



MIGRATION-SECURITY NEXUS: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE MIGRATION CRISIS OF SYRIAN REFUGES AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ON THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF TURKIYE

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ABSTRACT

This study's objective is to examine the scope and severity of the migration crisis of Syrian refugees and its intricate connection with the national security imperatives of Turkey as it has profound effects on all facets of society and has put a burden on infrastructure and resources. The migration security nexus is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon and become a critical subject that has captivated universal attention because of its profound effects on national and human security. The Syrian civil war began in 2011 and according to the UNHRC, 3.70 million Syrian refugees were officially registered in the Turkiye. The migration issue involving Syrian refugees and its effects on Turkey's national security will be critically examined in six parts. First, the rationale of the securitization concept is why the migration crisis needs to be securitized. Second, various causes have exacerbated the security concerns faced by Turkiye in the wake of the migration crisis. Third, push and pull factors for Syrian refugees, with reference to the implications of the migration-security nexus in Turkiye. Fourth, Turkish Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP) 2014 and Turkish Migration Policy either fulfil legal or security requirements with reference to Syrian refugees. Fifth, the Syrian refugee crisis can have the inherited potential to lead to a human tragedy with respect to non-traditional security in Turkiye. Fifth, implications of the securitization of Syrian refugees on the EU-Turkiye relationship with reference to Turkiye's membership in the EU Finally, there are potential security risks posed by a large Syrian refugee population and its strain on Turkiye's resources and infrastructure. The study employs a qualitative research method within the theoretical framework of the Copenhagen School of Securitization. This study presents several concrete policy recommendations to address the Syrian refugee crisis and its implications for national security.

Key words: Securitization; Migration; Syrian Refugees; human security; EU; Turkiye; LFIP,

Introduction

Since Syrian civil war 2011, Turkiye has taken an active role in the Syrian refugee crisis, and the world is now aware of its determination to open its borders to those fleeing that country. According to UNHCR 2021, 3.70 million Syrian refugees are officially registered in the Turkiye, and there are many concerns over the present situation. (TSAROUHAS, 2023). When Syrian refugees first began to arrive in Turkiye, it was assumed that they would only stay there temporarily and return to Syria once the violence was over. Turkiye's stance evolved



as the Syrian war grew more intense. It is now obvious that the Syrian crisis is not going to end soon, and it's possible that a sizable portion of the Syrian refugees in Türkiye will stay there for a very long time (Esen & Binatli, 2017). Additionally, there are now more refugees living outside of camps. As of June 2013, over 75 percent of Syrian refugees were living outside of camps, according to survey data from the Turkish Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD). (Ceritoglu et al., 2017).

Türkiye has two significant security threats as a result of the Syrian refugee crisis there and rising anti-Islamic sentiment in the West. Refugees from Syria are a problem for both security and humanitarian reasons. (Demir & Yilmaz, 2020). The General Directorate for Migration Management (GDMM), a new organization constituted by the legislation to address the issue of migrants and refugees, was established. International actors played a significant role in the process. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) was heavily involved in the project's formulation. (Çorabatır, 2016). EU praised Ankara for passing the agreement and emphasized the importance of the Visa Liberalization Roadmap in achieving further advancement (European Commission, 2014).

This study will explain various causes that have exacerbated the security concerns and national security imperatives faced by Türkiye in the wake of the migration crisis. There are several causes and factor includes scale and magnitude of the refugee, economic concerns, border security and terrorism, cultural and social tensions, terrorism and security concerns, political considerations and dynamics, regional dynamics and geo-politics considerations etc. Study further explore the push and pull factors for Syrian refugees, with reference to the implications of the Migration- security nexus in Türkiye. The push and pull factors for Syrian refugees can be understood as the reasons that compel them to leave their home country (push factors) and the factors that attract them to seek refuge in Türkiye (pull factors).

Moreover, since the start of the Syrian war in 2011, Türkiye has been sheltering a sizable number of Syrian refugees. The LFIP provides the legal foundation for foreigners including refugees and asylum seekers—to enter, remain, and be protected in Turkey. Should admit that the new institutional and legislative framework outlined by the LFIP will only play a small role in determining the future path of migration policy in Türkiye. The 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol are included, as are Türkiye's duties under international law. The LFIP provides Syrian refugees who have escaped their country's war with Türkiye temporary protection. The General Directorate for Security of the Nation had previously been in charge of responsibilities pertaining to the administration of migration, but that agency's power had been replaced by the GDMM. Additionally, access to some social services was provided to refugees and asylum seekers under the new law (Ethem TAŞ et al., 2017).

Türkiye has clearly faced considerable difficulties as a result of the Syrian refugee crisis, including both traditional and non- traditional security (human security) problems. The magnitude of the crisis, which has caused millions of Syrians to seek asylum in Türkiye, has



profound effects on all facets of society and has put a burden on infrastructure and resources. Here are a few ways the crisis has affected Türkiye's level of human security. These elements underscore the crucial role that Türkiye plays in the management of refugee flows and aid in explaining the justification for Türkiye's presence in the area. (Tumen, 2023).

The effects of the securitization of Syrian refugees on the relationship between the EU and Turkey and Turkey's aspirations to join the EU must be complicated and multidimensional. Beyond the refugee crisis, a number of other issues, like geopolitics, the rule of law, democracy, and economic cooperation, have an impact on the relationship. It is crucial to keep in mind that the effects of securitization on the relationship between the EU and Turkey are complicated and can change based on changing political, social, and economic variables. The result will depend on how well both parties are able to communicate effectively, deal with problems that both parties have, and preserve the values of collaboration and respect.

As far as the theoretical framework, one of the most well-known followers of the Copenhagen School, Barry Buzan, questions the notion that security and survival are connected. Instead, he takes a comprehensive, from micro to macro, approach to security, addressing the social elements of security and how people or groups produce or "securitize" hazards. The study first develops an analytical framework based on a critical engagement with the concept of securitization, which was initially developed by the Copenhagen School, in order to support this argument.

It is important to note that not all refugees pose security risks, and many refugees themselves are fleeing conflict and seeking safety. Türkiye's approach to national security in the context of the refugee crisis involves addressing legitimate security concerns while upholding its humanitarian responsibilities and protecting the rights of refugees. To address these security implications, Türkiye has implemented measures such as enhanced border security, intelligence cooperation, counterterrorism efforts, and social integration initiatives. Balancing security concerns with humanitarian considerations and ensuring the protection of human rights for refugees are crucial aspects of managing the national security implications of the Syrian refugee crisis in Türkiye.

Literature review

In the past, Turkish security was primarily focused on military might and territory defence. Türkiye's conception of security is influenced by its geopolitical and geo-strategic location, which gives it a unique perspective on global politics and vulnerabilities. (Aydin & Ay D I N, 2003). In *Coping with Global Migration Change, Disasters and Security*, it has problems with both hard and soft security that cut over national boundaries and build a huge network of bridges that link the domestic and the international. Threats, difficulties, weaknesses, and risks. Hans Günter Brauch et al. (Berlin: Springer, 2009). Additionally, Türkiye witnessed the growing importance and impact of public opinion on the nation's shifting security



concerns. (Leemans, Rik, Rice, Martin, Henderson-Selles, Ann, Noone, 2011). Although the conventional notion of security is preferred in Turkiye, new topics, including economic difficulties, social and demographic trends, and environmental issues, have started to surface more frequently in discussions about security. Turkish civil society, which has grown more aware of emerging global challenges such as migrant flows, is largely responsible for this growth. (Alpaslan Ozerdem, 2013).

Turkiye began pursuing the notion of establishing a no-fly zone or buffer zone in the autumn of 2011 in order to safeguard people and aid anti-Assad rebels. Turkiye was compelled to pursue both a strong humanitarian agenda and a foreign policy stance that was security- and strategy-focused by the extraordinary number of Syrian refugees it was hosting. In order to avoid the establishment of an autonomous Kurdish state along its southern borders, Turkiye has pursued two objectives in this endeavor: toppling Assad's government and maintaining a territorially cohesive Syrian state. (Phillips, 2012). Turkish policy towards refugees has been intimately tied to its foreign policy goals ever since the early stages of the Syrian civil war. The Assad regime's short tenure was something Turkiye anticipated. Amidst these circumstances, Turkiye announced in October 2011 that it would have an open-door policy for Syrian refugees. (Kirişci, 2014).

