RESPOND

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Syrians in Turkey

Experiences of migration and integration though a survey study

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About the project

RESPOND is a Horizon 2020 project, which aims at studying the multilevel governance of migration in Europe and beyond. The consortium is formed of **14 partners from 11 source, transit and destination countries and is coordinated by Uppsala University in Sweden.** The main aim of this Europe-wide project is to provide an **in-depth understanding of the governance of recent mass migration** at macro, meso and micro levels through cross-country comparative research and to critically analyse governance practices with the aim of enhancing the migration governance capacity and policy coherence of the EU, its member states and third countries.

RESPOND will study migration governance through a narrative which is constructed along five thematic fields: (1) Border management and security, (2) Refugee protection regimes, (3) Reception policies, (4) Integration policies, and (5) Conflicting Europeanization. Each thematic field is reflecting a juncture in the migration journey of refugees and designed to provide a holistic view of policies, their impacts and responses given by affected actors within.

In order to better focus on these themes, we divided our research question into work packages (WPs). The present report belongs to WP7 that complements other work packages by providing quantitative data and indicators of forced migrants experiences, difficulties, attitudes, and plans.

Executive summary

This report focuses on experiences, situation, integration and attitudes of Syrian forced migrants in Turkey in 2019. It describes results of RESPOND's quantitative study of adult migrants from the Syrian Arab Republic who have left their country of origin in 2011 or later, and have sought protection in Turkey no later than 2017. The 789 interviews were conducted in four Turkish cities: Istanbul (234 interviews), Şanliurfa (205 interviews), Izmir (199 interviews) and Batman (151 interviews) between June and October 2019. The study used convenience sampling in each of the selected cities. Respondents received paper questionnaires to fill out by themselves, but interviewers were available to assist if help was needed. The questionnaires were in Arabic and all the answers were translated into English.

The vast majority of Syrians staying in Turkey are under Temporary Protection (over 3.6 million in 28.08.2019). The official statistics about age and gender of the temporary protected population roughly match those from the survey sample. Survey participants represented a wide range of educational levels from those who did not finish primary school to PhD holders. Over half of the survey participants were married and with children, and almost one in three were single. Sunni Muslims dominated in the sample. Most interviewees mentioned Syrian as a part of their description of their culture of origin, also large shares of respondents described themselves as Arabs or Kurds, confirming that our sample includes various groups of people. Finally, nearly all respondents had an Identity Card (Kimlik) confirming their legal stay in Turkey.

The conflict in Syria started in 2011 but only a handful of respondents moved in that year, most crossed to Turkey in 2013 and 2014 (more than one out of five respondents in each year) when the borders were still relatively open. Still, many survey participants moved in 2015 or later when border crossings were already formalised. Half of the respondents said that border guards tried to prevent them from entering Turkey. The majority of respondents crossed the land border to Turkey, and one in six arrived in Turkey by air travel. The journey itself could take only a day or two, this was the case for half of the survey participants, it took longer but up to a week for another quarter of respondents with the remaining survey participants having sometimes far longer travels, often with stops within Syria or in other countries. A third of survey participants reported that weather and natural obstacles hindered their journey, but even more spoke about problems with money and border controls followed by difficulties with smugglers. Only a quarter of the sample said that they have met no difficulties on their road to Turkey.

Upon arrival in Turkey half of survey participants received some support such as a place to stay, food, water, clothing, etc. Two in ten respondents said they did not need support, and the remaining three out of ten respondents were left without support despite needing it. Only sometimes the help came from local people or the public institutions, typically, help was given by respondents' friends and relatives. Nearly half of all respondents still receive some kind of support, or at least received one in the last three years, with the Turkish Red Crescent assisting almost one in three respondents.

A significant share of respondents (three out of ten) reported having a very difficult experience either in Turkey or in Syria, and a similar share admitted that a frightening, horrible or upsetting experience still impacts their everyday life by causing nightmares, making them feel numb or watchful, or remaining weary not to think about it and avoid situations that might remind of it. Despite that, most assessed their mental health to be fair, good or very good, and thought of themselves as resilient, which considering the situation is an optimistic result. Most respondents said that family and spirituality/faith were of very much help in dealing with emotional turmoil.

Most survey participants lived in rented apartments in cities, and the majority felt safe or somewhat safe in their neighbourhoods. Still, four out of ten respondents experienced

harassment, extortion, insults, blackmail, beating or another kind of violence in Turkey. Four out of five survey participants also talked about discrimination, in particular when searching for accommodation, but also sometimes in the streets, when looking for work or at work. These experiences were reported in each study location but they were particularly widespread among respondents in Izmir.

Most respondents spoke either near-native Kurdish or more commonly Arabic, but only one in ten spoke Turkish in an excellent or near-native fashion, while six out of ten respondents had only basic communication skills or spoke no Turkish at all. Half of the respondents declared learning Turkish, but only two out of ten (of all respondents) were attending language classes. A similar share of participants has ever taken part in vocational training in Turkey, these were more often respondents from Izmir and Şanliurfa, as well as people who already had some education. Overall, it seemed that there is a need for many more opportunities for Syrians to learn the Turkish language.

Until 2016, people with Temporary Protection were not allowed to be legally employed, and since 2016, they could only after obtaining a special work permit, so many Syrians remained in informal employment. According to respondents, less than half works in jobs requiring a good command of Turkish, and most are restricted to jobs that need almost no Turkish language competencies. Half of the respondents reported the necessity to know Turkish well as a barrier that made finding a job difficult. They also reported other difficulties such as only low-paid and simple jobs being open to them, and employers not willing to employ legally or to employ asylum seekers at all. Despite difficulties, almost half of respondents have worked at some point in Turkey and four out of ten were working at the time of the survey. Many started working rapidly within the first few months of their stay. Survey participants typically found work through family and friends, only some reported being helped by NGOs or other intermediaries. However, these jobs did not seem to be of high quality because most working respondents were employed as skilled (e.g. welder, machine operator, tailor, nurse) or unskilled workers in manufacturing, food service or construction/renovation services. Besides, a majority of employed respondents reported working over 45 hours per week.

Turkish citizenship was something that three-quarters of the sample would like to have but many thought it would be impossible to get. They suggested that the long and complicated procedure was the main barrier. Most respondents asked about to what extent they feel a part of the Turkish society said “somewhat”, which is somewhat above “not at all” and “very little”, but below “much”, thus it seemed that some feeling of belonging did develop. Furthermore, one-fifth of respondents did not consider further migration nor going back to Syria, so they were set to stay in Turkey. Another one fifth did not consider further migration but could go back to Syria if the war ended and there were a good government there. But since that seems unlikely, these people are probably also staying in Turkey. Almost two-fifths of the sample declared that they would migrate further (particularly to Germany or Canada) if they found a chance. However, chances are scarce and many of those respondents are not willing to return to Syria at all or at least not as long as war reigns there. Overall, it seems that many Syrians who lived in Turkey at the time of the survey would remain there, which makes their integration an utmost priority.

Our survey indicates that if Syrians were to stay permanently in Turkey much more work is to be done to promote integration and social harmony (*uyum*). First of all, Syrians need a way to support themselves in Turkey. Also, widespread reports of discrimination by house owners, employers and regular Turkish citizens seem to be an issue to tackle. Further, promoting and enabling Turkish language learning to open new job opportunities and allowing better communication between Syrians and Turks would make achieving social harmony easier.

1 Introduction, survey methodology and sources

The report summarises results from a quantitative survey of Syrians in Turkey, conducted within Work Package 7 of the H2020 project RESPOND – Multilevel Governance of Mass Migration in Europe and Beyond. The survey aimed to:

- explore Syrian forced migrants' norms, values and attitudes;
- recognise strategies used by forced migrants;
- add to the knowledge base on mass migration and migration management through understanding the relations between migrants' characteristics and the strategies they choose;
- analyse Syrians' experience with crossing borders, refugee protection, and reception in the host country;
- study Syrian forced migrants' socio-economic and socio-cultural integration.

The report begins with the description of the survey's methodology, the data gathering process and comparison of the sample characteristics with Turkish official data. This section ends with the presentation of basic characteristics of respondents and outlining the limitations of this study. The third and largest report section presents the survey results. First it looks at respondents' journey to and arrival in Turkey, second at their psycho-social health and resilience, and later at the safety, protection and support they received in Turkey, ending the section with considerations of survey participants integration and plans for the future. Finally, the conclusions summarise the main results.

The data used to write this report will be open to the public (on a CC BY 4.0 licence) under the doi: 10.5281/zenodo.4018050 once the RESPOND project concludes. Please reference the database as: Brzozowska, A., Górny, A., Jancewicz, B., Cetrez, Ö., Shakra M. and Sobczak-Szelc, K. 2020, *Database: RESPOND survey in Turkey*.

1.1 Survey methodology

This survey was conducted in Turkey between June and October 2019. Respondents were recruited in selected cities that have seen a rise in the number of forced migrants from Syria in the past couple of years (2011-2017) and that represent Turkey's centre and peripheries. We chose Turkey as one of the main host and transit countries for Syrians.

The study focused on adult (aged 18 and over) migrants from the Syrian Arab Republic who have left their country of origin in 2011 or later, and have sought protection in Turkey no later than 2017. We chose 2011 as a starting point, as the Syrian civil war started in 2011 and caused a massive movement of people running away from the conflict. We focus on those who reached Turkey latest by 2017, so that respondents would have some experiences of living in Turkey and would know the situation there as well as options available to them.

People who fled from Syria can obtain only one type of protection[1] in Turkey according to the Temporary Protection Regulation adopted in 2014. Until now (as of May 2020) only Syrian

[1] Turkey ratified the 1951 Refugee Convention and acceded to the Convention's 1967 Protocol. However, Turkey made a reservation to the Protocol that geographically limits the application of Convention rights to persons affected by events occurring in Europe. As a result, Turkey's obligations toward non-European asylum seekers are limited to rights that can be derived from international and regional human rights instruments to which Turkey is a party. Refugees from Syria are granted what is called "Temporary Protection" as a group, while people of all other nationalities are required to make individual applications for "International Protection" (including "refugee," "conditional refugee," and "subsidiary protection beneficiary" status).

nationals were ever granted such Temporary Protection status in Turkey and their number as of February 2020 reached 3.6 million (UNHCR, 2020). However, not all Syrians applied for the protection, some remain in Turkey irregularly, while a small number obtained regular, family, student or work residence permits in Turkey. Some have already acquired Turkish citizenship, an option open to those with family ties and those who stayed and worked in Turkey legally for over 5 years. Also, an unknown number of people from Syria stay in Turkey without permit or protection[2].

In defining the sample, we focused on those who left Syria and sought protection in Turkey, however, when drafting, discussing and pilot-testing the questionnaire we realised that asking respondents about their legal status, and exact legal route of entry to Turkey, might deter some (particularly the most vulnerable) participants. Therefore, we included in the sample all adults that left Syria in 2011 or later and then reached Turkey by 2017, no matter whether they stayed legally, or they had a residence permit due to education, work etc., or whether they were registered under Temporary Protection or not (the interviewers were instructed to inform respondents that "We approach all people from Syria").

We chose four Turkish cities: Istanbul (234 interviews), Şanliurfa (205 interviews), Izmir (199 interviews) and Batman (151 interviews), as shown in Figure 1. The final samples included altogether 789 respondents. Figure 2 shows that Istanbul was the city with the biggest number of registered Syrians in Turkey followed by Gaziantep, Hatay and Şanliurfa (Kaya 2020, p. 19). Izmir hosted less than half of the Istanbul's number of Syrians and Batman hosted only a fraction of that. However, Figure 3 reveals that while Istanbul had the largest number of Syrians, their share in the population of Istanbul's province was small and comparable to that of Izmir and Batman (3.6%, 3.4% and 3.7% respectively). One of the studied locations had a high share of the Temporary Protected Syrians: the province of Şanliurfa, where the Temporary Protected constituted one-fifth of the province's population (21%) similar to that in Hatay and Gaziantep provinces (more about the Temporary Protection in Turkey can be found in Gökalp Aras and Sahin Mencütek, 2020).

The chosen locations vary also in other characteristics. Istanbul represents the Turkish centre, closely followed by Izmir, while Batman can be categorised as a periphery and Şanliurfa falling in between. Additionally, the chosen locations vary by distance to the Syrian border, Şanliurfa province borders with Syria and serves as a natural entry place for Syrians, Batman lays not on but in relative proximity to the border. Istanbul and Izmir lay relatively far away from the land border, but both are large port cities, with Izmir being viewed as a transit hub for migrants heading towards Europe, particularly Greece.

[2] Turkey reports between 24 to 74 thousand of irregularly staying Syrians apprehended each year from 2014 to 2019 (Directorate General of Migration Management 2020).

***Figure 1*: Turkish cities where the survey was conducted.**

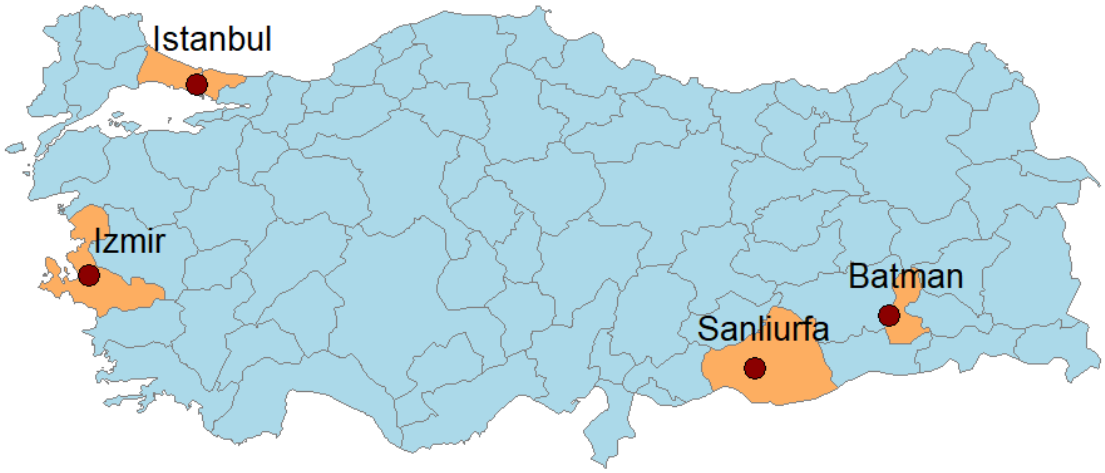
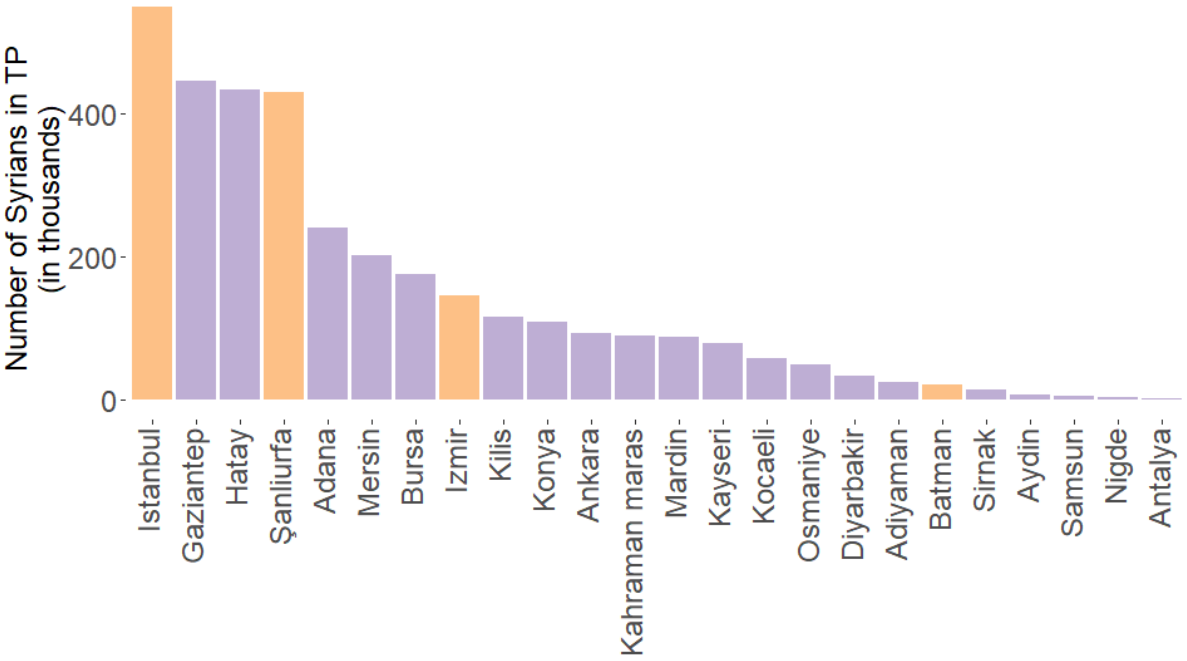
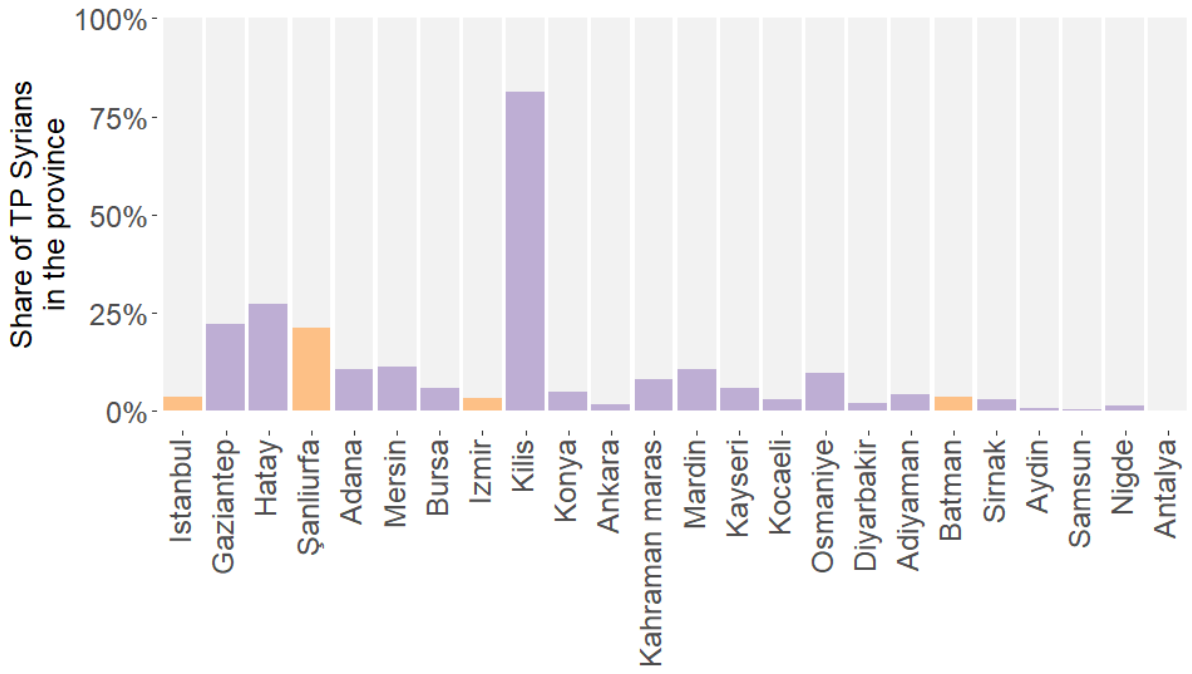


***Figure 2*: The number of Syrians registered in Temporary Protection in Turkey's major cities on 2 of August 2019 (in thousands).**



Source: Kaya 2020 (p. 19)

***Figure 3*: Syrians registered in Temporary Protection as a percentage of the general population of selected Turkish provinces (data on 2 of August 2019).**



Note: Only provinces with major cities included and ordered according to the numbers of TP in those cities.

Source: Directorate General of Migration Management 2019.

Unfortunately, despite registration for Temporary Protection, a sampling frame for the studied population was unavailable, as was access to Turkish refugee camps. Therefore, the study used convenience sampling in each of the selected cities. Respondents were recruited via interviewers' networks, snowballing or interception in public places (e.g. mall, a neighbourhood of a refugee camp, community centre, language school or street). Interviewers reached respondents of different characteristics in terms of:

- gender,
- age,
- education,
- legal status (Temporary Protection, irregular migrants, migrants with residence permits),
- religion (e.g. Sunni, Shia, Yazidi, Druze, Christian),
- background culture (e.g. Syrian, Kurdish, Assyrian/Syriac, Chaldean, Turkmen),
- the geographical area of residence.

Mode of data collection was self-enumeration of a paper questionnaire, which allowed for faster data gathering and guaranteed more comfort for respondents than individual face-to-face interviews. The paper questionnaires were distributed by interviewers, who were ready to assist respondents in filling them in case of need (also in case of illiterate respondents). Respondents completed the questionnaires in their homes, as well as in public places, for example in cafe's or during language lessons.

Questionnaire and interviewers' preparation: The survey questions were designed in English by an international team of researchers and translated into Arabic, the official language in the Syrian Arab Republic, in which all Syrians speak, and almost all (young Syrians) can write. The international team of researchers had a diverse language, discipline and culture backgrounds as well as experience in research design and analysis from different fields. These

diverse backgrounds and skills were intentionally selected to provide high-quality research coupled with a profound understanding of the Syrian and Turkish cultures, and the Turkish protection regime. The initial questionnaire designed by the research team went through multiple stages of discussions and improvements. Afterwards, the research team gathered, jointly tested and improved the resulting questionnaire during a three-day workshop at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul. During the workshop, the improved questionnaire was also pilot-tested, consulted with future interviewers, amended, improved, and re-translated into Arabic.

The second aim of the workshop was to provide training in interview techniques and to raise interviewers' ethical awareness of the research field in Turkey. The selection process and capacity building were set up before, during and after the workshop for many potential interviewers. Selection and training of interviewers were supported by local NGOs and 'community leaders', e.g. by Qnushyo, The Syrian Cultural Center in Istanbul, which became a gathering and advice hub for the Syrian refugees in Yedikule neighbourhood in Istanbul. The interviewers were carefully selected and trained through several sessions during the three-day workshop. The workshop built strong ties between the researchers and interviewers. The flow of knowledge went both ways, with researchers coaching interviewers on how to conduct an interview, and interviewers sharing their experiences, question interpretations and meanings attached to them. In the end, all interviewers received detailed instruction on how to interview respondents.

Follow-up and monitoring process: The data collection monitoring and support process were set up during the workshop in Istanbul. The Arabic speaking researchers oversaw the whole process with the support of Turkish speaking researchers and statistical experts from the research team in Poland. Thus, the linguistic, legal, cultural and practical levels were planned to ensure the data quality and authenticity as well as ethical considerations. The strong communication between researchers and interviewers eased dealing with challenges that arose in the field. Interviewers consulted with researchers and reported their progress on a weekly (if needed daily) basis.

The monitoring process proved crucial as interviewers reported problems with gaining access to some institutions, interviewing women (particularly when interviewers were male), and reaching some ethnic or religious groups. Researchers, in on-going consultations with the interviewers, identified missing or underrepresented groups and worked out strategies to include them in the sample. Interviewers consulted with researchers also on topics related to impartiality and data quality. Some of these topics were not and some were already discussed during the workshop, but interviewers needed further advice. For example, some respondents were illiterate, and the Arabic interviewers needed to read and fill the questionnaire for them, sometimes also clarifying questions written in classic Arabic into a simple Arabic dialect. In such situations, they discussed with the researchers how to avoid suggesting an answer and how or to what extent they can simplify or explain questions.

The interview and questionnaire structure: Before the beginning of the survey, respondents were informed that the survey collects no personal data and that they can refuse to answer any given question, specified in an information letter shared. They were also informed about the study's purpose, intent, motivation, as well as about the potential use of data, so that they could give informed consent to participate. The study was approved by the Swedish Ethical Review Authority as well as by the Ethics Board of Bilgi University, in Istanbul.

The questionnaire covered topics addressing research questions posed in various Work Packages of the RESPOND project, especially those from Work Packages 2 to 5. It consisted of:

- Introduction to the study
- Introductory questions
- Four modules with questions dedicated to:

A. A. Journey, route and reception
B. International protection
C. Integration – education (including language), employment, citizenship, housing
D. Psycho-social health and discrimination

- Demographics
- Also, the last part with metadata and feedback comments.

Data entry: The questionnaires were filled on paper in Arabic. Then the answers were entered into a digitalised program provided by Uppsala University in English. The data entry encountered several challenges. Only some Arabic interviewers knew English well, so they entered answers to open-ended questions in Arabic. Only after the data collection, an Arab speaking researcher translated responses to open questions into English and entered them into the common database. The answers to close-ended questions were coded in English from the start. The interviewers coded them looking both at the Arabic and English questionnaires side by side to confirm that they input the correct answer to the system. When in doubt, they consulted the Arabic and English-speaking researchers. Knowing of the potential difficulties, researchers monitored data entry and verified data for consistency as well as checked them against the paper questionnaires. After survey completion, the paper questionnaires were stored securely, and the electronic data were anonymised.

1.2 Turkish sample and the government data

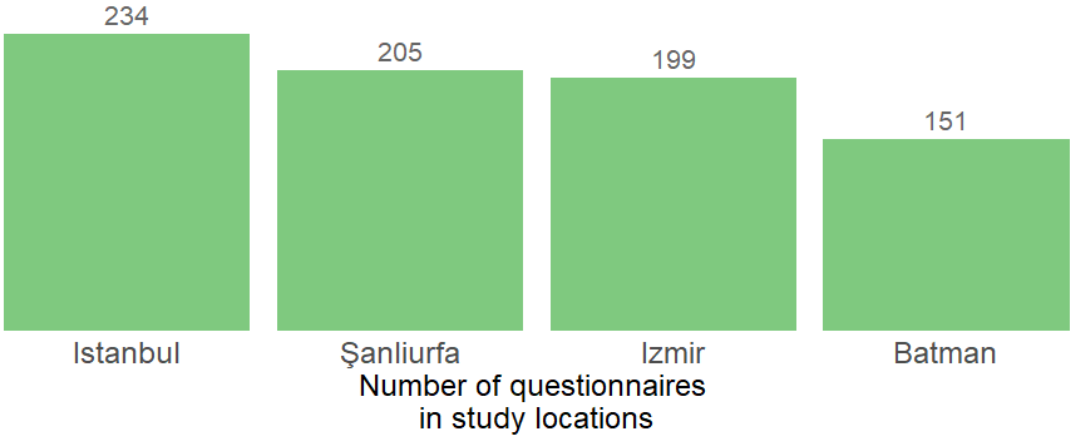
There are possibly some Syrians staying irregularly in Turkey, and a small number reside there with work, family or education-related permits, but the vast majority of Syrians are under Temporary Protection (over 3.6 million in 28.08.2019). Therefore, we compare our data, to official statistics of the Directorate General for Migration Management[3] in Turkey from 28.08.2019 regarding the population of Syrians in Temporary Protection (Directorate General of Migration Management, 2019).

1.2.1 Region

Researchers and interviewers recruited respondents from different groups and with different characteristics. Particularly in non-random sampling, it is important to put basic sample statistics in the perspective of the available data. First, Figure 4 shows the exact numbers of questionnaires gathered in the four locations. In each of them at least 150 interviews were collected. Therefore, the sample does not follow the distribution of Syrians between regions (presented in Figure 2) but provides a relatively balanced representation of all studied locations.

[3] The administrative, legislate and operational central-governmental authority responsible for overall migration and international protection affairs in Turkey.

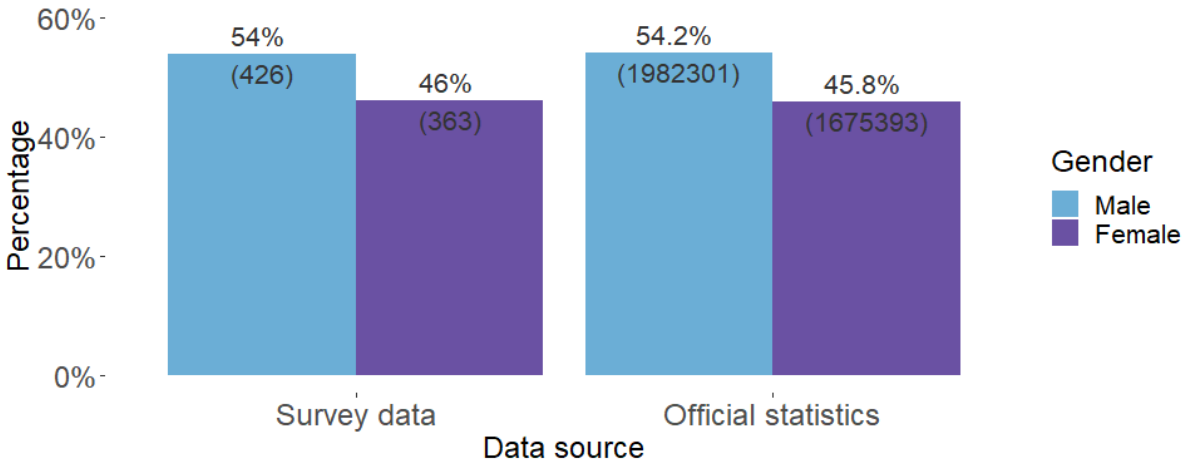
Figure 4: **Number of interviews conducted in each study location.**



1.2.2 Gender

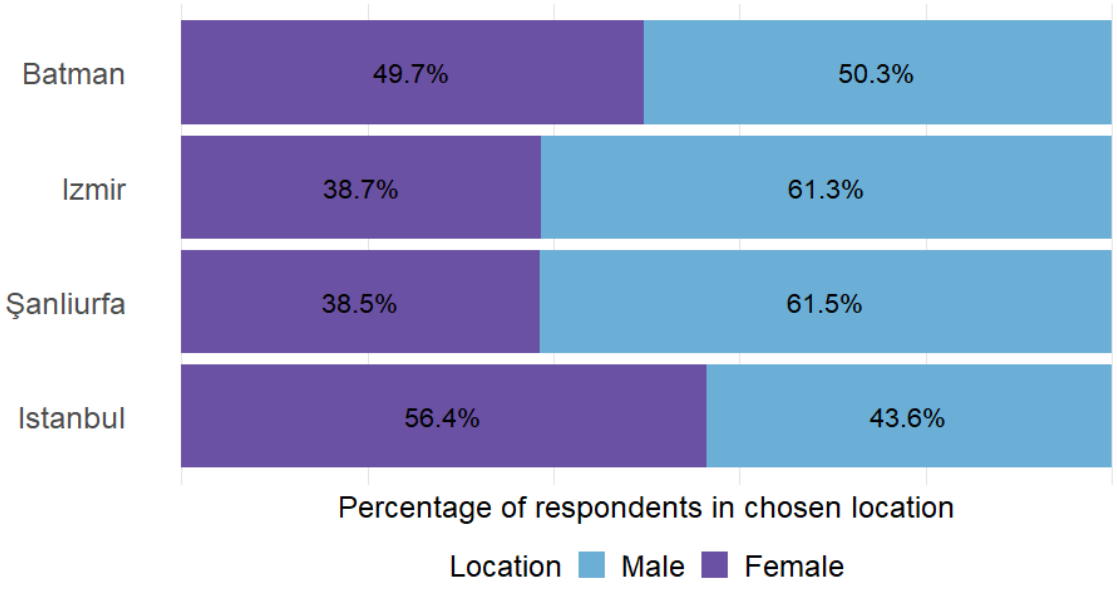
Figure 5 shows that both among respondents and the temporary protected there are slightly more men (54% in the sample) than women (46% in the sample). The share of women in different study locations ranged from 39% in Izmir and Şanliurfa to 50% in Batman and slightly 56% in Istanbul (Figure 6). Thus, with some geographical variations, the gender composition of the sample match closely the composition of the temporary protected population.

Figure 5**: Survey respondents and Syrians registered in Temporary Protection on 28.08.2019 by gender (in %).**



Source: RESPOND survey in Turkey (Number of survey respondents = 789), Directorate General of Migration Management 2019.

***Figure 6*: Survey respondents by gender and survey location (in %).**

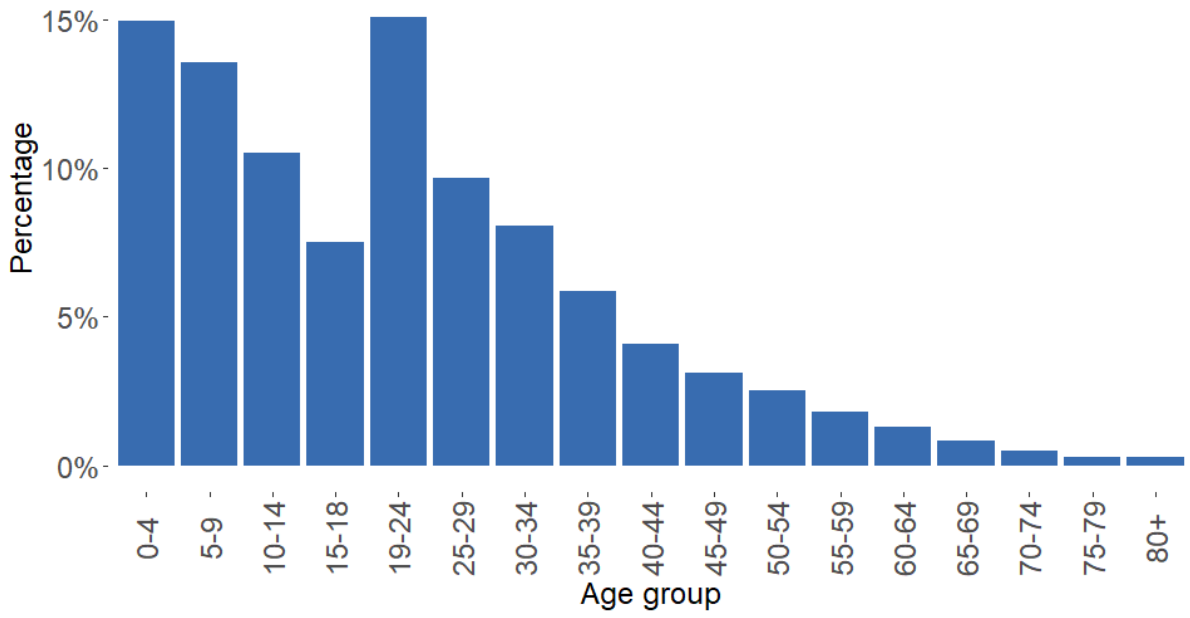


Source: RESPOND survey in Turkey (Number of survey respondents = 789)

1.2.3 Age

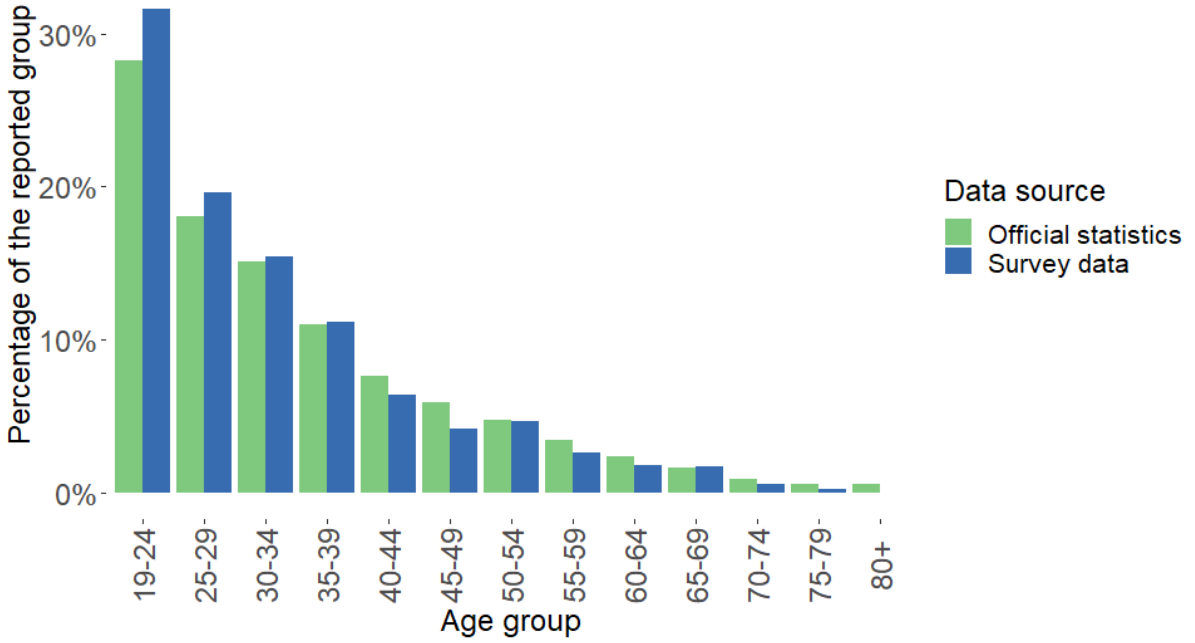
Figure 7 illustrates the age structure of the temporarily protected population in Turkey. Young adults (aged between 19 and 24) and children under four years old constitute the two largest groups, suggesting a prevalence of families with young children. Figure 8 contrasts age shares between the survey sample and the official statics, but it focuses on adults aged 19 or older, to be able to compare the two data sets. It shows that the elderly are slightly underrepresented in the sample, while younger adults are slightly overrepresented, with the biggest difference of 3.4% percentage points. Nevertheless, the age distribution in the sample roughly follows the pattern of the official data.

