Turkey’s Security and the Syrian Civil War

A Case Study about how the Syrian Civil War has Impacted Turkey’s State and Human Security from 2011 until 2019.

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Abstract

This essay addresses the issue of how the Syrian civil war has impacted Turkey’s state and human security. The study aimed to provide an enhanced understanding of how the Syrian war has impacted Turkey’s security, within the timeframe of 2011-2019. The method that was applied to this study was a single case study where theories of state and human security were used to analyze the Syrian war’s impact on Turkey’s security. The results showed that the advancement of Kurdish forces as well as the Islamic state’s territorial expansion posed a threat towards the Turkish state’s territorial integrity and sovereignty. The war also impacted the authoritarian turn of the Turkish government, which generated in a coup attempt causing additional internal disability and threat towards the state’s security. In terms of Turkey’s human security, increased terrorism within the state as a cause of the Syrian war has impacted the physical security of the people. Moreover, health concerns arose due to the vast number of Syrian refugees in Turkey and posed a threat to the Turkish population. The refugee influx also changed the ethnic balance in some areas showing indications of ethnic tensions to foster, threatening the population. One can conclude that the Syrian war has impacted Turkey’s state security, through direct military threats regarding the rise and expansion the of PKK-YPG and ISIS. In terms of Turkey’s human security one can conclude that increasing terrorism and the vast number of refugees residing in the state caused by the Syrian war has impacted the safety and security of the Turkish people.

Key words: Turkey, Syria, civil war, human security, state security, international security
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1 Introduction

After enduring decades of authoritarian governance, oppressive leadership and the lack of civil rights, protests started to erupt in Tunisia at the end of 2010. The people demanded justice, equal rights and proper change of their governance system with a direct aim for democracy. This was the start of what would become a major political upheaval among several nations in the Middle-East, and also be known as the ‘Arab Spring’ (Ma’oz 2014:49).

The demonstrations in Tunisia gave inspiration for other oppressed states to act against their political leaders. States that followed the example of Tunisia by marching the streets and expressing their dissatisfaction and mistrust over their governments were; Libya, Egypt, Yemen, Bahrain, and Syria. There were several reasons behind the rising of the protests around the Arab world, but, they all had common features, such as; being autocratic regimes, having extensive corruption issues, the lack of representative institutions and impeded rights of the people (Panara & Wilson 201:1-2).

In Syria, pro-democracy demonstrations started to rise in March of 2011. The peaceful demonstrations aimed to promote democracy and put an end to the corruption of the governmental system in the nation. President Bashar al-Assad had been in power since 2000 and took over the leadership after his father Hafiz al-Assad. At the beginning of Bashar al-Assad’s governance, the expectation for political and economic reforms was high, but the new president came to follow his father’s political agenda and continued the authoritarian principle of ruling (Styrman 2019a). The Syrian demonstrations started in Daraa and came to face the cruelty of the authoritarian government. The Syrian leader was not prepared to submit for the will of the people and continued to ignore the citizen’s desperation of not being able to express their beliefs and
opinions. Instead of trying to resolve the issue with diplomacy and other peaceful methods, Bashar al-Assad decided to counter the demonstrations with forceful acts, resulting in multiple casualties of innocent civilians (Ferris and Kirisci 2016:14).

After this horrific incident, more people joined in massive rallies and protests across the whole nation and urged the president to resign from power. The demonstrations grew and counter-protesters, mainly consisting of religious minorities who supported Bashar al-Assad started to evolve. At the same time, the majority of the religious Sunni Muslims stopped supporting the government, leading to an even greater religious polarization among the people. The Syrian government continued to forcefully carry out violent actions against the demonstrators, leading to further polarization, political instability and ultimately resulted in civil unrest (Styrman 2019a).

The situation escalated in terms of further clashes between the people and the government, continued military actions against innocent civilians, arrests, and torture of detainees, which eventually led to a growing civil war within the Syrian regime. Non-state militant groups started to actively oppose the government but also conducted severe insults such as; deliberated attacks on civilians, kidnapping and torture (Human Rights Watch 2015).

Besides the civil unrest, political malfunction and the civil war that erupted in the aftermath of the government’s aggressive response towards the people, the regime also became a victim for the extremist group the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). This Islamic fundamentalist group had an agenda of establishing a new Islamic state, which would be completely governed according to Sharia laws. In 2014, they started to overthrow several cities in both Iraq and Syria, and proclaimed to be the legitimate ruler over the world’s Muslims as well as, started to establish their own territory (Byman 2016:78;
Human Rights Watch 2015). This organization grew fast and vigorously in a very short period and conducted systematic prosecutions of innocent citizens. ISIS managed to take over large parts of the Syrian territory and even began to establish its own territorial state. Their vicious actions against a nation which were already in a seemingly poor condition resulted in complete carnage (Human Rights Watch 2015). Today, ISIS has been more or less dissolved and has lost its territorial areas. However, they are still active and pose a threat to the international community and to several nations in the Middle-east (BBC 2019a).

The Syrian population have suffered from one of the deadliest wars in modern time. During the Syrian war, the people became a victim of several chemical attacks, as cities were hit by rockets containing sarin gas which killed and injured numerous men, women, and children. Using this extremely hazardous type of weapon which took human suffering to a whole different level, proves that the war in Syria reached the level of complete ignorance of moral, ethical or humanitarian respects (Amnesty 2018).

There is no doubt that the Syrian civil war has been one of the deadliest and most horrendous wars. Several hundreds of thousands have taken refuge in the neighboring countries. It is also evident that the security of the state and its people has basically become non-existent, as the government has conducted violations and failed to uphold a stable and secure environment for its citizens. In addition, the war has contributed to further instability and security concerns among the nations in the Middle-East region (Human Rights Watch 2015).

1.1 Research Problem

The Syrian civil war has lasted for over seven years and has not only made the Syrian state unstable, but it has also contributed to an extensive uncertainty
within the Middle-East region. It is evident that the war in Syria has had a severe impact on the security of the state and its people as well as left the state in an atrocious condition (Human Rights Watch 2015). However, one interesting notion is how the neighboring countries have been affected by the Syrian civil war, in terms of their security.

The Syrian civil war involved a range of complexities as it engaged several actors both foreign and domestic as well as non-state groups. Since it has been going on for many years, it has caused instability and great concern for the surrounding states as well (Styrman 2019a; Özdalga 2016:24). Turkey, holds a unique and challenging position in the Middle-East region due to its geographical location since it shares its longest border with Syria (Kaya 2014:45).

Due to Turkey’s geographical location, sharing its longest border with Syria, this makes it additionally vulnerable for the consequences of the war (Kaya 2014:45). Hence, it bears a particular interest to investigate how the Syrian war has impacted the security of Turkey. Moreover, examining how the Syrian civil war has impacted Turkey’s security is specifically interesting from a political science point of view as security is defined as one of the most important objectives for a state to ensure (Morgan 2007:14). The study will examine both external and internal security threats that have arisen against Turkey due to the Syrian civil war.

1.2 Aim and Research Questions

The aim of this study is to provide an enhanced understanding of how the Syrian war has impacted Turkey’s security. This study will provide further knowledge about Turkey’s security in regards to the Syrian civil war within the timeframe of 2011-2019. The different dimensions of security noted in the
research questions will be further explained in chapter three. In order to reach the aim of this paper, the following research questions will be addressed:

*How has the Syrian civil war impacted Turkey’s state and human security?*

- In what way has the Syrian civil war impacted Turkey’s state security in terms of *territorial integrity and sovereignty* as well as *political security and stability*?

- In what way has the Syrian civil war impacted Turkey’s human security in terms of *freedom from fear and want* as well as *societal security and national identity*?

1.3 Disposition

The essay commences with an introduction in which the background, the research problem as well as aim and research questions from which the essay is based upon are presented. The second part of the essay, regards the method and material. This part presents the case selection and its limitations together with the choice of research design and the collection of the material. These parts are critically discussed and argued for based on the selected research problem. The selected method for the study is a case study of theory consuming character since there is a specific case regarding Turkey’s security and how it has been affected by the Syrian civil war has been selected for a closer examination. Moreover, the next section contains the theoretical framework of the study, where previous research of international security is presented as well as theories of state and human security which will support the empirical material of the analysis. The next part contains the analysis which is systematically organized and explains the results of each security dimension within the selected security areas, of state and human security. The last section of the essay presents the conclusions that can be drawn from the analysis.
2 Methodology and Material

This section will present the selected research design, a single case study and explain why this particular design was the most preferable. It will also address the use of material, how it was collected and the importance of its reliability. Furthermore, it will give an overview of the theories that will be used in this study.

2.1 Case selection and Delimitations

The study seeks to analyze how the Syrian war has impacted the security of Turkey, during the period between 2011-2019. As previously mentioned in chapter one, the main reason behind selecting Turkey as the case for this study was due to its geographical position. As it shares its longest border with the Syrian regime, this makes the country especially vulnerable for the conflict that have been taken place in its close proximity. Moreover, Turkey became an engaging actor in the case of the Syrian war. By receiving huge numbers of Syrian refugees as well as their military involvement in the conflict, makes Turkey additionally interesting as an object for this study (Kaya 2014:45; Svenska FN-förbundet 2019). Since the outbreak of the Arab Spring and the Syrian civil war erupted in 2011, the time frame for this study has been determined from 2011 to 2019 (Svenska FN-förbundet 2019). Due to the limited scope of this paper, the study will focus on how the Syrian war has impacted the state and human security of Turkey. Further delimitations have been drawn by merely examine certain dimensions of state and human security. Both state and human security are fairly broad concepts, hence one had to delimit these into narrower components to conduct a more comprehensive analysis of each security area. The applied theories for this study are security theories, particularly theories of state and human security. Moreover, the study will be of theory consuming character as it will use these
theories in order to explain how Turkey’s security has been affected by the Syrian war (Esaiasson et al 2017:42).

2.2 Research design

As the research problem of this study is to examine Turkey’s security and how it has been affected by the Syrian civil war, it will be a descriptive study with the ambition to identify and explain how the war has impacted on Turkey’s state and human security (Esaiasson et al. 2017:37). The selected research design for this analysis is a single case study. A case study is used when investigating a specific case in which one delimits the area of that particular case. This allows the researcher to examine the selected case more in-depth and can thereby contribute with explanations of more complex issues (Ejvegård 2009:34-35).

Moreover, this requires a meticulous contemplation of the context in which the case is examined, which is possible to do through this research design. Case studies also allow the researcher to categorize and measure the indicators that best signify the theoretical notions which the researcher seeks to measure (George and Bennett 2005:19). Case studies are often used when the aim is to examine how or why a phenomenon is or has occurred. Furthermore, through an extensive examination of the case by observing the case from several angles, this increases the possibility to reach the aim of understanding how or why something has occurred (Thomas 2011:4). As this study aims to investigate how the Syrian war has impacted Turkey’s security, the case will be deeply analyzed, hence, this method is considered the most applicable for this study.

