

T.R.
MANISA CELAL BAYAR UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

THESIS OF MASTER OF ARTS
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAM

**AN ANALYSIS OF TURKEY’S MIGRATION POLICIES AND SYRIAN
REFUGEES FROM 2011 TO PRESENT DAY: OPEN DOOR POLICIES
AND SECURITY APPROACH**

Yunus Emre KIRKPINAR

Supervisor
Prof. Dr. Ahmet UÇAR

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YEMİN METNİ

Yüksek Lisans Tezi olarak sunduğum “AN ANALYSIS OF TURKEY’S MIGRATION POLICIES AND SYRIAN REFUGEES FROM 2011 TO PRESENT DAY: OPEN DOOR POLICIES AND SECURITY APPROACH” adlı çalışmanın, tarafımdan bilimsel ahlak ve geleneklere aykırı düşecek bir yardıma başvurmaksızın yazıldığını ve yararlandığım eserlerin bibliyografyada gösterilen eserlerden oluştuğunu, bunlara atıf yapılarak yararlanmış olduğumu belirtir ve bunu onurumla doğrularım.

21/06/2022

Yunus Emre KIRKPINAR

ÖZET

2011'DEN GÜNÜMÜZE SURİYELİ MÜLTECİLER VE TÜRKİYE'NİN GÖÇ POLİTİKALARINA DAİR BİR ÇÖZÜMLEME: AÇIK SINIR KAPISI POLİTİKALARI VE GÜVENLİKÇİ YAKLAŞIM

Arap Baharı'nın Türkiye'nin komşusu olan Suriye'ye sığraması ve 2011 yılında Suriye iç savaşının çıkması ile birlikte Suriye Arap Cumhuriyeti başarısız devlet konumuna gelmiştir. Artık Suriye'de temel insani ihtiyaçlarını karşılayamayan ve öldürülme, tecavüz, zorla yerinden edilme gibi insanlık suçları ile karşı karşıya kalan milyonlarca Suriyeli sığınmak veya transit ülke olarak kullanmak amacıyla Türkiye sınırına akın etmiştir. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti bu sığınmacılara kucak açmış ve sürecin başında açık sınır politikaları uygulanmıştır. Bu tezin amacı uygulanan açık sınır politikasının da etkisiyle ülkeye giren milyonlarca düzensiz göçmenin ülkeye entegrasyonlarının mümkün olup olmadığını, kaynak ülkede bulunan ve Türkiye'yi de hedef alan DAESH, PKK, PYD, YPG gibi örgütlere insan kaynağı oluşturup oluşturmayacağı, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ne gelen bu sığınmacıların çeşitli istihbarat örgütlerine insan kaynağı ve siyasi bir manevra alanı oluşturup oluşturmayacağı, halen ekonomik sıkıntılar yaşayan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti için ciddi bir ekonomik sorun oluşturup oluşturmadığı, beklenen nüfus artışının çok üzerinde bir artışa sebep olan Suriyeli sığınmacıların devletin kapasitesini zorlayıp zorlamayacakları, Türkiye'de temel insani ihtiyaçlarını karşılayamayan Suriyeli sığınmacıların suça meyil edip etmeyecekleri, Türkiye'deki ekonomik krizin ve göçmen karşıtlığının da etkisiyle Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandaşları ile Suriyeli sığınmacılar arasında çıkan çatışmaların incelenmesi ve çatışma riskinin oluşup oluşmayacağı, Suriyeli sığınmacıların Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandaşları için Birleşmiş Milletler'in "insan güvenliği" perspektifinden bir güvenlik sorunu olup olmadığını incelemektir. Bu çalışmada literatür taraması, vaka analizi ve yapılandırılmış mülakat tekniği kullanılmıştır. Bu çalışma ile uluslararası ilişkiler disiplini ve göç çalışmalarına katkı sunmak ve daha sonra bu konuda çalışacaklara faydalanabilecekleri bir çalışma ortaya koymak hedeflenmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Göç, Türkiye'nin Göç Politikaları, Suriyeli Mülteci Krizi

ABSTRACT

AN ANALYSIS OF TURKEY'S MIGRATION POLICIES AND SYRIAN REFUGEES FROM 2011 TO PRESENT DAY: OPEN DOOR POLICIES AND SECURITY APPROACH

Due to the spread of Arab Spring to Syria, the Syrian civil war started in 2011. With the start the civil war, Syrian Republic became a “failed state”. Millions of Syrians, who are no longer able to meet their basic humanitarian needs and face crimes against humanity such as murder, rape and forced displacement, have flocked to the Turkish border in order to take refuge or use them as a transit country. Turkish Republic applied open border policies for these Syrian asylum seekers. The aim of this thesis is to examine whether it is possible to integrate millions of irregular migrants entering the country with the effect of the open border policy implemented, whether they will create human resources for organizations such as DAESH, PKK, PYD, YPG located in the source country and targeting Turkey, whether these refugees coming to the Republic of Turkey will create human resources and a political manoeuvring space for various intelligence organizations, whether there are any economic handicaps they will create for the Republic of Turkey, which is having economic difficulties, whether the Syrian refugees, who have caused an increase far above the expected population growth, will force the capacity of the state, whether the Syrian refugees who cannot meet their basic humanitarian needs will tend to crime, to examine the conflicts between the citizens of the Republic of Turkey and the Syrian refugees, with the effect of the economic crisis in Turkey and the anti-immigrant sentiments, and whether the risk of conflict will occur. It is aimed to examine whether there is a security problem from the "human security" perspective of the United Nations. In this study, literature review, case analysis and structured interview techniques were used. With this study, it has been tried to make a contribution to the international relations discipline and migration studies, and then to present a study that can be benefited by those who will work on this subject.

Keywords: Migration, Migration Policies of Turkey, Syrian Refugee Crisis

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INTRODUCTION

With the effect of rising globalization, migration has become an increasingly important issue in international relations studies. Migration, as a modern concept, defines people leaving their region or country to move to another region or country due to the following reasons; war, diseases, economic depression, political tension, and disruption of social order. Migration for various reasons causes the encounter of different cultures. And these encounters can cause intercultural conflicts.

Migration is not a new phenomenon. Migration has always been one of the most important topics since the early years of the human history of nations. When we look at the important migration waves, we can highlight three migration events. Undoubtedly, the first and one of the most important migration waves that changed the course of world history is the Tribes' Migration, or Turkic Migration. It deeply changed the structure of Anatolia and Europe. As a result of this wave of immigration, the Roman Empire split into two parts. The Western Roman Empire collapsed in 476 and Europe remained in turmoil for nearly a century. The Feudal Regime emerged in Europe.

The second migration wave, the greatest migration wave in modern history, which shook the world and led to the emergence of the concepts of international migration, refugees, and asylum seekers, is undoubtedly the migration wave that occurred after the Second World War. In the period following WW II, more than 20 million people became homeless. They had to move from their countries to other countries to seek refuge. This immigration movement has led to the development of the concept of refugee and gaining of legal status. For the first time, the concept of refugee was legalized in the European Universal Declaration of Human Rights on December 10, 1948.

The third migration wave occurred in the process after the Arab Spring and the destabilization of Middle Eastern countries and Syria after 2011. The first demonstrations in Syria started on March 15, 2011 and spread to every corner of the country until April 2011. In April 2011, the Syrian military was deployed to stop demonstrations. For this purpose, the Syrian army killed many demonstrators. The demonstrations turned into armed rebellions after the harsh reaction of the Syrian military. As a result of armed conflicts from 2011 to the present, many Syrians were left homeless and their lives were in danger. As a result of conflicts, millions of Syrians have sought refuge in neighbouring countries such as Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey.

Immigration is not a new concept for Turkey. Until 2011, the Republic of Turkey did not experience huge migration flows. With the impact of the civil war in Syria between April 2011 and March 2019, 3.6 million Syrian asylum seekers arrived in Turkey. In total, 2.9 million immigrants emigrated to Turkey from 1922 until 2011. The arrivals since 2011 have been more than the number of immigrants for 90 years (TR Ministry of Interior Presidency of Migration Management, 17.01.2021). Turkey has adopted an open-door policy for these Syrian asylum seekers who have been displaced.

This study aims to analyse the migration flow to which Turkey is exposed. The "open border" policies of the Turkish Government against Syrian asylum seekers reveal the conflicts that arise in the acculturation and integration processes created by these policies. Evaluate state security vulnerabilities by the reason of the presence of terrorist organizations targeting Turkey in Syrian lands to determine the risk of using Syrian asylum seekers who have problems in their integration processes by criminal organizations and intelligence agencies of the source country.

The influx of Syrian refugees from 2011 to the present day and the potential security threats created by this immigration flow are discussed. Although Turkey is a familiar country for immigration, it has been a very prominent topic lately. It has been studied by many researchers from academics. Generally, migration studies are about the integration of Syrian refugees. There are also those who see migrants as a security threat. Those who see this as a security threat have generally determined the current situation based on crime statistics. This study differs from the other studies by revealing potential threats. In addition, other studies mostly focused on security threat perceptions and the economic burden of Syrian refugees. This study, on the other hand, presents a more holistic view, including the human resources provided to terrorist organizations, including economic threats, the increase in terrorist and crime incidents, demographic threats, and internal conflict risks. Through a structured interview technique, interviews were conducted with many people, including bureaucrats who are retired or working in the security bureaucracy and bureaucrats who are retired or working in security intelligence. Through a structured interview technique, the potential threats posed by Syrian refugee crisis were revealed, accompanied by the answers to the questions asked.

In this context, this study consists of two main parts: 1-Conceptual Framework and 2-Qualitative Study. The study is placed on a theoretical plane by using the literature review technique. In the Conceptual Framework section, the concept of migration, the concept of security, the possibility of integration, and the relationship between migration and security are examined. With the case analysis method, the terror and crime events in Turkey are examined

and the ties with the Syrian refugees are tried to be determined. Also, the security perceptions of the Syrian refugees are examined and the risks of internal conflict are revealed. In the second part, seven open-ended questions are asked of eleven security experts/bureaucrats. Based on these questions, the possibility of the integration of Syrian refugees under temporary protection into Turkey, the possible security threats they may pose, and the threat of increasing terrorism and organized crime are examined.

During the cold war and post-cold war periods, there have been serious changes in the scope of security with the paradigm change in international relations (IR). After World War I, idealism had become the sovereign paradigm in international because of the destruction of the world. Idealism, as an understanding of security, predicts states to work in harmony in cooperation. It was seen that the idealism paradigm, which says it will bring peace, did not work with the start of the Second World War. After the destruction caused by the Second World War, the dominant paradigm of international relations shifted from idealism to realism. Realism's understanding of security is the opposite of idealism. While idealism thinks that states will establish peace in cooperation as rational beings, realism says that states will seek power. According to realism, every state desires power. Realism's security understanding is based on the concept of the balance of power. According to this concept, the two sovereign powers become so armed and powerful that if they go to war with each other, they will be destroyed. This paradigm may have stopped conventional wars, but as a result, an era called the Cold War occurred. Since then, the stopping point of conventional wars does not show that the realism paradigm has been successful in maintaining peace. After the Cuban crisis in 1962, the world was faced with the danger of extinction. In addition, the economic loss and human loss experienced in the proxy wars brought on by this period are more than in World War II. The Cold War ended with the collapse of the USSR. When technological developments in transportation and communication are added to this, there is now a global world rather than a bipolar world. Now, a new concept has entered international relations: "globalization."

The global world also has new problems. Undoubtedly, the most important of these problems is migration. These changes in international relations, of course, have given birth to new international relations paradigms. Realism and idealism examined only state-oriented issues within the scope of security. Subjects such as individual security and social security are excluded from this. This study did not consider Syrian refugees only within the scope of state security but also in the military, economic, environmental, social, and political sectors. In summary, the sectoral analysis framework of the Copenhagen School was used in this study.

CHAPTER 1: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

1.1.The Concept and Types of Migration

Basically, the term "migration" refers to the movement of animals from one place to another. Migration mobility, which dates back to ancient times, has increased recently with the effect of globalization. There are many definitions of migration. For this reason, some problems can occur conceptually. In this case, it is necessary to clarify some basic concepts. According to Gautam, migration is the geographical mobility associated with the changing usual residence of a person (Gautam, 2005: 150). The person who has this geographical mobility is called an immigrant. Mobility is also named according to the direction of migration movement. For example, if you move to a different country, this is known as emigration. When a person moves to a new country, this is known as immigration (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2022). The person who emigrates is referred to as an emigrant, while the person who immigrates is referred to as an immigrant.

Migration can occur voluntarily, as citizens move to developed countries to improve their living standards. On the other hand, as a result of not providing basic conditions such as security and welfare, migration may become necessary. For example, being forced to migrate due to reasons such as exile, natural disasters, hunger, civil war, or war is called forced migration. Internally displaced persons and refugees are those who carry out forced migration (International Organization for Migration, 2019)

For international relations, migration has become a more important concept due to reasons such as increasing political and economic instability and population imbalances in developing countries. For example, in 2000, there were 175 million international migrants worldwide; in 2020, there were more than 280 million international migrants worldwide (UN World Migration Report, 2019: 2).

The classification of migration from an international perspective can be explained through four basic migration relations. The first is labour migration, which refers to the movement of long-term and short-term migrants and seasonal workers to another place of residence or country. The second is family reunification, which generally refers to the migration caused by marriage of citizens from different countries. The third is irregular migration. It refers to immigrants who enter the country irregularly or with a tourist visa but stay longer than legal time, often to work.

The fourth is asylum seekers. They are the ones applying for asylum and becoming refugees (Stalker, 2002: 159).

International migration movements, which are intense at the global level and in the European Union and have multidimensional effects, are classified in various ways. The first of these classifications is desirable and undesirable migration from a state-centered perspective. Desired migration is the labor migration needed for the country's economy, mostly of high quality. Unwanted immigration by states can be identified as family reunification and asylum, which must be accepted as a requirement of international law. Asylum, one of these types of migration, is at the top of the agenda of the European Union today. Asylum-seekers are people who have applied for asylum and whose application is under review. Asylum is a form of international protection that allows another state to allow persons fleeing persecution because of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion to stay on its territory. Another type of immigration that has been undesirably accepted by states is family reunification. Approaches to evaluate migration only as an individual decision based on cost-benefit analysis in the economic context or as a process between the individual and the state ignore the fact that immigrants have families. Many immigrants migrate with their families, not individually. Family reunification is among the mostly used legal ways to migrate to the EU, and this route has remained important for over 40 years (Şemşit, 2018: 277-278).

A classification made from an immigrant-centered perspective is forced and voluntary migration. Forced migration is the forced migration of people from their own country to other countries due to environmental reasons such as conflict, persecution, famine and flooding. These people are often referred to as refugees, but the term refugee does not include all forced migrants. The second classification, made from an immigrant-centered perspective, is among those who migrate for political or economic reasons. Those who migrate for political reasons are usually refugees. Those who migrate for economic reasons are often referred to as labor migrants. These immigrants migrate to find work, for better job opportunities, or for better working conditions. Labor migration is also divided into two as low-skilled labor and high-skilled labor. In addition to economic and political immigrants, there are also those who migrate for social reasons. These are mostly women and children who migrate through family reunification to the country where their spouses find employment. In addition, the number of female immigrants who migrate independently and for economic reasons is increasing (Şemşit, 2018: 279).

Another classification of immigration is done according to the nature of immigrants. From the point of view of skilled-unskilled labor migration classification, the “poor of the world” knocks on the doors of countries with high welfare levels. Although Europe has become a stronghold, there are unknown number of irregular migration movements on its eastern and southern borders. These immigrants are composed of people who seek permanent and welfare-providing work, but are largely unsuccessful, as the rate of unskilled labor increases. The second migration channel is skilled labor migration. All developed countries that cannot get sufficient efficiency from the local workforce and education system need an increasing supply of qualified workforce. The shortage of skilled labor limits job creation opportunities for low-skilled labour. Developed countries are in competition to attract internationally qualified workforce to close this gap (Şemşit, 2018: 279).

Another classification of migration is permanent and temporary migration. While the majority of migration movements were continuous in the last few centuries, temporary migration has recently gained more importance. Immigrants migrate to different countries of the world many times throughout their lives and return to their countries in the interim periods. Therefore, in current conditions, the number of people who migrate from one country to another and stay in that country for the rest of their lives is less than in the past. Even immigrants who have been away from their countries for a long time in the past often go to their countries as a result of the cheaper and widespread international transportation. Today, temporary migration gains importance in a way similar to the process of guest labour migration in the 1960s. This type of migration eliminates some of the disadvantages and costs of long-term migration for the destination countries. Studies in this area reveal that allowing qualified and unqualified temporary migration will contribute to the economies of developed and developing countries. One of the temporary migration types that emerged after the 2000s is circular migration. In recent years, circular migration has been considered as a type of temporary migration that can replace permanent labour migration, especially in the EU. In circular migration, which is seen as a more rational strategy than the guest worker migration model, it is aimed to meet the specific needs of destination countries for certain types of immigrants and the effective contribution of immigrants to the development of the origin country in a balanced way (Şemşit, 2018: 279-280).

The other important classification is based on the difference between refugees and asylum seekers. While Encyclopedia Britannica defines refugee as;

“refugee, any uprooted, homeless, involuntary migrant who has crossed a frontier and no longer possesses the protection of his or her former government. Prior to the 19th century the movement from one country to another did not require passports and visas; the right to asylum was commonly recognized and honoured” and it also defines asylum as *“asylum, in international law, the protection granted by a state to a foreign citizen against his own state. The person for whom asylum is established has no legal right to demand it, and the sheltering state has no obligation to grant it.”*

The main difference between these two concepts is that a refugee has a legal status whereas an asylum seeker does not. The Syrian migrants in Turkey can be classified as asylum seekers. Because Turkey does not accept those people that come from anywhere except Europe as refugees due to Turkey's commentary on the 1967 Additional Protocol to the 1951 Geneva Convention.

The immigrants who flocked to various countries of the world, especially Turkey, after the 2011 Syrian Civil War are the results of forced migration. Those who migrate for compulsory reasons are referred to as asylum seekers or refugees. The difference between refugees and asylum seekers is that while refugees are provided with special status and legal protection through international agreements, asylum seekers cannot benefit from this protection. Asylum seekers are people who seek international protection as refugees but whose status has not yet been officially recognized (Kartal, 2014: 283-290). The Syrians who migrated after the 2011 Syrian civil war are not refugees but asylum seekers because of Turkey's application of geographic limitation to the 1951 Geneva Convention.

According to the Convention, *"a refugee is someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion."* (The UN Refugee Agency, Text of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees) Turkey has used the right given by the 1951 Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees to the 1967 Additional Protocol to make a geographical reservation to the 1967 Additional Protocol. According to Turkey's commentary on the contract, Turkey only considers those coming from Council of Europe member countries as refugees because of the events in European countries.

Those who came from other countries were granted asylum until they settled in another country (Ekşi, 2014: 27).

Refugees and asylum seekers are people who leave their countries against their will due to compelling reasons such as war, ethnic conflicts, or authoritarian regimes that cause security problems (Türkoğlu, 2015: 101). Despite this, mass asylum and refugees first came to the fore with the World Wars, they increased significantly during the Cold War. As of 2018, the number of forcibly displaced people worldwide has exceeded 70 million (UNHCR, July 24, 2021). According to UNHCR reports, while the total number of asylum seekers and refugees worldwide in 2014 was 59.5 million, the total number of refugees in 2021 was 89.3 million (UNHCR, 28.11.2021). The conflicts in the Middle East countries and the social conflicts experienced after the Arab Spring had a great impact on the increase in the number of refugees and asylum seekers worldwide.

Due to geographical reservations in this convention, Turkey's government did not accept people coming from outside Europe as refugees. The Syrian migration flow, which started after 2011, confirms the prediction of the 30th Turkish government, which was in office in 1967. Between 2011 and 2021, millions of asylum seekers flocked to the country. As of 2021, the number of registered Syrian asylum seekers in Turkey was approximately 3,7 million (www.multeciler.org.tr, July 7, 2022). This number is 4.63% of Turkey's population. Such a high and sudden immigration inflow leads to security concerns in Turkey.

1.2. Turkey's Migration Policies and Syrian Migrants' Legal Status

Anatolia has been a land of immigration since the Ottoman Empire due to climate, geopolitical and geostrategic location, and relatively economic reasons. In recent history, Turkey's first major migration began with the withdrawal of the Ottomans from the West (1912–1913 Balkan Wars and the following period). The biggest migration for Turkey until the Arab Spring was the return of Turks living in the West to their homeland. Turkey's migration experience was based on this. Of course, from time to time, due to its socio-economic and geographic location, it also received immigrants from the Middle East, especially from Iraq and Afghanistan, but these were not significant and most of them saw Turkey as a transit country, not a destination country. The emergence of the Arab Spring and the growing failed states of the neighbouring countries have transformed Turkey from a transit country to a destination country. Although Turkey is now a transit country used by people living in Middle Eastern countries to escape civil war,

death, and economic conditions, it has also become a country where they would prefer to live permanently if they were unable to pass through to the EU, the United States, or Canada. The popular uprisings and protests called the "Arab Spring" started in the North African and Middle Eastern countries that have land and sea border neighbours to Turkey. These protests spread to Syria on March 15, 2011. People who had to leave Syria because of the civil war had to go to neighbouring countries, especially Turkey. Turkey has embraced these people and implemented open border policies (Karatepe, 2017: 2145). Turkey has faced an influx of migration far beyond its own migration history that it is accustomed to. Millions of unregistered immigrants and millions of registered immigrants have entered through Turkey's borders as a result of its open-border policies. In this section, the legal status of Syrians in Turkey is analysed.

1.2.1. Refugee Concept in International Law and Turkey

The problem of asylum seekers is one of the most important issues of international law. For this reason, there are many international regulations on the subject at the regional and universal level. Turkey is a party to most of these conventions. The most important of these are the 1951 United Nations Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Additional Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. The 1951 United Nations Geneva Convention on the Legal Status of Refugees is without a doubt the most important international law about people looking for asylum (Dost, 2014: 34). According to the 1951 United Nations Geneva Convention on the Legal Status of Refugees; "A refugee is a person who is outside the country of his/her nationality and cannot benefit from the protection of that country because of a right fear of persecution as a result of events that took place before 1 January 1951 and because of his/her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, any person who, due to the fear in question, does not want to benefit from protection; or does not have a nationality and is outside the country of his former residence as a result of such events, is unable to return there or is unwilling to return due to such fear..." This definition is undoubtedly a categorical and status definition (Mbuyi, 1993: 95-96).

Based on the above definitions and restrictions, it is possible to list the elements of the refugee definition as follows: existence for reasons, fear of persecution for good reasons, being outside the country, and not being able to benefit from the protection of this country (Plender, 1988: 14-15). The Convention limited the definition of refugee to "events occurring before 1951 and in Europe". However, over time, the idea of people who could not return to their country after 1951 -due to events outside Europe- should be considered refugees gained weight. For this

purpose, the 1967 on the Legal Status of Refugees was adopted in 1967 (Hathaway, 2005: 110). According to article 1 of the Protocol, the date limitation in the Geneva Convention has been removed from the text. The geographical limitation restriction has been removed optionally (for the countries party to the Protocol) according to Article 1/3 of the Protocol (Chimni, 2000: 61). Turkey did not remove the geographical restriction but put an annotation. Europe means the member states of the Council of Europe. So, countries that get rid of the physical border give refugee status to people who come to their country because of something that happened in Europe or somewhere else.

