

Do Syrians in Turkey want to return? -analyzing survey to SuTPs (2017)-

Introduction¹

The social upheavals triggered by the sustained, near-apocalyptic violence of the Syrian conflict has generated massive population movements. More than 5.6 million Syrians have fled the country,² and approximately 6.2 million have become internally displaced people (IDP)³. The arrival of relatively few displaced Syrians as asylum seekers has led to intense debate in EU countries, as politicians, analysts, and ordinary citizens have assessed the impact of the “migrant crisis” on European economic and social life. During this crisis, negative discourse about those Syrians emerged, as did criticism against such discourse [Abrahms et al. 2017]. However, of the 12 million displaced Syrians⁴, only about one million refugees reached EU countries; the greater burden, by far, has been imposed on the countries neighboring Syria. Research on the circumstances, experiences, and opinions of Syrians in these host countries has been negligible compared to studies of the European experience. From socio-political and humanitarian perspectives, closing this gap is critical.

During the past few years, decisive changes have transformed the Syrian conflict. The Islamic State’s military and political influence has disintegrated in the region, and other Islamic extremist and terrorist factions have become contained in periphery zones such as the Idlib governorate. The “People’s Protection Units” (YPG) have consolidated Kurdish nationalist hegemony in the northeastern regions of Syria, with US protection, and the Syrian government and its allies have steadily retaken areas where Islamic extremist and terrorist forces were once dominant. The most significant recent developments began between April–July 2018, when government forces evacuated militants from the Damascus suburbs and the southern governorates of Dar’a and al-Qunaitra, and culminated with the re-opening of the Nasib–Jabir border crossing between Syria and Jordan on October 15th, 2018.⁵

Re-opening the border with Jordan marked a new phase in the Syrian conflict, greatly facilitating contacts and freedom of movement between the countries. Those Syrian migrants who had sought refuge in Jordan began considering returning to their home country permanently.

Many governments of neighboring countries currently hosting migrants/refugees have

¹ Although there are clear definitions for the terms “refugee” and “migrant,” it is more difficult to distinguish these concepts when we discuss motivations, experiences, and attitudes toward cross-border migration. Therefore, in this paper, the expression “refugee/migrant” is used to refer to Syrians who have completed cross-border migration.

² This number includes 3.6 million in Turkey, 950, 000 in Lebanon, and 673, 000 in Jordan. <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria> (last accessed 30 November 2018)

³ <https://www.unhcr.org/sy/internally-displaced-people> (last accessed 30 November 2018)

⁴ <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/01/29/where-displaced-syrians-have-resettled/> (last accessed 30 November 2018)

⁵ <https://sana.sy/en/?p=148881> (last accessed 2nd December 2018)

chafed at the added weight on already faltering economies, resulting in debates similar to those in European nations. For example, although vital infrastructural elements remain severely damaged and security remains far from assured, Jordan has welcomed the idea of repatriating its Syrian refugees/migrants to ease the economic and social burdens it has accrued from its hosting duties, regardless of the willingness and readiness of those Syrians to return home. Similarly, Lebanese authorities have begun to accelerate measures to repatriate Syrian migrants/refugees. Although the political process in Lebanon remains ubiquitously tangled in severe division and deadlock, none of the major political factions have welcomed migrants/refugees' naturalization or long-term settlement. Few have entertained any concern regarding Syria's preparation or willingness to receive them. Turkey, which hosts the largest number of Syrian refugees/migrants, has also been confronted with the dilemma of enforcing repatriation or encouraging their integration into socio-cultural and economic life.

The willingness of the Syrian migrants/refugees to either return home or assimilate into their host society is necessary for fulfilling any plans for their futures. This paper presents a descriptive analysis of a survey conducted in 2017 that measured the perspectives and attitudes of Syrian migrants/refugees in Turkey and their willingness to return home. The survey specifically targeted Syrian residents in Turkey defined as "Syrians under Temporary Protection (SuTPs)."⁶

Surveys on Syrians' attitudes, opinions, and perspectives

Syrians' current situation is considered "the worst humanitarian crisis in the 21st century," and research on their living conditions, education, and health care has been conducted in various places by numerous entities, including Syrian governmental institutes. For instance, the Syrian state-run newspaper *al-Thawra* published three surveys on Syrians' book-reading habits⁷ [*al-Thawra* May 25, 2016], monthly salaries or income⁸ [*al-Thawra* January 29, 2017], and attitudes toward television⁹ [*al-Thawra* May 09, 2018]. International organizations' research on Syrian migrants'/refugees' perceptions and intentions to repatriate includes a comprehensive study by UNHCR, which conducted interviews with 4,283 Syrians residing in Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon and Jordan from March to June 2018 [UNHCR 2018]. Turkey did not take part on the 2017–2018 Perception and Intention Surveys (RPIS); however, dedicated focus group discussions assessed intentions to return among the Syrian refugees residing there [UNHCR 2018: 18]. Over three-quarters (76%) of the survey respondents expressed

⁶ The survey was conducted as a part of "General Research on Cross-Border Migration Related to Conflict in the Middle East" scientific research fund subsidy projects for 16H03307.