Turkiye erroneously believed that the Assad government would fall soon and that refugees would return to Syria. In this view, Turkiye switched from a security-focused strategy to an early morality-focused strategy. (Carothers & Samet-marram, 2015). It was generally believed that Turkiye's early kindness to Syrians and its decision not to register Syrian refugees had something to do with Turkiye's support of the Syrian rebels. It was also asserted that human rights organizations served as a major conduit for the opposition's assistance. (Futák-Campbell & de SAUVAGE NOLTING, 2022). With the help of global institutions and local and regional NGOs, AFAD should lead in to organize an official response to the influx of Syrian refugees. (UNHCR, 2014).

Early 2011 saw the outbreak of the Syrian civil war, which may be characterized as a sizable public uprising brought on by widespread dissatisfaction with the Syrian government. It first appeared as a result of the Arab Spring uprisings, which significantly changed the Middle East and North Africa's region political climate. Stressing the detrimental effects of accepting migrants, such as their ties to violent groups, enhances support for involvement among the Turkish population. Turkish residents who live near the border oppose intervention. Turkiye does not place refugee camps near its borders; instead, they are dispersed across Turkiye. (Getmansky et al., 2019).

Due to the intricate interactions between the security, humanitarian, and socioeconomic aspects of the inflow of Syrian refugees, as well as the multiple relationships between the expanding number of state and non-state entities, this problem has come to the attention of many people. (Memisoglu & Ilgit, 2017). Turkiye's approach to managing asylum and refugees has long shown a conflict between state-centric security concerns and the forces of



globalization, notwithstanding its welcoming policies and financial assistance for the Syrian refugees. Up until the 20th century's close, Europeanism and opposition to change were prevalent. (Memisoglu, 2014). Turkiye has become the foremost state for acquiescent refugees from Syria and the largest refugee host country in the world. Turkiye hosts refugees in refugee camps and in the cities, mostly those that boundary of Syria (UN, 2015). The world's largest refugee-hosting nation, Turkiye has emerged as the leader in receiving Syrian refugees. In refugee camps and in its towns, mostly those that border Syria, Turkiye accommodates refugees. (Çağaptay & Menekse, 2014).

Due to Turkiye's migration and asylum laws, these individuals were first regarded as guests rather than legitimate refugees. The Settlement Law of 1934, established the legal basis. (Kirişci, n.d.). Both the Additional Protocol (1967) and the Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951) are applicable. The 1951 Refugee Convention, which Turkiye accepted, has been applied with a geographical restriction that exclusively offers refugee status to Europeans. This is a major fact. Consequently, even after receiving UNHCR recognition of their refugee status, the majority of non-European asylum applicants still lack the right to remain in Turkiye. (Kaya, 2009). All Syrians refugees were accepted and housed, and they are continuing to do so (Koca, 2015). The defining legal status of refugees, as evidenced by their identification documents, rights, and accumulated social support, is the most crucial component of the LFIP. According to Article 91 of the LFIP, "temporary protection" refers to a protective rank given to non-nationals who have arrived in Turkiye in search of emergency and temporary protection after being compelled to flee their country and are unable to do so. (Suter, n.d. 2013).

The Turkish government has pursued a path of action in its relations with Syria that is not founded on a language of rights but rather on compassion. Such a benevolent strategy, as opposed to one based on respect for human rights, has the potential to inflame Turkish citizens' hostility towards migrants. (Donelli, 2018). According to UNHCR 2021, there are officially 3.64 million Syrian refugees living in the nation, and there are many unanswered concerns due to the current circumstances. Will Turkiye choose to integrate those refugees, or does its administration see them as only passing through? What impact does the existence of such a sizable and obvious minority have on Turkish politics? (TSAROUHAS, 2023).

Syria's protection of and assistance to the rebellious Kurdish separatist organization known as the Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK) posed a serious threat to Turkiye's territorial integrity and security. (Raymond Hinnebusch, 2016). Turkiye should completely implement the Geneva Convention and remove the terrestrial restriction while maintaining an equilibrium between its security commitments and its human rights commitments. (Keyman, 2013). Because migrants' and refugees' advocates may speak out about the difficulties they face and improve policies, NGOs play a crucial role in society. (Lahav, 2003).

The unique Syrian policy adopted by Turkiye stands out from both current global trends in the international refugee regime and Turkiye's earlier reactions to previous refugee flows,

which openly incorporated burden sharing and securitization discourse. Turkiye's transition from a security-focused to a morality-focused approach appears to be connected to its strong foreign policy. (Aras & Mencutek, 2015). However, notwithstanding these restrictions, Turkiye continues to provide refugee status in accordance with the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (Memisoglu & Ilgit, 2017). Border security and refugee protection are among the challenges related to migration. When it comes to making quick judgements that should strike a balance between humanitarian and security-focused approaches, major influxes in particular tend to pose a problem for receiving governments. (Aras & Mencutek, 2015).

In April 2013, Turkiye passed its first Law on Foreigners and International Protection, which gave the Directorate General for Migration Management (DGMM), a civil agency, control over managing international protection from the security services. (Memisoglu & Ilgit, 2017). The handling of received and departing remittances is still crucial in an economy like Turkiye's which is relatively unstable and prone to crises. There is no conflict between policies that inspire social and fiscal payments. (Aydin-Duzgit et al., 2013).

Research Questions

- What are the causes that have exacerbated the security concerns and national security imperatives faced by Turkiye in the wake of the migration crisis?
- What are the Push and pull factors for Syrian refugees, with reference to the implications of the Migration- security nexus in Turkiye?
- Does Turkiye's Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP) 2014 and Turkish Migration Policy fulfil legal and security requirements with reference to Syrian refugees?
- Does the Syrian refugee crisis have the inherited potential to lead to a human tragedy with respect to non-traditional security (Human security) in Turkiye as well?
- What are going to be the implications of the securitization of Syrian refugees on the EU-Turkiye relationship with reference to Turkiye's membership in the EU?

Rationale of the Securitization's Concept

A problem's ability to be successfully framed as a security concern, according to the securitization framework, prevents immediate action to solve the problem. This participation in the politics of security is more context-specific. (McDonald, 2012). Securitization has tactical appeals due to its prioritization need, such as a strategy to get enough attention for climate concerns (Cusato, 2022). Due to the requirement for prioritization, securitization has tactical appeal. For example, it might be used as a tool to ensure that non-traditional issues receive enough attention. (Peters & Mayhew, 2016).

This means that security is now a social and intersubjective construct and no longer has any inherent (pre-existing) value. (Taureck, 2006). On the other hand, liberalism emphasizes intergovernmental and transnational institutions, collaboration, and shared benefits in order



to frame international security. This provides potential solutions to the seemingly endless conflicts and security issues of the realist world. (Buzan, 2015). Constructivists, since the 1990s, have presented their distinctive viewpoint on social courses through ontology and epistemology, accentuating concepts, ethos, customs, and characteristics as an alternative to the materialist interpretations of neorealism and neoliberalism. (Buzan, 2015).

In his opening argument, Barry Buzan, one of the most well-known adherents of the Copenhagen School, challenges the conventional wisdom that security is related to survival. Instead, he addresses the social dimensions of security and how individuals or communities create or "securitize" risks by taking a holistic, from micro to macro, approach to security. (Demir & Yilmaz, 2020).

Since the start of the civil war in Turkiye in 2011, the country has implemented an "open door" policy for Syrian refugees. The Turkish government has been promoting this liberal agenda through the use of terminology that is perceived as compassionate and leads one to assume that Syrian refugees have not been securitized in Turkey. The management of Syrian refugees in Turkiye has necessitated a security framework that places a focus on control and confinement despite the prevalence of such non-secretarial discourses. This assertion is first supported by an analytical framework that is built through a critical engagement with the concept of securitization, which was initially developed by the Copenhagen School. In contrast to the Copenhagen School's methodology, which places a strong emphasis on voice as the securitization's primary vector (Perspectives, 2016). Neorealist, globalist, and regionalist theories have been the main approaches used to describe the post-Cold War international security framework. (Wæver, 2016).

