State Security versus Human Security: Turkish Foreign Policy towards Syrian Refugees

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Submitted to the
Institute of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
International Relations

Eastern Mediterranean University
September 2017
Gazimağusa, North Cyprus

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ABSTRACT

Since the beginning of the Syrian civil war, a great number of Syrians have sought asylum in neighboring countries. An approximate number of 13.5 million people are in danger of displacement due to the conflict. At the time of writing, this thesis 6.3 million Syrian's were internally displaced and more than 4.9 million were seeking asylum in other countries. This makes the Syrian Refugee Crisis one of the biggest humanitarian crises of today's world. In this context, the debate over the hierarchy between state security and human security gains more significance.

The border between Syria and Turkey is about 822 kilometers long. Turkey accepted a substantial number of refugees (around 2.7 million) by advocating a human security discourse at the early stages of the conflict. The lack of proper vetting of refugees and the problems caused, or at least assumed to be caused by refugees led to a shift in Turkey's policy regarding refugees. Turkey shifted from a human security approach to the problem of refugees to a state security approach that gave dominance to Turkey's national security. This research is aimed at identifying and explaining the pattern that led to such a shift.

Keywords: Syrian crisis, refugees, human security, state security

ÖZ

Suriye iç savaşının başlangıcından bu yana, çok sayıda Suriyeli komşu ülkelerde sığınma talebinde bulundu. Çatışma nedeniyle yaklaşık 13.5 milyon insan yerinden olma tehlikesiyle karşı karşıyadır. Bu öneriyi yazarken, Suriye'nin 6,3 milyon Suriyeli yerinden edilmiş ve 4,9 milyondan fazla kişi diğer ülkelerde sığınma talep etmiştir. Bu durum, Suriye Mülteci Krizi'ni bugünün dünyanın en büyük insani krizlerinden biri haline getiriyor. Bu bağlamda, devlet güvenliği ile insan güvenliği arasındaki hiyerarşi tartışması daha da önem kazanmaktadır.

Suriye ile Türkiye arasındaki sınır 822 kilometre uzunluğundadır. Türkiye, çatışmaların başlarında bir insan güvenliği söylemini savunarak önemli miktarda mülteciyi (yaklaşık 2.7 milyon) kabul etmiştir. Mültecilerin doğru bir şekilde denetlenememesi ve en azından mültecilerin neden olduğu sorunların ortaya çıkması, Türkiye'nin mültecilerle ilgili politikasında bir değişime yol açmıştır. Türkiye, mülteci sorunu konusunda insan güvenliği yaklaşımından daha çok Türkiye'nin ulusal güvenliğine egemen olan devlet güvenliği yaklaşımını arttırmıştır. Önerilen bu tez araştırmasında, Türkiye'nin Suriye mülteci krizi üzerindeki değişen dış politikasına yol açan modelin belirlenmesi ve açıklanması hedeflenmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Suriye krizi, mülteciler, devlet güvenliği, insan güvenliği

To My Family…

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I would first like to thank my thesis advisor Asst. Prof. Dr. Günay Aylin Gürzel Aka at the department of Political Science and International Relations at Eastern Mediterranean University.

I must also express my very profound gratitude to my life partner; Abdullah Kocadayı for providing me with unfailing support and continuous encouragement throughout my years of study and through the process of researching and writing this thesis. This accomplishment would not have been possible without him. Thank you my lovely husband.

Thanks to all Political Science and International Relations Department of Eastern Mediterranean University…

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The Syrian Refugee Crisis is one of the disastrous consequences of the Syrian Civil War. There is a significant number of people who have lost their lives or been displaced from or within their country. The neighboring countries such as Turkey and Lebanon were responsive and accepted most of the Syrian civilian refugees. To date, Turkey, as a neighboring country, has received more than 2.7 million Syrian refugees through its 822- kilometer-long border with Syria. Therefore, any political unrest, economic crisis and social conflict in Syria can have an impact on Turkey. Turkey's geopolitical and geostrategic location as a bridge between the East and the West plays an important role, both for Turkey and for European countries, in the response to the Syrian refugee crisis.

Since April 2011, Turkey has been hosting Syrian civilians by following a generous open door policy, which can be explained by human security theory. Turkey opened its doors to Syrian asylum seekers during the first phases of the conflict and generously accepted a substantial number of Syrian asylum seekers in its territory while, at the same time, extending its humanitarian aid to camps within Syria[1].

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[1] "Syrian Nationals Benefiting from Temporary Protection in Turkey" Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management
http://www.goc.gov.tr/icerik6/syrian-nationals-benefiting-from-temporary-protection-in-turkey_917_1064_4773_icerik

The Turkish government did not focus on its own national security when they started to accept Syrian people. The government never took into consideration the possibility that these refugees may become a threat. At the beginning of the Syrian conflict, refugees were considered as guests, and they did not legally have refugee status. However, in late 2011 Syrian civilians got temporary protection status. In other words, they could not be forced to leave Turkey. In 2014 Syrian Refugees got conditional refugee status under the newly established General Directorate of Migration Management (GDMM). As a result of the crisis in Syria, "Turkey hosts more refugees than any other country – some 2.76 million, accounting for around 3.5 per cent of the population of Turkey".[2]

Syrian Civil war's future is uncertain. Every passing day the number of refugees is increasing and this is the most devastating humanitarian crisis since World War II. Thus, the pressure of the Syrian refugee influx has been a great burden on Turkish government. Many scholars argue that, this refugee crisis is a global crisis and other countries must assume their responsibility in accepting their fair share of the refugees and relieve some of this enormous pressure on Turkey.

The cost of refugees for host countries is enormous. It is also really difficult to provide necessary services such as health, education and, food. Some non-governmental organizations (NGOs) try to finance those costs for the host countries. However, the question is how long their financial aid will continue and whether the amount of the financial aid is sufficient. The host countries face serious security risks. These refugees pose social, political, environmental, and, cultural risks. In

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[2] The UN Refugee Agency "REGIONAL REFUGEE & RESILIENCE PLAN 2017-2018 IN RESPONSE TO THE SYRIA CRISIS" http://reporting.unhcr.org/node/16434

other words, although it is honorable to welcome them, at the end of the day they may be a threat to the host country's security and stability.

That is why I would also like to explain the possible risks and consequences of the refugee crisis by using traditional approaches, especially the realist theory, that focus on state security in order to support my main argument that human nature is selfcentered and self-interested. The tension caused by refugees is getting more serious; therefore, there might be a policy shift towards the Syrian refugee issue. This is because of sectarian issues especially within the southeastern provinces of Turkey, causing border conflicts, such as crime and terrorism.

Turkish government's generous open door policy is shifting from human centric policy to state centric policy in handling the Syrian Refugee issue. Due to the rising number of asylum seekers in Turkey, the Turkish government has tended towards developing mechanisms that can limit the number of incoming asylum seekers[3].

This thesis will address the reason behind the change in Turkey's foreign policy regarding the management of the Syrian refugee problem by exploring the human security approach and the state security approach.

1.1 Literature Review

The Syrian refugee crisis is one of the biggest humanitarian crises in the world. There are many approaches that see the case from different perspectives. However, in this thesis, I will analyze the Syrian refugee crisis from two important standpoints. On the one hand the traditional approaches give priority to state security and on the

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[3] Icduyu, A. "Syrian Refugees in Turkey The Long Road Ahead " Transatlantic Council on Migration, (2015) file:///C:/Users/pc/Downloads/TCM-Protection-Syria.pdf

other hand modern approaches give priority to human security. The 'Concept of Human Security' CHS re-conceptualizes security by moving away from the traditional militaristic understanding of security that puts states at the center of attention to a modern individualistic understanding in which the security, protection and empowerment of individuals constitute the basis of decision making[4]. The modern approach focuses on human security by putting the individual at the center of analysis. Human security, as defined by the UNDP, "is built on four essential characteristics: universalism, interdependence of components, prevention rather than protection, and centered on people."[5]

All realist philosophers value security. Power and security mutually benefit from each other, and state policy is always based on power. In fact, the realist tradition defines interests in terms of power and state security, with its focus on acquiring and maintaining power is the main focus of the traditional approach. Therefore, while Turkey accepts Syrian refugees through its generous "open door policy"[6] it does not neglect national security considerations. This gives Turkey a special position as it also gains leverage over its European counterparts who have often criticized the ruling party for its democratic and human rights record but have been passive in dealing with the problem of Syrian refugees[7]. Therefore, the policy of Turkey in

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[4] "HUMAN SECURITY IN THEORY AND PRACTICE", Human Security Unit
United Nations (2009)
http://www.un.org/humansecurity/sites/www.un.org.humansecurity/files/human_security_in_theory_and_practice_english.pdf
[5] Mahmud, H. "Human Security or National Security: the Problems and Prospects of the Norm of Human Security" Journal of Politics and Law No,4 (2008) www.cssenet.org/journal.html Vl 1
[6] Kirisci, K. "SYRIAN REFUGEES AND TURKEY'S CHALLENGES: GOING BEYOND HOSPITALITY" (2014) https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Syrian-Refugees-and-Turkeys-Challenges-
May-14-2014.pdf
[7] Heisbourg, C.F. "The Strategic Implications of the Syrian Refugee Crisis" (2015) http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/00396338.2015.1116144?needAccess=true

dealing with the Syrian refugee issue is based on both protecting human security and state security since any mismanagement of the refugee issue puts "social cohesion, security and national sovereignty at risk."[8]

According to United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR) records, more than five million people have escaped from Syria to neighbor countries: "Egypt, Turkey, Jordan, Lebanon, North Africa and Iraq".[9] The enormity of the number of refugees is a threat especially to the economic, political, social, and ethnic aspects of the host countries. Therefore, accepting refugees is a heavy burden for host countries that are also busy dealing with their own agenda. That is why the European Union (EU) developed a new policy based on a "quota system" in order to solve the refugee crisis. Based on this system, each member state of the EU will accept a share of the refugees according to their GDP, population and unemployment level. However, most EU members are not pleased with this idea and have challenged it because of the structure of the international system itself.

