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Syrians in Turkey: A Review of Literature

Ayşegül AKDEMİR*

*İstanbul Gedik Üniversitesi, Sosyoloji Bölümü, İstanbul, TÜRKİYE

Email: aysegul.akdemir@gedik.edu.tr

Abstract

This articles provides a review of literature on Syrian asylum-seekers in Turkey. By analysing certain keywords' frequency in 50 articles, we have found that security, integration and human rights are the most frequently used keywords. The articles problematise mainly the lack of official refugee status of Syrians and the securitisation of migration. Access to healthcare, education and labour market as well as growing xenophobia among Turkish population are the key themes that have emerged in these studies.

Keywords: Syrian migration, asylum, security, integration, human rights, methodological transnationalism



1. Introduction

Turkish academia's interest in the Syrian asylum-seekers in particular and migration studies in general is growing. Until late 1980s Turkey has been mainly a sending country. As a result of high levels of unemployment in Turkey and rising job opportunities in Western Europe, bilateral labour treaties were signed between Turkey and several European countries in the 1960s. Migration from Turkey subsequently took the form of asylum-seeking as a result of 1980 coup d'état and armed conflict between security forces and Kurdish opposition. It is now estimated that 5 % of Turkey's native population lives abroad (Caglar, 2006, 7).

Turkey has also received migrants throughout history, especially from the Balkans and Middle East, however this has never been in such a scale as the current migration flow from Syria. Turkey long resisted to developing a coherent asylum or citizenship policy. Legally Turkish citizenship has been defined territorially rather than ethnically, however the official practice has favoured Sunni Turks (Kirişçi, 2000). Yeğen (2004) also explored how Turkish citizenship has been formulated in the Constitutions of 1924, 1961 and 1982 and he suggested that there is no clear consensus on whether Turkish citizenship is ethnically or civically defined: while mainly a political-territorial definition of Turkishness is used, this definition has traces of both a political and an ethnicist logic.

From the late 1980s on migration to Turkey became a more visible phenomenon as a result of the unrest in its neighbors. Migration from the Balkans and Middle East necessitated the regulation of asylum. In 1994 an asylum regulation was put into practice, which reflected concerns over national security (Kirişçi, 2000).

Turkey is a party to the 1951 Refugee Convention and 1967 protocol and maintains geographical limitation, granting refugee status only to those who seek refuge as a result of events occurring in Europe and retaining others resettlement to a third country (Özden, 2013). In 2013 Turkey's first asylum law, the Law on Foreigners and International Protection, entered into force and adopted Temporary Protection Regulation which regulates the rights, obligations and procedures regarding those granted temporary protection (UNHCR, 2019).

Migration from Syria to Turkey attracts more attention than the previous migration flows from the Balkans and Middle East for several reasons. First of all the number of Syrian asylum-seekers is very large; it has reached over 3.6 million people (Göç İdaresi, 2019). Second Turkey's involvement in the conflict has made Syrian asylum-seekers a domestic political issue. And finally Turkey's open-door policy and avoiding of securitisation to the Syrian asylum-seekers, at least in the initial stages of the conflict, differs from its previous attitudes to other asylum-seekers and from the global trend (Aras and Mencutek, 2015).

The large number and concentration of Syrians not only in the border region but also in Turkey's big cities makes them more visible. This brings issues such as their relationship with the local population, conflicts, discrimination and negative representation in the media. So Syrian migration has real effects on people regardless of their mobility.

Since 2011 the outbreak of armed conflict in Syria, Turkey has been the top destination. Initially Turkish authorities adopted an open-door policy and referred to asylum-seekers as



'guests' (Aras and Mencutek, 2015). Gradually as Turkish state has realised that the conflict will last longer and Syrians are not guests, it began to implement new policies. For instance General Directorate of Migration Management was founded in 2013 under the Turkish Ministry of Interior. It gathers information, releases reports and deals with issues related to international migrants in the country. Also a section on integration has been added to the Directorate General of Migration Management's annual reports in 2016.

Thanks to globalisation human mobility does not only concern a small group. There is a need to understand and situate human mobility into the context of global migration. Mass migration and globalisation have challenged the nation-state's power which led the migration scholars to reconsider the limits of the nation-state. Since the conceptual tools that we use in social sciences affect the way we look at the social issues, it is necessary to reconsider the limits of these concepts. So far migration has been looked at from perspectives that took the nation-state as granted. Methodological nationalism has been the dominant paradigm and it assumed that nation-state is the modern world's natural social and political form (Wimmer & Schiller, 2002). This vision overlooked the fact that states' borders did not always overlap with the belonging and practices of people, especially in border regions. Beck (2007) argued that this vision prevented social sciences from thoroughly understanding the dynamics of modernisation and globalisation.