Case studies have received criticism for not being structural enough and lacking a systematic methodological approach which could make the research
confusing (Gerring 2007:6). Hence, it is essential to apply an operational and systematic approach when conducting the case study to provide as explicit and organized results as possible (Yin 1981:64). In order to strengthen the structure of the analysis for this study, certain dimensions of security have been selected. These dimensions are explained as well as summarized in a table at the end of chapter three. As the research questions imply, state security will focus on territorial integrity and sovereignty in addition to political security and stability and human security will concentrate on freedom from fear and want together with societal security and national identity. These dimensions will serve as an analytical framework for the analysis in which the empirical material will be analyzed in order to understand how Turkey’s state and human security has been affected by the Syrian civil war. The reason behind selecting these areas for the analysis was based on their importance as they are characterized as key elements within each theory and will be further explained in chapter three.

Case studies are also often criticized for not having generalizing qualities. As this type of design merely focuses on a specific case it fails to provide generalizing results. On the contrary, using a case study will provide more explicit answers due to the detailed examination of the case (George and Bennett 2005:25). In addition, when conducting a case study, it permits the researcher a comprehensive image of the case with a variety of visions from different types of information, which allows for a close and more in-depth examination of the case. The case study is not limited by the use of techniques of conducting the study but more by the boundaries one decides for the case, meaning the focus and scope of the study (Thomas 2011:21). In order to find distinct evidence to reach the aim of this study, a variety of materials will be used. In terms of the limitations and focus of the study, it regards the timeframe of 2011-2019 and aims to provide evidence of how Turkey’s security has been impacted by the Syrian civil war. As the boundaries of the study regard Turkey
as the prominent focal point, a case study is considered as the preferable method for this study.

2.3 Material

The material used for the theoretical part of this study was mainly collected from primary sources, where previous research from the scholar Barry Buzan’s former works; *Security: a new framework for analysis* and *People States and Fear* were used. In addition, a literature of Alan Collins’ *Contemporary security studies* provided valuable and important information for the theoretical part, however, in some parts, secondary sources were also used. In those parts where secondary sources were used, the material had been carefully evaluated and selected in order to ensure the reliability of the material. The theoretical material contained previous research of security and was used to define as well as explain the purpose of state and human security which this study aims to investigate.

The material used for the analysis was omitted by scientific articles, literature and websites such as, Uppsala Conflict Data Project (UCDP) and Global Peace Index which provided relevant information to support the additional material in order to reach the aim of the paper. In some parts, news articles were also used, however, these articles came for international broadcasting institutes and merely served as a support to for the other material. In addition, information from the Institute of Economics and Peace was collected. They investigate the levels of peace in several nations around the world. In addition, they provide a Global Peace Index which measures the level of peacefulness in nations by using 23 qualitative and quantitative indicators and measures the level of peace through three specific areas, namely; the level of *Societal safety and Security*, the extent of *Ongoing Domestic and International Conflict* and the degree of *Militarization*, which provided additional information for the analysis.
However, for this study, the information from the domains of Ongoing Domestic and International Conflict and Societal safety and Security was used (Global Peace Index 2019). An index is a common method to measure how something has changed over time, it is often used when one seeks to investigate for example the degree of democracy within a nation or as in this case the degree of peace. The Global Peace Index evaluates 163 nations through the 23 indicators and the results from each indicator provides an overall score to rank the nations from most to least peaceful (Esaiasson et al 2017:397; Global Peace Index 2019). Hence, this source provided valuable and important information to support the empirical material in the analysis.

2.4 Validity and Reliability

When collecting the material, it is essential to consider the validity and reliability of the information that will be used. There are four main requirements that are important to consider in order to ensure the reliability of the material, namely; authenticity, independence, contemporariness and tendency, which of all was considered when collecting and assessed the material (Esaiasson et al. 2017:288). In terms of authenticity, the material was carefully analyzed and collected from reliable databases in order to validate its authenticity. Independence was considered throughout the selection of the material as the information was collected from independent websites as well as critically assessed scientific articles (Esaiasson et al. 2017:291-292). Since all the material used for the analysis was written in the twenty-first century, the contemporality of the material was addressed, which also reduced the risk of the material being incorrect or misrepresented. Tendency regards the context of the material in which the information has been conveyed and that the information is impartial. Hence, the information that was used correlated with multiple sources to further authenticate the tendency of the material and to ensure the objectiveness of the information (Esaiasson et al. 2017:294-295).
3 Theoretical Framework

In order to understand how the Syrian civil war has impacted on Turkey’s state and human security, theories of security will be applied. This section will first present a narrative about international security and how the concept of security has changed over time. Moreover, theories of state and human security will be presented and defined in order to use them as a framework for the analysis.

3.1 International Security

3.1.1 The Traditional Idea of Security

Security is one of the main themes of studies within the field of International Relations and a considerable amount of the previous research of security has consisted of defining the actual meaning of ‘security’. Even though there have been various studies carried out regarding the definition of security, the concept still remains elusive (Malik 2018:4).

Traditionally, it is the state that has been regarded as the main object for security in which military power was the main security mean. After the Second World War, the concept of security was merely concerned about the protection of a state’s freedom and sovereignty. In order to maintain these conditions of the state, military power and armory were of priority (Collins 2007:2; Sheehan 2005:6).

Before and during the Cold War, the concept and studies of security was equivalent to military power, also defined as “hard-power”. Throughout the Cold War, the main focus of security regarded military threats, meaning that whether military power was related to a certain matter it was classified as a security concern (Baldwin 1997:9). During the war, the world was in a stage
of intense political uncertainty, causing states to establish and advance their own military capacity in order to ensure their security, measuring their power against other states (Malik 2018:5). The notion of balance of power refers to that states act to preserve the balance of power in the international system. If a state increases its power in which it could overpower the international community, states will act in accordance to attain the balance of power within the system (Sheehan 2005:19). The construction of alliances in order to balance power is connected to the shift of international order among the world’s nations (Kegley and Blanton 2017:265-266). During the Cold War, this became a fact when the United States of America and large parts of the West and the Soviet Union together with their allies of eastern Europe stood against each other, in a dormant war. This changed the international structure and the balance of power resulted in an arms race of the two powers with the aim to conquer the other (Ibid). Due to the pressured and uncertain situation in the international arena, states merely looked to themselves and the idea that more conflicts could emerge increased the sense of insecurity, generating an even greater concern for the defense of the state (Malik 2018:5).

The concept of security considers the balance of power-relation among nations. The concern for domestic security and stability is as important as the security and stability of the neighboring states. Thus, if states only regarded their own security without acknowledging the security of its environment, this would more or less leave all states insecure. Because what secure one state equals the threat towards another state, hence, the balance of power and international stability is of concern for states in terms of their security (Waltz 1979:64).

Military security refers to the state being free from threats or any organized violence for the purpose of political actions. This was the main view of security before and during the Cold War as the perceived threat merely
included direct use of armory and attacks, causing physical damage (Herring 2007:131; Jakobsen 2007:228) There are different views of how military security could be applied or used depending on the political situation in the world; through deterrence (by using military as a threat in order to prevent an attack), through defense (construct an armed force with the aim to win a potential fight), through offense (by initiating an armed battle) or balancing power, (domestic rearrangement of army forces or creation of alliances in order to intimidate the enemy) (Herring 2007:130-131). These are a few of the perceptions that fall under the term of military security and which all are of importance when assessing a security issue of state survival. The aforementioned hard-power tactics are examples of the traditional view of security concerns, which were used during the time of the Cold War when states were exposed to political uncertainty and the unpredictability of the constant threat of a potential physical war between the two blocs (Herring 2007:132). Moreover, deterrence was one of the central strategies of the Western states, which used this method in order to prevent the Soviet Union to attack (Jakobsen 2007:228).

Security studies have mainly been focused on what it is that constitutes a threat and the conduct of military power. There is a common notion that military force is the guarantee for the survival of the state, however, this is not always the case. Still, the state is the entity which holds the power to execute any kind of force or violence. Hence, by investigating potential threats and the conduct of military power this indicates the state to be the “referent object” (the thing of which is defined to be secured and protected) of security studies. But this approach has been challenged throughout time by several scholars and researchers, which have questioned the thought of only consider the state as the primary referent object (Mutimer 2007:55). This has led to a division of opinion in identifying the “referent object” that is to say; the problem of deciding if it is the state, the individual or any other type of entity that should
be protected. However, the common belief is that by securing the state, the people will automatically be secured as well. But there are some critics who find this assumption to be flawed since there are some cases, where the state prioritizes its “own” security on the expense of the people, or in situations where the state does not possess the required capacity to protect its people (Mutimer 2007:55-56).

After the Cold War ended, and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the balance of power in the world changed. As the Soviet Union’s power declined, it changed the order as well as, the concentration of power within the global arena. As the previous control of power from the Soviet Union had ended, this allowed several states to develop their own regional security and power within the state (Buzan 2003:17-18). The shift of the global power within the international community led to that states started to operate in a more autonomous way than before. Furthermore, the ending of the Cold War generated a new perspective on security in the world as well as, brought a new dimension within the security agenda, by including matters of non-military issues (Clark 2001:197-198; Buzan 2003:17-18).

3.1.2 The Copenhagen School

The previous more narrowed vision of security when the focus was merely to protect the state against foreign attacks, was challenged by the development of the economic, environmental and societal agendas that arise in the 1970 and 1980s. Thus, brought a ‘new’ wider perspective on the concept of security. In a world where the shift of global power had changed due to the end of the Cold War and the vast internationalization progressed, caused various of “new” security threats to be assessed (Buzan 1998:2). In the book Security: a new framework for analysis, Berry Buzan together with Ole Wæver and Jaap de Wilde describe a framework for the study of security with a more broadened
approach of the security concept. This new aspect regarding the concept of security comprehended and emphasized on the non-military parts of security, broadening the concept. Barry Buzan, a political scientist within the field of security studies, identified five areas of security, namely; military, political, societal, economic and environmental (Buzan 2007:38). Besides Buzan’s analytical approach of different security areas, Ole Wæver introduced the concept of securitization, meaning that an issue could be securitized in which a concern could be framed as a security issue. These two developments within the field of security studies, widening the concept of security and is also known as The Copenhagen School (Mutimer 2007:60; Emmers 2007:111).

**Military security** as previous defined refers to an interaction between two or more states, where both offensive and defensive military capabilities are included, as well as strategic notions of evaluating the opponent’s objectives and military strategy. **Political security** concerns a strong and solid state-structure, a stable government and the possibility that the (elected) or ruling party of the state could promote and implement decisions based on their ideological point of view. **Societal security** refers to the preservation of societies’ values and customs, such as; language, cultural and religious behavior as well as a national identity, that will ensure a stability in the society (Buzan 2007:38). **Economic security** refers to the issues of the state’s resources, financial developments and markets that will ensure stable economic welfare and a solid political state power. Trade agreements with other states are of essence, in order to secure vital conditions for the state, such as; the ability to feed the population and ensure enough resources that will improve industrial matters. If a state fails to ensure these basic economic conditions, it would cause instability of the power, welfare, and the domestic political order (Buzan 2007:197). **Environmental security** concerns the nature of which all humans are dependent on. This category of security includes threats that could cause devastating consequences to the human society, as an
environmental breakdown would most definitely result in an increased fear which in turn could cause disorder within the state (Buzan 2007:38; Sheehan 2005:100).

