The Paradox of the EU-Turkey deal and Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs applied to the Syrian Refugee Crisis

A Global Governance Discourse Analysis through the Eyes of the Institutional Monitors

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BSc. European Public Administration

Version 1.0

04-07-2018

Bachelor Thesis

School of Management & Governance

Examination Committee

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Abstract

The violent war in Syria that involves regional and global powers continues to rage on while the world seems to be unable or incapable of finding a real solution through global governance. Consequently, we are facing the worst humanitarian crisis since the end of WWII which lays the foundation for the theme of this thesis. This paper aims to analyze the position and fulfilment of the basic needs of the Syrian refugees in Turkish camps, through the perspective of the key monitors and their discourses. The timeframe of the research is narrowed down to the civil war in 2011, with the EU-Turkey deal of the 18th of March 2016 that went into effect on April 4th as tipping point. Many of the Syrian people that fled the country intended on seeking refuge in Europe which caused a large movement of people towards Europe. With Turkey on the one hand trying to become a full-member state of the European Union (EU) and the latter wanting to limit the influx of refugees from Syria to Europe, the Syrian people continue to suffer daily. Abraham Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs theory is applied to analyze the position of the refugees. Current studies primarily focus on the deal itself and the perspectives of state actors such as Turkey and the EU. This research is of relevance to fill the gap and shed light on the perspective and discourses of the institutional monitors involved concerning the position of the Syrian refugees. To conclude the paper, the similarities and differences in the discourses of the monitors will be presented, since little is known from their perspective on the fulfilment of the refugees' basic needs. The research question at hand therefor is: *''What are the similarities and differences between the discourses of the monitors on the position of the Syrian refugees?''*

Keywords: Refugees; Humanitarianism; Crisis; EU-Turkey Deal; Global Governance, Discourse Analysis, Maslow

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1. Introduction

In March 2011, pro-democracy protests erupted in Deraa, a city in the southern part of Syria. During these protests, teenagers that painted slogans about revolution were arrested and tortured. This led to more people taking to the streets to demonstrate. The Syrian government responded violently by opening fire on the demonstrators, killing several. This triggered nationwide protests towards the Syrian regime, demanding President Assad's resignation. By July 2011, hundreds of thousands were taking to the streets across the country. With the ongoing violence, eventually, opposition supporters began to take up arms to defend themselves. What started off with a few casualties in a protest, by June 2013 caused the death of 90.000 people in the conflict (UN, 2013). That figure had climbed to 250.000 by August 2015, resulting in one of the worst humanitarian crises since the end of World War II (UN, 2015). The rise of the jihadist group Islamic State (IS) added yet another dimension to the conflict that paved the way to a more complex global conflict that required global governance. One of the severe consequences of the conflict is that the basic needs and essentials for survival of most of the Syrian people are no longer accessible or available to them. According to conflict scholar John Burton *(Conflict: Human Needs Theory)* and renowned psychologist on human needs Abraham Maslow *(A Theory of Human Motivation),* basic needs consist of food, water and shelter. However, the essential needs exceed beyond just the basics, it includes both physical and non-physical dimensions for humans to be able to grow and develop themselves. To protect human rights, consisting of basic needs and rights such as food and shelter for the Syrian refugees in Turkish camps, various global actors have intervened in the conflict. The key stakeholders identified for this research that also monitor the position of the Syrian refugees are Turkey, the European Union (EU), United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and Amnesty International. These stakeholders have been selected based on the availability of data and the legal status of documents e.g. policy documents.

Since the start of the conflict, more than 5.6 million people have fled to neighboring countries such as Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan (UNHCR, 2018). These countries are struggling to cope with one of the largest refugee exoduses in recent history. Syrian refugees that sought safety in Europe have led to political divisions as European countries argue over sharing the burden. In the context of global governance, on 18 March 2016, Turkey and the EU made a deal to end irregular migration of Syrian refugees to Europe, replacing it with legal channels for the resettlement of refugees to the EU (European Commission, 2016). The aim was to replace the dangerous and disorganized influx of migrants with safe and legal pathways for those entitled to protection within the boundaries and laws of the EU, at the cost of allowing Turkey leverage as the gatekeeper.

With the EU not being borderless but establishing their own 'fortress' for their own members (Ossewaarde, 2007, p. 382), the core values of the EU seem undermined with respect to democracy and human rights. Subsequently, the question arose as to whether, under the leadership of Jean-Claude Juncker, humanitarianism and the position of the Syrian refugees in Turkish camps has been affected for the better or worse. Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs theory plays a crucial role in this research as primary vehicle of analysis to evaluate the refugees' position. The humanitarian refugee crisis subsequently makes for an excellent global governance case to find out about clashes, contradictions, similarities and differences in the discourses of the monitors. Furthermore, little to nothing is known about the role of the identified monitors in this deal and how it is impacting the position of the Syrian refugees involved in terms of the concepts of Maslow's theory. There are facts, figures and statistics available from organizations such as the UNHCR and Amnesty International on Syrian refugees, yet little is known about how the monitors experience the deal. In addition, limited knowledge is available on what the discourses are of Turkey, the EU, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's) such as the UNHCR and Amnesty International on the position of Syrian refugees in Turkish camps, with the EU-Turkey deal as tipping point.

By acquiring knowledge and finding new insights on the topic, the foundation for future in-depth research can be laid. As there already have been many efforts to identify indicators of societal relevance of research across the world (Bensing et al. 2003 – Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences Council, 2005), Bouter states that there are two key elements: ''The first is that researchers should reflect on the societal relevance of their work. The second is that universities should report on the work of their researchers in terms of concrete indicators of societal relevance.'' (Bouter, 2008). To ensure quality research that is relevant to society, public relations and science communication is what researchers should be involved in (Bouter, 2008). With that in mind, the goal of this paper is to clearly document the similarities and differences in the discourses of the monitors on the position of the Syrian refugees in Turkish camps. The goal is of societal and scientific relevance because it addresses the aforementioned knowledge gap, by expanding the body of knowledge with respect to the discourses on the position of the refugees from the perspective of the monitors. Moreover, the social relevance this research offers is based on the benefits of humanitarianism. The International Committee of the Red Cross for instance has developed a philosophy of humanitarianism contributing to peace: ''Humanitarian action is fundamentally an act of peace during combat'' (ICRC, 2017). With the EU being ''an established entity and recognized global actor providing humanitarian aid'' (Hansen, 2009), it sets an example for other parts of the world to follow in the constant strive for world peace.

Based on the outline of the problem, the social and scientific relevance, the purpose of this thesis is to answer the following research question: *''What are the similarities and differences between the discourses of the monitors on the position of the Syrian refugees?''* – Sub question: *''Which institutional monitors are involved and what is their role?''*. The main research question is explanatory whilst the supporting sub question is descriptive. An analysis and comparison will be done with the discourses on the position of the Syrian refugees from the perspective of the monitors. Official policy documents and academic articles will be used to gain theoretical insights on the topic of humanitarian crises, global governance, discourses and Maslow's human needs. The goal set to be achieved by answering this research question is to shed more light on the position of the refugees using Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs and the role of the monitors therein with the EU-Turkey deal as tipping point.

The structure of this paper is as follows. The second chapter provides a conceptual and theoretical framework, in which key concepts such as the humanitarian crisis are explained. The basic human needs of the refugees that come forth out of the crisis will be elaborated upon using Maslow's theory. The discourse of global governance will be examined, connecting it to the humanitarian crisis, Maslow's theory and finally the monitors of the EU-Turkey deal and their role in the conflict. The third chapter will outline and present the methods that are used for answering the research questions. In the fourth chapter, the data will be analyzed, and the findings will be summarized by pointing out and interpreting observations. The findings consist of the discourses of the monitors on the position of the Syrian refugees in Turkish camps. To conclude the paper, the last chapter will present a conclusion to sum up the findings, point out the limitations of the research and give an explicit answer to the research question. Recommendations for future research will be made.

