***IMPACTS OF SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS ON***

***TURKISH INTERNATONAL MIGRATION POLICY***

Özlem Pehlivan

Hacettepe University

International Relations MA Student

**Introduction**

Migration is an issue, which is as old as the history of humanity, in the sense that people have always migrated from place to another. Turkish nation has always migrated in the history. Migrating to West, Turks came to Anatolia which is a bridge between Asia and Europe, Africa and Europe too. This nation established a state on this land, and this state became an empire then, Ottoman Empire. This state always welcomed immigrants. For instance, Ottoman welcomed thousands of Jewish people, who fled from the inquisition, with open arms. Those Jews still live in Turkey which is a successor of Ottoman. In Ottoman’s state tradition, there were always charity, relief and welcome every people. Today, her successor Turkey does not close doors to people who seek asylum.

There has always been migration throughout the history. However, after the formation of nation sates, which was a turning point in migration, mass migration occurred across countries. Another turning point has been the two world wars in the 20st century. After these wars, issues such as; asylum seekers, refugees, displaced people, migrants came high on the agenda. People under these categories spread across the world. Since there was a refugee crisis as a result of these wars, a need for an institution to cope with this problem arose, and accordingly the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has been established. By virtue of UN’s efforts towards this issue, the Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees in 1951, and 1967 Protocol have taken effect. The Geneva Convention has determined the rights of people who migrate and responsibilities of the states parties to the Convention to related people. Refugee, asylum seeker, migrant, displaced people can be counted as statuses conferred on this people They may, also, sometimes be called as immigrant, emigrant from receiving or sending countries.

Migration still goes on today. Every country faces migration, irregular or regular. There are still millions of people who are migrating or forced to migrate or displaced internally or externally.

Today, migration is a problem for Middle East like everywhere. As a result of crisis in Middle East, some countries have to tackle with refugees and displaced people problem. Turkey is one of them. Turkey’s migration policy is transforming and shaping with the Syrian Refugee Crisis.

**Migration Policy of Turkey**

Turkey is a party of 1951 convention, however, placing a geographic limitation on it. Thus, Turkey does not admit refugees coming outside Europe. However, Turkey cannot escape from this issue.

Turkey is always the subject to migration. Turkey is a transit country for migration due to her geographic location. Turkey was a sending country for a long time, even though, it was sometimes in the position of receiving country for people who migrated from former Ottoman lands. Recently, Turkey is becoming a receiving country, thanks to its economic growth and increasing welfare standards. However, Turkey still maintains geographic limitation to the Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees (1951 Convention) and its 1967 Protocol, and thus, do not accept refugees from countries which are not member of the Council of Europe.

Turkey has faced multiple refugee flows from East (Middle East, Asia, Africa) and, as well as from the West (Europe). Turkey implemented different policies in these different migration flows. Turkey has always been reluctant to admit refugees from East. However, Turkey did not confer the status of refugee on the people migrated or fled from Europe to Turkey. Turkey gave these people citizenship on the basis of their Turkish descent and cultural origin.

People, from Middle Eastern, Asian, African countries are using Turkey as a bridge on their route to West (European countries or North America). These people constitute a problem between Turkey and the European Union (EU) countries. In 2013, Turkey and EU signed ‘European Union-Turkey Readmission Agreement’ which will be applied to irregular migration. Accordingly, the EU introduced a dialogue between EU-Turkey, on visa liberalization for Turkish citizens.

Turkey has also been affected by the political conjuncture. Following September 11 terrorist attacks, the invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as the Syrian Civil War, triggered irregular migration to, and mass of refugee flows into Turkey.

Syrian Refugee flow has had a great impact on Turkey’s migration policy. Turkey is coping to deal with nearly two million people. Syrian migration inflow and Turkey’s EU membership process have to a large extent paved the way for the approval of the ‘Law on Foreigners and International Protection’ and the establishment of the ‘Directorate General for Migration Management’.

In reality, Turkey has been in need of legislation on migration, and institution for managing migration for ages. There is a conceptual confusion arose by geographic limitation placed by Turkey on Geneva Convention (1951) and 1967 Protocol to the Convention, which causes Turkey to refuse granting ‘refugee status’ to people who migrate from non-European countries.

