



Routledge Global Cooperation Series

REFUGEE GOVERNANCE, STATE AND POLITICS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Zeynep Şahin Mencütek



ROUTLEDGE

Refugee Governance, State and Politics in the Middle East

The movement of displaced people, migrants and refugees has become increasingly important around the world, leading to a need for increased scrutiny of global responses and policies towards migration. This book focuses on the Middle East, where many nations are part of this global phenomenon as both home, transit and/or host country.

Refugee Governance, State and Politics in the Middle East examines the patterns of legal, political and institutional responses to large-scale Syrian forced migration. It analyses the motivations behind neighbouring countries' policy responses, how their responses change over time and how they have an impact on regional and global cooperation. Looking in particular at Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan, three of the world's top refugee hosting countries, this book explores how refugee governance differs across countries and why they diverge. To theorize variations, the book introduces multi-pattern and multi-stage refugee governance models as two complementary analytical frameworks. The book further argues that each of these three states' refugee responses is constructed based on three main factors: internal political interests, economic-development related concerns, and foreign policy objectives as well as interactions among them. The book's categorizations and models (on policy fields, actors, stages, patterns and driving forces) provide analytical tools to researchers for comparative analyses.

Scholars and students of Comparative Politics, International Relations, Refugee Studies, Global Governance and Middle Eastern Studies will find this book a useful contribution to their fields.

Zeynep Şahin Mencütek is an Associate Fellow, Käte Hamburger Kolleg/Centre for Global Cooperation Research, University of Duisburg-Essen, Germany, and a Senior Researcher, Swedish Research Institute, Istanbul, Turkey.

Routledge Global Cooperation Series

This series develops innovative approaches to understanding, explaining and answering one of the most pressing questions of our time – how can cooperation in a culturally diverse world of nine billion people succeed?

We are rapidly approaching our planet's limits, with trends such as advancing climate change and the destruction of biological diversity jeopardising our natural life support systems. Accelerated globalisation processes lead to an ever growing interconnectedness of markets, states, societies, and individuals. Many of today's problems cannot be solved by nation states alone. Intensified cooperation at the local, national, international, and global level is needed to tackle current and looming global crises.

Series Editors:

Tobias Debiel, Claus Leggewie and Dirk Messner are Co-Directors of the Käte Hamburger Kolleg/Centre for Global Cooperation Research, University of Duisburg-Essen, Germany. Their research areas are, among others, Global Governance, Climate Change, Peacebuilding and Cultural Diversity of Global Citizenship. The three Co-Directors are, at the same time, based in their home institutions, which participate in the Centre, namely the German Development Institute/Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE, Messner) in Bonn, the Institute for Development and Peace (INEF, Debiel) in Duisburg and The Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities (KWI, Leggewie) in Essen.

Titles:

Mapping and Politics in the Digital Age

Edited by Pol Bargaés-Pedreny, David Chandler and Elena Simon

Refugee Governance, State and Politics in the Middle East

Zeynep Şahin Menciütek

www.routledge.com/Routledge-Global-Cooperation-Series/book-series/RGC

Refugee Governance, State and Politics in the Middle East

Zeynep Şahin Mencütek

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK


Centre for
**Global
Cooperation
Research**



SPONSORED BY THE

Federal Ministry
of Education
and Research

First published 2019

by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge

52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2019 Zeynep Şahin Mencütek

The right of Zeynep Şahin Mencütek to be identified as author of this work has been asserted by her in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A catalog record has been requested for this book

ISBN: 978-0-8153-4652-4 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-351-17036-9 (ebk)

Typeset in Goudy

by Wearsset Ltd, Boldon, Tyne and Wear

Contents

<i>List of illustrations</i>	vii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	viii
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	x
1 Introduction	1
PART I	
Literature, categorizations and models	21
2 The literature on state responses to mass migration in the Global South	23
3 Categorizations and models for comparative analysis of refugee migration governance	43
PART II	
Turkey	71
4 Patterns and stages of refugee governance in Turkey	73
5 Understanding the shifts in refugee governance and refugee politics of Turkey	101
PART III	
Lebanon	127
6 Lebanon's responses to Syrian mass migration	129

vi	<i>Contents</i>	
7	Forces behind Lebanese governance patterns and refugee politics	165
PART IV		
	Jordan	181
8	Jordanian national refugee governance and its responses to Syrian mass migration	183
9	Drivers of Jordanian refugee governance and refugee politics	214
PART V		
	Comparison and conclusions	241
10	Comparison of refugee governance in Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan	243
11	Conclusion	267
	<i>Index</i>	276

Illustrations

Figures

3.1	A multi-stage governance model	54
4.1	Number of Syrians under temporary protection by year	74

Tables

1.1	Basic statistics on Syrian refugees in Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan	11
3.1	Actors involved in refugee governance	46
3.2	A multi-pattern refugee governance model	50
8.1	Major forced migration movements to Jordan	188
10.1	Multi-stage and multi-pattern governance in Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan	245
10.2	Timeline of events in Syria, Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan from March 2011–July 2018 in relation to refugee governance	246
10.3	Factors influencing the governance of Syrian mass migration in Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan	258

Acknowledgements

This book would not have been possible without the support of many people, both professionally and personally, and I would like to express my gratitude to them. Before I begin, I must acknowledge my scholarly debts to a number of previous authors and institutions, who provided extensive sources used for writing this book.

First, I am indebted to the research support from the Käte Hamburger Kolleg/Centre for Global Cooperation Research (KHK/GCR21). The Centre enabled me to study for the book and I am grateful to a number of individuals from its team. I express my personal gratitude to GCR's director Dr Markus Böckenförde for offering me an Associate Fellowship and a prospective extending fellowship. I thank Martin Wolf and Dr Frank Gadinger for their help in writing the working paper on Lebanon, which became part of the book later on. I am also grateful to Prof. Faten Ghosn, who provided valuable comments on the draft. My special thanks go to Susanne Brunnbauer and Patricia Rinck from whom I largely benefited through their consistent help. For more than a year, they always responded to my emails with tremendous kindness and sincere support that comforted me. I also would like to thank Ms Eva Riedke for her proofreading support.

I am deeply grateful to my mentor and dissertation chair, Prof. Laurie Brand, for her guidance and mentoring throughout the years. Her unwavering support during the difficult times has been very valuable. I am also sincerely thankful to my other mentor, Prof. Ahmet Kuru, who served literally as a life-saving jacket for me whenever I felt helpless, both personally and academically. His comments and suggestions also improved the quality of this book. I am deeply grateful to Prof. Ester Gallo for her encouragement to write this book and for providing me with advice and support on this journey. Similar to Prof. Brand and Kuru, she is a role model for me in combining professionalism with unwavering support at all times.

I am very thankful to Associate Prof. Bezen Balamir Çoşkun, Dr Bahar Başer and Dr Ela Gökalp Aras for providing me with extensive and thought-provoking comments on this book. I had the chance to study with them in various exciting writing projects. I greatly appreciate their support and

friendship that made me feel that I am not alone on this challenging journey.

I am specifically indebted to Dr Estella Carpi and Dr Ayat J. Nashwan. Without their unwavering help, the field research of this study could not have been completed. I also thank them for providing comments on different parts of the book. I am particularly grateful to officers, representatives of organizations, scholars, refugees and hosting communities in Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan for taking the time to talk to me in depth about refugee polices and for sharing their invaluable insights. I am thankful to Dr Mahmut Kaya and Ali Akbaba for their great help in my field-work in Şanlıurfa.

I am particularly grateful to Dr Nadejda K. Marinova for commenting on the theoretical parts of the book and for being very kind in sharing her sources with me. Without her support, the revision process of the book would not have gone smoothly.

I would like to further thank my colleague Soner Barthoma for all our discussions that expanded my viewpoints on theoretical issues addressed in the book. I also very much appreciate Prof. Önver Çetrez for including me in the Horizon2020 Project called RESPOND that helped me find opportunity to reintegrate into the scholarly work. I am thankful to the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul for supporting my work through project fellowship.

For their kind and very helpful comments and thought-provoking questions on the drafts of this book, I am thankful to Prof. Ayhan Kaya, Dr Ramazan Kılıç, Dr Maisam Nimer, Dr Asel Tutumlu and Sümeyye Kocaman. I also want to thank Muhsin and Dr İmran Altıntop for helping me in designing the tables.

I am deeply grateful to my editor, Helena Hurd at Routledge, for her support. I would also like to thank Leila Walker for her kindness throughout the editing process. Moreover, two reviewers from Routledge provided very valuable comments and recommendations on the draft version. All these people together helped me to improve the quality of this work. I'm very grateful for having become part of the Global Cooperation Series edited by the Founding Directors of the Käte Hamburger Kolleg/Centre for Global Cooperation Research Tobias Debiel, Claus Leggewie and Dirk Messner.

Finally, I would like to thank my dad, Arif and my family for always being there throughout the years. I would also like to remember my loving mom, who is no longer with us, but who continues to inspire me in all I do. I thank my husband Mahmut for encouraging me to complete this book. I am most thankful to my son Baran for his blessing presence and the love without which happiness and resistance would not be possible. We began this journey when I was pregnant with him and we reached the conclusion when he was able to write his own name. To him, I dedicate this book as I often took from his time.

Abbreviations

AFAD	The Disaster and Emergency Management Authority (Turkey)
ASCs	Asylum Seeking Certificate
DGMM	Directorate General of Migration Management (Turkey)
EU	European Union
GoJ	Government of Jordan
GoL	Government of Lebanon
GoT	Government of Turkey
GSO	General Security Office (Jordan)
HCSP	Host Community Support Platform (Jordan)
IAF	Islamic Action Front (Jordan)
IDP	Internally displaced person
IDs	Identity document
INGOs	International non-governmental organizations
IOs	International Organizations
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
JAP	Joint Action Plan (Turkey)
JDP	Justice and Development Party (Turkey)
JRP	Jordan Response Plan
JRPSC	Jordan Response Platform for the Syria Crisis
LCRP	Lebanon Crisis Response Plan
LFIP	Law on Foreigners and International Protection (Turkey)
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoH	Ministry of Health
MoI	Ministry of Interior
MoPIC	Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NGOs	Non-governmental organizations
NRP	National Resilience Plan (Jordan)
PKK	Kurdistan Workers' Party (Turkey)

PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization
PRS	Palestinian refugees fleeing from Syria
PYD	Democratic Union Party (Syria)
Refugee Convention	The Refugee Convention of 1951 and its additional Protocol of 1967
RSD	Refugee status determination
SEZ	Special Development Zones (Jordan)
SRAD	Syrian Refugee Affairs Directorate (Jordan)
SRCD	Syrian Refugee Camp Directorate (Jordan)
TPR	Temporary Protection Regulation (Turkey)
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
YPG	People's Protection Unit (Syria)



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

1 Introduction

As global headlines have underscored in recent years, we have been in the middle of what many call a global migration crisis. Nearly one person is forcibly displaced every two seconds as a result of war or persecution, while the total number of displaced people is around 68.5 million (UNHCR 2018). States' responses to such forced displacement are not only an inherent part of international politics but they are also fundamentally defined by domestic politics and economic relations. One of the striking examples of forced displacement that turned into a crisis for many is the large-scale forced migration originating from Syria since 2011. At the end of 2017, when the Syrian cross-border mass forced migration turned into a protracted refugee situation, the number of registered Syrian refugees peaked at 5.5 million, according to the main global agency for refugee affairs, the United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees (UNHCR).¹ The UNHCR was able to submit the files of only 77,254 Syrians for resettlement to the third countries. The numbers of refugees departed from main host countries to the resettlement countries were recorded as 19,500 for Lebanon, 19,300 for Jordan and 15,600 for Turkey, in total making less than one per 1,000 refugees in these countries (UNHCR Resettlement 2017). In addition, there appears to be very little opportunity for mass voluntary return as long as the war in Syria is ongoing. It follows that the two durable solutions – namely, the voluntary return and resettlement to third countries – for which the international refugee regime generally advocates, do not hold for the Syrian cases. The majority of the internationally displaced Syrians are likely to remain in their first destination countries, mainly Syria's neighbouring countries, and only a limited number can be expected to make their way illegally to European countries by embarking on deadly journeys.²

In fact, a year before, in autumn 2016, the leaders of the major regional host countries – Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan – in which almost 5 million Syrian refugees reside, addressed the world community in the first United Nations (UN) Summit for Refugees and Migrants. The Turkish President, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, noted that Turkey has been hosting nearly 3 million Syrian refugees. He expressed his disappointment and concern that the

2 Introduction

international community had failed to live up to its 'humanitarian values and conscience'.³ At the same summit, the Prime Minister of Lebanon, Tammam Salam, underlined the 'burden' falling on the shoulders of his country, saying: 'Lebanon is neither able to carry this burden [more than 1 million Syrian refugees], nor does it accept for Syrians to remain out of their country.' He reiterated Lebanon's official stance regarding the country's absolute rejection of naturalization.⁴ For Jordanian King Abdullah II, despite the severe impacts of the crisis that were also being felt in Jordan, the commitment and sacrifice of Jordan should not be questioned. He argued that:

in the past five years the Syrian crisis has sent Jordan's burden skyrocketing. Today we are hosting 1.5 million Syrians, one for every five of our own citizens. Across my country, Jordanians are suffering. No one is justified in questioning our commitment and sacrifices.⁵

The leaders of all three countries agreed on the unbearable burden of hosting Syrian refugees. They implicitly or explicitly criticized the international community for not doing enough for the refugees, for imposing unacceptable demands like naturalization and for questioning host countries' actions, including the closure of the borders.

In mid-2011 and 2012, these three countries had welcomed Syrian refugees fleeing from the war in Syria by demonstrating a flexible and humanitarian approach that enables Syrians crossing to the borders of these countries, freedom of mobility within there, as well as access to some services (mainly health and education) and informal employment. All assumed that the crisis would end soon, and therefore there was no problem in providing temporary refuge to Syrians. However, these countries started to change their initial liberal approach towards a restrictive stance in relation with the Syrians' sheer numbers, the longevity of the crisis and the increased security concerns. The refugee governance patterns of Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan evolved from 2013 to 2018, both legally and institutionally. All three closed their borders in different years, preventing new arrivals from Syria. While Turkey and Jordan preferred self-settlement and the encampment of refugees, Lebanon avoided encampment. Their reception and protection policies also differed from each other. The fact that Lebanon and Jordan never signed the 1951 Refugee Convention and that Turkey had signed but has some reservations about the region of origin in granting refugee status has meant that none of these countries granted refugee status to Syrians. Also, in all three countries, institutional ambiguity emerged as to which state institutions would be required to deal with refugee affairs and to control the actions of humanitarian organizations. Turkey introduced its national refugee protection regime in 2014 to grant Syrians temporary protection status, while the central state dominated aid delivery and the provision of central services. Jordan took over all

registration services from the UNHCR in 2015, but still externalized service protection to the international humanitarian organizations present. Lebanon also suspended the UNHCR's registration, but state attempts to regulate registration and to gain national leadership of aid delivery remained very limited compared to the other two states.

In the year of the aforementioned Summit, these countries had also been on the global agenda, particularly of the European Union (EU). Although they had been hosting Syrian refugees since 2011, their policies, specifically their flexible regulation of entries and exits of migrants, urged the EU to take action. The number of Syrian refugees, along with other irregular migrants who were arriving at EU borders and seeking asylum reached 1 million in total (both Syrian and non-Syrian migrants) in 2016 (EC Report 2016, 4). Moreover, some 2,964 people in 2015, 4,314 people in 2016, 3,111 in 2017 and 1,508 in 2018 (until 19 June) died while trying to cross the Mediterranean – mainly drowning at sea (Missing Migrants 2018). This situation is called a migration crisis. As a response, the EU issued a statement in early 2016, in collaboration with Turkey, aiming to control the crossings of Syrian refugees, who sought to reach European shores via Turkey's west coast. On the one hand, Turkey started to build a wall on its Syrian border, which had remained open for Syrian refugees in previous years. On the other hand, it granted work permits to Syrians and President Erdoğan went as far as mentioning the possibility of granting citizenship to Syrians. In the same year, and against a background of prolonged inaction, Lebanon brought an end to its open-door policy and started to implement regulation attempts towards Syrian refugees on its territory. Lebanese policy makers reacted harshly when the UN's Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon voiced the request that Syrians be granted citizenship in Lebanon. Jordan continued its restrictive border controls, but rather unforeseen, also granted working rights to Syrians as an outcome of its deal with the EU and the World Bank – the latter enabling the country to more readily gain access to funds and international markets.

Roughly summarizing the situation in this manner raises a significant question: how have Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon responded to the mass influx of Syrians from 2011 to 2018? Why have they adopted a particular refugee governance pattern and why does it change over time? Although the book acknowledges that national migration governance is context specific, its theoretical presumption is that common patterns may exist across time and space. An examination of refugee governance in three counties located in the same region, and subject to the same forced mass migration from a neighbouring country at war, enables us to identify these patterns, if indeed there are any. Adopting a comparative research design, such an analysis contributes towards answering three important questions of migration studies: what characterizes contemporary refugee governance, more particularly the governance of cross-border forced mass migration, in destination countries? To what extent and in what manner does refugee governance

4 Introduction

show similarities and differences across destination countries, policy areas, policy patterns and over time? What are the internal and external drivers of policies?

These questions can be answered together by drawing empirical findings from cases and turning to the existing literature on immigration studies, refugee/forced migration studies and Middle East studies. The following section first seeks to address the existing lacunae so as to theoretically contextualize the book and to make explicit its theoretical contribution, before then reviewing relevant debates belonging to the respective scholarships in Chapter 2 of the book.

Lacunae: understanding patterns, stages and forces of refugee governance in the Middle East through comparison

Massive flows of people who are fleeing political and economic breakdown, brought on by war or internal conflict, known as conflict-induced migration or refugee migration, have been an enduring and global issue throughout the twentieth century. Thus, they are neither a recent challenge for states nor are they limited to specific regions (Marrus 1990; Skran 1995; Betts 2009; Chatty 2010; Betts and Collier 2017). The topic of conflict-induced forced migration has been addressed by cross-disciplinary migration and forced migration/refugee studies scholarship. Particularly, scholars from the disciplines of anthropology and sociology have dominated the field, primarily being interested in conducting micro-level analysis. A wide range of other scholarly disciplines, ranging from economics to history, geography, urban planning, social policy, psychology and health, have equally made their contributions, bringing their own methodological and theoretical frameworks to the table in the study of the topic. Focusing on refugees, refugee groups and networks, they have provided crucial insights about reasons for, dynamics and consequences of refugee migration and have suggested solutions for the problems encountered by refugees.

The disciplines of international relations and political science have paid relatively limited attention to the topic – particularly until the late 1980s, when the refugee flows started to be considered a serious challenge to international peace and security as well as to state sovereignty. These two sister fields have since then primarily been interested in explaining state policies that address refugees as well as the development of the international refugee regime and its responses to refugee migration. They have pointed out considerations of domestic politics and national security, characteristics and shortcomings pertaining to the international refugee regime and to international humanitarian assistance. Although these discussions provide valuable insights in explaining the legal, political and institutional responses to refugees, responses to large-scale forced migration have received inadequate attention. Similarly, they have not yet revealed the commonalities and

differences in responses to mass refugee flows. This literature has elaborated on the dynamic character of the responses only to a limited extent and has failed to identify policy shifts, their motivation and timing. Although studies often acknowledge the relevance of political calculations in responding to massive refugee migration, the role of domestic political interests and international politics remains underexposed and undertheorized.

Another crucial gap in the literature is an understanding of the responses of the Global South⁶ to refugee migration. Current research has primarily focused on the migration from south to north and, as a consequence, studies have primarily also been limited to an analysis of policies and politics in the Global North.⁷ The empirical data proves that various patterns of migration, including mass refugee migration occur through and to the Global South. The majority of the world's displaced people live in the Global South, as the UNHCR figures demonstrate the distribution of these displaced people across regions: Africa (30 per cent), the Middle East and North Africa (26 per cent), Asia and Pacific (11 per cent) and the UNHCR's note that: '85 per cent of world's displaced people are in developing countries' (UNHCR 2018).⁸ An understanding of how refugee governance is shaped in the Global South is crucial to 'fully encapsulate all human movement across borders', 'to make our theory richer and more inclusive', and to have 'a greater knowledge of how different migration patterns are connected to one another' (Nawyn 2016, 165–166). It has not yet been fully theorized why, how and with what effect destination countries in the Global South develop policies or create governance patterns when responding to immigration in general, and to cross-border mass forced migration in particular. Are there similarities and differences to the Global North or do variations primarily exist among the countries of the Global South? If there are, then the question is how, why and to what extent?

Another gap in the literature is the lack of adequate attention being paid to the Middle East in migration studies. Thus, it is necessary to consult with literature on migration and displacement within Middle Eastern Studies in order to seek answers for state responses to mass refugee flows. Yet, many of the studies in this field focus on refugees or refugee communities and rarely emphasize state policies, their motivations and shifts over time. Although a growing body of research that is based on single case studies has addressed policies for Syrian refugees, comparative studies are still limited (except Coen 2015; Turner 2015; Deardorff Miller 2016; Chatty 2016). For example, Coen (2015) examines the governance structure of refugee protection in the case of Syrian displacement to understand how global structures of authority interact with national and local systems. By comparing the encampment policies of Jordan and Lebanon, Turner argues how a specific refugee policy of these countries on settlement serves specific labour market goals of host states. Both Deardorff Miller (2016) and Chatty (2016) focus on political and humanitarian responses to Syrian displacement in Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan.

6 Introduction

The studies rarely provide causal explanations for state responses (except Turner 2015). They engage only limitedly with theoretical discussions. They are marked by only a limited focus on refugee policies and their impact on regional and global cooperation. Moreover, they treat policies as a single category without disaggregating according to sub-policies, namely, border control, reception/protection and integration. In sum, there have not yet been theoretically informed comparative studies centre-staging the modes and drivers of states' responses to mass refugee flows in the Middle Eastern context.⁹

To fill these gaps in the existing literature, the book first identifies the humanitarian and political responses of Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon to the protracted Syrian mass migration challenge from 2011 to 2018. I argue that their responses, within sub-policies, are marked by considerable variation and that these have changed over time. To reflect the complexity of policy-making and implementation in responses, the study uses the term *governance*, and particularly makes reference to the meta-governance framework, which will be defined in the subsequent section titled *Key concepts* and further elaborated in Chapter 3 that addresses the theoretical framework. Refugee governance is composed of at least three sub-policy domains: border controls, reception-protection and integration.