***Figure 7:* Syrians registered in Turkish Temporary Protection on 28.08.2019 by age (in %).**



Source: Directorate General of Migration Management 2019

Figure 8: **Survey respondents and Syrians registered in Turkish Temporary Protection on 28.08.2019 by age (in %).**

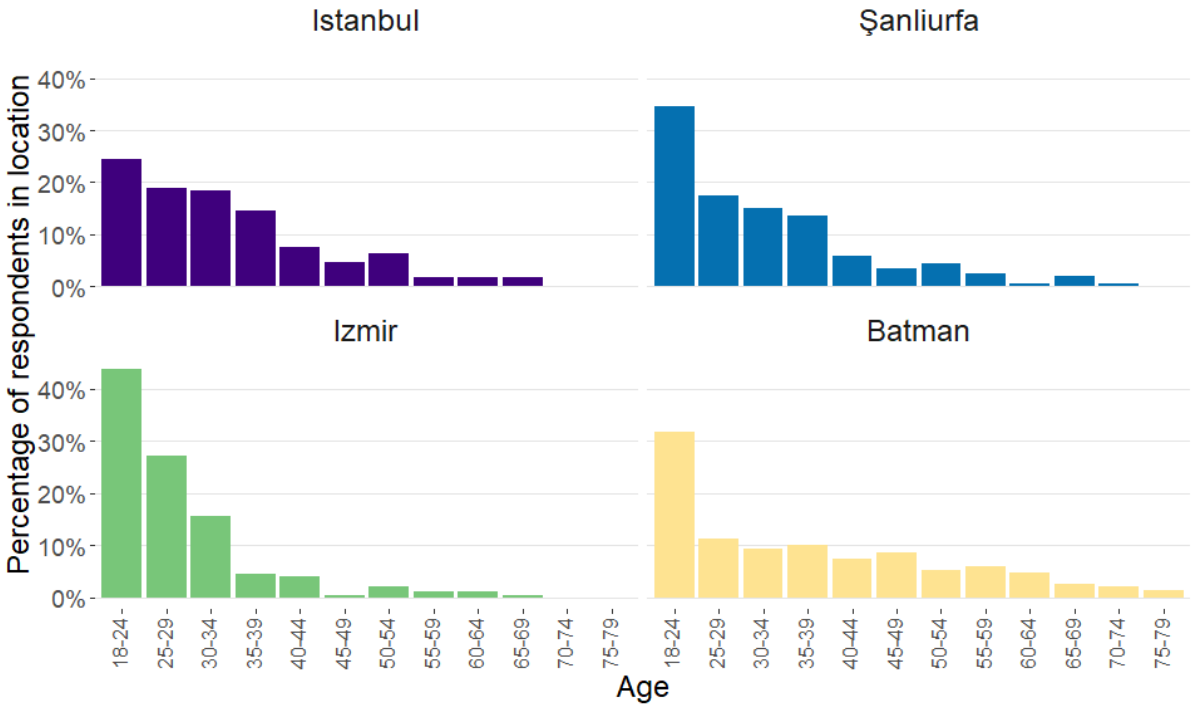


Source: RESPOND survey in Turkey (only survey respondents aged 19 or older included, number of respondents included = 769), Directorate General of Migration Management 2019 (only Syrians registered in TP aged 19 or more included).

The study locations varied slightly in terms of respondents' age. Figure 9 shows, that in each location the young dominated, especially in Izmir where half of the participants were 25 years old or younger. The median age for Şanliurfa was 29, followed by Istanbul (31) and finally Batman (33) where there were relatively many older respondents[4]. The female participants were on average 10 months older than male participants, but the median and the rough shape of the age distribution was similar for both genders.

[4] The means were 27.6 for Izmir, 31.6 for Şanliurfa, 33.3 for Istanbul and 36.6 for Batman, so they followed a similar pattern as the medians

Figure 9: **Survey respondents by age and survey location (in %).**

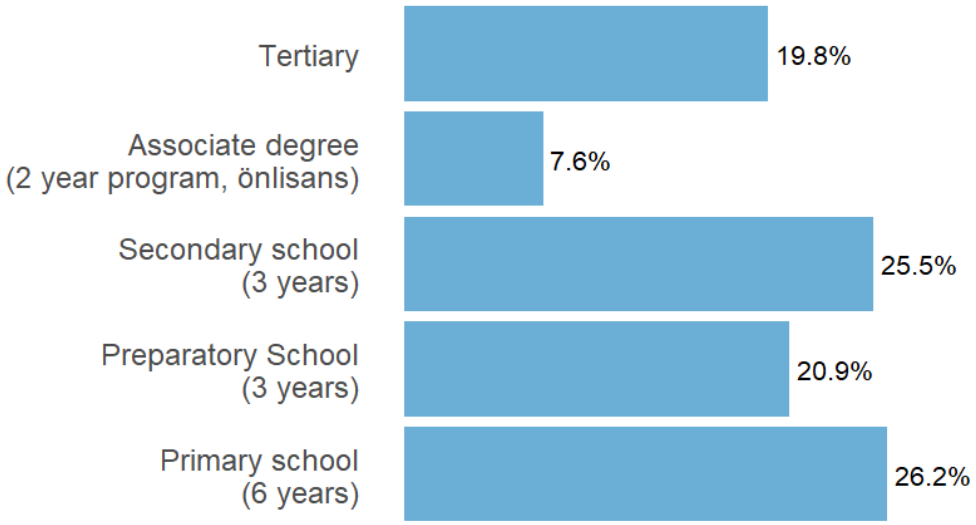


Source: RESPOND survey in Turkey (N = 789).

1.3 Basic sample characteristics

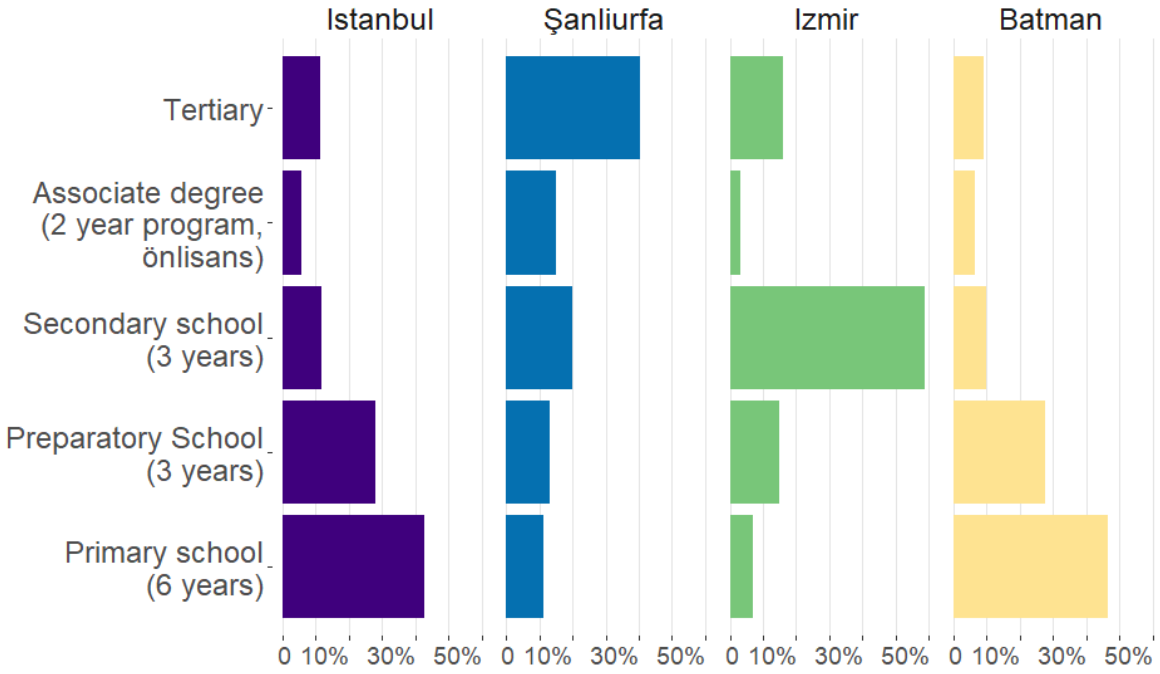
The research team aimed at reaching respondents in different life situations and from different groups, so let us review the selected characteristics of the respondents. Figure 10 confirms that the sample includes Syrians with different levels of education, from those who finished only primary school (20.9%) to university graduates (19.8%). Furthermore, Figure 11 points towards differences between locations. In Şanliurfa, two in five respondents held tertiary degrees far more than in any other survey location. Respondents in Izmir reported predominately secondary education, while in Istanbul and Batman most respondents completed only primary or preparatory schools. In comparison, the differences between genders were small, with slightly more women than men with only primary education (30.3% of women and 22.8% of men) but the shares of women and men with tertiary degrees were similar (19.6% of women and 19.9% of men). Overall, survey participants represent a range of different educational levels.

Figure 10: **Survey respondents by educational attainment (in %).**



Note: N = 789.

Figure 11**: Survey respondents by educational attainment and by survey location (in %).**



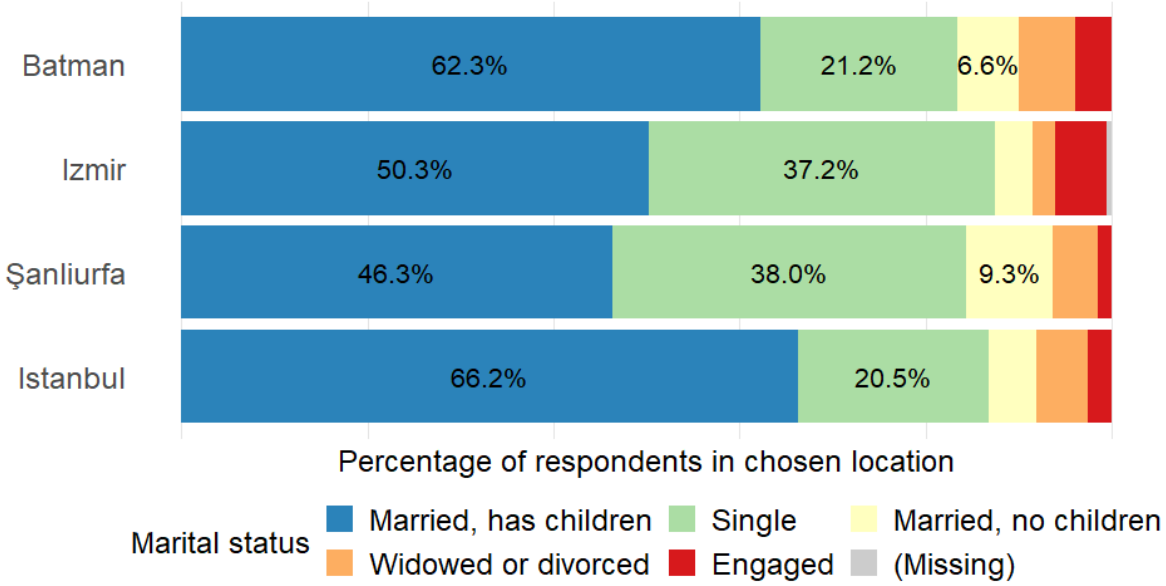
Note: N = 789.

1.3.1 Marital status

In line with expectations created by the age distribution over half of the survey participants were married and with children (56.3%). Almost one in three respondents was single (29.4%), and one in sixteen was married but without children (6.2%). Location-wise, Figure 12 shows that respondents in Batman and Istanbul were more likely to be married and have children (62.3% and 66.2% respectively in comparison to 50.3% in Şanliurfa and 46.3% in Izmir). Conversely, the share of single participants was lower in Batman and Istanbul (one in five

respondents) and higher in Izmir and Şanliurfa (almost two in five respondents). In terms of gender differences, women were more often married and with children (60.9% of women in contrast to 52.3% of men) and men were more often single (36.6% of men in contrast to 21% of women).

***Figure 12*: Survey respondents by marital status and survey location (in %).**



Note: N = 789.

1.3.2 Legal status

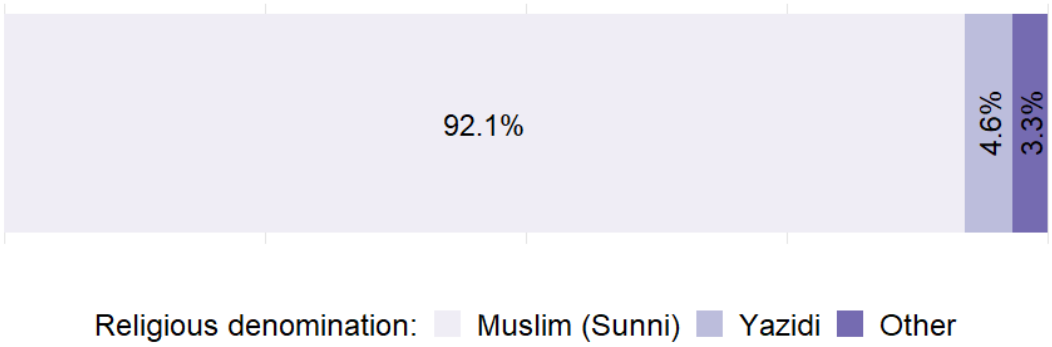
Almost all survey respondents had an Identity Card (*Kimlik*) typically a special type of this card for those in Temporary Protection (*Geçici Koruma Kimlik Belgesi*). Syrians obtain such card upon registration in Temporary Protection and use it to confirm both their identity and protected status. However, this is not a typical residence permit (*Ikamet*), so while it gives protection, it hampers labour and legal integration in Turkey (Asylum Information Database 2020, p. 135). The Temporary Protected were initially forbidden to work and since 2016 they could do so, but only with a special work permit (section 3.4.2 includes a fuller description of Syrians' working situation in Turkey). Also, the protected status initially blocked the path to obtaining citizenship which changed only recently (more about it in section 3.4.3 at the end of the report).

Only 33 participants (4.2%) had no Identity Card (*Kimlik*). Lack of *Kimlik* suggests either: a very good situation (meeting requirements for a regular residence permit *Ikamet*) but not obtaining yet a normal identity card; or an irregular stay and a vulnerable situation. Irregular stay is notoriously difficult to estimate. In 2015 Turkey apprehended 74 thousands of Syrians due to irregular migration but the numbers have been lower and fluctuating ever since (Directorate General of Migration Management 2020). While the number of Syrians staying irregularly and apprehended by the Turkish authorities is small in relation to the number of Syrians staying legally, the true number of those staying irregularly is unknown. Typically, people in vulnerable legal situation are less likely to participate in surveys, thus we might suspect that this group is larger than our data suggests. Still, their presence speaks well of interviewers' efforts in ensuring participants that the survey is anonymous and taking part is safe for them. Their answers might provide us with unique insights into the situation of Syrians in Turkey.

1.3.3 Religion

Unlike the educational attainment, the religious denomination of survey respondents seems rather uniform, as more than nine in ten self-identified to be a Sunni Muslim (as shown in figure 13). A small fraction of respondents, mostly in Istanbul, belonged to the Yazidis. We do not know, how many Syrians (or Turks for that matter) in Turkey are Yazidis or Sunni Muslims as the Turkish census does not include questions on religion. Similarly, for Syria, we have only rough estimates. Nevertheless, according to a 2017 poll two-thirds of people in Syria were followers of Sunni Islam (Contemporary Middle East Political Studies in Japan 2017) and they were more likely to live in the west and north of the country, closer to Turkey (Izady 2019). Estimates for Turkey also claim that Sunni Muslims constitute a majority, with around four in five people identifying as Sunni Muslims (KONDA 2007 p. 28). However, both in our survey and in other estimates, the Sunni Islam included different schools and traditions, e.g. the Hanafi and Shafi'i schools[5]. In sum, the vast majority of survey respondents were Sunni Muslims.

***Figure 13*: Survey respondents by their religious denomination (in %).**



Note: The possible answers were: Catholic (Chaldean/Syrian/etc.), Druze, Mandaean, Muslim (Suni), Muslim (Shia), Orthodox (Syrian/ Assyrian/ etc.), Yazidi, Do not belong to a denomination and Other. N = 789.

1.3.4 Culture of origin

Survey respondents were asked about their culture of origin, or background culture, as an open question: "What is your or your parents' background culture (culture of origin)? For example Syrian, Kurdish, Assyrian/Syriac, Chaldean, or other" suggesting some categories but allowing them also to define what they deemed relevant. Figure 14 depicts their answers. Most respondents mentioned that they are Syrians, often adding that they are either Kurds or Arabs, with 38.4% self-identifying as Syrian Arabs, and 12.5% as Syrian Kurds.

Overall, almost one in four respondents mentioned being a Kurd, which is more than their share in the Syrian population, where they are estimated to constitute between 9% and 15% of the whole population[6]. However, most Kurds in Syria live near the Turkish border (Izady 2019) and they might be encouraged to move to Turkey by their ethnic and cultural ties (and sometimes even familial) with Kurds living in Turkey (Veul 2015, p.11). According to estimates,

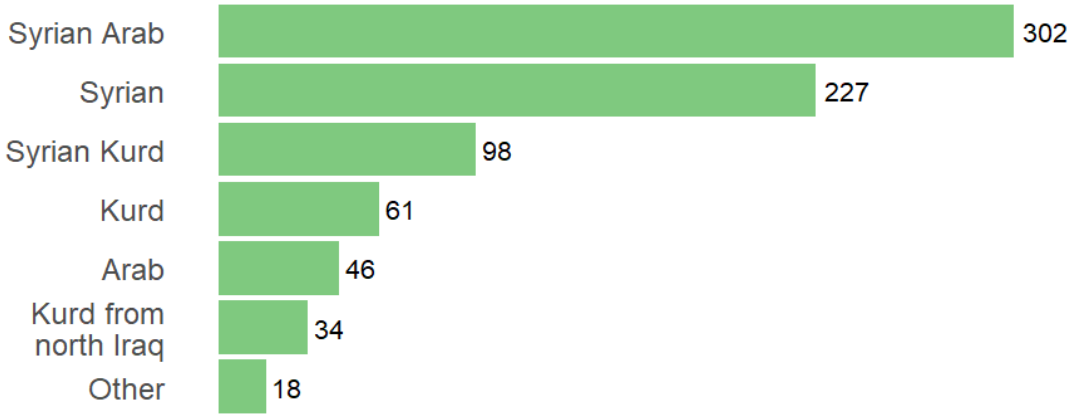
[5] The Shia Islam was declared only by 1.4% of respondents and it potentially also includes different traditions, e.g. the Alevis (which are treated in Turkey as a sect).

[6] Kurds constitute 9% of Syrian population according to Izady (2019) and between 12.5%-15% according to Institut Kurde de Paris (2020)

the Kurdish minority in Turkey is said to constitute between 19% and 25% of the Turkish population[7].

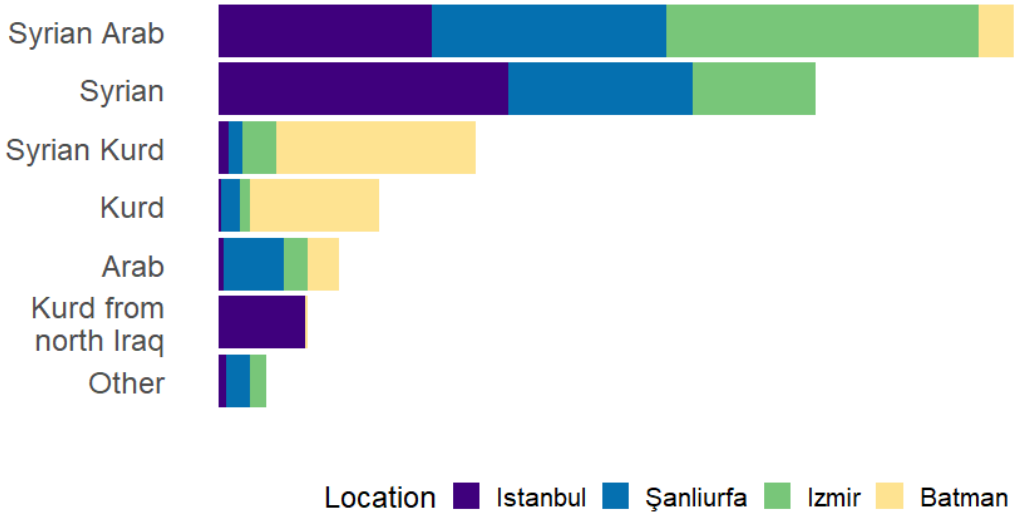
Survey locations differed in culture of origin as declared by respondents themselves. For example, the majority of respondents in Batman identified as Kurds (half of the participants there answered “Syrian Kurd” (50.3%) and one in three simply “Kurd” (32.5%)). Figures 15 and 16 also show that a small number of Kurds appeared in all study locations, with “Kurd from north Iraq” being chosen predominately in Istanbul (14.1% of respondents from Istanbul). Being a “Syrian Arab” was rarely reported by respondents in Batman (8.6%) but commonly chosen by respondents in Istanbul (34.6%) and Şanliurfa (43.8%), it was also the most popular answer in Izmir (60.1%). Overall, mentions of being an Arab dominated in Şanliurfa and most of all Izmir. The leading self-identification in Istanbul was just “Syrian” (47%), this answer was given also by one in three respondents in Şanliurfa (34.5%) and one in five in Izmir (23.7%). In general, most interviewees mentioned Syrian as a part of their description of their culture of origin, also large shares of respondents described themselves as Arabs or Kurds, confirming that our sample includes various groups of people.

Figure 14: **Survey respondents by their declared culture of origin (in numbers).**



Note: N = 786. Answers given by less than 5 respondents are grouped into “Other”.

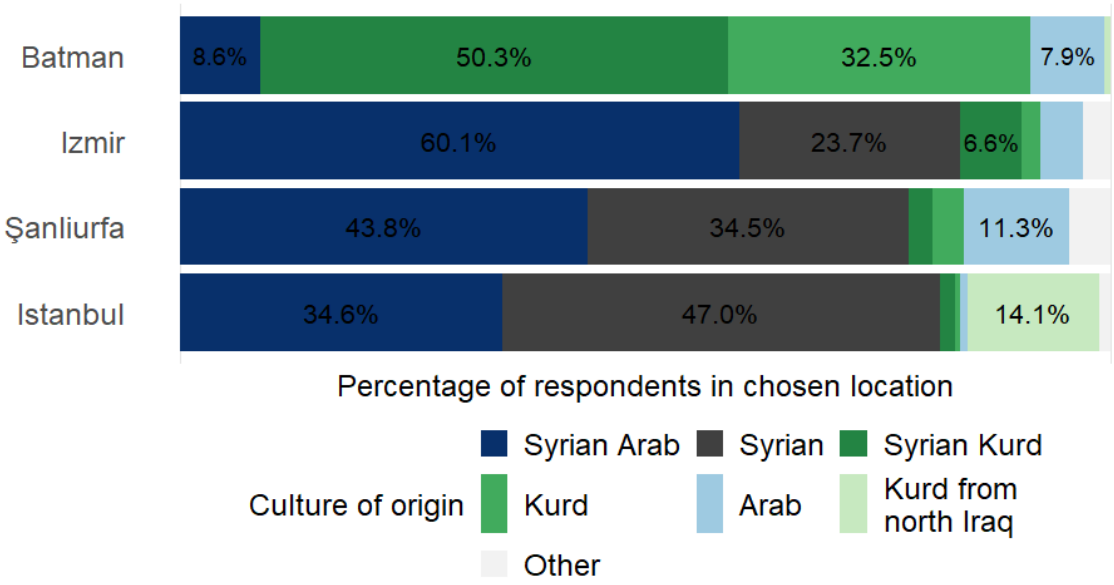
Figure 15: **Survey respondents by culture of origin and by survey location (in numbers).**



[7] Kurds constitute between 19% and 25% of Turkish population according to Institut Kurde de Paris (2020) and over 20% according to 2001 Swedish Institute of International Affairs report by Karimova and Deverell.

Note: Answers given by less than 5 respondents are grouped into “Other”. N = 786.

Figure 16: **Survey respondents by culture of origin and survey location (in %).**



Note: Answers given by less than 5 respondents are grouped into “Other”. N = 786.

1.4 Limitations

The study has its limitations, which we need to consider to ensure sound interpretations of the results. The most important limitations:

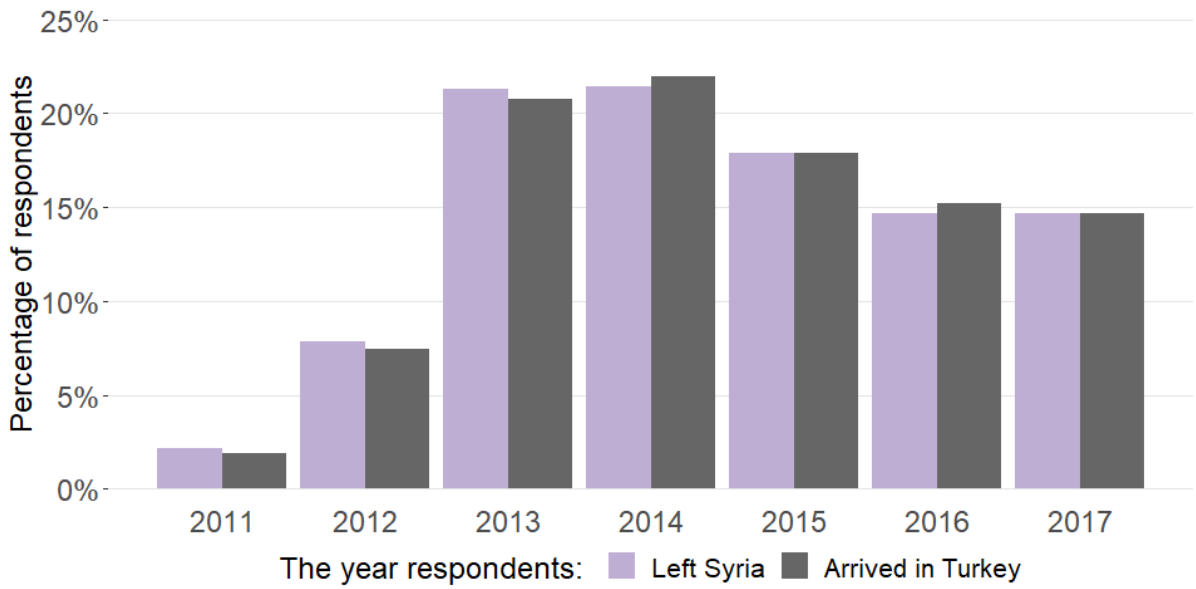
- Use of convenience sampling means that the results cannot be generalised for all Syrians in Turkey, especially those living in the temporary accommodation centres. All the results illustrate patterns and trends only among the recruited respondents in the four studied locations.
- We were not able to reach all Syrian populations of ethnic and religious background, due to geographical limitations in our sample. We know from observations and consultation with key persons, that Syrian Christians live in dispersed Anatolian cities, which were not included in this study.
- Some Syrian nationals, particularly older people and women, are illiterate. Thus, they were unable to fill the questionnaire by themselves. This might have discouraged them from participating in the survey, notwithstanding the offered help of interviewers in this regard.
- While the questionnaire included no personal data, many respondents filled out the questionnaire on the spot (e.g. in a language class classroom) or belonged to interviewers’ social network, those factors could have compromised initial anonymity of the survey.

2 Survey Results

2.1 The road to Turkey

The respondents were asked multiple questions about their journey. We will start by looking at the year respondents left Syria and arrived in Turkey as the time determined not only the situation from which Syrians were fleeing but also the difficulty of passage. In 2011, crossing the line between Turkey and Syria was easy, with some people routinely coming into and out of Turkey during their everyday chores. Thus, when the Syrian uprising started, those who needed could enter Turkey. Kaya (2020) points out that initially, the Turkish government expected the Syrian conflict to be short and welcomed Syrians as guests. However, by 2014 the number of Syrians fleeing the country and the on-going escalation of the conflict compelled Turkey to introduce the Temporary Protection Regulation and other rules governing Syrians' reception. In the meantime, border crossings were set up and the movement of people between Turkey and Syria formalised (more about border management can be found in RESPOND report by Gökalp Aras and Mencütek (2019)). The passage of people between the countries became more restricted and in 2015 a construction of the Syria-Turkey barrier begun. The 765 kilometre-long barrier consists of a concrete wall topped with barbed wire. It was completed in 2018 and covers most of the 900 kilometre-long Turkish-Syrian border. Among over 20 existing border crossings typically only a few are open to humanitarian and individual crossings (UN's OCHA (2020) provides regular updates) and the Turkish authorities strengthened the surveillance of the border to prevent illegal crossings. Overall, ever since 2015, the difficulties with crossing the Syrian-Turkish border increased as did the role of smugglers.

***Figure 17*: Survey respondents by the year they left Syria and the year they arrived in Turkey (in %).**

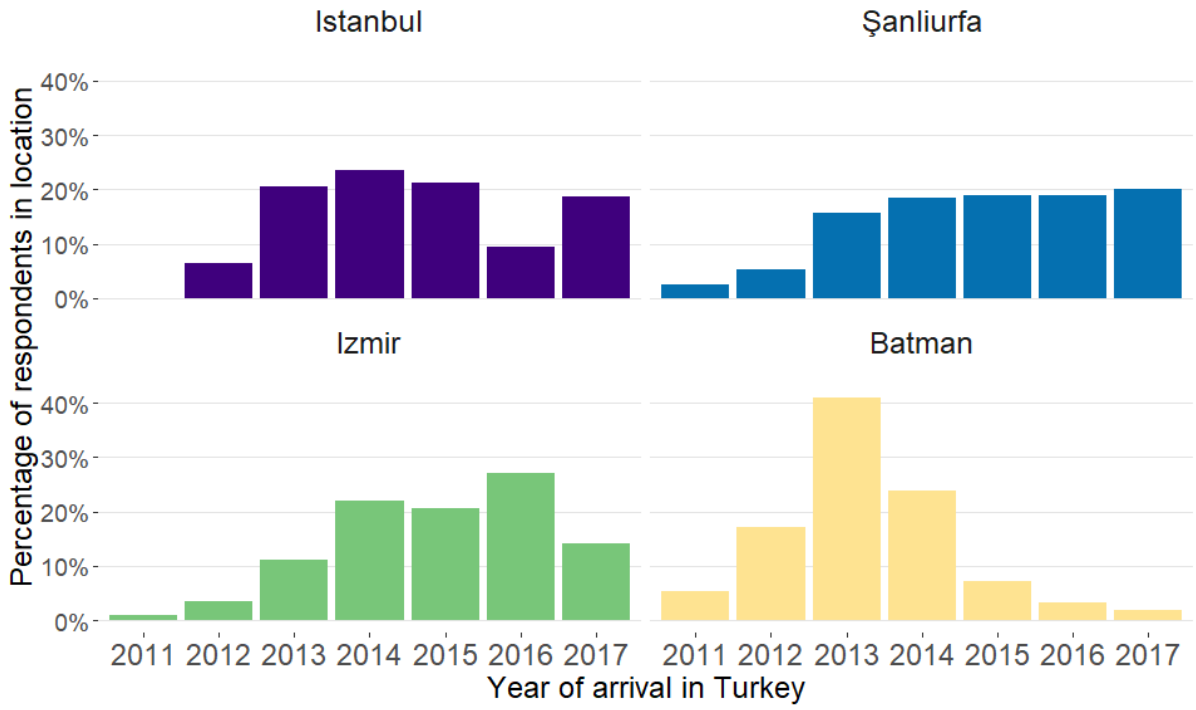


N = 789.

Figure 17 reveals, that only a handful of respondents moved in 2011 (2.2% left Syria that year and 1.9% arrived in Turkey), most crossed to Turkey in 2013 and even more in 2014 (more than one out of five respondents in each year). Still, many moved in 2015 or later (more than one in seven each year) so it seems that the movement has not ceased. Figure 18 points out that respondents in Batman arrived predominately in 2013 (41.1%) with declining numbers of those who arrived later. Other regions follow roughly the pattern of a small number of arrivals

in 2011 or 2012 and later (with a 2016 bump in Izmir and a dent in Istanbul) a rather steady share of respondents' arrivals.

Figure 18: **Survey respondents by the year they left Syria and survey location (in %).**

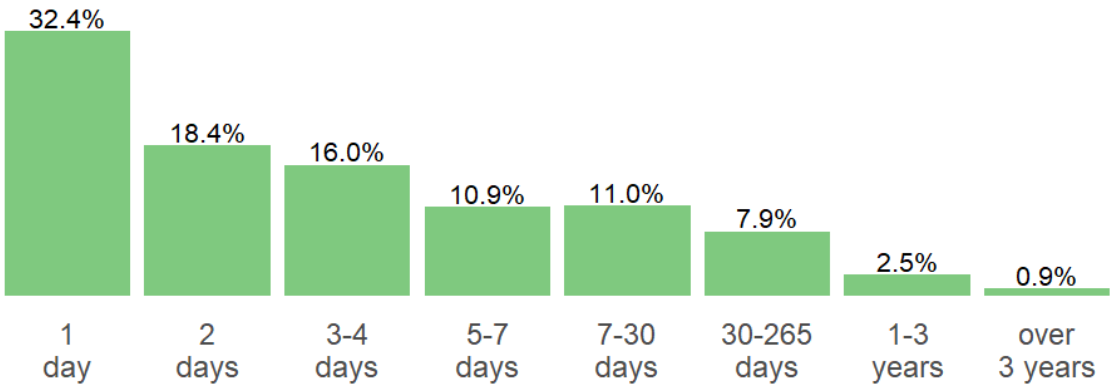


Note: N = 789.

2.1.1 The journey's length

The differences between the year of leaving Syria and arrival in Turkey are small (as seen in Figure 17) because for many survey participants the journey was short. Half of the respondents reached Turkey within one or two days since departure from their home in Syria (Figure 19). For more than a quarter of the sample, the journey took slightly longer but still ended within a week. For 11% it took less than a month - maybe they had a long way to go within Syria, maybe they detoured, or made several stops on their way. The journey of the last 11.3% of the sample took longer - some sheltered in Syria for a while, some stayed in other countries on their way, still, their journey was long.

Figure 19: **Survey respondents by the declared length of their journey from leaving home in Syria till reaching Turkey (in %).**

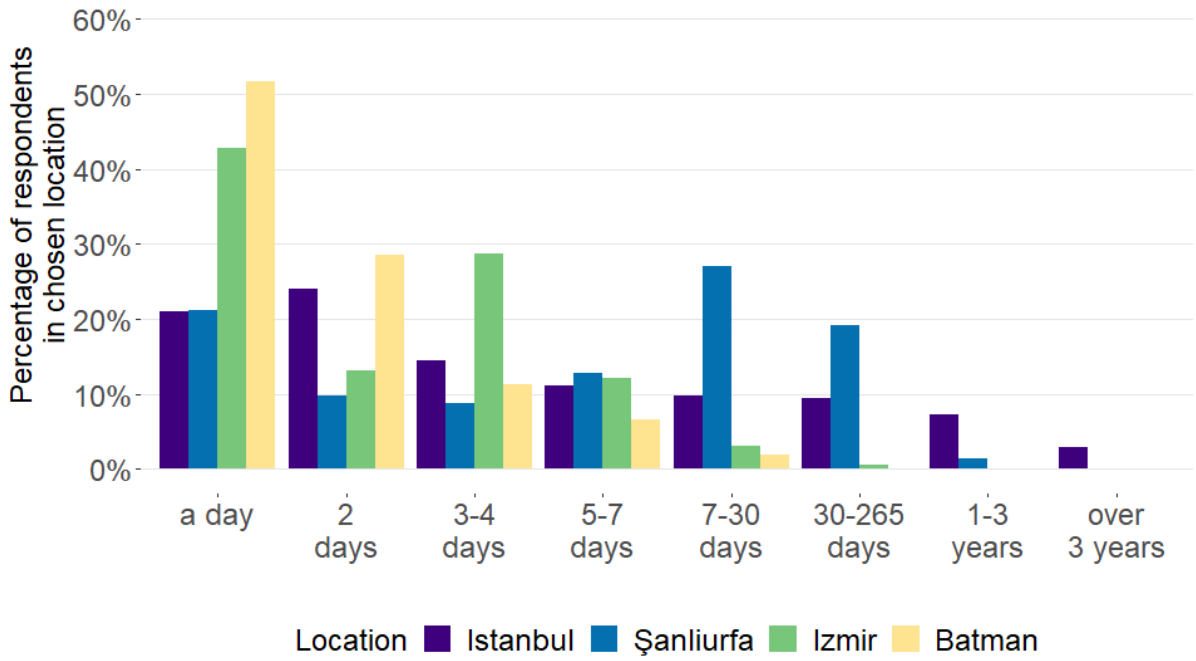


Note: N = 789.

The length of respondents' journey (from their home's threshold to Turkey) varied between genders and locations. Women consistently reported longer journeys with a median of 3 days and a mean of 71.6 while men's journeys had a median of 2 days and a mean of 34.4 days. Figure 20 illustrates the differences between locations. Participants in Batman reported on average shortest journeys with a median journey lasting one day and a mean of 2.1 days. They also came mainly before 2015, when the borders were still relatively easy to cross. Batman was followed by Izmir, where the median journey was 2 days with a mean of 2.4, and then Istanbul with a median 3-day journey but the largest mean (141.2 days), as respondents came to Istanbul through different routes, some very short and some very long. Most surprisingly journeys of respondents in Şanliurfa, which is right next to the Syrian border, were typically the longest. According to the median, it took around 7 days (with a mean of 32.22) with one in four respondents reporting a journey between 7 and 30 days.

The longer duration of respondents' journeys to Şanliurfa partially stems from leaving Syria in 2015 or later (57.8% of respondents there), but then, most respondents in Izmir also left Syria in such a late period (62.1% of respondents there) and they still experienced shorter journeys. The situation in Şanliurfa might also be related to flickery openings of the nearby border crossings. Also, according to an ORSAM report (Orhan and Senyücel Gündoğar, 2015), Şanliurfa is a place where Turks and Syrians come from different countries but often from the same tribes. ORSAM also praised local NGOs for their activities. Thus, Şanliurfa seems to be a relatively friendly place for Syrians. It is possible that those interviewees who travelled to Şanliurfa chose it as their destination beforehand and were ready to go through detours and longer journeys to get there. The fact that relatively more respondents from Şanliurfa have tertiary education also suggests that these could be people who made an informed choice of their destination and followed through despite obstacles on the way.

***Figure 20*: Survey respondents by the length of their journey from leaving home in Syria till reaching Turkey and by survey location (in %).**



Note: N = 789.

2.1.2 Difficulties on the road

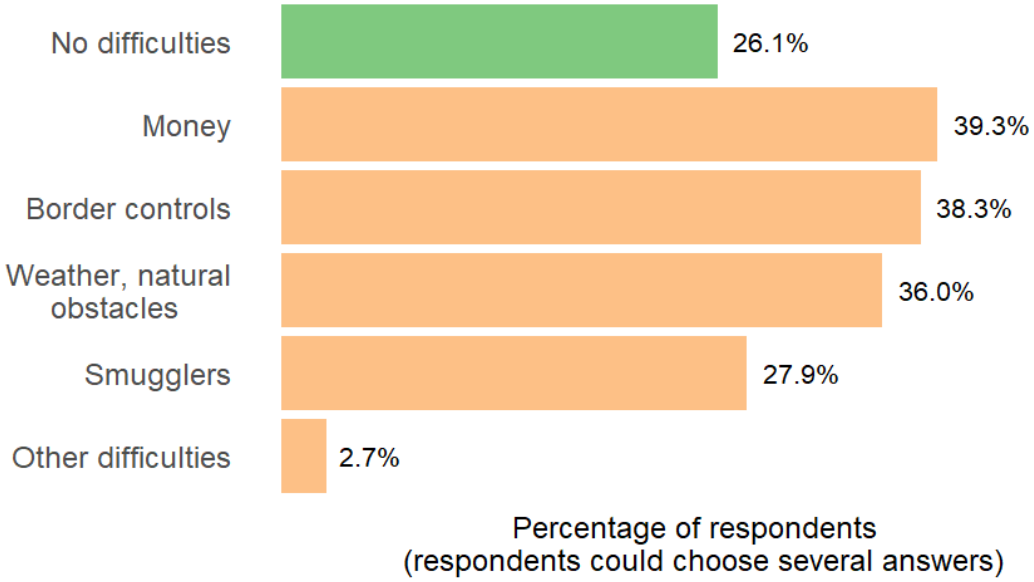
Figure 21 shows that one in four respondents reported no difficulties in their journey. Unsurprisingly, those tended to reach Turkey within a day (68% of those who reported no difficulties), while other respondents' journeys tended to take a few days longer (20% of those who reported some difficulties made the journey in one day, with a median of 3 days). Two out of five respondents admitted being hindered by lack of money (39.3%) and controls at the border (38.3%). One out of three was impeded by weather and natural obstacles (36%), while more than one in four by trouble with smugglers. Smugglers' services are not only risky, but also costly (see e.g. Mandic 2017), and made necessary by conflict and legal barriers. Thus, the smugglers, border controls and lack of money go hand in hand in hindering people's journey.