The second important requirement for a person to be accepted as a refugee is that they have a "specific reason" to fear being persecuted. In the Convention, these are listed as "race, religion, nationality, membership in a certain social group, or political opinion." The term "race" refers to colour, ancestry, national or ethnic origin, as well as belonging to a particular ethnic group. It is even understood to include one's own perception of what race one is or the perceptions of others. The term "religion" also refers to the belief in any religion, conscience, and thought, changing them, revealing them, fulfilling the requirements of belief, and teaching them. The word "nationality" refers to both being a citizen of a country and being a member of an ethnic or linguistic group. The term "social group or political thought" refers to unrestricted communities. In this respect, the state of belonging to a woman, family, tribe, profession or other social group can be considered as the reason for persecution in the concrete case (Çiçekli, 2014: 231).

For a person who is in a country other than the country of his/her nationality to be accepted as an asylum seeker, there must be a well-founded fear of being persecuted for the various discrimination reasons listed above (McAdam, 2013: 667). The concept of persecution is the foundation of the element of fear of being persecuted for justifiable reasons. It has been argued that this concept was not consciously defined in the 1951 Geneva Convention, so that it was aimed to prevent the kinds of persecution that may come into question over time from being excluded from the scope of the Convention. However, serious human rights violations, systematic or repeated serious damage, killing, torture, physical assault, unjustifiable imprisonment, unlawful restriction of political or religious activities can be listed as examples of forms of persecution. It is accepted that in order for a person to qualify as a refugee, acts of persecution must be deliberately committed against that person. On the other hand, these acts are not necessarily made by persons exercising state powers.

To be considered a refugee under the 1951 Convention, a person must be "outside the country of his/her nationality and not be able to enjoy the protection of that country." For this factor, which is expressed as being abroad, a person cannot return to the country of his/her citizenship for the reasons listed above. While determining the element of being outside the country, it is sought whether the asylum seeker, if he is a citizen of a state, has citizenship ties with the said state from which he cannot return (Plender, 1988:431). For reasons of national security or public order, the 1951 Geneva Convention states that "States Parties shall not expel a refugee lawfully in their territory". It also says, "No State Party shall expel or return a refugee in any way to the borders of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened because of his race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion."

1.2.2. The Refugee Concept in Turkish National Legislation

The states that are parties to the international regulations on refugee issues have also regulated this issue with their domestic law rules. However, states have to pay attention to some international conditions when making these arrangements regarding refugee issues (Pazarcı, 2011: 215). International regulations related to refugees, especially those related to human rights, positively affect the domestic legal rules made by states regarding refugees (Türk, 1999: 153). In this context, the first legal regulation accepted regarding asylum seekers in our country is the Law on Foreigners and International Protection dated 4.4.2013 and numbered 6458. Articles 61-102 of the Law govern international protection statuses. Types of international protection and the conditions and conditions of exclusion from this protection are included in articles 61–64. Temporary protection status is included in articles 91–95. The law has established four types of international protection status for foreigners who are outside the country of their citizenship and cannot benefit from the protection of this country or do not want to benefit from it due to the fear in question: refugee (art. 61), conditional refugee (art. 62), secondary protection (art. 63), and temporary protection (art. 91) (Dost, 2014: 44). Most of the time, the authorities of the country of asylum decide if someone has international protection status. However, since the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has the authority to determine the status, it is seen that it uses this authority in some cases. The international protection status of the asylum seeker is determined, the national and international obligations of the asylum state will begin, and the asylum seeker will have the right to assert her/his rights arising from this status against the target state (asylum seeker).

"Due to the events taking place in European countries, refugee status is given to the foreigner who is unable or unwilling to benefit from the protection of this country due to such fear, or outside the country of residence where he/she previously lived, as a result of such events, to a stateless person who is unable to return there, or unwilling to return due to fear," says Article 61 of the Law, which defines the refugee.

Article 61 is in line with the fact that Turkey only applies the Geneva Convention of 1951 in certain areas. For a foreigner to be considered a refugee in Turkey, they must "not be able to return to their country of citizenship because of events in Europe." This is still the case even though Turkey is not in Europe. In that case, the condition "due to events taking place in Europe" (provided that other conditions are met) is the basic condition for a person to receive the title of refugee (Zeick, 2010: 600). However, the mass asylum situation that emerged in the context of the Syrian events shows that this practice is justified. Turkey, which is a neighbour to the Middle East and a transit point to Europe, has a very high potential for an influx of refugees. For this reason, it is appropriate for Turkey not to grant refugee status to foreigners who take refuge in our country due to events occurring outside of Europe.

Foreigners and International Protection Law defines a "conditional refugee" as a person who is outside the country of citizenship and cannot benefit from the protection of that country "due to events occurring outside of European countries" (art.62). With the help of the article, Turkey was able to give conditional refugee status to people "due to events that happened outside of European countries. "Here, it can be asked if the creation of a new status by law that isn't in the Geneva Convention of 1951 will be a "problem of inconsistency" because the treaty and the law have different rules, as Article 90/5 of the Constitution says. It corrects the legal gap between Turkey's 1951 Geneva Convention and its Protocol in the face of the choice to maintain the geographical restriction left to the discretion of the parties in the 1967 Protocol. Thus, asylum seekers who are outside the scope of the legal status of "refugee" have been granted legal status under Article 62 (Dost, 2014: 47).

Law No. 6458 created a new kind of international protection that wasn't part of the Geneva Convention of 1951. With the status called "secondary protection" in the law, international protection has been extended to people who cannot be qualified as refugees or conditional refugees but who will encounter some negative situations if they are sent to their country of origin or residence. The text of Article 63 of Law No. 6458 is as follows:

"If a person who cannot be qualified as a refugee or conditional refugee is sent back to the country of origin or residence;

1. *will be sentenced to death or be executed.*
2. *be subjected to torture, inhuman or degrading punishment or treatment,*
3. *"Secondary protection status after the status determination procedures is given to a foreign or stateless person who will face a serious threat to himself due to indiscriminate acts of violence, who cannot benefit from or does not want to benefit from the protection of his/her country of origin or residence in situations of international or national armed conflict."* (Foreigners and International Protection Law, art. 63).

Article 63, which regulates the secondary protection status, mentions two conditions in order to be granted this status to a foreigner who comes to our country. The first condition is "not being defined as a refugee or conditional refugee". The second condition is the situation of the foreigner "to encounter some negative situations that are listed as three possibilities if s/he is sent to the country of origin or residence."

Individual asylum cases are straightforward in determining whether the person(s) requesting refugee fulfil the refugee conditions. However, this detection becomes almost impossible in mass asylum cases. For this reason, the main tendency of the state in cases of mass asylum is to provide temporary protection to those who want to seek refuge in the name of temporary protection status. This situation is considered the deviation of the states from the protection system introduced by the Geneva Convention by prioritizing their national interests. On the other hand, this protection is seen as a way to make the principle of not being sent back to where they came from work. International refugee law doesn't have a single definition for the term "mass asylum." However, it can be described as "a large number of displaced people coming from a certain country or area." In Law No. 6458, it is regulated that temporary protection status can be provided to foreigners who meet the conditions apart from refugee, conditional refugee, and secondary protection status. Temporary protection is an international protection status for foreigners who come to or cross our borders as a mass. In this sense, foreigners coming

individually are excluded from this status. In accordance with the principle of non-refoulement, foreigners who are subject to temporary protection status and who come to or cross our borders in mass will not be sent back to their home country. The way our law handles this situation is in line with the 1951 Convention as well as human rights law and case law (Ergüven, 2013: 1041).

1.2.3. Legal Status of Syrian Asylum Seekers in Turkey

On the Legal Status of Refugees, 1951 The Geneva Convention determined only the definition of refugee and did not categorize refugees. As a result, many asylum seekers who were forced to flee their home country are denied refugee status. Thus, it became necessary to adopt complementary protection mechanisms, which states have called in practice under titles such as secondary protection, humanitarian protection, or temporary protection. The common goal of all of these forms of protection is to support the 1951 Geneva Convention and 1967 Protocol. By providing protection to those who cannot benefit from refugee status (Çiçekli, 2014: 279–294). The Law No. 6458 also established refugee, conditional refugee, secondary protection, and temporary protection statuses, similar to the nomenclature accepted in the world.

The 1951 Geneva Convention provided a very limited definition of a refugee. The limitations of the 1951 Geneva Convention were mentioned above. With the 1967 additional protocol, the date restriction was completely lifted. This additional protocol left the geographical restriction to the choice of the parties. Turkey has not lifted the geographical restriction due to its geographical location. For this reason, Turkey, which was exposed to much criticism, had good reasons. First of all, Turkey is a neighbouring country to the Middle East, which has the potential for mass migration. Secondly, Turkey is a transit point, especially from Asia to Europe. For this reason, it should be considered reasonable for Turkey to be careful about the cases of asylum that may be experienced due to "events occurring outside Europe." The developments in the events in Syria once again proved the justification of this approach. The 1951 Geneva Convention and the 1967 Protocol allow states to grant refugee status to asylum seekers who come to their country without geographical limitation. Accordingly, the legal status of Syrian asylum seekers in their country complies with the definition of refugee for the states that prefer to extend the geographical limitation as "events occurring outside of Europe." In this context, Syrian asylum seekers have a rightful fear of being persecuted in their own country because of their religious or political views. However, in terms of states such as Turkey, which

apply the 1951 Geneva Convention and the 1967 Protocol only with the geographical restriction of "events occurring in Europe", Syrian asylum seekers are not included in the "refugee" status.

Turkey has always used the word "guest" for those who come from Syria, individually or collectively (Orhan, 2014: 11). In terms of the legal regulations adopted by Turkey with the Law on Foreigners and International Protection, it does not seem possible to grant "refugee" status to Syrian asylum seekers. With the Law on Foreigners and International Protection, Turkey has adopted four types of legal status regarding asylum seekers. These are refugee, conditional refugee, subsidiary protection, and temporary protection status. First of all, according to the definition of refugee in the law, it is not possible to accept Syrian asylum seekers in Turkey as refugees.

Turkish public institutions and politicians specifically avoided concepts like "refugee" that could have a counterpart in international law and would impose an obligation on Turkey or create this perception, and the concept of "refugee" or rather "guest" was preferred in general usage. However, the definition of Syrians in Turkey in the context of international law was clarified with a circular published on March 30, 2012, with the recommendation of UNHCR, and Syrians in Turkey were officially defined as "foreigners under temporary protection status". In the Temporary Protection Regulation, which went into effect on October 22, 2014, it is clear what Syrians' legal status is. According to temporary article 1 of the regulation,

"Syrian Arab Republic citizens, stateless persons, and refugees who came to or crossed our borders from the Syrian Arab Republic in groups or individually for temporary protection due to the events that took place in the Syrian Arab Republic since 28/4/2011, even if they have applied for international protection, are protected." "During the period of temporary protection, individual international protection applications are not processed."

In 2011, "temporary protection status" was deemed appropriate for the legal situation of millions of Syrians who flocked to our border due to the internal conflicts that broke out within the borders of the Syrian Arab Republic. But it's still not clear if the terms "conditional refugee" and "subsidiary protection" can be used to describe these people who are looking for asylum. Here, the State of the Republic of Turkey, while making the legal definition, defined Syrians as guests and gave them "temporary protection" status. Therefore, it can be said that the Turkish

government has concerns about whether the Syrian refugees will be able to integrate with the people of Turkey and whether they will pose a security threat in the future. At this stage of our study, we will question whether the integration and assimilation of Syrian refugees is possible.

1.3. Syrian Asylum Seekers in Turkey: Acculturation, Integration, and Assimilation

People and cultures get closer to each other. Ease of travel and migration enables international migration to accelerate and to transform the structures of countries and cities. Many religious, ethnic, and cultural communities have coexisted in these cities and countries (Adıgüzel, 2019: 14). Migration means that everything that has been experienced before suddenly leaves the life of the immigrant. In particular, out-migration means confronting a new place, new people, new social relations, a new culture, a new language, and sometimes a new religion for the immigrant individual. For a number of reasons, such as the inversion of the usual order, the difficulty in meeting the nutritional and shelter needs, dangerous and contagious diseases, the loss of a family member in the difficult migration journey can cause great emotional trauma for immigrant children and youth. In the case of irregular migration, the constant fear of being caught and deported causes the psychological pressure to remain alive and the mental restlessness to continue (James, 1997: 100).

The acculturation process begins between two groups that have different cultures after they meet each other due to a migration flow. Early acculturation research, according to Berry, focuses on how immigrants who have started living in host societies, willingly or not, change. Recent research focuses on how ethno cultural groups and individuals relate to each other and how they change as a result of living together in pluralistic societies (Berry, 1992: 75).

Acculturation includes both changes in behaviour patterns of individuals and changes in institutions in the social structure (Şeker, 2015: 13). During the process of acculturation in communities with immigrants, both the immigrant community and the host society can come up with different ways to become part of the culture. In the new cultural environment that is formed, both sides can conflict or adapt. As Syrian and Turkish cultures come together in Turkey, of course, it will reveal a number of problems. From time to time, tensions were experienced between the Arabic-speaking Syrian refugees and their host Turks, who had a serious understanding of the nation-state, and these were reflected in the press. Many people were injured and killed as a result of the clashes, especially in cities such as Kilis and Gaziantep, where Syrians are concentrated. This is notable for ineffective immigration policies and

acculturation attitudes. Millions of refugees who cannot be registered and millions of refugees who are released to cities with "open border policies" cannot receive Turkish language education even if they are registered.

Adoption by the indigenous community, being able to find employment, and establishing satisfactory social relationships are vital requirements for immigrants. This is a difficult and long process that sometimes takes place over several generations. Even though new generations want to adopt the values and norms of their parents' culture of origin, they also think about how much the new dominant culture affects them. As a result, tensions and conflicts may arise (Kümbetoglu, 1996: 276). In 2014, indigenous people in İskenderun, Kahramanmaraş, and Gaziantep revolted and said they did not want Syrians and demonstrated this. Violence broke out during these demonstrations, and minor clashes broke out between Syrians and Turks. In 2016, a Turkish father and son were stabbed to death as a result of a quarrel with Syrians. In the same year, as a result of a fight between Syrians that was reported in the press as a "garbage fight", 1 person died and 5 people were injured (CNNTürk, 25.01.2021). It is possible to give more examples similar to these events.

As can be seen from the conflicts that started in 2014 and lasted until 2018 in the provinces where there are many refugees, the acculturation of Syrian refugees and Turkish city residents is taking place in a conflict environment. These violent incidents between Syrians and local Turks were also reflected in the press.

Acculturation causes the immigrant community and the resident society to interact with each other, and the sociocultural structure of both to change. Cross-cultural strategies are about how different ethnic groups interact with each other in societies with many different cultures. This type of relationship is an issue that concerns whether minority groups in a society can live with their own culture or whether they will completely assimilate and become a part of the dominant society (Adıgüzel, 2019: 24).

As a result of the confrontation of two different social groups, Berry often brings to the fore two strategies of acculturation. These are assimilation and integration. According to Berry, the integration policies of the host society can lead to segregation, and assimilation policies may lead to marginalization. Acculturation policy is a delicate process that must be established and managed with great care (Berry, 1992: 78). But does the acculturation process really have two outcomes? Is there a third option where assimilation and integration are not possible?

1.3.1. Integration, Assimilation and Syrian Asylum Seekers in Turkey

As a result of acculturation, the communication of societies from two different cultural groups living in the same country has an intercultural feature. Both social groups want to both live together and preserve their own culture. This can only be achieved through social and cultural integration (Şahin, 2010: 110). The emergence and consolidation of ethnic inequalities in the various immigrant countries, where ethnic and cultural features are systematically united with inequalities in education, income, access to central institutions, and societal recognition, is one of the most important consequences of international migration (Esser, 2006: 1).

Integration has many definitions and many dimensions. However, in its simplest definition, integration is the cultural resemblance of a person or a community to another society and adopting the social values of the society in which they participate (Özdağ, 2020: 84). The concept of integration is a two-sided phenomenon, and it is only used by migrant individuals who constitute a minority group. It is not only due to its adaptation to the culture and systematic structure of the upper society, but also to the inclusive and integrative attitude that the upper society has developed towards migrants (Yılmaz, 2019: 287–292). At the other end of the acculturation process is the assimilation theory. Assimilation, whose lexical meaning is similarity, means to make something like itself by changing it. In fact, assimilation is often used to describe the situation in which immigrants are fully integrated (Baglioni, 1964: 126). Sociologically, the immigrant individual or ethnic community living outside of the society, in which he was born and raised in assimilation, resembles the dominant society due to the relationships they develop with them, the melting of their cultural accumulations, and the loss of their original cultural identity (Schneider, 2010: 1145).

The desire of different cultural communities to coexist in harmony or to dissolve each other completely is the result of a cultural encounter. Migrants and host social groups that encounter each other for the first time in the acculturation process do not want to be alike. However, since those who determine and implement the policy are the host community administrators, they can implement policies aimed at suppressing the immigrant cultures of the dominant culture and dissolving them over time. Host societies that reflexively defend their cultural structure in order to maintain homogeneity and avoid "deterioration" may see it as a right to expect immigrants to be like themselves.

The immigrant will either adapt himself to the society in which he lives by reinterpreting his own culture or he will fully adopt the cultural values of the host society. While first generation immigrants may be unwilling and reactive to adopting the values of the host culture, from the second generation onwards, with the systematic immigration policies followed by the host country over time, the cultural values of immigrants can be completely eroded and lost within the dominant cultural values. That is, the assimilation process can be completed (Alba, 1997: 830).

Assimilationist theorists believe that the identities of immigrants and the people they live with, which are very different when they first meet, will eventually come together under the identity of the "nation state. "Immigrants who live in a secular state structure subject to the same rules of law within the nation-state structure and have equal opportunities will gradually melt into that nation-state pot, losing their old identities and acquiring new identities as part of the nation-state's common identity (Kaya, 2008: 35).

As a result, following the Syrian civil war in 2011, Turkey has received millions of registered and unregistered migrants. There has been social interaction between Syrian refugees and Turkish people. According to Berry, acculturation must begin with the coming together of two different societies. This concept of acculturation can be examined with two extreme concepts: 1. Integration 2. Assimilation. Due to the deep differences between the two communities, the inability of the Turkish State to provide some basic services to Syrian refugees, unemployment, and a low level of welfare for the refugees, the acculturation of the two elements does not progress very well. For such reasons, many conflicts have emerged, which are also reflected in the press. This situation necessitates that migration be handled as a security issue. The questions for the integration of Syrians into Turkey are; 1) Can the Syrians adapt to Turkey? 2) Is the assimilation of Syrians possible? If not, what will happen?

If we look at the event from an economic perspective, there are serious problems between the two groups. While Syrians who have access to economic resources are included in the labour market, Syrians who do not have access to resources state that they especially have difficulties accessing the job market and that they work long hours, have no security, and live an isolated life. because they are employed in an unregistered economy (Şimşek, 2020: 540). Another important obstacle to integration processes is the status of insecure migrants. As the uncertain legal status of the work permit application because of limitations on Syrians in Turkey being uninsured and having to work in an unsafe manner. The integration of Syrian refugees is taking

its time (Lamba, 2003: 343). If you look from the point of view of Turkish society, which is a place of immigration, the Syrians are taking away the job opportunities of the Turks due to their cheap labour force.

It is certain that one of the main reasons for the formation of ethnic stratifications between immigrants and locals in the receiving country is that the immigrants are not aware of the national language (Esser, 2006: 2). The other important obstacle for the adoption of Syrian asylum seekers to Turkey is the difficulty of Syrians in learning Turkish. The most important study on this problem is the article titled "The Problems Syrian Immigrants Encounter While Learning Turkish as a Foreign Language and Suggestions for Solutions" published in the Institute of Social Sciences Journal of Ahi Evran University. This study was conducted among 20 male and 13 female Syrian refugees who received B-2 level Turkish education at Mersin University in 2016–2017. According to this article, in the process of learning Turkish as a foreign language, the main problems faced by Syrian immigrants regarding their language skills are the different Turkish grammar rules, namely the sentence structure, the inability to learn words, difficulties in speaking, and the difficulties in pronouncing Turkish words and letters.

Syrians who settled in Turkey's integration process include access to rights and the individuals of the receiving community to integrate refugees into society and develop decision-making mechanisms with refugees. The integration processes of Syrians, who establishes a relationship with the receiving society, do not live in isolation. But they are in the labour market, and they are also employed in informal economy. This affects acceptance of Syrians by Turkish citizens. Integration processes are also accelerated by ensuring equal access to rights and establishing a bridge between refugees and individuals of the receiving community. So, it's important for the integration of refugees to have long-term policies that make sure everyone has the same rights. In addition, it is seen in the research that Syrian immigrants have problems with language skills due to the different sentence structure of Turkish. According to the findings obtained in the study, they stated that immigrants have difficulty using Turkish grammar and they have difficulty forming sentences due to the different sentence orders of Arabic and Turkish (Ünal and Taşkaya, 2018: 141).

One of the main obstacles to the integration of Syrian Arabs into Turkish culture is the education of Syrians with a strong nation-state understanding. It is very difficult for the masses, who are educated in the Syrian Arab nation-state format and believe that the Arab race is elite due to the emergence of the religion of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula, to integrate into the Turkish

culture, which they see as a subculture. Syrian refugees in Turkey do not have an ethnic identity but a strong national identity. Even though it is still possible for ethnic identities to blend and become a part of national cultures, it is almost impossible for the masses to become a part of national cultures. The integration of Syrian refugees is impossible when it is added that they are more exposed to their old cultures due to the numerical multiplicity of Syrian refugees and their proximity to their own country (Özdağ, 2020: 85).

Syrians under temporary protection who have been in Turkey for more than 10 years have spread throughout the country, especially in border provinces. The fact that Syrian refugees and local people have to live together is, first of all, a problem of social cohesion. The problems arising from the different languages, cultures, and lifestyles between the local people and the Syrians, combined with the prolongation of the temporality, constitute the source of the local people's reaction. In fact, the lack of social harmony in some of our provinces (Gaziantep, Kahramanmaraş, and so on) is the cause of collective turmoil and fights in some of them (Gaziantep, Kahramanmaraş, and so on). Due to the prolonged stay of the Syrian refugees under temporary protection in Turkey and the social, economic, and cultural consequences caused by the refugees, the local people have taken reactive actions from time to time. But the most dangerous thing that can happen as a result of a large group of people reacting is that Syrians act together and organize to protect their own justice and safety. This situation turns into mass forensic incidents and draws the reaction of even the most tolerant sections of the local population, which causes the two communities to become increasingly polarized. Such things hurt the locals' and refugees' ability to get along with each other right away and could lead to security problems (Oytun, 2015: 20).

