

TURKISH AND EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVES ON SYRIAN MIGRATION SINCE  
2011

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A handwritten signature in blue ink, consisting of several loops and a long horizontal stroke at the end.

## **ABSTRACT**

### **TURKISH AND EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVES ON SYRIAN MIGRATION SINCE 2011**

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Migration is as old as history of mankind, but it has become one of the world's biggest problems today. Turkey has been exposed to growing migration wave, because of its location in proximity to crisis regions in the Middle East. The European Union (EU) has been disturbed from this issue because the refugees who crossed the border of Turkey are based on the boundary of Fortress Europe. Both Turkey and EU need to timely address this problem, as both of them are faced with an irreversible refugee influx.

Turkey and EU have approached differently and produced different policies about recent migration wave. In this study, the civil war which began in Syria after 2011, the wave of Syrian migration towards Turkey, and Turkey and EU's approach will be examined. First, the perspectives of Turkish government, NGOs and people will be evaluated. Second, European Commission, NGOs and people's approach to subject will be analyzed. Finally, the aid from Turkey and EU, and differences in the policies implemented will be compared. During the study, public opinion polls, EU Commission reports and Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD) reports will be used. Turkish authorities consider that EU couldn't receive enough initiative. On the other hand, EU is assessing the situation differently. This thesis aims to find out an answer to an extent and degree of European and Turkish policy convergence.

**Key Words:** European Union (EU) and Turkey: refugees, humanitarian aid, international cooperation, migration policy

## ÖZET

### 2011 SONRASI SURİYELİ GÖÇÜNE YÖNELİK TÜRK VE AVRUPA PERSPEKTİFLERİ

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Göç insanlık tarihi kadar eski bir olgudur, ancak günümüzde dünyanın en büyük sorunlarından biri haline gelmiştir. Türkiye, Ortadoğu da ki sorun yaşanan bölgelere stratejik olarak yakınlığı nedeniyle son yıllarda çok fazla göçe maruz kalmıştır. Avrupa Birliği bu konudan rahatsızlık duymaktadır. Çünkü Türkiye sınırını aşan mülteciler Korunaklı Kale Avrupası'nın sınırlarına dayanmaktadır. Bu konuda hem Türkiye hem de AB derhal yeni çözümler üretmek zorundadır. Aksi takdirde iki bölgede geri dönüşü olmayan bir mülteci akınıyla karşı karşıya kalacaktır.

AB ve Türkiye, bu konuya farklı yaklaşmakta ve farklı politikalar üretmektedir. Bu çalışmada, 2011 yılı sonrasında Suriye de başlayan iç savaş, Türkiye'ye doğru yaşanan Suriyeli göç dalgası ve bu konuya Türkiye ve AB'nin yaklaşımları incelenecektir. İlk olarak, Türk hükümeti, sivil toplum kuruluşları ve halkının bu göç dalgasına yönelik bakış açıları değerlendirilecektir. İkinci olarak, AB Komisyonu, sivil toplum kuruluşları ve halkının konuya yaklaşımı analiz edilecektir. Son olarak, Türkiye ve AB'nin yaptığı yardımlar ve uyguladıkları politikadaki farklılıklar karşılaştırılacaktır. Bu çalışma sırasında kamuoyu yoklamaları, Avrupa Komisyon raporları ve AFAD'ın raporları kullanılacaktır. Türk yetkilileri AB'nin bu konuda yeteri kadar inisiyatif almadığını

düşünmektedir. Fakat AB durumu farklı değerlendirmektedir. Bu çalışmada AB'nin Türk yetkililere hangi konularda, ne kadar yardımcı olduğuna cevap bulunmaya çalışılacaktır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** AB ve Türkiye; mülteciler, insani yardım, uluslararası işbirliği, göç politikaları.



**To My Parents**

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFAD	Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency
AKP	Justice and Development Party
CRSR	The 1951 Convention Relating to Status of Refugees
EDAM	Center for Economic and Foreign Policy Studies
EU	European Union
HUGO	Hacettepe University Migration and Politics Research Center
IFRC	International Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
İHH	The Foundation for Human Rights and Freedoms and Humanitarian Relief
KYM	Kimse Yok Mu
LTS2	Life in Transition Survey II
NATO	The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
PKK	The Kurdistan Workers' Party
RPP	Regional Protection Programs
SARC	The Syrian Arab Crescent
THY	Turkish Airlines
UN	The United Nations
UNHCR	The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Fund
UNSC	The United Nations Security Council

WFP

The World Food Program

WHO

The World Health Organization



## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This study will analyze the Syrian refugee wave to Turkey after 2011 and the approaches of the EU and Turkey about humanitarian aid to Syrian refugees. It will also compare the EU and Turkey policies about the wave of Syrian immigration. This study aims to find out an answer to an extent and degree of European and Turkish policy convergence. Prerequisite for understanding what the scope of this study and what is strived to illustrate to reader is to acknowledge what will be implied and deduced in advance. Within this framework, the first terms to be defined are migration, immigrant, refugee and; the EU and Turkey's refugee status.

“Migration is a process of moving, either across an international border, or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, uprooted people, and economic migrants” (International Organization for Migration, 2004, p.41). Immigrants are the kinds of people who leave their homelands because of social, economic and political problems and in order to have better life conditions.

“Refugee is a person who meets the criteria of the UNHCR Statute and qualifies for the protection of the United Nations provided by the High Commissioner, regardless of whether or not s/he is in a country that is a party to the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, 1951 or the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees, or whether or not s/he has been recognized by the host country as a refugee under either of these instruments” (International Organization for Migration, 2004, p.52). However, the description of these concepts has varied according to countries. In this study, we will analyze the EU and Turkey's description of refugee status.

Turkey is signatory of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (CRSR) and she had made geographical limitation. Turkey's domestic legislation is the 1994 Asylum Regulation. According to the 1994 Asylum Regulation, the status of refugee has only given the people who escaped due to the events occurring in Europe and took refuge in Turkey.

In the EU, any non-EU country national or stateless person who is located outside of his/her country of origin and who is unwilling or unable to return to it owing to a fear of being persecuted can apply for refugee status.

### **1.1. Literature Review**

In 2010, the Arab Spring which has affected all the Middle Eastern countries started and it still continues to spread in the region. As Syria has been managed with dictatorship, Syria is one of the countries and the Syrian people have started to want a democracy.

From the beginning of the Syrian civil war, 7.6 million people internally displaced and 12.2 million people (5 million of which are children) in need of humanitarian assistance (European Commission, 2015, p.1). Over 3.8 million refugees have fled to Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey, Iraq, Egypt and North Africa. They did all in their power to help Syrian refugees. According to International Crisis Group, Turkey has been flexible and taken important steps to help Syrians regain a sense of self-reliance and integrate in their new environment (International Crisis, 2013, p.6). However, some complaints have been made about the Turkish government. According to International Crisis Group, the main factor complicating outside contributions has been Turkey's hesitancy to register international organizations and NGOs and the degree to which it is ready to allow them to work directly on humanitarian issues (International Crisis, 2013, p.15).

At first, Turkish government named the Syrian refugees as a "guest" because Turkey does not give a refugee status except for Europeans. According to Şenay Özden's interview; The Syrian refugees have disturbed from the guest status. The guest status means that Syrians do not have rights in Turkey and that the State has the right to make the decision to deport them at any time (Özden, 2013, p.5). However, this problem solved with

temporary protection regime. Kemal Kirişci has appreciated the Turkish government for the open door policy, but he thinks that the legal basis of this policy is weak (Kirişci, 2014, p.51).

In 2013 and 2014, some European countries like Germany respond to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)'s call for more resettlement of humanitarian admission for Syrian refugees. According to Refugee Studies Centre, although numerous European countries have initiated resettlement, humanitarian admission, or expanded family reunification programs for Syrians, the numbers allowed are low ( Orchard and Miller, 2014, p.7).

Many research centers have organized reports about Syrian civil war and the Syrian refugees. However, none of them compare the EU and Turkey's approach to Syrian refugees. This study aims at find out an answer to an extent and degree of European and Turkish policy convergence. Both the EU and Turkey will be examined one by one and the examples about the implementation differences will be given.

## **1.2. Research Design & Methodology**

This study is organized in six chapters. This thesis aims at find out an answer to an extent and degree of European and Turkish policy convergence. In the first chapter, conceptual framework has been used by defining key terms necessary to understand the study. In the second chapter, Turkish perspective about Syrian immigration wave will be examined by divided into 3 sub-titles. The Turkish government's approach, Turkish Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)' perspective and Public Opinion's attitude to Syrian refugees will be examined. In the third chapter, EU perspective about Syrian immigration wave will be examined by divided into 3 sub-titles. The EU's perspective, European NGOs' perspective and European Public Opinion's attitude to Syrian refugees will be examined. In the fourth chapter, EU and Turkey's approach will be analyzed about Syrian immigration wave by comparing all actors, thus the reasons and results of policies which were implemented have been compared. In the fifth chapter, policy implication for EU and Turkey will be presented. Both of them have been separated 2 sub-titles such as domestic

policy and foreign policy. Finally, conclusion and implications of these policies is prepared and their results are presented.

The problem of Syrian immigration wave have been looked up in different resources and discussed. Primary sources, public opinion polls, newspaper articles, EU Commission reports and AFAD reports will be used. This study will be carried out on the basis developments after 2011.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **TURKISH PERSPECTIVE ABOUT SYRIAN IMMIGRATION WAVE**

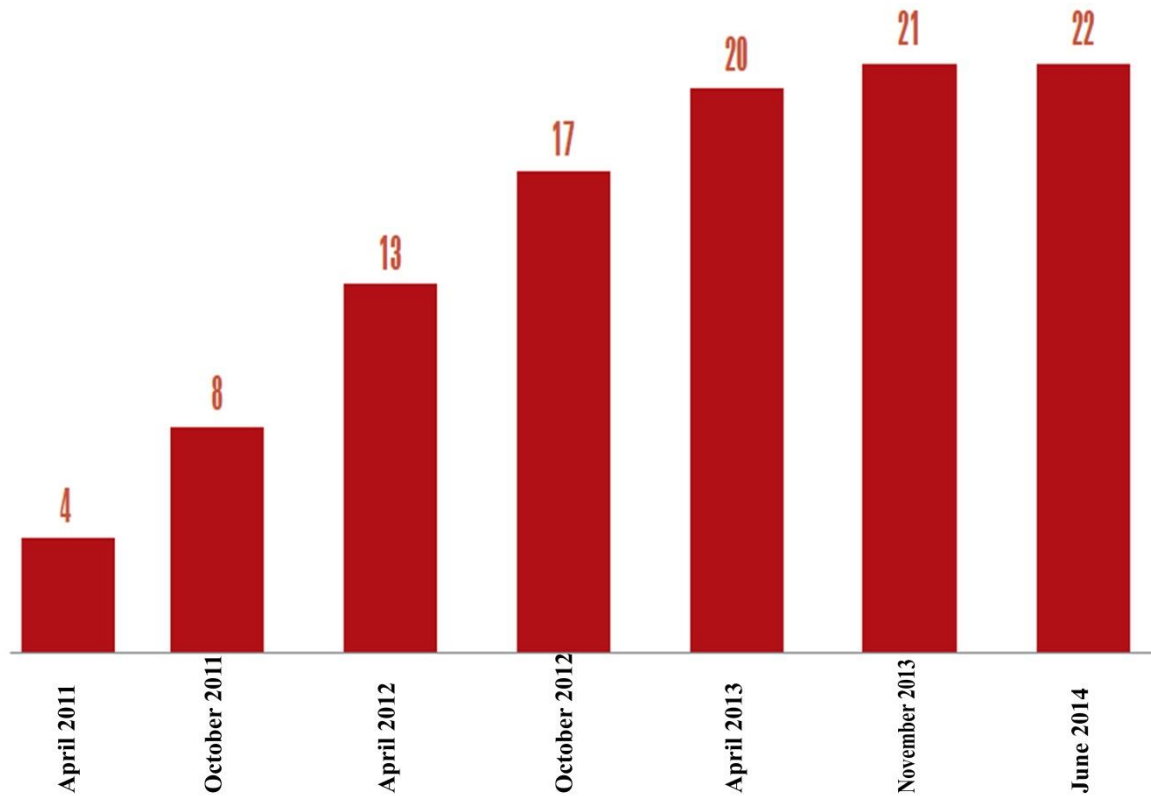
In 2010, uprisings which started in Arab World have turned into a civil war in Syria. In the April of 2011, the conditions in Syria became worse and firstly two hundred and fifty two Syrian citizens have entered the gate of Hatay Cilvegözü border. Within twenty four hours, Turkish government has set up a tent camp urgently in the province of Hatay (Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency [AFAD], 2014, p.4). According to recent survey conducted by Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency in 7 November 2014, the number of Syrian refugees who migrated to our country from 2011 to date is nearly 1 million 645 thousand.

From 2011 to now, the expenditure was made by Turkey has surpassed \$ 3 billion according to the United Nations standards. From the first day, “open door policy” has applied and as a humanitarian responsibility none of the Syrians was sent back (AFAD, 2014, p.5). According to the latest data, 221.447 refugees have guest in 22 shelters which were established in 10 cities. However, these numbers that can only be taken under record. Although the numbers of Syrian refugees who are living the outside of the camp is exactly unknown, total number of Syrian refugees in Turkey is approximately 1 million 645 thousand people. Turkey carries on their activities about Syrian refugees with the helping of Turkish Red Crescent and AFAD which connected to prime minister. 22 camps which were established in 10 provinces consisted of 16 tent cities and 5 container towns (AFAD, 2014, p.18).



**Figure 1: The Syrian Refugee Statistics from AFAD**

## The number of Camps in Turkey by Months



**Figure 2: The Number of Camps in Turkey by Months from AFAD**

Until the April of 2012, Turkey has never received any aids from none of international or national non-governmental organizations or countries about Syrian refugees. However, with the conditions of Syria became worse, the number of refugees which fleeing from cruelty and came to Turkey started to increase, thus this situation has affected Turkish economy badly. Because of this reason, Turkish officials have been forced to announce that they are open to all kinds of support to international organizations.

### 2.1. Turkish Government's Perspective

The tensions between Turkey and Syria date back very old time. Nonetheless, their relations entered the normalization process with the government of Justice and Development Party (AKP) and Ahmet Davutoğlu's "zero problems with neighbors" policy. Between 2006 and 2010, the trade between two countries has increased and even visa

application mutually has lifted. Thanks to Turkey, Syria gained a better image on the eyes of European Union and thanks to Syria; Turkey escalated their prestige and effectiveness in Arab World (Phillips, 2012, p.137). In March 2011, when the events in Syria started, Turkey warned the Assad regime to make democratic reforms. At the beginnings of the situation, Turkey defended the Syria in the international arena (Cebeci and Üstün, 2012, p16). Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs Minister have made many times bilateral contacts to change of Assad's attitude against demonstrations. However, the violence of interventions has increased in the August of 2011 and as a result of the more than 2000 people died Prime Minister Erdoğan says that “patience is exhausted” (Bakri, 2011). After this point, Turkey gave up to warning Assad’s regime and Syria and she has begun to take place directly across the Assad. In addition to this stance, Turkey gave a permission to establishment of the Syrian National Council in own soil (Phillips, 2012, p.138). Unlike all other international actors, the Turks approach should be perceived as more emotional to this issue. Because Turkey has seen the Syrian people as her “eternal brother” regardless of the identity of religion and ethnicity in her own region. Because of this reason, Turkey interprets management changes which experienced in Arab World as necessary and important (Öztürk, 2012, p.47). As a result of the stance of Turkey towards the Assad regime, Turkey gave up from see the Assad regime as legitimate authority. With this reason, Turkey has started to establish their policy above an absence of Assad in Syria after the middle of 2011 (Öztürk, 2012, p.48).

Considering the border between Syria and Turkey, where stay silent across the violent in Syria before everything is a crime of humanity. In some places, when the border passes from one place that bisects the village so in fact many Turkish and Syrian people who live in the border city are relatives. Because of this, it is impossible to silence of Turkey against Syrian civil war. When we left the human dimension of the event on one side, on the other hand it is a very big threat to Turkey to have been experienced such a civil war in her border. In 1980s and 1990s, it is known that the close relationship and support between the Assad regime and the PKK. At the same time, because of Turkey position against Assad regime, acts of terrorism in Turkey have increased seriously (Öztürk, 2012, p.49). Turkey has created their policy formed as to Assad will go. However,



when the Assad regime continues to remain in the management of Syria, Turkey is losing prestige. Meanwhile, this policy of Turkey actually led to isolation in their region. Because the sayings of Turkey to against Assad regime, it is considered to have been said Ahmadinejad, Medvedev, Maliki and Hassan Nasrallah (Bozkurt, 2012, p.36). The zero problems with neighbors policy of Turkey has led to become the point of zero solution as a result of the stance against the Syria. However, despite all negativity, Turkey's courage should be appreciated. Although in a situation where United Nations (UN) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as a great community remain silent and unresponsive, Turkey has kept the issue on the agenda alone.

The Syrian administration called and announced the demonstrations as a terrorist act. However, Turkey claims that the Syrian government made an armed intervention against its own people. The Prime Minister Erdoğan has said that Syria has become an internal issue with the violence of increasing so he showed that how much he is committed about the policies which he implemented (Çağlar, 2012, p.45) Institutions such as NATO and UN have shown their moral support but they did not make tangible sanctions. As a result, Turkey wants to fill the power gap of the Middle East. It has been drawn an image that Turkey is a powerful and leader country with the oppressed people in the Middle East (Çağlar, 2012, p.49). The March of 2012, Turkey emphasized that the options of safe zone should be assessed. Nonetheless, Turkey's words were in the air due to the absence of needed support (Cebeci and Üstün, 2012, p.17). Lots of thinker emphasized safe zone as an option but none of them did not meant military intervention (Cebeci and Üstün, 2012, p.18). Since the beginning of the summer of 2012, ropes between Turkey and Syria were stretched thoroughly. In June of 2012, Turkish plane of F-4 was reduced immediately after some people was injured and died due to the falling of the mortar shells. As a result of these incidents, the impression above Syria has increased and even the mandate for military action was given for use beyond the borders. However, Syria has never taken a step back with the support of Russia and Iran (Çağlar, 2012, p.50). On the television of NTV, Davutoğlu has made an assessment and he says that the reasons of the Syrian people's uprising are the values which were given the importance of Turkish people so it is impossible to stay indifferent. In the same speech, Davutoğlu says that the helping to the

Syrian refugees who escaped from regime and took refuge in our country has a state tradition. And finally, he has said that this process should be expressed in months or weeks instead of years now (<http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/id/25376791>). When we looked at general trend in the region, the process has such happened. However, this civil war still continues with the support which Syria has taken and nobody's support to Turkey. Turkish government has taken Assad a little more undervalues. Nevertheless, opposition groups have been overestimated in our eyes but they do not have a smooth cooperation in their selves. Turkey needs to the lowering of the Assad regime from management with an intervention which has international legitimacy and fulfillment of a government which elected with fair elections (Öztürk, 2012, p.20).

The number of people who escaped from Syria and took refuge in Turkey continues to increase exponentially in every day. These people who were named as “refugee” by press and local people actually are not legal refugees according to Turkish law. Turkey is a signatory of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (CRSR) and she had made geographical limitation. Turkey’s domestic legislation is the 1994 Asylum Regulation. According to the 1994 Asylum Regulation, the status of refugee has only given the people who escaped due to events occurring in Europe and took refuge in Turkey (Kirişci, 2014, p.14). Refugees who came from non-European zones are only allowed to stay in Turkey on temporary basis until the completion of the process of inserting in a third country. According to Turkish law, the people who came from non-European zones named as an asylum seekers (Kartal and Başcı, 2014, p.283). Because of this reason, the people who came from Syria named as a “guest” by Turkish government. With the first refugees crossing in April of 2011, Turkish government started to application “the policy of open door” and they have never rejected anybody who came to border. These policies which applied in the first time are vital importance. However, the number of refugees passed two hundred and twenty thousand and these guests have stayed in here for three years. In addition to this, nobody knows that when the civil war will finish and it is still unknown when the people will return to their homes therefore the implementation of guest is a disadvantage to Syrian refugees. The Syrians who are not accepted as a refugee do not apply to UNHCR for taking refuge in a third country. Above all, they do not have any

rights which the refugees have. To eliminate this uncertainty, The Prime Minister's Office published circular letter which is recognized the temporary protection status to Syrians in the April of 2012. According to this circular letter (Kural, 2013);

1. It will continue to an "open door policy"
2. It will not apply to forcibly refoulement
3. The Syrian refugees will be recorded and their needs will be fulfillment by Turkish government (Özden, 2013, p.5).