⁷ <http://www.thawraonline.sy/index.php/news-list/local-news/108705-2016-09-25-08-22-37> (last accessed 22 May 2018)

⁸ <http://thawraonline.sy/index.php/news-list/local-news/118088-2017-01-29-09-03-27> (last accessed 22 May 2018)

⁹ http://thawra.sy/print_veiw.asp?FileName=11343713320180508201446 (last accessed 22 May 2018)

hope of returning to Syria at some point; however, 85% did not have plans to do so within next 12 months. UNHCR pointed out top three reasons behind intentions to return: 1) the improved security situation; 2) the desire for family reunification; and 3) having a viable economic livelihood in Syria. The primary reasons that respondents reported lack of intention to return were continued concerns about security and safety along with inadequate jobs or housing opportunities [UNHCR 2018: 9–10].

The Syrian independent NGO “SADA,” which is based in Turkey, recently surveyed a thousand Syrian migrants/refugees living in Turkey, Germany, Holland, and Lebanon [SADA 2018], examining attitudes toward returning home under current conditions. The survey respondents expressed strong distrust of the Syrian government and its allies and held generally negative attitudes about returning: 38% reported their reason for fleeing as opposition to the “al-Asad regime,” whereas 48% cited lack of security or safety and 14% mentioned the collapse of their livelihood. Similarly, most of the 101 adult males interviewed in Syria by random digit dialing did not hold the al-Asad regime and its allies responsible for the violence, but rather focused their disapproval on the Islamic militants [Moskalenko 2016]. The credibility of these results is questionable, however, as the practice of closely monitoring citizens and tapping telecommunications by security apparatus is believed to be widespread in Syria, and it does not seem reasonable to expect frank responses to telephone surveys under such circumstances. Conversely, most (69.5%) of the 889 Syrian migrants/refugees living in Germany who responded to Adopt a Revolution’s [2015] survey in September and October 2015 held the al-Asad regime and its allies responsible for the armed fighting. In addition, 67.8% identified “war has to stop” and 51.5% cited “al-Assad has to go” as preconditions for their return, respectively.

The emphasis of the above findings on violence and safety issues was echoed in a study by Abrahms et al. [2017: 3–5], who interviewed a smaller sample of 130 Syrians in Jordan, Turkey, Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Macedonia, Serbia, Belgium, and Germany, mainly during the summers of 2015 and 2016. Na‘sān’s [2018] report on a survey of 504 Syrian refugees/migrants residing in Lebanon (174), Turkey (166), and Germany (164) stressed the respondents’ negative attitudes toward the credibility of al-Asad regime and its allies in terms of securing the appropriate conditions for their return.

Although the studies described above provide valuable insights into transplanted Syrians’ perceptions of human security, the generalizability of much of the research is limited due to problems with the samples’ representativeness. For example, the survey discussed by Na‘sān reported a relatively low response rate, which was 32.5%, 34.5%, and 33% in Germany, Turkey, and Lebanon, respectively [Na‘sān 2018:20]¹⁰. Furthermore, the issue of bias must be considered when evaluating the stances of the researchers themselves; some researches clearly declared a “pro-revolution” stance toward Syrian conflict, and that position must certainly be taken into consideration when referring to their research design, questionnaire terminology and procedures, and interpretation of the results.

¹⁰ In Lebanon 34.5%, Turkey 33%, Germany 32.5% [Na‘sān 2018:20].

Under these difficult circumstances, this author and colleagues conducted several surveys with Syrians residing both inside and outside Syria. The survey in Jordan targeted 493 male and female Syrians and 697 Palestinians over the age of 18 in August 2014.¹¹ The survey in Sweden targeted 364 men and women over age 18 from Syria (n = 230), Iraq, and Palestine in Stockholm and Malmö from December 2016 through June 2017 [NISHIKIDA et al. 2018a].¹² Inside Syria, two surveys in 2016¹³ [AOYAMA et al. 2016] and 2017¹⁴ [TAKAOKA et al. 2017] targeted 1,500 Syrian adult males and females from five regions in Syria. Our final survey in 2017 collected data from 812 SuTPs in Turkey, none of whom were living in camps [TAKAOKA et al. 2018].

