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Results of a Survey Among 1,900 Syrians

Franck Düvell, David Schiefer, Ali Zafer Sağıroğlu and Lena Mann

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GERMAN ABSTRACT

Die Türkei ist das Hauptaufnahmeland von syrischen Geflüchteten. Es leben dort mittlerweile etwa 2,7 bis 3,6 Millionen aus Syrien geflohene Menschen (offizielle Statistiken weichen hier stark von anderweitigen Schätzungen ab). Zwischen 2011 und 2019 sind etwa 1,3 Millionen Syrer*innen in die Europäische Union und davon etwa die Hälfte nach Deutschland weitergereist. Weitere rund 414.000 Menschen sind türkischen Angaben zufolge bereits wieder zurückgekehrt. Angesichts der Lage in Syrien und der aktuellen politischen und wirtschaftlichen Situation in der Türkei stellt sich die Frage, welche zukünftigen Migrationsaspirationen die in der Türkei lebenden Syrer*innen haben und wie viele von ihnen nach wie vor in die EU oder in eine andere Region weiterwandern möchten. Zu diesem Zweck haben wir zwischen November 2018 und Mai 2019 rund 1.900 Syrer*innen in der Türkei nach ihren Migrationsaspirationen und ihren aktuellen Lebensbedingungen gefragt: Für kaum eine*n von ihnen kam es zum Zeitpunkt der Befragung in Betracht, nach Syrien zurückzukehren. Etwa die Hälfte der Menschen konnte sich vorstellen, in der Türkei zu bleiben. Gleichzeitig hatte gut ein Viertel den Wunsch, in Zukunft in einem Land außerhalb der Türkei oder Syriens zu leben. Knapp ein Viertel würde, sofern die Möglichkeit bestünde, nach Europa oder auch anderswohin gehen. Dabei wollen vor allem diejenigen in ein Land außerhalb Syriens oder der Türkei weiterwandern, die Familienangehörige in Europa haben. Auch ist unter hochqualifizierten syrischen Geflüchteten, die zum Beispiel einen Universitätsabschluss haben, sowie unter Personen mit kurdischer Muttersprache die Wahrscheinlichkeit vergleichsweise hoch, in ein europäisches oder ein anderes Land weiterwandern zu wollen. Im Rahmen der Befragung hat sich jedoch ebenfalls gezeigt, dass weniger als zwei Prozent der syrischen Geflüchteten über die finanziellen Mittel verfügen, die nötig wären, um die Weiterreise anzutreten. Daraus lässt sich schließen, dass der Migrationsdruck insgesamt eher gering ist. Vielmehr befindet sich die Mehrheit der Syrer*innen in der Türkei inmitten eines Integrationsprozesses, weshalb hier weiterhin internationaler Unterstützungsbedarf besteht.

SUMMARY

- Turkey is the world's major receiving country for Syrian refugees. Although many have moved on to the European Union and other regions of the world, and some have returned to Syria, there are currently between 2.7 million (estimates) and 3.6 million (official figure) Syrians living in Turkey under a temporary protection scheme. In addition, there are about 350,000 refugees of other nationalities under international protection in Turkey, as well as several hundred thousand irregular immigrants.

- This Research Note is based on a survey among about 1,900 Syrians in Turkey conducted between November 2018 and May 2019.

- We found that 53% of the participants would like to live in Turkey in the future. Under current conditions, hardly anyone considered returning to Syria a realistic option. However, 29% agreed that they would like to live in a country other than Syria or Turkey; 22% aspired to move on to a European country.

- We identified having family members in a European country as a key driver of the aspiration to move to Europe. In addition, and among other characteristics, having Kurdish as their mother tongue and being highly educated was found to increase respondents' likelihood of wanting to move on to a country other than Turkey or Syria.

- However, less than 2% of the participants had the financial means to afford the journey and thus the capability to migrate.

- Taken together, the results indicate only a limited level of migration aspirations and very restricted capabilities among Syrians in Turkey to move on to Europe.

- However, these results need to be seen against the background of the constantly changing political environments in Syria and Turkey, notably the displacement situation in Idlib province, north west Syria, the popular pressure on Syrians in Turkey to return, the level of border controls by Turkey and, most recently, the outbreak of the coronavirus pandemic.