2. Concepts of the Syrian Refugee Crisis

The refugee crisis has affected various political and social institutions globally, regionally and locally, resulting in a heated topic in public debates. At the same time, the continuously changing political environment, along with conflicts and crises within the context of governance, causes legitimate fears that will inevitably lead to new future challenges in global governance. With Turkey out of the regional countries, already being under dramatic strain, it is but an illusion to expect that it can be a reliable partner of the EU (Melegh, 2016). Even local people in Turkey, mainly Kurds, already suffered before the arrival of masses of Syrians seeking protection. Subsequently, there is an imminent threat that the Syrian refugees seeking protection and basic needs may suffer from neglect with limited resources spent on those living in camps, not to mention those living in the cities without the legal status of refugee. With the EU-Turkey deal in place to limit the flow of refugees to the EU, the latter is sealing itself off from the refugee crisis, seemingly leaving the Syrian refugees to fate.

This chapter explores key concepts and theories in the context of the Syrian refugee crisis such as migration, humanitarian crisis and Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs theory. By looking into the key concepts, light will be shed on how structures of national and local systems interact with global entities, linking the crisis to the monitors. With multiple levels of entities, actors and varying agenda's in place, inequalities are inherent in dealing with the crisis. An example is the power of the gatekeeper, Turkey, pushing forward their own agenda of EU membership.

The second part of this chapter will focus on global governance and discourses. Since complex crises directly or indirectly affect countries on a global scale, international alliances, agreements and policies are formed and implemented to deal with grand challenges such as the refugee crisis. As a consequent of the crisis and the EU-Turkey deal to stop the influx of refugees to Europe, the non-democratic decision of keeping them in Turkey has led to humanitarian deplorable conditions with countless human rights violations (Amnesty, 2017). Moreover, the decision to do so is against the core values that embody the very spirit and essence of the EU. In order to analyze the position of the refugees, Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs theory will be explained, again, linking it to the monitors and the efforts that have been made to protect their human rights and fulfil their basic needs. By doing so, the role of the monitors will be clarified in the context of the humanitarian crisis and global governance.

''I call upon individual citizens to make humanity our common cause. Challenge your leaders to make decisions that uphold and safeguard people's humanity.'' – Ban Ki-moon, United Nations Secretary General (UN, 2016)

2.1 The Refugee Crisis and Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

The masses of Syrian people seeking refuge in neighboring countries to fulfil their basic needs, is described by scholars in many ways. With various reasons and forms of migration, the term is rather broad and can have many meanings. According to Aydin (2016), ''Migration has been used to describe the movement of people in very different contexts and situations, including invasion, conquest, displacement under force of arms, flight from natural disaster, mercantile outreach, colonial settlement and even slavery'' (Aydin, 2016). The facets of the concept migration are therefor: invasion, conquest, displacement under force of arms, flight from natural disaster, mercantile outreach, colonial settlement and slavery. These conditions apply to the circumstances in which the Syrian people have fled their country. With limited resources such as e.g. finances and human capital, countries such as Turkey struggle greatly to cope with the masses of refugees. The struggles can be seen in the refugee camps where the living conditions reflect the inability and incapability of the hosting country to provide for the basic needs of the Syrian people. Consequently, the flow of refugees has spilled over to Europe causing a humanitarian crisis on a global scale. In addition, it is questionable whether the money from the EU-Turkey deal is an incentive for Turkey to activate their resources or it is an enabler that actually provides resources to help the Syrian refugees.

The second concept, humanitarian crisis, often also described as a disaster, is defined as one or more events that pose a threat to health, safety or wellbeing of people. In terms of a conflict, it can be either internal or external, whilst often international responses are necessary. The cause of such crises can be related to different factors such as the civil war in Syria, resulting in long-term damage. In cases such as Syria, large groups of people were prevented from accessing basic needs such as food, clean water and safe shelters. Jenny Hobbs, EU Humanitarian expert on education in emergencies states that ''in humanitarian crises, often due to displacement, natural disasters and conflict, among refugees, 39% of primary school-aged children are not enrolled.'' (Hobbs, 2017). Since this humanitarian crisis resulted in the fleeing of large groups of people to other countries, it has become a global humanitarian refugee crisis. As such, it is a highly complex issue that is interconnected and comparable to the Arab Springs in other Middle Eastern countries. Therefore, both national and international agencies are involved to solve this urgent matter making global governance crucial. In addition, national institutions and international agreements are of essence to protect human rights (Ossewaarde, 2007).

With humanitarian crises bringing forth refugees, the definition of it according to the 1951 convention by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), is defined ''as a result of events occurring [….] 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 of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.'' (UNHCR, 1951). Once the status of refugee is granted by the hosting country or the UNHCR, one has protections under (inter)national law and obtains certain legal rights. With many Syrians left homeless and seeking shelter in neighboring countries which in this case on a large scale is Turkey, they are often forced to live in camps for long periods of time with little security of their future or legal status.

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the conflict in Syria involves several state actors such as the governments of the neighboring countries Turkey, Lebanon but also entities such as the EU and NGO's such as UNHCR and Amnesty. With the global presence of consequences of the conflict in Syria, global governance and cooperation is key to put an end to this humanitarian crisis. The role of the aforementioned stakeholders is to safeguard the human rights and provide in the basic needs of the Syrian people in Turkish camps. With the living conditions of the Syrian refugees often being inhumane (Amnesty, 2016), it is important to put a scale on it to measure the position of the refugees in Turkish camps. To do so, the renowned psychologist Abraham Maslow's theory will be used.

According to Maslow and his hierarchy of needs, in his influential paper of 1943, *A theory of Human Motivation,* he proposes that human beings have certain basic needs that are arranged in a hierarchy or pyramid (Maslow, 1943). He divides the needs into two categories, basic and higher needs. The basic needs must be met for an individual to feel safe and satisfied rather than anxious. Basic needs entail needs such as food, shelter and safety whilst higher needs entail individual 'growth', enabling self-actualization (Maslow, 1943). This means that an individual can reach his or her full potential as a human being. However, this requires qualities such as independence and objectivity which is difficult from the Syrian refugee point of view considering their circumstances.

The basic needs are divided into two categories, and they are 'physiological needs' and 'safety needs'. The first are needs that form the starting point for Maslow's motivation theory, the so-called physiological drives (Maslow, 1943). For instance, if a human being is missing everything in life to a great extent, he or she is most likely to have a main drive to fulfil the physiological needs such as food, rather than other needs such as safety and love. The latter is the case with the Syrian refugees, whom with danger of their own and their families lives have fled war-torn Syria to seek refuge in other countries in order to fulfill their basic needs as mentioned above. All capacities of the refugees are put into the service of basic need satisfaction. ''Capacities that are not serving this purpose, such as their dreams, lie dormant or are pushed into the background'' (Maslow, 1943). According to Maslow, it is a strange characteristic of the human organism to change the whole perspective of their future when dominated by a certain basic need, such as food and shelter. ''For a chronically and extremely hungry

man, Utopia can be defined very simply as a place where there is plenty of food'' (Maslow, 1943). The situation of the extremely hungry man vis-à-vis the position of the Syrian refugees in camps is quite indentical. Whereas the hungry man seeks food, the Syrian refugees seek basic needs in countries that can fulfil them. Once the physiological needs are relatively well fulfilled, the need for safety emerges. These needs include personal and financial security and protection. The above mentioned needs are the most important in the case of the Syrian refugees. In order to fulfil their needs, various state actors and NGO's are involved, providing aid and resources. However, in the meantime the people in camps suffer from severe traumatic events that prevent them from rising in Maslow's hierarchy of needs towards the higher needs such as belongingness, love, hope, joy, thinking and learning, values, beliefs and helping others (Maslow, 1943). Moral codes, values, habits, customs, culture, and even—arguably—religion has become an illusion for many refugees in their existence in camps (Burton, 2017). In order to safeguard the human rights and provide for the basic needs of the Syrian refugees in Turkish camps, global actors such as the UNHCR and Amnesty International have become increasingly important in the conflict. Their discourses, among others, are of essence to shed light on and improve the living conditions of Syrian refugees in Turkish camps. Global governance and discourses will be elaborated upon in the next section.

