



**THE REPUBLIC OF TÜRKİYE
SOCIAL SCIENCES UNIVERSITY OF ANKARA
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**SYRIAN REFUGEES BETWEEN TURKEY AND EUROPE:
ANALYSIS OF SYRIANS MOVING OR STAYING**

Master's Thesis

Dua'a AL-NAMAS

Migration Studies

August 2024



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Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Sutay YAVUZ

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DECLARATION

I'm aware of and understand the Ankara Social Science University's policy on plagiarism, and I hereby declare that all the information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical manners.

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Dua'a Al-Namas

Signature:

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to the memory of my beloved father. His unwavering support, love, and encouragement have been the foundation of my academic journey. Though he is no longer with us, his wisdom and strength continue to inspire me every day.

Dad, your belief in me and your constant guidance have shaped who I am today. Your lessons on perseverance, integrity, and kindness are the pillars upon which I stand. This achievement is as much yours as it is mine.

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With all my love and gratitude

Dua'a Salih Al-Namas

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ÖZET

Türkiye ve Batı Arasındaki Suriyeli Mülteciler: Batı'ya Göç eden veya Türkiye'de kalan Suriyelilerin bir Analizi

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Tez Danışmanı: Prof. Dr. Sutay YAVUZ

Ağustos 2024

Suriye'deki mülteci krizi, komşu ülkelerdeki milyonlarca kişinin özellikle Ürdün, Lübnan ve Türkiye'de sığınma arayışına girmesine yol açtı. Bu tez, Suriyeli mültecilerin Türkiye'de kalmaya karar vermesi veya başka bir yerde sığınma/ iltica etme kararlarını etkileyen faktörleri incelemektedir. Analizler hem itici faktörleri (onları ilk ev sahibi ülkelerinden uzaklaştıran) hem de çekici faktörleri (onları diğer varış noktalarına ve ev sahibi ülkelere çeken), ve davranış dinamiklerine ışık tutmaktadır. Bu çalışma, literatürden, anketlerden ve Türkiye'deki Suriyeli mültecilerle yapılan röportajlardan elde edilen verilerden yararlanmaktadır. Bu tez, 2015 ile 2020 yılları arasında Türkiye ve komşu ülkelerdeki Suriyeli (vasıflı-vasıfsız) bireylerin ikinci göç yolculuğunu Avrupa ve Batı'ya yapma veya Türkiye'de kalmaya karar verme süreçlerini etkileyen temel itme ve çekme faktörlerini araştırmaktadır.

Buna karşılık, Batı ülkelerindeki dil desteği, istihdam olanakları, eğitim kolaylıkları ve kapsayıcı politikalar gibi faktörler çekici faktörler olarak işlev görmüştür. Sosyal ve beşerî sermayenin yanı sıra esneklik ve cesaret gibi kişisel nitelikler, taşınanların entegrasyon sürecinde önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Türkiye'de ikamet eden 100 Suriyeli bireyle çevrimiçi bir anket aracılığıyla gerçekleştirilen nicel analiz, Batı'ya göç etmek yerine Türkiye'de kalmayı tercih etmenin arkasındaki nedenleri incelemektedir. Sonuçlar, Türkiye'de mevcut bir işe sahip olma ile kalma kararı arasında güçlü bir ilişki olduğunu, Türkiye ile Suriye arasındaki kültür ve gelenek benzerliğinin ise önemli bir faktör olmadığını göstermektedir. Batı'daki ailelerin ve çocukların geleceğine ilişkin ahlaki ve dini kaygılar, bazı katılımcılar için dikkate değer bir husus olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Genel olarak bu araştırma, çoklu göç akımlarının ve Suriyeli mültecilerin karar verme süreçlerinin anlaşılmasına katkıda bulunarak araştırmacılar, politika yapımcılar ve ev sahibi ülkeler için değerli içgörüler sunmaktadır.

Bu tez için yapılan araştırma, pandemi döneminde (Covid20/21) hareketliliğin zorluğu nedeniyle Türkiye içinde ve dışında on beş Suriyeli adayla yüz yüze, yarı yapılandırılmış, derinlemesine mülakatlar kullanılarak gerçekleştirilmiştir. Ayrıca, temel olarak çevrimiçi yayınlanan makalelerden ve kitaplardan göreceli teori verileri elde edilmiştir. Ayrıca, veri toplamak için çevrimiçi kaynaklardan yararlanılarak Google formu oluşturmak ve hedeflenen katılımcılara anketi yaymak için sosyal medya kullanılmıştır. Nitel çalışma, Türkiye, Ürdün ve Lübnan'daki dil engelleri, sınırlı iş imkanları, eğitim engelleri ve kısıtlayıcı politikaların yetenekli Suriyeliler için Batı'da daha iyi fırsatlar aramalarına neden olan itme faktörleri olarak hizmet ettiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Buna karşılık, Batı ülkelerinde dil desteği, istihdam fırsatları, eğitim kolaylığı ve kapsayıcı politikalar çekme faktörleri olarak rol oynamıştır. Hareket edenler için Ancak sonuçlar, itme faktörlerinin bir durumdan diğerine farklılık gösterdiğini ve bu nedenle çekme faktörlerinin de bir durum için itme faktörü olabileceğini, başka bir durum için ise çekme faktörü olabileceğini gösterdi. Bununla birlikte, bu, bazı faktörlerin birçok Suriyeliyi Batı'ya ikinci bir göç / sığınma yolculuğuna yönlendirdiği teorisini reddetmedi. Genel olarak, bu araştırma Suriyeli mültecilerin çoklu göç akışlarını ve karar verme süreçlerini anlama konusuna katkıda bulunmakta ve araştırmacılar, politika yapımcılar ve ev sahibi ülkeler için değerli içgörüler sunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Suriyeliler, Yetenekli, Mülteciler, Göçmenler, Geçici Koruma Altındaki Suriyeliler, Çatışma, Eğitim, Ekonomi, Kültür, Din.

ABSTRACT

Syrian Refugees between Turkey and the West: Analysis of Syrians Moving or Staying

Syrian refugee crisis has led to millions seeking refuge in neighbouring countries, including Jordan, Lebanon, and Türkiye. This thesis examines the factors that impact Syrian refugees' decisions to either remain in Türkiye or seek asylum elsewhere. By analysing both push factors (those driving them away from their first host country) and pull factors (those attracting them to other destinations and host countries), we gain insights into the dynamics of their behaviour. The study draws on data from literature, surveys, and interviews with Syrian refugees in Türkiye.

This thesis explores the key push and pull factors influencing the decisions of skilled and unskilled Syrian individuals in Türkiye and neighboring countries between 2015 and 2020 to undertake a second migration journey to Europe and the West or to remain in Türkiye. Through qualitative interviews and quantitative analysis, the study investigates the impact of pre-conflict skills, mobility patterns, academic and job opportunities, gender dynamics, social and human capital, and potential restrictions faced by refugees. The findings shed light on how these factors shape refugees' choices and experiences.

The qualitative study, semi-structured interviews with 15 participants, reveals that challenges such as language barriers, limited work opportunities, educational obstacles, and restrictive policies in Türkiye, Jordan, and Lebanon acted as push factors for skilled Syrians to seek better prospects in the West. Conversely, factors like language support, employment opportunities, education facilitation, and inclusive policies in Western countries served as pull factors. Social and human capital, as well as personal attributes like flexibility and courage, played a crucial role in the integration process for those who moved.

The quantitative analysis, an online questionnaire, conducted with 100 Syrian individuals residing in Türkiye, examines the reasons behind the preference to stay in Türkiye rather than migrate to the West. The results indicate a strong relationship between having a current job in Türkiye and the decision to remain, while the similarity of culture and tradition between Türkiye and Syria was not a significant factor. Moral and religious concerns about the future of families and children in the West emerged as a notable consideration for some respondents.

Overall, this research contributes to the understanding of multiple migration flows and the decision-making processes of Syrian refugees, offering valuable insights for researchers, policymakers, and host countries alike.

Keywords: Syrians, Skilled, Refugees, Migrants, Under Temporary Protection Individuals, Conflict, Education, Economic, Culture, Religion.

LIST OF ABBREVIATION

IDP's	Internally Displaced Person's
IOM	International Organization for Migration
LFIP	Law on the Foreigner and International Protection
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisations
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
UTPI's	Under Temporary Protected Person's/Individuals
UTPS's	Under Temporary Protection Syrians
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

The Syrian conflict, which erupted in 2011, has precipitated one of the most significant humanitarian crises of our time, forcing millions to flee their homes in search of safety and stability. This introductory chapter provides essential background on the Syrian refugee crisis, with a particular focus on the experiences of Syrian refugees in Türkiye between 2011 and 2015 and their subsequent migration patterns. As the largest host country for Syrian refugees, Türkiye's role in this crisis is pivotal, yet complex. The chapter explores the unique challenges faced by both refugees and host communities, as well as the broader implications for regional stability and international refugee policy.

This research seeks to unravel the intricate web of factors influencing Syrian refugees' decisions to either remain in initial host countries or undertake secondary migration to Europe and other Western nations. By examining the interplay of macro-, meso-, and micro-level factors, the study aims to provide a nuanced understanding of refugee mobility and integration. Special attention is given to the distinctions between skilled and unskilled refugees, exploring how human capital and socioeconomic status shape migration trajectories and integration outcomes.

The chapter outlines the primary research objectives, key questions, and significance of this study in contributing to the ongoing discourse on forced migration, refugee integration, and policy development in host countries. It introduces the concept of "class-based integration" in the Turkish context and explores how this approach affects different segments of the Syrian refugee population. Furthermore, it addresses the unique legal status of Syrians in Türkiye as individuals under temporary protection, contrasting this with the refugee status granted in other countries.

By delving into these complex issues, this research aims to bridge gaps in existing literature on forced migration and provide valuable insights for policymakers, humanitarian organizations, and host communities. The findings of this study have the potential to inform more effective and humane approaches to refugee management and integration, not only in the context of the Syrian crisis but also in future displacement scenarios worldwide. As the Syrian conflict enters its second decade, understanding these dynamics becomes increasingly crucial for developing sustainable solutions to protracted refugee situations.

1.1 Background and Motivation

The Syrian conflict, which erupted in 2011, has led to one of the largest humanitarian crises of our time. As the violence escalated, millions of Syrians were forced to flee their homes, seeking refuge in neighboring countries and beyond. Türkiye, Lebanon, Jordan, and other countries in the region initially welcomed large numbers of Syrian refugees, providing temporary shelter and assistance. However, as the conflict dragged on and the influx of refugees continued, these host countries faced enormous challenges in accommodating the growing refugee population.

In the early years of the crisis (2011-2015), many Syrians viewed their displacement as temporary, hoping to return home once the situation stabilized. However, as the conflict persisted, it became increasingly clear that a resolution was not imminent. Faced with uncertain futures and limited prospects in the first countries of asylum, some Syrians began to consider secondary migration to Europe and other Western countries, where they hoped to find better opportunities and a more permanent solution to their predicament.

This phenomenon of secondary migration, also known as multiple migration or secondary refugee movements, is not uncommon in protracted refugee situations. Refugees may relocate to other countries for various reasons, including seeking better economic prospects, reuniting with family members, or escaping ongoing instability or discrimination in their initial host country.

Syria and Syrians, for the last 13 years, have been the main concern for many social scientists, in many different fields of search and studies. Discussions and recommendations to be learned and used for future crisis all over the world. These discussions have also included integration process of the refugees into host community. Şimşek (2020) argues that there has been a class-based integration taken place in Türkiye. It means that integration better occurs among refugees who possess skills, while excluding those who are unskilled and lack economic resources for integration in the receiving country.

Social scientists continue to study the social impact of the Syrian conflict on host societies, governments, and displaced individuals, including refugees, migrants, and asylum seekers. It is essential to mention here that Syrians in Türkiye are not referred to as ‘refugees’; they are under temporary protection. According to Şimşek (2020) integration process of Syrians might differ from other refugees.

Many governments and host countries like Türkiye and other neighbouring countries of Syria (mainly Jordan and Lebanon), as well as some European countries thought of the Syrian conflict

as a temporary situation and took slow reactions towards Syrian refugees. At first, both Syrian refugees arriving in Türkiye and the Turkish government incorrectly expected that the conflict would be short, and that Syrians would return home after a temporary period (Erdogan, 2015; İçduygu, 2015; Şafak-Ayvazoğlu, et al, 2021). However, as stated by Ferris, Elizabeth, and Kirişci (2016), all indicators suggest that the Syrian crisis will evolve into a protracted displacement challenge with significant consequences for major host countries such as Jordan, Lebanon, and Türkiye. The scale of displacement and the way it has occurred make it evident that this situation is far from temporary.

Over 13 years, and Türkiye is still the largest host country for the highest number of Syrian refugees and asylum seekers (Valenta et. al., 2020, p.157), with the majority being termed as Under Temporary Protected Individuals (UTPI's). According to UNHCR (2021, p. 1) presently, Türkiye hosts the world's largest refugee population, total 4 million individuals, of which 3.6 million are Syrians (Statista website, 04.2024).¹

Unlike the number of Syrians received by other countries, for instance, some European countries, Canada, and the USA have received a relatively small number of Syrian refugees compared to Türkiye and other neighboring countries like Jordan and Lebanon (Şafak-Ayvazoğlu, et al., 2021, p. 1). As for the Jordan, registered and unregistered Syrian refugees in total is estimated to be around 1.3 million (Breulmann et al., 2021, p. 2), According to UNHCR. (2022) Lebanese government estimates the refugees around 1.5 million. It must be noted that, in both scenarios, neighboring countries were heavily involved in the conflict and also became the primary recipients of refugees (Valenta et al., 2020, p. 166). A slight look at neighboring countries history, would have corrected the compass of dealing with the Syrian situation from day one. Nevertheless, taking this large number of refugees and displaced individuals in the closest three countries Türkiye, Lebanon, and Jordan, was never going to be any easier.

1.2 Research Objectives and Significance

The primary objective of this thesis is to explore the key push and pull factors influencing the decisions of Syrian individuals in Türkiye and neighboring countries to undertake a second or more migration journey to Europe and the West or to remain in their current host country. Specifically, the study aims to investigate the impact of pre-conflict skills, mobility patterns, academic and job

¹ As of February 29, 2024, "the number of Syrians registered in Turkey under temporary protection status amounted to 3.15 million people, of whom about 1.65 million were men."

opportunities, gender dynamics, social and human capital, and potential restrictions faced by skilled and unskilled refugees on their second move or stay decisions.

Understanding the underlying causes and motivations that prompt Syrian individuals to move from one destination to another is crucial for several reasons. First, it provides valuable insights for researchers and policymakers in host countries, enabling them to refine and enhance their policies and responses to better address the needs and aspirations of refugees. By comprehending the factors that drive secondary migration, host countries can implement measures to support integration and mitigate the potential for onward movements.

Second, this knowledge can help alleviate the hardships faced by migrants and refugees by fostering a deeper understanding of their circumstances and personal perspectives. By acknowledging the challenges and motivations behind their decisions, host countries and aid organizations can develop more effective strategies to support refugees and create an environment favorable to their well-being and empowerment.

As stated by Bell et al. (2010) and Castles (2003) forced migration and refugees includes individuals who cross borders due to conflicts and political uncertainties, and the displaced people who have lost their settlements due to natural disasters and construction projects. In general, numerous theories have covered migration and migrants, yet, when it comes to refugees' theories are limited, and the focus has primarily been on one main umbrella -push and pull factors (Wickramasinghe, and Wimalaratana, 2016, p.17).

While push and pull factors are essential, they might not fully satisfy the curiosity of social scientists regarding the actual reasons behind the multiple movements of Syrians after their initial relocation to neighbouring countries. Beyond physical, human, and social capital considerations, there exists a need to explore additional factors that influence their decisions.

Migration is influenced not only by macro- or meso-level factors, but also significantly by micro-level factors, which are crucial for understanding the actual occurrence of migration (Düvell, et al., 2021, p. 4) Accordingly, This thesis is looking at Syrians who fled their home country because of the conflict back in 2011, and tried to settle in neighbouring countries (Türkiye, Jordan, or Lebanon) for few years, but when they couldn't settle because of different reasons, such as language, incomes, religion, culture and suitable opportunities amongst others. They then went on another journey (second migration journey) to the West, this time in hope for a better chance of settling in.

Concentrating on finding some of the main micro-level factors, as individuals characteristics impact on making the decision to tack the initial and the second movement or not. Macro-level factors such as push or pull factors including demographic, environment, economic, social, and political contexts. In addition to meso-level factors, social capital factors, mobility transition which forced migrants / refugees / asylum seekers to keep moving in order to find the best and closest environment for themselves and their beloved ones after being forced out of their homes and beloved home country.

Also, Understanding the dynamics of secondary migration is essential for policymakers, humanitarian organisations, and host countries. Addressing the push factors in Türkiye, Jordan, and Lebanon and recognizing the pull factors in Europe can inform more effective policies and support mechanisms for Syrian individuals. Leading to come out with some recommendations for the nearest host countries, for future similar situations.

Thus, this thesis tried to look mainly in to two major groups of Syrians in Türkiye; skilled and semi-skilled /unskilled. Skilled individuals who had moved to Türkiye at an early stage of the conflict between 2011 and 2015, tried to settle in Türkiye for few years. Those are divided into two sets; some of which then decided to take a second migration journey (after 2014), and some of which opt to stay in Türkiye (up till today – as this thesis being typed). Moving to Europe and the West was in the hope of finding a better opportunity and better future after failing to succeed in doing that in Türkiye and neighbouring countries. Skilled Syrian individuals, those mainly possess specialized knowledge, training, or expertise in a particular field. They have qualifications and experience that make them valuable in professions such as engineering, medicine, or other technical areas. They are often sought after by employers due to their specific skills and ability to perform complex tasks.

