

SYNOPSIS OF PhD DISSERTATION

**Onward Migration Aspirations of Refugees, Integration Processes and Legal
Alternatives to Secondary Migration: A Comparative Study**

by

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1. Background of the Dissertation

1.1. Motivation and Objective of the Research

The first decades of the 21st century has seen a diverse range of national and international crisis such as terrorist crisis, financial crisis, Brexit crisis, humanitarian crisis, Covid-19 crisis, energy crisis, conflict crisis but also so-called migration crisis. However, migration has a different stance among others. Migration crisis can happen as a result of several elements such as natural, economic, or social and it usually reorders the international relations across the spectrum of local, regional, and international level. International migration, including how many people move, where they migrate, and why it is happening can be influenced by the international relations of the States and even States' themselves can be the main reason of migration. Since the international migration and international relations are inter-connected, and they depend on each other, it is not possible to research one without considering the other. As a result, it is necessary to address cross-border migration both inside and outside of the framework of the sovereignty of States.

Syria has clearly been one of the countries that has suffered the most in this era of crisis. The Tunisian uprisings served as inspiration for the initial anti-government protests in Syria, where the use of extreme force by the security forces to quell the dissent more rapidly led to a large-scale internal conflict. All around the world, until today major influxes have occurred and many of which were brought on by persecution, armed conflict, violence, human rights violations, and deeply unsettling public order events. However, one of the most recent and largest one began in 2011 when Syrians were displaced and forced to flee as a result of conflict in Syria. The displaced people started to seek refuge mostly in the neighbouring countries; nevertheless, some Syrians decided to apply for asylum in the European Union Member States. Syrian refugees frequently experienced the securitization discourse and practices in the transit and destination countries during their journey to Europe. Additionally, in order to prevent refugees from entering "Fortress Europe" and reaching its border, the European Union utilised its infamous foreign policy tool known as externalization. The EU formed a partnership with Turkey under the name of "The EU-Turkey Joint Action Plan" with the aim of stopping the irregular migration.

The results of the externalization plan were immediately visible, as evidenced by statistics showing a rapid decline in border crossings and asylum applications following the Statement's implementation. However, it did not put an end to the people's aspiration of migration via regular (Resettlement Programmes, etc.) or irregular (via smugglers) channels. Because of the unmet needs, poor living conditions in the host countries, after seeking

protection in the first country of asylum, many Syrians moved on to other countries -especially European countries- in search of a better living condition and higher living standards. So, the main motivation of this research is to comprehend the driving forces behind the onward migration and understand if there is an association between the will of onward migration and integration prospects.

Until today, majority of the research on migration studies has concentrated on one-way, linear migration which typically begins in the country of origin and ends in the country of destination. But migration can take place in different countries until the refugees find a place where they can feel satisfied and integrated. The refugees' aspirations for onward migration are influenced by the integration procedures in the host countries. The top priority of the refugees fleeing the conflict is to maintain physical safety. This concern is somewhat allayed once they reach the first country of asylum. The integration policies and practises in the receiving countries have a direct impact on the refugees' legal status, access to particular rights, and secure their living conditions. As a result, the success of the comprehensive integration processes is tied to how satisfied the refugees are with their lives in their host countries. When the States fail to address the needs of refugees, the refugees consider leaving for another country through onward migration. But, particularly in the absence of legal channels such as resettlement/relocation/assisted return programme, the migration system's reality continues to be irregular entries.

The onward migration has various effects on the international relations which can be categorised as short-term, mid-term and long-term effects: in the short-term effects, in the absence of legal channels which assist refugees to move onward, there will be an increase on irregular secondary migration. This situation will rise the security concerns of the States and make them enforce stricter border control measures such as building walls etc. In the mid-term effects, various action will be taken to block the main routes of irregular migration. The shutting down of these routes will force migration to shift to another route. A humanitarian crisis could arise from the arrival of many refugees, so the States should share the burden and responsibilities to assist and coordinated the immediate needs of refugees. In the long-term effects, it will be essential to have the States working together to handle the challenges coming from the immigration and the experiences of the refugees. This means that the States should collaborate to strengthen the international initiatives such as the Resettlement Programme and Migration Partnership Programme. In the long term, international standards including adjustments in policies and laws should be made based on the needs, difficulties, and positive outcomes encountered by refugees.

