

**POLICIES AND
PRACTICES**

160

Syrian Refugees in Turkey : An Overview



December 2024



Policies and Practices 160

December 2024

Published by:

Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group

IA-48, Sector-III, Ground Floor

Salt Lake City

Kolkata-700097

India

Web: <http://www.mcrg.ac.in>

ISSN 2348 0297

Printed by:

Graphic Image

New Market, New Complex, West Block

2nd Floor, Room No. 115, Kolkata-87

This publication is brought out with the support of the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung. It is a part of the research programme of the Calcutta Research Group on migration and forced migration. It is conducted in collaboration with Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, Institute of Human Science, Vienna, and Several Universities and Institution in India.

The Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung (RLS) is a German-based foundation working in South Asia and other parts of the world on the subjects of critical social analysis and civic education. It promotes a sovereign, socialist, secular, and democratic social order, and aims at present members of society and decision-makers with alternative approaches to such an order. Research organisations, groups working for self-emancipation, and social activists are supported in their initiatives to develop models that have the potential to deliver social and economic justice.

The work of Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, South Asia can be accessed at www.rosalux.in.

Sponsored by the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung with funds of the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development of the Federal Republic of Germany. This publication or parts of it can be used by others for free as long as they provide a proper reference to the original publication. The content of the publication is the sole responsibility of the partner and does not necessarily reflect a position of RLS.

Syrian Refugees in Turkey: An Overview

Basel Abou Rokba

2024

Syrian Refugees in Turkey: An Overview

Basel Abou Rokba *

Introduction

Throughout history, Türkiye has been considered one of the most important countries that has received and continues to receive refugees on its territory. Since the founding of the Ottoman Empire, which is considered the historical predecessor of the current Turkish state, the state has received millions of refugees on its lands who fled their country in search of safety and stability in Turkey. Moreover, Turkey was a safe haven of stability and a means of escape for refugees escaping the horrors of World War I, in which the Ottoman Empire was one of the participating countries. Turkey also offered shelter and safety for refugees even during periods of conflict in which it was a participant.

Since the 1920s, since the end of World War I, Turkey has received millions of Muslim refugees from Albanians and Tatars fleeing persecution that was practiced against them in the Balkan countries. Turkey also welcomed more than 300,000 Pomaks and Turkish immigrants in 1989 from Bulgaria's communist government escaping persecution directed against them (Ayhan Kaya 2023).

Considering that their roots are Turkish and they belong to the Turkish culture, Turkey opened the door to refugees from Bulgaria and let them integrate into the local community. They were also allowed to apply for Turkish citizenship based on the provisions of the 1934 law, which is regarded as the first national law related to immigration and asylum in Turkey. Based on the idea of a single national culture, Turkey let them to do so. Nonetheless, the clauses of this legislation restricted awarding refuge and offering shelter only to persons with a Turkish background (Kirişçi 2014).

Another large-scale refugee crisis occurred in Turkey in 1991 when almost 500,000 individuals escaped the brutality of Saddam Hussein against Kurds and other minorities in northern Iraq. The migration swiftly became a serious humanitarian issue because of the difficult hilly terrain and the cold winter weather, and this occurred at a period when Turkey continued to deny the distinct existence of Kurds. At first, the government attempted to prevent refugees from entering Turkey, seeing the events as a threat to national security. The government did, however, launch a diplomatic campaign in response to a combination of internal and foreign backlash, which prompted the UN Security Council to establish a safe zone in northern Iraq that would guarantee the refugees' return to their homes. The year 1988 saw the entrance of about 60,000 Kurds who were escaping the atrocities in Halabja, which preceded this crisis. Without any official legal protection, they were kept as "guests" in southern Turkey. Along with the 1991 refugees, most of them went back to northern Iraq.

The 1991 refugee crisis had a profound and enduring effect on Turkish asylum policy. Turkey passed its first national asylum law in November 1994¹. Law No 6169 of 1994, made it

* Research Scholar, Andhra University, India
Policies and Practices, Issue No. 160, December 2024

evident that the country's security came before human rights. Unless the government decided otherwise, Regulation 6169 stipulated that large-scale refugee inflows had to be addressed before the refugees could² enter Turkey over the border. The Regulation required authorities to house refugees in camps as close to the border as feasible in the unlikely event that they did manage to enter Turkey. The Regulation also specified how individual asylum petitions should be received and handled. As per Turkey's adoption of the 1951 Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees, which imposed a "geographical limitation," the Regulation restricted the eligibility for refugee status to those seeking asylum who were escaping "events in Europe." Outside of Europe, refugees would only be allowed to remain in Turkey temporarily while they were being resettled in third-country. Also, thanks to this law, the definition of an asylum seeker was introduced into the rules of Turkish law on immigration and asylum.

Moreover, thanks to the 1994 law, Turkey began to maintain official statistics on the number of refugees on its territory. The Turkish government, in cooperation with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, registered and evaluated refugee files starting from the entry into force of the aforementioned law. According to these statistics, the majority of documented refugees since 1995 were from Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, and some North African countries, and the number of registered applications for asylum seekers at that time was estimated at 118,000 applications until the Syrian crisis started in 2011 where the number increased rapidly due to the Syrian war which resulted in a huge number of refugees who flee to Turkey(Kirişçi 2014).

Background of Syrian Asylum Seekers in Turkey

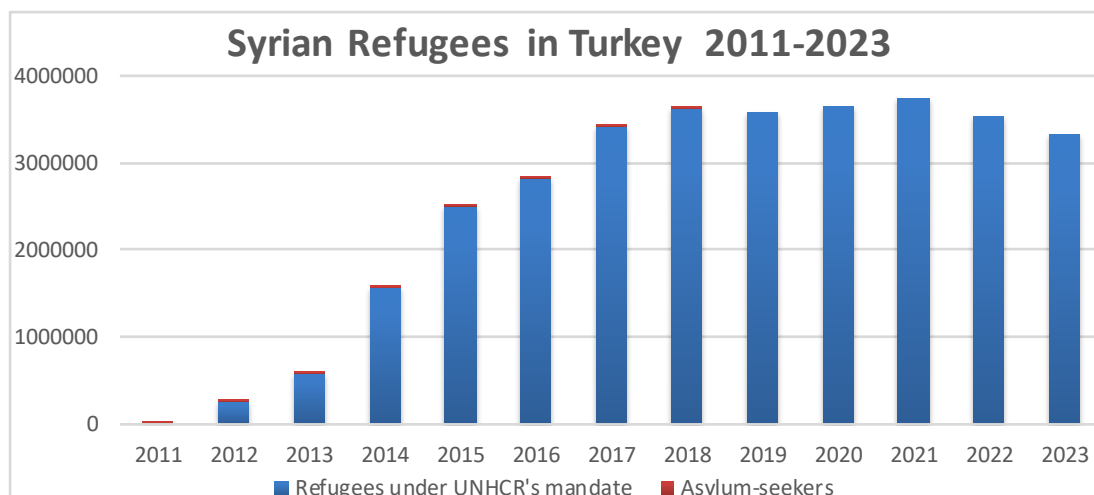
Historically, a small number of Syrians took refuge in Turkey before the outbreak of the Syrian crisis and its transformation into a civil war, as according to official statistics between 1995 and 2011 there were only 635 asylum requests from Syrian citizens(Özden 2013), but this situation changed significantly after April 2011, when the first case of mass asylum was recorded from Syria, and the first number was estimated at 252 asylum seekers who crossed the border to escape the war.

As the intensity of the conflict increased, the number of asylum seekers increased dramatically, as the number of fleeing civilians reached about 10,000 asylum seekers after only two months. After the number of asylum seekers continued to rise, the Turkish government declared an open-door policy towards the civilians fleeing from Syria and extended to them a special legal framework known as "temporary protection." Moreover, Syrians were housed by the Turkish government in temporary shelter centres near the border in the hope that the events in Syria would end and they would be returned. However, the number of Syrian asylum seekers increased significantly until their number rose to about 500,000 by 2013, distributed in the camps set up by the Turkish government in cities(Canpolat 2017).

The number of people fleeing the ongoing conflict in Syria increased significantly as the war continued. Moreover, the emergence of jihadist organizations, especially the Al-Nusra Front and the terrorist organization ISIS, had a major impact on the increase in the number of people fleeing, especially when these organizations began fighting the Syrian government forces to control cities and governorates in the north and east of Syria. The jihadist organizations were able to partially control the governorates of Idlib and Aleppo, and at the same time, the terrorist group "ISIS controlled the governorates of Deir ez-Zor and Raqqa at that time. As a result of the violence practised by these organizations, especially the terrorist organization ISIS, which committed all forms of human rights violations on a large scale, this led to a state of mass flight, which led to an increase in the number of asylum seekers in Turkey in particular, due to the proximity of the conflict areas to the Turkish

borders, which facilitated the arrival of asylum seekers in Turkey and raised the number of registered people to about two and a half million at the end of 2015.

The Russian intervention in the Syrian war also contributed to an increase in the number of asylum seekers in Turkey to about 3 million refugees by the end of 2017, according to official statistics from the Turkish government and the UNHCR. It should be noted that the number of civilians fleeing Syria in Turkey until the year 2024 continued to fluctuate at around three and a half million male (1,970,837) and (1,661,785) female refugees(Schoemaker 2016).



Source: <https://www.unhcr.org/refugee-statistics/download/?url=84kwWq>

In light of the Syrian refugee crisis, Turkey has become one of the largest countries that has received refugees on its soil within a short period. Turkey ranked fifth in the world among the industrialized countries that received refugees of various nationalities (Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, and others) and in first position among the nations that took in Syrian refugees, owing to the deep familial ties between the two nations as well as the open-door policy that the Turkish government has maintained from the start of the Syrian crisis.