**The History of Migration to and from Turkey**

Modern Turkey (Republic of Turkey) was established in October 29, 1923. Since then, Turkey has always engaged in migration. Migration, both emigration and immigration, was one of the first issues that should be handled by the new state.

After the World War 2, the Ottoman Empire collapsed and Turkish people went to war for independence against the Allies and Greece. After winning the war against those states, Turkey and the Allies, also Greece, signed the Lausanne Treaty in 1923. One of the issues of this treaty was Turkish minorities in Greece and Greek minorities in Turkey. But that problem could not be solved then. Turkey established the Ministry of Population Exchange in 1923 and made Constitution of Turkey in 1924, adopted the Turkish Citizen Law in 1928. Meanwhile, after many negotiations, Turkey and Greece reached a compromise and they decided the exchange of their populations. Turkish and Muslim population living in Greece migrated to Turkey, and, Greek and non-Muslim population living in Turkey migrated to Greece. Greece was not the only land Turks were living but also Bulgaria was another land where many Turks were living. But it was not a problem between two states. Turkey and Bulgaria exchanged their populations in 1925. The law on Settlement was adopted in 1934. In those years, Turkey pursued nation building process as being a new state. Most migrants came from Balkans, which was a former Ottoman land, to Turkey. The new Turkey did not only send non-Muslims to other countries but also send students to Europe and the United States of America for its modernization process and economic recovery.[[1]](#footnote-2)

Between 1950 and 1980 period was a second term in Turkish Migration Policy. The exchange of Turkish-Greek population continued due to political conjuncture. Because of the Cyprus dispute, the relations of Turkey and Greece were strained. 1955, 1963-64 and 1974 in which years the dispute was at its peak, minorities migrated to their country of origin. Turks migrated to Turkey, Greeks migrated to Greece. Furthermore, non-Muslim population went on leaving Turkey. Following the establishment of Israel in 1948, Jewish population living in Turkey migrated to their new state during 1950’s. On the other hand, Turkey became a sending country of labour force in those years. Emigration of workers started in the beginning of 1960’s. Turkey was eager to send its population in order to deal with increasing unemployment and get remittances. Thanks to the Labour Recruitment Agreements, Turkey sent its citizens as workers to many European countries, such as Germany, France, Netherlands. Meanwhile, Turkey signed and adopted “the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951 Convention)” in 1961 and, also adopted “1967 Protocol” in 1968 with a “geographic limitation”.[[2]](#footnote-3)

In 1980’s, Turkey had to engaged in migration increasingly. In 1981, Turkey granted a dual citizenship by introducing a law considering Turkish people who had emigrated to other countries for working. In those years, political conjuncture, especially wars, influenced migration to Turkey. The Soviet Union’s invasion in Afghanistan (in 1979-1989) and Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988) brought about Turkey a bridge country between East and West. And, after the collapse of Soviet Union, Turkey faced with irregular migrants who came for economic reasons from former Soviet Republics. Iran-Iraq War 1980-1988, Halabja Massacre which happened during that war, and 1991 Gulf crisis caused a great many people seek a refuge in Turkey. Those immigrants were non-Turkish. In 1988 and 1991 refugee crisis many Iraqi Kurds fled from atrocities against them by Iraqi government, climbed over the mountains and came to Turkey. At first, Turkey did not want to admit them because of security concerns. But, domestic and international pressure made Turkey open its doors. Turkey admitted those people on humanitarian grounds but never grant them ‘refugee’ status. Turkey established camps for those people in that time, and those camps were very close to the Turkey-Iraq border. However, Turkey tried to keep them outside of its borders. Turkey suggested safe havens for refugees in the country where they came from and no fly zones. Turkey also tried to find a solution in international level in order to bring the conflict to end and stop refugee influx to Turkey. This mass migration influx was also a turning point in Turkey’s Migration Policy. It urged Turkey to make “Regulation No. 1994/6169 on the Procedures and Principles related to Possible Population Movements and Aliens Arriving in Turkey either as Individuals or in Groups Wishing to Seek Asylum either from Turkey or Requesting Residence Permission in order to Seek Asylum From Another Country” in 1994. Meanwhile, Bulgarian Turks were expelled from Bulgaria in 1995. Thousands of Bulgarian Turks migrated to Turkey. Turkey opened its doors for them. Turkey admitted them to citizenship by neutralization on the basis of their Turkish descent and facilitated their integration and settled them in Turkey. It means that nation building process still go on.[[3]](#footnote-4)

