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[1] About the project

Following the 'EU-Turkey statement, 18 March 2016', indicating that "all new irregular migrants crossing from Turkey into Greek islands as from 20 March 2016 will be returned to Turkey"¹, contracting parties were faced with criticism and concern from the international community, civil society and research institutes. Notable organizations, including UNHCR², were quick to distance themselves from the agreement, stating that they would not participate in detention of migrants, nor their return to Turkey.

Widely-recognized as an agreement that did not conform to international and European laws, there was a growing concern that the implementation of this agreement would be followed by widespread abuses and breaches of human rights and international migration laws. In short, Europe and Turkey – coast guard authorities, FRONTEX, police and military forces, actors at all state levels and representatives in the European Commission and European Parliament – had lost trust from the international humanitarian and human rights community.

On the ground, in the coastal city of Izmir, the **Observatory for Human Rights and Forced Migrants in Turkey (OHRFMT)** was born as a result of these concerns. Its small steering committee agreed that in a country with decreasing press freedoms and state transparency, a dedicated team of volunteers was needed to build and manage a visual repository of migration-related human rights reports. OHRFMT, launched within the first few days of the EU-Turkey statement, was a one-year project with the intention to monitor, document and visualize migration-related reports involving possible human rights abuses. The findings of this project are found within this final report.

We thank all that have supported the project and hope the findings will make a positive contribution to the ongoing discussion on forced migration in Turkey.

¹ <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/03/18-eu-turkey-statement/>

² <http://www.unhcr.org/news/press/2016/3/56ec533e9/unhcr-eu-turkey-deal-asylum-safeguards-must-prevail-implementation.html>

[2] Executive summary

The following report, entitled *A year of impunity: A one year visual database of migration-related human rights abuses*, was prepared by the Observatory for Human Rights and Forced Migrants in Turkey (OHRFMT) and released in July 2017.

The main findings of this report are as follows:

- OHRFMT concludes that reports relating to **readmission back to Turkey from the EU** were highly inconsistent and under reported, often with large time gaps between them. Furthermore, content of reports failed to indicate the fate of those sent back to Turkey.
- In reports relating to **arrests**, OHRFMT recorded a total of 322 arrests from 42 different countries. This showed the demographic breadth of Turkey's migrant population. Most arrests took place in coastal areas or following interception at sea. In the case of the latter, the Observatory is concerned about the legal grounding of arrests at sea and the high possibility of 'push backs' of which are in breach of the concept of *non-refoulement*.
- Whilst processing report data, OHRFMT found that there was consistently a correlation between **discrimination** and issues relating to problems in accessing **goods and services** guaranteed by various human rights instruments. It found that in the majority of cases, refugees were not able to access, for instance, educational or health facilities due to their unclear status within Turkey.
- OHRFMT found that in reports relating to **abuse / exploitation**, those individuals within the vulnerable sector most often became the targets to acts of violence and physical or sexual exploitation. Children were the primary victims, but findings showed that abuse and exploitation was also gendered, with young girls and women taking up the second largest target demographic. Data showed that in 51% of the reports, the identity of the perpetrator was either unknown or unspecified. OHRFMT is concerned that state authorities are not holding perpetrators accountable and/or undertaking adequate investigations on these serious acts.
- In reports relating to **loss of life**, OHRFMT determined that most deaths occurred in transit areas, either within the Aegean Sea or at Turkey's eastern border. OHRFMT would like to underline the responsibility that Turkey has towards providing safe passage for all.

As a result of these findings, the following recommendations have been made.

- OHRFMT recommends that a database of returns to Turkey be made publicly available.
- OHRFMT would like to remind Turkey of its responsibility towards to principle of *non-refoulement* and asks that refugees intercepted in transit zones and currently in detention / processing facilities be made accessible to lawyers.
- OHRFMT recommends that Turkey suspend its geographic limitation to the 1951 Refugee Convention and allow all forced migrants within its national borders to apply for formal refugee status.
- As collected reports have repeatedly shown that children, girls and women make up the majority of victims of discrimination, abuse and exploitation, OHRFMT reminds Turkey that it has a responsibility to protect those within the vulnerable sector.
- OHRFMT recommends that Turkey take affirmative action to provide safe passage to all who wish to transit through its territory and do all it can to preserve the right to life of those transient refugees.

OHRFMT believes that the vast majority of those mentioned in collected reports should have access to a formal asylum process to make a claim for refugee status. As a result, you will find that the Observatory often refers to forced migrants within Turkey as 'refugees' albeit these individuals not having formal Convention Refugee status. This is intentional, not a mistake.

[3] Methodology

[3.1] *Reading between the lines: Monitoring national news sources*

Though RSS feeds and email subscriptions, OHRFMT received up to date news reports from a wide-range of national newspapers:

Anadolu Agency, Cumhuriyet, Daily Sabah, DW Turkey, Evrensel, Hürriyet Daily News, Posta, Radikal and Sözcü.