With the belief that integration naturally follows the process of migration, this research aims to understand the aspirations for onward migration of the Syrian refugees who sought shelter in the host countries namely Turkey, Denmark, and Spain. Through an examination of their migration trajectories, the goal is to uncover the association between the integration of refugees into the host countries and their aspiration to move onward. Additionally, the research aims to explore potential safer, less risky, and legal alternatives to irregular secondary migration.

1.2. Research Questions and Research Hypotheses

It's evident that clearly formulated research questions play a pivotal role in determining the scope, focus and purpose of a scientific research. Similarly, hypotheses offer a pathway to pursue, serving as a kind of objective. Research questions and research hypothesis are intertwined components of a research: research questions usually help the creation of research hypotheses. In light of these principles, the research questions are clarified, and the research hypotheses are formulated as follows:

- Research Question 1.: What are the determinants that influence the decision-making process of refugees driving them to move onward?
- Hypothesis 1.: The refugees' extent of dissatisfaction with the life in the host country is directly connected with their aspirations and decisions regarding onward migration.
- Research Question 2.: Is there an association between the aspiration of migration and integration processes?
- Hypothesis 2.: Unmet needs, unfulfilled life expectations and lack of sense of belonging in the host country increase the refugees' aspiration for migration.

1.3. Research Methodology

To address the outlined research questions and hypothesis, this empirical research is structured to employ qualitative methodologies for data collection, interpretation and drawing conclusions from it. In the realm of social sciences, qualitative research adopts a comprehensive perspective that encompasses a diverse array of disciplines, research fields, and various methodologies. The qualitative research methodologies are intentionally chosen because of the fact that it is utilized to explore topics related to specific groups, aiming for a comprehensive understanding. This approach provides individuals a platform to share their stories, enabling a nuanced comprehension of their perspectives within various contexts. Since the research is focusing on the refugees' experiences, the best tool for the research is provided by the qualitative methods.

This research is designed to do a comparison of three host countries. Therefore, comparative research methods are incorporated to investigate the research questions and test the hypothesis. A multi-sited fieldwork strategy is used in this research to compare the variables of the refugees experienced in the host countries. Since the international migration is regarded as the ideal interdisciplinary topic because of its nature, interdisciplinary approach is employed throughout the research. From an interdisciplinary standpoint, this research benefitted from a diverse array of sources spanning various scientific fields. This interdisciplinary framework encompasses a variety of disciplines such as including but not limited to law, international relations, political science, and sociology. Within qualitative research, conducting interviews stands out as a vital research technique. Interviews hold a significant place within the array of tools available for qualitative research. Hence, in order to collect the data, in-depth biographical interviews are conducted with the refugees in each case country and distributed optional questionnaire.

1.3.1. Case Study Selection

This qualitative research focuses on three countries chosen as case studies. The case country selections adhere to the principles of the "Most Different Systems Design (MDSD)". Employing the MDSD method, Turkey, Denmark, and Spain are designated as case countries owing to their distinct political, economic, social characteristics to explore the research questions and assess the formulated hypotheses. The objective is to show how varying systems and structures influence refugees' decisions regarding the onward migration. This analysis seeks to identify whether there are any commonalities or differences among the chosen case countries that impact refugees' aspirations for onward migration. Through the choice of Turkey,

Denmark, and Spain, the intention is to illustrate that despite the dissimilarities among the case countries in terms of politics, economics, geography, and culture, there exist shared motivators behind refugees' aspirations for onward migration as well as the process of making such decisions. Additionally, the goal is to highlight a correlation between refugees' aspiration for onward migration and their integration processes. By examining these diverse countries, the objective is to emphasize that the resettlement programme, migration partnership programme, and the EU's Action Plan on integration and inclusion have the potential to reduce individual/spontaneous irregular secondary migration, particularly if the legal, administrative, and financial aspects of these programs is strengthened.