2.2. Global Governance and Discourse

Globalization is forming and reshaping the fixed and firm boundaries between national and international spheres, changing our conceptions of the domestic and international politics and law domains (Hill, 2011). The emergence of global governance since the fifteenth century, on the one hand has reshaped the nation-state, providing aid to developing and (post-)conflict nations financially, improving living and health conditions, whilst on the other hand the growth of uncoordinated international activities undermine the democratic gains, leading to the destruction of cultural values and norms of many societies (Hill, 2011). Nearly a decade ago, Larry Finkelstein observed in one of the first Global Governance issues, that ''Global Governance appears to be virtually anything'' (Finkelstein, 2009). However, the concept has become more confusing as it has become more popular. Dingwerth et al. argue that a careful use of the term global governance is deemed necessary to overcome the confusion surrounding it. They use the term as an analytical concept, providing a perspective on world politics that varies from the traditional notion of ''international relations'' (Dingwerth et al., 2006). Observable phenomena such as NGO's world-wide campaign against war and injustice, but also political visions that are expressed in the pursuit of a more just and powerful international legal system, virtually any process involving politics beyond the state – regardless of the content, context or scope – has according to Dingwerth et al. been declared part of a general idea of global governance

(Dingwerth et al., 2006). Supranational bodies such as the European Union (EU) and the United Nations (UN), but also the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for instance are administering many societal rules in the context of global governance (Hill, 2011). The concept of global governance captures the plurality of bodies that link activities to various actors such as NGO's. In addition, the global governance discourse is about the understanding of challenges and issues at stake that appeal to the interest of the world. However, the actual analysis of discourses on governance is a qualitative methodology in which a scholar interprets meanings of texts in relation to the systems of power that shape and form them (Hoy, 1999). As Teun van Dijk, a prominent scholar on discourses, has put it: '' In sum, discourse studies have come of age, and has become a major cross discipline within and related to other major disciplines in the humanities and social sciences – and as one of the major disciplines accounting for the most human of all phenomena: language use.'' (Van Dijk, 2007).

For this case, the following definition will be used: *''„Global governance" refers to systems of rules and regulatory processes that apply across the planet. Many societal norms, standards and laws today relate to people and places spread over the globe. True, Global governance arrangements are only rarely completely universal in the sense of touching every human being at every location on earth. However, global regimes do apply across multiple continents and or to so-called „global commons" such as the seas and the skies.''* (Hill, 2011). It is apparent that globalization in all its complexity, brings with it a global system of regulation and governance, both key in solving the humanitarian crisis and conflict in Syria.

2.3. Global Governance Discourses and the EU – Turkey Deal

As the civil war entered its 7th year, the government in Turkey has officially registered a total of 3.5 million Syrian refugees in 2016, the equivalent of half the total Syrian refugee population, giving it the world's largest refugee population (UNHCR, 2018). The number of refugees seeking international protection and aid in Europe have also continued to increase, even though far less than the direct neighboring countries of Syria (Okyay et al., 2016). Whilst the flow of refugees started in 2014, it was during the summer of 2015 that several EU member states faced a significant increase in the number of refugees arriving at their borders (Okyay et al., 2016). Tackling migration was declared to be one of the top priorities of the EU (Okyay et al., 2016). This is where the EU-Turkey deal comes to play. The crisis the EU is facing slowly showed the inability of the EU to implement appropriate policies to manage this crisis. Merely closing doors and applying strict rules such as the Schengen were deemed insufficient to keep the EU secure from possible Islamic State (IS) threats. With the absence of a long-term policy or a common voice between all the member states, the pressure to make the EU-Turkey deal work rose significantly. The joint EU-Turkey plan came to existence at the EU-Turkey summit on 29 November 2015 (Okyay et al., 2016). The goals of the deal on the one hand are to operate a rather

protective migration policy by the EU member states, whilst on the other hand the EU has offered Turkey to open new negotiation chapters regarding entering the EU, on the condition that Turkey controls the flow of migrants to Europe as the gatekeeper.

The controversy with democracy and problem with the approach is the EU's conditional offer about opening new negotiation chapters for Turkey to enter the EU in return for keeping the Syrian refugees in Turkey. This is not consistent with the values and norms that are embedded in the core of the EU. However, with no real progress towards peace, Turkey struggles more and more to cope with the high expenses for hosting approx. 3.5 million Syrian refugees. Alongside with expenses come political and social risks. Whilst the EU prefers closing its borders, Syrian refuges face an uncertain future in Turkey, causing significant long-term problems for Europe regarding security. With Turkey being a buffer zone between the EU and the unstable Middle East, serious security problems in Turkey that may arise in the future, could potentially spill over to Europe. This in return would cause political and social danger for the EU as well.

Subsequently, the role of monitors is crucial, whilst it remains under researched, also from the humanitarian point of view. Monitoring NGO bodies such as the UNCHR and Amnesty International keep track of the socio-economic status and stories regarding refugees. The UNHCR after WWII became the cornerstone for protection of refugees, initially mainly in Europe, but now on a global scale. According to the UNHCR there are many aspects to the protection of refugees. These include ensuring that their basic human rights are met, offering safety from the dangers they have fled, but also living in dignity and humane conditions until a long-term solution is found to their problems (UNHCR, 2014). While this usually is the primary responsibility of states, conformity to treaties, refugee law and their obligations, it is not always possible. The UNHCR therefore closely works with governments, providing aid and advice as needed, as is the case with the Syrian refugee crisis.

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) also play an important role in defending the rights of refugees and ensuring that certain recognized standards are met. They not only include the major international NGOs, but also a host of local organizations that are in daily contact with the refugees. One of the important NGOs in striving for human rights of refugees is Amnesty International. Much like the approach of the UNHCR, Amnesty closely works together with governments to make sure they honor the responsibilities and rights of refugees (Amnesty, 2018). Policies and agreements that undermine this are highly condemned by the organization. An important factor with actors such as Amnesty is, that they constantly campaign for human rights to be enjoyed by all around the globe. Moreover, it is key for NGOs to be independent of political ideologies, religion or economic interests to live up to their values. ''One example is making sure countries don't outsource their border controls – essentially paying another country to stop people reaching their borders. Another problem is when

governments don't process people's asylum claims properly, leaving them in limbo – sometimes even in detention – for years.'' (Amnesty, 2018). However, it's questionable whether the EU-Turkey deal is not an example of what Amnesty condemns.

The role of the EU and European Commission (EC) is the coordination of the EU-Turkey deal. President Juncker of the EU appointed Maarten Verwey to act as the person to coordinate the implementation of the EU-Turkey deal, also known as the EU-Turkey statement (EC, 2018). A coordination team supports him for the overall strategic direction and relation with key stakeholders such as Turkey. An operations group is responsible for the analysis of all relevant data, the careful planning and deployment of experts from Member States and an additional team is tasked to focus on resettlement of the Syrian refugees. Many Member States are part of a committee chaired by the Commission to oversee the implementation of the deal with regards to the return and resettlement of refugees. The EU coordinator Verwey has significant resources from European Commission services and EU agencies such as Europol at his disposal. In the discourses of the monitors and the global governance discourse, the extent to which monitors are involved and the way in which it affects the position of the Syrian refugees will be analyzed to fill the gap of knowledge on this topic. Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs is key to identify and analyze the position of the Syrian refugees in Turkish camps.