The current state-centric security paradigm is insufficient to thwart all external threats to states. The idea of "security" is too intertwined to be defined only in terms of warfare, and there are many dangers to global security. As illustrated by the need to manage migration, infectious illnesses, food security, water security, and climate change, among other non-traditional concerns, non-traditional answers are required (Shell, 2016).

According to constructivists, security threats are produced by society. How risks to national and human security will be based on conceptual charters, much as state interests are normative, in the Turkiye scenario, and how the urgency around non-traditional concerns has to be developed. (Collins, Contemporary Security Studies , 2007). The Copenhagen School also left its own explanation, which is usually subliminal or just pejoratively described. To comprehend the dynamics underpinning the securitization of non-traditional domains, analyses of securitization, de-securitization, and politicization scenarios are required. (Guzzini, 2015).

The necessity to handle Migration as a security issue has become more urgent as a result of its visible and audible repercussions. All of these elements have helped turn Syrian refugees in Turkiye into a national security issue, moving the emphasis away from solely socio-economic or developmental concerns. Since migration has been identified as a security issue, more effort has been put into reducing its effects and preparing for them through legislative changes,



greater funding, and other means. For instance, according to the realism school, security is the absence of any actual military danger to the state's ability to survive in a lawless international order. Realists believe that war will always be a part of international politics, giving them a state-centric, power-political conception of security. (Buzan, 2015). What attention has been given to fostering resiliency, urgency, securitizing the issue, and improving the state of readiness to address both national security and human security by assessing how migration and Syrian refugees have been regarded as an existential security danger for Turkiye?

Meeting the basic needs of such a significant population has been challenging and has required substantial resources. There are two significant security threats as a result of the Syrian refugee crisis there and rising anti-Islamic sentiment in the West. Refugees from Syria are a problem for both security and humanitarian reasons. (Suter, n.d 2013.). By establishing a connection between the non-traditional threat's repercussions and detrimental impacts on socio-economic and political security, the non-traditional danger is heightened and has multiplier effects on global security (Causevic, 2017). The benefits of protecting the non-traditional sector are underlined by proponents, notably the increased efficacy of laws achieved by exceptional measures, which securitization paves the way for. (Gordeeva, 2022).

The migration-security nexus refers to the complex relationship between migration and security, where migration dynamics are viewed through the lens of national or regional security concerns. In the context of the Syrian refugees in Turkiye, the migration-security nexus pertains to how the influx of millions of refugees from Syria has impacted Turkiye's security landscape and how Turkiye's response to the refugee crisis is influenced by security considerations. The migration-security nexus is a complex and multifaceted concept. It involves not only security considerations but also humanitarian, economic, and political dimensions. As the situation evolves, the dynamics of the migration-security nexus with respect to Syrian refugees in Turkiye may have changed or developed.

Discussion

The Syrian refugee crisis has had substantial repercussions for the national security of Turkiye. Border Security, the influx of Syrian refugees has placed pressure on Turkiye's border security. Managing the movement of people across the border, preventing irregular migration, and countering potential security threats have become crucial priorities. Terrorism and Radicalization, Turkiye has faced challenges related to the potential infiltration of terrorist elements and the radicalization of individuals within the refugee population. Ensuring proper border control, implementing effective intelligence and security measures, and countering extremist ideologies are essential for addressing these risks. Social Cohesion, the presence of a large number of Syrian refugees has affected social cohesion in Turkiye, particularly in regions with high concentrations of refugees. Strains on resources, competition for jobs, and cultural differences can potentially lead to social tensions and affect stability.

Refugee Involvement in Criminal Activities, while the majority of refugees are law-abiding individuals seeking safety, a small minority has been involved in criminal activities. These



activities include human trafficking, illicit trade, and other illegal actions that can impact national security. Spillover of Conflict, the proximity of the Syrian conflict to Turkiye's border poses the risk of spillover effects. This includes cross-border attacks, clashes between armed groups, and potential involvement in regional dynamics that can have security implications for Turkiye. Humanitarian Crisis and Resource Strain, the scale of the refugee crisis has strained Turkiye's resources, including healthcare, education, housing, and social services. The diversion of attention and resources to address the humanitarian needs of refugees can indirectly impact national security priorities. Violence between Syrian refugees and the local population has been on the rise, especially in western urban areas where cultural misunderstandings and differences are as profound as those between citizens of EU member states and Syrians, according to the International Crisis Group 2018. As per opinion surveys, the majority of Turks do not believe that Syrian refugees can or will assimilate into Turkish society. (ICG, 2018).

1. Causes that have exacerbated the security concerns and national security imperatives faced by Turkiye in the wake of the migration crisis?

The securitization of Syrian refugees as a threat to Turkiye's security can be attributed to several factors. It is important to note that the following reasons represent some of the perspectives that have influenced the securitization discourse, but they do not necessarily reflect a comprehensive or universally accepted view.

Scale and magnitude of the refugee: With one of the biggest populations of Syrian refugees in the world, Turkiye has been severely hit by the crisis in Syria. Turkiye's resources, such as its infrastructure, healthcare system, educational system, and work possibilities, are being taxed by the country's massive influx of refugees (approximately 3.6 million as of 2021). Since the start of the Syrian civil conflict in 2011, Turkiye has been providing shelter to a sizable number of Syrian refugees. The nation is now the largest host nation in the world, having welcomed almost 3.7 million Syrian refugees as of September 2021. In southern Turkish regions like Hatay and Mardin, where there is a steady and rapid influx of migrants, there are sentiments of insecurity among the indigenous populations. (Donelli, 2018). Although Turkiye did not formally recognize them as refugees, she did view them as such since she saw the situation as posing a danger to national security. Turkiye announced that if the UN Security Council does not take appropriate action, military intervention may be considered to stop the refugee flow and close its borders. (LATİF, 2002).

Due to these strains, there are now socioeconomic difficulties, and it is thought that there are security threats associated with the existence of such a large refugee community. The relationships between the hosting community and the refugees are determined by the demographic features, particularly the ethnic constituents, of the host city or province. (Donelli, 2018).

Economic concerns: The financial burden of maintaining the refugee camps has had a significant, detrimental effect on how the public views them, resulting in social unrest or



friction against the refugees in a number of nearby areas. (Eastern, 2015). The main economic and political obstacles to Syrian integration fall into three categories: security, social cohesiveness, and resource allocation (i.e., who benefits and who loses from Syrian migration). Evidently, they are all connected. (Hoffmann & Samuk, 2016). Syrian migrants have increased competition for jobs, especially in low-skilled fields. Some sections of Turkish society are now concerned about rising unemployment and income stagnation, particularly in border regions. In addition to the nearly \$8 billion Turkiye has spent on housing these migrants, the economic impact has been significant. (Donelli, 2018).

Because it is thought to worsen social and economic inequities and may even spark civil upheaval, the economic pressure brought on by housing a sizable refugee population has been cast as a security concern. It costs Turkiye a lot of money to host this many refugees. There are worries that if the money is not spent judiciously, it will be used to "wall off" the migrants through new camps and security measures rather than for successful integration. (Saferworld and Conciliation Resources, 2016). The country has had to allocate resources to provide housing, healthcare, education, and other essential services for the refugee population. This strain on resources can create socio-economic challenges and lead to public resentment or discontent among the host population, potentially exacerbating existing social tensions.

Border security and terrorism: In light of this, the Turkish government has determined that the situation in several border regions poses a threat to Turkish security. So Ankara has taken action to prevent the threat of religious conflict. Since September 2012, Turkiye has sent a lot of the Syrian refugees to the interior provinces instead of placing them in significant numbers in southern cities. (Ahmadoun, 2014). Immigration and asylum policy may be influenced by border security and security concerns. (Aras & Mencutek, 2015). Turkiye shares a lengthy border with Syria, which has been a source of security concerns. The porous nature of the border has made it challenging to control the flow of people, goods, and potentially weapons. There have been instances where militants and foreign fighters have exploited the situation to cross the border, leading to fears of terrorism and instability. Incidents such as terrorist attacks carried out by individuals linked to extremist groups have fueled the narrative that Syrian refugees pose a security threat. Turkiye shares a long and porous border with Syria, making it challenging to regulate the movement of people and goods. This has raised concerns about the smuggling of weapons, illicit activities, and the potential for the entry of hostile actors. The need to secure the border and prevent unauthorized crossings has contributed to the securitization of Syrian refugees.