The realist scholars claim that the international system is anarchic. This simply means that there is no global government or authority above the states in the world. In other words, each state is only concerned about its own national interests and is determined to protect its country from any threat even though EU member states are very well known advocates of the human rights.

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[8] MIGRATION POLICY CENTRE (MPC)
 RESEARCH REPORT, MPC RESEARCH REPORT 2012/14

[9] Fandrich, C. and Fargues, P. "The European Response to the Syrian Refugee Crisis What Next?" (2017)
http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php

The 1951 convention on the status of refugees is the document that defines the definition and conditions of granting refugee status to asylum seekers. This convention is signed by all EU members. International law, however, seems incapable to address the humanitarian crisis caused by the Syrian unrest. This is the main point of the critique reflecting the realist view of international relations. As the literature shows, international organizations and international law are only tools in the hands of states to achieve their goals; however, the Syrian refugee crisis proves that these tools only exist in theory rather than real life.

In contrast to the traditional approach's focus on state security, the modern approach focuses on human security placing the individual at the center of the focus. Therefore, the modern approach focuses on values such as human security, and individual rights in order to develop, protect and improve living conditions. It is in this light that the UN's final report has defined the objective of human security as protecting "…the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment. Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms – freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity." [10]

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[10] "HUMAN SECURITY IN THEORY AND PRACTICE", Human Security Unit United Nations (2009)
http://www.un.org/humansecurity/sites/www.un.org.humansecurity/files/human_security_in_theory_and_practice_english.pdf

There are a number of possible human security threats including but not limited to economic security, food security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security[11]. However, in this thesis my focus is on community security and human security that are related to the Syrian refugee crisis and its impact on Turkey's security. Community security is mainly related to national identity: religious, ethnic and inter-ethnic. Political security is based on the human right abuses and political repression. Therefore, this thesis focuses on that aspect rather than others in order to understand the security issues in Turkey. As an example of the modern approach, liberals focus on cooperation for solving the Syrian refugee crisis and in particular they find cooperation possible among superpowers, NGOs, and INGOs regarding this crisis. However, the literature highlights the point that "international community as a whole has not sufficiently contributed toward alleviating the burden caused by the Syrian refugee influx, in terms of both financial assistance and refugee resettlement."[12]Therefore, it is very important to analyze the case from liberal institutionalist perspectives as well.

1.2 Methodology

In this thesis, qualitative research method is applied. The thesis mainly relies on primary and secondary sources. For primary sources, the thesis will use the official websites of, among many others, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Republic of Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. For secondary sources, the thesis will benefit from journal articles, online sources, books, research

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[11] Table I: Possible Types of Human Security "Threats HUMAN SECURITY IN THEORY AND PRACTICE "
Human Security Unit United Nations
http://www.un.org/humansecurity/sites/www.un.org.humansecurity/files/human_security_in_theory_and_practice_english.pdf
[12] "Center for Migration of New York", JMHS Vol, 3 No, 3 (2015) p. 255-279
http://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/jmighs3&div=13&id=&page=

center reports. All these sources are going to expose the relevant literature, which is related to the content of the thesis. This thesis focuses on Turkish Foreign Policy towards Syrian Refugees and it will explore the impact of these refugees on Turkey in a near future. It will benefit from the perspective of traditional and modern approaches by elaborating on security issues. It will seek to analyze how Turkey's foreign policy has shifted from human security to state security in order to protect Turkey's national security.

1.3 Thesis Outline

This thesis is divided into five chapters. The first chapter introduces the main argument and includes a literature review based on the traditional approach and the modern approach to security. The first chapter also includes a description of the methodology employed in the study, research questions and hypothesis parts.

Chapter two elaborates on the historical background of the Syrian Refugee Crisis and introduces the root causes of the process that led to the "Arab Spring" (Awakening) in the Middle East and North African region.

Chapter three compares state security and human security by considering the traditional understanding of state security and the modern understanding of human security. This chapter also includes special conventions, and reports related to human security.

Chapter four applies the theoretical framework of the study to the case of Syrian Refugee Crisis in Turkey.

In conclusion, the fifth chapter will summarize the study by evaluating the case and its possible outcomes that may affect the security of Turkey in near future.

1.4 Research Questions

The increasing number of crimes, terrorist attacks, security threats along the border between Turkey and Syria, and ethnic conflicts especially in south-eastern provinces of Turkey have given rise to questions such as;

1. How does the Syrian Refugees crisis influence Turkey's security?

2. Why is state centrism (traditional approach) given more weight than human centrism (alternative approach)? What are the dynamics that may change Turkish foreign policy vis-a-vis the Syrian refugee crisis?

1.5 Hypothesis

The hypothesis of this thesis is that: 'State security will be dominant in today's world order.' In contrast to alternative approaches that focus on human security, I will make use of the traditional approaches' focus to address the Syrian Refugee issue in this thesis. Even though humanitarian approach makes sense in international arena especially in the case of refugees, I strongly support the idea that state security has more important place than human security. This does not mean that human security is unimportant. It simply means that, as Realist scholars propose, all states pursue their own national interest and will try to maximize power (region or/and the world). Thus, if addressing a humanitarian problem harms the host country, there will be a policy shift from human security to state security.

Chapter 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS

In order to understand the current Syrian Refugee Crisis, it is important to analyze the root of the problem. To that end, this chapter deals with the historical background of the Syrian Crisis.

2.1 Arab Spring (uprising)

The Arab Spring started with self-immolation of Mohammed Bouazizi to challenge police corruption and police mistreatment of people in Tunisia in the year 2010. His move brought the whole society, fed up with the oppressive and undemocratic regime of Ben Ali, to the streets. This led to the overthrow of Ben Ali's regime. It had a domino effect throughout most of the Middle East and Northern African countries. The general causes of the spread of the uprising were common in all the countries involved; people were not content with their living standards, the oppressive governments which did not observe human rights, high unemployment rate, poverty, corruption, unfair distribution of wealth, etc. The protestors used almost the same techniques to organize the uprising throughout the region. "A major slogan of the demonstrators in these uprisings has been Ash-sha 'b yurid isqat an-nizam:' The people want to bring down the regime."[13] As many scholars argue, there are many other external and internal causes which have crucial impact on the

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[13] Eldin, K. and Salih, O. "THE ROOTS AND CAUSES OF THE 2011 ARAB UPRISINGS" www.plutojournals.com/asq/

uprising. In some cases Arab awakening movement achieved success like in Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya, but in other cases it failed to accomplish the goals. Syria is an important country that still struggles with the problem. There were also other major revolutions in Jordan, Algeria,

Morocco, Bahrain, Oman, and Iraq and also some minor protests in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Sudan.

2.2 Domino Effect of Arab Spring in Syria

The Syrian Arab Republic is a country located in the MENA region. The revolutionary movements of Tunisia spread to Egypt, Libya and Syria. The revolutionary movements of some MENA countries gave hope to Syrian society. This is because of Arab societies' common problems with their governments. In 2011 the Arab Spring movement reached Syria and revolts were initiated against Bashar al Assad's regime. The Assad family has governed the country since 1971 following the policy set by

Hafez al-Assad, Bashar al-Assad's father. Assad's government is practically authoritarian in all aspects, but in theory they call it a democratic regime. In June 2000, when Hafez al-Assad died, Bashar al-Assad came to power. Thus, the system is following a single family power strategy. There is practically no real election; therefore, there is no democratic foundation. Baathist party was founded by Assad's family to follow their policy and strategy as the ruling party. At this point, I would also like to mention Assad's family's ethnic background, the Nusayri people, who make up 12 percent of the total population of Syria. Considering the majority of the population are Sunni people, the importance of sectarian power struggle becomes evident. Therefore, multiple factors are involved in the struggle against Assad's power inside the country. This is because of Assad's flawed and irrational policies.

He recognizes that people want change but uses oppressive force to control people and remain in power. This policy has led to the continuing civil war and its casualties in Syria. Syria is, also, obviously struggling with different types of sectarian and ethnic conflicts which have all led to an inevitable chaos so complex that its solution cannot be found on a mere nationalistic rhetoric. Although the ethnic base of Assad's power constitutes 12 percent of the total population of Syria, he has managed to stay in power. This could be the result of the institutionalization of the 'one family rule' political culture in Syria. It is in this context, as well as Assad's alliance with Russia and Iran, that the failure of the five year struggle against Assad's regime.