Aside from daily reporting, weekly monitoring sessions were scheduled to scan all of the above news sources, backlogging when necessary. Sources were selected based on two criteria's: (1) their circulation and internet traffic and (2) their political affiliation. Of both criterions, the second was of most interest. As has been reported by both Amnesty International's *The State of the World's Human Rights* (2017)³ and various reports by the Committee to Project Journalists⁴, journalism in Turkey is under attack. Reporters have been put to trial and jailed for charges of "insulting the President" and "treason". As noted by Reporters Without Borders' *Media Ownership Monitor*⁵, journalists have adopted a policy of self-censorship whilst some media outlets are shut down as pro-government media groups thrive and expand their reach. Thus, when selecting news sources – most of which are partisan – OHRFMT made a conscious effort to include source which spanned a broad range of interests.

[3.2] *Reading outside the lines: Monitoring international sources*

In addition to national news sources, international sources were regularly consulted. As the possibilities for international news sources are plentiful and impossible to systematically monitor, this typically consisted of using the advanced search tool of **Google News**. Search queries consisted of using "refugee+turkey" key words in both English and Turkish.

There were, however, two international sources that were consistently part of the monitoring process. The first, **Deutsche Welle** – Germany's public international broadcaster – was selected based on (a) the fact that Germany is the world's largest host of Turkish immigrants, and (b) that this source provides reports in English. OHRFMT was also subscribed to **ReliefWeb's**

³ <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/pol10/4800/2017/en/>

⁴ <https://cpj.org/europe/turkey/>

⁵ <https://turkey.mom-rsf.org/en/>

Updates on Turkey, a daily briefing of reports, updates and publications from the humanitarian community active within the country.

[3.2] #Mülteci#Refugee: Monitoring social media

A wide-array of groups were followed via social media. The following groups were monitored via Facebook, Twitter or both, when applicable:

Aegean Refugee Aid, Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı (AFAD), Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM), Dalyan Refugee Aid & Support Group, Migrant Solidarity Network (Göçmen Dayanışma Ağı), Göçmen Dayanışma Mutfağı, Halkların Köprüsü, Information Point for Turkey Volunteers, İnsani Yardım Grubu, İmece İnsiyatifi Çeşme, İzmir Mültecilerle Dayanışma Platformu, Kapılar, Mülteci Hakları Merkezi, Association for Solidarity with Refugees (Mülteci-Der), Mülteciyim Hemşerim, ReVi, Refugee Aid Fethiye, Refugee Support Volunteer Info Turkey and Uluslararası Af Örgütü Türkiye Şubesi.

The abovementioned groups proved to provide invaluable information that was not mentioned in national and international mainstream media. Most reports drafted from information provided by these groups consisted of shared links to reports, research and local news sources from around the country. Others consisted of field observations with possible implications for human rights or rights of refugees.

[3.3] Crowdsourcing: Receiving anonymous reports

Although not OHRFMT's primary source of information, the team occasionally received reports from the field. When this was the case, the monitoring team tried to find a means to verify reports by either two-step verification or triangulation. However, most crowdsourced reports consisted of NGO workers wanting to add their organization's location to the map.

[3.4] The power of Crowdmap: Maintaining an interactive website

Reports from national and international press sources, social media and anonymous submissions were manually entered into OHRFMT's Crowdmap deployment. Crowdmap is a free and open-source online mapping platform. Using a crowdsourcing model, it allows for reports to be submitted by anyone and approved by a map administration team.

For one full year, OHRFMT's team acted as digital curators of its mapping platform. It was dedicated to monitoring the aforementioned sources, entering reports while verifying their authenticity when possible and organizing reports into thematic layers. In total, reports were classified into one of ten layers:

- Abuse / exploitation
- Arrest
- Arrival from EU
- Deportation
- Detention centre
- Discrimination / access to rights
- Internal displacement
- Loss of life
- Organisations
- Refugee camp

Only layers providing sufficient data are included in this report. OHRFMT's map, including this report, can be found at the following web addresses:

- www.ohrfmt.org
- <https://ohrfmt.crowdmap.com/main>

[3.5] Setting exclusion criteria's

When monitoring sources, OHRFMT followed rigid exclusion criteria for reporting. Source content had to follow the following guidelines:

- The content of the article/report must explicitly involve Turkey's asylum seeker, refugee or migrant population
- Political content will not be the central driver of reports
- The article/report must be relatable to a specific human rights or refugee rights issue
- There should be an element of overt or suspected wrong doing in accordance to national and/or international legal instruments
- When possible, the article/report should be verified by two-step or triangular verification

[4] Results

[4.1] Readmission / return from EU

[Background]

Amongst those elements contained in the 'EU-Turkey statement, 18 March 2016', one of the most controversial has effectively been the readmission of "of all migrants not in need of international protection crossing from Turkey into Greece"⁶. Actors working within the humanitarian, international law and human rights sectors have – in near unanimity – spoken out against this part of the EU-Turkey agreement.

