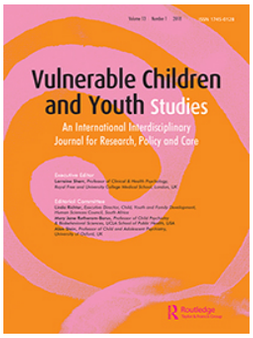

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ARTICLE

Who cannot access education? Difficulties of being a student for children from Syria in Turkey

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ABSTRACT

According to the latest official figures, more than 3 million Syrians are residing in Turkey under the status of temporary protection, and more than 50% of these are under 18 years old. The number of children from Syria between 5 and 14 years of age is 677,217 and 315,000 for the 15–19 age group, meaning that more than 1 million children are at a school age. According to the temporary protection status, children from Syria have the right to access education, including preschool education in Turkey. However, the percentage of registered children in schools varies 15–30% and this ratio is significantly lower outside of the camps. After the introduction of new regulations, more registration is expected. In this article, we focus on the factors that determine being out of school for children from Syria living in Turkey. We use the findings of the fieldwork conducted for the Baseline Assessment Study for an NGO in Turkey as a basis in order to understand the current situation. Our data comprise 541 interviews conducted in Şanlıurfa and Hatay, two cities where Syrians form a significant portion of the population, in February and March 2016. According to the findings, providing support to families with the lowest incomes, those families who have more than four children and those parents with the lowest education will increase children's access to school, which definitely contributes to their overall well-being.

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Children; out of school; risk; material well-being; Syria; Turkey

Introduction

The unsolved Syrian crisis has created a huge number of refugees, and we, the people of the world, have failed to come up with a solution. As of 2016, Turkey hosts the highest number of refugees within its borders. The estimated number of Syrians living in Turkey is more than 3 million, which is beyond the capacity of any single state to accommodate. Turkey followed an 'open door' policy until spring 2015. However, this policy was not accompanied by the necessary legal, social and economic changes.[1]

Although Turkey is one of the world's 20 largest economies, uneven development in Turkey systematically leaves particular groups vulnerable (Karatay, Erdoğan, Uyan-Semerci, & Müderrisoğlu, 2016). One-third of the total population of Turkey – 23 million – is made up of children. OECD figures show that Turkey has the second highest level of child poverty among the OECD countries with a ratio of 28.4%. Only 4

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out of 10 children in Turkey between 15 and 19 years of age cannot continue their education. Despite the legal ban on child labor, same statistics show that the number of children who are working is about 900,000; when various forms of domestic labor are included, the number is over 8 million (OECD, 2015). Within this vulnerable context for children, according to the latest official figures, more than 3 million Syrians are residing in Turkey under the status of temporary protection, and more than 50% of these are under 18 years old (Directorate General of Migration Management, 2016).

Education is one of the most important domains of child well-being.[2] Access to education for immigrant children, as one of the most vulnerable groups of children, is especially crucial for their integration into the society they live in (Bursztyn & Korn-Bursztyn, 2015). Education, not only a fundamental human right, is an essential component of refugee children's rehabilitation (UNHCR, 2000). Educational needs and obstacles for refuge children are numerous and complicated (Cochran, 2014; McBrien, 2005; Moinolnolki & Han, 2017; Sinclair, 2001; Tollefson, 1989). More research and policy suggestions are needed to support needs of refugee students within their school settings (Moinolnolki & Han, 2017, p. 7). Experiencing many traumatic events, refugee children are also at risk for a range of mental health as shown by Sirin and Rogers-Sirin for the Syrian case (2015). Refugee children lose sense of security and stability (Boyden, De Berry, Feeny, & Hatt, 2002; Tollefson, 1989). To design multi-cultural and transnational curriculums for all children – not only for the immigrant children – is a necessity for a peaceful coexistence (Küppers, Pusch, & Uyan-Semerci, 2016). Certainly, a welcoming school culture for all children plays an important role in preventing dropouts as discrimination was found to be the greatest barrier to adaptation for immigrant and refugee students (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Age at arrival of the immigrants may also play a role for high school dropouts (Goldner & Epstein, 2014). Language is another obstacle not only for academic achievement but also adaptation (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