The government did not give any date to finishing this temporary protection status and it was left open ended. Until this date, Turkey concerned with everything about the refugees who came from Syria in person. However, it has become to be a problem that to ensure the shelter of people due to the conditions get worse further. Because of that, Turkish officials started to call for help from International Organizations and European Countries since the April of 2012. Turkish governments have spent more than \$ 3 million and this amount is gradually increasing to sheltering the Syrian refugees. Turkey needs to help to continuing this system (International Crisis Group, 2014, p.17).

Although Turkey is a country which has exposed to a lot of refugee influx throughout the history, she did not ready to such a large influx of refugees. Nevertheless, she has prepared the 22 shelters in 10 cities in such a short time but the number of refugees continues to increase and in the meantime many problems have shown up furthermore nobody knows when this process will finish. Under these conditions, Turkey has to produce new policies to adaptation of the Syrian refugees and she should be made legislative arrangements (Kirişci, 2014, p.8). With the numbered 6548 Law on Foreigners and International Protection, Turkey has made arrangements about asylum and immigration in 11 April 2013. This law entered in force with all the provisions in 12 April 2014 (Mülteci-Der Dayanışma Derneği, 2014, p.1). With this law, Migration and Asylum Office has turned as an institutionalized into General Directorate of Migration Management. These arrangements are evaluated as a positive step by EU. As of November 2014, only 221.447 of 1 million 645 thousand people who sheltered the Turkey has lived in camps. The

numbers of them who are registered are approximately 800 thousand people. In a long-term policy preparation, being recorded of these people has a vital importance in many aspects. In the life of camps a little more comfortable in comparison with the life of non-camps, because almost everything has been thought in camps where workings have been conducted by AFAD. All kinds of system like hospital, supermarket and school were established to meet the basic needs. However, the needs of non-camp refugees have not been exactly known but the government slowly is looking for solutions to these problems. Firstly, a circular letter which gives an opportunity to non-camp refugees about presenting health system was enacted by government (Kirişci, 2014, p.24). With the helping of UNHCR, a system was developed and around the 75% of non-camp refugees was recorded. Both AFAD and UNCHR have continued about this topic ([data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/download.php?id=7396](http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/download.php?id=7396)). A system which was funded by AFAD to increasing the coverage ratio of people needs was gotten off the ground by World Food Program (WFP) and Turkish Red Crescent. This program which roughly 200 thousand people benefited was carried out by distributing of food card to refugees ([data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/download.php?id=7399](http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/download.php?id=7399)). With the loading of 80 TL per capita monthly to these cards, it has been tried to satisfy the needs of refugees. In addition to these, the course of Vocational and Turkish has been given to facilitate the integration in camps. Since the most of refugees consist of children and young populations, education is the most important topic which is accentuated. However, the unemployment of the non-camp refugees is one of the important problems. Since the refugees do not have the work permit legally, they are employed as uninsured with the very low wages (Kirişci, 2014, p.30). This situation leads to finding jobs difficult for people who is the unskilled laborers. In the long term, if this problem did not solve, the rates of unemployment could be increased visibly. Faruk Çelik who is the Minister of Labor and Social Security says that they are working about the work permission in the minimum wage band for Syrian refugees and the workings will completed in soonest time in his speech at the General Assembly (<http://www.posta.com.tr/ekonomi/HaberDetay/Suriyeliler-e-calisma-izniverilecek.htm?ArticleID=253000>). If the government takes steps earnestly, Turkey's economic growth can be achieved. With the work permit, they are working about the

identity which will describe the Syrian refugees and it is different from the identity of Turkish (http://www.sgk.com.tr/2158-Haber1-suriyeli-siginmacilara-kimlik-ve-is-verilecek.html). In addition to this, emergency humanitarian needs are met appropriately to international law in zero point in 11 accepting help centers to help the victims of Syrian civil war (AFAD, 2014, p.5).

Turkish government has made more than their best to entertain a guest in the best way. Absolutely some shortcomings and mistakes have made but it is important that the resolution of important issues urgently. Turkey is the second most refugee hosting country at the moment and Turkey has been appreciated by international organizations for her works (http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/flash\_read.php?ID=187). The camps especially are seen over the standards of United Nations (UN) but the populations of non-camp refugees are moving towards becoming a problem for Turkey. Especially, hospitality gives place to unrest for local people. The workings which are implemented for the acceptance of Syrian refugees to other countries should be accelerated urgently. The problem which happened in Syria was not seen as can be solved in near time therefore serious works should be made for the integration of refugees to Turkey. However, Turkey absolutely has to take support from international organizations.

Turkey want to establishment of “safe zone” inside the border of Syria to stop the influx of refugees but this process has not completed. In addition, there are rumors about crossing the border therefore the control of borders should be conducted in accordance with the international law. Due to security, Turkish government has to close many border gates for a long time and so this situation leads to refugees entering the country illegally. It claims that almost 48 people who has tried to cross the border in this way and exposed to mistreatment is captured. Although the open door policy is implemented in reality, differences and problems can be experienced in practice. However, these differences are most important as that may be cost a human life.

With the circular letter which is enacted by ministry in 2013, Syrians have the temporary protection status. Nonetheless, Syrians don't know what kind of rights they have due to the absence of this status framework exactly. Thanks to the Temporary Protection

Regulations, which are accepted in the October of 2014 by Council of Ministers, this problem seems to be solved. In this regulation;

- The prohibition of refoulement,
- The granting of ID card that can be used in applications of work permit and access to public school,
- The facilitation of get a work permit, are regulated with law.

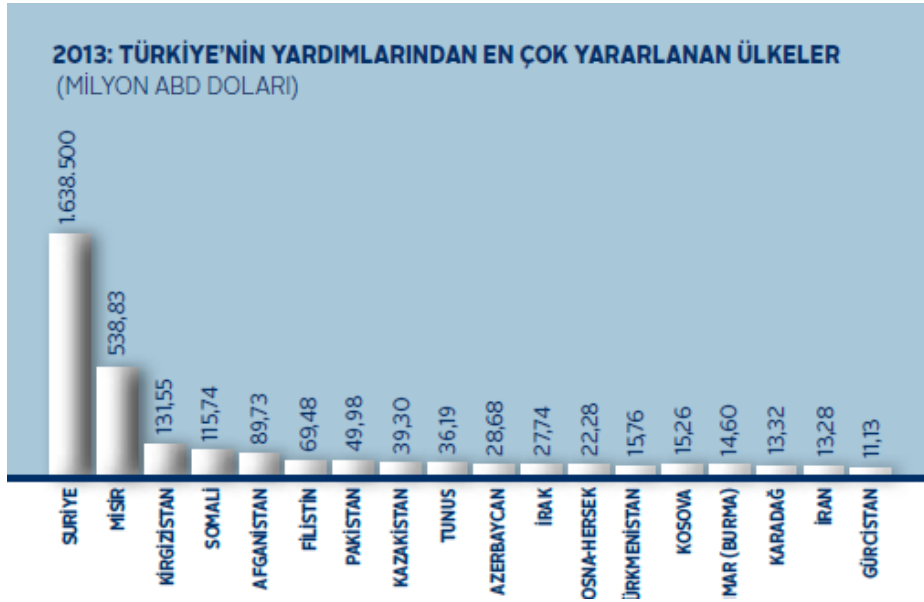
In addition, the conditions for the termination of temporary protection status are stated. With the entry into force of this Regulation, positive steps will be taken in many aspects. However, economically developed countries should be helped to Turkey for meeting the needs of such a large refugee population.

## **2.2.Turkish Non-Governmental Organizations' Perspective**

Turkish people have been deeply concerned about the humanitarian plight which has begun and still continued in Syria from April of 2011. In particular to Turkey, all neighbor countries of Syria have made every effort to do for this issue. In April of 2011, Turkish authorities began to make essential provisions with first refugee group which entered from Hatay. It was set up 22 camps which were established in 10 provinces consisted of 16 tent cities and 5 container towns with works which were handled by AFAD. AFAD has conducted these works in collaboration with Turkish Red Crescent. Until the second half of year, all camp expenditures have been covered by only AFAD. But after this date, number of refugees showed increase more than expected. The conflicts in Syria were intensified and people continued to refuge into Turkey. Turkey repatriated no one for the sake of her open door policy. However it has been known that the border crossing is getting harder as of late. Because of that, camps were established in Syrian side of border. Many Syrians who do not want to leave the homeland are staying in these camps. These aids which are called as border assistance have maintained with the support of Turkish and international NGOs. Turkish government did not permit to entering of national and international NGOs to camps for a long time. The NGOs wanted to visit the

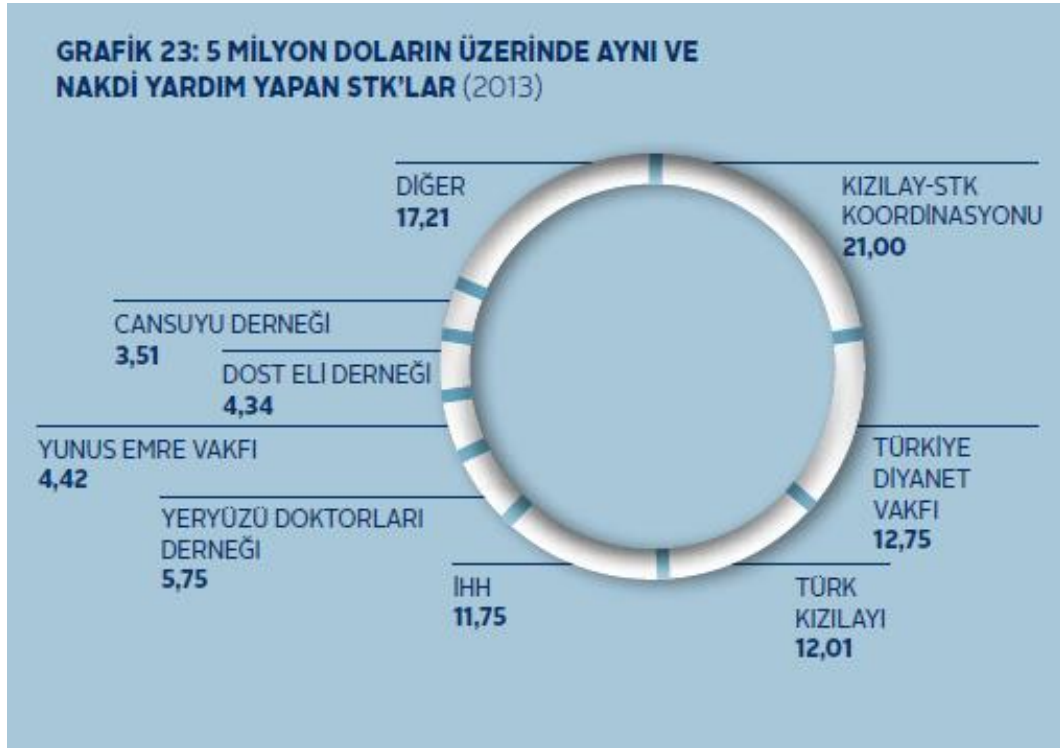
camps for making a list of requirements and taking away to aids. But AFAD authorities did not find this request favorable.

According to 2013 Turkey Development Aid Report, bilateral aid made in 2013 showed a 30% increase compared to the year 2012. Due to the contribution made to the Syrian guests, the region of Middle East has been the most benefit region from assistance with 1,776,54 million dollars.



**Figure 3: Countries which are the most benefited from Turkey's help from TİKA**

The 49% of Official Development Assistance which Turkey made in 2013 was made as humanitarian aid. In the same time, the sum of the contribution made by NGOs is 280, 23 million dollars. In NGOs' assistance, there is an increase of 85% compared to the previous year. The aids made to Syrian refugees constituted 93, 95 million dollars of the said figures so the 33% of all NGO's assistance are made to Syrian guests.



**Figure 4: NGOs engaged in relief of over \$ 5 million from TİKA**

As seen in the above graph, the most aid was made by the coordination of Red Crescent and NGO with 58, 86 million dollars. With 35, 74 million dollars Religious Foundation of Turkey, with the 33,64 million dollars Turkish Red Crescent Society, with the 32,93 million dollars The Foundation for Human Rights and Freedoms and Humanitarian Relief (İHH) follows. While it will be talking about the aids made by Turkish NGOs, three NGOs which made the most aid will be based.

The administration of camps has been provided together by Turkish Red Crescent's campaign which is started under the name of Humanitarian Aid Operation of Syrian Crisis and AFAD. Turkish Red Crescent was established in 1868 to helping the soldiers who injured in the war without any discrimination. Its name has changed many times in the years but it took the name of Turkish Red Crescent Society in 1947. Unlike other NGOs, Turkish Red Crescent is a semi-official NGO so the half of the funds has supplied by government. Turkish Red Crescent shares the international Red Crescent and Red Cross Community's basic principles. Red Crescent has succor where those in need without any



discrimination and it provides all kinds of assistance to Syrian guests who tried to live in Turkey and cross-border under the difficult conditions. Turkish Red Crescent took in charge of Syrian citizens' fulfillment of basic needs such as sheltering, nutrition, hygiene stuffs and clothes (Türk Kızılayı, 2014, p.2). In addition, they provided psychosocial support to Syrians and make sure that the Syrians' social needs were fulfilled. Worship opportunities in camps provided by Turkish Red Crescent. Surely, it did not remain limited the camps in Turkey (Türk Kızılayı, 2014, p.5). It was also provided transmitting these aids to Syrians which have still stayed in Syria. Coordination centers were established in 10 provinces (Hatay, Gaziantep, Kilis, Şanlıurfa, Kahraman Maraş, Osmaniye, Adıyaman, Adana, Mardin, Malatya) where stayed the Syrians and Red Crescent maintained its work through these centers. Along with climbing the clashes in Syria, it was begun to sending out the aid in ground zero since 2<sup>nd</sup> August of 2012. These aids have been provided by 12 Turkish Border Aid Centers (Türk Kızılayı, 2014, p.17).

The Red Crescent has carried on its activities by cooperating with international foundations over specific matters as well. In 22<sup>nd</sup> May of 2013, an agreement about supporting Syrian children project was signed between Red Crescent and United Nation International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) (Türk Kızıları, 2014, p.22). Owing to this project, youth workers have provided psychosocial support training in 21 camps. In 5<sup>th</sup> October of 2012, as part of an agreement which made with WFP, The Red Crescent/WFP Card Program was actualized (Türk Kızılayı, 2014, p.23). With these cards, food products have supplied in markets which were established in camps. Every month, it has been paid into these cards 80 Turkish Lira per capita by AFAD. The Red Crescent Food Program reached 217.299 Syrian citizens in total (Türk Kızılayı, 2014, p.24).

FOODCARD GENERAL INSTALLATION TABLE		
PERIOD	NUMBER OF BENEFICIARIES	AMOUNT
2012	89.529	3.581.160,00 TL
2013	2.012.208	80.488.320,00 TL
Grand total 2012-2013	2.101.737	84.069.480,00 TL
Total 2014	3.363.558	110.348.360,00 TL
<b>SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE PROGRAM</b>	<b>5.465.295</b>	<b>194.417.840,00 TL</b>

**Figure 5: The Food Card General Installation Table from Türk Kızılayı**

With cabinet decision, 35.000 tone flours were donated to Red Crescent for being used ground zero aid activities in the 24<sup>th</sup> December of 2012 (Türk Kızılayı, 2014, p.30). Red Crescent is one of the most authorized foundations about conducting the aid campaigns. On the other hand, if we compare with refugees who live in these camps, non-camp refugees are more in number than others. But it is not possible that AFAD and Red Crescent help all these people. Since the beginning of incidents, with the displacement of more than 9 million people, Syria has taken the first place as regards worldwide forcibly uprooted ([http://www.unhcr.org.tr/uploads/root/unhcr\\_bas%C4%B1n\\_bildirisi\\_-\\_suriye\\_d%C3%BCnyada\\_zorla\\_yerinden\\_edilenler\\_listesinde\\_en\\_%C3%BCst\\_s%C4%B1raya\\_yerle%C5%9Fti.pdf](http://www.unhcr.org.tr/uploads/root/unhcr_bas%C4%B1n_bildirisi_-_suriye_d%C3%BCnyada_zorla_yerinden_edilenler_listesinde_en_%C3%BCst_s%C4%B1raya_yerle%C5%9Fti.pdf)). Only 221.447 of 1 million 645 thousand people who sheltered to Turkey has lived in camps. The rest of them has rented an apartment or stayed with their relatives. But all these are short-term solutions. Most of non-camp refugees need help because they have already spent whole their money during this process. At this point, donors and NGOs have a crucial role. Lots of NGOs have conducted aid campaigns in particular to Turkish Airlines (THY), Association of Light House, Kimse Yok Mu (KYM). Moreover, most of international foundations have provided in-kind and financial aids by cooperating with local NGOs. Assignment of coordinator governor was carried out in order to provide co-operations among province governors. With this coordinator governor's efforts, information sharing between NGOs has been procured (Kirişçi, 2014, p.22). In accordance to Beşir Atalay's speech, NGOs spent 635 million dollars by August of 2014 (<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/27056114.asp>). Following the Red Crescent, İHH is

the most active foundation. İHH humanitarian aid foundation has worked to deliver the humanitarian aid to all the people who fallen into distress anywhere in the world without any distinction of race, religion, sect and language since 1992. İHH gives priority to war environment, disaster areas and poor regions. İHH humanitarian aid action emerged with the war of Bosnia. Perhaps, the region with war has been priority for this reason and so İHH is one of the most helping NGOs to Syrian refugees.

İHH has continued its aids both camps which are located in Turkey and ground zero. Through building the prefab schools, İHH has supported 59 camps where Syrian children have received education. İHH established 7 prefab orphanages in total and run bakeries and flour mills. In addition, İHH has handed out hot meals to refugees through 19 central kitchens which established (İHH İnsani ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Merkezi, 2011-2014, p.13). İHH has supported to 15 schools in Syria and 28 schools in Turkey (İHH İnsani ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Merkezi, 2011-2014, p.28). İHH took the initiative for establishing to 13 draw wells and 19 meal centers in both Turkey and Syria. İHH does not support only Turkey and Syria, but also transmit its humanitarian aids to Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq. In addition to relieving, İHH has drawn attention to violation of rights in Syria by attending national and international meetings as well. On this wise, it has conducted to humanitarian diplomacy studies (İHH İnsani ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Merkezi, 2011-2014, p.51). Besides, İHH carried out operations for releasing to two Turkish citizens who were arrested by Syrian Intelligence Service in March 2012. Finally, two Turkish journalists were released after 58 days (İHH İnsani ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Merkezi, 2011-2014, p.53). “A Bread and A Blanket for Syria” campaign in December of 2013 and “I Need You” campaign in January of 2014 were held. Most famous NGOs, media, AFAD, Red Crescent and Turkish Religious Foundations supported these campaigns. Prof. Dr. Mehmet Görmez, who is the president of religious affairs, said that with the aid campaign, we will not only help friend, sibling, neighbor, relatives the people of Syria, but also we will save humanity from becoming hostage as a nation in the opening ceremony of aid campaign. In addition, he has donated all salary received of the first month of 2013 to this campaign in terms of be an example. Moreover, Religious Foundations has provided training opportunity to

1400 Syrian students with the results of the agreement Altındağ District Education Directorates.

The aids which are collected through these campaigns, have delivered to needers who live in Syria (İHH İnsani ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Merkezi, 2011-2014, p.57). With “I Need You” campaign, İHH organized 30 NGOs which consist of 16 countries and an aid convoy which consists of 300 trucking rigs. İHH has made cooperation with over 100 humanitarian organizations from 45 countries to deliver aid to Syrian refugees (İHH İnsani ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Merkezi, 2011-2014, p.62). These camps have the aims of preventing the influx of refugees and providing the keeping of Syrian refugees in their country apart from these İHH, KYM, Deniz Feneri; Uluslararası Mavi Hilal and Ortak Akıl Platformu have supported the non-camp refugees (Dinçer and others, 2013, p.17). NGOs help them not only the needs of food are met but also the rents of their houses are paid. When the refugees came in first time, this situation was seen as a temporary process by both refugees and Turkish government. However, with the hardening of events and the increasing number of refugees, this process became an unknown situation. Even if the events in Syria have finished, it seems that the people cannot go their country recently thus NGOs started to open the courses of Vocational and Turkish to facilitate the integration on Turkey. At the beginnings, Syrians did not show a lot of interest but it has been seen that their wants to learning Turkish from young to adult in subsequent evaluations (Dinçer and others, 2013, p.19).