2.3 Syrian Civil War

Syrian uprising occurred in early 2011 when the Syrian opposition began protests against Assad Regime's repression. Most of the Middle East and North African nations were involved in Arab Spring movements. Arab Spring had a domino effect in the region. Syria was not an exception. People's protests spread to Syria as the Syrian people were exhausted by the oppressive policies of the Baathist regime. There are many substantial causes of dissatisfaction which led them to rise against Assad's regime, such as; high rate of unemployment, corruption, poor living standards, lack of freedom and lack of basic human rights. From the beginning of the protest, all the mentioned factors encouraged people to join together in the uprising and challenge Assad's regime, however, many other influential factors played their role in transforming the protests into a bloody civil war. That is why the Syrian Spring eventually turned out to be an 'Arab Winter'. This is because both within the country and outside the country there are many interest groups who are trying to take advantage of this chaotic atmosphere in Syria. The civil war has been going on since 2011 and it has taken the life of many innocent people. This has mainly been caused

by the regimes response to the uprising. The regime follows a heavily repressive policy to control people and stay in power. As a result, over seven years of conflict has led to significant losses. Hundreds of thousands of people have lost their lives, and millions of people have fled their country and started to live as refugees. These are the most important consequences of the civil war in Syria causing sufferings of the people who are just fighting for their basic rights, freedom and democracy.

2.4 The Syrian Refugee Crisis

As a result of the Syrian Crisis, the world has encountered a serious humanitarian problem. According to the UNHCR's records more than 250.000 Syrian's have lost their lives in the meantime. It started as an uprising but now it has turned into a violent civil war forcing more than 4.000.000 people to leave Syria and seek asylum in neighboring, as well as European, countries.[14]

Think about millions of people including children who have lost their lives and livelihood in Syrian civil war, but when we look at the country from a broader perspective no side seems to be losing this war and there seems to be no end to it.

The point is indeed not 'who will win', but that millions of more people are threatened to lose their lives and fall victim to the human crisis caused by the war. We may argue that there are many problematic issues involved in Syria. However, Arab Spring movement was one of the most important factors in waking people up and causing an uprising against Assad's oppressive regime. Today the situation in Syria is dividing the country. On one side there is the Baathist regime which is the government side, on the other side there is the opposition groups who are against

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[14] "UNHCR records about Syrian Refugees" (2017) http://www.unhcr.org/syria-emergency.html

Assad's regime. These multiple forces really pursue their goals and stand their grounds with no intention of reaching a compromise. This is what makes Arab Spring in Syria a true winter.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has already registered 2.1 million Syrian refugees in Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, and Lebanon. Turkey alone has received 2.7 million refugees from Syria. The numbers registered in North Africa are proportionally less substantial[15]. Europe, in the meantime, has registered about one million asylum seekers. Germany with 300.000 applications and Sweden with 100.000 applications have received the largest share of asylum seekers[16].

 In my following thesis, part is going to deal with theoretical framework of the study by focusing on traditional understanding of state security and human security by using

realist and liberalist theories.

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[15] "Syria emergency" (2017) The UN Refugee Agency http://www.unhcr.org/syria-emergency.html
[16] " The Syrian Refugee Crisis: A Comparison of Responses by Germany, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States" (2015) Journal on Migration and Human Security http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/56987/1/Ostrand-Syrian_Refugee_Crisis_2015.pdf

Chapter 3

STATE SECURITY VERSUS HUMAN SECURITY

This chapter analyzes the theoretical framework of the study by focusing on the traditional understanding of state security and the alternative approach of human security. Considering the effects of refugee crisis on Turkish security, the realist traditional framework, will address the ontology. This is because the realist school can better explain the state centric aspect of security. In addition, this chapter will make use of the conventions and reports in order to set up the legal framework of the issue.

In terms of security studies, traditionalism is a crucial roof of the Realist and Liberalist theorists. However, there is a broad distinction between these two groups of theorists especially in analyzing the state and security matters. According to the realist theory, a nation state is a unitary actor and national interest is valued above everything else. State centrism, therefore, shapes the core of this tradition. In this thesis traditional approach will be applied in order to demonstrate the importance of state centric security studies. On the other hand, Liberal theory has a different concept in handling security as it assigns a high value to individuals. Therefore, liberalism is considered human-centric.

3.1 Traditional Understanding of State Security

Since the beginning of the Second World War, Realism became the dominant approach of International Security Studies (ISS). Realism still remains the primary

theory when security matters are addressed and all the evidence and outcomes highlighted by the realists support its primacy. For realist, all dynamics of security can be explained by the structure of the international system which they define as anarchy. In other words, there is no high authority above the state; therefore, states are power-hungry in order to survive within the anarchic system. National interest is crucial for realists which is why they have serious concerns for maximizing state power. All these key points function as parts of a chain as all dynamics affect each other. State centrism can be understood in this context. Some of the most ancient texts regarding politics advocated realist principles including "History of Peloponnesian War" by Thucydides. "The Prince" and "Leviathan" are central to the realist tradition. The most effective realist literature of this area is Hans Morgenthau's "Politics among Nations". The main purpose of these publications was to reflect the importance of power and national interest. Other political philosophers like Robert Osgood, Arnold Wolfers and Henry Kissinger contributed to the field of security studies by emphasizing state-centrism.

State security is necessary in order to protect one's own borders, citizens, and sovereignty. If there is any threat to state's security, this will directly affect people's security in that country. However, human security is also important in order to protect state's security. Therefore, these two concepts of state security and human security complement each other. `Human security, however, is not intended to replace state security. "Human security and state security are mutually reinforcing and dependent on each other. Without human security, state security cannot be

attained and vice versa"[17] (CHS: 2003: 6). If a state is insecure it means that its people are insecure and vice-versa. Human security cannot be guaranteed if a state has political, economic, environmental and international problems.

3.2 Traditional Understanding of Human Security

Liberalism is another important traditional theory within the field. Liberal traditionalists have challenged the state-centric security understanding of the Realists. However, this does not mean that security of states is not important. Both state security and citizen security make sense for Liberals. However, the focus of liberals is human security. The main power behind the Liberal tradition is the United Nations' Development Program (UNDP), especially the impact of the main approach on human centric security strengthened by UN report, which was published in 1994.

In the last two decades, human security has occupied a prominent place within the literature on International Relations. Ken Booth contributed to the field in a very effective way by emphasizing the important value of the human being, which is above the state. This point of his study reflects the idea of reconsidering security study by focusing on human security rather than state security within the area.

The United Nations Development Program and Human Development Report in the year of 1994 highlighted the human centric concept. Furthermore, there are very important core conventions, which have also strengthened the idea of human security. In order to understand the importance of human security we can refer to the following literature: the 1951 UN Conventions document, 1995 United Nations

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[17] "HUMAN SECURITY IN THEORY AND PRACTICE- An Overview of the Human Security Concept and the
United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security" Human Security Unit United   Nations
http://www.un.org/humansecurity/sites/www.un.org.humansecurity/files/human_security_in_theory_and_practice_english.pdf

Report about Human Security Concern and Responsibility to Protect in 2001. These documents guide the modern approach. The following part of this essay will focus on those conventions and reports.

3.2.1 The 1951 Geneva Convention

The 1951 Geneva Convention is a legal document that is very important in determining the status of refugees. The main aim of this convention is to protect the basic rights of refugees. The member states of the EU have accepted the convention's regulations regarding the social and human aspects of the problem of refugees. Therefore, considering the serious humanitarian crisis of the Syrian refugees the signatory states should share the responsibility. As it's noted that "burden sharing" by identifying mechanism through which the burdens born by countries offering asylum could be more equitably distributed among a greater number of states" (Hathaway 1997, Schuck 1997). Although in terms of the humanitarian crisis there should be burden sharing according to the convention, especially regarding the Syrian refugee crisis, the world response has not been efficient enough. The essence of the convention is to set up the rules of what is lawful and unlawful at times of conflict.

3.2.2 1995 United Nations (UN) Report about Human Security Concern

Human development report is an important document which leads to shifting of the importance from the state security to human security. It was the first time that the UNDP challenged the state security concept by giving special importance to human security. The concept of human security includes the core components of human rights which are "universalism, interdepended of components, prevention rather than protection, and centered on people"[18] (Journal of Politics and Law, Vol.1, No.4).

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[18] Human Security or National Security:

According to this report, all rules and principles are created for all people in the world regardless of being from rich or poor regions and when the subject is related to human security the whole world needs to take responsibility. The feelings of people never change in terms of any humanitarian crisis, people can worry about their life, health, education, rights and as the United Nations report identifies there are seven human security foundations which can be potentially threatened "economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, communal security and political security"[19] (UNDP 1994; 25-33). During humanitarian crises such as disease, famine, crime and repression, terrorism, and war, people who face the situation need specific authority in order to protect their rights. Otherwise, people will live by depending on their own security agency. However, if we consider the people in a specific country which has serious humanitarian crisis, the state cannot have adequate means to help or protect people from that crisis. Let's focus on the Syrian refugee case in which the Syrian government itself has driven Syrian people into one of the biggest humanitarian crises that includes displacement, poverty, unemployment and many other types of human rights violation issues. As Syrian refugee crisis demonstrates, people need to be protected by world powers. As liberalist thinkers put the individual at the center of security, this report also cares about the same perspective that liberals believe about security, especially the privilege of replacing the statecentric security with a human-centric concept. In this way, the development of humanitarian programs has increased the possibility of cooperation especially by incorporating the sensitivity to human security globally.

the Problems and Prospects of the Norm of Human Security" (2008), Vol.1 No.8 www.ccsenet.org/journal.html
[19] UN Human Development Report 1994 New York Oxford Oxford University Press http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/255/hdr_1994_en_complete_nostats.pdf

As the report reflects the idea of 'human security is a universal concern.'[20] (P.34 UN Report 1995): therefore, if there is any human security concern in any part of world, all nations should share the burden.