Now these perspectives have been transforming so as to de-naturalise the national. The novelties in the types and intensity of migration as well as the critique of methodological nationalism has transformed migration research. Not only national security and immigrants' adaptation to the host society but also hybrid identities and multiculturalism have entered the research agenda. Though assimilation is making a come back, even this concept has changed. It is no longer seen as the only viable option for immigrants and it has been redefined as a more defensible concept (Brubaker, 2001). We know from migrants' experiences that the relationship between mobility, space and identity is more complicated. Someone's place of residence, their sense of belonging and the source of their political and social rights do not necessarily overlap (Soysal, 2000; Vertovec, 2004) and transnational lives have become "a strategy of survival and betterment" (Faist, 2000, 191). Therefore, migration studies should see these links beyond the nation-state boundaries.

2. Methodology

In this paper I examine the literature on Syrian asylum seekers in Turkey by analysing 50 articles, reports and working papers (hereafter I will refer to these as articles) that have been published since 2012. The keywords 'Syrian migration Turkey' were searched in Google Scholar in January 2019 and the first 25 relevant results in English and Turkish languages were selected. By presenting the literature on Syrian asylum seekers in Turkey, I aim to identify the major themes that emerged in the study of migration and how these themes were handled. Thus I hope to guide researchers and policy makers who are interested in Syrian asylum-seekers in Turkey.

I analysed both the content of the articles and the frequency of certain keywords in the main text. I searched for the terms integration, assimilation, multiculturalism, transnational,



security, social security, diaspora and human rights. The quantitative analysis looks into the frequency of keywords as well as some general features of the articles such as the first author's gender and the number of citations the article received. In addition to analysing the articles all together, I also analysed the articles that were written in Turkish and English separately.

The qualitative analysis focused on the articles' content. After a careful reading of all articles, I identified the major themes according to the word-frequency analysis and the articles' titles. Key themes that emerge in the literature are security, of both the Syrians and of local population, integration to social and economic life in Turkey and human rights, especially the lack of it as a guiding principle in the legal framework and social policies.

3. Findings

The search results as of 10.01.2019 provided access to relevant articles that deal with various social aspects of Syrian asylum-seekers in Turkey. A detailed analysis of the 50 selected articles focused on the number of citations, authors' gender and thematic focus.

Table 1. Citations received by the articles in the sample

Average number of citations per article	40.2
Minimum number of citations an article received	10
Maximum number of citations an article received	137

Table 2. Citations received by the articles in English

Average number of citations per article	48.1
Minimum number of citations an article received	11
Maximum number of citations an article received	137

Table 3. Citations received by the articles in Turkish

Average number of citations per article	31.92
Minimum number of citations an article received	10
Maximum number of citations an article received	90



Gender of the authors were also analysed. The (first) author's¹ gender is relatively balanced although there are slightly more male authors. 58% of the (first) authors are male and 42% are female. These numbers indicate that men publish slightly more than women however female researchers' presence in the field is clear. When we look closely, though, at the content of the articles, a gendered division of labour can be observed. For instance security studies are usually dominated by men and among the 15 articles that mention 'security' the most, 12 of them have male authors as sole or first author while only 3 of these have female authors as sole or first author. On the issues that are dominated by one specific gender, the authors' gender varies. For instance, among the 15 articles that mention 'integration' the most, 13 written by male and 2 were written by female (first) authors. Despite the gender balance in the overall, some specific issues are handled mostly by male scholars. Also among the most-cited 15 articles, 11 had male authors (either as sole or first author) while only 4 had female authors (either as sole or first author).

92% of the articles focuses only on Syrian asylum-seekers without comparison with any other immigrant groups, while 8% of the studies in the sample are comparative. This can be explained with the fact that the Syrian case is unique and it should be understood in depth. Another reason for the lack of comparative studies may be the overall trend that pressures academics into producing more in less time. This makes it unlikely for researchers to devote long time in comparative studies, especially in qualitative research.

