.

Second data which gives comparative information about EU and Turkey have come from the EU and Turkish citizens by the way of opinion surveys (this part will be explained below in this chapter). Thus, comparative analysis that author used in this thesis reflects both facts and opinions. Facts about population, financial assistance, living conditions of refugees, policies and measures have been told in the literature overview chapter and opinions of EU and

Turkish citizens towards the policies of EU and Turkey have been collected from the survey and put to the results chapter.

### **3.4 Survey**

Quantitative surveys took place in this research to reach as many as people who are citizens of both EU and Turkey. As we mentioned before, primary aim of the hypotheses were to find out if the nationals from both EU and Turkey will support it, so the survey was the easiest way to reach them and collect their opinions. Their opinions were asked to hear more about them and ultimately to support hypotheses. Another reason is why surveys were used that because surveys have lower costs and can reach many people from different backgrounds, environments, ways of living, and cultures.

Only challenge during this surveys was respondents' satisfaction could not be provided 100%. But it was already expected because Syrian Refugee Crisis is tough and rare topic for respondents to answer as it is not commercial survey. People needed to think for some questions but surveys had short and clear questions to keep the people's attention up.

In this study, author has used 2 different opinion surveys. They are called opinion surveys because author was not comparing the facts about financial assistance or real policies of EU and Turkey but his aim was to hear people's opinion and compare the result of EU and Turkish nationals about different questions. Our 1<sup>st</sup> opinion survey was including 3 questions which were aimed to ask 100 EU citizens and 100 Turkish citizens to compare the results. In those 3 questions, people were asked to answer their nationality, education level and the final determinative question. Our 2<sup>nd</sup> opinion survey was including 4 questions which also were aimed to ask 100 EU and 100 Turkish citizens. In those 4 questions, people again were asked to answer their nationality, education level and the 2 determinative questions.

Our opinion surveys have been conducted in different times (survey about living conditions was made in summer 2016 and survey about willingness was made in March 2017), so the numbers of respondents have differed. As they are 2 independent opinion surveys, they do not affect the results. Also the questions in these surveys are not connected to each other. Every question is unique and only matters to its own survey.

Main aim of these surveys was to collect 100 submitted questionnaires from EU citizens and 100 submitted questionnaires from Turkish citizens to support the hypotheses. Target group for this survey was university students and/or people who had already university degrees. The purpose of choosing such target group was because it was believed that they have at least some overview of crisis and able to discuss the topic after survey, also they could provide fresh ideas and new perspectives to this thesis.

Field research and online questionnaire were the methods to reach planned amount of people. For the online questionnaire, new survey template was created in the website *Survio.com* and was sent to a lot of people who have university background. Field research was only made in Turkey because many people had some experience with Syrian nationals and willing to fill the survey as they found it interesting. It had the same questions as the online questionnaire has

and was made in Ankara, Istanbul and Antalya provinces. There are the cities also have bigger Syrian refugee populations. Due to face to face survey in Turkey, there have been eager respondents with only high school education level. So, another level of education has been added to the list of education of our respondents. In addition, online questionnaire also took place for the Turkish citizens as well.

Surprisingly, expected discussions after face to face field research were received. It is also obtained from the people who filled the online questionnaire. So, author has got new perspectives from the people who have roots with totally different cultures, level of education and environments.

To sum up, targeted number of people was 100 from EU citizens and 100 from Turkish citizens for both of the surveys. This number easily overfilled, especially for Turkish citizens. Total number of Turkish citizens who filled the 1<sup>st</sup> opinion survey was 130 and total number of EU citizens who filled the survey was 116. On the other hand, total number of Turkish citizens who filled the 2<sup>nd</sup> opinion survey was 234 and total number of EU citizens who participated was 112.

In short, surveys were successfully implemented and also the time which author spent in the streets received its award with different ideas.

Table 5: Total number of respondents to surveys

Nationalities	Total Number of Respondents to 1 <sup>st</sup> Opinion Survey	Total Number of Respondents to 2 <sup>nd</sup> Opinion Survey
EU	116	112
Turkish	130	234
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>346</b>

### 3.5 Statistical Analysis

Collected results from those 2 opinion surveys have been interpreted by statistical method. This method was Chi square analysis. Chi square analysis was used to find out if there was meaningful relationship between 2 variables (in our case, nationalities and their voting preference to given questions), and if the variable are independent or dependent to each other. To make Chi square analysis, contingency tables have been used in the statistical program *Statistica*. So, the results of Chi square analysis have been obtained from *Statistica* and reflected to this diploma thesis. Besides, the numbers that have been collected from *Statistica* also was proved in other statistical program *Unistat*. So, author did not have any doubts about the results.

## **4. Chapter 4: Results**

### **4.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, our primary data source to test the hypotheses is 2 different “opinion surveys”. Here, we have 2 surveys and they both evaluate the opinions of respondents. The main thing was if their opinions would agree with the author’s hypotheses and we could say that author’s hypotheses are confirmed.

First survey was only used for the hypothesis about willingness of Turkey and EU. Second survey was only used for the hypothesis about living conditions for Syrian refugees. As author made 2 different surveys in 2 different times, all people who have been participated to the surveys might not be the same people. So, we will evaluate the 1<sup>st</sup> hypothesis according to the results of 1<sup>st</sup> survey, and 2<sup>nd</sup> hypothesis according to the results of 2<sup>nd</sup> survey.

First survey has been conducted with total number of 246 people. These number of people included 130 Turkish citizens and 116 EU Citizens.

Second survey has been conducted with total number of 346 people. These include 112 EU citizens, 234 Turkish citizens.

Due to this thesis is comparison analysis, author aimed to get answers from both EU and Turkish citizens to evaluate how are their reactions to given questions, and also author supposed that no matter where they are from, respondents would give the similar answers and hypotheses could be verified in the way author believed.

In addition, hypotheses will be supported by statistical method. After collecting the survey results, Chi Square analysis was used to confirm if our hypotheses might be confirmed statistically.

As we mentioned in first chapter, there are 2 different hypotheses and they will be tested in order.

### **4.2 Results of 1<sup>st</sup> Survey**

Hypothesis 1: Even though any of the parts (Turkey and EU) are not so eager, Turkey is more willing than EU to help Syrian refugees. This hypothesis has been tested by 1<sup>st</sup> opinion survey.

Author’s main motivation was to create this hypothesis was the increasing number of Syrian nationals who live in the streets, media reflections of Syrian nationals’ emigration process and the challenges that they faced on the way to host countries. Author has been very impressed by the incidents as he used to follow the news related to Syrian refugees on the television and other social media platforms. Also, according to what he has seen in the streets and in the several media platforms and his knowledge he decided any of the parts did not seem so willing to assist the Syrian refugees but comparison to EU, Turkey is more willing.



In this hypothesis, main criterion was the results of the survey because this hypothesis is looking for how many people are supporting it and if it is acceptable by public, or if the people are not agreed with it so they will not confirm it. Author’s idea is that people will be agreed with him and share the same thoughts. To find out if the hypothesis is confirmed author will collect the results, share and analyze it by Chi Square method.