KYM is also a non-governmental organization which works actively for Syrian people. KYM has provided help not only to Syrian people in Turkey but also zero point. In addition to these, it provides humanitarian aid the Syrian people who asylum to Jordan and Lebanon. The aid of KYM which was given to Syrian people surpassed 70 million TL. KYM supported the build of schools in Malatya and Erbil for Syrian refugees (<http://www.kimseyokmu.org.tr/index.php?p=guncelfaaliyetalanlari&gl=guncel&cl=suriye&i=1395>) and it has spent money which exceeds amount of 456 thousand TL for the education of Syrian children (<http://www.kimseyokmu.org.tr/index.php?p=guncelfaaliyetalanlari&gl=guncel&cl=suriye>

&i=1394). With the aim of assistance to Syrian refugees who live outside the camp, a cash assistance project was arranged between KYM and UNHCR. This project was conducted in the center of Nizip, Kilis, Reyhanlı and Yayladağı. According to this project need, bank cards were distributed to all households for each person who made use of 200 TL per capita about 2 months. 16 thousand 750 people has benefited from this project. With this money, it is aimed to ensure individual needs of refugees (<http://www.kimseyokmu.org.tr/index.php?p=guncelfaaliyetalanlari&gl=guncel&cl=suriye&i=1396>).

Many of NGOs in Turkey continues to charity collection for Syrian people who lives in both camps and non-camps moreover for the Syrian people who lives in scattered in their country. Individual donors and International NGOs have contributed to them. Ali Karayılan who is the general director of Deniz Feneri says that food package will distributed to 10 thousand Syrian families who taken shelter in tent cities and houses during the month of Ramadan (<http://www.aa.com.tr/tr/haberler/350744--stklar-suriyeliler-icin-seferber-oldu>). The president of AFAD emphasizes that they are making joint works with the local NGOs which applied to them and the importance of making joint works (ORSAM, 2014, p.99). Turkey needs more help to alleviate the refugee burden. However, NGOs has faced with many disadvantages about this topic. They have wanted to visit the refugee camps but they have been rejected under the pretext of privacy. Works are not conducted in a transparent and it is a big problem (Helsinki Citizens' Assembly Turkey, 2012, p.5. To making the NGOs' workings smooth;

- The issue of humanitarian aid should be kept away from political debates,
- The employee security of NGOs who made humanitarian aid should be provided,
- The preparations should be made against greater potential crisis,
- The coordination of NGOs which engaged in similar works should be done ,
- The humanitarian aid corridors should be established to reach the aids easily beyond the borders.

If these topics implemented, it can be provided the works of NGOs more effectively. The all of NGOs, first local NGOs, are doing their best about humanitarian aid even risking their lives. Because of this reason, the government should be worked to facilitate the NGOs' businesses. Some control mechanisms should be there as a matter of course but these mechanisms should not cause disruption of this aid.

### **2.3.Turkish Public Opinion**

Throughout the history, the people of Turk were called with the hospitality by foreigners. The hospitality is holy in Turkey so Turks have always helped everyone who needs their help regardless of religion, language and race.

In the year of 2010, the unrests which began in the Arab World have happened by the side of our country. The revolts which have started in Syria that is our longest borders in the April of 2011 have been affected us deeply. Many of Syrian and Turkish people who live in the southern of Turkey have kinship relations. Because of this reason, Turkey has emotionally approached the events. Moreover, the desire of Syrian people is seen justified by Turkish public opinion. The public who lives under the dictatorship for a long time wants to democracy. Despite all the international pressure Assad regime has applied the persecution to his public instead of making the reform. The regime has started to use heavy guns above their public to suppress the requests of people. Because of them, Syrian people have obligated to taking shelter to the neighboring countries, firstly Turkey, to save their lives. Turkey has opened her border until the end to Syrian people who has taken shelter to Turkey. Nearly 3.5 years, the influx of people from Syria still continues.

The government has developed many policies to meet the needs of Syrian refugees. Firstly, they were named as the guest because this process is temporary and all of them will turn back when the problem is resolved in their country. However, it is understood that this civil war will not end soon since the second middle of 2012. Moreover, the number of people who came from Syria is increasing day by day. Because of this reason, temporary protection status has been given to Syrians with the circular letter which was enacted from the ministry. However, this status is not enough to the current state. More than 1 million of

non-camp refugees needed food and money so they have to work. Because of them, many Syrians have left the camps. Many people who live in Kilis and Gaziantep have described Syrians as a kinship. Nonetheless, there is an increasing uneasiness in anywhere of Turkey in general, especially the number of non-camp refugees have much increased so local people are started to feel themselves as a foreigner in the provinces of border. Moreover, the local people were extremely disturbed from Syrians who carried their own culture to here. Some Turks say that they understand the escaping of women and children but they do not understand why men escaped from their countries' war instead of defending their country. Women and children certainly are most affected from the war and they always open to abuse in every environment. Because of this reason, it is important that their protection by the government in everywhere. As Asst. Assoc. Dr. Murat Balci says, Syrian women who want to get rid of from the camp environment have made illegal marriage. The women who made a second marriage with Turkish men are seen as a threat to Turkish family structure (<http://www.milliyet.com.tr/suriyeli-kumalar-geleneksel-aile-gundem-1947061/>). According to the criminal code, these marriages are invalid and the government should prevent them. Balci indicates that the number of divorce was 91 thousand 22 in 2004 but it was increased until 125 thousand 305 in 2013 according to data from TSI (<http://www.milliyet.com.tr/suriyeli-kumalar-geleneksel-aile-gundem-1947061/>).

With the lack of space in the camps, the refugees who started to immigrate from the provinces of border to major cities have become visible in the press and public. At first, these people who Turkish public approached with understanding and tolerance were seen as a problem (Güçlü, 2014, p.2). Syrians draws response by the host due to have not paid their rent because their money already finished. In addition to this, Syrians who work in each job have affected the labor market badly. Since there is no work permit, Syrians who work with low wages disturbed Turkish worker (Özden, 2013, p.7). Moreover, Fatma Şahin indicates that the government knows the problem and works to solve. Many of Turkish employers have benefited from this situation and they have exploited Syrian workers. Many of them work in fields as seasonal worker and when the winter comes; the only request of Syrians is getting rid of the camp environment and rent a flat (Özden, 2013, p.8). Many Syrians who want to stay the province of border lead to increase in rent.

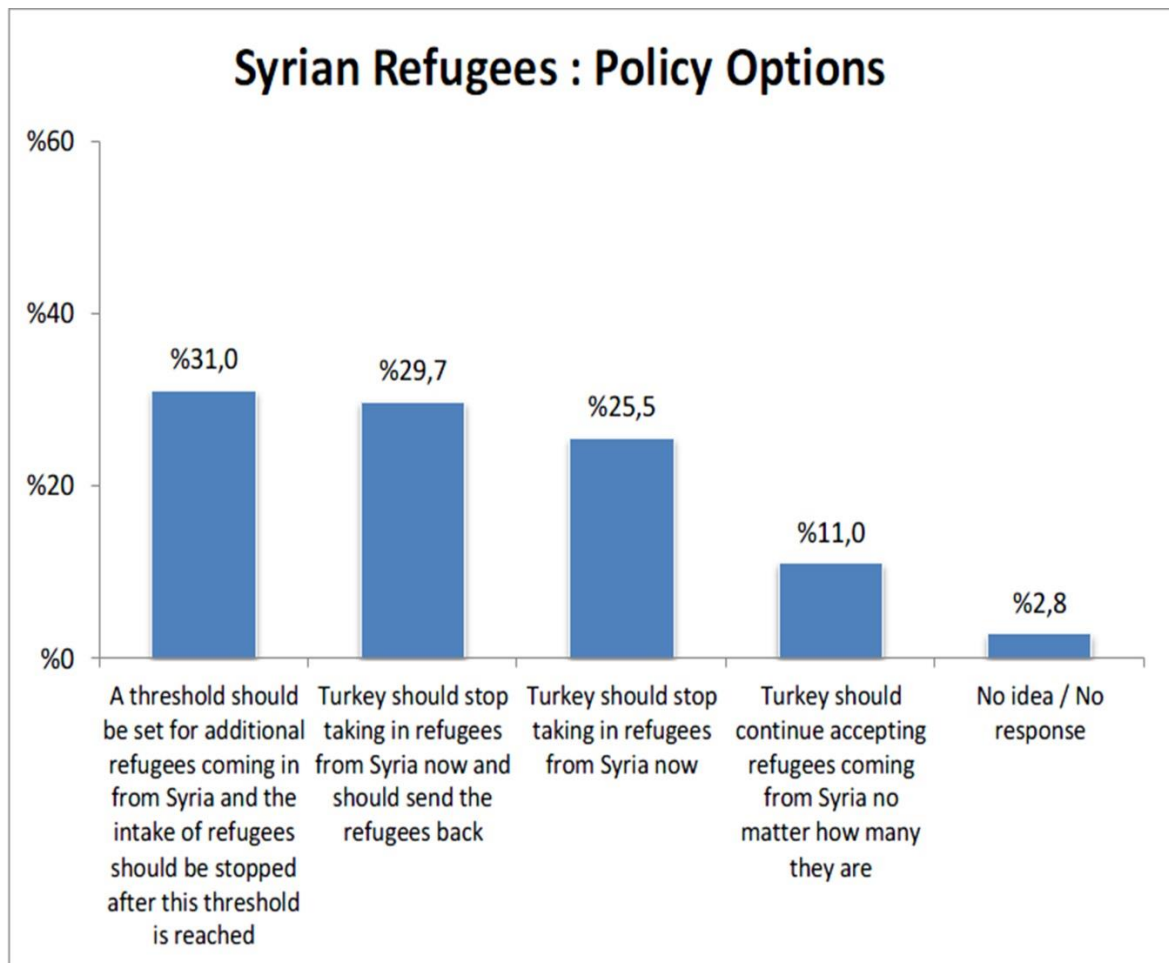
Because of these reasons, the local people have badly affected. For instance, the rents of houses have increased from 200-300 TL to 700-1000 TL in Kilis. It is the most horrible thing that the rents of houses even have increased from 700-800 TL to 1400-1500 TL in the poorest place of İstanbul (Dinçer and others, 2013, p.17). The trade between Syria and Turkey has been affected badly from the events which experienced. This situation has affected the local people who engaged in trade in the province of border and their incomes decreased (Dinçer and others, 2013, p.27-28). While attempting to eliminate the needs of non-camp refugees, the poor people who live in Turkey have complained about the situation. As we mentioned earlier, many of them has entered the country illegally due to the lack of a valid passport, therefore none of their transactions have not recorded. Both their marriage and newborns has not recorded. This issue is also among the issues which are trying to be resolve by the government. The Minister of Labor and Social Security indicates that they are working about identity which will describe the Syrian refugees. At the same time, these identities are important for security. Many vehicles belonging to the Syrians are circulating in traffic but these vehicles do not have insurance and they are not registered in traffic. When they involved in any accident, people have faced with many problems (Dinçer and others, 2013, p.29). As Ortak Akıl Platform mentioned, the daily lives of people are badly affected and the government should be made something as soon as possible. Although Turkish and Syrian people have a kinship relation, their culture is completely different from each other. For example, Hatay has urban and educated population, but many Syrian people do not know reading and writing. Because of this reason, the behavior in social life has differentiated so the local residents disturb from Syrians who talking and laughing loudly (Özden, 2013, p.10). One of the biggest problems which experienced especially in hospitals in the border provinces is brimmed with Syrian refugees. With the circular letter which published by the prime minister's office, Syrians are treating as a free in everywhere of Turkey. Especially, many injured people are treating in the border provinces. Since their situation is an emergency, Syrians treated firstly so local residents are complaining that they do not benefit from hospitals (Özden, 2013, p.11). In addition to these, people say that not only innocent people but also fighters have stayed in camps and the local residents have disturbed. The government supports for rebels of



Syrian lead a concern, especially among people living in the border provinces but the government rejected these assertions. About 30% of the people living in the camps are said to be former soldiers but the government says that armed persons are not passed (Özden, 2013, p.11). Turkish people are affected mostly the economically from this civil war and the influx of Syrian refugees. The residents of Gaziantep, Hatay, Kilis and Şanlıurfa who engaged with farming in 5 km away from border have lost about half of their annual income because people cannot continue their workings due to security (UN Syria Regional Response Plan, 2014, p.62). The residents who live in the border provinces are in fear and anxiety and they think that their lives in danger. This idea began to confront Turkey with the Syrians. Moreover, this incident leads to attacking of Turkish people to Syrians' houses and vehicles. The society is going through a very delicate process and the smallest fuse is sufficient to trigger this fire. Syrians who participated in any fight, prostitution or theft has led to the formation of a bad perception above all Syrians. With this perception, it has been acted and called like as if all Syrians committing crimes (Akatürk, 2014, p.5). It was decided the deported of Syrians who disrupt public order to destroy the bad perception about Syrian. In addition to this, it was decided to eliminate the Syrian beggars with placing the camp with the help of local government. In this meeting chaired by Beşir Atalay, the governors and mayors of the provinces which Syrians intensively inhabited have joined (<http://www.milliyet.com.tr/birlikte-yasamak-artik-kacinilmaz/siyaset/detay/1930015/default.htm>).

Unlike the thought, the rates of crime among Syrians are very low. However, any event which experienced is to find a large echo in public and it leads to xenophobia. When the burden of Turkish government and people increased, the unrests continue to increase. Besides, this triggers the emotions of nationalist and leads to discrimination. After the economy, social life and health, the other important issue is education (Dedeoğlu, 2014). The majority of refugees consisted of children so young population. Because of this reason, education is crucial for integration to community of children. Syrian children are educated with Turkish language in Turkish school but if they returned their country, it would be better to give an education with the implementation of Syrian curriculum in Arabic (Kirişci, 2014, p.32). However, the opening of new school which gives an

education in such a way may lead to new problems to the government due to the desired education in Kurdish for years. In this instance, the relations with the Kurdish people who have already experienced problem may stretchable. In the same time, it says that the residents have started to arms as if this rumor is rejected by political authority, the people inside the fear is very large truth. The rumors circulating among the people, people make more enemies every day against Syrians (International Crisis Group, 2013, p.21). According to public opinion polls conducted on behalf of the Center for Economic and Foreign Policy Studies (EDAM), Turkish people do not want further Syrian refugees and %86 of the participants argue that no further Syrian refugees should be allowed in the country. Only %11 of the participants believes that the country should continue taking in future refugees from Syria (Center for Economic and Foreign Policy Studies [EDAM], 2014).

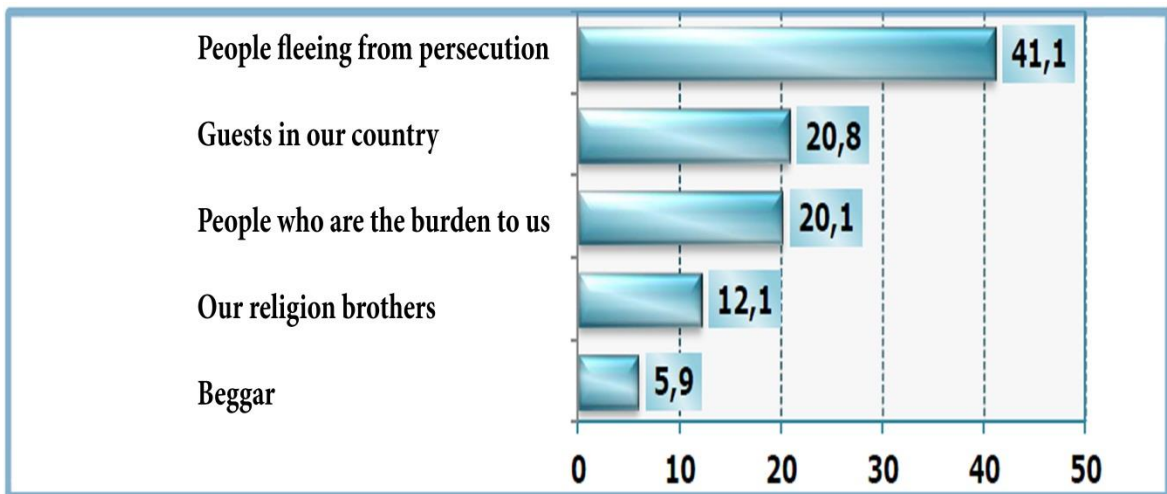


### **Figure 6: Syrian Refugees, Policy Option from EDAM**

The answers vary according to the supporters of political parties. While AKP supporters that took part in the survey believe that a limit should be placed on the number of refugees; CHP and MHP voters that participated in the survey clearly state that their first preference is sending back the refugees to Syria. This study was done by the EDAM with the participation of 1515 people. It was revealed in the study to which 119 experts participated that the top choice of the experts is stopping taking in refugees from now on. While a third of the experts agree on this option, other views have received less support. It is seen that the experts that prefer a more closed policy regarding Syrian refugees and those that prefer a more open policy have roughly the same ratio (EDAM, 2014). According to survey of Transatlantic Trends 2014 which was made by The German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF), Turks have concerned about the influx of refugees. When asked why immigrants come to their country, 77% of Turks mentioned “to seek asylum”. While only 47% mentioned “to seek social benefits” and 35% mentioned “to work”. 42% of Turkish respondents said that there are “too many” immigrants in their country, while 14% of respondents said “not many” and 66% of Turkish respondents said that immigrants were integrating poorly. 66% of Turks said that their country’s policies towards refugees should be more restrictive. 67% of Turks disapproved of their government’s handling of immigration. 75% of Turkish respondents said that the number of Turks leaving to live in other countries was a problem; only 21% said it was not. In addition to this, 28% of Turks said that their country should cooperate with countries of the EU in international affairs and 33% of Turks said Turkey should act alone (German Marshall Found, 2014). 65% of respondents said that the rate of crime has increased. More than half of people participating of survey think that refugees receive from the hands of their jobs. The refugees are seen as a burden to both economic and social services by Turkish people (Erdoğan, 2014, p.2). The results from the Life in Transition Survey II (LTS2), conducted in 2010, named Turkey as the most intolerant nation among European and Asian countries, tied with Mongolian (Erdoğan, 2014, p.1). With the emotions of nationalist, people can take a hostile stance towards Syrian refugees from time to time. Hacettepe University Migration and Politics Research Center (HUGO) have made a public opinion pool with the heading of “Syrians

Perception in Turkey”. They wanted to explain the standpoint of Turkish people about Syrian refugees. 64.6 % of participants said that the adoption of Syrian refugees regardless of their religion, language and ethnicity is the duty of humanity. However, 30.6% of participants said that Even if the war continues, Syrians must be returned.