The 2000’s are transition years for Turkey politically, sociologically, economically. Since 2002, Turkey has been governed by Justice and Development Party-JDP (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi –AKP in Turkish). This party has a liberal stance on economy, as well as politics. Ruling Party JDP-AKP aims zero problems with neigbours and tries to lift visa requirements to its neigbours, as well as other countries in the world. It also gives importance the relations with European Union and intends to accomplish the process of accession to EU. For this purpose, Turkey should harmonize its legislation with EU. Since the JDP came to power, Turkey has made some regulations about migration; such as Law No:4817 (in 2003) which is about work permit for foreigners; Law No:5543 (in 2006) which is about settlement in Turkey. But, finally, Turkey legislated ‘Law on Foreigners and International Protection (Law No:6458)’ in April 10, 2013. And, also, Turkey and the European Union signed the Readmission Agreement, which stipulates Turkey admit irregular migrants from EU countries, in December 16, 2013. The mass refugee influx from Syria and increasing number of irregular migrants who go to Europe through Turkey were the underlying reasons for signing that treaty and making the law on foreigners. Besides, Turkey established the Directorate General of Migration Management with the given legislation, in order to conduct the migration process in Turkey.

With a mass refugee inflow to Turkey, Syrian Crisis has a great impact on Turkish Migration Policy. In order to cope with this problem, Turkey enacted a law and established a directorate. So, Syrian Refugee Crisis and Turkey’s responses to this issue should be examined.

**Syrian (Refugee) Crisis**

The year 2010 was a milestone in the Arab world and it’s political, social life. In many Arab countries, people uprised against their authoritarian regimes. The reasons were unemployment, poverty, inequality of income, rich and poor gap, widespread corruption, injustice. These problems are common in Arab countries and Syria is not different. Syria has been ruled authoritatively by Ba’ath Party since 1963 when this party took the power after a coup. The Assad family has been in power since 1970 in this country. At the same time, Syria had been ruled under the Emergency Law between 1963 and 2011. That Emergency Law was abolished after uprisings had started in Syria. But, it could not appease Syrian people, and then uprisings turned into a civil war.

When Bashar al-Assad came to power in 2000 after his father death, it was expected that freedoms (freedom of the press, freedom of speech or assembly) and democracy would come to Syria. But, it wouldn’t so. Contrarily, dissidents are oppressed, the press is censored.

Syrian people demand regime change and democracy and the end of the one-party era. They have been suffered from arbitrary detentions or arrests, torture, disappearance under detention, travel bans, lack of freedoms, discrimination against women and Kurdish people, human rights violations. There are also internet censorship and no-license to another party.[[4]](#footnote-5) There are stateless Kurdish people in Syria, and hence, these people have no political rights and they are lack of right to education and work, too. Beside this, right of meeting for Kurds is prohibited.[[5]](#footnote-6) After uprisings, Syrian government granted them citizenship in 2011.[[6]](#footnote-7)