In the context of the case countries, Turkey shares its longest border with Syria. When Syrian refugees sought refuge in neighbouring countries, Turkey emerged as one of their initial preference due to its geographical proximity. Owing to Turkey's former open-door policy, the influx of Syrian refugees escalated rapidly, resulting in Turkey becoming the first country in the world to host the largest refugee population consecutively for several years. According to the narratives of Syrian refugees, despite a cultural affinity between Turkey and Syria, the factors such as their legal status as temporary protection and integration challenges, including issues related to employment, stable livelihoods, and language barriers, play a role in shaping their decisions regarding onward migration.

Denmark has a historical reputation as a pioneer in international humanitarian laws and has one of the most welfare systems across Europe. When numerous Syrian refugees aimed to find refuge in Europe, many sought to reach the northern EU countries, with Denmark being among their targets. However, their expectations were not met as they encountered challenges. In 2019, Denmark experienced a significant shift in its immigration policies, resulting in obstacles to family reunification and increased risks of deportation for many refugees. Government policies, media representation, and psychosocial factors posed difficulties in their lives within Denmark and ultimately shaped their choices for further migration.

While Spain wasn't initially the primary choice for Syrian refugees, certain factors that emerged over time have altered this dynamic. When Syrian refugees arrived in Europe using irregular methods, they commonly departed from Turkish shores, reached Greece, and then followed the Balkan route to seek asylum in more developed European countries. However, the EU-Turkey Deal significantly impacted this pattern, leading to a reduction in arrivals and the closure of the Balkan Route. With border closures merely redirecting migration, the Western Mediterranean Route has now become the frequent entry route for irregular migration. This route traverses North African and Sub-Saharan countries, making Spain the primary

option for many Syrians aiming to reach Europe through irregular means. Although a number of Syrian refugees were resettled in Spain through the Resettlement Programme, it's important to note that Spain's approach to refugee integration and its economic, social, and political systems offer a crucial perspective for investigating the research questions.

1.3.2. Data Collection

At first, the plan was to gather data through direct in-person methods. However, by early 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic led to the closure of borders, suspension of flights, and restrictions on human movement. Consequently, researchers had to adopt novel data collection approaches. Remote audio-visual techniques gained significant traction. Within the realm of social sciences, the utilization of computer-assisted personal interviewing (CAPI) and computer-assisted telephone interviews (CATI) gained a notable upsurge during this time. As a researcher, I also adjusted my data collection methodology to align with the altered circumstances resulting from the pandemic.

Various avenues facilitated my connection with Syrian refugees in Turkey, Denmark, and Spain. International organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) with expertise in refugee matters; initiatives led by civil society aimed at assisting refugees; Syrian cultural associations; human rights organizations; and social media platforms that brought together Syrians all played a significant role in bridging Syrian refugees and me together. By employing snowball sampling, I successfully enlisted a total of 26 participants: 9 participants (comprising 9 questionnaire responses and 7 biographical interviews) in Turkey, 9 participants (consisting of 9 questionnaire responses and 8 biographical interviews) in Denmark, and 8 participants (with 6 questionnaire responses and 8 biographical interviews) in Spain.

Participation in the research was entirely based on voluntary choice. The questionnaire forms were presented in English alongside their translations into Arabic. The in-depth biographical interviews were carried out in diverse languages. Participants had the option to communicate directly with the researcher in Turkish, English, or Spanish. For those who preferred to converse in Arabic, interviews were facilitated through an Arabic interpreter. To ensure clear communication with the refugees regarding the project, I prepared a comprehensive research information sheet, including its Arabic translation. This sheet outlined the research objectives, potential outcomes, what participation in the research entailed, and contact details for the Doctoral School, researcher, and supervisor in case they needed to clarify any questions or concerns before joining the research. The consent form for participation and the research questionnaire form, also translated into Arabic, were digitized using Google

Forms. The initial plan was to distribute these forms and subsequently conduct the biographical interviews. However, certain participants expressed reservations about trust and were hesitant to leave their data in a written form. Additionally, some participants who were not proficient in the researcher's languages (neither Turkish, English, nor Spanish) opted out of participating in the in-depth biographical interviews, which would have been facilitated by an Arabic interpreter, due to concerns about privacy.