One of the most compelling arguments questioning the legality of the agreement has been in relation to the categorization of Turkey as a 'safe country'. At the time the EU made this claim, in February 2016, marking Turkey as 'safe' was questionable. In recent months, relations between Turkey and its Kurdish minority had increasingly deteriorated. With a surge of terrorist attacks, state-led bombardments of southeastern settlements and armed insurgency, the Kurdish Peace Process had evidently collapsed. Additionally, the Turkish government had recently conducted multiple crackdowns on academics due to a petition they had signed denouncing some of the military activities that were occurring in the South East – specifically, in regards to attacks on citizens and the application of curfews in various areas. These facts made it difficult to justify Turkey as a 'safe country'.

In addition to the socio-political observations above, marking Turkey as 'safe country' for the purpose of readmission of irregular migrants was not viable from a legal standpoint. As international law suggests, the concept of 'safe country' only applies to the nationals of that country (i.e. Turks in this case). For readmission of irregular migrants of non-Turkish citizenship, Turkey would have to have been recognized as a 'safe third country', but this was impossible due to its retention of its geographical limitation to the 1951 Geneva Convention. Nonetheless, this clouded narrative of Turkey as 'safe' and thus eligible to receive migrants deemed 'irregular' persisted across mainstream media and within talks at the EU Commission, EU Parliament, and between State authorities.

⁶ See Supra note 1

[Findings]

The most striking finding was the under reporting of readmission. In the full year OHRFMT was collecting reports, only 20 mentioned concrete data on number of migrants transferred from the EU to Turkey. In an attempt to follow up on collected reports, the research team occasionally consulted formal government websites at the EU level and in Turkey to verify if official statistics had been released on the number of refugees readmitted to Turkey. What has become clear is that there is no definitive 'number' and that discrepancies are rampant. This trend is consistent with the data collected by OHRFMT. In one case, on May 21st 2016, the European Commission reportedly indicated that nearly 400 refugees had been returned to Turkey since the EU-Turkey deal, yet the tally based on reports collected by OHRFMT amounted to 548 returnees. Information on readmission was irregular, sometimes with large periods of time between reports. For instance, a report on October 21st 2016 indicated the readmission of 10 refugees, bringing the tally to 682. The next report was approximately three and a half months later, on February 3rd 2017, where the Turkish Directorate General of Migration Management had reportedly announced that there had been 3,000 returns over the last four months.

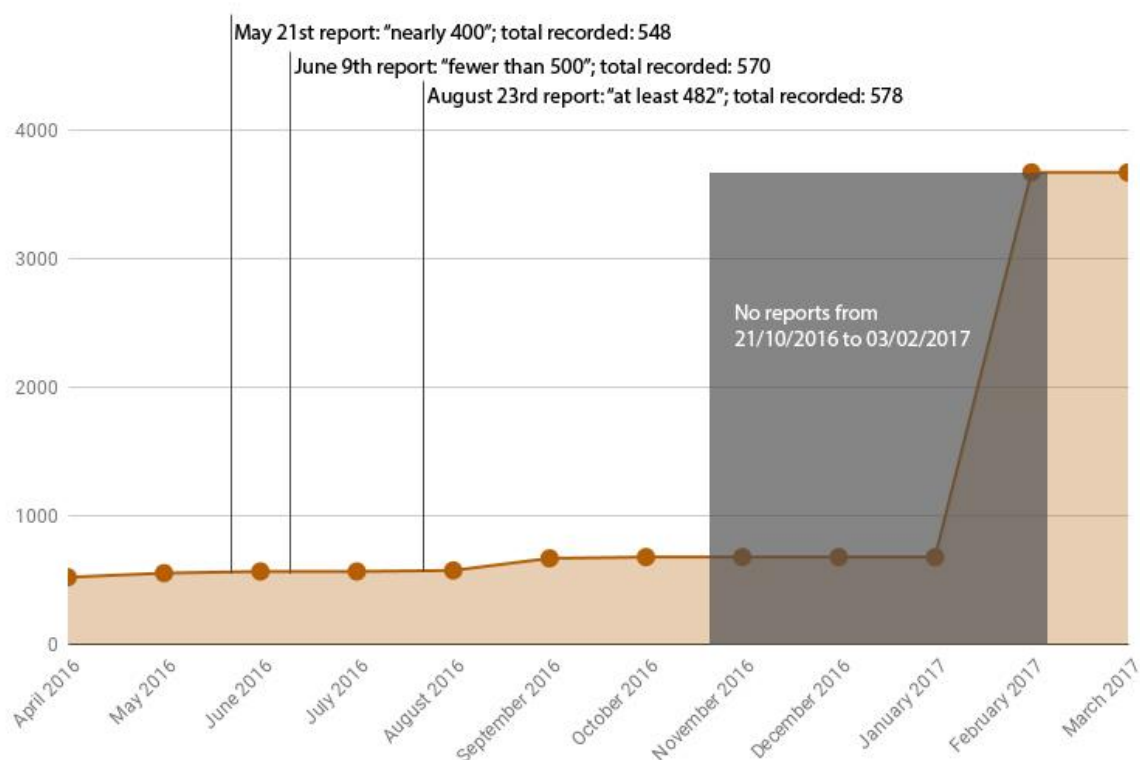


Fig. 1: Readmission of refugees from the EU to Turkey, April 2016 to March 2017

Generally, data collected by the observatory provides very little statistical certainty on the number of refugees sent back to Turkey from the EU. However, what the data shows is that readmission is vastly under reported.