Only 21 participants (2.7%) reported also other difficulties, often reflecting more general problems. Among them: "the long distance"; "transport"; "difficulty with entering and difficulty with the way"; "armed organisations"; "gangs and robberies"; "mine explosion"; "I am ill" (which makes travel hard); "difficulty of waiting at the Syrian gate, and the lack of legal procedures for the mood of the military"; "shipping luggage through the border crossing"; "getting a (…) visa"; finally, the "pain of leaving my city, my family and the people I love" and then "contacting family after losing them", as the chaos of war, and smugglers splitting families into smaller, harder to detect groups, make losing loved ones a scary possibility (e.g. in an interview cited by Kaya, 2020). Overall, most refugees faced difficulties on the road to Turkey.

Women and men reported similar difficulties. In terms of location (Figure 22), respondents from Şanliurfa were more likely to report difficulties than those in other locations (only 12.1% reported no difficulties). Weather and natural obstacles were reported in all locations with similar frequency. Participants in Istanbul and Şanliurfa more often reported problems with money (47.8% and 44.9% respectively), but those in Istanbul rarely complained on smugglers

(19%), while those in Batman and Şanliurfa frequently noted difficulties with border controls (47.7% and 57.6% respectively). Difficulties with border controls and smugglers were slightly more often reported by respondents who arrived in Turkey in 2016 and 2017[8].

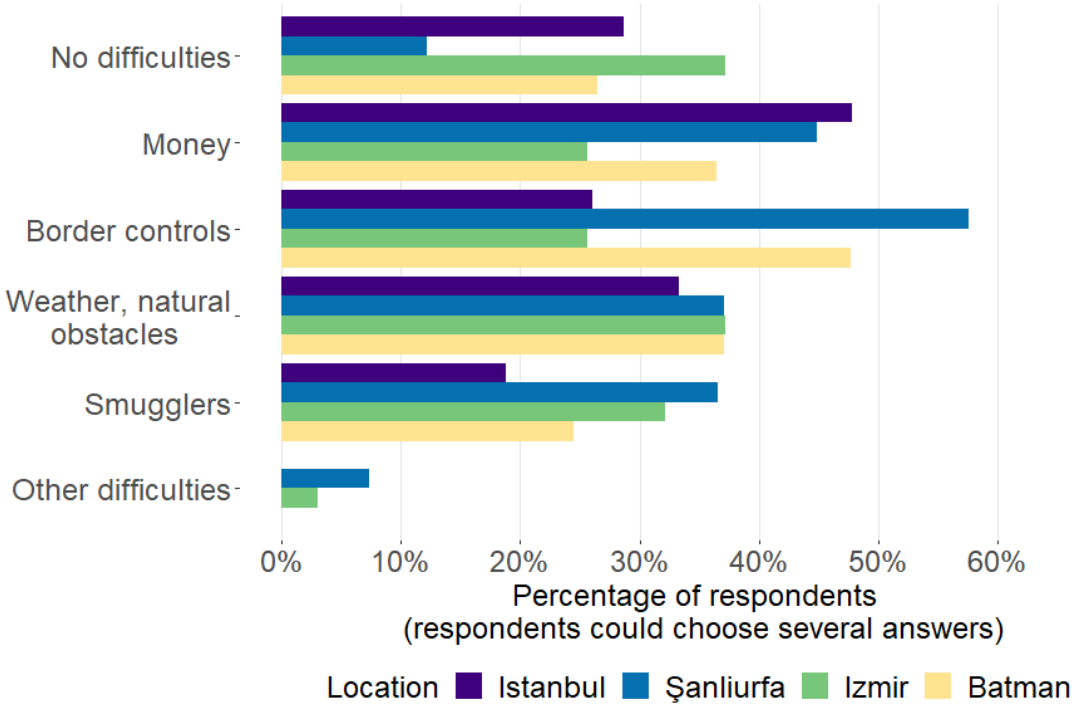
***Figure 21*: Survey respondents by obstacles/difficulties encountered during their journey to Turkey (in %).**



Note: Each respondent could choose multiple answers. Number of respondents = 789, number of answers = 1343.

[8] Difficulties with border controls were reported by 44.2% and 48.4% of respondents who arrived in 2016 and 2017 (respectively), in comparison to 30%-39% among those who came between 2012 and 2015. Up to 26.7% of respondents reported problems related to smugglers until 2016, but in 2016 this share reached 36.7% and in 2017 46.6%. Unsurprisingly, problems with borders and with smugglers seem to go in tandem.

Figure 22: **Survey respondents by obstacles/difficulties encountered during their journey to Turkey and by survey location (in %).**



Note: Each respondent could choose multiple answers. Number of respondents = 789, number of answers = 1343.

2.1.3 Sources of information about the route to Turkey

Survey participants reported three primary sources from which they drew information about the road to Turkey. Figure 23 shows that almost half of our respondents relied on friends and one in three on family, closely followed by smugglers, as providers of information. This illustrates smugglers as an important source of information. Sadly, three out of five respondents who got their information from smugglers also reported having difficulties with smugglers[9].

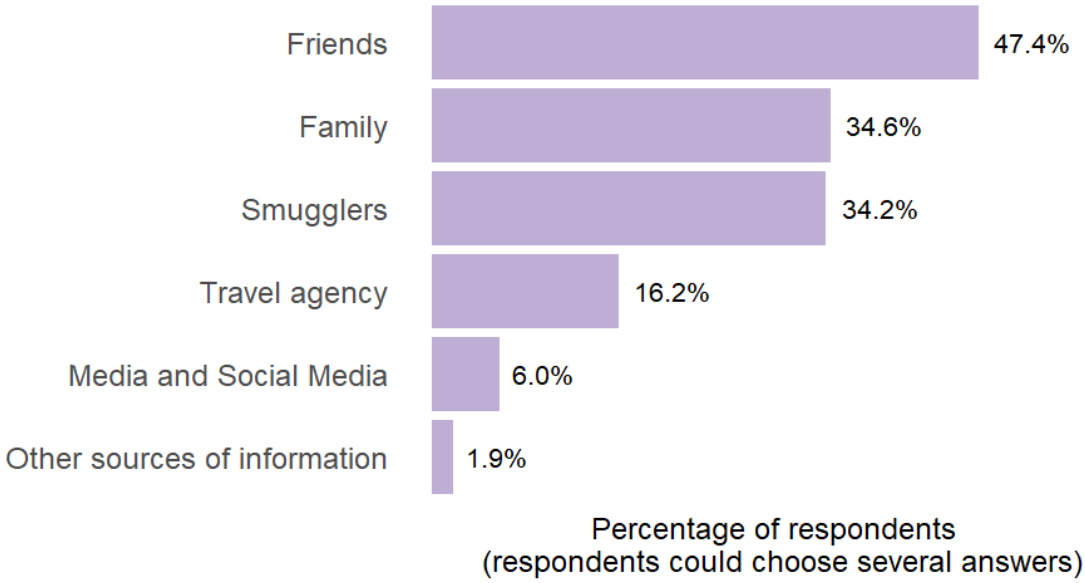
Those who sourced their information from travel agencies (16.2% of respondents), had typically short and uneventful journeys (70% of them had a one-day journey and reported no difficulties). This could stem both from the higher quality of travel agencies' services and information, as well as from better initial (e.g. financial) situation of those who could access travel agencies at all.

Reported information sources varied between genders, with men more likely to rely on information from friends (51.1% versus 43%), while women relied rather on family (28.2% men and 42.1% women reported family as an information source). The differences between locations were much stronger (Figure 24), with three out of four respondents (76.1%) in Batman reporting smugglers as the data source in comparison with one out of three in Şanliurfa (34.1%) and one out of five in Istanbul and Izmir (19.2% and 20.1% respectively). The second most important source for survey participants in Batman was family (41.1%) and friends were third (with 30.0%). In Istanbul, friends (43.6%) and family (42.7%) were most important as informants, these were distantly followed by smugglers (19.2%). Among respondents in Şanliurfa, friends (55.6%) were followed by smugglers (34.1%) and only then by family (19.5%)

[9] 34.2% of respondents used smugglers' information, and 20% of all respondents used smugglers' information and indicated problems with smugglers.

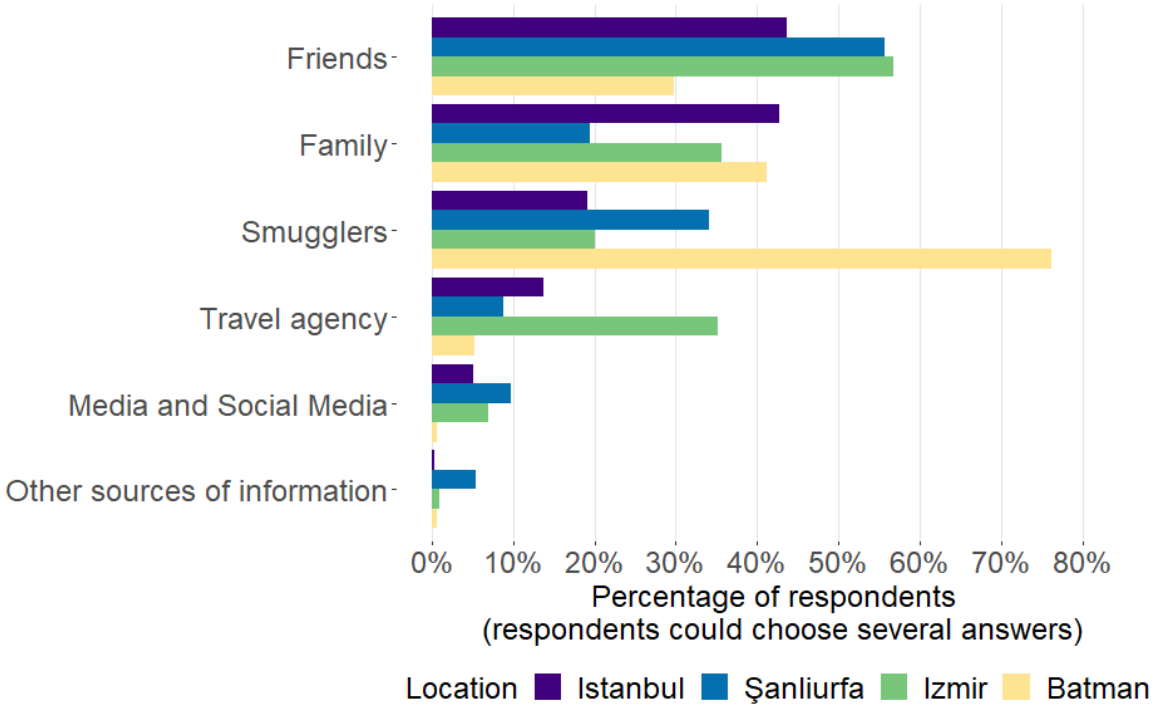
as information providers. For survey participants in Izmir, friends (56.8%) and family (35.7%) also played the primary role of information providers, but the third place was occupied by travel agencies (35.2%) and only then smugglers (20.1%).

Figure 23: **Survey respondents by their sources of information about the route to Turkey (in %).**



Note: Each respondent could choose multiple answers. Number of respondents = 789, number of answers = 1343.

Figure 24**: Survey respondents by their sources of information about the route to Turkey and survey location (in %).**

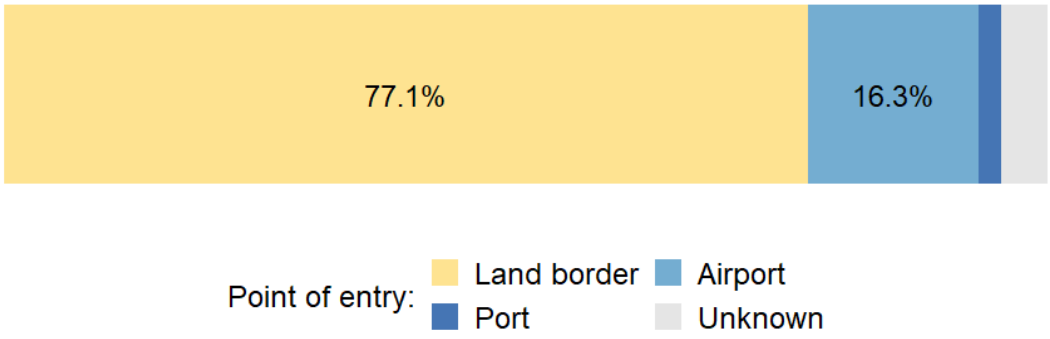


Note: Each respondent could choose multiple answers. Number of respondents = 789, number of answers = 1107.

2.1.4 Point of entry

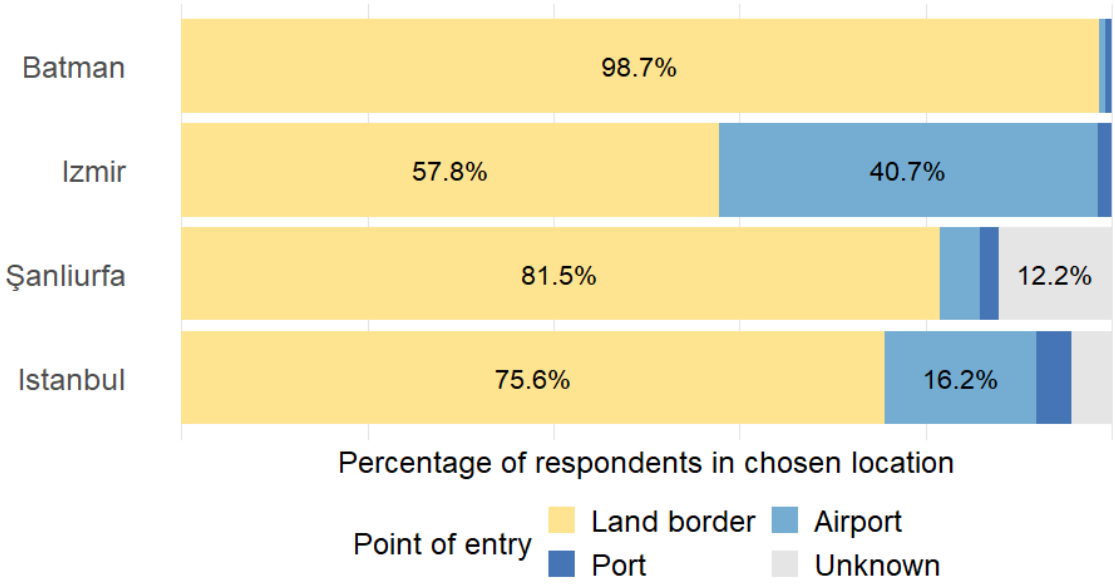
Figure 25 shows that almost four out of five respondents (77.1%) entered Turkey by the land border, one in six (16.3%) by an airport, and a very small number of respondents (2.2%) arrived in a port[10]. As for gender differences, women were slightly more likely to arrive through the land border than men (82.1% of women and 72.8% of men) and slightly less likely to enter Turkey through the airport (12.1% of women and 20% of men). In terms of location, figure 26 illustrates that almost all respondents in Batman arrived through the land border (98.7%), followed by four out of five in Şanliurfa (81.5%), a little less in Istanbul (75.6%). Respondents in Izmir came either through the land border (three out of five, 57.8%) or by the airport (two out of five, 40.7%), which was less common in Istanbul (16.2%) and almost non-existent among respondents from Batman or Şanliurfa. Figure 27 shows that respondents who arrived by air mainly did so in 2014 and later when formalisation (and then in 2015 restrictions) on land border crossings began.

***Figure 25*: Survey respondents by point of entry to Turkey (in %).**



Note: N = 789.

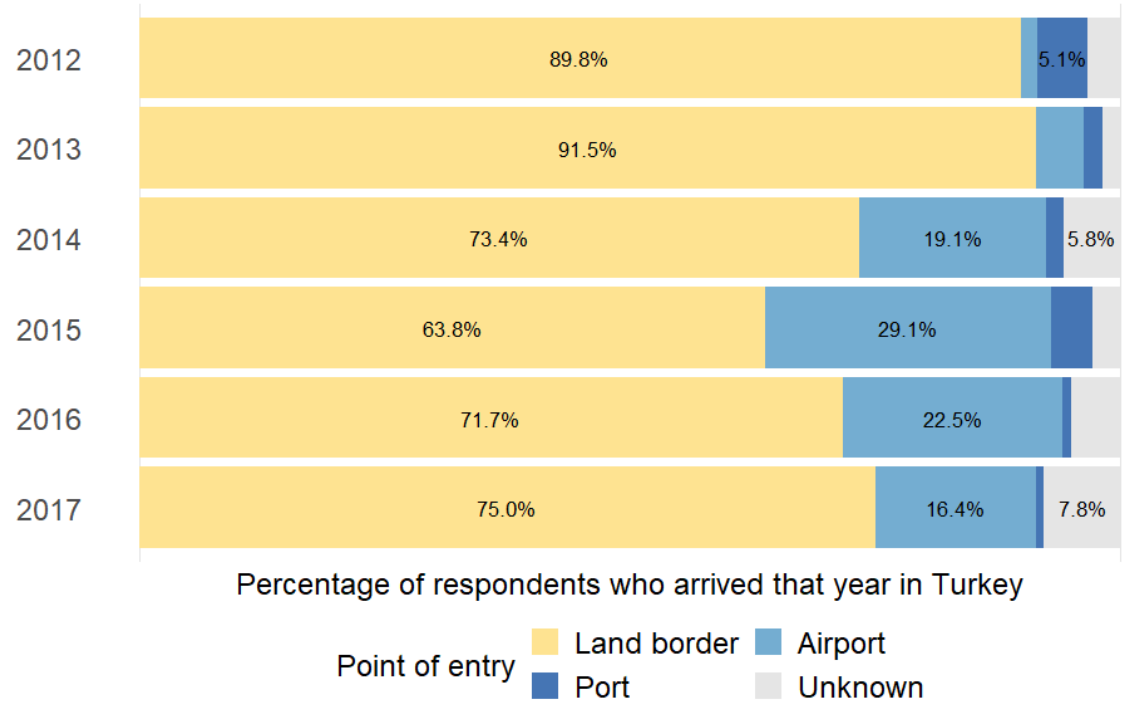
***Figure 26*: Survey respondents by point of entry to Turkey and by survey location (in %).**



Note: N = 789.

[10] Originally one in four respondents chose the answer “other” and described their arrival in Turkey in a text form, only some of those answers could be categorised into land border/port/airport arrival, leaving 4.4% of answers categorised as “Unknown”.

Figure 27: **Survey respondents by point of entry to Turkey and year of arrival in Turkey (in %).**



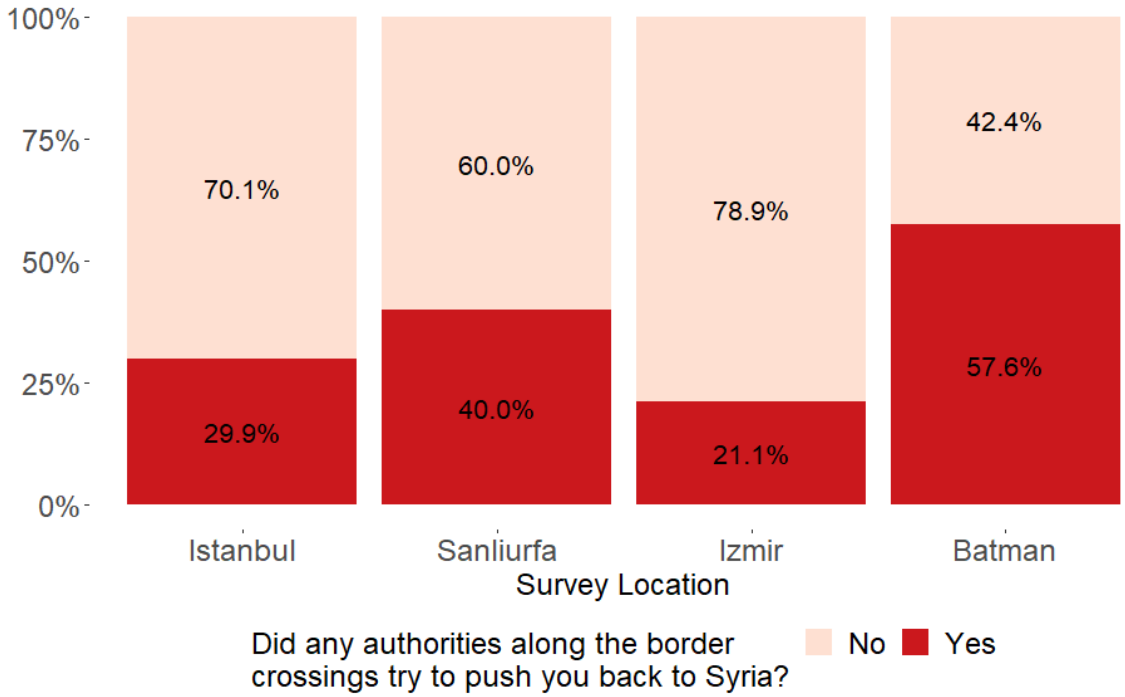
Note: 2011 not included due to a small number of respondents who arrived that year. N = 774.

2.1.5 Prevention and pushback from entering Turkey

Overall, one in three respondents recalls being pushed back from the border while trying to enter Turkey (35.6%). This proportion is rather stable in time. Figure 29 shows that the lowest share of those who experienced push back was among respondents who arrived in 2015. This might be the result of survey participants reading about the introduction of border crossing restrictions and either waiting, preparing properly looking paperwork or choosing more expensive but safer ways to get to Turkey, e.g. through air travel where the crossings were still open (as previously discussed Figure 27 illustrates). While differences between genders were small, figure 28 reveals that push back experiences differ between survey locations. Three out of five respondents in Batman experienced such a push back (57.6%), two out of five in Şanliurfa (40%) and only one out of five in Izmir (21.1%) with those from Istanbul falling in-between. This is in line with respondents' earlier answers. Participants in Batman and Şanliurfa reported more difficulties with border controls, often sourced their information about the route from smugglers and travelled by land more likely.

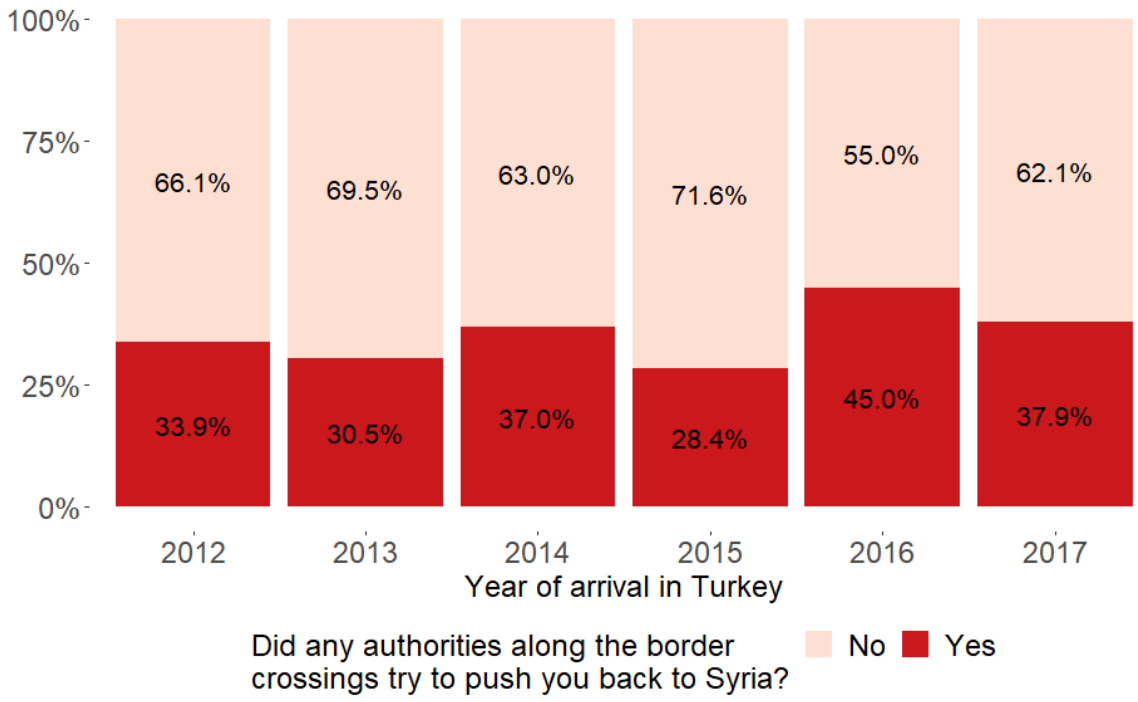
Figure 30 paints a slightly more pessimistic picture, with half of the respondents answering that border guards tried to prevent them from entering Turkey (51.5%), sometimes also the police (5.6%) and the army (5.2%). Simultaneously, 44.3% of the sample answered: "None of them, I was welcome". Figure 31 illustrates that feeling welcome was most often the case for respondents in Istanbul (60.7%) and Izmir (51.8%) while it was the experience only of less than one in three respondents in Batman (30%) and Şanliurfa (28.9%). Respondents in Şanliurfa reported being stopped not only by the border guards but also by the army (11.3%) and the local people (7.8%). Three people from Şanliurfa mentioned the Free Syrian Army and one mentioned checkpoints within Syria.

Figure 28: **Survey respondents by whether they faced pushback from any authorities along the border crossing and survey location (in %).**



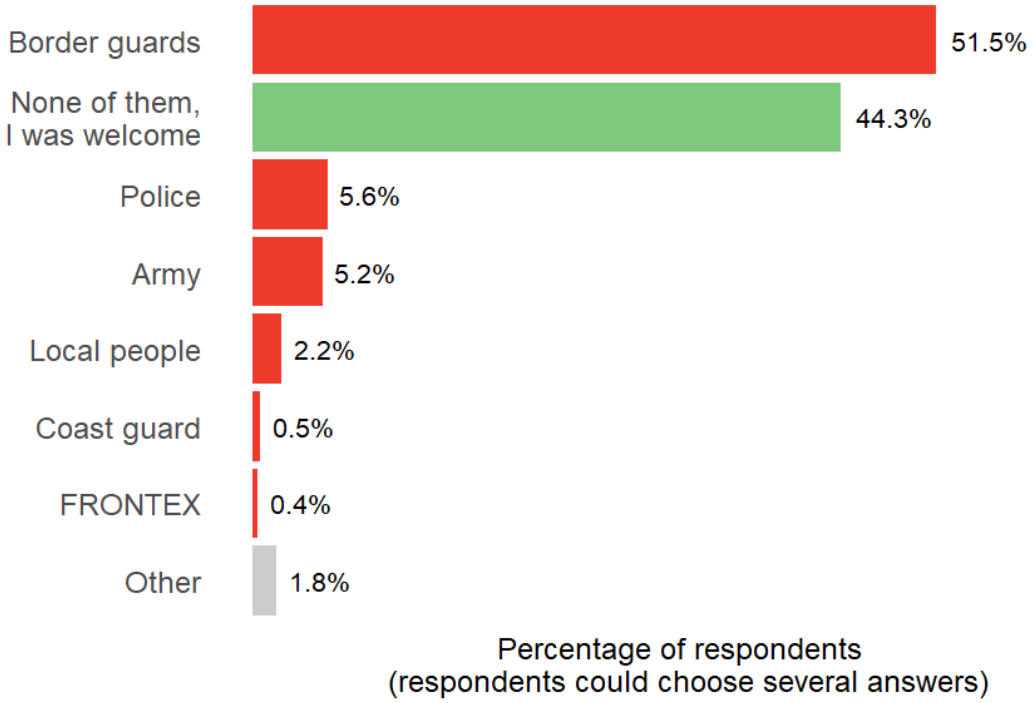
Note: N = 789.

Figure 29: **Survey respondents by whether they faced pushback from any authorities along the border crossing and year of arrival in Turkey (in %).**



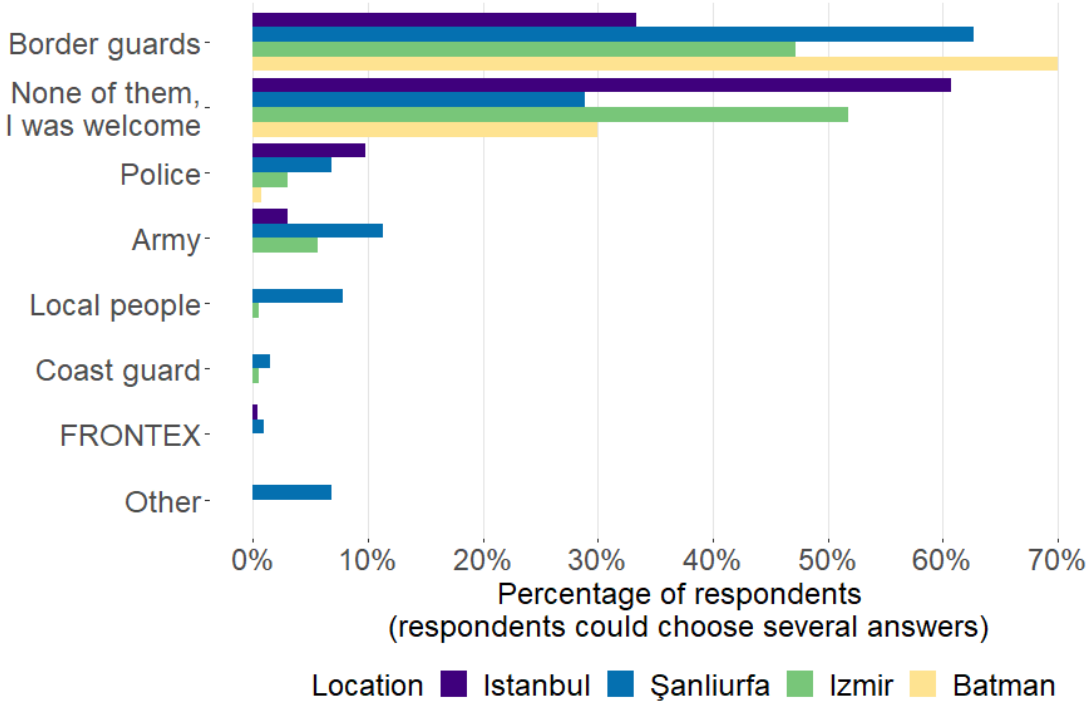
Note: 2011 not included due to a small number of respondents who arrived that year. N = 774.

***Figure 30*: Survey respondents by their answers on who was trying to prevent them from entering Turkey both at the border crossings and in other areas (in %).**



Note: Each respondent could choose multiple answers. Number of respondents = 785, number of answers = 875.

***Figure 31*: Survey respondents by their answers on who was trying to prevent them from entering Turkey both at the border crossings and in other areas and by survey location (in %).**

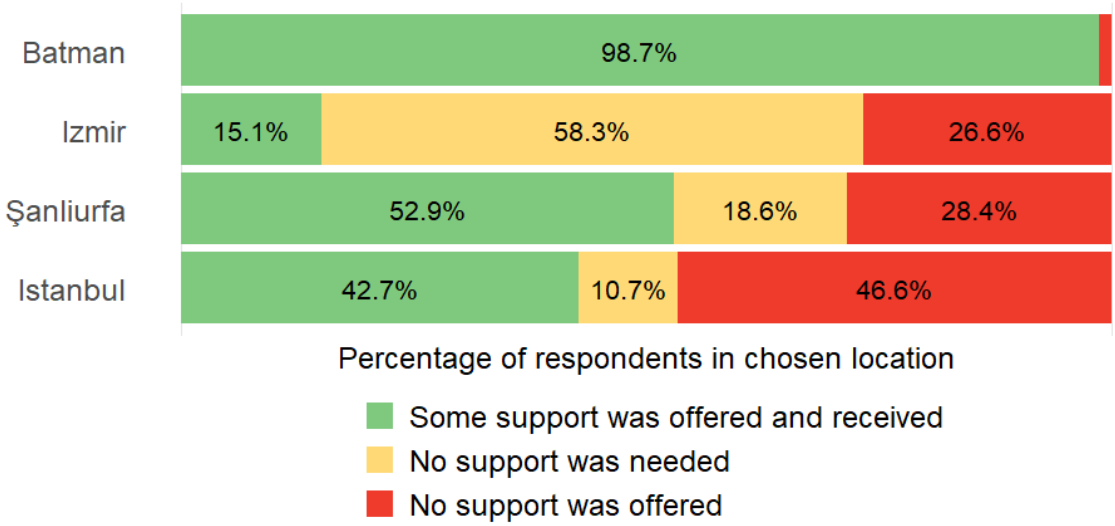


Note: Each respondent could choose multiple answers. Number of respondents = 785 (234 respondents in Istanbul, 204 in Şanliurfa, 197 in Izmir and 150 in Batman), overall number of answers = 875.

2.1.6 Support upon arrival

Respondents' answers about the support they were (or were not) offered are compelling. Overall half of respondents received some support (49.1%), almost two in ten said that no support was needed (22.7%), while three in ten were left without support despite needing it (28.2%). Figure 32 shows, how these answers varied depending on the survey location. The majority of survey participants from Izmir (58.3%) said that they did not need support, while no one from Batman chose such an answer. However, almost all Batman respondents said they were provided with some form of support (98.7%). Those in Izmir rarely needed support but also if they needed it, it was rarely offered (26.6% one out of four respondents said no support was offered to them). In Istanbul and Şanliurfa, the situation was varied, with some respondents answering that support was not needed (10.7% and 18,5% respectively) and many mentioning that it was not offered (46.6% and 28.3%), especially in Istanbul. Women were more likely to need some kind of help (overall 24.2% of men and 20.9% of women said they needed no support) and more likely to get it (no support was offered to 30.6% of men and 25.3% of women) in almost all forms.

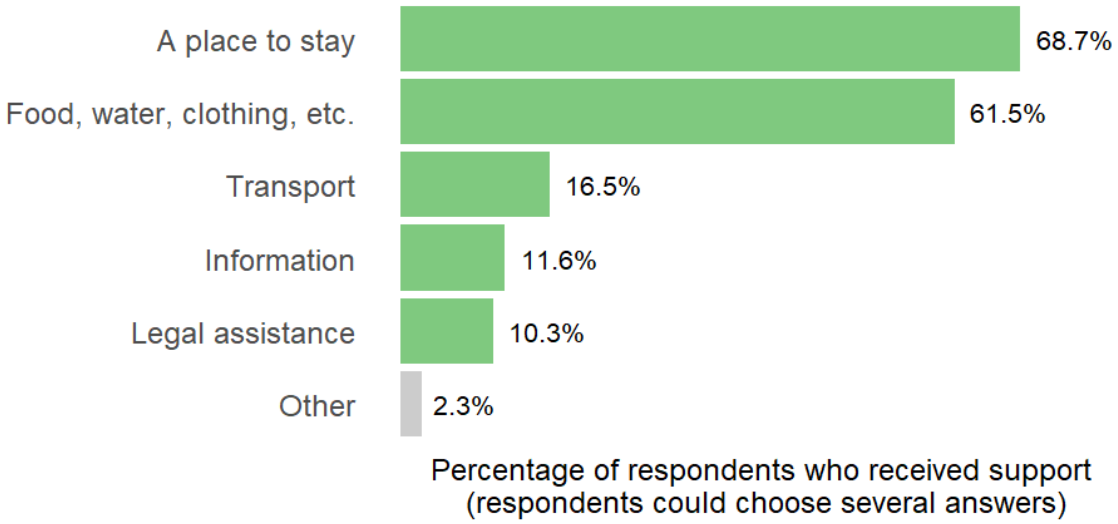
***Figure 32*: Survey respondents by their answers on whether they needed and were offered support in their first days and weeks in Turkey and by survey location (in %).**



Note: N = 788 (234 respondents in Istanbul, 204 in Şanliurfa, 199 in Izmir and 151 in Batman)

Figure 33 informs us that the help was rather basic. Most people who received support were given a place to stay (68.7%) as well as means of subsistence (e.g. food, water and clothing, mentioned by 61.5% of respondents who got some help). Only some mentioned getting help with transport (16.5%), obtaining information (11.6%) or legal assistance (10.3% of respondents who received support).

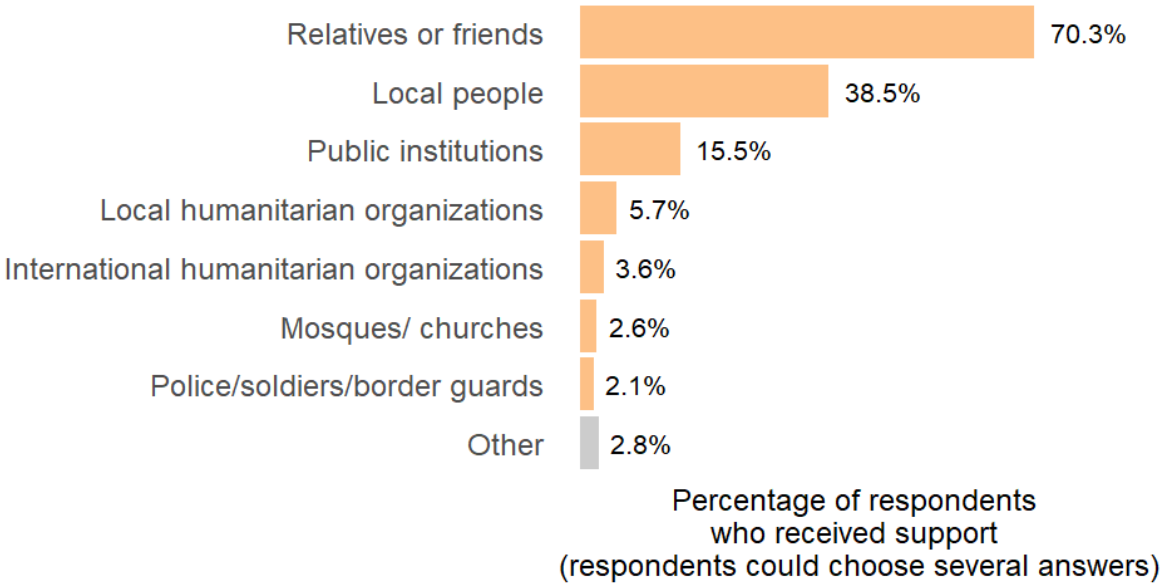
***Figure 33*: Survey respondents who received support by the type of support given during their first days and weeks in Turkey (in %).**



Note: Each respondent could choose multiple answers. Number of respondents = 387, number of answers = 662.