While there are such human rights violations, after the beginning of the civil war, the situation in Syria gets worse. Now, there are fighting forces: pro-government forces and opposition forces. And these forces consist of many different parties, such as Islamic Front (ISIS), Kurdish Forces, Free Syrian Army, al-Nusra, Hezbollah, Syrian Armed Forces, National Defense Force etc. These forces are making a war in Syria. Bombardments destroy the infrastructure of the cities, hospitals, schools and weapons are used indiscriminately. Health system is destroyed, to find a medicine is difficult, doctors are not let to treat woundeds. Rape is used as a weapon and this is one of the primary reasons for leaving the country. Business, working places, factories have been shut down because of clashes. So, unemployment has increased. At the same time, municipal services cannot be provided due to clashes. Pollution, lack of drinking water, no electricity make everyday life impossible.[[7]](#footnote-8) On the other hand, there are mass killings, human rights violations. Syrian government does not let human rights observers to enter the country and watch/observe what happens in Syria. Even if, protests are peaceful, protestors are arrested arbitrarily and accused of terrorism. Not only men but also women, children and elder people are arrested. There are many deaths under custody because of torture and ill-treatment. Syrian government is accused of using chemical weapon. Belligerent forces also laid a siege to thousands of people. Providing humanitarian aid to them is too hard, nearly impossible. Opposition forces use children as soldiers. Civilians are killed by pro-government or opposition forces every day, and these forces make extrajudicial punishment and commit executions. Especially extremists groups, such as ISIS, target civilians, mostly women, girls and children too. They force people to obey their Islamic rules, abduct girls, and use children for their purposes as their soldiers or suicide bombers.[[8]](#footnote-9) The Syrian people cannot live in safety, and unfortunately, they cannot meet basic needs for human beings to survive, such as food, drinking water; they cannot get health care; Syrian children cannot enjoy their right to education, children are also abused; and the war in Syria cause physiological illnesses for every people and especially for children. These problems cause people to leave their country. Syrians leave their country in order to save their lives and get a refuge for themselves, their families and their children. The first place to go is the neigbouring countries; Jordan, Iraq, Lebanon and Turkey.

There are 3,742,465 Syrians registered UNHCR.[[9]](#footnote-10) Turkey is, now, hosting nearly two millions of Syrians.

After the Syrian civil war, Syria’s relations with other countries have changed. The relation between Syria and Turkey deteriorated.

**Turkey and Syria Relations**

Turkey had close relations with Syria before the civil war started in Syria. Two states were in cooperation in economy, politics, culture, security. They paid official visits to each other. For instance, they signed the Joint Political Declaration on establishing High Level Strategic Cooperation Council and the Visa Exemption Agreement in 2009. Now, this agreement was a facilitator for Syrians to enter Turkey.

But, after 2011, the relations were deteriorated. Ihlamur-Oner explains the evolution of the relations in five stages in her article. In first stage, Turkey suggested Syria taking necessary steps for reforms which were demanded by Syrians. Then, Turkey severed diplomatic relations with Syria. In the third stage, Turkey gave support regional and international initiatives. When those steps failed, Turkey began to give support Syrian opposition. Finally, Turkey suggested no fly zone and buffer zone in the northern region of Syria. Turkey also suggested a military action against Assad regime.[[10]](#footnote-11)

In the beginning of the crisis, Turkey was hopeful and believed that unrest in Syria would settle down. As time goes on, unrest turned into civil war. Turkey and Syria have come up against each other due to several reasons. Syria accused Turkey of involving its internal affairs or giving support and hosting its opposition. Turkey suffered from bombings which fall on Turkish territory accidently or not. A Turkish aircraft, which was flying over the Turkish-Syrian border, was downed by Syrian Forces.

Because of the Syrian Civil War, Turkey has faced a great number of refugee inflows, and now, Turkey is hosting nearly two million Syrians. Turkey wills the civil war come to end as soon as possible. But it seems to take a long time. Therefore, Turkey is in need of a legislation which helps to deal with the issue and an organization that can manage the migration. For this reason, Turkey made a law and established a directorate.

**Syrians Flee to Turkey**

Turkey has implemented “open door policy” to Syrians and admits all of them in Turkey. Turkey’s neigbours Iraq and Syria have problems in recent years. Turkey faces refugee influx from her southern neigbours. In these countries, there are security problems. Both countries suffer from ISIS. People of these countries are under attack, they are not safe. Beside this, neither Syrians nor Iraqis can enjoy basic human rights. They are also subjected to race and religious discrimination. Therefore, they migrate to safe places. Actually, most of them migrate for survival.