The second group concentrated on semi-skilled and unskilled Syrian individuals, who also moved to Türkiye at the early stages of the Syrians conflict. However, with all the difficulties they faced in Türkiye, they decided to stay and keep trying to settle in hope of going back to Syria soon. Semi-skilled; are those who have some training or experience but may not hold specialized qualifications. They can perform tasks that require moderate skill levels, such as assembly line jobs, basic construction tasks, or operating machinery. In addition to the unskilled Syrian individuals, those who lack formal training or specific qualifications. But can perform basic,

manual labour tasks that require minimal training. Jobs like cleaning, agricultural work, or simple factory tasks fall into the unskilled category.

It is essential to mention that, the occurrence of skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled work among Syrian individuals varies according to the personal level of education, the training and opportunities offered to those individuals, and the work demand, both pre the conflict and after their displacement in the different host countries.

1.3. Important Definitions

Next are some main definitions to clarify the purpose and the reasons behind the use of each term; definitions of Refugees, Migrants and under temporary protection used in this study. As mentioned above Syrians in different countries of current residency, been dealt with differently and termed differently ‘guests’, ‘refugees’, ‘migrants’, or ‘under temporary protection’. Therefore, it is essential to define the main terms that are widely used in host countries with the highest number of Syrians and to understand them within the context of the host countries. In the case of Türkiye, for example, Syrian refugees are not officially recognized as refugees due to geographical limitations in Türkiye’s definition. Instead, they are categorized as being ‘under temporary protection’.

1.3.1 Refugee

A refugee, as defined by the (UNHCR), is an individual who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin due to a well-founded fear of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion. Refugees are protected by international law, including the 1951 Refugee Convention. It’s important to note that while every refugee starts as an asylum seeker, not every asylum seeker is ultimately certified as a refugee, leading to occasional confusion between the two terms (UNHCR, 2006). As noted above Syrians are not regarded in Türkiye as refugees, however in Jordan and Lebanon they are.

1.3.2 Migrants

According to the UN Refugees and Migrants website, “While there is no formal legal definition of an international migrant, most experts agree that an international migrant is someone who changes his or her country of usual residence, irrespective of the reason for migration or legal status”. According to the UN Migration Agency (Inter-Governmental Organization) (IOM) A

Migrant is: any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of

- (1) The person's legal status;
- (2) Whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary;
- (3) What the causes for the movement are; OR
- (4) What the length of the stay is;

1.3.3 Forced migration;

Forced migration or displacement refers to the involuntary movement of individuals from their homes because of conflicts or natural crises. As mentioned by Wickramasinghe, and Wimalaratana (2016, p.17) "Forced migration includes refugees and asylum seekers who cross borders due to conflicts and political uncertainties, and the displaced who have lost their settlements due to natural disasters and construction projects" (Bell, et al., 2010; Castles, 2003).

The majority of theories and frameworks have been designed, adapted, and adequate for the regular and voluntary migration and with the different types of migration in general. Yet, when it comes to forced migrations and migrants, there is an adequate shortage in theories and literature in general. Nevertheless, the Syrian context presents a certain ambiguity. While it may be valid to classify those who fled their country during the initial stages of the conflict (2011 - 2012) as forced migrants, the situation becomes more complex when considering individuals who embarked on a subsequent asylum journey to Europe. To what extent should these individuals be categorized similarly? The answer lies in the nuanced perspectives of social scientists, necessitating further research and in-depth discourse within the academic community.

Though these kinds of definitions could be applied to Syrians who went on a second journey from Türkiye, Jordan or Lebanon to the West and Europe, yet the last term; Under temporary protection individuals (UTPI) seems to be only used in the Turkish context.

1.3.4 Under temporary protection individuals (UTPI's)

The earlier terms are regulated and tied by each country's policy, and the international law, accepted and used accordingly. However, for the Syrians in Türkiye situation was different. First, Syria is not a member of the Council of Europe and has not been recognized as a European country by a Presidential decree. Secondly, Türkiye has included the definition of a refugee in Article 61 of the LFIP based on the 1951 Geneva Convention and the 1967 New York Protocol, being one of the only four states in the world that are bounds to the Geneva Convention or its Additional Protocol

that preserve the geographical limitation in the definition of refugee: Türkiye, Madagascar, Monaco and Congo.” Hence, it is not possible to grant refugee status to people migrating from Syria under Turkish law (Tarman, 2023, p. 100-102).

So, in 2013 Türkiye’s adopted ‘Temporary Protection Regulation which regulates the rights, obligations and procedures regarding those granted temporary protection as first asylum law. (Akdemir, 2019, p.324; UNHCR, 2019; Özden, 2013). Given this term ‘Under temporary protected individuals for Syrians and settlers according to the UNHCR / Turkey “Syrian nationals, as well as stateless persons and refugees from Syria, who came to Türkiye due to events in Syria after 28 April 2011 are provided with temporary protection (TP) by the Government of Türkiye. The Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM) is the responsible governmental body for all asylum procedures in Türkiye, including the temporary protection regime.”

Also, according to Bakora (2022) one of the latest articles on this matter, written in Arabic, by a directly affected individual, describes the current situation and specifically comments and links the term been given to the Syrian and the difficulties been experienced by many Syrians in Türkiye in general up till this very moment: “The failure of Syrians to obtain the legal status of asylum in Türkiye due to obstacles in Turkish law has led to poor legal status and difficulty in reaching legal stability”. On this point Levkowitz (2023), in his report claims:

Today, the almost 4 million Syrians in Türkiye enjoy temporary protective status and are regarded as guests in the country—even if they have been there for over a decade. While this status does afford Syrians in Turkey access to some basic rights, such as free health care and education, the scheme also bars them from ever applying for Turkish citizenship. Foreigners can typically apply for Turkish citizenship after five years of residency.

However, with the latest regulations and updates in relation with this same term, many Syrians had managed to gain the Turkish citizenship, within the last few years the Turkish citizenship was offered to over two hundred thousand Syrian skilled UTPI’s (AIDA, 2024).

1.4. Syrian Refugees in Türkiye, Neighbouring Countries and Europe

Talking about Syrian refugees in Türkiye, as mentioned above we must remember that they are not termed as refugees, they are termed as under temporary protected individuals (UTPI’s). Which mainly differ in the rights the country is obliged to give to those individuals, though they are at the same condition as Syrian refugees in most other host countries. “those who merely received temporary protection status may face various hardships. When temporary statuses cease,

this could result in a transformation into irregular statuses, involuntary returns, and secondary migration.” (Valenta et. al., 2020, p. 157)

Whether the Syrians are termed as refugees, guests, or UTPI’s, the actual term has more of a value for social scientist than it is for Syrians -as we doubt that the terminology itself actually matters for the majority of Syrian individuals- the actual value of the term differ when it is applied and allocated rights to those Syrians individuals accordingly. Especially if they are compared to Syrian refugees in many European countries, were they expect to find a better life style in general. However, this is not the case when they are compared to Syrian refugees in other neighbouring Arab countries, such as Jordan and Lebanon. The refugee’s condition is much worse in these countries in specific, According to (Kraft et.al., 2018) the number of registered Syrian refugees in Jordan more than 660,000 but the actual total, considering those unregistered, it is estimated at around 1.3 million, -those of which could be from Palestinian refugees origins, who had previously sought asylum to Syria back in 1948-, At the time where the actual population of Jordan is about 11 million, and according to the International rescue committee report, (2017, p. 2) Jordan hosts 87.45 refugees for every 1,000 inhabitants,

Therefore, hosting such a large number of the Syrian refugees counts as second largest hosting country per capita after Türkiye. Not to forget that Jordan counts as a small size country. Additionally, according to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) for Palestine Refugees in the near east (UNRWA) Jordan hosts the largest number of Palestinian refugees since 1948. However, it is important to consider the current political and economic conditions of these nations, as well as the limited natural resources available to their inhabitants. Furthermore, the size of the country's landmass and the significant population of indigenous citizens must also be taken into account when defending their actions. Jordan for example argues that the influx of refugees has had a negative impact on its economy, this has been discussed in the ACAPS Thematic Report, stating:

Jordanian government officials have repeatedly over emphasised the negative impacts of the Syrian influx into the country, attributing a contracting GDP, water shortages and growing poverty and unemployment rates exclusively to the refugee crisis. (Thematic Report, 2016, p.1-5). Syrian refugee workers tend to work longer hours than Jordanians, with a larger share working six or seven days a week. They are also generally paid less than Jordanian workers and employed on the basis of oral agreements. (Thematic Report, 2016, p. 4).

In a similar scenario, to what has been on going in Türkiye since the beginning of the coming of Syrians to Türkiye, the report discusses some of the same issues related to the Syrians labour in Jordan. Ferris & Kirişçi (2016) further discuss the situation of Syrian refugees and UTPI in neighbouring countries. They compare between the situation in Türkiye, Jordan and Lebanon:

The Turkish government continued to extend assistance, but, like Jordan and Lebanon, it, until recently, did not allow the refugees to take up jobs legally (although more and more refugees reportedly worked in the informal sector). (Ferris & Kirişçi, 2016, p. 49)

Also, the ILO indicates that the unemployment rate in Jordan increased from 14.5% to 22.1% during the extended period from 2011 to 2014 (Hazzouri, 2021, p. 34)

Partly; This is where this study comes in, it compares to an extend Syrian refugees' conditions and life style, their expectations and what they actually have found; had they stayed in Türkiye and neighbouring countries, or went in a second migration journey to any European country, regularly or irregularly.

1.5. Rationale

Syrian individuals and communities are the main target of this thesis, in Türkiye and neighbouring countries (Lebanon and Jordan), since 2011 in general, those who decided to stay in Türkiye and the neighbouring countries and those who went on a second migration / asylum journey to Europe and the West especially after 2015. The Syrian communities, as mentioned earlier, can be categorized into two main groups: skilled and semi or unskilled Syrian individuals. These groups significantly influenced how the individual approached the decision of whether to remain in or leave the initial country of refuge. Consequently, this study conducted a comparison between those who chose to stay and those who relocated, examining their reasons based on their skill levels skilled or semi-skilled/unskilled using quantitative and qualitative methods as appropriate for the different groups.

In addition, hence push and bull factors are the most important macro factors as well known from general migration theories and literature, that influence migrants and refugees decision on taking the action on moving from one state to another through the past centuries, this becomes more of an importance when talking about forced Syrian individuals. Thus; this thesis is a try to fill the gap in the literature and to understand the different reasons that pushed Syrian refugees especially to take this decision and actually move with all the expected and unexpected risks they could face.

1.6. Research Questions

This thesis aims to explore the key push and pull factors influencing the decisions of Syrian individuals in Türkiye and neighbouring countries between 2015 and 2020 to take a second or more migration journey to Europe and the West or to stay in the first host country they moved to in the first place. Specifically, we investigate the impact of pre-conflict skills, mobility patterns, academic and job opportunities, gender dynamics, social and human capital, and potential restrictions faced by skilled and unskilled refugees. Our analysis sheds light on how these factors shape refugees' choices and experiences.

Moreover, comprehending the underlying causes and motivations that prompt Syrian individuals to move from one destination to another is crucial. Such understanding benefits both researchers and policymakers in host countries, enabling them to refine and enhance their policies and responses. Additionally, this knowledge can alleviate the hardships faced by migrants and refugees by fostering a deeper understanding of their circumstances and personal point of views. Furthermore, this study will make valuable contributions to the framework of multiple migration theories. With the main questions being:

- What are the reasons and factors behind the multiple migration flows of skilled Syrian individuals?
- The reasons for skilled, semi-unskilled Syrians favouring staying in Türkiye over a second migration trip.

By addressing these questions, the study aims to uncover the factors influencing the migration decisions of skilled and unskilled Syrian refugees, shedding light on their experiences, challenges, and aspirations. Being skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled in theory affects individual's way of thinking and make a huge difference in a person's decisions and the way they deal with different situations.

1.7. Research Limitations

The challenges posed by the pandemic (Covid-19, 2020-2021) have significantly hindered the reach of Syrian individuals both within and outside of Türkiye. Additionally, these restrictions have impacted the feasibility of conducting interviews face-to-face and limiting it to online platforms such as Zoom, WhatsApp, and Messenger

However, the feasibility of reaching individuals through online platforms, particularly for quantitative examination methods, as a supportive and exploratory approach, could have been enhanced if not for the limitations related to access of individuals to technology. Additionally, obtaining reliable and up-to-date theoretical data primarily from online published articles and books related to Syrian refugees in neighbouring countries remains a challenge.

1.8. Thesis Plan

This thesis is composed of eight main chapters. The first chapter is the introductory section, a general overview of the study is given, with specific focus on main study groups, and research questions. The main motivation behind the choice of the topic. This chapter consists of a number of sub-sections where besides the research problems and major questions, important definitions, background are given. As well as current conditions of Syrians in Türkiye and neighbouring countries; demographics, legal status. Chapter two presents the theoretical Framework, methodological perspective and the methods used are explained and elaborated, as well as sampling and related information. Whereas the third chapter consists of a review of the literature on skilled, semi-un/skilled migrants, the push and pull factors, macro, micro, and meso factors influenced the decision of migrants to take the initial steps and actual movements approaches. The fourth chapter covers push and pull factors impacted the decision of skilled Syrian individuals to move to the west, including details of the qualitative interviews with skilled Syrian individuals and their opinions. Also, it covers push and pull factors impacting the decision of skilled Syrian individuals to stay in Türkiye, including qualitative interviews with them and presenting the findings and analysis. The fifth chapter consists of a quantitative study examining skilled and unskilled Syrian individuals, their reasons, factors impacting their decision for staying in Türkiye. Finally, the sixth chapter is allocated to discuss findings and conclusion remarks of the thesis. This chapter is the closest to represent possible answers for research questions, further research ideas and recommendations.

CHAPTER II:

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK & METHODOLOGY

Many theories have been studied and discussed in general and in details regarding general types of migration. Including a very interesting article by Massey et al. (1993) with a title of “Theories of international migration: a review and appraisal” covered the majority of theories regarding international migration and labor migration in specific, these theories still apply after two decays of publishing the article. Yet, according to Karakoç (2021), based on the initial argument that “no theory alone can fill a gap”, it is emphasized that all theories should be used in a blend in accordance with international law towards war victims and at the same time in contribution to both national interests and international peace while setting policies. Hence, this thesis uses both theory and a theoretical model to deal with the condition of Syrian refugees and individuals in Türkiye and neighboring countries. The push-pull model and the human-social capital theories apply to the Syrian individual’s case. It is essential to note that there are strong connections between the push model and human capital and also between the pull model and the social capital theory.

2.1. General Theories

As for the Syrians migrant case, in addition to them being forced migrants/ refugees, there are similarities with other cases as argued by Valenta et al., it is stated that the “Bosnian and Syrian refugee migrations share some important characteristics. In both countries, forced migrations occurred extremely rapidly” (Valenta et al., 2020, p. 166). Also, the Syrians cases do fall under the push and pull factors huge and important umbrella. As though they were forced to leave their homes, lands, cities, and country, yet they had made different choices of staying in Türkiye and neighbouring countries or leaving to Europe according to the skills they had or didn’t have, or even having to go back to Syria with all the risk they would face there. In terms of conflict duration and magnitude, the temporary migration system’s prevalence and the choices for secondary migration to Europe and other countries are significant factors (Valenta et al., 2020, p.166).

In general, in migration theory, the fundamental premise underlying this theory is that migration contributes to change the economic, social, cultural and institutional conditions in both

the destination and origin countries (Wickramasinghe and Wimalaratana, 2016, p. 24). From a different point of view, this also apply to the Syrians, as they take their second migration journey, trying to change their conditions on many aspects, in their home, temporary current residence and the country of distention. Again, it is important to emphasis that push factor model is strongly aligned with human capital, were push factor model consists of the reasons that pushed an individual to leave his initial country of residence to a different destination in order to enhance their own conditions, and human capital theory, as argued by Akçapar (2005-6, p. 22), were she recognizes the relationship between the significant contributions of an individual to the economic growth, his/her own success and the level of education and skills that individual has gained through his schooling and working life, this will be further discussed in this chapter. Also, pull factor model is strongly aligned with social capital, as stated by Koudir, “the pull factors primarily focus on the factors that attract migrants to migration. While the social network theory reflects the social ties that assist migrants with that migration.” (Koudir, 2021, p. 15).

Human Capital Theory: Analyzing how education, skills, and training influence refugees' labor market outcomes and socioeconomic integration.

Social Capital Theory: Examining the role of social networks, community ties, and trust in facilitating access to resources, employment opportunities, and social support.

One major short comings of migration theories, according to Arango (2000) is that the main limitation of New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM) is its exclusion of other major forms of international migration like illegal migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, and families, which in turn challenge the assumptions of the model (Wickramasinghe and Wimalaratana, 2016, p. 26). In addition, these theories hardly touched on forced migration, though taking in consideration the year this article was published, the writers have witnessed many forced migrations within different parts of the world. However, it is possible that the severity of the situation was not fully recognized at the time, or the lack of rapid international interactive social media platforms may have hindered the acknowledgment of the significance of the forced migration community. Consequently, this importance was not adequately reflected in many scholarly articles and theories.

Thus, this study relies on a mixed theoretical framework to explore the motivating factors behind Syrian refugees, individuals, and migrants persistently moving between destinations. The framework delves into both push and pull factors, considering skilled and semi-unskilled dynamics,

which influence the decision to embark on a secondary migration journey toward Western countries.