The report also defines and protects the basic rights of humans such as the right to live and the right to have freedom. Therefore, as components of human security 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want' are recognized by the U.N. The main aim of the report is providing equal rights for all people in the world.

3.3.3 Responsibility to Protect (R2P) 2001

The responsibility to protect report was prepared by International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) in 2001, in order 'to prevent, to react and to rebuild'. This means that, the main aim of the report is to justify military intervention especially for humanitarian concerns in cases such as; 'genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity' (Para 138. P. 302). The report's principles and rules are accepted by the UN World Summit which means that heads of states and governments of 150 countries accepted to adopt it. This report reflects serious humanitarian concerns by extending the scope of protecting human rights. In a sense, the responsibility to protect report opens a new window to see humanitarian crisis in its light. Therefore, I would like to include the report as the required framework for the human security part of thesis.

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[20] HUMAN DEVELOPMENT REPORT 1995" United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/256/hdr_1995_en_complete_nostats.pdf

Chapter 4

SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS IN TURKEY

In this chapter, the thesis will be applied to Syrian refugee case by using theoretical framework of the study. In this chapter, I will analyze Turkey's policy on Syrian refugee crisis with a focus on the impacts of the Syrian refugees on Turkey's security.

4.1 During AKP Administration Turkey and Syria Relations

Since 2002, there have been many problems between Turkey and Syria. The main points of dispute are the dispute over Southeastern Anatolia Project, Syria's support for PKK, and Hatay (İskenderun) issue which have all led to political, social and economic problems in the relations between the two countries. This hostility and mistrust has a long historical background.

However, the relationship between Turkey and Syria changed with Bashar-al Assad's term in a positive way, especially with the AKP administration in Turkey's politics. In 2000, when Hafez Assad died, Turkish President Ahmet Necdet Sezer went to Syria for Bashar al-Assad's father's funeral rites. This was the starting point of Turkey's policy change towards Syria.

In 2002, when Justice and Development Party (AKP) came to power in Turkey, the tensions in relations between these two countries reached to minimum level. Two important actors helped establish "zero problems with neighbors" policy, namely

Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan and the then Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu. Especially Davutoglu developed the "zero problems with neighbors" doctrine under the name of AKP's foreign policy discipline. According to this new foreign policy of AKP administration, "the discourse of 'zero problems with neighbors' is a slogan summarizing Turkey's expectations with regards to her relations with neighboring countries. Turkey wants to eliminate all the problems in her relations with neighbors or at least to minimize them as much as possible."[21] As it is explained in the official source of the Republic of Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs the new policy of Turkey focuses on having positive relations with her neighbors.

Syria is a neighbor that has a 910 km long border with Turkey. Both Turkey and Syria are in an important geographical location, which feeds their mutual interest within the region. Therefore, under AKP government, there are a number of diplomatic meetings/visits in order to reach economic agreements, remove customs barriers, and reach visa free travel and free trade agreements. All these decisions have increased the level of diplomatic relations between these two countries and played a positive role for both countries' economic, social and political relations. Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan called Assad his brother in a speech which meant that with the AKP administration in Turkey the two countries could establish positive peaceful relations. Therefore Erdogan's speech can be used as evidence that demonstrates how the relationship between Turkish government and Syrian government was. (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SD1Z3aL52Pw)

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[21] Policy of Zero Problems with our Neighbors http://www.mfa.gov.tr/policy-of-zero-problems-with-our-neighbors.en.mfa

Nonetheless, all this positive progress in relations was challenged by 2010's Arab Spring Movements that changed the dynamics in MENA countries. This civilian movement in the Middle East and North Africa was successful in some countries including Tunisia, Libya and Egypt where civilians managed to overthrow the dictatorial regimes. Arab Spring process started in 2010 and it had domino effect on other MENA countries who had the same problems with their government. Finally, it reached Syria in 2011 resulting in Syrian people's uprising against Assad's regime as I mentioned in historical part of this thesis. The general problem with the government was repressive dictatorial regime. As time passed the uprising in Syria got worse due to Assad government's response. The Syrian government used its military might against the uprising and turned it into a bloody civil war. Today the world has encountered a serious humanitarian crisis due to millions of refugees and asylum seekers from Syria.

Assad government's response to the uprising is criticized by many countries. Turkey is one of the countries that has tried to stop Assad government's inhuman treatment of the Syrian opposition. However today civil war continues and this is the 6th year of the war but nothing has changed. Nothing can stop Assad from holding into his position.

On this point, I would like to mention the speeches made by Erdogan, Gül, and Davutoglu on Assad's regime. Mr. Erdogan pleaded to Assad to leave office "For the welfare of your own people and the region"[22]. His comments came a day after Turkish President Abdullah Gul, speaking to the BBC, said the Syrian regime had

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[22] Turkish Prime President Recep Tayyip Erdogan speech http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-15834540

reached a "dead end"[23] and it was prepared for the worst-case scenario. These are just two of the examples in which Turkish administration has challenged and criticized Assad's regime. Also in that time, Erdogan talked about Assad: "I do not accept Assad as a politician. He is a terrorist that could kill one hundred thousand of his citizens."[24] During AKP government's term in office there are many agreements and cooperation developed between the two countries. However, as Erdogan explained, Assad could not keep his promise, and all the relations failed. This is because Assad administration followed his father's policy and turned back to past. Therefore Erdogan warned Assad in a speech: "The way which you are going there, is not the way".[25]

In 2015, CNN's Christiane Amanpour had an interview with Mr. Davutoglu in which he stated that "We want this humanitarian policy on the other side of the border. If there is any threat against our national security, we will take all the measures".[26] Although he is one of the supporter and founder of the "zero problem with neihbour" policy principle of AKP's administration, if there is any threat to Turkey's own national security the policy and diplomatic agenda can directly change. As the traditional understanding of Realist theory explains each state focuses on its power, its security and its interest. Changing dyanamics in MENA region by Arab Spring process and its impact on Syria has caused serious humanitarian crisis. It has had serious impacts on changing and shifting the policy of Turkish government. This is

[23] Turkish President Abdullah Gül's speech http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-15834540
[24] Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan press interview https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C-J3A9z37Co
[25] Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan speech about Assad's regime https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rOg-lckqMfE
[26] Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu's interview http://edition.cnn.com/2014/10/06/world/meast/amanpour-davutoglu-interview/index.html

because the enormous number of Syrian refugees in Turkey has increased security threats within the country.

Due to these security threats Turkey and Syria's relations have deteriorated and ended Turkey's 'zero problems with neighbors' policy. Although the most important aim of the new Turkish foreign policy is to eliminate or have minimum political, economic and social tensions with her neighbors.

In 2013, Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu explained the 'zero problems with neighbors' policy to the Foreign Affairs press "The Arab Spring, thus, presented us all with difficult decisions: We either could maintain ties with these oppressive rulers, or we could support the popular uprisings to secure basic democratic rights. More significantly, the uprisings also posed a challenge to the conceptual foundations of our new foreign policy, which we had carefully nurtured over the years".[27]

Each state focuses on its own interest, therefore each of them has a unique political understanding within their own state. This is one of the reasons that relations between states are based on mutual interests and benefits. As Turkish government have experienced, just for developing the relations with Syria there are many agreements and cooperation were on the agenda. However, any change in a state agenda will directly affect all diplomacy. It is really difficult to pursue zero problem with neighbor policy. This is because of the state itself, one state can reach good

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[27] Article by H.E. Mr. Ahmet Davutoglu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey published in Foreign Policy magazine (USA) on 21 March 2013 Zero Problems in a New Era http://www.mfa.gov.tr/article-by-h_e_-mr_-ahmet-davutoglu_-minister-of-foreign-affairs-of-the-republic-of-turkey-published-in-foreign-policy-magazin-2.en.mfa

relations with X state, but this may cause a new problem in its relations with Y state. From time to time world's politics agenda changes. Even if a state accomplishes the 'zero problems' policy successfully, this will work in the short run, because it's very difficult to protect that relation in long run. As Turkey have experienced that in 2011 when Arab Spring spread to Syria all dynamics changed in world politics. Although during Turkey's Justice and Development Party administration, many positive relations developed and established with Syrian government. Between 2002 to 2010, when Arab Spring started, diplomacy and policy agenda had to be shifted. Therefore, changing dynamics in the MENA region has affected Turkish Foreign Policy towards Syria. When we focus on the AKP administration process since 2002 to 2010, we may conclude that Turkish government increased its popularity and vision by its conservatism-oriented policy towards Muslim community and Davutoglu and Erdogan's policy increased the sympathy of the Muslim world. In that period, it was the first time Bashar al-Assad visited Turkey, which demonstrates that AKP could have positive diplomacy with Syria. Between 2002 to 2010 there was a Turkish-Syria common military exercise. Abdullah Gül visited Şam. There was a mutual support of visa waiver decision. Turkey and Syria's ministers met, and a mutual agreement over economic cooperation was developed. All these steps played a crucial role in the diplomatic relationship between Turkey and Syria.