Several factors can explain this. First and foremost, it is possible that there have not been as many readmissions as initially anticipated by those involved in the EU-Turkey deal. Another possibility is that readmissions have not been recorded, documented or made publicly available for one reason or another. Nevertheless, it is clear that under reporting or inconsistent reporting does not bode well in terms of accountability. This is further exacerbated by the observation by OHRFMT that none of the collected reports indicated the fate of those returned to Turkey. With few published and publicly available procedures for refugee readmission in Turkey, this is a legitimate concern which needs to be investigated immediately.

[4.2] Arrest

[background]

In the aftermath of the summer months of 2015 – at the height of what has been called the ‘European Migration Crisis’ – Turkish and European authorities accelerated⁷ their negotiations relating to the readmission of irregular migrants. Following the EU-Turkey Summit in November 2015, and under the veil of EU accession and visa-free travel, both parties agreed to increase surveillance and monitoring of the Aegean Sea in order to stem the flow of irregular migrants. In the coming months, further budgetary allocations were made to FRONTEX – the EU border agency – which led to an increase in patrol boats in the region. In February 2016, NATO deployed three warships and helicopters to monitor the Aegean Sea. As for Turkey, and with the financial support of over 3 billion euros by the European Union, it modernized and increased its coastguard fleet.

The militarization of border zones, first in the Aegean Sea, then at the Turkey-Greece and Turkey-Bulgaria land borders, and finally at various points on Turkey's eastern border, resulted in a large number of arrests. In most cases, the reports collected involved large groups of refugees being intercepted at sea and subsequently brought back to Turkey. As very little independent monitoring takes place at sea, it is unclear whether these vessels were intercepted within Turkish territorial waters, international waters or Greek territorial waters. However, reports of ‘push-backs’ – the forcible return of migrants into a territory they are fleeing – were common during the reporting period. From a legal standpoint, push-backs are in breach of several international and human rights laws:

- Prohibition on arbitrary arrest and detention (Article 9, Universal Declaration of Human Rights)
- Prohibition on collective expulsions (Article 4, Protocol No. 4 to the European Convention on Human Rights)

⁷ In December 2013, the ‘EU-Turkey Readmission Agreement’ was signed. Within these negotiations, visa liberalization was agreed on in parallel with a readmission agreement. The readmission of individuals was intended to begin in December 2016, three years after the agreement was reached, as is typical. However, this process was accelerated through the November 2016 ‘EU-Turkey Summit’.

- Prohibition of expulsion or return, *refoulement* (Article 33, 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees)
- Prohibition of expulsion, return or extradition to a state where there are substantial evidence of torture (Article 3, UN Convention Against Torture)

[findings]

Throughout the reporting year, OHRFMT collected a total of 86 reports concerning the arrest of refugees. The total number of recorded arrests amounted to 322, spread over individuals from 42 different countries.

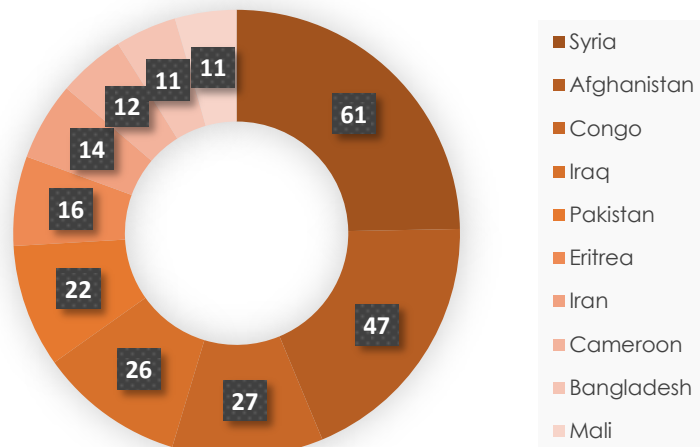


Fig. 2: Arrests of refugees, top 10 nationalities

This data demonstrates, first and foremost, the extent to which Turkey serves as a transit country for refugees. With refugees from nearly all corners of the world, it also demonstrates the will and dedication of the forcefully displaced, travelling hundreds – sometimes thousands – of kilometers in the hopes of reaching safety, protection and adequate services to facilitate an improvement in livelihoods. Relying on the geographic distribution of reports, mostly concentrated on Turkey's western seaboard, it is clear that transiting refugees consider Europe as the preferred destination of asylum.