The word count in the texts aimed to capture the general trends in research on Syrian asylum-seekers in Turkey. For this reason I searched for the following keywords within the texts: integration², multiculturalism, transnational, security, social security, diaspora and human rights.

Table 4. Frequency of keywords in the sample

Keywords	<u>Total</u> number of times the phrase was mentioned	<u>Maximum</u> number of times the phrase was mentioned	<u>Average</u> number of times the phrase was mentioned	<u>Percentage</u> of articles that mentioned the phrase
Integration	265	43	5.30	70
Multicultural	7	3	0.14	8
Transnational	8	4	0.16	8
Security	298	42	5.96	74
Social Security	33	8	0.66	36
Diaspora	13	6	0.27	10
Human Rights	85	12	1.70	48

¹ Because 56% of the articles had multiple authors, I looked at the first author of the articles in these cases.

² When analysing the Turkish articles I searched for both 'uyum' and 'entegrasyon'. For the other keywords I tried possible spelling versions with or without hyphen. I excluded the keywords if they were in the references, acknowledgements or page headings.



Table 5. Frequency of keywords in the sample, English

Keywords	<u>Total</u> number of times the phrase was mentioned	<u>Maximum</u> number of times the phrase was mentioned	<u>Average</u> number of times the phrase was mentioned	<u>Percentage</u> of articles that mentioned the phrase
Integration	68	28	68/25	48
Multicultural	0	0	0	0
Transnational	6	4	6/25	12
Security	130	38	130/25	52
Social Security	25	7	25/25	40
Diaspora	8	6	8/25	12
Human Rights	31	12	31/25	48

Table 6. Frequency of keywords in the sample, Turkish

Keywords	<u>Total</u> number of times the phrase was mentioned	<u>Maximum</u> number of times the phrase was mentioned	<u>Average</u> number of times the phrase was mentioned	<u>Percentage</u> of articles that mentioned the phrase
Integration	197	43	197/25	92
Multicultural	7	3	7/25	16
Transnational	2	2	2/25	4
Security	168	42	168/25	96
Social Security	28	8	28/25	32
Diaspora	5	4	5/25	8
Human Rights	54	12	54/25	48

Some keywords were used many times while some others have been seldom. Due to media's and general public's concerns about the large numbers of asylum-seekers and their perception as potential threats, the public debates around Syrians, issues about their integration to Turkey and security concerns were the themes that become prominent. This also reflected to the academic studies. Security has been the most frequently used keyword in the sample: it has been used 298 times in 37 articles. The articles discussed both the security threats perceived by Turkish public and the security related issues Syrians face in Turkey and Syria. The next most used keyword was integration, which was mentioned 265 times in 35 articles in the sample. The articles that mention integration are the more recent ones from 2015 on. Human rights is the third most common of these keywords and it has been used 81 times in 24 articles.



3.1.Security

Security is a matter of concern and has many facades in migration research. Immigrants are usually regarded as fundamentally different from the local population and as possible threats to the social order, which reflects a nationalist position that still remains intact. As Wimmer & Schiller (2002) argued “describing immigrants as political security risks, as culturally others, as socially marginal and as an exception to the rule of territorial confinement, migration studies have faithfully mirrored the nationalist image of normal life”. Nowadays despite widespread nationalist vision and populism in public, we see a change in the outlook of scholars in terms of security and migration studies as they adopt a more critical position towards the securitisation of international migration. The articles analysed reflect the perspective that migrants are diverse groups; they come from various social, political and economic backgrounds and contribute to the cultural diversity of the society they live in.

In addition it would be insufficient to use security concept narrowly, only in relation to the local population’s security; asylum-seekers, more often than not, face many risks such as smuggling, unsafe employment conditions and fear of being sent back. These security risks that particularly affect vulnerable groups such as women, children, elderly and disabled are now considered in migration studies because the term security is taken more broadly. It covers border security, security of the local population, fear of crime and refugees’ safety, especially in the camps.

I have identified that 11 articles in the sample specifically deal with the notion of security; 4 of them are in English and 7 are in Turkish. The term has been used in many different contexts broadly and includes the security concerns of the local Turkish population in daily life, their concerns about the borders, the risks that asylum-seekers face and Turkey’s position in general as a safe country.