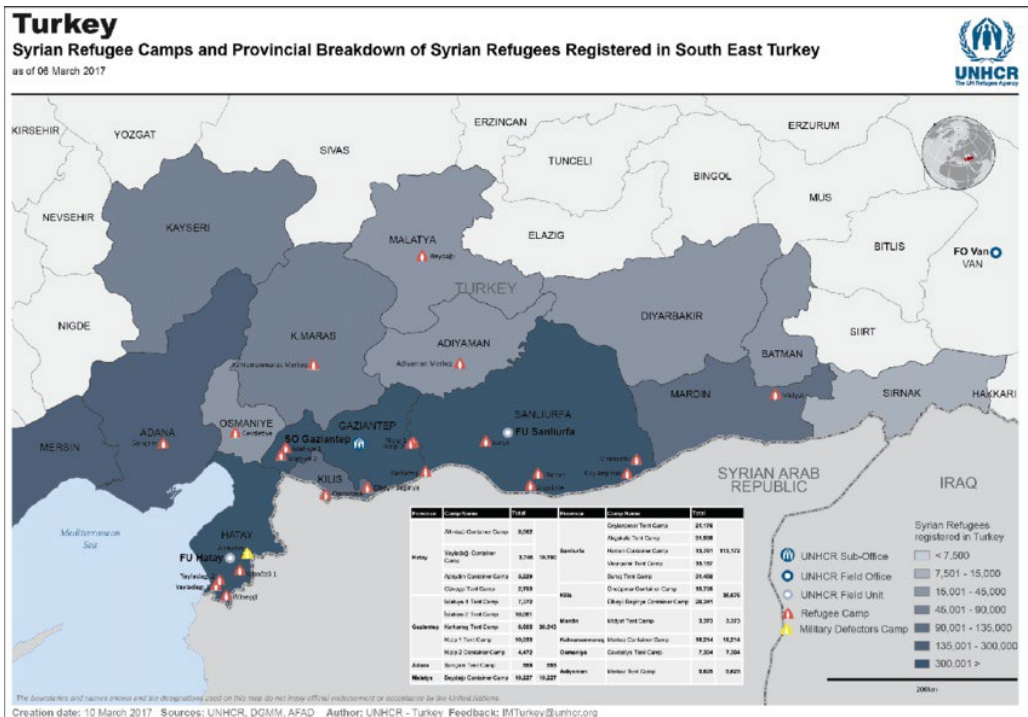
To accommodate the large numbers of fleeing civilians, the Turkish government has established temporary shelter centres since 2011, and the number of these centres has increased until it reached about 22 centres at the end of 2014, housing about 260,000 civilians. These shelter centres are mainly concentrated in the Turkish cities located near the Syrian border including Hatay, Gaziantep, Sanliurfa, Adana, Mardin, Kahramanmaraş, Osmaniye, Malatya, Adi Yaman, Istanbul, etc. Below is the information on the Syrian refugee centres(Özden 2013).

Province	Centre name	Location	Capacity	Notes
Hatay	Yayladağı Refugee Camp	Yayladağı	298.830	One of the first camps established
Gaziantep	Islahiye Refugee Camp	Islahiye	434.045	Mix of tents and container units
Adana	Sarıçam Refugee Camp	Sarıçam	239.660	Combination of tents and prefabricated units
Kahramanmaraş	Kahramanmaraş Refugee Camp	Kahramanmaraş	90.560	Well-organized facilities
Kilis	Öncüpinar Container City	Öncüpinar	75.971	Known for better living conditions
Osmaniye	Cevdetiye Refugee Camp	Cevdetiye	37.940	Provides comprehensive support services
Malatya	Beydağı Refugee Camp	Beydağı	31.423	Focus on social integration

Source: UNHCR Turkey & Turkish Government

It should be noted that only 1.4% of Syrian refugees live in shelter centres. The number of refugees in shelter centres decreased until the year 2023, when the number of civilians in shelter centres reached about 73,854. When compared to camps established in other nations, it is important to note that the shelter centres set up by the Turkish government in collaboration with local organisations were among the best places in the region to host Syrian asylum seekers because all forms of protection were provided by Turkish army forces. There are health centres, social care centres for women and children, and schools. The organisation that supports these centres feeds impoverished families daily (“Number of Syrians in Turkey” 2023).

The conditions of civilians inside shelter centres were reportedly better than those of urban areas and cities, where asylum seekers faced challenges in finding homes to live in and, if they did, in paying rent, working to finance themselves, and some security issues, according to a 2015 report on the situation of Syrian refugees in Turkey published by the Migration Policy Institute. Below the map shows the location where Syrian refugee camps in Turkey.

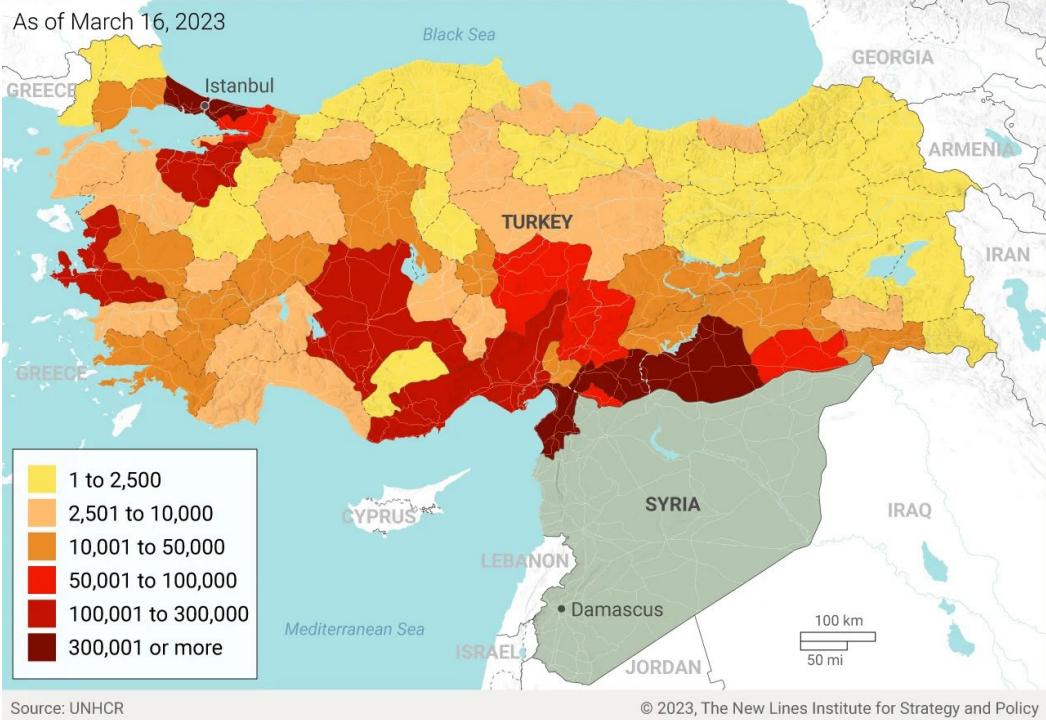


Source: UNHCR 2017

<https://www.researchgate.net/figure/The-location-of-refugee-camps-along-the-Syrian-Turkey-border>

The largest number of refugees live in Turkish cities and villages, especially border cities and some cities located in the western part of Turkey due to the availability of job opportunities. Whereas, according to official statistics issued by the Turkish government and the High Commissioner for Refugees in the year 2023, the number of Syrian refugees living in cities and urban villages was about 3 million refugees, which is approximately 97% of the refugees registered in Turkey. The map below shows the distribution of refugees in Turkish cities.

Syrian Refugees in Turkey



Source: <https://newlinesinstitute.org/displacement-and-migration/protecting-syrian-refugees-in-turkey-from-forced-repatriation/>

It should be noted that Turkey's policy towards Syrian refugees has changed in recent years, especially after tightening border controls and building a separating fence between Turkey and Syria to limit the flow of refugees and Turkey following a policy of deportation of refugees who do not have temporary residence permits.

Legal Status of Syrian Asylum Seekers in Turkey

At the beginning of the Syrian crisis and until October 2011, the Turkish government used the term “guests” to civilians fleeing Syria (Yıldız and Uzgören 2016), which resulted in the absence of any clear definition of Syrian asylum seekers and their failure to enjoy the legal rights granted to asylum seekers following the rules of international law.

This was due to the Turkish government's belief that similar to what occurred with the Kurdish refugee issue from Iraq in the 1980s, the situation in Syria would be handled swiftly with the collapse of the Damascus regime and that asylum applicants would rapidly return to their country (İçduygu and Aksel 2013).

The second reason for granting civilians fleeing Syria the status of guests is the lack of internal legal legislation in Turkey regulating the status of non-European asylum seekers.

Whereas, since the beginning of the Syrian crisis and the beginning of the refugee movements of Syrian civilians to Türkiye, Turkey relied on the legal framework governing immigration and refugees under the rules of the 1994 law, known as Law No. 6169, whose rules were essentially built on the provisions of the 1951 Convention for the Protection of Refugees, which Turkey signed in the 1960s(İçduygu and Aksel 2013).

According to the provisions of this law, every civilian who applies for asylum to the Turkish government, coming from a European countries, is considered a legal refugee only because he has been exposed to any of the causes of persecution stipulated in the 1951 Convention(G. Turkey 1994).