Respondents who reported receiving support also indicated who gave it. Friends and relatives provided help most often (70.3%) with local people (38.5%) also serving as support givers (Figure 34). Women were a bit less likely to report support from local people (40.6% of men who received some support and 36.4% of women who received it), while they were more likely to receive help from friends and relatives (65.6% of men compared to 74.9% of women who received support). Public institutions, humanitarian organisations and mosques/churches were also mentioned and overall they helped 21.4% of those who received some support (translating into 10.5% of all survey participants). Some respondents reported getting help from multiple sources.

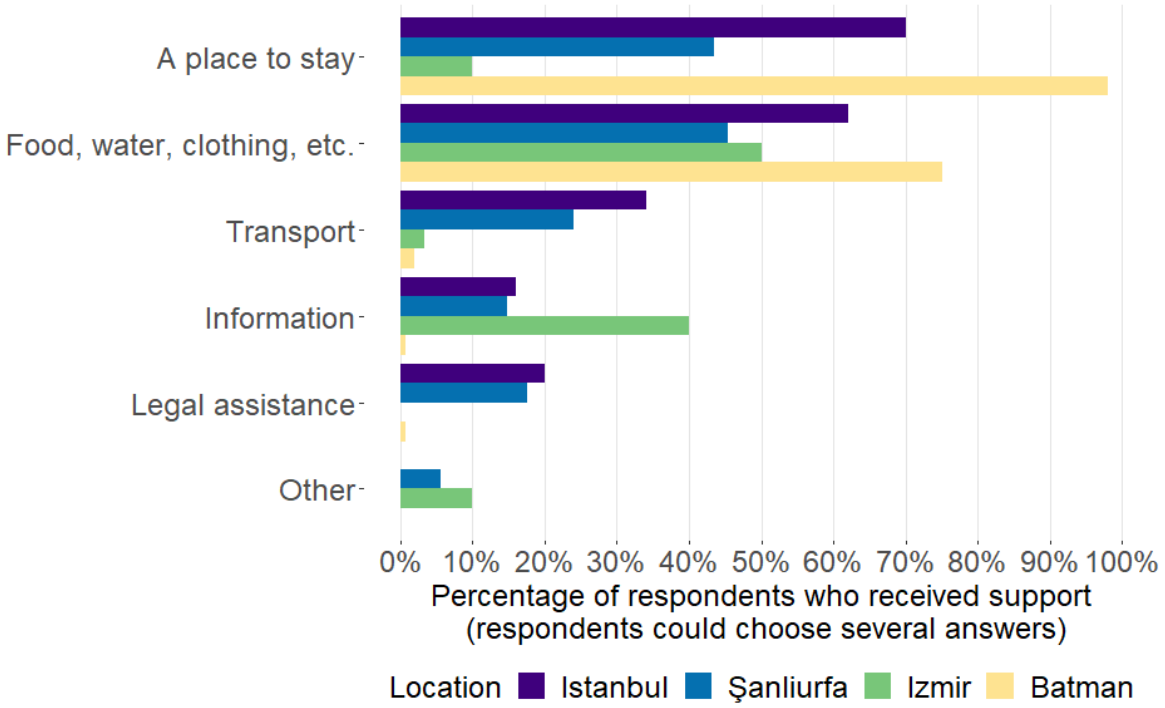
***Figure 34:* Survey respondents who received support by the sources of support during their first days and weeks in Turkey (in %).**



Note: Each respondent could choose multiple answers. Number of respondents = 387, number of answers = 546.

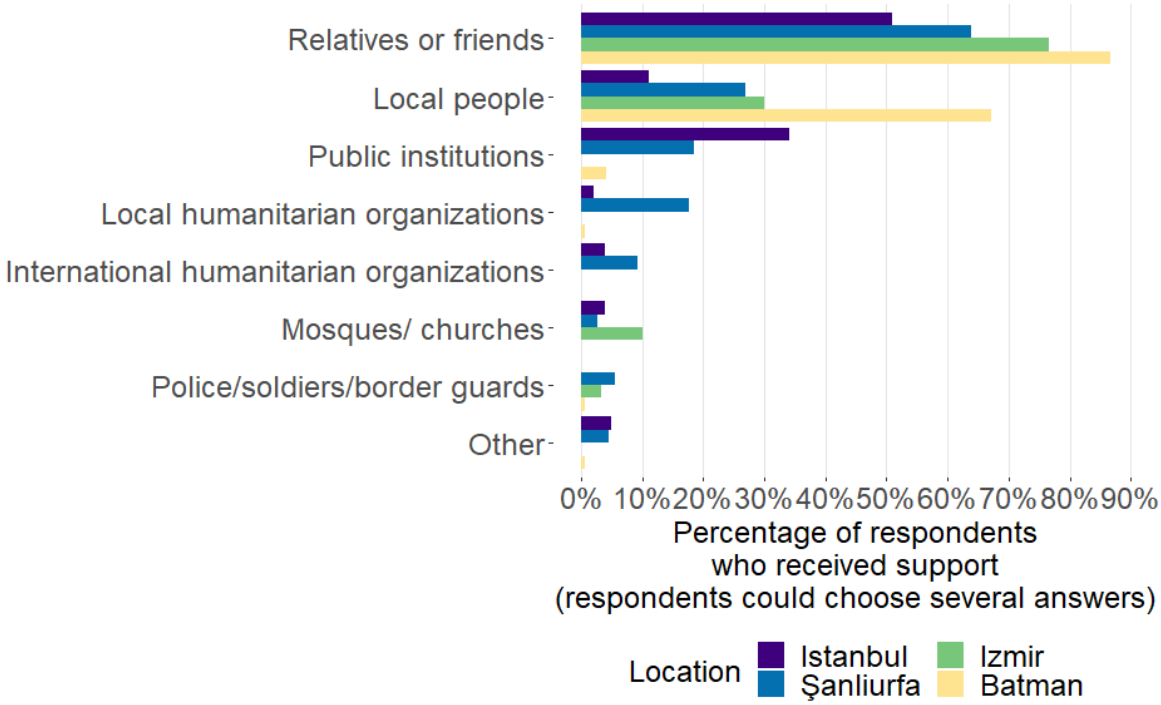
The help given and the givers differed between study locations. Figures 35 and 36 show that almost everyone in Batman got help from friends, family (86.6% of those who received some support there) or the local people (67.1%) and these were the necessities such as a place to live (98%) and food, water, clothing etc. (75.2% of those who received some support). In other survey locations friends and family were still important, but the local people much less so, particularly in Istanbul, where respondents mentioned the local people rarely. In Şanliurfa the public institutions (18.5% of those who received support there) and humanitarian organisations (local organisations were mentioned by 17.6% and international ones by 9.3% of respondents in Şanliurfa who received some help) provided much support, confirming the qualitative study's reports (Rottmann, 2020) of an active NGOs and the local administration there, while respondents in Istanbul mainly reported getting support from the public institutions (34% of those who received some support there).

Figure 35: **Survey respondents who received support by the type of support received during their first days and weeks in Turkey and by survey location (in %).**



Note: Each respondent could choose multiple answers. Number of respondents = 387 (100 respondents in Istanbul, 108 in Şanliurfa, 30 in Izmir and 149 in Batman), number of answers = 662.

Figure 36: **Survey respondents who received support by the sources of support during their first days and weeks in Turkey and by survey location (in %).**



Note: Each respondent could choose multiple answers. Number of respondents = 387 (100 respondents in Istanbul, 108 in Şanliurfa, 30 in Izmir and 149 in Batman), number of answers = 546.

2.1.7 Detention

Forty-five (5.7%) of the survey respondents experienced detention after leaving Syria. Typically, the detention lasted from two to 24 hours, five respondents were detained for longer but up to a week, and only one respondent was detained for longer than a week. Females were slightly less likely to be detained (4.4% for females, 6.8% for males). Location wise, less than one in twenty-five respondents in Istanbul, Izmir and Şanliurfa reported being detained, while one in six respondents from Batman (16.6%) reported detention. Most respondents detained after leaving Syria were surveyed in Batman.

2.2 Psycho-social health and resilience

Respondents' answers regarding their journey to Turkey show that many came with little possessions or money left, thus support upon arrival was needed. However, many came also with a burden of difficult experiences of war, chaos and constant fear that accompanies them. Three out of ten respondents said "Yes" when asked "Have you experienced a very difficult situation, e.g. serious accident, natural catastrophe, rape, war, abuse, torture?". The question was followed by a request to shortly name the event, although they could refuse to answer. Still, many did answer, and over two in ten mentioned the war itself (178 respondents, 22.6% of the sample), the second most common experience named was much rarer and quite ambiguous: mistreatment mentioned by 26 respondents (3.3%). However, there were many other, more detailed answers. Respondents reported both experiences in Turkey and Syria (the questionnaire did not ask for details so the timing is often unclear) and mentioned a wide array of situations: accidents, illness, extreme poverty, discrimination, displacement,

exploitation, mine explosions, arrests, torture and death of family members, particularly children.

Female participants were slightly more likely to report difficult experiences (32% of female and 28.2% of male participants), which might stem from cultural norms causing men to keep their difficulties to themselves (Rottmann, 2020). However the differences across locations were far larger with respondents in Izmir least likely to report difficult past situations (10.1% of respondents there), followed by those in Şanliurfa (17.6% of respondents there). One in three respondents in Batman reported such an experience (35.8%) while more than half of respondents in Istanbul did (53.8%). We can see that either the propensity to report such experiences or the experiences themselves differed widely.

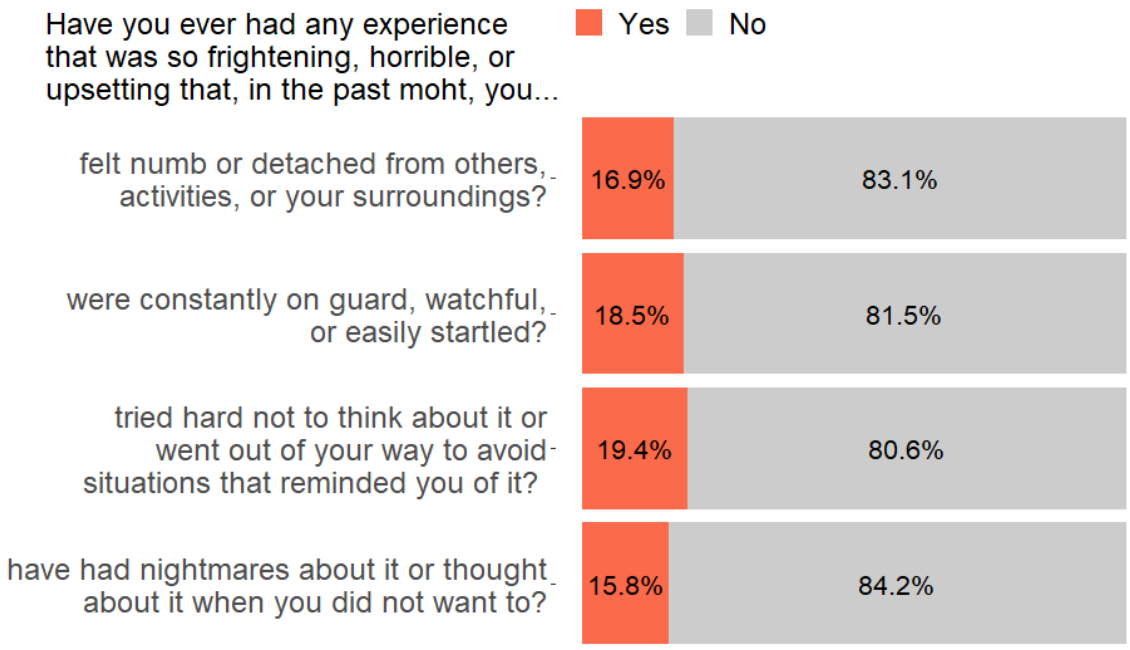
2.2.1 Trauma experience

The survey also asked respondents about a series of indicators of psychological distress and three out of ten survey participants (30.9%) answered “yes” to at least one of them. Figure 37 presents their answers in more detail. More than one in seven participants reported that they had a frightening, horrible or upsetting experience and that in the past month they had nightmares and unwillingly thought about it (15.8%), one in six said that at some point in the past month they felt numb or detached from others (16.9%), even more admitted that the experience caused them to be constantly on guard, watchful or easily startled (18.5%), and almost one in five said that in the past month they tried hard not to think about it and avoid being reminded of it (19.5%).

Furthermore, Figure 38 shows that over one in ten respondents answered “Yes” to at least three of the four questions gauging everyday impact of negative experiences (11.37%). This set of questions together with the previously described question “Have you experienced a very difficult situation, e.g. serious accident, natural catastrophe, rape, war, abuse, torture?” constitute a 5 item scoring for PTSD[11]. Half of those 11.37% experienced everyday impacts but named no “very difficult situation” (5.7% of respondents, 45 people), while another half (5.6% of respondents, 44 people), did name such a “very difficult situation” and would be considered likely to experience PTSD at the time of the survey.

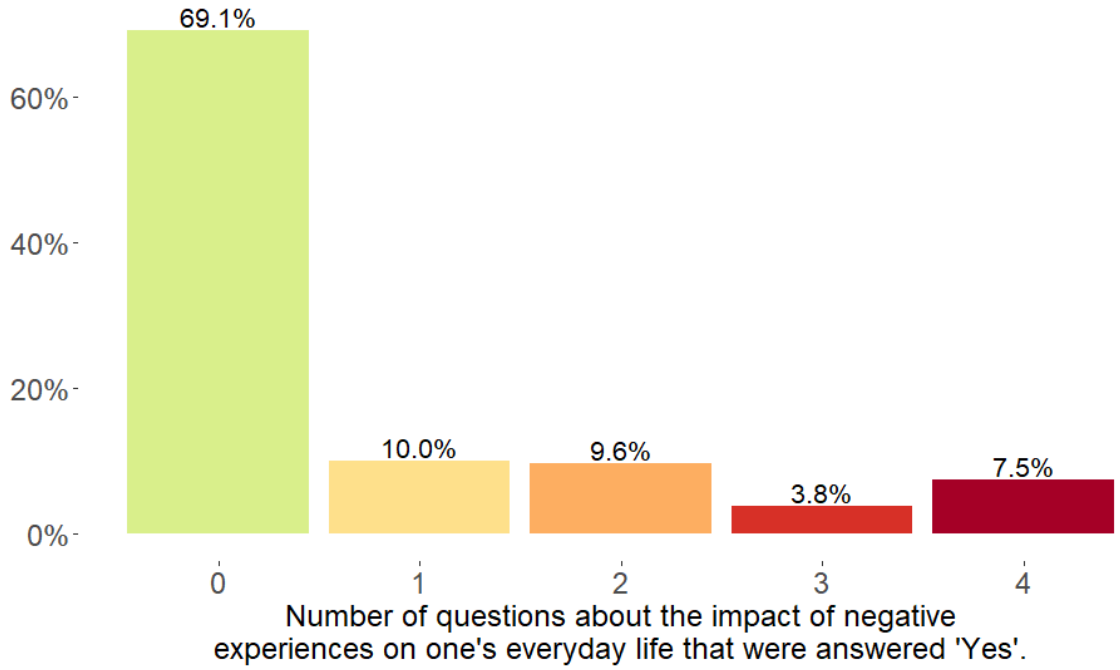
[11] More precisely it is a 5 item Primary Care Screen designed to identify people with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PC PTSD 5).

Figure 37: **Survey respondents by their answers regarding the impact of negative experiences on their everyday life (in %).**



Note: N = 789.

Figure 38: **Survey respondents by the number of 'Yes' answers to questions regarding the impact of negative experiences on their everyday life (in %).**



Note: N = 789. The questions to which the "Yes" answers were counted:

- Have you ever had any experience that was so frightening, horrible, or upsetting that, in the past

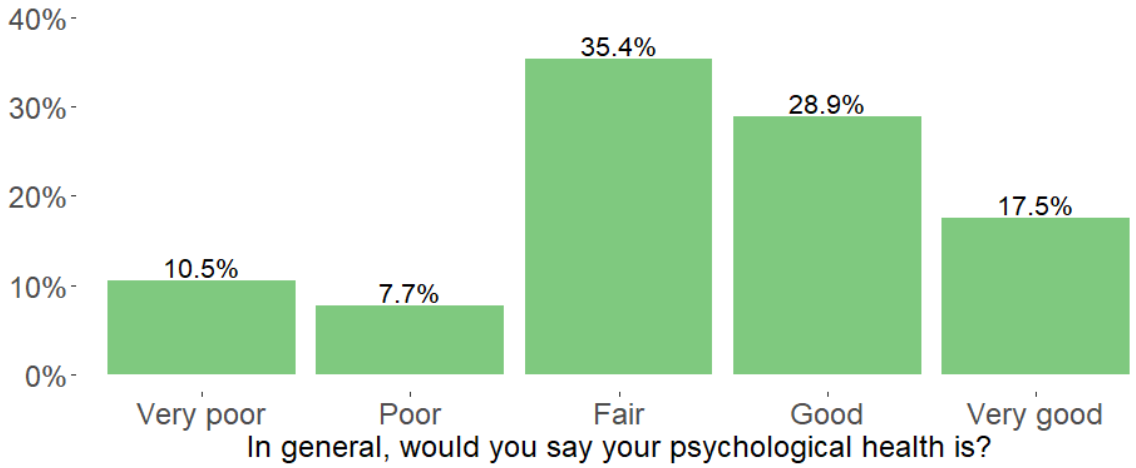
month, you...Have had nightmares about it or thought about it when you did not want to? (Yes/No)
- Tried hard not to think about it or went out of your way to avoid situations that reminded you of it? (Yes/No)
- Were constantly on guard, watchful, or easily startled? (Yes/No)
- Felt numb or detached from others, activities, or your surroundings? (Yes/No)

Female participants were slightly more likely to answer 'yes' to the distress questions, but the differences were small (32.2% of female and 29.8% of male participants said 'yes' responding to at least one of the questions presented in Figure 37). The locational differences are again large. Batman, where many respondents reported war as a difficult experience, they rarely reported symptoms of psychological distress in the past month (only 6% of respondents there did so). Batman respondents were followed by those from Izmir, where almost one in five admitted to nightmares, watchfulness, unwanted thoughts or feelings of detachment (17.1% chose at least one). Those in Istanbul (41.5% of respondents there) and in Şanliurfa (50.7%) seem most intensely impacted with four to five out of ten respondents feeling the symptoms of psychological distress. These reports show that even people who consider their psychological health to be fair or good, might still feel the burden of the experiences they carry.

2.2.2 Mental health

Figure 39 shows that despite the difficult experiences, nine out of twenty respondents declared their mental health to be good or very good (28.9% and 17.5% respectively), while seven out of twenty categorised it as fair. Declarations of a poor or very poor mental state were rare (7.7% and 10.5% respectively). Mental wellbeing of respondents was almost identical across genders. When comparing locations, only respondents in Izmir stood out with more positive evaluations of their mental health. The fact that 18.2% of the sample evaluated their health as poor or very poor is on one hand reassuring, since most respondents feel fair or good, but on the other hand, the result indicates that there is a large group of people in need of psychological support.

***Figure 39*: Survey respondents by their self-assessed mental health (in %).**



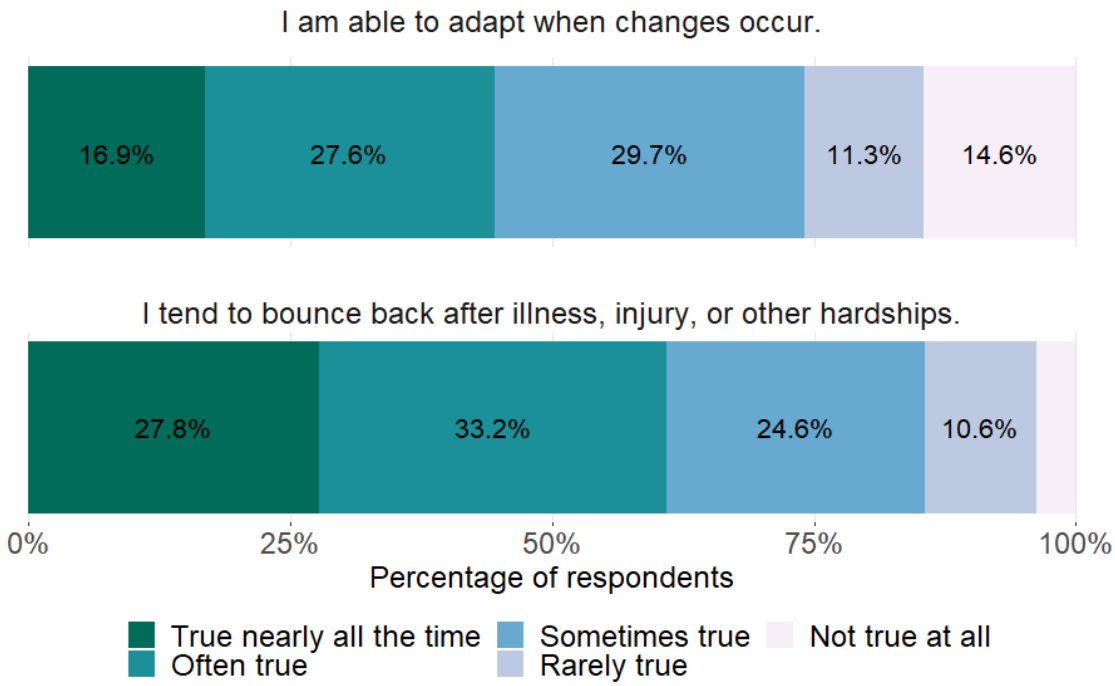
Note: N = 789.

2.2.3 Resilience

Thriving despite negative experiences requires support and resilience. Figure 40 shows that while respondents varied in their adaptability to changes, they were quite positive when

evaluating their own resilience. Almost three out of ten said the statement “I tend to bounce back after illness, injury or other hardships” applies to them nearly all the time, while another three out of ten, considered it often true. The two questions constitute an abbreviated version of the Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale (CD-RISC, described in detail by Davidson, 2018) and the Turkish survey respondents reached a mean score of 4.9 with the median of 5 (a score of 5+ among refugees indicates a strong resilience level), which is lower than Davidson (2018) reports for general population samples and closer to the scores received by groups who were exposed to severe trauma.

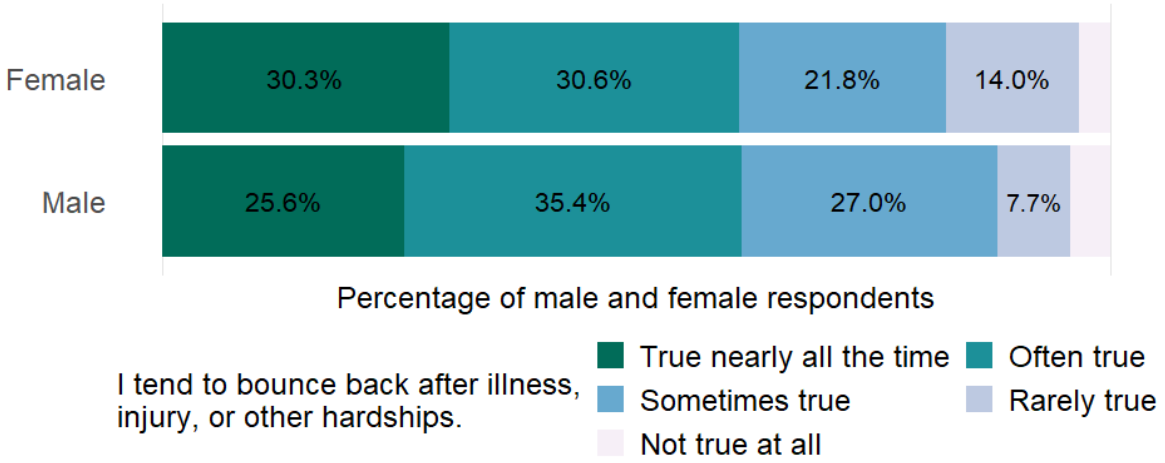
Figure 40: **Survey respondents by self-evaluations of their adaptability and resilience (in %).**



Note: N = 789.

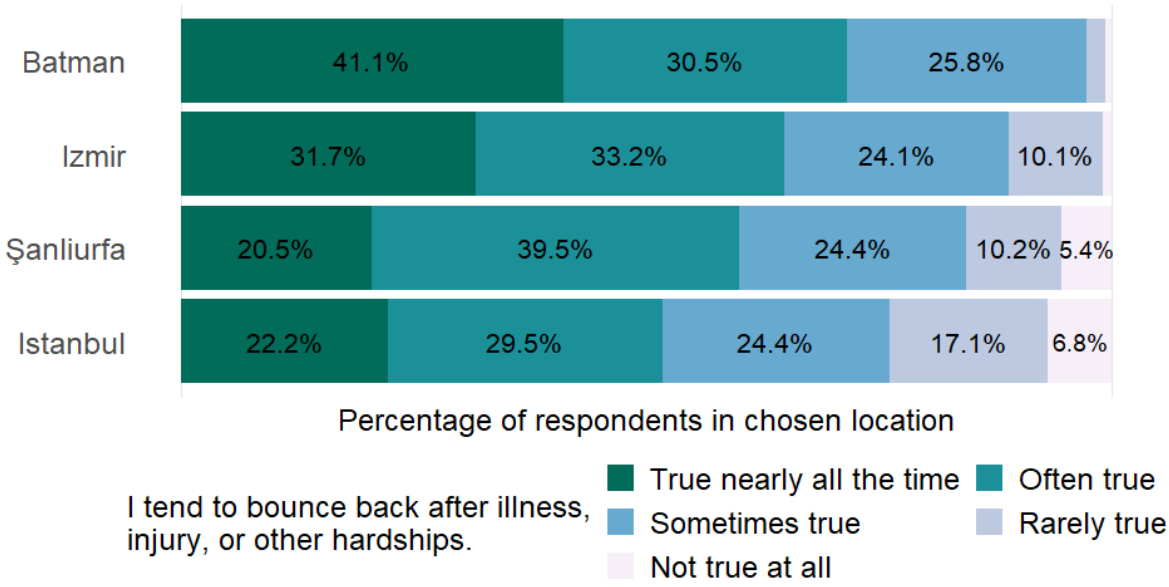
Figures 41 and 42 show that while genders were similar in their evaluations, again respondents from different locations varied in their evaluations. As expected, respondents from Batman, who often reported difficult war experiences but answered “no” to most psychological stress indicators, overwhelmingly view themselves as resilient. Respondents in Izmir followed, and then those in Şanliurfa, with survey participants in Istanbul being more likely to say that bouncing back after hardships rarely (17.1%) or not at all (6.8%) sounds like them. Still, even in Istanbul over half of the respondents evaluated themselves as resilient nearly all the time (22.2%) or at least often (29.5%).

Figure 41: **Survey respondents by self-evaluations of their resilience and by gender (in %).**



Note: N = 789 (426 male and 363 female respondents).

***Figure 42*: Survey respondents by self-evaluations of their resilience and by survey location (in %).**



Note: N = 789 (234 respondents in Istanbul, 205 in Şanliurfa, 199 in Izmir and 151 in Batman)

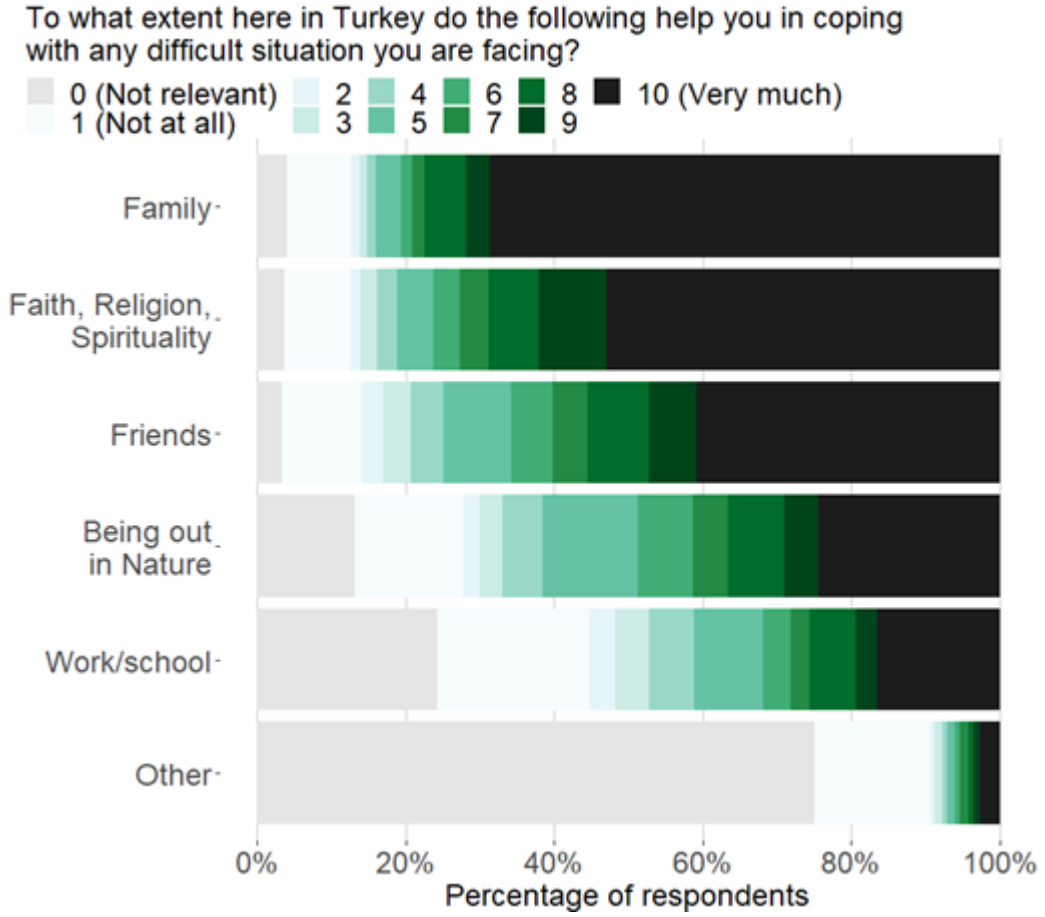
2.2.4 Emotional support

Coping with difficult situations is easier with support. Figure 43 reveals that the main provider of such support in Turkey was the family, which seven out of ten respondents evaluated to be “very much” of help (68.6%). The family was followed by faith, religion or spirituality which mattered very much to half of respondents (53% respondents reported it to be “very much” of help). Further, many mentioned friends (40.8% respondents said they helped “very much”), spending time in nature (24.3%) and work or school which was rarely helpful (16.5% reported that work/school helps them “very much” in coping with the difficult situation). Among other answers there were mentions that learning the language helped, Turkish neighbours, mayors, NGOs (e.g. the Qnushyo Center), charities, medical professionals but also personal qualities or attitudes such as “patience”, “will and goal” as well as less optimistic “ignoring” or “insistence on work”.

Still, three out of four respondents (75.2%) indicated no “other” source of support than those mentioned by the survey. One in four (24.3%) seemed to have no contact with a work or school environment, so they marked “not relevant” when asked about support there. However, that means, that most respondents do have some interactions in those settings, but they relatively rarely receive support there with one in five respondents saying they get no help at all. Nature was also deemed “not relevant” by one in eight respondents (13.2%) and a small number of respondents said that friends (3.3%), faith (3.7%) or family (3.9%) were “not relevant” in their situation, suggesting a lack of contact with them. Comparing answers across genders, women more often evaluated their family (72.7% among female in contrast to 65% of male participants), their faith (58.1% vs. 48.6%) and being in nature (28.1% vs. 21.1%) to be very much of help. Female participants less often than male respondents said that friends (a small and nuanced difference 40.2% of women and 41.3% of men) or work (14.6% of women and 18.1% of men) were very much helpful.

The pattern across locations shows that respondents in Batman evaluating their family’s support as very important (86.8% of “very much” evaluations) followed by respondents in Izmir (71.4%), Istanbul (69.2%) and Şanliurfa (51.7%). The helpfulness of friends was also evaluated highest by half of respondents in Izmir (53.3%) and Batman (50.3%) and by three out of ten respondents in Şanliurfa (33.2%) and Istanbul (30.8%). Faith, religion, spirituality played the key role for respondents in Izmir (67.3%), then Istanbul (56%) and later Batman (51.7%) and Şanliurfa (36.6%). Work was evaluated as most helpful in Izmir, however there the share of working respondents was also the highest, and only one in ten respondents there (10.6%) reported the work/school as “not relevant” in their case. In comparison, the “not relevant” option for work/school was chosen by two in ten respondents in Şanliurfa (21%), three in ten in Batman (29.8%), and over one in three respondents in Istanbul (35.5%). Surprisingly, being out in nature seemed a very important help for those in Istanbul (44.4% of respondents there evaluated it to be “very much” help) and in Batman (27.2%) and respondents in those location rarely claimed nature to be not relevant (6.8% in Istanbul and 1.3% in Batman. In Şanliurfa and Izmir only some respondents considered nature to be very much of help (14.1% in Şanliurfa and 9% in Izmir), while many more, over one in five respondents there considered being in nature to be not relevant to their situation (22% and 20.6% respectively). Overall, respondents reported having support in multiple places, mainly in their family and their faith.

***Figure 43*: Survey respondents by their evaluations of how much did family, faith, being in nature, work/school helped them to cope with difficulties (in %).**



N = 789.

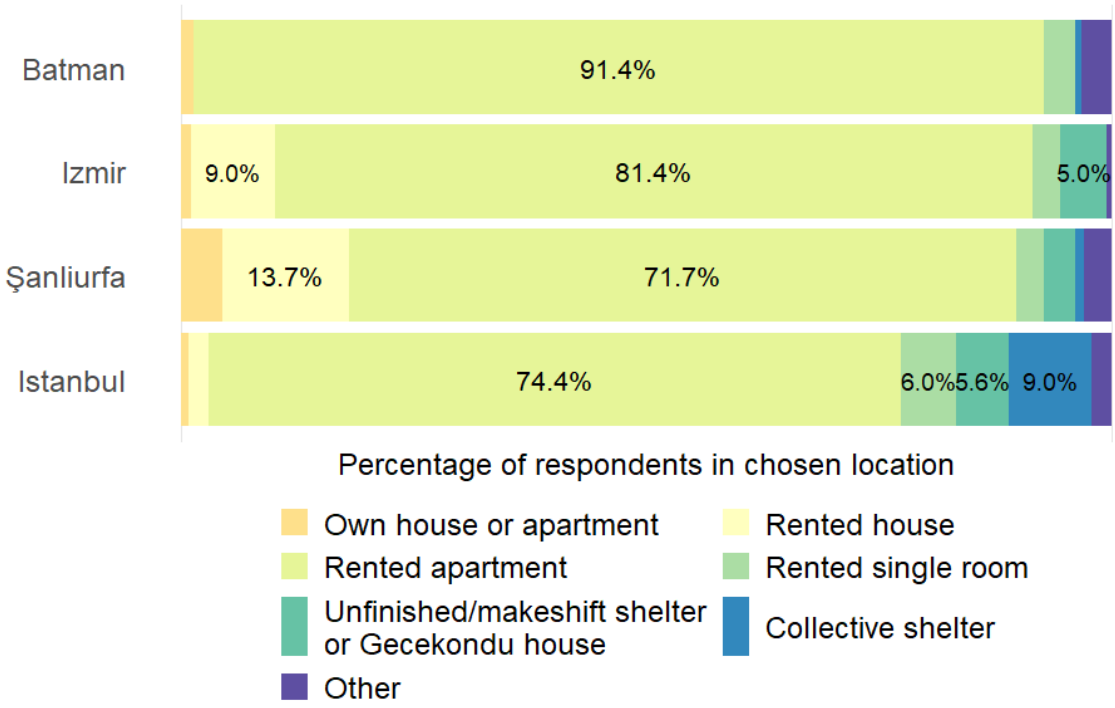
2.3 Protection, Safety and Support

RESPOND's qualitative interviews shows that the home and the neighbourhood in which Syrians live have a significant impact on their well-being, the help they receive and the options available to them because cities and neighbourhoods differ in integration politics and much NGO work is only local (described in Kaya 2020 and Rottmann 2020). They also suggest that Syrians have a hard time finding good accommodation and friendly neighbours. Thus, we will start this section by looking at respondents' housing conditions, before moving to questions on whether they feel safe in their surroundings.

Most survey participants lived in cities (94%), probably those in which they were interviewed, or slightly smaller neighbouring ones. However, two out of fifteen respondents in Istanbul reported staying in a rural area (13.7%), which was rare in other survey locations (below 4% in each). We also asked respondents, what kind of dwelling do they occupy, and three out of four lived in rented apartments (78.7%). Women were slightly more likely to live in rented apartments (81.5% of female and 76.3% of male participants), while men were slightly more likely to rent a single room (5.6% of male and 1.9% of female participants). Figure 44 shows that there are also small differences between locations, with some respondents in Izmir and Şanliurfa renting houses or owning their accommodation. In comparison, respondents in Istanbul were more likely to rent a single room (6%), live in a poor quality building (5.6% living

in unfinished, makeshift or Gecekondu[12] shelter/house) or in a collective shelter (9%). These answers suggest that respondents in Istanbul are poorer and/or face higher rents than in other locations. Some survey participants also reported other living arrangements: student accommodation, staying at one's family's apartment or living at the workplace. Overall, living in a rented apartment in a city was most common among respondents.