Cultural and social tensions: Threats and vulnerabilities to society's security include those that have an impact on community identity and cultural practices. The main causes are migrations and the conflict of civilizations with different identities. (Buzan, 1991). Focusing on internal issues like Turkish public opinion, where some sections of the population increasingly perceive the flood of Syrian migrants as a danger to social order and security, we examine the colloquial and political change of the Turkish state. (Memisoglu & Ilgit, 2017).



Concerns about the social and cultural dynamics of Turkish society have been raised by the huge number of Syrian refugees living there.

Social conflicts have developed in certain communities as a result of varying cultural standards, linguistic limitations, and perceived disparities in values and religious views. As concerns about possible social conflicts, difficulties with cultural integration, and the preservation of Turkiye's national identity get entwined with the refugee crisis, these issues are occasionally interpreted from the perspective of security. When locals believe that refugees are displacing local workers or taxing the public sector, tensions can rise, and locals may develop social and economic grievances. These planned unions, which have been linked to increasing divorce rates, polygamy, and child abuse, have created a market. Furthermore, women who have entered the country illegally run a significant risk of being abducted and used as sex slaves. (Rossman, 2020). A growing number of Syrian youngsters start working young to support themselves and their families, in part because there isn't a male breadwinner in their family. (Johannisson, 2016).

Terrorism and Security Concerns: Turkiye has faced security challenges related to terrorism, particularly from extremist groups operating in the region. The influx of Syrian refugees has created concerns about potential infiltration by individuals associated with such groups. Turkiye has experienced instances of violence, attacks, and incidents involving both refugees and terrorists. This has led to the securitization of Syrian refugees as a potential security threat. This raises concerns about potential security threats, such as terrorism, radicalization, and the presence of foreign fighters. The geopolitical implications of Turkiye's involvement in the conflict, and six other factors can all be used to evaluate Turkiye's reasons for getting involved in Syria. (Tumen, 2023).

Political considerations and Dynamics: Turkiye has played a long-standing, diverse role in managing the Syrian refugee problem. Additionally, it has significant political ramifications for Turkiye's domestic political climate as well as for its international ties with Syria and other nations in the region and beyond (TSAROUHAS, 2023). The securitization of Syrian refugees can also be influenced by political factors. Political parties and leaders may employ securitization rhetoric to mobilize support, divert attention from other issues, or legitimize certain policy choices. Framing the refugee issue as a security threat can serve as a means to consolidate political power or gain popular backing by appealing to nationalist sentiments. Domestic political considerations, such as public opinion, election campaigns, and nationalist sentiments, may shape the perception of refugees as a security threat. Politicians and policymakers might employ securitization rhetoric to address these concerns and garner public support.

Regional dynamics and geopolitical considerations: The Syrian conflict has had a significant impact on the regional dynamics in the Middle East. Turkiye has been involved in the conflict, supporting certain factions within Syria and engaging in military operations in northern Syria. As such, the presence of a large refugee population from Syria adds



complexity to Turkiye's strategic considerations and can be viewed through a geopolitical lens. To emphasize that the securitization of Syrian refugees in Turkiye is a complex and multifaceted issue, and there are alternative viewpoints that challenge this securitization narrative.

Many humanitarian organizations and individuals advocate for a more inclusive and empathetic approach that prioritizes the protection and well-being of refugees, promotes integration efforts, and addresses the underlying socio-economic challenges in a holistic manner. It is essential to approach the topic with nuance and recognize that securitization does not reflect the perspectives of all Turkish citizens or policymakers. Many individuals and organizations in Turkiye have been actively involved in providing humanitarian assistance to Syrian refugees and promoting their integration.

It is important to recognize that not all Syrian refugees are considered a threat to Turkiye's security. The securitization of Syrian refugees is a complex issue influenced by a range of factors, including domestic politics, economic concerns, and the ongoing conflict in Syria. It is crucial to distinguish between legitimate security concerns and the broader humanitarian needs of the refugee population to ensure a balanced and comprehensive approach to addressing the challenges posed by the Syrian refugee crisis.

2. Push and pull factors for Syrian refugees, with reference to the implications of the Migration- security nexus in Turkiye

People assess the push forces in the host nation against the pull elements in their own nation, taking into account the potential hazards and expenses of returning home. When faced with the possibility of returning, families must take into account not only the risks posed by generalized violence but also more intimate ones like the possibility of targeted violence against returnees, the danger of political persecution, the locations of family and friends, and the local economic prospects in the post-war economy. (Alrababah et al., 2023). Both push and pull variables may be used to explain why Syrian refugees are moving to Turkiye. While pull factors are the attractions or chances that entice people to go to a certain location, push factors are the conditions or situations in the place of origin that force people or groups to depart. The relationship between migration and security in the context of Syrian refugees in Turkiye has numerous ramifications. The push and pull factors for Syrian refugees may be interpreted as the causes that drive them to flee their native country and the attractions that draw them to Turkiye as a haven (Alrababah et al., 2023).

The migration-security nexus in Turkiye is impacted by these variables. Strong evidence suggests that pull factors, as opposed to push ones, are more important in determining refugees' decisions to return since conditions in Syria are far more likely to predict repatriation intentions. Economic circumstances and the accessibility of public services, as well as perceptions of safety in Syria, are all significant predictors of return intentions. In Syria, interpersonal networks are crucial. (Alrababah et al., 2023).



A. Push factors for Syrian refugees:

One of the main factors influencing people's decisions regarding return migration is the situation in the host nation. Even nations that are initially open to the refugee movement have a history of gradually escalating anti-refugee rhetoric and undermining refugee rights to legal status and employment. (Dustmann & Weiss, 2007). Refugees struggle to integrate into society because they lack legal protection, are denied fundamental rights, and are subject to prejudice on the part of the government. The choice to return will likely be influenced by a number of push factors in the host nation, such as a household's financial circumstances, access to humanitarian help, the availability of public services, the degree of social assimilation and recognition, and legal standing. (e.g., Yahya 2018, Mhaissen and Hodges (Kassir, n.d. 2018).

Conflict and violence: The primary push factor for Syrian refugees is the ongoing conflict and violence in their home country. The ongoing Syrian civil war, which began in 2011, has been a significant push factor. The violence, destruction, and insecurity in Syria have forced many Syrians to flee their homes in search of safety and protection. The push factor of the war and its associated dangers force Syrians to flee their homes and seek safety elsewhere.

Human rights abuses: The contradiction between humanitarian considerations and concerns about national security and the interests of the country was evident from the beginning of the refugee management, which was already largely focused on "comfort, tribal and racial harmony, and a technocratic approach to the "disposal" of refugees." (Memisoglu & Ilgit, 2017). The Syrian conflict has witnessed severe human rights abuses, including targeted attacks on civilians, forced displacement, and widespread destruction of infrastructure. The violation of basic human rights and the lack of security contribute to the push for Syrians to leave their country. Widespread human rights abuses, including violations committed by various parties involved in the conflict, have contributed to the displacement of Syrians. These abuses include targeted attacks, indiscriminate bombings, and the use of chemical weapons, leading to a loss of livelihoods, homes, and personal security. The fear of persecution and the desire to escape such abuses drive many Syrians to seek refuge in neighboring countries like Turkiye.

Political instability: The political instability in Syria, characterized by a complex web of factions, insurgency groups, and foreign interventions, has disrupted governance structures, leading to a breakdown in public services, law enforcement, and social cohesion. This instability has pushed Syrians to seek stability and a better quality of life elsewhere.

Economic devastation: The protracted conflict has devastated Syria's economy, leading to high unemployment rates, inflation, and economic instability. The lack of economic opportunities and dire living conditions act as push factors for Syrians to seek a better life elsewhere.

Collapse of infrastructure and services: The destruction of critical infrastructure, such as schools, hospitals, and utilities, combined with the breakdown of essential services, including healthcare and education, creates inhospitable living conditions for Syrians and prompts them to flee.

Lack of basic services and infrastructure: The protracted nature of the conflict has severely impacted infrastructure, including healthcare facilities, schools, and basic services such as water and electricity. The deteriorating living conditions and lack of essential services make it difficult for Syrians to sustain their livelihoods and lead a secure life, further motivating them to flee.