Government’s way of addressing the asylum-seekers as ‘guests’ and ‘brothers’ is a very good indicator of how the crisis has been approached in its initial stage. Turkish authorities assumed that the Syrian crisis would soon come to a swift conclusion (İçduygu, 2015). Referring to the asylum-seekers as this way underlines the cultural similarities, the most important being religion. This address also shows Turkish state’s desire to become a regional power without international assistance (Aras and Mencutek, 2015). Moreover the discourse of guests depoliticises the situation which should have been treated as formal and rights-based. As the number of refugees grew, the discourse shifted to ‘security concerns’ (Aras and Mencutek, 2015). The initial positive attitude of the conservative section of society has shifted and people began to blame Syrians for social problems such as rising costs of housing, unemployment and crime. In addition urban legends about Syrians have spread such as their access to economic benefits and free housing. Also conspiracy theories spread before every election suggesting that all Syrian asylum-seekers will be granted Turkish citizenship in exchange for their votes to support the JDP.

The fact that majority of Syrian asylum-seekers are Muslims had an impact in their swift acceptance by the local population. Ethnic and kinship relations motivated the hospitality towards Syrians in the southeastern provinces in the initial stages of migration



(Kaypak and Bimay, 2016). However, different cultural codes especially conservative attitudes on gender, practice of polygamy among the rural groups and having several children are seen as cultural differences that cannot be surmounted easily. Such concerns of the urban middle class Turks makes them evaluate the Syrian asylum-seekers as a threat to the secular regime and the social order. The articles highlight the general public's insecurity regarding the asylum-seekers, whom they see responsible for contagious diseases and crime (Tunç, 2015). Deniz (2014) warns that presenting the asylum-seekers as a threat to social order would increase xenophobia. This is indeed the case, although Syrians did not have a visible effect on crime rates (Tunç, 2015; Ünal, 2014; Ağır and Sezik, 2015).

Another sub-theme is border security. The lax border regime in the initial years of the conflict caused many radical groups' members to freely pass the Turkish-Syrian border. In addition, several terrorist attacks (Euronews 2016) raised concerns about the consequences of the Syrian conflict and Turkish state's open-door policy among the public (Dinçer et al., 2013; İçduygu, 2015; Kaypak and Bimay, 2015).

The living conditions of Syrian asylum-seekers in and outside the camps are also handled by the academic studies as a security issue. Syrians in Turkey feel insecure due to the lack of official refugee status; fear of being sent back or not being able to have access to basic human needs are among their biggest concerns (Baban et. al. 2016; Aras and Mencutek, 2015; Apak, 2015). The lack of refugee status increases the vulnerability of Syrians who migrated for political and humanitarian reasons (Özden, 2013). In addition the camps have been built too close to the border which is not in compliance with the UNHCR's practice of building camps at least 50 kilometres away from the border for security reasons (Dinçer et. al., 2013). Apak's empirical study conducted in Mardin, a town in the Syrian border, shows that 60,6% of the research participants' chose Turkey due to safety reasons. Yet again 75% demanded basic human needs, which shows that lack of legal status makes them vulnerable in accessing these.

Turkey's position as a host country in general has also been discussed in the literature regarding security. Sirkeci (2016) compared migration to and from Turkey and argued that Turkey is swinging between being a country of security and of insecurity³.

3.2.Integration

Immigrants' integration is key to a mobile world. Assimilation has long been a significant subfield in the study of migration, which assumed a one-way social change at the end of which migrants were absorbed in the host society (Gordon, 1964). Nowadays assimilation is seen as a process rather than an end result and it focuses more on the economic and social integration of the immigrants to the host society (Brubaker, 2001). It is a complex phenomenon; mobility is a more common experience now and not only immigrants but also the local populations are affected by the consequences of migration. In addition it is generally

³ As a result of the rising conservative and controlling tone of political regime in the country, especially after the 15 July 2016 coup attempt, professionals' migration from Turkey has increased (Lowen 2017).



accepted now that migration flows in times of conflict or labour migration may be intended for short term but they end up having long term effects. This acceptance has paved the way to dealing with migrants' long term needs beyond urgent humanitarian aid.

As assimilation has become a tainted word in international literature (Brubaker, 2001), it also has negative connotation in the Turkish context, usually referring to Turkish state's policy on its Muslim populations. Therefore, the concepts 'integration' (*entegrasyon*) and 'harmony' (*uyum*) are mainly used in the literature in Turkish.

Among the articles in the sample, 10 dealt with the issue of integration. 3 of these are in English and 7 are in Turkish. The concept has been mentioned 265 times in 35 of the articles.