Thus, within the limits of this article and with the data available, we will elaborate on the factors that determine being out of school for children from Syria living in Turkey putting aside the debates around curriculum, language acquisition and school culture. We will focus more on the situation of family (income, household composition, care need in households and parents' education) whose support has been found as particularly important for refugee and immigrant students' academic achievement and adaptation within their school environment (Behtoui & Neergaard, 2016; Santiago, Gudiño, Baweja, & Nadeem, 2014). Immigrant families' income and education level, employment status of parents and language ability play a role even in immigrant children's preschool participation (Matthews & Ewen, 2006). Thus, due to loss of a parent or illness and/or financial constraints, refugee children may become the head of households or breadwinners of the family which most of the time 'being out of school'. This is also one of the devastating impacts of Syrian War for children (UNICEF and Save the Children 2012; UNICEF 2014; UNHCR 2013).

According to the temporary protection status enshrined in *Education Services for Foreigners* (2014),[3] children from Syria have the right to access education, including preschool education in Turkey. According to this regulation, students may continue to their tertiary education in the state universities without paying any tuition. However, the issue is how these existing rights turn into actual capabilities. According to the last

official statistics, the number of children from Syria between 5 and 14 years of age is 677,217 and 315,000 for the 15–19 age group, meaning that more than 1 million children are at a school age. However, the percentage of those who are registered in school varies between 15% and 30% and this ratio is significantly lower outside of the camps (Kirişçi, 2014, p. 13; Yazıcı, Koman, & Tarlan, 2016, p. 60). After the introduction of new regulations, there are expected to be lower rates of children out of school and the estimate for the current school year is 450,000; however, only one-third of these will be registered in formal education institutions. In 2016, 223,528 children are registered to 300 temporary education centers which are private institutions through which children from Syria access education (Emin, 2016; Human Rights Watch, 2015).

Using fieldwork conducted for the Baseline Assessment Study for an NGO in Turkey as a basis, we elaborate on the findings in order to understand the factors that determine being out of school for children from Syria living in Turkey and, therefore, to develop policies and practices which will improve the lives of children.

Fieldwork

Our data comprise 541 interviews conducted in Şanlıurfa (191) and Hatay (350) in February and March 2016 by fieldworkers from the Support to Life Association as a part of the Baseline Assessment Study.[4] In total, 350 interviews were conducted in 16 neighborhoods and villages of Hatay (in February and March 2016) and 191 interviews were conducted in 6 neighborhoods of Şanlıurfa, in April 2016, with the permission of the local authorities. The questionnaire includes questions about socioeconomic status of the household, the migration past, income resources and distribution of major expenses, living conditions, education of children, access to support and relations with the local community.[5]

According to our data, 60% of the respondents are female and the average age is 37 years. In 541 households, there are 1513 children younger than 18 years old. The number of children less than 6 years old is 543 (49% female) and the number of school children from 6 to 18 years is 970 (48% female). In our analyses, we examined both provinces together unless we observed significant differences between them.

Findings

Being 'out of school' is a strong indicator of child well-being. Access to education is an indicator of a secure life. It means that extraordinary living conditions are relatively stable and that children live in an environment in which a daily routine of 'going to school' is possible. Today's uncertainty, and to some extent that of tomorrow, is less frightening if there is a school to go to; this definitely affects the subjective well-being of children.