Henceforth, international security encompasses several interlinked issues in the world today that has an impact on each state’s security. The process of globalization, which deepens the relation among nations regarding, political, economic and societal issues as well as, culture and religion has led to a change of the security threats within the international community. Consequently, this generated a change of the notion of security as a means to encounter the ‘new’ security concerns emerging (Neack 2017:105; Sheehan 2005:47).

3.2 State Security

A state is a physically based area with a government that controls over the land and is accepted as a state by other states. In terms of security for states, this has mainly been encompassed by international relations in the sense that states have a significant role in the international community and due to that security is viewed as one of the state’s most essential concerns (Morgan 2007:14).

State security involves two approaches of security, in the sense that it has to encounter both internal and external matters of security threats. A state has to acknowledge and be prepared for various challenges that could become a threat. It has to assess internal threats to the state (the authority of the state, its rule) and external threats (other states, international actors non-state actors, terrorists). Regarding the way states act, this also includes a twofold approach where states are concerned with its defense in that it actively responds when being threatened. At the same time, states tend to pose a threat to other states (Morgan 2007:14).
In regards to the threat of terrorism, this threat encompasses both state and human security. In terms of the threat towards the state, terrorism has political objectives, in which it uses violence to demonstrate its aim. It often seeks to regard changes of political leaders, governments or state structures. Hence, it is a threat towards a state’s sovereignty (Lutz, Lutz and Lutz 2005:7).

According to Walter Lippmann, “A nation is secure to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values, if it wishes to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by victory in such a war” (Buzan 2007:36). This definition of security refers to the abilities as well as the capacity a state obtains, to protect the state against a potential attack or threat. In respect to this definition, security could be seen as a value or a condition in which a state can have a higher or lower level of security, depending on its capability of protecting itself and ensuring the security of the state. This implies that the degree of security for a state is dependent on its capacity to preventing or counter an attack (Wolfers 1952:484-485).

Sovereignty and being able to control the territory of the state are one of the main objectives for states in terms of security. Hence, the state needs to be prepared to defend itself, which ultimately generates an expansion of military power to protect the state. Furthermore, this could lead to a ‘security dilemma’ meaning that if a state begins to empower its security with the aim to reach a higher level of security it also enhances the competition within the international system. When one state starts to advance its power and military capacities, it can be perceived as a greater threat to other states. Consequently, state security is concentrated on having a strong and effective military that could provide thorough protection against any foreign power (Morgan 2007:17-18).
State security involves four fundamentals, namely:

- the physical survival of the state, governments often conduct actions in form of deterring, limit or defeat from an attack to protect the state.
- autonomy, being able to conduct actions without impediments from other actors, not having the capacity to rule independently the state would not survive.
- development, refers to the progress of first and foremost, political instances which promotes the strength of internal capabilities and contribute to the security of the state.
- rule, is another component of state security which involves the authority of the state, possessing the power and legitimacy to obtain consent as well as counteract recusancy (Morgan 2007:14-15).

3.2.1 Territorial Integrity and Sovereignty

An essential value which states strive to protect, is their sovereignty, independence, and autonomy from other actors. Territorial integrity refers to the state’s territory and that states are not entitled to violate another state in terms of intrusive acts against a state (Corten 2011:88). In terms of state security, the protection of a state’s territory is of essence since it is the physical base that constitutes the actual state. In regards to the state’s territory, threats can be identified more precisely compared to objects of a more abstract manner such as beliefs or the institutional structure of the state. The security of a state’s territory could face the threats of other states that seek to overthrow or expand its territory. But it could also stand against domestic threats when for example separatists want to “break free” from the state and create their state. States seek to protect their territorial integrity against any form of confrontation (Buzan 2007:89-90).
In terms of sovereignty, it is essential to distinguish external sovereignty from the internal sovereignty of a state. External sovereignty regards a state’s territorial boundaries, it also involves threats from outside, meaning external actors which violate its territory and seeks to influence and alter the authority structures within the state. Furthermore, it means independence from the influence of another nation or foreign actor. Thus, a state’s sovereignty is lost when another state exercises its authority over it and control the vital political and lawmaking institutions of another state (Krasner 2009:193; Philpott 1997:20). The problem regarding the state’s sovereignty in terms of state security reflects on the issue of preserving the state’s sovereignty in respect to other sovereign states. One particular issue that is noticeable today, is non-state actors which seek to challenge states and their sovereignty. In respect to this issue, the prior action for maintaining the sovereignty of the state is the actual right to carry out the actions needed to protect their autonomy. Violations of a state’s sovereignty justify the state to use deliberate force to protect the state (Neack 2017:28). Hence, it also refers to the military capacity of the state in terms of its ability to counter any attack to protect its territory and sovereignty (Kerr 2007:94; Morgan 2007:17).

The state must not only be prepared to counter a potential attack from a foreign actor it also has to possess the abilities to eliminate the actual risk of that an enemy would use forceful actions to cause disorder or harm against the state’s territory, citizens or society. Depending on the kind of attack that is carried out, the use of force, and the aim of the attack, the aggressor could be a state or a non-state actor. Nevertheless, the aggressor must not have the same amount of military force as its opponent to cause collateral damage. This is most noticeable in attacks conducted by non-state actors through terrorism. However, in order to prevent and protect the state against these kinds of attacks, where the aim is not to conquer a nation but to cause instability and deliberated damage calls for other measurements than military actions to be
considered to prevent an attack (Neack 2017:66-68). Deterrence is often used as a measure to prevent a potential attack and is conducted by threatening the appointed enemy with severe counterattacks if they allege an attack. The prominent cause of using deterrence is to maintain and control its enemy by threat, holding them as ‘hostages’ as a means to protect themselves against a potential attack (Buzan 2007:59).

3.2.2 Political security and stability

Another important aspect of state security is the concern about political security which involves the organizational stability and internal order within a state. Political security refers to threats of the political institutions and authorities that provide state structure and vital functions for the state (Buzan 1998:141).

Even though the political sector encompasses a wide range of security issues of both, military, economic, and societal threats, there are specific threats that constitute a direct danger for the political. Since the political sector concerns the actual core of a state, meaning the basic institutional order of a nation, it is important to include this area of security matter (Buzan 1998:142). In the book, People, States and Fear which was written by Barry Buzan, provides the following definition of what constitutes a threat(s) towards the political community.

Political threats are aimed at the organizational stability of the state. Their purpose may range from pressuring the government on a particular policy, through overthrowing the government, to fomenting secessionism, and disrupting the political fabric of the state so as to weaken
it prior to military attack. [...] Since the state is an essentially political entity, political threats may be as much feared as military ones (Buzan 2007:109).

In relation to political security, internal sovereignty is essential. It refers to the state’s ability to maintain authority within the state, meaning that a state is entitled to conduct the actions needed to counter various challenges whether they are of domestic or foreign character. The internal sovereignty signifies that there is a concentration of power and concerns the authority of the political ruling within the state, and its ability to perform control within the state (Waltz 2011:95; Krasner; 179-180; Walker 1990:9).

A state which experiences protests, multiple uprisings, arrests, and guerilla activity increases the risk for a coup to be executed, which corresponds to an action of secessionism (Wig & Rød 2016:790). Moreover, a state which is involved in conflicts or faces external threats from neighboring countries, are more at risk of becoming a victim of a coup attempt (Belkin & Schofers 2003:602). Involvement in a conflict, and the way the state act in that conflict could affect the domestic stability of the state, and potentially lead to a coup attempt against the regime. In accordance, the higher external threat there is to the state as well as the national loses in the conflict, this increases the risk for the state to be exposed by a secessionist action, in the form of a coup attempt, which could increase the political instability in the state (Bueno de Mesquita, Siverson & Woller 1992:638,644).

Another factor that could impact the attempts to conduct a coup against the government of a state, is the legitimacy of the regime. Furthermore, this could also be connected to foreign reactions towards the ruling regime, meaning that other sovereign states or actors could impact the risk of a coup occurring. If a ruling regime receives support from other international actors, there is a lower
risk that a coup will happen, as if they were to oppose the regime as a legitimate government, since the creators of the coup would encounter additional opposition by international actors. Hence, without international support, the risk of a coup being conducted is higher (Barracca 2007:149-151).

3.3 Human Security

The concept of human security emanates from the developments that followed the process of globalization and with the end of the Cold War, the concept of security was also broadened as the rise of non-military issues started to increase. Due to the rapid progress of international interdependence, threats were no longer isolated to the state alone but instead involved several states and security threats within several areas became evident (Thomas and Tow 2002: 177-178; Neack 2017:167). Moreover, according to the Human Development Report (HDR) from the United Nations Development Program in 1994, human security is defined as the freedom of threats and other possible violations that could affect the people negatively. In addition, human security seeks to ensure protection from harmful events and occurrences that interferes and impede people’s daily routines in life. The human security can be impacted through a subtle indirect development or by an immediate action or event (UNDP 1994:23). The report issued a new agenda regarding security, in that it had to encompasses the survival and safety of people, besides the security of the state’s territorial borders (Thomas and Tow 2002:178).

The concept of human security introduced a new way of thinking about security threats as it moved the attention from states to humans and focused on threats that humans could encounter in their everyday life. Hence, the referent object for human security is the individual and the protection of humans (Booth 2007:323). Human security also concerns the society of the people. People need to feel secure in their environment that is their
community, otherwise, societies and certain regions risk instability as well as threats. Moreover, all citizens should have the opportunity to live a peaceful and secure life within its territory (Ogata 1998).

An important aspect for the people is their possibility to develop, using their strength and capabilities to reach their full potential. In regards to human security, if the possibilities for humans to interact and participate within the society are supported, this will increase the security of the individual and societal sphere. Besides, it will also lower the potential of threats towards the culture of the society and thereby its identity (Silkina 2016:163).

In comparison to state security which focuses on the state, human security focuses on the people. The prominent aim of human security is broadening the term of security further, claiming it encompasses more than only the security of the state, as a means to pressure states to consider the needs of its citizens. In relation to this, the authoritative institutions of the state should be concentrating on the security of the people as this would generate security for the state. Ultimately, if the citizens of a state are not safe then neither is the state. Moreover, human security involves the level of security for people in other states, since that could also impact on the state’s human security as well. Hence, governments should pay attention and assist other states especially in their surroundings, as insecurity for the people within these states could also pose a threat towards their people (Howard-Hassan 2012:90).