However, with the prolongation of the Syrian crisis and its transformation into a civil war, and with the significant increase in the number of civilians fleeing the horrors of war towards Turkish territory, The Turkish government was forced to confront the crisis of asylum seekers, and to find a temporary legal solution to the problem of defining the legal status of Syrian asylum seekers, the Turkish government issued 2012 Council of Ministers Directive No. 62 of 2012, titled “Directive Regarding the Admission and Accommodation of Nationals of the Syrian Arab Republic and Stateless Persons Residing in the Syrian Arab Republic Arriving to Turkey To Seek Mass Asylum”³, which stipulated defining Syrian asylum seekers as people who fall under what is known as temporary protection.

This directive principle, which was issued by the Turkish Ministry of the Interior, was given a clearer legal description. This regulation committed the Turkish government to the principle of non-refoulement in accordance with the rules of international law. The Turkish government also began providing medical and food aid to people who fall under the temporary protection system. Furthermore, with the increase in the number of asylum seekers arriving in Turkey from Syria, and as part of work to find clearer legal solutions and to control the number of arriving refugees, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey worked to issue a new law regulating the status of foreigners and asylum seekers. Indeed, the law of 2013, known as Legislation No. 6458⁴, was released(Government of Turkey 2013).

One of the most significant outcomes of this legislation was Article 62, which gave rise to the phrase "conditional refugee" in lieu of "asylum seekers." Compared to the 1994 law's provisions, this helped clarify the legal position of non-European asylum applicants more precisely. Article 62 was applied to Syrian asylum seekers and defined the conditional refugee as follows:

“A person who as a result of events occurring outside European countries and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it, shall be granted conditional refugee status upon completion of the refugee status determination process. Conditional refugees shall be allowed to reside in Turkey temporarily until they are resettled to a third country.(Government of Turkey 2013)”

Moreover, Law No. 6458 reaffirmed that Turkey will continue to follow an open-door policy to receive civilians fleeing Syria and that the rules of this law will be applied to Syrian asylum seekers and they will be granted conditional refugee status. Accordingly, the Syrian refugees obtained temporary protection, which later allowed them to move to live outside the camps. After registering in collaboration with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Syrian refugees were granted special

identification cards under the temporary protection system. These cards allowed them to access social, medical, and health services, education, the labour market, and legal representation in court.

Living Conditions and Basic Needs of Refugees in Turkey

After the 2013 law entered into force in Turkey, which granted Syrians a clearer legal status (conditional refugee status), this law resulted in them obtaining temporary protection and a refugee identification card, which was issued by the Turkish Ministry of Interior.

Therefore, after the Syrian refugees obtained the Kamlik card⁵, and with the force of Article 91 of the 6458 law of 2013, Syrian refugees were granted the right to obtain health services, education, and entry into the labour market and social services. However, it should be noted that when talking about the living conditions and basic needs of Syrian refugees, they must be divided into two categories: the category of refugees residing in temporary shelter centres and the category of refugees residing in cities and villages in terms of access to services and basic refugee rights.

A. The Condition of Refugees inside the Camps

As mentioned previously, since the movement of Syrian civilians to Turkey began, the Turkish government, in cooperation with local and international organizations, has worked to establish refugee camps near the Syrian border in Turkish cities. These camps were called temporary refugee reception centres to contain the huge numbers of fleeing civilians. The Turkish government assigned the task of supervising these centres to the Presidency of Disaster and Emergency Management of the Turkish government, unlike the rest of the refugee camps in neighbouring countries, which are directly supervised by the High Commissioner for Refugees.

Indeed, these camps, the number of which we mentioned previously, have formed a safe refuge for many civilians, who live comfortably and have many services available to them, due to the large funding that the Turkish government spends to meet the needs of civilians. As the expenses provided by the Turkish government until 2015 exceeded two and a half billion dollars, which increased successively with the increasing number of refugees, as the government stated in 2020 that Turkish support for refugees exceeded forty billion dollars,

Apart from the contributions made by regional non-governmental organisations, which amounted to more than \$500 million, there is also outside assistance from donor nations, which will surpass \$7 billion by the end of 2021. This assistance is granted by the European Union countries in accordance with the terms of the Brussels Agreement to Support Refugees, which was signed by Turkey and the member states of the EU.

The support provided by some countries and other international organizations can be summarized in the following table.

Donor	Amount USD	Year(s)	Purpose/Notes
European Union (EU)	\$6 billion	2016-2021	EU Facility for Refugees in Turkey, supporting humanitarian aid, education, healthcare, etc.
United States	\$3 billion+	2012-2023	Humanitarian assistance, including food, shelter, and medical aid through USAID and other agencies
United Nations, UN	\$1 billion+	2012-2023	Various UN agencies (UNHCR, UNICEF, WFP) providing humanitarian relief and support
World Bank	\$500 million	2017-2023	Loans and grants for development projects and infrastructure
European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD)	\$300 million	2016-2023	Loans and investments in infrastructure and business development
International Monetary Fund (IMF)	\$250 million	2016-2023	Financial support and economic stabilization
Saudi Arabia	\$50 million	2012-2023	Humanitarian assistance and support for healthcare facilities

Source: UNHCR, AFAD website

The Syrian refugees in the camps received all the necessities and services from the Turkish government thanks to this aid; in fact, many reports ranked the camps as among the best in the region for housing refugees, even surpassing those of some other countries in the region such as Lebanon and Jordan (“Number of Syrians in Turkey,” 2023).

This has been made possible by the efforts of the Disaster and Emergency Administration (AFAD), which collaborated with all Turkish government ministries and agencies to ensure that the Syrian refugees living in the camps had a respectable life rather than taking full responsibility for them alone. The following are some of the most significant privileges that the refugees were granted:

Housing:

Obtaining adequate housing is considered one of the most important pillars of the continuation of life for all human beings without discrimination. It is an inherent right of all human beings and has been referred to by all divine religions and subsequently man-made laws since time immemorial.

International laws throughout history have also referred to this right, especially in the modern era after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as stated in Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights(*The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 25* 1948), which explicitly referred to the human right to obtain adequate housing for oneself and one's family. Moreover, Article 21 of the 1951 Convention for the Protection of the Rights of Refugees also indicated that the refugee has the right to obtain adequate and healthy housing(UNHCR 1967), and that the member states of the Convention are obligated to direct their authorities to assist refugees on their lands to obtain appropriate housing that preserves the dignity of the refugees, and that they be treated preferentially and equally with citizens of these countries that receive refugees.

Therefore, when talking about Syrian refugees residing in Turkish camps and their right to obtain adequate housing, it should be noted that the Turkish Disaster and Emergency Management Administration (AFAD), since the beginning of the exodus of Syrians to Turkish territory, has worked to establish camps near the border with Syria to shelter refugees and has provided all the services they need. As the influx of refugees continued, the Turkish government established dozens of camps to accommodate the huge numbers of refugees.

Over time, the Disaster and Emergency Management Department, with the support of the Turkish government and donor countries, built prefabricated houses and replaced the tents with containers for families to avoid the weather conditions, as they are better than traditional tents and protect the refugees from the heat of summer and the cold of winter(Canpolat 2017).

Until these prefabricated houses became an alternative to tents, they were organized and managed, and the Turkish government entrusted the Ministry of the Interior with the task of protecting these camps in cooperation with AFAD. The camps' protection forces adopted the electronic fingerprint system to monitor those entering and leaving the camps.

The Turkish camps housing Syrian refugees are also distinguished by their cleanliness compared to other camps in neighbouring countries, which suffer from the spread of unpleasant Odors as a result of lack of organization, the spread of filth, drowning in mud in the winter, and the spread of dust in the summer. Moreover, the Turkish government has paid great attention to maintaining the provision of all types of services in the camps and shelter centres, as nearly 160 annexes were opened for the camps. These annexes include social service centres, mosques, sports centres, and educational centres that aim to increase awareness among refugees and thousands of refugees benefited from training and educational courses. The camps were also attached to laundry centres to clean clothes to avoid epidemics, and freshwater suitable for daily use was provided.

As for food, the Disaster and Emergency Management Department contracted with contractors to provide three meals for resident families, but after the refugees complained about the quality of the food, AFAD worked to provide food vouchers and financial support to the refugees, where the refugees could shop from the commercial centres that had been previously built inside or near the camps.



Source: <https://global-ehsan-relief.org/appeal/housing-for-syrian-refugees/>

Education:

The right of all people to a suitable education was included in Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The aforementioned article's opening paragraph discussed how important it is to provide elementary school students with free and mandatory education. Contracting states are required under the Universal Charter on Human Rights to make every effort to ensure that every citizen of their territories has the right to exercise that right without facing discrimination.

According to Article 22 of the 1951 Convention, member states that welcome refugees on their soil are required to provide refugees with the same access to education—particularly basic education for children—as their citizens.

Paragraph 2 of Article 22 of the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees states that the member nations should endeavor to provide refugees with the greatest possible care when it comes to receiving university and vocational education, and that education must be free.

In Turkey, UNICEF advised Turkish authorities not to disregard the right of refugees to education as the majority of refugees in Turkey were children who had been forcibly removed from their schools after being uprooted along with their families. As we previously mentioned, the Disaster and Emergency Management Authority (AFAD) has established temporary educational centres inside the camps in collaboration with UNICEF. The Turkish authorities handling the refugee issue responded.