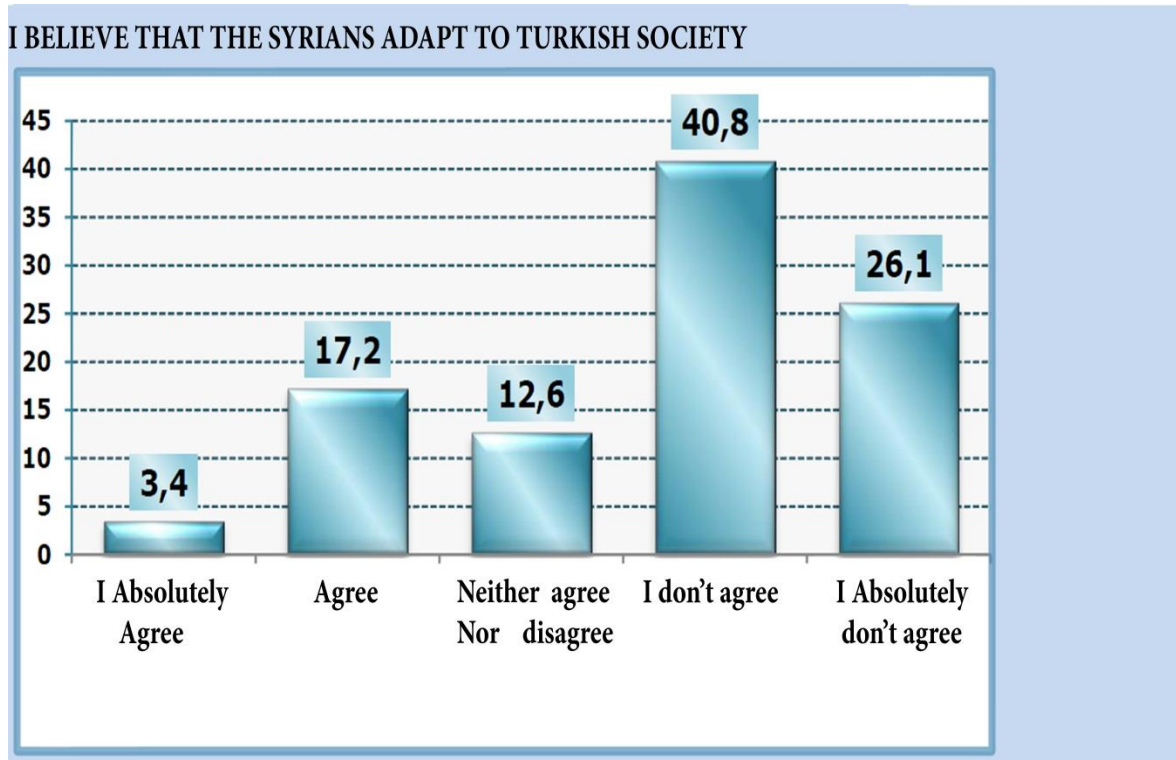
When we looked at how the refugees are named, 72.2% of participants said that people fleeing from persecution, guests in our country and our religion brothers.



**Figure 7: How the refugees are named from HUGO**

70.7% of Turkish people think that Turkish economy has damaged due to the refugees. This survey shows that 30% of Turks have given financial and moral support for Syrians but 68.3% of Turks shows that indifferent. 56.1% of Turks think that Syrians takes their job from hands. When the issue of work permit asks them, 47.4 of Turks have rejected. 47.5 of Turks show that the rightful reactions are given against Syrian refugee. When if the war was prolonged in Syria, what should be Turkey’s policy towards Syrian refugees? Asks to participants; 62.8% of Turks say that they should be sent back to their country when the war continues. The situation of the war is very effective about the decision of the Turkish people. 76.5% of Turks think that Syrians will lead to major problems if they remain in Turkey.72.6% of Turks say that Syrians should remain in only

the camp side. 66.9% of Turks indicate that Syrians cannot adapt to the Turkish community (Hacettepe University Migration and Politics Research Center [HUGO], 2014).



**Figure 8: The Rate of the Syrians Adapt to Turkish Society from HUGO**

As of October 2014, approximate 4.5 billion dollars are spent to refugees whose is become 1 million 565 thousand. This visit has continued for 3.5 years. Syrians are living in 72 provinces except for 9 provinces in Turkey. Despite everything Turkish society seems to have accepted the Syrian. Since the Turkish people approached to this issue as a humanitarian mission, the acceptable levels of the Syrian people is greater than anticipated. However, the government should be worked about this issue with taking into consideration of process to change of perspectives in a positive direction against Syrians. Moreover, emergency measures should be taken about some issues in the province of border. Otherwise the ethnic problems in Syria could spill over to Turkey.

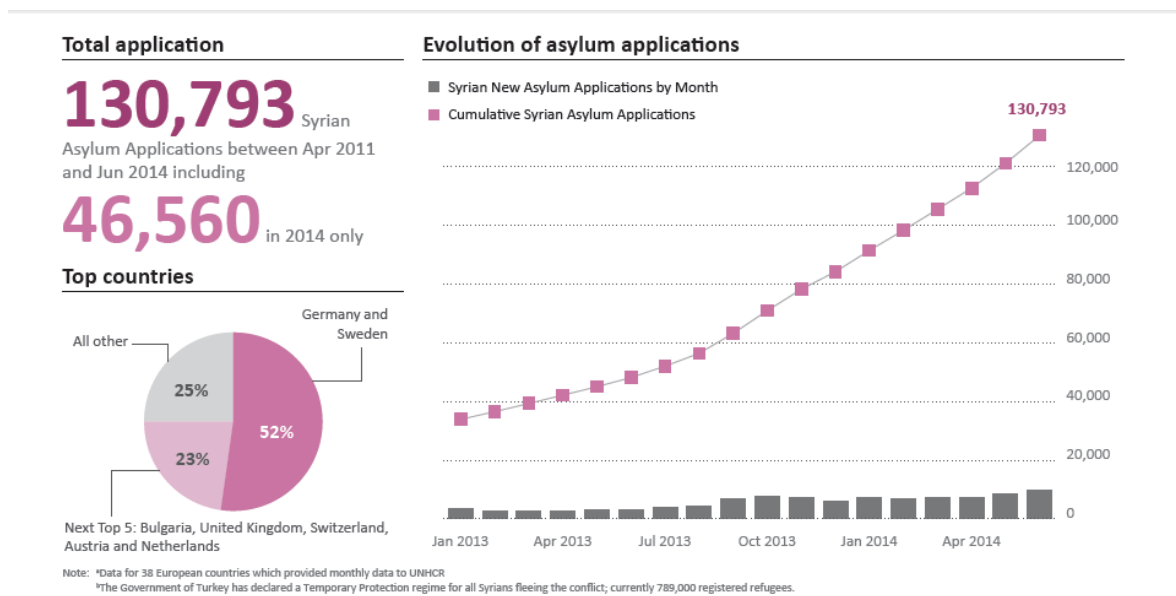
## CHAPTER III

### EUROPEAN UNION PERSPECTIVE ABOUT SYRIAN IMMIGRATION WAVE

With the starting of Arab Spring, lots of countries have been affected from the wave of uprising. Syria is one of them and this situation still continues since the mid of 2011.

The Syria conflict has triggered the world's largest humanitarian crisis since World War II. Approximately 7.6 million people internally were displaced and 12.2 million people in need of humanitarian assistance ([http://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/infographics/infographic\\_syriancrisis\\_en.pdf#view=fit](http://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/infographics/infographic_syriancrisis_en.pdf#view=fit)). The EU and its member states have made large amounts of donate to refugees. More than € 3.6 billion have been mobilized for relief and recovery assistance to Syrians ([http://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/aid/countries/factsheets/syria\\_en.pdf#view=fit](http://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/aid/countries/factsheets/syria_en.pdf#view=fit)) who stayed in their country and escaped to neighboring countries. According to UNHCR, over 3.8 million refugees have fled to Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey, Iraq, Egypt and North Africa (European Commission, 2015). After four years from the beginning of civil war, the situation is getting worse day by day and the Syrian people need an urgent aid. The humanitarian situation has continued to deteriorate with violence and conflict from Government forces and Armed Opposition Groups (European Commission Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection, 2015, p.2). People do even meet the most basic needs such as shelter, sanitation and food and they need all kinds of aid. Especially women and children have affected badly from the situation. Lots of children can not go to school for three years and international community have worried about the lost generation. Most of Syrians have to flee neighboring countries because of security concerns but the host countries cannot meet the requirements. The EU is a leading donor in the response to the Syria crisis with around €3.6 billion of total budget mobilized by the Commission and Member States collectively in humanitarian, development, economic and stabilization assistance (European Commission Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection, 2015, p.3). However, it is

not enough for hosting countries. They need a more active assistance such as re-settle and temporary protection. The burden of people above the hosting countries has reached a terrible level. That is to say, EU member states should put their hands under the stone about the burden sharing. From the beginning of Syrian crises, lots of people made an asylum application to European countries.



**Figure 9: The Evolution of Asylum Applications from 38 European Countries which Provided Monthly Data from UNHCR.**

However, EU countries are very reluctant about the accepting of Syrian refugees to Europe. UNHCR has wanted from countries to open their borders to Syrian refugees but except for some countries, most of them don't want to Syrian refugees.

## Resettlement and Other Forms of Admission for Syrian Refugees

Pledges received since 2013:	57,878
Visas granted under other forms of admission:	11,373
Submissions to the USA:	10,527
<b>TOTAL places made available to date:</b>	<b>79,778</b>

Country	Total confirmed pledges (persons) received since 2013
Argentina	humanitarian visa programme
Australia	5,600 resettlement and Special Humanitarian Programme
Austria	1,500 humanitarian admission
Belarus	20 resettlement
Belgium	300 resettlement
Brazil	open-ended humanitarian visa programme
Canada	200 resettlement 1,100 private sponsorship 10,000 resettlement/private sponsorship
Denmark	140 resettlement
Finland	850 resettlement
France	1,000 humanitarian admission/resettlement
Germany	20,000 humanitarian admission 10,000 individual sponsorship
Hungary	30 resettlement
Ireland	310 resettlement
Liechtenstein	25 resettlement
Luxembourg	60 resettlement
Netherlands	500 resettlement
New Zealand	100 resettlement
Norway	2,500 resettlement
Poland	100 resettlement
Portugal	23 resettlement 70 emergency scholarships for higher education
Spain	130 resettlement
Sweden	2,700 resettlement
Switzerland	500 resettlement
United Kingdom	Vulnerable Persons Relocation scheme
United States of America	open-ended resettlement
Uruguay	120 resettlement
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>57,878 + additional number to the United States of America</b>

**Figure 10: Resettlement and Other Forms of Admission For Syrian Refugees from UNHCR, Resettlement and Other Forms of Admission for Syrian Refugees (13 May 2015), Retrieved May 13, 2015, from <http://www.unhcr.org/52b2febafc5.pdf>**



### **3.1. European Union's Perspective**

The process, which are named as an Arab Spring has affected especially Middle East and all countries in the region. Syrian crisis has started in the middle of 2011 and has claimed lots of people.

When the Syrian crisis started, international community has begun to make something for innocent people. Catherine Ashton, the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President of the Commission, made a statement: "I condemn the use of brutal force against demonstrators across Syria, which is resulting in high numbers of victims. The Syrian authorities must immediately stop their violent response and fully respect citizens' right to peaceful demonstrations." (EU, 23 April 2011) She called the Syrian government make the political reforms. With the Council Decision 2011/273/CFSP (EU, 9 June 2011), the Council imposes restrictive measures against Syria and persons responsible for the violent repression against the civilian population in Syria and those associated with them. On the escalation of violent, EU has reached political agreement on the addition of twenty Syrian individuals or entities to list of those targeted by an asset freeze and travel ban (EU, 19 August 2011). In addition to these developments, EU has started to make an embargo on the import of Syrian crude oil. European countries have believed that the only solution of this problem is a political. However, the conflicts have continued to deteriorate and EU has added 15 Syrian individuals and five entities to the list of those targeted by an asset freeze and travel ban pursuant to decision 2011/273/CFSP (Council of the European Union, 23 August 2011). When the UN Human Rights Council on Syria gathered, Catherine Ashton says she warmly welcome the outcome of the special session of the Human Rights Council on Syria. European Union has supported the UN's attempts.

In view of the gravity of the situation in Syria, the Council imposed a ban on the import of Syrian oil to the EU (Council of the European Union, 2 September 2011). The prohibitions concerns purchase, import and transport of oil and other petroleum products from Syria. The Council also banned the delivery of Syrian-denominated bank notes and

coinage produced in the EU to the Syrian Central Bank (Council of the European Union (23 September 2011)).

At the beginning, EU only condemned Syrian regime because of the violation on Syrians. However, it did not a constructive solution and it did not help to end the violence. The EU has warned Syrian regime and authorities at every turn to stop the violation and using gun above innocent people. The EU condemned the Syrian regime's restrictions on freedom of expression and access to the internet, as well as the intimidation and arrest of bloggers and other human rights defenders (EU, 14 December 2011). Catherine Ashton emphasized that the Arab League has demonstrated important leadership in the Syrian crisis and she underlined their strong support to the Arab League's efforts to ending the crisis with political solution (EU, 1 February 2012). As the Syrian regime continued use of violence against civilians, the Council increased measures against the Syrian regime. Trade in gold, precious metals and diamonds with Syrian public and the central bank will no more be permitted. Catherine Ashton stressed that as long as the repression continues, the EU will keep imposing sanctions (Council of the European Union, 27 February 2012). The situation in Syria must remain at the center of the world's attention and international community should do its utmost to stop the ongoing bloodshed. The UN, international leaders and the Arab League have implemented sanctions against Assad regime. The EU, the US and certain Arab states have also been assisting the Syrian rebels with weapons.

As the violence has increased, the numbers of Syrians escaping into neighboring countries increases and thus numbers fleeing to Europe are also on the rise. Asylum applications filed by Syrians in Europe as a whole have significantly increased. From January to May 2012 alone, 5.370 asylum applications have been filed throughout EU Member States, Norway and Switzerland (Fandrich, 2012). However, there are no rules to comply with all EU members about Syrian refugees. As activating temporary protection status for Syrian nationals within the EU seems highly unlikely, the EU could choose a common response to harmonies the receiving conditions and the protection of Syrian nationals in EU member states. EU institutions could commit themselves to the following:

- Ensure that no Syrian nationals are brought back to Syria or pushed back at the EU border,
- Ensure that Syrian nationals have the possibility to apply for asylum when they enter an EU territory,
- Facilitate the application procedures to reduce delays,
- Ensure that Syrian applicants all receive a protection status ( Fandrich, 2012, p.2).

Most European officials say that they want to stop the bloodshed, but without the use of force it does not seem possible. Some European countries talk about military intervention but Russia and China stand against them so they have to talk about political solution. In this context, the EU's members have prioritized three objectives vis-à-vis Syria:

- To convince Assad government to enter into serious negotiations with the opposition aimed at achieving a “peaceful and democratic transition”.
- To persuade or pressure the government to desist from violence against civilians
- To maintain the maximum possible regional and international support for these goals (Gowan, 2012).

The EU want to use UN Security Council to stop this situation but Russia and China refused to allow any European-backed resolution on Syria. The EU Council sanctions on Assad regime are very important but it is controversial that it works and does not work.

The humanitarian situation has deteriorated dramatically as violence has intensified and fighting has continued to spread throughout the entire country. Most of the people in need of assistance and firstly EU members and Council, as well as other regional countries, have made humanitarian aid to Syrian people. The EU members have send money to aid agencies and hosting countries (Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq). Because people needs food, shelter, sanitation and lots of things. Especially women and children need a special interest. Most of children lost their family and they need a protection. Over 30.000 people have lost their lives inside Syria (European Commission, 6 November 2012, p.1). More than 2.5 million people are in need of immediate assistance. When the EU sends money, it is used for emergency health care, food assistance, livelihood support, logistics, water and

sanitation. All of this implemented by the Red Cross, by UN organizations like the World Food Program and the High Commissioner for Refugees, and by NGOs (European Commission, 6 November 2012, p.2). However, to reach places of the help needed is a problem. Because none of them does not comply with International Humanitarian Law, both government-controlled and rebel-controlled or disputed areas are not safe for humanitarian aid workers. However, it is an obligation on all parties to the conflict.

While the bulk of the European Commission's humanitarian aid is dedicated to bringing relief inside Syria, a substantial part is helping Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan cope with the influx of refugees (European Commission, 27 September 2012, p.1). Lack of information has also prevented the international community from analyzing and monitoring the overall extent of the situation and thereby hampering a full and comprehensive humanitarian response. However, UN observers can help about this situation to international community. The Syrian Arab Red Crescent has been the main organization involved in the assessment of needs with the financial aid from EU and other international actors.

To find a political solution, UN and Arab League gave a special mission to Kofi Annan. This process is fully supported by the EU and its member states. Kofi Annan prepared a peace and negotiation plan which known as Annan's six point plan for Syria. This plan includes these points (Akgün, 2012, p.8):

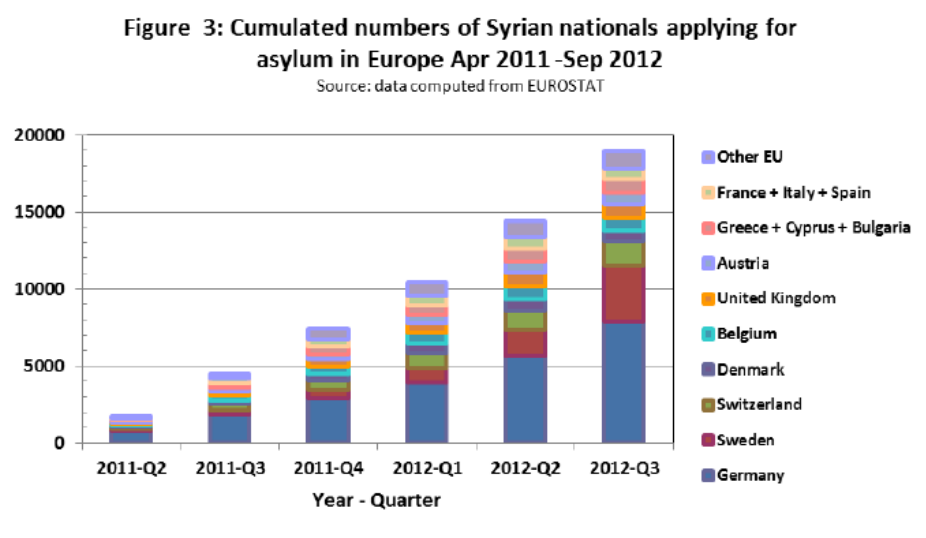
1. Commit to work with the Envoy in an inclusive Syrian-led political process to address the legitimate aspirations and concerns of the Syrian people,
2. Commit to stop the fighting and achieve urgently an effective United Nations supervised cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties to protect civilians and stabilize the country;
  - To this end, the Syrian government should immediately cease troop movements towards, and end the use of heavy weapons in, population centers, and begin pullback of military concentrations in and around population centers

- Similar commitments would be sought by the Envoy from the opposition and all relevant elements to stop the fighting and work with him to bring about a sustained cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties with an effective United Nations supervision mechanism
3. Ensure timely provision of humanitarian assistance to all areas affected by the fighting, and to this end, as immediate steps, to accept and implement a daily two hour humanitarian pause,
  4. Intensify the pace and scale of release of arbitrarily detained persons, including especially vulnerable categories of persons, and persons involved in peaceful political activities,
  5. Ensure freedom of movement throughout the country for journalists and a non-discriminatory visa policy for them;
  6. Respect freedom of association and the right to demonstrate peacefully as legally guaranteed.

The Syrian government announced the adoption of Annan's plan so UN has sent observers to Syria. However, the Syrian government did not comply with the plan and observers have reported human rights violations. Finally Kofi Annan has leaved his post. After Annan, Lakdar Brahimi selected to UN special representative for Syria (<http://www.haberturk.com/dunya/haber/773401-baslamadan-havlu-atti>). However, he has not any hope to finish the Syrian civil war and he emphasized that the mission could be impossible.

The EU is deeply concerned about the continued violence in Syria, because nobody can see the end of situation. Catherine Ashton underlines most of times that the violence in the country requires urgent and united action by United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and international community. When we looked at countries which detect the EU's policy direction such as United Kingdom, France and Germany, we can say that their policies about Syria are similar. Cameron's government supports Syrian opposition and they said that Assad's regime immediately must have halted violence against own people (Erdoğan, 2012, p.18). However, a military operation is not an option to Syria for UK. France has always a strong historical relationship with Syria but N. Sarkozy has clearly blamed Assad

(Erdoğan, 2012, p.18). Finally, Germany has given a similar reaction about Syria. Nonetheless, we cannot say that the EU develops an effective policy on Syria. Their reaction can only be called symbolic against Assad. EU participated meetings “Group of Friends of Syrian People”. First conference made in Tunis and second conference made in Istanbul. In the meantime, Catherine Ashton made an explanation on behalf of EU that Syrian National Council will be addressed (Erdoğan, 2012, p.19).