To identify if the hypothesis could be supported by public, author has chosen to make a survey and asked the related question to citizens of EU countries and Turkish citizens. Respondent’s framework was kept narrow by evaluating the people with higher education. Thus, author thought that answers would come from the knowledgeable people. Below, the table shows the number and the background of the respondents to first survey.

Table 6: Number of respondents and their level of education of 1<sup>st</sup> opinion survey

Level of Education	EU Citizens	Turkish Citizens
High School Graduate	0	15
Currently Bachelor’s	55	41
Bachelor’s Graduate	9	42
Currently Master’s	41	22
Master’s Graduate	7	8
Currently PhD	1	0
PhD Graduate	3	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	116	130

Source: Author’s 1<sup>st</sup> Opinion Survey

As it is seen from the table, level of education is high because author wished to get answers from people with higher education. There is only 15 Turkish people who have finished their education after high school. Apart from them, all the respondents have university backgrounds. Almost half of the EU citizens who have participated to our survey are currently studying their Bachelor’s, and most of the rest are currently studying their Master educations. In addition, most of the Turkish respondents are either Bachelor’s students or Bachelor’s graduates. There has been also Master’s students among the Turkish citizens and their number should not be underestimated.

**4.2.1 Willingness to help Syrian Refugees**

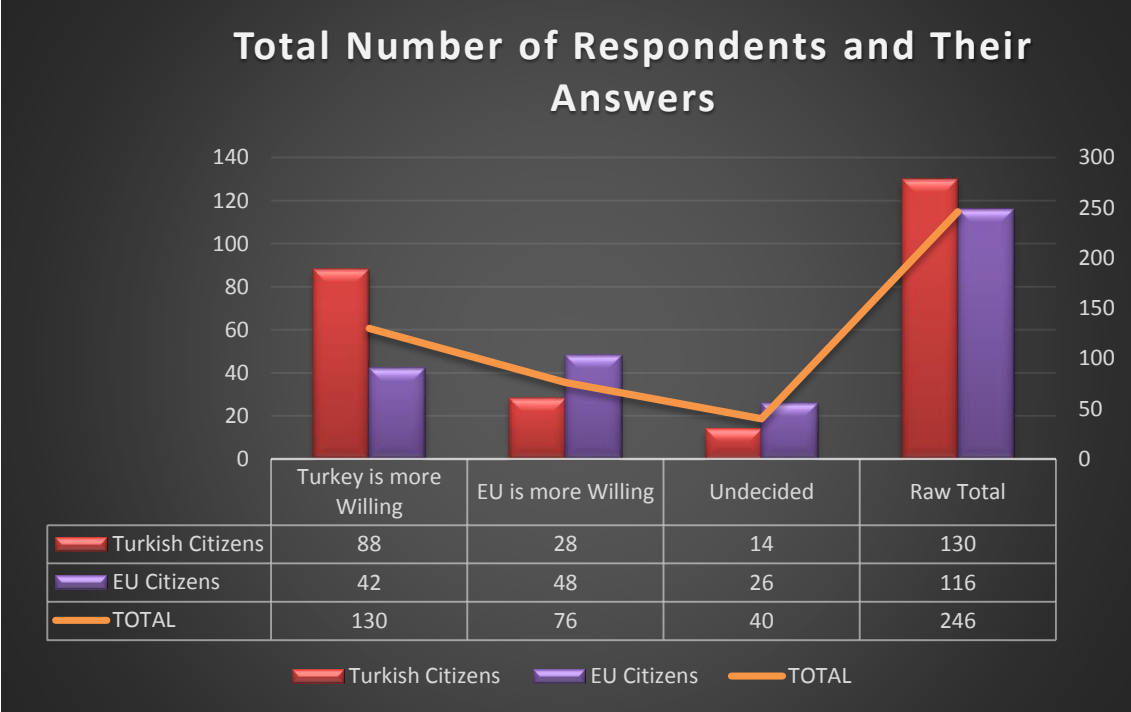
First hypothesis was “even though any of the parts are not so eager Turkey is more willing than EU to help Syrian refugees”. Below, you will see the comparison about different point of views of both EU and Turkish citizens. Results of the survey was reflected to understand how much our hypothesis is supported by public opinion.

The question “what do you think, which of the parts (EU or Turkey) is more willing to help Syrian refugees” has been asked to respondents from Turkey and EU countries. According to

the results, most of the Turkish citizens have chosen Turkey (88 out of 130), while 28 of them thought EU is more willing and 14 of them stayed undecided. On the other hand, EU citizens have been split more proportional than Turkish citizens. With a slightly difference, 48 out of the total EU respondents have been aside for EU. Apart from them, 42 EU citizens have thought Turkey is more willing and 26 of the rest stayed undecided.

It seems that Turkish people have become more decisive than EU citizens on this issue. Because, even though number of the Turkish people are higher than EU citizens in this survey, there have been less undecided people (14) between Turkish citizens than the ones (26) among the EU citizens. Another highlight is Turkish people have been more dominant on choosing “Turkey is more willing” than other options, while EU citizens have been split into either Turkey is more willing or EU is more willing.

Figure 8: Total number of respondents and their answers to 1<sup>st</sup> opinion survey



Source: Author’s 1st Opinion Survey

**4.2.2 Interpretation of 1<sup>st</sup> Survey Results by Chi Square Method**

**A) Observed Frequencies**

Our observed frequencies represent the numbers in each categorical variables. Here, we have 2 different variables; nationalities and willingness of the parts (Turkey – EU). First variable nationalities include 2 different nationalities; Turkish citizens which was showed as Turkish, and EU citizens which was showed as European. Our parts names and undecided below the variable Willingness represent how many people have chosen that option. As a reminder, Willingness does not represent the real actions or facts of EU or Turkey, but it is the

phenomenon which people may believe EU/Turkey is more willing, so it is the people's opinions. Namely, the number below the Willingness Turkey shows the number of people who believed Turkey is more willing. It is the same for Willingness EU. In addition, Willingness Undecided shows the number of people who have not been neither for Turkey is more willing nor for EU is more willing, so they are undecided.

Table 7: Contingency table, observed frequencies to 1<sup>st</sup> opinion survey

2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequencies				
Marked cells have counts > 10				
Nationalities	Willingness Turkey	Willingness EU	Willingness Undecided	Row Totals
Turkish	88	28	14	130
European	42	48	26	116
Totals	130	76	40	246

Source: Author's 1st Opinion Survey

As we can see from the observed frequencies table for the willingness. Among the Turkish citizens 88 of them have said Turkey is more willing to help the Syrian refugees, 28 of them have said EU is more willing, and 14 of them have become undecided between 2 of the parts. On the other hand, 42 of the European citizens (it means EU citizens here) have said Turkey is more willing, 48 of them have been agreed on EU is more willing, and 26 of them have stayed undecided.

While observed frequencies are giving us the information about collected answers to first opinion survey, expected frequencies have been given below to realize how would number of the answers distributed if there was no relation at all between nationalities and willingness of the parts.