This section lays out the theoretical framework underpinning this study on Syrian refugees' migration patterns and decision-making processes. While numerous theories have been developed to explain various types of migration, the complex nature of forced migration, particularly in the context of the Syrian refugee crisis, necessitates a multifaceted theoretical approach. This research employs a blend of established migration theories, with a particular focus on the push-pull model and human-social capital theories, to analyse the factors influencing Syrian refugees' decisions to remain in initial host countries or undertake secondary migration. The chapter begins by examining the relevance push and pull factors for skilled and semi-/unskilled migrants and limitations of existing migration theories in the context of forced migration. It then introduces the mixed theoretical framework adopted for this study, which combines macro-, meso-, and micro-level factors to provide a comprehensive understanding of Syrian refugees' experiences and choices.

2.1.1. Push and Pull Factors for Skilled and Semi-/Unskilled Migrants

Push and pull factors: this overarching concept serves as the largest umbrella under which numerous migration forms and types find their place at. It plays a major impact on migration patterns and diaspora in general. Undoubtedly, it played a fundamental role in shaping the decisions of Syrians whether to remain in Türkiye or to leave on another migration /asylum seeking journey. Many factors, including brain drain, wage, language, geographical distance, cultural and religious familiarity, and numerous others would be taken into account under the umbrella of push and pull factors. Summarised in Lee's push-pull theory of migration; "the logic of the push-pull theory is that if the plusses (pulls) at the destination outweigh the plusses of staying at the origin, the migration is likely to occur."

In the last decay, brain drain and skilled individuals' migration has noticed a lot of attention, nevertheless; Syrian skilled individuals, going on multi trip migration process looking for the best chances and opportunities in different environments, societies, and countries around the world, taking into consideration the different pull factors that influences making the decision on going on multi trip migration. Including the cultural, political, and religious factors from the "liberal thinkers also view cultural influences as well as political influences resulting from international trade in a positive way" (Assegaf, 2021, p. 56-57). As argued by by Akçapar (2005-6), "a theoretical framework for skilled migration needed to incorporate a mixture of micro and macro-variables"

(Akçapar, 2005-6, p. 22; see also Salt and Findlay, 1989; Iredale, 2001). Where human capital theory, recognizes the relationship between the significant contributions of an individual to the economic growth, his/her own success and the level of education and skills that individual has gained through his schooling and working life. Human capital concept might have been an applicable factor for some of the Syrian migrants, those who used their skills, abilities and education level to move from Türkiye and neighbouring countries to Europe and the West. Nevertheless, this could not be generalised on all Syrian migrants who took a second asylum journey; surely it was not the case for the semi or un-skilled migrants.

Further as Akçapar discusses, when examining Turkish highly skilled migration to the United States, it is essential to consider the interplay between micro (individual) and macro (structural) factors, as well as the meso level (relational) that connects individuals, institutions, and other organizational agents. The concept of human capital cannot be adequately captured by focusing solely on macro and micro variables (Akçapar, 2005-6, p.23). This perspective is also relevant and would be applicable for skilled migrants from Syria to Europe and the Western countries. From another point of view, we can link human capital to semi-unskilled Syrian migrants to Europe and the West by the idea of those who migrated looking to enhance their skills and abilities and looking for a better paid job.

Hence, this thesis focuses on this important umbrella of “Push and Pull factors,” as well as the macro and micro variables that influenced the decision of skilled and semi/unskilled Syrian individuals to undertake a second migration, or to stay in the first host country they moved to.

2.2. Methodology

This methodology section outlines the mixed-methods approach employed, including qualitative in-depth/ semi-structured interviews and quantitative survey, to gather rich, multifaceted data on the complex decision-making processes of Syrian refugees in Türkiye and those who have moved on to other countries.

To comprehensively investigate the research questions, this study employs a mixed-methods approach, combining qualitative and quantitative research techniques. The qualitative component involves in-depth interviews with Syrian who have either undertaken a secondary migration journey or chosen to remain in their initial host country. These interviews provide rich, first-hand accounts of the participants' experiences, motivations, and decision-making processes.

The quantitative component employs a survey-based approach, targeting a larger sample of Syrian refugees residing in Türkiye. The survey aims to collect data on factors such as education levels, employment status, social and cultural considerations, and preferences of participants secondary migration. Statistical analysis of the survey data will facilitate the identification of patterns and correlations between various factors and the decision to undertake secondary migration or remain in Türkiye.

Understanding and believing on a wider prospective, just like Valenta et al., (2020, p. 154) “in order to obtain a complete picture of the likely emerging migration patterns, qualitative model and quantitative models need to be supplemented with experiences from refugee migrations”. The data for this thesis was collected through mixed methods, including snowballing sampling, qualitative in-depth/semi-structured interviews, and quantitative examination method as a supportive explorative method. By triangulating the findings from both qualitative and quantitative methods, the study aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the push and pull factors influencing Syrian refugees' decisions regarding secondary migration or staying in their current host countries.

2.2.1 Qualitative Research (In-depth Interviews)

Qualitative in-depth/semi-structured interviews, in social science, is a type of research that collects and works with non-numerical data, done by the researcher as one engages with participants to explore their thoughts, feelings, and behaviours in specific situations. While it doesn't rely on statistical analysis like quantitative research, it provides valuable insights for understanding human behaviour and social phenomena (Bhandari, 2020; Flick, 2009).

Using snowballing sampling methodology; a non-probability sampling method commonly used in social science research to identify and recruit hard-to-reach populations, where one participant directs the researcher to another participant or more, this could continue as much as the researcher desire. This method is very useful when the desired population of the sample is geographically wildy distributed. It is a valuable method as well for qualitative research when traditional sampling approaches are impractical or insufficient. However, it is not very representative of full population being studied; i.e. researcher cannot make statistical interpretations about the entire population and there is a high chance of research bias (Nikolopoulou, 2022-2023).

In this research, the first participant I reached was through a Syrian individual I knew while working at a Syrian school in Türkiye back in 2015, who volunteered to be a gatekeeper. The

gatekeeper contacted individuals both in Türkiye and outside it (some of those who managed to migrate to the West) and put me in touch with them. In addition to those I met in different occasions in Ankara, and connected me with some of their relatives and friends outside Türkiye.

From one side, qualitative in-depth / semi-structured interviews method was used for the first part of the data collection for this thesis. Qualitative in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with skilled Syrian individuals both inside and outside Türkiye, using online platforms such as zoom, WhatsApp and messenger, due to difficulty of movement through the time of pandemic (Covid20/21). In addition to obtaining the relative theory data from mainly online published articles and books.

Interviews were conducted with fifteen affected individuals, ranging in age from 20 to 50 years old. The interviews were primarily conducted in Arabic, recorded, transcribed, and then translated into English. It should be noted, that my native proficiency in Arabic allowed me to navigate potential language-related challenges, minimizing the risk of misunderstandings and misinterpretations during the interview process by enabling a more accurate translation.

The Interviewees were divided into two main groups; the first group of interviews involved seven skilled Syrian individuals who had relocated to various Western countries. The primary focus was to gather insights related to;

- Skills Syrian individuals had had before the conflict, their movement and mobility from Syria to neighbouring countries at first, and whether they managed to use their skills in finding academic or job opportunities in these countries.
- Micro or macro factors that pushed skilled Syrian individuals to move out of the first country they sought refuge in. Movement methods and whether the gender factor had an impact on their journey.
- To what extent did social and human capital influence their initial migration and subsequent settlement? Furthermore, did their experiences align with their expectations and aspirations?
- Lastly; whether it is true; that restrictions were imposed on unskilled Syrian refugees even if they are forced migrants and need humanitarian assistance and protection?

In contrast, the second group of interviews consisted of eight also skilled Syrian individuals who had settled in Türkiye over the past years. Despite facing numerous challenges, including self-educating (in Turkish language), limited job opportunities, and comparatively lower wages (especially when compared to Western countries), they deliberately chose to remain in Türkiye rather than relocating to the West, even though they had a significant opportunity to do so.

This research gave me access to Syrian individuals across the world to talk about their experiences and better understanding of many aspects, especially human smuggling and trafficking, human and social capital impact on refugees and forced migrants.

Main questions, other than the demographic questions, were open-ended questions; targeted to each specific individual, depending on whether they stayed in Türkiye or left to the West, aiming to find some actual reasons, push and pull factors that affected the decision and action taken accordingly. These centred around the following direct questions:

- What difficulties and challenges did you face in Türkiye when you first arrived?
- Did you work in Türkiye? What position did you occupy? (Salary?)
- Did you have an opportunity to leave Türkiye? If yes, why did you not take that opportunity?
- What made you chose to stay in Türkiye?
- Have you applied for Turkish citizenship? Have you received it?
- Do you think receiving the Turkish citizenship will change your prospects?

The study explored some of the push and pull factors such as learning a new language, finding suitable opportunities and wages, -where the same factor could be a push factor in one country, yet a pull factor in another country- in these migration flows and the methods of entry into neighbouring and Western countries. In addition to the applied policies by different countries (in the East and the West). These policies on their own could be considered as push and pull factors, where in the East mostly it is considered as a push factors, but in the West mostly it is considered as a pull factor.

2.2.2 Quantitative Research (Online Questionnaire)

Considering that Türkiye hosts the largest number of refugees and asylum seekers, including those classified as Under Temporary Protection Syrians (UTPS), totalling almost 4 million Syrians individuals, it was appropriate to conduct a quantitative study to complement and enhance the results and findings of the qualitative study. This quantitative approach utilized and employed examination and explorative techniques as a supportive method, (Flick, 2014, p. 6) making use of appropriate software programs used for qualitative, quantitative analysis and mixed research methods.

Statistical analysis of the survey data will facilitate the identification of patterns and correlations between various factors and the decision to undertake secondary migration or remain in Türkiye. On the other hand, the use of quantitative examination method alongside with

qualitative method as a supportive explorative method helps to “mutually validate the findings of both approaches” (Flick, 2014, p. 6). In summary, quantitative research focuses on measurable variables using numerical data, while qualitative research explores into the deeper understanding of behaviour and phenomena through non-numerical data.

This study seeks to quantitatively examine and analyze the reasons why many Syrian individuals choose to remain in Türkiye rather than pursuing a second migration to Western countries. These reasons include social factors such as having family ties in Türkiye, establishing marital and settled lives there, feeling a sense of belonging to Turkish culture and tradition, and the potential ancestral connection to Turkish origins, which may enhance the probability of obtaining Turkish citizenship.

This part of the study focused on total of 100 Syrian individuals, over the age of 18, who participated willingly in the survey, residing in different cities within Türkiye, generally under temporary protection policy. This survey followed a quantitative examination method, collected data by making use of available online resources and particularly through a Google form for the creation of the questionnaire. Social media was used to disseminate the questionnaire for the targeted respondents. Obviously, this was not a representative survey, as the participants were not selected from a list, but volunteered to participate in the study. Therefore, quantitative research is based on random sampling methods, which can be described as a type of convenience sampling.

The main hypothesis for this part of the study is ‘that semi-skilled / unskilled Syrian individuals with a current job, and less educated majority of Syrians, and those with pronounced moral and religious views are likely to opt to stay in Türkiye over a second migration trip to the West and Europe. Consequently, the study analysed three primary factors in relation to the above hypothesis that individuals prefer to stay in Türkiye rather than migrate to Western and European countries if they are semi-skilled /unskilled and have sufficient pull factors within Türkiye. These factors include social considerations, professional and educational levels, and moral and religious factors.

CHAPTER III: LITERATURE REVIEW

Since the beginning of the Syrian conflict back in 2011, social scientists have shown great interest in one of what later been defined as the biggest humanitarian disaster in our modern world. According to UNHCR the conflict led to the displacing of over 6 million individuals all over the world. However, in reality, this figure does not cover internally displaced individuals, nor persons that irregularly crossed worldwide borders. Many scientists agree that this figure does not actually represent all affected Syrian individuals.

Back in 2016, Ferris and Kirişci stated “A humanitarian catastrophe—a tide of refugees fleeing Syria— is now entering its sixth year and the international community is still struggling to respond.” Though that was at a considerably early stage of the Syrian conflict, were they carried out a project and wrote a book under the title ‘The Consequences of Chaos: Syria’s Humanitarian Crisis and the Failure to Protect’ (2016).

The civil war in Syria has actually resulted in the displacement of more than 10 million people, which is over half of the country’s population. This crisis has created one of the largest human displacements since the end of World War II. The book “The Consequences of Chaos” goes beyond the sheer numbers of uprooted Syrians and delves into the long-term economic, political, and social implications of this massive movement of people. next are some main points discussed by (Ferris and Kirişci, 2016). The book highlights the limits of humanitarian response, even on a massive scale, in resolving political crises. It raises fundamental questions about the relationship between conflict resolution actions and humanitarian aid to assist victims. The increasingly protracted nature of the Syrian displacement crisis requires thinking beyond relief assistance. The international community should adopt developmental policies to help refugees become productive members of their host communities. As argued by the authors, “The Syrian conflict and resulting displacement are clear signs that the present international system for preventing and resolving conflicts has been deeply challenged—at least in the Middle East.” (Ferris and Kirişci, 2016).

Here we are today in 2024, the Syrian conflict and the Syrian refugees matter is entering its fourteenth year, yet, many of the problems discussed at an early stage of the conflict still applicable for many Syrians and Syria, especially when talking about skilled, semiskilled or unskilled Syrian individuals in Türkiye. Ferris and Kirişci (2016) note, “No final solution to the war in Syria appears in sight and funds to support an ever-increasing population of displaced persons are neither sufficient now nor likely to be sustainable in the future.”. Whereas during the summer of 2015, the number of Syrians trying to cross the Türkiye-Europe border peaked (İçduygu and Şimşek, 2016, p. 61). This resulted in the so-called ‘migrant crisis’ in Fortress Europe and a set of precautions to stop irregular crossings followed (Kaya, 2021, p. 3). However, with all the efforts been put on studies to understand Syrians situation and their migration decisions, yet the literature lacks to covers the current situation and no adequate studies have been recently conducted on many related aspects. Skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled Syrian individuals in Türkiye and neighbouring countries, push and pull factors, motivations and other reasons had affected their decision on staying in Türkiye and neighbouring countries or taking a second migration / asylum journey to Europe and Western countries. Thus, this literature review tries to see the gap in the literature regarding these issues in relation with the Syrians in specific. By analysing relevant articles, exploring key themes related to skilled and unskilled migrants, push and pull factors, education and labour migration, forced migration, and other challenges faced Syrian refugees and under protection individuals.

3.1. Skilled and Unskilled Refugees

Researchers explored the reasons behind skilled professionals leaving their home countries, often seeking better economic prospects, educational opportunities, or political stability abroad. Skilled refugees, similar to other skilled professionals, hold a favorable position in most states due to job opportunities and the potential for brain drain in developed countries. More recent studies delve into the complexities of skilled migration, considering factors such as transnational identities, diaspora networks, and the impact of migration on both sending and receiving countries.

On this matter, Akçapar’s (2005-6) research with a title ‘Turkish Highly Skilled Migration to the United States’ provides valuable insights into Turkish highly skilled migration to the USA, emphasizing the importance of informed policies to maximize the benefits of skilled mobility while minimizing potential drawbacks. She states: “studies also indicated that in Türkiye’s case there was a relationship between economic and political instability and emigration of skilled people.”

(Akçapar, 2005-6, p. 20). Looking at it from this point of view, if this was regarding the inhabitants and citizens of Türkiye, what do we expect of refugees in Türkiye? Assumingly, it would be even harder for refugees to cope, especially if challenges are accompanied with learning a new language and other social factors. Akçapar (2005-6) cites Tansel and Güngör (2003) and Kurtuluş (1999) to highlight that labour force participation rates in Türkiye have not kept pace with the growth of the young population. This inconsistency is evident in both unskilled domestic migration and international migration, as well as in the phenomenon of brain drain affecting skilled individuals. Not to forget the migration policies of nation-states, which plays main role as it favours those with human, and social capital over those who lack these skills and connections. Where human capital refers to the knowledge, skills, and all competences a person would have and social capital refers to the connections with friends and relatives around the world an individual could have, (Akçapar, 2010)

An article by Mert (2023) titled ‘evaluation of brain drain in terms of country risk ratings: applications of shrinkage methods’, marks a great up-to-date, more recent studies and research regarding skilled individuals from different parts of the world, looking at different angles for different communities. Mert investigates brain drain, defined as the one-way movement of educated and skilled human capital to developed countries, which stands out as a major socio-economic problem for underdeveloped and developing nations. However, the majority of articles and studies related to skilled migrants, come to similar basis; analyzing brain drain in terms of economic, financial, and political risk ratings of countries. On the political risk factor,

Mert (2023) contends that political risk is more pronounced in developed countries, encompassing factors such as political instability, governance quality, and policy uncertainty, all of which contribute to brain drain. Conversely, financial risk has a greater impact in developing nations, where issues related to currency stability, banking systems, and the investment climate influence migration decisions. Mert (2023) also emphasizes that both developing and developed countries should implement policies aimed at retaining skilled labor. Addressing economic, political, and financial risks can help mitigate brain drain and promote sustainable development.

Skilled migration in general has its advantageous and disadvantageous, despite the benefits of skilled migration (such as knowledge transfer, remittances, and global networks), uncertainty persists. Critics argue that brain drain caused by the migration of skilled individuals /groups worsens inequalities, weakens home countries’ institutions, and continues dependency on foreign

expertise. On this point, we argue that Türkiye and neighbouring countries could have gained better from skilled Syrian individuals rather than aiding them to take a second migration journey to the West and Europe. Nevertheless, the majority of the above discussed literature and more regarding skilled migration and much more, is targeting general skilled migration, this thesis is targeting forced Syrian skilled and semi-unskilled individuals, those who were forced in a way to take this route, or different policies and conditions led them to make such a choice, in-order to secure a better opportunities for themselves and their families, hence looking at literature regarding skilled Syrians refugees and migrants.