1.4. The Concept of Security and the Relationship with Migration

Since the beginning of human history, people have been concerned with security. It is one of the basic needs of a person. The concept of security, as a definition, varies according to time, place, the ideology of the person making the definition, point of view, whether the object covered is society or a person, the size of the object or its smallness (Buzan, 1991).

In its simplest sense, it is the absence of danger or threat. "Security is the protection of the physical, social, and economic well-being of individuals. Another definition is the state of being able to live without fear and the state of security. Security is the absence of a threat to existing values in an objective sense and the absence of fear of an attack in a subjective sense. Security

is a relative distance from damaging threats. It is the maintenance of identity or functional integrity against forces called enemies (Buzan, 1991: 16). Security can be defined as a defence mechanism that states use to maintain their existence, protect their independence and integrity, and protect themselves from power, development, and concepts that they describe as threats (Eminoğlu, 2009: 5).

National security is the protection of a state as an indivisible whole with its government, people, and country; that is, it is the only sovereign power in its own territory. International security, on the other hand, is the set of steps that the government or international organizations take to make sure that everyone is safe and at peace (Karabulut, 2011: 60–90).

For the first time in human history, the phenomenon of security was realized with primitive tools and equipment to protect against external threats. The conceptual dimension of the concept of security, the tools and methods used have also changed with the beginning of social life, the advancement of technology and wars. Throughout history, many states, such as the Persians, Romans, Huns, and empires, have resorted to many war methods in order to expand or maintain their existence. However, agreements parallel to war contracts have also developed together in the nature of the coexistence of humanity and the norms of security have been determined and continued with theoretical studies. While the concept of security has changed according to the values, culture, and general characteristics of the geography of each state throughout history, there is also a conflict-reconciliation relationship that is directly proportional to the continuous security-threat relationship between individuals, groups, and states. When it comes to state and sovereignty, security is the most important thing that determines international relations. The concept of security has been shaped according to the threats and risks that emerged under different conditions in different periods of the historical process. Under these changing conditions, the meaning and content of the concept of security, as well as the factors that comprise it, differ within the scope of international theories (Bakan and Şahin, 2018: 136–138).

1.4.1. Theories about Security

Individual, societal, state, or international system security can exist on one or more of the planes (Dedeoğlu, 2003: 13). The concept of security varies according to its scope, place and way of handling. This is why security theories have emerged.

1.4.1.1. Idealism

The word idealism was first used in a paper presented at a conference in 1923 by the rector of Glasgow University, Birkenhead. Birkenhead drew attention to the difference between idealism and realism in terms of philosophy and international relations. Birkenhead says that philosophical idealism is the desire of a person or group to reach a higher and higher point than the real and current physical conditions and conditions around them. In international politics, idealism is the desire to build relationships between states based on ethics and values (Gözen, 2015: 70).

Idealism, while taking the state as the main actor, is a theory that says that peace is possible with cooperation (Ari, 2008: 107). Idealism has emerged as a reflection of the philosophy of the Enlightenment, whose general features are rationality, empiricism, science, happiness, and utilitarianism (Eralp, 1997: 59). Idealists said that people are moving toward a peaceful and fair world order, and as states become more democratic, they will be more willing to work together.

In idealism, man is good by nature and participates in mutual aid and cooperation. People's bad behaviour is not caused by people's badness, but by bad institutional and structural rules that force people to act selfishly and to do harm to others (Tunca, 2020: 61). Idealism thinks that the environment affects people. When environmental conditions change, human behaviour can also change. Here, the philosophy of the Age of Enlightenment, based on its perfection, is based on the fact that the deteriorating nature of man can change with the improvement of conditions, and the basic assumptions that his deteriorating nature can change with the improvement of conditions lie on the basis of idealism (Ari, 2001: 97).

Idealism says that people should work together to make a world that is safe and free of threats and hostility. In reality, threats arise as a result of human activities with the influence of the environment and society, and threats are eliminated or minimized as the conditions around people improve. With this point of view, idealism in the historical process has developed in parallel with the establishment of world peace after the destruction that emerged after the wars (Birdişli, 2017: 63–64).

Idealism is also a theory that was put forward with the birth of the discipline of international relations. As a result of the devastating events that emerged in the interwar period, it can be said that it emerged as a structural solution to the general problems of humanity as a war-peace theory on how to achieve world peace (Gözen, 2015: 68–69).

Wilson defended the concept of collective security against the small states that broke away from the empires after the First World War and the small states that broke away from the empires after the Second World War. According to him, only the existence of an international status in a legal concept could lead to peace (Kissinger, 1994: 222). Woodrow Wilson aimed to establish peace and security by eliminating war with the education of humanity, international cooperation, free trade, and democratic governments, as well as by publishing 14 principles for international cooperation and international peace within the scope of making peace and security prevail. These principles form the foundation of idealism (Çalış and Özlük, 2007: 228).

Woodrow Wilson's idealism is based on the need for a conflict-free environment where all states can live in peace with each other in the international community. This is done by building an international society that works together for the sake of international peace. Therefore, in idealism, states are not in favour of war, so it is necessary to establish a democratic structure. This is possible in an environment where the international social order can be established with the existence of a superior judicial mechanism that enforces the rule of international law (Elmas, 2013: 46–47).

Wilson argued that world peace could be achieved by coming together of states and an international organization. As a matter of fact, it has become widespread that the establishment of universal peace can be achieved with the establishment and strengthening of the League of Nations (Sandıklı and Kaya, 2012: 137). The understanding of collective security developed with the League of Nations system. This system says that an attack on one or more members of the organization will be seen as an attack on the whole organization, and the aggressor state will get a response from the whole organization (Karabulut, 2011: 26).

According to the "collective security" system, in the event of an attack on one of the member states of the League of Nations, the other member states would come together and cooperate for the security of that state. In this way, political violence can be prevented (Örmeci, 2014). However, the United States did not join the League of Nations' collective security approach, considering it contrary to its own country's interests. The idealism and the collective security system were exposed to criticism and were not successful due to reasons such as the 1929 Depression and the aftermath of the USA's continuation of its introverted policies and the emergence of fascist powers such as Hitler and Mussolini (Elmas, 2013: 48).

1.4.1.2. Realism

The state was considered the main actor in realism, which argues that international relations consisted of an anarchic structure and a struggle for power-interests. The most basic concept is power. As states are responsible for their own security, they can try any method to ensure this and do anything for their own benefit. The collapse of idealism after World War II and the failure of international organizations have revealed this idea. Its main proponents are thinkers such as Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Kant, Morgenthau, and Carr (Tunca, 2020: 62).

The power imbalance, suspicion, and arms race that Tycydides revealed in his analysis of the Peloponnesian wars between Athens and Sparta are among the first indications of realism (Arı, 2001). Machiavelli's putting the state in the focus and stating that security can be achieved with good administration and also saying that there can be laws where there is a strong military power, the idea that a prince should only organize military power contributed to the birth of realism. It was advised that the main and primary responsibility of the Prince was to ensure the security of the state; that he should be strong against threats from inside and outside; and that everything could be done to ensure all of these (Varlık, 2015: 22). In the security understanding of realism, the state takes its place as the main actor, and the main purpose of the state is defined as ensuring its survival and fulfilling its interests. The basic unit of realism is the state, and the element of power is the tool that makes sure the state stays alive. The security understanding of realism is based on the power elements of the states and the shaping of international relations by these elements through the "power struggle" (Küçüksolak, 2012: 203).

There are important factors affecting the power potential of states. While geography, demography, resources, and geopolitics are important, military power is much more important than others (Terriff, 1999: 32). It is the power capacities of other states within the system that limit the interest-oriented behaviour of states in an anarchic international structure where there is no central authority to establish order. So, power comes to the forefront as the most important thing that will keep states safe. In the system in question, where the survival of the state depends on power, military power is used to make sure that security is kept. The way the international system works, even though there is no central authority, is based on the idea of "self-help. In a world where there are no international rules and principles, states can use force to ensure their own security and develop their power. This is due to the competitive nature of the system (Brown and Ainley, 2007: 37).

The competitive and confrontational systemic approach of realism is based on the idea that people are static and don't change. Morgenthau stated that human nature is selfish, ambitious, and power-oriented and argued that states act in a similar way and want to maximize their power (Eminoğlu, 2009: 14-17). Hobbes' ideas, in his time, were based on the evil of human character. According to Hobbes, while people passed from the state of nature to social life, the top manager transferred the authorities to Leviathan, who was in the position of state authority. Ari argued that the absence of Leviathan would bring war, conflict, anxiety, and doubt (Ari, 2001).

Since realism is an approach that puts security at the forefront, this has led to the disappearance of idealism while policies are being produced practically (Ariboğan, 2004). Carr said that countries that want peace use the name of universal peace to impose themselves and their interests on others and that they create insecurity (Carr, 2010: 27).

In the realist approach, the fact that insecurity constitutes the basic character of the system creates an effect that enlarges the security gap and "securitizes" the system by drawing other issues into itself (Terriff, 1999: 38). Realism bases its security approach on military security and makes the security understanding dependent on the distribution of power between states.

In short, realism, as opposed to idealism, holds that security is only possible with the protection of each state, not international organizations. It is a power struggle to ensure its own security. The security dilemma both encourages and is affected by the power struggle. Power Struggle also has a feature that increases the security dilemma. In the 1960s and 1970s, serious criticism was made of realism, and Kenneth Waltz's "Theory of International Politics" pioneered the theory of Neo-Realism.

1.4.1.3. Neorealism

In the 1960s and 1970s, very serious criticisms were made of realism. The most important of these criticisms is undoubtedly Kenneth Waltz's "Theory of International Politics." This study pioneered the theory of neorealism. According to Waltz, the main purpose of realism is to provide security, not to get power. He accepted the anarchic nature of the international system, but suggested that security could be achieved not only by the self-protection of states but also by the help of international organizations (NATO, UN) (Waltz, 1979: 151).

Another Neorealist thinker, Mearsheimer, argued that states can cooperate internationally to ensure security, but within certain limits, they can be in their own interests without full trust.

He argued that long-term peace is not possible. Because, according to Mearsheimer, states will be in competition with each other. This will cause conflict after a while (Mearsheimer, 2003).

According to the neo-realist approach, cooperation between states can occur but in a limited way. The borders of cooperation will be shaped by security issues. As a result, it is impossible to speak of long-term permanent peace or a world free of power struggles (Baylis, 2008: 72). Power and security issues shape the views of both realists and neorealists when it comes to international relations (Baylis, 2008: 38).

The neorealists argue that internal state problems and the solutions they find will not solve problems in international systems. Therefore, states should be more concerned with external security than internal security. In addition, neorealists defended the view that international security could never be ensured due to the anarchic structure of international relations (Buzan, 1991: 128–130).

Neorealists, who think that the balance of power can limit conflict, tend to accept the long period of peace that will result from the decrease in the possibility of war in a bipolar international system (Heywood, 2014: 86-90). With this aspect, neorealism is a cold war theory.

1.4.1.4. Liberalism

Liberalism is a theory that focuses on concepts such as the individual, justice, freedom, reason, equality, tolerance, harmony, balance, and consent. As can be understood from the concepts it focuses on, this theory believes that mutual solidarity and dependence will ensure security. World peace is possible only if political and economic liberal understanding is accepted at the national and international level. Liberals also argue that interdependence and interaction should increase, which also should be managed by supranational international organizations (Heywood, 2013: 72). Liberalism argues that individual freedom is above all else. The involvement of the state in these freedoms should be prevented.

In this system, security means more than the defence of the country's territory and the military force for the continuation of the country. Cooperation is very important in liberalism. Because with mutual cooperation, the parties can gain, and absolute gain is possible. Liberalism does not think that disagreements and conflicts arise from the anarchy of the international system or from the evil of countries. According to them, conflicts arise from misperceptions. They predict that conflicts can be avoided if misunderstandings and mutual distrust are corrected. Liberalism

argues that holistic security will be ensured by the establishment of international law and rules. This is to indicate that the international order will be provided by international organizations (Sandıklı and Emeklier, 2012: 13-18).

1.4.1.5. Constructivism

With the effect of "globalization," a rapid change process has begun since the 1990s. In the new process, the parameters on which the economic, political, and security strategies of the old times were based have deteriorated. As a result of this change, new paradigms have come up that are different from realist and neorealist theories. Social constructivism is one of them. According to "social constructivist" authors, the basic structures of international politics are social, not rigidly material (Baylis, 2008: 79). The positivist approach of realist theory, which focuses on universal laws, certainty, and provision, is often not accepted by constructivists. This shows the epistemological split between positivists and post-positivists that appeared in the international relations literature in the early 1990s (Booth and Zalewski, 1996).

The constructivist approach examines the state together with society. Social constructivism has brought the facts (gender, identity, welfare society) excluded or ignored by realism to the top of the security agenda. In constructivism, a state's evaluation of another state as a threat is dependent on the perception of the other that it creates through its own identity definition. Identity is the main variable in which a country categorizes or marginalizes others as friends or enemies. Constructivist theory has drawn attention to the relationship between identity and security by going beyond traditional facts. It has brought a new dimension to the classical understanding of security (Tunca, 2020:66). Constructivist theory accepts the thesis that international relations can be regulated through cultures, common features, new ideas, and identities. The states that make up anarchy have the capacity to create a safe environment in the international system (Varlık, 2015: 30).

Social constructionists say it's not impossible to avoid security dilemmas, but they disagree on whether it is possible or not. Some constructivists are optimistic while others are pessimistic about this. For Wendt, just because structures are socially constructed does not mean they cannot be changed (Wendt, 1995: 80).

1.4.1.6. Security Perception Change and the Copenhagen School

Theories from the constructivist, critical, postmodern, and feminist schools of thought all helped to build the new security concept. It also helped reinterpret in Paris and Copenhagen, which are referred to as "schools" (Karabulut, 2011: 109–190).

The economic understanding, instability, and unjust distribution created by capitalism have been the target points of critical theory. They believed that organizations such as the World Bank and the IMF protected the interests of capitalism, and they argued that only the security of states and their citizens should be prioritized. According to critical theorists, security is achieved when people are freed from institutions and rules (Heywood, 2014: 94–96).

The Copenhagen School is a school that studies safety, led by Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, and Jaap de Wilde. The work of the school began with the establishment of the Peace and Conflict Research Centre at the University of Copenhagen in 1985. The school, which focused on European security during its establishment, continued its studies on the security of non-military areas as well as the understanding of military security (Miş, 2011: 347).

It can be said that the Copenhagen School's understanding of security is a mixture of liberal, post-structuralist, neorealist, and constructivist approaches. One of the most important claims of the Copenhagen School is the concept of securitization and de-security. According to Waever, artificial threats are created with discourse analysis and that issue is securitized. In other words, an issue that would not normally be a security issue is made secure by showing it as a threat by perception management (Waever, 1995). People use the end of the Cold War as an example of what desecuritization means.

The School in Copenhagen has an important place in the literature with its securitization theory, sectoral security approach, regional security complex theory, and international security studies. The school defines itself as "intermediate between traditional state-based security studies and post-structuralist security studies." On the one hand, the theory argues that the security concept should not be limited to state-based military security; on the other hand, it warns that everything that threatens the existence and condition of individuals cannot be considered a security problem (Baysal and Lüleci, 2011: 65-67).

The Copenhagen School's most important contribution to security studies is that it helped Buzan understand security in a broader way. Buzan also added political, economic, social, and

environmental security issues to the military security issues. According to Buzan, mature states should focus on internal security issues rather than enter into an arms race with other states (Buzan, 1991). Buzan systematized its new security approach, as seen in the table below.

Table 1: Extended Security Concepts

Security Concepts	Whose Safety	Value at Risk	Threat Source
National Security (Political and military dimensions)	State	Sovereignty, Territorial Integrity	Other States, Terrorism.
Social Security	Nations, Social Groups	National Unity, Identity	Nations, Refugees, Foreign Cultures
Human Security	Individuals, Humanity.	Permanence, Quality of Life	State, Globalization, Global Environmental Issues, Migration, Terrorism
Environmental Security	Ecosystem	Sustainability	Humanity
Gender Security	Gender Relations, Local People	Equality, Identity, Solidarity	Patriarchy, Totalitarian Institutions (Governments, Religions, Elites, Culture), Intolerance

Source: Brauch, 2008: 8.

In the new security concept, by keeping a certain classification, the threats against the individual and the state are also classified as political, economic, social, and environmental threats as absolute non-military threats. These threats can be summarized as follows: under the section “5. Security Threats from the Syrian Refugee Crisis to Turkey”.

Political threats include threats such as changes in democratic and political systems, domestic political instability, collapsed states, terrorism, cyber terrorism, human rights violations, ethnic and religious isolation, racism and fanatical nationalism movements, domestic violence, etc.

Economic threats include widening disparities between rich and poor countries, international economic depression or recession, foreign trade laws affecting the global economy, economic schisms, money laundering, potential conflicts, and market economy conflicts (Bakan and

Şahin, 2018: 148). At the international level, the foreign trade policies of the states and their energy resources, science-technology, and human resources are as important as their military forces (Demiray and Işcan, 2008: 157). Social threats, minority/majority conflicts, ethnic and religious sectarian conflicts are viewed as new security dimensions' threats and risks (Waeber, 2008: 155).

Environmental threats include threats such as climate change, soil and water pollution, lack of food and other resources, rapid depletion of environmental assets, conflict over scarce resources, migration, refugee problems, infectious diseases, and organized crime. Although there is no common definition of environmental security in the literature, with the emergence of resource conflict and threats that arise from global disasters and affect the safety of all living things, according to Uğurlu in general terms, *"environmental security" is "a change that may occur in the quality, quantity, and continuity of environmental resources; not fair distribution of resources and products produced; it is the decrease or disappearance of the rights of living beings to life, shelter, reproduction, and freedom"* (Uğurlu, 2006: 72).

After the Cold War, security became a bigger issue, and immigration started to be seen as a security issue. Increasing concerns about foreigners with the disintegration of the Eastern Bloc also played a role in the emergence of the concept of "securitization of immigration." Other events that played a role in the securitization of migration are the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 in New York and March 12, 2004 in Madrid (Mandacı, 2013: 108). Today, it is said that those who cannot benefit from the protection of the country they belong to as a result of security problems, pressures, and human rights violations in their own country and who seek asylum, individually or collectively, in order to benefit from the protection of another country, cause national, regional, and international security threats. Refugees and asylum seekers negatively affect ordinary life, public order, and the political and social stability in the transit and destination countries. The rise of illegal activities such as increasing terrorist attacks, human and drug smuggling, extortion, and theft worldwide has started to be associated with the increase in the number of refugees and asylum seekers.

As a result, it is clear that the idea of security has been shaped by the threats and risks that have arisen in different times and places. It has also changed over time, according to international theories in the field of international relations. According to the realist theory, the idea of security is limited to the idea of military security based on power and in line with the security and interests of the state. It is possible to see it in the military and power-oriented security policies

of states, including those of World War I–II and the Cold War era. Although the concept of "collective security", which envisages cooperation in the international system and the pursuit of security policies for international peace, was adopted within the scope of the theory of idealism that emerged after the First World War, this concept was almost never applied in practice. The United States has always taken a stand in favour of conflict in the power-oriented international system. Especially during the Cold War period, the tension between the USA and the USSR and the production of biological nuclear weapons, the technology used and the changing global factors with the wars formed blocs between the USA and the USSR, and policies regarding the security of each bloc were adopted as their main target. During this time, there were a lot of wars and tensions because the two superpowers were fighting for control over the areas where nuclear weapons were made. Because of the expansionist struggle for nuclear and biological weapons, the global realist security approach to the world has gained popularity in the bipolar (Bakan and Şahin, 2018: 149).

It has been argued that, with the increase in economic loss in wars in the historical process, the increase in military expenditures, oil shocks, and global crises, the economic issues of states should be included in the concept of security besides their military interests. Liberals also stressed the need for non-state actors and companies to get involved in this issue, using soft power instead of military force in the international system and cooperating instead of fighting. On the other hand, the Copenhagen school systematized the risk and threat elements and the concept of security in five dimensions: military, economic, social, political, and environmental. New security risks and threats have been introduced into the literature and many international policies as a result of this process (Bakan and Şahin, 2018: 149).

1.4.2. Security and Migration

In the changing security phenomenon after the Cold War, migration and terrorism took first place as security problems. From the 1980s to the present, immigration has been considered a threat to national security. After the September 11 attacks against the USA, the Schengen and Dublin Agreements evaluated immigration within the scope of terrorism, international crimes, and border control, and strict measures were put in place for the countries (Huysmans, 2000: 756).

The numerical excess and frequency of immigration, as well as the immigrants' personal political and social inclinations, can all have an impact on state policies. In this context, the

relationship between migration and security is explained under three headings. First, migration makes it harder for some countries to do some of their state-related jobs and pushes back against the traditional limits of sovereignty. Second, migration changes the way a country is made up of its people, which affects its national identity and, by extension, its social security. Finally, immigration threatens security if it is used to influence other states or to achieve national foreign policy purposes (Erdoğan, 2013: 270).

Some states perceived the relationship between migration and security through terrorism; they thought that the measures taken against terrorism were being eroded through migration, and they adopted a policy of othering. On the other hand, some have associated the issue with the approach to citizenship, the economy, and access to social rights (Newman, 1998).

Socio-cultural changes, together with migration, can affect and change the two communities at different rates. Migration, which creates a two-way interaction, causes problematic integration if harmony cannot be achieved in the spiritual field (Olçar, 2013: 165). Participation in radical criminal organizations can be seen more in immigrants than in residents. The reason for this is the incompatibilities experienced at the new destination. Masses that refuse to integrate provide voluntary employment to criminal organizations. This raises the security issue (Ergil, 2008). States frequently regard immigration as a security concern.

CHAPTER 2: SECURITY IMPLICATIONS OF SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS FOR TURKEY

The perception of human mobility as a threat to the national security of states and the perception of irregular migrants as a security problem mainly took place in the post-Cold War period (Karatepe, 2017: 2145). Developed countries that are exposed to an influx of immigrants see immigrants as a threat to their border and internal security as well as a threat to their cultural identity and political stability as a result of the increasing share of immigrants in the population (Wolhfeld, 2014: 65-67). The movement of Syrians to Turkey, which has continued since 2011, is a mass migration. Many security problems may arise in states with mass migration, such as straining state capacity, economic instability, the establishment of terrorist and criminal organizations, and social security problems.

2.1. State Capacity Restriction

Since 2011, when Turkey started to open its borders, millions of Syrians have moved to the country's interior, especially to the provinces that border Syria. Due to its open border policies, Turkey was hosting more than 3 million Syrian asylum seekers today. Approximately 250 thousand of them were housed in AFAD's 26 temporary shelters in 2014 (Wolhfeld, 2014: 61-77). As of July 2022, Turkey is hosting 3 million 684 thousand 488 Syrian refugee and only approximately 49 thousand of them were in refugee shelters (multeciler.org. July 7, 2022).