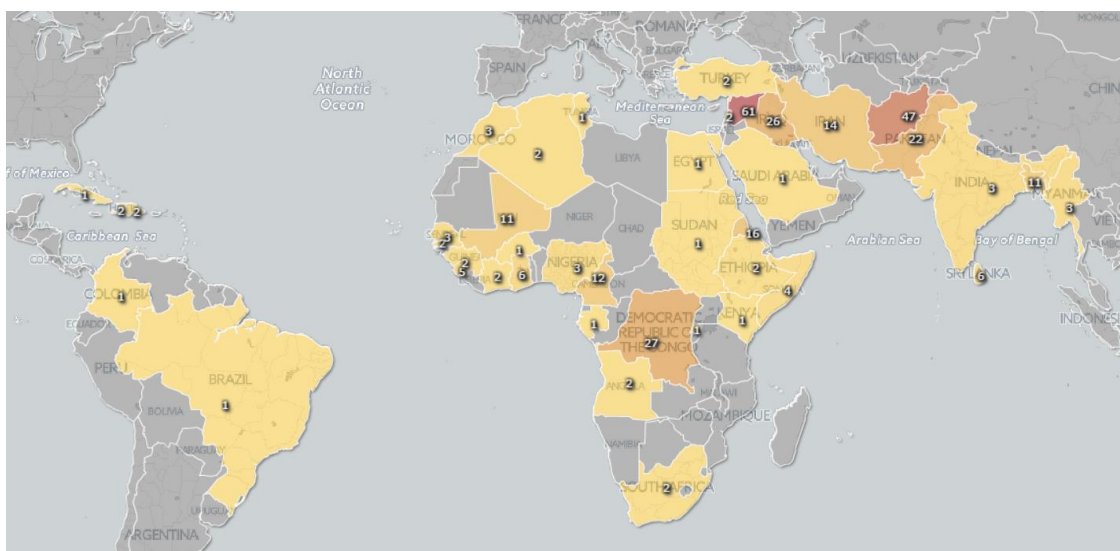


Fig. 3: Global distribution of refugees arrested in Turkey

Refugees were usually apprehended by the Turkish Coast Guard and then officially arrested by local police authorities. In the vast majority of reports, it was indicated where refugees were sent after arrest. However, the nomenclature for these places varied tremendously. In total, OHRFMT counted over 30 terms used for processing facilities for those caught at sea or land border regions. A few examples include 'migration repatriation center', 'aliens rescue center', 'migration repatriation center', 'readmission center', 'return center', and many more. Much concern results from this, where it is clear that national news agencies, government officials and law enforcement agencies do not use a common language or show a common understanding of the national asylum regime. This demonstrates the well-documented reality that Turkey's asylum regime is, effectively, *ad hoc* in practice. Impunity towards the breach of fundamental human rights under both national and international laws, thus, becomes a real possibility, of which is further exacerbated by the difficulty for NGO's and lawyers to access detention, processing and repatriation facilities.

[4.3] *Discrimination / access to rights*

[background]

Amongst others, one of the most problematic blind spots of the 1951 Convention for the Status of Refugees relates to its definition of 'refugee', of which is specified as a forced migrant of European origin. Unlike many within the international community, Turkey never amended its 'geographic limitation' and thus claims to have no legal obligation to offer refugee status to those of non-European origin. This is problematic given Turkey's proximity to some of the world's most devastating conflict zones.

Although Turkey has marketed its asylum system as one based on an 'open door policy', it has for the most part⁸ failed to provide these individuals with a status that officially guarantees them access to basic services, protection, shelter and employment. Instead, it has opted for a policy of generosity, rather than one based on rights. In conjunction with a lack of public education and communication at all levels of government, this has produced unintended consequences, where national circulars indicating a right for refugees to access health care, prescription drugs or education are not consistently honored by ill-informed hospitals, pharmacies or schools. These discrepancies between state directives and implementation bodies underscore the *ad hoc* nature of Turkey's asylum system.

Reminding the international community of its retention to the geographic limitation of the 1951 Refugee Convention, Turkey has received substantial leeway from Europe in respects to its commitment to refugee rights. Turkey

⁸ Syrians are the only non-European group who have benefited from an official status, that of 'temporary protection', as granted under the 2014 *Law on Foreigners and International Protection*. See http://www.goc.gov.tr/files/files/eng_minikanun_5_son.pdf

does, however, have a commitment to rights afforded by other international legal instruments, and thus it is imperative for Europe to embrace its responsibility in holding Turkey accountable. Amongst others, these include the right to:

- Freedom of thought (Article 18, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights)
- Conscientious objection (Article 18, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights)
- Housing (Article 11, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; Article 25, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights)
- Education (Article 2, Protocol to Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms; Article 13, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; Article 25, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights)
- Health (Article 12, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; Article 25, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights)
- Employment (Article 6, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights)
- Freedom of movement (Article 2, Protocol No. 4 to the European Convention on Human Rights)
- Freedom of assembly (Article 11, Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms)

[findings]

Based on reports collected by OHRFMT, problems in accessing rights were consistently linked to discrimination. In total, OHRFMT counted nine types of rights that were made difficult to access due to various forms of discrimination. These included discriminatory actions or speech based on the educational level, age, geographic