Although our surveys were not conducted with a common purpose or a common questionnaire, each set of results contained useful information for comparison. Moreover, as Turkey did not participate in UNHCH's mass survey research, our survey in Turkey 2017 provides a useful supplement to the more limited focus group results [UNHCR 2018].

Discussion on SuTPs

Prior to the discussion, it is possible to indulge in some assumptions about Syrians in Turkey and their attitudes toward repatriation. First, since a considerable portion of the overall Syrian refugee/migrant population currently residing in EU countries migrated there via Turkey, those who remained in Turkey appear to have either lacked the will or the interest in traveling further. Second, when refugees/migrants are relatively satisfied with their life in a host country, they are less motivated to return to the home country. Thus, it is plausible that many Syrians who are satisfied with their lives in Turkey might be reluctant to repatriate. Third, those Syrians who fled to Turkey because of their political stance toward Syrian conflict can be expected to view "regime change" as the most important factor in their return. This discussion will test these assumptions.

(1) Are the migrants "un-qualified" people?

To answer this question, it is useful to compare Syrians in Turkey to those residing in other locations, such as Syrians in Sweden. Although simple comparisons are difficult due to the

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¹² The survey was conducted as a part of Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (B) No. 26283003 sponsored by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT) in Japan (2014–2016)

¹³ The survey was conducted as part of Non-State Actors and Political Structures in the Middle East after the Arab Spring Scientific Research Fund Subsidy Projects for 2015–2019 (Basic research (B) 15H03132)

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aforementioned discrepancy between the questionnaires, close observation of other factors demonstrates important trends among migrants/ refugees in Jordan, Turkey, and Sweden (Fig. 1, Fig. 2, and Fig. 3). Syrians who successfully moved to Sweden are viewed by many as the “winners” in the residential “lottery,” whereas those who have remained in Syria or have landed in neighboring countries are the “losers.” An example of the significant differences in status between “winners” and “losers” can be seen in comparative education levels. Table.1 illustrates the rates of illiteracy and low literacy among respondents in our surveys. Empirically, fewer than 5% of Syrians are illiterate or low literate; however, illiteracy and low literacy rates among Syrians in Turkey are exceptionally high, at 17.1% and 13.8%, respectively—although our results might be skewed by most respondents’ rural origins. They came from areas in the northern part of Syria, such as Aleppo and Idlib [TAKAOKA et al.:12]. Syrians in Sweden seem to enjoy relatively high education, whereas in Turkey, only 6.8% and 1.2% of the participants reported their education level as university and graduate school, respectively. In contrast, approximately 13.3% and 12.4% of Syrian passport holders in Sweden were educated at the university or graduate school level, respectively. Educational differences are also reflected in responses to the question about participants’ reasons for coming to Sweden (Fig. 3). The Syrian passport holders among the respondents attached relatively higher importance to the “migration policy of host countries” when considering their refuge/migration destination, which could indicate a certain level of literacy and education would be required to gather and analyze information about possible host countries.

In addition to their more advanced education, most Syrian interviewees in Sweden reported knew of at least one reliable acquaintance who had citizenship or permission for permanent residence in Sweden before their arrival, suggesting a certain degree of social capital for refuge/migration.¹⁵ Syrians in Jordan tended to attach importance to “presence of their acquaintances” and “cultural similarity” for their choice of the destination (Fig. 1). Similarly, Syrians in Turkey considered not only “good income,” but also “living with family” and “religious affiliation” as important factors for migrating to, and remaining in, Turkey (Fig. 2).

In summary, despite some differences in educational level, Syrians in Turkey are not always un-qualified persons; rather, they are in the country at least partly because of their subjective decision. Syrians in each country were equipped with social capital resources for refuge/migration as well as certain attitudes toward his/her acquaintances, culture, and religion that affected their choice of destination. For example, it would be very difficult for a person who attaches importance to religious affiliation or cultural similarity to choose and adapt to a destination where practices are radically different. In other words, we can identify community and culture-oriented tendencies that led many

¹⁵ Social capital refers to those resources that are embedded in social networks [Uzelac et al. 2018: 28]. The social networks of Syrians in the surveys seemed to be concentrated within their extended family and kinship networks. Therefore, this paper focuses on Syrians’ kinship networks as a form of social capital.

Syrians in Turkey to remain there instead of settling in EU countries.

(2) Would Syrians in Turkey willingly return to Syria? Is there any relation between satisfaction with life in Turkey and willingness to return?