The in-depth biographical interviews were carried out using various platforms, accommodating the participants' preferences, with Zoom, WhatsApp, and Messenger being the primary choices. To cultivate trust, I aimed for maximum transparency. Prior to initiating the interviews, I introduced myself and the research extensively, allowing them the opportunity to seek clarifications regarding both me and the research. Both before commencing the research and during the interviews, participants were informed that the data gathered from forms and interviews would be treated with strict confidentiality. Each participant's identity would remain anonymous, with pseudonyms used to reference them throughout the research.

1.3.3. Data Analysis

In this research, the qualitative data analysis was undertaken through a series of five stages:

- In the first step, all recorded interviews were attentively listened to, and the researcher transcribed each digital audio-visual component. Subsequently, each transcript was printed and organized based on the respective country. To uphold privacy and data confidentiality, participants' actual names were substituted with pseudonyms, thus enhancing privacy measures. The responses from the questionnaire forms were cross-referenced with the interview transcriptions, amalgamating all the data.
- The second step involved the examination and analysis of the files containing interview transcriptions and questionnaire responses, aligning them with the research objectives. This was accomplished by implementing qualitative data coding techniques. To identify shared themes and recurring patterns, the data sets were organized and labelled using relevant keywords.
- The third step encompassed the analysis of collected data through the process of categorization and thematic grouping. Data was systematically organized based on assigned codes, categories, and research themes, all of which were interpreted within the framework of the research objectives.

- The fourth step involved deriving theoretical conclusions from the processed data. Quotations from the interviews were cited to illustrate and substantiate the research findings.
- In the last phase, the research was concluded, and recommendations were formulated to address practical and theoretical issues associated with the research topic.

1.4. Overall Presentation of the Dissertation

This empirical study centred on examining the migration and integration aspects of refugees in Turkey, Denmark, and Spain. The analysis encompassed the migration history, policies, and regulations of each country through a comparative lens. The primary objective was to illuminate the refugees' aspirations for onward migration. This was achieved by conducting qualitative in-depth interviews to explore the interrelation between integration and the desire to migrate. This study brought attention to diverse aspects of onward migration and aimed to uncover shared patterns that prompt refugees to consider secondary migration. The dissertation is structured into a total of seven chapters. Chapter I delves into the motivation and objectives of the research, elucidating the research questions and formulating the research hypotheses. The research methodology is comprehensively presented, offering insights into case study selection, data collection, and data analysis. In Chapter II, the theoretical background for migration is drawn, encompassing an in-depth exploration of migration concepts, migration theories, various migration types, as well as an overview of migration regulations. It addresses legal aspects, portrays onward migration within the EU context, and discusses resettlement and relocation programs. Chapter III evaluates integration as the second theoretical part. It outlines the concept of integration, integration theories, indicators of integration, the EU Action Plan on Integration and Inclusion 2021-2027, and examines the connection between temporary protection, integration, and onward migration. Chapter IV provides an international context for Syrian migration, tracing historical events, analysing migration securitization and the externalization of EU borders, and elaborating the EU-Turkey deal. Chapter V assesses emigration and immigration histories, along with integration concepts and practices of the selected case countries. In Chapter VI, empirical data obtained from interviews are meticulously analysed, aiming to comprehend participants' aspirations for onward migration. Finally, Chapter VII presents research conclusions and provides recommendations regarding the integration of refugees into the host countries and strengthening the legal channels as alternatives to prevent irregular secondary migration.

2. Main Research Findings and Recommendations

This empirical research unveiled a notable complexity of refugees' decision-making processes in the given context. While refugees are driven by diverse motivations to pursue onward migration, remain in their current location, or consider returning back to their own country, the analysis has revealed three primary onward migration aspirations among refugees: 1. Choosing to remain in the host country, 2. Opting for onward migration to another country or their previous country of asylum, 3. Contemplating a return to Syria. The role of the integration dimension significantly impacts refugees' onward migration aspirations. Factors such as possessing specific rights, migration-related capitals (e.g., acquiring legal rights like passports/nationality and establishing transnational networks), and satisfaction with life in the host countries can influence their decisions regarding onward migration.