1. Background: Syrian Refugees in Turkey and the Turkish Migration Policy Vis-à-Vis the European Union

Since the beginning of the uprising in Syria, its suppression, the subsequent civil war and finally the intervention of Russia and other foreign actors in 2011, the country has endured one of the largest refugee exoduses in recent history. Although statistical figures are somewhat inconsistent, estimates suggest that up to 5.6 million Syrians have left the country due to the civil war (World Bank et al. 2019). Of these, several million initially fled to Turkey. According to official figures, 3.6 million Syrian refugees are still registered in Turkey (DGMM 2020), including over 450,000 Syrian babies born in the country. However, these official figures have been questioned recently and some critical estimates assume only around 2.7 million (see Düvell 2019). For instance, around 1.25 million Syrians fled to the EU, including 630,000 to Germany, mainly in 2015 and 2016, to apply for asylum (see Eurostat 2020), often after transiting Turkey, whereas up to 414,000 may have meanwhile returned from Turkey to Syria (Daily Sabah 2020; TRT World 2019). Other Syrians escaped to other parts of the world. Yet the majority of Syrian refugees in Turkey remained in the country which hosts far more Syrian refugees than any other country in the world. In addition, Turkey also hosts around 350,000 refugees of other nationalities; the largest groups are Afghans, Iraqis and Iranians (UNHCR 2019).

Until winter 2015, Turkey pursued an open-door policy granting Syrians temporary protection under the then new Law on Foreigners and International Protection (passed in 2013). In 2016, an EU-Turkey statement de facto closed the border between Turkey, Greece, and Bulgaria while Turkey constructed a wall along its southern border to stop further inflows. Despite the refugee crisis in the northwestern Syrian province of Idlib, where over 3 million people were still besieged by regime forces and their allies in 2020, no major fresh refugee influx into Turkey has materialized. Also, at the time of writing, migration to the EU was fairly stable and similar to levels before the large-scale migration of 2015. Turkey has been supported by the EU under the Facility for Refugees in Turkey (FRIT) with two tranches of 3 billion euros each to accommodate and integrate Syrians who receive free education and health care as well as social benefits. In 2016, the Turkish government allowed registered Syrians to formally access the labor market. According to estimates – which vary widely between authors – between 0.5 and 1.5 million have found jobs. However, only a relatively small number of formal work permits have in fact been issued since 2016, and the overwhelming part of the Syrian population in Turkey is employed informally (Kirişci & Kolasin 2019; Turkish Red Crescent & World Food Programme 2019; European Commission 2019). Over time public and political attitudes in Turkey have turned against Syrians. While they were initially welcomed as "guests" by the Turkish government, recent studies reveal a rise in negative attitudes toward immigration in general and Syrians in particular (Erdoğan 2017; Kaya, Robert & Tecman 2019; Yanaşmayan, Üstübici & Kaşlı 2019). During the periods of the presidential elections in 2014 and 2018 the ruling party as well as the opposition parties increasingly played the 'refugee card' in order to appeal to these sentiments (see Yanaşmayan, Üstübici & Kaşlı 2019). In this context, Syrian communities in Istanbul were raided (Daily Sabah 2019), persons without permission to stay in the city were returned to the cities where they are registered and a few hundred Syrians were even removed to Syria. These developments, as we found in the present research project, caused anxiety among Syrians in Turkey.[1]

[1] This is based on preliminary findings of the qualitative part of our study.

2. The Study: Migration Aspirations of Syrian Refugees in Turkey

Against the backdrop of the situation of Syrian refugees in Turkey and the current Turkish migration policy, the questions arise what the migration aspirations of Syrians in Turkey are and what to expect for future migrations. This Research Note investigates these questions using data from a quantitative study involving 1,886 adult Syrians living mainly in urban regions in Turkey (see Box 1).

Box 1: The Survey

The survey was conducted between November 2018 and May 2019. Since official statistics on the total population of Syrian refugees in Turkey are not reliable enough (Düvell 2019) and population registries are not accessible, it was not possible to draw a representative random sample. In order to still acquire a sample allowing us to draw conclusions about the Syrian population in Turkey, we developed a multi-stage-sampling approach combining different sampling techniques (for details see Schiefer, Düvell, Sağıroğlu, Mann, as yet unpublished, available on request). In a first step, three broad regions were sampled: southern Turkey bordering Syria and Iraq, Central Anatolia and northern Turkey bordering the EU. In these regions, we sampled six provinces, one in the north, two in the center and three in the south of the country. These were chosen based on their size, the number of Syrian refugees officially registered there, economic opportunities and geographical location (proximity to the Syrian border or the EU). Within these provinces we selected the cities Istanbul, Ankara, Konya, Sanliurfa, Suruç, Gaziantep, Nizip, Reyhanli and Antakya, all of which were known to host a high number of Syrian refugees. By the time of data collection, these cities and towns hosted approximately 2 million or 57% of Syrian refugees in Turkey (according to official statistics).[2]