In general, it is assumed that, when refugees/migrants are satisfied with their lives in a host country, they are less motivated to return to their country of origin. To examine this assumption, our survey asked about the extent of respondents' satisfaction with their lives in Turkey and their willingness to return to Syria. As Table 2 demonstrates a majority of our respondents (40.4%) expressed high levels of satisfaction with life in Turkey. However, as Table 3 shows, nearly 60% of our respondents also expressed a firm willingness to return. This finding coincides with results among Syrians in Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, and Jordan [UNHCR 2018], indicating that Syrian refugees/migrants in neighboring countries share the same hope of returning to Syria someday.

Table 4. shows the results of a test measuring the existence of a mutual effect between the degree of satisfaction with life in Turkey and the extent of willingness to return to Syria. For simplification, the categories of "completely" and "quite" from Table 2 were integrated into a "satisfied" rating, whereas "not very" and "not at all" from Table 2 were integrated into a "not satisfied" rating. From Table 3, "very" and "quite" were enveloped under "positive," whereas "not very" and "not at all" were classified as "negative." Statistically, a mutual effect between extent of satisfaction to life in Turkey and extent of willingness to return Syria was verified by a one-sided test (0.044), thereby indicating a lower motivation to return to Syria when SuTPs were more satisfied with their lives in Turkey; however, this mutual affect does not seem to be firm enough to dictate SuTPs' attitudes toward return, as there are practical incentives or obstacles that must be overcome for these them to realize their hopes of repatriation.

Certainly, we should not ignore the possibility that various sources of pressure that might have an impact on the survey respondents' answers. Notably, the Syrian respondents in this survey tended to decline to respond to questions about their political stance toward the Syrian conflict as well as questions for which certain answers might be perceived as negatively impacting their process of obtaining residency in Sweden (see Fig. 3). Their relatively weak position as SuTPs might have prevented our respondents from expressing their opinions frankly. However, based on the results, it is possible that some SuTPs outside of camps tend to remain in Turkey.

(3) What is the most important factor for their voluntary repatriation?

What is the most influential factor in SuTPs' decision to return to Syria? Those who fled Syria because of the collapse of security there might be expected to return under more secure conditions regardless of who provides that security; however, we would predict that migrants/refugees who are firm supporters of "Syrian uprising or revolution" would identify "political transition" or

“regime change” as the most important factor. According to Abrahms et al. [2017: 3–5], conventional wisdom that “most Syrian refugees are fleeing al-Asad” is a myth, as only 16% of interviewees blamed the al-Asad regime exclusively; 77% said they were fleeing from both the regime and the armed opposition. Notably, even in the survey that was filled with “anti-regime” terminology, approximately half of the respondents identified their reason for departure as “collapse of security,” whereas fewer than 40% of the respondents identified “their opposition to al-Asad” as the cause [SADA 2018].

In this context, Table 5 displays several important results. First, a considerable portion of SuTPs saw “better security and peaceful situation” as the most important factor for their return to Syria. Second, most of our respondents attached importance to community, as shown by their identification of the presence of family and/or friends as their motivation to repatriate. Third, quite a few of the respondents (20 people) considered “political transition in Syria” the most important factor for their return. These results align only partly with those in preceding surveys, which highlighted “safety and security as the primary considerations for return” [UNHCR 2018: 10]. In this context, one must consider not only oppression and violence from pro-government actors or Islamic extremists, but also vicious abuse by armed, self-proclaimed “opposition” groups. However, according to our survey, security was not necessarily the SuTPs’ top concern; they considered the presence of their extended family and acquaintances more important in their decision to return. This result suggests that, among SuTPs, there is a strong orientation to their community, which is related to their homeland, and it seems unreasonable to expect that those Syrians would willingly return to different places than the settlements where they lived prior to the conflict. In addition to this community-oriented attitude, “religious affiliation” was an important factor in the decision to remain settled in, or migrate from, Turkey.

Whether the incumbent Syrian regime will remain is not the main obstacle for SuTPs’ return; the relatively small number of responses that highlighted “political transition or regime change” as the primary incentive to repatriate suggests that Syrian refugees/migrants in abroad are not always active supporters of “Syrian uprising or revolution.” However, many exiled supporters of a “Syrian uprising or revolution” may have already abandoned their hope to return. The Syrian government and its allies have been steadily expanding the areas under their control since regaining full control of Aleppo city from Islamic extremists at the end of 2016 and expelling “the Islamic State” militias from the western regions of Euphrates River, one after another, in 2017. In September 2018, government forces recaptured Eastern Ghuta (a suburb of Damascus), the governorates of Dar’a and al-Qunaitra, and the Rustan area of the Hims governorate. In addition to these and the Kurdish Nationalists forces (YPG/PYD)—which do not support the “Syrian uprising/revolution”—expanded control to northeastern parts of Syria. Under these circumstances, anti-al-Asad forces may well have abandoned any expectations to return to Syria as winners of the conflict. It is possible that some of these firm supporters of the “Syrian uprising or revolution” expressed negative attitudes toward questions about

returning to Syria in the survey, and some may be represented among those who declined to identify “the most important factor for return to Syria” (“Missing values” in Table 5). These respondents seem unlikely to change their attitudes toward politics in Syria without substantial measures for reconciliation.