3.3.1 Freedom from Fear and Want

Freedom from fear is one fundamental component of human security which has to be implemented and guaranteed by the state to ensure safety for the people. Freedom from fear refers to the freedom from any violence or use of force towards people. It concerns the physical well-being of the population in
that people should live a life free from occurrences that pose a threat to their existence (Howard-Hassan 2012:103). The term freedom of fear involves the notion of personal security which implicates the threat of physical violence against a human being, meaning threats of war with foreign states or the threat of violent uprisings caused by tension among different ethnic-groups (UNDP 2009:23; UNDP 1994:30).

In addition, terrorism is an act of violence, which aims to promote fear among the public besides the instant victims of violent actions. As terrorism’s purpose is to induce fear in order to make their statement, killings are intended to spread fear as a means to reach their objective. Moreover, by producing fear and distress among the population, the ultimate aim is to prove that the state is not able to safeguard its people. By conducting actions of violence towards a population this poses a direct threat to the physical well-being of the individual (Lutz, Lutz and Lutz, 2005:7-8; Howard-Hassan 2012:103). Freedom from fear has been labeled as the “narrow” definition of human security as it merely focuses on the protection of the people and their society from war and other vicious actions (Kerr 2007:95).

The second component of human security is freedom from want which refers to the freedom from threats such as; diseases and poverty that could cause harm for the people. Freedom from indignity is another aspect of human security which refers to human development which is an important characteristic that falls under human security. It implies that people should live in a free society without human suffering, poverty and that all humans should be entitled to develop their abilities, and not be limited (UNDP 2005:31). It encourages human development and ensuring the basic needs for humans such as; possibility for education and participation in society are a couple of essential needs that have to be guaranteed for humans to live a life in dignity and free from want (UNDP 1994:18).
Furthermore, freedom from want involves the principal threat of health and economic issues. Infectious diseases are a non-military threat which poses a threat to the people and could cause devastating consequences in the form of deaths and suffering as well as limiting their possibilities of living a good life. Economic security is also vital for people to live a life in quality and dignity. Economic security refers to that the people must have the ability to provide for themselves, that is to say, they need to have the possibility to work (UNDP 2009:23; UNDP 1994:25,27). This component of human security is regarded as the broad approach, involving non-military threats towards the people. Furthermore, freedom from want implies that the protection of people should be conducted in a way that promotes people’s achievements (Kerr 2007:94).

3.3.2 Societal Security and National Identity

Societal security involves the concept of identity, meaning it refers to the self-conception of the society which refers to how the people are identifying themselves with the collective identity of the community (Buzan, Wæver and Wilde 1998:119). Hence, societies are entities that are constructed by a collective identity. The collective identity could be defined as what it is that creates the “we”, meaning the unification among the people of the society. It refers to that the people feel that they belong to a community which they are able to identify themselves with (Roe 2007:167). Moreover, Barry Buzan provides a more direct definition of societal security in the book *People, States and Fear*, stating that “Matters of language, religion and local culture tradition all play their part in the idea of the state and may need to be defended or protected against seductive or overbearing cultural imports” (Buzan 2007:111).
Since the referent objects for the societal sector regard, ethnic units, groups, religions, etc. this dimension of security essentially concerns the humans as the purpose of security. Moreover, societal security involves self-sustaining identity groups, which could include national, racial or religious groups, and the referent object within the societal sphere is referred to as clans, ethnic units and or religions (Buzan, Wæver and Wilde 1998:123; Sheehan 2005:84).

There are a number of ways in which a society’s identity could be threatened. A society’s ability to “reproduce” itself, meaning the process of sustaining the traditional patterns within the society which involves the language, culture and religion are prioritized to be secured regarding societal security. One threat of the perseveration of the collective identity of a society could be if the balance of population changes in a certain area (Roe 2007:169). Moreover, one of the main threats within the societal sphere is the threat of migration. Migration refers to the changes in society regarding the inflow of ‘new’ individuals which transform the structure of the population and brings unknown customs which are not compatible with the ‘host country’ (Buzan 1998:121; Roe 2007:170).

Immigration could also be seen as a threat towards the population of the host country, due to the potential economic concerns, since the population grow the competition of employment increase. In addition, migrants are often willing to work for lower costs, increasing their possibility to get a job. In this case, societal security corresponds to the issue of economic security. The extent of this threat depends on the number of received immigrants, as well as the construction of the society’s identity (Sheehan 2005:92-93). The threat of migration also involves the notion of perception. “The security ‘threat’ of migration is very much a matter of perception in which the exaggeration or calming of fears is a crucial factor “(Sheehan 2005:93). The concern regarding migration can also generate a common opinion of a threat towards the cultural
identity of the population. The immigrants are here viewed as “[…] the threatening ‘other’ against whom the resources of the state must be mobilized and against whom the national identity is to some extent built “(Sheehan 2205:93).

Furthermore, a migration that alters the local ethnic groups and creates an imbalance between these groups tends to enhance the risk of aggravating tensions as well as violent clashes among ethnicities to erupt. One reason for conflict or the case of hostile tensions arising is when migration leads to battles regarding national identity. This can occur when a specific ethnic group migrates into an area belonging to another ethnic group and confront the authority of that latter group (Goldstone 2002:5,14).

As the aforementioned reads, certain areas within each security theory has been selected and will be systematically examined to provide as thorough and detailed analysis as possible. These areas will serve as an analytical framework for the analysis in which the empirical material will be analyzed in order to understand how Turkey’s state and human security has been affected by the Syrian civil war. The different dimensions of state and human security which are explained above is summarized in the following table.
Table. 1 A collocation of the analytical dimensions that will be used as a framework in the analysis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State Security</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Threat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Territorial integrity and sovereignty</td>
<td>The state’s territory and its physical boarders. External sovereignty.</td>
<td>Attacks or violation, by military force of another state’s territory pose a threat against a state.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The state’s authority to implement and conduct decisions regarding challenges of both domestic or foreign character.</td>
<td>Foreign actor/state exercise authority over another state, by pressuring or challenging the state’s decision.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political security and stability</td>
<td>Ensure political stability, internal sovereignty, Protection of the state and governmental authority.</td>
<td>Actions that will disrupt the political stability - secessionist actions (coup) by an actor within or close to the state.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political stability – the organizational stability and internal order within a state.</td>
<td>Pressuring the government on a specific policy, cause political disorder, or fermenting secessionism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Security</td>
<td>Freedom from fear and want</td>
<td>Threat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom from fear and want</td>
<td>The physical well-being of the population, the people should be free from violent actions.</td>
<td>Physical violence against people, terrorism, conflicts and involvement in war.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>People should live a life in dignity and without suffering, possibilities to develop their full potential.</td>
<td>Health and economic issues, diseases and poverty that could cause harm and suffering for the people. Not being able to live a life in dignity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Societal security and national identity</td>
<td>Securing the identity of the state, without national identity the society would not last.</td>
<td>Migration – the inflow of ‘new’ individuals which transform the structure of the population.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Identity recognized by having common cultural, religious and ethnic ties – regards the safety of the collective.</td>
<td>Immigration could cause ethnic diversion and imbalance between groups – threatening national identity, lead to tensions / conflicts.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4 Analysis

The following section will present the analysis of the study. The analysis will systematically examine the selected dimensions of each theory. It will begin by examining state security in terms of territorial integrity and sovereignty and political security and stability, afterward, it will move on to analyze human security in terms of freedom from fear and want and societal security and national identity.

4.1 Territorial Integrity and Sovereignty

One of the main concerns regarding state security is the state’s territory and sovereignty. Territorial threats could be both internal and external, either way, it involves the security of the state’s physical base which constitutes the state (Buzan 2007: 89-90). The external sovereignty of a state regards its territorial boundaries, this includes threats from outside, meaning external actors which could violate its territory and impact as well as change the power structures within the state (Krasner 2009:193; Philpott 1997:20). In order to protect the state’s territorial bounds and its autonomy, the state has to be able to defend itself against foreign or domestic threats that could endanger its territory as well as have sufficient military capacity to encounter those threats (Kerr 2007:94; Morgan 2007:17).

4.1.1 PKK-YPG

The Turkish regime has for many years been in conflict with the Kurdish party PKK (Partiya Karkeran Kurdistan; Kurdistan Workers Party) which has fought for an independent Kurdish state and autonomy for the Kurdish minority. The conflict has been going on for over 30 years with periods of violent clashes as well as times of ceasefire (UCDP, Turkey: Kurdistan). The Kurds had an
active role in the Syrian war. The Kurdish Democratic Union Party PYD (Partiya Yekîtiya Demokrat) and its armed part, the YPG (Yekîneyên Parastina Gel), represents and encourage the rights for the Kurds in Syria. PYD and YPG originate from the PKK’s ideological standpoint. Moreover, these forces fought against the Syrian regime and ISIS, protecting the regions which they inhabit, in the northern Syria, as well as aimed to advance their political position (Oztig 2019:121). As the Syrian war erupted Turkey feared that Kurds in Syria would manage to mobilize and try to establish areas of self-rule by PKK and or the PYD. Moreover, as this would be concerning the Kurdish populated areas around the border between Turkey and Syria, the Turkish regime feared this would inspire Kurdish nationalist movements in Turkey as well. In addition, Turkey dreaded the risk that the Syrian regime, being in such poor condition would open the possibility for PKK to mobilize further and conduct cross-border attacks to the Turkish regime (Kizilkan 2019:331-332).

In 2012, as the Syrian army withdrew from several parts of northern Syria, the Kurdish forces expanded their control over areas including Jazira, Kobane and Afrin, close to the Turkish border. Due to Syria’s weak condition, the PYD was able to construct self-rule over these areas (Federici 2015:83). In response to this, the Turkish regime conveyed that they would under no circumstances recognize areas in the northern part of Syria to be governed by PYD and its ally PKK. Fearing further empowerment and territorial expansion by the Kurds, the Turkish government decided to conduct geographical containment of the Kurds to minimize the risk of further territorial expansion by PYD. Furthermore, Turkey closed down several border gates to limit the possibility for PYD to receive resources from Turkey, by reinforcing its border management (Oztig 2019:221; Kizilkan 2019:332).

At the beginning of 2018, the United States which had supported the Kurdish forces in the battle against ISIS stated that they were going to enact a new
border patrol between Turkey and Syria, consisting of 30,000 YPG soldiers. Consequently, this action awakened a major security concern for Turkey, which feared that the YPG forces would gain further power and territorial control of the Turkish border, ultimately posing a threat towards the state’s territorial integrity (Oztig 2019:123). President Erdoğan aggressively expressed his concern regarding the Turkish state in relation to this action, refereeing to YPG as a terror army and vowed for the measurements they had to conduct to protect the state. Hence, Turkey launched operation, ‘Operation Olive Branch’ to counter the threat of YPG forces attaining control over areas close to the Turkish territory. This military operation in the northern parts of Syria aimed to prevent the Syrian Kurds from moving closer to the Turkish territory, in addition to diminish their position and status in Syria and to remove YPG forces (ibid).