It would also be useful to consider Ümit Özdağ's study, in which he estimated the number of Syrian refugees in 2040 and their ratio to the Turkish population. The Syrian population in Turkey is increasing rapidly. The birth rate of Syrian women is 5.3, one of the highest in the world. The Republic of Turkey encourages the increase of Syrians with its policies. Providing economic aid to families with 3 or more children under the age of 18 within the scope of the "Social Cohesion Program for Foreigners" encourages Syrians to have children for aid. As of 2019, while the number of registered immigrants in Turkey is 3.8 million, the number of unregistered immigrants is estimated to be 5.3 million. By 2040, it is estimated that the number of Syrian refugees will increase to 10.405.000. This will constitute an estimated 11.2% of Turkey's population (Özdağ, 2020: 47-49).

In countries with such a large migration flow, like Turkey, refugees strain the state capacity. Long-term, large numbers of refugees can make it hard for a state to provide public services and can lead to fights over resources, especially if international help is not available or stable. When their savings are exhausted, refugees may turn from desperation to crime, prostitution, and child labour. In a state of despair, refugees become open to the political manipulation of radicals. Tensions between local people and refugees can turn violent and threaten the political order. States vary in their capacity to cope with the migrant crisis. Long-term challenges aside, even short-term ones threaten weak or failed states. Today, the world's poorest nations often face the problem of permeable borders and bear most of the burden of refugee housing costs. Refugees across borders place additional pressure on weak state institutions (Dowty, 1996:47). Refugee influxes can also cause environmental and health problems or increase existing problems. It puts significant pressure on natural resources and can strain the capacity of the environment due to the additional waste produced. In this case, it speeds up the process of turning forests into farmland and puts people's health at risk (Martin, 2005: 340).

The World Health Organization (WHO) defines migrant health as "complete physical, mental, and social well-being, not merely the absence of disease or infirmity" (World Health Organization, 2006). Since Turkey is a conditional party to the 1951 Geneva Convention on the Legal Status of Refugees by the United Nations in order to regulate the legal status of refugees, those coming from Syria are not considered refugees. Only immigrants from Europe are considered refugees. Therefore, the status of Syrian refugees benefiting from health services has been determined by other regulations (Yavuz, 2015: 265-275). The issue of Syrian refugees benefiting from health services has been determined in the Temporary Protection Regulation published in the Official Gazette dated October 22, 2014 and numbered 29153, which is based on Article 91 of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection No. 6458 (Official Gazette of Republic of Turkey, 2014). According to the regulation "Services to be Provided to the Temporarily Protected" is provided by the relevant ministries, public institutions and organizations under the coordination of the Prime Ministry Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD).

While the influx of Syrian refugees into Turkey was in 2011, the first legal regulation regarding their use of health services dates back to 2014. During this period, the Turkish health system has experienced very serious problems, and some of these problems still continue. Hundreds of thousands of Syrians, who got onto the health system all of a sudden, pushed the capacity of the Republic of Turkey and exceeded its limits. Due to the civil war in Syria, millions of people are struggling to survive in hunger, disease, and poverty because they cannot access basic needs such as food, water, electricity, fuel, or medical supplies. Factors such as the lack of adequate health institutions and human resources in these regions, the inadequate nutrition of the refugees, the language barrier, the lack of health insurance, and social and psychological stress negatively affect the health problems of the refugees as well as the health of the society they live in. Because these people who live in poverty are faced with significant health risks due to their unhealthy living conditions, both in their pre-migration society, in the process of migration, and in the society they came from. The effects of the epidemic increase because of the corruption of the immunization programs of the health services and the studies on protection from diseases (Korkmaz, 2014: 38). For example, measles has started to spread among Syrian refugees who fled the events in Syria and took shelter in Turkey. 349 measles cases were seen in Turkey in 2012, and it is stated that this number has increased to 20 after the influx of Syrian refugees. The World Health Organization draws attention to the fact that measles, tuberculosis and various infectious skin diseases are encountered in Syrians staying in camps in Jordan,

Lebanon, Iraq and Turkey. The Turkish Medical Association (TTB) also warns that there is speculation that the influx of Syrian refugees is aiding in the spread of measles cases (Altındış, 2013: 66). In Kilis, one of the provinces on the south eastern border of Turkey, vaccinations are given to children aged 0–59 months in order to eliminate the risk of polio. Another health problem caused by refugees is the injuries caused by war and attacks in the region, which increases the need for emergency health care services and the workload of operating rooms. In the southern border cities where refugees live, there aren't enough health facilities or people to work in them. This damages health care and nursing services.

2.2. Security Threats from Open Border Policies

A natural and common worry about taking in refugees from war-torn areas is that refugees crossing international borders will upset the stability of the countries that take them in. In general, there are three types of arguments that can be used to look at how refugees affect security. The first is the chance that refugees could use the forces of the country that took them in against the country that sent them. It's important to remember that refugees and the country that takes them in are likely to fight at first, especially if the country sees the refugees as a security threat (Belloni, 2010: 172).

Second, it is assumed that a large influx of refugees increases the likelihood that the sending state will initiate a dispute against the host. This happens often when countries that send refugees attack refugees and people of noble birth in neighbouring areas with the military. In particular, the porous boundaries of weak states may allow politically organized non-state actors to access regions and population groups that can be used for political mobilization, resulting in the emergence of "refugee-warrior communities."

Third, violence between refugees of different races or groups can cause the conflict to spread to the country that takes them in. This is often the case when different ethnic groups or political parties are in the same group of refugees. This violence threatens the stability of the accepting state, which doesn't have enough control over the political order right now (See, 1991: 110).

You can't say that refugees won't do violent things for political or other reasons against the people who take care of them. Although not very visible today, as the country's massive influx of Syrian asylum seekers in Turkey has increased in multiple sizes, one of the major problems faced by the scope of this mass movement in Turkey and the Middle East is the passage of

foreign terrorists. In this context, 52,775 people from 145 countries were barred from entering Turkey, while 4369 people from 99 countries were deported from the country.

Refugees from Syria are an extra danger to Turkey. Because many terrorist organizations deployed in Syrian territory are aimed at Turkey. Also, the governments of Turkey and Syria are always going after each other through diplomacy and the media. For example, the Prime Minister of that time, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, threatened the Syrian government with an invasion by saying that they would pray in the Umayyad mosque one evening (Hürriyet, 01.02.2021). Keeping this in mind, if Turkey maintains open-border policies, not only Syrian refugees but also Syrian government agents and militants will be able to pass through the Turkey-Syria borders. The terrorist incidents that started on June 5, 2015, and continued until January 5, 2017, can also be considered in this context. These terrorist incidents are shown below.

Table 2. Terrorist attacks in Turkey Between 2015-2017

June 5, 2015: Diyarbakir	4 dead, 400 injured The attack took place at a rally of the pro-Kurdish People's Democratic Party. Nobody claimed responsibility for the attack.
July 20, 2015: Suruç	33 dead, 104 injured A suicide bomber from ISIS attacked the youth discussing the rebuilding of Kobani.
October 10, 2015: Ankara	102 dead, 400 injured It was carried out by ISIS. A group of people protesting the clashes between the PKK and the authorities were targeted.
December 1, 2015: Istanbul	5 injured It took place at the subway station during the peak hours of traffic. Nobody claimed responsibility for the attack.
December 21, 2015: Istanbul, SabihaGökçen airport	1 dead, 1 injured The attack was claimed by a group separated from the PKK.
January 12, 2016: Istanbul, Sultanahmet	12 dead, 14 injured The attack was carried out by ISIS, targeting a group of tourists in Sultanahmet.
January 14, 2016: Diyarbakir	6 dead, 39 injured The attack was carried out on a police station. The PKK was held responsible for the attack.

February 17, 2016: Ankara	28 dead, 60 injured In the centre of Turkey's capital, the Grand National Assembly and the General Staff bomb was detonated next to a car.
March 31, 2016: Diyarbakir	7 dead, 27 injured The explosion hit a police vehicle near a busy bus terminal. PKK claimed responsibility for the attack.
March 20, 2016: İstiklal Street, Istanbul	5 dead, 6 injured A suicide bomber attacked a shopping area visited by many pedestrians. ISIS was held responsible for the attack.
March 13, 2016: Ankara	37 dead, 70 injured Vehicles caught fire in the explosion in the capital. TAK claims responsibility.
May 1, 2016: Gaziantep	2 dead, 22 injured A vehicle exploded near the city's central police station. The attackers also opened fire with automatic weapons. No one claimed the attack. ISIS has been held responsible.
May 10, 2016: Diyarbakir	3 dead, 45 injured An armoured vehicle carrying prisoners and police officers was attacked in the centre of the city. PKK claimed responsibility for the attack.
May 19, 2016: Gaziantep	A person suspected of being an ISIS member detonated a bomb on him during a police raid.
April 27, 2016: Bursa	13 injured A female suicide bomber is believed to have targeted worshipers in the city's Grand Mosque.
June 7, 2016: İstanbul	11 dead, 36 injured The explosion occurred at a subway station and TAK claimed responsibility.
June 8, 2016: Mardin	6 dead, 20 injured A bomb-laden vehicle exploded near the police station. PKK claimed responsibility for the attack.
June 13, 2016: Tunceli	9 injured The explosion occurred near a residential building in which the officers were living.
June 28, 2016: Istanbul, Atatürk airport	41 dead, 239 injured

	According to the allegations, the attackers tried to pass the "checkpoint" at the entrance to the airport. Thereupon, the security guards opened fire to neutralize the attackers, and the attackers detonated their explosives. No one claimed the attack.
August 18, 2016: Elazığ and Van	14 dead, 300 injured Kurdish fighters were suspected of detonating a series of bombs in the cities of Elazığ and Van, targeting security forces and resulting in deaths.
August 21, 2016:	50 dead, 90 injured According to Turkey's report, a suicide bomber exploded a bomb at a wedding south east of the city of Gaziantep. PKK was responsible for the explosions.
October 6, 2016: Hakkari	16 dead, 27 injured Hakkari in Turkey's east has detonated a car near a military checkpoint. PKK was held responsible for the incident.
November 4, 2016: İstanbul	9 dead, 100 injured ISIS claimed responsibility.
December 10, 2016: İstanbul	44 dead, 60 injured Two simultaneous bombings near Beşiktaş football stadium. TAK claimed responsibility for the attack.
January 1, 2017: İstanbul	39 dead, 69 injured People were shot at the Reina nightclub in the Bosphorus.
January 5, 2017: İzmir	2 dead, 11 injured Attackers detonated a vehicle opened fire ring in front of a courthouse in the city of İzmir in western Turkey. TAK claimed responsibility for the attack.

Source: Guardian, "Turkey Attacks: A Timeline", 18 February 2016, www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/18/turkey-attacks-a-timeline (10.01.2020)

Turkey has been the target of opposing countries for years due to its geopolitical and geostrategic importance. After World War II, with the replacement of direct wars by proxy wars, terrorist incidents began to occur in Turkey. Under the influence of the Cold War years, Communism-based terrorist organizations started to be established in Turkey. The Kurdistan Workers Party comes first among the terrorist organizations established in Turkey. Although

the PKK is an organization based on communism and Marxism, it is different from other Marxist and communist movements. The PKK is not seeking to seize control of the regime in Turkey to establish Communism or Marxism. The PKK's aim is to establish a new state within an area that covers the borders of Iran, Syria, and Turkey. In this respect, it is a separatist terrorist organization. In Turkey, not only Marxist-based terrorist organizations but also religious-based terrorist organizations have existed for years. But it has to be said that no other religiously based terrorist group has been able to do as much in Turkey as ISIS. The first terrorist activity carried out by ISIS in Turkey was the Reyhanlı Attack in 2013. 52 of our citizens lost their lives in this attack, and it was the second biggest terrorist attack in Turkey. On the basis of this incident, ISIS was declared a terrorist organization by the decision of the Council of Ministers dated September 30, 2013 and numbered 5428, and this decision was published in the Official Gazette on October 10, 2013. The first and biggest terrorist attack in the history of Turkey was also the Ankara Attack by ISIS. As mentioned before, Turkey has been the target of terrorist organizations for years, but the biggest terrorist attacks took place between 2015 and 2017. The majority of these terrorist incidents were committed by Isis and the PKK. ISIS is a terrorist organization established in Iraq and Damascus and is foreign to Turkey. The PKK is an organization whose management staff has stayed in Syria for years and which the Syrian government has repeatedly used against Turkey. We do not have any data on the direct use of Syrian asylum seekers in terrorist incidents between 2015 and 2017. However, it is certain that our border security has decreased with the Syrian refugee crisis and that there are two terrorist organizations (PKK and ISIS) targeting Turkey just beyond the border.

There is no evidence that Syrian refugees are more prone to crime than locals. However, the data in Kilis, one of the cities with the highest Syrian population, is interesting. Kilis is one of the cities affected by the massive wave of Syrian immigration. Therefore, the crime data of the Kilis Governorate Provincial Briefing is shown in the table below in order to examine the relationship between Syrian refugees and criminal organizations.

Table 3. Public Order Events in the City of Kilis - 2013

Type of Crime	Total Number of Crimes	Number of Crimes Committed by Syrians	Crime Rate Involving Syrians
Against Persons	1291	52	4.02

Against Assets	545	35	6.42
Others	707	14	1.98
TOTAL	2543	101	3.97

Source: Karatepe and Aktaş, 2017: 2148

Table 4. Public Order Events in the City of Kilis - 2014

Type of Crime	Total Number of Crimes	Number of Crimes Committed by Syrians	Crime Rate Involving Syrians
Against Persons	1391	379	27.25
Against Assets	618	155	25.08
Others	1.017	241	23.70
TOTAL	3026	775	25.61

Source: Karatepe and Aktaş, 2017: 2148

Table 5. Public Order Events in the City of Kilis - 2015

Type of Crime	Total Number of Crimes	Number of Crimes Committed by Syrians	Crime Rate Involving Syrians
Against Persons	1675	512	30.57
Against Assets	457	117	25.60
Others	1339	333	24.87
TOTAL	3471	962	27.71

Source: Karatepe and Aktaş, 2017: 2148

Syrian refugees were involved in a total of 101 crimes in 2013 and 775 crimes in 2014 in Kilis. In 2015, this number rised to 962. In 2014, there were 7 times as many crimes with Syrians as there were the year before. In 2015, there were about 30% more crimes involving Syrian refugees than there were in 2014. In addition to the tangible increase in public order incidents, the fact that some Syrian refugees, who have limited accommodation opportunities, tend to stay in common living areas such as parks, gardens, and mosques, draws the reaction of the local people and is likely to be a source of possible new public order incidents.

Table 6. Anti-Smuggling and Organized Crime (KOM) Statistics in the City of Kilis – 2014

Type of Crime	Number of Crimes in Province	Number of Crimes Committed by Turkish Citizens	Number of Crimes Committed by Syrians	Crime Rate Involving Syrians
Narcotic Crimes	188	176	12	10.17
Smuggling	453	261	192	42.38
Financial Crimes	61	28	33	54.11
Organized Crimes	5	4	1	20
TOTAL	707	469	238	33.66

Source: Karatepe and Aktaş, 2017: 2149

Table 7. Anti-Smuggling and Organized Crime (KOM) Statistics in the City of Kilis- 2015

Type of Crime	Number of Crimes in Province	Number of Crimes Committed by Turkish Citizens	Number of Crimes Committed by Syrians	Crime Rate Involving Syrians
Narcotic Crimes	240	219	21	8.75
Smuggling	307	129	178	57.98
Financial Crimes	119	57	62	52.10
Organized Crimes	10	7	3	30
TOTAL	676	412	264	39.05

Source: Karatepe and Aktaş, 2017: 2149

There are more simple security problems in the city, but there are also more smuggling and organized crimes. In 2014, Syrians were involved in 33.6% of all smuggling and organized crime cases. In 2015, that number rose to 39.05%. When the data on simple public order incidents and smuggling and organized crime in 2015 are analysed, the fact that qualified crimes (smuggling, financial crimes, etc.) are approximately 12 points higher indicates that Syrians are

more prone to qualified crimes in the city of Kilis. This makes Syrian refugees an important human resource for the mafia and other organized crime organizations.

The other important security issue raised by Syrian asylum seekers is that they are a human source for foreign intelligence agencies. Turkey has a very important geostrategic position. It is at the centre of Asia and Europe, and it also has borders with the Mediterranean Sea and Black Sea. During the Cold War, Turkey was one of the most important countries. The Soviet Union and the USA had plans to develop good relations with Turkey to enable them to establish their dominance in the Middle East. For this reason, Turkey has implemented a balance of power policy for years. This situation cannot be considered to have completely changed in the post-cold war period. Turkey is a target for the intelligence agencies of many countries because it is in a strategic place. Since 2011, over 5 million Syrians have crossed the Turkish border. Millions of registered and unregistered Syrians were let into the country without any security checks because the border was left open. It is thought that these Syrian citizens, who can speak many sub-dialects of Arabic and Kurdish, cannot be understood through intelligence activities such as listening. Because it is assumed that it is very difficult for the intelligence personnel in Turkish intelligence to understand these sub-dialects, Intelligence agents infiltrating the borders of Turkey with the Syrians may create an internal conflict by making the Turkish people provocative events through their members who appear to be Syrian citizens, or they may organize various criminal and terrorist organizations by organizing the Syrians.

2.3. The Concept of Human Security and the Impact of Syrian Asylum Seekers on Turkey

In the international relations system established after the Cold War, a belief began to spread that security problems were not only caused by relations between states. This situation cannot be explained by neo-liberal and realist theories that see the state as the main actor in international relations. The most important criticism of realism's understanding of security, which is state-centred and focused on military power, comes from the Copenhagen School. Here, it is argued that the concept of "securitization" and international security issues are not only material in nature and that they are built within a social structure. It can be said that the Copenhagen School has a connection with the concept of human security since it attaches importance to the protection of the identities of communities, which constitute an important dimension of human security (Balta, 2014: 251). In the same way, the constructivist theory says that international security threats are not only real, but that these "threats" can also be made by states. On the other hand, the constructivist approach emphasizes international norms and

argues that norms related to the law of war, human rights, women's rights, and environmental protection can find wide support in global politics. In this context, the constructivist theory is seen to be closely related to the concept of human security (Newman, 2001: 245).

The turning point in terms of the discussion of the concept of human security in the discipline of international relations and global politics was the Human Development Report published by the United Nations in 1994 (Hough, 2013: 7). While defining the concept of human security, the report focused on the problems people face in their daily lives. In this context, the UN stated that diseases, hunger, unemployment, crimes, social conflicts, political pressures, and environmental hazards pose a threat to people's safety (Erdem, 2016: 261). According to the report, there are seven basic components of human security: 1) Economic Security, 2) Food Security, 3) Health Security, 4) Environmental Security, 5) Individual Security, 6) Social Security, and 7) Political Security (UN, Human Development Report, 222-223). In this part of the study, Syrian refugees are analysed in the view of the Republic of Turkey's citizens' safety.

2.3.1. Financial Security

Migration is closely related to economic, political, social, and cultural life as it expresses the individual or mass displacement of people (Karpas, 2003: 8). Immigration not only creates many kinds of new relationships within the sending and receiving societies but also causes radical changes in the psychology, behaviour, and worldview of the people on both sides (Karpas, 2003:8). Different theories that try to explain why people move from one country to another focus on different parts of migration. Some migration theories try to explain migration in terms of its social and political effects. Other migration theories try to explain migration in terms of its economic causes and effects. In this context, World Systems Theory explains migration in an economic context. This theory says that international migration is caused by globalization and the way that strong capitalist economies move into weak ones to form a world system. World System theory names the countries in the world as the centre and the periphery according to the level of economic development. The concept of the centre represents developed countries and the concept of the periphery represents weak countries. This theory says that migration usually moves from the outside to the middle, even if it happens between countries on the outside in the short term. But at this point, political, social, economic, cultural, demographic, and other effects are sure to happen in both sending and receiving countries, no matter which way people move (Kostekci, 2017: 1760).

An important effect that occurs as a result of human movements experienced with migration is the change in population density in countries that emigrate and receive immigration. Even though the sending country's costs go down because its population density is going down, the receiving country's costs go up at this stage. In this situation, population growth in countries that accept immigrants means that more goods and services, like education, health care, infrastructure, housing, etc., need to be offered. This additional provision of goods and services puts pressure on public expenditures. In this context, the relationship between migration and public expenditures was analysed in the panel data analysis using data from 18 OECD countries for the period 1990–2001. Based on the results of this analysis, it was looked into how public spending affects both skilled and unskilled migration. It has been determined that while skilled migration causes lower public expenditures, unskilled migration causes more public expenditures (Mayr and Böheim, 2005). In another study, it was stated that migration increases public expenditures in the medium term (Furlanetto, 2017). In addition to this, other studies have also found that migration increases public expenditures (OECD Migration Policy Database, 2014; OECD International Migration Outlook, 2013). One of the most important studies showing the relationship between migration and public expenditures in Turkey is Ahmet Köstekçi and Abdülmenaf Akyıldız's article entitled "The Effect of External Migration on Public Expenditures in Turkey, An Econometric Research." According to this study, a one-unit increase in out-migration between 1985 and 2015 increased public expenditures by 1.29 units. Considering the millions of Syrians who have flocked to our country since 2011, the economic burden on Turkey in the context of public expenditures can be determined (Köstekçi, 2017: 1763).

Population growth is the main reason why migration hurts the economies of the countries that receive them. Due to population growth, social fixed capital investments such as housing, roads, schools, and hospitals are a necessity. This creates additional costs for states (Bayraklı, 2007: 43). But if the immigrants aren't educated and qualified, the country that takes them in will have to pay for a lot of things in the short term to bring up their human capital. Since the additional costs incurred require public expenditure, the expenditures become a burden on the state budget and thus cause budget deficits. Financing these budget deficits generally necessitates more borrowing (Yıldız, 2017: 1823). In Turkey, which is the country hosting the highest number of refugees in the world, it is estimated that 25 billion dollars are provided to Syrians by public institutions, non-governmental organizations, and citizens (Karatepe, 2017: 2146).

Another important effect of immigration in receiving countries is the labour market. As a result of the migration movements, the population increases in the receiving country, and a labour force surplus occurs. In addition, if immigration is not controlled, the number of unskilled immigrants in the receiving country will increase. As this situation provides the opportunity to work with lower wages, businesses may result in cheap labour and also unregistered labour employment (Muus, 2003: 5). Accordingly, a decrease in tax and social security revenues, deterioration in perfect competition as a result of variability in firm costs, loss of jobs and income for local people, and unemployment problems are inevitable results (Altunç, 2017: 201).

The key point affecting the relations between the host country and the asylum seekers in the refugee problem in Turkey is undoubtedly the existence of the economy. Turkey has spent huge amounts of money on refugees coming from Syria and made great efforts. In addition to Turkey, international organizations have also contributed to this tragic situation. However, the aid of Turkey and international organizations to the Syrians in Turkey has made the poor in Turkey unimportant. These problems are not only limited to government expenditures but also increase the demand for intense migration, affecting the economies of cities not one-way but two-way. In addition, it is obvious that craftsmen prefer Syrian refugees because they do the same work for lower wages, and thus they experience job loss (Sönmez, 2014: 12).