As the Syrian civil war has lasted much longer than what the Turkish authorities had anticipated (Dinçer et. al., 2013), the asylum-seekers' position has shifted from 'guests' to permanent residents. This raised the necessity of regulating their status and attending to their needs such as housing, education and access to labour market. The Law on Foreigners and International Protection was adopted in 2013 to better deal with the rising number of asylum-seekers coming to Turkey and provided them with temporary protection. The fear of being sent back and not having any possibility of naturalisation in the future stand as barriers in front of Syrians' integration to Turkey (İçduygu and Şimşek, 2016; İçduygu and Milet, 2016). Moreover the discourse of 'guests' imply that Syrians are expected to return to Syria and this makes it difficult to justify the mid- and long-term planning of social policies.

Public education and children's schooling emerge as the most pressing issues regarding Syrians' integration. Children's access to education is particularly important for both Syrians and the Turkish ministry of education. Syrians in Turkey especially want to find work for themselves and access for their children to education (Tunç, 2015). Bircan and Sunata (2015) state that the Turkish government began to take action about their schooling needs at the end of 2012.

Yavuz & Mızrak (2016) demonstrate that asylum-seekers' access to education, both formal and through temporary education centres, is increasing, however the children living outside the camps have limited access to schools. While the schooling rate of children in camps is 90,6 %, this rate is 26,3 % for those outside the camps (Emin, 2016). Approximately 500.000 asylum-seeking children are not going to school (Yavuz and Mızrak, 2016). Poverty as a result of displacement and not having their diplomas recognised are two large problems regarding Syrians' integration (Yavuz and Mızrak, 2016).

Immigrant children's vulnerability and their need for special programs emerge in the literature about Syrians in Turkey (Yavuz and Mızrak 2016; Kaypak and Bimay 2016; Uzun and Bütün 2016). Both adults and children carry with themselves the traumas of the civil war, the experience of having feared for their lives, concerns about people they left behind and the ongoing challenges in their daily lives in Turkey. The children have the advantage of adjusting more easily than the adults however this advantage is not fully used due to the lack of education programs tailored for these children's specific needs. Moreover the school



teachers and administrators are not trained to deal with immigrant children; they need to be better equipped in order to deal with linguistic and cultural diversity in the classrooms.

Language barriers pose a big problem for Syrian children's education (Uzun & Bütün 2016; Levent & Çayak 2017). This is important also for job market integration as Turkish language proficiency and education level have a huge role on employment (Kayaoğlu & Erdoğan 2019). Not being able to speak Turkish, Syrians parents have difficulty in registering their children to school and communicating with their children's teachers. In addition the physical living conditions of these children should be considered as well because they mainly live in unsafe, unhygienic circumstances. Uzun and Bütün's (2016) study conducted in Samsun shows that Turkish children's parents do not want these children due to concerns about hygiene and disease. The teachers' efforts to integrate children are in vain when the Turkish parents constantly warn their children to stay away from their Syrian classmates. Therefore, access to school is not sufficient; the children may be isolated in those schools because of language barrier or the exclusion of local children which may create further traumas.

3.3.Human Rights

'Human rights' was the third most frequently used keyword, mentioned 85 times by 24 articles in the sample. Human rights is highly relevant for migration research because immigrants face many challenges such as passing borders illegally, conditions of living in refugee camps, surviving in cities, social exclusion and access to basic needs. In the articles that have been analysed human rights is closely connected to security issues, especially the security of Syrians. Consequently mostly the same articles mention both phrases frequently.

Among human rights issues the most pressing one is Turkey's non-compliance with the international law regarding the refugee status. As discussed above Turkey's geographical limitation policy leaves the asylum-seekers in a limbo state: since temporary protection is not an internationally recognised status, it may be abolished any time by the Turkish parliament, which leaves the Syrians in a precarious state (Ekmekçi, 2017; Dinçer et. al., 2013). In addition asylum-seekers' security should be maintained: they come from conflict zones to a safe country however they are open to other challenges such as human trafficking and early and polygamous marriage for women and girls. The lack of independent monitoring for human rights in the border area is a problem (Dinçer et. al., 2013).

Ekmekçi (2017) who studies Syrians' access to health services argued that not having refugee status also limits their access to health care. Turkey's already overburdened health care system is further pushed by the rising number of Syrians. The readmission agreement between Turkey and the EU, and thus even more asylum-seekers is a challenge for the health care system for which Turkey lacks the capacity to deal with. Due to high risk of health problems arising from unsafe journeys, traumas, lack of proper feeding and high stress, health care for people at readmission centres is crucial (Ekmekçi, 2017).