However, Kurdish forces consisting of YPG and the local Arab militias called SDF (Syrian Democratic Forces) fought ISIS and managed to capture serval parts of the northern Syrian territory between 2015 and 2019 (BBC 2019c). In the spring of 2019, the SDF and YPG managed to remove ISIS and took control over the last area in the northern Syria. They also established an independent management to rule the area. Turkey, feared the expansion of Kurdish forces and their potential to advance further regarding its aim for independence. Hence, on the 9th of October 2019, president Erdoğan decided to launch a military offensive ‘Operation Peace Spring’ along the border against the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) led by the Kurdish military. Erdoğan claimed that the aim of this operation was to remove the threat of the Kurdish militia YPG who controlled the large parts of northern Syria. Moreover, this group is registered to be terrorists by the Turkish regime and supporters of the Kurdish Workers Party which is classified as illegitimate by the Turkish government (BBC 2019b).
4.1.2 ISIS

Another threat towards Turkey’s state security which developed increasingly due to the breakdown in Syria was the extremist group, the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). In cause of the growing civil unrest in Syria due to the authoritarian path of the Syrian government, ISIS managed to enlarge its capacity. Thus, it saw an opportunity to gain power in several parts of the region, as the Syrian regime were in a state of disruption (Oztig 2017:120-121). The threat of ISIS towards the Turkish regime increased when members of the organization carried out attacks within Turkish territory. This was causing instability and imposed their territorial integrity as well as challenged the sovereignty of the state. Several terror attacks were conducted by the organization, in the Turkish town Nigde, in the spring of 2014. In addition, later in 2015, the Turkish state once again became a victim of a bomb attack conducted by ISIS in the Turkish town Suruc, killing several young people (Oztig 2019:122; Parlar 2016:1405).

The accelerating expansion and spread of ISIS in Syria close to the Turkish border, indicated Turkey’s vulnerability for this emerging security threat, in comparison to its Kurdish problem in the region. The international community proclaimed that the rapid growth of the territorial gain by ISIS and their vast progress was a result of Turkey’s softened border control in the breakout of the civil war when foreign fighters from various destinations crossed the border to join ISIS. Turkey, on the other hand, claimed their innocence, in that they never deliberately allowed any foreign fighters to enter Syria (Parlar 2016:1406-1407). Nevertheless, Turkey’s high porosity of its border at the beginning of the Syrian civil war has contributed to the negative impact of the state’s security as it sanctioned the possibility for Islamist networks to grow and assemble in and around its territory (Oztig 2019:838). Consequently, in order to stop the recruitment of foreign fighters to ISIS passing the Turkish
border, Turkey enhanced its actions to secure the state. This was conducted by increasing the security at transfer locations, such as airports, bus stations, terminals as means to evaluate and stop foreigners seeking to join ISIS (Parlar 2019:1408). The Turkish forces also joined the US forces to combat ISIS in 2014, in which they were able to stagnate the spread of the group to some extent. However, due to Turkey’s active stance against the group, ISIS in return declared ‘war’ against the regime, with an aim to conquer the Turkish regime (UCPD Turkey: Islamic State).

In mid-2015, Turkey further adopted a harder stance against the jihadist organization, by conducting several attacks against ISIS-extremists that were based within Turkish territory (Merz 2018:3). However, ISIS did not back down but instead counteract by carrying out additional attacks within the Turkish territory actively aiming towards the Turkish state and society, causing further security concerns for the regime and its sovereignty (Ibid). However, implementing stricter border security was not enough to defend the security of the state. Hence, Turkey began ‘Operation Euphrates Shield’ in 2016, where Turkish military forces entered the northern parts of Syria. In order to reach their goal in securing the Turkish state and its territorial borders, the Turkish forces ejected ISIS from the areas within and around its border as well as minimized the risk of PKK and YPG forces to additionally proceed their mobilizing and creating of an independent area along the Turkish border (Oztig 2019:122). Moreover, as of today, ISIS has lost much of its territorial control in Syria. The group is still active to a certain degree but their operational areas has been reduced in the Middle-East region. In the spring of 2019, ISIS lost its last territorial base in Syria, however, the group still continues as a fearful and deadly insurrection. Turkey imprisoned several ISIS fighters at the end of 2017 and the existence of the jihadist organization has decreased. However, ISIS does remain in Turkey but not as powerful as before (International Crisis Group 2019:1,23; Meir 2018).
The threat of ISIS spreading along the Turkish border as well as their attacks on Turkish ground indicates their intrusion of the Turkish state and a threat towards its external sovereignty. In addition, the advancement of PKK-YPG, viewed as a threat towards Turkey due to the potential creation of an independent Kurdish state, signifies a threat towards the state’s territorial integrity, which increased by the Syrian civil war (Corten 2011:88; Philpott 1997:20).

4.1.3 Russia

Russia, a close ally to the Syrian regime, assisted the Syrian government on economic and military issues to keep Bashar al-Assad in power. The Syrian regime attacked and fought the various rebel groups and non-state actors that stood against the regime. However, as the progress of these oppositional groups and non-state actors continued to develop, the Syrian military forces were not able to control certain areas of Syria. Hence, Russia decided to actively engage in the conflict with the aim to assist the Syrian president to keep him in power (Özertem 2017:123). In the fall of 2015, Russia began to intervene in the Syrian conflict, by targeting Syrian rebellion groups, through air force in the northern parts of Syria close to the Turkish border. Thus, this became an additional security concern for Turkey, as the Russian attacks threatened Turkish civilians living in the area (ibid).

On the 24th of November that same year, a Russian fighter jet conducted an operation in the northwest of Syria, nearby Turkish territory, to remove oppositional troops. The Russian plane was taken down by the Turkish air force, as they alleged that the aircraft had violated Turkish airspace. There were conflicting opinions on whether the Russian aircraft actually entered
Turkish aerial territory. The Russian regime claimed that the aircraft had not entered Turkey’s territory, however, the Turkish regime acknowledged that they had identified an aircraft within their airspace and claimed it had sent multiple warnings, commending it to change direction before downing it (Henry 2016: 10-11). In the cause of this action, it generated further concern for the international community, as it was the first armed confrontation between Russia and a NATO (National Atlantic Treaty Organization) member country. The incident caused hostile tensions to build up between the two nations. Moreover, Turkey referred to the standing rules of engagement, the Russian aircraft had been shot down due to the detection of the plane violating Turkish airspace. Additionally, the Turkish Prime Minister also emphasized the importance of the protection of the state’s sovereignty and territorial integrity. Thus, the regime reacted in accordance with the rules of engagement (Özertem 2017:124).

However, the incident added further problems regarding Turkey’s security threats. Russia conducted measurements in the cause of the event. Among other things, they implemented an air-defense system in Syria, blocking Turkish aircraft to operate in the area. Accordingly, this created additional ambiguities for Turkey’s state security. Since Turkey was not able to use its airforce in the same way, this affected Turkey’s ability to counter the threat of ISIS spreading into its territory as well as PKK -YPG, which managed to move closer to Turkey and take control of southern parts of its territory (Özertem 2017:125). Consequently, for Turkey, this escalated the threat from the non-state actors. Additionally, the security concerns from Turkey increased as PKK-YPG, constructed underground passageways for the Kurdish forces to move between Syria and Turkey (Özertem 2017:125-126).

As the Turkish regime was dealing with a neighboring country in a full-scaled civil war, which was already causing several security concerns for the regime,
a fighter jet violating its aerial territory, generated additional fear regarding the interference of the state’s sovereignty and territorial integrity. Hence, Turkey’s decision to act by military force could be understood as an act of protection due to infringements of the state’s sovereignty (Kerr 2007:94).

Table 4.1: The analysis of Turkey’s state security regarding territorial integrity and sovereignty.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State Security</th>
<th>The impact on Turkey’s state security</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Territorial integrity and sovereignty</td>
<td>PKK-YPG – Increased territorial control. Threat of rising Kurdish independent aspiration inside Turkey. ISIS – Conducted attacks within Turkish territory, soft border control, increased inflow of jihadists. Russia – Violating Turkish aerial territory and sovereignty, causing security concerns.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2 Political Security and Stability

Another important element regarding state security is the political security and stability of the state. Threats that aim to harm the state’s government differ and are of concern as this could endanger the political stability of the state, hence, make the state more vulnerable to disorder (Buzan 2007:109). Threats toward political security and stability could be conducted by disintegrating the government through secessionist actions for example, by a coup attempt, in which the aim could be to replace the government. External threats towards a state as well as involvement in a conflict increase the risk for a state of becoming a victim for secessionist actions. In turn this could harm the internal
sovereignty and stability within the state (Bueno de Mesquita, Siverson & Woller 1992:638,644; Walker 1990:9).

4.2.1 Authoritarian Transformation

The Turkish state’s rapid transformation into an authoritarian ruling is partly an outcome of existential insecurity of the state. The path towards an authoritarian ruling of the Turkish state has been affected by the Arab Spring and the Syrian conflict, involving a full-scaled civil war, development of aggressive extremist groups, as well as state-failure in the Middle-east region. Moreover, Turkey’s part in this constantly changeable conflict has contributed to the authoritarian transformation of the regime (Akkoyunlu and Öktem 2016:517).

The Turkish ruling party, AKP (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi), and its leader Recep Tayyip Erdoğan came into power in 2002 with a political agenda that included a transformation of the country into a powerful state. Erdoğan further emphasized his aspirations of becoming an EU-member, as a means to minimize the negative opinion of the AKP as a party with Islamist views (Caliskan 2017:98). The AKP managed to stay in power and successively gained further authority over the state in the following years (Geri 2017:196).

In 2011, at the beginning of the outbreak of the Arab Spring, AKP had just won a majority in the general election and thrived due to stable economic progress. At the same time, the state witnessed the downfall of several Middle-Eastern regimes as well as the rise of Islamist movements within these nations (Akkoyunlu and Öktem 2016:517). These movements had common ideological views with the ruling Turkish regime and regarded the Turkish ruling party as an inspirational entity. Due to these developments, this
encouraged the ruling Islamists of Turkey. Moreover, this was viewed by the Turkish president as an indication of success and caused Erdoğan to reinforce the party’s political view of its Islamic identity. In addition, it awakened the state’s past of being an imperial leader of the Middle-East (the Ottoman Empire) now seeking to become a role model for these nations of the region. This led to that the regime began to revise their political stance and implemented various changes of the Turkish state, where a new political agenda was formed in which involved reforms that allowed Islamist views to permeate the government’s politics (Akkoyunlu and Öktem 2016:518). Consequently, these changes triggered insecurity within the state as the ruling government came to face discontent by the people. The president’s authoritarian traits became more visible when a peaceful protest was held against the change of Istanbul’s Gezi Park in 2013. Erdoğan alleged the protest illegal and acted violently in response, as he claimed the protesters had imposed the respect of Islam by violating righteous areas around mosques (Fradkin and Libby 2014:61).