Syrians, who leave their country for survival, choose Turkey for migrating to, and as a refuge. There are several reasons why they choose Turkey. First reason is the easement of arrival, most Syrians come from closest regions of Syria to Turkey. Other reasons are; kinship among citizens of Turkey and Syria; having acquaintanceship through connections of smuggling between Turkey-Syria; the situation is better in Turkey in comparison with other neigbouring countries; and religious affiliation with Turkey. The Syrians in Turkey are asked why they leave? Their answers are security, political and economic reasons. [[11]](#footnote-12)

Almost every day, Syrians, who flee from civil war, cross the Turkish border. Half of them cross the border from unofficial border crossing point. It is very difficult for Turkey to register a great number of Syrians who cross the border. Therefore, there is no certain number of Syrians living out of the camps. 4.9 % of Syrians who live in camps crossed the border with their passports, 52.4 % of those crossed the border without passport from official border crossing point. However, there are many Syrians who live out of the camps. 26.7 % of those living out of camps crossed the border with their passports, and 25.5 % of those crossed the border without passport from official border crossing point.[[12]](#footnote-13)

They have fled from Syria to Turkey since April, 2011. Turkey is hosting 1.653.726 Syrians. 229.803 Syrians (14% of Syrians) live in camps (These figures belong to 20.01.2015). Turkey has built these camps not for just Syrians but also for the usage of Turkish people in case of any disaster, such as an earthquake in Turkey. Syrians are living in 22 camps which are established in 10 provinces of Turkey. In these camps, many institutions –Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency, Turkish Red Crescent, Ministry of Foreign Affairs- are working together in order to meet their basic needs. In these camps, sheltering, food, health care, security, social activity, education, religious service, translatorship, telecommunication, banking and other services are provided by Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD). These camps have school, mosque, center of trade, polis station, health center, press meeting room, playground, television room, grocery, sewing course, water tank, purifying center, power distribution unit and generator.[[13]](#footnote-14)

Even if, Syrians can meet the basic needs in camps, many of them do not want to live in the camps. There are several reasons; entrance and exit are depended on permissions, and at the same time there are some rules in the camps, this make Syrians feel that their freedom is limited. On the other hand, some Syrians prefer to live in camps for a short period, and then, they want to find a job and work in Turkey.[[14]](#footnote-15) These camps are close to Syrian border and it causes concerns of bombing by Syrian government. Syrians have another concern; whether Syrian conflict may cause a conflict/fight among Syrians living in camps.[[15]](#footnote-16) Another concern is that if they register, the Syrian government will learn who flee from Syria and the government will punish them for this reason.[[16]](#footnote-17) Syrians, who have money, want to live in a house in a city center. Syrians, who have relatives in Turkey, live with them.[[17]](#footnote-18)

**Syrians Status in Turkey**

As stated above, Turkey does not grant refugee status to people coming from outside Europe. So, Turkey has not ever recognized Syrian people as refugees since the beginning of their arrival to Turkey (in April, 2011), even though Turkey admits all of them in line with open door policy. At first, Turkey called them ‘guests’. Because, Turkey thought that they would stay for a short period of time and then they would go back to Syria. At that time, Turkey believed that Syrian crisis came to an end as soon as possible. But it didn’t so.

Six months later, after their first arrival to Turkey, in October 2011, Turkey granted ‘temporary protection’ status to Syrians by referring to 1994 Regulation (Regulation-No 6169- on the Procedures and Principles related to Possible Population Movements and Aliens Arriving in Turkey either as Individuals or in Groups Wishing to Seek Asylum either from Turkey or Requesting Residence Permission in order to Seek Asylum From Another Country) which is about migration to Turkey. Then, March 30 in 2012, Turkey confirmed this status for Syrians with ‘Circular-no:62-on the “Admission and Accommodation of Mass-Arriving Syrian Asylum Seekers’.[[18]](#footnote-19)

**Law on Foreigners and International Protection**

As time goes on, in order to carry out the migration process and carry through the conceptual confusion, the need of legislation for Turkey increased. In April 2013, two years later of the first Syrian arrivals, Turkey made a ‘Law on Foreigners and International Protection’. In accordance with the article 91 of this law, Turkey granted Syrians a temporary protection. The first paragraph of this article stipulates that “Temporary protection may be provided for foreigners who have been forced to leave their country, cannot return to the country that they have left, and have arrived at or crossed the borders of Turkey in a mass influx situation seeking immediate and temporary protection.” But, the second paragraph of the given article stipulates that “The actions to be carried out for the reception of such foreigners into Turkey; their stay in Turkey and rights and obligations; their exit from Turkey; measures to be taken to prevent mass influxes; cooperation and coordination among national and international institutions and organizations; determination of the duties and mandate of the central and provincial institutions and organizations shall be stipulated in a Directive to be issued by the Council of Ministers”. As stated, the entrance, exit, stay, settlement or rights of refugees are not certain. They will be determined later by the directive issued by the Council of Ministers. Duration of stay of Syrians seems to be long, conflict in Syria do not seem to come to end in a short time. This legislation does not grant them citizenship or permit settlement after the conflict ends.