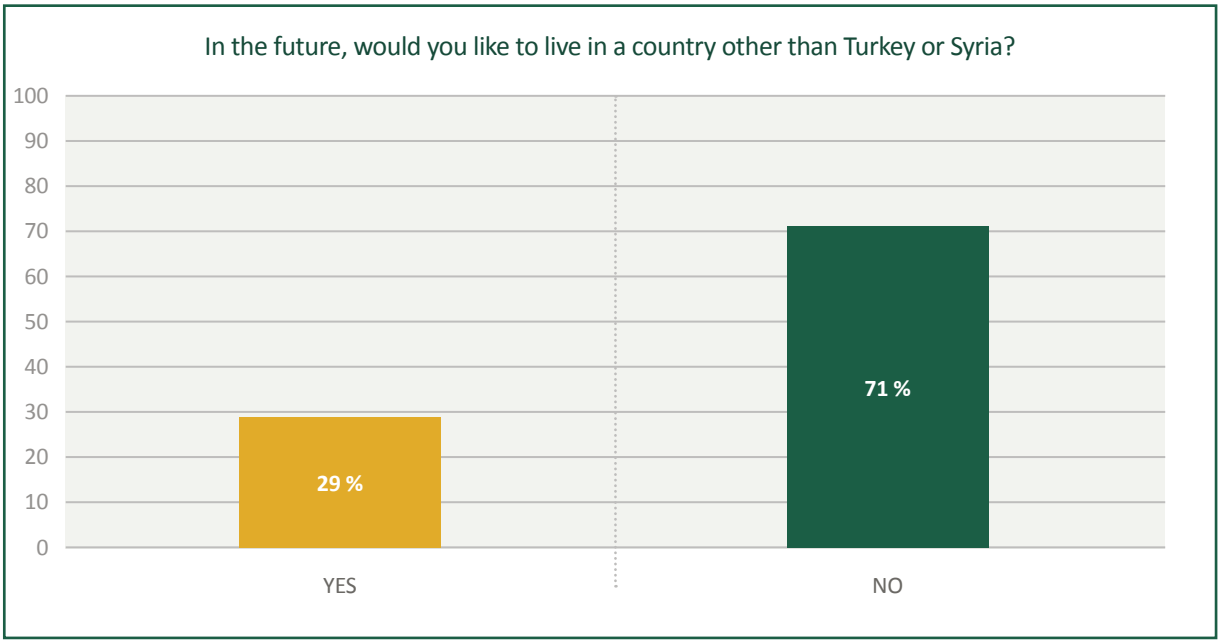
Within these cities, 21 districts with a high density of Syrian refugees were selected for our study. In each district, we conducted a total of 226 random walks where interviewers walked along a predefined route and contacted households along the way. Each walk comprised a batch of around eight interviews. Participants' ages ranged between 18 and 87 with an average age of 35.6 (standard deviation: 12.1). The sample comprised a higher proportion of females (59%) compared to males. The peak of participants' arrivals in Turkey was between 2012 and 2016, around 88% arrived during that time; hence at the time of the interview, most had been residing in Turkey for two to six years. The survey and the corresponding analyses generally rest on three key theoretical concepts: migration aspirations, perceptions (of conditions in sending, transit and receiving countries), and capabilities to migrate (see Carling 2002; Carling & Schewel 2017; de Haas 2010; Timmerman et al. 2014). These suggest that migration is not only determined by macro- or meso-level drivers but that micro-level factors are decisive for explaining the actual realization of migration.

[2] All available reports agree that the majority of Syrians live in urban areas; CARE (2019) suggests these are as many as 96.1%.

3. Only a Minority States That They Would Like to Live Elsewhere Than in Turkey or Syria in the Future

When asked whether they would like to stay in Turkey in the future, more than half of the participants responded positively (53%).[3] When asked whether they would like to return to Syria in the future, they appeared to be rather uncertain: Only 3% agreed with this option, around 20% disagreed and the vast majority chose the response option "depending on the situation" (63%) or "I don't know" (14%). In turn, when asked whether they would like to live in a country other than Turkey or Syria in the future, more than one quarter (29%) answered "yes" (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Migration Aspirations of Syrian Refugees in Turkey



Note: Fifty-three participants (2.8%) did not respond to the question. Data are weighted to adjust for the unequal sizes of the Syrian population in the selected provinces.