When you think about how the events in Syria have affected economic ties, it's clear that Turkey's business ties have gotten worse. Transportation issues have hampered trade through Syria to the Middle East and Gulf countries. For this reason, while the trade volume with Syria was 2 billion 297 million dollars in 2010, it was 1 billion 946 million dollars in 2011, and it decreased to 400 million dollars in the 8-month period of 2012. All these negative developments caused the socio-economic structure of the region to be changed miserably (Canyurt, 2015: 141). One of the biggest problems facing Syrian refugees is the problem of accommodation. Most refugees lack basic necessities such as clothing, blankets, and shoes. It is seen that the Syrians, who cannot find a place to shelter due to financial difficulties, spend the night in the parks. In fact, it has been observed that the children of some families are begging or earning a living by selling water. The biggest factor in the accommodation problem of Syrian refugees is the shortage of rent. It would be appropriate to say that Syrian refugees live in conditions of misery in a place where there is a high level of welfare (Yüksel, 2004: 9).

2.3.2. Food Safety

The definition of the United Nations' Committee on World Food Security is that *"all people, at all times, have physical, social, and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food that meets their food preferences and dietary needs for an active and healthy life."* Considering this definition, the main factors affecting food security are climate change, famine, economic depressions, a growing population, and high food inflation. In light of the above information, we can say that the flow of Syrian refugees has had many negative economic effects on Turkey. As of 2019, there were 3.6 million Syrian refugees in Turkey, and Syria had a population of more than 7 million people because of high birth rates and undocumented migration. This means that more food is being eaten in Turkey. Turkey's food prices are going up every day because there are more people who want to eat and because of bad food policies, such as a lack of government incentives, high costs for farming, and high taxes. This situation makes it difficult for Turkish citizens to access the clean, hygienic, and healthy food they prefer.

2.3.3. Health Security

According to the World Health Organization, "health security is a concept that encompasses activities and measures across sovereign boundaries that mitigate public health incidents to ensure the health of populations (World Health Organization, 19 March 2020). Basically, health security means providing a minimum level of protection from diseases and unhealthy lifestyles. The most basic factor that will ensure this is that an ordinary person can easily access the mechanisms by which a disease problem can be overcome. These factors can be listed as access to a doctor, access to medicine, and social security. In order to determine the effects of Syrian asylum seekers on the Turkish health system, it must be determined: 1) whether any disease has spread through Syrian refugees, and 2) the effects of Syrian refugees on the Turkish health system should be examined.

Savan Günay says that, as of 2015, approximately 1.8 million of the 4.5 million Syrian refugees who came to Turkey are unvaccinated. He stated that this situation changed Turkey's vaccination map and that some diseases not seen in Turkey were returning. Savan says that hand-foot disease, which appears to be 1% under the age of 10 in Turkey, has increased by 100% and has started to appear at a rate of 2%. He also said that Syrian immigrants also come from the West Bank and Gaza, where measles is intense in that region and this disease will resurface in Turkey (Cumhuriyet, 06.03.2022). Another disease threat that can be caused by Syrian refugees emerged during the fight against COVID-19. With the release of the COVID-

19 vaccine, the Ministry of Health, which has vaccinated millions of Turkish citizens very quickly, has not announced any sanctions or programs regarding unregistered Syrians. There is no information on how many of the millions of Syrians are vaccinated or how many are unvaccinated. One of the most important pillars in the fight against the disease is community immunity and vaccination. Unvaccinated refugees are always a health risk and a threat.

Another impact on Syrian refugees' health security is the financial burden they will place on the Turkish healthcare system. The Turkish Healthcare System is based on the idea of a "Social State," which comes from the Republic of Turkey's Constitution. In Turkey, the state provides compulsory health insurance to every employee. Workers working in Turkey pay a part of their salaries to the Republic of Turkey as a premium and benefit from health services free of charge or at very low wages. Syrian refugees under temporary protection in Turkey also benefit from free health services. The costs that Syrian refugees put on the health system are actually paid for by a fund made up of the premiums that employees pay for the health care of Turkish citizens. Özcan Demir, Bahar Görgün and Ayşe Oktay carried out the most effective study to find this cost on a sample they created in the province of Elazığ. They are based on 2016 data in this study.

"According to 2016 data, the population of Elazig provincuzue is 578.789 and the number of insured persons in Elazig province is 58.757. The total SSI health expenses are 29.597.092 TL. Using this data, the health expense per insured ($37,597,092/58,757$) is 639.9 TL per person. When the health costs per person caused by people moving to Elazig province are added up, the situation becomes clearer. The number of immigrants in Elazig province is 6310. In 2016 Elazig province immigrant health expenditures were 2,190,567. As a result, the health expenditure per immigrant ($2,190,567/6310$) is 347.1 TL. If the number of dependents of an insured in Elazig is 4.6, $4.6 \times 58.757 = 270.282$ is the total number of people benefiting from SGK services. When we divide the amount spent on health care by the number of employees who use SGK services ($37,597,092/268,298$), we get a cost of 140.1 TL per person for SGK. Here is the result: While the health expenditure per immigrant in Elazig province is 347.1 TL, the health expenditure per citizen is 140.1 TL. "Health expenditure per immigrant

is approximately 2.47 times the number of working people benefiting from normal SSI services." (Demir, 2017: 1890).

Based on this study, Elazig is not a very dense city in terms of the number of immigrants. Considering the provinces where Syrian refugees live heavily, such as Hatay, Gaziantep, and Urfa, the effect of immigrants on insurance expenditures and patients will be better understood. In cities where Syrian refugees live heavily, local people have difficulty accessing health services and seriously strain the state's health services capacity.

2.3.4. Environmental Security

Today, there are many environmental problems: ozone depletion, climate change/global warming, desertification, pollution of the oceans, droughts, erosion, forest fires, destruction of forests, pollution of the oceans, reduction of animal and plant diversity, air pollution, acid rain, shrinkage of drinking water resources, ecosystem destruction, environmental damage caused by nuclear material tests, environmental damage caused by civil and military activities, floods, hurricanes, and tornadoes (Graeger, 1996: 110). Natural disasters like floods, droughts, and hurricanes are causing more and more damage and deaths all over the world.

When looking at how environmental problems affect people's safety, it's important to think about what the state can do. In countries with weak states and low governance capacity, environmental problems involve very high risks (Barnett and Adger, 2007: 647). Environmental disasters also cause more losses in underdeveloped and poor countries where the state administration is weak. When the state system works well in developed countries, early warning systems for environmental disasters, ways to adapt to them, and ways to lessen their effects are set up much better. This lowers the risk of environmental security problems that affect human security.

It would be unfair to say that the Syrian refugees coming to Turkey are causing an environmental disaster. But, as Barnett and Adger said, the risk that the state may be insufficient to prevent environmental security problems is undeniable because it forces the capacity of the state. The generated waste is undoubtedly another pillar of environmental safety. The sudden arrival of millions of Syrian refugees within the borders of Turkey has undoubtedly forced the waste management of cities. It means millions of tons of additional burden on the world's wild storage areas, which are insufficient, especially in metropolitan cities. From Harran University, Hakkı Gülşen and Brahim Yenigün did the most important research on this topic.

According to this study, the amount of garbage per person was calculated as 320 g/day for Turks and 342 g/day for Syrian asylum seekers. In addition, it has been observed that these refugees generally use open and finished packages to meet their daily needs, and plastic packaging waste is concentrated. The threat of plastic waste to environmental health is well known to everyone. (Gülşen and Yenigün, 2020:1370). When the amount of waste produced by a Syrian refugee per capita, which is 342 grams, is multiplied by the total number of Syrian refugees, which is 3,754,591, (multeciler.org.tr, 28.04.2022), an increase of approximately 1201,469 tons of additional garbage per day is obtained. In this case, the waste management plans of the Republic of Turkey should be revised again. There is a lack of infrastructure and environmental threats.

2.3.5. Personal Security

Individual security, with its simplest definition, is the protection of people from the violence of the state to which they are bound by citizenship, other states, individuals, or groups (Human Development Report 1994). The concept of human security has been expanding in terms of content since the post-Cold War era (Krause and Williams, 2011: 92). Human security primarily refers to the state of being free from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and oppression. In addition, all kinds of dangers that people may encounter at home, at work, or in the community can be the subject of human or community safety. Human security can be used to evaluate threats, especially those that developing countries face, like mass migration, epidemics, poverty, inter-communal conflicts, development problems, unemployment, the arms trade, a lack of education, and the exploitation of women and children (Ilgaz, 2017: 557).

In the post-Cold War period, the perception of security in international relations has expanded. Now the concept of security has gone far beyond defending a country's own lands against the armies of other countries. People can be completely safe now if they avoid things like economic collapse, political repression, famine, overpopulation, historical separations, war, internal conflicts, regional and national conflicts, terrorism, organized crime, epidemics, smuggling, and money laundering. Threats and phenomena of this nature pose a greater threat to states than ever before, affecting national and international order (Booth, 2003: 59). Since the priorities of states or international actors during the Cold War were realized within the framework of purposes such as military power, defence, or armament, the international system and the actors of the system mostly focused on the threats within the framework of the classical security approach, such as the attack of a country on another country. For this reason, these threats, which have become more visible and changed from today, have always existed as a secondary

threat. The decrease in interstate tensions after the Cold War caused the actors to turn to the secondary threats of the period, in other words, the new threats of today, and these new threats, which are not of military origin, started to take on a more dominant role from the security perspective (Marchesin, 2003: 423). In the last quarter century, the world's security problems have changed dramatically. In fact, the end of the Cold War did not put an end to the conflicts, but it did highlight the need for a new global defence strategy (Narlı, 2002: 10). It has only changed the sources of conflicts (Ifantis, 2002: 103).

According to the human security perspective, one of the most important elements that can violate the rights and freedoms of individuals is the state, or rather state forces. People's rights can be broken by law enforcement and other public officials whose job it is to protect the safety of the state's own citizens. In this case, there is a violation of rights and freedoms by the state, which is responsible for securing and protecting rights and freedoms. In an area where the individual and the state come face-to-face, there is an inequality between the powers. In this case, it is imperative that the individual be protected against the state in order not to encounter further violations or even to destroy the most basic rights of the individual (Özbudun, 1977: 267). On the other hand, actually threats to states indirectly affect the individual as well. These global threats have the potential to affect communities or individuals living on a particular piece of land more than the state as an intangible entity. International migration is another thing that directly puts people's safety at risk and indirectly puts people's safety at risk by making states less powerful.

Due to globalization, there is a lot of movement and openness between the borders of national states and the borders of global society. This openness also has an effect on what happens when human rights are broken. States that don't build their national security on the security of each individual become a source of insecurity in the international system. The wars that emerged as a result of the deterioration of internal peace; ethnic conflicts fuelled by violations of minority rights; the aggressive attitudes of states towards the outside; and the mass migration waves caused by all these are the dominant phenomena that threaten global peace. So, when it comes to protecting basic rights and freedoms, there is a positive chain effect between individual security, national security, and global security. One of the biggest threats to individual security today is the refugee crisis that erupted after the Arab Spring (Aksu and Turhan, 2012: 72). As we mentioned in the sections above, the protests that increased as a result of Muhammad Bouazizi's self-immolation due to problems such as unemployment, political corruption,

freedom of expression, and poor living conditions spread not only to Tunisia but to all Arab countries. These protests became known as the Arab Spring. It destabilized countries such as Libya, Tunisia, Egypt, and Syria. Civil war and conflict have spread to almost all Middle Eastern countries. The conflicts in these countries were usually between the Ba'ath Parties, which can be described as secular and dictatorial, and the Muslim Brotherhood (Ihvanel-Muslim), which defined themselves as moderate Islamists or democratic Islamists. Although the Ihvan seized power with a revolution in some places, it lost it again. In terms of regimes, not much has changed in those countries, but a wave of immigration has begun that will change the world. It can be said that the countries most affected by these internal conflicts were Syria and Turkey. As a result of years of internal conflict in Syria, millions of Syrian refugees flocked to the Turkish border.

According to the data of the International Organization for Migration, there are 3.9 million refugees in Turkey. About 3.6 million of them are Syrian refugees. In order to evaluate the potential threat of Syrian refugees to individual security, it is necessary to examine the relationship between crime and migration. There is a multifaceted relationship between immigration and crime rates, and the direction and quality of this relationship are affected by many factors. There are a lot of young men in immigrant groups and they don't have high levels of education. There are also cultural conflicts between immigrants and people who have lived there for a long time; crime and employment problems in the areas where immigrants settled; and the negative effects of assimilation.

This topic was discussed in the section titled "Immigrants' Possible Interactions with Terrorist Organizations, Criminal Networks, and Intelligence Services of Countries of Origin". It was stated that although Syrian refugees have a lower rate of public order crimes than Turks, they have a higher rate of organized crimes, which may mean that they tend to form criminal organizations. It has been determined that there are higher organized crime records, especially in places where the Syrian refugee population is high, such as Kilis, Hatay, and Gaziantep.

In addition, crime and harassment incidents involving Afghan and Syrian refugees, which started in March 2022 and spread rapidly on social media, were added. Every day, on the social media called TikTok, harassing images of young children or women allegedly published by Afghan asylum seekers are served. Such criminal acts are perhaps carried out by very few of the refugees. There is no statistical or scientific information on this subject. But the image of an asylum seeker in the minds of Turkish people has been affected in a negative way.

2.3.6. Social Security

The concept of "national security" is key to the entire field of security, but paradoxically, the nation as a unit of security has been little studied. The political and institutional unit – the state – and thus the political and military sectors became the focus. If the focus is on the nation, another sector comes into the picture, the social sector. The main concept in the social sector is identity. If a community defines a development or potential situation as a threat to its very existence, it means that social distrust has occurred (Waever, 2008: 153). From this point of view, the definition of social security is "the defence of an identity or community against a perceived threat." In this respect, the reference point of social security is not the military and political structures that make up the state, but the collective identities (Hisarlioğlu, 2019: 1).

The effect of migration on social security is basically a matter of identity conflict. People in countries subject to mass migration may be invaded by immigrants or lose their cultural characteristics. The people in the receiving country will no longer be the same as before. Because of the change in the structure of the population, the people in the receiving country will be different. Of course, the threat of migration to social security is not a short-term threat. It is estimated that the rate of Syrian refugees will increase significantly due to the high birth rates and the number of Syrian refugees is approaching 4 million. Hatay Metropolitan Municipality Mayor Lütfü Savaş said that the number of Syrian refugees in some neighborhoods in Hatay is more than the Turks in the live broadcast of the TekeTek programme on HaberTurk channel on March 22, 2022. It is understood from the statements of Lütfü Savaş that the Syrian population in some parts of Hatay today is more than the Turkish population. In addition, it is reflected in the press that many workplaces only hang signs in Arabic in the districts of Hatay, Kilis, Gaziantep, and even Istanbul, where Syrian refugees live heavily. This is perceived as a social security and identity threat for Turkish citizens.

2.3.7. Political Safety

It is the last title in the 1994 Human Development Report that talks about "Human Security." Political security is the protection of individuals from political pressures, systemic violence, human rights violations, and threats from militarization in order to ensure human security. Is the existence of Syrian refugees a direct political threat? This topic can be discussed. The state always tends to protect its own existence. While protecting its own survival, some human rights violations have occurred. The relationship between migration and political security is predicted to depend on whether mass migration will create a perception of security. In the case of an

increase in threats such as the civil war threats mentioned in the sections above and the increase in terrorist and criminal organizations, the state may see Syrian refugees as a domestic security threat in the medium term. In this case, it may cause some human rights violations.

2.4. Security Perception of Syrian Asylum Seekers and the Risk of Internal Conflict

American psychologist Abraham Maslow built a theory called the Hierarchy of Needs in 1943. Maslow categorizes the requirements under five headings:

- Physiological needs (breathing, food, water, sexuality, sleep, healthy metabolism, excretion)
- The need for security (safety of body, work, resources, morals, family, health, and property)
- The need for belonging, love, affection (friendship, family, sexual intimacy).
- Self-esteem needs (self-esteem, self-confidence, achievement, respect for others, being respected by others) (Maslow, 1943: 370–396).
- Self – actualization (morality, spontaneity, non-prejudice, creativity, problem solving, acceptance of truth)

Maslow placed the need for security at the second level in the hierarchy of psychological needs in humans. In the first step, eating, drinking water, sleeping, etc., are basic physiological needs. According to Maslow, after these physiological needs comes the need for a safe environment. As we can understand from Maslow, feeling safe is one of the most basic human needs. It is not possible to predict what people or society will do if they feel threatened. If we look at it from the perspective of individual security, not community security, when people face danger, they take two basic actions: either fight or flee. In the previous sections, we analysed some of the main threats to Turkish citizens and the Turkish state by Syrian refugees. So, how is this perception of security among people living in the Republic of Turkey? Do people feel insecure because of Syrian refugees?

One of the most important studies on the security perception of Syrians among Turkish citizens is Hakan Ömer Tunca's doctoral thesis. According to a survey conducted in Gaziantep and Balıkesir, Turks largely see Syrian refugees as a security threat. Turkish citizens generally

thought that Syrian asylum seekers would be involved in crime, individually or organizationally; that they would increase unemployment because they created cheap labour; corruption; harm their family unity; and disrupt the political balance (Tunca, 2020: 148-149).

There are other studies, including the perception of Syrian refugees by Turks. Important public opinion research companies in Turkey also have many studies on this subject. One of these studies belongs to Aksoy Research Company. Aksoy Research conducted a Syrian Policy survey in July 2021. The survey he conducted was at the 95% confidence interval. The margin of error of the sample is 3%. The survey consists of 1067 telephone interviews. For Turkey representative gender, NUTS1 region distribution was used. According to a survey on Syrian policy done by Aksoy Research, 58.4% of Turkish people said that necessary contacts should be made with Syria and refugees should be safely sent back to their home countries. 34.3% of Turkish people said that Syrian refugees should be sent back to their own countries against their will. Only 7.3% of the respondents said that integration policies should be emphasized for Syrian refugees in order to continue their lives in Turkey from now on. . One question of Aksoy Research was "How would it affect you if a Syrian family settled in your next apartment?" 30.1% of respondents said it was very disturbing. 28.4% of the participants found it disturbing. The rate of those who did not find this disturbing was only 16.3%. Another important indicator of the survey is that 46.9% of the participants said that they would be uncomfortable if their children were friends with Syrian children. In August 2021, another research company called Metropoll did a survey of the public. The results showed that 81.7% of Turkish people thought that Syrian immigrants should go back to Syria.

It has been clearly seen in the field studies of survey companies and academics that Turkish citizens have difficulties adapting to Syrians. Turks see Syrian refugees as a security threat and argue that they should return to their country. The spread of Syrians, not in tent cities but in cities as a result of open border policies, added to this. So, millions of Syrians in cities couldn't meet their most basic needs, like having a place to live and food to eat. This puts a strain on the state's ability to provide services. This increased the incompatibility of the parties. As a result, we saw dozens of clashes in the media (Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 9 Jan 2022; CNNTurk, 27.05.2022.). People think that if these differences and social events get worse, it could lead to more conflicts.

2.5. Shifting Turkey's Syrian Refugee Policies Away from Open Borders and Toward Security

A power vacuum has emerged in the Turkish border region in northern Syria after the civil war that started in 2011. The Turkish government of the time was involved in the internal affairs of Syria with the intention of taking advantage of the power vacuum in Syria. The AK Party government developed a bond with the Syrian opposition due to the Ottoman rule in this geography. This support has advanced to such an extent that President Erdogan compared the Free Syrian Army (FSA) to the Kuvay-i Milliye (Turkish National Forces in Independency War) in 2018 (Cumhuriyet, 04.11.2022). Erdogan had said in 2012, exactly one year after the Syrian civil war, that he would pray at the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus and embrace his Syrian brothers (Hürriyet, 27.05.2022). In this situation, a religious bond was made with the civilians who were fleeing the war, and a relationship between the Ansar and the muhajir grew. The FSA weakened the Assad regime but failed to overthrow it. The resulting power vacuum has further strengthened terrorist organizations such as Islamist terrorist organization Isis and the PKK's Syrian branch, PYD-YPG.

With the intensification of the civil war and the rise of terrorist organizations, the Syrian refugee crisis broke out. Since 2011, millions of Syrians have flocked to the Turkish border in order to use them as a transit country on their way to Europe or by seeing them directly as a destination country. The dominant force on the Syrian side of the border where Syrian immigrants enter Turkey is usually the PYD-YPG, the Syrian branch of the PKK terrorist organization, or the jihadist terrorist organization, ISIS. In the above sections, the vulnerabilities of terrorism, which are formed or may occur because of this, the tendency of Syrian immigrants to be involved in crime, and the potential threats they pose in terms of social, political, and individual security have been identified. Due to the threats and public pressure, there have been some changes in Turkey's policy regarding Syrian refugees. In particular, the military operations in Syria and the wall built on the Syrian-Turkish border do not coincide with the open border policies.

2.5.1. Concrete Wall Construction on the Hatay-Yayladağ-Syrian Border

In January 2016, the construction of a concrete wall began on the Syrian border in the Yayladağ district of Hatay. The project was financed by the relevant governorates and the Mass Housing and Public Partnership Administration (a government agency). Each of the walls weighs 7 tons, is 2 meters wide and 4 meters high, with 3 meters of concrete and 1 meter of wire mesh. In the

wall, watchtower, patrol road, reinforced mesh wire, lighting systems, active border troops, air and land surveillance with balloons, UAV and mobile armoured vehicles, acoustic sensors, remote controlled weapon systems, laser destroyer weapons, automatic detection software, and other components. It has many technological components (Aljazeera, May 28, 2022). In addition, there are unmanned and manned towers to integrate reconnaissance and surveillance systems and all the living units to meet all human needs in these manned towers. 564 km of the wall's construction was completed on June 9, 2018. The entire 837 km wall is expected to be completed by 2021 (Cumhuriyet, 11.12.2021).

2.5.2. Operation Euphrates Shield of Turkey in Syria

Taking advantage of the power vacuum experienced by the effect of the civil war in Syria, the terrorist organizations continued their rapid progress, and this situation reached a point that threatened Turkey's interests and security (Bayezit, 2016: 85). The fact that Turkey's border with ISIS has reached a hundred kilometres and that there are people who are Turkish citizens and who may return to their country from within ISIS are some of the main reasons for Turkey to engage in a tight fight against ISIS. Turkey collaborated with the international coalition in the fight against DAESH and participated in air operations (Aral, 2017: 6).

It can be said that the Jet Crisis with Russia is among the main reasons for Turkey's perception of the threat from the power vacuum created as a result of the changing balances in Syria and the main reason for the stagnation in taking action despite this. As it is known, on November 24, 2015, the Russian jet continued its flight by violating the borders of Turkey. In accordance with the rules of engagement, Turkish forces intervened and shot down the Russian jet, and the relations between Turkey and Russia, which gained positive momentum after the 2000s, came to the breaking point (Yeltin and Işık: 2017: 47).