Moreover, the authoritarian turn of the AKP was enhanced in 2015, particularly after the general election that same year. The main reason for this, stems from the spillover effects of the Syrian war as well as the Turkish political approach towards the conflict in their neighboring state. As previously mentioned, the Syrian war became a sanctuary for the extremist jihadist group ISIS to spread and conquer parts of the Syrian regime. However, for Erdoğan, ISIS was not the priority threat towards the Turkish state. The regime still viewed the potential growth PKK and PYD to be the greatest security concern for the state. Hence, when ISIS began to overthrow Kurdish areas in 2014, the Turkish regime did not engage to protect the Kurds (Akkoyunlu and Öktem 2016:518; Lawson 2016:487). Due to the government’s choice of not assisting the Kurds in the fight against ISIS, this resulted in increased aggression within the PKK and the Kurdish minority
inside Turkey (Lawson 2016:487). The regime’s decision not to intervene in the violent clashes between PKK and ISIS generated in forceful civil unrest in Turkey, where a range of protests erupted around the country (Lawson 2017:488).

In the 2015 general elections, the AKP government was challenged by the pro-Kurdish Peoples’ democratic Party HDP (Halkların Demokratik Partisi) which managed to win and caused a political swift in the Turkish regime. This power shift could be seen as a consequence of Erdoğan’s political decisions regarding the Syrian war in combination with the authoritarian direction of his ruling. By not acknowledging the need for protection of the Kurdish minority fighting against ISIS, this might have influenced the people’s decision to support the HDP instead (Geri 2017:197). The victory for the HDP was a major setback for the Turkish regime which immediately after the election broke the peace negotiations with the PKK, which had been going on since 2013, which resulted in violent clashes between the PKK and Turkish forces (Akkoyunlu and Öktem 2016:518). Moreover, president Erdoğan blocked the HDP from creating a collation government and issued for a new election date, the same year in November. This action further indicates the authoritarian path of the political leadership of the state. Another election meant new campaigns, however, the HDP was not able to conduct their campaigns properly due to one of the most violent attacks in Turkey, during one of their rallies. The ones considered being behind the attack was ISIS, however, activists belonging to the HDP accused Erdoğan and the AKP, for conducting the attack as a means to impair the HDP. This escalated the instability and the political polarization in the country, adding further disorder and unpredictability, marking another step towards internal insecurity (Geri 2017:198).

The Turkish government conducted several changes that have resulted in a negative political change, towards an authoritarian ruling of the state, leading
to increased instability as well as the insecurity of the state. Due to the political change caused by the Arab Spring, and the war in Syria posing a threat towards the Turkish regime, in terms of spillover effects, as well as Erdoğan’s political stance against the conflict, could be regarded as one reason which has indirectly contributed to an authoritarian turn of the state (Akkoyunlu and Öktem 2016:518; Lawson 2016:487). Hence, drawing upon this political change, it has evidently caused a growing instability of the state in terms of, more protests, arrests and polarization, which left the state in a critical stage. Moreover, unstable electoral processes and civil disorder, all contributed to the risk of secessionist movements to take form, which could threaten the political security and stability as well as the internal sovereignty of the state (Bueno de Mesquita, Siverson & Woller 1992:638,644; Walker 1990:9).

4.2.2 Military Coup d’état

As noted in the theoretical part, a threat towards the government could be one or several actors that preforms secessionist actions, meaning an activity which seeks to remove the ruling government and impose its authority. This could, for example, be done through a coup attempt. The risk of a coup attempt occurring increases if the state is experiencing any external threat from other states or if there is an extensive number of protests and attacks within the state (Belkin & Schofers 2003:602; Wig & Rød 2016:790). The Turkish government’s involvement in the Syrian conflict and its actions of not assisting the Kurds in their fight against ISIS did not only push the Turkish people towards supporting a different party, but it also caused severe protests and disturbance, generated in domestic instability of the state (Lawson 2016:487-488).
As previously noted, in the case of the Turkish regime’s authoritarian turn, Erdoğan changed its political agenda towards a more Islamist influenced political standpoint due to the rise of Islamist movements arising, as a cause of the Arab Spring (Akroyunlu & Öktem 2016:518). Moreover, this raised further discontent within the state as the government’s authoritarian turn moved the country away from the prospect of becoming an EU-member, something Erdoğan had promised at the beginning of his period of governance (Akkeyunlu & Öktem 2016:516; Caliskan 2017:98). Groups within the military decided to oppose the regime by conducting a coup d’état, due to the deprived democracy and lack of secularism regarding the changed political path of the ruling government. Their aim was not to change the actual system of governance but to protect and exchange the contemporary ideological direction towards a more secular ruling which was implemented during 1920th (Glorioso 2016; Somer 2016:484). An additional, reason why the coup attempt was conducted could be the weakened support of the Turkish government from Western states and actors. The European Union had become much more skeptical towards a potential admission of the Turkish state due to the government’s growing authoritarian behavior and its policy decision of ignoring military support for the Kurds fight against ISIS (Akkeyunlu & Öktem 2016:516). As the EU was not supporting the government, one could argue that the military potentially viewed a coup against the regime more possible since it would not meet resistance from this international actor (Barracca 2007:149-151).

The aftermath of the failed military coup d’état on the 15 July 2016, increased the political instability in the country vastly. President Erdoğan’s political behavior moved even further towards an authoritarian direction, as he implemented several restrictions of the societal institutions, and as he alleged state of emergency of the nation, he was able to make political decisions without closer examination by the parliament (Rogenhofer 2018:130; Human
Rights Watch 2017). President Erdoğan’s political actions in the cause of the Syrian civil war has had an impact on the regime’s political direction towards an authoritarian ruling. Hence, in connection to these undemocratic developments, the increase of protests and the rise of discontent within the military contributed to the coup attempt in Turkey, which threatened the government, and the political stability of the state. Hence, one can see an indirect connection between the execution of the coup attempt against the Turkish state and the Syrian civil war (Wig & Rød 2016:790).

Table 4.2: Analysis of Turkey’s state security regarding territorial integrity and sovereignty as well as political security and stability.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As indicated in the analysis above, Turkey’s state security has been impacted in various ways by the Syrian civil war. In addition, according to the Global
Peace Index, there is a notable change in Turkey’s peacefulness. Within the domain of Ongoing Domestic and International Conflict, several indicators are measured which include among others; *number and duration of internal conflicts, number, duration and role in external conflicts, intensity of organized internal conflict* as well as *relations with neighboring countries.* These indicators correlate with the selected area of state security for this study. In figure 1, one can see that Turkey’s instability and insecurity have risen during recent years. However, there are most likely other reasons behind this result as well, but the Syrian war has evidently had an impact on Turkey’s state security and stability (Global Peace Index).

**Figure 1. Ongoing Domestic and International Conflicts of Turkey 2011-2019**

![Graph showing increasing instability and deterioration of peacefulness regarding Ongoing Domestic & International Conflict, where 0 = most peaceful and 5 = least peaceful within and around Turkey 2011-2019 (Global Peace Index 2011-2019).](image)
4.3 Freedom from Fear and Want

Freedom from fear and freedom from want are two fundamental components of human security. Moreover, freedom from fear regards the physical safety of the people, meaning the protection from any kind of violence that could pose a threat to the population’s lives. Threats towards the population could include, terrorism or involvement in war that could endanger the security of the individual (UNDP 2009:23; UNDP 1994:30). Freedom from want involves indirect threats towards the population in terms of health and economic threats that could cause suffering and constrain the individual’s right to personal development, and to live a life in dignity (UNDP 2009:23; UNDP 1994:25, 27).

4.3.1 Terrorism

The threat of terrorism is of concern regarding the safety of the people within a state. Turkey’s terrorist threats have mainly been concerning the Kurdish oppositional militia, due to the long conflict between the Turkish government and the PKK. However, the Turkish people have been facing a new era of security threats that involved increasing terrorism, because of the vicious war in Syria (Starr 2013:1). Due to the evolving conflict in Syria, ISIS saw an opportunity to advance and successfully conquered several areas of Syria (Oztig 2017:120-121).

As previously stated, the Turkish government did not oppose ISIS at the beginning of its development but instead regarded the group as an additional force that could bring the downfall of the Assad-regime, and constrain the potential growth of Kurdish controlled areas along the border. However, the Turkish government’s ignorance of ISIS and its weak border security would come to afflict Turkey in the following years (Soliev 2017:25). At the
beginning of 2015, ISIS began to targeting Kurds inside Turkey, carrying out attacks towards Kurds through bomb detonations in the Turkish province Mardin. Further attacks were later carried out in the neighboring city of Diyarbakir, moreover, Suruc as well as Ankara where also hit. These attacks evidently spread fear among the Turkish citizens and resulted in 150 fatalities and injured 700, during 2015 together (ibid). After these attacks, the Turkish government changed its political stance against ISIS and began to conduct counter-terrorism actions as well as military offensives against the jihadist group in order to protect and prevent further attacks (Soliev 2017:26).

The Turkish military began conducting operations in mid-2016 against ISIS and managed to counter the group as well as reduce their territorial gains. Moreover, in the cause of these actions, the Islamic State's leader in the following fall openly stated that Turkey was one of their enemies and threatened the regime with the aim to make it insecure. On the night of January 1, 2017, a nightclub in Reina was attacked by a gunman killing 39 people and wounded 71. The attack was claimed by the Islamic State which additionally threatened to diminish the stability within Turkey (Yayla 2017:9). Due to the Turkish regime’s ignorance at the beginning of the Syrian conflict and the rising of the Islamic State, it enabled them to form an extensive network inside and around Turkey. By merely focusing on the Syrian regime and the rise of PKK, seeing them as the main threat towards the security of the nation, this further caused the Islamic State to create networks and managed to establish different “cells” within Turkey. These were certain units that would carry out attacks and operate within the state (Yayla 2017:12). In addition, the escalation of the Syrian war resulted in a major refugee influx to Turkey and without any border restrictions, this enabled more or less anyone to move between Turkey and Syria. Hence, it resulted in growing security concerns, as members from the Islamic State could disguise as refugees, entering the Turkish state due to the Turkish government’s inadequate control of the people crossing the border
According to the Global Terrorism Index, the number of people who have died in the cause of terrorism in Turkey almost doubled from 337 fatalities in 2016 to 650 fatalities in 2017 (Global Terrorism Index 2019).

The increase of escalating terrorism posing a direct threat towards Turkish citizen’s existence is connected to the Syrian civil war. Due to the complexity of the conflict in Syria, as it involved several factions fighting against each other, the war has partly and indirectly made it easier for ISIS to establish its agenda and to progress within the region (Oztig 2017:120-121). Hence, the threat and the conduct of terrorism increased within the Turkish state as well, which have endangered the human security, regarding the freedom from fear and the physical well-being of its people (Lutz, Lutz and Lutz, 2005:7-8; Howard-Hassan 2012:103).