**Figure 11: Cumulated Numbers of Syrian Nationals Applying for Asylum in Europe APR 2011-Sep 2012 from EUROSTAT**

Syrian asylum applications within Europe have increased since the beginning of the conflict, but remain small. EUROSTAT reported that in 2012, 4.390 out of 4.765 applications were positively granted protection- 1.595 refugee status and 2.755 subsidiary protections- meaning that almost all were granted some form of protection (Fandrich, 2012, p.3). Levels of protection vary across Europe. For example, Germany gives a subsidiary protection but Sweden gives a temporary residence permit for three years (Fandrich, 2012, p.3). However, most of Syrians have not made application to asylum and so they have crossed the border illegal ways to reach the EU countries. Refugees have three different ways to Europe: land route to Greece or Bulgaria, air route to any EU member state and sea route across the Mediterranean to Greece, Cyprus, Malta or Italy (Fargues and Fandrich, 2012/2014, p.5). Because of these reasons, EU has started to work for enhance

border security. The EU and its Member States have taken various measures to simultaneously maintain and secure European borders from Syrians. Member States have been implementing several forms of border control and asylum protection based on their individual national security needs. European Commission prepared a mission to secure their borders with European Asylum Support Office (EASO) and Frontex (Fargues and Fandrich, 2012/2014, p.12). Especially Greece border has opened Syrian refugees so additional 1.800 border guards sent to Greek-Turkey Evros border. According to Frontex, the total numbers of migrants crossing the Greek-Turkish land border dropped from over 2.000 a week in the first week of August (Fargues and Fandrich, 2012/2014, p.12).

Although certain EU member states have been sharing the burden by granting Syrians asylum, most EU member states refrained from returning Syrians back to their country. They have not publicly acknowledged the need for Syrian resettlement, instead focused on providing assistance to host countries. Germany and Sweden experienced the highest numbers of Syrian asylum applications, out of all countries in Europe since the beginning of the conflict (Fargues and Fandrich, 2012/2014, p.13). Norway and Denmark are also granting “tolerated stay” to Syrians entering the respective countries. However, it is not enough because this Syrian refugee flux has increased day by day. EU could:

- Increase refugee resettlement for those who have been affected by the Syrian crisis and are the most in need.
- Continue positive asylum procedures throughout the EU.
- EASO could take a more active role.
- Continue to work with its international partners to find a political and humanitarian solution to the Syrian crisis (Fandrich, 2012, p.4).
- Encourage visa facilitation and family reunification for Syrians.
- Establish a Regional Protection Program (RPP) with a large increase of Syrian refugee resettlement as a required component.

The EU response aims to: support a political process that brings a sustainable solution to the crisis and prevent regional destabilization. European Commission President José Manuel Barroso said that our first priority is to promote a political settlement aimed at

ending the violence and the human right abuses (EU, 24 June 2013). Vice President Catherine Ashton added that we want to democratic Syria. On the other hand, the situation is getting worse and some environments have claimed that Assad regime used chemical weapons. Catherine Ashton has said that any use of chemical weapons, by any side in Syria, would be totally unacceptable (EU, 21 August 2013). UN observers were sent to Syria to make an investigation about chemical weapons and UNSC has been called to duty. Some EU members and the US have indicated that chemical warfare represents a red line which, once crossed, could lead to military intervention. High casualty rates suggested that it could be used by a rebel group but the rebels accused Syrian army.

Kristalina Georgieva, European commissioner for international cooperation, humanitarian aid and crisis response, said that we don't see the end of Syria crisis and she added that we have to act now, proactively, before it is too late (Parasiliti, 2013). She has visited Syrian refugee camps in Turkey and she has appreciated Turkish government. She said that the EU gives some modest assistance to Turkey via humanitarian organizations because of Turkish security concerns. However, to give money is just not enough. The host countries need more than money; they need humanitarian assistance and share the refugee burden. While UNHCR continues to receive pledges from countries in order to meet this goal, only 15.244 places for temporary or permanent relocation of refugees from Syria have been pledged (Amnesty International, 2013, p.1). Nonetheless, the EU has pledged only 12.340 of 15.244. Among the places offered by EU countries, 10.000 places were offered by Germany. Eighteen member states, including the UK and Italy, have not made any resettlement or humanitarian admission pledged (Amnesty International, 2013, p.1). The EU member states want to protect their "Fortress Europe" from asylum seekers and irregular migrants because they think that this war will not end soon so many refugees have to settle permanently in Europe. Many human rights violations are experienced throughout European borders to ensure their borders protection. In the midst of this general reluctance, one country stands out; Sweden announced that it would give asylum to all Syrian refugees who apply (Fahsi, 2013, p.2).



Confirmed pledges and admissions for Syrians 2013/2014			Annual resettlement quota
Country	Syrian refugees to be admitted	Type of admission	
Austria	1,500	humanitarian admission	-
Belgium	150	resettlement	100
Denmark	140	resettlement	500
Finland	500	resettlement	750

Confirmed pledges and admissions for Syrians 2013/2014			Annual resettlement quota
Country	Syrian refugees to be admitted	Type of admission	
France	500	resettlement/ humanitarian admission	100 cases
Germany	20,000 5,500	humanitarian admission individual sponsorship	300
Hungary	30	resettlement	-
Ireland	310	resettlement	80
Liechtenstein	4	resettlement	-
Luxembourg	60	resettlement	-
Netherlands	250	resettlement	500
Norway	1,000	resettlement	1,120
Portugal	23	resettlement	-
Spain	130	resettlement	30
Sweden	1,200	resettlement	1,900
Switzerland	500	resettlement	-
United Kingdom	[open ended]	resettlement - VPR Scheme	750
<b>Total Europe</b>	<b>31,797 + UK</b>		
Australia	500	resettlement	12,000 (+500 non-UNHCR)
Belarus	20	resettlement	-
Canada	200 1,100	resettlement private sponsorship	7,735 (+6,865 non-UNHCR)
New Zealand	100	resettlement	750
United States of America	[open ended]	resettlement	58,000 (+12,000 non-UNHCR)
Uruguay	120	resettlement	30
<b>Total confirmed pledges</b>	<b>33,837 + US + UK</b>		

**Figure 12: Confirmed Pledges and Admissions for Syrian Refugees 2013/2014 from UNHCR**

The terrible conflict in Syria is continued for five year. With more than 100.000 dead, 2 million refugees and 9.3 million Syrians in need of humanitarian assistance (EU External Action, 15 march 2014), half of them children, the tragedy in Syria has no parallel in recent history. The EU has seen that the only solution of this conflict is a political, thus EU extended economic sanctions until 1 June 2015 (Council of the EU, 29 May 2014). These economic sanctions include a number of export and import bans such as oil embargo and restrictions on investment.

Over 12.2 million need humanitarian assistance and 5 million of which are children. This civil war has continued nearly 5 year and nobody knows that when the conflict will finish. The EU has funded humanitarian aid since January 2012 and it has reached at 817 million euro. Total overall EU (EU+ Member States) funding for the crisis has surpassed €3.6 billion. This funding was used for relief and recovery assistance to Syrians in their country and neighboring countries. In 2015, the Commission has increased its humanitarian assistance to the Syria crisis by €136 million, half of which will go to needs inside Syria and the other half to Syrian refugees and host communities (European Commission Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection, 2015, p.3). However, both the EU and international community should increase support to Syrian refugees and host countries. As the numbers of refugees from Syria continues to grow, the EU and its Member States must do more to provide assistance and protection to those who arrive in Europe (Amnesty International, 2013, p.10). To sum up, the EU must

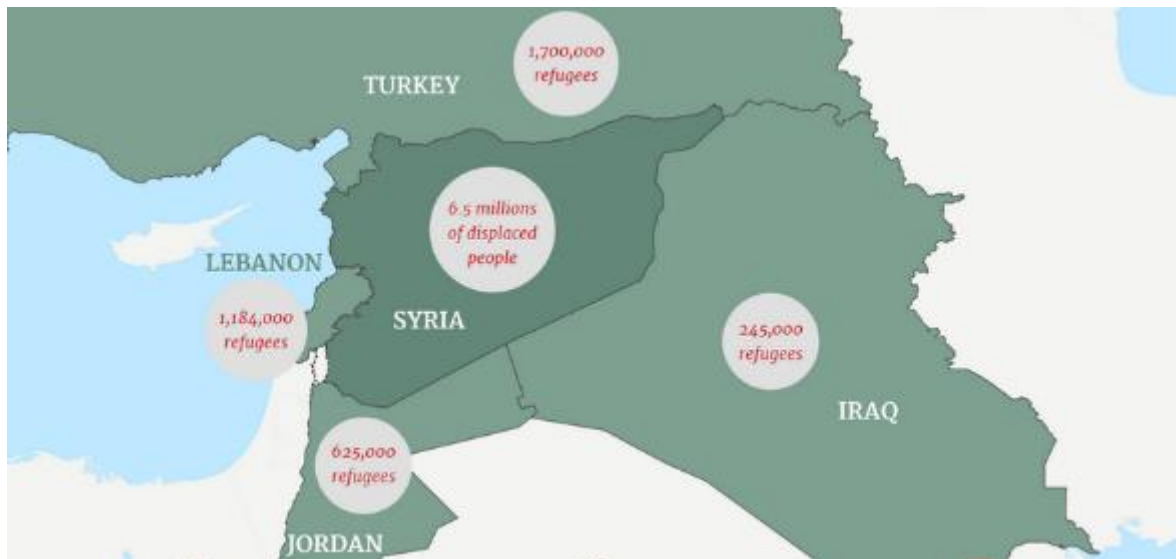
- Increase close cooperation with international community and NGOs,
- Increase support for hosting communities,
- Prepare for the post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation phase,
- Support a political settlement ,
- Encourage solidarity with particularly vulnerable persons who may be need in need of resettlement.

### **3.2. European Union Non-Governmental Organizations' Perspective**

European countries and people really concerned about Syrian civil war. They have tried to help innocent people. Lots of international and local NGOs work to help people.

People in Syria and neighboring countries have needed emergency humanitarian aid. Nearly 7.6 million people internally displaced and 12.2 million people, 5 million of which children, need of humanitarian aid inside Syria European Commission Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection, 2015, p.1). Especially women and children have effected badly from this civil war, because they need a protection from abuses. Approximately 3.961.704 number of refugees registered and awaiting registration. All of them need shelter, security, food and sanitation. Hosting countries try to provide every requirement of Syrian refugees in refugee camps but they don't have enough money and they need financial support. Especially international and local NGOs work for help to Syrian refugees who are in need of assistance. EU gives financial supports UN and UN's associations such as UNICEF, UNHCR, WFP and World Health Organization (WHO). By the end of 2013, the EU contribution to UNICEF's operations in Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey reached more than €74 million (European Commission, 24 September 2013). Some international NGOs have been chosen from EU report about assistance of NGOs. Human Care Syria, Syria Relief, Norwegian Refugee Council and International Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) are the main of them. The IFRC is the world's largest humanitarian organization, providing assistance without discrimination as to nationally, race, religious, beliefs, class or political opinions. The IFRC comprises 189 members Red Cross and Red Crescent National Societies (<http://www.ifrc.org/en/who-we-are/vision-and-mission/>). The IFRC carries out relief operations to assist victims of disasters, and combines this with development work to strengthen the capacities of its member National Societies. The IFRC's work focuses on four core areas: promoting humanitarian values, disaster response, disaster preparedness and health and community care. Because of these reasons Syrian civil war and the people who are affected from this war are important for IFRC. The IFRC, together with National Societies and the International Committee of the Red Cross, make up the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement (<http://www.ifrc.org/en/who->

we-are/vision-and-mission/). The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement calls international community for an end to the humanitarian tragedy in Syria. From the onset of the crisis, The Syrian Arab Crescent (SARC) has been the primary provider of humanitarian services. SARC president Dr. Abdulrahman Attar says that three years later, together with our International Red Cross and Red Crescent partners, we are providing impartial relief to millions of Syrians affected by the conflict (<https://www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/news-release/2014/syria-icrc-ifrc-sarc-statement.htm>). Especially Syrian refugees, who live in neighboring countries, don't have sustainable infrastructure and resources. Most of them have not accessed to health care, schools and essential supplies. The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement call all the parties of the conflict to observe their responsibilities under International Humanitarian Law. Due to the lack of rain and low water levels, Syrian people have faced with hardship in accessing clean water. Not only Syrian people who are internally displaced, but also Syrian refugees who live in host countries have affected badly from the drought. These situation leads to an increase in infectious diseases such as hepatitis A, skin diseases and diarrheal diseases. The SARC and its movement partners provide clean water to millions of people across the Syria. Dr. Attar says that Syrian people need a sanitation and clean water and he calls international community to rapidly increase its support for the essential water and sanitation programs of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement in Syria (<https://www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/news-release/2014/07-25-syria-red-cross-red-crescent-alarmed-water-shortages.htm>). According to IFRC, the distribution of Syrian refugees to neighboring countries is as shown in figure.



**Figure 13: The number of refugees who displaced in Syria and neighboring countries from <https://www.icrc.org/en/where-we-work/middle-east/syria>**

The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement have mobilized huge resources throughout the region to respond to the vast humanitarian needs both inside Syria and neighboring countries. In addition, the movement has mobilized to assist Syrian refugees in Europe. The movement has given 221 million Swiss francs to Syria and 168.2 million Swiss francs to neighboring countries. Consequently, 389 million Swiss francs have been donated in total (The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, 2015, p.2). This movement works for help Syrian people in Syria and the region. This conflict has continued for five years and they are preparing for another five years. If the conflict does not finish in the near time, the movement could become vitally important.

During the last four years, normal life of Syrians has finished. Medical services have collapsed, the economy has broken and water systems have dried. In addition to these, security problems are very big concern for aid workers. This situation leads to risk of aid workers' life. 40 Syrian Arab Red Crescent and 7 Palestine Red Crescent aid workers have lost their lives while on duty and many more were injured, kidnapped or detained (The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, 2015, p.3). With the support of this movement and other international organizations, the Syrian Arab Red

Crescent has provided assistance to an approximately 3.5 million people every month (The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, 2015, p.3). Assistance provided in Syria:

- Food distribution for 2.1 million people
- Health services for 0.9 million people
- Water and sanitation for 2.5 million people
- Essential household items for 2 million people
- More than 15 million people benefitted from clean water and sanitation projects
- In January 2015, 50 emergency responses were carried out in different parts of the country, 33 of them across front lines (The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, 2015, p.3).

This movement not only helps to people inside Syria but also helps to people inside neighboring countries. They have been working since the beginning of this crisis and international organizations supported this movement.

Human Care Syria was established in 2011 for help to Syrian people. Human Care Syria is the working name of UK- registered NGO (<http://www.humancaresyria.org/about>). Their mission is to deliver aid and development programs to those who need assistance without prejudice to people's religion, sex, age or the ethnic background. They have supported millions of Syrians on the ground, in Syria and neighboring countries and they have provided humanitarian aid, medical aid and infrastructure programs. They are dedicated themselves to restoring war torn Syria by providing immediate humanitarian aid and relief (<http://www.humancaresyria.org/about>). In addition, they have been achieving their goals by implementing child development programs, strengthening individuals to rebuild their live and building schools. Human Care Syria has established its first bakery in the suburbs of Aleppo supporting 3000 orphaned families daily who have lost their breadwinner (<http://www.humancaresyria.org/work/livelihood>). They have sponsored the bakery for two months with 100 tons of flour. This in turn made 60.000 bread packs (<http://www.humancaresyria.org/work/livelihood>). This has an important ground in Syrian

daily life because the bread is a basic need. In the meantime, Human Care Syria has established two schools for children. The first one established in Syria and the other in Turkey (<http://www.humancaresyria.org/work/care-schools>). Statistics show that over 2.960 schools have been destroyed and many others are being used by refugees and displaced people so the children need a school to continue their education. Like every children in the world, Syrian children have a right to basic education but they have not gone to school for last four years. International and local NGOs have to think Syrian children because they are the future of their country. When the Syrian war finish, the Syrian community will need their young population. Consequently, they give a special important for children who have affected from Syrian civil war. They have made Orphan Sponsorship Program (<http://www.humancaresyria.org/work/children>). When the children lose their family member, they provide them the basic requirements in life. This program has continued with donors and the donors may visit the orphan. Human Care Syria especially interested with children and orphans and they have worked for facilitate Syrian refugee's life.

Syria Relief is a UK based charity and it is a NGO with a clear aim in Syria. They directly support civilians and displaced communities by providing:

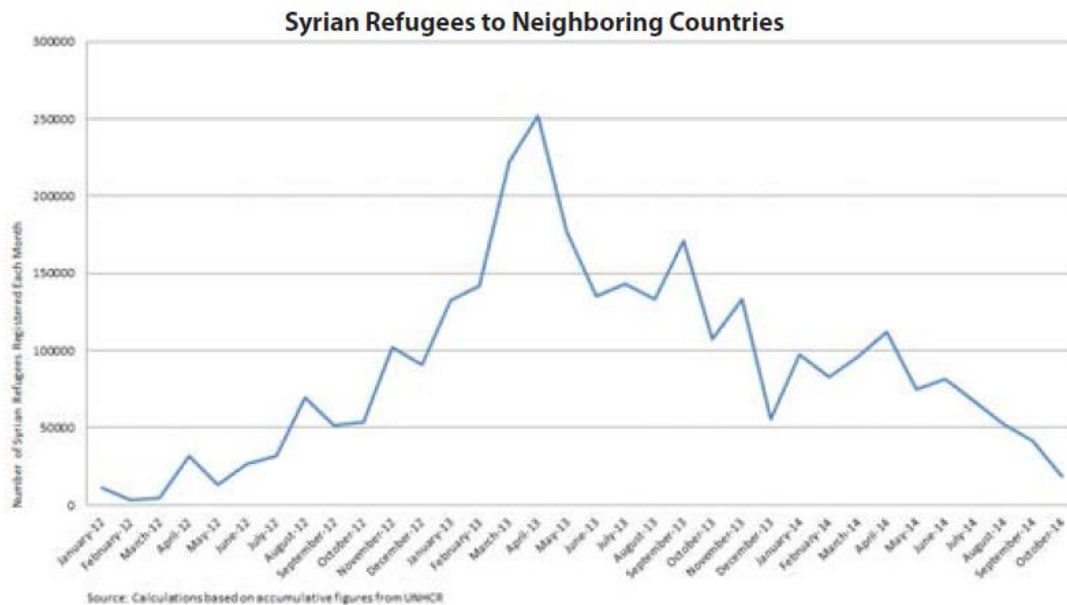
- All levels of medical care
- Education in accordance with the Syrian curriculum
- Nutritionally balanced food
- Clean drinking water
- Safe shelter to those without (<https://www.syriarelief.org.uk/about/>)

Syria Relief was established in September 2011 by a group of British-based Syrian expatriates. They want to help people affected by the conflict, regardless of race, religion, geographical location or political opinion. They work mostly inside Syria, especially heavily populated and besieged areas. 60% of their funds go to education, food and food security, water and sanitation, orphan and family support and shelter (<https://www.syriarelief.org.uk/about/>). Syria Relief works hard to get children back into school. They sponsor 43 schools and children's centers inside Syria and they educated over

12.000 children on a daily basis (<https://www.syriarelief.org.uk/programmes/education/>). They have reopened schools which have closed down or have rebuilt which have been damaged. Currently, they have 70 schools because the need is great and they have tried to expand their Education Program. They want to help children for their future and they have wanted to forget the traces of war with psychological support or gifts and toys. In addition, they have provided thousands of food parcels to families ever year. As the Syrian conflict has continued, the call for their food support has grown densely. Their food security program also supports bakeries and flour distribution (<https://www.syriarelief.org.uk/programmes/food-security/>). As the people have to flee without anything, they need every kind of aid so especially basic needs have a vital importance.

The Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) is an independent, humanitarian, non-profit, non-governmental organization. They provide assistance, protection and durable solutions to refugees and internally displaced persons worldwide (<http://www.nrc.no/?aid=9127672#.VV-NzdLtmko>). NRC supports and guards the rights of refugees and people who have been displaced within their country. The NRC was established in 1946 under the name Aid to Europe, to assist refugees in Europe after World War II (<http://www.nrc.no/?aid=9127672#.VV-NzdLtmko>). They have worked closely with the UN and other humanitarian organizations around the world. In the context of increasing humanitarian needs within Syria and in neighboring countries, hundreds of thousands of people need more than assistance. Many of Syrians live in camps, host families near or on the borders of neighboring countries so they need another solution to continue their lives.

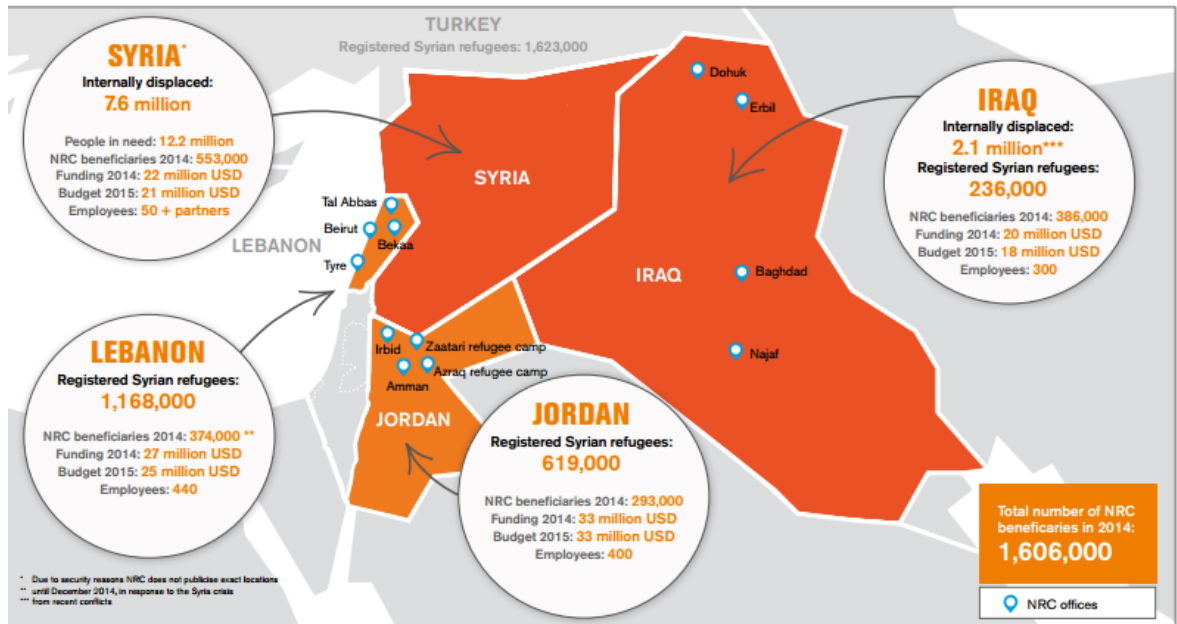




**Figure 14: Syrian Refugees to Neighboring Countries from UNHCR**

The policy which has been implemented about Syrian refugees varies according to countries. For example, Turkey has implemented policy of open border. NRC works on neighboring countries and they have tried to facilitate Syrian refugees' lives. NRC has continued to increased shelter programs and they have also worked for hamper to forced refoulement. According to NRC, international community should:

- Urgently enhance its humanitarian and development support for hosting countries. They should investment to host countries infrastructure, alternative shelter solutions and health and education services.
- Increase and save lives through resettlement and alternative humanitarian admissions programs or other immigration options.
  - Support hosting countries to develop clear, appropriate and affordable administrative procedures (Norwegian Refugee Council [NRC], 2014, p.4).



**Figure 15: Registered Syrian Refugees in Neighboring Countries from NRC’s humanitarian response, [http://www.nrc.no/arch/img.aspx?file\\_id=9193705](http://www.nrc.no/arch/img.aspx?file_id=9193705)**

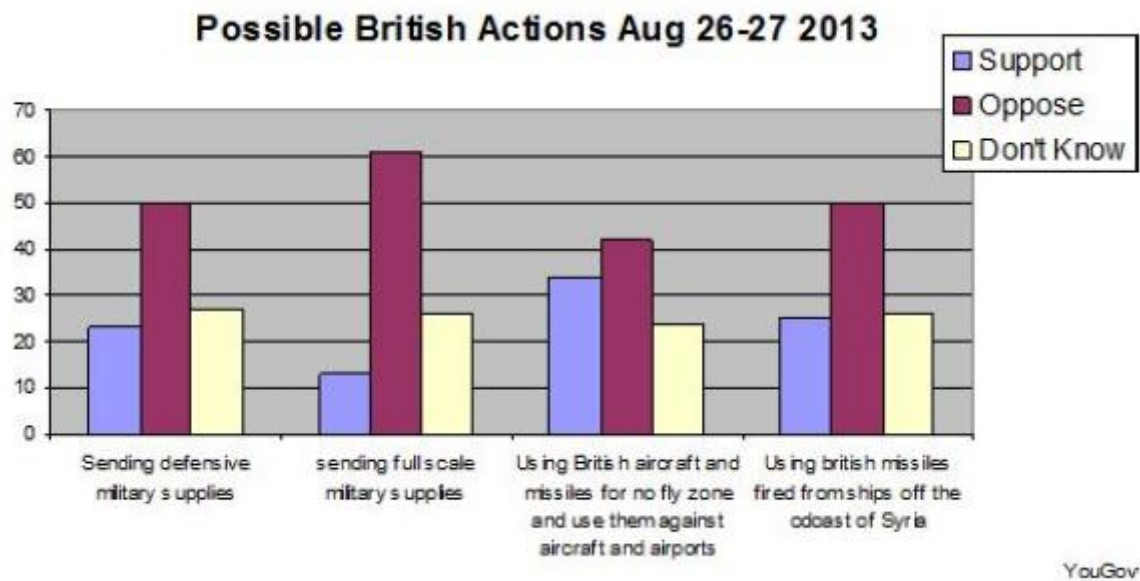
Especially European NGOs work with a great desire to help Syrian refugees. The all of NGOs are doing their best about humanitarian aid even risking their lives. However, the hosting countries sometimes hinder the NGOs works and they do not complete their mission very well. At this point, local government has very important mission about facilitate the works of NGOs.

### 3.3. European Public Opinion

European countries do not want to intervention the issue of Syria because the public of European countries also do not want Syrian refugees in their borders. However, the Syrian civil war is a matter of humanity to all over the world and they have to do something about this human tragedy.

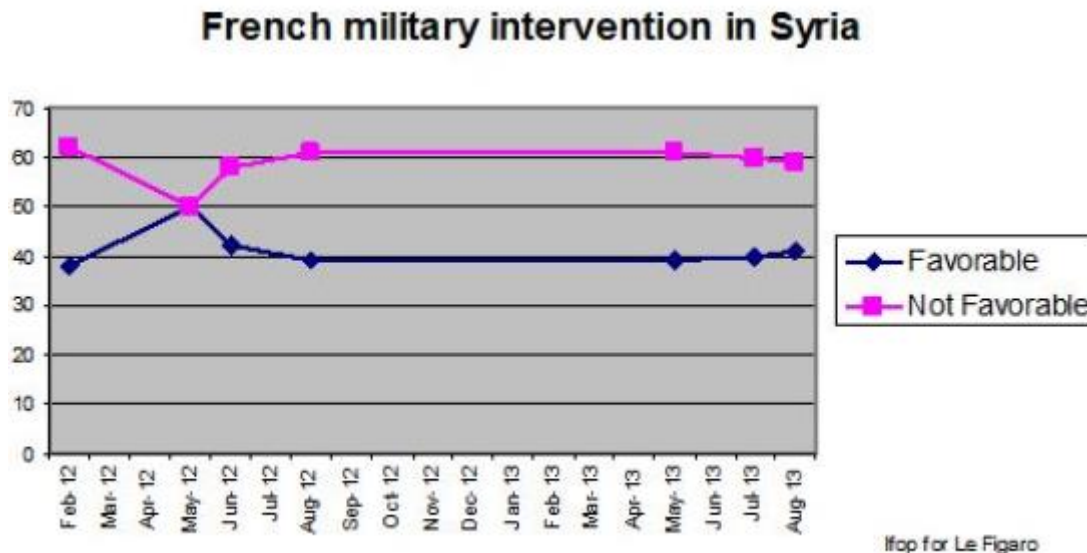
After four years when the Syrian civil war start, the solution has not close yet and the situation of Syrian people has become very bad. The international community talks about military intervention but nobody wants to put their hands under the stone. The

Huffington Post's seven international editions shows striking public opposition to military intervention on Syria (Goodman, Hasan, Boudet, 2013, p.1). A poll conducted by the Pew Research Center found only 29% in favor of a strike. In France, where President Hollande has promised to join the United States in taking on Syria, public support for military intervention has been reaching at 45%, according to recent CSA survey (Goodman and others, 2013, p.1). In Britain, where polls have not changed and the people have shown opposition to any form of intervention in Syria. A ComRes poll for the independent newspaper found that only 29% of people believe Britain should join the United States in launching air strikes against Assad (Goodman and others, 2013, p.1). In Germany, public opinion has been running 58% against striking Syria according to public television. In Italy, the poll conducted by the IPR Institute found that 52% of the public opposed an attack on Syria (Goodman and others, 2013, p.2). Consequently, the European people think that the Syrian civil war is not on their business and they do not think as a threat directly. Hawkins, the ComRes chairman described "two key requirements" for public support to military intervention. First, a credible threat to British citizens and second a reasonable prospect of success (Goodman and others, 2013, p.3). ComRes conducted the poll of 500 UK adults aged 18+, 500 French adults aged 18+ and 500 German adults aged 18+ online on 30<sup>th</sup> August 2013 (ComRes, 2013, p.2). When we looked at the poll, we can see that the French are more willing than the British or the German to start an assault to Syria. More than half of Germans (55%) backed the tightening economic sanctions while 46% of British people and 39% of French people did (ComRes, 2013, p.4). However, if the UN found any evidence about chemical weapons, half of British people supported military intervention. Many polls have been conducted in UK, France and US. Most of them say that if chemical weapons were used, it is necessary to respond.



**Figure 16: Possible British Actions on Military Intervention to Syria from <http://blogs.ft.com/the-world/2013/08/public-opinion-and-the-syria-intervention/>**

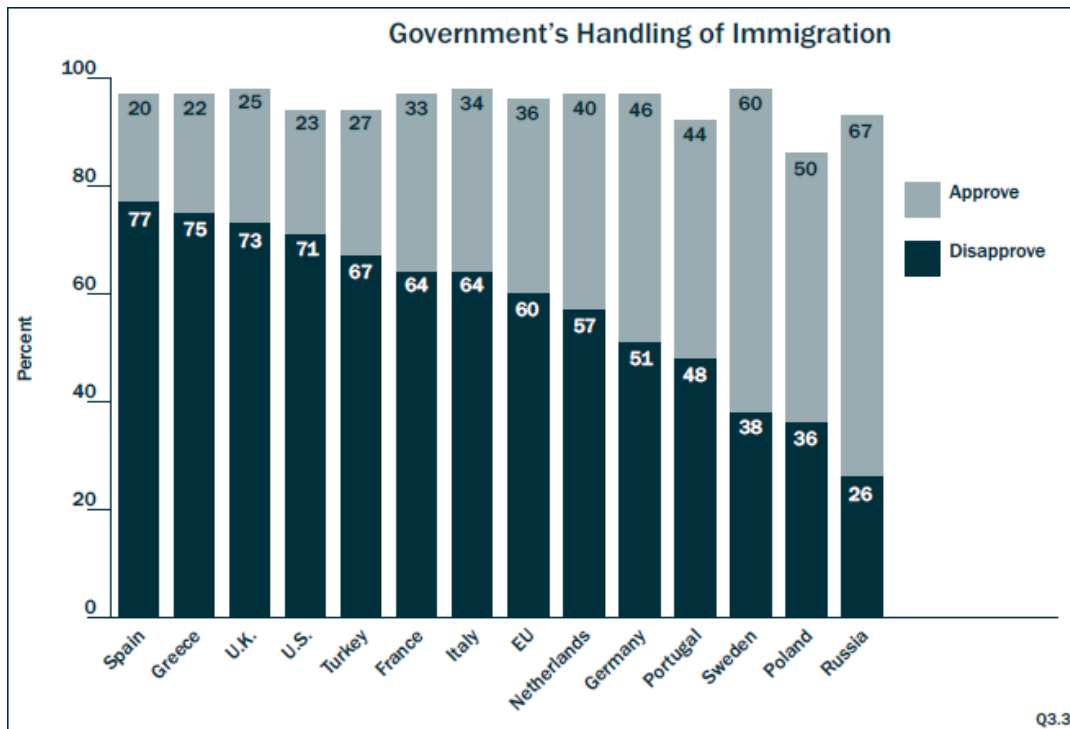
When we looked at this chart, we can easily see that the British public does not want any military action to Syria. In addition, they do not want to support and use any British military sources.



**Figure 17: Possible French Approaches on Military Intervention to Syria from <http://blogs.ft.com/the-world/2013/08/public-opinion-and-the-syria-intervention/>**

According to this graph, at the beginnings French people supports military intervention but this situation is changing over time. French public has supported every kinds of humanitarian assistance to Syria. However, when the issue became weapon and military equipment, their support started to decrease.

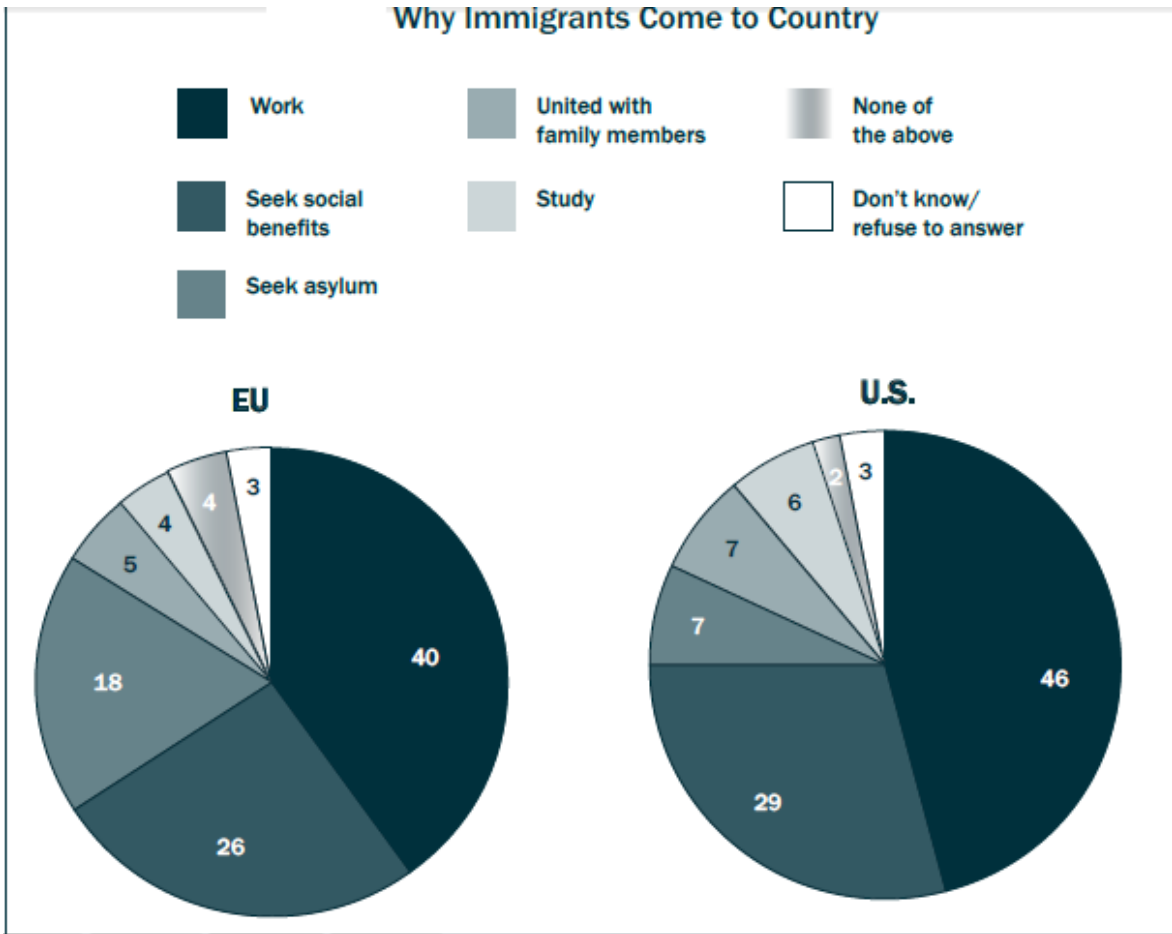
Conflicts in Syria and other parts of the world continue to force people abandon their own country and flee to another countries. Especially the people of Middle East have preferred to flee to European countries which have democracy, the respect for human rights and better life conditions. When the Transatlantic Trends asked respondents whether they approved of their own government’s handling of immigration from other countries. 60% of Europeans said they disapproved, 71% of Americans disapproved as well (GMF, 2014, p.5). Disapproval in Europe was most pronounced in Spain (77%), Greece (75%), the United Kingdom (73%), Italy and France (both 64%). These results have not changed much when the compared to 2013 results. In 2013, 58% of Europeans said that they did not approve their governments work about refugees (GMF, 2014, p.5).



**Figure 18: The European Government’s Handling of Immigration from GMF**

When we look at this graph, we can see a very big disapproval from European Union countries. Especially border countries such as Greece and Spain do not approve their countries work about immigration policies. However, 67% of Russians and 60% of Swedish said their government has made a good job about immigration.

When Transatlantic Trends asked respondents why immigrants come to country, answers varied widely from one country to another, but most of them agree that immigrants come to their country to work.



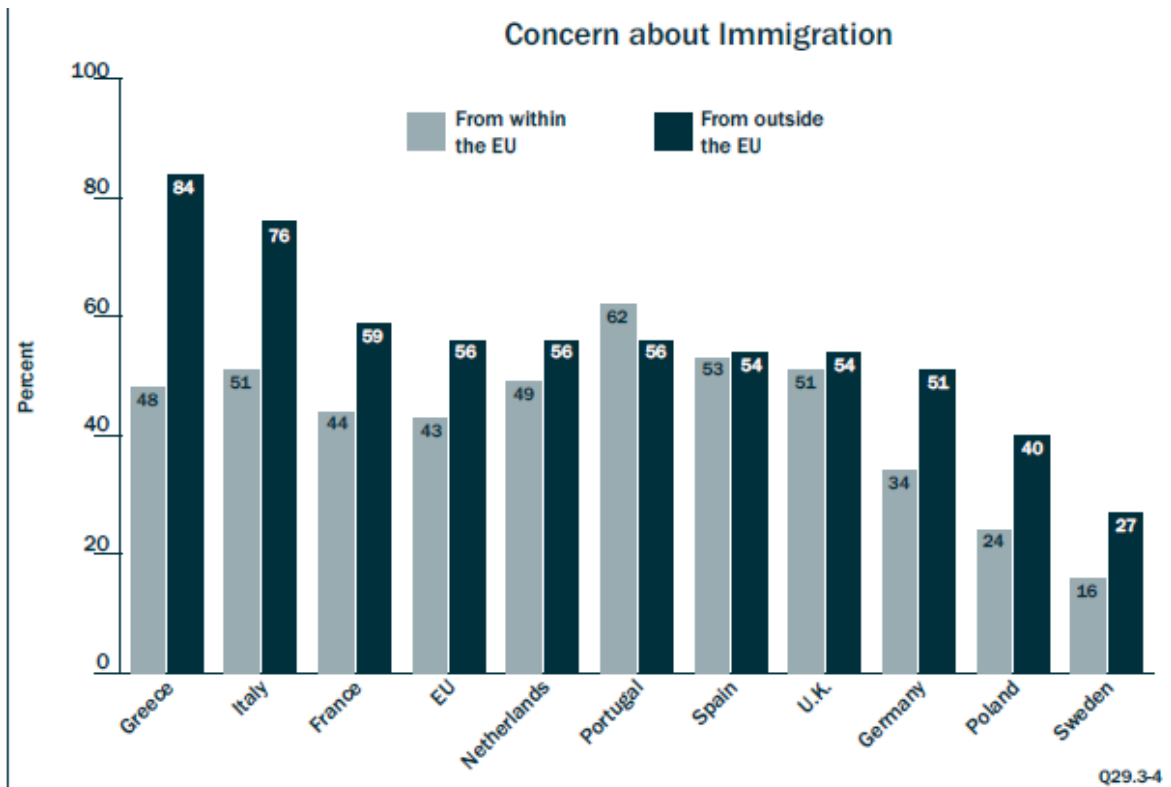
**Figure 19: The reasons of Immigration to EU and U.S. from GMF**

In addition, to seek social benefits was the next most frequent cited reason, by 41 in Europe and by 45% in the United States. To seek asylum was the third most frequent motivation attributed to immigrants in Europe (40%), but only 18% of Americans agreed (GMF, 2014, p.8).