When refugees are obliged to flee, the neighbouring countries typically become the initial choice, particularly in the forced migration situations. Geographical proximity significantly influences the decision-making process. The refugees' social network abroad have significant impacts on the country selection, where positive feedback encourages migration and negative feedback deters it. Ensuring physical safety is a major concern in this phase. After securing protection in the first country of asylum, the refugees prioritize obtaining specific rights, access, and conditions. If these priorities aren't met and State support is lacking, refugees contemplate onward migration to other countries.

This research reveals that refugees have different legal statuses within the selected case countries. Turkey and Denmark introduced a novel legal categorization called "Temporary Protection" for Syrian refugees. While this designation grants refugees to have legal recognition and secure residency within host country borders, its name implies a time-limited and temporary protection. This type of protection often leads to uncertainty and limits access to certain rights. Consequently, uncertainties regarding protection duration and barriers to rights in the host country amplify refugees' concerns about stability. All research participants expressed a desire to obtain a host country citizenship, with the potential for migration after gaining citizenship. Many participants confirmed that an insecure legal status introduces uncertainty into their lives, motivating them to seek a location where this right is assured. Given that temporary protection lacks legal comprehensiveness and sustainability, it emerges as one of the primary catalysts for refugees' onward migration.

Economic self-sufficiency emerges as one of the central concerns for refugees in host countries. Achieving financial stability significantly influences their integration into the host

society. Obstacles such as limited job opportunities and jobs that do not align with their professional backgrounds are major challenges in the host countries' job market. Refugees often find themselves compelled to accept low wages, enduring extended working hours and inadequate compensation due to employer exploitation. Employment's impact extends to social cohesion and social acceptance. Other challenges also hinder refugees' economic self-reliance. Deficient knowledge of the local language hampers their ability to compete in the job market against nationals. Despite possessing qualifications and skills, difficulties in validating or obtaining recognition for their professional certifications and degrees become barriers to entry into the labour market. Interviews reveal that refugees who establish businesses or achieve economic stability tend to prolong their stay in the host country. Conversely, unmet employment needs and economic instability fuel aspirations for onward migration.

When making decisions about onward migration, refugees consider socio-cultural affinity as a significant factor. Even when displeased with their host countries' living conditions, the influence of socio-cultural and religious values can drive their aspiration to remain in that host country. Many refugees interviewed in Turkey emphasized the cultural and religious similarities between Turkey and Syria, which contribute to their willingness to stay in spite of challenges. Conversely, in Spain and Denmark, where socio-cultural and religious differences are more pronounced, refugees are inclined to return to Turkey or even to Syria in the future, prioritizing the well-being of their family and children.

Limited proficiency in the local language presents significant challenges for refugees in attaining certain rights within their host countries. It poses a formidable barrier to social inclusion, accessing the labour market, and obtaining education. This deficiency curtails refugees' interactions with locals and may lead to their differentiation or marginalization within society. Proficiency in the local language is a catalyst for integration, bridging the gap between refugees and the local community, and facilitating their achievement of basic living standards in the host country. Language acquisition often facilitates an understanding of the local culture, enabling refugees to develop a degree of familiarity with their host country's customs. Narratives from refugees highlight that those who become acquainted with their surroundings and adjust culturally tend to prolong their stay, despite challenges. Furthermore, refugees noted that starting anew in a different location involves acclimatizing to a novel way of life and culture, which presents fresh challenges. Consequently, many participants expressed a preference for continuity in their current host country, as they wish to avoid beginning from scratch. Strong proficiency in the local language and successful cultural adaptation can act as deterrents to onward migration.

The discriminatory rhetoric used by political figures and the divisive discourse in media frequently result in refugees experiencing a sense of isolation and unwelcome behaviour within their host nation. This type of rhetoric can make refugees to be exposed to xenophobia and prejudice from the local community, potentially fostering distrust, and their level of vulnerability. In the interviews, refugees indicated that these speeches and narratives influence how the local people interacts with them. Furthermore, the analysis highlights that these forms of communication contribute to refugees feeling uncertain and apprehensive about their future, consequently it ends up intensifying their aspiration for onward migration.