B) Expected Frequencies

Table 8: Contingency table, expected frequencies to 1<sup>st</sup> opinion survey

2-Way Summary Table: Expected Frequencies				
Marked cells have counts > 10				
Nationalities	Willingness Turkey	Willingness EU	Willingness Undecided	Row Totals
Turkish	68,6992	40,16260	21,13821	130,0000
European	61,3008	35,83740	18,86179	116,0000
Totals	130,0000	76,00000	40,00000	246,0000

Source: Author's 1st Opinion Survey

Expected frequencies table shows the ideal distribution of number of the people if there was no relation between nationality and willingness. Thus, in comparison with observed frequencies there are some changes in numbers and it is considered as a clue for relation between 2 variables. To find out the density of the relation author has made a Chi Square analysis by using contingency table.

### C) Chi Square Value

By using the contingency table, Pearson Chi square value, degree of freedom (df), and probability (p) of our variables have been computed.

Pearson's chi squared test is also called as chi squared test for independence and it is used to compare two variables in a contingency table to find out if they differ from each other. In other words, it is the analysis for significance of the relationship between categorical variables.

In Chi square tests, there are always "null" hypotheses, which claim there is no association between two variables. In case our observed and expected values were equal, then we could say null hypothesis was confirmed and there was no relations between nationalities and willingness of the parts. But, as we observed from the frequency tables null hypothesis in our case should be denied because numbers are different from each other. It means there is a relation between our variables, but in order to measure the density of the relation and to reject the null hypothesis totally, we should check the p values in Pearson Chi square test.

A p value is the probability under a specified statistical model that a statistical summary of the data would be equal to or more extreme than its observed value (*Ronald L. Wasserstein, 2016*). So, the p value can be described like the probability which is under the assumption of our hypothesis, and it should be equal to or more extreme than the observed value. P value is a number which determine the density of the relationship between variables and if the variables independent or dependent. We will find out the density of relationship and the status of dependence according to the "significance level". The significance level is the probability of rejecting the null hypothesis when it is true. It can be any value between 0 and 1, so for our hypothesis significance level has been chosen as 0.05.

Concretely, if the p value is:

- Higher than our significance level 0.05, then we can say that there is no association between variables. So, variables are independent.
- Lower than our significance level 0.05, then we can say that there is relationship between our variables. In other words, null hypothesis is denied if the p value is lower than 0.05. So, variables are not independent and there is some connection between them.

So, below the table shows the computed Pearson Chi square test for variables nationalities and willingness.

Table 9: Chi square value and p value to 1<sup>st</sup> opinion survey

Statistic	Statistics: Nationalities(2) x Willingness(3)		
	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	24,42243	df=2	p=,00000
M-L Chi-square	24,81936	df=2	p=,00000

Source: Author's 1st Opinion Survey

As, it is seen from the table Chi square value is 24.42, df is 2, and Statistica gave the p value as 0.00000. Here, the important thing is to interpret the p value because it shows whether variables are dependent or independent and the density of the relationship.

Our p value is smaller than our significance level ( $0.00000 < 0.05$ ). Thus, we should understand that there is a relationship between our variables. Null hypothesis "there is no association between variables" should be denied, and variables are not independent.

In short, nationalities and willingness showed some association. To describe it in more details, there is high relationship between 2 variables, Turkish and EU citizens and their opinions about whether Turkey is more willing or EU is more willing to help Syrian refugees.

#### 4.2.3 Short Summary of Results of 1<sup>st</sup> Survey

Hypothesis was "even though any of the parts are not so eager, Turkey is more willing than EU to assist the Syrian refugees". This hypothesis has been tested in a public survey to get to know the opinion of people from different nationalities.

Both EU and Turkish citizens were wished to vote for one of the 3 options (EU is more willing, Turkey is more willing, and Undecided). According to the collected results, Turkey is more willing has been collected the more number of people in total. Besides, most of the Turkish people have dominated this option. On the other hand, most of the EU citizens have been divided into 2 options (EU is more willing, Turkey is more willing) and eventually there was no evident clustering in one of the options.

After collecting the respondents answer and made the graphic of the number of answers, result of the opinion survey was computed in contingency table to find out if there is a relationship between nationalities and voting preference. As a result of Chi square method, high relationship between variables has been identified.

If we need to be more clear and tell the results of 1<sup>st</sup> hypothesis / 1<sup>st</sup> opinion survey in order:

- Our hypothesis has been confirmed by Turkish citizens due to the high preference of choosing the option "Turkey is more willing", but it was not the same for EU citizens as there was more proportional distribution of choosing the options. So, it would be better to tell that EU citizens denied the hypothesis.
- P value (0.00000) has been computed as lower than significance level (0.05), so it denied the null hypothesis and confirmed that there is high relationship between

variables. It means one way or another, most of the respondents were tent to choose option “Turkey is more willing”. It is because of more respondents overall have chosen this option. If we separately computed the statistics like only considering the EU citizens or only Turkish citizens then results of p value could be different.

- Variables are not independent as we could see that the numbers in observed frequency table and the numbers in expected frequency tables are different from each other. It is also because of lower p value than significance level.

### 4.3 Results of 2<sup>nd</sup> Survey

Hypothesis: Syrian refugees live in better conditions in EU countries compared to their living conditions in Turkey. This hypothesis has been tested by 2<sup>nd</sup> opinion survey.

Below, the table shows the number of respondents who have participated to 2<sup>nd</sup> opinion survey.

Table 10: Total number of citizens to 2<sup>nd</sup> opinion survey

Respondents	Total Number of Respondents to 2 <sup>nd</sup> Survey
EU Nationals	<b>112</b>
Turkish Nationals	<b>234</b>
Total	<b>346</b>

*Source: Author’s 2<sup>nd</sup> Opinion Survey*

As you can see from the table above, there has been 112 EU citizens, and 234 Turkish citizens participated to our 2<sup>nd</sup> opinion survey. In total, this number of respondents is 346.

Author has divided them into level of education as he did in the first survey as well. According to the level of education, it should be mentioned that most of the EU citizens are currently Bachelor’s students, in addition there has been currently Master’s students concluded in more numbers. On the other hand, most of the Turkish respondents have been included currently Bachelor’s students, Bachelor’s graduates and currently Master’s students as well. Even though author tried to keep the education line above the university level, there has been 28 Turkish respondents with only high school background.