B. Pull factors for Syrian refugees in Turkiye:

Refugees must take into account the circumstances in their home country as well as their aspirations for how things will develop. For instance, would their specific region be affected if violence picked up again? Aside from that, may they face targeted persecution or imprisonment upon returning? People face dangers from both armed war and possible retaliation, in addition to other sources. In addition to general levels of violence, these political factors may have a significant influence on decisions considering return migration. (Alrababah et al., 2023). Infrastructure and methods for providing public services are frequently destroyed as a result of war. In a post-war setting, patterns of reconstruction and resuming service delivery may reflect political and geographic differences, impacting local lives and decision-making on a return. (Croese, 2017). By causing conflicts about who is the rightful owner of homes and other properties, the war itself may have an effect on people's economic future. (Return & Schwartz, 2019). especially in situations when governments seize and distribute property in order to manipulate demographics or reward allies (McNamee, 2018).

Proximity and accessibility: Turkiye shares a long border with Syria, making it a relatively accessible destination for Syrians fleeing the conflict. The geographic proximity makes Turkiye an initial and convenient transit point for many refugees seeking safety and opportunities beyond the Syrian borders.

Temporary protection regime: Turkiye has implemented a temporary protection regime for Syrian refugees, offering them a legal framework for residing in the country. This system provides Syrians with access to basic services, including education and healthcare, which can be appealing compared to the uncertain conditions in other neighboring countries.

Economic opportunities: Turkiye's relatively stronger economy compared to neighboring countries has attracted Syrian refugees in search of employment and economic stability. Turkiye has offered work permits to some Syrian refugees, allowing them to access the labor market and contribute to the economy. The availability of job opportunities acts as a pull factor for Syrians seeking economic stability. The integration program has advanced and made great strides with the introduction of citizenship and work permits for Syrian refugees.

However, because of the geographical restrictions, the majority of Syrians are not accepted as legitimate refugees.(International Labour Organization, 2017).

Established refugee infrastructure: Turkiye has developed an extensive infrastructure to support refugees, including camps, humanitarian organizations, and government initiatives. The presence of these resources makes Turkiye an attractive destination for Syrians in search of assistance and protection.

Cultural and linguistic familiarity: Turkiye shares cultural and historical ties with Syria, including linguistic similarities and cultural affinities. This cultural proximity can make Turkiye a more comfortable destination for Syrian refugees, where they may feel a sense of familiarity and belonging.

C. Implications of the migration-security nexus for Turkiye:

Border management: The influx of Syrian refugees has put pressure on Turkiye's border management and security apparatus. The porous border between Turkiye and Syria has made it challenging to control the movement of people and potential security threats. The movement of a large number of refugees across the Turkiye-Syria border poses challenges for border management and security. Turkiye has had to address issues related to border control, smuggling, and the potential infiltration of extremist elements.

Counterterrorism efforts: The presence of Syrian refugees has raised concerns about the potential for radicalization and the involvement of foreign fighters. Turkiye has had to enhance its counterterrorism measures to mitigate any security risks associated with extremist ideologies or the activities of terrorist organizations.

Social tensions: The massive inflow of refugees has put a burden on local resources and services, leading to social and economic strains. This can contribute to social tensions between host communities and refugee populations, particularly when resources are perceived as scarce or unfairly distributed.

Geopolitical considerations: The presence of Syrian refugees in Turkiye has implications for Turkiye's regional and international relations. It can influence the country's foreign policy decisions, its relations with neighboring countries, and its role in ongoing efforts to address the Syrian conflict.

Terrorism and radicalization: The presence of a large refugee population raises concerns about the potential infiltration of extremist elements and the risk of terrorist activities. There have been instances where individuals associated with terrorist organizations have exploited the refugee flows to enter or operate within Turkiye, posing security challenges.

Socio-economic impact: Cash transfers are often used as social policy measures to decrease poverty, give disadvantaged people a guaranteed income, and, in certain situations, to increase welfare depending on the beneficiaries' behavior. Emergency Social Safety Net and Conditional Cash Transfer for Education are two significant conditional cash transfer



programs that Turkiye has launched to assist refugees. The social assistance program for Syrian refugees in Turkiye is centered on these two programs. Turkiye is financially burdened by hosting a sizable refugee population. (Tumen, 2023). The facility of Services, infrastructure, and social support to the refugees requires significant resources. This strain on the economy can lead to socio-economic challenges, including competition for jobs and resources, social tensions, and resentment among the host population.

Political implications: The migration-security nexus can have political ramifications, influencing domestic politics and public opinion. Public debates surrounding migration, security concerns, and the government's response to the refugee crisis can shape political discourse, policies, and electoral dynamics.

The implications of the migration-security nexus in Turkiye arise from the challenges associated with managing a large refugee population, addressing potential security risks, and ensuring social cohesion. The securitization of Syrian refugees, as discussed earlier, can lead to concerns regarding terrorism, radicalization, and border security. Balancing the humanitarian aspects of refugee protection with security considerations is a complex task for the Turkish government. It involves implementing effective border controls, conducting thorough security screenings, and developing integration policies to promote social cohesion and mitigate potential security risks.

The migration-security nexus has a comprehensive perspective that recognizes both the legitimate security concerns and the humanitarian needs of the refugees. Striking a balance between security and humanitarianism is crucial to ensure the well-being and protection of both the host population and the Syrian refugee community in Turkiye.

To approach the migration-security nexus in a balanced manner, taking into account both security considerations and the humanitarian needs of the refugees. Finding comprehensive and sustainable solutions to address the underlying causes of displacement, such as conflict resolution and development assistance, is crucial to managing the implications of the migration-security nexus for Turkiye. Managing the migration-security nexus is a complex task that requires balancing security concerns with humanitarian considerations. Turkiye has been working to address the challenges associated with the Syrian refugee influx through various policies, partnerships with international organizations, and cooperation with other countries in the region.

3. Turkiye's Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP) 2014 and Turkish Migration Policy fulfil legal and security requirements with reference to Syrian refugees.

The Turkiye's Parliament passed the Law on Foreigners and International Protection on April 4, 2013. IGO, civil society organizations, and academicians who were substantially involved in its formulation have praised it as a first step in significantly altering Turkiye's perspective on migration management. The law aims to do away with the previously rigorously securitized approach to managing migration, favoring instead a stable stress on international human rights



norms for all categories of migrants combined with national interests. (Açıkgöz & Ariner, 2014). Türkiye has been hosting a large number of Syrian refugees since the beginning of the Syrian conflict in 2011. The LFIP, serves as the legal framework for the entry, stay, and protection of foreigners in Türkiye, including refugees and asylum seekers. It incorporates Türkiye's obligations under international law, including the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol. Under the LFIP, Türkiye grants temporary protection to Syrians who have fled the conflict in their country. This means that Syrians are provided with basic rights and access to services such as healthcare, academics, and social support. Türkiye's temporary protection regime differs from the full refugee status defined by the 1951 Geneva Convention, and it is a unique legal framework established by Türkiye specifically for Syrians.

In terms of security requirements, Türkiye has implemented various measures to manage the influx of Syrian refugees. This includes border controls, registration processes, and the establishment of camps and centre to accommodate and provide essential services to the refugees. Additionally, Türkiye has collaborated with international organizations and received support from the international community to address the security challenges associated with hosting a large refugee population.

With the passage of the new law, Syrians' legal status was altered from that of temporary visitors to that of those temporarily protected. During their legal stay in Turkey, Syrians who are receiving temporary protection have access to services including work, social assistance, education, and health care. (International Labour Organization, 2017). Regarding the legal requirements, the LFIP establishes the legal basis for Türkiye's asylum system and provides guidelines for the reception, protection, and integration of refugees. It incorporates international standards and principles, includes deportation, which forbids returning people to nations where they might suffer persecutory action or grave damage. The LFIP also outlines the procedures for applying for international protection and defines the rights and responsibilities of refugees and asylum seekers in Türkiye.

In terms of security requirements, Türkiye has implemented various measures to manage and control the influx of Syrian refugees. This includes establishing temporary protection centre near the Syrian border, conducting registration processes, and providing essential services such as healthcare and education to refugees. However, it's important to note that the situation and policies related to Syrian refugees in Türkiye may have evolved since my last knowledge update. Political, legal, and security dynamics can change over time, and Türkiye's approach to migration management may have been updated or modified.