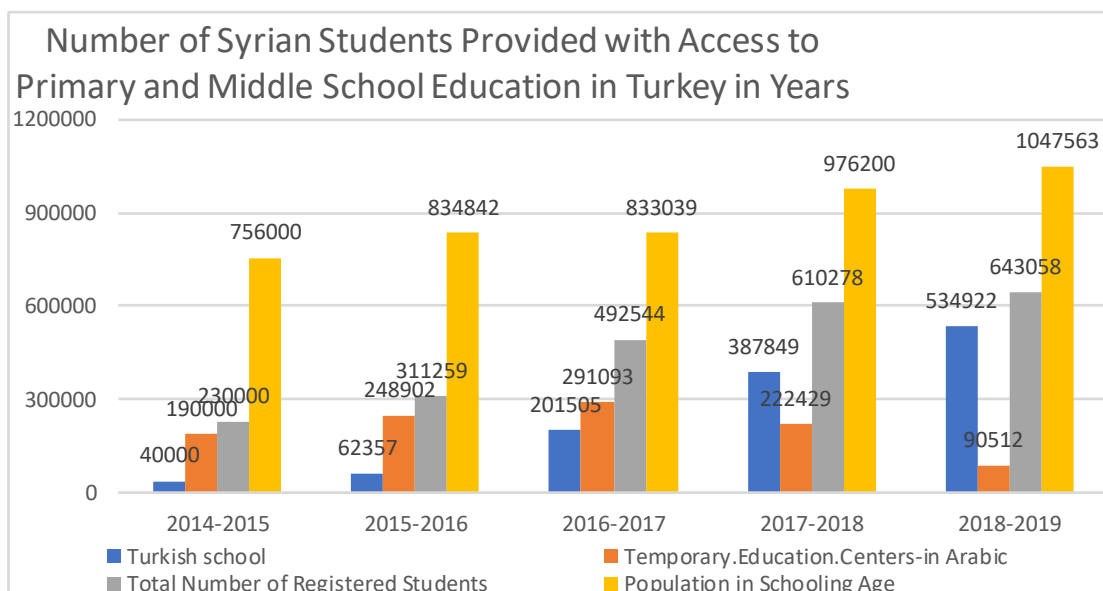
More than 65,000 children in the camps received an education from these schools, where Arabic was the medium of instruction after UNICEF collaborated with regional Turkish organizations to hire Syrian refugees as instructors(Tumen 2023).

It should be mentioned that since the temporary education centers opened, interested parties have not requested any documentation from refugees to finish their school registration; instead, a probing test was used to ascertain the pupils' intellectual level alone.

Before the Turkish Ministry of Education declared that the Turkish curriculum would be accepted upon the completion of the stage of qualified teachers and educating them in the Turkish language, the Syrian curricula were also initially followed.

In 2015 and 2016, the Ministry of Education released a study stating that only roughly 380,000 pupils were not attending school due to Syrian refugee status, out of about 870,000 students. The Ministry stated that this percentage of school dropouts is thought to be low.

The Ministry of Education at that time especially after 2018 put into practice a policy that encourages students to attend school by offering resources, financial aid, and facilities to help get more Syrian students enrolled and the strategy was effective as the number of students raised accordingly till it reaches 1 million and a half, below the chart demonstrates the number of Syrian refugee's students till 2019 specifically in primary and middle school education(Çelik 2022).



Source: MEB – Directorate General for Lifelong Learning, Turkish Government. <https://hbogm.meb.gov.tr>

Moreover, The Turkish Ministry of Education adopted a progressive integration strategy for Syrian students into Turkish schools and universities up to 2020. With the help of the Turkish government, many Syrian students were able to finish their higher education(Çelik 2022).



A picture of the temporary education centre in the Syrian refugees' camps in turkey, source: <https://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2015/04/17/399937929/turkish-educator-pledges-10m-to-set-up-universities-for-syrian-refugees>

Access to Health Care:

In line with the provisions of Article 25 of the Universal Charter on Human Rights, which established that every person has the right to a living standard that guarantees his or her dignity as well as access to proper shelter, food, clothes, and medical care. Thus, it might be said that the freedom to get medical treatment is among the rights that the Global Charter specifically mentions. In the preceding article, it was also underlined that every member of society has the right to pursue their rights and that governments should endeavor to provide these rights so that people may live with dignity.

One of the most significant human rights is the ability to get health care, as stated in Article 12 of the International Covenant on Economic and Social Rights.

Regarding the 1951 Convention's provisions about the right to obtain health care, it is evident that while this right was not mentioned by name in the agreement, it was covered by numerous other clauses requiring hosting countries to guarantee that refugees have access to basic medical services. Regarding public relief concerns, provision 23 is perhaps the most significant law provision that made an oblique reference to the right to health care.

This article ensures that refugees have the same access to aid and support in all forms, including health care services, as native-born residents of the host nation.

Regarding the right to health care, which is regarded as one of the most significant human rights that must be taken into consideration, Turkey's constitutional law guarantees the right to obtain health care for citizens as well as other foreigners and refugees on an equal footing.

Additionally, Turkish constitutional law was consistent with other European constitutions and the European Human Rights Convention(Hizmetleri 2017).

The right to healthcare was granted to the Syrian refugees housed in Turkish camps (particularly to minors and expectant mothers whose conditions need medical attention). Following the enactment of Law No. 6458 of 2013, which granted Syrian refugees conditional refugee status, the refugees obtained, as we have already mentioned, an identity card, which, following Article 89 of that same law(Government of Turkey 2014), granted them the right to receive health care.

However, in order to get medical treatment in any government hospital or health centre, the refugee must first be registered under the temporary protection system, according to Article 89, And in regards to refugees who have not registered with the temporary protection system, they are only eligible for free health treatment for communicable illnesses and emergency medical attention.

But as for refugees who have an official residence permit and a work permit, they must bear the costs of health care themselves, because according to Turkish law, one of the conditions for obtaining an official residence permit is obtaining comprehensive health insurance, so they had to rely on health services covered by health insurance Canpolat, supra note 13.

It is worth noting that the Disaster and Emergency Management Department of the Turkish Ministry of the Interior was the body responsible for ensuring refugees' access to healthcare services, as AFAD signed a cooperation protocol with the Turkish Ministry of Health in the year 2015-2016, which stipulates that AFAD will pay the costs of Health Care services for refugees in all public centers and hospitals(Assi, Özger-İlhan, and İlhan 2019).

The Turkish government also provided translation services in some hospitals and health centers, since language was a major obstacle in communication between the refugee and the host community in all areas of life, especially in hospitals.

The Ministry also allocated a free contact number for emergencies in the event of a lack of translators, Moreover, some health centers have also been established near or inside refugee camps in cooperation with some international organizations.

Right to Work:

According to Article 23 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, every person has the freedom to choose their line of work and the right to practice whatever profession they see fit, provided that the working environment is humane and suitable for their nature. The aforementioned essay also discussed how workers should be shielded from discrimination and how everyone has the right to be paid fairly for the work they do so they may support themselves and their families in a dignified manner.

The right of refugees to work was also covered by the 1951 Convention in several significant provisions, the most significant of which being provisions 17, 18, and 19. The agreement also stated that refugees had the right to work for pay, independently (on private enterprises), and in liberal professions in a manner that allowed them to provide for their family. According to the agreement, member states and nations that host refugees on their soil must do all within their power to help refugees find employment and comply with domestic legal requirements.

As we previously mentioned, Turkey took in the greatest number of Syrian refugees of any country in the Middle East. Based on data from the Turkish government's 2018 statistics, the country's working-age refugee population was estimated to be around 2 million individuals, aged 15 to 65(Tumen 2023).

However, it should be noted that, as of July 8, 2015, Al Arabiya TV published a statement by the Turkish Minister of Labour stating that granting work permits to Syrian refugees would be unfair to Turkish citizens and deprive them of job opportunities at a time when Turkey is suffering from slow economic growth and a high unemployment rate of approximately 10%, the Minister of Labour claimed that up until 2015(Alarabiya 2015), the Turkish government had prohibited Syrian refugees from working with or without a permit.

For this reason, Turkey did not allow refugees to work except in some liberal professions, such as agriculture and herding, and at the same time allowed refugees inside the camps, such as teachers and doctors, to work to serve the residents of these camps only.

The Turkish Minister of Labor said in a statement to Reuters in 2015, “There are no plans to grant work permits under a general program.” He added: “There cannot be a general procedure that provides them with work permits because we have our workforce. We are trying to educate and train our unemployed people can find jobs in Turkey.”

The refugees at that time were completely dependent on the aid granted by the Turkish government and other international organizations. This aid was limited in nature and did not exceed \$50 per month per person per month, which harmed the lives of the refugees by forcing them to rely on financial aid and not allowing them to rely on themselves economically.

The situation of refugees continued in this state until the Turkish government issued Law No. 6458 of 2013, which indicated in Article 89 that the refugee has the right to work after obtaining a work permit from the Ministry of Labor and Social Security after completing 6 months from the date of obtaining temporary protection. However, the application of this article collided with the practical reality and with the decision of the Turkish Minister of Labor, who declared that he would not grant refugees a work permit(Soykan 2014).

In order to address the labour issue—particularly given that a large number of refugees at the time had started working informally and without a Ministry of Labour work permit—Turkey issued Law No. 8375 of 2016(G.Turkey 2016), which codified the hiring procedure for foreign workers.

According to the legislation, those who are granted temporary protection and those who want to work in the agricultural and cattle grazing sectors are not required to get a work permit. However, this exemption is not unconditional, as the refugee must file an official application in order to be granted this exemption.