***Figure 44*: Respondents' type of accommodation, comparison between survey locations (in %).**



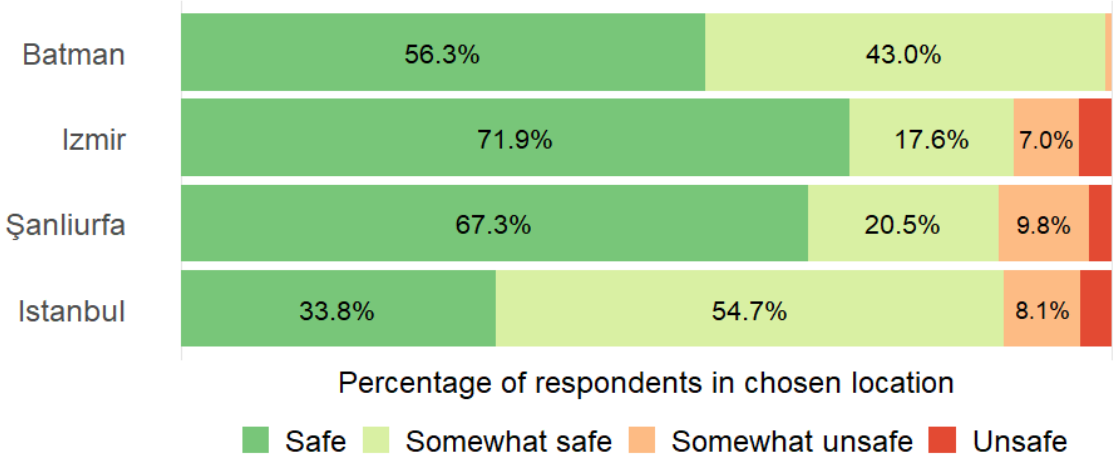
N = 789.

2.3.1 Feeling (un)safe

Figure 45 shows that most survey participants felt safe in their neighbourhood (overall 56.4% of respondents), and one in three declared feeling somewhat safe (34.2%). Female participants reported feeling safe or somewhat safe a bit more often than men (57.3% women and 55.6% men felt safe and 35.3% women and 33.3% men felt somewhat safe). Figure 45 pictures also some differences between locations. For example, only one respondent in Batman felt somewhat unsafe, while in other locations around one in ten respondents reported feeling unsafe or somewhat unsafe (10.6% in Izmir, 11.5% in Istanbul and 12.2% in Şanliurfa). Overall, it seems that respondents felt rather safe in their new places of living.

[12] A building built overnight, often illegally, for more information see Caves (2005, p. 285).

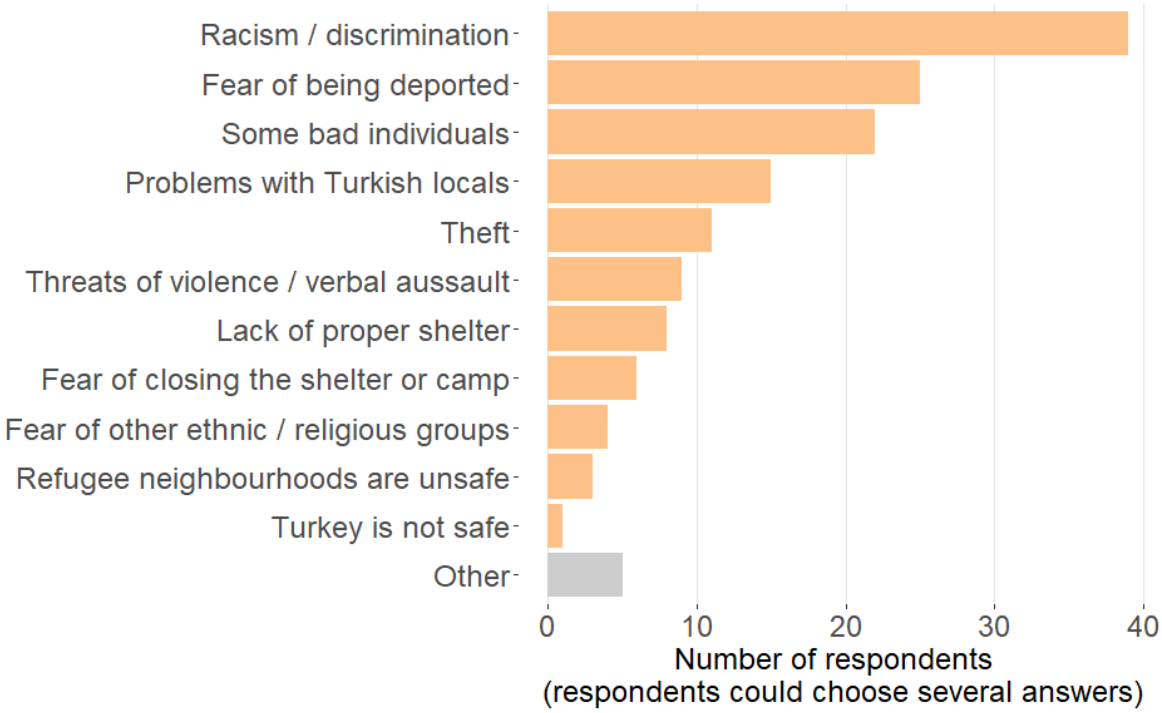
***Figure 45*: Survey respondents by convictions about their safety in the neighbourhood and by survey location (in %).**



N = 789.

Respondents who felt unsafe were asked further, what made them feel so (Figure 46). Each participant could choose several reasons. Out of 74 participants asked further, half pointed towards racism and discrimination (52.7% of those who felt unsafe), one third feared deportation and "some bad individuals", followed by problems with Turkish locals (33.8%, 29.7% and 20.3% respectively, of those who felt unsafe).

***Figure 46*: Survey respondents' who felt safe or unsafe in their neighbourhoods by reasons for feeling unsafe in their neighbourhood in Turkey (in numbers).**

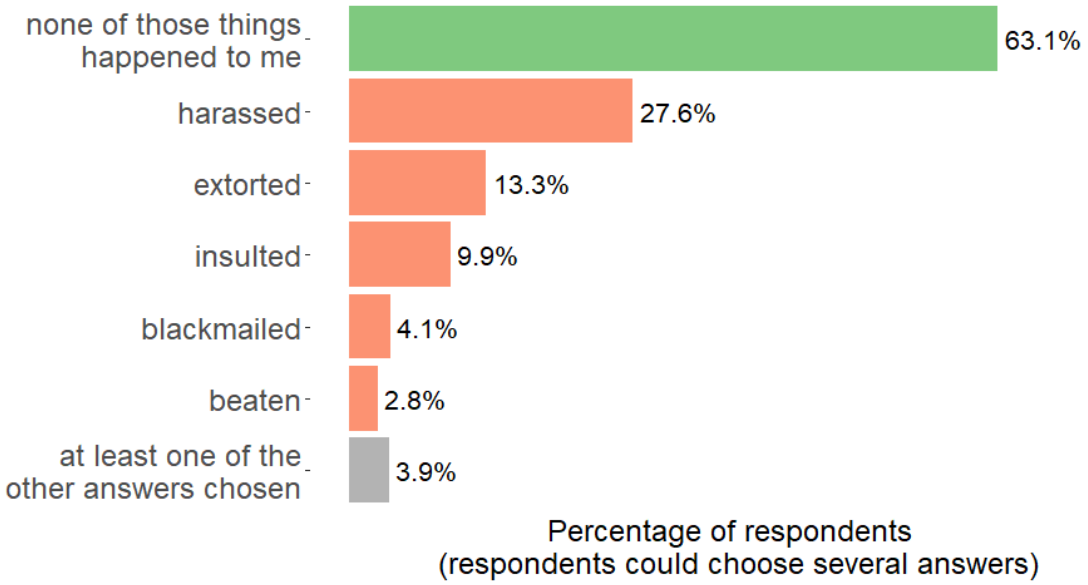


Note: Each respondent could choose multiple answers. Number of respondents = 74, overall number of answers = 148.

2.3.2 Negative experiences in Turkey

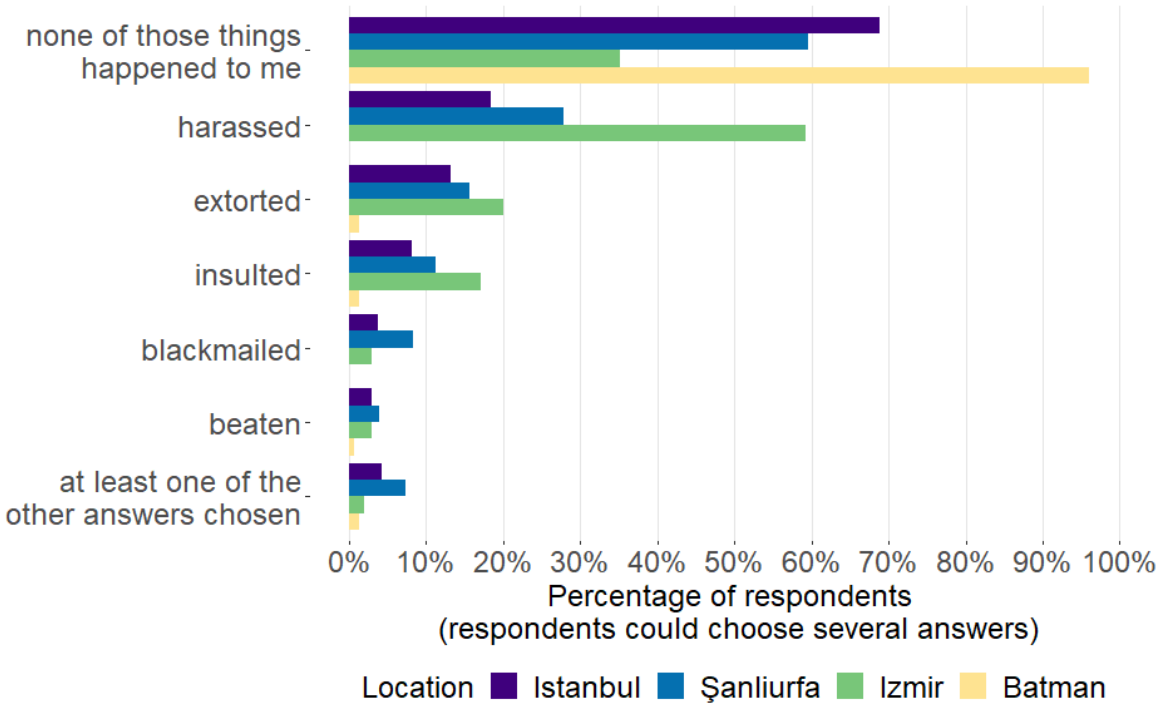
Unfortunately, while less than one in ten survey participants felt (somewhat) unsafe in their neighbourhood (9.4%) many more experienced bad things in Turkey. When asked about a series of specific incidents over one in three respondents (36.9%) expressed that they experienced some of them. Figure 47 shows that almost three out of ten respondents were harassed, and one in ten reported being extorted or insulted. Male survey participants reported such incidents more often than females (42.3% of men and 30.6% of women), especially harassment (31.7% of men and 22.9% of women), extortion (16.9% of men and 9% of women) and blackmail (6.1% of men and 1.7% of women). Only insults seemed to touch both genders equally (10.1% of men and 9.6% of women). Figure 48 shows that these bad experiences were reported predominantly by respondents from Izmir, followed by those from Şanliurfa and Istanbul, whereas they were extremely rare in Batman. In Batman, most survey participants said that they experienced none such thing. It seems that although journeys to Batman were often made harder by border guards, upon getting to Batman, respondents received a place to stay and a relatively safe environment to live.

***Figure 47*: Survey respondents by their reports of whether they were harassed, extorted, insulted, blackmailed, beaten or were exposed to other kind of violence in Turkey (in %).**



Note: Each respondent could choose multiple answers. Number of respondents = 789, overall number of answers = 984 (989 if all the options available among “other” answers are counted separately). The “other answers chosen” group the originally available “exposed to other kind of violence” answer and responses chosen by less than 10 respondents: raided/searched, arrested or detained, evicted, given a departure order, or deported out of Turkey.

***Figure 48*: Survey respondents by their reports of whether they were harassed, extorted, insulted, blackmailed, beaten or exposed to other kind of violence in Turkey and by survey location (in %).**

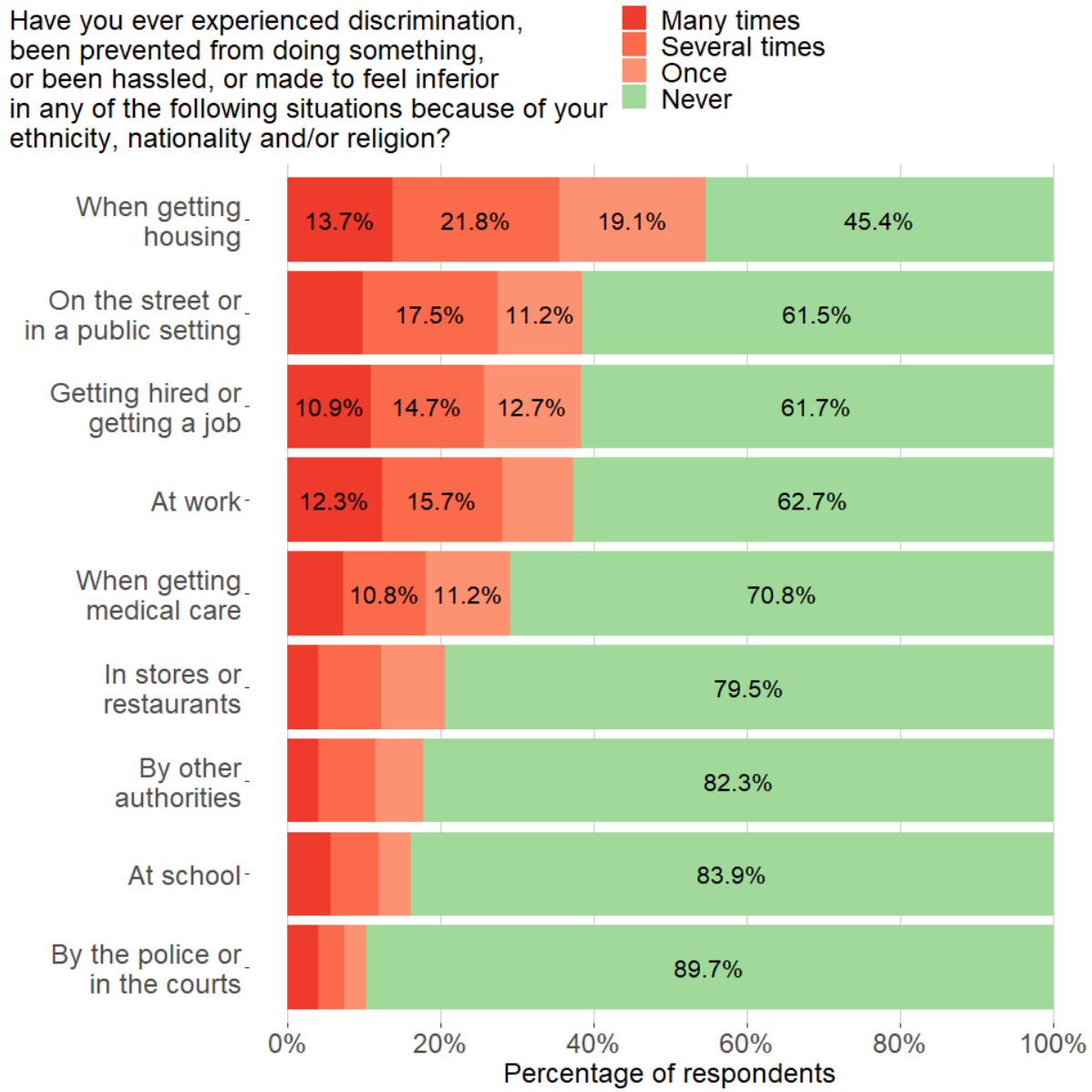


Note: Each respondent could choose multiple answers. Number of respondents = 789, overall number of answers = 984 (989 if all the options available among "other" answers are counted separately). The "other answers chosen" group the originally available "exposed to other kind of violence" answer and responses chosen by less than 10 respondents: raided/searched, arrested or detained, evicted, given a departure order, or deported out of Turkey.

2.3.3 Discrimination

While only one in ten respondents felt (somewhat) unsafe in their neighbourhoods and one in three had some bad incidents happened to them, almost four out of five respondents reported that they have experienced some form of discrimination in Turkey (78.6% of all respondents). Figure 49 shows that more than half of respondents faced discrimination when looking for accommodation (54.6%), four out of ten experienced it in a public space (38.5%) when looking for work (38.3%) or at work (37.3%). Three out of ten had felt discriminated when getting medical care (29.2%), while two out of ten reported that such situations happened in stores or restaurants (20.5%). Being discriminated by the authorities was relatively rare, two out of ten respondents reported that such situation happened in contact with the Social Services, the Migration office, the Tax collecting administration or the National Insurance Agency (other authorities, 17.7%), while one out of ten said they felt discriminated against by the police or the courts (10.3%). The discrimination by the police and the courts was reported least often, as was discrimination at school (16.1%), however, these might stem from the fact that respondents rarely come in contact with the police or a court, while contacting the school mainly through their children. Still, it seems that most of the discrimination comes from apartment owners, employers, and regular Turkish citizens.

***Figure 49*: Survey respondents by their experiences of discrimination in different contexts (in %).**



Note: N = 789.

Men reported experiences of discrimination more often than women in our study. This relates to women being more confined to the home, while men typically search for accommodation for the family and work, where the majority of discrimination was reported. Rottmann (2020) mentions that women face a different kind of discrimination, e.g. neighbours not answering to their greetings on the street or not accepting invitations, which hurts women who feel responsible for maintaining friendly relations with the surrounding community. Rottmann also mentions that in public settings Syrian women adapt by changing the way they dress or put on the hijab to blend in with the Turkish women. These strategies suggest that even if they do not experience discrimination, they do worry about it and take preventive measures beforehand.

Looking at locations, almost all respondents in Izmir reported experiencing discrimination in at least one of the settings (97% of respondents there), while in Istanbul it was three out of four respondents (76.1%), and around seven out of ten in other locations (72.7% in Şanliurfa and 64.2% in Batman). The pattern was similar across locations, with one exception of feeling discriminated in the street or a public setting. In Istanbul and most of all Batman respondents

were relatively less likely to report problems occurring in a public space (27.8% of respondents in Istanbul and 14.6% of respondents in Batman), however for respondents from Izmir this was the most often reported setting for discrimination (68.8% respondents there reported feeling discriminated at least once in the street or a public setting). In all places the police or other authorities as well as the schools were least likely to be the cause of feeling discriminated, still these were the regular Turkish people.

2.3.4 Problems with the Temporary Protection Status

Most Syrians are under the Temporary Protection status that defines the aid they receive, the rights and the protection they have. The questionnaire asked respondents to look at a list of potential issues relating to refugee protection and mark if this issue is a serious, minor or no problem. Figure 50 compares respondents' opinions. Most respondents think that restricted movement is a serious problem (56.7% and further 20.2% think it is a minor problem). People with Temporary Protection status need a "travel permit" to move away from their place of registration, making it hard to change cities or provinces e.g. in search of work or even visit family. Another problem, which half of the survey respondents considered serious, relates to misconceptions about refugees (50.5% and further 30.4% consider it a minor problem). Rottmann (2020) also mentioned these, reporting that "migrants are perceived as getting more from the government than Turkish citizens," which is a "source of tension with local communities". Also, Kaya (2020) indicates that scapegoating, stereotyping and xenophobic narratives became widespread in Turkey and might impact peoples' attitudes towards Syrians.

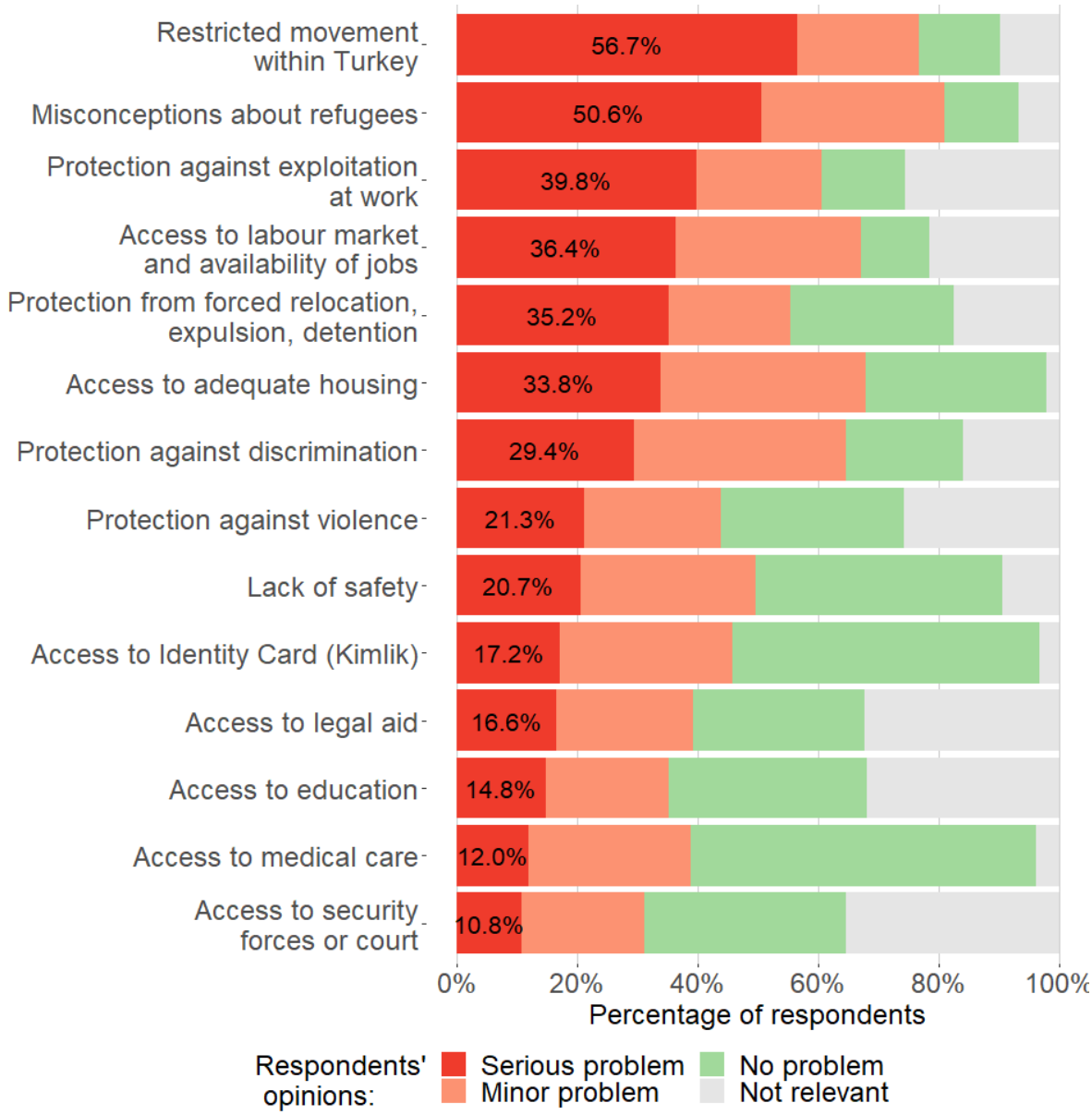
Figure 50 also shows that some aspects of the Temporary Protected status touch everyone because almost everyone had an opinion. These included access to adequate housing (only 2% of respondents said "not relevant"); to the Identity Card (Kimlik, in order to have a document confirming legal stay, 3.2% of respondents answered "not relevant"); and to medical care (3.7% of respondents said "not relevant"). Further, there were misconceptions about refugees (6.7%); lack of safety (9.4%) and restricted movement within Turkey (9.8% of respondents answered "not relevant). Some aspects of life touched only part of respondents, with almost one in three considering access to education (31.8%), legal aid (32.3%) and security forces/court (35.2%) not relevant in their situation. Protection against exploitation at work and access to work (both in legal and practical terms) were the next two issues considered to be serious problems (40% and 36.4% respectively). In general, until 2016, those in Temporary Protection could not work officially in Turkey. Since 2016 they could apply for a work permit, yet this was rare due to bureaucratic hurdles and restrictions limiting the availability of the permits. Thus, most Syrians work informally and precariously. The work-related issues ranked third and fourth[13]. Figure 50 also shows that one in five respondents (mainly females) considered that in their situation problems with access to the labour market are not relevant (21.4%), and one in four respondents thought so about exploitation at work (25.5% of all respondents). However, in qualitative studies these topics proved crucial. Even though women were often not expected (or allowed) to work, the family needed someone to earn money. Interviewees of both Kaya (2020) and Rottmann (2020) talked about unemployment, difficulty with finding a job, low pay (below minimum wage), bad working conditions, long working hours and often lack of pay for the work done.

Opinions of male and female survey participants followed the same pattern. Women were, in general, more likely to answer "not relevant" especially in questions related to work (for example 13.4% of men and 39.7% of women answered "Not relevant" when asked about protection against exploitation at work), aside from that answers of both genders were similar.

[13] Even if we excluded the "not relevant" answers the the "protection against exploitation in the workplace" would still rank as third (albeit almost equal to "misconceptions about refugees") and Access to the labour market as fourth.

Respondents' opinions differed between survey locations. Our respondents' replies are in line with Rottmann's suggestion (2020), that the negative attitudes of the host community in Izmir made integration harder, as three out of four our survey participants in Izmir considered misconceptions about refugees a serious problem (74.4%). In other locations, two out of four respondents expressed such opinion (47.9% in Istanbul, 41.5% in Şanliurfa and 35.7% in Batman). Izmir also leads in the share of survey participants who consider exploitation at work a problem (58.2% in Izmir, 39% in Şanliurfa, 38% in Istanbul and 19.2% in Batman), and with minor exceptions, respondents in Izmir labelled most issues as (somewhat) problematic more often than respondents in other survey locations. Respondents in Batman locate on the other side of the spectrum. While Batman survey participants were most critical of the movement restrictions (85.4% respondents in Batman considered it a serious problem compared to 54.3% in Izmir, 47.3% in Şanliurfa and 48.3% in Istanbul), many other issues in their opinion were not a problem, including protection against violence, access to Kimlik, legal aid, education, medical care or courts. In general, respondents in Izmir were typically most and those in Batman least critical when evaluating potential issues with their status in Turkey.

***Figure 50*: Survey respondents by their opinions about of issues with refugee protection in Turkey (in %).**



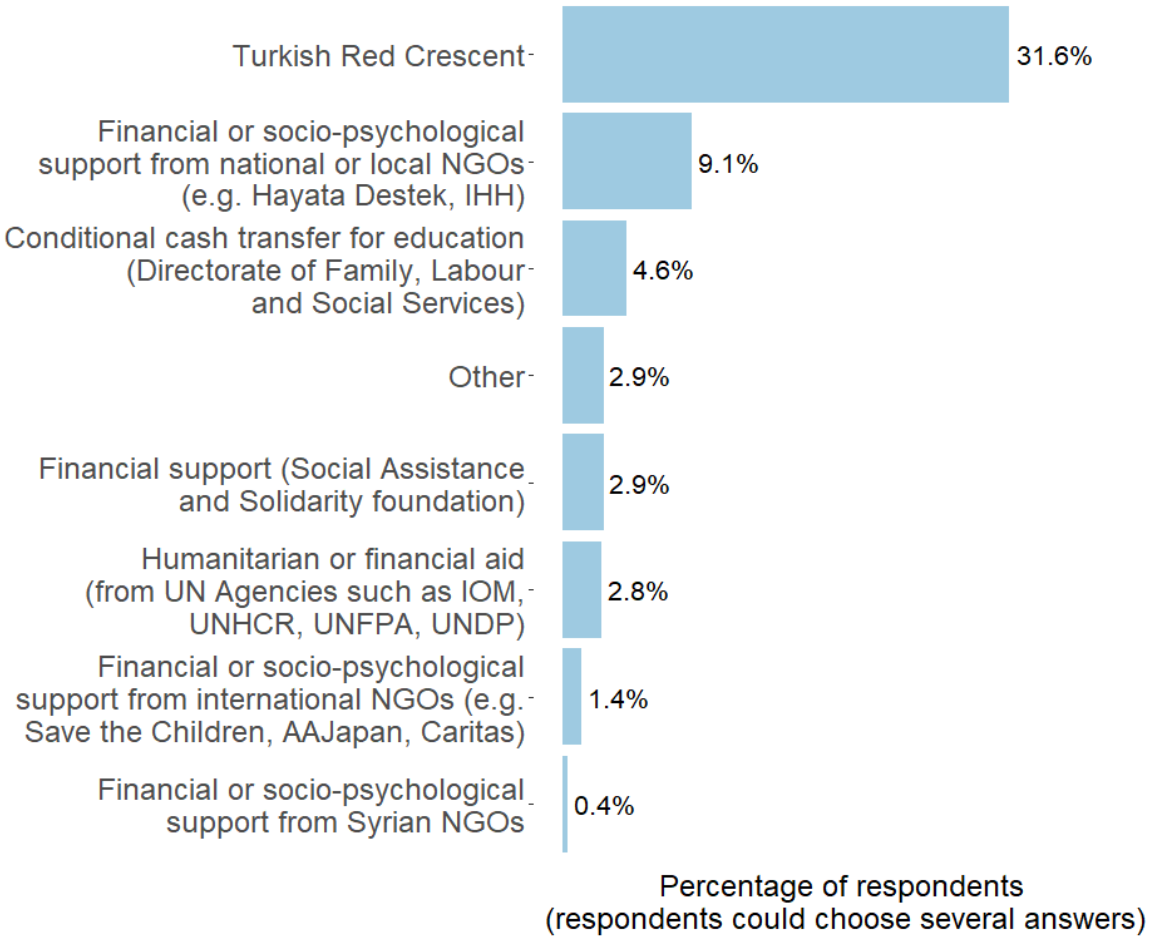
Note: N = 789.

2.3.5 Assistance and support received

Multiple charities, NGO's, the Turkish government and sometimes local authorities implemented programmes assisting Syrians in Turkey. However, over half of our sample (54.4%) did not benefit from such programmes in the last three years. There were some differences between genders, with women receiving support slightly more often (four out of ten men and five out of ten women benefited from such programs). But the geographical differences are much starker. Only one in five respondents from Izmir got any such assistance, while over three out of five respondents in Batman did (precisely 20.1% respondents in Izmir, 44.4% in Istanbul, 56.1% in Şanliurfa and 66.9% in Batman). Thus, it is no surprise that survey participants in Batman held rather positive views, as they received support more often than respondents in other locations.

Figure 51 shows that the Turkish Red Crescent supported one-third of all survey respondents. Female survey participants were more likely to report the Crescent's support (in detail: 35.8% of female and 27.9% of male respondents did). Looking at locations, the Turkish Red Crescent helped almost half of the respondents in Şanliurfa (44.9%), one third in Istanbul (33.8%), one fourth in Batman (26.5%) and one-fifth of respondents in Izmir (19.1%). The second source of support overall were the local NGOs, but they were reported primarily by respondents in Batman (29.8% of respondents there benefitted) and much more rarely in Şanliurfa (7.8%) and other locations. Batman respondents also often chose the option "other" mentioning an organisation from Germany that was also active there. Respondents from Istanbul were more likely to obtain conditional cash transfers for education, given by Turkish government Directorate of Family, Labour and Social Services (10.7% of respondents in Istanbul), as well as humanitarian or financial aid from UN agencies (5.6%). Overall, we can see that the source, type and amount of support received by respondents differed between survey locations with the Turkish Red Crescent and Batman's local NGOs leading the way.

***Figure 51*: Survey respondents by the institutions from which they received assistance (in %).**



Note: N = 789, among which 360 respondents reported getting assistance from at least one source, and they gave 439 answers overall.

2.4 Integration in Turkey

Integration is an all-encompassing term, and as Rottmann (2020) points, a highly controversial one, particularly in Turkey, where she observes the social harmony (*uyum*) to be the preferred term. Our quantitative data, can measure neither *uyum* nor integration in their complexity, but it gives statistics, indicators to relate to, when looking at individual processes often analysed qualitatively. First, we will look at language competencies and training undergone in Turkey by the survey participants, then we will move to respondents' work life, closing the chapter with an analysis of their plans, attitudes towards citizenship and the feeling of belonging in Turkey.

2.4.1 Training and languages

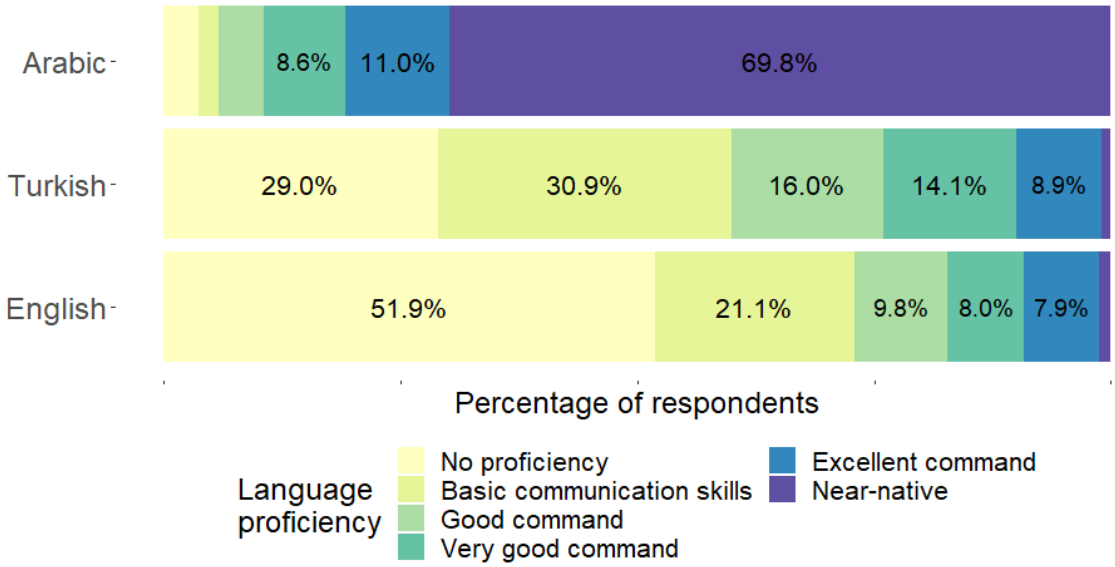
Language competencies are often thought of as the first step to integration, because without the language finding work, going to the doctor or even navigating the city is difficult. Most Syrians speak Arabic and some speak Kurdish, while in Turkey the official language is Turkish. All those languages share some words, but they belong to different language families[14] (so the

[14] Turkish is an Altaic language, Arabic is a Semitic one and Kurdish is an Indo-European language.

grammar and syntax are completely different), and Turkish relies on a different alphabet than the other two, which makes learning Turkish hard for Syrians.

Most respondents spoke either near-native Kurdish (reported as "other" language at near native level by 19.9% of all respondents) or Arabic (68.6%), with some respondents reporting their Arabic command as excellent (11%) or very good (8.6%)[15]. Figure 52 shows the proficiency level in two main foreign languages spoken by our respondents: Turkish and English. Surprisingly, despite living in Turkey, the number of respondents who reported an excellent or near-native command were similar for Turkish and English (around one in ten respondents)[16]. The differences appeared at the middle level, with three out of ten respondents reporting a good or very good command of Turkish, and another three out of ten reporting basic communication skills. These percentages were much lower for English. Nevertheless, it still leaves three out of ten respondents not knowing the language of the country they live in.

Figure 52: **Survey respondents by their proficiency in Arabic, Turkish and English (in %).**



Note: Number of respondents in question about: Arabic 775; Turkish 786; and English 783. The exact description of language levels was slightly more elaborate. The question: What level of the following languages do you have? Possible answers: 0 - No proficiency; 1 - Basic communication skills/working knowledge; 2 - Good command/good working knowledge; 3 - Very good command; 4 - Excellent command/ highly proficient in spoken and written; 5 -Near-native / fluent.

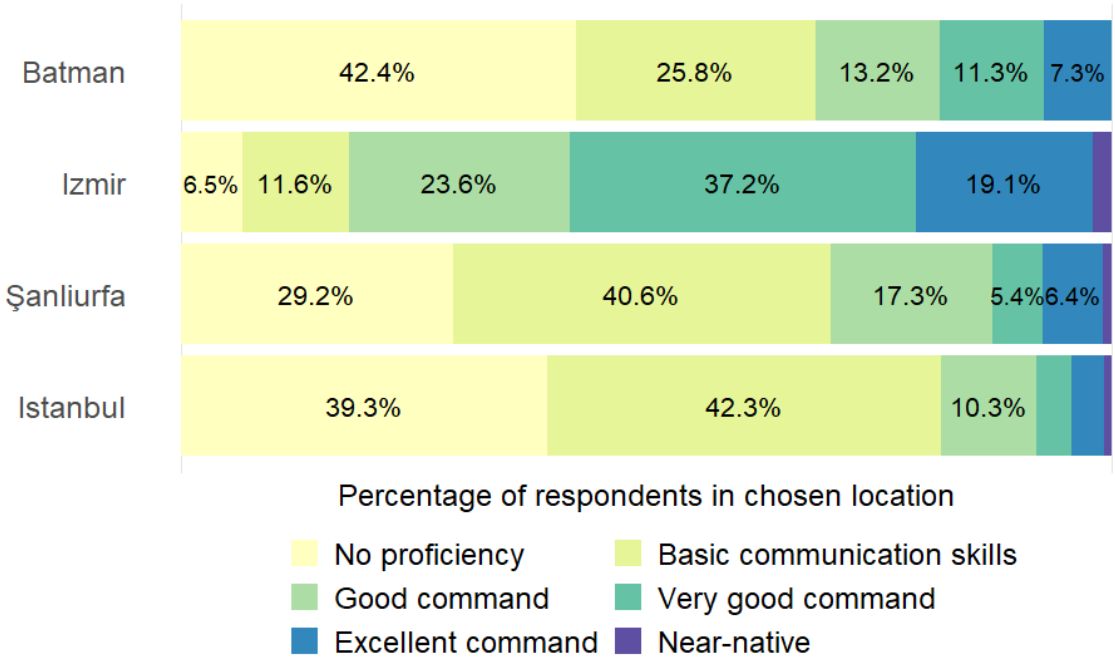
Respondents' language competencies differed between genders. The distribution of Kurdish and Arabic competency was similar among men and women, but women had lower levels of English and most importantly Turkish language proficiency. Around one in ten female and male respondents knew Turkish at excellent or near-native level, but at the middle level differences showed with more men having a good or very good command of Turkish than women. As a result, two out of ten male (20.9%) and almost four out of ten female participants (38.3%) reported having no proficiency in Turkish. Thus, the language barrier seems thicker for women.

[15] The questionnaire mentioned that the excellent command included being "highly proficient in spoken and written" Arabic, thus, even some native but illiterate Arabic speakers could evaluate their language ability as only "very good".

[16] Near-native level was reported by 1.3% of respondents for English and 1% for Turkish; excellent command was reported by 7.9% for English and 8.9% for Turkish.