Under this law, individuals who meet the criteria for refugee status are entitled to apply for international protection in Türkiye. Regarding Syrian refugees, Türkiye has maintained an open-door policy since the onset of the Syrian conflict in 2011, allowing Syrians fleeing the conflict to seek refuge in the country. As a result, Türkiye has become the largest host country for Syrian refugees, with millions of Syrians residing within its borders. In terms of legal and security requirements, the LFIP aims to address the needs of refugees and ensure their



protection while also taking into consideration national security concerns. However, it is important to note that managing such a large number of refugees presents significant challenges. Turkiye has established temporary protection measures for Syrians, granting them certain rights and access to services such as healthcare, education, and legal aid. However, it is worth noting that there have been reports of challenges and limitations in the implementation of these measures. The scale of the Syrian refugee population in Turkiye has put strains on resources, infrastructure, and public services in some regions, which may affect the overall security situation.

In this context, under LFIP 2014, Turkish Migration policy fulfills legal & security requirements reference to Syrians refugees

In terms of security requirements, Turkiye has implemented various measures to manage the influx of Syrian refugees and address security concerns. This includes registration procedures, refugee camps, and border controls. Additionally, Turkiye has worked with international organizations and neighboring countries to increase border safety and fight human trafficking and smuggling.

The effectiveness of Turkiye's migration policy and its fulfillment of legal and security requirements, the effectiveness of Turkiye's migration policy and its fulfillment of legal and security requirements is subject to debate and may depend on various factors. Here are a few points to consider:

Legal Protection: While the LFIP provides a legal framework for refugees and asylum seekers, concerns have been raised regarding its implementation, including issues related to access to asylum procedures, detention practices, and a lack of effective remedies.

Access to Asylum: Turkiye has adopted a geographical limitation to the 1951 Refugee Convention, which means that it only identifies refugees from European countries. As a result, Syrians are granted a temporary protection status rather than full refugee status, which limits their access to certain rights and services. Therefore, in reality, Syrians have a hard time getting these benefits, are vulnerable to all kinds of abuse, and because of their legal limbo, integrating into society has become even more difficult (International Labour Organization, 2017).

Security Challenges: The large influx of Syrian refugees has posed security challenges for Turkiye, including border management, humanitarian assistance, and potential security risks associated with the presence of armed groups among the refugee population.

Integration and Social Cohesion: As the number of refugees increased, there have been concerns about the integration of Syrians into Turkish society and the strain on public services and infrastructure in host communities. Efforts have been made to enhance integration programs, but the scale of the challenge remains significant.



To recognize that the assessment of fulfilling legal and security requirements is a complex matter influenced by multiple factors and perspectives. It is also important to mention that Turkiye has faced criticism from human rights organizations regarding certain aspects of its migration policies, including concerns about the treatment of refugees, access to asylum procedures, and limitations on freedom of movement. The situation and policies related to Syrian refugees in Turkiye have been a subject of ongoing international debate and scrutiny.

4. The Syrian refugee crisis has the inherited potential to lead to a human tragedy with respect to non-traditional security (Human security) in Turkiye.

Addressing these challenges requires comprehensive and coordinated efforts from governments, international organizations, and civil society. It involves providing humanitarian aid, improving access to education and healthcare, supporting economic opportunities, and promoting social integration initiatives. It is essential to prioritize the protection and well-being of refugees while also addressing the potential human security risks associated with the crisis. It is important to note that the situation is dynamic and evolving. The long-term implications and potential human security risks of the Syrian refugee crisis in Turkiye may vary depending on various factors, including the duration of displacement, political developments, and the effectiveness of response measures.

The Syrian refugee crisis has undoubtedly presented significant challenges for Turkiye, both in terms of traditional security concerns and non-traditional security or human security issues. The scale of the crisis, with millions of Syrians seeking refuge in Turkiye, has had far-reaching implications for various aspects of society and has strained resources and infrastructure. Here are some ways in which the crisis has impacted human security in Turkiye:

Humanitarian Impact: The scale of the Syrian refugee crisis has placed a strain on the resources, infrastructure, and public services of host countries. Turkiye, in particular, has been hosting a large number of Syrian refugees, which has had implications for housing, education, healthcare, and employment opportunities.

Socio-Economic Challenges: The presence of a large number of refugees can create socio-economic challenges for host countries. This includes competition for jobs and resources, potential strain on local economies, and increased demand for public services. In Turkiye, the concentration of Syrian refugees in certain regions has led to demographic changes and socio-economic disparities, which can have implications for social cohesion and stability.

Security Concerns: Managing a large refugee population also raises security concerns, both for the refugees themselves and the host countries. There have been reports of criminal activities, exploitation, and vulnerability to human trafficking among refugee populations. Additionally, strains on resources and socio-economic disparities can contribute to social tensions and potential conflicts. A report by Amnesty International, which documents Turkiye's security forces' growing practice of imprisoning Syrian asylum seekers illegally



since September 2015, was published in November 2015. This development is even more upsetting because it effectively gives them the choice between remaining in prison and going back to Syria. (Hoffmann & Samuk, 2016).

Integration and Social Cohesion: The successful integration of refugees into the host society is crucial for long-term stability and human security. Linguistic obstacles, cultural variances, and inadequate economic opportunities can pose hurdles to integration efforts. Promoting social solidity and confirming identical access to rights and chances for both refugees and host communities is essential to mitigating potential tensions and fostering stability.

Access to Services and Protection: Providing adequate access to essential services such as healthcare, education, and legal protection for both refugees and host communities is a critical aspect of human security. Ensuring that all individuals have equal access to these services can be challenging in contexts where resources are stretched thin.

Vulnerability and Exploitation: Displaced populations, including refugees, can be vulnerable to various forms of exploitation, such as human trafficking, labor exploitation, and gender-based violence. Protecting the rights and well-being of refugees, particularly vulnerable groups such as women, children, and unaccompanied minors, is essential for ensuring human security. As a result, in reality, Syrians find it impossible to receive these benefits, are vulnerable to all types of exploitation, and their integration has grown more challenging as a result of their legal limbo. (International Labour Organization, 2017).

Psychological Impact: The protracted nature of the Syrian refugee crisis and the challenges faced by refugees can have profound psychological impacts on individuals and communities. Addressing mental health needs and providing psychosocial support is crucial for promoting human security.

Healthcare and Public Health: The strain on healthcare systems and public health infrastructure due to the increased demand from the refugee population can have implications for public health and human security. Access to adequate healthcare services, including mental health support, is crucial for the well-being and security of refugees.

Human Rights and Protection: Protecting the human rights of refugees and ensuring their safety and well-being are fundamental aspects of human security. It is important to provide adequate legal protection, access to justice, and safeguards against exploitation and abuse.

Turkiye has taken significant steps to address these challenges and promote the well-being of Syrian refugees. The government, along with international organizations and NGOs, has implemented various programs to provide assistance, access to education, healthcare, and livelihood opportunities for refugees. However, the prolonged nature of the crisis and the magnitude of the refugee population pose ongoing challenges. Efforts to enhance human security require continued attention and comprehensive strategies that address the multifaceted needs of both refugees and host societies. It is important to note that Turkiye has made efforts to address these challenges and provide support to Syrian refugees. However,

the sheer magnitude of the crisis and the complex nature of the issues involved make it an ongoing and evolving situation. Balancing the security concerns of the host country with the protection and well-being of refugees is a complex task.

Understanding and addressing the non-traditional security aspects, such as human security concerns, is essential for managing the crisis in a way that upholds the rights and dignity of all individuals involved. Addressing these challenges requires comprehensive policies and measures that focus on humanitarian assistance, social integration, economic opportunities, and ensuring the protection of human rights. International cooperation, support, and burden-sharing are crucial in effectively managing the refugee crisis and mitigating its potential impact on human security.

5. Implications of the securitization of Syrian refugees on the EU-Turkiye relationship with reference to Turkiye's membership in the EU.