However, by 2011 the repressive regime of Assad broke the relations with Turkish government because of his inhumane response to civilian uprising. As Turkish President Erdogan mentioned Assad is a terrorist because he could kill his people. Because of his authoritarian policy, the world faces a serious refugee crisis. After 2011, many problems were raised between Syria and Turkey including rising border

gate attacks, explosions in Reyhanlı, the downing of a Syrian aircraft, and the crossfire in Akcakale. As a result of that Turkish Foreign Policy towards Syria returned back to the past. Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan explained the aim of missive to Syria in a speech stating that "Turkish forces are in Syria to end Assad's rule"[28]. Patriot missile systems were installed on the border between Turkey and Syria. All these increased tensions between Turkey and Syria. There is a NATO support behind Turkey and according to a speech by the General Secretary of NATO "The situation along the Syrian-Turkish border is of great concern"[29].

Rasmussen said earlier at a meeting with the United Nations' foreign and defense ministers. "We have all plans in place to defend and protect Turkey if needed"[30]. Regarding the security policy of Turkey especially border security the United Nation is an essential power that supports Turkey and protects its interests against any security threats posed by Syria.

Although from the beginning of Syrian refugee crisis, Turkish government has followed an open door policy based on humanitarian causes in order to protect people's lives. However, the policy was challenged by Assad's regime, because Turkey embraces Assad's opposition. By accepting an enormous number of Syrian refugees to its border, Turkey endangered its domestic security. At the same time, this policy has had negative impact on Turkey –Syria relations. However, Assad's regime could not understand that people who entered Turkey were escaping from his oppressive government.

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[28] Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan's speech https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vF3SXeA9_LM
[29] NATO General Secretary's Speech about Patriot Fuses https://www.rt.com/news/nato-turkey-patriot-missiles-265/
[30] NATO General Secretary's Speech about Patriot Fuses https://www.rt.com/news/nato-turkey-patriot-missiles-265/

Another crucial point I would like to explain is why refugees have raised political concerns. If a state cannot control the people crossing its own borders it will encounter problems such as increasing crime rates, and terrorist attacks within their countries, etc. This creates serious security risks for the hosting countries. Therefore, although Syrian civil war is Syrian government's domestic problem if it spreads its negative outcomes to other countries other international actors will be involved. Syrian refugee crisis is today a global issue that is threating other countries social, economic and security structure. While there are people who need humanitarian help for their survival, there are terrorists and criminals who abuse this chaotic situation and create security threats. The continuous flow of refugees into Turkey has affected diplomacy between Turkish and Syrian governments because Assad government's policy has forced those people to seek asylum in other countries. Therefore, countries affected by the crisis have the right to question and challenge Assad's policy. This is why AKP administration and Baathist administration have disputes after 2011 and Syrian civil war has caused problems in their relations.

4.2 Turkish Foreign Policy towards Syrian Refugees

Turkey is one of the transit countries for the refugees because of its geographical location, which serves as a bridge between Middle Eastern and Asian countries where human rights violations is widespread and prosperous European countries where there is a high respect for human rights. Generally, if a country has unstable political, social, and economic life, it will face a high probability of uprising and civil war. Unfortunately, the countries located in the Middle East and North Africa have serious human right abuse issues, and Turkey is their closest neighbouring country. Therefore, Turkey is geographically the most accessible country for the refugees whenever any of those countries has a political crisis.

Turkey has long land and sea borders with its neighbours and inevitably has to deal with a large influx of refugees whenever there is a revolution, civil war or coup d'etat in a neighbouring country. Since 1980's, Turkey has received/hosted a substantial number of refugees from different countries such as Syria, Pakistan, Palestine, Iraq and Iran. These refugees flee their homelands for the fear of their lives due to political insecurity and instability caused by a variety of threatening political situations such as despotism, repression, ethnic conflict, civil war and human rights violation.

It is very difficult to manage a massive refugee influx such as the one Turkey experienced during Arab Spring/Uprising wave involving different Arab countries in 2010. Syria was one of the countries affected by the Arab Uprising. The uprising could have overthrown the regime and its leader as happened in Egypt and Tunisia. It had domino effect throughout most of the Middle Eastern and North African countries. Syrian people already had problems with Bashar al Assad regime. Therefore, they started protests and uprising in 2011 in order to overthrow the government. However, the uprising turned into a bloody civil war which has been going on ever since 2011 and has devastated cities , caused great loss of life and led to massive exodus of people towards Turkey creating refugee crisis in Turkey. Therefore, today's refugee crisis in Turkey is mainly due to the uprising against Assad's regime, which has led to a bloody

civil war.

Today, the Syrian civil war is in its seventh year, and its future is uncertain. Turkey has been hosting Syrian refugees in its border since April 2011. From the beginning

of the crisis, Turkey has followed its generous, humanitarian open door policy towards Syrian refugees. Turkey has provided camps, food, education, health and sheltering services to the Syrian people who are seeking asylum. However, every passing day the number of the refugee influx is increasing. On the one hand, there are people who are registered refugees/asylum seekers and on the other hand, there are many others who have entered Turkey illegally and are consequently not registered. Therefore, Syrian refugees acquire status differently in terms of Turkish foreign policy towards Syrian Refugee. The rising refugee influx has created many difficulties for Turkey in terms providing them with their basic needs, accommodations, and required services, which is a great economic burden on the hosting country. The demands created by a huge number of refugees may impose great risks in terms of the security within the political, social, cultural and economic structure of a hosting country.

Actually, refugee crisis not only involves Turkey, but has also become a common issue throughout the world. After the Second World War, most of the world countries faced refugee problem. Therefore, they accepted burden sharing in order to find a solution for the refugee problem which led to setting up and signing Geneva Convention in 1951. The purpose of the convention is to maintain the legal status and legal rights of the refugees. Turkey is also one of the countries that has signed 1951 Geneva Convention. However, there is a difference between Turkey's signing the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol related to the status of refugees, which is "geographical limitation" for accepting the refugees in its border. Turkey only recognizes the people who come from European countries as refugees, but does not recognize the people who come from Syria as refugees, which is not part of the

convention's condition. Therefore, the legal status of the Syrians arriving in Turkey was not clear from the beginning of the refugee influx, and the Syrian people in Turkey has only been given guest status. This unclear status of the Syrian people has caused some problems for the Turkish government. Having a refugee status means that all conventions related to refugee rights and status and other relevant international laws and systems are to be observed. Therefore, the guest status of the Syrian people has created a confusion. That is why, in October2011 the Turkish Ministry of Interior declared a "temporary protection" for the Syrian guests who escape from Syrian civil war based on the reality of the 1994 regulation's tenth article. The temporary protection could give the legal rights to Syrian people in Turkey for benefits and privileges such as non-refoulement sheltering camp and other basic needs services. Unfortunately, this temporary protection status cannot be a solution to overcome the difficulties of dealing with such a huge number of refugees, particularly when we consider that the longer the Syrian civil war lasts the more waves of refugee influx into Turkey is expected.

4.3 The Impact of Syrian Refugee Crisis on Turkey's Security Policy

Having examined the legal status of Syrian taken refuge in Turkey, the thesis will move on to the impact of the crisis on Turkey's security. The massive influx of Syrian refuges into Turkey has had serious consequences and needs more international attention and cooperation. In 2012, the Turkish government started taking some security measures by closing both official and unofficial border crossings to Turkey.

Turkey do not have sufficient resources to meet the rising demands created by increasing number of refugees by itself. Therefore, Turkey's policy towards Syrian

refugees has shifted from open-door policy, which is based on human security, to closed borders along with border wall project between Syria and Turkey, which is based on state security.

In addition to Nusaybin wall, Turkey closed its borders in Ceylanpınar, Serekaniye, Şenyurt, Dirbesiye, Kilis and Afrin. There are many provinces of Turkey which have borders with Syria such as; Hatay, Gaziantep, Kilis, Sanliurfa, Mardin and Şırnak.

4.3.1 Security Threat on Turkey's Border

There have been serious security threats endangering the local Turkish population such as the bombing attack in Suruc, a district of Sanlıurfa province in Turkey, which killed 32 people. This attack raised security concerns and a new border security plan was quickly announced three days after the attack (Turkey reinforces border, 2015) to protect the state and the local population. Turkish government started taking new security measures by proposing the wall project along borders of Turkey with Syria in the south. According to the proposal, Turkey has 911 km long border with Syria, and this is the third longest wall project in the world after the Chinese wall and USA-Mexico wall. The 911 Km long 3m high wall project started in August 2016. The main aim of the project is protecting Turkey's national security. These security measures were very important because of the number of actors such as YPG, PKK, Kobane, and ISIS, which have been threatening Turkey's security along the border with Syria particularly since the beginning of the Syrian civil war. It was in this context that the Deputy Prime Minister of Turkish Government Bülent Arınç stated that; "the wall will be against the ISIL militants."[31] (Deputy PM Arınç, 2015).

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[31] "Blasts kill dozens in Turkish town Reyhanli on Syria border" (2013) BBC News

The increasing number of bomb attacks on the border regions creates serious risks for both Turkish government and Turkish people. A twin car bomb attack killed at least 43 people and injured at least 100 in the Turkish town of Reyhanli, near the Syrian border. The following are some more disastrous instances of attacks that have caused Turkish people great sufferings: In February 2013, there was a car bomb explosion at a border crossing into Turkey, in May 2013, there was another car bomb in Reyhanlı province in which more than 50 people lost their lives[32] (Reyhanlı Cehenneme Döndü-Hürriyet). In March 2014, a group of ISIS fighters opened fire killing and wounding a number of security agents at a check point near the city of Nigde in central Anatolia"[33] (Kemal Kiriscioglu, 2014).