The relations, which had come to the breaking point in general terms, were also similar to the Syria issue. Because Russia controlled Syria's airspace. In this case, it was a situation that made it harder for Turkey to use its air power in a possible operation across the border. After a tense seven-month process, relations with Russia became normal again, with Turkey taking a step. During this time, Putin's call to President Erdogan for condolences due to the bloody action carried out by DAESH at Ataturk Airport in June 2016 completely normalized relations (Ulutaş and Duran, 2016: 18). In fact, right after the failed coup in Turkey on July 15, Russia showed its support for the Turkish government and did a lot to help things get back to normal.

The normalization process with Russia has also created a new opportunity for Turkey's cross-border operations and its fight against ISIS.

Changes in threat perceptions both inside and outside the country have caused Turkey to follow active policies in the field. DAESH's increasing terrorist acts within the country's borders, provocative attitudes from the border, and the fact that DAESH and YPG extend into a corridor along the Turkish border have mobilized Turkey (Yeltin, 2018: 208–210).

On August 24, 2016, Turkey started the Euphrates Shield Operation together with the Free Syrian Army (FSA) units, basing it on the United Nations (UN) Article 51 and prioritizing its "right to self-defence." Thus, after the 1974 Cyprus Peace Operation, Turkey organized a cross-border operation for the second time. Political instability in Syria increased even more with the Arab Spring that started and then ISIS became active, first in Iraq and then in Syria. The operation has three main objectives:

1. to clear ISIS from its own border area,
2. to destroy all terrorist elements on the border line,
3. and to make the areas evacuated from terrorist organizations "safe zones" and allow the refugees in their country to settle in those areas (Ulutaş and Duran, 2016: 21).

In a short period of about seven months, Turkey cleared the border line of ISIS terrorists and increased the security depth of its southern border to 40 kilometres. In addition, an area of two thousand square meters was cleared of terrorists throughout the operation. The part of the operation that dealt with ISIS ended, and Operation Euphrates Shield's follow-up operations kept fighting against PYD/YPG (Ulutaş and Duran, 2017: 25).

As a result, it has been understood that after the Syrian civil war, the weakening of the Syrian government, the terrorist groups targeting Turkey, becoming a resident force on the Turkish border, and the entry of millions of Syrian refugees from that region into our country created a security weakness for Turkey. Turkey initially followed open border policies. Nearly 4 million Syrian refugees have entered our country. Later, a change was seen in Turkey's asylum policy. Turkey first decided to build an 837-kilometer border to HatayYayladağ in order to stop the refugees. It can be thought that the Turkish government intends to slow down, control, and even stop the influx of immigration that comes with it. Second, Turkey did the Euphrates Shield Operation to get rid of terrorist groups in northern Syria and give Syrian refugees who were

living in that area a place to live in Turkey. Even though it's good to find security threats and take steps to stop them, it's clear that neither of these things stopped the "Syrian refugee crisis." Despite the fact that the construction of the wall has been completed, Syrian refugees still pass easily across the Turkish border. Immigrants could not be settled in the region that was cleared of ISIS with the Euphrates Shield. To turn this region into a place to receive 4 million refugees is to establish a city as the size of Izmir. Turkey will not be able to meet the financial burden that this creates.

CHAPTER 3: FIELD STUDY ON DETECTION OF SECURITY THREATS POSED BY SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS

In the first part of this study, the migration wave that started with the Syrian civil war and Turkey's open border policies were evaluated. After the Syrian civil war that started in 2011, the costs of nearly 4 million refugees that came to Turkey for the Turkish economy and the security threats they pose on issues such as terrorist threats, criminal threats, individual security, social security, political security, health security, etc. have been determined by case analysis and literature review techniques. In this section, open-ended questions were directed to security experts, intelligence experts, and terrorism experts working in Turkey, and their answers were analysed.

3.1. Research Purpose and Importance

In this study, the influx of Syrian refugees from 2011 to the present and the security risks that this influx may pose are examined. Although migration has been very popular topic for a long time, Turkey is a country that has just faced immigration. It has been studied by many researchers in academia. Although most of these migration studies generally focus on the integration of Syrian refugees, there are also those who see it as a security threat. Those who see this as a security threat have generally determined the current situation based on crime statistics. This study differs from other studies by revealing potential threats. Also, other studies analyze how people thought security threats affected the economic burden of Syrian refugees. This study, on the other hand, presents a more holistic view, including the human resources they could provide to terrorist organizations, including economic threats, the increase in terrorist and criminal incidents, demographic threats, and internal conflict risks. Interviews were conducted with a number of experts, including bureaucrats who are retired or working in the security bureaucracy, immigration experts, and bureaucrats who are retired or working in

security intelligence, by using semi-structured interview techniques, and the potential threats posed by the Syrian refugee crisis were revealed, accompanied by the answers to the questions asked.

The aim of this research is to examine the effects of millions of asylum seekers who flocked to Turkey due to the Syrian civil war in 2011 on Turkey's economy, terrorism, and security, to reveal potential threats and, as a result of interviews with bureaucrats and experts in terrorism, intelligence, and security, to detect all security threats that could occur.

3.2. The Sample of Research

The thesis study's sample consists of intelligence and security experts from the police and military bureaucracies in the metropolitan provinces. The sample of the research presented in the thesis study consists of intelligence, counter-terrorism, and security experts from the police and military bureaucracy in the metropolitan cities who voluntarily agreed to participate in the research. Since the security issues that are the subject of the thesis and the questions to be asked of the interviewees are security issues that concern the whole of Turkey, no geographical restrictions were determined in the selection of the sample. Opinions were received from bureaucrats and retired experts who worked in various parts of Turkey during their tenure, especially in the border regions. The information on the participants in the study is presented in the table below.

Table 8: Information of the Participants in the Study

Participants	Job	Profession
PRC1	Retired police manager	Crime
PRC2	Retired police manager	Crime
PRC3	Retired police manager	Crime
PRC4	Retired police manager	Crime
PT1	Senior manager at a police department	Counter Terrorism
PT2	From a police department	Counter Terrorism
S1	General	Counter Terrorism, Border Security

PC1	Senior Manager at a police department	Organized Crime, smuggling, terrorism.
PC2	From a police department	Crime
PC3	From a police department	Crime
PRI	Retiredsenior manager at police department	Intelligence

In the interviews, verbal and written answers were received from the participants. To protect the privacy of the people who are taking part, the institutions they work for are not listed. Likewise, no information was given to reveal their identities, and they were given nicknames. In the nomenclature, the letter "P" means that the participant is a policeman, and the letter "S" means that he is a soldier. The letter "R" has been added to retired personnel. Finally, the letter "C" was added to those whose area of expertise was crime; the letter "T" to those whose area of expertise was combating terrorism; and the letter "I" to those whose area of expertise was intelligence.

3.3. Data Collection and Analysis Methods of Research

For the thesis study, most of the people who were contacted were security experts and authorized people from the security bureaucracy. After that, the people who volunteered to take part in the study at the designated institutions were asked detailed questions that had been prepared ahead of time. The answers to the questions asked were shortened in writing and kept in notes; then they were made into a meaningful whole and transferred to the computer environment. A semi-structured interview technique, one of the qualitative research methods, was used in the interviews. The datasets obtained in the study were analysed by the descriptive analysis method. This method can be explained as summarizing the data by figuring out what it means based on templates that have already been made. In this method, frequent quotations are made from the people interviewed. The reason for giving more space to quotations is to include comments by reflecting the views of the interviewees. The data collected in this direction are clearly described within a specific system, and then the cause-effect relationships are provided by examining and explaining (Biricikoğlu and Yalınzoğlu, 2018: 269).

Interviews in the study were carried out between December 22nd, 2021 and April 2nd, 2022. Within the scope of the study, the interviews were asked 7 questions. The questions asked in

the study will be written and the data obtained from the interview will be added under the questions and interpreted.

1. What do you think about integration and assimilation policies? Is it possible for the Syrian refugees in Turkey who are getting temporary protection to fit in?

PRC1: "I think integration is possible."

PRC2: "I think that the correct definition of integration and assimilation and the examination of how many immigration-receiving states (EU countries, USA, Canada, England, etc.) implement these policies will be evaluated more easily by comparing them with the situation in Turkey."

"Integration is preserving the religious, cultural, and historical values it came from, blending them and harmonizing them with the socio-cultural structure of the country of refuge, contributing to these values without conflict." Assimilation, on the other hand, is to become alive by forgetting, dissolving, and even destroying values such as language, religion, moral culture, etc. Because, while Western developed countries mainly support integration policies, immigrants and asylum seekers may choose to assimilate knowingly or unknowingly. This issue can be researched scientifically. Integration and assimilation work for Syrian refugees is, of course, possible in line with the political decisions and interests of organs such as the authorized Ministries of the State, the National Security Council, and universities. However, whether the country's interests require it or not is a separate research topic, and it is open to debate whether it is successful or a good thing, especially in assimilation. It would be appropriate to examine it with historical examples from around the world. "

PRC3: "Considering the large wave that came, the Syrians adapted quite quickly, except for minor incidents. I think this is due to the Sunni Muslims of the incoming population and their kinship relations in the Ottoman period. After 15-20 years, this population gradually learns Turkish well and integrates into the system. Most of those who come will not go. If this population is better integrated, it becomes a win. "

PRC4: "After the civil war in Syria, the civilian population in the country had to leave their country, as is known." They had to live by immigrating to both neighbouring countries and European countries. As it is known, Syria is a country of Arab culture and is quite foreign to European living standards. In order to adapt to the living standards of the countries they have

migrated to, countries primarily provide aid to integrate them into their own cultures, which we see especially in our country. However, integration is not very possible in other countries. "Assimilation, on the other hand, means adapting to a target country by completely changing the cultural structure and adapting to the culture of the target country; it is a phenomenon that brings the state's interest to the fore, and its benefits or harms should be evaluated in the decision organs of the country."

PT1: "Migration as a phenomenon of social mobility is as old as human history." Since ancient times, people have experienced natural disasters, religion, poverty, wars, conflicts, etc. They migrated from one place to another for various reasons. Since ancient times, people have migrated from one place to another for various reasons, such as natural disasters, religion, poverty, wars and conflicts. In this context, our country is the scene of national and international migration movements in a position that receives, sends and is a transit route. The effect of the phenomenon of out-migration was felt with the Arab Revolution process that started in Tunisia in March 2011. With the start of a civil war and the spread of social movements calling for change in Arab countries to Syria, it grew in size and scope. As the conflicts dragged on, people had to take refuge in neighbouring countries in droves to save their lives. "Turkey was also affected by the conflicts."

"There are countries that have a single culture with a unipolar population. But in this age of more cooperation and communication, countries with people from many different backgrounds are common. While these countries reflect multiculturalism with the majority culture as being the culture of the majority population, the immigrants coming to the country represent minority cultures. There are two separate processes for minorities to become like the majority. These processes are called assimilation and integration. Although there are some who see these processes as the same, there are slight differences between them. "

"Integration is a two-way process that is influenced by both cultures and changes slightly to accept the minority culture into the majority culture. It is a process by which people of minority culture must accept the laws and ways of the host country without sacrificing their own laws and ways. This happens by making changes in both cultures. However, it is possible in a situation where there is no sense of contrast between the two cultures and they both accommodate each other's views in order to live harmoniously together. Integration is a process in which minority cultures take something from the majority culture and become part of the majority culture, which retains its identity. "

“Assimilation is the process of introducing minority communities into the views and thoughts of the majority society in a multicultural society. This is an absorption that takes place in a one-way direction because minority communities require that they learn the customs and traditions of the majority community and either renounce their own community or make the majority community acceptable. Assimilation has become a dirty word in some ways, as members of a minority culture want to give up some aspects of their own culture to adopt the ways of the majority culture to be accepted by the majority community. Thus, assimilation becomes a process in which the ethnic minority loses some of its features and adopts some of the features of the majority so that it appears as a majority community. ”

“As for the integration or assimilation of Syrian refugees, I argue that they should be integrated into Turkish culture. Assimilation seems like a dirty word, but in fact, assimilation means complete integration. Unfortunately, this is not possible due to differences such as language, sect, and cultural belonging between the two communities. For the integration of Syrian refugees, a more controlled entry into the country should have been made. It may be too late for this. But wherever the loss is returned, it is profit. If their integration cannot be achieved, conflict will be inevitable in future generations. ”

PT2: "For people residing in our country under the scope of international or temporary protection, there are three ways to survive. This includes being returned to their home country, being resettled in a third country, and finally being integrated into society. If people do not accept or cannot provide the first and second options, their integration into the target country is an essential issue for the peace and tranquillity of both themselves and the society they live in. For this reason, necessary conditions should be provided for the integration of refugees.

S1: "In today's world, I think that assimilation policies are outdated and useless practices." Integration policies, on the other hand, should be managed in a controlled manner by making detailed, careful, and accurate plans. Because even if states and societies do not want geographical structure, conjuncture, etc., for these reasons, they may be compelled to observe this integration policy.

"It may not be correct to say purely assimilation or pure integration for Syrians. Some of the people we call Syrians are also Turkish. They speak Turkish (Bayirbucak Turkmens). When the French declared the railway passing through the Ottoman lands as the border between Turkey and Syria and by this way they established Syrian State artificially, many people who

were living as relatives suddenly became people of different countries. The other part is usually Arabs. As much as the assimilation or integration between the southeast and the west of our country is mentioned or how this issue is managed (if it happens), I think that this policy (if any) is valid for the people we call Syrians. In other words, I think that the integration and assimilation policies of Turks who went to Germany should not be in the same formula as the harmony and life of the Turkmen and Arabs we call Syrians in our country. If we don't look at it this way, we will at least marginalize these people who consider themselves Turkish, speak Turkish, and have been forcibly displaced, and I think the real problem arises here. "

PC1: "The majority of the Syrian refugees under temporary protection in our country have a very low level of education, and they have language (communication) problems with a small number of educated people. Also, there are big differences between Syrian refugees and people who live in our country when it comes to social and cultural traits, traditions, and adapting to modern life. If there is a comparison between the citizens of our country and these refugees in terms of development and modern thinking, there is a difference of almost 40-50 years, and this is a factor that makes the integration of the refugees, who are far behind us in every respect, very difficult. "

PC2: "I support the integration and partial assimilation processes due to the problems that intercommunal cultural differences may cause while living together. I think that the studies on Syrian refugees are successful to a certain extent for now, but the real results will emerge after a longer period of time. "

PC3: "To give information about the integration process in general, we can state it as a two-way process in which the rights and responsibilities of the citizens of a particular country and the host communities are based on reciprocity and the full participation of the migrant is foreseen." Integration is generally thought of as a balance of rights and obligations, and when we look at integration policies, it is a concept that we will consider with a holistic approach that includes all dimensions of integration, including economic, social, political, and cultural diversity. We can perceive the integration process as bidirectional. This reciprocity also highlights the importance of social ties formed between migrants, refugees, asylum seekers and other members of the host society. "

"In a world that is becoming more globalized, especially in the Middle East, people are moving to other parts of the world because of internal conflict caused by the balance of power and

regional dominance. This is especially when it is considered in Syria, which is in our southern region. For example, the process of integrating Syrian refugees often comes to the fore in Turkey, where most of the refugees have resided. The population of Syrians under temporary protection in Turkey is approximately 3 million, and around three hundred thousand of them are sheltered in temporary shelter centres (camps), and the rest are sheltered in areas outside the camps by their own means. When we evaluate the effects on the Turkish economy in terms of the integration of Syrians under temporary protection, it is seen that they also make positive contributions to the economies of the places where they are located with their assets. It is also seen that there are some deficiencies and problems in integration. In particular, the ongoing organized crime networks in Turkey can easily deceive the weakest group of society, the Syrians. Along with mass migration, it also causes some threats to our border security. This is how we can specify the integration process with its positive and negative aspects. "

PRI: "I find integration policies generally necessary." If a country has immigrants, the immigrant community must adapt as much as possible to the country's own national society. I do not favour assimilation. What I understand from assimilation is that the assimilated society ignores its own values. The migrating community can also keep its own values within itself. But it should not be contrary to the understanding of the nation-state. It should adapt to the basic values of society. Otherwise, conflicts will arise between the two communities. This will put the security of society in a difficult situation. Due to the open border policies implemented by Turkey, millions of unregistered immigrants have come to the country. Most of them did not receive an education. Considering the differences such as language, sect, and culture between the two societies, integration seems a bit difficult. "

In the section where the conceptual framework was established, it is discussed that mass migrations and the acculturation process that occurred after mass migrations. It was stated that integration and assimilation developed as two natural consequences of acculturation. Then, the necessary conditions for ensuring integration and assimilation were put forward. Finally, the difficulties of integration and assimilation of Syrian refugees were mentioned, and the obstacles were revealed. In the first question of the field study, it has been targeted to understand how security experts look at these integration and assimilation processes.

All the participants of the interview said that integration policies need to be prepared so sensitive that new immigrants don't become a security risk in the future. While the number of people who see the integration of Syrian refugees into the country as possible is four, the number of people

who consider it impossible has reached five. In addition, two participants mentioned that there are great obstacles to integration, although they did not say that it is impossible.

One of those who saw integration as possible gave a short answer, saying "integration is possible" and did not make a statement. He refused to explain. Two of those who thought integration was possible emphasized that they were both former Ottoman lands and Sunni Muslims. One of them even claimed that most of the visitors were Turkish and that they were Turkish-speaking. Studies have shown that most of the visitors do not know Turkish and even have difficulties in learning Turkish. One of these studies was examined on page 29. One of those who advocated the integration of asylum seekers argued that policies should be developed by taking the example of EU countries, Canada, the USA, and England. He stated that the integration of asylum seekers is possible with the participation of ministries, the National Security Council, and universities in this policy process.

Those who say that integration is not possible, on the contrary to those who say that it is possible, give similar reasons. Participants who said it couldn't happen pointed to differences in language, how hard it is for Syrian Arabs to learn Turkish, and cultural differences between the two groups. One of the participants said that Turkish culture adapts to western values, and another said that refugees who come to Turkey don't have enough education. According to those who argue that integration is not possible, another reason is that the Syrian refugee community is an uneducated mass. They also drew attention to sectarian problems. People who said integration wasn't possible also said that this would be a big security risk in the medium and long term. Apart from these, two participants also stated that integration is very difficult. Those who stated that integration was difficult gave the same reasons as those who said that integration was impossible. They also said that if integration is not provided, it will cause huge security problems.

2. Does this great wave of migration that Turkey has experienced strain the capacity of the state? What do you think about this?

PRC1: "It is clear that 4 million people pose an additional burden in terms of housing, health, education, and work and strain the capacity of the state."

"Although we do not have data on the budget and refugees, as far as we can see from news sites and social media, it is challenging." The fact that we see the Syrians, with whom we are

accustomed to living together, visible in society and at every corner, is proof that the state is pushing its capacity. This means that a problem that is bigger than the state's power has now spread to the people and is affecting our daily lives.

"Syrians may be pushing the capacity of the state. However, thanks to this, very important resources come from EU and UN funds and it has become an important part of Turkish foreign policy. We could have experienced the economic crisis we are experiencing today much more severely. As a result of Turkish foreign policy's use of this Trump card, we live more lightly. In other words, the answer to this question is that while pushing the state capacity, it also has economic and political benefits."

PRC4: "Immigrant countries experience problems arising from cultural differences between their own citizens and immigrants and the difficulties of economic life." Since the state's opportunities have to be shared in a way that isn't typical, priorities come to the fore and cause problems. This inevitably causes problems between citizens and immigrants, and these problems have negative repercussions on politicians and senior managers. "

PT1: "Asylum seekers usually rely on the border of the neighbour they can reach the quickest. This is what happened to Turkey. Millions of Syrians ran away from the bombing by the government and went to the border with Turkey. Turkey has accepted these refugees into its country with its "open border" policies. Although the "open border policy" is thought to be a human duty that sounds good at first, if this crisis is prolonged or not resolved, this time the target countries will become victims of this policy. This is exactly what is seen in Turkey now. The Syrian refugees that Turkey has reached out to have become a financial, political, and social burden."

PT2: "Along with the immigration wave, many grants from the EU and the UN have come to our country. With this support, refugees are provided with in-kind and cash support, adaptation studies, and employment-oriented support, and many agencies work in this direction with external resources and personnel serving asylum seekers. At the same time, considering the per capita income level, Turkey ranks first among the world countries in terms of humanitarian aid, and all its resources are open to the use of asylum seekers."

"Of course, this wave of immigration has brought an additional burden to our country. However, if there is a fire in your neighbourhood and your house is relatively safe, the

neighbours will inevitably want to take shelter in your house. This is the fate of those who want to live in that neighbourhood. All you have to do is help put out the fire. "

PC1: "This great wave of migration puts a strain on the capacity of our state, both economically and socially." In particular, all the countries of the world, including us, are going through very difficult times due to the economic bottleneck they are in. Considering all these costs that the refugees have placed on us, it is clear that the capacities of our state have been put under great strain. "

"It is obvious that this migration wave is a serious economic burden both for Turkey and other countries that receive immigration, but I do not think that it is large enough to force the state capacity alone."

"Of course, there are many problems regarding the Syrian refugees, whose number reaches 3 million. However, it turns out that most of the prejudices against them are not related to real problems. Our state provides all kinds of needs; support, protection, social security, etc. that may arise in this sense, with all necessary legal institutions and organizations against all kinds of immigration wave events in our country. It has done all the necessary research on the problems and has shown that it can be put into place. 85% of the Syrians, who are under temporary protection in Turkey and have an important place in the migration wave, continue their lives in our cities as a part of daily life. In this case, it is necessary to establish a fair, effective, and fast protection mechanism other than safe housing. "Immigration administrations, municipalities, and security organizations in our cities related to the subject reduce this burden by taking the necessary steps both to ensure urban security and to provide all kinds of burdens that these citizens can bring to our state."

PRI: "Millions of Syrian refugees have entered the country due to open border policies." Many of these are spread over cities. It is obvious that they place a burden on the urban infrastructure. In addition, according to what we follow on television and social media, it has brought some burdens on the health system. They strained the capacity of the state."

Due to the open border policies, Syrian refugees have spread into the city instead of tent cities. This has created a burden on municipalities, health institutions, and the city's infrastructure. It is also questionable about security. Because millions of unidentified people are begging on the

streets and sleeping in the parks in the city centres. In this part of the study, security experts were asked whether these Syrian refugees were pushing the capacity of the state.

Eight of the participants said that the Syrian refugees were a big problem for the state and that the state was already at full capacity. All of the participants, who stated that the Syrians were pushing the capacity of the state, stated that the needs of the Syrian refugees, such as health, education, and employment, had to be met by the state, and as a result, a serious economic burden occurred. One of the participants argued that the positive discrimination provided to Syrian refugees would cause tension between the two communities. He stated that this would cause problems in terms of security in the future. According to some participants, refugees will bring not only economic but also social and political burdens. One of the participants said that the state's security units are pushing their capacity and that there are millions of unidentified people on the streets.

Three of the participants stated that the refugees did not push the capacity of the state. All three of the participants who support this idea agree that it costs money. Two of them claim that the aid from the UN and the EU is sufficient and this burden is met from there. Another one states that the state has the capacity to meet this burden with its own means.