With this law, General Directorate for Migration Management, affiliated to the Ministry of Interior, has been established. This institution is very important and necessary in order to carry out and conduct the migration policy of Turkey.

This migration policy should also focus on and conduct the responses of the citizens. Turkish people’s response to this issue is important as the government’s response.

**Turkish People’s Perception on Syrians**

As the government was unprepared to host such a great number of Syrians, the Turkish people were unprepared, too. They got surprised when they saw a large number of Syrian people in everywhere, such as hospitals, shopping centers, working places, streets etc. or as their neigbours in the apartments.

After Syrians came, unemployment and inflation increased. Though, Turkey has got these problems before they came, but these problems exacerbated. Syrians have a right to work in Turkey now, but it requires residing in Turkey at least 6 months.[[19]](#footnote-20) Until 2014, Syrians have not got the right to work. So, they worked illegally and they were paid low. This also caused that exploitation of Syrians and loss of their employment for Turkish citizens. On the other hand, house rents have increased with huge demand by Syrians. Turks do not like their Syrian neigbours, because Syrians live crowded in flats which they rent. According to Turkish people, Syrian people appear as terrorists with their beards and dresses. Turkish people do not want to see Syrians begging with their children on the streets. On the other hand, Syrians claim that they face discrimination when they look for work or search a house for rent.[[20]](#footnote-21)

But, anyway, there is a feeling of compassion in Turkish people. They do not urge their government to expel Syrians. They even support the open door policy for Syrians, as well as other people.

**Conclusion**

Over several years, Turkey approached to migration issue with security concerns and thus continues to maintain geographic limitation. Turkey’s migration policy is generally being shaped by conjuncture.

The refugee influx from Middle East, in the late 1980’s and in the beginning of 1990’s, was a turning point for Turkey. It caused Turkey to amend (referred to as 1994 Regulation) its legislation on migration. The other turning point occurred as a result of civil war in Syria. The civil war in Syria triggered mass migration flow into Turkey. Turkey has enacted Law on Foreigners and International Protection, which is in line with EU and international standards, regulating its migration policy. Based on the legislation mentioned above General Directorate for Migration Management, affiliated to the Ministry of Interior, has been established.

On the other hand, Turkey’ European Union (EU) membership process have had a wide ranging effect on the trajectory of Turkey’s migration policy.

The Migration Policy of Turkey is undergoing transformation. The mass refugee flows from Syria and EU-Turkey relations have accelerated this transformation.

As described above, Turkey determined the rules on migration in directives or regulations. Turkey has always been in need of a separate law on migration. Now, Turkey is at the first stage in legislation and institutionalization.

1. Ahmet Icduygu, Damla B. Aksel, “Turkish Migration Policies: A Critical Historical Retrospective”, Perceptions, Vol.18, No.3, Autumn 2013.pp.167-172 [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
2. Ahmet Icduygu, Damla B. Aksel, “Turkish Migration Policies: A Critical Historical Retrospective”, Perceptions, Vol.18, No.3, Autumn 2013.pp.172-174. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
3. Suna Gulfer Ihlamur-Oner, Turkey’s Refugee Regime Stretched to the Limit? The Case of Iraqi and Syrian Refugee Flows, Perception, Vol.18, No.3, Autumn 2013.pp.191-200 and Ahmet Icduygu, Damla B. Aksel, “Turkish Migration Policies: A Critical Historical Retrospective”, Perceptions, Vol.18, No.3, Autumn 2013.pp.174-178 and Kemal Kirişçi, Syrian Refugees and Turkey’s Challenges: Going Beyond Hospitality, Brookings, May 2014.pp.7-11 [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
4. See “Human Rights Watch, World Report 2010,2011,2012,2013,2014.” [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
5. Human Rights Watch, World Report 2010. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
6. See Human Rights Watch, World Report 1996 and CNN, Stateless Kurds in Syria Granted Citizenship, 2011. Avaible at <http://edition.cnn.com/2011/WORLD/meast/04/07/syria.kurdish.citizenship/index.html> [Accessed 05.02.2015] [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
7. Syria: A Regional Crisis The IRC Commission on Syrian Refugees, January 2013, p. 2-7 [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
8. See Human Rights Watch, World Reports 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
9. The UN Refugee Agency, Syria Regional Refugee Response <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php> [20.02.2015]