Therefore, to identify variations in refugee governance patterns and changes of receiving countries, I introduce two new terms: *multi-pattern* and *multi-stage refugee governance*. *Multi-pattern governance* refers to a process in which the first receiving countries of large numbers of refugees (regardless of whether they define forced migrants as refugees or not) adopt diverging sets of policies with the involvement of multiple actors. These policies fall into the sub-fields of fields of border controls, reception-protection and integration. The assemblage of these policies has followed three patterns: *inaction*, *ad hoc* and *regulative*. The fourth pattern, namely, the adoption of a *preventive* pattern, did not occur in any of these three countries. These patterns will be elaborated in Chapter 2 drawing from global examples. While the *multi-pattern governance* model is useful to identify policy variations across host countries in a given period, it is not enough to capture the temporal dimension that is critical for policy changes. Thus, I develop a complementary model called a *multi-stage governance* model to identify policy changes over time in a certain country. *Multi-stage governance* emphasizes the fact that the response pattern of a refugee receiving country is not stable and that it is most likely that a country will change its response partially or entirely in the course of time. For example, a response can move from inaction to regulative policies or from an *ad hoc* to a comprehensive response. To capture changes, it is useful to make a periodization, focusing on the initial emergency stage (crisis-like situation), a critical juncture/transition when existing policies started to change as well as on the protracted stage thereafter when refugees' stay became permanent. Multi-stage and multi-pattern governance models together allow us to capture policy variation and

temporal dimension of the host country's response. Thus, it is possible to understand how governance modes differ from each other and how they change in the period of response. In the following paragraph, a very brief review of how the models together work is presented, while the detailed theoretical model will be presented in Chapter 3 and the comparative examination will be presented in Chapter 10.

In the initial stage, destination countries cope with mass arrivals of displaced people across the border in a similar manner to the way they deal with an emergency disaster situation. They either prevent arrivals of mass flows by closing borders (called refugee preventing response) or by accept them (pursuing inaction or ad hoc response patterns). After the first period – often lasting up to three years – wherein the situation is considered an emergency or a crisis, countries reach a critical juncture or saturation point. The critical juncture is where countries start to change their initial governance pattern and go through a transition. After the critical juncture, countries start to experience a protracted stage in which refugees are believed to be staying longer than expected in the initial stage. The direction of the transition from the policies in the initial stage to the protracted stage is not static. In some cases, in the protracted stage, they also initiate ad hoc policies even though they are regulative in the initial stage. Often it is the case that the protraction of refugees' stay, in other words the stabilization of the refugee crisis, requires the host states to institutionalize their policies by moving to the regulative stage, wherein policies may be either restrictive or comprehensive. Also, it might be the case that a hosting country takes a firm response, such as regulative, both in the initial and protracted stage of refugee governance. A host country can show mainly the characteristics of ad hoc policies, but it can also be regulative in certain policy fields such as reception. In some cases, the inaction pattern of the country might demonstrate some exception like regularizing an issue in a certain sub-field, such as the encampment policies as a part of reception.

The presence of multiple patterns and multiple stages raises a crucial follow up question: why does refugee governance show similarities and differences across destination countries, policy areas, policy patterns and over time? The book develops a factor typology, which contains three main explanations that are imperative in shaping the policies and politics of refugee governance in the host countries. First, the international politics of host countries is central. This has two dimensions: a) foreign policy objectives pertinent to the country of origin of refugees; and b) interactions with allies, donors, international organizations and humanitarian organizations. The second explanation entails domestic characteristics and developments pertaining to national security, stability and identity. The third explanation covers economy/development and related aspects. Absorption capacity and policy legacies/memories about refugees are defined by both the second and third explanation simultaneously. Although all three factor sets explain refugee governance in many

countries, the level of their impact falls along a spectrum ranging from low impact to medium and high impact.

Such a complexity pertaining to the forces driving refugee governance stems from the fact that: a) cross-border (forced) mass migration is considered a highly sensitive political, security and economic policy area, because of close bilateral ties between origin and receiving countries which locate in the same region; b) the crisis impacts on delicate domestic political balances and vulnerable economies in the receiving countries; and c) refugee governance is a transnational policy issue in which the interactions between the agencies of global refugee regime/donors and national governance processes play a role in shaping responses.

The book further argues that despite the plethora of actors involved in refugee governance, the states act as the main actor – particularly, because refugee governance touch on matters of sovereignty, security and public policy. Herein however, the state cannot be treated as a single homogenous entity that is fully autonomous and that cannot be analysed without taking its specific structure into account. A multi-pattern approach helps us to understand how the influence of each actor varies according to policy preferences. It also shows how interactions between national governments and these actors – particularly with humanitarian actors/donors – might in individual cases be detrimental for the content and direction of policies, depending on the political landscape in the host country. In sum, there is a need to illustrate the fragmentation of state interests, changes in interests over time, and states' decision-making processes by analysing agency and structure together.

Key concepts

This book examines immigration policies, refugee governance and politics in connection with each other. Concerning immigration, the emphasis of the study is on forced migration, which is 'a migratory movement in which an element of coercion exists, including threats to life and livelihood, whether arising from natural or man-made causes' (IOM 2018). The threats emerge in conditions ranging from violent conflict to severe economic hardship (Bartram et al. 2014, 69). More specifically, the study focuses on the case of conflict-induced cross-border mass forced migration, considering the magnitude of forcibly displaced Syrians who arrived in the three respective countries: 600,000 in Jordan, 1.1 million in Lebanon and 3.3 million in Turkey as of June 2018 (UNHCR 2018). None of the three countries granted legal refugee status to displaced Syrians who crossed their borders. Despite the lack of a legal reference, the term of refugee is used to name Syrians in these countries. Throughout this book, the term refugee is thus used in its broadest connotation to refer to 'individuals who have left their country in the belief that they cannot or should not return to it in the near future, although they might hope to do so if conditions permit'

(Thielemann 2006, 4). The study claims that the right term to identify what these countries encountered is conflict-induced cross-border mass migration (hereafter mass refugee migration or refugee flow/migration) that refers to the migration of forcibly displaced people crossing the national borders in large numbers and within a short period of time due to the war.¹⁰ It is mass because a large number of people – almost more than 5 million – were crossing from Syria to these countries in search of asylum, in the course of a relatively short time-span (UNHCR 2016).

In this study, policies are analysed using the governance terminology,¹¹ more specifically with reference to the meta-governance¹² framework. Governance is a contested and vague concept with multiple meanings, ‘whether as a mere description of world politics, as a theoretical perspective to explain it, or as a normative notion to be realised through global policy’ (Hofferberth 2015, 598). It can be basically defined as ‘global political/policy space fragmented into myriad issue-areas where actors are located at different administrative levels’ (Tutumlu and Güngör 2016, 13). To describe such a complexity, as it pertains to the formulation and implementation of policies addressing a new policy area as well as the relations among actors and the shifts over time, the term governance appears most suitable for it enables one to capture the inherent flexibility. It serves as an umbrella term, providing useful analytical tools to capture multiple models or types of immigration policies and politics as well as to understand the role of agency, structure and their interdependencies. More specifically, the analytical tools of meta-governance are chosen in order to advance the discussion, for these enable one to recognize how complex policy issues, such as refugee issues, are formulated and implemented at the global, regional, national and sub-national levels with the involvement of a wide range of actors (Kjaer 2004; Rhodes 1997; Scholten 2013). A meta-governance framework will be introduced in Chapter 3.

In this context, this study defines refugee governance as the amalgamation of a more or less formal set of policies, programmes and structures that states formulate and implement in cooperation and interaction with multiple actors in order to manage entry, reception/protection, integration and exit of cross-border forced migrants. The term of policy-shaping, instead of policy-making, is used to point out this interactional and co-constitutive process. To understand the shaping of policies, political dimension should also be taken into account. As Zolberg et al. note, ‘implementation of refugee policy is unavoidably influenced by political considerations’ (1989, 272). The politicization and mystification of issues related to refugees is particularly evident. Thus, I need to also define refugee politics. Here, I take it to mean the ways in which refugees are presented on the public sphere and how this presentation is institutionalized through language and symbols, in both international political and domestic public debates (Mulvey 2010).

Case selection

Refugee governance across countries can ideally be understood through comparative research. As Bloemraad puts it: ‘our ability to study migration is significantly enhanced by carefully conceived comparative research design that involves a decision over what to compare and how to compare. This decision becomes part and parcel of theory-building and theory evaluation’ (2013, 27).

In this section, to answer the question of what can be compared, I will first explain the logic of case selection. This will be followed by an analysis of how it can be compared between the selected countries. The study aims to look at the current refugee policies – those of the last decade. From 2011 to 2018, according to the UNHCR, ten refugee emergencies and situations have occurred/are occurring across the globe. The UNHCR webpage lists them quite interestingly without differentiating origin and receiving country. While Central African Republic, Burundi, Europe (migrants and refugees illegally arriving there from Mediterranean Sea to Greece and Italy) are described as a refugee situation, others including Democratic Republic of Congo, Iraq, Nigeria, South Sudan, Yemen, Syria and Rohingya (fled from Myanmar to Bangladesh) are called refugee emergencies (UNHCR Emergencies 2018). It is mainly the neighbouring countries of these cases where displaced people seek refuge. Thus, Turkey, Pakistan, Lebanon, Iran, Ethiopia, Jordan, Kenya, Chad and Uganda have been in every list of top refugee hosting countries from 2013 to 2018, hosting more than half of the world’s refugees (UNHCR 2018).

As becomes evident with these figures, two regions seem particularly salient for refugee situations, namely, the Middle East and Africa. An examination of countries located in the same region, whereby these countries are subject to the same forced mass migration situation during the same time period, is advantageous for comparative analysis. This allows for some variables (refugee group, region, timescale) to be held constant, while focusing on some other variables.

The regional focus of this study is on the Middle East¹³ as the region, if we count Turkey as being part of it, has hosted more refugees than any other region from 2015 to 2018, more than 30 per cent (UNHCR 2016; UNHCR 2018). The 2018 statistics of the UNHCR demonstrate that 55 per cent of world refugees come from three countries: Syria (5.5 million), Afghanistan (2.5 million) and Iraq (1.3 million) (UNHCR 2018). According to the UNHCR, among the at least 15 conflicts that broke out or restarted between 2011 and 2015,¹⁴ the war in Syria became the largest driver of the forced internal and international displacement (UNHCR 2016). Although the Iraqi and Yemeni refugee situations are two other cases that took place in the Middle East, the scale of Syrian refugee migration made it more pertinent. In sum, these figures indicate that the Middle East, and the case of displacement from the Syrian Arab Republic (Syria) in particular, are

central for efforts aimed at gaining a better understanding of refugee governance.

As the topical emphasis of this book is on the refugee governance in the host countries, it is also important to decide which countries may provide which insights. The majority of Syrians fleeing the civil war in their country are located in the neighbouring three countries: Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan. More than 5 million internationally displaced Syrians found a temporary refuge in these countries, while 4.9 million of them are registered with UNHCR or respective state authorities.

As seen in Table 1.1, these countries together host around 93 per cent of all internationally displaced Syrians. The Syrian refugee movement makes evident that at present (as of mid-2018), Turkey has hosted the largest number of refugees worldwide, namely, 3.3 million people over the period of five consecutive years (2013–2018). Furthermore, the same movement made it clear that Lebanon has hosted the largest number of refugees relative to its national population – in this case, one in every six people being a refugee. Jordan (1 in 11) and Turkey (1 in 28) ranked second and third (UNHCR 2016). With these figures and the protraction of the refugee situation for more than seven years, it becomes clear that these three frontline countries are central for a better understanding of the main patterns of mass refugee governance in the Middle East.

The cases of Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan are each quite unique and yet, still highly similar to each other. The cases enable us to adopt the most similar research design. They are all upper middle-income countries with upward development trajectories holding close ranks in the Human Development Index (World Bank 2016; UNDP 2016). Considering their

Table 1.1 Basic statistics on Syrian refugees in Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan

	<i>Numbers of registered Syrian refugees¹</i>	<i>Country's population²</i>	<i>Ratio to total Syrian refugees (%)³</i>	<i>Ranking at the major refugee hosting country⁴</i>
Turkey	3,320,814	81,188,088	62	1
Lebanon	1,001,051	6,086,600	19	3
Jordan	655,056	9,778,286	12	7
Total	4,976,921		93	

Source: Information in Table 1.1. has been compiled from the following reliable data sources.

Notes

- 1 The data on numbers of registered Syrian refugees is retrieved from Regional Strategic Overview (2018, 29) that reflects the figures of December 2017.
- 2 The country's population estimates is retrieved from Worldometers' RTS algorithm, which processes data collected from the United Nations Population Division (Worldometers 2018).
- 3 The ratios are calculated according to the numbers of registered Syrians and the total registered Syrian refugees in the region, which is 5,379,644 as of 1 December 2017, according to the Regional Strategic Overview (2018).
- 4 The figures on rankings retrieved from 'Figures at a Glance' (UNHCR, 2018).

positions in the international system, Turkey is a middle-sized state, while Jordan and Lebanon are considered small states with respect to their size, population and military and economic power. The capacities of Jordan and Lebanon are more limited than that of Turkey. These two countries rely on the humanitarian aid of the international community to cover the expenses of refugees – like many other countries in the Global South that have encountered refugee movements in recent years. Still, all three are able to develop and implement independent policies as well as, to some extent, make respective shifts in their policies over time.

These three cases are suitable for examining the influence of a particular set of factors, namely, international politics, security/domestic politics and economy/development in mass migration governance. The countries are neighbouring states of Syria, marked by a history of close but strained bilateral relations. Although all had a short-lived rapprochement centred on economic relations with Syria in the 2000s, the outbreak of the armed conflict in the country in 2011 weakened the relations once again. Due to their geographical proximity, the war had a significant impact on all three countries – spilling over due to shared borders, intense ethnic, religious, sectarian, kinship, tribal and business ties among their population and, more generally, also due to disruptions in the regional trade and balance of power.

All three countries have been involved in the Syrian war since 2011, but to different degrees. The Syrian war began as a civil war but turned into a many-sided proxy war over the course of a few years. Accordingly, the stances of the neighbouring countries not only showed sharp turns but also came to have an increasing impact on the war. The manner in which the war unfolded did not allow them to fully detach themselves, and both Jordan and Lebanon got involved in the conflict but not to the same extent as Turkey. All three countries have faced severe challenges through the loss of border security, the infiltration of jihadist fighters (also Kurdish fighters in the case of Turkey) and bombings in border towns. Such challenges have salient and complex domestic components (Chatty 2016; Karon 2013). Not only national security, but also national regime security that is defined as the internal stability maintenance with the survival of ruler and supporting coalitions appear to be the main concerns for the Lebanese and Jordanian governments. Furthermore, improving the power of Iran, balancing-blocking acts towards Iran, the growing power of non-state actors and involvement of non-regional powers as well as heavy militarization in the region have made all these three countries anxious about the regional power changes and their geostrategic positions. Overall, refugees fleeing from Syria have been approached as a highly politically sensitive issue during the Syrian crisis. Due to the high numbers of refugees, these countries have been required to respond to the mass migration challenge by devising policies in relevant domains.

Methodology and data collection

The methodological approach used is that of a structured, focused comparison (George and Bennett 2005, 75). The book mainly concentrates on the policies and political dimensions of migration, partially on the economic and sociological dimension. Political claim analysis and interview analysis enable process-tracing in policies and the identification of the main political discourses on the topic. These analyses aim to ascertain the extent to which the responses of three countries are similar and different.

The case-oriented comparison between the three countries builds on multi-sited fieldwork. I obtain much of the data through online research and fieldwork. There are a number of excellent resources already available, which have focused on Syrian displacement, humanitarian work in the neighbouring countries, current issues in reception, protection and integration policies, and host communities' perceptions. The reports prepared by UN organizations, research institutions, universities, humanitarian-development organizations, media articles, blogs and policy briefs provide rich data for the descriptive parts of the book.

I examine the migration legislation of each country; by-laws and regulations that are specifically enacted for Syrian refugees, parliamentary proceedings and official declarations; reports, strategy papers and policy briefs published by several ministries and relevant directorates. The existing books and articles addressing issues about current and historical refugee situations in these countries are also studied. Hundreds of news reports (in Turkish, English and Arabic) about Syrian refugees have been made available through the national and international media, from 2012 to 2017. Media reports and daily news in particular reveal how Syrian refugee migration has been treated in the public domain and capture the responses of the main political actors. Lastly, extensive reading of ethnographies and surveys about refugees provides significant insights that are helpful for tracing relevant policies.

From April 2016 to August 2018, I conducted more than 80 semi-structured interviews mainly in four three provinces of Turkey, namely, Istanbul, Izmir, Şanlıurfa and Gaziantep. For participatory observation, I also visited a few camps, refugee settlements, schools, health clinics, community centres, art exhibitions and courses that are all organized by or serve Syrian refugees. In Lebanon and Jordan, I conducted around 30 interviews and a few focus group studies in main refugee hosting provinces such as Beirut, Amman and Irbid. In three countries, key informants included officers working for state migration agencies, those working for relevant ministries and municipalities as well as representatives of UN agencies, national and international humanitarian organizations, researchers, migration scholars, service providers to refugees (such as lawyers, social workers, doctors, teachers, security officers, camp workers, translators). In addition to face-to-face interviews, Skype and telephone were used as alternative or

complementary data collection tools for accessing key informants in Jordan and Lebanon (Iacono et al. 2016). Moreover, I conducted interviews with Syrian refugees and key individuals from host communities. All interviews were recorded after getting the permission of respondents. Interviews took from half an hour to three hours. All interviews were audiotaped or recorded with handwritten notes, transcribed, translated into English (from Turkish or Arabic), coded and analysed thematically, based on the objectives of the study. As the interviews were conducted in confidentiality and the names of interviewees have been withheld by mutual agreement, when they are cited in the relevant chapters.

A restrictive research environment existed in all three countries, whereby particular difficulties were experienced in tracing policy-making processes. I was able to access the open sources and gained insights through what was said to me during interviews with key informants. My access to perspectives of national and international NGOs was easier and better than to government agencies and UN agencies, particularly because of growing suspicions on the part of the latter when it came to researchers studying policy domains. Despite hearing some anecdotal notes, being allowed to learn fully what was discussed in the official policy circles on specific issues such as border closures or granting a particular right was not always possible. The UNHCR and international humanitarian organizations were very reluctant to give information about these discussions even in personal meetings, due to the high level of privacy and the overall security dimension dominating research in these countries.

The collected data allows for explanatory, descriptive and causal analyses of governance patterns pertaining to mass refugee flows in the receiving countries (the dependent variable). The legal and policy analyses are used to provide a better understanding of each target country's policies and to describe the respective characteristics and their consequences in the empirical chapters. To make an analysis about why the identified characteristics occurred and why they changed over time, the relevance of proposed drivers (interdependent variables) are studied in each chapter. These drivers are examined by conducting the process-tracing of each policy, political claim analysis and interview analyses. The findings in this book, namely, Part II on Turkey, Part III on Lebanon and Part IV on Jordan, provide insights about similarities and differences, regarding policies and politics.

Furthermore, it is noteworthy to mention the challenges and obstacles about knowledge production faced by scholars of the region who are focusing on refugee issues in the Middle East, as I have also encountered them – for these create serious limitations for this kind of comparative research. The field of refugee studies and state policies are considered very sensitive issues, making it difficult for researchers to gain access to first-hand data. Where data is successfully collected, challenges again arise in the process of writing, as the content of particular publications may be considered a 'national security issue' – the definition of the latter being very broad and

arbitrary for nation states in the region. Many researchers adopt a self-censoring perspective to escape surveillance and being labelled as foreign spy. Also, with a shortage of funding, it is almost impossible for researchers in these countries to receive institutional support for carrying out long-term research that targets more than one country if there is no external funding being provided, such as from the EU. In cases where external funding has been granted, the funder's image – as it is a foreigner funder – may raise further suspicions about the researcher. Travel bans or the closure of national institutions, such as universities, that provide funding for field research are not exceptional situations. In response to the challenges, several resistance and coping strategies have been adopted.

Mapping of the book

The governance of the large-scale refugee migration by the host countries is the central focus of this book. Part I – Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 – engages the literature, models and categorizations, which provide a theoretical framework for the study. Chapter 2 overviews the literature on immigration, refugee/forced migration and the Middle East with an eye to insights relevant to state responses to mass migration in the Global South – a phenomenon that has previously not been theoretically and comparatively addressed. This chapter highlights the issues pertinent to paradoxes of global refugee regime; dilemmas between international protection and state sovereignty; discussions on the current state of international cooperation; differences and similarities between refugee governance in Global South and Global North; and lastly, the Middle East region in the comparative migration literature. Chapter 3 proposes categorizations and models for comparative analysis of refugee migration governance, based on examples globally. It first categorizes policy fields and actors of refugee governance, and then it introduces meta-governance theory to analyse fields and actors in a unified manner and also focuses on changes. This chapter then proceeds to propose two original independent (but complementary) models: a multi-pattern and multi-stage model, a central contribution of this work. The multi-pattern model theorizes variations within and across the national refugee governance(s), while the multi-stage model theorizes temporal changes within national refugee governance. Two models are explained by drawing examples mainly from governance in the countries hosting large number of refugees. Chapter 3 also proposes an explanatory typology of the drivers of refugee governance in a new section. Such a typology is absolutely essential given the fact that factors shaping refugee governance are complex and manifold. The section examines international politics, national security/politics and economy-development explanation, based on examples across the world.

Part II of the book – Chapters 4 and 5 – focuses on the case of Turkey. Chapter 4 describes refugee policies addressing Syrian refugees in Turkey by

adopting the introduced multi-stage and multi-pattern governance model. Chapter 5 examines the drivers of Turkey's refugee governance as well as the respective changes. The chapter focuses on refugee politics and drivers of governance simultaneously and highlights their interconnectedness.

Part III of the book – Chapters 6 and 7 – examines the case of Lebanon. Chapter 6 identifies Lebanon's policy responses to the Syrian mass refugee migration, the changes over time and the consequences of these changes on the lives of refugees. The chapter shows how the Lebanese case can be systematically explained by multi-pattern and multi-stage governance models. Chapter 7 delves into factors which shape initial policy actions and shifts over the course time.