Conclusion

The research results indicate that repatriating Syrians who fled the Syrian conflict will be a major challenge for both Syria and the international community, especially neighboring countries such as Turkey. The study demonstrated that many Syrian refugees/migrants chose their destination by assessing the quality and quantity of their resources and their cultural or religious orientation. Just as the choice of destination for these individuals is often based on subjective criteria, their decision to return to Syria will also be strongly affected by such personal considerations. In this study, a trend of attaching importance to family, acquaintances, and religious affiliation to migration or return decisions was observed among Syrians in Turkey. These respondents tended to lack required resources, such as education and social capital, to migrate further. Under these conditions, it is difficult to imagine that these Syrians would willingly or successfully travel to secular countries or places with unfamiliar religious practices and rituals. Migration to another Arab or Islamic country is also unlikely for those who do not have kinship ties in those destinations.

In other words, not only lack of resources for migration, but also strong orientations to the community and religious affiliation among SuTPs narrow the options for Syrians in Turkey. This orientation likely to both limit voluntary return to Syria and present an important obstacle to integration into Turkish society. Careless integration measures may lead to a “parallel society” in Turkey. Thus, one can conclude that any initiative ignoring Syrians’ agency and subjectivity is unlikely to succeed. In this context, the inevitable question arises of “would repatriating Syrians in Turkey to those areas in Syria under Turkish control be effective?” Certainly, a clear answer to this question is difficult; however, the discussion and analysis of this paper suggest several core possibilities.

First, although most SuTPs likely originated from the northern part of Syria, they did not necessarily come from areas under Turkish control. A strong orientation to community and religious affiliation among Syrians in Turkey suggests that they intend to return to their homelands if and when the situation allows. Meanwhile, as our survey showed [TAKAOKA et al. 2018:12], a large portion of the SuTPs originated from outside Turkish-controlled areas. For SuTPs from Damascus, Homs, Hama, or Dair al-Zaur, areas under Turkish control (i.e., the northern part of Aleppo governorate and some parts of Idlib governorate) have distinct cultural and religious practices, and the migrants/refugees have few kinship ties. Therefore, it is difficult to expect that these SuTPs’ would spontaneously “return” to areas under Turkey’s control.

Second, the situations and views of Syrian refugees/migrants in other countries should not

be ignored. For instance, the 493 Syrian respondents in our survey in Jordan (2014) primarily originated from the rural governorate of Dar'a (199 people), although a considerable number also came from urban areas, such as Damascus (62 people), Aleppo (40 people), or Homs (129 people). Simply re-settling SuTPs in areas under Turkish occupation would violate the rights and prosperity of the Syrian refugees/migrants from those areas. Moreover, these areas have already absorbed many IDPs as well as a considerable number of foreign fighters and their families. An adequate measure for this problem is seriously required. In addition to countermeasures to these problems, repatriating SuTPs requires comprehensive, just, and humanitarian approaches. A wide framework, including internal actors in the Syrian conflict, host countries of Syrian refugees/migrants, and international aid agencies will be useful to achieve repatriation goals.

As this study demonstrated, SuTPs, as well as Syrian refugees/migrants, determined their destinations in accordance with their resources and orientations. Thus, they were not always pushed blindly or powerlessly by the conflict, but rather subjectively decided at a certain stage whether they would continue their migration or settle in a certain place. Therefore, any solution to the problem of Syrian refugees/migrants—particularly any plans for their voluntary repatriation—must take their rights into consideration as well as economic, social, security, and political rehabilitation/reconstruction in Syria. In the long run, whether the choice is return or integration, the fate of policies concerning the Syrian refugees/migrants depends on extent of respect for their agency.

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Table 1. Comparison of illiteracy and low literacy rates among survey respondents

	Jordan (2014)	Sweden (2016)	Syria (2016)	Syria (2017)	Turkey (2017)
Illiteracy (%)	9.9	1.3	1.3	1.5	17.1
Low literacy (%)	3.4	1.7	2.0	2.7	13.8
Total (%)	13.3	4.0	3.3	4.2	30.9

Source: Author

Table 2. All thing considered, how satisfied are you your life as a whole these days?