The research shows that in 54.7% of interviewed households, there is at least one child between the ages of 6 and 18 who cannot go to school. This ratio is 54% in Hatay and 57% in Şanlıurfa. School access is also calculated by dividing the number of children who do not go to school by the total number of children at a school age (6–18 years). The average out-of-school ratio is 39% and there is no difference between Hatay and Şanlıurfa (38% and 40%, respectively). It is clear that this figure is relatively

low compared to other surveys conducted before the introduction of new regulations and this difference may be a result of increased education coverage. On the other hand, even this limited survey shows that 366 of 970 school children have not been registered at a school. It gives an important insight into the magnitude of the problem and, therefore, the importance of investigating which groups of children in particular cannot go to school. In this article, using the available data, we elaborate on material well-being which definitely affects school registration of children from Syria.

Income level of families

Previous studies showed that the material well-being is one of the important components of the well-being of children, since this domain directly affects the other domains of well-being. Considering the financial vulnerability of refugee families, we believe that material conditions in which the child lives define her propensity to fail to start, to continue and to complete her education.

Unemployment is the main factor affecting high levels of poverty among Syrian population in Turkey. According to different surveys, only 10% of Syrians have a regular job, and the majority of these are working in the informal sector or in labor-intensive jobs such as seasonal agriculture in the region or textile factories in the big cities. The same studies also underline the fact that finding a job is not sufficient in order to receive a decent income: the average monthly salary of a Syrian employee is about 250 USD, half of the legal minimum wage. In the agricultural sector, daily wages are less than 15 USD (AFAD, 2014; Cengiz, 2015, p. 104; Kirişçi, 2014, p. 21; STL, 2014; Türkmen Sanduvaç, 2013, p. 17).

The questionnaire includes a set of questions about the monthly household expenditures on specific items, instead of directly asking their monthly income. We tried to estimate the household income of respondents by summing up all reported figures and converted to USD. We can assume that these figures can be used as proxy variables for their incomes.

According to our data, the average monthly household income among the interviewed Syrian refugees is about 384 USD with a standard deviation of 140 USD; this figure varies between 50 and 1000 USD. In order to show how income differences affect the attendance of children to the school and understand the relative position of the household within the Syrian population, we grouped respondents into four equal income groups, namely quartiles. Using categorical data is a common practice to compare differences across income groups and to present the effect of income distribution on the quantity of interest. Twenty-five percent of households have an average income of less than 280 USD, whereas the average income of the top quartile is between 465 and 1000 USD. These figures indicate an uneven income distribution among Syrian families.

Since many Syrians are living in highly overcrowded households (average household size is 6, with a maximum of 14), the average monthly income per household may be misleading. Thus, the equivalent income ratio, developed by the OECD, may be a better indicator of material well-being of participating families.[6]

According to our calculations, the average equivalent income ratio per month is 152 USD with a standard deviation of 72 USD. In 50% of households, this ratio is less than

137 USD per month. Both the average income and the equivalent income per capita show that the majority of Syrians are living under conditions of poverty. The official statistics show that the poverty threshold in Turkey is 178 USD per capita per person (Turkstat 2014). If we use 100 USD as the poverty threshold for the combined data, we observe that 20% of Syrian households are living under the poverty line. This percentage is 11% in the Hatay region and 12% in the Şanlıurfa region, meaning that poverty among the Syrian households is higher when compared with the rest of the population living in these two cities. Other poverty calculations also give similar results. According to our data, 3.2% of respondents are living under the absolute poverty line of 2.15 USD per day per person and this ratio is about 50% if we shift this line to 4.3 USD, indicating a very significant presence of poverty among Syrians.[7]

Figure 1 shows that children living in relatively poorer houses experience higher levels of being out of school: 48% of school-age children living in the lowest quartile households don't go to school. This score is 33% in the second and 36% in the third quartiles; however, in the fourth quartile, it increases to 38%, meaning that the relationship between the level of equivalent income and the out-of-school ratio is not linear, but differences are statistically significant ($F = 2.67$, $p < 0.05$). Although the current temporary protection status gives the right to access free education, the average minimum expenditure per child is estimated to be about 30 USD per month, which is not affordable for some Syrian families (Culbertson & Constant, 2015, p. 17; Human Rights Watch, 2015).