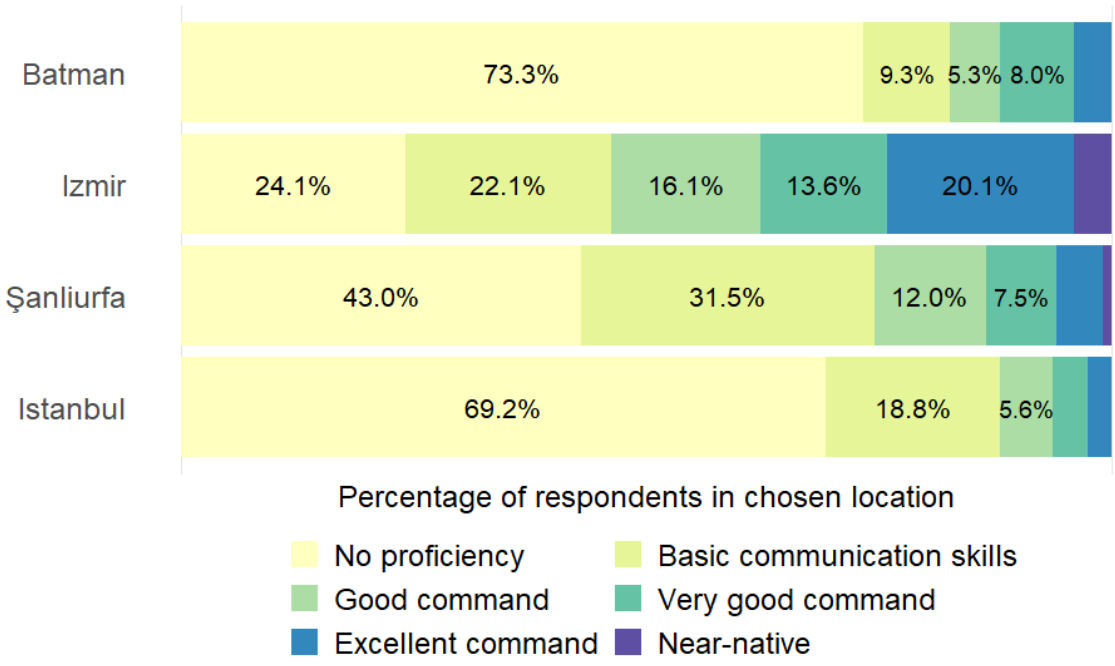
Respondents' languages differed also between study locations. In line with self-identifications, most speakers of Kurdish were surveyed in Batman, with speakers of Arabic dominating in other survey locations, and almost all respondents in Izmir reporting their Arabic to be at a near-native level. Figures 53 and 54 present variations in Turkish and English language competencies between study locations and reveal that respondents in Izmir reported a much higher level of both Turkish and English than other participants. The limited competencies in Turkish among respondents in Şanliurfa and Batman might be explained by closeness to the border and many local people speaking Arabic or Kurdish. In Istanbul, qualitative reports (Rottmann 2020; Kaya 2020) suggest that many Syrians cluster in Syrian neighbourhoods enable people to communicate mainly in Arabic. Importantly, most Syrians in Turkey reside in Istanbul, Gaziantep, Hatay and Şanliurfa so low level of Turkish proficiency among respondents in Istanbul and Şanliurfa suggest that overall knowledge of Turkish among Syrians is low.

***Figure 53*: Survey respondents by their proficiency in Turkish and by survey location (in %).**



Note: N = 786.

***Figure 54*: Survey respondents by their proficiency in English and by survey location (in %).**



Note: N = 783.

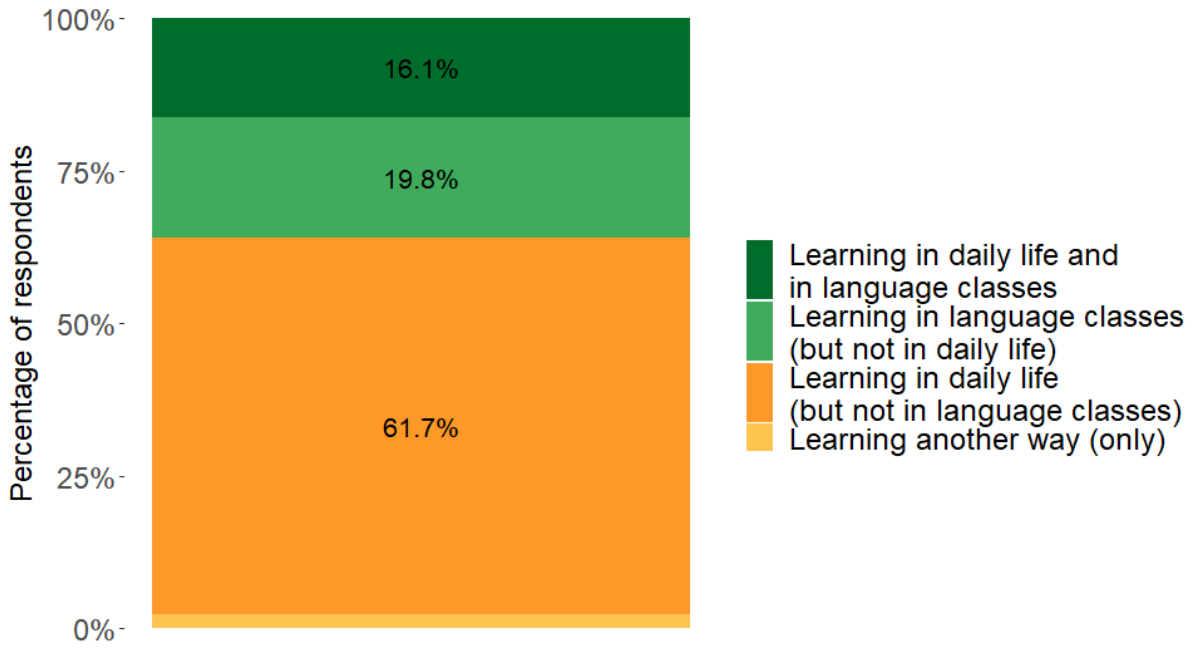
2.4.1.1 Learning Turkish

Rottmann (2020) points that learning Turkish increases the options available to newcomers, enables integration with the host society, and provides the capacity to access services (e.g. navigating the school or the healthcare system, or even such a simple thing as making shopping easier). The Turkish language classes are free, but Rottmann (2020) argues that there are not enough classes available, they take place during work hours, and enrolling (as well as participating) requires effort.

Half of respondents declared learning Turkish (52.6%), while almost one in four did not learn at the time but wanted to (23.8%) and another one if four neither learned nor wanted to learn Turkish (23.6%). Those who expressed no interest in learning Turkish said that they don't find it necessary (14.1% of all respondents) or that it's too difficult (12.8%), while one in twenty respondents gave (also) a different explanation e.g. already knowing Turkish, hard family circumstances, old age, work, lack of time or anticipation to return to Syria.

Figure 55 depicts respondents' strategies in learning Turkish. Most of those who were learning at the time of the study did so, by taking advantage of their environment (six out of ten learning respondents, 61.7%). A few study participants indicated they learn only in another way, mainly pointing to internet sources. Two in ten respondents who were learning Turkish took part in structured language classes, but took no advantage of their daily life (19.8%), and a slightly smaller group utilised both language classes and their daily life to learn (16.1% of the Turkish learning respondents). Overall, 149 respondents were attending language classes (35.9% of Turkish learning respondents, and 18.9% of all respondents), however, this still might be an overestimation because some respondents were recruited at centres that provide language classes.

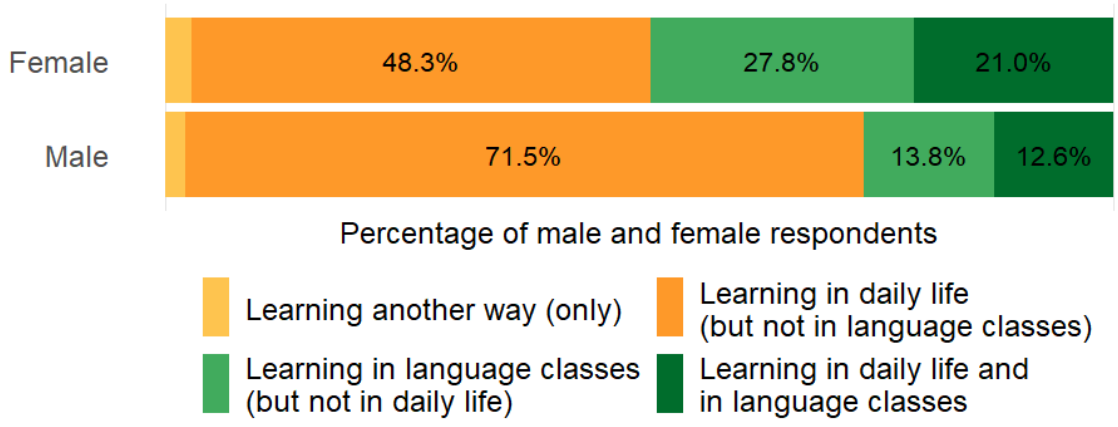
***Figure 55*: Survey respondents who were learning Turkish by their strategies for learning (in %).**



Note: N = 415.

Men in our sample declared learning Turkish more often than women (48,5% of female and 54.1% of male respondents), and female respondents were slightly more likely neither learn nor want to learn Turkish (26.7% of female and 20.9% of male respondents gave such an answer). However, Figure 56 shows that seven out of ten men who were learning Turkish did so only through their daily activities (71.5% of male respondents who were learning Turkish) and only one in four attended classes (26.4% of male respondents who were learning Turkish). Almost half of female respondents learning Turkish did so with the help of language classes (48.9% of female respondents who were learning Turkish). Overall, women were more likely to attend language classes (23.7% of all female respondents) than men in our sample (14.8% of all male respondents). This might reflect that Syrian women are more confined to their homes so they feel less pressure to and have less opportunity to interact with Turks, but they appear also more active in learning Turkish despite the barriers they face.

***Figure 56*: Survey respondents who were learning Turkish by their strategies for learning Turkish, and by gender (in %).**

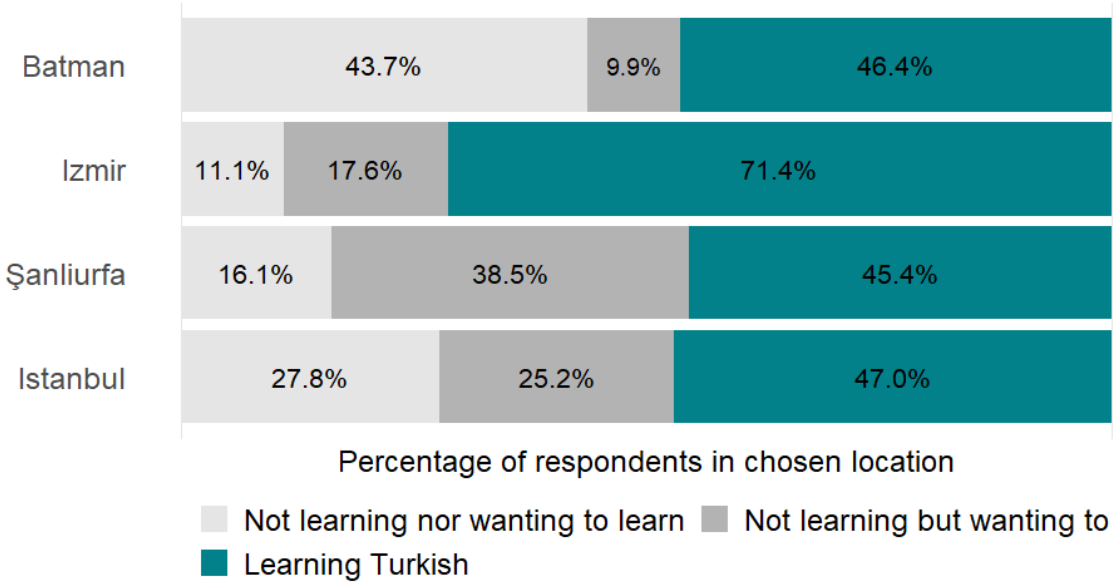


N = 415.

Geographical differences were visible also in language learning. Respondents in Batman were least likely to want to learn Turkish (Figure 57), probably because their main language was Kurdish, which allowed them to communicate well within Batman. Not knowing Turkish though, might pose a problem later on, when they need to deal with Turkish administration elsewhere. The second location where respondents were least likely to want to learn was Istanbul, where three in ten study participants were not keen on learning the language, suggesting that the big city either provided them with enclaves of co-ethnics or diminished the pressure to learn in other ways. Finally, in Izmir and Şanliurfa the desire to learn Turkish was roughly similar, but respondents in Şanliurfa were more likely to declare that they are not learning the language despite the intention to do so (38.5% of survey participants there).

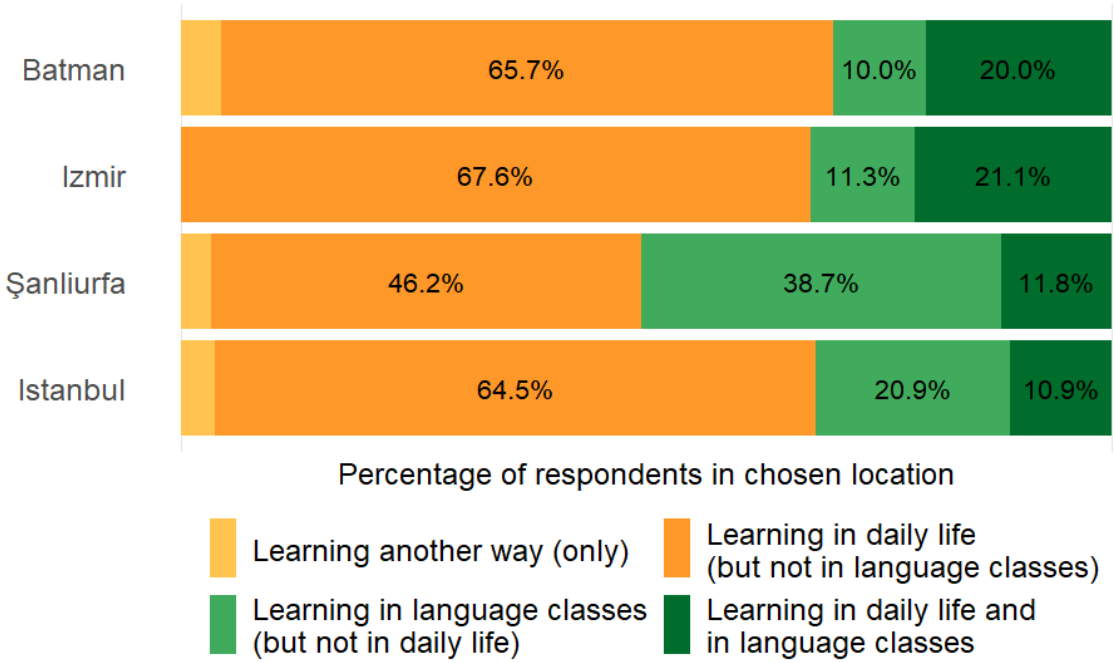
Figure 58 depicts strategies that respondents employ to learn Turkish. In all locations except Şanliurfa only three out of ten respondents who were learning Turkish did so with the help of language classes. In Şanliurfa, such strategy was employed by half of survey respondents who learned Turkish there. As a result, even though less respondents in Şanliurfa declared learning Turkish the overall language class participation was similar in Izmir and in Şanliurfa (23.1% out of all respondents in Izmir and 22.9% out of all respondents in Şanliurfa). The dominant strategy for learning Turkish in Istanbul, Batman and particularly in Izmir was learning through daily life (64.5%, 65.7% and 67.6% of respondents who were learning Turkish in respective locations). The effectiveness of such an approach relies heavily on the type of life that respondents have, the work they do, and people they come in contact with. In Izmir the earlier described higher Turkish language competencies suggest this approach might work.

***Figure 57*: Survey respondents by their desire to learn Turkish and by survey location (in %).**



Note: N = 789.

***Figure 58*: Survey respondents who were learning Turkish by their strategies for learning Turkish and by survey location (in %).**

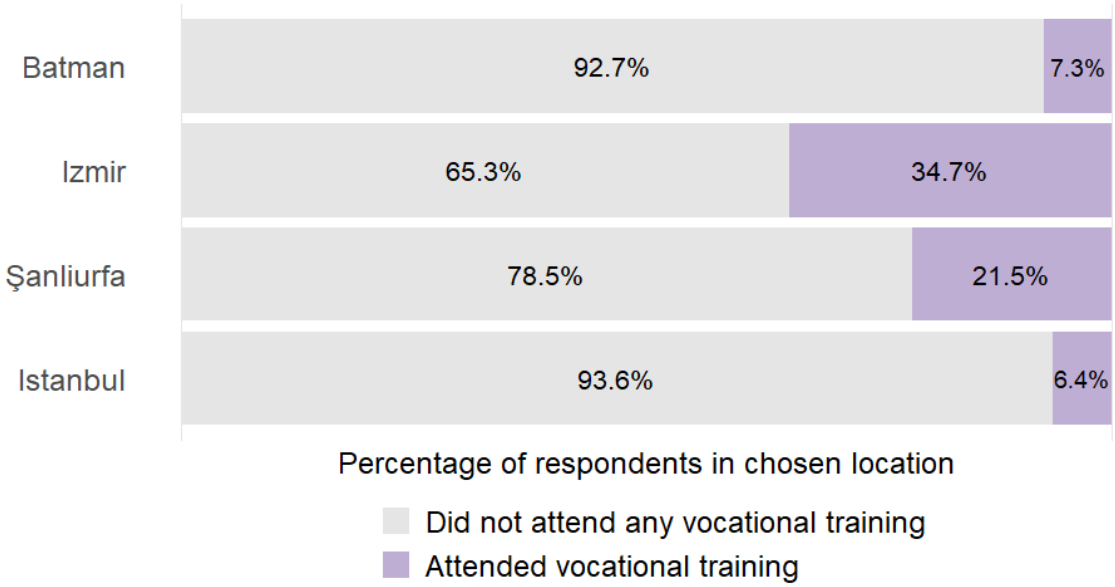


Note: N = 415 (110 in Istanbul, 93 in Şanliurfa, 142 in Izmir, 70 in Batman).

2.4.1.2 Vocational education

Aside from language courses both Rottmann (2020) and Kaya (2020) write that NGOs and the Turkish administration provide vocational training to Syrians. They worried, however, that the courses were less known than the language classes, while being of utmost importance. Nevertheless, among our respondents, more than one in six attended such a course (17.6%) suggesting their relative popularity (however again, the data might be skewed by survey participants' recruitment). Despite the fact that much of the training was geared toward women the differences between genders in our sample are small (18.2% of female and 17.1% of male participants reported participating in such vocational training). The differences between locations were far larger. Respondents from Şanliurfa and Izmir – who were already more likely to take part in language classes – were also more likely to attend vocational training (34.7% of all respondents in Izmir followed by 21.5% of those in Şanliurfa; Figure 59), which was rare in other locations (7.3% of respondents in Batman and 6.4% of those in Istanbul). It also seems that vocational training reached mostly those who already had some education, with respondents holding a secondary school or tertiary diploma overrepresented among vocational training attendees.

***Figure 59*: Survey respondents by their declarations of ever participating in vocational training in Turkey and by survey location (in %).**



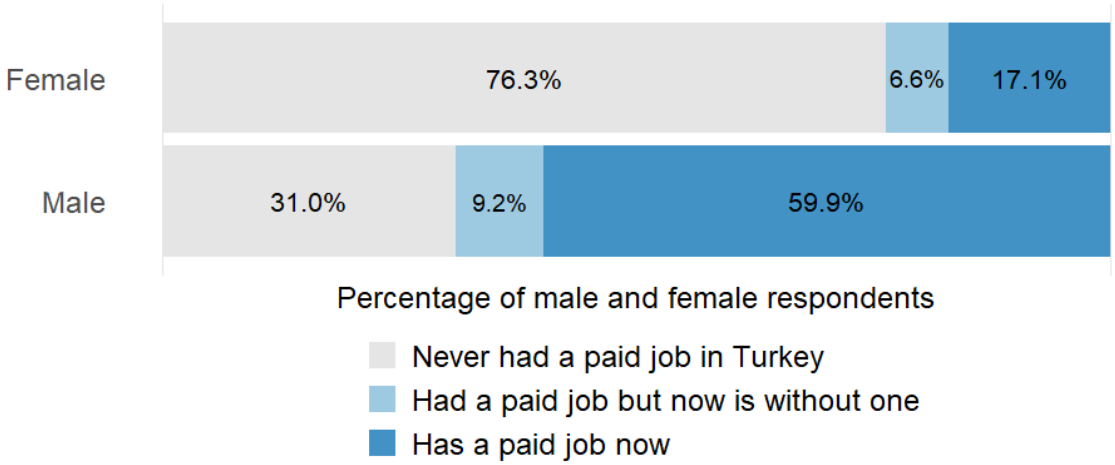
Note: N = 789.

2.4.2 Working in Turkey

Until 2016 people in Temporary Protection were not allowed to work legally, but they could start their own companies or work in a large informal sector. Since 2016, Syrians in Temporary Protection could obtain a work permit, yet it required considerable effort both on the part of the worker and the employer. The Turkish Ministry of Labour and Social Security (2019) reports that the number of work permits given to Syrians is meagre, with only 34,573 permits issued in 2018. Nevertheless, four out of ten survey respondents were working at the time of the survey (40.2%) and almost one in ten were out of work at the time of the survey but did work at some earlier point of their stay in Turkey (8%). The comparison of the large share of the survey respondents who work, with the meagre number of work permits issued suggest that many work illegally, without paying taxes or being provided with protection that legal work brings.

Women in the survey sample were rarely working. Figure 60 shows that three out of four female participants never worked (76.3%). For men, the opposite pattern emerges with six out of ten male participants working at the time of the survey (59.9%) and one in ten working at some point earlier (9.2%).

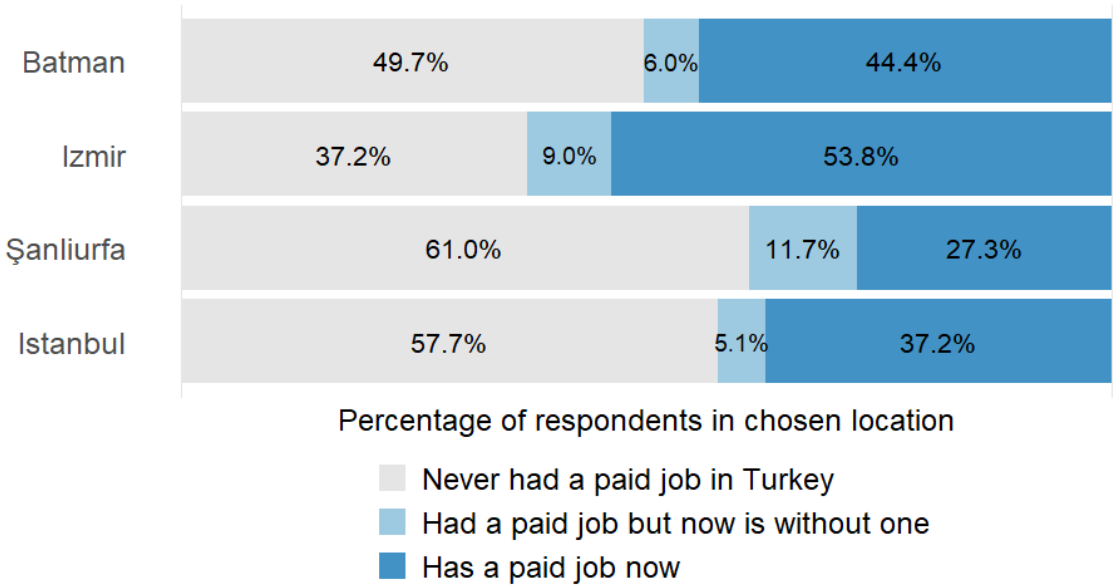
***Figure 60*: Survey respondents by their employment status in Turkey and by gender (in %).**



Note: N = 789.

Location differences were also stark, as shown in Figure 61. Izmir has the highest share of working respondents with over half of them working at the time of the study (53.8%), Batman respondents were working slightly less often (44.4%) those from Istanbul and particularly Şanliurfa were least likely to work (37.2% and 27.3% respectively).

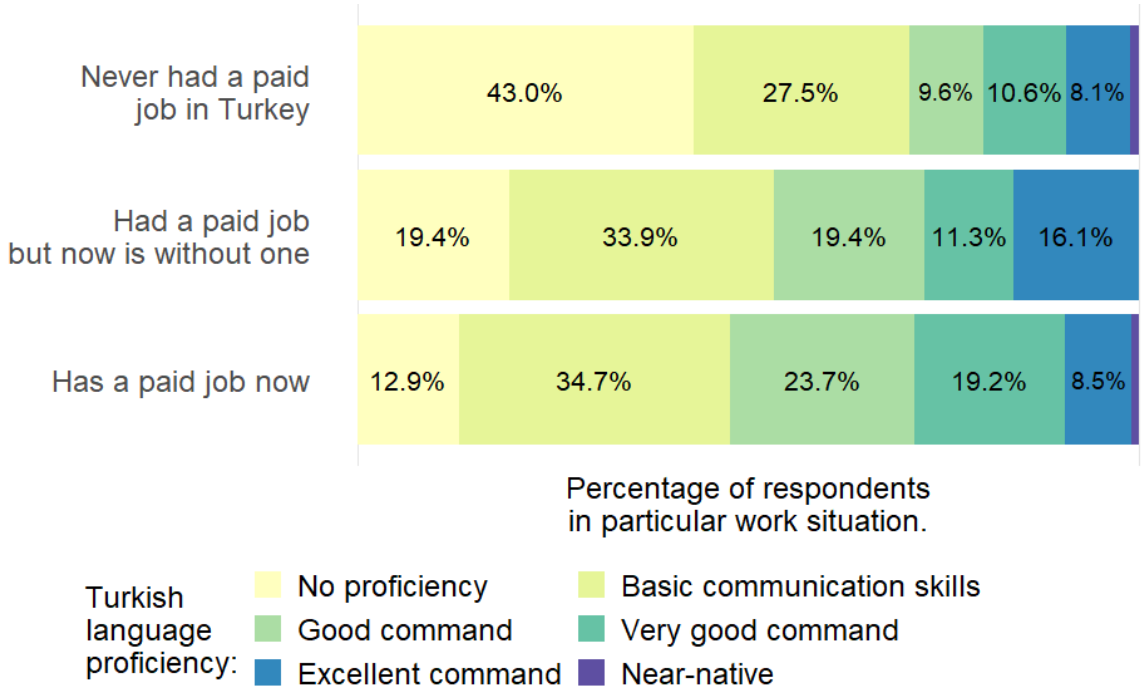
***Figure 61*: Survey respondents by their employment status in Turkey and by survey location (in %).**



Note: N = 789.

Many respondents learned Turkish through their daily life, so going to work might encourage language learning and provide opportunities for practice. Also, differences between locations suggest that language competencies and working might be related, because, in Izmir, where respondents knew the local language best, the share of working respondents was also the highest one. Figure 62 compares respondents' employment status with language proficiency. The picture it paints is not clear-cut, but it does seem that working relates with knowing or getting to know at least a little Turkish.

***Figure 62*: Survey respondents by their employment status in Turkey and by their proficiency in Turkish (in %).**

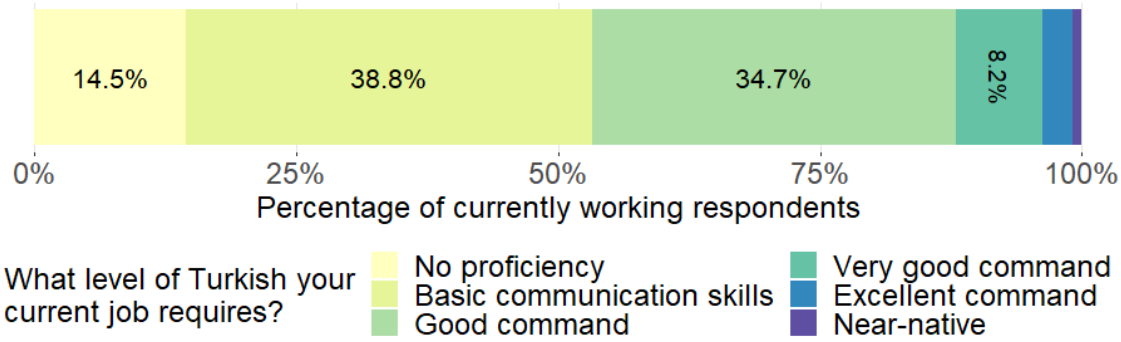


Note: N = 786.

2.4.2.1 Language requirements at work

The relationship between work and Turkish language competencies can go in both directions: the work environment can stimulate language learning, but also language competencies might be necessary to get a higher-level job. Thus, we asked those respondents, who were working at the time of the study, what level of Turkish is necessary for their work. Figure 63 reveals that most jobs among respondents require either none (14.5%) or only basic knowledge of Turkish (38.8%). Only a fraction of survey participants in positions where a very good, excellent or near-native command of Turkish was required (12% of working respondents).

***Figure 63*: Survey respondents who were working at the time of the study by Turkish language skills required at their current work (in %).**

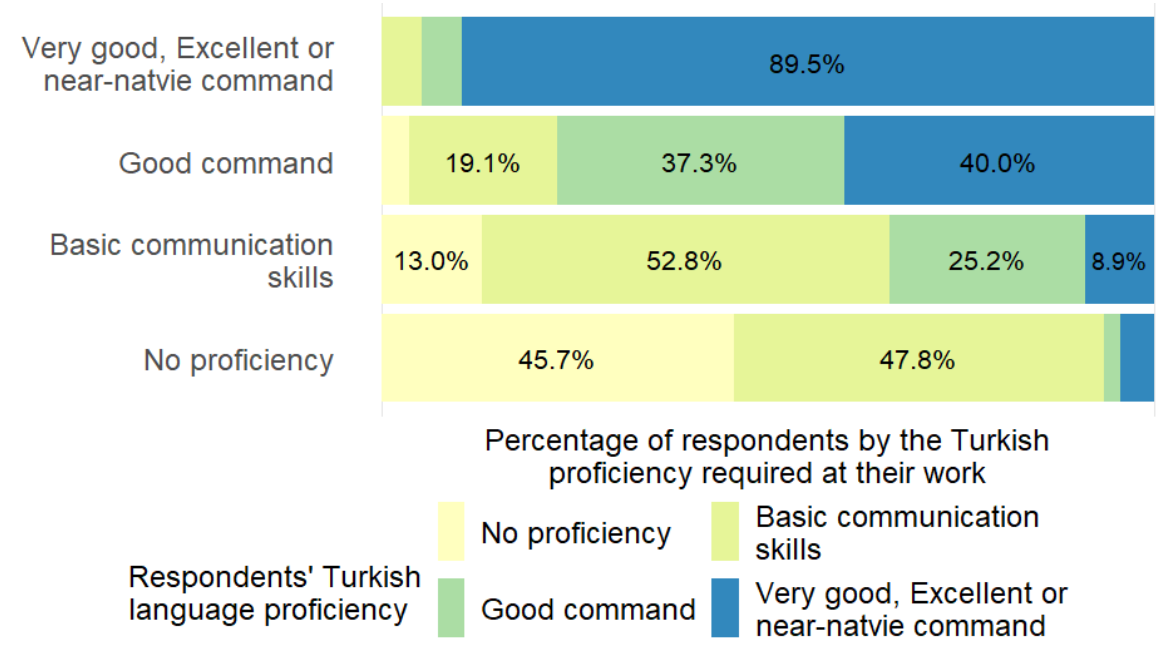


Note: N = 317

Work requirements sometimes differed from workers' language level and it happened in both directions. Figure 64 reveals that among respondents who reported that their work requires very good, excellent or near-native Turkish, one in ten knew Turkish below that level. Some

respondents working in jobs where no proficiency was needed, actually spoke very good Turkish. Overall, half of working respondents reported that their Turkish level matched exactly the requirements of their job (50.8%). One in seven worked at a place where the Turkish language level requirement was higher than their own (14.2%), while more than twice as many reported that they know Turkish better than their work requires (35%). It seems to confirm Rottmann's (2020) remark that knowing Turkish does not always translate into a success in the labour market (due to discrimination, cultural differences and difficult skill transfer), but it does widen one's options.

***Figure 64*: Survey respondents who were working at the time of the study by Turkish language skills required at their current work and by their Turkish language proficiency (in %).**



Note: N = 317.

2.4.2.2 Obstacles to getting work

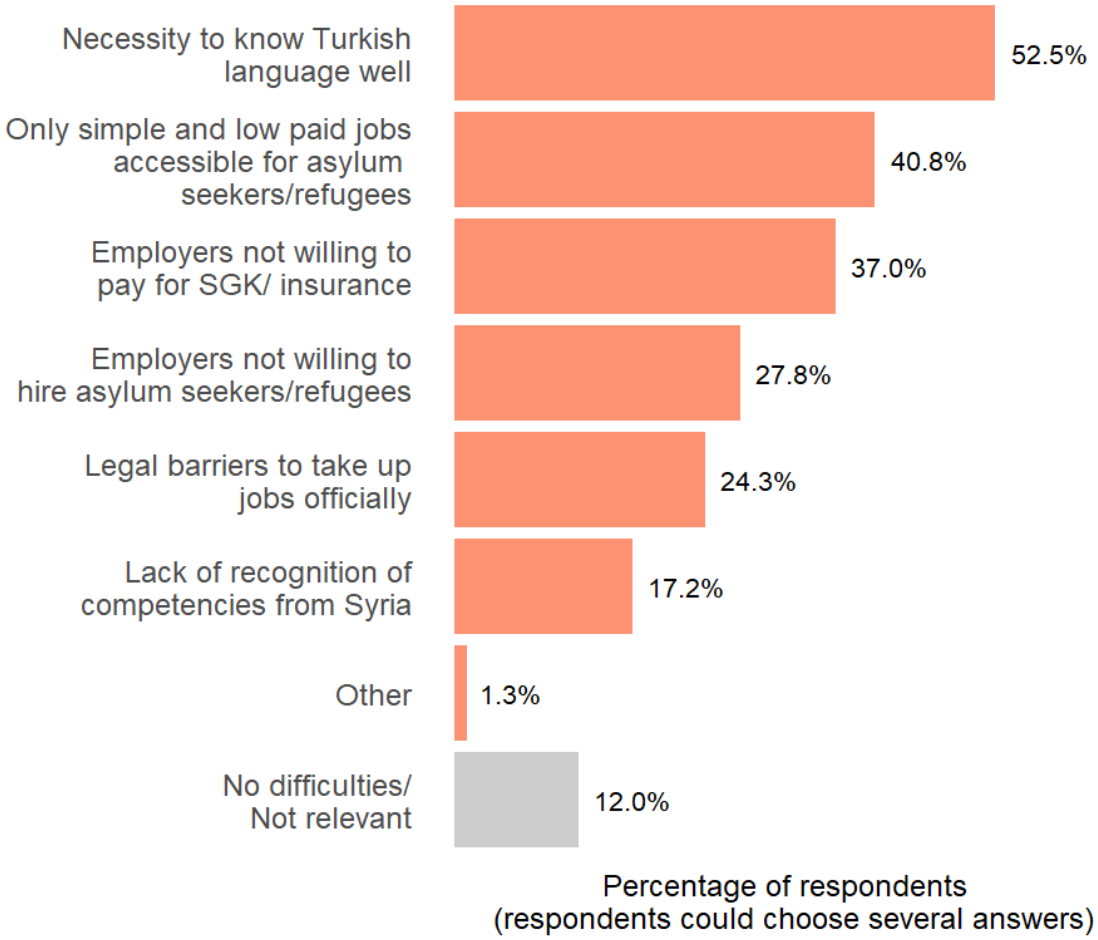
Finding a job in Turkey seems not an easy task, as respondents reported multiple barriers preventing Syrians from finding work. Figure 65 shows that over half of all survey participants reported the lack of Turkish language competencies made finding a job difficult (52.5%). This suggests that knowing the local language indeed makes finding work easier. Overall, respondents typically reported that Syrians face more than one barrier when searching for work (56,9% chose more than one answer), but language was the leading one. The second commonly reported problem was the unavailability of a higher-level or better-paying jobs for asylum seekers/refugees (40.8%). However, this might be the result of other problems with lack of language competencies, lack of skill transferability, high unemployment in Turkey and most of all the fact that most Syrians work informally.

The problem with getting work legally relates to two possible answers given by respondents. The first, that employers do not want to pay for health insurance (SGK, 37% of all respondents chose that option) and so prefer to hire informally, which also enables them to pay less than the minimum wage. The second, that legal barriers prevent Syrians from working officially (24.3% of respondents indicated that that was a problem). What is surprising is that this second answer was chosen only by one in four respondents despite the fact that a relatively small number of work permits has been issued (so far) to Syrians, and obtaining such

a permit is hard. Such legal barriers can discourage hiring the Temporary Protected Syrians or at least hiring them officially, limiting the number and the quality of jobs available to them. Still, it seems that our respondents viewed that employers' lack of willingness was the first and more important reason for the informality of their work.

Discrimination, visible in people's unwillingness to employ refugees, was indicated as a difficulty by almost three in ten respondents (27,8%). Finally, the least often chosen barrier was the lack of recognition of competencies from Syria (17.2%). However, this difficulty would touch only people with a competency confirmed by a Syrian diploma, and our sample includes 27.4% of people with an associate or tertiary degree who might have this problem. Thus this lack of recognition might seem less important in the whole sample, but is crucial for the better educated, who might otherwise get a high-level job.