	Persons	Percent %
1. Completely	328	40.4
2. Quite	167	20.6
3. Moderately	120	14.8
4. Not very	118	14.5
5. Not at all	68	8.4
DK	11	1.4
Total	812	100.0

Source: [TAKAOKA et al. 2018:3]

Table 3. To what extent do you want to return to Syria?

	Persons	Percent %
1. Very	331	40.8
2. Quite	138	17.0
3. Moderately	117	14.4
4. Not very	49	6.0
5. Not at all	146	18.0
DK	31	3.8
Total	812	100.0

Source: [TAKAOKA et al. 2018:8]

Table 4. Crosstabs of “All thing considered, how satisfied are you your life as a whole these days?” and “To what extent do you want to return to Syria?”

			To what extent do you want to return to Syria?			Total
			Positive	Moderately	Negative	
All thing considered, how satisfied are you your life as a whole these days?	Satisfied	Person	284	84	118	486
		%	58.4%	17.3%	24.3%	100.0%
	Moderately	Person	62	18	28	108
		%	57.4%	16.7%	25.9%	100.0%
	Not satisfied	Person	115	15	46	176
		%	65.3%	8.5%	36.1%	100.0%
Total		Person	461	117	192	770
		%	59.9%	15.2%	24.9%	100.0%

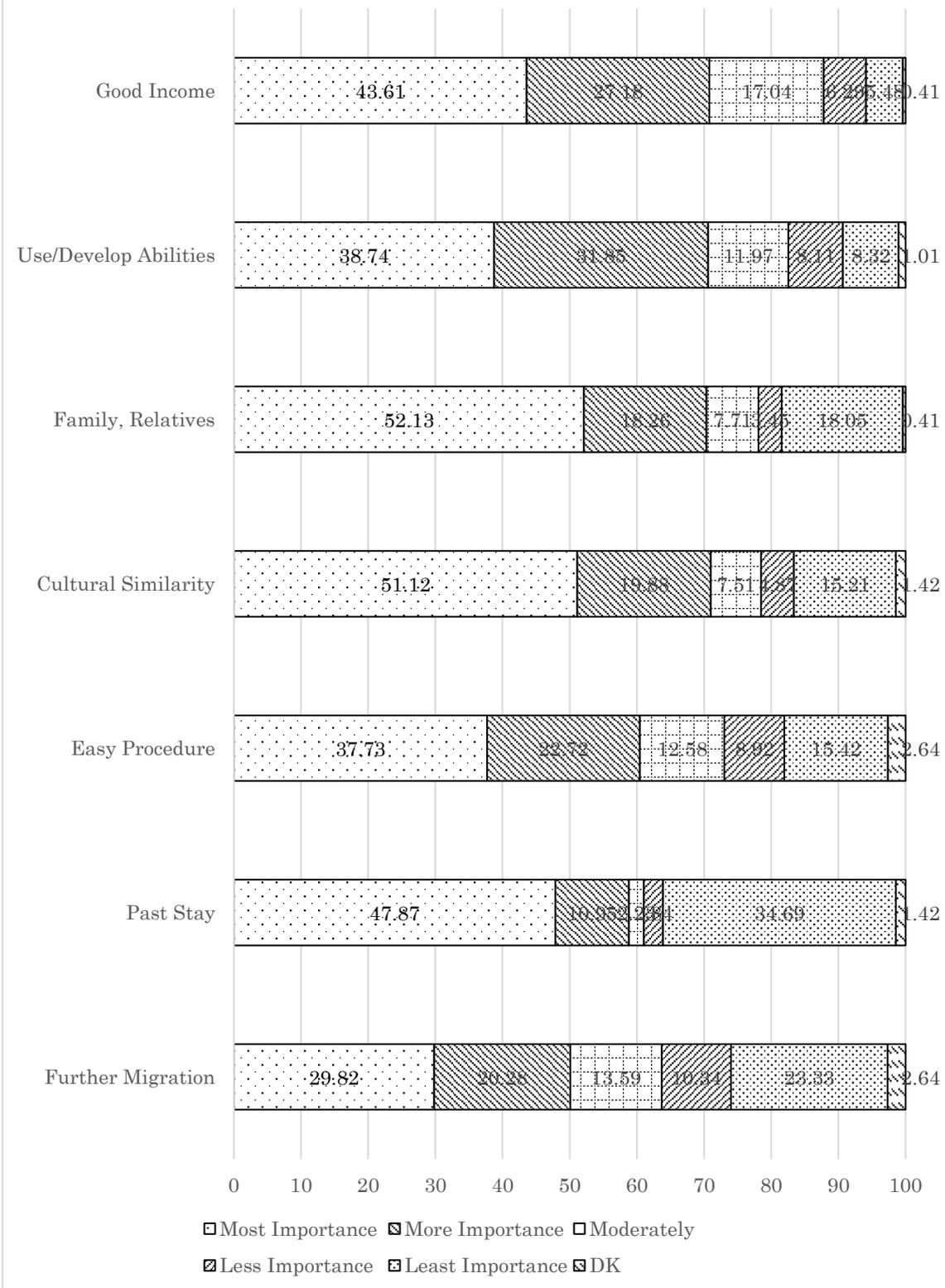
Source: Author (Supervised by Prof. Shingo HAMANAKA)