This legislation also permitted the government to provide work permits to Syrian refugees who were registered under the temporary protection system, enabling them to pursue legitimate job possibilities across all industries. Nevertheless, the Turkish Ministry of Interior reports that up until 2018, the government only provided 65,000 work licences, making it difficult for Syrians living in Turkey to find employment(Leghtas 2019a).

B. The Condition of Refugees outside the Camps (Upran Refugees)

As previously stated, in 2013, and particularly after the enactment of Law No. 6458 of 2013, which addressed the legal status of refugees generally on Turkish territory and Syrian refugees specifically, the Syrian refugees were granted conditional refugee status, allowing them to live outside of camps by the Turkish government.

Syrian refugees have, in fact, dispersed across the majority of Turkish towns and cities, particularly in big cities where employment possibilities are accessible or in the places where their

family and supporters live. Approximately 3 million and 234 thousand Syrians, or 98% of all Syrian refugees living in Turkey, reside outside of the camps(Özden 2013).

The following factors are perhaps the most significant ones that drove refugees to reside outside of camps or in cities:

- The existence of refugees who had entered Turkey illegally, had not registered with any Turkish state, or had chosen not to do so out of fear of being sent back or of facing persecution from the Syrian government if they become refugees. Many refugees choose to reside in cities or outside of camps in order to escape the registration procedure.
- The presence of people who are related to the refugees among Turkish citizens, as these refugees preferred to live with them outside the camps.
- Because there were few work prospects in the camps, many Syrian refugees chose to reside in towns and cities in order to look for work so they could support their family.
- Many Syrian refugees in good financial condition preferred to live outside the camps for personal reasons, as life in the city suits their lifestyle before they fled Syria.
- The aspiration of many refugees to go to European nations where prospects for employment are greater and living standards are higher. In fact, this is what transpired, with hundreds of thousands of migrants making the sea crossing towards European nations.

It cannot be argued that the lives of the 98% of the refugees who opted to live in cities in quest of stability and a fair living were completely trouble-free or that they were able to seamlessly assimilate into Turkish culture. Life was hard outside the camp for a variety of reasons, the most significant of which are: looking for job, obtaining essentials of life, being taken advantage of at work and while renting a house, locating housing, language barrier and several other difficulties. As a result, we will examine the following aspects of the refugee situation outside of the camps(Tumen 2023).

Housing

The problem of finding a suitable home to live in was one of the biggest challenges facing refugees, especially in the border cities that were crowded with refugees, where the number of homes was not sufficient to accommodate the huge numbers of refugees who preferred to live outside the camps.

Due to the rapid and large increase in demand for housing, and due to the large demand and limited supply, the price of renting housing increased significantly, which posed an early challenge for many relatively poor families, as many refugees were forced to work in order to bear the costs of housing and living(Saferworld and Conciliation Resources 2016).

In other cases, many families were compelled to live together to split the rent. Families without a primary provider were also compelled to work in appalling circumstances, and child labour proliferated in occupations that were inappropriate for their age or physical capabilities, such as factory work, maintenance, and the collection of plastic and trash. Furthermore, the refugees' housing problems did not end there. Those who were fortunate enough to find housing later had to deal with the avarice of the property owners and their onerous demands, which frequently fell on the shoulders of the unemployed refugees. These demands included controlling entry and exit dates and paying the rent in full advance, among many other things.

Furthermore, because of their incapacity to pay for housing, refugees were sometimes forced to reside in unsuitable and inadequately maintained dwellings. In addition, a lot of families were forced to live in the basements, industrial annexes, and barns where they worked. Despite these difficulties, however, a large number of Turks have certainly shown a great deal of compassion for the refugees since they arrived in Turkey and have done so by providing them with aid, waiving their rent obligations, and assisting them in locating employment prospects (Exile 2024).

Education:

As we mentioned previously, the Turkish government has provided many possibilities for Syrian refugees residing in the camps to help them complete their education, especially in the primary and middle levels.

Moreover, the government adopted many policies to encourage refugees to send their children to schools, and the obstacles were removed because the right to education, especially for children, who constituted 53% of the number of registered refugees in Turkey, is one of the rights protected internationally and constitutionally at the level of internal Turkish law.

Article 43 of the Constitution stipulates the right of all individuals residing on Turkish territory, regardless of their nationality and legal status, to obtain appropriate education (Government of Turkey 1982).

Article 28 of the Temporary Protection Law of 2013 also stipulates the right of refugees to obtain education and obliges the Turkish government to provide all requirements to obtain this right inside and outside temporary shelter centres (Soykan 2014).

Indeed, refugees were able to register their children in schools located in the cities in which they reside, even if they did not possess official documents or residency or were included in the temporary protection system.

As we mentioned previously, similar to the schools that were opened inside the temporary residence centres and which provided educational opportunities in the Arabic language, refugees outside the camps were also able to obtain the opportunity of education in schools that followed the Syrian educational curriculum until the Turkish government decided to follow a policy of integrating refugees into the Turkish schools and following the Turkish curriculum in education in public schools affiliated with the Turkish Ministry of Education (Çelik 2022).

However, it should be noted that the number of students who benefited from their right to education outside the camps was much lower than those who benefited from the right to education inside the camps, as the number of students enrolled in schools outside the camps was estimated at about 25%, according to statistics in 2016.

The reason was that schools outside the camps followed the Turkish curriculum and taught exclusively in the Turkish language, and many of the refugees at that time were not fluent in the Turkish language.

In order to enhance the number of students enrolled in schools and colleges, the Turkish government established Turkish language teaching institutions in collaboration with local organisations. In fact, this programme worked, and by the end of 2019, there were around one million students enrolled in Turkish schools.

The Turkish government also facilitated the procedures for registering students in universities and granted them free scholarships to complete their higher education in universities.

Access to Health Care:

As we have previously said, the Turkish government placed a high priority on Syrian refugees and regarded their access to health care as one of their most fundamental rights.

As previously mentioned, refugees housed in centres for temporary accommodation received medical care from public hospitals, mobile health clinics, and centres set up within the shelter centres in every province of Turkey where they are registered under the temporary protection system. According to Articles 21 and 27 of the Temporary Protection Circular for 2014, refugees living outside of shelter centres received the same health care services as refugees living inside of shelter centres, and they were subject to the same rules.

In order to provide health care services to all refugees registered under the temporary protection system and pay for their medical expenses in all public and private health centres, the Disaster and Emergency Management Department worked to implement the provisions of the law issued in 2013 and the Temporary Protection Circular for Refugees for the year 2014.

Right to Work:

When Syrian refugees outside the camps received little support from organizations and the Turkish government, their need to work was more urgent to support themselves and their families and to obtain the basics of life such as food, clothing, and paying house rent.

This often resulted in people being compelled to work without permission illegally and in industries that need big physical labor, such as sewing, garment manufacture, agricultural, grazing, and maintenance services (Leghtas 2019b). The Turkish government turned a blind eye to refugees who worked to make a living when Labour Law No. 4817 of 2003 (G.Turkey 2003), made it illegal for them to do so without a formal work permit. However, this also left them open to exploitation in many cases where they worked long hours for little pay.

Moreover, due to the type of work, the refugees were doing and the fact that most of them did so without a work permit, Turkish employers were able to take advantage of the refugees' situation because their labor was less expensive than Turkish labor, which requires several legal formalities to complete an employment contract and be eligible for labor health insurance coverage, which provides insurance to the worker if he is hurt on the job or is exposed to accidents; this is something Syrian workers who work without a work permit daily were unable to obtain (Leghtas 2019a).

Many Turkish employers preferred to employ Syrian refugees, even illegally, because, as we mentioned previously, refugees work for cheap wages and employers see them as an opportunity to reduce the costs of salaries and wages they pay to workers.

This aroused the dissatisfaction of the Turkish workers, who had worked for generations in the sectors of agriculture, herding, and other businesses that the Syrian refugees had begun to practice.

Where Turkish workers raised the issue of Syrian employment, this issue was used on many political occasions as an excuse to return refugees to their country or to dismiss them and prevent them from working because they obtain job opportunities for Turkish citizens.

This prompted human rights organizations to repel these allegations, also calling for the legalization of the status of working refugees, granting them social justice at work, and urging citizens and employers to show sympathy for the miserable humanitarian situation of refugees. Especially

since refugees work in difficult conditions and do not receive more than \$8 a day compared to a Turkish worker who earns more than \$20 a day.

It should be noted that the Turkish government did not allow refugees to work, as we mentioned previously in the statement of the Turkish Minister of Labor in the year 2015, and that the Turkish law that was in effect at that time until the year 2016 was Law 4817. Which stipulates that if a foreigner wants to work on Turkish lands, he must obtain:

- 1- Work permit from the Ministry of Labor
- 2- A valid passport
- 3- He must obtain a work permit
- 4- The employer must provide proof to the employment authorities that the worker is capable of doing the work with high efficiency and that Turkey lacks similar cadres(G.Turkey 2003).

When the majority of Syrian refugees did not have these documents required for work and were working illegally, to solve this problem, the Turkish government issued Law No. 8375 of 2016, which legalized the employment of refugees who obtained a temporary protection card(G.Turkey 2016).

Under Law No. 8375 of 2016, the Turkish government allowed the issuance of work permits to refugees in the governorates from which they obtained a temporary protection card, but the implementation of this law was not effective, as only 65,000 refugees obtained a work permit until the year 2018. However, Law No. 8375 of 2016 helped refugees stop their exploitation by employers and stopped racism to some extent against Syrian workers and shop owners.

In conclusion, neither option—living in camps or urban areas—was universally better for Syrian refugees in Turkey, as each had its own set of advantages and challenges.