Among all participants who responded to the latter question, 22% agreed with this question and mentioned Europe as a whole or a particular European country as a desired destination – with Germany being the most frequently mentioned country (11%), followed by Sweden (3%); 8% mentioned Canada, and 1% another non-European country (1% did not indicate any region).[4]

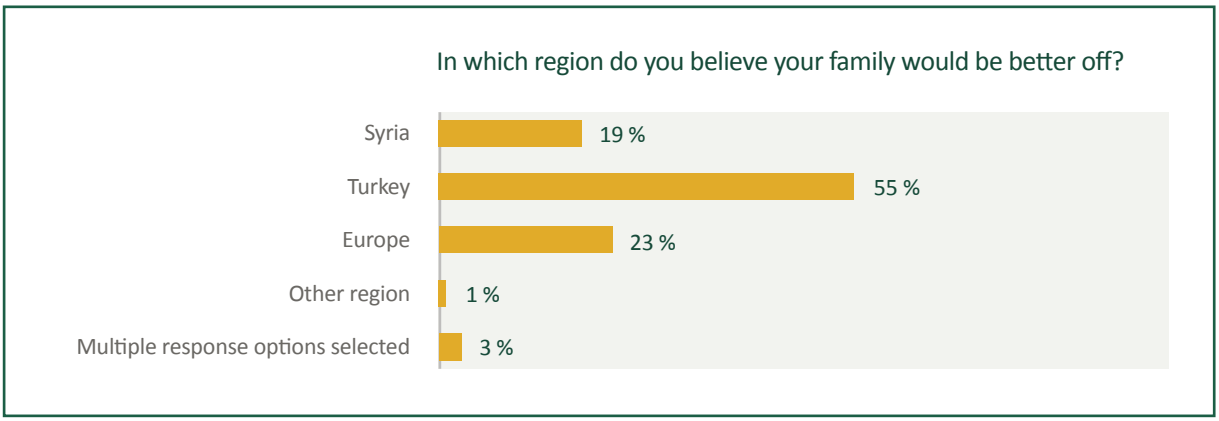
In an additional question, participants were asked where they believe their families would be better off: Turkey, Syria, Europe, or another region of the

[3] All percentages and mean scores reported in this Research Note are based on the respective (sub)sample excluding those participants who did not respond to the particular question. They are also based on weighted data to adjust for unequal sizes of the Syrian population in the selected provinces.

[4] Persons who responded "yes" to the question whether they would like to live in a country other than Turkey or Syria were asked which region they would like to live in. The question was open-ended in terms of possible answers; participants named countries or regions themselves. Also note that participants were allowed to name more than one region/country, which is why the sum of all the regions mentioned is higher than the 29% who agreed that they would like to live in a country other than Syria or Turkey (Figure 1).

world. The majority of the participants, 55%, perceived Turkey as the better place for their families. This is even slightly more than those who state that they want to stay in Turkey (see above). In comparison, 19% expect their family to be better off in Syria and around 23% say this would be in Europe (Figure 2). In other words, only a minority of the participants seems to be convinced that Europe is a better place with regard to the well-being of their family. Only 1% mentioned other regions. Furthermore, as can also be seen in Figure 2, 3% of the participants chose multiple response options, which indicates that they view more than one place as suitable for their family or don't have a clear idea of where their families would be better off.

Figure 2: Desired Place for Family



Note: Ninety-five participants did not respond to the question (5.0%). The categories Syria, Turkey, Europe and other region were presented to the participants as indicated in the figure. However, participants were also allowed to select more than one category. Deviation from 100% are due to rounding. Data are weighted to adjust for the unequal sizes of the Syrian population in the selected provinces.

4. Participants Perceive Their Chances to Migrate to Europe to Be Very Low

An individual's aspiration to live in a certain other country or region does not necessarily lead to migration itself.[5] Instead, the realization of migration aspirations depends on various additional aspects such as a certain level of commitment to put ideas into practice as well as the individual capacity to migrate (see Carling & Schewel 2017). This pattern is also reflected in the actual efforts and migration attempts made by our respondents.

Only around 6% of the participants stated that they had actually already made the effort to apply for a visa to the European Union. Among those who had not done so, another 21% stated that they intended to apply for a visa. About 10% had applied or intended to apply for a family reunification visa in a certain country. Only 21% believed that it is generally "possible to go to Europe without a visa" apart from regular migration channels. This item was included as a proxy for the respondents' perception of irregular migration as a realistic strategy. Those who stated that they would like to live in a country or region other than Turkey or Syria (see the previous section) were only a little more optimistic: 24% believed that traveling to Europe without a visa is possible. However, only around 4% stated that they had actually tried to move on to Europe irregularly. Even taking into account that not all respondents answer such a question accurately, this nevertheless suggests that the commitment to migrate to Europe beyond regular migration channels was actually very low among the participants.