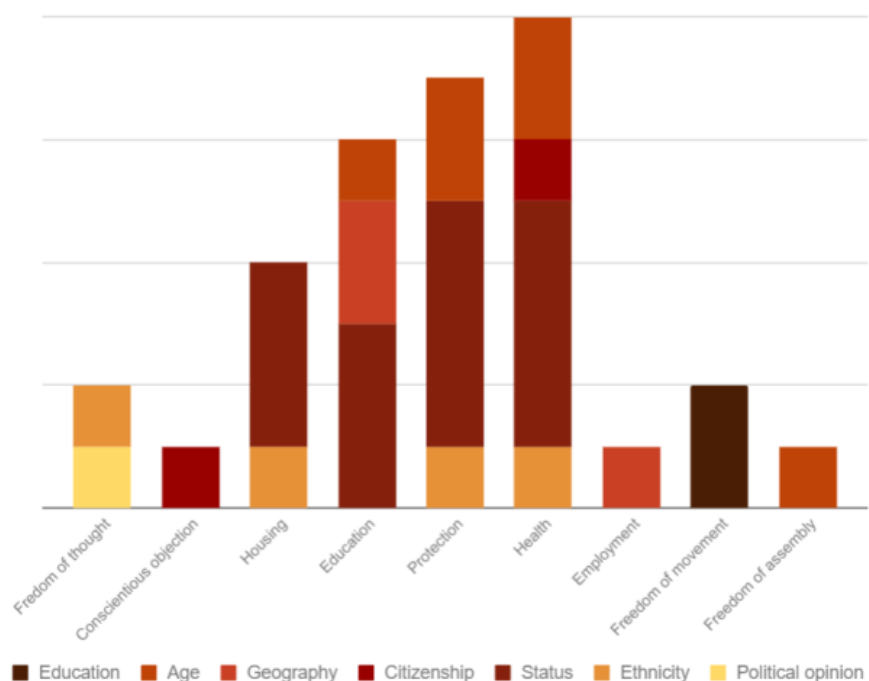


Fig. 4: Reports concerning difficulty in accessing rights afforded by international legal instruments (x axis) as a result of forms of discrimination (defined by key)

location, citizenship, status within Turkey (irregular, with residency permit, under temporary protection, etc.), ethnicity or political orientation of the refugee(s) in question.

As shown in Figure 4, the right to health care was the most difficult to access, followed by the right to protection and education. Of all factors of discrimination, reports collected by the OHRFMT team indicate that refugees were most typically deprived or refused a basic right as a result of their status. This underlines the need and responsibility for Turkey to clarify the status of its growing population of forced migrants and allow them to formally apply for refugee status. Age also played an important role in access to basic rights, particularly for health and protection. Similar to the results in the following section – 'abuse / exploitation' – children appear to bear the brunt of the shortcomings of Turkey's asylum regime.

[4.4] Abuse / exploitation

[background]

For the purpose of OHRFMT, actions resulting in possible detrimental effects on physical, psychological, emotional and sexual health of another were considered to be 'abuse'. When these actions such as these were taken with the intention to gain a reward, using another person's vulnerability for one's own benefit, they were considered to be 'exploitation'. Although the terms are fundamentally different, OHRFMT determined that within the refugee context in Turkey, they often work in parallel.

In line with the root causes of discrimination and problems in accessing services guaranteed by national and international law, abuse and exploitation of refugees is also the result of the divide between legal frameworks and their implementation. In general, and as is common in developing countries, the shadow economy is deeply embedded in the Turkish reality. In fact, it is estimated that over 40% of Turkey's population is employed in the informal economy. This means that efforts by the Turkish government to formalize employment, particularly for Syrians through its *Regulation on the Work Permits for Foreigners under Temporary Protection*⁹, have been largely ineffective due to a widespread disregard for formalized employment. Thus, as employment persists to be a priority for Turkey's refugee population, the vast majority of opportunities are in work environments that are fundamentally grounded in exploitative practices. As has become clear in a series of reports throughout the last year, children are not exempt from becoming victims of this exploitation, where some have moved from selling goods on the street to working within the textile industry. Within national legislation, it must be clarified that child labor is defined and prohibited under

⁹ http://www.fta-intl.org/sites/default/files/%C3%87SGB%20Guide%20-%20Work%20Permit%20for%20Foreigners%20under%20Temporary%20Protection_EN_0.pdf

Article 71 of the 4857 Labor Law¹⁰. Furthermore, as signatory of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, with Article 32 prohibiting economic exploitation of children and Article 22 guaranteeing rights and protection to children seeking or having refugee status, OHRFMT's findings suggest that Turkey is falling short of its commitments to both national and international legislation prohibiting child labor. Moreover, with multiple reports of sexual violence and exploitation of children throughout the reporting year, the seriousness of Turkey's disregard for the protection of children should not be undermined.