Changes in government within host countries can have implications for the asylum process, reception systems, official entry protocols, and integration strategies. Insights from the interviews highlight that the potential cancellation of refugees' residency permits in Denmark, or even the mere possibility of such an action, has caused significant concern among refugees for deportation. Whether stemming from structural shifts or changes in policy principles, these factors can already serve as catalysts for refugees to move onward, whether through regular channels or through irregular means.

Refugees have the opportunity to transfer from a host country to another one which welcomes them through structured initiatives such as Resettlement, Relocation, and Returning programs. These programmes, often characterized as "state-controlled but limited pathways," offer legal channels for refugees seeking greater protection, particularly in their most vulnerable circumstances. Annually, resettlement countries establish a fixed limit and admit refugees based on their distinct protection requirements. The resettlement procedure necessitates collaboration between different countries. This serves as a lawful channel for refugees on an individual basis, facilitated by governments, granting access to entry, residency, family reunification, work, education, cultural integration, medical care, and potentially leading to permanent residency or naturalized citizenship. During the interviews, refugees who participated in the Resettlement Programme shared that they were not given a choice of destination. Instead, the UNHCR designated one of the European countries which they could either accept or decline. With no other options available, they chose to accept. However, if their satisfaction with life in the resettled countries is quite low, this ends up prompting them to move onward. The concept of "institutionalized solidarity," involving relocation, resettlement, or assisted return, implies restricted, delayed, and centrally managed capacity, lacking the flexibility and quick response to individual needs. This could be improved by utilizing digitalization or platforms for intergovernmental and regional collaboration.

In summary of the research findings, the results of the research hypotheses can be summarized as follows: The primary concern of refugees who have fled from conflict is ensuring their physical safety. Once a certain level of security is achieved, their well-being in the host country, socio-economic circumstances, and prospects for integration play a significant role in shaping their satisfaction with the life in the host country. If these factors fall short of their expectations or fail to meet their basic needs, refugees are inclined to consider onward migration in search of a more promising future elsewhere. Hence, dissatisfaction plays a pivotal role in motivating refugees to move onward. Based on the analysis, the research findings confirm that the first hypothesis “The refugees’ extent of dissatisfaction with the life in the host country is directly connected with their aspirations and decisions regarding onward migration.” is proven to be correct.

Integration can be assessed through various indicators. These include convenient access to the job market and employment opportunities aligned with their skills and educational backgrounds, proficiency in the local language to engage in education, work, and social interactions, access to healthcare and social services, stable long-term legal status, a sense of belonging and cultural engagement, and the absence of discrimination and social exclusion. During the interviews, research participants indicated that the availability of support, opportunities, and facilities to aid their integration into the host country significantly influences their choice to remain or seek onward migration. Thus, a clear connection is observed between the integration process and the aspiration for onward migration. As a result, the second research hypothesis, "Unmet needs, unfulfilled life expectations, and a lack of sense of belonging in the host country increase refugees' aspirations for migration" is proven to be correct.

In light of the research findings, the following recommendations are presented:

- Human nature makes migration inevitable, whether it is forced or voluntary, just as it did throughout history and prehistory it will continue to occur in the future as well. The issue is not migration per se, but rather the lack of prepared technical infrastructure, disorganized socio-economic and political responses, and insufficient legislation. Instead of offering band-aid fixes, it is crucial to develop improved laws, regulations, and infrastructure crafted within the parameters of international human rights legislation using a right-based strategy.
- To address the basic needs of the refugee and ensure their long-term wellbeing, the basic needs approach is insufficient. The strategies and policies created to meet the requirements of refugees are also not all-encompassing and long-lasting. The welfare

of the refugees should take precedence after the required protection has been provided. One of the key areas to address within this framework is employment. Refugees' access to the job market is facilitated by creating and implementing an employment plan based on their skill sets and professional backgrounds. It will be less common for people to work informally and less likely for refugees to be exploited for low pay if valid work permits are issued within the bounds of labour legislation. By doing this, the relationships between the local workforce and the refugees will improve greatly. Refugees will be able to contribute to the economy of their host countries with their taxes if they have access to the employment market, which will also result in the development of much closer links with the country.