We can learn from Transatlantic Trends that 40% of Europeans wanted their country’s policy should be more restrictive about refugees, whereas only 34% said policies were right now. Among respondents most in favor of more restrictive refugee policies, Italy (57%) and Greece (56%), followed by the United Kingdom (48%) (GMF, 2014, p.8).

When Transatlantic Trends asked respondents whether Europeans were worried about immigration from within or from outside the EU, 55% of European respondents were not

worried about immigration from within the EU. However, 56% of Europeans said that they were worried about immigration from outside the EU.



**Figure 20: The European Countries concern on Immigration from GMF**

We can see easily, 84% of Greece were say that they were concerned by immigration from the outside the EU, followed by Italy (76%) and France (59%). As I mentioned earlier, especially border countries concern about immigration and refugee.

When Transatlantic Trends asked respondents whether the integration of immigrants well, Europe was split; 46% saying first generation immigrants were integrating well, and 48% saying they were not. When the respondents were asked about second generation immigrants, answers were much more positive. 61% of Europeans think that second generation immigrants were integrating well.

Europeans concern about immigration and refugees so they do not want to intervene Syrian issue. However, they do not escape from this issue because millions of



Syrian refugees trying to cross the European borders every day. Especially Italy, Greece and Bulgaria have been affected by this refugee wave. Consequently, when we looked at researches, we can see that these European border countries very hard about Syrian refugees. They have to protect European Union borders but they have forgotten their own humanity. The EU which talks about human rights in every opportunity was ineffective in this regard. The EU members should share the burden of refugees with the hosting countries. The EU gives the money to NGOs and international organization to help Syrian refugees but it is not enough. They have to take Syrian refugees to protect or resettlement.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **PERSPECTIVE COMPARISON BETWEEN EU AND TURKEY**

In 2011, when the Syrian civil war started, both international community and neighboring countries work for help to Syrian people. Approximately 7.6 million people internally were displaced and 12.2 million people in need of humanitarian assistance.

In this crisis, most of the burden has remained on neighboring countries and they have to open their border to Syrian refugees. Especially Turkey, Iraq and Jordan hosted many of them. After four years from the beginning of civil war, the situation is getting worse day by day and the Syrian people need an urgent aid. Most of Syrians have to flee neighboring countries because of security concern but the host countries cannot meet the requirements. Consequently, all of the countries have to do something to meet the needs of the Syrian people. From 2011 to now, the expenditure was made by Turkey has surpassed \$3 billion according to the United Nations standards. However, the EU is a leading donor in the response to the Syria crisis with around €3.6 billion of total budget mobilized by the Commission and Member States collectively in humanitarian, development, economic and stabilization assistance. When we compared the founding was given by the EU and Turkey, the EU which has 28 member countries gives a very restricted budget.

This situation of Syrian people is very important humanitarian crisis and both EU members and countries in the region should make everything to help them. Firstly, they need a safe zone and basic human needs. In order to help them, this crisis must be resolved immediately.

#### **4.1. Policy Makers**

In March 2011, when the events in Syria started, Turkey warned the Assad regime to make democratic reform and she defended the Syria in the international arena. In addition, Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs Minister have made many time bilateral contacts to change of Assad's attitude against demonstrations.

Because Turkey has seen the people as her "eternal brother" regardless of the identity of religion and ethnicity in their own region, unlike all other international actors Turks approach should be perceived as more emotional to this issue. However, EU countries are very reluctant about the accepting of Syrian refugees to Europe. UNHCR has wanted from countries to open their borders to Syrian refugees but except for some countries, most of them do not want to Syrian refugees. When we left the human dimension of the event on one side, on the other hand it is very big threat to Turkey to have been experienced such a civil war in her border. The EU Commission condemns the Assad regime and they want to stop this violence but the European countries do not under the threat of war so they do not prefer to intervene on Syria crisis. Both EU and Turkey call Assad regime to make the political reform. Nonetheless Assad has not listened to them. Afterwards, Turkey has established their policy above an absence of Assad in Syria after the middle of 2011 so Turkey gave up from see the Assad regime as legitimate authority. In the meantime, Catherine Ashton made an explanation on behalf of EU that Syrian National Council will be addressed.

In view of the gravity of the situation in Syria, the Council imposed a ban on the import of Syrian oil to the EU. In addition, the EU has warned Syrian regime and authorities at every turn to stop the violation and using gun above innocent people. As the Syrian regime continued use of violence against civilians, the Council increased measures against the Syrian regime. In addition to the EU's measures, The Foreign Minister of the Republic of Turkey Ahmet Davutoğlu (new Prime Minister) made an assessment. He says that the reasons of the Syrian people's uprising are the values which were given the importance of Turkish people so it is impossible to stay indifferent. However, the policy implemented by countries has varied. The people who came from Syria named as a "guest"

by Turkish government. With the first refugees crossing in April 2011, Turkish government started to application “the policy of open door” and they have never rejected anybody who came to border. However, the EU Members rejected asylum application from Syrian refugees. From January to May 2012 alone, 5.370 asylum applications have been filed throughout the EU Member States, Norway and Switzerland. However, there are no rules to comply with all EU Members about Syrian refugees. Most European officials say that they want to stop the bloodshed, but without the use of force it does not seem possible. Some European countries talk about military intervention but Russia and China stand against them so they have to talk about political solution. In this context, the EU’s members have prioritized three objectives vis-à-vis Syria:

- To convince Assad government to enter into serious negotiations with the opposition aimed at achieving a “peaceful and democratic transition”.
- To persuade or pressure the government to desist from violence against civilians
- To maintain the maximum possible regional and international support for these goals.

In Turkey, the Syrian people are not accepted as a refugee so they do not have any rights which the refugees have. To eliminate this uncertainty, The Prime Minister’s Office published circular letter which is recognized the temporary protection status to Syrians in the April of 2012. According to this circular letter;

1. It will continue to an “open door policy”
2. It will not apply to forcibly refoulement
3. The Syrian refugees will be recorded and their needs will be fulfillment by Turkish government.

The government did not give any date to finishing this temporary protection status and it was left open ended. As the Syrian people need food, shelter, sanitation and lots of things, the EU Members have send money to aid agencies and hosting countries (Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq). However, the EU countries did not make the same like hosting

countries and they did not open their borders to Syrian refugees. They only give money to help Syrian refugees.

The EU is deeply concerned about the continued violence in Syria, because nobody can see the end of situation. Catherine Ashton underlines most of times that the violence in the country requires urgent and united action by UNSC and international community. When we looked at countries which detect the EU's policy direction such as United Kingdom, France and Germany, we can say that their policies about Syria are similar. Cameron's government supports Syrian opposition and they said that Assad's regime immediately must have halted violence against own people. However, a military operation is not an option to Syria for UK. France has always a strong historical relationship with Syria but N. Sarkozy has clearly blamed Assad. Finally, Germany has given a similar reaction about Syria. Nonetheless, we cannot say that the EU develops an effective policy on Syria. Under these conditions, Turkey has to produce new policies to adaptation of the Syrian refugees and she should be made legislative arrangements. With the numbered 6548 Law on Foreigners and the International Protection, Turkey has made arrangements about asylum and immigration in 11 April 2013. However, the Syrian refugees do not have the work permit legally yet, so they are employed as uninsured with the very low wages. This situation leads to finding jobs difficult for people who is the unskilled laborers. In the long term, if this problem did not solve, the rates of unemployment could be increased visibly. Faruk Çelik who is the Minister of Labor and Social Security says that they are working about the work permission in the minimum wage band for Syrian refugees and the workings will completed in soonest time in his speech at the General Assembly. With the work permit, they are working about the identity which will describe the Syrian refugees and it is different from the identity of Turkish. In comparison with the Turkey, the EU did not give much importance to protection issue. Levels of protection vary across Europe. For example, Germany gives a subsidiary protection but Sweden gives a temporary residence permit for three years. However, most of Syrians have not made application to asylum and so the Syrian people have crossed the border illegal ways to reach the EU countries. The EU and its Member States have taken various measures to simultaneously maintain and secure European borders from Syrians. Although certain EU member states have been

sharing the burden by granting Syrians asylum, most EU Member States refrained from returning Syrians back to their country. They have not publicly acknowledged the need for Syrian resettlement, instead focused on providing assistance to host countries. European Commission President José Manuel Barroso said that our first priority is to promote a political settlement aimed at ending the violence and the human right abuses. Vice President Catherine Ashton added that we want to democratic Syria. Kristalina Georgieva, European Commissioner for international cooperation, humanitarian aid and crisis response, said that we do not see the end of Syria crisis and she added that we have to act now, proactively, before it is too late.

Turkey is the second most refugee hosting country at the moment and Turkey has been appreciated by international organizations for her works. The camps especially are seen over the standards of UN but the population of non-camp refugees is moving towards becoming a problem for Turkey. Turkey want to establishment of “safe zone” inside the border of Syria to stop the influx of refugees but this process has not completed. However, it is not completed because of the absence of other countries’ support.

Turkey needs more than money for Syrian refugees and the EU should open their border to Syrian refugees. International community must help Turkey to share the burden of Syrian refugees. The EU condemn the Syrian regime and Assad from the beginning of the situation but it is not enough for Syrian people and Assad did not finish the violence against his own people. If the countries do not make any military intervention, this civil war does not seem to end. The EU must:

- Increase close cooperation with international community and NGOs,
- Increase support for hosting communities,
- Prepare for the post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation phase,
- Support a political settlement ,
- Encourage solidarity with particularly vulnerable persons who may be need in need of resettlement,

- Increase refugee resettlement for those who have been affected by the Syrian crisis and are the most in need,
- Continue positive asylum procedures throughout the EU
- Encourage visa facilitation and family reunification for Syrians.

In addition to EU's activities, Turkey should:

- The prohibition of refoulement,
- The granting of ID card that can be used in applications of work permit and access to public school,
- The facilitation of get a work permit, are regulated with law,
- Increase the cooperation between the international and national NGOs,
- Continue to open door policy to Syrian refugees.

#### **4.2. Civil Society**

Both the European countries and regional countries are really concern about Syrian civil war. They have tried to help innocent people. Lots of international and local NGOs work to help Syrian people. However, the NGOs have faced with some obstacles both in Syria and hosting countries.

People in Syria and neighboring countries have needed emergency humanitarian aid. Nearly 7.6 million people internally displaced and 12.2 million people 5 million of which children, need of humanitarian aid inside Syria. Approximately 3.961.704 number of refugees registered and awaiting registration. All of them need shelter, security and sanitation. Hosting countries try to provide every requirement of Syrian refugees in refugee camps but they do not have enough money so they need financial support. In Turkey, AFAD has conducted these works in collaboration with Turkish Red Crescent. Until the second half of 2012, all camp expenditures have been covered by only AFAD. But after this date, the number of refugees showed increase more than expected and the conflicts in Syria were intensified so people continued to refuge into Turkey. However, some of Syrians did not want to abandon their country so camps were established in Syrian side of

border. Many Syrians who do not want to leave the homeland are staying in these camps. These aids which are called as border assistance have maintained with the support of Turkish and international NGOs. EU gives financial supports UN and UN's associations such as UNICEF, UNHCR, WFP and WHO. By the end of 2013, the EU contribution to UNICEF's operations in Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey reached more than €74 million. Some international and Turkish NGOs have been chosen from both the EU and Turkey. In Turkey, Turkish Red Crescent, İHH humanitarian aid foundation and Kimse Yok Mu have been chosen. In accordance with Turkey, International Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Human Care Syria, Syria Relief and Norwegian Refugee Council have been chosen in Europe.

Turkish NGOs has worked both in Turkey and in Syria so they have lots of responsibilities to help the Syrian people. The administration of camps has been provided together by Turkish Red Crescent's campaign which is started under the name of Humanitarian Aid Operation of Syrian Crisis and AFAD. Turkish Red Crescent took in charge of Syrian citizens' fulfillment of basic needs such as sheltering, nutrition, hygiene stuffs and clothes. In addition, they provided psychosocial support to Syrians and make sure that the Syrians' social needs were fulfilled. The Red Crescent has carried on its activities by cooperating with international foundations over specific matters as well. In 2013, an agreement about supporting Syrian children project was signed between Red Crescent and UNICEF. Owing to this project, youth workers have provided psychosocial support training in 21 camps. In 2012, as a part of agreement which made with WFP, The Red Crescent/WFP Card Program was actualized. With these cards, food products have supplied in markets which were established in camps. In addition to The Turkish Red Crescent, The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement calls international community for an end to the humanitarian tragedy in Syria. From the onset of the crisis, The Syrian Arab Crescent has been the primary provider of humanitarian services. The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement call all the parties of the conflict to observe their responsibilities under International Humanitarian Law. Not only Syrian people who are internally displaced, but also Syrian refugees who live in host countries have affected badly from the situation. The International Red Cross and Red Crescent



Movement have mobilized huge resources throughout the region to respond the vast humanitarian needs both inside Syria and neighboring countries. In addition, the movement has mobilized to assist Syrian refugees in Europe. The movement has given 221 million Swiss francs to Syria and 168.2 million Swiss francs to neighboring countries. Consequently, 389 million Swiss francs have been donated in total.

When we looked at other NGOs, we can see that the European NGOs generally provided humanitarian aid, medical aid and infrastructure programs. For example, Human Care Syria has established its first bakery in the suburbs of Aleppo supporting 3000 orphaned families daily who have lost their breadwinner. Another example is Syria Relief, it works mostly inside Syria. Syria Relief sponsor 43 schools and children's centers inside Syria and they educated over 12.000 children on a daily basis. Syria Relief wants to help children for their future and it has wanted to forget the traces of war with psychological support or gifts and toys. In Turkey, İHH and KYM work to help Syrian refugees. İHH has continued its aids both camps which are located in Turkey and ground zero. İHH has supported to 15 schools in Syria and 28 schools in Turkey. İHH does not support only Turkey and Syria, but also transmit its humanitarian aids to Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq. KYM and UNCHR work together to help non-camp refugees so 16 thousand 750 people has benefited from this project.

All of the NGOs work to assistance to Syrian people who is under the threat of Assad regime. The Syrian refugees have scattered to neighboring countries. However, most of them have flow to Turkey. According to AFAD, approximately 1 million 645 thousand Syrian refugees live in Turkey. The government and Turkish NGOs have made everything to meet the needs of refugees but Turkey needs financial support. In addition, the number of refugees has exceeded the psychological limit so the burden of refugees has to be shared between countries. European and international NGOs work together with Turkish NGOs to help Syrian refugees who live in Turkey. However, they generally face some obstacles because the Turkish government has hesitated about the privacy and security. Consequently, the European and international NGOs can give only money to Turkish NGOs. International NGOs have wanted to visit the refugee camps but they have been

rejected under the pretext of privacy. If the government gives permission, the international NGOs can make better help to refugees. However, it is not possible now so Turkish government cannot take aid which they need.

The workers of NGOs are doing their best about humanitarian aid even risking their lives. Because of this reason, the government should be worked to facilitate the NGOs' businesses. In Turkey, only Turkish NGOs are active about the humanitarian aid because of the absence of government permission. If the government wants more assistance, the coordination of NGOs should be done.

#### **4.3. Public Opinion**

In the year of 2010, the unrests which began in the Arab World have happened by the side of our country. The revolts which have started in Syria that is our longest borders in the April of 2011 have been affected us deeply.

Many of Syrian and Turkish people who live in the southern of Turkey have kinship relations. Because of this reason, Turkey has emotionally approached the events. Moreover, the desire of Syrian people is seen justified by Turkish public opinion. The public who lives under the dictatorship for a long time wants to democracy. Despite all the international pressure, Assad regime has applied the persecution to his public instead of making the reform. After four years when the Syrian civil war start, the solution has not close yet and the situation of Syrian people has become very bad. The international community talks about military intervention but nobody wants to put their hands under the stone. However, from the beginning of the situation, Turkey has opened her border until the end to Syrian people who has taken shelter to Turkey. Nearly 4 years, the influx of people from Syria still continues. The government has developed many policies to meet the needs of Syrian refugees.

Many people who live in Kilis and Gaziantep have described Syrians as a kinship. Nonetheless, there is an increasing uneasiness in anywhere of Turkey in general, especially the number of non-camp refugees have much increased so local people are started to feel themselves as a foreigner in the provinces of border. Moreover, the local people were

extremely disturbed from Syrians who carried their own culture to here. With the lack of space in the camps, the refugees who started to immigrate from the provinces of border to major cities have become visible in the press and public. At first, these people who Turkish public approached with understanding and tolerance were seen as a problem. Unlike the Turkish people, European public has approached the topic of Syrian refugees anxious from the beginning of Syrian immigration wave. The European people do not want any stranger permanently inside their own borders. They want to protect the “Fortress Europe” from any wave of immigration because nobody knows when this crisis will finish.

The European people want to help Syrian refugees but they do not want Syrian refugees in their country. For example, French public has supported every kinds of humanitarian assistance to Syria. When the Transatlantic Trends asked respondents whether they approved of their own government’s handling of immigration from other countries, 60% of Europeans said they disapproved. When the Transatlantic Trends asked respondents why immigrants come to country, answers varied from one country to another, but most of them agree that immigrants come to their country to work in Europe. In addition, to seek social benefits was the next most frequent cited reason, by 41% in Europe. To seek asylum was the third most frequent motivation attributed to immigrants in Europe (40%). However, 77% of Turks mentioned “to seek asylum”. While only 47% mentioned “to seek social benefits” and 35% mentioned “to work”. We can learn from Transatlantic Trends that 40% of Europeans wanted their country’s policy should be more restrictive about refugees, whereas only 34% said policies were about right now. However, 66% of Turks said that their country’s policies towards refugees should be more restrictive and 67% of Turks disapproved of their government’s handling of immigration. When Transatlantic Trends asked respondents whether Europeans were worried about immigration from within or from outside the EU, 55% of European respondents were not worried about immigration from within the EU. However, 56% of Europeans said that they were worried about immigration from outside the EU. When the Transatlantic Trends asked the same question to Turkish people, 42% of Turkish respondents said that there are “too many” immigrants in their country, while 14% of respondents said “not many” so Turks have concerned about the influx of refugees. When Transatlantic Trends asked

respondents whether the integration of immigrants well, Europe was split; 46% saying first generation immigrants were integrating well, and 48% saying they were not. In addition, 66% of Turkish respondents said that immigrants were integrating poorly.

As the influx of refugees leads to economic and social damage, the Syrian refugees have been seen as a problem by Turkish people nowadays. For example, many Syrians who want to stay the province of border lead to increase in rent therefore the local people have affected badly. In addition, the trade between Syria and Turkey has been affected badly from the events which experienced. While attempting to eliminate the needs of non-camp refugees, the poor people who live in Turkey have complained about the situation. Although Turkish and Syrian people have a kinship relation, their culture is completely different from each other. The local people have worried about the corruption of morals because the Syrian people want everything to get rid of the refugee camps. One of the biggest problems which experienced especially in hospitals in the border provinces is brimmed with Syrian refugees. Especially, many injured people are treated in the border provinces. Since their situation is an emergency, Syrians treated firstly so the local residents are complaining that they do not benefit from hospitals. According to public opinion polls conducted on behalf the EDAM, Turkish people do not want further Syrian refugees and 86% of the participants argue that no further Syrian refugees should be allowed in the country. However, the poll which was conducted by HUGO shows that 64.6% of participants said that the adoption of Syrian refugees is the duty of humanity. When we looked at how the refugees are named, 72.2% of participants said that people fleeing from persecution, guests in our country and our religion brothers. Consequently, despite all problems, the Turkish people still approach to Syrian refugees as a guest. Nonetheless, 70.7% of Turkish people think that the economy has damaged due to the refugees.