Table 11: Number of respondents and their education level to 2<sup>nd</sup> opinion survey

Level of Education	EU Citizens	Turkish Citizens
High School Graduate	0	28
Currently Bachelor's	62	77
Bachelor's Graduate	11	65
Currently Master's	30	39
Master's Graduate	5	17
Currently PhD	1	3
PhD Graduate	3	5
<b>TOTAL</b>	112	234

Source: Author's 2<sup>nd</sup> Opinion Survey

**4.3.1 Living Conditions**

Previously in chapter 2, author has given information about the effects of Syrian refugees on Turkey. So, the conditions that they were facing in Turkey were also mentioned. Based on those facts and author's observation, author created his hypothesis as Syrian refugees live in better conditions in EU countries compared to their living conditions in Turkey. Author thinks that as a result of high number of Syrian nationals who started to live in Turkey after crisis occurred, Turkey is not able to offer them good living conditions. On the other hand, conditions for Syrian nationals are better in EU countries due to less number of refugees, stronger economies and other opportunities like "finding a job" for Syrian nationals. This hypothesis was the author's idea and this hypothesis's aim is again to find if the idea is supported by people from both EU and Turkey. Therefore, if people from both EU countries and Turkey would support that Syrian refugees are living worse (here by saying worse, author does not mean terrible conditions but comparison to refugees who live in EU countries, author believes refugees who live in Turkey are facing more challenging situations) conditions in Turkey than EU countries, author would prove his hypothesis.

That's why in this part, there are 2 different questions (difference is only the location) which test this hypothesis and author will find out if the people from both sides believe that Syrian refugees are living worse conditions in Turkey than EU countries.

Table 12: Determinative survey questions and target people to 2<sup>nd</sup> opinion survey

Questions	Targets
1) Do you think Syrian refugees are living in good conditions in Turkey?	Turkish and EU nationals
2) Do you think Syrian refugees are living in good conditions in EU countries?	Turkish and EU nationals

Source: Author’s 2<sup>nd</sup> Opinion Survey

As you can see above, there are 2 questions, basically similar but the locations are different. Author will ask those questions to both Turkish and EU nationals and compare the results. Answers will be given by yes or no. After the results, we will be seeing if the hypothesis is supported.

**4.3.2 Living Conditions in Turkey**

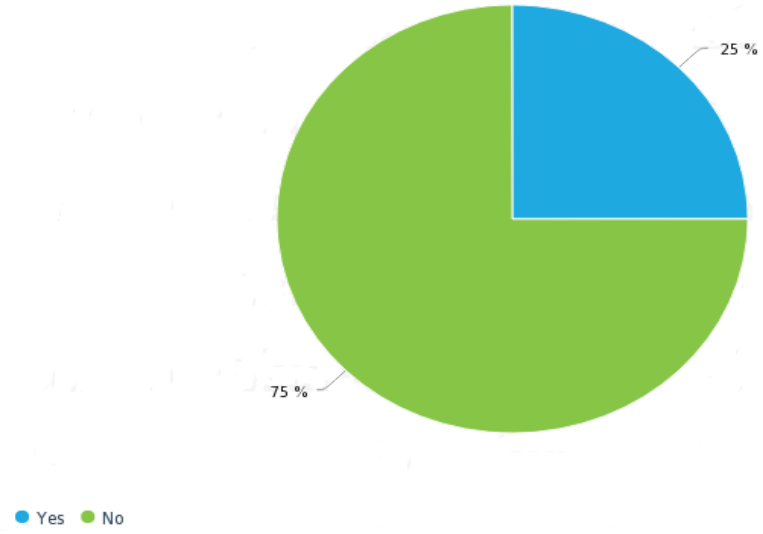
Second hypothesis was “Syrian refugees live in better conditions in EU countries compared to their living conditions in Turkey”. Although Turkey is spending more money every year and providing development aid to improve the life standards of Syrian nationals in Turkey, Syrians were not introduced with better life. Reason can vary; maybe Turkey’s economical and social structure is not suitable to provide them jobs, education, or health services, or foreign development aid is not enough to sustain the development in Syrians settlements, or they are not totally free to move or travel in the country so they cannot find a place that fit for them. These causes could be increased because there is not only one thing behind of it but many.

First we asked the question “do you think Syrian refugees are living in good conditions in Turkey” to the both of the respondents. According to the results of respondents from EU countries there is 75% of them have said **no**, and 25% of them have said **yes**, which means majority of the EU citizens who participated to survey believe that they are not living in good conditions. In addition to EU citizens, most of the Turkish citizens have been agreed in same answer and results have come almost similar. 75.9% of Turkish citizens have said **no**, 24.1% of them have said **yes**.

So, there is coherence between EU and Turkish citizens for this question. Most of the people from both nationality groups have been agreed on answer “**NO**, they are not living in good conditions in Turkey”. Below, pie charts show the percentages visually.



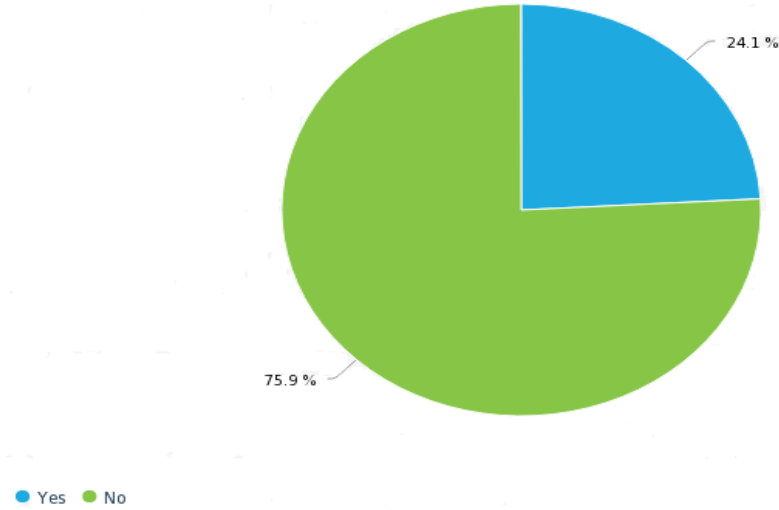
Figure 9: Pie chart of EU nationals' answers to question related to Turkey in 2<sup>nd</sup> opinion survey



Question	Answer	Respondents
Do you think Syrian refugees are living in good conditions in Turkey?	Yes/No	EU Nationals

Source: Author's 2<sup>nd</sup> Opinion Survey

Figure 10: Pie chart of Turkish national's answers to question related to Turkey in 2<sup>nd</sup> opinion survey



Question	Answer	Respondents
Do you think Syrian refugees are living in good conditions in Turkey?	Yes/No	Turkish Nationals

Source: Author's 2<sup>nd</sup> Opinion Survey

### 4.3.3 Interpretation of 2<sup>nd</sup> Survey Results by CSM, Turkey as Location

#### A) Observed Frequencies

Our observed frequencies represent the numbers in each categorical variables. Here, we have 2 different variables again; nationalities and their voting preference to yes or no towards our question. Location has been told as Turkey. According to the collected data of the survey, observed frequencies have been computed in contingency table.

Table 13: Contingency table, observed frequencies to 2<sup>nd</sup> opinion survey, Turkey as location

2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequencies Marked cells have counts > 10			
Nationalities	YES/NO YES	YES/NO NO	Row Totals
EU Citizen	28	84	112
Turkish Citizen	56	178	234
Totals	84	262	346

Source: Author's 2<sup>nd</sup> opinion survey

Observed frequency table above shows that both EU citizens and Turkish citizens were tend to say “No” to the question “do you think Syrian refugees are living in good conditions in Turkey”. As we can see from the table, there are high number of respondents who said no in each group of nationalities.