Meanwhile, the income of the household has a direct effect on the percentage of children with no access to education. In the overall analysis, in 55% of households, there is at least one child who cannot go to school. In the lowest income quartile, this ratio is 66%, dropping to 51% in the second quartile, 51% in the third and 54% in the wealthiest quartile. There is no significant difference across income categories, except the difference between the poorest and the wealthiest households ($Z = 3.17$, $p < 0.01$) and the difference between the first and the fourth quartiles ($Z = 2.83$, $p < 0.01$).

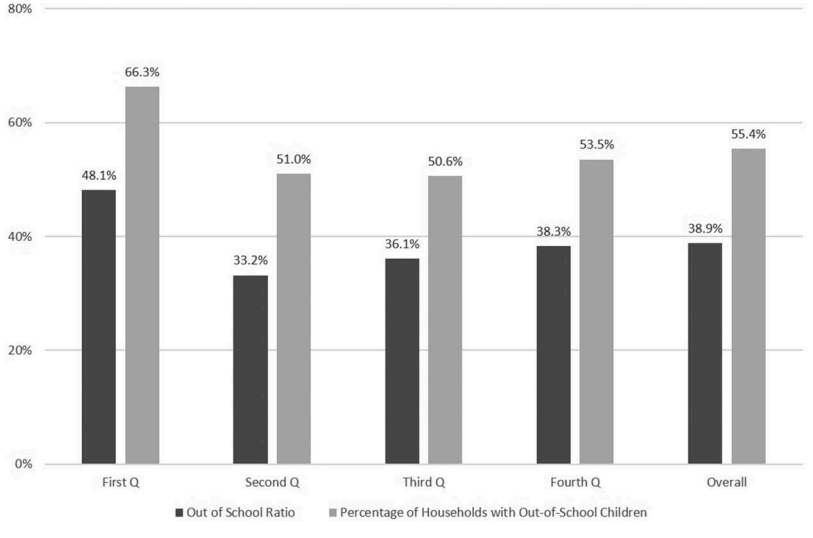

Figure 1. Out-of-school ratio per quartile (%).

Child labor

According to the legal framework, school registration is a parental decision and it is not compulsory. For the poorest families that are trying to survive, children's education is not the first priority. Children may contribute to the family budget as seasonal agricultural workers and by working in the informal sector in the riskiest jobs for 3 USD per day. They may even become breadwinners of households (Amnesty International, 2014, p. 26; Yazıcı et al., 2016, p. 60). We therefore want to see the distribution of working children with respect to income level.

According to our survey, one-fourth of interviewee families have working children in their households. In the poorest families, this percentage increases to 30% and it drops to 17% in the fourth quartile. It is clear that as income of the family increases, a child's propensity to work decreases. Still, even in the highest income families, we observe child labor.

When participants were asked to state the reasons for children working in their households, the most frequently stated reason is the lack of another breadwinner in the household. The second most frequent reason is the willingness of children to contribute to the family budget (33%); however, this may be interpreted as a rationalization of this undesired situation (Figure 3).

In 95% of households that have at least one working child, children do not go to school. There are children who can both attend school and work in only 5% of households.

Household composition

Material well-being also determines household conditions which play an important role in child well-being. Overcrowded households tend to have lower incomes; hence, they cannot allocate sufficient resources to children. As they cannot afford higher rents for better houses, overcrowded households have to live in apartments with insufficient facilities, in the worst neighborhoods of cities (Amnesty International, 2014, p. 30; IMC/ASAM, 2016; Orhan & Senyücel-Gündoğar, 2015, p. 17).