The crucial finding, however, is that the vast majority of the participants stated that they cannot afford the journey to Europe. They were asked to rate on a scale from 1 (don't agree at all) to 7 (totally agree) how strongly they agree with the statement "I have enough money to travel to Europe." Around 96% chose the lowest response option (1 – don't agree at all). The average level of agreement was 1.1 with very low variance (standard deviation 0.73). Less than 2% of all respondents selected response options 5, 6 or 7, indicating that only a very small fraction believe they have the capacities to travel to Europe.

5. Family as One of the Key Drivers of Migration

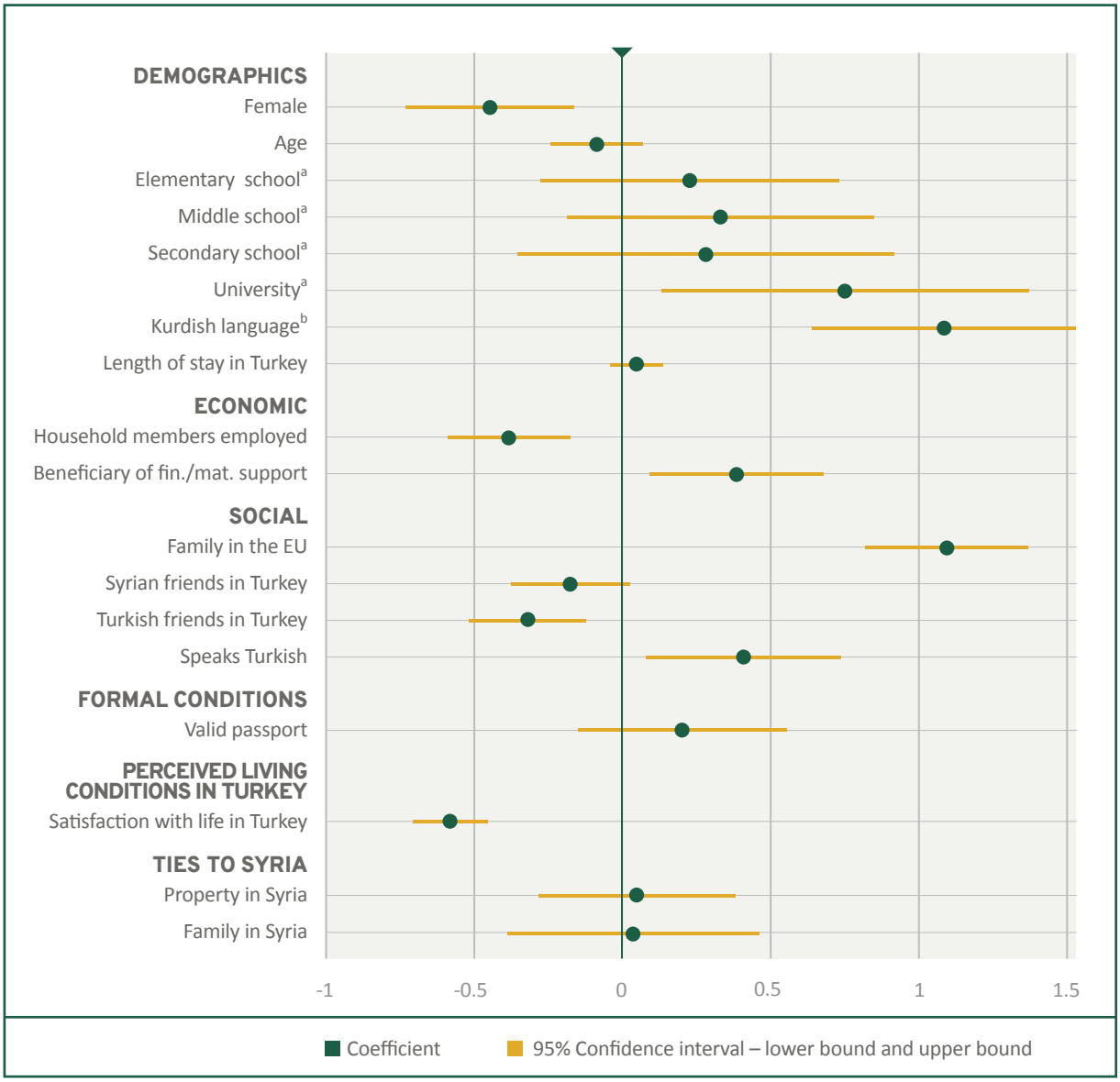
Understanding why people intend to migrate is a complex task because they usually have a mix of reasons and motives, not just a single one. Drivers of migration can be political (e.g., violence, persecution), economic (e.g., income situation and living conditions in the country of residence) or social (e.g., location of family members, social network in current country) in nature. In addition, factors such as the perception of the conditions in the host country or ideas about the realities of life there play a role, as well as individual characteristics such as gender, ethnicity and education.