2.4. Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, the key concepts, theories and stakeholders have been identified and clarified with regards to the Syrian refugee crisis through existing literature. Abraham Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs theory has been explained to map out the position of the Syrian refugees and the monitors that are involved in affecting their position. With the key concepts elaborated upon, Maslow's theory has been applied to create coding schemes for the operationalization of concepts such as basic needs, with the coding scheme and Maslow's theory being the primary vehicle for the analysis. Additionally, the global scale and impact the crisis has and the extent to which it affects varying stakeholders involved has been revealed. It has become evident that global governance is crucial to solving the crisis, whilst in practice the cooperation between organizations and countries has not yet been sufficient, efficient nor effective enough to solve the grand challenge of the refugee crisis. The discourses of the monitors will be used in the analysis chapter to explore the clashes, contradictions, differences and similarities on the position of the Syrian refugees.

3. Methods

This chapter is about how the research will be conducted to acquire knowledge and have a better understanding of the position of the Syrian refugees in Turkish camps. The methods used in this paper focus on the key concepts of the Syrian refugee crisis, the monitors involved and the position of the refugees according to Maslow's Theory of Needs. The context therefor is the Syrian refugee crisis within the timeframe of 2011, the beginning of the civil war, until 2018. For that reason, the chosen method to carry out this research is a discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 2007). Jorgensen and Phillips describe discourse analysis as: ''a particular way of talking about and understanding the world - or an aspect of the world'' (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002). This method has proven to be an appropriate research design for analyzing positions of people in the context of crises. A discourse analysis on the position of the Syrian refugees, from the perspective of the monitors and Maslow's Human Need theory, will enable us to understand the living conditions of the refugees in Turkish camps.

The reason why the specific monitors and Maslow's theory have been chosen is because of the significance for our global society and humanitarianism in understanding, improving and helping the Syrian refugees and their position. Moreover, the entities and state actors involved have an influential power on global politics which in turn can result in change in failing policies and approaches to solve crises. The humanitarian refugee crisis and the EU-Turkey deal make for an excellent global governance case to find out about clashes, contradictions, similarities and differences in the discourses of the monitors. With multiple stakeholders involved in a complex situation, each with their own personal agenda, it is increasingly difficult to find common ground to solve the crisis. Furthermore, the position of the Syrian refugees in Turkish camps from the perspective of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs remains unexplored.

3.1. Methods of Data Collection

The reason the method of this paper is restricted to the four monitors, the EU, Turkey, UHCR and Amnesty International, is because the EU and Turkey are the actors directly involved in the EU-Turkey deal. Second, the UNHCR and Amnesty International are considered to be most suitable when applying Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs on Syrian refugees in Turkish camps. The reason for this is that these entities play a significant role in the rights and basic needs provision of people in crises. Moreover, with the different actors and entities having varying agenda's, it is a good starting point for an analysis of clashes, contradictions, differences and similarities in the discourses of these monitors on the position of Syrian refugees in Turkish camps. By having a diverse set of sources, the crisis is analyzed from different perspectives. According to the general principle known as triangulation (Denzin, 1970).

''This strategy reduces the risk that conclusions will reflect only the systematic biases or limitations of a specific method and allows for a better assessment of the validity and generality of the answers developed from the research'' (Maxwell, 2005).

The strategy for choosing to analyze documents such as policy documents, fact sheets, legal documents and official reports instead of other types of documents such as news articles, is because of the availability of the crucial data for this research. Furthermore, legal documents, international agreements and laws provide an important legal framework for the human rights implications and discourses. In addition, the discourses of the monitors have quite an impact in the agenda setting, but they are also influential for audiences such as policy makers and member states of the EU. At the same time, the documents are accessible for everyone. The data is collected for the most part through the search engines offered on the websites of monitors such as the UNHCR. On their website for instance, there is a total amount of 1814 documents on the topic of the Syrian refugee crisis, but filters such as country; ''Turkey'', situation; Syria Regional Refugee Response and Durable Solutions have been added. Moreover, the language was limited to English and Turkish, with the sectors being; basic needs, camp coordination and management, emergency shelter, food security, health and protection. This resulted in a significantly lower number of documents, from which 10 to 15 documents with discourses from the monitors on Syrian refugees in Turkish camps were selected. The same systematic approach has been applied to the other monitors in the search engines of their official websites, resulting in a total amount of 30 documents. The documents collected all include content that relates to or represent the key dimensions and basic needs mentioned in the coding scheme (Figure 3.1 and 3.2). Whereas all data covers the basic needs, the needs most important in this analysis, higher needs have also been addressed in some of the documents collected and analyzed.

3.3. Methods of Analysis

It is crucial to this research to clearly describe the concepts to be able to operationalize the observation points for the analysis. Maslow's hierarchy of needs is used to measure the conditions such as the fulfilment of basic needs and the well-being of the Syrian refugees in Turkish camps, with the EU-Turkey deal as tipping point. Below a model and table are provided, showing the dimensions, concepts and points of observation that measure the condition of the Syrian refugees in the discourses of the monitors. To answer the research question(s) – figure 3.1 and 3.2 are used. After data was collected, the model was adjusted where necessary. These steps were repeated until the model was satisfying. After the collection of the data according to the model, the empirical findings are summarized to interpret the meaning of the outcomes. The last step in the analysis is drawing conclusions based on the findings to answer the research question(s) at hand.
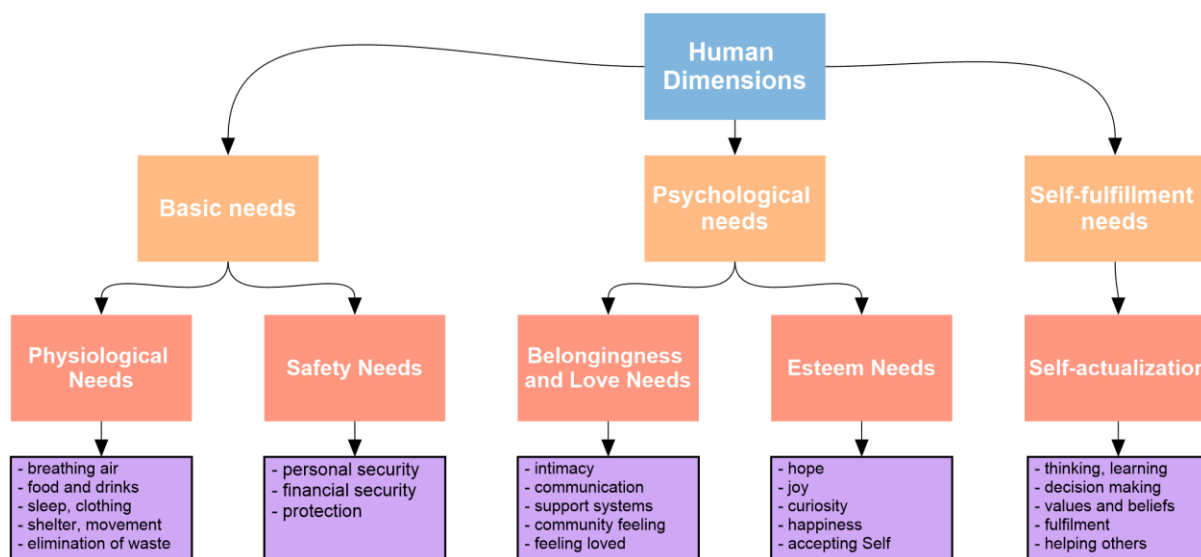
Figure 3.1: Coding Scheme for the Analysis

While collection data, it became evident that the basic needs dimension is the most important one in the discourses of the monitors such as UNHCR and Amnesty International. While the other dimensions are equally important for the general well-being of humans, according to Maslow, first the basic needs are to be met to be able to focus on higher needs such as self-fulfillment (Maslow, 1943). Therefor the basic needs that is subdivided in physiological needs and safety needs are the most important needs used in the analysis.