Despite all the negativity, Turkish society seems to have accepted the Syrian refugees. The approaches of Turkish people have varied according to polls but the Turkish people approached to this issue as a humanitarian mission, the acceptable levels of the Syrian people greater than anticipated. If international community or UN makes a decision

to military intervention to stop violence in Syria, the Turkish government will support them. However, the main EU members do not want to intervene and their public does not support this military intervention. For example, the poll conducted by the IPR Institute found that 52% of Italian public opposed an attack on Syria. In Germany, public opinion has been running 58% against striking Syria according to public television. Consequently, the European people think that the Syrian civil war is not on their business and they do not think as a threat directly. The EU which talks about human rights in every opportunity was ineffective in this regard. The EU gives the money to NGOs and international organization to help Syrian refugees but it is not enough. They should share the burden of refugees with the hosting countries so they have to take Syrian refugees to protect or resettlement.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **POLICY IMPLICATOINS**

From the beginning of the Syrian civil war, the international community has been affected at different rates. Especially, the countries which settled in the same region with Syria have mostly impressed from this situation. Turkey which has a border with Syria is one of them. This civil war has affected Turkey in many different areas such as economy, health care, and culture. Most of people have to escape from their own countries so the Syrian immigration wave has emerged. However, this wave affected not only the regional countries but also the European Union members. This domain is not the same with countries in the region but it leads to change the perspectives of international community.

#### **5.1. Policy Implications for Turkey**

In 2011, the first Syrian refugees crossed the border into Turkey. Turkish government opens her border to end for Syrian refugees. From the beginning of the crisis, Turkey has implemented the “open door policy”.

When the number of refugees started to increase, the government established the refugee camps in 10 provinces and worked to facilitate the life of Syrian refugees. These works have been implemented with AFAD and Turkish Red Crescent cooperation. In the same time, Assad regime was warned many times by Turkish authorities but he did not change his stance against the demonstrations. Consequently, Turkey has changed her attitude to Assad regime and she has started to support the Syrian oppositions. However, the number of refugees has continued to go up so Turkey has started to talk about safe zone to Syrian refugees. Because Turkey has wanted to decrease the number of Syrian refugees who crossed the border, she thinks that the option of safe zone should be assessed. Nonetheless, nobody supported Turkey about this option.

The number of people who escaped from Syria and took refuge in Turkey continues to increase exponentially in every day. These people who were named as “refugee” by press and local people actually are not legal refugees according to Turkish law. Because of the 1951 Convention, Turkey could not give a refugee status to Syrian people. According to Turkish law, the people who came from non-European zones named as an asylum seekers. Due to this reason, the people who came from Syria named as a “guest” by Turkish government. However, nobody knows when the civil war finish and it is still unknown when the people will return their homes therefore the implementation of guest is a disadvantage to Syrian refugees. For example, they do not have any rights which the refugees have. To eliminate this uncertainty, The Prime Minister’s Office published circular letter which is recognized the temporary protection status to Syrians in the April of 2012. Consequently, these policies have affected both Turkish domestic policy and foreign policy.

Between April 2011 and November 2014, Turkey has spent 4.5 billion dollars to Syrian refugees (Center for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies [ORSAM], 2015, p.7). According to AFAD, the total number of Syrian refugees in Turkey is approximately 1 million 645 thousand people and this number continues to increase. This influx of refugees has been affected Turkey in many different areas.

### **5.1.1. Domestic Policy effects of Syrian refugees on Turkey**

The Syrian refugees have scattered to all provinces of Turkey except for 8 provinces and their number has increased in every day. Especially, the border provinces have under the burden of refugees. The local person who lives in the border provinces has been impressed from the presence of Syrian refugees. In these cities, the demography of cities has changed as the rate of birth has increased. No matter how Turkish people approach to Syrian people with tolerance; their cultures, languages and life styles have completely different from each other. These differences have led to difficulties about social integration. For example, the polygamy is widespread in Syria but it is not accepted as a legitimate in Turkey. However, this situation has started to increase in Turkey thus the rate of divorce has raised. In addition to polygamy, the rate of illegal workers has started to

increase with the Syrian refugees and the rate of unemployment has reached at 10.1 (ORSAM, 2015, 19). The Syrian refugees have worked with low wages therefore Turkish workers think that they lose their jobs due to the Syrian refugees. Many of Syrians work in fields as seasonal worker to escape from the camps. Due to the lack of accommodation, uncontrolled urban development is on the rise.

The Syrian refugees are both economic load and opportunity for Turkey. Turkish government has spent a lot of money for Syrian refugees but Turkey can turn the situation to a gain. Many of Syrian investors and merchants came to Turkey and they can contribute to the commerce and investment in Turkey. However, they do not have any work permit so this situation leads to miss the opportunity. There has been an increase in inflation in border cities and the rental prices have risen. Hiring illegal workers is spreading, especially among small businesses but Syrians meet the demand in unskilled labor. A good effect is that the revenues of local companies have increased because the international community has purchased the aid supplies from the local companies.

The Turkish public began to be uncomfortable from Syrians because of the differences between them. The public feels themselves under the terrorism threat. Especially, the public of border provinces complain about this situation.

### **5.1.2. Foreign Policy effects of Syrian refugees on Turkey**

In 2011, when the Syrian civil war started, the relation between Turkey and Syria were good. However, this relation has changed by time and Turkey was faced with Syria.

The policies, which Turkey implemented, pushed Turkey to solitude in the region. The relations between Turkey and Syria came to a standstill. However, some Middle Eastern countries have supported Turkey. Turkey has done great things for humanity about Syrian refugees and international community has appreciated to Turkey. Especially, UN and EU have very pleased from the policies of Turkey because she has taken a very big risk. However, the EU has approached to Turkey with hesitatingly because the process of membership still continues and if they give a membership to Turkey, all of the Syrian refugees will come to Europe. The Syrian refugees added over the EU's population fears.



To sum up, the Syrian refugees has affected Turkish domestic and foreign policy extremely. In some areas, this civil war turns into opportunity, but in most cases it gives harm to Turkey. If Turkey can be directed toward to this crisis, it may be an opportunity for Turkey.

## **5.2. Policy Implications for EU**

With the starting of Arab Spring, lots of countries have been affected from the wave of uprisings. Syria is one of them and this situation still continues since the mid of 2011. Approximately 7.6 million people internally were displaced and 12.2 million people in need of humanitarian assistance. The EU and its member states have made large amounts of donate to refugees. More than €3.6 billion have been mobilized for relief and recovery assistance to Syrians who stayed in their country and escaped to neighboring countries. The EU is a leading donor in the response to the Syria crisis. However, it is not enough for hosting countries so they need a more active assistance such as re-settle and temporary protection.

From the beginning of Syrian crisis, lots of people made an asylum application to European countries. However, EU countries are very reluctant about the accepting of Syrian refugees to Europe. UNHCR has wanted from countries to open their borders to Syrian refugees but except for some countries, most of them do not want to Syrian refugees.

### **5.2.1. Domestic Policy effects of Syrian refugees on EU**

The policy which was implemented about Syrian refugees has varied from one country to another country. In 2011, when the Syrian crisis started, the EU has begun to warn the Assad regime. However, the violation has continued to increase so EU has started make an embargo on the import of Syrian crude oil.

European countries have believed that the only solution of this problem is a political. The EU has warned Syrian regime and authorities at every turn to stop the violation and using gun above innocent people. As the Syrian regime continued use of

violence against civilians, the Council increased measures against the Syrian regime. However, the EU member states have not a common stand against Syrian civil war. For example, some European countries talk about military intervention, but not all of them support this idea. When we looked at countries which detect the EU's policy direction such as United Kingdom, France and Germany, we can say that their policies about Syria are similar. For instance, Cameron's government supports Syrian opposition and they said that Assad's regime immediately must have halted violence against own people. But the policies which implemented by countries have disturb the public of these countries. Consequently, the leaders of these countries must act carefully, otherwise; the leaders can lose their seats. Levels of protection vary across the Europe. Germany gives a subsidiary protection but Sweden gives a temporary residence permit for three year. However, most of Syrians have not made application to asylum and so they have crossed the border illegal ways to reach the EU countries. The border countries of the EU have mostly affected from the Syrian immigration wave so EU has started to work for enhance border security. Refugees have three different ways to Europe: land route to Greece or Bulgaria, air route to any EU member state and sea route across the Mediterranean to Greece, Cyprus, Malta or Italy. Member states have been implementing several forms of border control and asylum protection based on their individual national security needs. Most EU member states refrained from returning Syrians back to their country but they have not publicly acknowledged the need for Syrian resettlement, instead focused on providing assistance to host countries.

When we looked at polls about immigration, we can see that the EU public disapproved their own government's handling of immigration. In comparison of Turkish public, the EU public has not affected from immigration wave of Syria. Consequently, except for border countries, the EU member states' domestic policy was hardly affected from this situation.

### **5.2.2. Foreign Policy effects of Syrian Refugees on EU**

The EU is a leading donor in response to the Syria crisis with around €3.6 billion of total budget mobilized by the Commission and Member states collectively in humanitarian, development, economic and stabilization assistance.

The EU response aims to: support a political process that brings a sustainable solution to the crisis and prevent regional destabilization. Kristalina Georgieva, European commissioner for international cooperation, humanitarian aid and crisis response, said that we do not see the end of Syria crisis and she added that we have to act now, proactively, before it is too late. The EU gives some modest assistance to Turkey via humanitarian organizations because of Turkish security concerns. However, to give money is just not enough. The host countries need more than money; they need humanitarian assistance and share the refugee burden. However, the EU has pledged only 12.340 places of 15.244 for temporary or permanent relocation of refugees from Syria. Among the places offered by EU countries, 10.000 places were offered by Germany. Eighteen member states including the United Kingdom and Italy have not any resettlement or humanitarian admission pledged.

Many human rights violations are experienced throughout European borders to ensure their borders protection. International community, particularly Middle Eastern countries, has found ineffective the policies which applied by EU. Although the EU is a comprehensive organization, its policies are unsuccessful and it has lost prestige.

## **CHAPTER VI**

### **CONCLUSION**

In 2010, the Arab Spring which has affected all the Middle Eastern countries started and it still continues to spread in the region. As Syria has been managed with dictatorship, Syria is one of the countries and the Syrian people have started to want a democracy.

In 2011, the demonstrations started in Syria and the people of Syria wanted to overthrow the Assad regime. When the events in Syria started, Turkey warned the Assad regime to make democratic reforms but he did not change his stance against demonstrations. Prime Minister Erdoğan (now president) and Foreign Affairs Minister Davutoğlu (now prime minister) have made many times bilateral contacts to change of Assad's attitude against demonstrations. Consequently, Turkey has begun to take place directly across the Assad. When the violence in Syria started to increase, the Syrian people began to flee other countries. Turkey which has a very long border with Syria is one of them. From the first day, Turkey has implemented "open door policy" and none of the Syrian refugees was sent back to Syria as a humanitarian responsibility. Turkish government and AFAD established 22 camps (16 tent cities and 5 container towns) in 10 provinces. According to recent data of AFAD, total number of Syrian refugees in Turkey is approximately 1 million 645 thousand people. According to AFAD April 2015 update, \$5.6 billion has been spent for humanitarian aid to Syrian refugees.

Turkey has created her policy formed as to Assad will go but when the Assad regime continues to remain in the management of Syria, Turkey is losing prestige. Meanwhile, this policy of Turkey actually led to isolation in her region. Despite all negativity, Turkey's courage should be appreciated. In addition, Turkey has kept the issue on the agenda alone. The March of 2012, Turkey emphasized that the options of safe zone should be assessed. Nonetheless, Turkey's words were in the air due to the absence of

needed support. The Syrian civil war still continues with the support which Syria has taken. Turkish government has taken Assad a little more undervalues. However, opposition groups have been overestimated in our eyes but they do not have a smooth cooperation in their selves.

The number of Syrian refugees continues to increase exponentially in every day. These people were named as “refugee” by press and local people but they are not legal refugees according to Turkish law. Due to the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, Turkey only gives the refugee status to the people who escaped from Europe. Refugees who came from non-European zones are only allowed to stay in Turkey on temporary basis until the completion of the process of inserting in a third country. Consequently, the Syrian refugees are named as a “guest” by Turkish government. However, the government thought that they should be given a new status so the Prime Minister’s Office published circular letter which is recognized the temporary protection status to Syrians in the April of 2012. According to this circular letter,

1. It will continue to an “open door policy”
2. It will not apply to forcibly refoulement
3. The Syrian refugees will be recorded and their needs will be fulfillment by Turkish government.

Afterwards, Turkish government started to work about identity and work permit to Syrian refugees. However, these works have not been finished. Turkish government should make new and constructive policies about Syrian refugees because the civil war still continues and the people of Syrian seem to live in Turkey during a long time.

The refugee camps have been managed by AFAD on behalf of the Turkish government. However, AFAD is not alone about the working of aids. AFAD has conducted these works in collaboration with Turkish Red Crescent. According to 2013 Turkey Development Aid Report, the aids made to Syrian refugees constituted 93.95 million dollars of the said figures so the 33% of all NGO’s assistance are made to Syrian guests. According to this report, the most aid was made by the coordination of Red

Crescent and NGO with 58.86 million dollar. With 35.74 million dollars Religious Foundation of Turkey, with the 33.64 million dollars Turkish Red Crescent Society, with the 32.93 million dollars The Foundation for Human Rights and Freedoms and Humanitarian Relief (İHH) follows. Consequently, Turkish NGOs have worked together with Turkish government to help the Syrian refugees who live in Turkey and Syria. Turkish NGOs have made lots of aid campaigns, “A Bread and A Blanket for Syria” and “I Need You” is only two of them. The president of AFAD emphasizes that they are making joint works with the local NGOs which applied to them and the importance of making joint works. However, NGOs have faced with many disadvantages about the distribution of aids. The Turkish government sometimes hampers the initiatives of NGOs due to the privacy and security but the government should be worked to facilitate the NGOs’ businesses. Some control mechanism should be there as a matter of course but these mechanisms should not cause disruption of these aids.

Turkish public have approached with tolerated the Syrian refugees from the beginning and they tried to help the Syrian refugees in every way. However, the smooth situation has changed over time because the number of refugees has increased too much. Many refugees have left the camps and they have started to live in rental houses. The local people were extremely disturbed from Syrians who carried their own culture to here. The Syrian refugees have scattered to all provinces of Turkey except for 8 provinces and their number has increased in every day. Especially, the border provinces have under the burden of refugees. The local person who lives in the border provinces has been impressed from the presence of Syrian refugees. Syrians’ cultures, languages and life styles have completely different from Turkish people. These differences have led to difficulties about social integration. For example, the polygamy is widespread in Syria but it is not accepted as a legitimate in Turkey. However, this situation has started to increase in Turkey thus the rate of divorce has raised. In addition to polygamy, the rate of illegal workers has started to increase with the Syrian refugees and the rate of unemployment has reached at 10.1. The Syrian refugees have worked with low wages therefore Turkish workers think that they lose their jobs due to the Syrian refugees. Consequently, the daily lives of people are badly affected and the government should be made something as soon as possible. We can see

the people's unrest from the public opinion polls. Some survey companies such as EDAM, HUGO and GMF have made a research about the people's approach to Syrian refugees. According to EDAM survey, Turkish people do not want further Syrian refugees and 86% of the participants argue that no further Syrian refugees should be allowed in the country. According to GMF survey, 66% of Turks said that their country's policies towards refugees should be more restrictive. According to HUGO survey, 64.6% of participants said that the adoption of Syrian refugees regardless of their religion, language and ethnicity is the duty of humanity. However, 70.7% of Turkish people think that Turkish economy has damaged due to the refugees. In addition, 76.5% of Turks think that Syrians will lead to major problems if they remain in Turkey. Despite everything, Turkish society seems to have accepted the Syrian refugees. Since the Turkish people approached to this issue as a humanitarian mission, the acceptable levels of the Syrian people is greater than anticipated. However, the government should be worked about this issue with taking into consideration of process to change of perspectives in a positive direction against Syrians. Moreover, emergency measures should be taken about some issues in the province of border. Otherwise the ethnic problems in Syria could spill over to Turkey.

When we looked at the European Union member countries, the situation seems very grave. On the contrary to Turkey, the number of Syrian refugees who lives in Europe is very low. The EU and its member states have made large amounts of donate to refugees. More than €3.6 billion have been mobilized for relief and recovery assistance to Syrians who stayed in their country and escaped to neighboring countries. From the beginning of Syrian crises, lots of people made an asylum application to European countries. However, EU countries are very reluctant about the accepting of Syrian refugees to Europe. UNHCR has wanted from countries to open their borders to Syrian refugees but except for some countries, most of them do not want to Syrian refugees. In 2011, when the Syrian crisis started, the EU has begun to warn the Assad regime. However, the violation has continued to increase so EU has started make an embargo on the import of Syrian crude oil.

European countries have believed that the only solution of this problem is a political. The EU has warned Syrian regime and authorities at every turn to stop the

violation and using gun above innocent people. As the Syrian regime continued use of violence against civilians, the Council increased measures against the Syrian regime. However, the EU member states have not a common stand against Syrian civil war. Most European officials say that they want to stop the bloodshed, but without the use of force it does not seem possible. The EU want to use UN Security Council to stop this situation but Russia and China refused to allow any European-backed solution on Syria. The EU Council sanctions on Assad regime are very important but it is controversial that it works and does not work. To find a political solution, UN and Arab League gave a special mission to Kofi Annan. The EU has supported Annan's plan but he did not succeed. Consequently, we cannot say that the EU develops an effective policy on Syria.

The EU members wanted to protect the EU borders so they have increased the border control. Most of Syrians have crossed the border illegal ways to reach the EU countries. However, the European countries do not want any Syrian refugees so they work to hamper the Syrian refugees. Many human rights violations are experienced throughout European borders to ensure their borders protection. The EU must; increase support for hosting communities, support a political settlement and increase close cooperation with international community and NGOs.

Syria Relief, Human Care Syria, Norwegian Refugee Council and International Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies are the main European NGOs which work about the aid to Syrian refugees. All of them have mobilized huge resources throughout the region to respond to the vast humanitarian needs both inside Syria and neighboring countries. European NGOs work with a great desire to help Syrian refugees. The all of NGOs are doing their best about humanitarian aid even risking their lives. However, the hosting countries sometime hinder the NGOs works and they do not complete their mission very well. At this point, local government has very important mission about facilitate the works of NGOs.

European countries do not want to intervention the issue of Syria because the public of European countries also do not want Syrian refugees in their border. According to GMF survey 2014, 60% of Europeans said they disapproved of their government's handling of



immigration. In addition, 40 % of Europeans wanted their country's policy should be more restrictive about refugees. When the international community started to talk about military intervention on Syria, none of them supported this idea. For example, only 29% of people believe Britain should join the United States in launching air strikes against Assad. In Germany, public opinion has been running 58% against striking Syria according to public television. In Italy, the poll conducted by the IPR Institute found that 52% of the public opposed an attack on Syria.

Consequently, the European people think that the Syrian civil war is not on their business and they do not think as a threat directly. Europeans concern about immigration and refugees so they do not want to intervene Syrian issue. However, they do not escape from this issue because millions of Syrian refugees trying to cross the European borders every day. Especially, Italy, Greece and Bulgaria have been affected by this refugee wave. The EU which talks about human rights in every opportunity was ineffective in this regard. The EU members should share the burden of refugees with the hosting countries. The EU gives the money to NGOs and international organization to help Syrian refugees but it is not enough. They have to take Syrian refugees to protect or resettlement.

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## TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

### ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

### YAZARIN

Soyadı : ZORBA

Adı : HİCAL

Bölümü : Uluslararası İlişkiler

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : TURKISH AND EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVES ON SYRIAN  
MIGRATION SINCE 2011

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans

Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

3. Tezimden bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

### TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