***Figure 65*: Survey respondents by the difficulties they think that asylum seekers/refugees face when looking for a job (in %).**

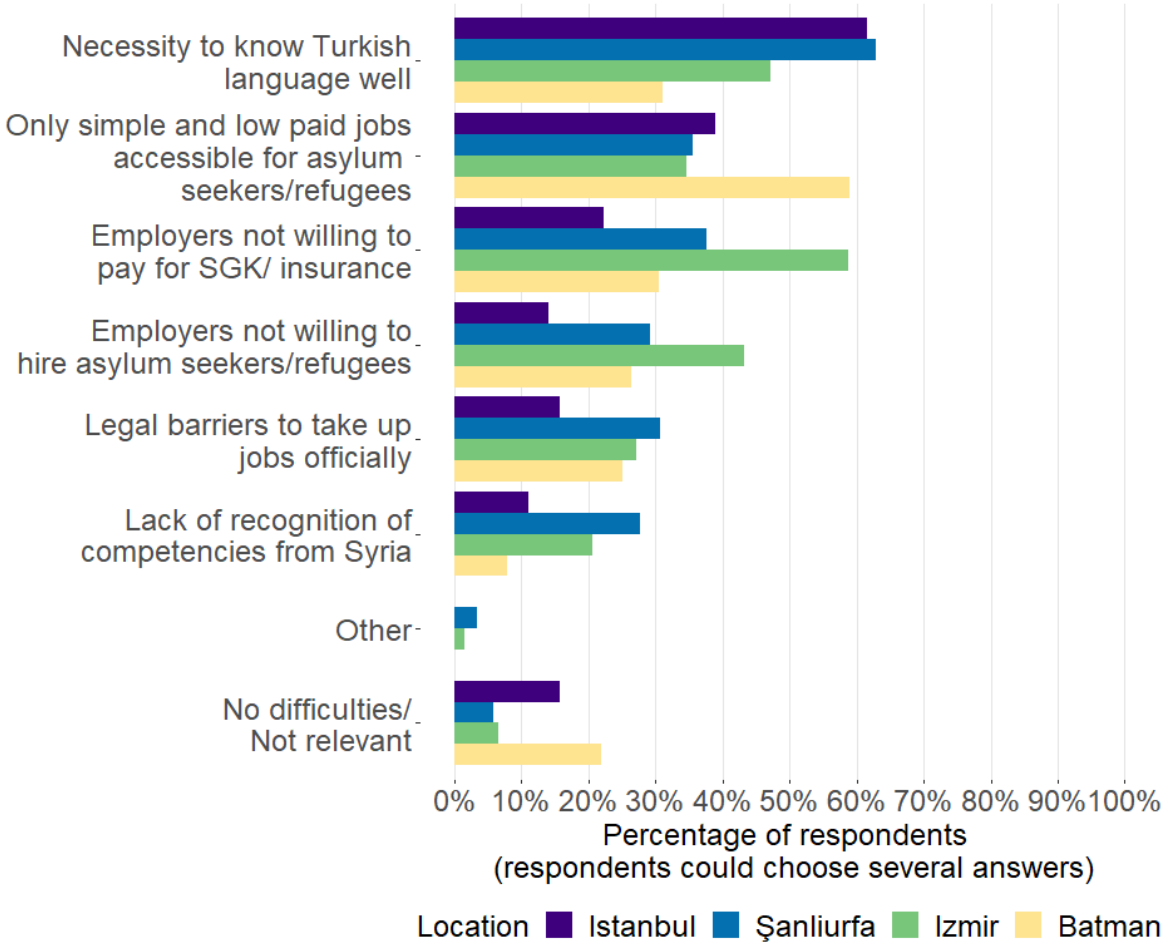


Note: Each respondent could choose multiple answers. Number of respondents = 789, number of answers = 1680.

Both the working and non-working respondents reported similar difficulties when looking for a job, with those who have worked a bit more likely to answer that there are no problems. Also, we get similar results when comparing answers across genders. Female participants were more likely to answer no difficulties or not relevant (17.9% of female participants in contrast to 7% of male participants) and generally indicated a smaller number of obstacles than men. Still, both genders agreed that the language barrier was a problem (52.9% of female and 52.1% of male participants).

Figure 66 presents differences in answers across locations where we can see an already familiar pattern: respondents in Batman and Izmir find language less of a barrier in comparison to those in Istanbul and Şanliurfa for whom this is a real problem. Those in Şanliurfa and Izmir were slightly more likely to point to problems with competence recognition, as in these locations more respondents had secondary or higher level of education. Respondents in Batman commonly indicated a lack of high-level jobs available, while those in Izmir more often than others reported employers' unwillingness to hire them or pay the insurance costs.

***Figure 66*: Survey respondents by the difficulties they think that asylum seekers/refugees face when looking for a job and by survey location (in %).**



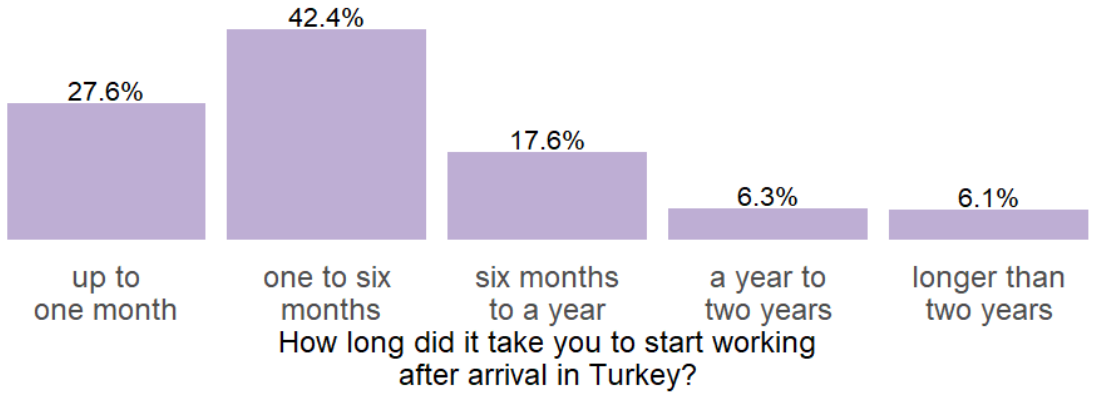
Note: Each respondent could choose multiple answers. Number of respondents = 789, number of answers = 1680.

2.4.2.3 Getting paid work

Despite the barriers, almost half of respondents did find work at some point (48.2%). Most found work rapidly after arrival in Turkey, either within a month (almost three out of ten respondents who worked, 27.6%) or within the first six months (four out of ten respondents who worked, 42.4%), as Figure 67 shows. Half of male respondents who ever worked started their job within two first months (median equal 2), but for female respondents it took nine months (median of 9 months), so noticeably longer. Location-wise, half of respondents in Izmir and Istanbul who ever worked, started their first jobs rapidly, within the first two months. For respondents in Batman and Şanliurfa, starting work often took longer with half of ever working respondents there finding work within the first four months in Batman and six months in Şanliurfa. These are tricky statistics though, as longer time to begin work might mean a difficult

labour market, where jobs are scarce, which is true for many regions in Turkey. However, later start might mean having enough savings not to be desperate for work, taking time to learn the language, complete vocational training, or translate Syrian certificates into Turkish, all of which enable finding better work. Furthermore, here we focus on people who did find work at some point, and for someone in need of employment, finding work later might be better than not finding one at all.

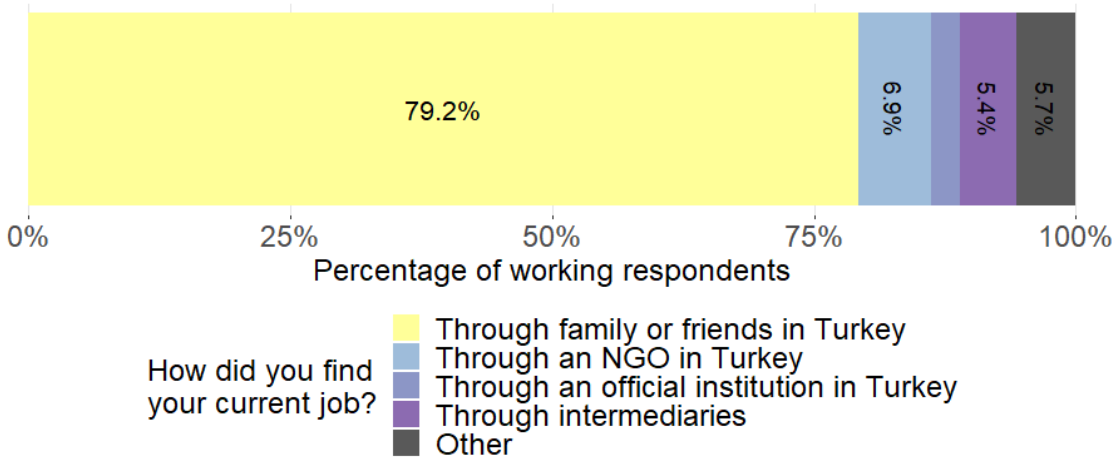
***Figure 67*: Survey respondents who ever worked by the time it took them to start working after their arrival in Turkey (in %).**



Notes: N = 380.

Respondents' report of how they found work shows a dominating role not of the internet or NGO's, but of personal, social networks. Eight out of ten respondents who were working at the time of the study did so thanks to the help of their friends and family. The remaining workers were helped by NGOs, intermediaries, official institutions in Turkey (e.g. Office for Foreigners) or found the work themselves (these constitute the bulk of "Other" answers visible in Figure 68). This underscores how important social networks are for finding work and providing for one's family. However, relying too much on friends and family to find work creates a risk of limiting Syrian's work options to their own community, instead of interacting with the wider society.

***Figure 68*: Survey respondents who were working at the time of the survey by ways in which they found their jobs (in %).**

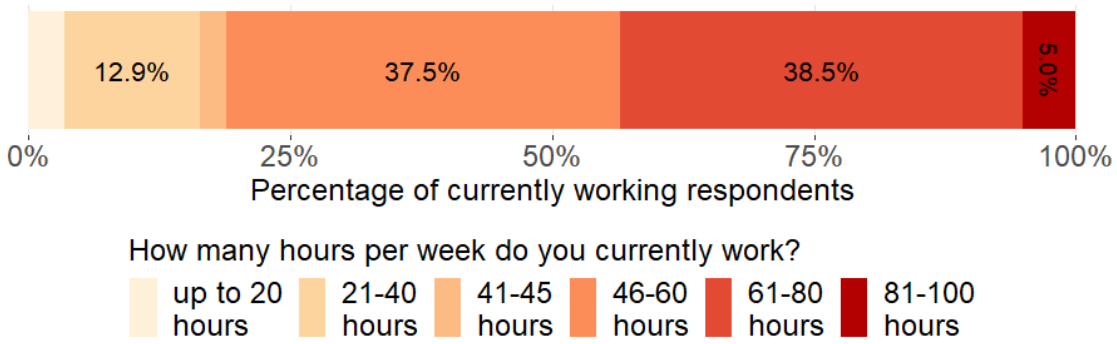


Notes: N = 317.

2.4.2.4 Workload

A typical Turkish full-time job takes 45 hours a week, so the Turkish workweek is longer than the European one. However, Figure 69 shows that only one in five employed respondents worked 45 hours or shorter, while four out of five put in much more hours than even the Turkish standards entails. To be more precise, almost two out of five working respondents declared a workweek of between 45 and 60 hours (37.5%), and over two out of five declared a workweek lasting 60 hours or longer (43.5%). This is in line with Rottmann's (2020) and Kaya's (2020) reports, who conclude that Syrians in Turkey often work in low paying jobs with long working hours, leaving little time for family, friends, new skill acquisition (e.g. learning the language) or further job search.

***Figure 69*: Survey respondents who were working at the time of the survey by their weekly working hours (in %).**



Notes: N = 317.

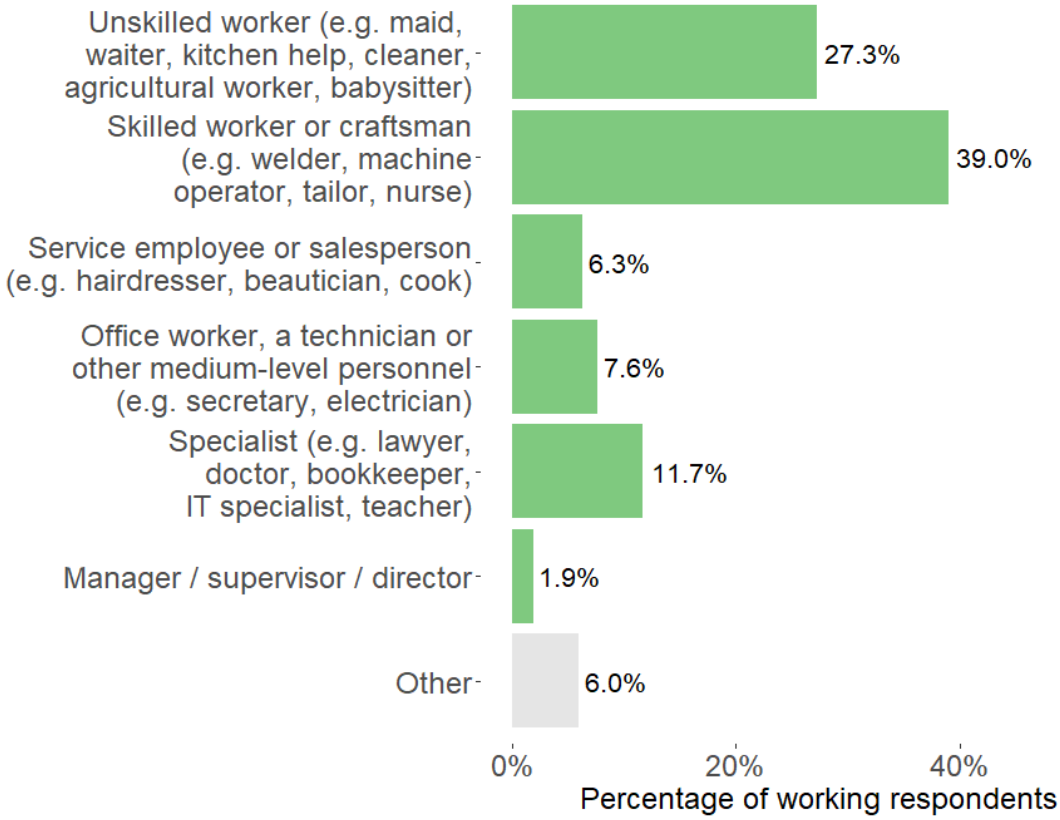
Women in our study, if working, tended to work slightly shorter hours than men. Looking at differences between locations, those in Şanliurfa reported a bit shorter hours, while those in Batman the longest ones, with working hours of respondents in Istanbul and Izmir falling in between.

2.4.2.5 Type of jobs

Figure 70 depicts that at the time of the study almost four in ten working respondents worked as skilled workers or craftsmen (38.8%) and almost three in ten as unskilled workers (27.1%). Only one in ten working respondents (11.7%) were hired as specialists, and one in forty (2.5%) as managers/supervisors/directors. Visibly, occupations that required least skills prevailed.

Comparing respondents' occupation with other characteristics, it seems that while good knowledge of English, Turkish and high educational attainment increase the chances that the respondent works in an office or a specialist or managerial position, there is no guarantee. Some respondents with tertiary education work as unskilled workers, probably due to problems with skill transfer. Some with near-native Turkish do so as well. Again, better skills do not always translate into a better job, but do make them more likely.

Figure 70: **Survey respondents who were working at the time of the survey by their current job in Turkey (in %).**

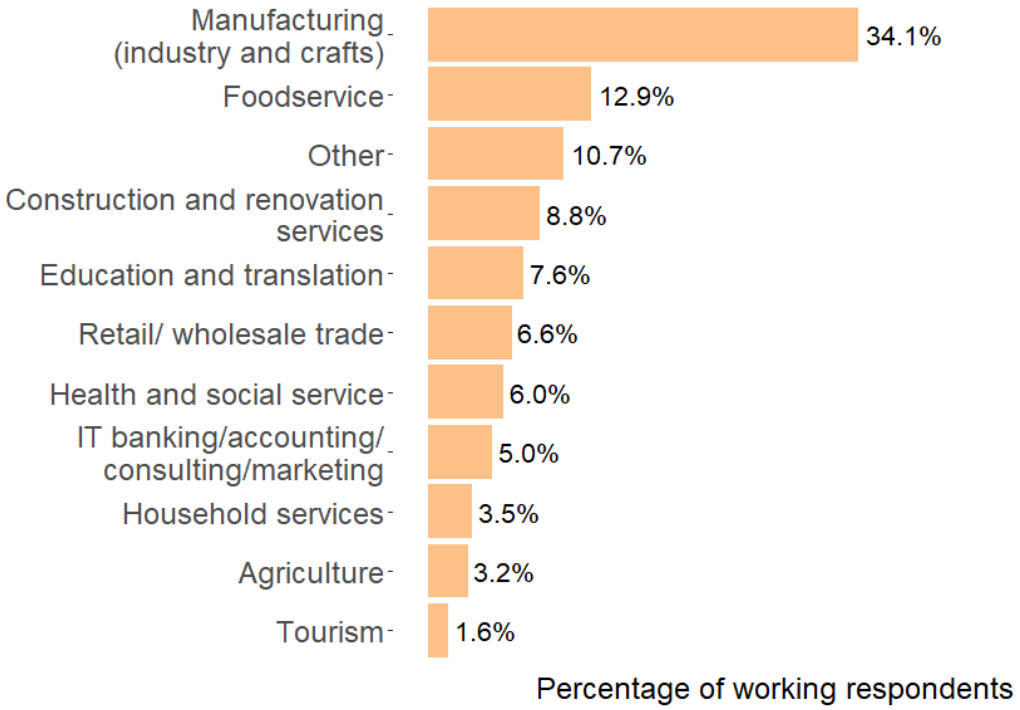


Note: N = 317.

Looking at gender, working women were employed less often than men as unskilled or skilled workers but were more likely than men to work as office workers and specialists (one and two in ten working female respondents) – probably women with higher competencies were more likely to be able and to be allowed to work. Looking at differences between locations, noticeably respondents in Şanliurfa occupied higher positions, with higher shares of working respondents serving at an office, or as specialists. This is not surprising because in Şanliurfa the share of respondents with tertiary education was the highest, however, the overall share of working respondents there was also low. Conversely, in Izmir, the share of working survey participants was the highest, but they were more likely than in other locations to work as unskilled workers (44.9% of working respondents there, while in other locations this share was below 24%). Interestingly, the few respondents who reported working in managerial jobs were only in Istanbul and Şanliurfa. It seems that respondents in Şanliurfa either found a high-level work or remained unemployed, while those in Izmir were determined to work in any job that was available.

Figure 71 shows that respondents work in a variety of sectors. One in three respondents was working in manufacturing, one in eight in foodservice, with other sectors being less common. The sectors where respondents worked the least were household services, agriculture and tourism. Female respondents were more likely than men to work in education and translation.

***Figure 71*: Survey respondents who were working at the time of the survey by the sectors in which they were working at the time of the survey (in %).**



Note: N = 317.

2.4.3 Citizenship, belonging and plans for the future

Originally Syrians' stay in Turkey was to be temporary, as everyone expected the war to end soon and people to return home. This scenario is currently unlikely. Kaya (2020 p. 35) describes how in 2016 the path to Turkish citizenship was opened to Syrians. The path is unclear and murky, but it exists, and it results in a small trickle of citizenships granted.

2.4.3.1 Attitudes to citizenship

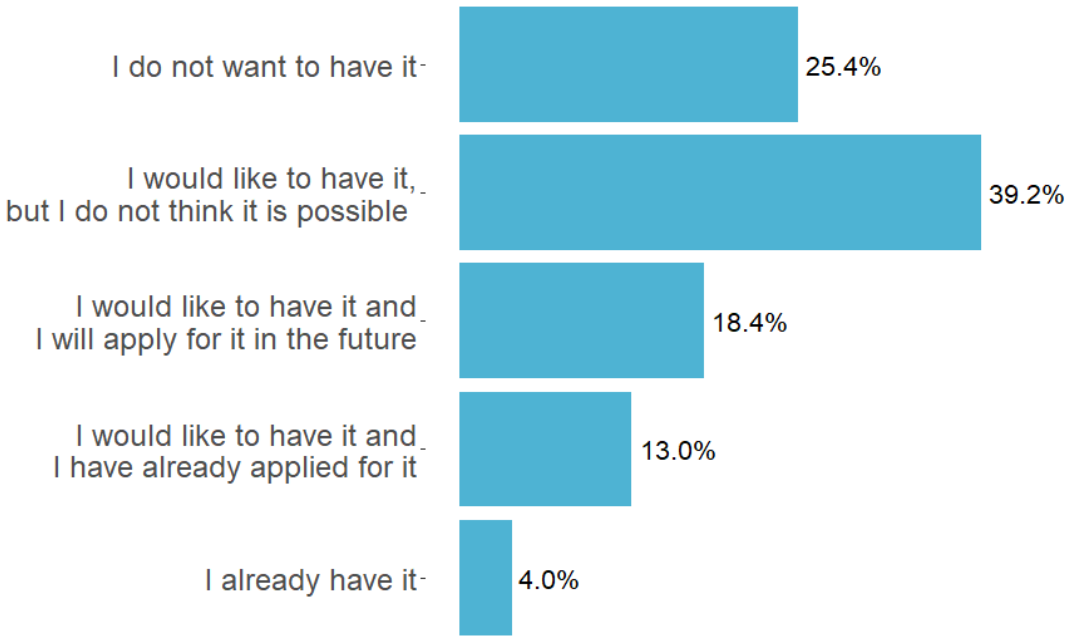
We asked our respondents, about their attitude towards acquiring Turkish citizenship and only one in four said they do not wish to have it. Figure 72 also shows that four in ten respondents said they would like to obtain the citizenship, but thought it would not be granted to them (39.2%), while around three in ten either already applied for it or planned to do so in the future (13% and 18.4% respectively). Only 4% (39 respondents) already had Turkish citizenship.

Turkish citizenship has many practical advantages, such as the freedom to travel within Turkey (restricted for those in Temporary Protection) and easy access to legal work. Also, one does not need to resign from their Syrian passport, as one can have both citizenships simultaneously. However, attachment to Syria, unclear citizenship application process and the fear of losing support aimed at the Temporary Protected together with long-lasting historical animosities, might discourage many Syrians from wanting to become Turkish citizens.

Respondents' attitudes were similar across genders, but Figure 73 pictures large differences between locations. The majority of respondents in Batman (who were predominately Kurdish) did not want to have Turkish citizenship (58.3% of respondents there). Almost one third of those in Istanbul also did not want it (31%), but there the fraction of those who wished to have it but thought it impossible, or planned to apply for it, was considerably bigger (42.7% and 18.5% respectively). Survey participants from Şanliurfa and Izmir held much more positive attitudes with nearly nine out of ten respondents there wanting the citizenship and either not thinking it possible (around four out of ten respondents), planning to apply (more than two out of ten respondents) or already having applied (16.1% in Izmir and 25.5% in

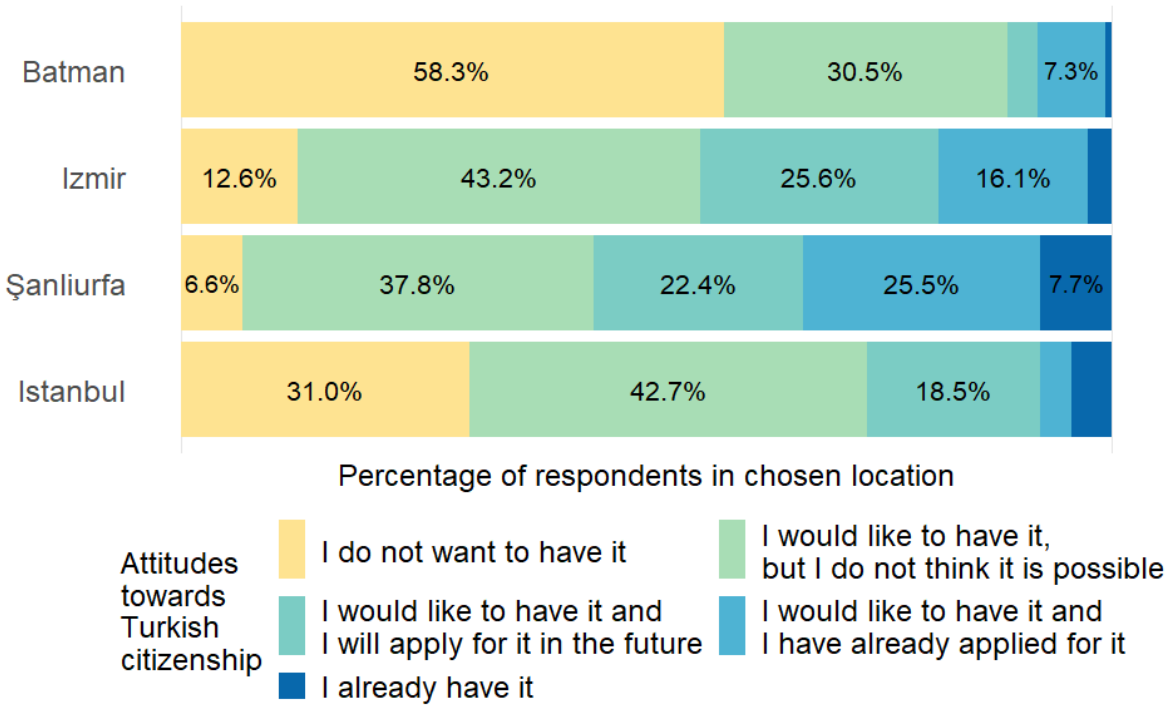
Şanliurfa) and finally already having it, which was the case for one in fourteen respondents in Şanliurfa (7.7%). It also seemed that respondents in some locations were more likely to have chances for the citizenship, as some of the possible criteria include: having work, good education and knowing Turkish - these were more common among participants in Izmir and Şanliurfa.

***Figure 72*: Survey respondents by their attitudes towards acquiring Turkish citizenship (in%).**



Note: N = 778.

***Figure 73*: Survey respondents by their attitudes towards acquiring Turkish citizenship and by survey location (in%).**

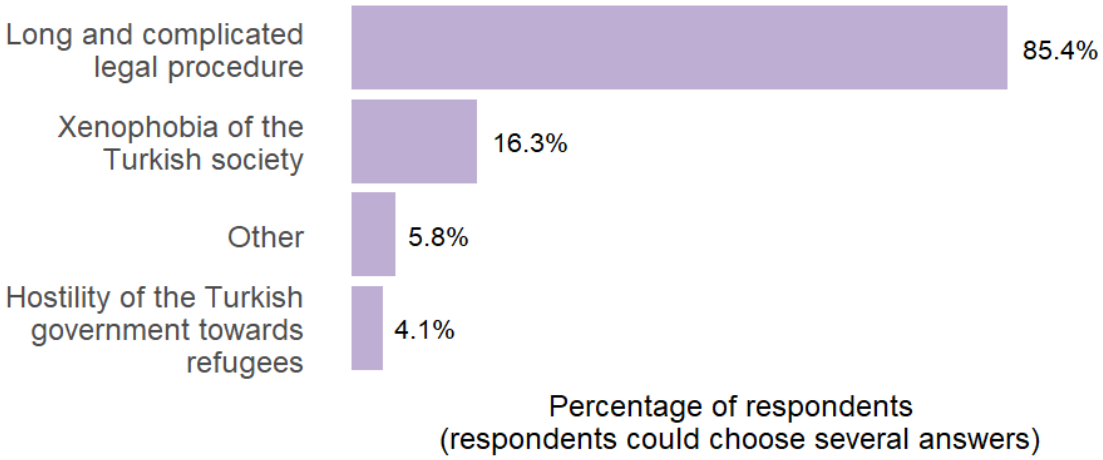


Note: N = 778 (232 in Istanbul, 196 in Şanliurfa, 199 in Izmir and 151 in Batman).

2.4.3.2 Obstacles to citizenship

All respondents were also asked about the obstacles that stop people from getting the Turkish citizenship. Figure 74 illustrates that the largest share of respondents considered the procedure itself to be an obstacle, due to its length and complexity. In comparison, the attitudes of the Turkish society or the Turkish government were chosen rarely. This overall pattern held across genders and locations. Among other answers, a few respondents said that they see no obstacles (7 answers), but some revealed that they think they need a university degree to succeed (and they do not have it, 10 answers), individual respondents pointed towards old age, lack of job or other criteria they thought to prevent them from becoming Turkish citizens.

***Figure 74*: Survey respondents by the perceived obstacles to getting Turkish citizenship (in %).**

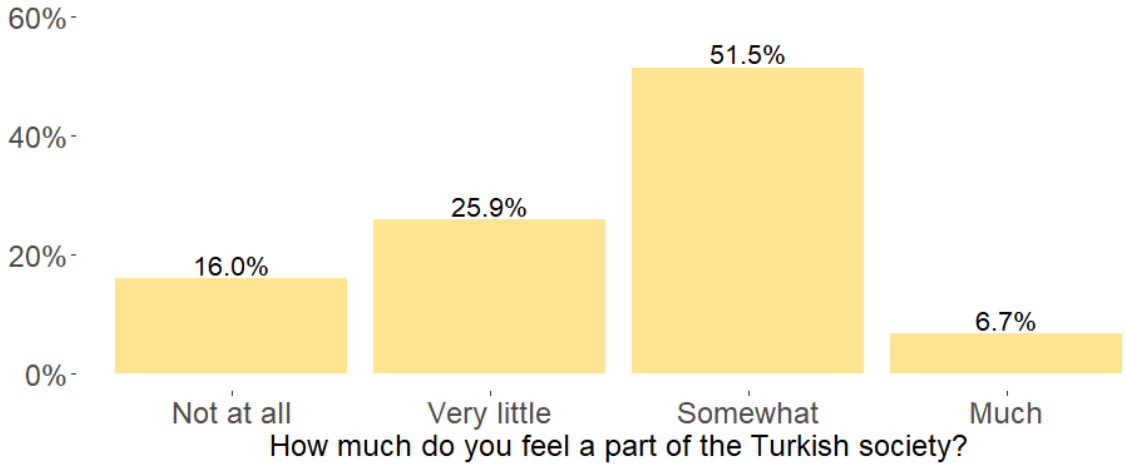


Note: Number of respondents 789, number of answers 881.

2.4.3.3 Belonging

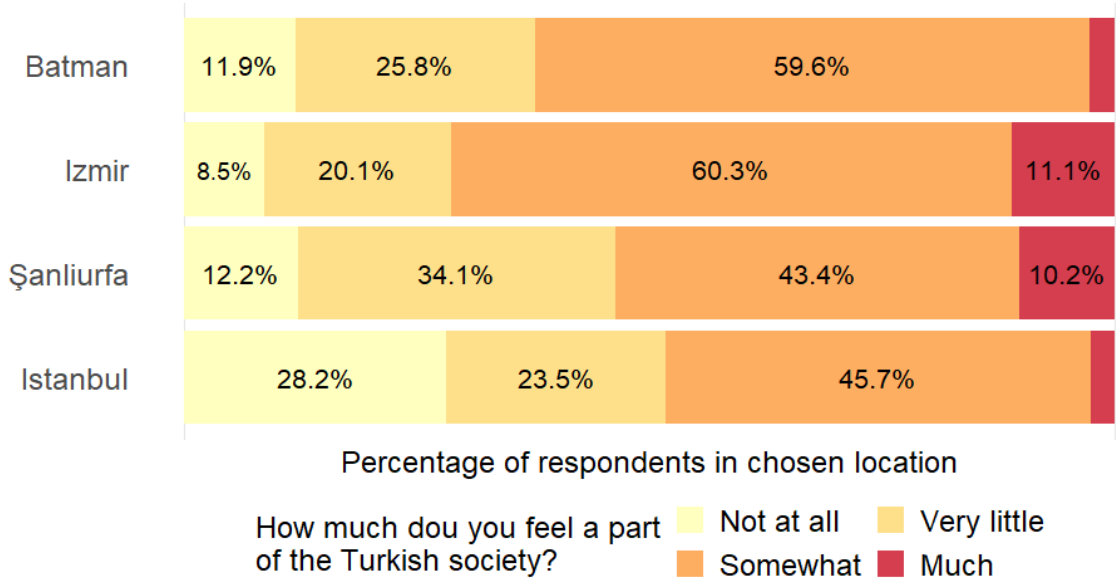
Figure 75 shows that while the feelings of belonging to the Turkish society are far from overwhelming (only 6.7% feel they are a part “much”), still half of the respondents think they are “somewhat” a part of it (51.5%). Simultaneously, one in four respondents felt “very little” a part (25.9%) and one in six “not at all” (16.0%) a part of the Turkish society. Across genders, the answers differed little, but Figure 76 shows that there are some differences across locations. Survey participants in Istanbul felt less belonging with almost three out of ten feeling that they did not belong at all (28.2%). One in ten respondents in Izmir and Şanliurfa felt they belonged much, which stands to reason as in Izmir more respondents worked and had language competencies, and in Şanliurfa more respondents had Turkish citizenship which encourages feelings of belonging.

***Figure 75*: Survey respondents by their feelings of belonging to the Turkish society (in %).**



Note: N = 789.

***Figure 76:* Survey respondents by their feelings of belonging to the Turkish society, comparison between locations (in %).**

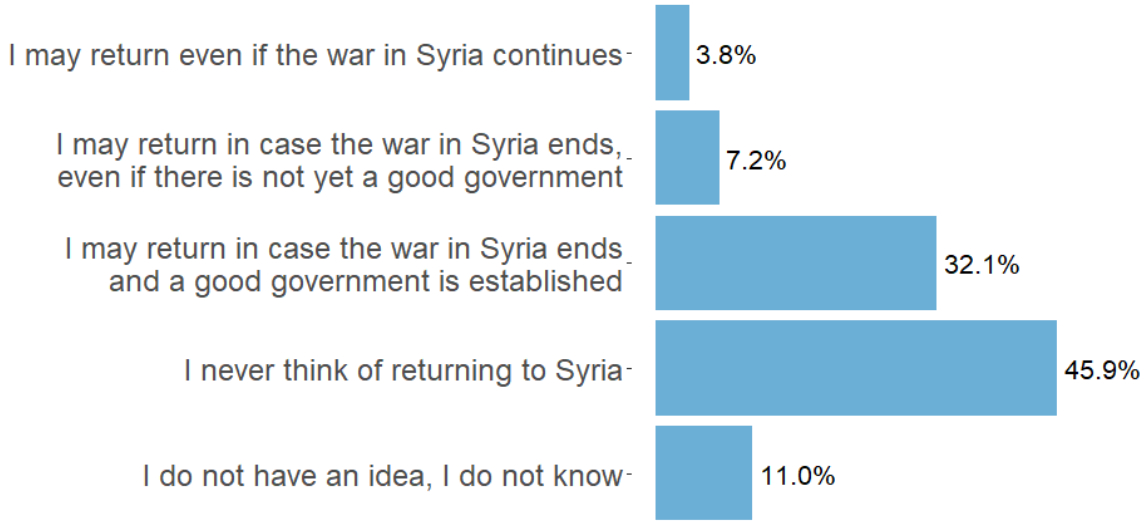


Note: N = 789.

2.4.3.4 Return to Syria

We asked respondents about their attitudes towards returning to Syria. Figure 77 illustrates that nine out of twenty respondents (45.9%) said that they never thought of returning. More than six out of twenty answered that they may return, but only if the war is over and the new government is good (32.1%), while some claimed that end of the war would be enough (7.2%) and a small fraction responded that they might return even despite the war (3.8%). One in ten respondents said that they simply do not know. Surprisingly, these answers seem unrelated to respondents' previous answers about feelings of belonging to the Turkish society.

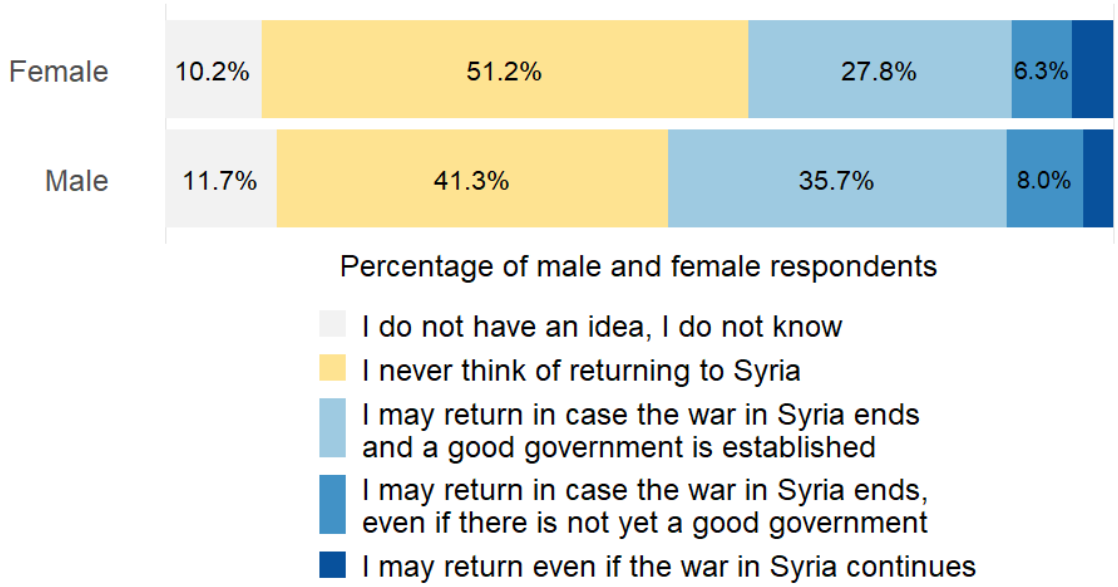
***Figure 77*: Survey respondents by their attitudes toward a potential return to Syria (in %).**



Note: N = 789.

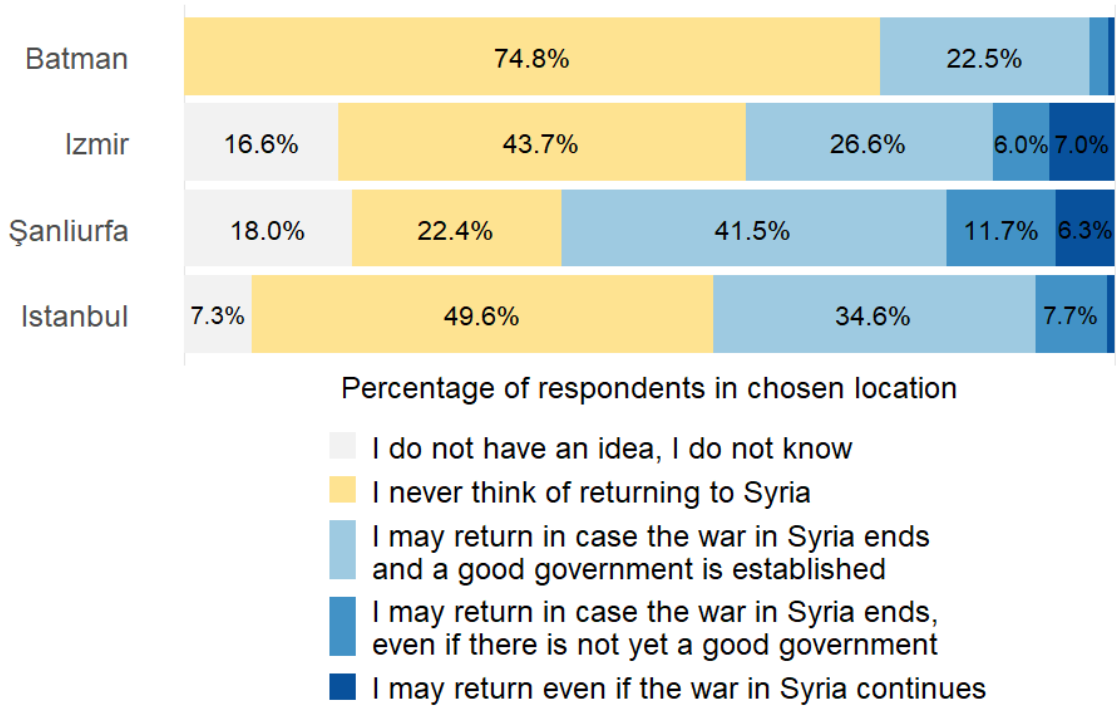
Comparison of answers across genders (Figure 78) suggests that men are more likely to answer that they would return if the war ended and a good government came (35.7% of male in contrast to 27.8% of female respondents), while women were more likely to say, that they never thought of returning (51.2% of female in contrast to 42.3% of male respondents). Figure 79 compares survey locations. Respondents in Batman either claimed that they never thought of returning to Syria (three out of four respondents there) or that they would only return if there was a good government in Syria (22.5% of respondents there). It seems respondents in Batman are unlikely to ever return to Syria. Respondents in other locations were more likely to consider the return under some circumstances and some in Izmir and Şanliurfa even considered returning despite the war (7% and 6.3% respectively).