Dimensions	Concepts	Observation Points
Physical dimension	**Physiologic needs**	**Breathing (air), nutritious food and fluids, sleep, clothing, shelter, elimination of wastes, movement.**
Environmental dimension	**Safety and security needs**	**Personal security, financial security, protection (climate, safe houses, safe transport)**
Sociocultural dimension	Love and belonging needs Legal status	Relationships with others (intimacy), communications with others, support systems, being part of community, feeling loved by others, family reunions
Emotional dimension	Self-esteem needs	Hope, joy, curiosity, happiness, accepting Self.
Intellectual and spiritual dimensions	Self-actualization needs	Thinking, learning, decision making, values, beliefs, fulfilment, helping others.

Figure 3.2: Coding Table according to Maslow's Human Dimensions and Needs

To summarize the analysis, in the process of answering the research question, the first step was the collection of data on the observation points. The next step was to evaluate the coding scheme based on the acquired data, after which the scheme was adjusted accordingly. The third step was to look for additional data if there were contradicting data appearances to fill any gaps that might arise. The previous steps were repeated until the scheme was satisfying. The last step was to summarize all the empirical findings to interpret the meaning of the outcomes. After that, conclusions were drawn based on the findings to answer the research question(s).

However, there were some potential threats to this research design. It is difficult to determine whether the basic needs are fully covered by the observation points used in this research, in the case of for instance lack of evidence for certain aspects. When trying to find evidence for the position of the Syrian refugees, the attempt could have resulted in a Type II error if the observation point does not sufficiently cover the variables at in the research design (George & Bennet, 2005). Next to the previous threat, there is also the threat of external validity which is taken into consideration. With the external validity, the generalizability of the study is meant. There could be differences in circumstances and camps in other countries, especially when taking the EU-Turkey deal into account, specifically for Turkey. Therefor the study is considered not entirely generalizable.

3.5. Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, the methods for my research have been clarified as to how the research is conducted. The methods of data collection, operationalization and analysis were explained. Possible limitations to my research have been mentioned. In the next chapter, my findings will be presented. Observations on the position of the Syrian refugees and their living conditions in Turkish camps will be stated and are open for interpretation and reasoning.

4. Findings (Data Analysis)

This chapter is about what has been observed in the collected data from the key monitors with respect to the position of the Syrian refugees in Turkish camps. With all the stakeholders involved, each with their own contribution, interests and benefits, it is important to look at the crisis from various angles to have a reliable outcome on the position of Syrian refugees in Turkey. Therefor all the monitors and the discourses on them will be analyzed in accordance with Maslow's Human Needs theory and the coding scheme presented in the previous chapter. The aim is to document whether the position of the Syrian refugees has been affected for the better or worse with the EU-Turkey deal as tipping point. Furthermore, the role of the monitors will be analyzed.

4.1. Turkey's Discourses on the Position of the Syrian Refugees

According to a report issued in 2016 by the UNHCR, Turkey has maintained a consistent and high standard in emergency response since the Syrian crisis in 2011. The Turkish government has adopted policies that places the refugees under a temporary protection regime, providing assistance in 25 camps with an estimate of 217.000 refugees (UNHCR, 2017). The former United Nations high commissioner for refugees, Antonio Guterres, praised Turkey's efforts to open its borders to the large influx of Syrians. Approximately 45 per cent of all Syrian refugees in the region are hosted by Turkey (UNCHR, 2017). Nevertheless, a report issued in June 2015 by the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) on policies in 2014 stated that: ''Turkey's legal framework is hindering the integration of migrants'' (MIPEX, 2015). The report further criticized the fact that the Turkish state provides little to no support and provides restricted rights for refugees and their families. Furthermore, Turkeys' weak protection against discrimination has been emphasized. A dedicated anti-discrimination law and agency is lacking and pending upon approval by the Turkish government.

In April 2013, The Ministry of Interior in Turkey adopted the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP). The purpose was to regulate procedures regarding the entry into the country, but also the stay and exit from it. In accordance with the aforementioned law, Turkey grants refugees that are non-European limited protection under one of the various types of temporary statuses in the country. Generally speaking, asylum-seekers in Turkey apply to the Directorate General for Migration Management (DGMM) for basic needs such as protection. However, only some, depending on circumstances such as country of origin, are eligible to attain the refugee status through the UNHCR. Both Turkey and the UNHCR are incapable of coping with the large number of applicants due to lack of resources and efficient coordination and cooperation. Depending on the situation and status of the refugee, the provision of basic needs and enactments of human rights vary. According to

Canbay (2015), the 25 camps in March 2015 consist of markets, ''have reliable heating, religious services, communications infrastructure, firefighting services, interpreters, psychosocial support, banking and cleaning services'' (Canbay, 2015). In addition, camp residents are provided three nutritious meals a day with some allowance for personal needs (LFIP art. 89(5)). Relevant Turkish laws provide medical services to those who are not covered by medical insurance (Law No. 5510, May 31, 2006). The Ministry for Family and Social Policies accommodates minors in suitable facilities in the care of their adult relatives or foster families that take the opinion of the child into account (*Id*. art. 66(1)(b). The legislation in Turkey allows for siblings to be placed together. Moreover, '"Victims of torture, sexual assault or, other serious psychological, physical or sexual violence" are to be given "adequate treatment [....] to eliminate the damage caused by such actions.'' Id. art. 84(1); Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees art. 28. Article 28(1). Art. 59(1)b LFIP stipulates that "Foreigners shall be allowed to have access to and receive visits from his or her relatives, notary, legal representative and lawyer and to have access to telephone services." While section 1(ç) of the same Article indicates that "The best interest of children shall be respected; families and unaccompanied children shall be given separate accommodation." (Ulusoy & Battjes, 2017).

According to the various policy and law documents from the Republic of Turkey, the basic needs as described in Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs and the coding scheme are to a certain extent met. However, in the article by Ulusoy and Battjes in their research to camp conditions, some severe human right violations were noted, as is the case in other articles and research. The Representative on Migration and Refugees of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, Tomáš Boček, observed that "detainees have difficulties contacting the UNHCR, NGOs and lawyers. In some removal centres there is allegedly no opportunity for telephone contact" (Boček, 2016, p. 9). The Temporary Protection Regulation which acts as the main legal document for Syrian refugees in Turkey, removes the obligation for the Turkish Government to provide accommodation for the temporary protection beneficiaries. In the article by Ulusoy and Battjes, a recent report of the World Food Programme (WFP) has been shown in which almost 30% of all Syrian refugees live in shelters such as unfinished construction sites and garages (WFP Turkey, 2016). With regards to healthcare, all registered temporary protection beneficiaries should have access to the Turkish healthcare system for free (Ulusoy & Battjes, 2017). However, even though the access is free, language continues to be a challenge for the refugees in access to healthcare. According to government officials, more and more interpreters (human capital) are hired to address the problem, the number of interpreters remains too low (Ekmekci, 2016, p. 6).

In an additional study by Alpak et al., the prevalence of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTST) has been examined and its correlation with socio-economic variables has been explored among Syrian refugees who sought refuge in Turkey, residing in Turkish camps. *''After a detailed psychiatric interview using DSM-IV-TR diagnostic criteria, 118 (33.5%) participants have been diagnosed with PTSD; 11 (9.3%) of these 118 participants had acute PTSD, 105 (89%) had chronic PTSD, and 2 (1.7%) had late-onset PTSD. In addition to these participants diagnosed with current PTSD, 41 (11.7%) participants had met the PTSD diagnostic criteria during their past time at asylum, but not at the time of the study. It is understood that they had spontaneous remission without receiving any psychiatric treatment.''* (Alpak et al., 2014). This study is on only one of the many refugee camps throughout Turkey, yet the yielded results are concerning.