Part IV – Chapters 8 and 9 – focuses on Jordan's refugee policies and politics. Chapter 8 explores Jordan's responses to mass refugee migration from Syria. Chapter 9 traces the driving forces behind Jordan's refugee governance. The chapter focuses on several issues including Jordan's relations with Syria in the pre-crisis period and the stance of Jordan during the Syrian war, the reasons behind Jordan's initial policies, and the critical junctures and shifts over time; Jordan's relations with humanitarian actors; and framing in international negotiations.

Following the analysis of these cases in detail, the subsequent Chapter 10 provides a comparison of refugee governance in Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan. It builds links between the models and categorizations developed in Chapter 3 and the empirical data presented in the case study chapters from Chapters 4 to 9. It tests the validity of the multi-pattern and multi-stage governance model. It also compares the drivers of policies with an emphasis on identification and analysis of the weight of each factor. It examines counter-claims as well as issues for future research.

The Conclusion, Chapter 11, summarizes the main findings about state responses to mass migration and its implications to the international refugee regime. It shows how the proposed models – multi-pattern and multi-stage refugee governance – have contributed to a more nuanced theorization of refugee policy-making. The Conclusion argues that large-scale and protracted Syrian displacement, like many others, shows that mounting problems about refugee affairs and the ongoing crisis cannot be addressed without sustainable local, national, intergovernmental, regional and global cooperation. Thus, it outlines principles for global cooperation and policy recommendations.

Notes

- 1 See UNHCR 2018. A general note on refugee statistics: statistics about the number of refugees in each country are largely retrieved from the UNHCR and the official data sources of the respective governments. If the exact data is not available in these sources, then data presented in mass media and in reports of non-governmental organizations was consulted. The book acknowledges the fact that considering the mobility of refugees, it is almost impossible for the UNHCR and governments to acquire exact numbers on refugees. Also, the issue of

refugee numbers is a politically loaded issue. Population numbers throughout the book are intended to give the reader as accurate a range of estimates as possible. Also, if the numbers are very controversial, as in the case of Jordan, a discussion is provided to give further insights about their plausibility.

2 See UNHCR 2016.

3 See Refugees and Migrants 2016.

4 See Asswsat 2016.

5 See Jordan Embassy 2016.

6 Although it is not fully clear who is part of the Global South and who is not, in most cases the United States, Canada and European countries are considered to constitute the Global North, while the remaining countries are considered to belong to the Global South. The Global South basically refers to countries which are located south of the 30th northern parallel. In order to group together a large variety of countries and regions into one category (mainly referring to wealth differences and development), historically several terms have been used in academic and policy circles. These include the third world, developing world, non-developed, poor, non-industrialized and non-Western world. Almost all of them are products of global socio-economic and political structures, and as a consequence, many became unfashionable over time. The Global South and the Global North represent an updated perspective on the post-1991 world. They have been contested terms due to the political weight that they carry and the consequences that follow. Compared to its predecessors, the concept of Global South denotes less hierarchical and more equal relations, offering more flexibility, although also entailing a certain degree of ambivalence. There is no general agreement about various aspects of the term, including its meanings and shifts over time. The UNDP also widely uses the term of Global South, referring to countries which have a high Human Development Index (most of which are located north of the 30th northern parallel). Countries like Turkey have also adopted the terminology of Global South in their official policies.

7 This is the case not only a bulk of scholarly books and articles, but also large datasets on migration governance often cover countries of the Global North. Examples include Migration Governance Index (MGI), Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), Commitment to Development Index, The Immigration Policies in Comparison (IMPIC) project, International Migration Policy and Law Analysis (IMPALA) Database, and Determinants of International Migration (DEMIG) database.

8 The UNHCR takes two other regions: Europe and Americas. However, it counts Turkey as being a part of Europe, and Latin America as being a part of the Americas. Both Turkey and the countries of Latin America are, in other contexts, often referred to as being part of the Global South. Thus, when the number of displaced people in these locations is added to the aforementioned figure (Turkey hosts 3.3 million), then the statistics suggest that the Global South hosts more than 80 per cent of the current displaced population worldwide.

9 There are recently published theoretically informed comparative articles examining some other Middle Eastern countries comparatively such as Norman (2018) which focuses on the policies of Turkey, Morocco and Egypt.

10 There is no agreed upon definition concerning what constitutes mass influx/migration. The factors raised in the process of defining this term include: the number of the displaced people; the time-span of crossing the border; the capacity of the destination state to respond to the needs of the influx; the emergency aspect; and the expected time it will take for the situation that is driving migration to be resolved. The UNHCR states that: 'what amounts to large-scale or mass influx will necessarily differ from country to country and/or region to region, and must be decided on a case-by-case basis' (UNHCR 2001).

11 Another alternative terminology which could be used in this study is regime terminology which has become rather popular in migration studies during the last decade. However, the four different strands of regime theory do not meet the needs of theory building attempted in this study. The four strands are:

- (i) notions of regimes are used to refer to international regulatory frameworks, in the field of international relations
- (ii) conceptualizations informed by welfare regime theories in the field of social policy,
- (iii) regime notions that stem from the French regulation school, and
- (iv) regime theories inspired by governmentality studies.

(Horvath et al. 2017, 301)

Usually, the concept of regime is used to refer to national models or types of immigration and international control. Neither these strands nor this common regime concept is adequate to capture the policy complexity of the cases under question in this book. On the other hand, the terminology of governance provides more useful analytical tools to capture multiple models or types of immigration policies and politics by going beyond the issues pertinent to control. Also, the meta-governance framework enables one to acknowledge the imperative command of states in migration affairs while also considering the involvement and the power of other actors playing at the sub-state, international level.

- 12 I am grateful to Soner Barthoma who directed my attention to meta-governance theory and discussed the adoptability of it with me in the context of my research.
- 13 The UNHCR Global Trend 2016 report takes the Middle East and North Africa together as a single region category, while it locates Turkey under Europe region. I have aggregated the numbers in Turkey with the numbers in the Middle East and North Africa (UNHCR 2016, 14).
- 14 The pool of refugee crisis contains eight in Africa (Côte d'Ivoire, Central African Republic, Libya, Mali, north-eastern Nigeria, Democratic Republic of the Congo, South Sudan, Burundi); three in the Middle East (Syria, Iraq and Yemen); one in Europe (Ukraine) and three in Asia (Kyrgyzstan, and in several areas of Myanmar and Pakistan).

References

- Asswsat (2016) 'Lebanon Attends UN Refugee Summit', 17 September, (<https://eng-archive.aawsat.com/youssef-diab/news-middle-east/lebanon-attends-u-n-refugee-summit-amid-naturalization-fears>).
- Bartram, D., Poros, M. V. and Monforte, P. (2014) *Key Concepts in Migration*, Sage Publications, London.
- Betts, A. (2009) *Protection by Persuasion: International Cooperation in the Refugee Regime*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.
- Betts, A. and Collier, P. (2017) *Refuge: Transforming a Broken Refugee System*, Allen Lane, London.
- Bloemraad, I. (2013) 'The Promise and Pitfalls of Comparative Research Design in the Study of Migration', *Migration Studies*, 1(1), 27–46.
- Chatty, D. (2010) *Displacement and Dispossession in the Modern Middle East*, Vol. 5. Cambridge University Press, New York.
- Chatty, D. (2016) 'The Syrian Humanitarian Disaster: Understanding Perceptions and Aspirations in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey', in *The Long-Term Challenges of Forced Migration: Perspectives from Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq*, LSE Middle East Centre Collected Papers, 6 (September), 55–61.

- Coen, A. (2015) 'R2P, Global Governance, and the Syrian Refugee Crisis', *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 19(8), 1044–1058.
- Deardorff Miller, S. (2016) *Politics and Humanitarian Responses to Syrian Displacement*, Routledge Focus, Abingdon.
- EC Report (2016) *Second Report on Progress by Turkey in Fulfilling the Requirements of its Visa Liberalisation Roadmap, Report from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council*. {SWD(2016) 97 final} Brussels, 4 March. COM(2016) 140 final, (<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52016DC0140>).
- George, A. L. and Bennett, A. (2005) *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Horvath, K., Amelina, A. and Peters, K. (2017) 'Re-Thinking the Politics of Migration: On the Uses and Challenges of Regime Perspectives for Migration Research', *Migration Studies*, 5(3), 301–314.
- Hofferberth, M. (2015) 'Mapping the Meanings of Global Governance: A Conceptual Reconstruction of a Floating Signifier', *Millennium*, 43(2), 598–617.
- Iacono, V. L., Symonds, P. and Brown, D. H. K. (2016) 'Skype as a Tool for Qualitative Research Interviews', *Sociological Research Online*, 21(2), 1–15.
- IOM (2018) 'Forced migration', Key Migration Terms, (www.iom.int/key-migration-terms).
- Jordan Embassy (2016) 'His Majesty King Abdullah II Calls Nations', 21 September, (<http://jordanembassyus.org/news/his-majesty-king-abdullah-ii-calls-nations-translate-pledges-reached-london-conference-refugees/>).
- Karon, T. (2013) 'Jordan is living Dangerously as Syria Burns', *Time*, 16 January, (<http://world.time.com/2013/01/16/jordan-is-living-dangerously-as-syria-burns/>).
- Kjaer, A. M. (2004) *Governance, Polity Key Concepts in the Social Sciences Series*, Polity, Cambridge.
- Marrus, M. R. (1990) 'The Uprooted: An Historical Perspective', in Goran Rystad (ed.) *The Uprooted: Forced Migration as an International Problem in the Post-War Era*, Lund University Press, Lund, 47–57.
- Missing Migrants (2018) 'Total of Deaths Recorded', (<https://missingmigrants.iom.int/>), last updated 12 June.
- Mulvey, G. (2010) 'When Policy Creates Politics: The Problematicizing of Immigration and the Consequences for Refugee Integration in the UK', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 23(4), 427–462.
- Nawyn, S. J. (2016) 'Migration in the Global South: Exploring New Theoretical Territory', *International Journal of Sociology*, 46(2), 81–84.
- Norman, K. P. (2018) 'Inclusion, Exclusion or Indifference? Redefining Migrant and Refugee Host State Engagement Options in Mediterranean "Transit" Countries', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, (DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2018.1482201).
- Refugees and Migrants (2016) 'Erdogan Challenges World Leaders', (<http://refugeesmigrants.un.org/turkey%E2%80%99s-erdogan-challenges-world-leaders-un-assembly-end-bloodshed-syria>).
- Regional Strategic Overview (2018) (<https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/3RP-Regional-Strategic-Overview-2018-19.pdf>).
- Rhodes, R. A. W. (1997) *Understanding Governance: Policy Networks, Governance, Reflexivity and Accountability*, Open University Press, Buckingham.
- Scholten, P. W. A. (2013) 'Agenda Dynamics and the Multi-Level Governance of Intractable Policy Controversies: The Case of Migrant Integration Policies in the Netherlands', *Policy Sciences*, 46(3), 217–236.

- Skran, C. (1995) *Refugees in Inter-War Europe*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Thielemann, E. R. (2006) 'Burden Sharing: The International Politics of Refugee Protection', The Centre for Comparative Immigration Studies, Working Paper 134, March, (https://ccis.ucsd.edu/_files/wp134.pdf).
- Turner, L. (2015) 'Explaining the (Non-) Encampment of Syrian Refugees: Security, Class and the Labour Market in Lebanon and Jordan', *Mediterranean Politics*, 20(3), 386–404.
- Tutumlu, A. and Güngör, G. (2016) 'Why Revisit Multilateralism?', in A. Tutumlu and G. Güngör (eds) *Multilateralism in Global Governance: Formal and Informal Institutions*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main.
- UNDP (2016) Human Development Index, (<http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/JOR>).
- UNHCR (2001) 'Global Consultations: Protection of Refugees in Mass Migration Situations', 8–9 March, (www.unhcr.org/3ae68f3d4.pdf)
- UNHCR (2016) *Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2016*. UN Refugee Agency, (www.unhcr.org/5943e8a34.pdf).
- UNHCR (2018) 'Figures at a Glance', (www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html).
- UNHCR Emergencies (2018), (www.unhcr.org/emergencies.html).
- UNHCR Resettlement (2017), (www.unhcr.org/resettlement-data.html).
- World Bank (2016), (<http://data.worldbank.org/?locations=XT-TR>).
- Worldometers (2018) United Nations Population Division, (www.worldometers.info/population/asia/western-asia).
- Zolberg, A. R., Aguayo, S. and Surke, A. (1989) *Escape from Violence: Conflict and the Refugee Crisis in the Developing World*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Introduction

- Asswsat (2016) Lebanon Attends UN Refugee Summit, 17 September, (<https://eng-archive.aawsat.com/youssef-diab/news-middle-east/lebanon-attends-u-n-refugee-summit-amid-naturalization-fears>).
- Bartram, D. , Poros, M. V. and Monforte, P. (2014) *Key Concepts in Migration*, Sage Publications, London.
- Betts, A. (2009) *Protection by Persuasion: International Cooperation in the Refugee Regime*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.
- Betts, A. and Collier, P. (2017) *Refuge: Transforming a Broken Refugee System*, Allen Lane, London.
- Bloemraad, I. (2013) The Promise and Pitfalls of Comparative Research Design in the Study of Migration, *Migration Studies*, 1(1), 2746.
- Chatty, D. (2010) *Displacement and Dispossession in the Modern Middle East*, Vol. 5. Cambridge University Press, New York.
- Chatty, D. (2016) The Syrian Humanitarian Disaster: Understanding Perceptions and Aspirations in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey, in *The Long-Term Challenges of Forced Migration: Perspectives from Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq*, LSE Middle East Centre Collected Papers, 6 (September), 5561.
- 19 Coen, A. (2015) R2P, Global Governance, and the Syrian Refugee Crisis, *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 19(8), 10441058.
- Deardorff Miller, S. (2016) *Politics and Humanitarian Responses to Syrian Displacement*, Routledge Focus, Abingdon.
- EC Report (2016) *Second Report on Progress by Turkey in Fulfilling the Requirements of its Visa Liberalisation Roadmap*, Report from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council. {SWD(2016) 97 final} Brussels, 4 March. COM(2016) 140 final, (<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52016DC0140>).
- George, A. L. and Bennett, A. (2005) *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Horvath, K. , Amelina, A. and Peters, K. (2017) Re-Thinking the Politics of Migration: On the Uses and Challenges of Regime Perspectives for Migration Research, *Migration Studies*, 5(3), 301314.
- Hofferberth, M. (2015) Mapping the Meanings of Global Governance: A Conceptual Reconstruction of a Floating Signifier, *Millennium*, 43(2), 598617.
- Iacono, V. L. , Symonds, P. and Brown, D. H. K. (2016) Skype as a Tool for Qualitative Research Interviews, *Sociological Research Online*, 21(2), 115.
- IOM (2018) *Forced migration, Key Migration Terms*, (www.iom.int/key-migration-terms).
- Jordan Embassy (2016) His Majesty King Abdullah II Calls Nations, 21 September, (<http://jordanembassyus.org/news/his-majesty-king-abdullah-ii-calls-nations-translate-pledges-reached-london-conference-refugees>).
- Karon, T. (2013) Jordan is living Dangerously as Syria Burns, *Time*, 16 January, (<http://world.time.com/2013/01/16/jordan-is-living-dangerously-as-syria-burns/>).
- Kjaer, A. M. (2004) *Governance, Polity Key Concepts in the Social Sciences Series, Polity*, Cambridge.
- Marrus, M. R. (1990) *The Uprooted: An Historical Perspective*, in Goran Rystad (ed.) *The Uprooted: Forced Migration as an International Problem in the Post-War Era*, Lund University Press, Lund, 4757.
- Missing Migrants (2018) *Total of Deaths Recorded*, (<https://missingmigrants.iom.int/>), last updated 12 June.
- Mulvey, G. (2010) When Policy Creates Politics: The Problematizing of Immigration and the Consequences for Refugee Integration in the UK, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 23(4), 427462.
- Nawyn, S. J. (2016) Migration in the Global South: Exploring New Theoretical Territory, *International Journal of Sociology*, 46(2), 8184.
- Norman, K. P. (2018) Inclusion, Exclusion or Indifference? Redefining Migrant and Refugee Host State Engagement Options in Mediterranean Transit Countries, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, (DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2018.1482201).
- Refugees and Migrants (2016) *Erdogan Challenges World Leaders*, (<http://refugeesmigrants.un.org/turkey%E2%80%99s-erdogan-challenges-world-leaders-un-assembly-end-bloodshed-syria>).
- Regional Strategic Overview (2018) (<https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/3RP-Regional-Strategic-Overview-2018-19.pdf>).
- Rhodes, R. A. W. (1997) *Understanding Governance: Policy Networks, Governance, Reflexivity and Accountability*, Open University Press, Buckingham.

- Scholten, P. W. A. (2013) *Agenda Dynamics and the Multi-Level Governance of Intractable Policy Controversies: The Case of Migrant Integration Policies in the Netherlands*, *Policy Sciences*, 46(3), 217236.
- 20 Skran, C. (1995) *Refugees in Inter-War Europe*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Thielemann, E. R. (2006) *Burden Sharing: The International Politics of Refugee Protection*, The Centre for Comparative Immigration Studies, Working Paper 134, March, (https://ccis.ucsd.edu/_files/wp134.pdf).
- Turner, L. (2015) *Explaining the (Non-) Encampment of Syrian Refugees: Security, Class and the Labour Market in Lebanon and Jordan*, *Mediterranean Politics*, 20(3), 386404.
- Tutumlu, A. and Gngr, G. (2016) *Why Revisit Multilateralism?*, in A. Tutumlu and G. Gngr (eds) *Multilateralism in Global Governance: Formal and Informal Institutions*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main.
- UNDP (2016) *Human Development Index*, (<http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/JOR>).
- UNHCR (2001) *Global Consultations: Protection of Refugees in Mass Migration Situations*, 89 March, (www.unhcr.org/3ae68f3d4.pdf)
- UNHCR (2016) *Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2016*. UN Refugee Agency, (www.unhcr.org/5943e8a34.pdf).
- UNHCR (2018) *Figures at a Glance*, (www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html). UNHCR Emergencies (2018), (www.unhcr.org/emergencies.html).
- UNHCR Resettlement (2017), (www.unhcr.org/resettlement-data.html).
- World Bank (2016), (<http://data.worldbank.org/?locations=XT-TR>).
- Worldometers (2018) United Nations Population Division, (www.worldometers.info/population/asia/western-asia).
- Zolberg, A. R. , Aguayo, S. and Burke, A. (1989) *Escape from Violence: Conflict and the Refugee Crisis in the Developing World*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

The literature on state responses to mass migration in the Global South

- Allan, D. (2013) *Refugees of the Revolution: Experiences of Palestinian Exile*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA.
- Arsan, A. , Karam, J. and Khater, A. (2013) *On Forgotten Shores: Migration in Middle East Studies and the Middle East in Migration Studies*, *Mashriq & Mahjar*, 1(1), 17.
- Baban, F. , Ilcan, S. and Rygiel, K. (eds) (2017) *Syrian Refugees in Turkey: Pathways to Precarity, Differential Inclusion, and Negotiated Citizenship Rights*, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43(1), 4157.
- Barbulescu, R. (2017) *Still a Beacon of Human Rights? Considerations on the EU Response to the Refugee Crisis in the Mediterranean*, *Mediterranean Politics*, 22(2), 301308.
- Betts, A. (2008) *NorthSouth Cooperation in the Refugee Regime: The Role of Linkages*, *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations*, 14(2), 157178.
- Betts, A. (2012) *Humanitarian Innovation and Refugee Protection*, Working Paper Series No. 85, Oxford Refugee Center, (www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/files/files-1/wp85-humanitarian-innovation-2012.pdf).
- Betts A. and Kaytaz, E. (2009) *National and International Responses to the Zimbabwean Exodus: Implications for the Refugee Protection Regime*, July, Research Paper No. 175, UNHCR, Policy Development and Evaluation Service.
- Bhagwati, J. (2003) *Borders Beyond Control*, *Foreign Affairs* (January/February) 82, 98104.
- Boucher, A. and Gest, J. (2014) *Migration Studies at a Crossroads: A Critique of Immigration Regime Typologies*, *Migration Studies*, 3(2), 182198.
- Brand, L. (2010) *Citizens Abroad*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.
- Brochmann, G. and Hammar T. (eds) (1999) *Mechanisms of Immigration Control: A Comparative Analysis of European Regulation Policies*, Berg Publishers, Oxford.
- Broeders, D. and Godfried E. (2007) *The Fight Against Illegal Migration Identification Policies and Immigrants Counterstrategies*, *American Behavioral Scientist*, 50(12), 15921609.
- Carpi, E. and enouz, H. P. (2018) *Refugee Hospitality in Lebanon and Turkey: On Making The Other, International Migration*, (<https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12471>).
- Castles, S. (2004) *Why Migration Policies Fail*, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 27, 205227.
- Castles, S. (2007) *The Migration-Asylum Nexus and Regional Approaches*, in Susan Kneebone and Felicity Rawlings-Sanae (eds) *New Regionalism and Asylum Seekers, Challenges Ahead*, Berghahn Books, London.