#### B) Expected Frequencies

Expected frequencies table shows the ideal distribution of number of the people if there was no relation between nationalities and voting preference to our survey question. As it is seen from the expected frequency table below there is only little difference between the numbers in observed frequency table and expected frequency table. Surprisingly, there has been observed that there is almost perfect proportional distribution in our analysis. It means, somehow the number of the people in every cells of observed frequency table have been collected like it was supposed to distributed in expected frequency table.

Table 14: Contingency table, expected frequencies to 2<sup>nd</sup> opinion survey, Turkey as location

Summary Table: Expected Frequencies Marked cells have counts > 10 Pearson Chi-square: ,047030, df=1, p=,828314			
Nationalities	YES/NO YES	YES/NO NO	Row Totals
EU Citizen	27,19075	84,8092	112,0000
Turkish Citizen	56,80925	177,1908	234,0000
All Grps	84,00000	262,0000	346,0000

Source: Author's 2<sup>nd</sup> opinion survey

As a result of comparing the tables, it seems that tables prove the null hypothesis which is there is no association between variables. Our null hypothesis here is there is no relation between nationalities and their voting preference to given question. So, it seems that null hypothesis is confirmed because expected frequencies and observed frequencies are almost same. There is only slightly difference in numbers and even they are less than 1.

C) Chi Square Value

Contingency table has computed the Pearson Chi square value, degree of freedom (df), and probability (p) of our variables. It is also supporting our assumptions before we said in frequency tables. In addition, our computed p value tells that our variables are independent, so one does not affect the other one.

Table 15: Chi square value and p value to 2<sup>nd</sup> opinion survey, Turkey as location

Statistic	Statistics: Nationalities(2) x YES/NO(2)		
	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	.0470303	df=1	p=,82831
M-L Chi-square	.0468690	df=1	p=,82860

Source: Author’s 2<sup>nd</sup> opinion survey

According to the result of the Pearson Chi square test, our p value has been determined as 0.82, which is higher than our significance level 0.05. Thus, we have to accept the null hypothesis, there is no association between nationalities and their voting preference to given question. Basically, our statistical analysis says that nationality does not affect the voting preference to regarding question. So, even though most of the people from both nationality groups have said that Syrian refugees are not living in good conditions, statistically it was already supposed to be like. Although, result of chi square test says there is no relationship between variables, and variables are independent we should consider that both from EU citizens and Turkish citizens we mostly have received the answer “no” to our question. So, we should evaluate the chi square analysis and collected data from our survey separately because while one is measuring the density of relationship between variables, other one is telling us how many of the respondents chose which option.

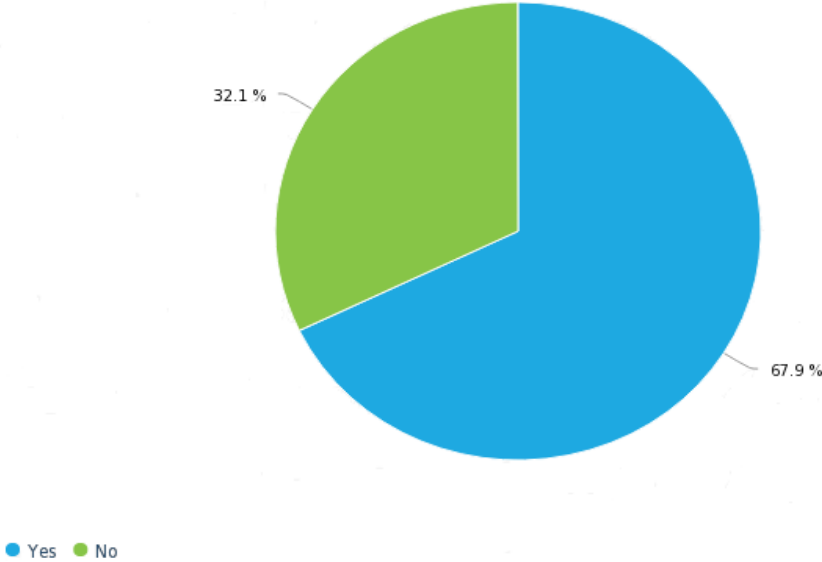
**4.3.4 Living Conditions in EU**

According to our 2<sup>nd</sup> opinion survey, public opinion was telling us that life conditions are not good for Syrian refugees in Turkey. Thus, first step of our hypothesis has been confirmed by both nationalities. Here, to compare the results, author asked the same question but this time location has been changed. Question was “do you think that Syrian refugees are living in good conditions in EU countries?”

Firstly, this question was asked to participants from EU countries. As we mentioned before, there were 112 participants from different EU countries, according to them more than half of it, **%67.9**, have given positive answer by saying yes. They believe that Syrian refugees are

living in good conditions in EU countries. On the other hand, the rest who make up **%32.1** of the total EU participants, have said no. They thought that Syrian refugees are not living in good conditions in EU countries.

Figure 11: Pie chart of EU nationals’ answers to question related to EU in 2<sup>nd</sup> opinion survey

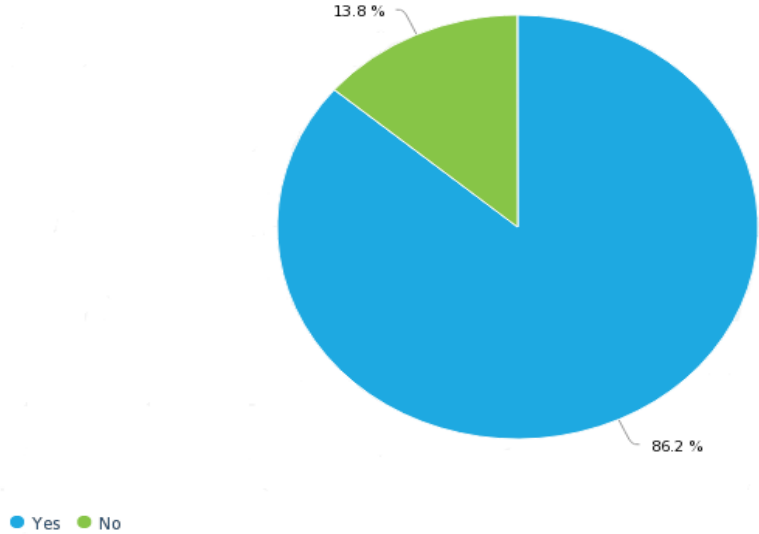


Question	Answer	Respondents
Do you think Syrian refugees are living in good conditions in EU countries?	Yes/No	EU Nationals

Source: Author’s 2<sup>nd</sup> Opinion Survey

In addition, the same question was asked to Turkish citizens as well. This time, percentages have increased as you could see from the graphic below. Just like the EU citizens, most of the Turkish citizens believe that Syrian refugees are living in good conditions in EU countries. Answer “yes” have been dominated the total answers with **%86.2**. It means 200 out of 234 Turkish participants believe that Syrian refugees are living in good conditions in EU countries. Only 32 people (**%13.8**) have said “no” and they formed the minority people in this question.