- For those prioritizing basic needs and security, camps provided a more stable environment with access to essential services but came with restrictions on mobility and employment opportunities.
- For refugees seeking independence and work, urban areas offered more opportunities for employment and integration but often at the cost of higher living expenses and less access to structured services.

Ultimately, the best option for each refugee depended on their circumstances, including their financial situation, family needs, and long-term goals.

Challenges Faced by Syrian Refugees in Turkey

The Absence of a Clear Vision for the Future of Refugees in Türkiye:

Since the beginning of the Syrian crisis and the beginning of the influx of Syrian refugees, Turkey has followed an open-door policy and this policy has been well received by Syrian refugees in Turkey because it has provided a safe haven for more than 3 million refugees.

But the refugees collided with one of the most important legal obstacles, which was (determining their legal status), as the refugees were treated as guests at first, and then Turkey issued a law in 2013, that granted the Syrians conditional refugee status and temporary protection, which granted the Syrians the right of temporary residence. And benefit from social services (such as health, education, and work on a limited basis).

However, the Temporary Protection Law did not grant Syrian refugees legal refugee status recognized under the rules of international refugee law and the 1951 Convention.

Consequently, this deprived refugees of finding long-term solutions to their problems in Turkey, such as obtaining citizenship, which was only granted to about 238,055 refugees until December 2023. While the largest number of refugees remained facing an unknown fate regarding their legal status.

Whereas, according to the Temporary Protection Law, a refugee cannot travel to another country due to his lack of travel documents, and he cannot even move between other Turkish states, as the refugee must live in the state in which he was initially registered, and if he wants to move to another state, he must obtain the approval of the local authorities.

Also, if a refugee is caught in a place other than the registration jurisdiction, he will be placed under surveillance and sometimes forcibly returned to northern Syria.

Moreover, according to a study prepared by the Turkish Centre for Public Policy and Democracy Studies in 2015, this study mainly examined the challenges facing Syrian refugees, especially the legal challenges and the future of refugees in Turkey,

This study found that the vast majority of refugees dream of arriving in Europe, or what they called (the Promised Land), where, according to many refugees, they can find a stable life, work, and legal protection free of ambiguity.

Bureaucracy and Lack of Coordination:

Refugees in Turkey complained of bureaucracy in dealing with Turkish government institutions, especially concerning opening bank accounts to receive aid. Where The refugees initially found major contradictions in the statements of those responsible for caring for refugees when they wanted to have a bank account and obtain a legal residence permit to work later.

Where the refugee was required to have a bank account to obtain residency, and residency was required to obtain a bank account. However, later the Turkish government indicated that the refugee could now obtain a bank account after obtaining a temporary protection card to receive salaries and aid.

The Proliferation of Unemployment and the Scarcity of Possibilities for Securing Legal Employment

We had previously discussed the right of refugees to obtain work, and we had indicated that refugees are not entitled to work in Turkey without obtaining an official permit. We also pointed out that the number of refugees who obtained work permits was very small compared to the number of refugees who can work.

Therefore, obtaining a job opportunity constituted one of the biggest challenges facing refugees, which led to the spread of unemployment and poverty and forced many refugees to work illegally and be exposed to exploitation and the spread of child labour.

Because of the difficult living conditions in Turkey, young people preferred to travel by sea and risk their lives to reach Europe to support their families, which led to thousands of them falling victim to smugglers and human traffickers during the journey by sea.

Using the Refugee Problem as a Political Tool

Since the country's most recent elections in May 2023, there has been a noticeable increase in incitement campaigns directed at Syrian refugees. As a result, presidential contenders have started to

use the topic of deporting refugees to Syria as a political ploy to win over the local populace. In order to incite against Syrians and record themselves abusing refugees, the leaders of Turkish political groups that are against the presence of Syrians have started incitement campaigns and field trips in Syrian-populated districts of southern Turkey and Istanbul.

The parties used a number of strategies, including ordering mayors to impose restrictions on refugees. Under the guise of providing Turkish youth with employment, mayors shut down refugee-owned businesses and fired Syrian employees (Martin 2023).

In addition to prohibiting refugees from traveling freely between Turkish states, the measures to limit refugees also included ceasing to issue temporary protection cards, not registering new refugees, and forcefully deporting them to northern Syria in a clear breach of the principle of non-refoulement.

The most striking example of the incitement campaigns against refugees may be found in the recent events in the Turkish city of Kayseri. A refugee was accused of harassing a Turkish girl, but it was later discovered that the case was made up. Social media helped to spread the word about the case, which had the effect of encouraging Turkish nationalists and extremists to attack and burn down the refugee's homes.

Syrian Refugees in Türkiye Victims of Racist Practices

With the outbreak of the conflict in Syria in 2011, Turkey turned into a safe haven for millions fleeing the furnace of war in search of security and stability. Over the years, the numbers of refugees began to swell in this country, which recently faced the worst natural disaster in its modern history (the February 2023 earthquake). The financial crisis, inflation, and economic recession, in addition to the consequences of the earthquake and the effects of the Corona virus pandemic, are all factors that have intensified the political division in the country, in light of the opposition to refugees in general and Syrians in particular bearing the consequences of the situation. The above paved the way for a discriminatory discourse against refugees in general, which led to a number of recent verbal and physical attacks (preceded by murders) with racist motives against Arab refugees, most of whom are Syrian ("Escalation of Threats and Violence Against Syrian Refugees in Turkey: An Urgent Call to Protect Human Rights" 2024).

The recent presidential elections have come to consolidate the political division in Turkey on the one hand, and to reveal on the other hand the agreement of most political parties on the necessity of ending the refugee file in the country, each according to a program promised to his electoral base. Unfortunately, this did not come without negative results, as the intensity of political polarization and the adoption of populism in electoral speeches led to an increase in racism towards refugees in general and Syrians in particular, and blaming them for most of the problems that the country is currently experiencing, which led to the recording of several incidents of verbal and physical attacks recently (preceded by murders) with racist motives against Arab refugees, most of whom are Syrians.

The escalation of racist discourse has also led to incidents and crimes against Syrian refugees, resulting in victims in the refugee community. There are many examples that are difficult to count, as they occur almost daily and individually. Daily racist practices against refugees have led to refugees falling into a security spiral with no solution, which has made many refugees think about migrating to Europe using the sea route, which has only two options: death or survival.

Conclusion and Findings

The influx of Syrian refugees into Turkey has shaped the country's socio-political landscape in profound ways. As the largest host country for Syrian refugees, Turkey has provided safety and opportunities for millions fleeing the Syrian conflict. However, the settlement patterns of these refugees, whether in urban areas or camps, present unique challenges and opportunities. Refugees residing in urban areas have greater access to employment and services, while those in camps benefit from structured support but face limitations in economic integration. The challenges refugees face—ranging from legal and bureaucratic barriers to social integration and employment opportunities—are multifaceted and deeply interconnected with Turkey's political and economic conditions.

While Turkey's response has been commendable, with the implementation of the Temporary Protection Regulation and the provision of essential services like healthcare and education, it remains clear that the current refugee situation requires more sustainable, long-term strategies. There is also a growing need to address the rising tensions and xenophobia within Turkish society, which could further complicate the integration process for refugees. Overall, the Syrian refugee crisis presents both challenges and opportunities for Turkey, with significant potential for refugees to contribute positively to the country's economy and society if given the right support. Therefore, the findings of the research can be summarized as follows:

1. **Enhance Legal Protections and Employment Opportunities:**
 - Simplify the process for obtaining work permits to encourage formal employment and reduce exploitation in the informal labour market.
 - Provide vocational training programs tailored to the needs of Syrian refugees, helping them acquire skills that meet the demands of the Turkish labour market.
 - Strengthen enforcement of labour laws to protect refugees from workplace discrimination and exploitation.
2. **Promote Social Integration and Reduce Xenophobia:**
 - Implement public awareness campaigns aimed at fostering social cohesion, emphasizing the contributions that Syrian refugees can make to Turkish society.
 - Encourage cross-cultural initiatives and community engagement programs that bring Turkish citizens and Syrian refugees together, promoting mutual understanding and reducing tensions.
3. **Improve Access to Education and Healthcare:**
 - Expand language support programs to ensure that Syrian children can succeed in Turkish schools and bridge the gap in educational attainment.
 - Strengthen access to mental health services for refugees, particularly those who have experienced trauma from the conflict, and ensure healthcare services are culturally and linguistically accessible.
4. **Increase International Cooperation and Financial Support:**
 - Advocate for greater international support and burden-sharing mechanisms to ensure that Turkey does not bear the full weight of the refugee crisis alone. This includes increasing funding from international organizations to support Turkey's refugee assistance programs.
 - Collaborate with the European Union and other international bodies to create pathways for resettlement in third countries for the most vulnerable refugees, relieving some pressure from Turkey and offering long-term solutions for refugees.

By addressing these challenges in a comprehensive and sustainable manner, Turkey can better manage the refugee crisis and harness the potential of Syrian refugees as valuable contributors to society.