- Castles, S. (2017) Migration Policies are Problematic Because They are about Migration, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40(9), 15381543.
- 39 Chatty, D. (2010) *Displacement and Dispossession in the Modern Middle East*, Vol. 5. Cambridge University Press, New York.
- Chatty, D. (2017) The Syrian Humanitarian Disaster: Understanding Perceptions and Aspirations in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey, *Global Policy*, 8(S1): 2532.
- Cheung, S. (2011) Migration Control and the Solutions Impasse in South and Southeast Asia: Implications from the Rohingya Experience, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 25(1), 5070.
- Chimni, B. S. (1998) The Geopolitics of Refugee Studies: A View from the South, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 11(4), 350374.
- Chimni, B. S. (2000) Globalization, Humanitarianism and the Erosion of Refugee Protection, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 13(3), 243263.
- Chimni, B. S. (2001) Reforming the International Refugee Regime: A Dialogic Model, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 14(2), 151168
- Cohen, R. and Van Hear, N. (2017) Visions of Refugia: Territorial and Transnational Solutions to Mass Displacement, *Planning Theory & Practice*, 18(3), 494504.
- Czaika, M. and Haas, H. de. (2013) The Effectiveness of Immigration Policies, *Population and Development Review*, 39(3), 487508.
- Davies, S. E. (2008) *Legitimising Rejection: International Refugee Law in Southeast Asia*, Brill, Leiden.
- Deardorff Miller, S. (2016) *Politics and Humanitarian Responses to Syrian Displacement*, Routledge, Abingdon.
- Duvell, F. (ed.) (2005) *Illegal Immigration in Europe*, Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Elmadmad, K. (1991) An Arab Convention on Forced Migration: Desirability and Possibilities, *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 3(3), 461481.
- Fargues, P. (2004) Arab Migration to Europe: Trends and Policies, *International Migration Review*, 38(4), 13481371.
- Ferris, E. G. (1993) *Beyond Borders: Refugees, Migrants and Human Rights in the Post-Cold War Era*, WCC Publications, Geneva.
- Gammeltoft-Hansen, T. (2014) International Refugee Law and Refugee Policy: The Case of Deterrence Policies, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 27(4), 574595.
- Geddes, A. (2003) *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe*, Sage, London.
- Goodman, S. W. (2015) Conceptualizing and Measuring Citizenship and Integration Policy: Past Lessons and New Approaches, *Comparative Political Studies*, 48(14), 19051941.
- Haas, H. de. (2011) The Determinants of International Migration: Conceiving and Measuring Origin, Destination and Policy Effects, DEMIG/IMI Working Paper 32. International Migration Institute, University of Oxford.
- Haas, H. de , Natter, K. and Vezzoli, S. (2016) Growing Restrictiveness or Changing Selection? The Nature and Evolution of Migration Policies, *International Migration Review*, 50(3), 144.
- Hathaway, J. C. (1990) A Reconsideration of the Underlying Premise of Refugee Law, *Harvard International Law Journal*, 31(1), 129133.
- Hatton, T. J. (2009) The Rise and Fall of Asylum: What Happened and Why?, *The Economic Journal*, 119(535), 183213.
- Helbling, M. (2016) Immigration, Integration and Citizenship Policies: Indices, Concepts and Analyses, in G. P. Freeman and N. Mirilovic (eds) *Handbook on Migration and Social Policy*, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, 2841.
- 40 Janmyr, M. (2017) UNHCR and the Syrian Refugee Response: Negotiating Status and Registration in Lebanon, *International Journal of Human Rights*, (doi: 10.1080/13642987.2017.1371140).
- Kagan, M. (2007) Legal Refugee Recognition in the Urban South: Formal v. De facto Refugee Status, *Refugee*, 24(1), 1126.
- Kagan, M. (2009) The (Relative) Decline of Palestinian Exceptionalism and its Consequences for Refugee Studies in the Middle East, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 22(4), 417438.
- Lambert, H. (2017) Temporary Refuge from War: Customary International Law and the Syrian Conflict, *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 66(3), 126.
- Lang, H. J. (2002) *Fear and Sanctuary: Burmese Refugees in Thailand*. Cornell Southeast Asia, Ithaca, NY.
- Lindley, A. (2011) Between a Protracted and a Crisis Situation: Policy Responses to Somali Refugees in Kenya, *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 30(4), 1449.
- Loescher, G. (2001) The UNHCR and World Politics: A Perilous Path, *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 20(3), 181183.
- Long, K. (2012) In Search of Sanctuary: Border Closures, Safe Zones and Refugee Protection, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 26(3), 458476.

- Lutz, P. (2017) Two Logics of Policy Intervention in Immigrant Integration: An Institutionalist Framework Based on Capabilities and Aspirations, *Comparative Migration Studies*, 5(19), 118
- Massey, D. S. (1999) International Migration at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century: The Role of the State, *Population and Development Review*, 25(2), 303322.
- Middle East (2010) *Viewpoints: Migration and Mashreq*, The Middle East Institute. Washington, DC.
- Mulvey, G. (2010) When Policy Creates Politics: the Problematizing of Immigration and the Consequences for Refugee Integration in the UK, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 23(4), 427462.
- Nawyn, S. J. (2016) Migration in the Global South: Exploring New Theoretical Territory, *International Journal of Sociology*, 46(2), 8184.
- Noll, G. (2000) *Negotiating Asylum, the EU Acquis, Extraterritorial Asylum and the Common. Market of Deflection*, Kluwer Law International, The Hague.
- Norman, K.P. (2018) Inclusion, Exclusion or Indifference? Redefining Migrant and Refugee Host State Engagement Options in Mediterranean Transit Countries, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, (DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2018.1482201).
- Nyers, P. (2006) *Rethinking Refugees: Beyond States of Emergency*, Routledge, New York.
- Orchard, P. (2017) The Dawn of International Refugee Protection: States, Tacit Cooperation and Non-Extradition, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 20(2), 282300.
- Ostrand, N. (2015) The Syrian Refugee Crisis: A Comparison of Responses by Germany, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States, *Journal on Migration and Human Security*, 3(3), 255279.
- Pearlman, W. (2011) *Violence, Nonviolence, and the Palestinian National Movement*, Cambridge University Press, New York.
- Raheja, N. (n.d.) Neither Here nor There: Pakistani Hindu Refugee Claims at the Interface of the International and South Asian Refugee Regimes, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, fey013, (<https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fey013>).
- Refugee Convention (2015) *Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees*, UNHCR, 14 July, (www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10.html).
- 41 Roberts, A. (1998) More Refugees, less Asylum: A Regime in Transformation, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 11(4), 375395.
- Ruhs, M. and Martin, P. (2008) Numbers vs. Rights: Trade-Offs and Guest Worker Programs, *International Migration Review*, 42(1), 249265.
- Sahin-Mencutek, Z. (2016) Governance of Refugee Protection in the Middle East and North Africa by Arab League, in A. Tutumlu and G. Gngr (eds) *Multilateralism and Political Economy*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main, 169195.
- Sahin-Mencutek, Z. (2017) From Inaction to Restrictions: Changes in Lebanons Policy Responses to Syrian Mass Refugee Movement, *Global Cooperation Research Papers 19*, Kte Hamburger Kolleg/Centre for Global Cooperation Research (KHK/GCR21), Duisburg.
- Sayyigh, Y. (2000) *Armed Struggle and the Search for State: The Palestinian National Movement, 1949-1993*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Schuck, P. H. (1997) Refugee Burden-Sharing: A Modest Proposal, *Yale Journal of International Law*, 22, 243297.
- Seeberg, P. (2013) The Arab Uprisings and the EUs Migration Policies: The Cases of Egypt, Libya, and Syria, *Democracy and Security*, 9(12), 157176.
- Seeberg, P. and Eyadat, Z. (2013) *Migration, Security, and Citizenship in the Middle East*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
- Soguk, N. (1999) *States and Strangers: Refugees and Displacements of Statecraft*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, MN.
- Stevens, D. (2014) Shifting Conceptions of Refugee Identity and Protection: European and Middle Eastern Approaches, in Susan Kneebone, D. Stevens and L. Baldassar (eds) *Refugee Protection and the Role of Law: Conflicting Identities*, Routledge, London.
- Stevens, D. (2016) Rights, Needs or Assistance? The Role of the UNHCR in Refugee Protection in the Middle East, *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 20(2), 264283.
- Suhrke, A. (1998) Burden-Sharing During Refugee Emergencies: The Logic of Collective Action Versus National Action, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 11(4), 396415.
- Thielemann, E. R. (2006) *Burden Sharing: The International Politics of Refugee Protection*, The Centre for Comparative Immigration Studies, Working Paper 134, March, (<https://ccis.ucsd.edu/files/wp134.pdf>).
- Triandafyllidou, A. (ed.) (2016) *Routledge Handbook of Immigration and Refugee Studies*, Routledge, New York.
- Tsourapas, G. (2017) Migration Diplomacy in the Global South: Cooperation, Coercion and Issue Linkage in Gaddafis Libya, *Third World Quarterly*, 38(10), 23672385.

- Turner, L. (2015) Explaining the (Non-)Encampment of Syrian Refugees: Security, Class and the Labour Market in Lebanon and Jordan, *Mediterranean Politics*, 20(3), 386404.
- Ullah, A.K.M. A. (2014) *Refugee Politics in the Middle East and North Africa*, Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- UN Summit (2016) UN Summit for Refugees and Migrants 2016, (<http://refugeesmigrants.un.org/summit>).
- UNHCR (2001) Protection of Refugees in Mass Influx Situations: Overall Protection Framework, Background Paper prepared for the Global Consultation on International Protection, EC/GC/01/4, 19 February, (www.unhcr.org/protection/globalconsult/3ae68f3c24/protection-refugees-mass-influx-situations-overall-protection-framework.html).
- 42 UNHCR (2005) An Introduction to International Protection: Teaching Module No. 1, Geneva, UNHCR, (www.unhcr.org/publications/legal/3ae6bd5a0/self-study-module-1-introduction-international-protection-protecting-persons.html).
- UNHCR (2015) States Parties to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol, (www.unhcr.org/protection/basic/3b73b0d63/states-parties-1951-convention-its-1967-protocol.html).
- UNHCR (2016) Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2016, UN Refugee Agency, (www.unhcr.org/5943e8a34.pdf).
- UNHCR (2017) Where We Work, (www.unhcr.org/where-we-work.html).
- UNRWA (2017) Who We Are, (www.unrwa.org/who-we-are).
- Wolff, S. (2015) Migration and Refugees in the Mediterranean: Rethinking Geopolitical Constraints. *Western-Centric Policies and Mobilities Precariousness*, *Mediterranean Politics*, 20(3), 439444.
- Zolberg, A. R. , Aguayo, S. and Burke, A. (1989) *Escape from Violence: Conflict and the Refugee Crisis in the Developing World*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Categorizations and models for comparative analysis of refugee migration governance

- Adepoju, A. , Noorloos, F. van and Zoomers, A. (2010) Europe's Migration Agreements with Migrant-Sending Countries in the Global South: A Critical Review, *International Migration*, 48(3), 4275.
- Betts, A. (2009) *Protection by Persuasion: International Cooperation in the Refugee Regime*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.
- Betts, A. and Collier, P. (2017) *Refugee. Transforming a Broken Refugee System*, Allen Lane, London.
- Betts, A. , Bloom L. , Kaplan J. and Omata, N. (2017) *Refugee Economies: Forced Displacement and Development*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Betts A. and Kaytaz, E. (2009) National and International Responses to the Zimbabwean Exodus: Implications for the Refugee Protection Regime, July, Research Paper, no. 175, UNHCR, Policy Development and Evaluation Service.
- Betts, A. and Milner, J. (2006) The Externalisation of EU Asylum Policy: The Position of African States, Working Paper No. 36, University of Oxford, WP-06-36.
- Burns, P. and Gimpel, J. G. (2000) Economic Insecurity, Prejudicial Stereotypes, and Public Opinion on Immigration Policy, *Political Science Quarterly*, 115(2), 201225.
- Castles, S. (2017) Migration Policies are Problematic Because They are about Migration, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40(9), 15381543.
- Ceobanu, A. M. and Xavier E. (2010) Comparative Analyses of Public Attitudes Toward Immigrants and Immigration Using Multinational Survey Data: A Review of Theories and Research, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 36, 309328.
- Cheung, S. (2011) Migration Control and the Solutions Impasse in South and Southeast Asia: Implications from the Rohingya Experience, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 25(1), 5070.
- Chimni, B. S. (1998) The Geopolitics of Refugee Studies: A View from the South, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 11(4), 350374.
- Convention (1951) Convention Relating the Status of Refugees and Its 1967 Protocol, (www.unhcr.org/4ec262df9.html).
- Crisp, J. (2003) UNHCR, Refugee Livelihoods and Self-Reliance: A Brief History, (www.unhcr.org/research/eval/3f978a894/unhcr-refugee-livelihoods-self-reliance-brief-history.html).

- Darling, J. (2016) Privatising Asylum: Neoliberalisation, Depoliticisation and the Governance of Forced Migration, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 41(3), 230243.
- Diab, S. (2015) Fear and (In)Security: The Canadian Governments Response to the Chilean Refugees, *Refugee*, 31, 5162.
- dAlbis, H. , Boubtane, E. and Coulibaly, D. (2018) Macroeconomic Evidence Suggests that Asylum Seekers are not a Burden for Western European Countries, *Science Advances*, 4(6), eaaq0883, (DOI: 10.1126/sciadv.aaq0883).
- dOrsi, C. (2016) *Asylum-Seeker and Refugee Protection in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Routledge, London.
- Fisunolu, A. and Sert, D. (2018) Refugees and Elections: The Effects of Syrians on Voting Behavior in Turkey, *International Migration*, April. Early Views, (<https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12455>).
- Goitom, H. (2016) *Refugee Law and Policy: Kenya*, (www.loc.gov/law/help/refugee-law/kenya.php).
- 68 Greenhill, K. (2010) *Weapons of Mass Migration: Forced Displacement, Coercion, and Foreign Policy*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.
- Gualini, E. (2016) Multilevel Governance and Multiscalar Forms of Territorialization, in S. Piattoni and L. Polverari (eds) *Handbook on Social Cohesion in the EU*, Edward Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham, 506525.
- Haas, H. De (2011) *The Determinants of International Migration: Conceiving and Measuring Origin, Destination and policy effects*, DEMIG/IMI Working Paper 32. International Migration Institute, University of Oxford.
- Haas, H. De , Natter, K. and Vezzoli, S. (2016) Growing Restrictiveness or Changing Selection? The Nature and Evolution of Migration Policies, *International Migration Review*, 1 August, (<https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12288>).
- Haddad, E. (2008) *The Refugee in International Society: Between Sovereigns*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Hanafi, S. Hilal, L. and Takkenberg, A. (eds) (2014) *UNRWA and Palestinian Refugees: From Relief and Works to Human Development*, Routledge, Abingdon.
- Harper, E. , Sean, T. and Mays, A. A. (2016) *Forging New Strategies in Protracted Refugee Crises: Syrian Refugees and the Host State Economy, Jordan Case Study*, WANA Institute, 21 January, (<http://wanainstitute.org/en/publication/forging-new-strategies-protracted-refugee-crises-regional-study>).
- Hedman, E. L. E. (2006) Forced Migration in Southeast Asia: International Politics and the Reordering of State Power, *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 15(1), 2952.
- Holzer, E. (2012) A Case Study of Political Failure in a Refugee Camp, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 25(2), 257281.
- Ibrahim, M. (2005) The Securitization of Migration: A Racial Discourse, *International Migration*, 43(5), 163187.
- IOM (2016) *Mixed Migration: Flows in the Mediterranean and Beyond: Compilation of Available Data and Information 2015*, IOM (GMDAC), Geneva.
- Jacobsen, K. (1996) Factors Influencing the Policy Responses of Host Governments to Mass Refugee Influxes, *The International Migration Review*, 30(3), 655678.
- Jessop, B. (2003) Governance and Meta-Governance: On Reflexivity, Requisite Variety and Requisite Irony, in Henrik Paul Bang (ed.) *Governance as Social and Political Communication*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 101116.
- Joppke, C. (1998) Why Liberal States Accept Unwanted Immigration, *World Politics*, 50, 266293.
- Kagan, M. (2009) The (Relative) Decline of Palestinian Exceptionalism and its Consequences for Refugee Studies in the Middle East, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 22(4), 417438.
- Kelberer, V. (2017) Negotiating Crisis: International Aid and Refugee Policy in Jordan, *Middle East Policy*, 24(4), 148165.
- Khoury, R. B. (2016) Refugees Contentious Politics and the Case of Syrian Activists in Jordan, in *The Long-Term Challenges of Forced Migration: Perspectives from Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq*, LSE Middle East Centre Collected Papers, 6 (September), 1622.
- Krcmaric, D. (2014) Refugee Flows, Ethnic Power Relations, and the Spread of Conflict, *Security Studies*, 23(1), 182216.
- Kuch, A. (2016) Naturalization of Burundian Refugees in Tanzania: The Debates on Local Integration and the Meaning of Citizenship Revisited, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 30(3), 468487.
- 69 Lenner, K. (2016) *Blasts from the Past: Policy Legacies and Memories in the Making of the Jordanian Response to the Syrian Refugee Crisis*, EUI Working Papers, Mwp Red Number Series 2016/32 Max Weber Programme.

- Lindley, A. (2011) Between a Protracted and a Crisis Situation: Policy Responses to Somali Refugees in Kenya, *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 30(4), 1449.
- Lischer, S. K. (2015) *Dangerous Sanctuaries: Refugee Camps, Civil War, and the Dilemmas of Humanitarian Aid*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.
- Long, K. (2012) In Search of Sanctuary: Border Closures, Safe Zones and Refugee Protection, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 26(3), 458476.
- Lutz, P. (2017) Two Logics of Policy Intervention in Immigrant Integration: An Institutional Framework based on Capabilities and Aspirations, *Comparative Migration Studies*, 5(19), 118.
- Muggah, R. and Mogire, E. (2006) Arms Availability and Refugee Militarization in Africa: Conceptualizing the Issues, in Michael Brzoska and Robert Muggah (eds) *No Refuge: The Crisis of Refugee Militarization in Africa*, Zed Books, London.
- Murshid, N. (2013) *The Politics of Refugees in South Asia: Identity, Resistance, Manipulation*, Vol. 24, Routledge, London.
- Nyers, P. (2006) *Rethinking Refugees: Beyond States of Emergency*, Routledge, New York.
- Ochreiter, L. (2016) *Limits to Human Rights Protection: Regime Type and Asylum Recognition*, Doctoral dissertation, University of Colorado, Boulder, CO.
- Orsini, A. , Morin, A. J. and Young, O. (2013) Regime Complexes: A Buzz, A Boom, or a Boost for Global Governance? *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations*, 19(1), 2739.
- Oyen, M. (2015) *The Diplomacy of Migration: Transnational Lives and the Making of U.S.Chinese Relations in the Cold War. The United States in the World Series*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.
- Pearlman, W. (2011) *Violence, Nonviolence, and the Palestinian National Movement*, Cambridge University Press, New York.
- Qvist, M. (2017) Meta-Governance and Network Formation in Collaborative Spaces of Uncertainty: The Case of Swedish Refugee Integration Policy, *Public Administration*, 95(2), 498511.
- Roberts, A. (1998) More Refugees, less Asylum: A Regime in Transformation, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 11(4), 375395.
- Sahin-Mencutek, Z. (2017) From Inaction to Restrictions: Changes in Lebanons Policy Responses to Syrian Mass Refugee Movement, *Global Cooperation Research Papers 19*, Kte Hamburger Kolleg/Centre for Global Cooperation Research (KHK/GCR21), Duisburg.
- Salehyan, I. (2009) *Rebels without Borders: Transnational Insurgencies in World Politics*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.
- Seeberg, P. and Eyadat, Z. (2013) *Migration, Security, and Citizenship in the Middle East*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
- Sddkoglu, H. (2017) Pakistans Inconsistent Refugee Policies: Identity and Cultural Crisis of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan, (<http://ybu.edu.tr/gpm/contents/files/REPORT-Refugee-Final%20VRSN.pdf>).
- Suhrke, A. (1998) Burden-Sharing During Refugee Emergencies: The Logic of Collective Action versus National Action, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 11(4), 396415.
- Teitelbaum, M. S. (1984) Immigration, Refugees, and Foreign Policy, *International Organization*, 38(3), 429450.
- 70 Thielemann, E. and Hobolth, M. (2016) Trading Numbers vs. Rights? Accounting for Liberal and Restrictive Dynamics in the Evolution of Asylum and Refugee Policies, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(4), 643664.
- Thiollet, H. (2011) Migration as Diplomacy: Labor Migrants, Refugees, and Arab Regional Politics in the Oil-Rich Countries, *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 79(1), 103121.
- Torfin, J. and Srensen, E. (2014) The European Debate on Governance Networks: Towards a New and Viable Paradigm?, *Policy and Society*, 33(4), 329344.
- Tsourapas, G. (2017) Migration Diplomacy in the Global South: Cooperation, Coercion and Issue Linkage in Gaddafis Libya, *Third World Quarterly*, 38(10), 23672385.
- Ullah, A. K. M. A. (2014) *Refugee Politics in the Middle East and North Africa*, Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- UN General Assembly (1951) *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees*, 28 July, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 189, 137, (www.refworld.org/docid/3be01b964.html).
- UNHCR (1981) UN Doc. A/RES/36/148, 16 December, preamble, (www.unhcr.org/excom/bgares/3ae69ee318/international-cooperation-avert-new-flows-refugees.html).
- UNHCR (2004) *Protracted Refugee Situations, EC/54/SC/CRP.14*, UNHCR Standing Committee, (www.unhcr.org/excom/standcom/40c982172/protracted-refugee-situations.html).
- van der Heiden, N. et al. (2011) *Interactive Policy Making, Metagovernance and Democracy*, ECPR Press, Colchester.