In response to Nigde attack, Davutoglu stated that "We will not stay silent in the face of those who kill our police officers in their sleep,"[34]

At that time, there were also terrorist attacks in Ankara and Istanbul. "In the terrorist attack in Istanbul 44 people were killed in Ataturk Airport by the terrorist who had entered Turkey from Syria's ISIS stronghold of Raqqa a month before. (July 2, 2016 CNN) The same week, a suicide blast killed more than 30 people in Suruc, a Turkish town that borders Syria. Turkish authorities blamed it on ISIS.[25]

http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-22494128

[32] Reyhanlı Cehenneme Döndü" (2013) Hürriyet http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/reyhanli-cehennemehttp://www.hurriyet.com.tr/reyhanli-cehenneme-dondu-23257089dondu-23257089

[33] "SYRIAN REFUGEES AND TURKEY'S CHALLENGES: GOING BEYOND HOSPITALITY" (2014) Brookings http://madde14.org/english/images/0/0e/2014BrookingsSyriaKirisci.pdf

[34] "Turkey arrests hundreds of suspected terrorists, Prime Minister says" (2015) CNN News http://edition.cnn.com/2015/07/25/middleeast/turkey-syria-isis-attacks/index.html [25] "Istanbul airport attack: Planner, 2 bombers identified, report says" (2016) CNN News http://edition.cnn.com/2016/07/01/europe/turkey-istanbul-ataturk-airport-attack/index.html

Changing the open-door policy of the Turkish Government towards Syrian Refugees and taking measures such as wall project demonstrates that the threatening security risks are mainly due to illegal border crossing of smugglers, terrorists and refugees. There are serious concerns raised and the government and Turkish community are highly aware of certain security risk factors posed by the illegal entries, which has led to the policy shift. "By the summer of 2012, as the number of refugee began to reach significant level and it became increasingly clear that refugees would not be returning soon Turkey's policy began to change." (Kemal Kiriscioglu, 2014) Therefore, because of national security concerns, the government started to stop new refugees from entering Turkey.

When we talk about the refugee and immigrant influx, the first thing that comes to mind immediately is security issues. Refugee crisis leads to intensified irregular urbanization and increase in crime rates, and results in political, social, cultural, economic, and psychological problems and calls for the integration of immigrants into the local culture. As Gleditsch and Salehyan stated, "Refugee flows are not only the consequence of political turmoil; the presence of refugees and displaced populations can also increase the risk of subsequent conflict in host and origin countries. Although the vast majority of refugees never directly engage in violence, refugee flows facilitate the transnational spread of arms, combatants, and ideologies conducive to conflict, they alter the ethnic composition of the state, and they can also exacerbate economic competition"[35]. (Idean Salehyan and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, Refugee Flows and the Spread of Civil War) All these problems lead to security

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[35] "Refugee Flows and the Spread of Civil War" Centre for the Study of Civil War, International Peace Research, Oslo (PRIO) https://ecpr.eu/Filestore/PaperProposal/27705479-56a7-4545-acdchttps://ecpr.eu/Filestore/PaperProposal/27705479-56a7-4545-acdc-fc412fe4de2e.pdffc412fe4de2e.pdf

concern within the society and creates social tension. Considering all these points, it is evident how Turkish government is affected directly and unfavourably by the Syrian Crisis.

The realist theory can best help me to explain Turkey's security and power policy, meaning when there is any national security concerns a state can do everything to protect its own national interest. It is evident that there are serious security concerns about the Syrian refugees in terms of political, social, cultural and economic sphere of the Turkish government.

Although, Turkey has accommodated the refugees in camps in southeastern provinces of Turkey, Syrian Refugees generally wish to live in provinces like Istanbul, Adana, Sanlıurfa, Gaziantep, and Hatay. This is because of the opportunities the big and developed cities can provide such as jobs and the possibility of having an independent life outside camps and in suitable accommodations. However, this can raise a variety of concerns within the Turkish community who may see their cultural identity and social and economic structure threatened by demographic changes due to the significantly high population of the refugees. The different social, cultural, economic, and religious background of the Turkish and Syrian people can lead to threatening conflicts.

In the beginning of the refugee influx to Turkey, most of the people in Turkey thought that the crisis is a temporary and short-lived one. However, there seems to be no end to Syrian civil war, which means the refugees are in Turkey to stay. Therefore, Syrian refugee crisis in Turkey results in security issues in political, social and economic life.

4.3.2 The Threat on Turkey's Social Structure

The impact of Syrian refugee crisis is especially felt within Turkey's social sphere. Turkish community's and Turkish law's views of marriage is different from those of Syrians'. "Turkish civil law does not allow for multiple wives and child marriages".[36] (Kemal Kiriscioglu, 2014) However, this does not mean that there is no polygamy in Eastern part of Turkey. The number of child marriages and having multiple wives have increased after the Syrian refugee influx causing social tension especially with the consequent rise in the percentage of divorce cases. This has resulted in thousands of second and third wife marriages in addition to the Turkish first wife. Unfortunately, some Turkish men tend to favour polygamy, even if the law prohibits it. Therefore, this aspect of Syrian culture is considered a social security threat by Turkish community. In addition, refugee population is inclined to have high crime rate due to their disastrous economic conditions and loss of morality. An example of this is a piece of real news in the Turkish media concerning a Syrian girl who was wanted by the Turkish police for swindling. She is a Syrian refugee and found a way to get money from Turkish men by using marriage as a pretext. She and her relatives asked the man to pay 40 thousand Tl to marry her, as it was according to their traditions, and they got it. However, two days before the wedding, they escaped to another city in Turkey and found another man to fall into the trap. (TV8 Channel Program-Yaşamdan Hikayeler) Unfortunately, the reality behind the refugee issue is very deep and uncontrolled.

Another social security problem is inflation in the housing sector in the cities affected by massive Syrian refugee population. In addition to poor refugees, there are

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[36] Kemal Kiriscioglu, (2014)"SYRIAN REFUGEES AND TURKEY'S CHALLENGES: GOING BEYOND HOSPITALITY" Brookings

rich refugees who seek comfortable and secure life in Turkey. Therefore, this has raised the demands in the housing sector and caused an inflation threatening the economic security of the local community of Turkey. On the other hand, refugees acting as cheap labour have led to unemployment crisis and dissatisfaction of the local community. All these problems have resulted in increased hostility of Turkish people against Syrian people.

In the beginning of the refugee crisis, Turkish community respected the refugees and treated them with empathy; however, when the crisis lasted a long time, it caused security concerns. Thus, the general sentiments of the Turkish community shifted because of the rising security risks.

 This is because of the difference between these two communities in terms of language, culture, and lifestyle. These differences have somehow led to some problematical issues such as increased illegal cases of polygamy, and higher divorce rates. Actually, this does not mean that people with different cultural backgrounds cannot live together peacefully. There are also other factors causing increase in crime rates. The question is how much those refugees are satisfied with their life in Turkey and satisfied with government services provided for the refugees. All these points can be questionable; this is because of the limited services provided by the government in terms of education, shelter, health, food, services because of the limited budget and resources, and the rising influx of the refugees. Even if the government offers the best services, we should keep in mind that these are people who have lost their home, memories, properties and everything that they had in their hometown and the services provided can never satisfy their expectations.

Unfortunately, the human nature is never content with what there is and is always strives for more and better. Therefore, the difficult living conditions of the Syrian refugees have increased the potential for committing crime. This is because these are the people who have low or no income, and no education, and suffer from cultural shock, alienation and other psychological and physical trauma due to negative effects of the civil war in Syria. To be brief, the ever-increasing refugee population has negative consequences on Turkey's security and will lead to higher crime rates.

In this analysis chapter of the thesis, I would like to point out the thesis research questions, which needs to be focused on in a sense. The increasing crime rate, terrorist attacks, security threat along the border between Turkey and Syria, and ethnic conflicts especially in south-eastern provinces of Turkey have raised the question " How does Syrian refugee crisis influence Turkey's security?" This is the very important question of the thesis skeleton in the analysis of the refugee crisis and that is why in this chapter my main argument is on this point.

As I highlighted, the terrorist attacks in border cities between Syria and Turkey, the rising terrorist attacks target Turkey's peace, sovereignty, and stability and is a serious security risk for the Turkish government. On the other hand, changing social and economic structure of the country has increased social tension. All these demonstrate how Turkey is negatively affected by the Syrian refugee crisis especially in terms of security.

There is another question which I also seek an answer for "Why is state centrism given more weight than human centrism? What are the dynamics that may change Turkish foreign policy vis-a-vis the Syrian refugee crisis? Considering the points of

the question, I also focus on the shifting policy of Turkey in relation to the Syrian refugees. In the beginning of the refugee crisis, Turkey followed a generous open door policy; however, nothing matched the expectations of the Turkish government. The policy was human centrism oriented; however, rising security risks, threats and social tension, crime rates, terrorist attacks, and ethnic conflicts leading to social, political and economic concerns made the government shift its policy. Therefore, state centrism policy has got more weight than human centrism. This is because of Turkey's national security, national interests and its power. Turkey is responsible to protect its own interests, power and security; otherwise, everything can become a source of threat to state sovereignty. A massive refugee influx is a huge threat for every hosting country. Therefore, today there is a convention, which is internationally accepted and signed for "burden-sharing." Only limited number of countries have responded to this crisis and unfortunately, with this limited burden sharing Turkey alone cannot overcome this greatest humanitarian crisis after the WWII.