In contrast to skilled migrants, unskilled migrants face greater challenges in gaining acceptance and benefiting from opportunities in developed countries. Generally, Syrians, in particular, are less favored and welcomed in these nations. As Ferris and Kirişci argue, these circumstances not only render Syrian refugees susceptible to exploitation but also lead to resentment, particularly among local unskilled workers seeking employment in the informal sector. They further add: “In a tense context of a worsening economic crisis in Turkey, Syrians living in the country have been regularly scapegoated by politicians and citizens, and many advocate for normalizing ties with the Syrian regime to end the war and send Syrians back to their country” (Ferris and Kirişci, 2016, p. 42). Also, similar ideas stated by Bağır, “The negative impact on skilled labor force seems to be contradictory to the theoretical expectations since the refugees are particularly substitute for unskilled native workers.” (Bağır 2018, p. 134). Hence, we can see that the literature needs further enhancing, more recent studies and researches, taking into consideration the older studies and recommendations, providing a stronger and more solid understanding of theories and linking them with actual current experiences.

3.2. Push and Pull Factors

Push and pull factors have been well discussed by Krishnakumar and Indumathi (2014) in their article “pull and push factors of migration”. The article has explained in details what is pull and push factors, and gave many examples, including economic, political, and religious factors. Explaining Push factors, where they have a great amount of effect on migrants, they are normally associated with origin country and acts that encourage migration such as; war and fear of political persecution, education, lack of economic opportunities, poor healthcare, and natural disasters (Lee, 1996). Krishnakumar and Indumathi argue that they “are factors that compel a person, due to different reasons, to leave that place and go to some other place”. Where the pull factors are “those

factors in the destination country that attract the individual or group to leave their home.” (Krishnakumar and Indumathi, 2014, p. 10). Yet, both push and pull factors could play a double agent, i.e. what works as a push factor for some individuals and refugees, might work as a pull factor for some other, or even for the same individuals. They clarify “the volume of migration from one place to another is associated not only with the distance between places and number of people in the two places, but also with the number of opportunities or obstacles between each place.” (Krishnakumar and Indumathi, 2014, p. 11). However, though this article did not concentrate much on forced migrants and refugees, who fled their countries because of wars and conflicts, similar to the Syrians after 2011, who currently counts for the largest number of refugees, asylum seekers and displaced individuals around the world. Yet it gave a fair account on push and pull factors.

On the other hand, with more of a recent perspective, a study by Kouider (2021) under the title ‘Syrian Secondary Migration. A study on push and pull factors behind the irregular migration of Syrians from Turkey to Europe’, discusses the push and pull factors, influenced Syrians secondary migration to the West. Kouider compares between push and pull factors, referring to pull factors as the gains and benefits from a Syrian individual perspective, had they stayed in Türkiye, or took another migration journey to the West. In this study the author looked at one aspect of our thesis, concentrating on the prospective point of view that push-pull factors play main model, being highly applicable to migration studies, trying to find the connection between the theoretical framework and the informants’ experiences (Kouider, 2021, p. 7). Using semi structured interviews with seven cases of Syrian individuals from different states within Türkiye, to conclude with “The pull factors represent the attraction and the gains that the Syrian refugees will achieve in the destination countries. One of the reasons for their migration to Europe is because they want to improve their situation and seek a better future and avoid being deported to Syria” (Kouider, 2021, p. 45).

According to Kouider (2021) the push factors for Syrians to make a second journey to Europe, could be summarized in three points; Turkish policies and procedures have significantly pushed many Syrians to seek alternative destinations. From a fundamental right acquiring side; Syrians faced difficulties accessing the labor market, accommodation, and refugee status in Türkiye, and from a Socio-Economic perspective; economic hardships contribute to the decision to migrate for many Syrian individuals. However, Kouider, also summaries the pull factors to the European side as; Europe offered improved safety and protection for Syrians and their children. From the social network forthcoming, social ties play a crucial role in influencing migration decisions and avoiding

deportation to Syria, however as for the socio-economic gains; Syrians anticipate a better future in Europe compared to their situation in Türkiye.

Furthermore, a thesis written by Hazzouri (2021), with the title “Multiple Migration flows by Syrians, the case of Syrians changing destination Turkey to the United Kingdom”, as the title of the thesis self-explain it mainly discusses Syrians who took a second migration journey to the United Kingdom from Türkiye, excellently discusses push and pull factors that pushed Syrians to make such a decision and take such an action. Compared between the positives and negatives of Türkiye and the United Kingdom under many primary reasons and push factors for the Syrians initial movement from Syria to Türkiye, stating “entry to Turkey was easy in the first years of the war when the "open door policy" was active” (Hazzouri, 2021. p. 54).

In addition to discussing main primary reasons and pull factors for Syrians taking a second migration to the United Kingdom. Factors including security, health, education, language, religion and many more. This thesis is great addition to this field in many aspects, the only shortcoming is that it is limited to those who went to the United Kingdom, though this could be considered as an advantage, since it is focused on one group and one destination of migration, yet, we think it may count as a disadvantage, since it is not comparing between other migration destinations, specifically within other European states, which would have given a wider image and better understanding of the similarities between European countries on dealing with migrants and refugees in general, and with Syrian refugees / asylum seekers in specific.

Henceforth, this thesis is looking from a wider prospective, comparing between push and pull factors in relation with skills Syrians’ individual (had or gained), using a larger number of interviewees, trying to gain a wider picture and understanding of the actual reasons affected the decision to stay or to leave, and the end results for those who left to the West.

3.3. Education and Labor Opportunities

Migration, whether internal (within a country) or international (across national borders), is a complex phenomenon influenced by various factors. One critical determinant is the availability of labor opportunities. In this context, we explore the motivations behind migration decisions, considering not only Syrians in Türkiye and the Arab world but Syrian individuals worldwide. Internal Migration is when people often relocate within their own country in search of better employment prospects. This form of migration, known as internal migration, occurs when individuals move from one city or region to another within national boundaries. While International

Migration is crossing national borders, involves individuals or families seeking improved livelihoods, education, safety, or other opportunities. Despite the inherent risks, such as cultural adjustments, legal challenges, and economic uncertainties, people continue to migrate globally.

Since labor and education are tightly aligned, and they both play as push and pull factors, for the skilled migrants especially. As it is known, in general the higher level a person's education has, the more likely to find better labor opportunity is. Both (education and labor) highly affect each other in relation with decision making whether to move from one place to another, internally or internationally.

Krishnakumar and Indumathi (2014) emphasize that migration dynamics are multifaceted. Their research highlights that migration volume is not solely determined by distance or population size. Instead, the interplay of opportunities and obstacles significantly shapes migration patterns. As mentioned by Krishnakumar. and Indumathi, "the volume of migration from one place to another is associated not only with the distance between places and number of people in the two places, but also with the number of opportunities or obstacles between each place." (Krishnakumar and Indumathi 2014, p. 11)

Yet, on the other hand, according to Arango (2000), critically commenting on migration theories, states that one major short coming of migration theories as "the main limitation of New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM) is its exclusion of other major forms of international migration like illegal migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, and families, which in turn challenge the assumptions of the model." (Wickramasinghe and Wimalaratana, 2016, p. 26). Hence, forced skilled, semi-unskilled Syrian individuals are excluded from such theory. That align with what Yıldız and Uzgören (2016) concluded from their interviews with Syrians in Izmir, on their experiences living in Türkiye, and with the Turkish communities on their perceptions on Syrians, that most Syrians in their sample faced not much discrimination on the basis of their nationality, but experienced socioeconomic challenges about housing, employment and education" (Ozduzen et al., 2020, 3351). However, it was not until early in 2016, almost 5 years from the Syrian conflict, the Turkish government announced the new regulation on provision of work permits for people Under Temporary Protection which will grant work permits to Syrians registered with the (DGMM) and others under temporary protection in Türkiye. (IOM.INT, 2016). The same almost applied for accessing the education system, "These restrictions have included prohibiting Syrians

from accessing the labor market, denial of refugee status, and deprivation from the healthcare system and education” (Koca, 2016, as quoted by Kouider, 2021, p. 6).

3.4. Forced Migrants and Migration

In-depth study was carried out by Valenta et al., (2020) analyzes the international migrations and statuses of people who left Syria after the outbreak of the civil war. It explores the dynamics of Syrian refugee migrations since 2011 and discusses future prospects and possibilities of return. The study compares between Bosnian and Syrian refugee situation, bringing up the numbers the Syrian refugees, similarities and differences between the refugee’s situation, crises, and draws lessons from former large-scale refugee migrations. The Syrians migrants’ case, in addition to them being forced migrants/refugees, exhibit significant similarities with the Bosnian case. In both countries, forced migrations occurred rapidly. These migrations can be categorized under the broad umbrella of push and pull factors. Despite being compelled to leave their homes, lands, cities, and country, refugees made distinct choices—some opting to stay in Türkiye, while others sought refuge in Europe based on their skills and circumstances. Additionally, returning to Syria posed risks due to the conflict’s duration and scale, the prevalence of a temporary migration regime, and the available options for secondary migration to Europe and other countries.

3.5. Religious and Cultural Factors

Religion plays a major role for many refugees and migrants in general, this is well known to social scientists and psychologists. From the one hand, religion and culture could play as a pull factor to stay in Türkiye for those considering themselves as conservatives, those who are trying to look for a reliable and comfortable society to raise their children on the same values of religion and cultural as they were raised or closest. As stated by Hazzouri “There is a remarkable convergence between Arab and Turkish culture, traditions. Also, both communities have common religious and societal practices” (Hazzouri, 2021. p.88). On this point Şafak-Ayvazoğlu et al. state that “sharing the same religion appeared to create a common ground that encompasses similar customs, norms, beliefs, manners and festivals, which seemed to strengthen the relationship between the natives and the refugees, increase the level of participation in the host community, contributing to socio-cultural adaptation (Şafak-Ayvazoğlu et al., 2021, p. 108-109).

On the other hand, the same factors could play as a pull factor for those who are less concerned about such values for themselves, nor for their beloved family members, or even for those who has

no tight connections to family members and relatives, also religion and ethnicity would play a crucial role in influencing migrants' choice of destination migrants may choose or relocate to “religious and ethnic factors may encourage or limit migrants' decision to leave or stay based on the context surrounding them and its appropriateness to their religious and ethnic identity.” (Şafak-Ayvazoğlu et al., 2021, p. 91).

3.6. Miscellaneous Factors

These are the collectiveness of many factors, such as; the presence of friends, community networks, family ties, and relatives, language familiarity, and the desire for a better quality of life, aspiration to obtain education, social and religious factors, and “closeness of cultural contacts, cultural diversity” (Krishnakumar and Indumathi, 2014, p. 11). These factors most applies to many Syrians, mainly those with family and kids, those could be effected by host societies. Having this in mind along with other factors into consideration when taking the decision, whether to stay or to leave Türkiye.

CHAPTER IV: QUALITATIVE STUDIES: MOVING TO THE WEST & STAYING IN TÜRKİYE

The movement of highly-skilled people internally and internationally has noticed a higher attention recently. As statistically shown, highly-skilled people are in advantage of easier mobility when compared to unskilled or semi-skilled people, in addition in finding jobs they are more likely to find higher and better position in their own country and in other countries worldwide.

4.1 Moving to the West – Qualitative Study 1

Migration policies of nation-states plays main role as it favours those with human, and social capital over those who lack these skills and connections, where human capital refers to the knowledge, skills, and all competences a person would have plus social capital, defined as “the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Akçapar, 2010, p. 162). This has been highly observed through some Western countries sending their representatives at the beginning of the Syrian conflict between 2011 and 2015 looking for and providing asylum to many skilled Syrian refugees from Syria’s neighbouring countries.

In the one hand; The Canadian government was one of the first countries, announcing their intention of welcoming Syrian refugees from Türkiye, Jordan and Lebanon on their main government website; as stated by (Canadian Government website, 2015-2016):

“Nov. 9, 2015: New committee to help bring refugees to Canada,

A new Cabinet Ad Hoc Committee with nine Cabinet ministers was created to help bring Syrian refugees to Canada. This committee will be a driving force in delivering on the government’s commitment to welcome 25,000 Syrian refugees to Canada.”

Nov. 17, 2015: UNHCR sends texts to refugees about coming to Canada,

The UN Refugee Agency sent the first SMS text messages to registered Syrian refugees in Jordan and Lebanon to determine which refugees are interested in coming to Canada. In Türkiye, the Government of Türkiye will communicate with and register refugees for resettlement in Canada.”

“Jan. 26, 2016: Canada announces the Syrian Family Links initiative: Bringing Syrian refugees and sponsors together.

Through this initiative, Syrians in Canada can identify family members who are refugees in Lebanon, Jordan or Turkey and help link them with local sponsorship groups in Canada who are seeking someone to sponsor.”

Conversely, both Türkiye and Arab countries exhibited delayed responsiveness in harnessing the potential of numerous skilled Syrian refugees during the initial stages of the conflict. This period coincided with the influx of Syrians seeking safety and refuge from the oppressive regime President Bashar al-Assad's between 2011 and 2015. In defence of Türkiye, we must not forget that Türkiye was one of the rare countries that opened the borders in an open-door policy for the Syrian refugees and extended respect to them by calling them guests and brothers. Also, we should remember that it is not the first time Türkiye follows such a policy with those in need, unlike many other countries which closed their doors or held them in bad conditions.

In the case of Jordan and Türkiye, both governments initially welcomed the first waves of refugees with open arms. This response was partly influenced by the limited number of refugees at the time and their shared belief that the Damascus regime would soon collapse, allowing the refugees to return home quickly. In Jordan, the government invited the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to oversee the management of refugee camps and facilitate co-registration of refugees. Meanwhile, in Türkiye, the Disaster and Emergency Management Agency established and operated the camps. Additionally, the Turkish government officially granted temporary protection to the refugees in October 2011, stating that it would manage the situation without international assistance. (Ferris and Kirişci, 2016, p. 38)

The main assistance the Turkish government was trying to provide initially was safety and shelter for those crossing the border, who -at the time- reached close to 3.6 Million Syrians, and assuming the situation is a temporary one; accordingly gave them essential protection and basic requirements for living, under temporary protection policy. According to the UNHCR, Jordan hosted approximately 662,010 Syrian refugees who are registered with the UN, but the Governmental estimates are much higher, suggesting that Jordan hosts 1.3 million Syrians, i.e. Jordan hosts 87.45 refugees for every 1,000 inhabitants, as mentioned by the International rescue committee report (2017, p. 2), while Lebanon hosted 1.5 Million. However, it must be noted that Syrian refugees in both Jordan and Lebanon were not 'really' welcomed. Ferris and Kirişci note on the case of Jordan: "Although Jordanian government continues to identify its policy as 'open doors,' human rights and international nongovernmental organization officials note that it is not really the case in practice" (Ferris and Kirişci, 2016, p. 39).

While Türkiye hosted the most Syrians, it only took serious action towards the flowing of Syrian refugees in and out of Türkiye in 2016, with the "EU-Turkey deal" that went into force in

March 2016. This was part of a plan to retain Syrians in Türkiye and limiting further flow into Europe, the Economist reported this stating: “Turkey committed to closing its borders to refugees on their way to Europe and also to receiving those being sent back from Europe” (quoted by Kenppart et al., 2018).

On another aspect, being a formal or informal employee is an important factor for refugees integration into the host society, as mentioned by Ager and Strang (2008) “One of the key drivers of refugees' societal integration is their employment in a host country” and from the skilled Syrian refugees prospective, being a heavy guest, unemployed, waiting for the charity of the host community was very heavy on their chests also, as confirmed by one of the cases interviewed (Interviewee M-III) said: “you know we, the Shami [Syrian] people, can’t just set do nothing, and wait for the charity to come to us, we like to gain our bread by our hands”. Finding an acceptable job in the public or private sector outside the camps whether in Türkiye, Jordan, or Lebanon, was a necessity for many skilled Syrian refugees, in addition to advancing their education and skills which was another priority for many of them.

However, that was not the case, as finding opportunities for the improvement of themselves was very limited between 2011 and 2015. It is reported, “according to estimates – which vary widely between authors – between 0.5 and 1.5 million have found jobs. However, only a relatively small number of formal work permits have in fact been issued since 2016, and the overwhelming part of the Syrian population in Turkey is employed informally,” (from Kirişçi and Kolasin 2019; Turkish Red Crescent and World Food Programme 2019; European Commission 2019; cited by Düvell et al., 2021, p. 3).

Hence, this section will look into the reasons of out-migration of skilled Syrian refugees who initially went to neighbouring countries after 2011, when the conflict broke out, and later to the West on another asylum / refuge journey hoping to find better opportunities and improvement of their lives. In order to better understand the reasons, from the refugees themselves, qualitative in-depth / semi-structured interviews were conducted with seven individuals, possible macro, micro, and meso factors, i.e. push and pull factors in these migration flows and the methods of entry into Europe and Canada were explored. Also, what other capitals and policies, other than social and human capitals, had a significant role in facilitating these flows was analysed.

The interviews concentrated on finding answers regarding, skills the Syrian refugees had before the conflict, methods they used in their mobility from Syria to the neighbouring countries.

Also, whether they managed to use their skills in finding academic or job opportunities in the countries they moved to. The Main reasons that pushed the skilled Syrian refugees to move out of the first country they sought refuge in. The actual steps they took to move to the West, and whether they found what they were expecting and hoping to find. Lastly if it is true that restrictions were imposed on unskilled Syrian individuals even if they were forced migrants and needed humanitarian assistance and protection. The exact questions are presented in Appendix 1 (Qualitative interview questions for skilled Syrian refugees who moved from Türkiye to the West?)