- van Hear, N. (2012) Forcing the Issue: Migration Crises and the Uneasy Dialogue between Refugee Research and Policy, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 25(1), 224.
- Waever, O. et al. (1993) *Identity Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe*, St. Martins Press, New York.
- Weiner, M. (1996) *The Global Migration Crisis*, Harper Collins, New York.
- Zetter, R. (2007) More Labels, Fewer Refugees: Remaking the Refugee Label in an Era of Globalization, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 20(2), 172-192.
- Zolberg, A. R. , Aguayo, S. and Surke, A. (1989) *Escape from Violence: Conflict and the Refugee Crisis in the Developing World*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Patterns and stages of refugee governance in Turkey

- 3RP Response (2017) Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan: Turkey in Responses to Syrian Crisis 2015-2018, (<https://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/download.php?id=10349>).
- 3RP Turkey (2017) 3RP Regional Response & Resilience Plan 2017-2018 in Response to Syrian Crisis: Turkey, (www.3rpsyriacrisis.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/TURKEY-3RP-Regional-Refugee-and-Resilience-Plan-2017-2018.pdf).
- AFAD (2013) *Trkiyedeki Suriyeli Snmaclar 2013 Saha Aratrmaz Sonular*, Trkiye Cumhuriyeti Bakanlk, Afet ve Acil Durum Ynetimi Bakanl, (www.afad.gov.tr/upload/Node/3925/xfiles/syrian-refugees-in-turkey-2013_baski_30_12_2013_tr.pdf).
- AFAD (2014) Circular on Services for Persons under Temporary Protection, 12 December, (www.afad.gov.tr/upload/Node/2311/files/2014-4_sayili_Genelge_-_parafsiz.pdf).
- AFAD (2017) *Barnma Merkezlerinde Son Durum*, 20 February, (www.afad.gov.tr/tr/2374/Barinma-Merkezlerinde-Son-Durum).
- AFAD Health (2013) Circular on Healthcare to Other Services for Syrian Guests, 9 September, (www.afad.gov.tr/tr/2311/Genelge).
- AFAD Health (2015) Circular on Healthcare and Other Services for Syrians, 12 October, (www.afad.gov.tr/upload/Node/2311/files/2015-8_Genelgemiz.pdf).
- Al Jazeera (2015) Interview with PM Ahmet Davutoglu, 13 November, (www.byegm.gov.tr/turkce/haber/basbakan-ahmet-davutoglu-ile-mulakat/87222).
- Aljazeera (2012) Davutoglu asks for International Support on Burden Sharing, 27 August, (www.aljazeera.com.tr/haber/davutoglu-multeci-yuku-paylasilmali).
- Aljazeera (2015) Davutoglu: Multeci yuku Paylasilmali, (www.aljazeera.com.tr/haber/davutoglu-multeci-yuku-paylasilmali).
- Aljazeera (2016) EU Leaders Praise Turkey for its Treatment of Refugees, 24 April, (www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/04/merkel-turkey-refugee-camp-160423101251609.html).
- Amnesty International (2014) *Struggling to Survive: Refugees from Syria in Turkey*, (www.amnestyusa.org/files/eur_440172014.pdf).
- Anadolu Agency (2013) *Atme Kampndan insanlk dram*, 15 February, (<http://aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/atme-kampinda-insanlik-drami/274423>).
- Anadolu Agency (2018) Over 1.3 Million Refugees Benefit from Turkish Red Crescent, (www.hurriyetdailynews.com/over-1-3-million-refugees-benefit-from-turkish-red-crescent-131625).
- Asylum Law (1994) National Legislative Bodies/National Authorities, Turkey: Regulation No. 1994/6169 on the Procedures and Principles related to Possible Population Movements and Aliens Arriving in Turkey either as Individuals or in Groups Wishing to Seek Asylum either from Turkey or Requesting Residence Permission in order to Seek Asylum From Another Country (last amended 2006), 97 19 January, (www.refworld.org/docid/49746cc62.html), accessed 22 March 2017.
- Baban, F. , Ilcan, S. and Rygiel, K. (2017) Syrian Refugees in Turkey: Pathways to Precarity, Differential Inclusion, and Negotiated Citizenship Rights, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43(1), 415-7.
- BBC (2015) Physical Security System to be Installed on the Syrian Border, (www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2015/07/150721_bulent_arinc_).
- BBC (2016) *Erdoandaki Suriyelilere vatandalk aklamas*, 3 July, (www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2016/07/160703_erdogan_suriyeliler).
- Canefe, N. (2016) Management of Irregular Migration: Syrians in Turkey as Paradigm Shifters for Forced Migration Studies, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 54(2), 93-2.
- Chatty, D. (2017) The Syrian Humanitarian Disaster: Understanding Perceptions and Aspirations in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey, *Global Policy* 8(Supplement 1) (February), 253-2.

Daily Sabah (2016a) President Erdogan: Turkey will Continue Open-Door Policy for Syrian Refugees, (www.dailysabah.com/politics/2016/03/13/president-erdogan-turkey-will-continue-open-door-policy-for-syrian-refugees).

Daily Sabah (2016b) One-Third of Turkey's Rocket-Resistant Concrete Wall Along Syria Border Completed, (www.dailysabah.com/nation/2016/04/07/one-third-of-turkeys-rocket-resistant-concrete-wall-along-syria-border-completed).

Davutolu, A. (2014) Davutolu: Suriyeli Mltecilere Ynelik, Ak Kap Politikas zliyoruz, 22 March, (www.turkishny.com/news/davutoglu-suriyeli-multecilere-yonelik-acik-kapi-politikasi-izliyoruz).

Davutolu, A. (2015) Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglus Monthly Speech, September, (www.bbm.gov.tr/Forms/pgNewsDetail.aspx?Type=4&Id=15464).

Deardorff Miller, S. (2016) Politics and Humanitarian Responses to Syrian Displacement, Routledge, Abingdon.

DGMM (2017a) Syrian Nationals Benefiting from Temporary Protection in Turkey, 15 December, (www.goc.gov.tr/icerik6/syrian-nationals-benefiting-from-temporary-protection-in-turkey_917_1064_4773_icerik).

DGMM (2017b) Geici Koruma, G statistikleri, statistikler, (www.goc.gov.tr/icerik6/gecici-koruma_363_378_4713_icerik).

DGMM (2017c) Residence Permits, Statistics, (www.goc.gov.tr/icerik6/residence-permits_915_1024_4745_icerik).

DGMM (2017d) Syrian Nationals Benefiting from Temporary Protection in Turkey, Statistics, 15 December, (www.goc.gov.tr/icerik6/syrian-nationals-benefiting-from-temporary-protection-in-turkey_917_1064_4773_icerik).

DGMM (2018) Geici Koruma, G statistikleri, statistikler, last updated 7 June 2018, (www.goc.gov.tr/icerik6/gecici-koruma_363_378_4713_icerik), accessed 2 July 2018.

DGMM-Changes (2017) Changes Provided by Temporary Protection Regulation, (www.goc.gov.tr/files/files/changes_provided_by_temporary_protection_regulation.pdf).

DW (2018) Trkiyede 10 Suriyeli ocuktan 4 okula gidemiyor, 30 January, (www.dw.com/tr/t%C3%BCrkiyede-10-suriyeli-%C3%A7ocuktan-4%C3%BC-okula-gidemiyor/a-42353006).

98 EC Report (2016) Second Report on progress by Turkey in fulfilling the requirements of its visa liberalisation roadmap, Report From The Commission To The European Parliament and the Council. {SWD(2016) 97 final} Brussels, 4 March, COM(2016) 140 final, (<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52016DC0140>).

Eder, M. and zkul, D. (2016) Editors Introduction: Precarious Lives and Syrian Refugees in Turkey, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 54, 18.

Erdoan, M. (2015) Trkiyedeki Suriyeliler: Toplumsal Kabul ve Uyum., letiim Yaynlar, stanbul.

G-gov (2015) Trkiyede Geici Koruma, (www.goc.gov.tr/icerik3/turkiye%E2%80%99de-gecici-koruma_409_558_1097).

G-gov (2017) Geici Koruma Kapsamndaki Suriyelilerin Ilere gre Dalm, (www.goc.gov.tr/icerik6/gecici-koruma_363_378_4713_icerik).

Gkalp-Aras, E. and Sahin-Mencutek, Z. (2016) From Assertive to Opportunist Usage of Mass Migration for Foreign and Asylum Policy: Turkey's Respond for The Refugees from Syria, in I. Sirkeci and B. Pusch (eds) *Turkish Migration Policy*, Transnational Press, London, 91127.

Gkalp-Aras, E. and Sahin-Mencutek, Z. (2018) Evaluation of Irregular Migration Governance in Turkey from a Foreign Policy Perspective, *New Perspective on Turkey*.

Gulay, M. (2016) Legislative Arrangements in the Field of Right to Health: In War, Migration and Health; Experience of Turkey, Turkish Medical Association Publications.

HRW (2013) World Report 2014: Turkey Events of 2013. Human Rights Watch, (www.hrw.org/world-report/2014/country-chapters/turkey).

Icduygu, A. and Simsek, D. (2016) Syrian Refugees in Turkey: Towards Integraton Polcies, *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, 15(3), 5969.

International Crisis Group (2018) Turkey's Syrian Refugees: Defusing Metropolitan Tensions. Report No. 248, (www.crisisgroup.org/europe-central-asia/western-europemediterranean/turkey/248-turkeys-syrian-refugees-defusing-metropolitan-tensions).

Kavak, S. (2016) Syrian Refugees in Seasonal Agricultural Work: A Case of adverse Incorporation in Turkey. *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 54: 3353.

Kaya, M. (2017) Trkiyedeki Suriyeliler: ie Geiler ve Karlamalar, Hiper Yayn, stanbul.

Kaynak, M. (1992) *Irakl Snmaclar ve Trkiye (19881991)*, Tanmak, Ankara.

Kaytan, . (2016) Gendered Citizenship: Experiences and Perceptions of the Bulgarian Turkish Immigrant Women, in I. Sirkeci and B. Pusch (eds) *Turkish Migration Policy*, Transnational Press, London, 5573.

Kirii, K. (2000) Disaggregating Turkish Citizenship and Immigration Practices, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 36(3) (July).

Kirici, K. (2014) Syrian Refugees and Turkey's Challenges: Going Beyond Hospitality, May, Brookings Institute, Washington, DC (www.brookings.edu/research/reports/2014/05/12-syrian-refugees-turkeys-challenges-).

Koca, B. T. (2016) Syrian Refugees in Turkey: From Guests to Enemies?, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 54, 5575.

Latif, D. (2002) Refugee Policy of the Turkish Republic, *The Turkish Year Book*, 33, (<http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/44/673/8567.pdf>).

LFIP (2014) Law on Foreigners and International Protection, Law No. 6458, Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Interior, Directorate General of Migration Management, 99 April, ([www.goc.gov.tr/files/files/YUKK_I%CC%87NGI%CC%87LI%CC%87ZCE_BASKI\(1\)\(1\).pdf](http://www.goc.gov.tr/files/files/YUKK_I%CC%87NGI%CC%87LI%CC%87ZCE_BASKI(1)(1).pdf)).

MFA (2014) Remarks by Mr. Ahmet Davutolu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, Geneva II Conference, Montreux, 22 January. (www.mfa.gov.tr/remarks-by-mr_-ahmet-davutoglu_-minister-of-foreign-affairs-of-turkey-at-the-geneva-ii-conference_-montreux_-22-january-2014.en.mfa).

MFA (2015) Basın Bilgilendirme Toplantısı, (www.mfa.gov.tr/disisleri-bakanligi-sozcusu-sayin-tanju-bilgic_in-basin-bilgilendirme-toplantisi_-30-aralik-2015_-ankara.tr.mfa).

Milliyet (2017) Türkiye'de 230000 vatansız bebek dodu, 1 January, (www.milliyet.com.tr/turkiyede-230-bin-vatansiz-gundem-2374476/).

Migration Policies Council (2017) G Politikalar Kurulu, 11 February, (www.goc.gov.tr/icerik6/goc-politikalari-kurulu_409_568_569_icerik).

MoE (2014) Circular on Educational Activities Targeting Foreigners, 23 September, (http://mevzuat.meb.gov.tr/html/yabyonegiogr_1/yabyonegiogr_1.html).

MoE (2017) Ministry of Education, 10 April, (www.meb.gov.tr/suriyeli-cocuklarin-egitimi-icin-yol-haritasi-belirlendi/haber/11750/tr).

NTV (2017) TOKİ'den İran sınırına 144 kilometrelik Yeni Duvar, 13 May, (www.ntv.com.tr/galeri/turkiye/tokiden-iran-sinirina-144-kilometrelik-yeni-duvar.8yvV7JlkeU2wG_UWbDCYcw/RDvs-uA6XUmD2gZ-bn7Eg).

Odatv (2018) TC vatandaşları 50 bin Suriyeli, 5 May, (<https://odatv.com/t.c.-vatandasi-olan-50-bin-suriyeliden-meclis-hamlesi-02051803.html>).

ORSAM (2015) Effects of the Syrian Refugees on Turkey, ORSAM-TESEV Report, No. 195, Ankara (January), (www.orsam.org.tr/files/Raporlar/rapor195/195eng.pdf).

Refugee Rights Turkey (2015) Country Report Turkey. AIDA: Asylum Information Database, December, (www.asylumineurope.org/reports/country/turkey).

Reliefweb (2013) Legal Status of Individuals Fleeing Syria: Syria Needs Analysis Project, June, (https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/legal_status_of_individuals_fleeing_syria.pdf).

Rygiel, K., Baban, F. and Ilcan, S. (2016) The Syrian Refugee Crisis: The EU-Turkey deal and Temporary Protection, *Global Social Policy*, 16(3), 315-320.

Sehir Medya . (2015) Atme Kampında Yasam, 22 May, (<http://sehirmedya.com/genel/atme-kampinda-yasam/>).

enouz, H. P. (2016) Migration Governance and Encounters between Syrian Refugees and Locals at the Turkish-Syrian Border, in *Forced Migration: Structures, Actors, Processes*, 2nd Turkish-German Frontiers of Social Science Symposium 2016, Berlin.

Settlement Law (2006) skan Kanunu. Law No. 5543, 19 September, last amended 23 April, (www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2006/09/20060926-1.htm) [Turkish].

Sunata, U. (2017) Ways to education Refugee Children, Blog on Learning and Development, (<https://bold.expert/ways-to-educate-refugee-children/>).

TBMM (2015) Parliamentary Written Question On Voting by Syrian Refugees During General Elections, 19 February, (www.tbmm.gov.tr/d24/7/7-61505s.pdf).

TPR (2014) Geici Koruma Ynetmeli [Temporary Protection Regulation], 22 October, (www.goc.gov.tr/files/files/tempemp.pdf).

UNHCR (2011) The 1951 Convention Relating the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol, September, (www.unhcr.org/4ec262df9.html).

100 UNHCR (2016) Missing Out: Refugee Education in Crisis, UNHCR Report, September, (www.unhcr.org/57d9d01d0).

UNHCR (2017) Figures at a Glance, 8 March. (www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html).

UNHCR Global Report (2011) Turkey, (www.unhcr.org/4fc880bb0.pdf).

Vatan (2013) Sandıkta Suriyeli Oylar, 25 April, (<http://haber.gazetevatan.com/sandikta-suriyelioylari/532896/9/siyaset>).

WHS (2016) Turkey Position Paper, World Humanitarian Summit, February, Istanbul, (<http://whsturkey.org/turkey-and-the-summit/turkish-humanitarian-policy>).

Work Permit (2016) Regulation on Work Permits of Refugees Under Temporary Protection [Geici Koruma Salanan Yabancıların alma izinlerine dair Ynetmelik], No. 2016/8375 (Council of

Ministers), 11 January, (www.refworld.org/docid/582c71464.html).

World Bank Group (2015) Turkey's Response to the Syrian Refugee Crisis and the Road Ahead: World Bank, Washington, DC, (<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/23548>).

Understanding the shifts in refugee governance and refugee politics of Turkey

AFAD-Giris (2017) Giri, (www.afad.gov.tr/tr/2373/Giris).

Agence France (2016) Turkey Threatens to Back Out of EU Migrant Deal Over Visas, 19 April, (www.france24.com/en/20160419-turkey-migrant-deal-eu-visa-free-travel).

Al Jazeera (2015) Interview with PM Ahmet Davutoglu, 13 November, (www.byegm.gov.tr/turkce/haber/basbakan-ahmet-davutoglu-ile-mulakat/87222).

Alaraby (2016) Turkey's Erdogan 9 May, (www.alaraby.co.uk/english/news/2016/9/5/turkeys-erdogan-proposes-syria-no-fly-zone-to-us-russia).

Aras, B. and Karakaya, R. (2008) From Conflict to Cooperation: Desecuritization of Turkey's Relations with Syria and Iran, *Security Dialogue*, 39(5), 495-515.

Baban, F., Ilcan, S. and Rygiel, K. (2017) Syrian Refugees in Turkey: Pathways to Precarity, Differential Inclusion, and Negotiated Citizenship Rights, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43(1), 415-7.

BBC (2015) Physical Security System to be Installed on the Syrian Border, (www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2015/07/150721_bulent_arinc_).

BBC (2017) Türkiye ABD merkezli yardım kuruluşu Mercy Corps'un faaliyetini durdurdu, 8 March, (www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-turkiye-39205825).

124 Chatty, D. (2017) The Syrian Humanitarian Disaster: Understanding Perceptions and Aspirations in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey, *Global Policy* 8(Supplement 1) (February), 253-2.

Cupolo, D. (2017) Turkey Steps up Crackdown on Humanitarian Aid Groups, *Irin News*, 27 April, (www.irinnews.org/news/2017/04/27/turkey-steps-crackdown-humanitarian-aid-groups).

Davutolu, A. (2013) Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu's Speech at the Opening Ceremony of Syrian Turkoman Parliament, 30 March, (www.mfa.gov.tr/disisleri-bakani-sayin-ahmet-davutoglu_nun-suriye-turkmenleri-meclis-kurulus-toplantisinde-yaptiklari-konusma_-30-mart-2013_-ank.tr.mfa).

Davutolu, A. (2015) Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu's Monthly Speech, September, (www.bbm.gov.tr/Forms/pgNewsDetail.aspx?Type=4&Id=15464).

Deardorff Miller, S. (2016) Political and Humanitarian Responses to Syrian Displacement, Routledge, Abingdon.

Demirtas, B. (2013) Turkish-Syrian Relations: From Friend Esad to Enemy Esed, (www.mepc.org/journal/middle-east-policy-archives/turkish-syrian-relations-friend-esad-enemy-esed).

DGMM (2018) Geici Koruma, (www.goc.gov.tr/icerik6/gecici-koruma_363_378_4713_icerik).

DGMM-Irregular (2018) Numbers of Irregular Migrants Apprehended, Directorate General of Migration Management, (www.goc.gov.tr/icerik6/irregular-migration_915_1024_4746_icerik), Note: Data about 2018 covers until 14 April.

DGMM Returns (2018) Return Statistics, (www.goc.gov.tr/icerik6/return-statistics_915_1024_10104_icerik).

Diken (2018) Kalın tay yükseltti, 23 January, (www.diken.com.tr/kalin-citayi-yukseltti-ulkemizdeki-suriyeliler-donene-kadar-operasyonlar-surecek/).

Economist (2017) How Many Migrants to Europe are Refugees?, (www.economist.com/blogs/economist-explains/2015/09/economist-explains-4).

EC Relocation (2017) European Commission, Relocation and Resettlement State of Play, 28 February, (https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/press-material/docs/state_of_play_-_relocation_en.pdf).

EC Report (2016) Second Report on Progress by Turkey in Fulfilling the requirements of its Visa Liberalisation Roadmap, Report from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council. {SWD(2016) 97 final} Brussels, 4 March, COM(2016) 140 final, (<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52016DC0140>).

Euroactiv PR (2016) A Lack of Democracy, 24 November, (<http://pr.euroactiv.com/pr/lack-democracy-and-rule-law-have-frozen-eu-turkey-accession-process-148328>).

European Agenda (2015) The European Agenda on Migration, (http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/communication_on_the_european_agenda_on_migration_en.pdf).

EUTurkey Statement (2016) EU Turkey Statement 18 March 2016, European Council, (www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/03/18/eu-turkey-statement/).

Evrensel (2017) HDP: Mltteciler pazarlık ve tehdit konusu yaplamaz. 17 March. (www.evrensel.net/haber/312716/hdp-multeciler-pazarlik-ve-tehdit-konusu-yapilamaz).

France24 (2016) Erdogan says Turkey wont Revise Terror Law for Visa Deal, 4 May, (www.france24.com/en/20160506-erdogan-says-turkey-wont-revise-terror-law-visa-deal).

125 G-gov (2017) Geici Koruma Kapsamndaki Suriyelilerin Ilere gre Dalm, (www.goc.gov.tr/icerik6/gecici-koruma_363_378_4713_icerik).

Gkalp-Aras, E. and Sahin-Mencetek, Z. (2016) From Assertive to Opportunist Usage of Mass Migration for Foreign and Asylum Policy: Turkeys Respond for the Refugees from Syria, in I. Sirkeci and B. Push (eds), Turkish Migration Policy, Transnational Press, London.

Greenhill, K. (2010). Weapons of Mass Migration: Forced Displacement, Coercion, and Foreign Policy, Cornell Studies in Security Affairs, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.

Greenhill, K. (2016) Open Arms Behind Barred Doors: Fear, Hypocrisy and Policy Schizophrenia in the European Migration Crisis, European Law Journal, 22(3), 317332.

Guardian (2015) Syrian Safe Zone: US Relents to Turkish Demands After Border Crisis Grows, Guardian, July 27, (www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/27/syrian-safe-zone-us-relents-to-turkish-demands-border-crisis-kurd-uk-military).

Guardian (2016) Turkish President Threatens to Send Millions of Syrians to EU, Guardian, 12 February, (www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/12/turkish-president-threatens-to-send-millions-of-syrian-refugees-to-eu).

Haberturk (2011) Davutolu Suriyelilerle Grt, Haberturk, 15 June. (www.haberturk.com/dunya/haber/639962-davutoglu-suriyelilerle-gorustu)

Hale, W. (2012) Turkish Foreign Policy Since 1774, Routledge, New York.

Hrriyet (2013) D Politikada Deerli Yanlzlk Dnemi, 21 August, (www.hurriyet.com.tr/dis-politikada-degerli-yalnizlik-donemi-24553602).

Hurriyet Daily News (2018) 500,000 Expected to go back to Syria after Afrin Operation: Turkeys First Lady, 16 February, (www.hurriyetaidailynews.com/500-000-expected-to-go-back-to-syria-after-afrin-operation-turkeys-first-lady-127450).

IOM (2015) Irregular Migrants, (www.iom.int/news/irregular-migrant-refugee-arrivals-europe-top-one-million-2015-iom).

JAP (2015) EUTurkey Joint Action Plan, 15 October, (http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-15-5860_en.htm).

Karar (2016) ABden yardm gelene kadar ouklar emekli olur, 30 November. (www.karar.com/guncel-haberler/omer-celik-abden-yardim-gelene-kadar-cocuklar-emekli-olur-323283#).

Kirici, K. (2014) Syrian Refugees and Turkeys Challenges: Going Beyond Hospitality, May 2014, Brookings Institute, Washington, DC.

Korkut, U. (2016) Pragmatism, Moral Responsibility or Policy Change: The Syrian Refugee Crisis and Selective Humanitarianism in the Turkish Refugee Regime, Comparative Migration Studies, 4(2), 120.

Oktav, . Z. and elikaksoy, A. (2015) The Syrian Refugee Challenge and Turkeys Quest for Normative Power in the Middle East, International Journal, 70(3), 408420.

Oran, B. (2001) Trk Ds Politikas: Kurtulus Savasndan bugne olgular, belgeler, yorumlar, lletisim, stanbul.

Parents, N. (2016) Refugees as Peons in Foreign Policy: Turkey, the EU and Reflections of Lasker and Nimzowitsch, Harekactact, 1 October, (<http://harekactact.border-monitoring.eu/2016/10/01/refugees-as-peons-in-foreign-policy-turkey-the-eu-and-reflections-of-lasker-and-nimzowitsch/>).