In this regard, unfortunately, the response of the whole world is in a critically low level. Most of the Western countries have shrugged and declined to accept the responsibility to admit the refugees in their borders, which make us, question why there is a refugee acceptance percentage prepared by the UNHRC. According to UNHRC, the total number of Syrian refugees accepted by all European countries is 937,718 between April 2011 and March2017. (UN Refugee Agency's Data) However, Germany and Sweden are accepting the highest percentage of the refugee in their border. However, considering the fact that the total number of Syrian refugees is 5,057,986 (UNHCR), it is evident the number of refugees accepted by

Europe is too small in dealing with such a serious humanitarian crisis of the world. Of 5.057,986 total "2 million Syrians are registered by UNHCR in Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and Lebanon, 2.97 million Syrians registered by the Government of Turkey, as well as more than 30,000 Syrian refugees registered in North Africa."[37]

I also need to explain why I am mentioning the world response to the Syrian refugee crisis, as many realists believe that each state only focuses on its own power, security and interests. Therefore, they never want to have any possible threat to all these values of the state security. This thesis hypothesis is that "State security will be dominant in today's world order. This is why I generalize my hypothesis to all the world when I was focusing on the state security of Turkey in this case. I would also like to explain that point because Turkey is not on the centre of the world. It is difficult to generalize the hypothesis globally. However, during my thesis study period I had a chance to do research on the world's response and the refugee acceptance percentage of the Western and other countries and look for their refugee policy towards Syrian crisis. I never argue that the world response to refuge crisis does not exist; it exists but does not necessarily satisfy burden sharing. A number of countries have tried to contribute financially to burden sharing in the refugee crisis, but it is not enough to solve the problem. This crisis is a common problem of the whole world. The number of hosting countries are very small. However, there are Geneva Conventions rules and principles to support and protect the refugee status and rights in better conditions. That is why, other countries need to open their borders and provide good and secure life for the refugees. However, the price of the human life is very low, and in this 7th year of the Syrian refugee crisis hundreds of

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[37] Syria Regional Refugee Response http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php

poor children, women and man have lost their life while seeking a way to take refuge in other countries. Even when all the countries come together for the common purpose of serving humanity, at the end of the day, as demonstrated in this case, each one only focuses on its own state, border, and national security, sovereignty, and stability of its political, social and economic life. That is why state security has in reality priority over human security. Therefore, having so many countries that decline to accept refugee policy is contrary to human rights and all other conventions, and international law and NGOs, and INGOs' working to serve humanity. Today most of the 1951 Geneva Convention members have serious dilemma with the convention's content and purpose that they have accepted in theory, and what they do in practice. That is why I argue that state security is more important than human security when confronting this kind of refugee, immigration and asylum cases that threatens national security of a country.

The following chapter of this thesis will focus on Turkey-EU agreements on Syrian refugees.

Chapter 5

EU-TURKEY AGREEMENTS ABOUT SYRIAN REFUGEES

Since 2011, the world has faced a serious humanitarian crisis, as a result of Syrian civil war. Millions of people have been displaced, lost their lives and escaped from their homeland. Some countries have shared the burden of Syrian refugees more than other countries. Turkey is one of the countries that have received more than three million Syrian refugees. Every refugee has certain basic needs to survive. That's why hosting countries have crucial budget problems to meet the refugees' needs. The host countries have two main concerns. The first one is economy and the second one is security. In order to regulate Syrian refugee crisis, EU and Turkey have developed certain agreements.

This part of thesis will focus on EU-Turkey agreement concerning refugee crisis, therefore I will benefit from EU-Turkey Summit for refugees reports and EU-Turkey Joint Action Plan and its implementation. As thesis mentioned Geneva Convention in previous chapter, both Turkey and EU countries are member of 1951 Geneva Convention for Status and Rights of Refugees. European Union is well-known human rights supporter. Therefore, most of the European countries give special importance to providing and protecting human rights. As most of EU countries have good economic structure, and welfare systems Syrian refugees are tempted to seek asylum in those countries and try to reach those countries to have their dreams come

true. However, rising Syrian refugee influx into EU countries have raised concerns in those countries. Even though most of the refugees just seek secure life and good living conditions, this does not make EU countries happy in spite of having enough resources to provide good and secure life for Syrian refugees.

Turkey is Syria's neighbor, therefore it's very easy for Syrian refugees to cross to Turkish border either legally or illegally. However, this does not mean that a neighbor country should take the responsibility of such significant number of people. There are many international reports, agreements, conventions and laws developed in order to maintain refugee status and protect refugee's rights and status. So, if this Syrian Refugee crisis is accepted as serious humanitarian crisis of today's world, then all those international actors should assume their responsibilities. Therefore, it's a very important progress that Turkey and EU could come together to fix the problem.

The first station of Syria refugees is Turkey, after that most of the refugee dream of crossing to European countries from Turkey. There were many illegal crossings from Turkey to Greek island in 2016, however, it is not a secure route for Syrian refugees. Many Syrian people died both in Mediterranean and in Aegean Sea while trying to cross European borders. According to UNHCR record: "Expressing alarm at the situation, UNHCR reported that 3,740 lives had been lost so far in 2016, just short of the 3,771 reported for the whole of 2015."[38] This is also another sad aspect of being a refugee. Considering the fact that refugees should be protected by international

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[38] UNHCR UN Refugee Agency
http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/10/580f3e684/mediterranean-death-toll-soars-2016-deadliest-year.html

law, why a refugee's life is so cheap and why refugees are dying just for seeking secure life.

The concerns of European countries is security base. Why do EU and other countries have problem accepting refugees in their territory? If the answer is protecting national security of the country, so what about Turkey, Lebanon and other hosting countries' national security! On the other hand, we need to question if European countries problem with accepting Syrian refugees is related with their identity, religion and culture!

There are many problems concerning the acceptance of Syrian refugees. These problems are generally explained by security concerns. Today, most of the countries refuse to accept the responsibility and are unwilling to open their borders. In this part of my thesis, we will be able to see the reality by reviewing Turkey-EU agreements for Syrian refugee crisis. On the other hand, there should be concerns about protecting refugee rights and status and preventing threats to their lives. One of the important concerns is their safety during their migration. A number of refugees are losing their life while crossing borders from one country to other. Agreements need to focus on refugee legal rights, status and their future. Turkey and EU countries should also develop cohesive policies for integration of refugees in the community of hosting countries. Therefore, in order to reach a common solution for today's refugee crisis, Turkey and EU need to focus on those points, otherwise issue can be more complicated than today's situation.

In 2015, there was an irregular increase in refugee influx into European terrirory. The number of refugees has reached one million. One million refugees' first arrived in

Greece from Turkey illegaly, and then they spread to other European countries from Greek island. Therefore, in order to end the irregular flow of the refugees from Turkey to Europe, head of the EU's states and Turkish government decided to have certain agreements.

In order to control the refugee influx a number of EU members started to close their border. There are many questions and concerns for this kind of policy of Europe. Why did they adopt this kind of policy, why do they want to limit the number of refugees crossing their borders. Considering the number of refugees in Turkey which is more than three million today, why doesn't international community try to stop refugee flows to Turkey as well. I think all these questions can be explained by traditional school of realist theory. Amnesty International followed this line of question: "Turkey is already the largest host to refugees in the world, with three million refugees in the country".[39] Therefore, they said that: "It is unacceptable to expect that responsibility for refugees and asylum seekers should be entirely carried by a country that already hosts three million refugees".[40] Even if the EU and Turkey started to develop certain solution for this refugee crisis, they are focused on their own national interests. Interests of the state are the core decisive mechanism of state relations.

In contrast to EU summit for refugee crisis, the European Council make their decision this way. "All new irregular migrants crossing from Turkey into Greek island as from 20 March 2016 will be returned to Turkey and Turkey will take any

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[39] EU-TURKEY SUMMIT: DON'T WASH HANDS OF REFUGEE RIGHTS
https://www.amnesty.org/en/press-releases/2016/03/eu-turkey-summit-refugees/
[40] EU-TURKEY SUMMIT: DON'T WASH HANDS OF REFUGEE RIGHTS
https://www.amnesty.org/en/press-releases/2016/03/eu-turkey-summit-refugees/

necessary measures to prevent new sea or land routes for illegal migration opening from Turkey to EU and will cooperate with neighboring states as well as the EU to this effect". [41] Therefore, according to this statement, Turkey should accept refugee returns from EU and Turkey needs to keep them in its border. In respond toTurkish government's acceptance of every returned refugee, EU will accept to take one refugee from Tukey's refugee camps. Another agreement is about financial assistance of EU to Turkey for this refugee crisis. EU has accepted to send three billion euros for facilitating Syrian refugees. Therefore agreement conditions are not focused on solving refugee crisis or refugees' safety, their rights and status issues. By this agreements, EU aimed to reduce refugee numbers in their territory. In reality readmission agreement aimed to protect EU's border security by preventing illegal refugee flows. Today European countries try to solve the refugee problem by providing financial aid. This is because economic burden of refugees creates less risk than the security risk of refugees for hosting countries. Therefore, controlling the size of refugees makes sense for hosting countries. There are twenty-eight countries in EU and their social, and financial resources are more than enough when we compare to Turkey or any single country who is hosting refugees with its limited sources. Therefore it is not the same struggle that Turkey with three million refugees has in comparison with the 28 European countries that are sharing the burden with certain possible risks and responsibilities.