Based on the current state of analyses, one of the key drivers of migration aspirations of Syrians in Turkey is having family in Europe. In a multiple logistic regression model, it is the strongest predictor, and the effect holds even when controlling for other aspects such as age, gender or employment in Turkey (Figure 3). The raw numbers show that among participants who have family members living in Europe, the percentage of those who would like to live in a country other than Turkey or Syria is around three times higher as compared to those who do not have family in Europe. Even after controlling for other characteristics in the regression model, the probability of wanting to live in a place other than Turkey or Syria is still twice as high among these individuals, compared with those without family in Europe (Table 1). This was to be expected, as migration networks are well-known drivers of migration (Massey et al. 1993). In the same vein, in the group that has family

[5] See IOM 2011. The survey found that in 2006, out of 630 million persons who desired to migrate, only 19 million or 3% subsequently made according preparations.

members in Europe – and who can thus be assumed to have better information about conditions and opportunities in Europe – the share of participants who believe their family would be better off there is around four times higher compared to those without family ties to Europe (without control variables).

Figure 3: Desire to Live in a Country Other Than Turkey or Syria: Relations With Other Characteristics



Note: Results of a multiple logistic regression. The dots indicate the estimated effect, the horizontal lines the confidence intervals (the estimated range where the coefficient most likely lies). Scores above zero indicate a positive effect, scores below zero a negative effect. For example, participants with family (vs. no family) in Europe are more likely to say that they would like to live somewhere other than Syria or Turkey, whereas those who have Turkish friends are less likely to be inclined to live somewhere else. In cases where the confidence interval does not cross the red vertical line, the effect can be assumed to differ statistically significantly from zero. The patterns of coefficients remain stable when running the model separately for different sub-groups (males/females, older/younger participants, Arabic-speaking/Kurdish-speaking participants, persons who lived in a village/city in Syria) and when including additional random variables in the model.

[a]Reference category is "no school degree"; [b]reference category is "Arabic language".
Participants' city of residence was included as a control variable.

Table 1: Probabilities of Wanting to Live in a Country Other Than Turkey or Syria, by Relevant Characteristics

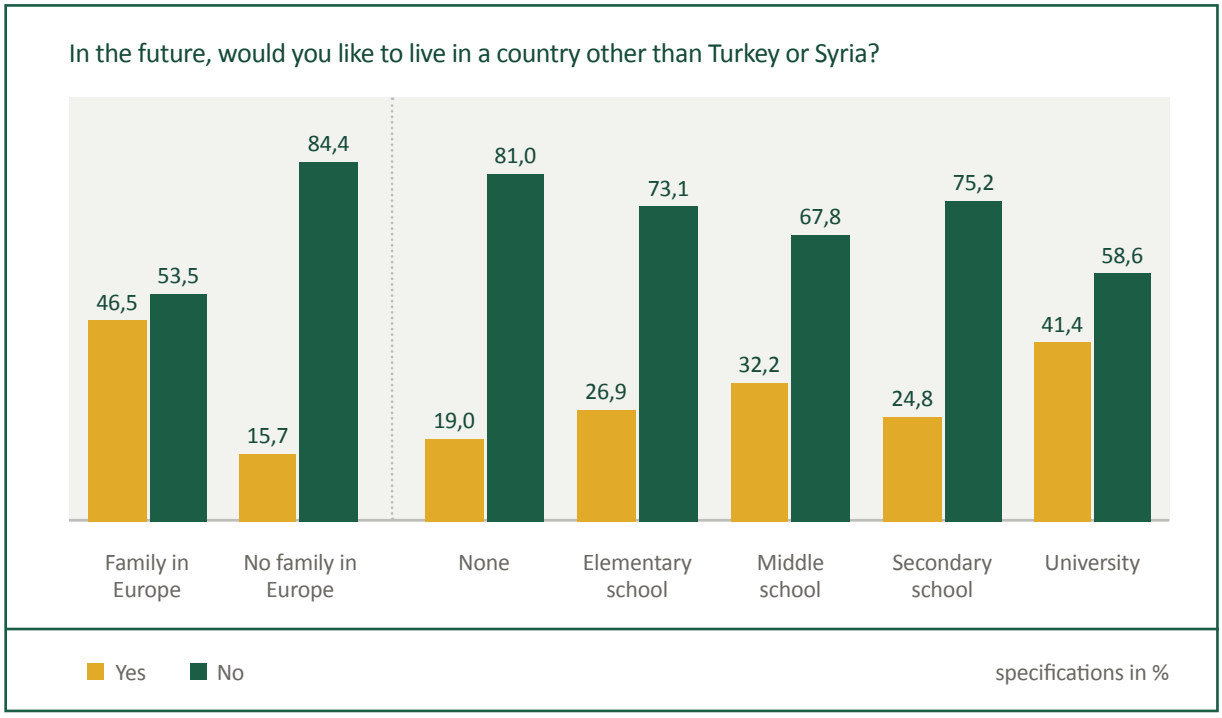
		Predicted probability	95% Confidence interval	
Gender	Male	0.278	0.247	0.309
	Female	0.226	0.202	0.250
Educational degree	None	0.210	0.153	0.266
	Elementary school	0.237	0.207	0.268
	Middle school	0.251	0.219	0.282
	Secondary school	0.245	0.187	0.303
	University	0.315	0.254	0.377
Mother tongue	Arabic	0.229	0.209	0.249
	Kurdish	0.401	0.328	0.475
Number of employed household members	0	0.317	0.277	0.357
	1	0.229	0.206	0.251
	2	0.207	0.155	0.258
	3	0.216	0.113	0.318
Beneficiary of financial/material support	No	0.223	0.198	0.248
	Yes	0.275	0.248	0.302
Family in Europe	No	0.179	0.156	0.203
	Yes	0.345	0.311	0.380
Turkish friends	No	0.272	0.245	0.299
	Yes, some (1–4)	0.251	0.218	0.285
	Yes, many (more than 4)	0.181	0.143	0.219
Speaks Turkish	No	0.215	0.183	0.248
	Yes	0.267	0.242	0.292
Satisfaction with life in Turkey (Scale from 1 "not satisfied at all" to 7 "very satisfied")	1	0.636	0.548	0.724
	2	0.526	0.456	0.595
	3	0.416	0.370	0.462
	4	0.314	0.288	0.340
	5	0.228	0.209	0.247
	6	0.158	0.137	0.180
	7	0.106	0.081	0.130