Piri, K. (2016) Linking Deal on Migration, 25 October, (<https://twitter.com/katipiri/status/802115489501736960?lang=tr>).

126 Posta (2017) Mevlt avuolu: AB ile mlteci anlamasni iptal edebiliriz, (www.posta.com.tr/mevlt-cavusoglu-ab-ile-multeci-anlamasini-iptal-edebiliriz-1277488).

Ramoglu E. (2017) Hataydaki yabanc yardm rgitleri casus kaynyor, 6 March, Sabah, (www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/bolgeler/ramoglu/2017/03/06/hataydaki-yabanci-yardim-orgutleri-casus-kayniyor).

Readmission Agreement (2014) Statement of Commissioner on the Entry into Force of the Readmission Agreement between Turkey and the EU European Commission, (http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STATEMENT-14-285_en.htm).

Rygiel, K. , Baban, F. and Ilcan, S. (2016) The Syrian Refugee Crisis: The EUTurkey Deal and Temporary Protection, Global Social Policy, 16(3), 315320.

Soykan, C. (2017) The EU Turkey Deal One Year On: The Rise of Walls of Shame, ECRE, 17 March, (www.ecre.org/op-ed-by-cavidan-soykan-the-eu-turkey-deal-one-year-on-the-rise-of-walls-of-shame/).

Summit (2016) World Humanitarian Summit, (www.agendaforhumanity.org/summit).

Summit (2017) (www.worldhumanitariansummit.org/summit). For final declaration, see www.worldhumanitariansummit.org/sites/default/files/media/A-71-353%20%20SG%20Report%20on%20the%20Outcome%20of%20the%20WHS.pdf.

Tolay, J. (2016) Mass Migration and Images of State Power: Turkey's Claim to the Status of a Responsible Rising Power, *Rising Powers Quarterly*, 1(2), 135149.

TRT World (2017) Erdogan Lays out Turkish Plan to Create Safe Zones in Syria, 17 February, (www.trtworld.com/turkey/erdogan-lays-out-turkish-plan-to-create-safe-zones-in-syria-296678).

TRT World (2018) Afrin Operation Close to Victory, 17 February, (www.trtworld.com/turkey/erdogan-says-afrin-operation-close-to-victory-15260).

Turkey Progress (2016) Commission Staff Working Document, 9 September, European Commission, (https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/pdf/key_documents/2016/20161109_report_turkey.pdf).

UN (2017) General Assembly Plenary Seventy-First Session 75th Meeting (Am), Ga/11903, 7 April, (www.un.org/press/en/2017/ga11903.doc.htm).

Zaman, A. (2017) Turkey Shut down Mercy Corps Syria Aid Program, *Al-Monitor*, 8 March, (www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/03/turkey-syria-mercy-corps-ngo-humanitarian-ypp-kurds.html#ixzz4b6jeulC5).

Lebanon's responses to Syrian mass migration

Abdallah, I. (2018) Hundreds of Refugees Return to Syria from Lebanon, *Reuters*, 18 April, (www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-lebanon/hundreds-of-refugees-return-to-syria-from-lebanon-idUSKBN1HP2E9).

Alfred, C. (2018) Dangerous Exists: Who Controls How Syrians in Lebanon go Home, *Refugees Deeply*, 8 August, (www.newsdeeply.com/refugees/articles/2018/08/08/dangerous-exit-who-controls-how-syrians-in-lebanon-go-home).

Agreement (1993) Agreement for Economic and Social Cooperation and Coordination between the Lebanese Republic and the Syrian Arab Republic, 16 September 1993, (www.syrleb.org/docs/agreements/03SOCIAL_ECONOMICeng.pdf), accessed 20 October 2016.

Amnesty International (2014) Denied Refuge: Palestinians from Syria Seeking Safety in Lebanon, 1 July, (www.amnesty.org/en/documents/MDE18/002/2014/en).

Amnesty International (2015a) New Entry Requirements for Syrians Likely to Block Would-Be Refugees, 6 January, (www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde24/002/2015/en).

Amnesty International (2015b) Pushed to the Edge: Syrian Refugees Face Increased Restrictions in Lebanon, 15 June, (www.amnesty.nl/sites/default/files/public/pushed_to_the_edge_syrian_refugees_face_increased_restrictions_in_lebanon.pdf).

Amy, D. J. (1983) *Environmental Mediation: An Alternative Approach to Policy Stalemate*, *Policy Sciences*, 15(4), 345365.

Arab, S. (2016) *Laws, Policies and Politics of Forced Displacement in Lebanon: National and Municipal Approaches: Complementarity or Autonomy?*, (<https://lajeh.hypotheses.org/914>).

Armstrong, M. (2016) Lebanon Resists Granting Work Permits to Syrian Refugees, 4 February, (www.middleeasteye.net/news/lebanon-syria-refugees-jobs-554259285).

Atallah, S. and Mahdi, D. (2017) *Law and Politics of Safe Zones and Forced Return to Syria: Refugee Politics in Lebanon*. Policy Paper, October, Lebanese Center for Policy Studies, (www.lcps-lebanon.org/publications/1515749841-lcps_report_-_online.pdf).

AUB and NRC (2016) *The Road to Statelessness*, American University of Beirut/Norwegian Refugee Council, (www.aub.edu.lb/ifi/publications/Documents/infographics/20161).

160 Azzi (2016) Azzi to Announce Comprehensive Plan for Repatriation of Syrian Refugees, 19 September, (<http://nna-leb.gov.lb/en/show-news/68458/Azzi-to-announce-comprehensive-plan-for-repatriation-of-syrian-refugees>).

Bano, S. (2015) The Paralysis over Syria and the Refugee Crisis, *CLAWS Journal*, 1(Winter), 4456.

BBC News (2015) Syrians Entering Lebanon Face New Restrictions, *BBC News*, (www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-30657003).

BBC News (2018) Syria Conflict: 15 Refugees Found Frozen to Death, *BBC News*, (www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-42758532).

Berti, B. and Lee, D. (2014) *Lebanon and the United Nations Special Tribunal: Between (Un) Accountability and (In) Stability?*, *Strategic Assessment*, 17(1), 95105.

- Bobseine, H. (2016) Just Wanted to be Treated like a Person: How Lebanons Residency Rules Facilitate Abuse of Syrian Refugees, Human Rights Watch, New York, (www.hrw.org/report/2016/01/12/i-just-wanted-be-treated-person/how-lebanons-residency-rules-facilitate-abuse).
- Boustani, M. (2014) Enhancing Municipal Capacities: From Emergency Response to Planning, Civil Society Knowledge Center, Lebanon.
- Boustani, M. , Carpi, E. , Gebara, H. and Mourad, Y. (2016) Responding to the Syrian Crisis in Lebanon Collaboration Between Aid Agencies and Local Governance Structures, Working Paper, September, (<http://pubs.iied.org/pdfs/10799IIED.pdf>).
- Brussels Conference (2017) Annex: Supporting Resilience and Development Effort of Host Countries and Refugees in the Context of the Syrian Crisis, (www.consilium.europa.eu/media/24070/annex-lebanon.pdf).
- Carpi, E. (2014) The Political and the Humanitarian in Lebanon: Social Responsiveness to Emergency Crisis from the 2006 War to the Syrian Refugee Influx, *Oriente Moderno* 94, 402427.
- Chaaban, J. , Ghattas, H. , Habib, R. and Hanafi, S. (2010) Socio-Economic Survey of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, American University of Beirut, Beirut.
- Chedid, A. (2013) Speech delivered by Antoine Chedid at the Wilson Center, Washington, DC, 29 October, Conference recap webcast, (www.wilsoncenter.org/event/humanitarian-crisis-impact-syrian-refugees-lebanon).
- Christophersen, M. C. , Therleifsson, M. and Tiltnes, A. (2013) Ambivalent Hospitality: Coping Strategies and Local Responses to Syrian Refugees in Lebanon, (www.fafo.no/~fafo/images/pub/2013/20338.pdf).
- Constantine, Z. (2012) Lebanons PM Prefers to Disassociate with Syria, *The National World (Abu Dhabi)*, 29 January, (www.thenational.ae/news/world/middle-east/lebanons-pm-prefers-to-dissociate-with-syria).
- Daher, J. (2016) Reassessing Hizballahs Socioeconomic Policies in Lebanon, *The Middle East Journal*, 70(3), 399418.
- Daily Star (2012) Mikati Lauds Disassociation Policy, Promises Aid to Syrian Refugees, *Daily Star Lebanon*, 28 February, (www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Politics/2012/Feb-28/164887-mikati-lauds-dissociation-policy-promises-aid-to-syrian-refugees.ashx).
- Daily Star (2013) Bassil: Refugees Threaten Lebanons Existence, *Daily Star Lebanon*, 28 September, (www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2013/Sep-28/232887-bassil-refugeesthreaten-lebanons-existence.ashx).
- Daily Star (2016a) Refugee Crisis Threatens Lebanese Identity: Lebanon FM, *Daily Star Lebanon*, 18 September, (www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2016/Sep-18/372456-refugee-crisis-threatens-lebanese-identity-lebanon-fm.ashx).
- 161 Daily Star (2016b) Army Arrests 40 for Infractions/Illegal Status, *Daily Star Lebanon*, 15 October, (www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2016/Oct-15/376546-army-arrests-40-for-infractionsillegal-status.ashx).
- Danish Refugee Council (2005) Iraqi Population in Lebanon: Survey Report, Danish Refugee Council, (https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/DB62DD2E23B0D54C492572E200218F4B-Full_Report.pdf).
- Diab, Y. (2016) Lebanon Attends U.N. Refugee Summit amid Naturalization Fears, 17 September, (<http://english.aawsat.com/2016/09/article55358489/lebanon-attends-u-n-refugee-summit-amid-naturalization-fears>).
- Dorai, M. K. and Clochard, O. (2006) Non-Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon: From Asylum Seekers to Illegal Migrants, *Franoise de Bel Air. Migration et politique au Moyen-Orient*, IFPO, 127143.
- Dyke, J. (2015) Stranded Syrians at Serious Risk of Losing Refugee Status in Lebanon, *IRIN News*, 16 March, (www.irinnews.org/report/101236/stranded-syrians-at-serious-risk-of-losing-refugee-status-in-lebanon).
- El-Khazen, F. (1991) *The Communal Pact of National Identities: The Making and Politics of the 1943 National Pact*, Centre for Lebanese Studies, Oxonian Rewley Press, Oxford.
- Erakat, N. (2014) Palestinian Refugees and the Syrian Uprising: Filling the Protection Gap during Secondary Forced Displacement, *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 26(4), 581621.
- Fakhoury, T. (2015) Lebanons Perilous Balancing Act, *Current History*, December, 349354.
- Felsch, M. and Whlisch, M. (eds) (2016) *Lebanon and the Arab Uprisings: In the Eye of the Hurricane*, Routledge, London.
- Frangieh, G. (2016) Lebanon Places Discriminatory Entry Restrictions on Syrians, *Legal Agenda*, April, (<http://english.legalagenda.com/article.php?id=679&lang=en>).
- Hanafi, S. (2008) Palestinian Camps in Lebanon as a Space of Exception, in Kamel Dora and Nicolas Puig (eds) *Revue Asylon(s), Palestiniens en/hors camps*, September, (

terra.eu/article798.html) [French].

Hanafi, S. (2014) Forced Migration in the Middle East and North Africa, in E. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, G. Loescher, K. Long and N. Sigona (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 585-598.

Hashem, A. (2016) How Aoun Rose from 90s Renegade to Lebanon's New President, *Al-Monitor*, 1 October, (www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/11/lebanon-elections-president-michel-aoun.html#ixzz4Opdtxmw1).

Human Rights Watch (2014) Lebanon: At Least 45 Local Curfews Imposed on Syrian Refugees, 3 October, (www.hrw.org/news/2014/10/03/lebanon).

Human Rights Watch (2015) Rot Here or Die There: Bleak Choices for Iraqi Refugees in Lebanon, (www.hrw.org/report/2007/12/03/rot-here-or-die-there/bleak-choices-iraqi-refugees-lebanon).

Human Rights Watch (2018) Our Homes are not for Strangers: Mass Evictions of Syrian Refugees by Lebanese Municipalities, (www.hrw.org/report/2018/04/20/our-homes-are-not-strangers/mass-evictions-syrian-refugees-lebanese-municipalities).

IRC-NRC (2015) Legal Status of Refugees from Syria Overview of the New Entry and Renewal Requirements, Report, June,

([file:///C:/Users/PC/Downloads/NRCIRCLegalStatusinBML_July2015_FINAL%20\(1\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/PC/Downloads/NRCIRCLegalStatusinBML_July2015_FINAL%20(1).pdf)).

162 Lebanon Support (2016) Formal Informality, Brokering Mechanisms, and Illegality: The Impact of the Lebanese States Policies on Syrian Refugees Daily Lives, Report, Lebanon Support, (www.alnap.org/resource/23362).

Janmyr, M. (2016) The Legal Status of Syrian Refugees in Lebanon, Report, Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs (American University Beirut), March, (www.aub.edu.lb/ifi/publications/Documents/working_papers/20160331_Maja_Janmyr.pdf).

Janmyr, M. (2017a) No Country of Asylum: Legitimizing Lebanon's Rejection of the 1951 Refugee Convention, *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 29(3), 438-465.

Janmyr, M. (2017b) UNHCR and the Syrian Refugee Response: Negotiating Status and Registration in Lebanon, *International Journal of Human Rights*, (doi: 10.1080/13642987.2017.1371140).

Janmyr, M. and Mourad, L. (2018) Modes of Ordering: Labelling, Classification and Categorization in Lebanon's Refugee Response, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, fex042, (<https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fex042>).

Jones, K. and Ksaifi, L. (2016) Struggling to Survive: Slavery and Exploitation of Syrian Refugees in Lebanon, Report, Freedom Fund, (<http://freedomfund.org/wp-content/uploads/Lebanon-Report-FINAL-8April16.pdf>).

Kerr, M. (2012) Before the Revolution, in A. Knudsen and M. Kerr (eds) *Lebanon: After the Cedar Revolution*, Hurst, London.

Knudsen, A. and Kerr, M. (2012) Introduction: The Cedar Revolution and Beyond, in A. Knudsen and M. Kerr (eds) *Lebanon: After the Cedar Revolution*, Hurst, London.

LCRP (2015) Lebanon Crisis Response Plan 2015-16, published 15 December 2015.

LCPS (2016) The Repercussions of the Syrian Refugee Crisis on Lebanon: The Challenges of Providing Services and Creating Jobs, *The Lebanese Center for Policy Studies (LCPS), Roundtable Report Series*, January, (www.lcps-lebanon.org/publications/1457102954-syrian_refugee_crisis_web.pdf).

LCRP (2018) Lebanon Crisis Response Plan. 2017-2020 (2018 update). The Government of Lebanon and the United Nations, January, (<https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/63238>).

Lebanon (2015) Concluding Statement of the 2015, Article IV Mission, 14 May, (www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2015/09/28/04/52/mcs051415), accessed 26 January 2017.

Lebanon Support (2015) Conflict Analysis Digest, Report, 31 August, (<http://reliefweb.int/report/lebanon/conflict-analysis-digest-august-2015>).

Majzoub, M. (2002) *Constitutional Law and the Lebanese Political System*, Al-Halabi Publishers, Beirut.

Makdisi, K. (2015) Lebanon: a General Assessment of the Situation in the Country, *IEMed Mediterranean Yearbook*, 202205.

Mouzahem, H. (2016) Just How Much can Lebanon Change under Aoun?, *Al Monitor*, 11 November, (www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/11/lebanon-president-michel-aoun-plans-challenges.html#ixzz4WwQuwGZj).

MPC Team (2013) Lebanon's Migration Profile. Report, Migration Policy Centre, (www.migrationpolicycentre.eu/docs/migration_profiles/Lebanon.pdf).

Murphy, K. (2006) The Lebanese Crisis and Its Impact on Immigrants and Refugees, 1 September, (www.migrationpolicy.org/article/lebanese-crisis-and-its-impact-immigrants-and-refugees).

163 Naharnet Newsdesk (2016) Salam Urges U.N. for Plan to Repatriate Syrian Refugees, 19 September, (www.naharnet.com/stories/en/216670).

Norton, A. R. (1998) Hizballah: From Radicalism To Pragmatism?, *Middle East Policy*, 55(4), 147-158.

Orient News (2016) Lebanese PM: Naturalization of Syrian Refugees is Out of Question, *Orient News*, 24 March, (http://orient-news.net/en/news_show/107022/0/Lebanese-PM-naturalization-of-Syrian-refugees-is-out-of-question).

Picard, E. (2002) *Lebanon, a Shattered Country: Myths and Realities of the Wars in Lebanon*, Holmes and Meier, New York.

Policy Brief (2014) *Engaging Municipalities in the Response to the Syria Refugee Crisis in Lebanon*, Report, the British Embassy in Beirut and Mercy Corps Lebanon, March.

Refugee Law (2016) *Refugee Law and Policy: Lebanon*, 21 June, (www.loc.gov/law/help/refugee-law/lebanon.php#skip_menu).

Refugee Studies Centre (2010) *No Refuge: Palestinians in Lebanon*, (www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/files/files-1/wp64-no-refuge-2010.pdf).

Religious Freedom Report (2011) *International Religious Freedom Report for 2011*, United States Department of State, Bureau for Democracy, Human Rights and Law, (www.state.gov/documents/organization/193107.pdf).

Reuters (2018) *Lebanon Working for RETURN of Thousands of Syrian Refugees: Security Official*, 31 May, (www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-lebanon-refugees/lebanon-working-for-return-of-thousands-of-syrian-refugees-security-official-idUSKCN1IW26R).

Rougier, B. (2007) *Everyday Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam among Palestinians in Lebanon*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Ruhayem, R. (2016) *Syrian Refugees Living in Fear as Lebanon Tightens its Laws*, BBC News, 12 September, (www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-37260994).

Saab, B. Y. and Magnus, R. (2007) *Securing Lebanon from the Threat of Salafist Jihadism*, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 30(10), 825-855.

Saghieh, N. and Frangieh, G. (2014) *The Most Important Features of Lebanese Policy Towards the Issue of Syrian Refugees: From Hiding its Head in the Sand to Soft Power*, Henrich Bill Stiftung, 30 December, (<https://hb.boell.org/en/2014/12/30/most-important-features-lebanese-policy-towards-issue-syrian-refugees-hiding-its-head>).

Saghieh, N. and Nammour, K. (2017) *Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon: What Strategies can be Employed to Improve their Rights via the Judiciary?*, *The Legal Agenda*, (<http://legal-agenda.com/uploads/PalestinianRefugeesinLebanon.pdf>).

Salem, P. (2012) *Can Lebanon Survive the Syrian Crisis?*, *The Carnegie Papers*, December, Carnegie Middle East Center, Beirut, (https://carnegieendowment.org/files/lebanon_syrian_crisis.pdf).

Salam, T. (2016) Salam Urges U.N. for Plan to Repatriate Syrian Refugees, Naharnet Newsdesk, 19 September, (www.naharnet.com/stories/en/216670).

Schmitt, C. (2016) *Lebanon, the Next Failed State?*, DW, 23 February, (www.dw.com/en/lebanon-the-next-failed-state/a-19066242).

Shafie, S. (2008) *Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon*, *Forced Migration Online*, (www.forcedmigration.org/research-resources/expert-guides/palestinian-refugees-in-lebanon/fmo018.pdf).

SNAP (2013) *Legal Status of Individuals Fleeing Syria: Syria Needs Analysis Project*, June, (http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/legal_status_of_individuals_fleeing_syria.pdf).

164 Tabar, P. (2009) *Immigration and Human Development: Evidence from Lebanon*, *Human Development Research Paper*, August, (<http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/immigration-and-human-development>).

Tambulasi, R. I. C. (2011) *Local Government Without Governance: A New Institutional Perspective of Local Governance Policy Paralysis in Malawi*, *Public Policy and Administration*, 26(3), 333-352.

Thibos, C. (2014) *One Million Syrians in Lebanon: A Milestone Quickly Passed*, *Migration Policy Centre*, European University Institute, (<http://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/31696>).

Trad, S. and Frangieh, G. (2007) *Iraqi Refugees in Lebanon: Continuous Lack of Protection*, *Forced Migration Review*, (www.fmreview.org/iraq/trad-frangieh.html).

UNHCR (2003) *The Memorandum of Understanding between the Directorate of the General Security (Republic of Lebanon) and the Regional Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Concerning the Processing of Cases of Asylum-Seekers Applying for Refugee Status with the UNHCR Office*, 9 September, Geneva.

UNHCR (2004) *Country Operations Plan: Lebanon*, (www.unhcr.org/3fd9c6a14.pdf).

UNHCR (2007) *Country Operations Plan: Lebanon*, (www.unhcr.org/uk/protection/cops/45221e482/unhcr-country-operations-plan-2007-

lebanon.html).

UNHCR (2013) Report on Legal Status of Individuals Feeling Syria, (http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/legal_status_of_individuals_fleeing_syria.pdf).

UNHCR (2016a) Syria Regional Refugee Response, last updated 30 September 2016, (<http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=122>).

UNHCR (2016b) Syria Regional Refugee Response, Interagency Sharing Portal, Lebanon, last updated August/September 2016, (<http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php>).

UNHCR (2016c) Asylum-Seekers, (www.unhcr.org/asylum-seekers.html).

UNHCR (2018) Total Persons of Concern by Country of Asylum, last updated 31 May 2018, (https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria#_ga=2.245672196.1224993519.1528812845-1135578115.1489735713).

UNHCR Resettlement (2018) Resettlement Data Finder, (<http://rsq.unhcr.org/en/#NYc6>).

UNRWA (2014) Where we Work?, figures as of 1 July 2014, (www.unrwa.org/where-we-work/lebanon).

UNRWA (2018) Where we Work? Facts & Figures, last updated 1 July 2014, (www.unrwa.org/where-we-work/lebanon).

Yacoubian, M. (2014) Renewed Conflict in Lebanon, Council on Foreign Relations, 11 June, (www.cfr.org/lebanon/renewed-conflict-lebanon/p33083).

Weinstein, D. (2016) Lebanons Deportation of Syrians en Route to Turkey, 18 March, Human Rights Brief, (<http://hrbrief.org/2016/03/lebanons-deportation-of-syrians-en-route-to-turkey/>), accessed 17 October 2016.

Wilensky, H. R. (2002) Rich Democracies: Political Economy, Public Policy and Performance, University of California Press, Berkeley, CA.