Although another aspect of EU-Turkey agreement is financial aids of the EU to Turkey, it needs to be well understood that the budget is not going to Turkish government's arbitrary spending for itself. It's a budget needed for Syrian refugees

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[41] European Council, Council of the European Union, "EU-Turkey statement, 18 March 2016" http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/03/18-eu-turkey-statement/

who live in Turkey. Therefore, Turkish government should spend that money for basic needs of more than three million refugees. However in long term, those financial aids will not be enough to protect Turkey's border security or will not reduce the rising crime rate or stop the terrorist attacks due to the crisis in Turkey.

All member of 1951 Geneva Convention for refugee status and rights are missing important point, which is the definition of the refugee status and the responsibility of the members for such crisis. The refugees are just seeking a secure life. This is very normal and acceptable according to the content of the convention. However today there is a big dilemma between the content of conventions' article and its implemention in reality by the members of the convention. Although Turkey is a country that has signed the 1951 Geneva Convention by adding geographical limitation article, there is no legal responsibility for Turkey to protect and give refugee status to whoever comes from outside of European countries. Therefore, the responsibility of Turkey for Syrian refugee crisis can be only explain by humanitarian and conscientious values of Turkish government. Serious responsibility of such humanitarian crisis should be on EU's shoulders otherwise, there is no meaning to founder and supporter of human rights. Therefore, EU needs to develop more protection policy for Syrian refugees by opening their doors in contrast to closing. EU has a big territory with its member countries. If they would accept to share refugees among themselves, it could be part of a solution for this crisis. Otherwise, if they put barriers to refugees routes, Syrian refugees will seek other possible ways of crossing. Therefore, this circumstance will not end and people will continue to lose their lives just for seeking a livable and secure life for themselves.

In contrast to that, Amnesty director for Europe and Central Asia, Gauri van Gulik raised the point in his speech stating that "Many refugees still live in terrible conditions and some have been deported back to Syria and security forces have even shot of Syrians trying to cross the border".[42] Therefore she called to all countries for solidarity to share this humanitarian responsibility of refugees by this speech of her: "Europe has an absolute duty to protect refugees".[43]

Another EU-Turkey agreement decision on the agenda is about Schengan visa for Turkish citizens. According to that agreement Turkish citizens will have visa free travel to and through EU countries. However, to make this dream come true there are 72 criteria of EU. If Turkey want to have this, they need to implement necessary requirements according to conditions of the agreement. Most of the criteria completed successfully. According to European Commission EU-Turkey Statement progress report in 2016, Turkey meets 65 of 72 requirements of visa liberalization. There are seven criteria left that Turkey must obey and implement. They are based on travel documents compatible with EU, preventing corruption issues, signing operational cooperation with Europe, revision of Turkish legislation and anti-terrorism practices according to EU standards, data sharing according to EU standards, offering effective judicial cooperation in criminal matters to all EU members and lastly implementing all these requirements (EU Commissions, EU-Turkey Statement Report). However in short term it is difficult to implement all these criteria.

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[42] Amnesty International, "EU-Turkey Summit: Don't wash hands of refugee rights" https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/03/eu-turkey-summit-refugees/
[43] Amnesty International, "EU-Turkey Summit: Don't wash hands of refugee rights" https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/03/eu-turkey-summit-refugees/

Because of joint work program and EU-Turkey statement decisions, both countries provide necessary help for humanitarian needs of Syrian refugees. The agreement is based on Turkey and EU members' interests. However, because of the urgency of the situation the two sides don't have much time to implement these clauses. As time goes by, the crises spreads around the world in different ways. Therefore, all the effects of refugee crisis can be serious threats to the world. On the other hand the impoverished refugees urgently need the help of the international community. Especially to determine their status in terms of international law, provide them with the necessary help, and protect their rights in terms of human concerns.

The following chapter is a summary of the thesis, which also includes recommendation.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION AND EVALUATION

Since 2011, Syrian civil war has caused a serious humanitarian crisis that is Syrian refugee crisis. Millions of people seek asylum and escape from their own country and cross the border just seeking a secure life. In this big humanitarian crisis, some of the countries have assumed responsibility for refugees and got involved more than other countries. In this thesis, I focus on Turkey in order to analyze the security risks caused by Syrian refugees in Turkey. Turkey has faced many security issues due to hosting refugees and asylum seekers so far. This is because of its geographical position as a transit country between Eastern and Western parts of the world. From the beginning of the crisis, Turkey started to follow open-door policy in accepting the people who escaped from the war in Syria. Turkey has responded generously to welcome these people by giving high value to human security. However, every passing day, the number of refugees and asylum seekers are increasing causing social, political and economic difficulties and security concerns for Turkey.

The future of Syrian Crisis is not clear yet considering the fact that the situation in Syria is continuously worsening because of the number of the different actors with diverse interests who are seeking power and position in that area. Bashar al-Assad has no intention of giving up his chair, despite the calls, and there are other opposition groups, terrorist groups, interest groups and national groups who are all trying to establish their own authority and power. Because of this complicated

conflict of interests, many people have lost their lives, and escaped from their hometown leaving behind their families, property and all they had in Syria. In addition, there are other external powers playing important roles in this process. In this regard, I see the crisis very critical especially with the way most countries involved have focused on their own interests rather than human security which makes any claims of human security by any of the parties involved questionable.

On the other hand, Turkey is currently hosting 3,049,879 Syrian people in its border. (UN Refugee Agency's Data) Considering this enormous number of people, there is no filter that can separate the real asylum seekers from the rest and decide whether they need to stay in Turkey or not. During the 6 years of Syrian Refugee crisis in Turkey criminal cases, social unrest, and terrorist attacks have increased, and all these problems have created serious concerns for the security of the Turkish government and Turkish nation. That is why I would like to touch one of the research questions of this thesis which is basically the main purpose of the analysis. The thesis seeks answer for the influence of the Syrian refugee crisis on Turkey's security.

To study this point, all primary and secondary sources of the thesis helped me to come up with substantial evidence causing real security threat issues in these 6 years of Refugee influx into Turkey. For example, the incidents that I mentioned in analysis part of the thesis such as bombing attacks in the airports, and in the borders of Syria and Turkey and the car bombings in the cities of Turkey with dense Syrian refugee population. I do not argue that poor refugees are behind all these criminal acts and security issues but rather mean that someone plays behind the curtain in

order to organize those security threats for the Turkish government. From humanitarian viewpoint, many of these people are poor and in need of humanitarian help. However, how can we find an assessment method that can really differentiate the real asylum seekers from the terrorists in the influx? That is why according to my database this thesis considers refugees potential security risk. There are many terrorists who cross the borders into Turkey disguised as refugees.

The legal framework of the thesis is traditional approach of state security and alternative approach of human security considering the effects of the Syrian refugee crisis on Turkey's security. The realist theory can best explain the state centric perspective of the security regarding certain concerns due to the rising social, political and economic security threats to Turkish society.

In order to understand the shift in Turkey's policy toward the Syrian refugees, we need to answer the question, "Why state security outweighs human security in this common humanitarian crisis of the world?" This question brings us to what Realists believe in: the idea of the importance of the state security, national interest and power. Therefore, throughout the world states never allow any threats to their own sovereignty, internal and external security, and national interests. For this reason, Turkey softly shifted its policy toward Syrian refugees from human security oriented to the state security oriented. This is because of the potential threats as outcomes of the refugee crisis, even though those poor refugees are harmless people. This means that the war in Syria is harming Turkey for a number of reasons. Therefore, even if Syrian refugee crisis is not an internal problem of Syria, Turkey is involved by

opening its borders and having operations against the terrorist groups in the border of Syria and Turkey.

Before the Syrian refugee influx, the state security of the Turkish government was not at a perfect level: however, this does not mean that the Syrian refugee influx has not harmed the Turkish security. Since human security and state security are dependent on each other, without protecting human security it is not possible to acquire stable state security within the country. Thus, Turkey started to adopt some new measures to protect its own security interests. In this regard, Turkey has closed its borders, does not allow more refugees to cross Turkey's borders, and has even decided to build a wall on the border. This means that no more easy and unofficial entrance is allowed from Syria into Turkey.

As a result we may argue that today most of the countries try to avoid any responsibility in accepting refugees, even though they support human rights. Today total number of States Parties to the 1951 Geneva Conventions is 145 and the total number of States Parties to1967 Protocols is 146 based on determination of the refugee status and protecting their rights.[44] However, not all of them are efficiently taking part and assuming responsibility in helping with the Syrian refugee crisis. In other words, there is less interest in the issue, and there is not enough burden sharing. The main reason behind the response of the states can be explained by the realist theory since refugees are seen as a security risk by most of the countries. Thus, state security outweighs human security in making a state's policy towards refugees.

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[44] UNHCR, "States Parties to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol" http://www.unhcr.org/protect/PROTECTION/3b73b0d63.pdf

Therefore, this point of analysis supports my hypothesis, "State security is becoming dominant in today's world order".

To sum up, this issue is a common humanitarian problem of the world. In order to overcome the problems caused by refugee influx, all states should have a fair share of the burden. This does not mean to help them financially, but rather open their borders and share the burden of hosting them. Otherwise, the few countries who are hosting an enormous number of refugees will face serious security problems in a near future. If hosting Syrian refugees is shared by other states as well, the number of the refugees accepted by each state will be reasonably small and the states can control them easily to prevent any threat to state security. Moreover, states can provide better life for the refugees and protect their own social, political and economic order easily.

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