One of several ways to interpret the data at hand on the discourses of Turkey and the position of the Syrian refugees, is that to some extent, Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs are met. However, there is a clear difference in how the conditions ought to be with data and legislation from the Turkish government and how they are implemented and executed in practice. Turkish data from sources such as AFAD vis-à-vis independent research and articles vary tremendously in the outcome. When looking at the coding scheme table (figure 3.2), the physical dimension and environmental dimension, consisting of the physiologic, safety and security needs, are to a certain extent met according to official reports from Turkish government agencies. However, Maslow's remaining three dimensions are by far not met in or out of camps in Turkey. An example of a clash and contradiction between monitors such as Turkey, the EU and Amnesty international is Article 59 – (1) by the ''REPUBLIC OF TURKEY MINISTRY OF INTERIOR DIRECTORATE GENERAL OF MIGRATION MANAGEMENT'' (2014):

ARTICLE 59 – (1):
a) emergency and primary healthcare services of which the foreigner is unable to cover the cost shall be provided free of charge;
b) the foreigner shall be allowed access to and given the opportunity to meet with their relatives, the notary public, his/her legal representative and the lawyer, as well as access to telephone services;
c) the foreigner shall be given the opportunity to meet with the visitors, consular official of their country of citizenship, and officials of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees;
ç) the best interest of the child shall be considered, and families and unaccompanied minors shall be accommodated in separate areas;
d) the Ministry of National Education shall take the necessary measures to ensure that children have access to education.
(2) Representatives of the relevant non-governmental organisations with expertise in the field of migration may visit the removal centres upon permission of the Directorate General.

However, Special Representative of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe on migration and refugees, Tomáš Boček, published a report after his fact-finding mission to Turkish camps between 30 May and 4 June 2016. In his report, ''the arbitrary restrictions on migrants' and asylum seekers' access to information'' is criticized (Ulusoy & Battjes, 2017). Furthermore, he underlines that with international agreements and national legislation in place, safeguarding procedures such as the provision of information, "they [migrants] are provided with no information and are often denied access to UNHCR representatives and NGOs who could advise them of their rights" (Boček, 2016, p. 10). On the one hand, legislation by the Republic of Turkey grants foreigners' rights to information, whilst in practice on the other hand, in turns out to be quite the opposite according to Boček. While the entitlement of rights according to national legislation seem to be in line with the values and expectations of e.g. the EU, clearly showing overlaps and similarities with EU legislation and rights to freedom of information upon request (Article 15 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, 2018), the enforcement of these laws and rights seem to lack in cases as pointed out by Boček (2016). It is an interesting observation that laws are implemented yet not fully enforced.

In addition, to provide an example of the living conditions in camps, the main legal document in Turkey for Syrian Refugees, the Temporary Protection Regulation will be used. This legal document removes the obligation of the government to provide shelter and protection for temporary beneficiaries (Ulusoy & Battjes, 2017). The Prima Ministry Disaster and Emergency Management Authority (AFAD), is authorized by Art. 37 of the regulation to build temporary camps, managing it in cooperation with the Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM). As of 24 April 2017, almost 250.000 Syrian people were living in temporary camps with limited protection (AFAD, 2017). A report of the World Food Programme (WFP) in the very same year stated that ''almost 30% of all Syrian refugees are living in unfinished buildings or garages'' (WFP Turkey, 2016). According to national legislation in Turkey, all registered temporary protection beneficiaries have the right to use the Turkish healthcare system (AFAD, 2017). However, initially only 11 cities with camps had access to free healthcare services. In 2013, AFAD announced that all Syrian ''guests'' could use healthcare services free of charge in all camps and cities (Ulusoy & Battjes, 2017). Even though healthcare services are offered freely nationwide, the language barrier continues to be a challenge for the Syrian people trying to access healthcare. The Turkish government has increased the numbers of interpreters to address and ultimately solve the issue, the number of interpreters however remains insufficient (Ekmekci, 2016, p.6).

4.2 EU Discourses on the Position of the Syrian Refugees

With a total of almost 3.9 million registered refugees from different countries living in Turkey, some 220 000 are based in camps where they have access to basic needs such as shelter, food and education (Turkish Ministry of Interior, 2017). The remainder is living in cities sometimes under even worse circumstances, e.g. the prevalence of child labour and prostitution (EC Facts and Figures, 2018). However, for various reasons, including registration with local authorities and language barriers, the access to these basic needs is often difficult. The EU as a monitor and important stakeholder, closely cooperates with Turkish authorities and funds humanitarian projects to help Syrian refugees in Turkish camps. Financial aid is facilitated from the EU budget and the contributions from the EU Member States (EC, 2018). So far, nearly €1.4 billion is facilitated by the EU humanitarian funding program to support refugees in Turkey. A social assistance scheme called the Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN) enables Syrian refugees to meet the most urgent basic needs, as also described in the coding scheme with Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs theory. Various actors such as the EU, Amnesty International, the Turkish Red Crescent and Turkish government institutions are collaborating e.g. to facilitate debit cards that are distributed to refugee families in Turkish camps to purchase items that are most required. In accordance with the basic needs as presented in the coding scheme (Figures 3.1 and 3.2), the EU's efforts to improve the position of Syrian refugees in Turkey seem paradoxical with the EU-Turkey deal and the reasons behind it. With the EU preaching its own asylum standards to other countries for the past decades, they seem to have cut legal corners with the deal in place, potentially violating their own EU laws on topics such as migration and detention (MPI, 2016).

Amnesty International stated in a press release that ''the EU-Turkey refugee deal has left thousands of refugees and migrants in squalid and dangerous living conditions and must not be replicated with other countries'' (Amnesty, 2017). This is an interesting observation in which the EU and Amnesty clearly show differences and contradictions, especially with Angela Merkel, considered one of the most influential leaders of the EU, stating in an interview in 2016 that the EU should strike similar deals with North African countries, to curb the migrant flows to the EU (MPI, 2016). According to the German Chancellor, such deals are better for the refugees themselves. However, according to an article in the Migration Policy Institute (MPI), EU institutions have limited resources to implement a similar strategy, especially without causing further distress to those individuals, (read: refugees), they hope to keep from the EU borders.

According to first Vice-President Frans Timmermans, "We need to make sure that we provide more support for people to be able to live decent lives in dignity in the camps where they are in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey. We need to make sure that we help those countries to afford these people the opportunity to work, to take up jobs, and one of the major elements we need to look at is to provide education for children – that is of the greatest importance, SPEECH/15/6079 (Naous, 2016).

However, in the discourses of Amnesty International, quite the contrary is true. While the EU and NGOs such as Amnesty International often cooperate to improve general well-being of people, the monitors seem to disagree on the position of the Syrian refugees. The following official statements were released on Amnesty International's website, saying that ''The deal aimed at returning asylum-seekers back to Turkey on the premise that Turkey is safe for them, has left thousands exposed to squalid and unsafe conditions on Greek islands. In the new briefing "A Blueprint for Despair" Amnesty International also documented unlawful returns of asylum-seekers to Turkey in a flagrant breach of their rights under international law.'' (Amnesty, 2017). Gauri van Gulik, Amnesty International's Deputy Director for Europe in addition stated that: "The EU-Turkey deal has been a disaster for the thousands who have been left stranded in a dangerous, desperate and seemingly endless limbo on the Greek islands" (Amnesty, 2017). "It is disingenuous in the extreme that European leaders are touting the EU-Turkey deal as a success, while closing their eyes to the unbearably high cost to those suffering the consequences." – Gauri van Gulik (Amnesty, 2017).