References

- Alarabiya. 2015. "Minister of Labor: Türkiye Will Not Grant Syrian Refugees the Right to Work." Alarabiya. 2015. <https://www.alarabiya.net/arab-and-world/syria/2015>.
- Assi, R., S. Özger-İlhan, and M. N. İlhan. 2019. "Health Needs and Access to Health Care: The Case of Syrian Refugees in Turkey." *Public Health* 172 (xxxx): 146–52. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.puhe.2019.05.004>.
- Ayhan Kaya. 2023. "The World's Leading Refugee Host, Turkey Has a Complex Migration History." *Migration Policy Institute (MPI)*, 1–14. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/turkey-migration-history>.
- Canpolat, Begum Ceren. 2017. "Turkish and European Representations of the Syrian Refugees: Political Leverage Vs. Humanitarian Ideals." *Bilkent University*.
- Çelik, Çetin. 2022. "Access to Education." *The Research Centre on Asylum and Migration and Refugee Council of Turkey*. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230598454_18.
- "Escalation of Threats and Violence Against Syrian Refugees in Turkey: An Urgent Call to Protect Human Rights." 2024. Syrian Network for Human Rights. 2024. <https://snhr.org/blog/2024/07/05/escalation-of-threats-and-violence-against-syrian-refugees-in-turkey-an-urgent-call-to-protect-human-rights/>.
- Exile, European Council for Refugees and. 2024. "Housing for Syrian Refugees in Turkey." *Asylum Information Database*. <https://asylumineurope.org/reports/country/turkiye/content-temporary-protection/housing/>.
- G.Turkey. 2003. *Turkey: Law No. 4817 of 2003 on the Work Permit for Foreigners*. <https://www.refworld.org/legal/legislation/natlegbod/2003/en/16871>.
- . 2016. *Decision Number: 2016/8375*. Vol. 85.
- Government of Turkey. 1982. *Constitution of the Republic of Turkey*. <https://www.refworld.org/legal/legislation/natlegbod/1982/en/17317>.
- . 2013. *Law on Foreigners and International Protection*. Turkey: Turkish. <https://en.goc.gov.tr/temporary-protection-in-law-on-foreigners-and-international-protection>.
- Hizmetleri, Salgılık. 2017. "Health Care Services for Syrian Refugees And Other Persons Under Temporary Protection." 2017. <http://mhd.org.tr/images/yayinlar/MHM-5.pdf>.
- İçduygu, Ahmet, and Damla B Aksel. 2013. "Turkish Migration Policies: A Critical Historical Retrospective." *Journal of International Affairs* XVIII (3): 167–90.
- Kirişçi, Kemal. 2014. "Syrian Refugees and Turkey's Challenges: Going Beyond Hospitality." *Brookings Reports*, no. May: 46. <http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/reports/2014/05/12-turkey-syrian-refugees-kirischi/syrian-refugees-and-turkeys-challenges-may-14-2014.pdf>.
- Leghtas, Izza. 2019a. "Insecure Future: Deportations and Lack of Legal Work for Refugees in Turkey." *Refugees International*. 2019. <https://www.refugeesinternational.org/reports-briefs/insecure-future-deportations-and-lack-of-legal-work-for-refugees-in-turkey/>.
- . 2019b. "Insecure Future: Deportations and Lack of Legal Work for Refugees in Turkey." *Refugees International*. <https://www.refugeesinternational.org/reports-briefs/insecure-future-deportations-and-lack-of-legal-work-for-refugees-in-turkey/>.
- Martin, Nina de. 2023. "Turkey's Weaponisation of the Refugee Crisis." *Institute of Peace and Security Studies*. 2023. <https://jasoninstitute.com/turkeys-weaponisation-of-the-refugee-crisis/>.
- "Number of Syrians in Turkey." 2023. Refugees Association. 2023. <https://multeciler.org.tr/eng/number-of-syrians-in-turkey/>.
- "Number of Syrians in Turkey." 2023. Refugees Association. 2023. <https://multeciler.org.tr/eng/number-of-syrians-in-turkey/>.
- Özden, Senay. 2013. "Syrian Refugees in Turkey." *Migration Policy Centre*. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003048879>.
- Saferworld and Conciliation Resources. 2016. "Syrian Refugees in Turkey: Challenges to and Opportunities for

Longer-Term Integration.” In *Capacities for Peace*. <https://www.saferworld-global.org/resources/publications/1051-syrian-refugees-in-turkey-challenges-to-and-opportunities-for-longer-term-integration>.

Schoemaker, Hans. 2016. “Allegations of Russian Weaponized Migration Against the EU.” *Militaire Spectator* 188 7 (8): 7–8. <https://militairespectator.nl/artikelen/allegations-russian-weaponized-migration-against-eu>.

Soykan, Cavidan. 2014. “The New Draft Law on Foreigners and International Protection in Turkey.” *Oxford Monitor of Forced Migration* 2 (2): 39–48. <https://en.goc.gov.tr/temporary-protection-in-law-on-foreigners-and-international-protection>.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 25. 1948. United Nations. <https://www.humanrights.com/course/lesson/articles-19-25/read-article-25.html>.

Tumen, Semih. 2023. “The Case of Syrian Refugees in Türkiye: Successes, Challenges, and Lessons Learned.” *The World Development Report*, no. April: 1–18. <https://thedocs.worldbank.org/en/doc/a007833298df4b9c3735602711dd9289-0050062023/original/WD2023-Turkey-case-study-FORMATTED.pdf%0Ahttps://data.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria/location/113>.

Turkey, G. 1994. *Turkey: Regulation No. 1994/6169 on the Procedures and Principles Related to Possible Population Movements and Aliens Arriving in Turkey*. <https://www.refworld.org/legal/decrees/natlegbod/1994/en/64501>.

Turkey, Government of. 2013. *Law On Foreigners and International Protection (Law No. 6458)*. *Refworld*. <https://www.refworld.org/legal/legislation/natlegbod/2016/en/114283>.

———. 2014. *Temporary Protection in Law on Foreigners and International Protection*. <https://en.goc.gov.tr/temporary-protection-in-law-on-foreigners-and-international-protection>.

UNHCR. 1967. *The 1951 Convention and Its 1967 Protocol*. UNHCR. www.unhcr.org.

Yıldız, Ayselin, and Elif Uzgören. 2016. “Limits to Temporary Protection: Non-Camp Syrian Refugees in İzmir, Turkey.” *Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 16 (2): 195–211. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683857.2016.1165492>.

Notes

¹ The Regulation No. 1994/6169 outlines the procedures and principles pertaining to potential population movements and aliens who arrive in Turkey as individuals or groups and want to apply for asylum from Turkey or request permission to reside in Turkey before requesting asylum from another country.

³ In April 2012, Turkey issued a Directive outlining the Temporary Protection regime for Syrian refugees. This directive does not establish a formal government-wide basis for temporary protection, but rather provides informal assistance to nationals and stateless individuals arriving in Turkey. It also provides guidance for state agencies dealing with Syrians. Despite this informality, Syrians arriving in Turkey are welcomed under the temporary protection regime. Although not explicitly mirroring the EU Temporary Protection directive, it embodies the basic elements of UNHCR's 1994 Report on International Protection and the EU's Directive on Temporary Protection.

⁴ The Ministry of Interior's "Law on Foreigners and International Protection" was approved by the Parliament's General Assembly on April 4, 2013, and it was then sent to the President. The President passed Law 6458 on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP) on April 10, 2013, and it was published in the Official Gazette on April 11, 2013, under the number 28615.

⁵ The Kamlik card in Türkiye is a document known as a “temporary protection card,” issued to Syrian refugees on Turkish territory. This card grants the right to temporary residence in Türkiye and provides protection to its holders against forced deportation to Syria. It also allows access to public services such as education and health care, and gives the right to work legally in Türkiye. This card is issued based on the registration of refugees with the General Directorates of Immigration Management in the Turkish provinces.

CRG Series on Policies and Practices

- 153. Teaching Local Anthropology on Climate Change: Ethnographic Field School at Lake Neusiedl, Austria
- 154 Media and Migration
- 155 Kolkata and Mumbai: Climate Disaster Mitigation in Coastal Megacities of India
- 156 Bhootlane Ki Katha: Habitation and Construction of Dignity, Health and Well-Being in Indentured Mobility 1830-1920
- 157 Death of Diaspora
- 158 Constructing Ethical Communities: A Case of Displaced Afghan Population in Iran
- 159 Refugee and Citizenship Crisis in Contemporary Afghanistan

CRG Series on Policies and Practices

113. The Invisible Migrant Workers: In Life , In Death
114. Biometric, Notion of Governmentality and Gender Relations in Rohingya Refugee Camps
115. Media on Migrants : Reports from Field -I
116. Media on Migrants : Reports from Field -II
117. Transition without Justice in the Postcolonial World: Protection Discourses for Refugees & Migrants in South Asia
118. Media Discourses on the Bengal Bangladesh Border
119. Culture, Migration and the Time of an Epidemic: The Nautanki Theatres/ Bhojpuri Natak in 1990s
- 120.COVID-19, Migrants, Media
121. Refugees and Migrants as Subjects of Economy and Politics
122. COVID-19 and After: Work, Life and Salience of Primitive Accumulation
123. Two Essays on Ethics and Practices of Care and Solidarity
124. Protection and Punishment : Myths and Realities of Refugee Protection
125. Migrants, Refugees, and the Contested Question of Social Protection
126. Two Essays on the Rohingya Crisis
127. Development and Displacement in the Damodar Valley of India
128. Election Campaigns as Performance: Migrants and Refugees as an Issue in West Bengal Elections
- 129 Brecht, Manto and Two Situations
- 130 The Kaibarta Question in Barak Vally, Assam: A Curious Case of Settlements in Flux
- 131 Navigating Precarity: Analysing Multiple Narratives of Citizenship in Assam
- 132 Impact of Climate Change on Nomads in Jammu and Kashmir with a View of Public Health Facilities
- 133 Solidarity for Survival: Cooperative Building as a Solution to Overcome Vulnerability
- 134 Those Who Stay Behind: Lived Experiences from Indian Sundarban Amidst Climate Change and Migration
- 135 Mitigating the Impact of Covid and Conflict: Empowering & Securing Futures of Children Belonging to Pastoral Communities of Jammu and Kashmir
- 136 Theorising Race and Space in a Transnational Context
- 137 Pandemic and Governance in Central Asia
- 138 Politics of Populist Policies in West Bengal
- 139 Urban Renewal Stage in City's Life & Its Impact on Slums and Slum Dwellers: A Case Study of Noida City
- 140 Kolkata and Climate Crisis
- 141 Witnessing the Birth of a Nation Narrative Frames of Refugee and Relief in Bangladesh Liberation War, 1971
- 142 Indian Droughts, Drought Policy and Climate Change
- 143 Policies and Protection for the Migrants of Nepal
- 144 Literary Imagination of Climate Change and Climate Disasters
- 145 United We Stand: Role of Unionisations among the Gig Labours in India
- 146 Pawns for Profits: Analysing the Plight of Bangladeshi Femal Migrant Workers to KSA Between 2015-2018
- 147 Can Recruitment be Fair? Possibilities and Paradoxes of Ethical Recruitment in Eastern Himalayas
- 148 Access to Justice for Women under Foreigner's Tribunal Act, 1946 in Assam
- 149 The Intersections of Gender, Im/mobility , and Governance in Sundarbans Delta
- 150 Governing the Pandemic: Negotiating Democracy in Our Time
- 151 Is Protection Only a Legal Matter? Migrant Labour in South and South-East Asia
- 152 Platformed Precarity: A Tale of Two Cities in India