Figure 12: Pie chart of Turkish nationals’ answers to question related to EU in 2<sup>nd</sup> opinion survey



Question	Answer	Respondents
Do you think Syrian refugees are living in good conditions in EU countries?	Yes/No	Turkish Nationals

Source: Author’s 2<sup>nd</sup> Opinion Survey

To sum up, people were asked that if Syrians are living in good conditions in Turkey or they do not. It was a yes/no question and yes means that they are living in good conditions, no means that they are not living in good conditions. Below, the table shows the general results with both numbers and percentages of the respondents who have given the answer “**YES**, they are living in good conditions” to the survey question.

Table 16: Number and percentages of the all respondents who said yes to the questions in 2<sup>nd</sup> opinion survey

Regions	EU Citizens	Turkish Citizens	Total Number
Living Conditions are good in <b>EU Countries</b>	<b>76</b> out of 112 (67.9%)	<b>200</b> out of 234 (86.2%)	<b>276</b>
Living Conditions are good in <b>Turkey</b>	<b>28</b> out of 112 (25.0%)	<b>56</b> out of 234 (24.1%)	<b>84</b>

Source: Author’s 2<sup>nd</sup> Opinion Survey

### 4.3.5 Interpretation of 2<sup>nd</sup> Survey Results by CSM, EU Countries as Location

#### A) Observed Frequencies

Our observed frequencies represent the numbers in each categorical variables. Here, we have 2 different variables again; nationalities and their voting preference of yes or no towards our question, but this time location has been changed and picked the EU countries. According to the collected data of the survey, observed frequencies have been computed in contingency table.

Table 17: Contingency table, observed frequencies to 2<sup>nd</sup> opinion survey, EU as location

2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequencies				
Marked cells have counts > 10				
Nationalities	YES/NO YES	YES/NO NO	Row Totals	
EU Citizen	76	36	112	
Turkish Citizen	202	32	234	
Totals	278	68	346	

Source: Author's 2<sup>nd</sup> Opinion Survey

As we can see from the observed frequency table above, this time citizens from both parts have dominated the answer “yes”. They mostly agreed on living conditions for Syrian refugees are good in EU countries. As a reminder, when we first picked the location as Turkey and asked the regarding question they have given the answer “no” mostly. This time, by the location change, the numbers in observed frequency table have changed as well. Out of 112 EU citizens, 76 of them have agreed on living conditions are good in EU countries. Additionally, Turkish citizens have also agreed on option yes as 202 out of the total 234 Turkish respondents have dominated the option. In short, we could say that when we changed the location, voting preference has switched from no to yes.

#### B) Expected Frequencies

Below, you will see the ideal distribution of the numbers of the respondents by the yes/no answers. Expected frequency has differed from the observed frequency table but not much. Compare to the previous result in question for Turkey, this time there is more difference but it is not extreme.

Table 18: Contingency table, expected frequencies to 2<sup>nd</sup> opinion survey, EU as location

Summary Table: Expected Frequencies				
Marked cells have counts > 10				
Pearson Chi-square: 16,3598, df=1, p=,000052				
Nationalities	YES/NO YES	YES/NO NO	Row Totals	
EU Citizen	89,9884	22,01156	112,0000	
Turkish Citizen	188,0116	45,98844	234,0000	
All Grps	278,0000	68,00000	346,0000	

Source: Author's 2<sup>nd</sup> Opinion Survey

### C) Chi Square Value

Contingency table has computed the Pearson Chi square value, degree of freedom (df), and probability (p) of our variables.

Table 19: Chi square value and p value to 2<sup>nd</sup> opinion survey, EU as location

Statistic	Statistics: Nationalities(2) x YES/NO(2)		
	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	16,35985	df=1	p=,00005
M-L Chi-square	15,52329	df=1	p=,00008

*Source: Author's 2<sup>nd</sup> Opinion Survey*

According to the result of Chi square test, our p value has been computed as 0.00005. So, it is lower than the significance level (0.05). It means, there is association between our variables, and we have to reject the null hypothesis which says there is no relationship between the variables. Statistical analysis says us that our variables nationality and respondents preferences of voting for yes or no are not independent. Therefore, it should be understood that there is some connection between these 2 variables.

#### 4.3.6 Short Summary of Results of 2<sup>nd</sup> Survey

Hypothesis: Syrian refugees live in better conditions in EU countries compared to their living conditions in Turkey has been confirmed.

As you could observe from the pie charts above, when we picked the location as Turkey most of the citizens from both Turkish and EU Nationalities believed that Syrian refugees are not living in good conditions. But, when we changed the location as EU countries and asked them again, their answers have become “yes” they are living in good conditions in EU countries. In short, author has found his support from the people of different nationalities for his hypothesis.

On the other hand, author tested his collected data in the contingency tables. His aim was to find the density of the relationship of variables, if one is affecting the other one, if they are independent or dependent, to find the p value and interpret the results after Chi square test. According to the result of the question for living conditions in Turkey, p value was higher than significance level, and numbers in observed frequency table and expected frequency table were almost same. So, the statistical analysis was basically saying that there is no relation between variables and variables are independent.

In comparison to this result with the 2<sup>nd</sup> result which is the result from the question for living conditions in EU countries, there was opposition. There were more numbers of difference between observed frequency table and the expected frequency table. Our p value this time was lower than significance level, so literally there was an association between variables and these variables are not independent. It means one was affecting the other one.

Author interpreted the total result of 2<sup>nd</sup> hypothesis / 2<sup>nd</sup> survey in the following; hypothesis has been confirmed because of the both separately calculated yes/no answers and cumulative yes/no answers. Both of the citizens have agreed on living conditions are good in EU countries. On the other hand, there were much less people who were satisfied with the living conditions for Syrian refugees in Turkey.

So, according to the results of the collected answers from survey hypothesis is confirmed.

In the statistical analysis part of the results, author has some doubts and believe that proportional distribution of every cells in the first question for living conditions in Turkey might be incidental as he did not expect it. Nevertheless, statistical analysis showed that in the first result, variables are independent and in the second result variables are not independent. So, it proved in the second result that there is a relation between nationality and their voting preference to the question “do you think Syrian refugees are living in good conditions in EU countries.”



## 5. Chapter 5: Discussion

According to the quantitative research in this thesis, analytical findings told us that effects of Syrian Refugee Crisis on both EU and Turkey seem to have a negative impact on several socio-economic conditions, and measures and policies regarding to refugee flow have been insufficient. Results of this thesis will be further discussed and interpreted in this chapter in order to find out if the hypotheses were confirmed. Any limits of this thesis that was faced will also be defined if applicable and recommendations for future research will be given.