In addition to Syrians asylum-seekers' inability to reach services that are compatible with human rights standards, this overcrowding may also increase prejudice against them. The resident population may blame the Syrians for the health care system's malfunctions. Ünal's



(2014) study that focuses on Turkish people's social attitudes on migration and asylum-seekers clearly shows that the majority of the viewer comments that they analysed are far from having human rights concerns: they rather make distinctions based on racial and ethnic differences between the 'us' who is worthy of receiving social services and 'them', the foreigners, who do not deserve these services. Adopting a human rights perspective when dealing with asylum-seekers is crucial (Yavuz and Mızrak, 2016; Ünal, 2014).

An overview of the articles examined in this research shows that the securitisation of immigrants is problematised and security is indeed used broadly including not only borders and national security but also the security of immigrants themselves. The articles generally emphasise the necessity of a human rights perspective to understand and deal with the Syrian migration.

The lack of official refugee status and non-conformity with the international law is often problematised in the literature. This lack of status reinforces the power of nation-state in the lives of asylum-seekers. Since the framework is mainly drawn by the Turkish state, a transnational or supranational frame does not enter the research agenda and stay as marginal topics. It may be predicted, though, as the Turkish state's capacity to tackle the asylum-seekers is not sufficient, international cooperation and transnational - supranational frameworks may enter the research agenda in the future.

Since Syrian asylum-seekers in Turkey is a recent phenomenon, some topics have not developed fully yet. For instance transnational links or multicultural integration of Syrians have remained as marginal topics. The fact that these have not been studied widely does not mean these phenomena do not exist. However it shows that there are more pressing issues such as security, social and economic integration, access to education, housing and health care. Even Syrians' integration has been studied in the more recent articles published after 2015. Micro perspectives and more fieldwork with asylum-seekers are needed that would help us understand the asylum-seekers' situation more clearly.

Another reason why these themes have remained marginal is the way Syrians were accepted: as 'guests'. Faist (2000, 200) argues "opportunities to exercise multicultural rights and a liberal political environment can also further transnational activities and a border-crossing collective consciousness" - since Turkey is ambivalent towards identities other than Turkishness and Sunni Islam, the lack of such a framework makes it hard for the immigrants to claim social and cultural rights. This may eventually become a new test for Turkey to tackle questions of ethnic and linguistic diversity, and possibly a chance to develop a comprehensive social security system.

Fieldwork data is alarming because it shows that the local population is very cautious about the presence of Syrians. Signs of xenophobia and ghettoisation have reflected to the literature as well. Prejudices against Syrians remain strong and these may eventually turn into self-fulfilling prophecies, in terms of increasing crime rate, disease due to unhealthy living conditions, radicalisation of religious groups.



4. Suggestions for Policy Makers

Finally there are several issues that should be urgently addressed regarding the Syrian asylum-seekers in Turkey. The insights gathered from the literature may help identify the gaps and guide social policies in an effective and timely manner.

First of all education seems to be a key component of immigrants' successful integration both socially and economically. It is also not a controversial issue such as granting citizenship or economic rights. The state, Syrians and civil society may cooperate on this issue more easily. Education has the potential for adapting immigrant children to their new environment, it facilitates upward social mobility and language acquisition can help people access to social services and increases their chances in the labour market.

The majority of Syrian children live outside the camps and do not have access to basic education. This puts them in a disadvantage; they cannot reach a basic right and they miss the opportunity of integrating to the host society. Education should be treated as a holistic matter: it is not only registering children to schools. They need assistance with clothing, personal hygiene, classroom manners and basic Turkish language skills to benefit from education. Also teachers should receive training and support in order to deal with the challenges of linguistic and cultural diversity in the classrooms. Given that 45,4% of Syrians in Turkey are under the age of 18 (mülteciler.org, 2019), Turkish classrooms will be more diverse in the future and teachers should be supported accordingly.

Another key issue that emerges in the literature is the Turkish society's attitudes about Syrians. Discourse of scarce resources and political polarisation between the government and opposition fosters the Turkish people's negative attitudes on Syrians. This is a new test for Turkey to deal with diversity, which requires active struggle with disinformation and discrimination.



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