Table 5. The most important factor for return to Syria

	Persons	Percent %
1. Good income	56	6.9
2. Better chances to use your abilities	9	1.1
3. Better chances to develop your abilities	4	0.5
4. Better chances to improve your life	14	1.7
5. Better security and peaceful situation	96	11.8
6. Better welfare policy	9	1.1
7. You have a family /relatives/ friends...	102	12.6
8. Living with your family	60	7.4
9. Culturally familiar to you	16	2
10. Language there is your mother language	24	3
11. Religious affiliation	22	2.7
12. Better education for your children	30	3.7
13. Living cost	6	0.7
14. Political transition in Syria	20	2.5
15. Easier to get citizenship	1	0.1
DK, NA	6	0.7
Missing values	343	42.2
Total	812	100

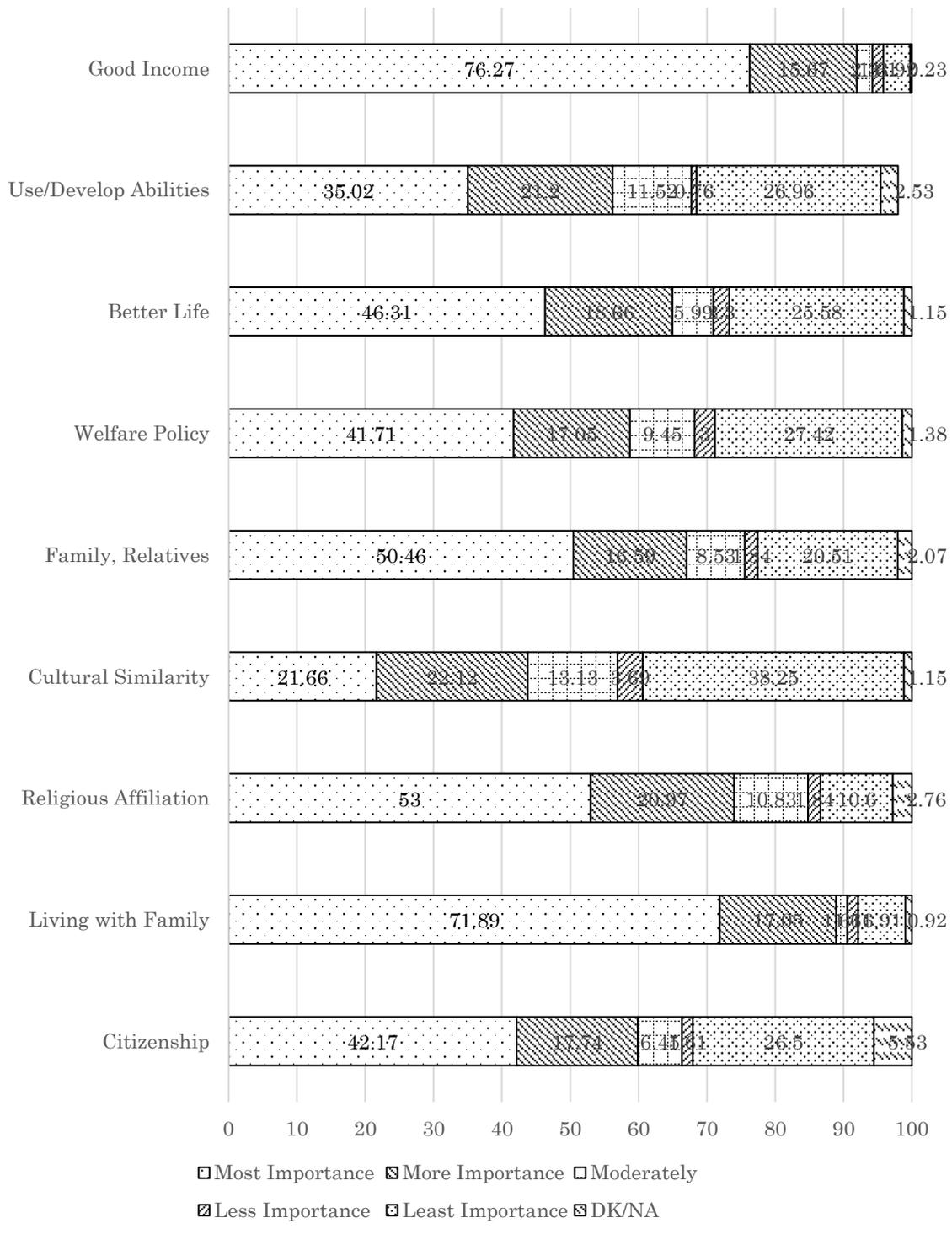
Source: [TAKAOKA et al. 2018:9-10]