There were 2 thesis questions in this master thesis: How willing are Turkey and EU to help Syrians? How are the refugees' living conditions in host countries? Based on these questions hypotheses and survey questions were created. Thesis questions were towards to find if the hypotheses might be confirmed by public opinion. Therefore, getting inspiration from the thesis questions, author created 2 different surveys to prove his 2 hypotheses.

When literature overview and the results of author's surveys are combined to explain the results and findings of this thesis it should be said that both of the hypotheses were confirmed. It means author has conducted a survey to find out if the both citizens of EU and Turkish citizens would support author's hypotheses, so author received the expected results and there were more people from both of the sides who have supported author's hypotheses than the ones who have rejected them. Only in page 69, author could not confirm the statistical analysis about significant relation between variables. He has obtained the expected result from survey, these result was saying that most of the respondents have been agreed with Syrian refugees are not living in good conditions in Turkey. Even though most of them have voted for this by saying "no", Chi square analysis could not find an appropriate association between nationalities and their voting preference to this question. But, nevertheless author received enough support to prove his hypothesis from collected answers.

One by one, Turkey' willingness of helping Syrian refugees was found as it is higher than EU's willingness. Here, there were 2 limitations. First one was willingness is intangible concept so how to measure it? To find the answer, author examined the facts what EU and Turkey have done to assist Syrians. There were 2 true facts that Turkey has been welcoming the Syrian nationals as at the very beginning it thought it would not be a long term problem and it has never refused them back. On the other hand, EU's policies were about keeping them away so refugee deal on March 2016 was the consequence of it. Another is Turkey's economical spending on Syrians and aid assistance are much higher than EU's. In addition, belief should have been a criterion to evaluate this. What do other people believe about willingness of both sides? So the biggest support came from the respondents who were from higher educational backgrounds and have participated to the survey. Second limitation was regarding the shortening of EU. When author was questioning the respondents face to face, some of them have denied to answers because they claimed that EU is not a one country so question that author asked might be misleading. In other words, while author was asking the questions about willingness of EU or living conditions in EU countries, these respondents mostly said that a country in EU might have the different level of willingness than the other country or when a refugee can find good conditions to live in one EU country, other country

cannot offer good conditions to live. In short, they warned author to not to generalize because every single country in EU is different.

Second hypothesis has been raised by the thesis question “how are the refugees’ living conditions in hosting countries?” Our hypothesis was “Syrian refugees live in better conditions in EU countries compared to their living conditions in Turkey”, because author believed that Turkey is not capable to offer good life. Subsequently, a question that “do you think Syrian refugees are living in good conditions in Turkey?” and to compare the results other question “do you think Syrian refugees are living in good conditions in EU countries?” were included in the 2<sup>nd</sup> opinion survey. Based on the results from all respondents, majority of them have chosen the answer “no” for living conditions for Syrian refugees in Turkey. That means they do not believe that Syrian refugees are living in good conditions. On the other hand, again the majority of the all respondents have chosen the answer “yes” for living conditions for Syrian refugees in EU countries. So, second hypothesis is accepted by majority as well.

## 6. Chapter 6: Recommendations

Results of this diploma thesis suggest two important conclusions. First one is; according to the public opinion Turkey is more willing to help the Syrian refugees than EU countries. Second one is; again public opinion says that living conditions in EU countries are better than the living conditions in Turkey. These results may be true may be not when the facts are considered and all clear, but these results reflect only the opinion of our respondents whom have Turkish and EU nationalities.

Thus, following the results a few recommendations will be given:

- I. First recommendation is to make the similar surveys with higher number of respondents and maybe with more questions and detailed options, so we could collect more opinion and get more proper results from it. As we mentioned in the results part, statistically there was no association between nationalities and their voting preference to the question “do you think Syrian refugees are living in good conditions in Turkey”, this could be measured with more respondents to make sure if there was no relation between 2 variables. Because author believes there must be correlation between observed result of this question (number of people who said yes/no) and their preference but chi square analysis showed the opposite. In short, more people could give better result.
- II. Secondly, researchers should focus more about the social and political elements of particular refugee group than the economical impact of them on the hosting country. Because, there is enough literature about economical effects of migrant but limited literature about social and political impact.
- III. Third advice is that specific focus should be applied on EU because this massive refugee flow has not been seen in EU zone before and EU is nowadays more fragmented. The social and political effects of Syrian refugees will vary in every different EU country. In my opinion that would be innovative study to evaluate the social impacts of particular refugee group whom was spread through the EU countries and compare the results to find out what impact did that particular refugee group make in different EU countries, so the states might take some models from that research.
- IV. Fourthly, EU policy makers should consider more that to take more refugees in order to ease the burden on Turkey. Because donating money to Turkey cannot be the only result and for the long term these refugees might cause more cost to Turkey as Turkey has to accommodate and provide them essential services.
- V. Finally, the last recommendation is that Turkey and EU countries especially whose have been widely affected by refugees (Greece, Italy) and other border countries may create specific areas near the borders only for possible refugee flows to accommodate the refugees and give them therapy to overcome the shock on them because most of refugees can have traumas after escaping their country. So, this areas will be their home for a temporary term and give them necessary services to make them mentally healthy again. After this period, these countries should gradually take the refugees into the urban areas.

## **7. Chapter 7: Conclusion**

This master thesis has aimed to determine the effects of Syrian refugee crisis on European Union and Turkey, compare the impact on both sides and analyze the measures and policies.

The thesis was divided into several chapters; introduction, literature overview, methodology, results, discussion, recommendations, and conclusion.

In first chapter, problem statement, importance of this topic, thesis questions and hypotheses were given in order to understand what author would talk about. There were 2 hypotheses which were tested by 2 different opinion surveys. Hypotheses were released and explained first in the results section of this research. Both of the hypotheses were confirmed by public surveys as most of the respondents have supported the author's opinion.

In the second chapter, literature overview of the thesis was reflected. At the beginning, how the term "refugee" gradually was evolved by United Nations was explained and some important articles from UN Convention and Protocol Related to the Status of Refugees were given to show what parties of this convention must have done regarding the rights of refugees. As an important point, Turkey's geographical limitation to refugees was explained. Actually, it was mentioned before that due to this limitation Syrian nationals cannot obtain their statuses as refugee and cannot benefit from the privileges of carrying this statue, in contrast Syrian asylum seekers have possibilities to be refugees in EU countries because EU has no geographical limitation like Turkey. Then, migration and refugee related theories were told while especially social theories were highlighted because author believed that specifically in this case (Syrians in EU), effects of social and cultural elements which were brought by Syrians into EU would be more crucial than any other effects. Lastly in second chapter, overview of Syrian Refugee Case was given and explained in various subchapters. Background of civil war and current situation with the effects of immigration to Turkey and EU was analyzed. As Turkey and EU have importance on measures and policies regarding the illegal refugee flow, comparison was provided. In this chapter, it should have been understood that effects of Syrian refugees on both sides are negative and there is important linkage between EU's foreign policies, Turkey's dream to be part of EU and their cooperation regarding the refugees.