### 4.3.2 Health and Economy

Turkey has not only been affected by the extended armed violence from the Syrian conflict but also through the threat of contagious diseases by the refugee crisis. In contrast to the aforementioned, which recognizes merely direct physical threats towards the population, there are other non-military threats that have impacted the human security of Turkey as well. Due to the war in Syria, a major number of Syrians took refuge in several of the neighboring states. Turkey received an enormous number of refugees as a cause of the conflict and is one of the host countries with the largest number of Syrian refugees. The influx of refugees increased as a means of the escalation of the war. As of today, Turkey host over 3,5 million Syrian refugees (Doganay & Demiraslan 2016:221; UNHCR 2019).
The war generated severe consequences for the Syrian health services, as many medical centers were destroyed in the battles and the number of medical personnel decreased in the country. Due to the deprived health care system in Syria in the cause of the war (WHO 2013), several people were transmitted to Turkish medical centers (Doganay & Demiraslan 2016:221). Moreover, refugees often lack the basic needs which are required to maintain good health, hence, they are more likely to become victims of infectious diseases. Refugees often residing in congested areas, in unsanitary conditions, deprived environmental circumstances, lack of food and water supplement and uncontrolled infection systems which all contribute to the risk of infectious diseases spreading (Doganay & Demiraslan 2016:222; Saleh, Aydin and Koçak 2018:452). The vast number of Syrian refugees entering Turkey caused a number of infectious diseases to reemerge in the state, diseases like, measles, tuberculosis, and cutaneous leishmaniasis among others were detected (Doganay & Demiraslan 2016:222). The refugees in Turkey lived in several camps, however, some of the refugees were also allocated into cities (Leblebicioglu and Ozaras 2015:443), which thereby increased the threat of potential diseases spreading to the local population.

Several cases of measles have been registered in Turkey among the Syrian refugees since 2011, however, Turkey implemented vaccination regulations against the disease to minor the risk for it to spread among the public. Moreover, the disease, cutaneous leishmaniasis which is more common in the Middle-East region, had been registered among the Syrian refugees in Turkey and also risen within domestic areas of the country (Doganay & Demiraslan 2016:222-223; Leblebicioglu and Ozaras 2015:443). Due to the enormous refugee crisis as a cause of the Syrian civil war, and the huge number of refugees entering Turkey, this has impacted the safety of the Turkish people. The reemerge of infectious diseases in Turkey indicates an extensive security concern for the people as it threatened the people’s possibility to live a good...
life. Moreover, it also posed a threat for the people in terms of suffering and potential constrained the individual’s right to personal development, as well as to live a life in dignity (Doganay & Demiraslan 2016:223; UNDP 2009:23; UNDP 1994:25, 27).

The Syrian civil war has as previously noted in the analysis above generated in an increased number of terror attacks within Turkey. This security threat did not only concern the people’s physical safety but also created a threat towards the quality of life for the people. Turkey is a well-visited country for tourists and the tourism sector is an important source of income for the nation’s economy (Saray and Karagöz 2010:34). Before 2016, Turkey had thriving tourism and was well-attended by tourists which boosted the country’s economy (IMF 2017a). This was mainly due to a low level of terrorism, progressed marketing and affirmative advances in the nation’s accession process for the European Union, which of all contributed to an additional curiosity for the nation and increased its tourism. However, the nation’s tourism came to be negatively affected by the war in Syria, which ultimately caused consequences for its economy as well. In 2015, over 400 terror attacks had been registered in Turkey where at least 40 of them had been carried out in tourist destinations. Moreover, in 2016 the UN changed the level of security in the cities, Ankara and Istanbul from minimal to moderate (IMF 2017b:37).

The level of tourists dropped significantly in 2016, due to the risen security concerns within Turkey. The increased threat of terror attacks as well as domestic political instability contributed to lower levels of tourists. Furthermore, between January and September in 2016, there was a major decline of tourists visiting Turkey, namely a 30% decrease. Since the tourism industry in Turkey contributes a large part of the nation’s economy it is of great value. In some parts of the country, it is also one of the main employers (International Monetary Fund 2017:38), hence, it involves a vital concern for
the people in terms of the ability to provide for themselves. Several hotels were closed down because of the low number of tourists which further generated an increased number of unemployment (Haines 2019). Yet, even though, the Turkish economy was badly affected by the increase of terror attacks, the nation has recovered during the recent years and in 2018, the number of visitors had increased again, according to the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism (Turkish ministry of culture and tourism 2018). As the aforementioned reads, the Syrian war has also affected the Turkish economy which in addition has resulted in a destabilized and unpredictable time for the Turkish citizens. Due to the deprived tourism, it generated difficulties for the economy, hence, this further caused an increase of unemployment which affected the people negatively. By not being able to provide for oneself, this negatively affects the economic security of the people, which limited their possibilities to live a dignified life (UNDP 2009:23; UNDP 1994:25, 27).

Table 4.3: Analysis of Turkey’s state as well as human security regarding freedom from fear and want

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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Human Security | The impact on Turkey’s human security
---|---
Freedom from fear and want | **Terrorism** – Increasing terror attacks, multiple deaths and injuries. Turkey’s ignorance of ISIS, increasing threat, concerning the life and physical well-being of its citizens. **Health and economy** – Refugee crisis, reemerging of infectious diseases in Turkey. Terror attacks, harmed the tourism led to unemployment.

4.4 Societal Security and National Identity

Societal security regards the collective identity of a society which are important for the survival of the society. The identity of a society is often built on traditional patterns of language, religion, ethnicity, and culture in which regards the people and what makes the notion of “we” to take form (Buzan, Waever and Wilde 1998:119; Buzan 2007:112; Roe 2007:167). A threat towards societal security and the national identity is categorized through migration – the influx of migrants could transform the balance among the society’s ethnic minorities, contest the national identity and could lead to conflicts. Moreover, it could cause a threat in the form of economic concerns for the host population, as the population grows, the economic competition for jobs increases. Given the risk of migrants taken jobs for reduced costs generates a concern for the natives in terms of “advancing” the competition for work (Goldstone 2002:5,14; Sheehan 2005:93).

4.4.1 Refugee Crisis

At the beginning of the Syrian conflict, the Turkish government practiced a rather liberal migration policy which made it possible for the Syrian refugees to seek protection in their neighboring state, which was referred to as the “open-door policy”. The Turkish government believed that the conflict, as well
as the refugee crisis, were to be short-lived and that it would be able for the Syrian refugees to return home in a near future, hence the refugees were often referred to as “guests” (Okyay 2017:2837; İçduygu 2015:7). Initially, the general opinion among the Turkish citizens about the refugees was to welcome them. They were described as victims and friends who were in need and had to be helped (Toğral Koca 2016:62).

As the Turkish authorities, believed the conflict would end within a short period, they merely focused on providing the most urgent help in the refugee camps and did not acknowledge the potential of the refugees staying for a longer period. However, as the war only intensified, the number of refugees increased and by the end of 2014, the majority of the refugees had been placed in cities outside the camps (İçduygu 2015:7). As the Syrian conflict continued to develop and escalate further, this led to a more strained situation in Turkey. It became clear for the Turkish government that the Syrian refugees were not going to be able to return home and the struggle of integration had become their main issue. Thus, Turkish society witnessed several implications due to the refugee crisis and the prevailing civil war in Syria. There is a noticeable division between the Turkish natives and the Syrians, due to socioeconomic factors among others (İçduygu 2015:10). A concern among the Turkish population regarding financial issues such as; higher rental costs, unemployment as well as economic competition has increased concerning the growing numbers of refugees. Many of the Syrian refugees have been willing to work for lower costs and have thereby been more attracted to employers. Moreover, Syrians have started to establish businesses which in turn have raised the economic competition, hence, this has also enhanced the negative attitudes among the native population against Syrians (İçduygu 2015:10; Toğral Koca 2016:68-69).
The Turkish people’s perception of the Syrian refugees has become more antagonistic, blaming the Syrians for taking their jobs. In 2015, the increasing number of refugees that were sheltered in camps within Turkey had significantly impacted the economy of the country, where the financial costs for the maintenance of the camps had extended $5 billion. This resulted in intensified negative attitudes against Syrian refugees, which in turn have generated social tension and disorder among the people in certain areas of the country (İçduygu 2015:11; Donelli 2018:5). Moreover, a study regarding the perception of Syrians by the native Turks was carried out in 2014 by Murat Erdogan. This study showed that 70% of the host population agreed with that the influx of Syrian refugees has impacted the economy negatively. This refers to the aforementioned where the native people’s concern for the society’s economy as well as their financial situation has resulted in a more hostile stance against the refugees. In regards to the attitudes of the native population against the Syrian refugees, the study also foretold that nearly 63% of the population believed that the refugees caused disorder, as well as conducted and were involved in criminal acts (Erdogan 2014:68, 70). In regards to the increasing aggravated attitudes of the host population against the Syrian refugees, and the longer they have resided in Turkey indicates a larger as well as increasing diversion between the nationalities (İçduygu 2015:11). Hence, this signifies tendencies that could develop into a more uncertain situation in the society and turn into an insecure environment for the people in Turkey. It is evident that the number of immigrants that have entered Turkey has impacted on the societal functions of the state (Donelli 2018:4), which moreover, has raised concerns among the local population. Furthermore, their perception as well as their attitudes towards the Syrian refugees has changed towards a negative trend. Additionally, this has led to an increased division in the Turkish society and thereby impacted the collective identity to a certain extent. The perception of the refugees is viewed as an enemy, “threatening”
the people due to the change of organizing state resources, making it more prone for tensions between the people to foster (Sheehan 2005:93).

4.4.2 Ethnic Tensions

Besides the increasing division between the native population and the Syrian refugees in terms of socioeconomic concerns. The major inflow of refugees has shifted the ethnic balance within some parts of Turkish society, mainly regarding the provinces near the Syrian border (Cagaptay and Menekse 2014:16-17).

The national identity of Turkey is founded on the Turkish majority group’s language, norms, and values as well as history. Moreover, the main religion of the population is Muslim and of which a majority are Sunni. There are also minor religious minorities such as; Alevism, Armenian and Assyrian. Alevism is the main religious minority in the country. Moreover, the official language is Turkish, even though Kurdish and Arabic belong to the main languages as well (Bilali et al 2018:75; Minority Rights Group International 2018a & 2018b). The Turkish regime has embraced and adopted Sunni Muslim practices through time, which mainly was due to rule out other minorities’ visions and ideas of the state. However, the implement of Sunni practices in society led to fractions among the ethnic minorities. In particular, this regarded the Alevi community which follow other religious rituals. Hence, this led to an increased divide between Sunnis and Alevis which also resulted in forceful actions towards Alevis in 1978 (Bilali et al 2018:75).

In the case of the Syrian civil war, president Bashar al-Assad who belongs to the Syrian Alawites, received strong encouragement from the Alawites in Syria, whereas the Sunnis which also constitute the main religious group in the
country opposed the Syrian regime. As Turkey, supported the oppositional groups against Assad, this involved the risk of evoking resentment among the people within the Turkish state as well. The conflict between Sunni and Alawites in Syria generated a risk of inducing tensions among the Turkish Alevi and the Turkish regime (Cagaptay 2012).