The securitization of Syrian refugees and its implications on the EU-Turkiye relationship, particularly in relation to Turkiye's membership in the EU, can have multifaceted consequences. Here are some potential implications:

Stalled EU Accession Process: Given the agreements made between the EU and Turkiye in 2015-2016 (EU Facility for Refugees in Turkiye, FRIT) and their subsequent execution, the Syrian refugee crisis has had a direct impact on the relationship between the EU and Turkiye. (TSAROUHAS, 2023). The securitization of Syrian refugees and concerns over migration management can negatively impact Turkiye's EU accession process. The EU may have reservations about accepting a new member state with significant challenges related to migration and refugee flows. This could lead to a slowdown or even a halt in Turkiye's accession negotiations.

Strained EU-Turkiye Cooperation: The EU-Turkiye cooperation on managing the refugee crisis has been crucial for both parties. However, if the securitization of Syrian refugees leads to increased tensions and a deterioration in trust, it could strain the cooperation between the EU and Turkiye. This could impact the effectiveness of joint efforts to address the refugee crisis and other shared challenges.

EU-Turkiye Agreement Reassessment: The EU-Turkiye Deal, which was established to address the Syrian refugee crisis, may come under scrutiny if the securitization of refugees leads to increased concerns about human rights and protection. The EU could reassess the terms of the agreement, which could impact the level of financial assistance and other forms of cooperation provided by the EU to Turkiye.

Shift in Priorities: The securitization of Syrian refugees could lead to a shift in the priorities of both Turkiye and the EU regarding their relationship and cooperation. The focus may shift more towards security and border management rather than broader issues related to democratic reforms, rule of law, and human rights, which are important aspects of EU membership.



Migration Management and Readmission Agreements: The securitization of Syrian refugees has influenced the EU-Turkiye relationship through migration management agreements, including the EU-Turkiye Deal. These agreements have focused on addressing irregular migration flows from Turkiye to the EU and have put emphasis on border control, returns, and readmission of migrants. These measures have influenced the dynamics of the EU-Turkiye relationship, including discussions on visa liberalization and the implementation of the deal.

Burden-Sharing and Financial Assistance: The securitization of Syrian refugees has also affected discussions on burden-sharing and financial assistance between the EU and Turkiye. While the EU has provided financial support to Turkiye through mechanisms like the EU Facility for Refugees in Turkiye (FRIT), there have been debates on the adequacy and fairness of the financial assistance provided. The perceived burden of hosting a large number of refugees has been a factor influencing the relationship. The securitization discourse may also affect the willingness of EU member states to support Turkiye in managing the refugee crisis and share the burden of hosting refugees. Concerns over security and integration can lead to reduced solidarity and support, creating additional challenges for Turkiye and potentially straining the EU-Turkiye relationship.

Political Tensions and Diplomatic Relations: The securitization of Syrian refugees and related policy decisions have occasionally strained the political atmosphere between Turkiye and some EU member states. Disagreements over migration policies, human rights issues, and political developments have led to diplomatic tensions at times, affecting the broader EU-Turkiye relationship.

Perception and Public Opinion: The securitization of Syrian refugees in some EU member states has contributed to debates and public opinion on migration, multiculturalism, and identity politics within the EU. These discussions and diverging views among member states can indirectly influence the EU-Turkiye relationship and have implications for Turkiye's potential membership.

Membership Negotiations: The securitization of Syrian refugees may affect Turkiye's ongoing membership negotiations with the EU. The EU has emphasized the importance of upholding human rights, including the rights of refugees, as a fundamental value for member states. If the securitization narrative leads to concerns about Turkiye's adherence to human rights standards, it could impact the progress of its membership negotiations.

Refugee Management: The securitization of Syrian refugees can influence the EU's perception of Turkiye's ability to effectively manage the refugee crisis. The EU may assess Turkiye's commitment to providing protection to refugees, ensuring access to asylum procedures, and addressing the needs of vulnerable populations. The manner in which Turkiye handles refugee-related security concerns could impact the EU's perception of Turkiye's capacity to manage migration and asylum issues.

EU-Turkiye Cooperation: The securitization of Syrian refugees might affect the overall cooperation between the EU and Turkiye. The EU and Turkiye have collaborated on various initiatives, such as the EU-Turkiye Deal and FRIT, to address the refugee crisis. If the securitization narrative leads to tensions or mistrust, it could impact the willingness of both parties to cooperate on migration-related issues and hinder progress in other areas of mutual interest.

Trust and Perception: The securitization of Syrian refugees may influence the trust and perception between the EU and Turkiye. If the EU perceives that Turkiye is using security concerns as a pretext to suppress political dissent or limit human rights, it could strain the relationship and affect the trust-building process necessary for membership negotiations.

Political Dynamics: The securitization of Syrian refugees can influence public opinion and political dynamics both in Turkiye and within EU member states. Public concerns over security, integration, and the strain on resources can shape political discourse and policies. These dynamics can impact the overall sentiment towards Turkiye's EU membership and potentially create obstacles to further cooperation. The securitization of Syrian refugees could also be influenced by broader political dynamics and changing priorities within the EU and Turkiye. Political developments, public opinion, and shifts in leadership can shape the narrative surrounding the refugee crisis and impact the trajectory of EU-Turkiye relations.

Human Rights and Democratic Values: The securitization of Syrian refugees may raise concerns regarding the protection of human rights and democratic values. If policies and practices associated with securitization lead to human rights abuses or restrictions on civil liberties, it can further complicate the EU-Turkiye relationship and pose challenges for Turkiye's alignment with EU norms and standards.

The implications mentioned above are contingent upon various factors, including the political climate, policy choices, and developments related to the refugee crisis and the EU-Turkiye relationship. The situation is complex and subject to change, so ongoing dialogue and cooperation between Turkiye and the EU are essential to navigate these challenges and find common ground. It's important to note that the EU-Turkiye relationship is multifaceted and influenced by various factors beyond the securitization of Syrian refugees. Other political, economic, and strategic considerations also play a significant role in shaping the relationship and discussions about Turkiye's EU membership. The future of Turkiye's EU membership should not be linked to the refugee issue, since such a trade-off between partners deepens the never-ending trust crisis (Seçil Paçacı Elitok, 2015).

It is imperative that the implications of the securitization of Syrian refugees on the EU-Turkiye relationship and Turkiye's EU membership aspirations are complex and multifaceted. The relationship is influenced by a range of factors beyond the refugee crisis, including geopolitics, rule of law, democracy, and economic cooperation. It is important to note that the implications of securitization on the EU-Turkiye relationship are complex and can vary depending on evolving political, social, and economic dynamics. The outcome will depend



on the ability of both sides to engage in constructive dialogue, address shared concerns, and uphold principles of cooperation and mutual respect.

Conclusion

The crisis of Syrian refugee has presented substantial repercussions for the national security of Turkiye. The influx of refugees has placed pressure on border security, leading to challenges in managing irregular migration and countering potential security threats. There have been concerns regarding the infiltration of terrorist elements and the radicalization of individuals within the refugee population, necessitating robust intelligence, security measures, and counterterrorism efforts. The presence of a large number of refugees has also affected social cohesion, particularly in regions with high concentrations of refugees. Strains on resources, competition for jobs, and cultural differences have the potential to create social tensions, which can impact overall stability. There have been reports of a small minority of refugees involved in criminal activities, such as human trafficking and illicit trade, adding to the security concerns.

The migration-security nexus in the context of Syrian refugees in Turkiye has several implications. The push and pull factors for Syrian refugees can be understood as the reasons that compel them to leave their home country (push factors) and the factors that attract them to seek refuge in Turkiye (pull factors). These factors have implications for the migration-security nexus in Turkiye. It is essential to recognize that the assessment of fulfilling legal and security requirements is a complex matter influenced by multiple factors and perspectives.

Been hosting a large number of Syrian refugees since the start of the Syrian civil war in 2011. The LFIP, serves as the legal framework for the entry, stay, and protection of foreigners in Turkiye, including refugees and asylum seekers. It incorporates Turkiye's commitments under international law, containing the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol. Under the LFIP, Turkiye grants temporary protection to Syrians who have fled the conflict in their country. This means that Syrians are provided with basic rights and access to services such as healthcare, education, and social assistance. Turkiye's temporary protection regime differs from the full refugee status defined by the 1951 Geneva Convention, and it is a unique legal framework established by Turkiye specifically for Syrians.