According to the MEMO/16/3204 by the EU, Turkey, in accordance with the EU-Turkey deal, has effectively taken all the refugees in that returned from Greece. Furthermore, they provided formal guarantees that the refugees that returned may request and be granted protection under the Temporary Protection Regulation in Turkey (EU, 2016). This is also the case for protection requests. Furthermore, Turkey agreed to allow the EU to monitor the situation of the Syrian refugees in camps on a regular basis, providing access to removal centres, monitoring whether the international protection procedures have been implemented. However, as mentioned in an earlier chapter, this turned out not to be the case in practice (Ulusoy & Battjes, 2017). When analysing the memo and fact sheet by the EU, it became evident that even though the refugees are entitled and promised protection upon return from Greece, it is certainly not always the case. The basic needs in the coding scheme therefor are met on paper, but in practice only up to a certain point the safety and provision of the basic needs and rights are safeguarded. With regards to the human rights implications, both the EU and Turkey seem to be incapable and unable to keep their words and promises to improve the position of the Syrian refugees in Turkish camps.

''The Facility for Refugees in Turkey provides for a joint coordination mechanism for actions […] designed to ensure that the needs of refugees and host communities are addressed in a comprehensive and coordinated manner. The support seeks to improve conditions for refugees in Turkey as part of the EU's comprehensive approach to addressing the refugee crisis inside and outside the EU. The latest two contracts signed this week are direct grants worth €600 million […] to ensure Syrian refugees in Turkey have access to health care. The direct grant for education should enable around 500,000 Syrian students to receive education in the Turkish language and ensure comprehensive health care for refugees in Turkey'' (EU MEMO/16/3204, 2016). With this example, the question arises whether or not Turkey is receiving an incentive in activating their resources and capital to meet the basic requirements of the refugees in camps or is actually being enabled to help with the resources received from the EU. Nevertheless, the barriers such as language and the lack of human capital according to Amnesty International continue to prevent Syrian refugees from meeting their basic needs such as sufficient and nutritious food, shelter and protection.

4.3. UNHCR Discourses on the Position of the Syrian Refugees

In Turkey, the Syrian refugee crisis is managed by AFAD in collaboration with the UNHCR and other NGOs. UNHCR's main objectives and role in the crisis are ''easing the pressures on refugee hosting countries; enhancing refugee self-reliance; expanding access to third-country solutions and supporting conditions in countries of origin for return in safety and dignity'' (UNHCR, 2018). The UNHCR has trained well over 500 AFAD officials in the context of international refugee protection, closely working together with the Government of Turkey. Despite of the various actors and efforts in collaborating and managing the crisis to help the Syrian refugees, the national structures and resources in Turkey have been overwhelmed, affecting their ability to cope with the basic needs of the refugees in camps. In the context of ensuring basic needs and protection, the UNHCR addresses the psychosocial needs of refugees. This includes topics such as violence, education, self-reliance and life-skills to ensure dignified living conditions. These conditions, also mentioned in Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs and the coding schemes, are by far not met in the camps. Most of the refugees settled in camps have nothing to begin with. Basic items covering basic needs are provided such as tents or containers for shelter (UNHCR, 2013). According to the UNHCR Syria Regional Response Plan, up to 95% of refugees living in camps utilize health services. However, there are concerns regarding the increased numbers of diseases, language barriers and access to health structures with medicine shortages (UNHCR, 2014). It is striking that the concern of language barriers is a similarity with the other monitors as well, obstructing the access and utilization of healthcare systems.

Even though the humanitarian assistance provided by NGOs such as Amnesty International, AFAD, the Turkish Red Crescent (TRC) and WFP, the Syrians living in camps are only considered to be food secure, meeting the first basic need according to Maslow and the coding scheme. However, without the assistance of the NGOs, the majority of people in camps would not be able to meet in their basic need of food. In addition, the UNHCR assisted Syrians in camps by accommodating for the provision of cooking facilities in 21 camps in coordination with AFAD and TRC (UNHCR, 2014). To provide in yet another basic need as used in the coding scheme with Maslow's theory, some 18.500 tents were provided to accommodate for shelter in camps. Further provisions include high thermal blankets, sleeping mats and clothing. As the Syrian refugees have been living in the camps for a while now, the sanitary provisions and hygiene conditions have deteriorated, needing repairs and enhancements. With the aid of UNHCR, improvements are made in basic needs such as water supply, washing centres, toilets and hand washing facilities for children. Furthermore, protection rules and separate centres such as toilets are incorporated to protect women and children in the camps.

With the analysis, it becomes evident that without international aid, the vast majority of Syrian refugees in camps will not be able to meet their basic needs. However, with the structures of cooperation in place, according to the UNHCR, most basic needs such as food, shelter and clothing are met. Nevertheless, the Turkish Government continues to struggle with the pressure with increasing numbers of Syrians entering the country (UNHCR, 2018). Moreover, in the analysis on the similarities and differences between the monitors so far, it also becomes evident that aid in the form of resources such as money, human and social capital is necessary to provide for the basic needs of most Syrians, since not yet all refugees live in camps.

4.4. Amnesty International Discourses on the Position of the Syrian Refugees

Amnesty International is a global entity that takes injustice personally, by campaigning for a world in which human rights are for all. With human rights going hand in hand with basic needs as presented in the coding scheme, the role of Amnesty International is to help in the provision of basic needs, protecting human rights. Even though Amnesty International recognizes the considerable efforts by Turkey to accommodate for the increasing number of refugees, several concerns have been identified that require urgent steps to ensure protection of Syrian refugees in Turkish camps. To begin with, the financial support from the international community needs to be higher to support Turkish authorities with accommodating for the basic needs of the refugees. Amnesty also recommends the Turkish authorities to adopt new partnership strategies with NGOs to acquire more support.

While Amnesty, among other NGOs, has not been allowed to enter the camps to verify information with regards to the conditions and position of the Syrian refugees, the general implications as perceived by Amnesty, indicate that the camps are well resourced, providing refugees adequate access to basic needs such as food and shelter. Yet another similarity with the EU and UNHCR monitors is the decline of access to the camps. To be able to ensure the basic needs are always met, Amnesty in its discourses recommends the UNHCR to permanently establish presence in camps. Similar to UNHCR' discourses, Amnesty emphasizes the requirement for psycho-social support. Referring to section 4.1 of this chapter, the prevalence of PTSD and the higher needs by Maslow have not been met. Most refugees, children in particular, suffer from traumatic events (Amnesty, 2016). In general, the consensus of all the monitors on the provision of basic needs seems to be that the hosting country, Turkey, is performing adequately. However, this would not be possible without the international aid from the other monitors. Furthermore, Amnesty in their human rights report (2017/18), states that many hospitals were warned not to provide aid to unregistered refugees (Amnesty, 20017/18). This however, poses a serious threat to the access of refugees to healthcare, since the registration process is often delayed. In addition, it undermines the help of NGOs on behalf of the Syrian refugees in providing basic needs and access to healthcare (Amnesty, 2017/18).

In light of the basic needs and global governance, Amnesty states that to share responsibility for the refugees, all countries must help. Out of the 193 countries and 21 million refugees in the world, more than half of this amount live in just 10 of the 193 countries (Amnesty, 2018). Consequently, the top 10 hosting countries such as Turkey, cannot provide access to basic services. Without any hope for the future, not surprisingly, many refugees take dangerous risks and journeys to find better lives in e.g. the EU, leading to deals such as the one between the EU and Turkey.