Forces behind Lebanese governance patterns and refugee politics

Arab, S. (2016) Laws, Policies and Politics of Forced Displacement in Lebanon: National and Municipal Approaches: Complementarity or Autonomy?, (<https://lajeh.hypotheses.org/914>).

Armstrong, M. (2016) Lebanon Resists Granting Work Permits to Syrian Refugees, 4 February, (www.middleeasteye.net/news/lebanon-syria-refugees-jobs-554259285).

Azzi, S. (2016) Azzi to Announce Comprehensive Plan for Repatriation of Syrian Refugees, 19 September, (<http://nna-leb.gov.lb/en/show-news/68458/Azzi-to-announce-comprehensive-plan-for-repatriation-of-Syrian-refugees>).

Baabda (2012) Baabda Declaration issued by the National Dialogue Committee on 11 June 2012, (www.voltairenet.org/article181965.html).

Carpi, E. (2014) The Political and the Humanitarian in Lebanon: Social Responsiveness to Emergency Crisis from the 2006 War to the Syrian Refugee Influx, *Oriente Moderno*, 94, 402427.

Carpi, E. (2016) Against Ontologies of Hospitality: About Syrian Refugeehood in Northern Lebanon, 27 October, Middle East Institute, (www.mei.edu/content/map/against-ontologies-hospitality-about-syrian-refugeehood-northern-lebanon).

Daily Star (2012) Mikati Lauds Disassociation Policy, Promises Aid to Syrian Refugees, Daily Star, 28 February, (www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Politics/2012/Feb-28/164887-mikati-lauds-dissasociation-policy-promises-aid-to-syrian-refugees.ashx).

Daily Star (2016a) Refugee Crisis Threatens Lebanese Identity: Lebanon FM, Daily Star, 18 September, (www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2016/Sep-18/372456-refugee-crisis-threatens-lebanese-identity-lebanon-fm.ashx).

Daily Star (2016b) No Aid can Compensate for Hosting Refugees: Lebanon Minister, Daily Star, 16 September, (www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2016/Sep-16/372259-no-aid-can-compensate-for-hosting-refugees-lebanon-minister.ashx).

De Genova N. , Fontanari, E. Picozza, F. and Bermant, L. (2016) Migrant Crisis/Refugee Crisis, in *Europe/Crisis: New Keywords of the Crisis in and of Europe*, New Keywords Collective, (<http://nearfutureonline.org/europecrisis-new-keywords-of-crisis-in-and-of-europe-part-3/>).

Eakin, H. (2013) Hezbollah's Refugee Problem, *NYR Daily*, 12 August, (www.nybooks.com/daily/2013/08/12/hezbollahs-humanitarian-game/).

European Training Foundation (2015) Labour Market and Employment Policy in Lebanon, ([www.etf.europa.eu/webatt.nsf/0/33A1850E6A358308C1257DFF005942FE/\\$file/Employmentpolicies_Lebanon.pdf](http://www.etf.europa.eu/webatt.nsf/0/33A1850E6A358308C1257DFF005942FE/$file/Employmentpolicies_Lebanon.pdf)).

Guardian (2015) Lebanon Restricts Free Entry of Syrian Refugees to Limit Sunni Inflow, *Guardian*, 5 January, (www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/05/lebanon-syrian-refugees-sunni).

visa-rules).

- 179 Hassan, I. S. and Hanafi, S. (2010) (In) Security and Reconstruction in Post-Conflict Nahr al-Barid Refugee Camp, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 40(1), 2748.
- Janmyr, M. (2017a) UNHCR and the Syrian Refugee Response: Negotiating Status and Registration in Lebanon, *International Journal of Human Rights*, (doi: 10.1080/13642987.2017.1371140).
- Janmyr, M. (2017b) No Country of Asylum: Legitimizing Lebanon's Rejection of the 1951 Refugee Convention, *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 29(3), 438465.
- Lebanon Support (2015a) Between Radicalization and Mediation Processes: a Political Mapping of Palestinian Refugee Camps in Lebanon. Report, Civil Society Knowledge Center, October, (<http://cskc.daleel-madani.org/paper/between-radicalization-and-mediation-processes-political-mapping-palestinian-refugee-camps>).
- Lebanon Support (2015b) Conflict Analysis Digest, Report, 31 August, (<http://reliefweb.int/report/lebanon/conflict-analysis-digest-august-2015>).
- LCPS (2016) The Repercussions of the Syrian Refugee Crisis on Lebanon: The Challenges of Providing Services and Creating Jobs, The Lebanese Center for Policy Studies (LCPS), Roundtable Report Series, January, (www.lcps-lebanon.org/publications/1457102954-syrian_refugee_crisis_web.pdf).
- LCRP (2015) Lebanon Crisis Response Plan 201516, published 15 December 2015.
- LCRP (2018) Lebanon Crisis Response Plan. 20172020 (2018 update). The Government of Lebanon and the United Nations, January, (<https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/63238>).
- LCRP Short Version (2015) (www.un.org.lb/library/assets/engbrochshortversion-065508.pdf).
- Lebanon Statement (2016) (www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/498026/Supporting_Syria_the_Region_London_2016_-_Lebanon_Statement.pdf).
- Merhebi, M. (2017) Speech of H.E. the Minister for The Affairs of the Displaced, Mr. Mouin Merhebi, 24 January, (<https://Data2.Unhcr.Org/En/Documents/Details/53275>).
- Nashed, M. (2016) Lebanon's Policy of No Policy Towards Syrian Refugees, *The New Arab*, 8 August, (www.alaraby.co.uk/english/comment/2016/8/8/lebanons-policy-of-no-policy-towards-syrian-refugees).
- Peteet, J. M. (2005) *Landscape of Hope and Despair: Palestinian Refugee Camps*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, PA.
- Policy Brief (2014) Engaging Municipalities in the Response to the Syria Refugee Crisis in Lebanon, Report, the British Embassy in Beirut and Mercy Corps Lebanon, March.
- Ruhayem, R. (2016) Syrian Refugees Living in Fear as Lebanon Tightens its Laws, *BBC News*, 12 September, (www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-37260994).
- Salem, P. (2012) Can Lebanon Survive the Syrian Crisis?, *The Carnegie Papers*, December, Carnegie Middle East Center, Beirut, (https://carnegieendowment.org/files/lebanon_syrian_crisis.pdf).
- SNAP (2013) Legal Status of Individuals Fleeing Syria: Syria Needs Analysis Project, June, (http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/legal_status_of_individuals_fleeing_syria.pdf).
- Thorliefsson, C. (2016) The Limits of Hospitality: Coping the Strategies Among Displaced Syrians in Lebanon, *Third World Quarterly*, 37(6), 10711082.
- 180 Turner, L. (2015) Explaining the (Non-)Encampment of Syrian Refugees: Security, Class and the Labour Market in Lebanon and Jordan, *Mediterranean Politics*, 20(3), 386404.
- Yacoubian, M. (2014) Renewed Conflict in Lebanon, *Council on Foreign Relations*, 11 June, (www.cfr.org/lebanon/renewed-conflict-lebanon/p33083).
- Yahya, M. (2015) Refugees and the Making of an Arab Regional Disorder, *Carnegie Middle East Center*, November.

Jordanian national refugee governance and its responses to Syrian mass migration

- Abadi, J. (2014) The Impact of the Syrian Civil War on Syrian-Jordanian Relations, *Turkish Review*, 4 (2), 162168.
- Abu-Odeh, A. (1999) *Jordanians, Palestinians, and the Hashemite Kingdom in the Middle East Peace Process*, United States Institute of Peace Press, Washington, DC.

- Achilli, L. (2014) Disengagement from Politics: Nationalism, Political Identity, and the Everyday in a Palestinian Refugee Camp in Jordan, *Critique of Anthropology*, 34(2), 234257.
- Achilli, L. (2015) Syrian Refugees in Jordan: A Reality Check, Migration Policy Center, EUI, February, (http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/34904/MPC_2015-02_PB.pdf).
- Al Abed, O. (2004) Palestinian Refugees in Jordan, Forced Migration Online, (www.forcedmigration.org/research-resources/expert-guides/palestinian-refugeesin-jordan/fmo025.pdf).
- Alfayez, T. (2016) The Political Economy of Aid and Foreign Policy Making: The Case of US Aid to Jordan, in Imad H. El-Anis and Natasha Underhill (eds) *Regional Integration and National Disintegration in the Post-Arab Spring*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Cambridge, 149170.
- Al-Husseini, J. and Bocco, R. (2010) The Status of the Palestinian Refugees in the Near East: The Right of Return and UNRWA in Perspective, *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 28(23), 260285.
- Amin Mohamed, A. and Hamdy, H. (2008) The Stigma of Wasta: The Effect of Wasta on Perceived Competence and Morality, Working paper, vol. 5, Faculty of Management, German University in Cairo.
- Amnesty International (2013a) A Dog has More Freedom. (www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2013/07/a-dog-has-more-freedom-palestinians-at-cyber-city-camp-for-refugees-from-syria/).
- Amnesty International (2013b) Refugees from Syria Face Further Suffering if Jordan Closes Border, (www.amnesty.org/en/news/refugees-from-syria-face-further-suffering-if-jordan-closes-border-2013-01-18).
- Amnesty International (2015) Urgent Action, Amnesty International, UA: 280/15 Index: MDE 16/3059/2015 Jordan, 11 December. (www.amnesty.org//MDE1630592015ENGLISH.pdf), accessed 2 May 2017.
- Amnesty International (2017). Amnesty International Report 2016/17 Jordan, 22 February, (www.refworld.org/docid/58b033e94.html).
- Arar, R. M. (2016) How Political Migrants Networks Differ from Those of Economic Migrants: Strategic Anonymity among Iraqi Refugees in Jordan, *Journal Of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(3), 519535.
- Arar, R. M. (2017) Leveraging Sovereignty: The Case of Jordan and the International Refugee Regime, Memo published as a part of the Project on Middle East Political Science, (<https://pomeps.org/2017/03/29/leveraging-sovereignty-the-case-of-jordan-and-the-international-refugee-regime/>).
- Barnes, A. E. (2009) Realizing Protection Space for Iraqi Refugees: UNHCR in Syria, Jordan and Lebanon, *New Issues in Refugee Research*, Research Paper No. 167. Damascus, Syria: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, (<http://unhcr.org/4981d3ab2.html>).
- Baylouny, A. M. (2008) Militarizing Welfare: Neo-Liberalism and Jordanian Policy, *Middle East Journal*, 62(2) (Spring), 277303.
- 208 Beblawi, H. (1987) The Rentier State in the Arab World, *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 9(4), 383398.
- Bidinger, S. , Land, A. , Hites, D. , Kuzmova, Y. , Nouredine, E. and Akram, S. M. (2014) Protecting Syrian Refugees: Laws, Policies, and Global Responsibility Sharing, Boston University School of Law, International Human Rights Clinic, Boston, MA, (www.bu.edu/law/central/jd/programs/clinics/internationalhumanrights/documents/FINALFullReport.pdf).
- Bjawi-Levine, L. (2009) Paying the Price of War: Narratives of Trauma of Iraqi Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Jordan, *Anthropology of the Middle East*, 4(2), 7584.
- Black, I. (2014) Patience Running out in Jordan after Influx of Syrian Refugees, *Guardian*, 1 December, (www.theguardian.com/world/2014/dec/01/jordan-syrian-refugees-patience-running-out).
- Blair, D. and Watt, H. (2013) Tens of Thousands of Syrian Refugees Stranded on Jordanian Border, *Telegraph*, 3 September, (www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/syria/10284503/Tens-of-thousands-of-Syrian-refugees-strandedon-Jordanian-border.html).
- Brand, L. A. (1994) Economics and Shifting Alliances: Jordans Relations with Syria and Iraq, 197581, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 26(3) (August), 393413.
- Brand, L. A. (1995) Palestinians and Jordanians: A Crisis of Identity, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 24(4), 4661.
- Brun, C. (2016) There is no Future in Humanitarianism: Emergency, Temporality and Protracted Displacement, *History and Anthropology*, 27(4), 393410.
- Brynen, R. (2006) Perspectives on Palestinian Repatriation, in Michael Dumper (ed.) *Palestinian Repatriation: Refugee Global Perspectives*, Routledge, New York, 6386.
- Care Report (2017) FACTSHEET CARE Jordan Syrian Refugee, Other Minority Refugee, and Jordanian Host Households Survey Results in Brief, June, (www.care.at/wp)

content/uploads/2017/06/2017-CARE-Jordan-Syrian-refugees-Fact-Sheet-final-web-15062017.pdf).

Chatelard, G. (2008) Jordans Transient Iraqi Guests: Transnational Dynamics and National Agenda, Viewpoints Special Edition on Iraqs Refugee and IDP Crisis, The Middle East Institute.

Chatelard, G. (2009) Protection, Mobility and Livelihood Challenges of Displaced Iraqis in Urban Settings in Jordan, International Catholic Migration Commission, Geneva.

Chatty, D. (2017) The Syrian Humanitarian Disaster: Understanding Perceptions and Aspirations in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey, *Global Policy* 8(Supplement 1) (February), 2532.

Constitution (1952) Constitution of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, (www.refworld.org/pdfid/3ae6b53310.pdf).

Daily Star (2013) Jordan Urged Not to Deny Entry to Syria Refugees, *Daily Star*, 20 August, (www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Middle-East/2013/Aug-20/227986-jordan-urged-not-to-deny-entry-to-syriarefugees.ashx#ixzz2cjaDtiRU).

Danhan, M. (2016) The Migrant City the Size of Bath, *Daily Mail*, 3 February, (www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3429835/King-Abdullah-says-Jordan-boiling-point-number-Syrian-refugees.html#ixzz4kS1VM1k9).

209 Davis, R. , Taylor, A. , Todman, W. and Murphy, E. (2016) Sudanese and Somali Refugees in Jordan: Hierarchies of Aid in Protracted Displacement Crises, *Middle East Report MER*, 279, 46, (www.merip.org/mer/mer279/sudanese-somali-refugees-jordan).

Deborah, A. (2013) Reversing Direction, Some Syrian Refugees Now Head Home, *All Things Considered* (NPR)Newspaper Source Plus, EBSCOhost, accessed 19 June 2017.

Dorai, K. (2015) Palestinian Refugees and the Current Syrian Conflict: From Settled Refugees to Stateless Asylum Seekers?, *Allegralaboratory.net*, (<http://allegralaboratory.net/palestinian-refugees-and-the-current-syrian-conflict-from-settled-refugees-to-stateless-asylum-seekers/>).

Dorai, K. (2016) Zaatari Refugee Camp: a Makeshift City, *Jadaliyya*, 16 June, (www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/24641/zaatari-refugee-camp_a-makeshift-city).

Dorai, K. (2017) Seminar aMiMo: Current Issues on Migration 3 Refugee Settlement in Jordan and Lebanon: Camp Dwellers and Self-Settled Refugees, *Istanbul*, 28 December.

Doyle, C. (2014) Jordan Must Not Become a Bankrupt Refugee State, *Al-Arabiya English*, 3 December, (<http://english.alarabiya.net/en/views/news/middle-east/2014/12/03/Jordan-cannot-be-allowed-to-become-a-bankrupt-refugee-state.html>).

El Dardiry, G. (2017) People Eat People: The Influence of Socioeconomic Conditions on Experiences of Displacement in Jordan, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 49, 701719.

EUI (2015) Syrian Refugees in Jordan: A Reality Check (February 2015), *European University Institute (EUI)*, (http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/34904/MPC_2015-02_PB.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y).

Fact Sheet (2017) Jordan Fact Sheet, *UNHCR*, February, (<http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=107>).

Ferris, E. , Kirii, K. and Shaikh, S. (2013) Syrian Crisis: Massive Displacement, Dire Needs and a Shortage of Solutions, *The Brookings Institution*, Washington, DC.

Frhlich, C. and Stevens, M. R. (2015) Trapped in Refuge the Syrian Crisis in Jordan Worsens, *Report from Middle East Research and Information Project*, 2 March, (<https://reliefweb.int/report/jordan/trapped-refuge-syrian-crisis-jordan-worsens>).

Ghazal, M. (2016) Population Stands at Around 9.5 Million, including 2.9 Million Guests, *Jordan Times*, 30 January, (www.jordantimes.com/news/local/population-stands-around-95-million-including-29-million-guests).

Gibson, I. (2015) An Analysis of Jordans 2013 Policy Regarding Iraqi Refugees, *Social Identities*, 21(3), 199210.

Haddad, Z. (2012) Jordan: Sudanese Refugees Struggle Against Racism Everyday, *Jesuit Refugee Services*, 18 June, (http://en.jrs.net/campaign_detail?PTN=1&TN=PROJECT-20120615095435).

Harper, E. , Sean, T. and Mays, A. A. (2016) Forging New Strategies in Protracted Refugee Crises: Syrian Refugees and the Host State Economy, *Jordan Case Study*, *WANA Institute*, 21 January, (<http://wanainstitute.org/en/publication/forging-new-strategies-protracted-refugee-crises-regional-study>).

Human Rights Watch (2013) Jordan: Obama Should Press King on Asylum Seeker Pushbacks, (www.hrw.org/news/2013/03/21/jordan-obama-should-pressking-asylum-seeker-pushbacks).

210 ILO (2015) Access to Work for Syrian Refugees in Jordan: A Discussion Paper on Labour and Refugee Laws and Polices, *International Labour Organization*, (<https://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/download.php?id=8919>).

Iraqi Response (2012) Regional Response Plan for Iraqi Refugees, *Rep. United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs*, (<http://unocha.org/cap/appeals/regional-response-plan-iraqi-refugees-2012>).

Jordanian National Charter (1991) (www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6b53b4.html), accessed 15 November 2010.

Jordan INGO (2017) Walk the Talk, Jordan INGO Forum, 11 October.

Jordan Law (1973) Law No. 24 of 1973 Concerning Residency and Foreigners Affairs. (www.lawyerassistance.com/LegislationsPDF/jordan/residencylawAr.pdf) (in Arabic), Archived at: (<https://perma.cc/RGH6-KPBH>).

Jordan Times (2016) King Urges Increased Global Engagement Without Delay to Tackle Refugee Crisis, Jordan Times, 22 September, (<http://jordantimes.com/news/local/king-urges-increased-global-engagement-without-delay%E2%80%99-tackle-refugee-crisis>).

JRP (2016/2018) Jordan Response Plan for the Syria Crisis 2016/2018, Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, Jordan Response Platform for Syrian Crisis and United Nations.

JRP (2017/2019) Jordan Response Plan for the Syrian Crisis, 2017/2019, Ministry of Development and International Cooperation, (<https://static1.squarespace.com/static/522c2552e4b0d3c39ccd1e00t/5956897e78d1714f5b61f5c2/1498843547605/JRP+2017-2019+-+Full+-+%28June+30%29.pdf>).

Kelberer, V. (2015) Seeking Shelter in Jordans Cities: Housing Security and Urban Humanitarianism in the Syria Crisis, 5 November, (www.merip.org/mero/mero110515).

Kelberer, V. (2017) Negotiating Crisis: International Aid and Refugee Policy in Jordan, Middle East Policy, 24(4), 148165.

Kprl, N. (2014) Consolidated Monarchies in the Post-Arab Spring Era: The Case of Jordan, Israel Affairs, 20(3), 318327.

Layne, L. (1994) Home and Homeland: The Dialogics of Tribal and National Identities in Jordan, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.

Lenner, K. (2015) Alternative Voices on the Syrian Refugee Crisis in Jordan: An Interview Collection, RLS Regional Office Palestine.

Lenner, K. (2016) Blasts from the Past: Policy Legacies and Memories in the Making of the Jordanian Response to the Syrian Refugee Crisis, EUI Working Papers, Mwp Red Number Series 2016/32, Max Weber Programme.

Lenner, K. and Schmelter, S. (2016) Syrian Refugees in Jordan and Lebanon: Between Refuge and Ongoing Deprivation, in IEMed Mediterranean Yearbook 2016, European Institute of the Mediterranean, Barcelona, 122126.

Lenner, K. and Turner, L. (2018) Making Refugees Work? The Politics of Integrating Syrian Refugees into the Labor Market in Jordan, Middle East Critique, 30 April, 131.

Libal, K. and Harding, S. (2011) Humanitarian Alliances: Local and International NGO Partnerships and the Iraqi Refugee Crisis, Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies, 9(2), 162178.

Lynch, M. (1999) State Interests and Public Spheres: The International Politics of Jordans Identity, Columbia University Press, New York.

Lucas, R. (2003) De-liberalization in Jordan, Journal of Democracy, 14(1), 137144.

211 Malkawi K. (2014) Govt, UNHCR Sign Amendments to Cooperation Memo, 31 March, The Jordan Times, (www.jordantimes.com/news/local/gov%E2%80%99t-unhcr-sign-amendments-cooperation-memo).

Mason, V. (2011) The Im/mobilities of Iraqi Refugees in Jordan: Pan-Arabism, Hospitality and the Figure of the Refugee, Mobilities, 6(3), 353373.

Mayer, R. (2015) The Empowerment of Syrian Refugees in Jordan Through Integration And Naturalization, INAFU8890: Model Mobility Treaty Workshop, Columbia University.

Mokbel, M. (2007) Refugees in Limbo: The Plight of Iraqis in Bordering States, Middle East Report, 244 (Fall):,1011.

MoU (1998) Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of the H.K. of Jordan and the UNHCR, Official Gazette No. 4277, 3 May, (<http://carim-south.eu/database/legal-module/memorandum-of-understanding-between-the-government-of-the-h-k-of-jordan-and-the-unhcr/>).

Nanes, S. (2007) Jordans Unwelcome Guests, Middle East Report, 244(24), (www.jstor.org/stable/25164799).

Need Analysis (2013) Legal Status of Individuals Fleeing Syria, June, The Syria Needs Analysis Project, (http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/legal_status_of_individuals_fleeing_syria.pdf).

New York Times (1995) Libyas Leader Urges Other Arab Countries to Expel Palestinians, New York Times, 5 October, (www.nytimes.com/1995/10/05/world/libya-s-leader-urges-other-arab-countries-to-expel-palestinians.html).

Olwan, M. Y. and Shiyab, A. (2012) Forced Migration of Syrians to Jordan: An Exploratory Study, Migration Policy Centre Research Report (2012/06),

(<http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/23502/MPC-RR-201206.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>).