CRG Series on Policies and Practices

74. Cities, Rural Migrants & the Urban Poor-III: Migration & the Urban Question in Delhi
75. Classes, People, and Populism
76. Logistical Space I: Logistics and Social Governance
77. Logistical Space II: Mobilities and Spaces
78. Logistical Space III:Hubs, Connectivity and Transit
79. Logistical Space IV: The Asam Paradigm
80. People, Politics and Protests I: Calcutta & West Bengal, 1950s - 1960s
81. People, Politics and Protests II: Bengal and Bihar
82. People, Politics and Protests III: Marxian, Literary Debates and Discourses
83. The Importance of being Siliguri, or the Lack thereof: Border-Effect and the “Untimely” City in North Bengal
84. Logistical Space V: Representations of Connectivity
85. Logistical Space VI: Logistics and the Reshaping of Global Governance
86. Logistical Space VII: Finance Capital & Infrastructure Development
87. Logistical Space VIII: Trade, Capital & Conflict
88. Logistical Space IX: Conflict & Social Governance in Northeast India
89. People, Politics and Protests IV: Occupy College Street: Notes from the Sixties
90. People, Politics and Protests V: The Creative & Cultural Dimension of the Naxalbari Movement
91. People, Politics and Protests VI: Karporri Thakur
92. People, Politics and Protests VII: The Radical Rural
93. People, Politics and Protests VIII: Left Front Government in West Bengal (1971-1982)
94. Population and Rent in *Capital*
95. *Capital*: Value & Translation
96. The Urban Turn
97. Peasants, Students, Insurgents and Popular Movements in Contemporary Assam
98. Migration and Governance I: Promises and Paradoxes of a Global Gaze
99. Migration and Governance II: Responsibility to Protect- Questions of Race, Religion, Resource and the Unspoken Fourth
100. Migration and Governance III: Population Flows, Refugees, and the Responsibility to Protect in the Global Protection System
101. Migration and Governance IV: Global Capitalism and Refugee and Migrant Labour
102. Migration and Governance V: Statelessness, International Conventions and the Need for New Initiatives ? Addressing the New Frontiers of Statelessness
103. Migration and Governance VI : Migrants and Movements across Asia : Mobility, Global Migration Governance and the European Response
104. Global Capitalism, Informal Economy and the Question of Labour
105. Reflections on the Mediterranean Refugee Crisis
106. Populism- I :Politics, Policies and Social justice
107. Populism- II: States and Political Parties
108. Populism- III: Leadership and Governmentality
109. Interrogating Citizenship: Perspectives from India’s East and North East
110. Auto-Ethnography as a Research Method: Evidence from Field Research on Ethiopian Irregular Migrants in South Africa
111. Borderlands, Migration and Labour
112. Two Writings on Climate, Disasters and Displacement

CRG Series on Policies and Practices

- 31 Local Dynamics, Universal Context : Border Trading through Moreh, Manipur
- 32 Two Studies on Asylum Seekers and Other Immigrants in Finland
- 33 Endangered Lives on The Border: Women in the Northeast
- 34 Globalisation and Labouring Lives
- 35 Right to Information in a Globalising World
- 36 Bengal-Bangladesh Border and Women
- 37 Between Ecology and Economy : Environmental Governance in India
- 38 Incomplete Citizenship, Statelessness and Human Trafficking: A Preliminary Analysis of The Current Situation in West Bengal, India
- 39 Place of Poor in Urban Space
- 40 Law and Democratic Governance: Two Studies from Europe
- 41 Finding a Point of Return: Internally Displaced Persons in Sri Lanka
- 42 Colonialism, Resource Crisis and Forced Migration
- 43 Situating Transit Labour
- 44 Two Essays on Security Apparatus
- 45 Governing Flood, Migration and Conflict in North Bihar
- 46 A Gigantic Panopticon: Counter-Insurgency and Modes of Disciplining and Punishment in Northeast India
- 47 Public Interest Litigation in India: Implications for Law and Development
- 48 Governing Caste and Managing Conflicts-Bihar, 1990-2011
- 49 Emerging Spaces and Labour Relations in Neo-Liberal India
- 50 Peace by Governance or Governing Peace? A Case Study of the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA)
- 51 Women, Conflict and Governance in Nagaland
- 52 Tripura: Ethnic Conflict, Militancy & Counterinsurgency
- 53 Government of Peace
- 54 Bengal Borders and Travelling Lives
- 55 Financialisation, Labour Market Flexibility, and Global Crisis
- 56 The Chronicle of a Forgotten Movement: 1959 Food Movement Revisited
- 57 The Religious Nature of Our Political Rites
58. Social Impact of the City Planning Machinery: Case Study of Road-Widening in Bangalore
59. In Search of Space: The Scheduled Caste Movement in West Bengal after Partition
60. Stateless in Law: Two Assessments
61. Failed by Design? : The Limitations of Statebuilding
62. Contesting Ideas on Peace (A Report & Some Reflections)
63. Body/Law/Technology: The Political Implications of Society as Apparatus
64. Accumulation under Post-Colonial Capitalism-I: An Overview
65. Accumulation under Post-Colonial Capitalism-II: War, Debt, and Reconstruction of Economy
66. Accumulation under Post-Colonial Capitalism-III: The Arab Question in Post-Colonial France
67. Accumulation under Post-Colonial Capitalism-IV: Mobile Labour and the New Urban
68. West Bengal-Bangladesh Borders: Humanitarian Issues
69. Policing a Riot-torn City: Kolkata, 16-18 August 1946
70. Labour, Law and Forced Migration
71. Rohingya in India: Birth of a Stateless Community
72. Cities, Rural Migrants & the Urban Poor-I: Migration & the Urban Question in Kolkata
73. Cities, Rural Migrants & the Urban Poor-II: Migration & the Urban Question in Mumbai

CRG Series on Policies and Practices

- 1 People on the Move: How Governments Manage Moving Populations
- 2 Resources for Autonomy - Financing the Local Bodies
- 3 Peace Accords as the Basis of Autonomy
- 4 Debates Over Women's Autonomy
- 5 Unequal Communication: Health and Disasters As Issues of Public Sphere
- 6 Globalisation, State Policies And Sustainability of Rights
- 7 Autonomies in the North and the North East: More Freedom or the Politics of Frontier Management?
- 8 Examining Autonomy : The 73rd Constitutional Amendment in Assam
- 9 Democracy, Autonomy and the Community Media
- 10 Women and Forced Migration
- 11 Flags and Rights
- 12 A Status Report on Displacement in Assam and Manipur
- 13 Weapons of the Weak: Field Studies on Claims to Social Justice in Bihar & Orissa
- 14 Towards a New Consideration: Justice for the Minorities
- 15 Conflict, War & Displacement
- 16 The Draft National Rehabilitation Policy: A Critique
- 17 Limits of the Humanitarian: Studies in Situations of Forced Migration
- 18 Prescribed, Tolerated, and Forbidden Forms of Claim Making
- 19 Three Studies on Law and The Shifting Spaces of Justice.
- 20 Primitive Accumulation and Some Aspects of Work and Life in India in The Early Part of The Twenty First Century.
- 21 Citizens, Non-Citizens, and The Stories of Camps
- 22 Tales of Two Cities
- 23 Ways of Power, Minorities, and Knowledge on Minorities: An Assessment of Research Policies and Practices.
- 24 Whither Right to Food? Rights Institutions and Hungry Labour in Tea Plantations of North Bengal
- 25 Hunger, Food Scarcity, & Popular Protests in West Bengal
- 26 Cyclone Aila & the Sundarbans: An Enquiry into the Disaster and Politics of Aid and Relief
- 27 View from India: Media & Minorities in Europe
- 28 Protecting the Rights of the Tsunami Victims: The Sri Lanka Experience
- 29 Nation Building and Minority Alienation in India
- 30 Environment and Migration Purulia, West Bengal

POLICIES AND PRACTICES is the research paper series brought out by the Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group (CRG). Writings under this series can be referred to and used for public educational purposes with due acknowledgment.