4.5. Similarities and Differences in the Discourses

With all the monitors having their own personal interests and agenda settings, the discourses on the position of the Syrian refugees in Turkish camps show similarities, yet also contradictions and differences. To begin with the basic needs, based on the findings, the consensus seems to be that Turkey is doing well in providing for the basic needs of refugees, however, only for the majority in camps. Moreover, this would not be possible without the cooperation and aid from the other monitors. With regards to the EU-Turkey deal, whereas the monitors Turkey and the EU consider it to be a success, Amnesty International and UNHCR consider the deal to be a huge failure at the cost of the Syrian refugees. In addition, the language barrier mentioned by all monitors, obstructs the Syrian refugees from accessing healthcare systems. Whilst Turkey claims to have hired more interpreters to address this issue, stating that the issue should be solved, in practice the language barrier continues

to exist. In the discourses, it also becomes evident that Turkey is systematically denying access to camps for monitors such as UNHCR, EU officials, Amnesty. Aside from access to camps, Turkey also seems to deny legal aid by representatives such as UNHCR lawyers to grant information and help refugees in camps, resulting in refugees having difficulties contacting the UNHCR, NGOs and lawyers. Allegedly, telephone contact appears to completely absent in some refugee camps. Below, table 4.1 is provided showing the similarities and differences/clashes between the monitors. Green marks the similarities whereas red marks differences and clashes.

Basic Needs in Camps	Turkey	EU	UNHCR	Amnesty Int.
Turkey		X	X	X
EU	X		X	X
UNHCR	X	X		X
Amnesty Int.	X	X	X	

Language Barriers	Turkey	EU	UNHCR	Amnesty Int.
Turkey		X	X	X
EU	X		X	X
UNHCR	X	X		X
Amnesty Int.	X	X	X	

Access to Camps	Turkey	EU	UNHCR	Amnesty Int.
Turkey		X	X	X
EU	X		X	X
UNHCR	X	X		X
Amnesty Int.	X	X	X	

EU-Turkey Deal	Turkey	EU	UNHCR	Amnesty Int.
Turkey		X	X	X
EU	X		X	X
UNHCR	X	X		X
Amnesty Int.	X	X	X	

Table 4.1 – Similarities and Differences in the Discourses of the Monitors

4.6. Concluding Remarks

The four monitors and their role in the refugee crisis have been elaborated upon in this chapter. The similarities, differences and possible contradictions and clashes have been observed. The monitors have proven to have common ground with regards to the provision of basic needs in Turkish camps as stated in the coding scheme (Figure 3.1 and 3.2), however access is not always possible due to language barriers. From the observation of data from the monitors, in their discourses it became clear that the close cooperation between the actors is of essence to meet the basic needs as described in the coding scheme. If this cooperation would cease to exist, so would the resources to provide for the basic needs of the Syrian refugees in Turkish camps. With the use of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs as main vehicle for the analysis and the EU-Turkey deal as tipping point, it is striking to see that on the one hand Turkey and the EU consider the deal to be a success and possible example of future deals to be made in North African countries, stopping influxes of refugees and protecting their ''fortress'', while on the other hand the UNHCR and Amnesty International clearly removed themselves from this claim. In their discourses the deal is nothing but a failure at the high cost of human deplorable conditions in Turkish camps, failing to meet in the basic needs provision of Syrian refugees. Yet another interesting point of observation is the perception of the EU-Turkey deal. While on the one hand, Turkey and the EU see the deal as a success, UNHCR and Amnesty International deem the deal to be an utter failure at the cost of the Syrian refugees.

5. Conclusion

The objective of this paper was to analyse how the discourses of the monitors show similarities, differences, clashes and contradictions regarding the position of Syrian refugees. It aimed to identify whether the basic needs of refugees in Turkish camps, with Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs theory as primary vehicle for analysis, are met in the context of global governance and the humanitarian crisis. An attempt was made to discover in which ways the theory of Maslow was suitable for the analysis of basic needs in the Syrian refugee crisis. This final chapter gives the answers to the research questions by summarizing the findings and their implications.

''What are the similarities and differences between the discourses of the monitors on the position of the Syrian refugees?'' With each monitor involved providing a unique perspective on the position of Syrian refugees, each with its own personal interests and agenda, this paper has attempted to add knowledge to the heated topic of debate of the Syrian refugee crisis. This is realized by documenting the similarities, differences, possible contradictions and clashes in the discourses of the monitors (Figure 4.1). As stated in the previous chapters of this paper, a discourse analysis is described by Jorgensen and Phillips as ''a particular way of talking about and understanding the world - or an aspect of the world'' (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002). In line with this, the findings show in understanding the discourses, that the monitors share common ground regarding the provision of basic needs in Turkish camps. The analysis, using Maslow's theory however, shows that language continues to be a barrier in the access to healthcare provisions. This means that only up to a certain point the basic needs are met for the Syrian refugees in Turkish camps. According to Turkish government officials, more and more interpreters (human capital) are hired to address the problem, but the number of interpreters remains too low to solve the issue of language barriers (Ekmekci, 2016, p. 6). Furthermore, the access of outside actors such as the EU, UNHCR and Amnesty to the camps has been denied in several occasions, resulting in similarities in discourses of the EU, UNHCR and Amnesty. With the EU-Turkey deal in place to limit the influx of refugees to the EU and create safe pathways for them to seek refuge in e.g. Turkey, the deal in the discourses of the EU and Turkey is successful. However, UNHCR and Amnesty claim the deal to be a failure, undermining the basic needs and rights of Syrian refugees. In accordance with the basic needs as presented in the coding scheme (Figures 3.1 and 3.2), the EU's efforts to improve the position of Syrian refugees in Turkey seem paradoxical with the EU-Turkey deal and the reasons behind it. According to the discourses of UNHCR and Amnesty, the EU seems to have cut legal corners with the deal in place, potentially violating their own EU laws on topics such as migration and detention (MPI, 2016). Amnesty International stated in a press release that ''the EU-Turkey refugee deal has left thousands of refugees and migrants in squalid and dangerous living conditions and must not be replicated with other countries'' (Amnesty, 2017).

Based on the findings in the discourses, I am inclined to state that the EU-Turkey deal was indeed a failure with the use of Maslow's theory as main vehicle for the analysis on basic needs.

''Which institutional monitors are involved and what is their role?''

In line with the findings, I would like to argue that close cooperation with the Turkish government is a necessity in the provision of basic needs for the Syrian refugees. As stated by Ossewaarde (2007), national institutions and international agreements are of essence to protect human rights. With basic needs falling in the scope of human rights, it is of essence that monitors, actors and NGOs such as the EU, NHCR and Amnesty, closely work together with Turkey to solve the refugee crisis. The aforementioned actors play an important role in the safeguarding and enforcement of the rights of refugees, as the analysis points out that this would not be possible without the cooperation.

Given the limitations of resources such as time, this paper only focused on the Syrian refugees in camps. The next step for research could be an analysis of which the findings can be generalized to refugees living outside the camps with Maslow's theory as well. The social relevance of this paper and benefits of humanitarianism to society is essential, with: ''humanitarian action fundamentally being an act of peace during combat'' (ICRC, 2017). With the EU being ''an established entity and recognized global actor providing humanitarian aid'' (Hansen, 2009), it sets an example for other parts of the world to follow in the constant strive for world peace. The strategy, organization, management and power structures in cooperating with refugee hosting countries possibly can be improved upon with the EU-Turkey deal and UHCR/Amnesty discourses on it. Instead of building a European Fortress, the global leaders in the EU ought to safeguard the core values of the EU on democracy and humanitarianism. This could provide for an opportunity to learn from mistakes and improve upon a possible next deal with North African countries. In line with the discourses of UNHCR and Amnesty on the failure of the deal, the Directorate General for Migration Management (DGMM) in Turkey should work more closely with the Directorate General (department) for Migration and Home Affairs of the EU. Another suggestion might be the analysis of basic needs in camps based in other countries such as Lebanon and Jordan to see if and in what ways the EU-Turkey deal has affected the position of the Syrian refugees, based on Maslow's theory.

Appendix: Data Set

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http://www.unhcr.org/partners/partners/3bb9794e4/protecting-refugees-field-guide-ngos-produced-jointly-unhcr-its-ngo-partners.html

UNHCR, *THE REALITY OF THE EUTURKEY STATEMENT*, 2017 – 11 pages
https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/54850

UNHCR, *Shelter & Wash Report*, 2017 – 16 pages
https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/60852

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