Hatay is a province located in southern Turkey and is home to Turkish citizens who derivate from the Syrian Alawites, and which are both ethnically and religiously interlinked with the Syrian Alawites. They share the opinion of Bashar al-Assad as the rightful leader of the Syrian regime (Cagaptay and Menekse 2014:17). Moreover, Alawites are the majority group in the Arab community of the province. The immigrants that escaped the Syrian war and entered the southern region of Turkey and the province Hatay were merely Sunni Arabs and in favor of the opposition of the Assad regime. With this division of opinion, it enhanced the risk of tensions to occur (Cagaptay and Menekse 2014:17). Since the majority of the refugees are Sunni this has altered the demographic and ethnic balance in the region which have triggered potential tension and conflict factors (Donelli 2018:6).

In 2014, an Arab Alawite was verbally abused in public, in the city of Antakya in Hatay. Moreover, tensions between Alawites and Syrian refugees have been registered in which Alawites have witnessed being questioned about their sectarian identity and exposed to verbal insults by Sunnis (Cagaptay and Menekse 2014:18). Furthermore, in 2014, several Syrians had settled in the province of Hatay, and the notion of the Syrians not just being a group living there momentarily enhanced the diversity within the community. An immense number of Sunni Arabs establishing in the community dominated by Alawites brought memories of former violent sectarian conflicts. The increasing number of Syrian workers and Syrian women wearing hijab indicate an enhanced presence of Syrian cultural elements as well (Can 2017:179). Additionally,
Alawites have encountered threats from Syrians in which they referred to the civil war, stating that the Alawites in Turkey will face a similar destiny of the Alawites in Syria (Cagaptay and Menekse 2014:18). The aforementioned indicates potential threats towards the Alawite community of the Hatay province. As the inflow of refugees has to some extent altered the ethnic balance in the region, this has generated in ethnic tensions arising. This, in turn, could generate a greater threat towards the national identity and cause further division which could pose a threat towards the people, losing the sense of being part of the collective identity (Roe 2007:169). In addition, the presence of the refugees in Hatay, drawing upon the abovementioned incidents could indicate that the natives feel undermined and in minority within their community, which could result in further clashes (Goldstone 2002:5; Donelli 2018:6). Moreover, this dimension of Turkey’s human security has been the least affected by the Syrian war.

As previously noted, president Erdoğan decided in the fall of 2019 to launch another operation. Besides the purpose of clearing the areas around its borders from Kurdish forces the second aim of this operation was to create a “safe zone“, for the Syrian refugees in Turkey to return home (BBC 2019b). This recent development could be seen as a sign that the Turkish regime and society have been and are troubled by the number of refugees. By stating that the Syrian refugees have to return home, this could be seen as a result of the difficulties of hosting such a major number of refugees. Besides, the increasing social tensions between the natives and the Syrian refugees as well as between certain ethnic groups. These resemblance tendencies of potential clashes that could arise among the people within Turkey, which ultimately poses a threat towards the population (Donelli 2018:6).
Table 4.4: The analysis of Turkey’s state and human security

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Societal security and</td>
<td><strong>Socioeconomic struggles</strong> – Vast number of refugees has caused burden on Turkish economy, resentment between the Turkish natives and Syrian refugees. Increased negative attitudes against refugees, enhanced risk of conflict emerging between the nationals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>national identity</td>
<td><strong>Ethnic tensions</strong> – Syria war generated clashes between ethnic groups, the inflow of Sunni Arabs to areas in Turkey dominated by Alevi, indications of ethnic tensions in Turkish society, poses threat towards the population.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

As implied in the analysis above, Turkey’s human security has been impacted in several ways by the Syrian civil war. The Global Peace Index, measures a range of different indicators regarding the domain of Societal Safety and Security. However, some of them are linked to the selected areas of security for this study such as; number of refugees and internally displaced people as a percentage of the population, impact of terrorism, and level of perceived criminality in society. In figure 2 below, one can see an increase in the country’s insecurity and a negative trend of the societal security and peacefulness. Although, as stressed before there are likely other causes and
circumstances that could have contributed to this development, however, the Syrian war has had a significant impact on Turkey’s human security and societal stability (Global Peace Index).

**Figure 2. Societal Safety and security in Turkey 2011-2019**

*Graph showing noticeable increased instability and lack of peacefulness regarding Societal Safety and Security, where 0 = most peaceful and 5=least peaceful within Turkey 2011-2019 (Global Peace Index).*
5 Conclusion

The Syrian civil war has involved various actors which made the conflict exceptionally complex and its magnitude, as well as the effects of the conflict, has undoubtedly caused instability within the Middle-East region. Turkey, which has actively taken part in the conflict and shares its longest border with Syria was selected as a case for this study, regarding the impact of the Syrian war on Turkey’s security.

The aim of this study was to provide an enhanced understanding of how the Syrian war has impacted Turkey’s security, within the timeframe of 2011-2019. Based on the aim of the study the following research question was addressed: How has the Syrian civil war impacted Turkey’s state and human security? Moreover, this question was divided into two subqueries which addressed each security area accordingly.

- In what way has the Syrian civil war impacted Turkey’s state security in terms of territorial integrity and sovereignty as well as political security and stability?
- In what way has the Syrian civil war impacted Turkey’s human security in terms of freedom from fear and want as well as societal security and national identity?

The study was conducted through a single case study in which theories of state and human security were used. Moreover, the selected security dimensions within state and human security were theoretically presented and used to analyze the empirical material in order to reach the aim of the study.

In terms of Turkey’s state security, the analysis shows that the Syrian civil war contributed to increased mobilization and expansion of Kurdish forces in
which they enhanced their position within Syria. Kurdish forces constituted by PKK and PYD managed to expand and establish certain areas of self-governance around the Turkish border, causing additionally security concerns regarding the territorial integrity of the Turkish state. Moreover, in the cause of the war, the extremist group ISIS was enabled to grow stronger. The Islamic state intruded on Turkish territory and carried out multiple attacks causing fear and instability within the state. One reason behind this was the soft border control at the beginning of the conflict which made it possible for ISIS fighters to cross the Turkish border. ISIS’ actions against the Turkish state has ultimately impacted the security of the state’s territorial integrity as well as posed a threat towards the external sovereignty of the state. In addition, Russia’s airspace violation of the Turkish aerial territory indicates further matters of security concern regarding the nation’s territorial integrity and its sovereignty.

Regarding the impact of the Syrian civil war on Turkey’s political security and stability, one can see a more indirect yet significant connection. The Islamist movements evolving in the cause of the Arab Spring within several Middle-East nations, Syria being among them, regarded the Turkish regime as an ideal. Consequently, Erdoğan resumed the party’s Islamist views in a more authoritarian direction. This led to increased resentment towards the government. The Turkish regime’s policy decision by neglecting assistance of the Kurdish forces against ISIS was another move that evoked discontent within the state. This development increased the instability of the state and due to this, the state became more vulnerable for secessionist movements, which occurred in the form of the coup d’état, challenging the internal sovereignty and caused an increased political instability within the state.

To conclude, the impact of the Syrian war on Turkey’s state security has generated both external and internal threats towards the state. One can draw
the conclusion that the impact of the Syrian war on Turkey’s state security, has involved direct threats in terms of the territorial expansion of PKK and ISIS posing a threat towards the Turkish state. This, in turn, has led to military involvement of the conflict by Turkey, in order to counter the threats towards their territorial integrity and sovereignty. Another conclusion that can be stated is that the war also has become an additional part of the authoritarian change of the Turkish state, which moreover caused internal threats to take form, hence, led to further security concerns of the state’s political security and stability.

In terms of Turkey’s human security, regarding freedom from fear and want, the analysis shows that the Syrian civil war has led to increased terrorism in the Middle-east region which came to affect the Turkish nation and people. Due to the escalation of the Syrian war, this gave the Islamic state the possibility to foster and expand. Moreover, Turkey’s ignorance of acting against ISIS at the beginning of its emergence in correspondence with the outbreak of the Syrian war indicates its possibility of empowerment. Consequently, this enabled them to spread and conduct terror acts within the Turkish state posing a direct threat towards the population. Multiple terror actions have generated numerous deaths and injuries in which increased the insecurity for the people. Hence, the criteria of freedom from fear which is one of the fundamental components for human security and for people to feel safe have been impacted through the increase of terrorism in the country. The refugee crisis also caused several infectious diseases to reemerge within the Turkish state. Several cases of various diseases were detected in the cause of the vast refugee inflow and the risk of the diseases spreading among the locals posed a security threat towards the people. Even though Turkey managed to limit the contamination of the diseases rather effectively, this threat has impacted the human security of the Turkish people. The increased violence of terror attacks in Turkey, also posed a threat to the people’s economic security,
as it lowered the business of tourism. This ultimately led to that several tourist businesses closed down which led to that some people lost their jobs, and their possibility to provide for themselves.

Regarding the societal security and national identity, the analysis shows that Turkish society has changed in various ways due to the vast number of refugees entering the country. There is a noticeable change of the native population’s attitudes towards the refugees. This stems from the growing economic uncertainty, regarding the financial burden of hosting a large number of refugees during an extensive period. But also due to the increased competition for work possibilities has generated a rise of a negative perception of the Syrian refugees, which resulted in hostility and aggravation. Moreover, the inflow of refugees altered the ethnic balance within certain areas in Turkey. The amount of Sunni Arabs entering the province of Hatay in which contains of a majority of Turkish Alevis, has resulted in a security concern for the people. The number of Sunni Arabs changing the ethnic balance in the region, and the fear that the spillover regarding the sectarian clashes between the two ethnicities in Syria would come to arise in Turkey, imply indications of security concern for the Turkish population.

To conclude, regarding Turkey’s human security, the impact of the Syrian civil war has resulted in increased terrorism within Turkey and the high number of refugee inflow has also had implications for the human security of the Turkish people. It has impacted their physical well-being through direct violence by terrorist actions and through non-military threats in terms of health and economic security issues which limited their potential to live in dignity as well as their quality of life. One can conclude that the scale of migrants that entered Turkey has affected Turkish society, and thereby led to the buildup of resentment among the host population. The change of the ethnic balance in certain parts of Turkey has caused division and certain intimidation among
ethnic groups. One can conclude that there are signs that the collective identity has meet challenges due to the vast immigration from the Syrian war. However, it has not posed a direct threat, meaning it has not destroyed the Turkish cultural and national identity but changed the ethnic balance in some areas which has created risks of tensions arising.

This study has brought knowledge about how the Syrian civil war has impacted the security of the Turkish state. The Syrian war is and has been a highly complex conflict in that it involves a range of different actors, hence, the conflict is exceptionally interesting to examine further. Since this study merely focused on what implications the Syrian war has had for Turkey’s security it would be interesting to investigate this phenomenon regarding another Middle-Eastern state bordering to Syria. In addition, as the conflict increased rapidly and involved various international actors, another interesting approach could be to investigate how the Syrian civil war affected the international security in the world.
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