- For the countries that are hosting refugees, fostering a multicultural society is crucial. With thorough policies and practises, cultural, ethnic, and religious diversity should be strengthened. The best way to preserve social cohesion is to recognise many identities and diverse cultural traditions. To better understand each other's cultures, histories, and experiences, local events should be planned that involve both the host society and the refugee group. By doing this, it is possible to foster a feeling of community among the refugees, and they will come to experience a sense of connection for their new home.
- Both in their country of origin and while escaping the war, refugees were subjected to traumatic events. Psychosocial counselling is one of their most important demands when they arrive in their host countries. The majority of them have experienced trauma and have concerns with their mental health. Therefore, they are not at least mentally prepared to learn something new and put that new knowledge into practise. After ensuring their mental health, a sufficient number of hours of local language instruction within a curriculum suited to the particular needs of refugees must be developed until they are comfortable enough to speak, write, and listen in the language properly.
- The research has shown that polarised speech in the media and discriminatory rhetoric from politicians can foster a widespread dislike towards refugees. To prevent this, it's important to formulate a governmental media strategy that is actively monitored to counteract any negative factors that could contribute to anti-refugee sentiment. Specialized training sessions focused on promoting the use of peaceful and inclusive language should be provided to journalists and media professionals who will be covering topics related to refugees.

- Here, it's crucial to emphasise that irregular secondary migration is a complicated problem with many facets. According to the refugees who participated in the interviews, the majority of the time they do not choose to migrate using irregular means deliberately; rather, they feel compelled to do so because there are no legal pathways available. The risky and dangerous secondary migration is reduced if safe and secure paths and alternatives are provided to refugees. In order to reduce irregular secondary migration, the resettlement programme may be one of alternatives to the dangerous and irregular secondary migration.
 - Programmes for resettlement, relocation, and assisted return must be amended, and the choices of refugees for their destination country must also be taken into consideration.
 - Enhancing the capabilities of legal, administrative, and financial infrastructure with a specific focus on manageable migration flows involves initiatives such as establishing dedicated coordinators, liaison officers, annual budget allocations for quotas, transit shelters, transportation options, and digital platforms to gather data on requirements, signals, and available opportunities.
 - Creating a distinct framework or system rather than relying solely on action plans or predetermined timelines.
 - The EU, IOM, and UNHCR should collaborate to establish shared criteria for an alternative strategy that diminishes the businesses of smugglers and minimizes the use of exploitative or hazardous routes for displaced or vulnerable migrants.
 - The program should be facilitated through the establishment of international connections and cooperation among states. The research reveals that when individual and organized admission or resettlement processes are challenging and inflexible, there is an increase in irregular and informal migration movements by individuals.
- The primary objective of the Migration Partnership Framework (MPF) has shifted towards limiting migration and externalization. The aim of controlling migration often results in redirecting migration routes. It is essential to adopt a human rights-focused approach in designing, implementing, and ensuring that the MPF aligns with international human rights laws. Enhancing the legal framework holds significant importance; the MPF should prioritize offering safer alternatives to irregular migration

for refugees. This could involve bolstering resettlement programs, facilitating family reunification, and preventing deportations.

- The EU Action Plan on Integration and Inclusion 2021-2027 should formulate a distinct initiative tailored to address the unique requirements of vulnerable categories like refugees and unaccompanied minors. By offering essential support, services, and resources, the EU has the potential to aid refugees in overcoming their obstacles and reducing their vulnerability. With their needs taken care of, they can gradually foster a sense of belonging and establish a stable way of life in the host countries.
- All research participants have no plans to return to Syria unless there's a change in the regime and the country achieves stability. As the current conditions in Syria are still unsafe, refugees' aspiration to return back there remains minimal. Consequently, until a secure environment is established, it is recommended that all stakeholders, including, States, international organizations, and the global community, refrain from promoting voluntary return programs.

3. The List of Publications on the Subject of the Dissertation

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