3. Do you think the Syrian refugees in Turkey constitute a human resource for the terrorist organizations (DAESH, PKK) in the source country? What do you think about the intense terrorist attacks that started with the 2015 Diyarbakir explosion and ended with the terror attack in Izmir in 2017, due to the decrease in border security due to open border policies?

PRC1: "It is possible for Syrian refugees to support terrorist organizations in our country. However, not all refugees can be approached in this way. "

"If there is such a policy, I'm not sure if the open border policy has been well calibrated and evaluated, and what consequences it may have. Each asylum seeker entering the country's borders should have a separate identity, number, tracking record, etc. A follow-up mechanism should also be established for asylum seekers, similar to the residence registration of Turkish citizens based on population."

PRC3: "There are also a significant number of terrorists among the attendees." However, if there is no intelligence weakness, they are immediately detected. If members of terrorist

organizations are going to go somewhere, they will go anyway. Getting involved in these convoys made the job easier. However, these are not inevitable things.”

PRC4: "I believe that asylum seekers who leave their own lands due to internal turmoil in their countries will not constitute a source for terrorist organizations. Because people who abandon their property, their own culture, and their own lands by ignoring them are not in a position to pursue an ideal. However, it is also a fact that people have some weaknesses (money, family, honour, morality, etc.). If these remain at the forefront, people can be used by nature. "

PT1: "One of the biggest fears of local people is that they feel open to terrorist attacks." I think that there may be people among the Syrians who want to provoke or punish Turkey. It is thought that there may be members of Isis or PKK members among the incoming refugees. This situation has caused fear in the border regions (Şanlıurfa, Kilis, etc.), where the Syrian refugee population resides heavily. Cases in court or terrorist acts that involve Syrians will have a huge effect on how all Syrians see themselves. It is useful to monitor carefully, as this may bring with it greater security risks.”

“Although it is normal for terrorist organizations, which are an important threat to national security, to see asylum seekers as human resources, this is a situation that can be kept under control with internationally planned policies. At the same time, keeping the border controls flexible due to the open border policy that Turkey has followed for Syrian refugees creates a security gap. Terrorists can take advantage of this situation and try to enter the country in the guise of a civilian refugee and take action. "

S1: "Terrorism is not a new phenomenon for us. Before that, ASALA and other organizations of various sizes existed, and before 2015, we experienced many sad terrorist incidents within the borders of our country. It would not be right to say that the Syrians have arrived and the terror has increased, but since terror can use any means ruthlessly and unscrupulously, it may have tried to take advantage of the Syrians' entry into our country. "

PC1: "The open border policy is a very risky element, especially in our geography, and it is definitely not the right method for our national security." As it creates human resources for terrorist organizations, it is a dangerous method that can lead to terrorist infiltration into our country from these terror-provoking countries. Therefore, border security should be ensured in

the highest way and this understanding of security should not be abandoned or loosened under any circumstances. "

PC2: "Of course, it has created a serious human resource for these organizations in Turkey, but it has shown us that this open border policy is not unsuccessful or harmful, but that this policy, like all other methods, has advantages and disadvantages."

PC3: "When it comes to the Syrian refugees in Turkey, the people in the area, especially those who live in our provinces close to the Syrian border, face serious security risks for many reasons. The people of the region are primarily in a position to be directly affected by the chemical attacks carried out or to be carried out by the Syrian administration, as well as be the direct target of the conflicts in the regions close to the border. Bullets bouncing off the clashes that took place just a few kilometres from the border pose a serious threat to the people of the region. So, the fact that terrorist groups like ISIS and PKK/PYD/YPG are doing well in places close to the Turkish border makes people in our country feel like they could be attacked by terrorists. Similar concerns also affect those who migrated to our country from Syria and were not involved in any crime or organization. "

"In terms of recruitment of personnel by terrorist organizations, it is seen that, especially in the suburbs of urban areas where Syrian individuals have migrated, organizations (DAES/PKK) have a certain opportunity to recruit for youth organizations, women's organizations, and urban structures. It is seen that Syrian refugees have gone through a radicalization process in the first place, especially in order to be used in terrorist acts. In this process, people who have the same idea in the country they came from, who are different from the general society, who act differently from the usual and who enter a radicalization process with fixed truths and certain beliefs are used in terrorist acts that are likely to take place in our big cities. When we evaluate it in terms of border security, Turkey has granted asylum seeker status in line with its open border policy, has opened its border to approximately 3 million Syrians and provided financial aid of more than 12 billion dollars. Syrian refugees are scattered in every province of Turkey, especially in the border provinces with Syria. The migration of Syrian refugees to Turkey, where they see as the most reliable place, has had a significant impact on Turkey's border security. In addition, it has caused some problems in terms of security in domestic politics and brought some dangers to Turkey in foreign policy. "

PRI: "It would not be correct to say that incoming Syrian refugees create human resources for terrorist organizations." But it cannot be said that the members of the terrorist organization did not enter the country by taking advantage of the gap in border security. Terrorism is a problem that Turkey has been experiencing for more than 30 years. If we say that the reason is only Syrian refugees, the conflict between the two communities will deepen."

The PYD-YPG and ISIS terrorist organizations benefited the most from the power vacuum in northern Syria and south eastern Turkey. With the rise of ISIS, the Syrian branch of the PKK became legitimized by Western countries. There is no doubt that Turkey was most affected by this situation. Because Turkey is a country that is the target of both the PYD and YPG, which is seen as the Syrian branch of the PKK, and ISIS. Now, millions of people fleeing ISIS and PKK-controlled areas have flocked to the Turkish border. Due to open border policies, they were let into the country without having to do anything. In the conceptual framework part of the study, the increasing terrorist incidents since 2015 was examined. With the literature review and case analysis method, it was tried to determine that there is no connection between them and the Syrian refugees. In this part of the study, the opinions of security experts were sought.

On ten of the answers from experts, it was stated that Syrian refugees can provide terrorist groups with people to use and that terrorists can sneak into the country through weak border security. Only a retired intelligence officer stated that "Turkey has had a problem with terrorism for 30 years. It would be wrong to say that the Syrians have arrived and the terror has increased, that such thoughts will increase the tension between the two groups and this is a greater risk." In other questions about Syrian refugees, even the security experts who were more positive towards the refugees could not say that they would not create a security weakness in terms of terrorism.

- 4. What do you think about the possibility of spies working for the Syrian government and Syrian intelligence or other intelligence services entering Turkey due to the open border policies applied to Syrian refugees? Do you think the existence of 3.8 million Syrian refugees and almost 2 million unregistered Syrians constitutes a human resource for these intelligence organizations and spies?**

PRC1: "This possibility is always valid. There has been no action related to the Syrian government so far."

PRC2: "Absolutely, I agree." It can create human resources not only for Syrian intelligence but also for intelligence organizations such as Iran, Iraq, Russia, the USA, England, and Israel. Even if it wasn't like this before, it can be turned into an intelligence officer or an informant later, depending on the power of the financial means of the intelligence organizations. "

PRC3: "Intelligence workers, such as members of a terrorist organization, may have entered more easily." However, if there is no intelligence weakness, these are things that can be detected immediately and measures can be taken."

PRC4: "Due to the open border policy applied to Syrian refugees, intelligence agencies from both Syria and other countries can, of course, easily enter our country." However, this is eliminated by the structure of our institutions and the proper functioning of their employees. Even if you do not have an open border policy, foreign countries' intelligence always follows other countries. Taking counterintelligence measures and putting forward the same practices by our own country will be effective in solving problems."

PT1: "Our country is faced with strategic migration engineering being used as a war tool." The aim here is to weaken the country and make it open to foreign intervention. Many intelligence personnel can enter the country through the security gap created as a result of the "open border" policies. Of course, there is a possibility that these will take actions targeting Turkey. Although the incoming refugees are not directly intelligence personnel, they certainly do create a useful space for intelligence services. The services can carry out various operations on these asylum seekers by using their financial means."

"Although the possibility raised in the question always exists, as a precaution against this situation, the intelligence branches of the state should work more effectively and the issue should be addressed in a broader framework. At the same time, the work on unregistered refugees for the registration of refugees will be one of the moves that strengthen our hand against intelligence organizations and spies as a state."

S1: "Even if there is no open border policy, intelligence agencies and spies can legally enter other countries with any profession or title." I think they will not leave their business to such turmoil and chance. To think so would be to underestimate them for what they are. However, it is possible that they will evaluate this channel as they do in every other medium."

PCI: "The open border policy is definitely not a reliable method. Border security must be ensured at the highest level, otherwise it will not be possible to prevent terrorist infiltrations and control international spy formations." For the sake of the Turkish nation and our state, we have to register every asylum seeker who enters the country, not to allow suspicious profiles into the country, and to be very sensitive, careful, and selective at border crossings. "

"Of course, it creates a resource, but almost all countries already have an infrastructure to carry out espionage activities in all other countries, and serious studies are being carried out in this sense. I do not think that this group of asylum seekers, especially in the socio-economically low-level group, can create a serious weakness in this regard."

"Considering the activities of the active intelligence organizations in the world in the Middle East region and, in some cases, the economic, political, military, and sabotage activities in the region, it is seen that they may create some turmoil in the region, including Syria and Turkey, and in this sense, there could be officials working for the Syrian intelligence services who may enter Turkey. Especially in Middle Eastern countries, it is seen that some intelligence organizations have conducted some intelligence studies on the region by establishing and directing some organizational structures based on ethnic and sectarian foundations. It constitutes a resource for Syrians in terms of gaining this type of structure and organizations. In regions where security and democratic criteria are not widespread, participation in various country services can be made in this sense, and they are used as human resources. "

PRI: "Turkey, due to its geostrategic and geopolitical position, has always been the target of enemy countries and will continue to be." By using terrorist groups now and then, these countries are trying to take control of these countries. Although the intelligence services of many countries are targeting Turkey, Turkey is conducting the necessary espionage studies to counter this. Turkey's intelligence agencies are strong enough to deal with them."

The Anatolian lands, on which Turkey now stands, have drawn the attention of many civilizations due to their geopolitical importance. Many civilizations have been established and destroyed in these lands. For nearly a thousand years, there has been Turkish domination in these lands. But there have been many attacks, such as the Crusades and the Battle of Gallipoli, to expel the Turks from these lands. Because of Turkey's neutrality in the Second World War and the end of the conventional wars in the following period, there was no attack on these lands in the classical sense again. But it should not be forgotten that, as the Missile Crisis showed,

the dominant powers still have an interest in these lands. These imperial states, which we call sovereign powers, of course, carry out intelligence operations in order to protect their interests in these countries. In the fifth question of the interview conducted with security experts, it was questioned whether the refugees would create a useful basis for intelligence officers and the possibility of spies disguised as refugees crossing the border was raised.

Eight of the participants say that Syrian refugees caused a security weakness in intelligence. They say that open border policies make border security less strong, which is good for intelligence agencies. Due to our hostility toward Assad, Assad's intelligence forces may target us, as well as Iran, Iraq, Russia, the United States, England, and Israel. According to the PC-3, the problem is not only that enemy intelligence agents infiltrate the country through weak borders. But it was also formed in an environment where they could easily carry out political, economic, and military sabotage.

Those who gave negative answers to our question did not reject that the Syrian refugees would be used by the intelligence personnel or that the intelligence personnel would be able to infiltrate the border. What they argue is that the Turkish state will easily take the necessary measures. As with the question about the infiltration of terrorist group members, experts who generally had a positive view of Syrian refugees did not say that this would not be a problem for intelligence and security.

- 5. Do you think that the asylum seekers that live not in tent cities or immigration centres but rather spread to the streets of cities without any orientation process due to the Open Border policies, will establish criminal organizations and/or create human resources for existing criminal organizations because of cheap employment and difficulties in meeting the need for accommodation?**

PRC1: "It is certain that the Syrian refugees are not in very good conditions here." Therefore, it can be thought that some of them will be involved in some crimes. But it would be dangerous to generalize it. It deepens the dissonance between the two communities. This can turn into conflict over time. "

PRC2: "Absolutely, I agree." This is not only valid for Syrian refugees, but also for our own citizens. It is inevitable for such structures to occur in every country where financial means have deteriorated and basic vital needs cannot be met. "

“Syrians and other Afghani Iraqi people are cheap labour. These have devalued our country, where the workforce is already worthless. In this way, it has become easier for not only Syrians but also our unemployed people to get involved in criminal organizations. ”

PRC4: "Of course I agree." I would like to describe this with a proverb; "a hungry mouse pierces the wall." This, however, should not lead us to believe that only asylum seekers can join such criminal organizations. The own citizens of countries can also be accepted by such organizations due to the economic structure. "

"Life in the cities where Syrians migrate is getting harder and harder. The hopes of Syrian refugees, who were seen as intruders in the first place, to return home are weakening day by day due to the intensification of the crisis." The ability of host cities, which are weakly self-sufficient, to cope with such high numbers and maintain the support they provide to refugees is challenged. Since incoming immigrants have socio-political and cultural differences, many problems may arise in the process of adaptation to the cities. In addition, the economic and socio-cultural effects of migrations due to war and migrations for other reasons are very different.”

"Refugees living in cities continue their lives together in slums." First of all, this situation makes it harder to follow the rules, and in the medium to long term, it causes security problems. Also, the fact that they live in bad conditions makes it easy for all kinds of crime and violence to start and grow. It can be said that young people who have not received education, have a low income level, and experience identity crises due to the feeling of exclusion will be the source of many crimes in the future. If measures are not taken, these lost generations will soon form the human resources of the mafia, theft, gangs, and prostitution organizations. This means that new security risks will arise in the short term, even if they are not felt right now.”

PT2: "I don't know how accurate it would be to say that the Syrians, who spread to the cities without going through any orientation process, establish organizations because of the difficulties they experience in the process of meeting their basic needs, but it can create a human pool for the organizations that already exist in the source country." As Maslow mentioned in the hierarchy of needs, when physiological needs (food, water, shelter, sleep) are not met, the individual may be dragged into situations that s/he does not want to do and become usable.”

S1: "It is possible." Those who work cheap are our local business owners and our capital owners. They engage in opportunism, cause economic-social deterioration, and thus lay the groundwork for an environment that may cause turmoil. "

PC1: "If not in the short term, but in the long term, considering the education and lifestyle of these people, it is highly likely that they will be able to create human resources for criminal organizations and even establish criminal organizations over time."

PC2: "Yes, I see this as one of the most important problems." In cases where a sense of belonging is not formed in individuals who have not been integrated, the possibility of being a member of a group or an organization to define himself increases considerably, which makes both criminal organizations and terrorist organizations an attractive structure."

"It is seen that the majority of the immigrants who came to our country and settled throughout our provinces due to the open border policies, especially those who could not provide the integration process and could not meet their socio-economic needs, reside in the slums of our cities." Considering that criminal organizations also commit crimes, especially through people in slum areas, it is obvious that some Syrian immigrants have the potential to commit crimes. This can be explained by a case study. The Syrians living in the Basmane district of Izmir could not meet the necessary adaptation processes and socio-economic needs. It has been determined that they are ghettoized in this region and engaged in many illegal activities, including drug sales. This disrupts public order. Criminal organizations also see this as an opportunity. In the face of this situation, it continues its struggle against crime and criminal organizations by destroying these organizations, especially the police units, and by doing all kinds of security research and work in the regions where such disadvantaged groups are located."

PRI: "It is true that when a person cannot meet their basic needs, they can become involved in crime. But criminal organizations already exist in our country. Our security forces have the potential to deal with them. Although Syrian refugees are involved in crime, there is no data that shows that they are more disrupted than Turkish citizens. The real problem will be that we see them as a security threat and perpetrate all kinds of crimes and terrorist incidents on them. This is a risk on a scale that can create internal conflict. "

Due to the open border policies, nearly 4 million Syrian refugees flocked to the cities in Turkey. Almost all of them settled inside the city instead of tent or container cities. These millions of

refugees have fled from the harsh conditions of war. What kind of difficult conditions he experienced on the roads was shown on television for months. As soon as they come to Turkey, a warm home does not await them. Many Syrian refugees are seen in the streets, slums, and parks in Turkey. There is much debate about whether Syrians benefit fully from humanitarian services. It is unclear how these refugees, who cannot meet their basic human needs, will react to adverse conditions. In this part of the interview, security experts were asked about the criminal involvement of Syrians who could not meet their basic needs.

Ten of the participants stated that Syrian refugees are more useful to criminal organizations than local public. According to them, since Syrian refugees cannot meet their basic humanitarian needs, they can create human resources for criminal organizations and even establish new criminal organizations themselves. All of them stated that people have to meet their basic needs by nature. If people do not meet these needs through legitimate means, it is inevitable that they will resort to illegitimate means. While only the PRI acknowledged that those who cannot meet their basic humanitarian needs are prone to crime, he stated that there was no evidence that Syrian refugees commit more crimes than Turks.

6. What do you think about the social acceptance of Syrian refugees? From time to time, we see in the media that there are tensions with the local people in the regions where Syrian refugees live mostly. Do you think these tensions will intensify even more? What are your views on this matter?

PRC1: "Their employment as cheap labour increased unemployment. This leads to negative consequences in the working lives of our citizens. In addition, positive discrimination in matters such as health, education, and accommodation provided to asylum seekers has not been provided to Turkish citizens. This and similar reasons cause difficulties for Turks in accepting Syrians. "Social acceptance has not been established."

PRC2: "I think it is not generally accepted by society." There is a perception among people that "we can hardly fill our stomachs, and these things have happened to us." This is the main reason for the tensions. The intensification of these tensions is inversely proportional to the increase or decrease in the material livelihood standards of the predominant segment of society. If there is no livelihood problem among the people and if material welfare increases, tensions will not arise. But tensions rise if income and earnings-sharing are lost to the detriment of local residents and they become rivals. Considering the current economic situation, excessive

increases in inflation, electricity, fuel, natural gas, and basic food prices cause unrest in the middle and lower income groups. This will inevitably turn into a conflict in an economic sharing conflict with the Syrians. "

PRC3: "They will become increasingly integrated." One of the reasons for this is that the people of our country do not have a high standard of living anyway. In fact, there are very few conflicts when considering the Syrian population. Of course this is not a good thing. Conflicts like this should never happen. But they will gradually become integrated."

PRC4: "It is quite natural that asylum seekers are not accepted by the settled people. The resources and opportunities that a certain group can access will reveal the obligation to share them with new participants when they become available. I believe that this will cause unrest in a society living with scarce resources. "

PT1: "The most serious security risk likely to be posed by asylum seekers is a conflict with the local population." The local people's reaction can turn into a violent reaction with a provocation. Small examples of this are experienced in almost every border province. In the case of the continuation of the current process, it is possible that the events in Gaziantep and Kahramanmaraş in July 2014 will spread throughout the country. The most dangerous result of the local people's reactions is that the Syrian refugees feel the need to organize and ensure their own justice and security. Recently, the issue of joint action and organization to protect themselves has started to be discussed among Syrians. This will cause minor judicial incidents to turn into mass clashes. The organization of Syrians, on the other hand, draws the reaction of even the most tolerant section and causes the polarization of the two communities."

PT2: "Social acceptance of Syrian refugees is a process." From time to time, the conjuncture and economic fluctuations of the source country affect this phenomenon. Differences of opinion towards Syrian refugees in the society they live in can create tensions between the refugees and the local people. The micro, mezzo, and macro studies to be carried out during the harmonization process will show their results in the long run. Since these studies are not like instant crisis interventions, success should be done in a controlled and continuous manner in the long term. Tensions that will occur within the framework of the policies to be implemented can be kept under control, and greater internal conflict can be prevented. In addition, some groups from the local community oppose aid to Syrians. They think that a significant part of state resources are used by Syrian refugees. Their this idea increases their negative view of

asylum seekers. Authorized organs of the state should act more carefully in this regard and try to prevent these hate speeches that rise from time to time in the society. In addition, arranging training for the local people about the wrongs that are known to be true about refugees and healthy information exchange will contribute to the adaptation process. "

S1: "In this regard, I think that law enforcement and judicial officers should be very careful to analyse tensions and fights correctly." Because every event is special in itself. One party may be right, while the other may also be right. The principle of the personality of the crime should be taken into account, and whoever committed the crime should be punished."

PC1: "I certainly do not think that there will be harmony with the asylum seekers within the framework of the answers I have given in the above question titles." It is an inevitable necessity for all our national interests to send these people step by step to conflict-free places in their countries and to reduce the number of asylum seekers in the country to the minimum limit. "

PC2: "In particular, we have to see that some groups are trying to create problems between groups by scratching the sensitive points in society, and this also works. I see that the only way to overcome this is to create a basis of full integration and social tolerance."

PC3: "When we look at it in terms of social acceptance, it is seen that immigrants who come to our provinces on the Syrian border do not have many cultural problems in terms of language, ethnicity and sectarian in this sense, but there are some cultural problems in our other provinces, especially in the western regions." Among the Syrian immigrants, those who are interested in trade and those who come with a certain craft do not only contribute to the raw economy with the work they do but also do not create cultural and behavioural problems. However, it is seen that there may be adaptation problems for those who do not have a specific job in the active sense and who behave in a way that may cause problems in terms of security. These behavioural problems can be overcome by the implementation of various training and social activities by relevant institutions and organizations with the aim of adapting Syrian immigrants to our country's society. "

PRI: "The biggest current threat to Syrian refugees is the spread of violent street protests." For this, society, security organizations, and intelligence agencies need to be very careful. It should not be forgotten that the main issue that will create this problem is that Turks see Syrian refugees

as a security threat. There are many circles that create perception in this direction. I think they should pay attention to this. "

After the Syrian civil war, 4 million refugees who entered Turkey have spread to cities in Turkey. The possible security threats they may pose are examined. Various questions have been asked about this issue by security experts, and many security threats have been identified. In the conceptual framework, the security concerns in the minds of Turkish citizens and the image of Syrian refugees have been examined. Turkish citizens see Syrian refugees as a security threat. Syrians have begun to be seen as the cause of crime and terrorism. Turkish families believe that the Syrians will erode their family unity. In addition, some conflicts were observed in the provinces where Syrian refugees mostly live. In this part of the interview, the possibility of these conflicts deepening and leading to a civil war has been examined.

Seven of the participants say that social acceptance is impossible and cannot be established. PRC1 says that Syrian refugees increase unemployment, which creates discomfort in Turkish citizens and increases the feeling of hostility towards Syrian refugees. PRC2, on the other hand, says that high inflation and worsening economic conditions are forcing social acceptance. PRC4, on the other hand, take attention to human nature and generalized this situation. According to him, asylum seekers are not accepted by the local people because people do not want to share the resources and opportunities they have. While PT1 considers social acceptance impossible, he takes attention to the security threats it can create rather than its causes. PC1, PC2, and PC3, like others, say that social acceptance is impossible and this is because of the negative economic conditions caused by asylum seekers.

PRC3 and S1 of the participants have given closed answers. Instead of saying whether social cohesion is possible, PRC3 based it on a condition. Integration must be achieved only after social cohesion is achieved. S1, on the other hand, avoided answering the subject by saying "Legislators and justice personnel should be careful and punish criminals."