4.1.1 Main Questions for those who moved to the West

Demographic questions:

Age:

Gender:

Marital status:

City of origin:

- Did you work in the country you first sought refuge in? What position did you occupy? What salary did you get?
- Did you have family members or friends in the country you chose to move to?
- What made you decide to move to Europe/ the West?
- Tell us about your journey to the country you are resident in?
- What difficulties did you face in the country you are resident in when you first arrived there?
- Did you receive any education / training/ job opportunities in the country you are resident in?
- What is your work occupation at the present time in the country you are resident in?
- Salary?
- Have you met any Syrian friends in the same Community/work place/ Neighbourhood?
- Tell us about how you have adapted to the new culture? What did you find most challenging? And what do you miss most about Türkiye, Jordan, or Lebanon?
- Have you applied for citizenship? Have you received it? if yes, will it change your prospects?

4.1.2 Findings and Analysis

For this part of the research interviews were conducted with seven cases individuals who took a second migration journey, due to the accessibility to candidate who are willing to share their details and experience. These are as follow:

M-I case interviewed, a male, 30 years old, went to Germany, through irregular routes, after coming to Türkiye and trying to settle in Türkiye for almost two years, he tried working and adapting to the life system and new economic realities. When could not see a promising future in Türkiye he decided to move to Germany. He was very open about his experience, he said: “it was

very hard, expensive, and long journey, but it was worth it”. Going through hazardous routes, being imprisoned for weeks in some parts of his journey, and sleeping on the roads in parks in a complete strange country, while in some other parts, walking for hours with complete strangers trying to figure out the next step of the journey. He reached the country he was dreaming of reaching and after five years, he is now settled, with a good decent job and sufficient income to live on and even make a saving from. He also contributes financially to his family which still lives in Türkiye.

M-II case, a male, 33 years old, went to Canada, through regular or semi-regular routes, as he applied with some members of his family to move to Canada through the Canadian governments, who came to Türkiye as well as other neighbouring countries, gathering a large number of Syrian refugees, especially skilled individuals, to move as refugees to Canada, for new life, and new hope of settlement. Five years later, he is settled with full citizenship, married and has a child. He is working in a sufficient job though not in his field of expertise, yet he enjoys his new work. He is earning sufficient money to be able to buy a house. Also, he is planning to continue his academic endeavours and education and maybe go back to his original field of work.

The M-III case, a male, 37 years old, went to Germany through regular routes, applying for a visa through the German embassy in Lebanon and getting a visa, to go to Germany. This individual was very reserved and he was rather felling suspicious of the interview and was quite secretive. He was not willing to open up and ended up being the shortest interview (about 40 minutes) in comparison with the other interviews which each lasted for almost two hours. Yet, he is settled, working as a surgeon in a small village in Germany, with a much higher income than the one he used to get in Syria. He is married, but did not like to share information about his personal life and family.

The M-IV case, a male, 36 years old, went to Sweden, through a mix of regular and irregular routes. As he went to Jordan at the beginning of the conflict in Syria, he entered regularly through the borders, not as a refugee, and he worked in Jordan for almost three years, in his speciality. However, he didn’t find living in Jordan very promising for his career, skills nor economic state, as well as for the future of a family he wants to have in the future. For him “Jordan does not have job security, neither can he trust the Jordanian government or any other Arab government”. He is settled in Sweden, though working in a different field from what he expected to work in. He is gaining sufficient income to support himself, yet he is not fully adapted into the Swedish culture,

and is not sure that he will ever do. Things are not as easy and smooth as he anticipated, especially when talking about making equivalence of his certificates and working with his field of expertise.

For the F-I case, a female, 33 years old, went to Canada, through regular or semi-regular routes again, this was similar to the case M-II, though she had been a refugee in Jordan before moving to Canada, but she had a similar story and method of movement. She went along with six members of her family including her mother. Again, she has been there for less than 5 years, and she managed to work in a similar field to the one she was working at in Syria. She has managed to go back to education, continuing her education in the same field she had her first-degree in. In addition, she is being supported financially to continue her education, to learn the language of the country and to learn any other skill she likes to learn. She said: “The Canadian government supports everyone to learn and practice which ever skill any person likes to do, never mind where you come from, nor your education level.” She concluded with, “overall, I can say that I was lucky through my experience moving to Canada, was a great decision”.

Both the sixth and seventh (M-V and M-IV) cases were very similar, since both of them were male cousins (28 and 30) years old, the both went to Germany through the regular routes, after coming to Türkiye and trying to settle in Türkiye for almost two years, they tried working and adapting to the life system and new economic realities. However, they failed to see a promising future in Türkiye, so they decided to move to Germany. They both faced more or less the same difficulties getting to Germany, and even after reaching Germany. Yet after few months they separated, and each of them found his own way in different cities of Germany.

Below is a Table of Interviewees with Some Skilled Syrians whom moved to Türkiye and some Neighbouring Countries, then on a second journey to the West and Europe (Table 1).

Table 1: Table of interviewees, Syrians who Moved to the West

Interviewees:	M-I	M-II	M-III	M-IV	F-I	M-V	M-IV
Age	30	33	36	37	31	28	30
Gender	Male	Male	Male	Male	Female	Male	Male
City of origin	Halap / Syria	Qamishli/Syria	Damascus/Syria	Syria	Dara'a / Syria	Damascus/Syria	Damascus/Syria
Came to Türkiye	2011	2012	Transit through Lebanon (2014)	2012	Transit Through Jordan (2013)	2011	2011
Country living in present time	Germany	Canada	Sweden	Germany	Canada	Germany	Germany
Left Türkiye to the West	2014	2015	2014	2013	2014	2015	2015
Marital status	Single	Married	Single	Married	Single/Engaged	Single	Single
Number of Children	N/A	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Academic qualifications/ Education	Finished second year-philosophy	Electrical Engineering-Damascus University	Civil Engineering-Damascus University	Graduate of Medical Doctor - Damascus University	University graduate in child education from Syria	Economy	Pharmacology
Occupation in Syria	Not worked in Syria	Worked in a petrol company	Civil Engineer	Surgeon specialist – Digestive system	Primary school teacher	Economist in private company	Pharmacologist
Occupation at the present time	Working with mentally disabled students in a public center	Working as a sales man in a furniture company	Working as administrative in a consultation office	Working as a surgeon in a public hospital	Continuing education	Work as an accountant in a small business	Works as driver and continue education
Wages (Low/ Good/ Very good)	Very good	Very good	Good	Very good	Good	Good	Good
Method of Travelling	Irregular	Regular	Irregular	Regular	Regular	Irregular	Irregular
Main Difficulties	Language, Waiting for things to happen (Time)	Language, Waiting for things to happen (Time)	Language, Waiting for things to happen (Time)	Language, Waiting for things to happen (Time)	Language, Waiting for things to happen (Time)	Language, Being single Missing family	Language Being single Missing family
Would come back to Türkiye or Syria	Yes, for visits only	Maybe, when my daughter grows up	Never	Never	I would love to, if things go back to Normality	Would love to after getting the citizenship	Would love to come back to Türkiye or any Islamic country.

4.1.2.1 Challenges and Push Factors in Türkiye, Jordan and Lebanon

As an answer to the question why they left to the West? Mainly the answer centred around the challenges (i.e. push factors) they faced in Türkiye, Jordan, and Lebanon. These are subdivided mainly into: language, work, education, policies and opportunities in general, starting with the challenges they faced in the first host countries Syrians sought refuge in.

Language:

Language is a key factor for migrants and migration in general, it plays a double side agent for one actor, as it could be a push factor, and a pull factor for the same individual, at different locations, and different times, i.e. if a migrant to consider a state to move to, first thing they think of the language of that state, since it is the key to managing life at the very rudimentary level.

Though Many Syrian individuals and families didn't have the privilege of choosing the state they moved to, yet it was easier for some than others, on the one hand, language was not an issue for those who went to Arab neighbouring countries (i.e. Jordan and Lebanon), since some areas actually have the same accent not only the same language. Yet, learning the Turkish language was a great obstacle Syrian refugees/ guests faced in Türkiye, as mentioned by M-V and M-IV interviewees "the government did not provide Turkish language courses, nor guided us to ways of learning the language, so learning the language for us was very difficult, especially that we don't have any Turkish language background." Encountering individuals who conversed in languages other than Turkish —such as Kurdish and Arabic— presented a dual-edged situation for Syrian refugees and guests. Some viewed it as advantageous -their prior knowledge of Arabic/ Kurdish from Syria- hence in some zones in Türkiye these languages counts as native to their inhabitants. This was emphasized by Interviewee M-I, in his words; "I used Kurdish all through the three years in Türkiye, I didn't need to learn or speak one Turkish word".

However, it was the worst thing for others who didn't speak the Kurdish language fluently in these areas, and had to work mainly amongst Kurdish speakers in many factories and small businesses -off the record, nor been able to speak or learn the Turkish language easily. This was mentioned implicitly by Interviewee M-II, "I couldn't learn the Turkish language as I used to work with Kurdish speakers all through the day, then go back and try to learn Turkish, yet speaking Arabic with my family, that was too difficult for me". This has emphasized the absences of the role of the government in providing courses and guidance for the skilled Syrian refugees at the very early stage (2011 – 2015) of welcoming Syrians into Türkiye.

Labour and Work Opportunity:

One of the main factors individuals relocate and migrate for, internally and internationally is to enhance their economic situation and labour position through finding a better work opportunity, this applies for general and labour migrants, and also for forced migrants and refugees. Hence, finding a decent job for many of the Syrian refugees in all three countries (Jordan, Lebanon and Türkiye) was a great challenge, as Syrian refugees were looked down upon, skilled or not skilled, educated or uneducated. This did not really make a big difference in finding a decent job. Though it must be noted, that it was easier for those with human and social capital, like those who had relatives and friends in the countries they moved to in the first time including Türkiye. In addition, to those who spoke other languages, like Arabic and English in Jordan and Lebanon, or Kurdish for those who were located in some regions in Türkiye.

Yet; for those who did find a job, the work load was very heavy, the payment they got was certainly insufficient, and the opportunities were very limited, which reflected negatively on many Syrian refugees, specifically on the educated and skilled ones. This point was explicitly stressed upon by Interviewees M-V and M-IV “Sorry, but I have to say this, ‘Syrians working for some of the Turks in some of the jobs, was more like slavery rather than a job’, working for very long hours, no official break, you actually only gets 2 coffee breaks one at the beginning of the day, one at the end of the day, and a lunch break, within 11-12 hours’ day of work”.

Education and Policies:

To be able to start or continue education for a Syrian refugee legally within the Turkish system was an obstacle at the very beginning (between 2011 and 2015) until policies changed. whether for young children or adults, all had faced a difficulty in a different way. Primary, secondary or high school children were not permitted to join the education system until they had their ID issued. This was temporarily resolved by opening some Syrian schools in some cities, vaguely monitored by the Turkish government. That was mentioned and agreed on by Interviewee M-II, as he described “how he had to work in a Syrian school, teaching Maths and Physics for high school student who were not able to join the Turkish education System at the time of him being in Türkiye.”

Undergraduate university students and higher education students faced different types of problems, where the language stood as a barrier from one side, and finding a relevant or suitable department and field to join within the Turkish universities was very difficult at the early stages.

This had had a very negative impact on many Syrian, specifically the educated and skilled ones, and those hoping of continuing their education. Policies like acceptance into education sector, making equivalence of education certificates (where available), accepting many skills and approving them, work permits, given country's residency and later citizenship, all these policies were not available between 2011 and 2015, as mentioned by Kouider (2021). It must be noted, "these restrictions have included prohibiting Syrians from accessing the labor market, denial of refugee status, and deprivation from the healthcare system and education" (Koca, 2016, p. 6).

During the period when numerous Syrian refugees opted to relocate to Western countries, it became widely acknowledged that certain policies, including those related to basic human rights, were fundamental to the Western context. However, in Jordan and Lebanon, such policies remain absent, offering no avenue for acquiring citizenship. In contrast, Türkiye currently provides limited opportunities, while the Western countries offer a significantly more feasible path toward citizenship.

Interviewee M-II provided a full account on how he was offered all needed documents as first arrived at the Canadian airport, including residency cards and legal documents to start their application for the Canadian citizenship. Also, he adds, they were given bank account cards, with their name and sufficient amount of money to support them financially at the very early stages being refugees in Canada.

Opportunities:

Finding opportunities to support an individual's own and family financially, physically and psychologically is a main concern for majority of human being. This was very difficult for most of the Syrian refugees where ever they sought refuge at the beginning of the Syrian conflict. Hoping to find better future and opportunities was one of the main reasons for many Syrians who went on a second journey to the West, especially the skilled Syrians. This was stated by interviewees M-II and F-I, stating that "those who were skilled and went regularly on a second migration journey, had much hope and actually found what they were hoping to find in the West."

4.1.2.2 Pull Factors, Settlement and adaptation in the West

Though it was a delayed act, yet for Western governments representatives to come to the countries neighbouring Syria, looking for Syrian refugees and giving them a new chance and hope for a better life in a new country, with all basic rights and opportunities provided as well as being financially supported was like a dream came true. In addition, changing policies in many sectors

in these Western countries to adapt for the Syrian refugees coming to be new residents, this by itself gave a very positive impact on Syrian refugees moving from Türkiye, Jordan and Lebanon to the West.

Language:

Learning a new language was a challenge in some countries, at the beginning of Syrian crisis, yet, when it was supported by some governments in the West, it was positively reflected in the integration process and adaption to the new country. With an exception of the case in Sweden, were Syrian refugees faced similar difficulties to that is detailed in the study of Bucken-Knapp et. al. (2018), where it took longer than expected to validate educational qualifications and learning the Swedish language, which was harder when compared with other Western languages. The same point was also mentioned by an interviewee who went to Sweden in hope of continuing his education, and finding a job in his speciality (civil engineering), he said: “it took me too long to validate my certificates, and I am still learning the Swedish language, I haven’t mastered it, it is actually not as easy as I thought it would be, so I have to delay my aim a little bit more, but I will achieve it eventually, after I masters the language first.” (Interviewee M-III)

Labour and Work Opportunity:

Providing regular and sufficient income to Syrian refugees on arrival to the country, in addition to given them the country’s residency, and work permit, released a massive part of the pressure of finding an adequate job to support one’s own and family basic needs, with their human dignity being preserved. Nevertheless, opportunities were provided to work in some council centres if competences were met. However, if competences were not met, opportunities to improve their language, skills and education level were also provided to match the required level of expectances in different fields and aspects of labour sectors. Though this was mentioned by interviewee M-II, Both M-V and M-IV interviewees stated that “they had similar yet different scenarios. Since they both irregularly made their way to Germany, however when they managed to get their asylum applications forms legally into the system, they started to get all basic needs and benefits as expected and more”. When the above is compared to those in Türkiye, around the same timeline, the pushing factors from Türkiye towards a second migration trip become very obvious

Education:

Work and education complement each other as a pull factor in many countries in the West. It counts as a secret weapon to prevent and control illegal labour, plus aiding the integration process. Therefore, it is very important to have a sufficient level of education in addition to managing the country's main spoken language. The best way to gain that is by the government providing educating and language centres and professionals for refugees as an immediate action and activity to be taken by refugees, after settling in a suitable accommodation. This was mentioned by all interviewees (see Table 1) except for interviewee M-IV, who didn't give any account on how he was accepted into the medical system in Germany.

Policies:

Policies were applied by countries differently, particularly when it is a comparison between the East and the West parts of the World. These policies on their own could count as push and pull factors, where in the East they counted as push factors, yet in the West as pull factors. This was clearly mentioned by one of the interviewees, where he said: "I can't stay in the Arab countries, I will never be a citizen or get the rights of a citizen, where ever I go in the West I will be granted the legal residency at least, plus money, work and education opportunities" (Interviewee M-IV). This was agreed on to be true by all the interviewees, and Western policies changes supporting this idea even further, by given the residency to most of the correspondents on arrival, enhancing the integration process by miles instantly.

4.1.3 Conclusion for Qualitative Study 1

This section investigated the reasons of out-migration of skilled Syrian refugees who initially went to neighbouring countries after 2011, right after the conflict broke out, and later to the West on second migration journey hoping to find better opportunities and improvement of their lives. It could be concluded that some factors played as double cards for many Syrian individuals. For some played as push factors, those summed under 'challenges in Türkiye, Jordan and Lebanon' factors, and for some played as pull factors, those summed under 'settlement and adaptation in the West'. Also, human and social capitals had played a great role in the integration process for some of the skilled Syrian refugees, those who managed to get to Europe, in addition to luck as some of them described their experience by 'lucky experience'. Other points to be noted, flexibility, courage and hope, that had played a major part in the process of integration. Flexibility in the acceptance of moving in the first migration / seeking asylum time, and again in the second migration journey and

flexibility in learning new skills, new languages, and new cultures, flexibility in adapting to new life all together.

Ethnic origin, particularly language, plays a decisive role in shaping migration aspirations among Syrian refugees in Türkiye. While social networks partially account for differences, other factors remain inconclusive. Further research is needed to explore the nuanced interplay between language, attitudes, and migration decisions.

4.2 Staying in Türkiye – Qualitative Study 2

While some individuals choose to embark on a second migration journey, others opt to remain in their initial settlement and navigate the associated challenges. This section examines the integration of skilled Syrian refugees who have settled in Türkiye over the past thirteen years, despite some having the chance to emigrate to Western countries. Yet; with all the obstacles they faced in Türkiye, such as; self-educating mainly the Turkish language, limited suitable opportunities and low wages -in comparison to the West-, they yet made the decision to stay in Türkiye and not to move to the West with all the available attractions. Some of them had actually moved to a Western country, but returned to Türkiye when they realised Europe is not as good as it has been visualised for them, and not very suitable for the future of their children -from a religious and moral point of view-. Obviously, they didn't and have not favoured to move to the Arab countries either -specifically the Gulf- since there is no real opportunities nor a chance of being naturalised, hence, getting the citizenship of any Gulf country is almost impossible.