Population Estimates (2017) Table 2.1 Population of the Kingdom by Sex According to the 1952, 1961, 1979, 1994, 2015 and 2017 Censuses, and Estimated Population for Some Selected Years, Jordanian Department of Statistics, (http://dosweb.dos.gov.jo/DataBank/Population_Estimares/2017/PopulationEstimates.pdf).

PRG (2016) Jordan Refugee Response Protection Sector Operational Strategy, Protection Working Group, (<https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/43783>).

Qumri, S. (2012) Iraqi Refugee Childrens Quest for Education in Jordan, *Peace Review*, 24, 195201.

Refworld-Jordan (2014) Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, Jordan: Rights and Obligations of Palestinians living in Jordan without Jordanian Citizenship, not Including Palestinian Refugees Fleeing Syria since 2011, Including Employment, Mobility and Access to Social Services, 9 May, JOR104860.E, (www.refworld.org/docid/53ecc8004.html).

Reiter, Y. (2004) The PalestinianTransjordanian Rift: Economic Might and Political Power in Jordan, *Middle East Journal*, 58(1) (Winter), 7292.

Ryan, C. R. (2009) *Inter-Arab Alliances: Regime Security and Jordanian Foreign Policy*, University Press of Florida, Gainesville, FL.

Ryan, C. R. (2010) Jordans New Electoral Law: Reform, Reaction, or Status Quo?, *Foreign Policy*, The Middle East Channel, 24 March. (http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/05/24/jordan_s_new_electoral_law_reform_reaction_or_status_quo).

Ryan, C.R. (2011) Identity Politics, Reform, and Protest in Jordan, *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 11(3), 564578.

212 Ryan, C.R. (2012) The New Arab Cold War and the Struggle for Syria, *Middle East Report*, 262(Spring), 2831.

Safran, N. (1969) *From War to War: A Study of the Conflict from the Perspective of Coercion in the Context of Inter-Arab and Big Power Relations*, Pegasus, New York.

Saliba, I. (2016) *Refugee Law and Policy: Jordan*, Library of Congress, (www.loc.gov/law/help/refugee-law/jordan.php#_ftnref17).

Sammonds, N. (2013) A Dog has more Freedom Palestinians at Cyber City Camp for Refugees from Syria, 29 July, Amnesty International, (www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2013/07/a-dog-has-more-freedom-palestinians-at-cybercity-camp-for-refugees-from-syria/).

Schwarz, R. (2012) *War and State Building in the Middle East*, University Press of Florida, Gainesville, FL.

Seeley, N. (2010) The Politics of Aid to Iraqi Refugees in Jordan, *Middle East Research and Information Project*, (www.merip.org/mer/mer256/politics-aid-iraqi-refugees-jordan).

Sharp, J. M. (2013) *Jordan: Background and U.S. Relations* (Report No. RL33546). Federation of American Scientists Congressional Research Service Reports on the Middle East and Arab World, (www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33546.pdf).

Sharp, J. (2017) *Jordan: Background and U.S. Relations* Jeremy M. Sharp Specialist in Middle Eastern Affairs, 1 June, Congressional Research Service (<https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33546.pdf>).

Sherlock, R. (2014) Jordan Repeals Free Medical Aid for Syrian Refugees, *Telegraph*, 28 November, (www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/syria/11261468/Jordan-repeals-free-medical-aid-for-Syrian-refugees.html).

Shiblak, A. (1996) Residency Status and Civil Rights of Palestinian Refugees in Arab Countries, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 25(3), 3645.

Soh, C. , Yoonjeong, Y. and Youngsoo, Y. (2016) Once Resolved, Stay Resolved? The Refuge Policy of Jordan Toward Palestinian Refugees, *Journal of International & Area Studies*, 23(1), 116.

SRR (2014) *Syrian Refugee Response: Jordan Interagency Update*, Amman, Jordan, 15 March, (<http://data2.unhcr.org/fr/documents/download/40097>), accessed 20 April 2014.

Stevens, D. (2013) Legal Status, Labelling, and Protection: The Case of Iraqi Refugees in Jordan, *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 25(1), 138.

Su, A. (2013) How Do You Rank Refugees?, *The Atlantic*, 22 November.

Sullivan, D. and Tobin, S. (2014) Security and Resilience Among Syrian Refugees in Jordan, *MERIP Online*, 14 October, (www.merip.org/mero/mero101414).

Syria Direct (2017) Hundreds of Displaced Syrians Risk a Return, 29 August. (<http://syriadirect.org/news/hundreds-of-displaced-syrians-risk-a-return-home-as-regime-forces-approach-rukban-camp/>).

Tobin, S. A. and Campbell, M. O. (2016) NGO Governance and Syrian Refugee Subjects in Jordan, *Middle East Report MER278*, 46 (Spring), (www.merip.org/mer/mer278/ngo-

governance-syrian-refugee-%E2%80%9Csubjects%E2%80%9D-jordan).

Turner, L. (2015) Explaining the (Non-)Encampment of Syrian Refugees: Security, Class and the Labour Market in Lebanon and Jordan, *Mediterranean Politics*, 20(3), 386404.

213 UNCHA (2013) Amid Syrian Crisis, Iraqi Refugees in Jordan Forgotten, UN office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, (www.irinnews.org/report/98180/amid-syriancrisis-iraqi-refugees-in-jordan-forgotten).

UNHCR (2014) United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Living in the Shadows: Jordan Home Visits Report, United Nations, Jordan, (www.unhcr.org/54b685079.pdf).

UNHCR (2017a) Jordan Factsheet February, (<http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/download.php?id=12908>).

UNHCR (2017b) UNHCR Operational Update: Jordan, April, (<http://reporting.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/UNHCR%20Jordan%20Operational%20Update%20-%20April%202017.pdf>).

UNHCR Jordan (2012) UNHCR Registration Trends for Syrians, March 2011-2012, (<http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/documents.php?page=20&view=grid&Language%5B%5D=1&Country%5B%5D=107&Type%5B%5D=3>).

UNHCR Jordan (2013) Trend of Registered Syrian in Jordan, 28 May, (<http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/documents.php?page=15&view=grid&Language%5B%5D=1&Country%5B%5D=107&Type%5B%5D=3>).

UNHCR Protection (2017) Protection Sector Quarterly Report (July 2017-September 2017), Intersector Working Group Jordan, (<https://data2.unhcr.org/fr/documents/download/60596>).

UNRWA (2017) Where We Work, (www.unrwa.org/where-we-work/Jordan), accessed 17 October 2017.

UNRWA (2018) Where We Work, (www.unrwa.org/where-we-work/Jordan), accessed 7 January 2018.

Welsh, T. (2015) Syrian Refugees Move Back to Camps in Jordan, 28 January, 2015, US News, (www.usnews.com/news/articles/2015/01/28/syrian-refugees-move-back-to-camps-in-jordan).

World Bank (2016) By the Numbers: The Cost of War & Peace in the Middle East 4 February, (www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2016/02/03/by-the-numbers-the-cost-of-war-and-peace-in-mena), accessed 10 October 2017.

Yom, S. L. (2015) The New Landscape of Jordanian Politics: Social Opposition, Fiscal Crisis, and the Arab Spring, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 42(3), 284300.

Drivers of Jordanian refugee governance and refugee politics

Achilli, L. (2015) Syrian Refugees in Jordan: A Reality Check, Migration Policy Center, EUI, February, (http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/34904/MPC_2015-02_PB.pdf).

Akour, O. (2016) Jordan PM Links Syrian Refugee Admissions to Foreign Aid, Associated Press, 30 January, (www.businessinsider.com/ap-jordan-pm-links-syrian-refugee-admissions-to-foreign-aid-2016-1).

Al Sharif, O. (2017) Have GCC Countries Turned Their Backs on Jordan? Al-Monitor, 31 January, (www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/01/jordan-economic-crisis-aid-donors-gcc-regional-turmoil.html#ixzz4v6dW5Oxm).

Amnesty International (2015) Urgent Action, UA: 280/15 Index: MDE 16/3059/2015 Jordan, 11 December, (www.amnesty.org//MDE1630592015ENGLISH.pdf).

Arar, R. M. (2017) Leveraging Sovereignty: The Case of Jordan and the International Refugee Regime, Memo published as a part of the Project on Middle East Political Science, (<https://pomeps.org/2017/03/29/leveraging-sovereignty-the-case-of-jordan-and-the-international-refugee-regime/>).

Aita, S. (2008) Employment and Labor Law in the Arab Mediterranean Countries and The Euromediterranean Partnership, Fundacin Paz y Solidaridad Serafin Aliaga de Comisiones Obreras, Madrid, (www.coo.es/4c094b104b690c8fff01f9a79eb33a51000001.pdf).

BBC (2017) Interview with His Majesty King Abdullah II with BBCs Lyse Doucet, 2 February, (www.jordanembassyus.org/news/interview-his-majesty-king-abdullah-ii-bbc-s-lyse-doucet).

Bidinger, S. et al. (2014) Protecting Syrian Refugees: Laws, Policies, and Global Responsibility Sharing, International Human Rights Clinic, Boston University School of Law, Boston, MA, (www.bu.edu/law/central/jd/programs/clinics/international-humanrights/documents/FINALFullReport.pdf).

Black, I. (2014) Patience Running Out in Jordan after Influx of Syrian Refugees, *Guardian*, 1 December, (www.theguardian.com/world/2014/dec/01/jordan-syrian-refugees-patience-running).

out).

- Brand, L. A. (1994) Economics and Shifting Alliances: Jordans Relations with Syria and Iraq, 197581, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 26(3) (August), 393413.
- Brun, C. (2016) There is no Future in Humanitarianism: Emergency, Temporality and Protracted Displacement, *History and Anthropology*, 27(4), 393410.
- Care Report (2017) Factsheet Care Jordan Syrian Refugee, Other Minority Refugee, and Jordanian Host Households Survey Results in Brief, June, (www.care.at/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/2017-CARE-Jordan-Syrian-refugees-Fact-Sheet-final-web-15062017.pdf).
- Chatty, D. (2017) The Syrian Humanitarian Disaster: Understanding Perceptions and Aspirations in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey, *Global Policy*, 8(Supplement 1) (February), 2532.
- 237 Crisp, J. (2017) New York Declaration on Refugees: A One-Year Report Card, 18 September, (www.newsdeeply.com/refugees/community/2017/09/18/new-york-declaration-on-refugees-a-one-year-report-card).
- EC (2016a) EU Jordan Partnership the Compact, European Commission, (<https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/jordan-compact.pdf>).
- EC (2016b) European Commission, Brussels, 20 September, JOIN (2016) 41 final. Interinstitutional File: 2016/0289 (NLE) 12384/16, ADD 1 LIMITE MAMA 179 MED 38 CFSP/PESC 720 RHJ 21.
- Echo (2017) ECHO Facts Sheet, Jordan: Syrian Crisis, European Commission. Humanitarian Aid and Protection, (http://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/aid/countries/factsheets/jordan_syrian_crisis_en.pdf).
- Errighi, L. and Griesse, J. (2016) The Syrian Refugee Crisis: Labour Market Implications in Jordan and Lebanon, *European Economy Discussion Papers 029*. European Commission Directorate-General for Economic and Financial Affairs, Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg.
- Fact Sheet (2017) Jordan Fact Sheet, UNHCR, February, (<http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=107>).
- Fattah, Z. (2018) Saudi Arabia, Two Gulf States Pledge \$2.5 Billion Jordan Aid, *Bloomberg*, 11 June, (www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-06-11/saudi-arabia-two-gulf-nations-pledge-2-5-billion-jordan-aid).
- Ferris, E. , Kirii, K. and Shaikh, S. (2013) Syrian Crisis: Massive Displacement, Dire Needs and a Shortage of Solutions, *The Brookings Institution*, Washington, DC.
- Francis, A. (2015) Jordans Refugee Crisis, *Carnegie Endowment for International Development*, Washington, DC.
- Ghazal, M. (2017) Jordan Signs Letter Accepting Terms of \$700m Deal with IMF, 27 July, *Jordan Times*, (www.jordantimes.com/news/local/jordan-signs-letter-accepting-terms-700m-deal-imf).
- Gibson, I. (2015) An Analysis of Jordans 2013 Policy Regarding Iraqi Refugees, *Social Identities*, 21(3), 199210.
- Goussous, S. (2016) UN, World Bank Leaders Commend Jordans Refugee Response, *Jordan Times*, 28 March, (www.jordantimes.com/news/local/un-world-bank-leaders-commend-jordan%E2%80%99s-refugee-response).
- Greenhill, K. (2010) *Weapons of Mass Migration: Forced Displacement, Coercion, and Foreign Policy*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.
- Harper, E. , Sean, T. and Mays, A. A. (2016) Forging New Strategies in Protracted Refugee Crises: Syrian Refugees and the Host State Economy, *Jordan Case Study*, WANA Institute, 21 January. (<http://wanainstitute.org/en/publication/forging-new-strategies-protracted-refugee-crises-regional-study>).
- Independent (2016) King Abdullah II: The Burden on Jordan Far Exceeds that on the West: Help is Needed, Independent, 2 February, (www.independent.co.uk/voices/the-burden-on-jordan-far-exceeds-that-on-the-west-we-need-help-a6849391.html).
- JRP (2015) Jordan Response Plan 2015 for the Syria Crisis, 17 December 2014, Jordan Response Platform for Syrian and United Nations, (www.jo.undp.org/content/dam/jordan/docs/Publications/JRP+Final+Draft+2014.12.17.pdf).
- JRP (20162018) Jordan Response Plan for the Syria Crisis 20162018, Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, Jordan Response Platform for Syrian Crisis and United Nations.
- 238 JRP (20172019) Jordan Response Plan for the Syria Crisis, 20172019, Ministry of Development and International Cooperation, (<https://static1.squarespace.com/static/522c2552e4b0d3c39ccd1e00/t/5956897e78d1714f5b61f5c2/1498843547605/JRP+2017-2019+-+Full+-+%28June+30%29.pdf>).
- Jordan Compact (2016) The Jordan Compact: A New Holistic Approach between the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the International Community to Deal with the Syrian Refugee Crisis,

REPORT, from Government of Jordan, published on 7 February 2016.

Jordan INGO (2017) Walk the Talk, Jordan INGO Forum, 11 October.

Jordan Times (2016a) King Urges Increased Global Engagement Without Delay to Tackle Refugee Crisis, Jordan Times, 22 September, (<http://jordantimes.com/news/local/king-urges-increased-global-engagement-without-delay%E2%80%99-tackle-refugee-crisis>).

Jordan Times (2016b) Jordan at Saturation Point in Handling Refugee Burden Fakhoury, 10 September, Jordan Times, (<http://jordantimes.com/news/local/jordan-saturation-point%E2%80%99-handling-refugee-burden-%E2%80%94-fakhoury>).

Jordan Times (2017a) International Community urged to Maintain Support to Kingdom, Jordan Times, 2 March, (<http://jordantimes.com/news/local/international-community-urged-maintain-support-kingdom>).

Jordan Times (2017b) Ensuring Refugees Safety Adds to Hosting Costs Minister, Jordan Times, 1 May, (<http://jordantimes.com/news/local/ensuring-refugees%E2%80%99-safety-adds-hosting-costs-%E2%80%94-minister>).

Karon, T. (2013) Jordan is Living Dangerously as Syria Burns, Time, 16 January, (<http://world.time.com/2013/01/16/jordan-is-living-dangerously-as-syria-burns/>).

Kattaa, M. (2016) Syrian Refugees Status in the Jordanian Labor Market, Turkish Policy Quarterly, 15(3) (December), 7178.

Kelberer, V. (2017) Negotiating Crisis: International Aid and Refugee Policy in Jordan, Middle East Policy, 24(4), 148165.

Lenner, K. (2015) Alternative Voices on the Syrian Refugee Crisis in Jordan: An Interview Collection, RLS Regional Office Palestine.

Lenner, K. (2016) Blasts from the Past: Policy Legacies and Memories in the Making of the Jordanian Response to the Syrian Refugee Crisis, EUI Working Papers, Mwp Red Number Series 2016/32 Max Weber Programme.

Lenner, K. and Turner, L. (2018) Learning From the Compact, Forced Migration Review, 57, 4852.

Malik, N. (2014) Syrias Spillover Effect on Jordan, Carnegie Middle East Center, 13 February, (<http://carnegie-mec.org/diwan/54509?lang=en>).

Mayer, R. (2016) The Right to No Longer be a Refugee: The Legal Empowerment of Syrian Refugees in Jordan, Columbia University Academic Commons, (<https://doi.org/10.7916/D8VT1SM1>).

Perthes, V. (2001) Syrian Regional Policy under Bashar al-Asad: Realignment or Economic Rationalization?, Middle East Report, 220(Autumn), 3641.

Petra (2016) King: The Burden on Jordan Far Exceeds That on the West (opinion), Petra News Agency, 3 February, (www.petra.gov.jo/Public_News/Nws_NewsDetails.aspx?lang=2&NewsID=236037).

Reliefweb (2015) Gulf Donors and NGOs Assistance to Syrian Refugees in Jordan, 12 May, Reliefweb, (<http://reliefweb.int/report/jordan/gulf-donors-and-ngos-assistance-syrian-refugees-jordan>).

239 Reznick, A. (2017) Jordan Looks to Turn Refugee Crisis into Economic Boon, IRIN, 21 March, (www.irinnews.org/feature/2017/03/21/jordan-looks-turn-refugee-crisis-economic-boon).

Ryan, C. R. (2006) The Odd Couple: Ending the Jordanian-Syrian Cold War, Middle East Journal, 60(1) (Winter), 3356.

Ryan, C. R. (2009) Inter-Arab Alliances: Regime Security and Jordanian Foreign Policy, University Press of Florida, Gainesville, FL.

Ryan, C.R. (2012) The New Arab Cold War and the Struggle for Syria, Middle East Report, 262 (Spring), 2831.

Stave, S. E. and Hillesund, S. (2015) Impact of the Influx of Syrian Refugees on the Jordanian Labor Market: Findings from the Governorates of Amman, Irbid and Magraq, ILO and FAFO, (www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---arabstates/---ro-beirut/documents/publication/wcms_364162.pdf)

UNDP (2014) Host Communities Support Platform Set to Endorse Government-Led National Resilience Plan, 9 January, (www.jo.undp.org/content/jordan/en/home/presscenter/pressreleases/2014/01/09/host-communities-support-platform-set-to-endorse-government-led-national-resilience-plan.html).

UNDP (2016) The Indirect Impacts of the Syria Crisis on Jordans Economy: A Quantitative and Qualitative Approach, prepared by Abu-Ghazaleh and Co. Consulting, September.

UNHCR (2017) UNHCR Operational Update: Jordan, April, (<http://reporting.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/UNHCR%20Jordan%20Operational%20Update%20-%20April%202017.pdf>)

Comparison of refugee governance in Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan

- Blomberg (2018) Timeline of the Syrian Crisis, (www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-03-15/timeline-of-the-syrian-conflict-as-it-enters-8th-year).
- CNN (2013) Syrian Civil War Fast Facts, (<https://edition.cnn.com/2013/08/27/world/meast/syria-civil-war-fast-facts/index.html>).
- Crawley, H. and Skleparis, D. (2018) Refugees, Migrants, Neither, Both: Categorical Fetishism and the Politics of Bounding in Europe's Migration Crisis, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(1), 4864.
- Deardorff Miller, S. (2016) *Politics and Humanitarian Responses to Syrian Displacement*, Routledge, Abingdon.
- IOM (2016) *Mixed Migration: Flows in the Mediterranean and Beyond: Compilation of Available Data and Information 2015*. Geneva: IOM (GMDAC).
- 266 Kelberer, V. (2017) Negotiating Crisis: International Aid and Refugee Policy in Jordan, *Middle East Policy*, 24(4), 148165.
- Lambert, H. (2017) Temporary Refuge from War: Customary International Law and the Syrian Conflict, *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 66(3), 126.
- Robinson, C. D. (2012) Too Much Nationality: Kashmiri Refugees, the South Asian Refugee Regime, and a Refugee State, 1947-1974, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 25(3), 344-365.
- UNHCR (2018) Seven Years On: Timeline of the Syrian Crisis, 7 March, (www.unhcr.org/ph/13427-seven-years-timeline-syria-crisis.html).
- World Bank (2017) *Cities of Refuge in the Middle East: Bridging the Urban Lens to the Forced Displacement Challenge*, Policy Note, 12 September, (https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/CITIES-OF-REFUGEE_FINAL1.pdf).

Conclusion

- Chatty, D. (2017) The Duty to Be Generous (Karam): Alternatives to Rights-Based Asylum in the Middle East, *Journal of the British Academy*, 5, 177-199.
- Chimni, B. S. (1998) The Geopolitics of Refugee Studies: A View from the South, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 11(4), 350-374.
- Daily Sabah (2018) 9 Refugees, Including 9 Children, 3 June, (www.dailysabah.com/turkey/2018/06/03/9-refugees-including-6-children-drown-as-boat-sinks-off-turkeys-mediterranean-coast).
- De Genova, Nicholas, et al. (2016) *Europe/Crisis: New Keywords of the Crisis in and of Europe*, New Keywords Collective, Near Futures online, 145.
- Middle East Eye (2018) At Least 35 Migrants Killed, 3 June, Middle East Eye net, (www.middleeasteye.net/news/tunisia-recovers-bodies-35-migrants-boat-sinks-288627211).
- Sahin Mencutek, Z. (2016) Refugee Governance in the Middle East and North Africa?, in A. Tutumlu and G. Gngr (eds), *Multilateralism in Global Governance: Formal and Informal Institutions*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main, 169-194.
- Sahin Mencutek, Z. (2017) Refugee Politics of Organization of Islamic Conference, in T. Kayaoglu and M. J. Petersen (eds), *The Organization of Islamic Cooperation and Human Rights: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, PA.
- 275 Time (2018) Welcome to America, 21 June, (<http://time.com/5317522/donaldtrump-border-cover/>).
- UNHCR (1977) Note on Non-Refoulement (Submitted by the High Commissioner) Note on Non-Refoulement (Submitted by the High Commissioner). EC/SCP/2. UNHCR, 23 August, (www.unhcr.org/excom/scip/3ae68ccd10/note-non-refoulement-submitted-high-commissioner.html).
- Wheaton, L. (2018) Rescue Boat Carrying 600 Refugees, Independent, 11 June, (www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/italy-refugee-migrants-boat-stranded-docks-matteo-salvini-mediterranean-sea-a8392946.html).