Only two of the participants state that social acceptance is achievable. A terrorism expert says that this is a very difficult process to achieve. According to him, this depends on the economic conjuncture. Economic conditions in Turkey are deteriorating. This complicates the process. However, he says, social cohesion is possible if integration is achieved and economic conditions are improved. A retired intelligence officer says social cohesion is possible. The real security

threat is the marginalization of Syrian asylum seekers and the securitization of them. If Turkish people imagine that they are security threats, tension between the two groups arises.

7. **In 1994, the UN introduced the concept of "human security." In a report published at that time, UN examined "human security" concept under 7 different headings. These titles are:**

1. **Economic security**
2. **food security,**
3. **Health security**
4. **environmental security,**
5. **individual security,**
6. **community security**
7. **Political security**

What do you think about whether there is a security problem for Syrian refugees and Turkish citizens from the perspective of "human security"?

PRC1: "Since the conditions for foreigners to stay in Turkey are not adequately regulated, citizens are somewhat uneasy about living with a stray foreign community. Therefore, they may not feel safe individually or as a society. Since it is thought to increase unemployment, it can be said that it also has effects on economic security. There is no data on the items other than these points. "

PRC2: "At this stage, I do not think that it has turned into a security problem yet." But it does not mean that it will not happen in the future, in the medium and long term. If economic deterioration fuels social conflicts and conflicts trigger individual and social hostilities, it can turn into a security problem at any moment with a spark."

PRC3: "In my opinion, our current system has lifted this burden and will continue to do so." However, the migration we give out of Turkey is a brain drain. Our qualified personnel go abroad. However, the migration we receive is unqualified migration. This is not the only reason. The reason for Turkey's brain drain is that the system does not give the deserved value to those who deserve it. The qualified labour force of Syrians can also find a place for themselves in the western system. The lowest-profile group of people comes to us because our system is not good. The Syrians are an additional burden because of this poor quality of departure, but it is not

possible to see it as the only reason. However, it can be said that human security is deteriorating in Turkey and the Syrian population is increasing it. "

PRC4: "As we mentioned in the first question, these topics put forward by the United Nations, as well as the issue of human security you drew attention to, depend on the successful execution of the integration process." This, like everything else, depends primarily on economic difficulties. If this is successfully resolved, I believe that integration can be achieved easily. "

PT1: "'Public order" is a constitutional title in most democratic countries. It outlines the formation and operation of the legal system, intelligence services, civil disaster units, and border control forces. In this context, security institutions ensure that the safety of the community and the rights of all citizens are respected. Human security will not be possible before the existence of the right to liberty and the precondition of being free from danger. Public order, with respect to both citizens' legal order and public institutions, as well as by protecting the legal interests and freedoms of citizens and ensuring social peace and order. Public order is also the biggest legal guarantee of human security. Because public order includes all legal norms that can make people feel the sense of trust they seek throughout their lives at home, at work and in the public sphere. All kinds of issues that make up the dynamics of society are within the scope of human security, and it is valid for the whole society, not for a single individual. If we think about it in this context, Syrian refugees have both damaged public order by pushing the borders of the state. In addition, public order was damaged because of the "open border" policies that were implemented, which disrupted border security. Of course, "human security" is also under threat where public order is disrupted."

PT2: "From the perspective of human security, as long as the refugees are kept under control, there will be no security problem and there will be no security weakness." The authorized institutions of the state in this regard (provincial immigration administrations, law enforcement officers, etc.) will develop existing control mechanisms in order to keep the developing order under control, and Syrian refugees will not be a threat within the framework of human security. "

S1: "No answer"

PC1: "Uncontrolled immigration of asylum seekers to our country is a security problem in terms of human security. It is obvious that these problems will increase if necessary measures are not taken."

PC2: "The stronger the states are in the economic sense, the more they can adopt a social state understanding that can provide more opportunities, but the increase in population density within the state causes a decrease in the opportunities provided by the state." This will threaten our economic security. If economic security is not ensured, security problems in other countries will emerge one by one. In summary, I think that the Syrian refugees will first deteriorate the economic security, and then there will be a "human security" problem."

PC3: "Various effects of Syrian refugees in terms of the concept of human security as stated by the UN are also seen in our country. Especially the economic aid given to the refugees has affected the economy of our country to a certain extent. In addition, all kinds of support have been given to them in terms of all kinds of food and beverage aids. In terms of social security, all kinds of health facilities have been provided with the documents given to them in state hospitals and health centres. There are some problems in terms of social and individual security regarding Syrian refugees who have the potential to commit crimes. In terms of political security, especially terrorist organizations should be prevented from using Syrian refugees in their crimes."

PRI: "No, there is no evidence that proves that Syrian asylum seekers create threats to environmental security or health security."

This study not only examines the security threats to the state but also the threats to the people in Turkey. Threats arising from Syrian asylum seekers for the state and for the people in Turkey are analysed in chapter 1, conceptual framework. These threats that can arise from Syrian asylum seekers are identified as terrorist attacks, establishing criminal organizations, internal conflict potentials, etc. In the section of 5.3., the effects of Syrian asylum seekers on the threats to "human security" are determined. And the potential effects of Syrian asylum seekers on economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, individual security, community security, and political security are described. In this part of the interview, security experts have been asked to examine the Syrian refugees from the UN's "human security" perspective and whether they would pose a threat in matters falling within the scope of "human security."

Seven of the participants state that Syrian refugees are a security threat to Turkish citizens in the context of "human security". Economic reasons are generally cited as the reason. They have stated that the Syrian refugees increase unemployment, and this draws the reaction of the local people. Other security threats are also developing accordingly. In addition, a retired crime expert takes attention to the difficulty of living with foreigners. He states that local people do not feel safe in places where there are many foreigners. He says that this creates the possibility of conflict between the two communities. Another participant draws attention to the low profile of asylum seekers. He states that people who are uneducated, poor, and come from the suburbs will be more prone to crime.

S1 of the participants did not want to answer the question and stated that he was not in his field of expertise as a reason. PT2 and PC2, on the other hand, argued that the state could control the immigrants with its institutions and said that there would be no such threat when they were under control. A retired intelligence expert stated that there is no such risk. Some people have said that asylum seekers did not have any effect on things like health and the safety of the environment.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In its simplest terms, globalization is an international integration process consisting of the exchange of products, ideas, and cultures (Al- Rodhan, Nayef and Stoutman 2006). As a result of this international integration process, an event in one corner of the world quickly affects the whole world. One of the most important events of the first quarter of the 21st century that has affected the world is undoubtedly the Arab Spring. The Arab Spring was a series of anti-government protests, uprisings, and armed riots in the Arab world that began in 2010. The Arab Spring emerged from the Arab people's demands for democracy, freedom, and human rights. It is a regional, social, and political-armed movement. There have been protests, rallies, demonstrations, and internal conflicts. The people have officially overthrown many Arab dictators under the name of freedom struggle. The Arab Spring emerged on December 17, 2010 as a result of the self-immolation of Tunisian Mohammed Bouazizi. There were nationwide protests following this action. These demonstrations, which started in Tunisia, quickly spread to many Arab countries, including Algeria, Lebanon, Jordan, Sudan, Oman, Yemen, Libya, Egypt, and Syria. This process, known as the Arab Spring, has had a heavy cost to these countries and their peoples.

The Arab Spring had the greatest impact, of course, on the Arab States of the Middle East region. However, due to the deterioration of security, peace, and trust in these countries, the people of this region desired to emigrate. They wanted to refugee in order to secure themselves. In particular, with the reflection of the conflicts in Syria in 2011 and the emergence of ISIS terrorism from the power vacuum in Syria, millions of Syrians fleeing from both Assad and terrorist organizations flocked to the Turkish border to cross into Europe. The revolts that started in the Arabian deserts have evolved into a refugee problem that has affected the whole world, especially Turkey.

In the period from 2011 to 2022, Turkey hosted 3.7 million Syrians under the name of "temporary protection status". Although Turkey is no stranger to the phenomenon of migration, it does not have the political experience to cope with such a large migration flow. Migration in Turkey traditionally represents Turks coming from the West. After the Ottoman Empire had lost the Balkan War, the Turks in the West began to return to the country. After the proclamation of the Republic, Turks in the Balkans migrated to Anatolia using the exchange method. The biggest wave of migration before the Syrian refugee crisis was another Turkish migration from the West. Between 1984 and 1989, 350 thousand Turks who escaped from Bulgaria's assimilation policies were admitted to Turkey. Another mass migration that Turkey received from outside the West came from Iraq after the Gulf War. Şırnak had had a population of 260,000 before Gulf War, an equal number of refugees came to Şırnak as a result of Gulf War. In the same period, more than 200,000 refugees came to Şırnak which had had a population of 170,000 (Kavak, 2013: 437). Of course, this was different from Turkey's return to the country of Turks living in the West. However, this migration was a very small scale migration compared to the Syrian migration. The migration that the Republic of Turkey has been exposed to since 2011 is different from other migrations. There has also been a massive migration. It also came from the Middle East in a way that Turkey has never experienced before.

The concept of "refugee" is based on the 1951 United Nations Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Legal Status of Refugees. A refugee is a group or person who is exposed to threats such as being persecuted or killed because of their racial, national, political, social or religious affiliation and migrates from one country to another. Two restrictions were imposed on this situation in the 1951 Convention. One is geographical and the other is a date constraint. In other words, for someone to be considered a refugee, the event must have occurred in Europe before 1951. With the additional protocol in

1967, the date restriction was completely removed. The geographical limitation has been removed optionally (for the countries party to the Protocol) according to Article 1/3 of the Protocol. Accordingly, the state parties have the opportunity to extend the geographical limitation to "events occurring outside Europe." Turkey has not lifted the geographical restriction. In the Convention, the countries of the Council of Europe are called "Europe". In this case, countries that do not remove the geographical restriction are not obliged to grant refugee status to asylum seekers who migrate to their countries due to events occurring outside Europe.

In this context, the legal status of Syrian refugees has been determined by national legislation. The first basic regulation at the legal level regarding asylum seekers in our country is the Law on Foreigners and International Protection dated 4.4.2013 and numbered 6458. Articles 61-102 of the Law govern international protection statutes. In this context, the law establishes four types of international protection status for foreigners who are outside their country of citizenship and cannot or do not want to benefit from that country's protection due to fear. These are:

- ✓ refugee,
- ✓ conditional refugee,
- ✓ secondary protection,
- ✓ and temporary protection.

Millions of asylum seekers who came to Turkey with a request for refuge have been granted "temporary protection status" and accepted into the country by applying "open border" policies. According to official figures, approximately 3.7 million Syrians entered the country from 2011 to 2022. This is one of the most comprehensive migration movements in world history. When there is a mass migration from one region to another, the acculturation process begins between the migrating community and the community in the receiving region. This acculturation process has two main results: integration and assimilation. As a result of the large numbers of Syrian refugees entering Turkey, a natural acculturation process has started, but the integration of Syrians is an extremely controversial issue. As a result of the literature review, case analysis, and semi-structured interview technique used in this study, it has been determined that it is difficult for Syrian refugees to enter the integration and assimilation process due to their national and religious identities. Most of the incoming refugees are Arabs. In addition, according to the studies on Syrians that analyzed on page 29 it is hard for them to learn Turkish

due to the structure of their language. When integration and assimilation are not possible, immigrants might become a security problem.

With the development of the scope of the security concept after the Cold War, "migration" has also started to be considered as a security issue. In this study, the Copenhagen School's "sectoral analysis" framework was used. Syrians are not just a risk for border security. They have permeated every aspect of society and have many problems with Turkish citizens. Here, state security cannot be mentioned only because Syrian refugees are also a threat in terms of social security and individual security. Therefore, classical theories that see only the state as an actor of security were insufficient to explain this study.

In this study, literature review, case analysis, and semi-structured interview techniques were carried out. As a result of the studies, potential security threats posed by Syrian refugees have been identified. With the Syrian civil war that started in 2011, terrorist organizations such as ISIS, PYD, and YPG benefited the most from the power vacuum in Syria. Taking advantage of this power vacuum, ISIS and the Syrian branch of the PKK, PYD, and YPG, dominated the regions close to Turkey's border. There is no longer a legitimate state on Turkey's Syrian border line, but there are terrorist organizations targeting Turkey as well. Approximately 4 million refugees have entered through the Turkish border since 2011. These asylum seekers enter the country through areas controlled by terrorist organizations. There are two main security problems arising from this. First, terrorists disguised as refugees can enter the country; second, terrorist organizations can use the vulnerability of normal asylum seekers. The path that a group or individual takes to seek refuge in a country is not an easy one. This community, whose many rights have been usurped in their own country, is also making a journey under difficult conditions. In addition, uncertainty awaits them in their new lives. This can make them prone to crime. People who cannot meet their basic human needs are more delinquent than well-to-do people. Many criminal organizations that want to take advantage of the economic weaknesses of Syrians can choose them as their staff. As a result of open border policies, there was a series of terrorist attacks that started with the 2015 Diyarbakir explosion and ended with the 2017 İzmir attack. All of these terrorist attacks were claimed by ISIS and the PKK. Before the Syrian crisis and open border policies, Turkey was unfamiliar with jihadist terrorist attacks. But as a result of the increasing terrorist incidents in 2015 and 2017, hundreds of Turkish citizens became victims of terrorism.

The only security problem that could arise is not the fact that Syrians create human resources for terrorist organizations or criminal organizations. This mass migration to which the Republic of Turkey was exposed is perhaps more effective than the mass migrations seen throughout history, except the migration of tribes. In a short period of 10 years, 4 million Syrians entered through the border. The birth rate of Syrian women is one of the highest in the world. This puts a serious strain on the service capacity of the state. Such a sudden population increase poses a threat to the cities that already have existing infrastructure problems. It has put Syrian refugees within the borders of the Republic of Turkey under "temporary protection status". Turkey is responsible for their basic needs such as health, shelter, and nutrition. The biggest effects of this have been observed in the health sector. Citizens who want to get health services wait in line more than before. There is also the case of Syrian refugees being employed as cheap labour. This could mean an economic threat to the citizens of the Republic of Turkey, who are already dealing with unemployment.

From this study, it has been determined that Syrian refugees could pose a security threat from the UN's "human security" perspective. The basis of the concept of human security is economic security. Syrian refugees have created a serious burden on the state budget. Turkey, which is already struggling with an economic crisis, cannot bear this burden. This, in turn, affects other aspects of human security. 4 million registered asylum seekers came to the country. Together with the unregistered, this figure is estimated to approach 7 million. Considering the high birth rates, many services, from access to cheap and clean food to health services, would be disrupted. As was said in the previous paragraphs, Syrian refugees can also be a potential source for criminal and terrorist groups, which is dangerous for individual security.

One of the most important security threats arising from Syrian refugees is the possible internal conflicts between Turkish citizens and Syrian refugee groups. There have already been some protests by Turks. If the use of Syrians in possible terrorist acts or involvement in crime is added to these, anti-Syrian opposition would increase and conflicts could intensify. Even now, it is clearly seen in the studies that the Turks see the Syrians as a major security threat. Unemployed Turkish youth see the use of Syrians as a cheap labour force as the reason for their unemployment. The studies carried out in places where Syrian refugees live have revealed the discomfort of Turkish citizens. This would increase the tension between the two sides.

In the field study part of this thesis, seven questions were asked to experts working in the field of security and intelligence or retired from these fields. The first of these questions was about

whether it was possible for the Syrian refugees who flocked to Turkey to integrate into Turkey. All of the participants stated that integration is necessary so that incoming immigrants do not pose a security threat. But only four of the participants said that integration is possible. On the other hand, five participants stated that integration was impossible. In addition, two participants said that while it is not impossible, there are huge obstacles for this to happen. One of those who says that integration is possible, only said "integration is possible". He makes no other explanation. The other two, who consider integration possible, cites Turkey's and Syrians historical ties as the reason. The reasons for these participants are that the Ottoman Empire ruled in Syria for many years and that both sides were Sunni Muslims. One of the participants states that most of the visitors are Turkish and speak Turkish very well.¹ Participants who said that integration is not possible also stated that there are sectarian differences between us and Syrian refugees.² Two participants, who say great obstacles to the integration of Syrians, also give similar reasons. But they do not say that their integration is impossible. All the participants, who say that integration is not possible, state that this can cause major security threats. The second question posing to the participants is about whether the great migration wave strain the capacity of the state. Eight of the participants say that the migration wave negatively affects the capacity of the state. As a justification, they show that the basic humanitarian needs of Syrians are met by the state of the Republic of Turkey. They say that Turkey's efforts to meet the needs of Syrian refugees, such as health, education and employment, is a great economic burden for the state. Three participants, who defend Syrian refugees do not strain the state capacity, say that the aid from the EU and the UN for Syrian refugees adequately covers this burden. One of the participants states that Turkish State has sufficient capacity and can host Syrians by using its own means.

Another question is about whether the incoming Syrian refugees create a human resource for terrorist organizations. To this question, ten of the participants say that Syrian refugees can create human resources for terrorist groups. They defend that the strong presence of terrorist organizations on the routes used by Syrians entering Turkey creates an opportunity for terrorists to disguise themselves as refugees. In addition, terrorist organizations can use them by using some of their weaknesses in normal asylum seekers. Only one of the participants says it is

¹Studies have shown that most of the visitors do not know Turkish and even have difficulties in learning Turkish. One of these studies is examined on page 29.

²Although both communities are Sunni, they have faith differences. Some of the Syrian Arabs come from the Salafist faith. In Anatolia, on the other hand, Maturidism is dominant.

wrong to say that. According to him, the real danger is to see the Syrians as a terrorist threat because it can cause social ruptures between these two communities and fuel the conflict.

The fourth question is about the possibility of spies working for the intelligence services of Syria or another state to infiltrate into Turkey due to open border policies, and whether 3.8 million registered and an estimated 2 million unregistered immigrants coming to the country can constitute an area for a tactical operation for the intelligence services. Eight of the participants state that Syrian refugees can create an intelligence vulnerability. They say open border policies weaken border security, which is good for other states' intelligence agencies. They also say that because of the hostile attitude towards Assad, Turkey is more likely to be the target of Assad's intelligence forces as well as Iran, Iraq, Russia, US, Britain, and Israel. According to the PC-3, "the problem is not only that enemy intelligence agents infiltrate the country through weak borders but it is also formed in an environment where they can easily carry out political, economic, and military sabotage." Those who do not see a big problem for intelligence threats do not reject that the Syrian refugees can be used by the intelligence personnel or that the intelligence personnel can be able to infiltrate the border. What they argue is that the Turkish state can easily take the necessary measures.

The fifth question is about the possibility of Syrian refugees to establish criminal organizations or to create human resources for existing criminal organizations due to the difficulties in meeting the need for cheap employment and accommodation, spreading to cities without any orientation process due to open border policies. Ten of the participants state that Syrian refugees are more useful for criminal organizations than local public. Because according to them, Syrian refugees cannot meet their basic humanitarian needs. So, they can create human resources for criminal organizations and even establish new criminal organizations themselves because people must meet their basic needs by nature. If people do not meet these needs through legitimate means, it is inevitable that they can try to illegitimate means. While only one acknowledges that those who cannot meet their basic humanitarian needs are prone to crime, he states that there was no evidence that Syrian refugees commit more crimes than Turks.

As the sixth question, the participants are asked about the social acceptance of Syrian refugees and the street protests in the provinces where refugees are densely populated. Seven of the participants defend that social acceptance is impossible. One says that Syrian refugees cause unemployment thus the Turkish citizens discomfort due to Syrians and hostility towards Syrians increase. The other one similarly says that the economic crisis, high inflation, and worsening

economic conditions force the social acceptance. The other participant generalizes this situation and he sees social acceptance as impossible because of human nature. According to him, human does not want to share his/her opportunities they have with foreign people. The other participants also see the source of problem as economic reasons. Only one counter terrorism expert see the source of problem as security threats such as terrorist attacks and criminal activities. Only two of the participants determine social acceptance as possible. A terrorism expert states that this is a very difficult process. According to him, this depends on the economic conditions. Economics of Turkey is deteriorating. Economic reasons complicate the process. However, he says, social cohesion is possible if economic conditions are improved. A retired intelligence officer says social cohesion is possible. The real security threat is the marginalization of Syrian asylum seekers and the securitization of them. If Turkish people imagine that they are security threats, tension between the two groups arises.

The seventh question of the research is related to the UN's concept of human security. Seven of the participants state that Syrian refugees are a security threat to Turkish citizens in the context of "human security". Economic reasons are generally cited as the reason. They have stated that the Syrian refugees increase unemployment, and this draws the reaction of the local people. Other security threats are also developing accordingly. In addition, a retired crime expert takes attention to the difficulty of living with foreigners. He states that local people do not feel safe in places where there are many foreigners. He says that this creates the possibility of conflict between the two communities. Another participant takes attention to the low profile of asylum seekers. He states that people who are uneducated, poor, and come from the suburbs will be more prone to crime.

Under the influence of the security threats and concerns listed above, the Turkish government developed two policies, both to stop the incoming migration and to protect itself from terrorist organizations on its border. One is a concrete wall built on the Hatay/Yayladağ-Syrian border, and the other is a cross-border operation called the Euphrates Shield. The goal of the wall was to stop irregular migration from Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, and mostly Syria. The aim of the Euphrates Shield operation is both to clear the border from terrorist groups and create a safe zone, establish a city there and settle the existing Syrian refugees there. The wall built on the border is not enough to stop immigration. People can cross the Turkish border with the stairs they bring to the borders. It seems that it is not possible to stop the migration movements in this way. The Euphrates Shield operation was partially successful. A buffer zone was created on the

Turkish border. However, it is not possible to establish a city there and settle the Syrian refugees in that region. According to official figures, the number of Syrian refugees is at least 4 million. This means establishing a large city on the Syrian border. Economically, it is hard for Turkey to afford this.

It is thought that the security threats created by the open border policies are also noticed by the Turkish Government. As a result, the Republic of Turkey took two measures. The first of these measures is the wall built on the Hatay - Yayladağ border. The other is the Euphrates Shield operation. With the construction of the wall, it was aimed to prevent the entry of unregistered migration. With the second, it was aimed to clear the terrorist organizations on the border line and to place Syrian refugees in the safe zone. The reasons why these attempts failed are given in the previous paragraph. Some recommendations are given below for solving the problems arising from this Syrian Refugee crisis.

- First of all, the root causes of the problem should be addressed. Border security should be strictly ensured with the help of border technologies. Not even a single person should be allowed to cross the border unregistered. Necessary military measures must be taken.
- Secondly, all undocumented immigrants in the country should be registered and their residences should be determined.
- Thirdly, those who violate the peace and order of the society and pose a security threat should be detected through intelligence and police measures and deported immediately.
- In the fourth step, diplomatic channels should be developed with the legitimate Syrian government for the extradition of those who are not involved in any crime. The civil war in Syria should be stopped using diplomatic channels and stability should be ensured there. Then, necessary humanitarian promises should be taken from the Syrian government and an international protocol should be assured.
- As the fifth and last step, International Organisation for Migration, human rights associations, UN, and global and regional powers such as EU, USA, Russia and Iran should be included in the process, and the refugees should be returned to their countries by protecting their safety of life and property.

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