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  |  |

 [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
10. Suna Gulfer Ihlamur-Oner, Turkey’s Refugee Regime Stretched to the Limit? The Case of Iraqi and Syrian Refugee Flows, Perception, Vol.18, No.3, Autumn 2013.pp.211-212 [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
11. Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency, Syrian Refugees in Turkey, 2013, Field Survey Results. p.23 [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
12. Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD), Syrian Refugees in Turkey, 2013 Field Survey Results, pp.22-23. Available At: <https://www.afad.gov.tr/Dokuman/TR/61-2013123015505-syrian-refugees-in-turkey-2013_print_12.11.2013_eng.pdf> [Accessed Date: 20.02.2015] [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
13. Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency, Official Website: [www.afad.gov.tr](http://www.afad.gov.tr) [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
14. Suriye’ye Komşu Ülkelerde Suriyeli Mültecilerin Durumu: Bulgular, Sonuçlar ve Öneriler, ORSAM Report No:189, April 2014.p.13 [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
15. Human Rights Association, “Yok Sayılanlar: Kamp Dışında Yaşayan Suriye’den Gelen Sığınmacılar İstanbul Örneği”, 2013. Available At: <http://ihd.org.tr/index.php/raporlar-mainmenu-86/el-raporlar-mainmenu-90/2723-yok-sayilanlar-kamp-disinda-yasayan-suriyeden-gelen-siginmacilar-istanbul-ornegi.html> [Accessed Date:20.02.2015] [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
16. Syria: A Regional Crisis The IRC Commission on Syrian Refugees, 2013.pp.6-7 [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
17. Suriye’ye Komşu Ülkelerde Suriyeli Mültecilerin Durumu: Bulgular, Sonuçlar ve Öneriler, ORSAM Report No:189, April 2014.p.15 [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
18. Suriye’ye Komşu Ülkelerde Suriyeli Mültecilerin Durumu: Bulgular, Sonuçlar ve Öneriler, ORSAM Report No:189, April 2014.p.11 [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
19. Turkish Republic Ministry of Labour and Social Security, Department of Work Permits of Foreigners, Official Website: <http://www.csgb.gov.tr/csgbPortal/yabancilar/eng/duyurular.html> [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
20. Human Rights Association, Gaziantep İlinde Yaşayan Suriyeli Sığınmacıların Durumuna İlişkin İHD Gaziantep Şubesi Report, July 2014 <http://www.ihd.org.tr/index.php/raporlar-mainmenu-86/el-raporlar-mainmenu-90/2865-gaziantep-ilinde-yasayan-suriyeli-siginmacilarin-durumuna-iliskin-ihd-gaziantep-subesi-raporu.html> [14.02.2015] and Human Rights Association, Yok Sayilanlar; Kamp Dişinda Yaşayan Suriye’den Gelen Siğinmacilar İstanbul Örneği <http://www.ihd.org.tr/index.php/raporlar-mainmenu-86/el-raporlar-mainmenu-90/2723-yok-sayilanlar-kamp-disinda-yasayan-suriyeden-gelen-siginmacilar-istanbul-ornegi.html> [13.02.2015] and Suriye’ye Komşu Ülkelerde Suriyeli Mültecilerin Durumu: Bulgular, Sonuçlar ve Öneriler, ORSAM Report No:189, April 2014.pp.16-19 [↑](#footnote-ref-21)