[findings]

As the previous section suggests, children were the primary victims of abuse and exploitation. In total, 64% of all reports involved children engaging in the labor sector or becoming involved in situations of human trafficking, sexual abuse or sexual exploitation. Aside from those reports resulting from child labor (34% of all reports), one recurring trend in reports has been the abuse of children within refugee-hosting facilities, where a serious lack of oversight has created a climate of deviance, allowing for rape and sexual extortion. Women and girls were the second

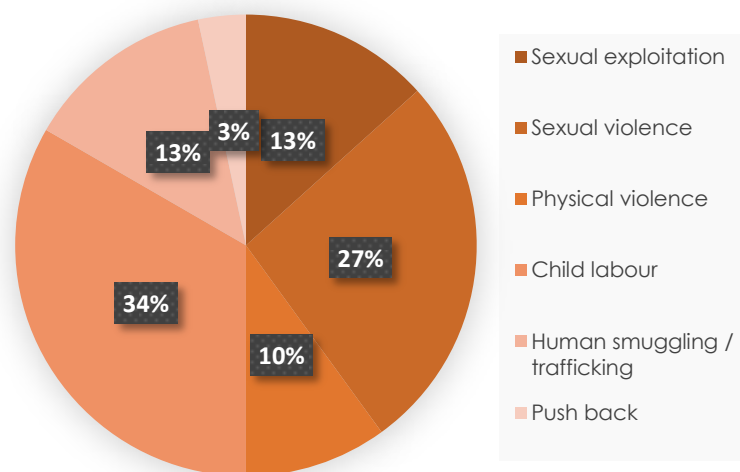


Fig. 5: Theme of abuse / exploitation report

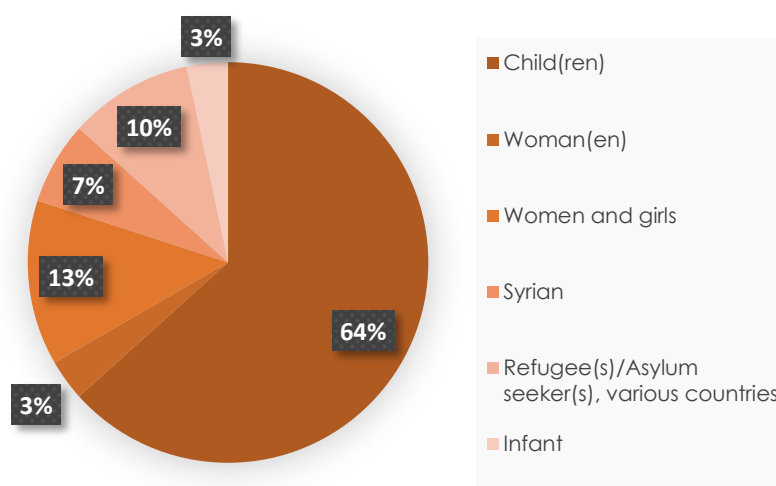


Fig. 6: Profile of the victims of abuse / exploitation

most represented group falling victim to abuse and exploitation, collectively making up 16% of all reports, and most often engaging in similar activities as child victims. As a whole, it can be said that abuse and exploitation of refugees are both gendered and targeted towards the most vulnerable

¹⁰ <http://turkishlaborlaw.com/turkish-labor-law-no-4857/19-4857-labor-law-english-by-article>

individuals within the migrant community (see Figure 6).

One striking trend in the collected reports is that, more often than not, the perpetrators of abuse and exploitation are either unspecified or unknown. Conversely, reports on social media, news websites and those made by official sources often provide a clear profile of the victims. This paradox exhibits that, effectively, sources of information lack adequate or comprehensive insight on incidents of abuse and exploitation. As a matter of public responsibility, OHRFMT believes that state authorities involved in