The prolonged nature of the crisis and the magnitude of the refugee population pose ongoing challenges. Efforts to enhance human security require continued attention and comprehensive strategies that address the multifaceted needs of both refugees and host societies. The long-term implications and potential human security risks of the Syrian refugee crisis in Turkiye may vary depending on various factors, including the duration of displacement, political developments, and the effectiveness of response measures. The Syrian refugee crisis has undoubtedly presented significant challenges for Turkiye, both in terms of traditional security concerns and non-traditional security or human security issues. The scale of the crisis, with millions of Syrians seeking refuge in Turkiye, has had far-reaching implications for various aspects of society and has strained resources and infrastructure.



Implications are contingent upon various factors, including the political climate, policy choices, and developments related to the refugee crisis and the EU-Turkiye relationship. The situation is complex and subject to change, so ongoing dialogue and cooperation between Turkiye and the EU are essential to navigate these challenges and find common ground. It's important to note that the EU-Turkiye relationship is multifaceted and influenced by various factors beyond the securitization of Syrian refugees. Other political, economic, and strategic considerations also play a significant role in shaping the relationship and discussions about Turkiye's EU membership. It is important to note that the implications of securitization on the EU-Turkiye relationship are complex and can vary depending on evolving political, social, and economic dynamics. The outcome will depend on the ability of both sides to engage in constructive dialogue, address shared concerns, and uphold principles of cooperation and mutual respect.

Additionally, the proximity of the Syrian conflict to Turkiye's border presents the risk of spillover effects, including cross-border attacks and involvement in regional dynamics. This necessitates vigilance and appropriate measures to address potential security threats. The strain on resources due to the humanitarian crisis caused by the refugee influx indirectly impacts national security priorities, as attention and resources are diverted to meet the basic needs of refugees. Turkiye has implemented measures to address these security implications, including bolstering border security, intelligence cooperation, counterterrorism efforts, and promoting social integration initiatives. However, striking a balance between security concerns and humanitarian considerations is crucial. Upholding human rights, protecting the rights of refugees, and ensuring a comprehensive approach that addresses both security challenges and humanitarian needs are essential for effectively managing the implications of the Syrian refugee crisis on Turkiye's national security.

However, not all refugees pose security risks, and many are fleeing conflict and seeking safety. Therefore, a nuanced approach is required to differentiate between refugees and potential security threats, while upholding humanitarian principles and international obligations. Therefore, a comprehensive approach that upholds both security and humanitarian principles is necessary to effectively manage the national security implications of the Syrian refugee crisis in Turkiye.

Policy Recommendations

Here are some policy recommendations to address the Syrian refugee crisis and its implications for the national security of Turkiye:

- **Enhanced Border Security:** Strengthen border control measures to effectively manage the movement of people across the border. This includes investing in technology, increasing border personnel, and enhancing intelligence sharing with relevant countries.
- **Robust Counterterrorism Measures:** Implement comprehensive counterterrorism strategies to prevent the infiltration of terrorist elements and address the radicalization risks within the



refugee population. This involves intelligence coordination, monitoring extremist activities, and implementing programs for radicalization and community engagement.

- **Integration and Social Cohesion:** Foster social integration by promoting initiatives that bring together refugees and host communities. This includes language training, cultural exchange programs, and support for socio-economic integration to reduce tensions and enhance social cohesion.
- **Strengthened International Cooperation:** Work closely with international partners, including the United Nations and relevant organizations, to share the burden of the refugee crisis and ensure coordinated efforts in addressing security challenges and providing humanitarian assistance.
- **Targeted Support for Host Communities:** Provide targeted support and resources to the local communities hosting refugees. This includes investment in infrastructure, healthcare, education, and job creation to alleviate the strain on resources and enhance social stability.
- **Human Rights and Legal Protection:** Uphold international human rights standards and ensure the protection of refugees' rights throughout the asylum process. This includes access to legal aid, fair and efficient asylum procedures, and measures to prevent exploitation and abuse.
- **Long-term Solutions and Diplomatic Efforts:** Actively engage in diplomatic efforts to find a political resolution to the Syrian conflict, which is the root cause of the refugee crisis. Support peace negotiations, humanitarian ceasefires, and efforts for post-conflict reconstruction to create conditions for voluntary and safe return of refugees.
- **International Development Assistance:** Seek increased international development support to counter the long-term requirements of refugees and host societies. This includes support for sustainable development projects, job creation, and investments in education and healthcare infrastructure.
- **Public Awareness and Communication:** Promote accurate and balanced information about the refugee crisis to the public to combat misconceptions and reduce stigmatization. Communication campaigns can help foster empathy and understanding among the host population.
- **Strengthened Coordination and Monitoring:** Establish mechanisms for effective coordination among relevant government agencies, NGOs, and international organizations. Regular monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs will enable the identification of challenges and the refinement of strategies.
- **Intelligence Cooperation:** Strengthen intelligence sharing and cooperation with international partners to identify and counter potential security threats related to the refugee crisis. Collaboration with intelligence agencies and information exchange mechanisms can help address security challenges more effectively.
- **Humanitarian Assistance and Resource Allocation:** Ensure adequate humanitarian assistance and resource allocation to address the basic needs of refugees, including healthcare, education, and housing. This helps mitigate the strain on resources and prevents potential security implications resulting from unmet needs.



- **Strengthen Law Enforcement:** Enhance efforts to combat criminal activities involving refugees, such as human trafficking and illicit trade. Allocate resources to law enforcement agencies, improve coordination, and implement targeted measures to address criminal networks.
- **International Cooperation and Burden-Sharing:** Strengthen cooperation with international partners, including the European Union and neighboring countries, to share the burden of hosting refugees and address security challenges collectively. Explore opportunities for burden-sharing, financial assistance, and knowledge exchange to enhance the effectiveness of response efforts.
- **Long-Term Solutions and Conflict Resolution:** Advocate for a peaceful resolution to the Syrian conflict to address the root causes of displacement. Support diplomatic efforts, engage in peacebuilding initiatives, and contribute to humanitarian aid and development assistance in Syria to promote long-term stability and minimize security threats.
- **Refugee screening and Registration:** Implement robust and efficient refugee screening and registration processes to identify and address any potential security risks among the refugee population. This includes conducting thorough background checks and sharing relevant information with relevant security agencies.
- **Promoting Stability in Syria:** Engage in diplomatic efforts to support stability and peace in Syria, aiming to create conditions conducive to voluntary and safe returns for refugees. Working towards a sustainable political solution to the Syrian conflict can contribute to reducing the security implications for Turkiye.
- **Provide refugees with legal migratory routes:** European member states should set up legal pathways for asylum seekers to apply from outside the Union in order to combat migrant traffickers and lessen demand at the external frontiers. Humanitarian visas might be issued by European embassies overseas (using the European External Action Service as well) to allow asylum seekers to enter Europe legally and safely after undergoing basic screening for individuals requesting international protection. (Dimitriadi, 2016).
- **Early warning systems:** Using already-established regional procedures and the European External Action Service, the EU may establish early warning systems that send out signals on conflicts and population movements from the states of origin and transfer of refugees (European Commission, 2021).
- **Offer legal migration channels for economic migrants:** The mechanisms through which migrants can apply for legal status should be enhanced in European nations. In areas where there has been significant internal migration, this might help ease some of the burden. It would enable the expansion of Diasporas which are essential for supporting the nation of origin (Martin, 2005).
- **Differentiate readmission agreements:** For instance, Turkiye serves as a significant transit country for migrants travelling to Europe, making the third-country national clause necessary in particular situations for nations with strategic geographic locations. The Commission's

evaluation revealed that, in most instances, member states seldom ever implement the provision in actual practice (Yılmaz, 2014).

These policy recommendations aim to strike a balance between security considerations and humanitarian principles, addressing the security implications of the Syrian refugee crisis while upholding the rights and well-being of both refugees and host communities. These policy recommendations aim to balance security considerations with humanitarian principles, promoting the well-being of both refugees and host communities while safeguarding national security interests. Implementation of these recommendations requires multi-stakeholder collaboration, international support, and a long-term perspective to address the complex and evolving nature of the Syrian refugee crisis.

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