Figure 4 presents how material conditions of children are dependent to the household income. The average size of a Syrian household is 5.6; this number is 6.83 in the lowest quartile and it is about 4 in the highest income quartile. According to Figure 2, each household includes one child younger than 5 years old, independent of the level of income. On the other hand, the number of school-age children is bigger in the relatively poorer families: the averages are 2.3 in the lowest and 2.5 in the second quartiles, dropping to 1.7 in the third quartile and 1 in the wealthiest category. This difference may lead to competition among children for having the chance to register at a school, which is a scarce opportunity in these poor households. Another significant difference is observed in the case of 18–59-year-old adults. An average household includes more than 2 adults (2.5): 3.2 in the poorest households and 2 in the wealthiest ones. Finally, one in five families has a family member older than 60 years old and this ratio also changes across different levels of equivalent income: 0.3 in the lowest quartile and 0.15 in the fourth quartile.

These figures show that there is a variation in terms of family structure. The wealthiest households are mostly nuclear families: two children and two adults, whereas

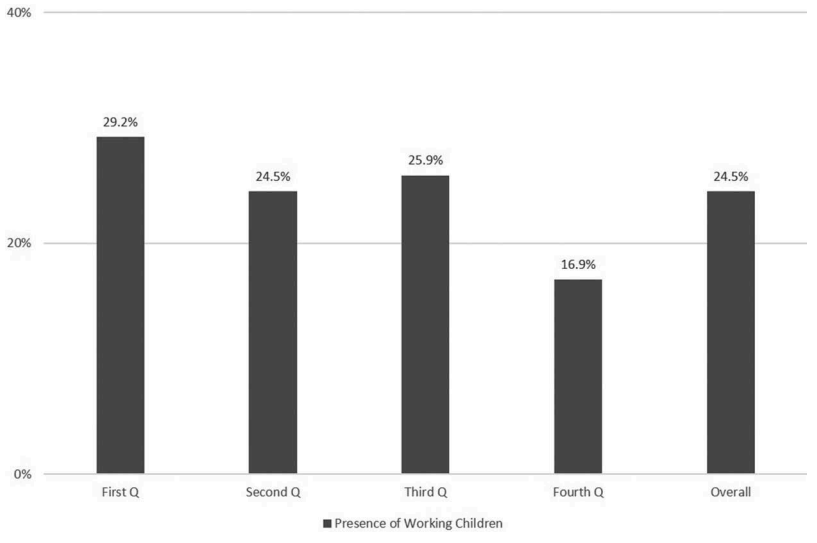

Figure 2. Presence of working children and the quartiles of income (%).

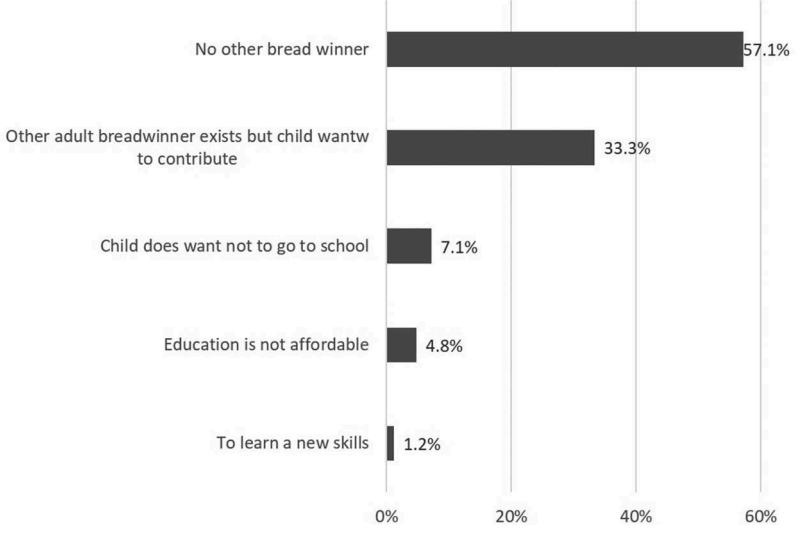

Figure 3. Reasons for working children (%).

the poorer families are composed of more than two school-age children, possibly competing for scarce resources and more than three adults indicating the existence of other relatives or dependents. This difference in family structure has a direct effect on the well-being of children.