***Figure 78*: Survey respondents by their attitudes toward a potential return to Syria and by gender (in %).**



Note: N = 789.

***Figure 79*: Survey respondents by their attitudes toward a potential return to Syria and by survey location (in %).**



Note: N = 789.

2.4.3.5 Further migration

Figure 80 shows that respondents' attitude towards further migration is distinctly different from their attitudes toward returning to Syria. When considering a return, the circumstances played an important role. When considering migrating further, half of the respondents dismiss the idea

altogether (53.5%) and four out of ten said they would go if only they find a chance (39.9%). Only a small fraction of survey participants said that their plans depended somehow on their job situation.

Male and female participants were similar in their attitudes towards further migration, while differences across locations were far more visible. Figure 81 shows that respondents in Izmir were most likely never to even consider going, three out of four respondents there gave such an answer. Possibly, many of those in Izmir who considered going have already done so, as Izmir is one of the ports from which boats towards Europe set out. Respondents in Şanliurfa were split almost evenly with half not thinking about moving further (53.7%), while the other half either considered going if there was any chance (32.2%) or under some conditions (if given an employment opportunity 8.3% or if jobs in Turkey were hard to find 4.4%). Respondents in Istanbul and most of all in Batman were much more set on leaving, with over half of respondents in Istanbul hoping to move further if only there was a chance (52.6%) and even more: six out of ten respondents in Batman reporting a similar stance (62.9%).

***Figure 80*: Respondents' attitude towards moving and settling away from Turkey and Syria (in %).**

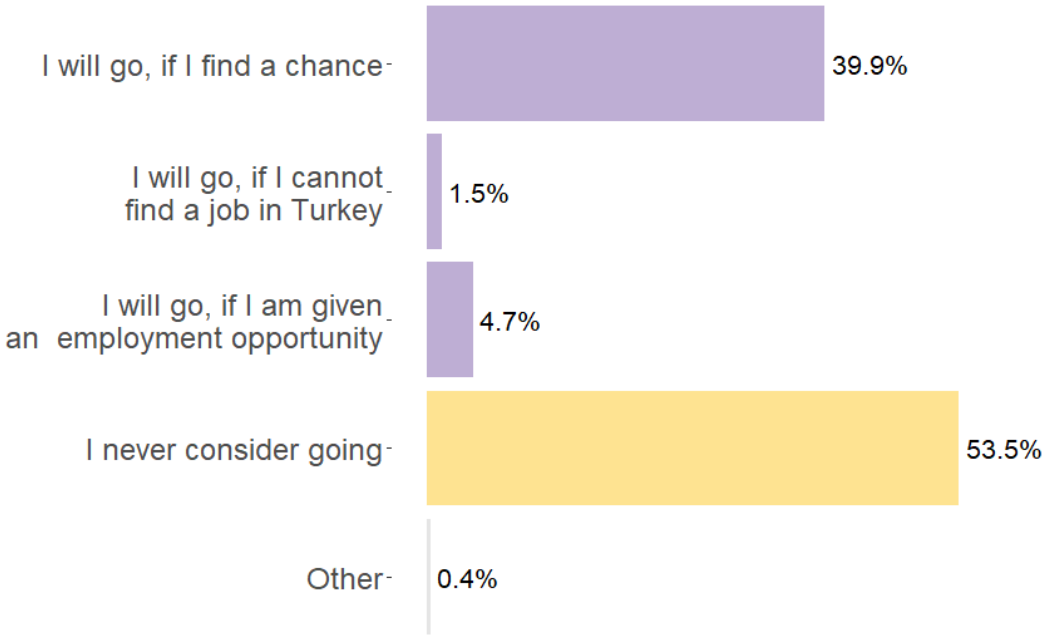
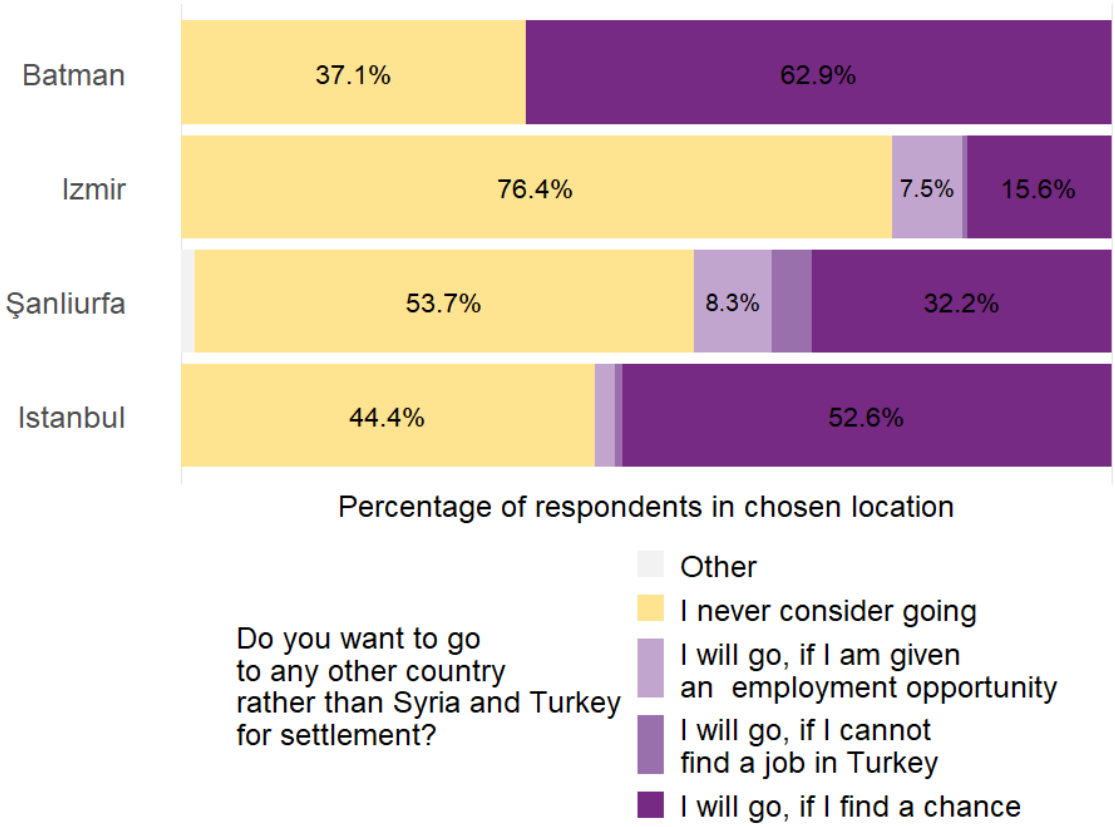
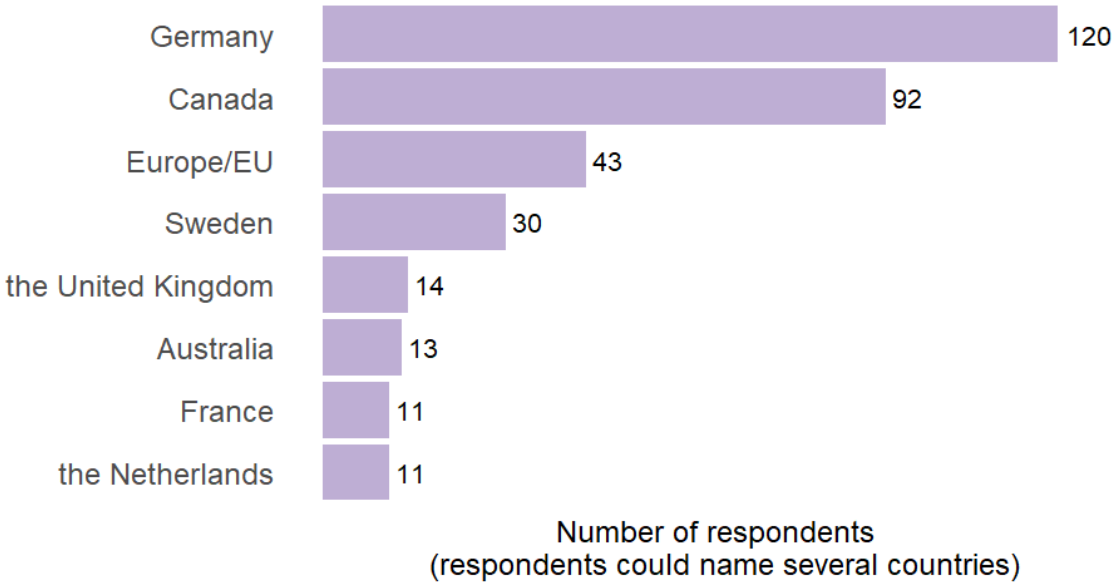


***Figure 81*: Respondents' attitude towards moving and settling away from Turkey and Syria, comparison between locations (in %).**



Respondents who expressed the desire to go to another country were further asked to name countries that they consider, and not all, but many did so. Figure 82 shows the most common countries mentioned, but there were many others including the United States, Palestine, Qatar, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Hungary, Belgium, Greece and many others. The most popular answers were Germany (15.2% of all respondents), Canada (11.7%), Europe or the EU (5.4%), followed by Sweden, the United Kingdom, Australia, France and the Netherlands. In some cases, survey participants said they want to get to a certain country, because their relatives already live there. There were also some answers where respondents said that the country doesn't matter but they just want to go out of Turkey, or countries where there is no racism, where they would be treated as "human beings", where there is care for disabled children, where one can get a job, where there is peace. Thus, we can see that often it wasn't the concrete country that mattered, but a vision of a place where respondents hope to achieve a better life.

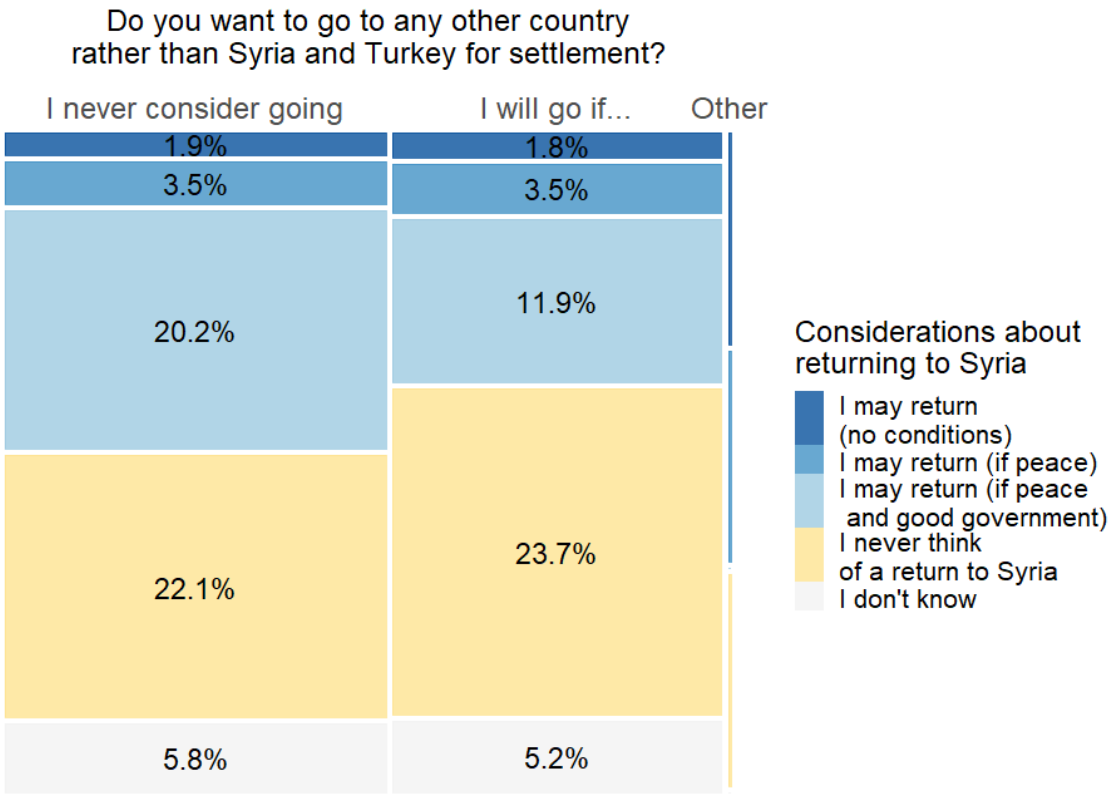
***Figure 82*: Countries mentioned by respondents who consider further migration as potential destinations (only countries with 10 or more mentions listed).**



2.4.3.6 Staying in Turkey

Before closing the report, let us compare answers regarding return to Syria and further migration to identify a group of respondents, who seem set on staying in Turkey. Figure 83 shows that 22.1% of respondents said they never consider going to another country nor think of returning to Syria. These people seem to have decided to settle. Further, 20.2% of the sample declared they never consider going to another country, but they would consider returning to Syria if there was no war and a good government. These people will probably also stay in Turkey, as the situation unfolding in Syria does not seem to develop in such a direction. One in ten respondents (11.9%) declared openness both to moving to another country and to returning to Syria if there was no war and a good government. Finally, the largest group, 23.7% of the sample considers moving to another country but does not think of returning to Syria. Other respondents are scattered among remaining options or do not know what their plans are. Overall, it seems that many respondents will remain in Turkey, thus a long-term plan for their integration or other means to ensure social harmony (*uyum*) is needed.

***Figure 83*: Survey respondents by their considerations regarding a return to Syria and by desire to go to a country other than Syria or Turkey (in %, some answers grouped and shortened for clarity).**



Note: N = 789. This is a mosaic plot the area of each rectangle shows what percentage of the whole sample had such a combination of answers to the two questions. The width of each rectangle represents the share of respondents who chose such an answer to the question about going to another country, while the height of each rectangle shows the share of this subgroup that declared certain consideration regarding their return to Syria.

3 Conclusions

Initially, both the Turkish government and the Syrians fleeing war thought that their stay would be temporary, and acted accordingly. Our survey results suggest that many Syrians still think of returning to Syria if peace and a good government settled there, many think of migrating forward, if there were a chance, and many are already set on staying in Turkey. With time, the numbers of those who decide to settle will grow as people adapt and put down their roots. The Turkish government has adapted some policies to this new reality by opening a path to legal work and citizenship acquisition, but also by creating a plan to "return" and settle a million of Syrians along the border in northeast Syria (Reuters 2019). Thus, the future of Temporary Protected in Turkey is unsure. However, our survey shows that if Syrians were to stay permanently in Turkey much more work is to be done to promote integration and social harmony (*uyum*).

First of all, Syrians need a way to support themselves in Turkey. However, labour market integration was relatively low in our sample, with over half of respondents not working at the time of the survey despite the fact that they were predominately young people, many with families to support. This might be due to limited access to higher-level jobs and sometimes even any jobs, because employers were either not willing to hire Syrians or wanted to hire them informally, without insurance and potentially with pay below the minimum wage. To be fair, employing a Temporary Protected Syrian legally was a hassle for the employer, with bureaucratic hurdles and increased costs compared to hiring informally. Removing legal barriers to employment could significantly improve the Syrians' situation in Turkey.

Discrimination against Syrians seems a widespread problem reported by respondents in every study location. Survey participants indicated that discrimination restricted their access to housing, and qualitative reports point that house owners either did not want Syrians at all, or charged higher prices and kept inspecting the apartments throughout their stay (Rottmann, 2020; Kaya, 2020). Respondents said that in some neighbourhoods, the local community tried to keep Syrians out of the area. Insults on the streets were also a common phenomenon that respondents had to endure. Such circumstances might push many Syrians to low-level housing and to clustering in ghettos, which further hinders integration. Overall, discrimination seems a serious issue to tackle, and it comes not from the Turkish authorities, but predominantly from house owners, employers and regular Turkish citizens.

Respondents' ability to communicate with Turks was unfortunately limited. While most respondents were either trying to learn or wanted to learn Turkish, only some were enrolled in a language class while most either tried to learn through their everyday life or were not able to learn at all. As a result, despite living in Turkey for at least a year and often longer, a majority of survey participants spoke either no Turkish at all or only had basic language skills. Learning the language is not a panacea for all problems, but it does enable people to interact with the host society and navigate everyday life better, also, respondents thought that not knowing Turkish often blocked them from finding good work. Thus, making more classes or other means of learning Turkish available to Syrians could improve their lives and make achieving social harmony easier.

The survey revealed that respondents' integration varied greatly by study locations, which is in line with Rottmann's (2020) conclusion that Turkish integration policies and actions are fragmented and city/neighbourhood dependent. Our study suggests also, that different kinds of people are living in different study locations.

Survey participants in Batman were predominantly Kurdish, young, married and with children, and also with a low level of education. While their road to Turkey was sometimes difficult and often included smugglers, upon arrival they received help and support from family, friends and local people, who are often Kurds themselves. It also seems that NGOs work actively in Batman, so people can receive support there. Many respondents in Batman had work but indicated that it was difficult to find jobs and those were hard and low-paid jobs.

Survey participants in Batman often considered the travel restrictions to be a serious problem with the protected status. Overall, they seemed to be well received and settled in their local community and most did not think about returning to Syria but would consider moving further. They were also not interested in getting Turkish citizenship. It seems that Kurds from Syria integrate well in the Kurdish communities, but it entails a complex relationship with the Turkish state.

Şanliurfa's survey participants typically self-identified as Syrians and/or Arabs, in line with qualitative reports (Rottmann 2020, Kaya 2020) that many Syrians there had easier settlement because the local community includes many Arabic speakers who often belong to the same or related clans as the newcomers. Many respondents in Şanliurfa had tertiary education, however, their journey was often difficult and long, but they persevered to get there. In place, most were offered some form of support however, they had some bad experiences from before and many reported it impacts their everyday life (e.g. nightmares, feeling distant). Despite the hardships, many survey participants from Şanliurfa were attending Turkish language classes and completed vocational training in Turkey, also more than in other locations they had middle-level jobs or worked as specialists. Half of the respondents in Şanliurfa would consider returning to Syria if the situation there changed, while some would consider further migration.

Respondents in Istanbul were mixed, some young, some old, some with short journeys (sometimes even through the airport), some with long. However, many were not offered support upon arrival, as newcomers are less visible in a big city. Some respondents from Istanbul lived in very low-quality housing (*geckondu* or unfinished houses) and didn't always feel safe in their neighbourhoods. As in Şanliurfa, some respondents in Istanbul have had some bad experiences, which still impacted their everyday life by making them feel distant, watchful or having nightmares. However, the big city has its advantages with less discrimination on the streets, (because many different cultures meet in Istanbul), easier access to Turkish administration (e.g. more respondents there received cash transfer for education) and if someone knew how to search for help, there is a variety of NGO's working on the ground. Different types of work were also available in Istanbul, and people can have some hope for higher-level jobs there. Still, half of the respondents in Istanbul would consider migrating further, if there were a chance.

Izmir's community was full of tensions. Respondents there were rather young, slightly more often single than in other locations and typically self-identified as Syrians or Syrian Arabs. Most of them had short journeys, many even came through the airport and said that from the start they needed no support from the locals and could manage themselves. That was probably for the better because it seemed that little support would be offered, as experiences of harassment and discrimination against Syrians dominated in the Izmir sample. Also, a majority of survey participants from Izmir reported that misconceptions about refugees are a serious problem they would like to see tackled. Still, as respondents there reported good psychological health and high resilience, they also typically spoke better English and Turkish, and also often tried to learn Turkish either through classes or through their everyday life. Aside from language classes, many survey participants in Izmir completed vocational training in Turkey and most of all they were working more often than participants from other locations. Furthermore, they were rarely interested in moving back to Syria or migrating further, so many of them were set to stay despite the hostility among Izmir's local community.

Overall, survey participants from each location paint a slightly different picture of Syrians' situation in Turkey, provided that, to have a full view of the conditions Syrians' face we need more big and broad studies. Still, some common themes like the need for language training, skill recognition as well as better access to legal employment seem to prevail in the whole sample. The widespread discrimination against Syrians is also an important problem to battle, as it might hinder integration, fuel further conflicts and disrupt social harmony.

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Appendices

The questionnaire (translated from Arabic)

|___|___|___|___| Number of the questionnaire

RESPOND

Co-funded by the Horizon 2020 programme of the European Union

Horizon 2020

RESPOND: Multilevel Governance of Migration and Beyond (770564)

Introduction

The general aim of this study is to get an understanding of the present situation of asylum seekers in recent migration. We want to ensure that information obtained from you is handled with care and will be used only in scientific publications. We are not asking for any personal information. We would be grateful if you could answer the questions asked. At any time, you may refuse to answer the given question. It's better to refuse to answer than give a false answer.

Please follow the order of questions in the questionnaire in giving your answers. If there is any instruction in the reply line, follow the instruction.

INTRODUCTORY QUESTIONS	
S1. What is your sex/gender?	1. Man 2. Woman
S2. What is your age?	|___|___| *If you are under 18, do not complete the questionnaire.*
S3. When did you leave Syria?	1. Year |___|___|___|___| 2. Month |___|___|
S4. In which country are you currently living in?	…… *If other than Turkey, do not complete the questionnaire.*
S5. What year did you arrive in Turkey?	|___|___|___|___|

Part A: JOURNEY, ROUTE AND RECEPTION	
At the beginning, we would like to ask you some questions on your journey to Turkey and your experiences just after crossing the Syrian border.	
A1. How long was your journey from the time you left your home in Syria till you reached Turkey? *Please include also the time you spent on moving within Syria.*	|___|___|___| days
A2. What were the obstacles/difficulties on your journey to Turkey? *You can select multiple answers from the list.*	1. Weather and natural obstacles 2. Money 3. Border controls 4. Smugglers 5. Other *(please briefly specify)* …… 6. I have not faced any difficulties
A3. Where did you get information about the route/journey from?	1. Friends 2. Family

You can select multiple answers from the list.	3. Media and Social Media 4. Smugglers 5. Travel agency 6. Other *(please briefly specify)* ……
A4. Where did you enter Turkey?	1. At land border crossing point 2. At port 3. On airport 4. Other *(please briefly specify)* ……
A5. Who was trying to prevent you from entering Turkey? *You can select multiple answers from the list.*	1. Police 2. Border guards 3. Army 4. Coast guard 5. FRONTEX 6. Local people 7. Other *(please briefly specify)* …… 8. None of them, I was welcomed.
A6. Did any authorities along the border crossings try to push you back to Syria?	1. Yes 2. No

Now, please think of the first days and weeks after crossing the Syrian border.	
A7. What kind of support were you offered? *You can select multiple answers from the list.*	1. A shelter (a place to stay) 2. Means of subsistence (food/water, clothing etc.) 3. Logistic support to reach your destination such as the camp, relatives, or elsewhere 4. Legal assistance about your status 5. Information 6. Others *(please briefly specify)* …… 7. No support was offered □ *go to A9* 8. No support was needed □ *go to A9*
A8. Once you passed the Syrian border who were the first people, or institution/NGO/aid-worker that offered support? *You can select multiple answers from the list.*	1. Local individuals 2. Relatives or friends of yours 3. Police/soldiers/border guards 4. Public institutions (e.g. Kızılay, AFAD, Göç İdaresi, or others) 5. Local humanitarian organizations (e.g. İHH, ASAM, MÜDEM, Deniz Feneri) 6. International humanitarian organizations (e.g. UNHCR, IOM, Yeryüzü Doktorları) 7. Mosques/ churches 8. Other *(please briefly specify)* ……
A9. Did you experience detention after leaving Syria?	1. Yes □ *go to A9a* 2. No□ go to B1
A9a. For how long?	|___|___|___| hours

Part B: INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION	
Now we would like to ask you some questions on the protection of asylum seekers and refugees as well as on your daily life in Turkey.	
B1. How do you feel in your neighbourhood in Turkey?	1. Safe □ *go to B3* 2. Somewhat safe □ *go to B3* 3. Somewhat unsafe □ *go to B2* 4. Unsafe □ *go to B2*
B2. If you don't feel safe, why? *You can select multiple answers from the list.*	1. Racism/discrimination 2. Problems with Turkish locals 3. Theft 4. Some bad individuals 5. Refugee neighbourhoods are unsafe 6. Turkey is not safe 7. Threats of violence/verbal assault 8. Lack of proper shelter 9. Fear of closing the shelter or camp 10. Fear of being deported 11. Fear of other ethnic/religious groups 12. Other (*please briefly specify*)……
B3. Have you ever been … in Turkey? *You can select multiple answers from the list.*	1. Raided/ searched 2. Insulted 3. Harassed 4. Beaten 5. Blackmailed 6. Extorted 7. Arrested/ Detained 8. Evicted 9. Received departure order 10. Deported out of Turkey 11. Exposed to another kind of violence (*what kind?*) …… 12. None of the above-mentioned

B4_T.	**Below you can find a list of issues related to the protection situation of refugees. For each one, please mark if it is a serious problem, a minor problem, or no problem at all for you and your family in Turkey.**	**Serious problem**	**A minor problem**	**No problem**	**Not relevant**
1.	Access to labour market/ availability of jobs	1	2	3	0
2.	Access to medical care	1	2	3	0
3.	Access to education	1	2	3	0
4.	Access to adequate housing	1	2	3	0
5.	Access to residence permit (Kimlik)	1	2	3	0
6.	Access to legal aid	1	2	3	0
7.	Access to security forces or court case when you encounter problems	1	2	3	0
8.	Protection against discrimination	1	2	3	0
9.	Protection against violence	1	2	3	0
10.	Protection against exploitation in workplace	1	2	3	0

11.	Lack of safety	1	2	3	0
12.	Preconceptions and misconceptions about refugees	1	2	3	0
13.	Protection from forced relocation, expulsion, detention	1	2	3	0
14.	The requirement for “travel permit” for within country movements	1	2	3	0

B5.	**Have you benefited from protection assistance and programmes in the last three years? (in the forms of financial assistance, in-kind assistance, socio-psychological support etc.)**	1. Yes □ *go to B5a_T* 2. No □ *go to C1*
B5a_T.	**Please indicate from which institutions you have received protection assistance.** *You can select multiple answers from the list.*	1. Kızılay Card (Turkish Red Crescent/ *Kızılay*) 2. Financial support (Social Assistance and Solidarity foundation) 3. Conditional cash transfer for education (Directorate of Family, Labour and Social Services) 4. Humanitarian or financial aid (from UN Agencies such as IOM, UNHCR, UNFPA, UNDP) 5. Financial or socio-psychological support from international NGOs (e.g. Save the Children, AARJapan, Caritas) 6. Financial or socio-psychological support from national local NGOs (e.g. Hayata Destek, İHH) 7. Financial or socio-psychological support from Syrian NGOs 8. Other (please specify) ……

Part C: INTEGRATION – LANGUAGE, EMPLOYMENT, CITIZENSHIP

Now we want to ask you some questions on all languages that you know and learn.

C1. What level of the following languages do you have?	**No proficiency**	**Basic communication skills/ working knowledge**	**Good command/ good working knowledge**	**Very good command**	**Excellent command/ highly proficient in spoken and written**	**Near-native/ fluent**
1. Turkish	0	1	2	3	4	5
2. English	0	1	2	3	4	5
3. Arabic	0	1	2	3	4	5
4. Other (*please specify*)……	0	1	2	3	4	5
5. Other (*please specify*)……	0	1	2	3	4	5
6. Other (*please specify*)……	0	1	2	3	4	5

C2.	**Are you currently learning Turkish?**	1. Yes □ *go to* C3 2. No □ *go to C4*
C3.	**How are you learning the Turkish language?** *You can select multiple answers from the list.*	1. Daily life in Turkey □ go to C6 2. Language classes in Turkey □ go to C6 3. Another way (*please briefly specify*) ……□ go to C6
C4.	**Do you wish to learn Turkish?**	1. Yes □ *go to C6* 2. No □ *go to C5*
C5.	**If you don’t want to learn Turkish, please indicate why.** *You can select multiple answers from the list.*	1. I don’t find it necessary 2. It’s too difficult 3. Other reasons (*please specify*) ……

Now we would like to ask you some questions on your job.		
C6.	**Have you ever had a paid job in Turkey, either as an employee or as self-employed ?**	1. Yes □ go to C7 2. No □ *go to C15*
C7.	**How long did it take you to start working after your arrival in Turkey?**	|___|___|___| months
C8.	**Are you currently working?**	1. Yes □ *go to C10* 2. No □ *go to C9*
C9.	**If you are not working now, for how long were you being unemployed?**	|___|___|___| months □ *go to C15*
C10.	**What is your current job performed in Turkey?**	1. Unskilled worker (e.g. maid, waiter, kitchen help, agricultural worker, cleaner, babysitter) 2. Skilled worker or craftsman (e.g. welder, machine operator, qualified bricklayer, tailor, nurse, operator of agricultural machinery, forester) 3. Service employee or salesperson (hairdresser, beautician, cook) 4. Office worker, a technician and other middle personnel (secretary, electrician) 5. Specialist (lawyer, doctor, bookkeeper, lecturer, IT specialist, teacher, translator) 6. Manager/supervisors/director 7. Other *(please specify)* .....
C11.	**In which sector is your current job performed in Turkey?**	1. Agriculture 2. Manufacturing (industry and crafts) 3. Retail/ wholesale trade 4. Tourism 5. Foodservice 6. Construction and renovation services 7. Household services 8. Education and translation 9. Health and social service 10. IT/banking/accounting/consulting/marketing 11. Other (*please specify*) …….
C12.	**How did you find your current job?**	1. Through family or friends in Turkey 2. Through NGO in Turkey 3. Through official institution (e.g. Office for Foreigners) in Turkey 4. Through intermediaries 5. Another way *(how?)* ……
C13.	**How many hours per week do you work currently?**	|___|___| hours weekly
C14.	**What level of Turkish is required for your current job?**	0. No proficiency 1. Only basic communication skills 2. Good command/ good working knowledge 3. Very good command 4. Excellent command/ highly proficient in spoken and written 5. Near native/ fluent
C15.	**Have you attended any vocational training in Turkey <u>(excluding language classes)</u>?**	1. Yes 2. No
C16.	**Based on your experience, what are the difficulties as asylum seekers/refugees when looking for a job?** <u>*You can select multiple answers from the list.*</u>	1. Legal barrier to take up jobs officially 2. Employers not willing to hire asylum seekers / refugees 3. Employers not willing to pay for SGK/insurance 4. Necessity to know Turkish language well 5. Only simple and low paid jobs accessible for asylum seekers / refugees 6. Lack of recognition of competences from home country 7. Other *(what?)* …… 8. No difficulties/ Not relevant

Now we would like to ask you some questions on your citizenship and your plans.	
C17_T. Do you have residence permit card (Kimlik)?	1. Yes 2. No
C18. What is your attitude towards acquiring Turkish citizenship?	1. I don't want to have it 2. I would like to have it, but I don't think it's possible 3. I would like to have it and I have already applied for it 4. I would like to have it and I will apply for it in the future 5. I already have it
C19. What are, according to you, the biggest obstacles in getting Turkish citizenship? *You can select multiple answers from the list.*	1. Long and complicated legal procedures 2. Hostility of the host country government towards refugees 3. Xenophobia of the host society 4. Other (*please briefly specify*) ……
C20. How much do you feel part of the Turkish society?	● 1. Not at all ● 2. Very little ● 3. Somewhat ● 4. Much
C21. Which statements below may express your considerations about returning to Syria?	1. I never think of returning to Syria 2. I may return in case the war in Syria ends and a good government is established 3. I may return in case the war in Syria ends, even if there is not yet a good government established 4. I may return even if the war in Syria continues 5. I do not have an idea, I do not know
C22. Do you want to go to any other country rather than Syria and Turkey for settlement?	● 1. I never consider going ● 2. If I find a chance, I will go □ go to C22a ● 3. If I cannot find a job in Turkey, I will go □ go to C22a ● 4. If I am given an opportunity for employment, I will go □ go to C22a ● 5. Other (*please briefly specify*) ……□ go to C22a
C22a. Which other country do you want to move to?	● ……

Part D: PSYCHO-SOCIAL HEALTH AND DISCRIMINATION			
Now we would like to ask you some questions on your health and coping with difficult situations.			
D1.	**In general, would you say your psychological health is?**	1. Very poor 2. Poor 3. Fair 4. Good 5. Very good	
D2.	**Have you experienced a very difficult situation, e.g. serious accident, natural catastrophe, rape, war, abuse, torture?**	1. Yes □ *go to D2a* 2. No □ *go to D3*	
D2a.	**If yes, please name these difficulties.**	…… ……	
D3.	**Have you ever had any experience that was so frightening, horrible, or upsetting that, <u>in the past month</u>, you…**		
1.	Have had nightmares about it or thought about it when you did not want to?	1. Yes	2. No

2.	Tried hard not to think about it or went out of your way to avoid situations that reminded you of it?	1. Yes	2. No
3.	Were constantly on guard, watchful, or easily startled?	1. Yes	2. No
4.	Felt numb or detached from others, activities, or your surroundings?	1. Yes	2. No

In general, would you say…?		**Not true at all**	**Rarely true**	**Sometimes true**	**Often true**	**True nearly all the time**
D4a.	**I am able to adapt when changes occur.**	1	2	3	4	5
D4b.	**I tend to bounce back after illness, injury, or other hardships.**	1	2	3	4	5

D5.	**Have you ever experienced discrimination, been prevented from doing something, or been hassled or made to feel inferior in any of the following situations because of your ethnicity, nationality and/or religion**	**Never**	**Once**	**Several times**	**Many times**
1.	At school	0	1	2	3
2.	Getting hired or getting a job	0	1	2	3
3.	At work	0	1	2	3
4.	During getting housing	0	1	2	3
5.	During getting medical care	0	1	2	3
6.	During getting services in a store or restaurant	0	1	2	3
7.	On the street or in a public setting	0	1	2	3
8.	From the police or in the courts	0	1	2	3
9.	From other authorities (e.g., Social Services, Migration office, Tax authority, National Insurance Agency)	0	1	2	3

D6. To what extent here in Turkey do the following help you in coping with any difficult situation you are facing?
Where "0" means "not relevant", "1" means not at all and "10" means very much

•	**Not at all**									**Very much**	**Not relevant**
1. Family	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0
2. Friends	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0
3. Faith/ Religion/ Spirituality	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0
4. Work /school	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0
5. Being out in Nature (e.g. by the sea, in the wood, at the park)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0
Please add to the list any important aspects that you find in Turkey.											
6. Other (*please briefly specify*) …… ……	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0

DEMOGRAPHICS		
P1.	**What is your current relationship situation?** *You can select multiple answers from the list.*	1. Married 2. Divorced 3. Engaged 4. Widowed 5. Single 6. Other (please briefly specify)……
P2.	**Do you have children?**	1. Yes □ *go to P2a and P2b* 2. No □ *go to P3*
P2a.	**If yes, how many are with you now?**	|___|___|
P2b.	**And how many are living somewhere else?**	|___|___|
P3.	**Which is Your or Your parents' background culture (culture of origin)? For example Arabic, Syrian, Kurdish, Assyrian/Syriac, Chaldean, Turkoman or other?**	……
P4.	**Do you belong to a religion or religious denomination?**	1. Catholic (Chaldean/Syrian/etc.) 2. Druze 3. Mandaean 4. Muslim (Shia) 5. Muslim (Sunni) 6. Orthodox (Syrian/Assyrian/etc.) 7. Yazidi 8. Other (*write which one*): …… 9. Do not belong to a denomination
P5.	**To which expand you feel religious?**	1. Not at all 2. Very little 3. Somewhat 4. Much
P6.	**What is the highest level of your education?**	1. Primary school 2. Lower upper secondary school 3. High school 4. 2 years institution, -önlisans-associate degree 5. Tertiary (University) 6. PhD
P7.	**What is the subject area of your highest level of education?**	1. General programmes without any subject area 2. Education and pedagogy 3. Humanities (e.g. linguistics, history, theology) and art 4. Social sciences (e.g. sociology, psychology, anthropology) 5. Economy, business and financial studies 6. Law 7. Life sciences (e.g. biology, botany, zoology, microbiology, physiology, biochemistry) 8. Physical and environmental sciences 9. Mathematics and computing 10. Engineering and technology 11. Manufacturing and processing 12. Architecture and building 13. Agriculture, forestry, fishery 14. Veterinary 15. Health and medicine 16. Social services 17. Services

	18. Media, culture, tourism 19. Public administration 20. Uniformed services 21. Other *(please specify)* ……

P8.	**What is the type of your current place of residence?**	1. Rural area 2. Small town up to 20.000 people 3. Medium town of more than 20.001 up to 100.000 people 4. Big town of more than 100.001 up to 1.000.000 people 5. Large city of more than 1.000.000 people
P9_T.	**What type of accommodation do you have?**	1. Rented single room 2. Rented apartment 3. Own apartment 4. Rented house 5. Own house 6. Unfinished shelter 7. Makeshift shelter 8. Gecekondu house 9. Collective Shelter 10. Refugee camp 11. Other *(please specify)* ……

It was the last question. Thank you for your time.

Comments:

……
……
……
……
……
……
……

Date, when the questionnaire was filled in:

|___|___| day |___|___| month |___|___|___|___|year

Time: Start: |___|___| hour |___|___| minutes
Finish: |___|___| hour |___|___| minutes

Place, where the questionnaire was filled in (e.g. private house, coffee shop):
……

Village/town, where the questionnaire was filled in:
……

|___|___|___|___|Number of the interviewer *(<u>filled out by the interviewer</u>)*