For this part of the study, interviews were conducted with (eight) Syrian individuals, concentrated on trying to understand the reasons behind many Syrian refugees favouring staying in Türkiye over a second migration trip to the West and Europe. The analysis considered various macro, micro, and meso factors, as well as other significant capitals and policies beyond social and human capitals, that influenced their decision. Key social factors included having family in Türkiye, getting married and settled in Türkiye, feeling a sense of belonging to Turkish culture and traditions, having Turkish ancestry, and obtaining Turkish citizenship. Occupational and educational factors were also significant, such as finding suitable job opportunities, securing employment related to their expertise and education level, or continuing their education, particularly after the 2016 regulation allowing Syrian students to enrol in higher education (Hohberger, 2018). Additionally, moral and religious factors played a role, with similarities between the Turkish and Syrian moral and religious environments (Şafak-Ayvazoglu et al., 2021).

There was also a fear of not finding a comparable environment for themselves nor their families if they moved to the West.

4.2.1 Main Questions for those who stayed in Türkiye

Demographic questions:

Age:

Gender:

Marital status:

City of origin:

- Academic qualifications?
- Work occupation in Syria?
- When did you arrive into Türkiye?

Open-ended questions:

- What difficulties did you face in Türkiye when you first arrived?
- What made you chose to stay in Türkiye?
- Did you work in Türkiye? What position did you occupy? What Salary did you get?
- What challenges did you face in finding work in Türkiye?
- Did you have an opportunity to leave Türkiye? If yes, why did not take that opportunity?
- Tell us about you experience in Türkiye?
- Have you applied for Turkish citizenship? Have you received it?
- Do you think receiving the Turkish citizenship will change your prospects?

4.2.2 Findings and Analysis

4.2.2.1 Pull Factors within Türkiye; Reason for Staying in Türkiye

In this section, it is noticed that the majority of the interviewee were female, highly educated and academics, most of them are working and would like to stay in Türkiye. The major reasons for favouring to stay in Türkiye over moving to some European states, though they had a chance or few chances to move were -as they stated- through the interviews, “Türkiye is a good Country, I would not move away from here, unless something force me out” interviewees M-I said. While M-II said, “Türkiye has a similar culture and tradition of ours back in Syria”. Interviewees F-I, F-III, M-I, F-IV and F-V stated, “Türkiye has more freedom than some European countries for us and our children, especially when it comes to practicing our religion and to wear any religious symbols such as the head scarf for women and teenage girls”. For interviewee F-V, had actually moved to France, sought refuge there, and tried to adapt to the culture and life style for almost three years, she had a teenage girl, who went to French schools, and was not allowed to wear her headscarf in

school and was bullied simply for practicing her own faith. That was actually the final and main reason for the family to come back to Türkiye, as the teenage girl then started having psychological issues including split personality or multiple-personality.

However, interviewee F-II, is a female who holds German passport, her husband went to Germany after coming to Türkiye at the beginning of Syrian conflict, he gained the German nationality, and passed it on to his family. Yet, he decided to come back to settle in Türkiye with their children and other members of the family, they didn't want to move with their kids to the West in general, as to her, "The West and Europe does not suit us, doesn't suit our morals nor religion" interviewee F-II.

On another aspect, the economic stability, interviewee M-II says: "The major factor for me would be being economically stable". "I moved to Türkiye at the critical point of the conflict in Syria, then I got my wife and kids to come here too, I didn't get a chance to move to the West nor Europe at the time, I didn't try to move either, and I would not move. I managed to find a good job in my field, my wife is working too, both of us working in our expertise (Teaching Arabic language for non-Arabic speakers) and we have a good income". Other factors did have an impact on their decision not to try to move to the West such as, cultural and religious factors, feeling safe and free to practice our faith, in addition to being close to Syria too.

On the same aspect interviewees M-I and M-III says: "we would not move to West it does not represent us, it is far from our homeland, if we had a chance not to move out from Syria, we would have not moved to Türkiye in the first place. We moved with our parents, if we are to move to the West, we will be alone and will have start from the scratch again, plus, we need to learn a new language". Interviewee M-I says: "I didn't need to learn the Turkish language, I speak Arabic and Kurdish, in the city I am settled in (Mardin), it is sufficient to have these two languages to manage your life, yet I learned some Turkish, though I am not planning to move out of this city." On the same line interviewee F-IV stated: "I would not move out of Türkiye, my kids have perfected the Turkish language, we have adapted to the life style, and the education system, I managed to work in the university as a lecturer -though the salary is low-, my oldest are studying in the university, they formed a stable friendship around".

Interviewees M-III and F-IV, faced some problems after gaining the Turkish citizenship, "We faced some problems actually after we gained the Turkish citizenship! as there is a specific law, for those working in a public academic sector, once they gain the citizenship, they have to resign

from their job, and reapply as a Turkish citizen! That's not fair for us; first of all we didn't know about this law, before we accepted the offer to become Turkish citizens. Secondly, we are not offered a sufficient language course by the university or the government. Thirdly and most importantly, we are squeezed between two decisions, either we become Turkish citizens, and lose our jobs, or we keep our jobs, but stay refugees, or under temporary protection."

Interviewee M-III added that: "another problem I faced was receiving a specific medical treatment, I had had hepatitis C, and I was denied treatment for it for few years, I was only monitored! Yet, as soon as I became Turkish citizen, the medical authorities contacted me, and asked me to do new tests, and gave me the treatment immediately." He said, "I got married in Türkiye, to a Syrian woman living in the same city, we applied together for the Turkish citizenship, my wife was pregnant when we applied, and informed the authorities of the pregnancy. However, we received the Turkish citizenship after our first daughter was born, she was about 5 months old, and thought, we registered her immediately after birth, and informed the Turkish authorities, they didn't take that into consideration, and my daughter didn't receive the Turkish nationality until now, she is almost 3 years now".

The statements above and the mixed contributions of the different individuals, could be a reflection on some of the instability of many of the Syrians and the surrounding of these individuals, even though we are talking about the skilled individuals. Yet, they did not and would not consider moving out to the West under any circumstances.

Next, is a table that represent some of the answers to the above questions. Table 2, includes list of skilled Syrian interviewees favouring to stay in Türkiye over a second migration trip to the West.

Table 2: Table of Interviewees, Skilled Syrians whom choose to stay in Türkiye

Interviewees	F-I	F-II	F-III	M-I	M-II	M-III	F-IV	F-V
Age	46	31	42	34	37	31	50	35
Gender	Female	Female	Female	Male	Male	Male	Female	Female
Place and city of origin	Sham	Sham	Halap	Sham	Halap	Halap	Halap	Halap
Marital status	Married	Married	Single	Married	Married	Married	Married	Married
Number of Children	3	5	NA	2	4	2	7	4
Academic qualifications/ Education	High school	Finished Master	PHD In History	Graduated In Geography	Master in Arabic Language	Master in Arabic Language	Master in Arabic Language	High school
Occupation in Syria	School Teacher	Family Business (Boutiques)	University Lecturer	School Teacher	School Teacher	University Student	School Teacher & university Assistant	Family Business (Electronic Equipment)
Occupation at the present time	School Teacher & Assistant	Continuing Master degree in social sciences	University Lecturer	School Teacher & shop manager	University Lecturer	School Teacher & shop manager	University lecturer	Family Business (Electronic Equipment)
Wages (Low/ Good/ Very good)	Just about enough	Good	Good	Good	Good	Just about enough	Low	Low
Main Difficulties	Language & No Sufficient income	Language Opportunities	Higher Education	Opportunities	Language Opportunities	No Sufficient income	No Sufficient income	No Sufficient income
Chance to Leave Türkiye	Yes, Many times	Yes, we have European citizenship	Yes, Many times	No, haven't Tried	No, haven't Tried	Yes	Yes, Many times	Yes, went, and came back
Reason for Favouring Türkiye	Back to my Origins	Good environment for my children	Good Job, & income	Hate moving & Good environment	Good Job, & acceptable income	The best available, & being with my Family	Good environment for my children	Good environment for my children
Turkish citizenship	Yes	Yes	No offered & denied	Offered, not gained yet	No not offered	Yes, But not my Daughter!	Yes	No
Would Stay in Türkiye	Yes,	Yes, Until Syria is Free	Yes, Until Syria is Free	Not thinking to leave	Yes	Yes	Not thinking to leave	Not thinking to leave

4.2.3 Conclusion for Qualitative Study 2

The interviews for this part of the study was conducted with (eight) Syrians, concentrated on trying to understand the reasons behind many Syrian individuals and families favouring staying in Türkiye over a second migration trip to the West, some of which could be linked to social network factors, such as, having a family in Türkiye, getting married and being settled in Türkiye, feeling belonging to the Turkish culture and tradition, or even having Turkish origins within their ancestors and obtaining the Turkish citizenship were all major factors for not moving. Ethnic origin and language in particular, played a decisive role in shaping staying in Türkiye aspirations among Syrians. Finding decent suitable academic and labor opportunities -especially after 2016- served as a critical factor in the decision not to migrate, this mainly for semi-unskilled Syrian individuals. Hence, the connection between both push-pull model and the human-social capital theories applied to the Syrian individuals' cases. It is essential to note that there are strong connections between the push model and human capital and also between the pull model and the social capital theory. Also, it is noticeable that social and human capital had great influence on their initial migration and subsequent settlement.

CHAPTER V: QUANTITATIVE STUDY: STAYING IN TÜRKİYE, SKILLED AND UNSKILLED SYRIAN

5.1. Introduction

Türkiye, hosting the largest number of Syrian refugees and asylum seekers (under temporary protection), accommodates over 3 million Syrians who fled the conflict. This chapter focuses on both skilled and unskilled Syrian refugees who fled their home country due to the conflict in 2011. Despite the challenges they encountered, they have continued to reside in Türkiye for several years. Consequently, a quantitative study was conducted using the appropriate and relative software programs employed for quantitative analysis and mixed research methods.

This chapter aims to statistically examine and study the reasons behind many Syrian refugees (skilled and unskilled) favouring staying in Türkiye over a second migration asylum seeking trip to the West and Europe, some of which could be linked to social factors, such as, having a family in Türkiye, getting married and being settled in Türkiye, feeling belonging to the Turkish culture and tradition, or even having Turkish origins within their ancestors and obtaining the Turkish citizenship. Occupation and education factors, including managing to find a decent job opportunity, a job that is related to their expertise or education level, or even continuing their education in a completely new field. Especially after 2016, with the new regulation of accepting Syrian students within the higher education sector (Hohberger, 2018). Moral and religious factors, such as, similarity between Turkish moral and religious social environment with that of Syria, and the fear of not finding similar and suitable environment neither for themselves, nor for their families and children if they do move to the West.

This study aimed at a total of 100 Syrian individuals aged 18 and above voluntarily participated in this survey. They reside in various cities across Türkiye, including refugees, asylum seekers, and under temporary protection individuals. This study followed a quantitative research method, collected data by making use of available online resources through the creation of a Google form for questionnaire, social media was used to spread and disseminate the questionnaire for the targeted respondents.

This quantitative approach utilized and employed examination and explorative techniques as a supportive method, (Flick, 2014, p. 6) making use of Maxqda Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA) Method, which is a software program, used for qualitative, quantitative analysis and mixed research methods. Along with the use of Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), which is a statistical software suite developed by IBM for data management, advanced analytics, multivariate analysis, business intelligence, and criminal investigation, this software was helpful in turning the numbers from the collected data into Chi- Square, a chi-square analysis with a P-Value significance. If the P-Value is 0.05 or lower it meant the hypothesis was accepted, but if it was higher than 0.05 then the hypothesis was rejected. In addition, tables and graphs were created to make it easier to visualise numbers from the data statistical analysis of the survey data will facilitate the identification of patterns and correlations between various factors and the decision to undertake secondary migration or remain in Türkiye.

The aim of this survey is to examine the main reasons and factors for Syrians skilled and unskilled individuals with their family's preference of staying in Türkiye and not to migrate to the Western and/or European countries instead. The data examined 4 main factors, social factors, level of profession, level of education, moral and religious factors in relation with the chance of moving to the west.

The main hypothesis for this survey, is that skilled or unskilled Syrian individuals with a current job, and less educated majority of Syrians, and those with strong moral and religious views are likely to opt to stay in Türkiye and not to move to the West and Europe.

5.2. Main Questions for Quantitative Study

Next, are the questions used for this survey, along with the general demographic questions; (see appendix for full account of questions).

Not moving to the West:

Did you have the opportunity to move to the west? Yes – No

Reasons

Religious reasons 1 – 5 strongly disagree – strongly agree

1. Similar culture and tradition to Syria/ سورية / عاداتنا وتقاليدنا في تركيا مع عادات والتقاليد في تركيا / بسبب تشابه العادات والتقاليد في تركيا مع عاداتنا وتقاليدنا في سورية
2. Türkiye had good moral / religious environment / تركيا / دينية في تركيا / بسبب وجود أجواء أخلاقية / دينية في تركيا
3. I was worried for my moral / religious wellbeing had I moved to the west
بسبب خوفي من التأثير السلبي على أخلاقي وديني إذا انتقلت للاستقرار في أي من الدول الغربية
4. I had fear for the religious / moral future of my family had I moved to the west
بسبب خوفي من التأثير السلبي على أخلاق / دين عائلتي - أطفالنا إذا انتقلنا للاستقرار في أي من الدول الغربية

Social reasons

1 – 5 strongly disagree – strongly agree

1. To stay with and support my Family is a priority for me
البقاء مع عائلتي و تقديم المعونة و المساعدة اللازمة أولى بالنسبة لي من الهجرة للدول الغربية
2. I have a family / an extended family in Türkiye
بسبب وجود عائلة / أقرباء مقيمين في تركيا، مما ساهم في استقرارني جزئياً وعدم تشجيعي على الهجرة
3. I felt settled / Married in Türkiye / الزواج في تركيا / سبب الشعور بالاستقرار

Occupation reasons

1 – 5 strongly disagree – strongly agree

1. Managed to find a good job opportunity in Türkiye / عمل مناسبة في تركيا / بسبب الحصول على فرصة عمل مناسبة في مجال عملي / مهاراتي في تركيا
 2. Managed to find job related to my field of expertise in Türkiye
بسبب الحصول على عمل براتب مناسب للحياة في تركيا / بسبب الحصول على الجنسية التركية
 3. Managed to find a good paid job in Türkiye / عمل براتب مناسب للحياة في تركيا / بسبب الحصول على الجنسية التركية
 4. Because I got the Turkish citizenship / بسبب الحصول على الجنسية التركية
 5. Because there is a good possibility of getting the Turkish citizenship
بسبب إمكانية الحصول على الجنسية التركية في الوقت القريب
 6. Would you stay in Türkiye, if you can't return to Syria?
هل تعتقد أنك ستقيم في تركيا، إن لم تستطع العودة لسوريا.
 7. Further comments: Any other reasons you think had contributed for taking the decision not to move to the West? هل هناك أي أسباب أخرى ساهمة في اتخاذك للقرار بعدم الهجرة للدول الغربية.
- (write any additional information that made you decide not move to the West and stay in Türkiye).

5.3. Results and Analysis

As mentioned above, Syrian individuals, total of 100 individuals over the age of 18 participated in this survey voluntarily, they reside in different cities within Türkiye, generally individuals under temporary protection and some of whom had become Turkish citizens. In this section, the results are collected and analyzed as appropriate for this type of survey.

It is noticed within this survey, that the majority of correspondents were female, above 18 years old, not working at the time of the survey, 49% of them have finished their bachelors' level education as shown in (Graph 2). The majority of them disagreeing with the idea that 'the similar culture and tradition is linked to the decision they made on not moving to the West'. In the contrary to the majority of 57% strongly agreeing with the idea 'they had fear for the moral / religious future of their family and children if they moved to the west'.

From another approach, the majority response on asking whether 'having a current job in Türkiye had an impact on their decision on staying in Türkiye?' strongly positive response was provided and proved by the Chi-Square test, in (Table 6), with the P-Value (0.041), slightly smaller than (0.05). However, it means that we are 95% confident to say that there is a strong relationship between the Syrians current job and the decision they made to stay in Türkiye.

Firstly, Table 3, presents the first thing to note in this survey, the majority of the correspondents were female with (67%) compared to (31%) male, as showing below;

Sex		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Female	67	67.0	67.0	67.0
	Male	31	31.0	31.0	98.0
	Prefer not to say	2	2.0	2.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

Table (3): Number and Gender of Correspondents of this Survey.