Fig.1:Importance for Longest Stay (Syrians in Jordan 2014)



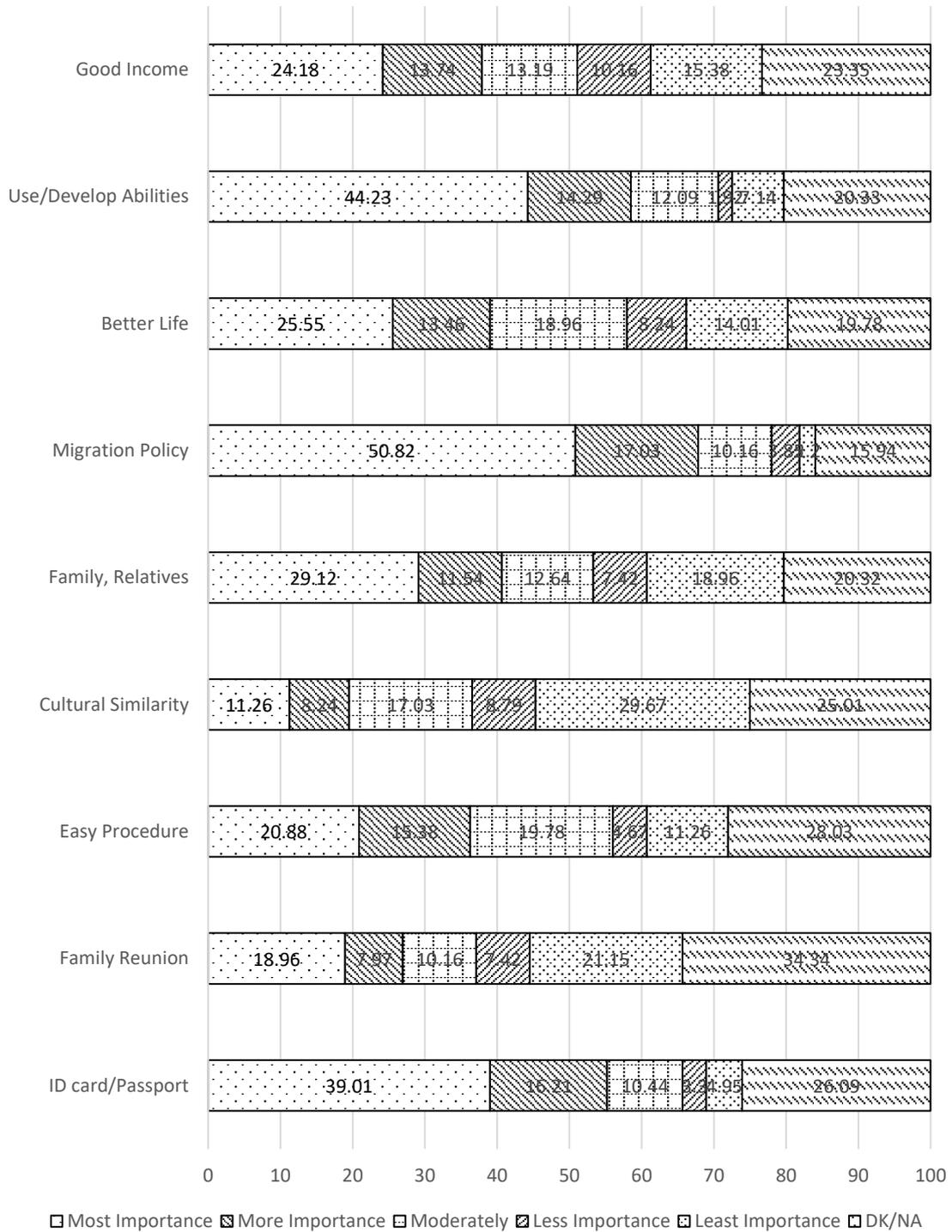
[Nishikida et al. 2018]

Fig.2:Importance for stay or migration (Syrians in Turkey 2017)



[Nishikida et al. 2018]

Fig. 3: Importance for coming to Sweden (Syrians in Sweden 2016)



[Nishikida et al. 2018]