Note: Predicted probabilities and confidence intervals estimated by the logistic regression model. Predictors with no significant effect on migration aspirations are not documented.

Besides family ties, ethnic origin plays a decisive role, too. Among participants who speak Kurdish as their mother tongue, the probability of wanting to move on to Europe or elsewhere is substantially higher than among Arabic-speaking Syrians (Figure 3, Table 1). In other words, Kurdish-speaking participants are less comfortable about staying in Turkey than Arabic-speaking participants. The evidence in the data is, however, somewhat inconclusive regarding the reasons for this effect: on the one hand, Kurdish-speaking participants (as opposed to Arabic-speaking participants) are significantly less satisfied with the attitudes of Turkish people toward refugees and immigrants, and they agree significantly less with the statement "In my current place in Turkey, I am treated well." Contrary to this, they do not differ from Arabic-speaking participants with regard to their satisfaction with human rights in Turkey (mean score Kurdish: 5.2; mean score Arabic: 5,0; on a scale from 1 "not satisfied at all" to 7 "very satisfied"), and they also do not agree to the statement "In Turkey, I am mistreated because I am not Turkish" more strongly than Arabic-speaking participants (mean score Kurdish: 2.9; mean score Arabic: 3.0; on a scale from 1 "do not agree at all" to 7 "totally agree"). Another explanation might be that different social networks are at play. Notably, the percentage of those who have family in Europe is significantly higher among Kurdish speaking participants (63%) compared to Arabic-speaking participants (39%). However, as can be seen in Figure 3, speaking Kurdish as a mother tongue remains a significant predictor of migration aspirations even when controlling for having relatives in Europe. Further in-depth analyses need to be conducted to find out whether these or other aspects account for the effects of ethnic origin on migration aspirations.

Furthermore, migration aspirations also vary according to the participants' educational background, albeit to a lower degree: Only the difference between those with no education and those with a university degree is statistically significant (see Figure 3). Of those with a university degree 41% display an aspiration to move elsewhere, as opposed to 19% of those with no educational degree (Figure 4, see also Table 1). This trend further reinforces the observations made in 2014/2015, when the majority of Syrians moving to Europe were better educated (53.6% had a university or high school degree; see Rich 2015). A possible explanation is that those with a higher level of education (especially academically educated individuals) see more job opportunities for themselves in regions such as Europe and are also generally more capable of managing migration and settlement in the new country compared to those with low educational levels. Notably, although the effect of education on migration aspirations remains significant even when controlling for family networks in Europe (Figure 3), there is some evidence in the data that family issues play a role as well, especially with regard to children. For example, those with a university degree are significantly less satisfied with the education system in Turkey than those with no school degree – although the difference is rather small in size –, and they more strongly believe that their children could have a good future in Europe. Further analyses are required to shed light on the role of educational background for migration aspirations in this group.