Similar culture and tradition to Syria * Chance to migrate to the West Cross tabulation

			Chance to migrate to the West		Total
			no	maybe	
Similar culture and tradition to Syria	Strongly Disagree	Count	7	1	11
		% within Chance to migrate to the West	12.5%	5.6%	11.0%
	Disagree	Count	4	1	7
		% within Chance to migrate to the West	7.1%	5.6%	7.0%
	Neutral	Count	20	3	25
		% within Chance to migrate to the West	35.7%	16.7%	25.0%
	Agree	Count	8	7	23
		% within Chance to migrate to the West	14.3%	38.9%	23.0%
	Strongly Agree	Count	17	6	34
		% within Chance to migrate to the West	30.4%	33.3%	34.0%
Total		Count	56	18	100
		% within Chance to migrate to the West	100.0%	100.0%	100.0 %

Table (4): Relationship between similar culture and tradition in Türkiye to that of Syria, and migrating to the West.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.122 ^a	8	.146
Likelihood Ratio	13.015	8	.111
Linear-by-Linear Association	.014	1	.905
N of Valid Cases	100		

Table (5): The Chi-Square results for the similar Culture and Tradition to Syria verse chance to migrate to the West

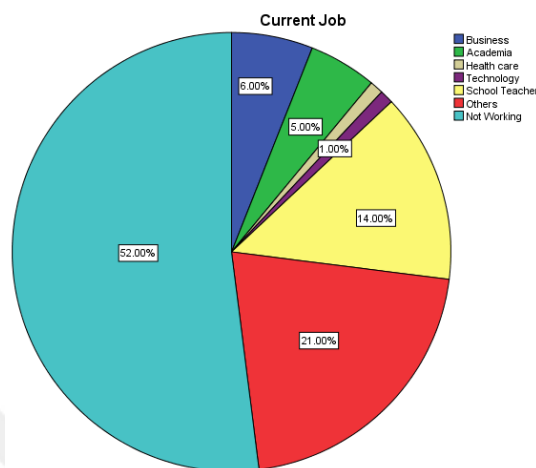
Secondly, in relation with questions asked regarding social factors that had influence the chance to migrate to the West, (Table 4), shows the relationship between similar cultures and traditions between Türkiye and Syria. Contributors were asked whether the similar culture and tradition in Türkiye to that of Syria had an influence on their decision of not moving to the West, on levels between (1 and 5) (1= Strongly disagree, and 5 =Strongly Agree), while 34% strongly agree, and only (11%) Strongly disagree, yet the majority don't think that the similar culture and tradition is linked to the decision they made on not moving to the West. (Table 3) shows a chi-square analysis with a P-Value of (0.146), indicating that there is **no significant** relationship between culture similarity and moving to the West, and they think that there are other factors with higher influence on their decision. Individuals were also asked "if they had fear for the moral / religious future of their family and children if they moved to the west?" also on the same measurements (1-5), and the majority of (57%) strongly agree that they had fear for their, their families and their children morals and religious future if they moved to the West with their decision on not moving to the West. Nevertheless, the P-Value (0.303), higher than (0.05) does not represent this opinion when analysed on (SPSS) program, and therefore the hypothesis is rejected. According to (Table 5) above, the P-Value is bigger than (0.05), Therefore, there is no significant relationship between the chance of migrating to the West and the similarity between Türkiye and Syria's culture and tradition.

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	21.698 ^a	12	.041
Likelihood Ratio	21.029	12	.050
Linear-by-Linear Association	.877	1	.349
N of Valid Cases	100		

Table (6): The Chi-Square Results for having a current job in Türkiye and the impact on their decision on staying in Türkiye. a. 15 cells (71.4%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 18.

Thirdly, On the other hand contributors in the study were asked if "having a current job in Türkiye had an impact on their decision on staying in Türkiye?" shown in (Table 7), by choosing the current sector they working in currently, from multiple choices as shown in (Graph 1), while the majority are not working currently, or didn't specify which sector they are currently working in, yet there is a strong relationship between working and the decision on staying in Türkiye, as proved by the Chi-Square test, in (Table 6), with the P-Value (0.041), slightly smaller than (0.05).

However, it means that we are 95% confident to say that there is a strong relationship between the Syrians current job and the decision they made to stay in Türkiye.



Graph (1): A Pie-chart showing the percentage of Syrians working in different fields across Türkiye

Current Job * Chance to migrate to the West Cross tabulation

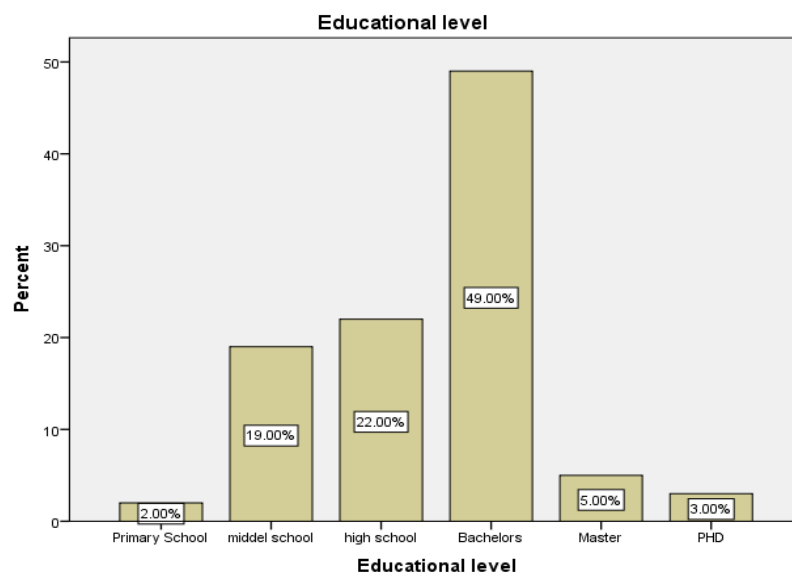
		Chance to migrate to the West			Total	
		yes	no	maybe		
Current Job	Business	Count	2	2	2	6
		% within Chance to migrate to the West	7.7%	3.6%	11.1%	6.0%
	Academia	Count	3	2	0	5
		% within Chance to migrate to the West	11.5%	3.6%	0.0%	5.0%
	Health care	Count	0	0	1	1
		% within Chance to migrate to the West	0.0%	0.0%	5.6%	1.0%
	Technology	Count	1	0	0	1
		% within Chance to migrate to the West	3.8%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%
	School Teacher	Count	5	5	4	14
		% within Chance to migrate to the West	19.2%	8.9%	22.2%	14.0%
	Others	Count	8	10	3	21
		% within Chance to migrate to the West	30.8%	17.9%	16.7%	21.0%
	Not Working	Count	7	37	8	52
		% within Chance to migrate to the West	26.9%	66.1%	44.4%	52.0%
	Total	Count	26	56	18	100
		% within Chance to migrate to the West	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table (7): Relationship between the current job Syrians have in Türkiye with the chance of migrating to the West.

Table (7): shows the P-Value (0.041) to be slightly smaller than (0.05), which mean that there is a strong relationship between the Syrians current job and staying in Türkiye.

Fourthly, A more interesting relationship was noticed between the level of education Syrians had before coming to Türkiye and continue to gain, and the chance of migrating to the West, shown in (Table 9), as participant were asked “which academic level they have gained/finished?”, to choose between multiple options, from (Finished primary school – PHD level), and whether that had an influence on their decision to opt to stay in Türkiye.

While the majority of the individuals have finished their bachelors’ level as shown in (Graph 2), yet the majority opt to stay in Türkiye and not to move to the West.



Graph (2): A Bar-Chart shows the current level of academic education Syrians have.

However, the P-Value (Table 8) for this relationship is even closer to (0.05), if we round the value to 2 decimals, it would be (0.05), which mean the hypothesis is significant and accepted.

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	18.401 ^a	10	.049
Likelihood Ratio	22.198	10	.014
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.608	1	.032
N of Valid Cases	100		

a. Table (8): Shows the current level of academic education.

b. a. 12 cells (66.7%) have expected count less than 5.

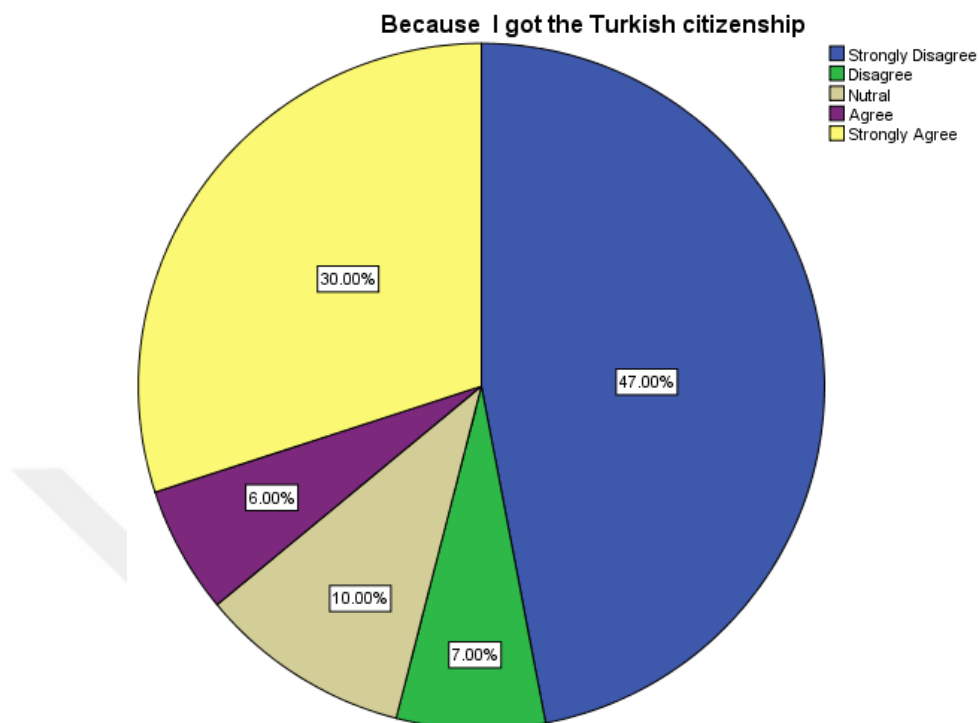
c. The minimum expected count is .36.

Table (8): Chi-Square results of relationship between education level of Syrians and chance of migrating to the West

Fifthly, However, when we look at the relationship between getting the Turkish citizenship and the chance of not leaving to the West, in theory there should be a strong relationship, As correspondents were asked if “they gained the citizenship, and if that is a reason for not moving to the west, the majority choose the option which shows that they didn’t get the citizenship, and yet they are resident in Türkiye, as shown in (Graph 3). Yet, the P-Value is just slightly bigger than (0.05), the P-value is actually (0.053) if rounded would be exact (0.05). as shown in (Table10), which mean that we are exact (95%) confident that the relationship in (Table 11) is statistically significant and reliable, there is only (5%) chance of mistake in this hypothesis. Yet there is a strange relationship between not gaining the citizenship and not moving to the West.

Educational level * Chance to migrate to the West Cross tabulation						
			Chance to migrate to the West			Total
			Yes	No	Maybe	
Educational level	Primary School	Count	0	2	0	2
		% within Chance to migrate to the West	0.0%	3.6%	0.0%	2.0%
	Secondary school	Count	4	10	5	19
		% within Chance to migrate to the West	15.4%	17.9%	27.8%	19.0%
	high school	Count	1	17	4	22
		% within Chance to migrate to the West	3.8%	30.4%	22.2%	22.0%
	Bachelors	Count	16	25	8	49
		% within Chance to migrate to the West	61.5%	44.6%	44.4%	49.0%
	Master	Count	4	0	1	5
		% within Chance to migrate to the West	15.4%	0.0%	5.6%	5.0%
	PHD	Count	1	2	0	3
		% within Chance to migrate to the West	3.8%	3.6%	0.0%	3.0%
Total		Count	26	56	18	100
		% within Chance to migrate to the West	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table (9): The relationship between current level of Education and chance to migrate to the West



Graph (3): Due to receiving Turkish Citizenship

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	15.350 ^a	8	.053
Likelihood Ratio	14.547	8	.069
Linear-by-Linear Association	.005	1	.945
N of Valid Cases	100		

a. 8 cells (53.3%) have expected count less than 5.

b. The minimum expected count is 1.08.

Table (10): Chi-Square results of relationship between gaining the Turkish citizenship and chance of migrating to the West

Because I got the Turkish citizenship* Chance to migrate to the West Cross tabulation

			Chance to migrate to the West			Total
			yes	no	maybe	
Because I got the Turkish citizenship	Strongly Disagree	Count % within Chance to migrate to the West	12 46.2%	30 53.6%	5 27.8%	47 47.0%
	Disagree	Count % within Chance to migrate to the West	2 7.7%	2 3.6%	3 16.7%	7 7.0%
	Neutral	Count % within Chance to migrate to the West	1 3.8%	4 7.1%	5 27.8%	10 10.0%
	Agree	Count % within Chance to migrate to the West	1 3.8%	5 8.9%	0 0.0%	6 6.0%
	Strongly Agree	Count % within Chance to migrate to the West	10 38.5%	15 26.8%	5 27.8%	30 30.0%
	Total	Count % within Chance to migrate to the West	26 100.0%	56 100.0%	18 100.0%	100 100.0%

Table (11): The Relationship between having the Turkish Citizenship and chance to migrate to the West

5.4. Conclusion of Quantitative Study

This chapter focused on both skilled and unskilled Syrian refugees who fled their home country due to the conflict in 2011. Despite the challenges they encountered, they have continued to reside in Türkiye for several years. Consequently, a quantitative study was conducted using the required and appropriate quantitative research methods, collected data by making use of available online resources through the creation of a Google form for questionnaire, social media was used to spread and disseminate the questionnaire for the targeted respondents. Also, Maxqda Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA) Method, a software program employed for quantitative analysis and mixed research methods was used for the analysis, Along with the use of Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) analysis software programme.

As the main hypothesis for this study was that skilled or unskilled Syrian individuals with a current job, and less educated majority of Syrians, and those with strong moral and religious views are likely to opt to stay in Türkiye and not to move to the West and Europe. we can conclude that;

- The majority of correspondents were female, above 18 years old, not working at the time of the survey.
- 49% of them have finished their bachelors' level as shown in (Graph 2).
- The majority of them disagreeing with the idea that 'the similar culture and tradition is linked to the decision they made on not moving to the West'.
- In the contrary to the majority of 57% strongly agreeing with the idea 'if they had fear for the moral / religious future of their family and children if they moved to the west?'
- From another approach, the majority response on asking whether 'having a current job in Türkiye had an impact on their decision on staying in Türkiye?' strongly positive response was provided and proved by the Chi-Square test, in (Table6), with the P-Value (0.041), slightly smaller than (0.05). However, it means that we are 95% confident to say that there is a strong relationship between the Syrians current job and the decision they made to stay in Türkiye.

We can conclude that; Syrian individuals often exhibit a preference for remaining in a host country that shares similarities with their country of origin, such as Türkiye, rather than embarking on a journey to Europe or the Western world. This preference is influenced by various factors, including cultural, religious, and geographical considerations.

CHAPTER VI:

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The Syrian refugee crisis has been a profound humanitarian challenge, highlighting the resilience and determination of those forced to flee their homes in search of safety and a better future. This study has shed light on the complex factors that influence the migration decisions of Syrian refugees, both skilled and unskilled, as they navigate the difficult choices between remaining in their initial host countries or undertaking secondary migration to the West.

By combining qualitative and quantitative methods, this research has provided a nuanced understanding of the push and pull factors at play, including economic opportunities, educational prospects, social and cultural considerations, and legal and policy frameworks. The findings underscore the importance of addressing the root causes of displacement while also fostering an environment that supports the well-being, empowerment, and integration of refugee populations.

This thesis looked at the different factors influenced the decision of skilled and semi-unskilled Syrian individuals and the action taken between 2015 and 2020 mainly towards staying in Türkiye and neighbouring countries or moving on a second or more migration / asylum journey to Europe and the West. In Specific, the impact of pre-conflict skills, mobility patterns, academic and job opportunities, gender dynamics, social and human capital, and potential restrictions faced by skilled and unskilled refugees were investigated. Our analysis sheds light on how these factors shape refugees' choices and experiences.

Push and pull factors were analysed and confined under Macro, Meso, and Micro -level factors. These were subdivided under many reasons, such as; educational reasons, financial reasons, religious reasons, finding better opportunities, and learning different language among many reasons.

Starting with identifying the two major groups of Syrians skilled and semi-unskilled groups. Their previous and current residency in the world. The term which they have been identified with. Regulations, rules and general treatments Syrians have dealt with, especially in 'Türkiye' for it being the biggest host country with the largest number of Syrians.

This analysis is based on using the push-pull model as well as the human and social network theories. The data for this thesis was collected through mixed methods, including snowballing sampling, qualitative in-depth / semi-structured interviews, in addition to quantitative examination as a supportive explorative method.

Qualitative in-depth semi-structured interviews method was used for the first part of the data collection for this thesis. Qualitative in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with (seven) Syrian participant who lives both inside and outside Türkiye, using online platforms such as zoom, WhatsApp and messenger, due to difficulty of movement through the time of pandemic (Covid20/21).

It could be concluded that some factors played double cards for many Syrian individuals. While it played as push factors for some, those summed under ‘challenges in Türkiye, Jordan and Lebanon’ factors. It played as pull factors for others, those summed under ‘settlement and adaptation in the West’.

Factors such as political instability, governance quality, and policy uncertainty affected Syrians decision to take second trip of migration. Financial risks, on the other hand, has a stronger impact in those who decided to stay in Türkiye. Issues related to currency stability, and investment climate influenced migrants’ decisions in general.

Also, human and social capitals had played a great role in the integration process for the skilled Syrian refugees, those who managed to get to Europe. In addition to luck as some of them described their experience by ‘lucky experience’. Other points to be noted, flexibility, courage and hope, these factors played major part in the process of integration, flexibility in the acceptance of moving in the first time migrating / seeking asylum, and again in the second migration journey. Flexibility in learning new skills, new languages, and new cultures, flexibility in adapting to new life all together.

The ability to use the language skill in different parts of the world, was a pounce pull card for some of the skilled and unskilled individuals; who spoke more than one language, such as Kurdish, and English. Yet, it was a main challenge for those who came to Türkiye, and decided to settle in Türkiye.

For the second part of the data collection for this thesis, was mainly with those who decided to stay in Türkiye, again qualitative in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with (eight) Syrian participants mainly inside Türkiye. These interviews were conducted using online platforms

such as zoom, WhatsApp and messenger, due to difficulty of movement through the time of pandemic (Covid20/21).

Ethnic origin, particularly language, played a decisive role in shaping staying in Türkiye aspirations among Syrian refugees. Our findings show that finding decent suitable academic and labor opportunities -especially after 2016- served as a critical factor in migration decision making mainly for semi-unskilled Syrian individuals.