In third chapter, methodology of this research was provided. These methods included; Descriptive Research, Observational Research, Comparative Analysis, Statistics based on biggest international humanitarian organizations, and a Survey. When statistics, comparative analysis and descriptive methods were used in almost every chapter, survey and reflections from observational research were applied in results chapter.

In chapter four, results of research were stated. As it was mentioned before, chapter four was the results part of this thesis and findings from author's survey were explained. After the literature overview of our case, hypotheses reached the success by survey that was only conducted for EU and Turkish citizens. In addition, statistical figures and tables were used to understand the results better. 1<sup>st</sup> hypothesis was even though both of the sides are not so eager, Turkey is more willing than EU to help Syrian refugees. It was positively verified by

the 1<sup>st</sup> opinion survey. 2<sup>nd</sup> hypothesis was Syrian refugees live in better conditions in EU countries compared to their living conditions in Turkey. The facts were already showed in previous parts so it was supported by majority of the respondents as well. Again, most of the respondents from different nations have supported our hypothesis.

In fifth chapter, discussion was taken its place. Limitations which occurred during this research were explained and recommendations for future research were done in the light of these limitations.

In chapter six, recommendations were given. Author highlighted that future researchers may study on social effects of particular refugee group on every EU countries, because EU is a mechanism which was carried on by 28 European states so in every country's social structure are different, therefore researcher may find interesting results. In addition, appropriate recommendations were given to host countries for them to make the possible incoming refugees feel comfortable as they were fleeing from their home country.

Finally, here in chapter seven, conclusion has been completed. Overview of this master thesis, summary of main findings, and hypotheses were repeated.

In summary, this thesis explained existing theories of migration and refugees. It gave Syrian refugee crisis with its background where it started and current situation. Effects of Syrian refugees on EU and Turkey were analyzed and measures and policies of these two sides with their cooperation in order to prevent the negative effects on them were interpreted. Then, results and analytical findings were released and it was seen that both of the 2 hypotheses were confirmed. Lastly, discussion and recommendation were made.

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## 9. List of Figures and Tables

Figure 1 A visual of Lee's Pull and Push Factors .....	23
Figure 2 Syria's population growth rate.....	27
Figure 3 Interactive war map of Syria as of November 12, 2016 .....	31
Figure 4 Contributions to UNHCR for the budget year 2016 .....	34
Figure 5 Development assistance to Syrian refugees in Turkey .....	36
Figure 6 Syrian population in Turkey .....	37
Figure 7: Percentages of received asylum applications by EU+ countries .....	44
Figure 8 Total number of respondents and their answers to 1 <sup>st</sup> opinion survey.....	49
Figure 9 Pie chart of EU nationals' answers to question related to Turkey in 2 <sup>nd</sup> opinion survey .....	56
Figure 10 Pie chart of Turkish national's answers to question related to Turkey in 2 <sup>nd</sup> opinion survey .....	56
Figure 11 Pie chart of EU nationals' answers to question related to EU in 2 <sup>nd</sup> opinion survey .....	59
Figure 12 Pie chart of Turkish nationals' answers to question related to EU in 2 <sup>nd</sup> opinion survey .....	60
Table 1 Relations between some disciplines and migration research .....	17
Table 2 6 different theoretical models of immigrant adaptation .....	21
Table 3 Examples of the push and pull factors .....	24
Table 4: HDI ranking of the selected countries.....	43
Table 5: Total number of respondents to surveys .....	46
Table 6 Number of respondents and their level of education of 1 <sup>st</sup> opinion survey.....	48
Table 7 Contingency table, observed frequencies to 1 <sup>st</sup> opinion survey .....	50
Table 8 Contingency table, expected frequencies to 1 <sup>st</sup> opinion survey .....	50
Table 9 Chi square value and p value to 1 <sup>st</sup> opinion survey.....	52
Table 10 Total number of citizens to 2 <sup>nd</sup> opinion survey .....	53
Table 11 Number of respondents and their education level to 2 <sup>nd</sup> opinion survey .....	54
Table 12 Determinative survey questions and target people to 2 <sup>nd</sup> opinion survey .....	55
Table 13 Contingency table, observed frequencies to 2 <sup>nd</sup> opinion survey, Turkey as location	57
Table 14 Contingency table, expected frequencies to 2 <sup>nd</sup> opinion survey, Turkey as location	57
Table 15 Chi square value and p value to 2 <sup>nd</sup> opinion survey, Turkey as location .....	58



Table 16 Number and percentages of the all respondents who said yes to the questions in 2 <sup>nd</sup> opinion survey .....	60
Table 17 Contingency table, observed frequencies to 2 <sup>nd</sup> opinion survey, EU as location .....	61
Table 18 Contingency table, expected frequencies to 2 <sup>nd</sup> opinion survey, EU as location.....	61
Table 19 Chi square value and p value to 2 <sup>nd</sup> opinion survey, EU as location .....	62

## **10. APPENDICES**

Appendix I. – Questionnaire for 1<sup>st</sup> opinion survey

Appendix II. – Questionnaire for 2<sup>nd</sup> opinion survey

## APPENDIX I

### Introduction

Dear respondent,

This is a research study being carried out in my diploma thesis to find the public opinion regarding the Syrian refugee crisis. Third question is the determinative question of this research and it is about the willingness of both EU and Turkey towards Syrian refugees. Here, willingness means acting gladly or being prepared to refugees. Please decide according to your knowledge and what you believe/think.

Please choose only one option. Thank you in advance.

Kind Regards.

Anil Kurt – Master Student in Mendel University, Czech Republic

### Questionnaire

- 1) What is your citizenship?
  - a) EU Citizen
  - b) Turkish Citizen
  
- 2) What is your level of education?
  - a) High School Graduate
  - b) Currently Bachelor's
  - c) Bachelor's Graduate
  - d) Currently Master's
  - e) Master's Graduate
  - f) Currently PhD
  - g) PhD Graduate
  
- 3) What do you think, which of the parts (EU or Turkey) is more willing to help Syrian refugees?
  - a) EU
  - b) Turkey
  - c) Undecided / I have no idea

## APPENDIX II

### Introduction

Dear respondent,

This is a research study being carried out in my diploma thesis to find the public opinion regarding the Syrian refugee crisis. Last two questions are the determinative questions of this research and they are about the living conditions of Syrian refugees both in EU countries and in Turkey. Here, you do not need to know the real facts but your opinion and belief are very important.

Please choose only one option. Thank you in advance.

Kind Regards.

Anil Kurt – Master Student in Mendel University, Czech Republic

### Questionnaire

- 1) What is your citizenship?
  - a) EU Citizen
  - b) Turkish Citizen
  
- 2) What is your level of education?
  - a) High School Graduate
  - b) Currently Bachelor's
  - c) Bachelor's Graduate
  - d) Currently Master's
  - e) Master's Graduate
  - f) Currently PhD
  - g) PhD Graduate
  
- 3) Do you think Syrian refugees are living in good conditions in Turkey?
  - a) Yes
  - b) No
  
- 4) Do you think Syrian refugees are living in good conditions in EU countries?
  - a) Yes
  - b) No