Figure 4: Family in Europe, Education, and Migration Aspirations



Note: Twelve participants did not respond to the question about family members in Europe (0.6%), and one participant did not respond to the question about their school degree (0.1%).

Finally, according to the analytical model specified above (Figure 3), participants who stated that they receive material or financial benefits are more inclined to want to move on compared to those who do not receive such benefits (although the difference is rather small, see Table 1). This finding is somewhat inconclusive. On the one hand, the unemployment rate is significantly higher in this group compared to those who do not receive support. In addition, such benefits are extremely limited. For example, the benefits provided through the Turkish Red Crescent and financed by the EU-funded Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN) amount to just 18 euros per family member per month (European Commission 2019). This would explain why benefit recipients still aspire to migrate to Europe. On the other hand, those who receive benefits are slightly more optimistic with regard to certain aspects of their lives in Turkey (e.g., chances to find a job, accommodation, future for their children). When running a regression model with financial benefits as the only predictor, the model indicates lower migration aspirations among those who receive benefits. One explanation could be that although being eligible for financial benefits improves living conditions so that beneficiaries could be more inclined to stay, it also means being unemployed and living under more precarious economic conditions, which in turn drives a stronger desire to migrate elsewhere. This effect is revealed only when statistically controlling for the other aspects. Taken together, receiving (meager) financial benefits has a mixed impact on migration aspirations.

6. Conclusion

Among the Syrian participants interviewed in our survey, 22% held the aspiration to move on to Europe. However, less than 2% believed that they would be able to afford the journey. Even though statistical reasons (e.g., lack of reliable population data) make it impossible to extrapolate the total number of Syrians in Turkey who wish to migrate to Europe and who can afford to do so, it can be said with some confidence that the number is only a small fraction of the total. This is further supported by the fact that since January 2020 Syrians have represented only around 25%, 2,200 individuals, of all sea arrivals in Greece (data from March 2021).[6]

These findings thus suggest that most of those who wanted to migrate to Europe did so in 2015/16. They also suggest that many of those who still want to migrate to Europe do so because they have relatives already living in Europe. Hence, a large part of this group could be considered as a consequence of the 2014/15 movement. Furthermore, the findings confirm the gap between the individuals' aspirations and their capability to migrate. This has been documented in previous migration studies: having the desire to migrate does not mean that a person will actually migrate; instead, this depends, among other factors, on having the financial means to do so. Our results confirm common knowledge in migration theory and studies, namely that family networks are among the strongest drivers of migration. Finally, these results underline previous research whereby Turkey has gone through a migration transition. Since 2010, it has turned from a net emigration country to a net immigration country. Even without taking Syrians into account (Düvell 2018), a certain proportion of (potential future) migrants and refugees worldwide now perceive Turkey as being a viable destination country (Gallup 2010).

The impact of the coronavirus crisis on the lives of Syrians in Turkey and subsequently on their migration aspirations remains to be seen. Whereas on the one hand an economic recession undermines the viability of staying in Turkey, on the other hand it further diminishes the individuals' capacity to afford the journey to Europe. From January to July 2020, monthly arrivals in the EU (Greece) dropped significantly from 4,000 to 600 (UNHCR 2020a, 2020b) and to only 150 in 2021 (UNHCR 2021).

[6] https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean/location/5179 (Retrieved March 15, 2021)

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The results have several implications for policymakers:

- The potential for future migration flows of Syrians from Turkey to Europe is lower than often assumed in public discourses.
- Measures focusing solely on deterring Syrians from moving on to Europe are unjustified.
- As family reunification is the strongest driver, the best option for preventing irregular migration seems to be to improve access to legal migration channels for family reunification.
- Because concerns for the well-being of the family are among the strongest motivations for wanting to migrate to Europe, it seems plausible for the EU and Germany to continue supporting policies and projects which specifically benefit the well-being of Syrian refugee families in Turkey, both for the sake of improving family welfare and for diminishing the need to migrate.
- Since migration aspirations are higher especially among university graduates, policies aiming to improve their opportunities would diminish their need to migrate.
- More generally, the findings confirm previous assumptions that matters in Turkey have evolved from an emergency situation to a protracted refugee situation. Therefore, the current situation requires long-term integration policies in Turkey instead of only emergency responses addressing immediate needs.

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