It's obvious that both push-pull model and the human-social capital theories applied to the Syrian individuals' cases. It is essential to note that there are strong connections between the push model and human capital and also between the pull model and the social capital theory.

For the third part, which examined both skilled and unskilled Syrian refugees who fled their home country due to the conflict in 2011. Yet, despite the challenges they encountered, they have continued to reside in Türkiye for several years. Consequently, a quantitative study was conducted using the appropriate programs and

As the main hypothesis for this part of the study was that skilled or unskilled Syrian individuals with a current job, and less educated majority of Syrians, and those with strong moral and religious views are likely to opt to stay in Türkiye and not to move to the West or to Europe.

The study group of quantitative study was composed of a self-selected (non-random) participants. With the majority of correspondents being female, above 18 years old, not working at the time of the survey, and half of them have finished their bachelors' level.

Quantitative study was carried out in order to support the qualitative interviews results and analysis aiming to show a similar result or at least to give better understanding of the factors pushed or pulled Syrian individuals to leave or stay in Türkiye, However, our results showed different factors and aspects affecting the decision in a reflection on the results obtained from the qualitative and that obtained from the quantitative.

Here we provide some examples of a comparison between the results and analysis obtained from the quantitative and that obtained from the qualitative analysis, for example; In theory, similar religion, culture and traditions factors aid integration and socio – cultural adaption as mentioned by Şafak-Ayvazoğlu et al. (2021). These factors play a great part in shaping the decision of staying in Türkiye over a second migration trip for Syrian individuals. This was approved by the gathered results and analysis from the qualitative study, were nearly 6 out of a10 strongly agreed with the idea 'they had fear for the moral / religious future of their family and children if they have moved

to the west, which was clearly evident in the responses from the interviewees in the qualitative interviews as mentioned by M-I, M-II and M-III “we would not move to the West, it does not represent us, we fear for ourselves and our kids in the western societies”.

However, in the quantitative results, when contributors were asked ‘whether the similarity of culture and tradition in Türkiye to that of Syria had an influence on their decision of not moving to the West’, on levels between (1 and 5) (1= Strongly disagree, and 5 =Strongly Agree), almost a third of the respondents (34%) strongly agreed which support the qualitative results, and only (11%) Strongly disagreed, marking an understandable percentage of Syrian individuals favouring staying in Türkiye for different reasons. On the contrary, (55%) almost the majority of the contributors did NOT think that the similar culture and tradition is linked to the decision they made on not moving to the West, this percentage was unexpected. Though these results and analysis on this specific point does not represent all Syrian individuals, yet, further research need to be carried out on this point specifically. As it does not really make sense to favour to stay in Türkiye, without taking the high similarity of culture and religion into account.

From another approach, our analysis shown that there is a strong relationship between the Syrians current job and the decision they made to stay in Türkiye, and that was strongly evidenced in the qualitative and quantitative results, as stated by interviewee F-IV stated: “I would not move out of Türkiye, my kids have perfected the Turkish language, we have adapted to the life style, and the education system, I managed to work in the university as a lecturer -though the salary is low-, my oldest are studying in the university, they formed a stable friendship around”, and on a similar note interviewee M-II stated “I would not move out of Türkiye. I managed to find a good job in my field, my wife is working too, both of us working in our expertise (Teaching Arabic language for non-Arabic speakers) and we have a good income”

This was greatly supported by the majority response form the quantitative study, on asking whether ‘having a current job in Türkiye had an impact on their decision on staying in Türkiye?’ strongly positive response was provided and proved by the Chi-Square test, in (Table6), with the P-Value (0.041), slightly smaller than (0.05). However, it means that we are 95% confident to say that there is a strong relationship between the Syrians current job and the decision they made to stay in Türkiye.

We can conclude that; When livelihood opportunities are provided Syrian individuals often exhibit a preference for remaining in a host country that shares similarities with their country of

origin, rather than embarking on a journey to Europe or the Western world. This preference is influenced by various factors, including cultural, religious, and geographical considerations.

Understanding the dynamics of secondary migration is essential for policymakers, humanitarian organisations, and host countries. Addressing the push factors in Türkiye, Jordan, and Lebanon and recognizing the pull factors in Europe can inform more effective policies and support mechanisms for Syrian individuals. The analysis of the push factors we identified in this thesis shows that economic and social context that provide below conditions to refugee populations may mitigate the need for secondary migration and ensure them to rebuild their lives with dignity and hope. These conditions can be given 7 headings as given below:

1. **Enhancing Employment Opportunities and Economic Integration:** Providing meaningful employment opportunities and facilitating economic integration for refugees can play a crucial role in encouraging them to remain in their initial host country. Policies that promote skill recognition, vocational training, and entrepreneurship support can be instrumental in this regard.
2. **Improving Access to Education and Language Learning:** Ensuring access to quality education and language learning programs can empower refugees and facilitate their integration into the host society. This includes providing tailored language courses, recognising academic credentials, and supporting the continuation of higher education for those who wish to pursue further studies.
3. **Promoting Social and Cultural Integration:** Fostering a supportive and inclusive environment for refugees can alleviate concerns about cultural and religious differences, which may contribute to the decision to undertake secondary migration. Initiatives that promote cross-cultural understanding, tolerance, and respect for diversity can help create a sense of belonging and encourage refugees to remain in their host communities.
4. **Addressing Legal and Policy Barriers:** Host countries should review and address legal and policy barriers that may hinder the integration and well-being of refugees. This includes streamlining processes for obtaining legal residency, work permits, and access to essential services. Clear and transparent policies can provide refugees with a sense of stability and security, reducing the need for secondary migration.
5. **Strengthening Regional and International Cooperation:** Effective cooperation and burden-sharing among host countries, international organisations, and donor nations are crucial in

addressing the challenges of refugee movements. This can include initiatives such as resettlement programs, financial and resource support, and the development of regional strategies to address the root causes of displacement.

6. **Empowering Refugees and Promoting Participation:** Involving refugees in decision-making processes and giving them a voice in shaping policies and programs that affect their lives can foster a sense of ownership and empowerment. Participatory approaches and the inclusion of refugee perspectives can lead to more effective and sustainable solutions.
7. **Investing in Long-term Solutions and Durable Solutions:** While addressing immediate needs is essential, it is crucial to invest in long-term solutions and durable solutions for refugee populations. This may involve supporting voluntary repatriation when conditions permit, facilitating local integration in host communities, or exploring third-country resettlement options. Sustained efforts and cooperation among all stakeholders are necessary to achieve lasting solutions.

While this study has provided valuable insights into the migration decisions of Syrian refugees, it is important to acknowledge its limitations and highlight areas for future research. First, the scope of the study was limited to Syrian refugees residing mainly in Türkiye and those who undertook secondary migration to the West. Future research could expand the geographic scope to include other host countries and regions, allowing for a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon.

Second, the study focused on the perspectives of individual refugees, but it could be beneficial to incorporate the perspectives of host communities, policymakers, and relevant stakeholders to gain a more holistic understanding of the challenges and opportunities surrounding secondary migration.

Third, the study primarily examined the decision-making process at a specific point in time. Longitudinal studies that follow the trajectories of refugee populations over extended periods could provide deeper insights into the evolving factors influencing migration decisions and the long-term outcomes of secondary migration.

Future research could also explore the impact of specific policies and interventions on secondary migration patterns, evaluating their effectiveness and identifying best practices for supporting refugee populations. Additionally, comparative studies across different refugee groups and contexts could highlight commonalities and differences in the factors influencing migration

decisions, contributing to the refinement of theoretical frameworks. Also, there is a need to explore the nuanced interplay between language, attitudes, and migration decisions.

Likewise, further studies, searches and discussion should be undertaken among social scientists, for example; finding a new term for Syrians who fled their home country at the early stage of the conflict as forced migrants then again took a second asylum trip to Europe and the West. Studying the impact of psychological state of skilled / unskilled Syrians in relation with their multi-movements.

Furthermore, as the global refugee crisis continues to evolve, it is essential to maintain an ongoing dialogue and research agenda to address emerging challenges and adapt policies and interventions accordingly. Collaboration among researchers, policymakers, and practitioners is crucial to ensuring that the rights, well-being, and aspirations of refugees remain at the forefront of efforts to address the complex issues surrounding displacement and migration.

Ultimately, the goal should be to create a world where forced displacement is no longer a reality, and where everyone can live with dignity, security, and hope for a better future. Until that goal is achieved, it is imperative that we continue to listen to the voices of refugees, understand their experiences, and work collaboratively to develop effective and sustainable solutions that respect their rights and aspirations.

Through continued research, policy reforms, and international cooperation, we can strive to alleviate the hardships faced by refugees and create a more inclusive and compassionate global community that upholds the values of human rights, justice, and solidarity.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Qualitative Interview questions for Skilled Syrian Refugees who moved from Türkiye to the West?

Demographic questions:

Age:

Gender:

Marital status & No. of children:

City of origin:

- 1) Academic qualifications?
- 2) Work occupation in Syria?
- 3) When did you arrive into Türkiye?

Open-end questions:

- 1) Did you work in Türkiye? What position did you occupy? (salary?)
- 2) Did you have family members or friends in the country you chose to move to?
- 3) What made you decide to move to Europe/ the West?
- 4) Tell us about your journey from Türkiye to the country you are resident in?
- 5) What difficulties did you face in the country you are resident in when you first arrived there?
- 6) Did you receive any education / training/ job opportunities in the country you are resident in?
- 7) What is your work occupation at the present time in the country you are resident in?
(Salary)
- 8) Have you met any Syrian friends in the same Community/work place/ Neighborhood?
- 9) Tell us about how you have adapted to the new culture? What did you find most challenging? And what do you miss most about Türkiye?
- 10) Have you applied for citizenship? Have you received it? if yes, will it change your prospects?

Appendix 2: Table of interviewees, represent 7 cases of skilled Syrians refugees who have decided to go on a second journey of migration to the West

Interviewees:	M-I	M-II	M-III	M-IV	F-I	M-V	M-IV
Age	30	33	36	37	31	28	30
Gender	Male	Male	Male	Male	Female	Male	Male
City of origin	Halap / Syria	Qamishli/Syria	Damascus/Syria	Syria	Dara'a / Syria	Damascus/Syria	Damascus/Syria
Country living in at the present time	Germany	Canada	Sweden	Germany	Canada	Germany	Germany
Marital status	Single	Married	Single	Married	Single/Engaged	Single	Single
Number of Children	N/A	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Academic qualifications/Education	Finished second year-philosophy	Electrical Engineering-Damascus University	Civil Engineering-Damascus University	Graduate of Medical Doctor - Damascus University	University graduate in child education from Syria	Economy	Pharmacology
Occupation in Syria	Not worked in Syria	Worked in a petrol company	Civil Engineer	Surgeon specialist – Digestive system	Primary school teacher	Economist in private company	Pharmacologist
Occupation at the present time	Working with mentally disabled students in a public center	Working as a sales man in a furniture company	Working as administrative in a consultation office	Working as a surgeon in a public hospital	Continuing education	Work as an accountant in a small business	Works as driver and continue education
Wages (Low/ Good/ Very good)	Very good	Very good	Good	Very good	Good	Good	Good
Method of Travelling	Irregular	Regular	Irregular	Regular	Regular	Irregular	Irregular
Main Difficulties	Language, Waiting for things to happen (Time)	Language, Waiting for things to happen (Time)	Language, Waiting for things to happen (Time)	Language, Waiting for things to happen (Time)	Language, Waiting for things to happen (Time)	Language, Being single Missing family	Language Being single Missing family
Would come back to Türkiye or Syria	Yes, for visits only	Maybe, when my daughter grows up	Never	Never	I would love to, if things go back to Normality	Would love to after getting the citizen ship	Would love to come back to Türkiye or any Islamic country. Only if opportunities are available

**Appendix 3: Qualitative Interview questions for skilled Syrian refugees
who stayed in Türkiye?**

Demographic questions:

Age:

Gender:

Marital status:

City of origin:

- 1) Academic qualifications?
- 2) Work occupation in Syria?
- 3) When did you arrive into Türkiye?

Open-ended questions:

- 1) What difficulties did you face in Türkiye when you first arrived?
- 2) What made you chose to stay in Türkiye?
- 3) Did you work in Türkiye? What position did you occupy? (Salary?)
- 4) What challenges did you face in finding work in Türkiye?
- 5) Did you have an opportunity to leave Türkiye? If yes, why did not take that opportunity?
- 6) Tell us about you experience in Türkiye?
- 7) Have you applied for Turkish citizenship? Have you received it?
- 8) Do you think receiving the Turkish citizenship will change your prospects?

[END]

**Appendix 4: Table of interviewees, represent 8 cases of skilled Syrians
who have decided to stay in Türkiye;**

Interviewees	F-I	F-II	F-III	M-I	M-II	M-III	F-IV	F-V
Age	46	31	42	34	37	31	50	35
Gender	Female	Female	Female	Male	Male	Male	Female	Female
Place and city of origin	Sham	Sham	Halap	Sham	Halap	Halap	Halap	Halap
Marital status	Married	Married	Single	Married	Married	Married	Married	Married
Number of Children	3	5	NA	2	4	2	7	4
Academic qualifications/ Education	High school	Finished Master	PHD In History	Graduated In Geography	Master in Arabic Language	Master in Arabic language	Master	High school
Occupation in Syria	School Teacher	Family Business (Boutiques)	University Lecturer	School Teacher	School Teacher	University Student	School Teacher & univer-sity Assistant	Family Business (Electronic Equipment)
Occupation at the present time	School Teacher & Ass	Continuing Master degree in social sciences	University Lecturer	School Teacher & shop manager	University Lecturer	School Teacher & shop manager	University lecturer	Family Business (Electronic Equipment)
Wages (Low/ Good/ Very good)	Just about enough	Good	Good	Good	Good	Just about enough	Low	Low
Main Difficulties	Language & No Sufficient income	Language Opportunities	Higher Education	Opportuni- ties	Language Opportuni-ties	No Sufficient income	No Sufficient income	No Sufficient income
Chance to Leave Türkiye	Yes, Many times	Yes, we have European citizenship	Yes, Many times	No, haven't Tried	No, haven't Tried	Yes	Yes, Many times	Yes, went, and came back
Reason for Favouring Türkiye	Back to my Origins	Good environment for my children	Good Job, & income	Hate moving & Good environm-ent	Good Job, & accept-able income	The best available & being with my Family	Good environment for my children	Good environment for my children
Turkish citizenship	Yes	Yes	No offered & denied	Offered, not gained yet	No not offered	Yes, But not my Daughter!	Yes	No
Would Stay in Türkiye	Yes,	Yes, Until Syria is Free	Yes, Until Syria is Free	Not thinking to leave	Yes	Yes	Not thinking to leave	Not thinking to leave

Appendix 5: Quantitative questions for skilled and semi-unskilled Syrians who stayed in Türkiye and didn't move to the West

Demographic questions:

Age:

Gender: Male Female

Place and City of origin:

Country of residency at present time:

Occupation in Syria:

Business Academia, health care, engineering,

Technology, others, not working

Occupation in country of resident at present time:

Business Academia, health care, engineering, Technology, others, not working

Marital status: Single, Married, Divorce, Widow

Number of children:

Level of academic education:

Less than high school

High school

Bachelors

Master Degree

PHD Degree

Other

Not moving to the West: yes – No

Did you have the opportunity to move to the west ?

Reasons

Religious reasons 1 – 5 strongly disagree – strongly agree

5. Similar culture and tradition to Syria
بسبب تشابه العادات والتقاليد في تركيا مع عاداتنا و تقاليدنا في سورية
6. Türkiye had good moral / religious environment
بسبب وجود أجواء أخلاقية / دينية في تركيا
7. I was worried for my moral / religious wellbeing had I moved to the west
بسبب خوفي من التأثير السلبي على أخلاقي و ديني اذا انتقلت للاستقرار في أي من الدول الغربية
8. I had fear for the religious / moral future of my family had I moved to the west
بسبب خوفي من التأثير السلبي على أخلاق / دين عائلتي - أطفالي اذا انتقلنا للاستقرار في أي من الدول الغربية

Social reasons 1 – 5 strongly disagree – strongly agree

5. To stay with and support my Family is a priority for me
البقاء مع عائلتي و تقديم المعونة و المساندة اللازمة أولى بالنسبة لي من الهجرة للدول الغربية
6. I have a family / an extended family in Türkiye
بسبب وجود عائلة / أقرباء مقيمين في تركيا، مما ساهم في استقراري جزئياً و عدم تشجيعي على الهجرة
7. I felt settled / Married in Türkiye
سبب الشعور بالاستقرار / الزواج في تركيا

Occupation reasons 1 – 5 strongly disagree – strongly agree

8. Managed to find a good job opportunity in Türkiye
بسبب الحصول على فرصة عمل مناسبة في تركيا
9. Managed to find job related to my field of expertise in Türkiye
بسبب الحصول على عمل مناسبة في مجال عملي / مهاراتي في تركيا
10. Managed to find a good paid job in Türkiye
بسبب الحصول على عمل براتب مناسب للحياة في تركيا
11. Because I got the Turkish citizenship
بسبب إمكانية الحصول على الجنسية التركية في الوقت القريب

12. Because there is a good possibility of getting the Turkish citizenship

بسبب امكانية الحصول على الجنسية التركية

13. Would you stay in Türkiye, if you can't return to Syria?

هل تعتقد أنك ستقيم في تركيا، ان لم تستطع العودة لسوريا؟

Further comments

Any other reasons you think had contributed for taking the decision not to move to the West?

هل هناك أي أسباب أخرى ساهمة في اتخاذك للقرار بعدم الهجرة للدول الغربية؟

(please write any additional information that made you decide to stay in Türkiye, and not move to the West):