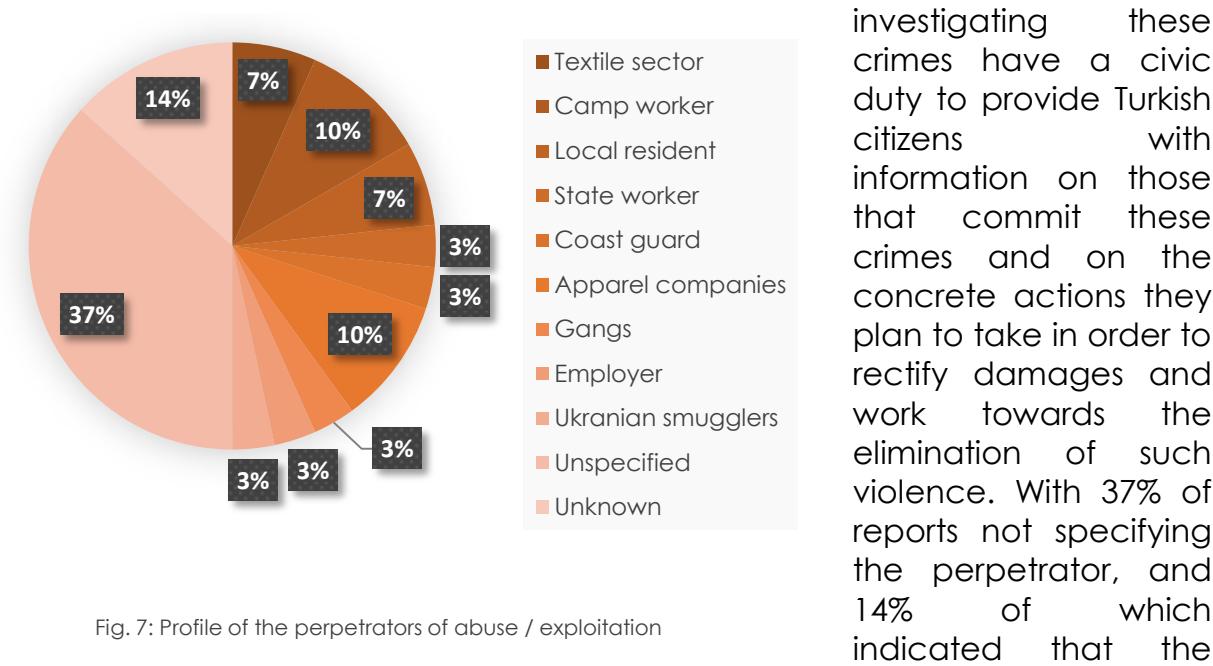


Fig. 7: Profile of the perpetrators of abuse / exploitation

investigating these crimes have a civic duty to provide Turkish citizens with information on those that commit these crimes and on the concrete actions they plan to take in order to rectify damages and work towards the elimination of such violence. With 37% of reports not specifying the perpetrator, and 14% of which indicated that the perpetrator was unknown (see Figure 7), there is little evidence that public safety agencies are actively following up on incidents of abuse and exploitation of refugees.

[4.5] *Loss of life*

[background]

In recent years, the lives of thousands of refugees have been lost whilst in transit. Having become a recurring theme in news articles, it has become evident that while asylum seekers flee war, civil unrest and persecution, they face new dangers along the various migration routes. With the understanding of this sinister reality of forced migration, it becomes evident that safe passage has not been provided by the international community. As a result, the right to seek asylum and the right to life have equally not been respected.

[findings]

First and foremost, the geographic distribution of reports indicates that the vast majority of casualties take place in transit zones, either at Turkey's eastern

borders or in coastal areas used as sea routes towards Greece and the European Union (see Figure 8).



Fig. 8: Distribution of reports relating to refugee loss of life

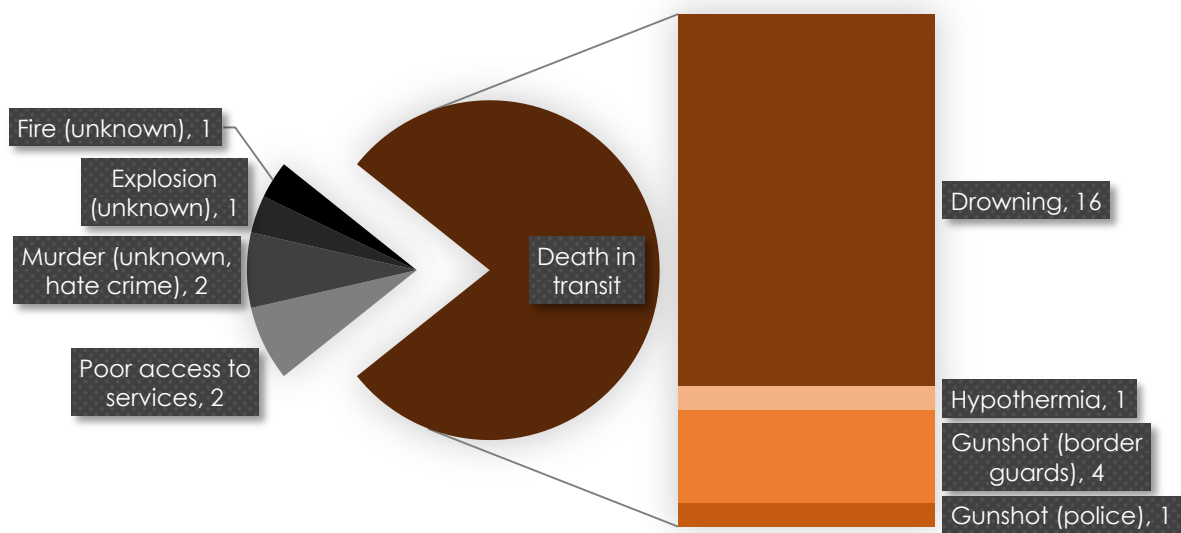


Fig. 9: Loss of life of refugees by cause of death

Throughout the reporting period, OHRFMT collected 28 reports indicating the loss of life of one or more refugees. In total, 22 of these reports – or 79% - involved loss of life as a result of transiting either into Turkey from one of its eastern borders (6 reports) or out of Turkey towards Greece (16 reports). The most common cause of death was by drowning, most often the result of the overcrowding of dinghy's, capsizing and the use of defective life jackets. For loss of life at Turkey's eastern border, most cases involved refugees being fatally shot by either border guards or police officers.



OBSERVATORY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FORCED MIGRANTS IN TURKEY

مرصد حقوق الإنسان و الهجرة القسرية في تركيا

TÜRKİYE'DE İNSAN HAKLARI VE GÖÇE ZORLANANLAR İÇİN GÖZLEMEVİ

سازمان نظارت حقوق بشر و مهاجران

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