Figure 5 shows the relationship between out-of-school ratio and household composition. In the smallest households, the average out-of-school ratio is 48%, significantly higher than other households. The out-of-school ratio is 35% in households with five to seven persons and it increases to 41% in the largest households with more than seven members ($F = 2.62$, $p < 0.1$).

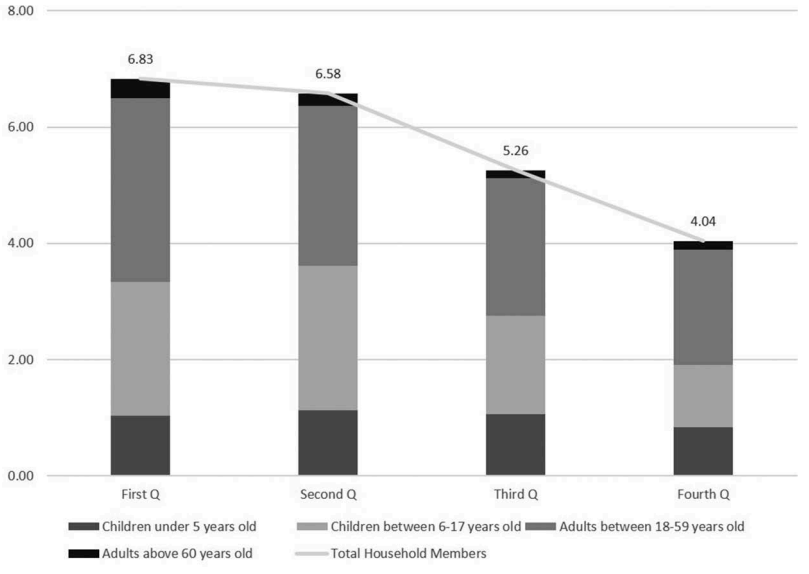

Figure 4. Composition of Syrian households.

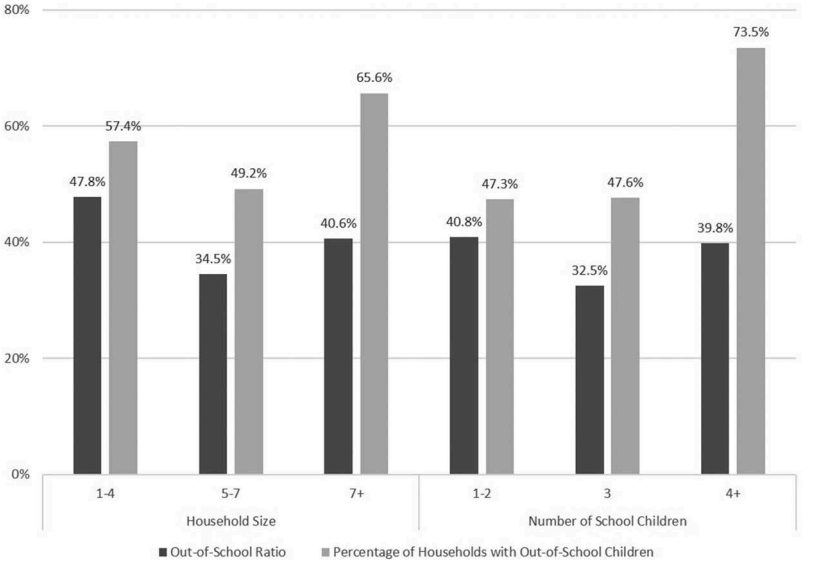

Figure 5. Out-of-school ratio according to household size and number of school children (%).

On the other hand, the percentage of households with out-of-school children is 57% in the smallest households; this decreases to 50% for households with five to seven members, and in the largest households, it becomes 66%. These figures show that the household size does not have a linear effect on both out-of-school ratio and percentage of households with children out of school, but living in an overcrowded family (more than seven members) affects the propensity to be out of school ($\chi^2 = 6.98$, $p < 0.05$).

The existence of other school children may create a competitive environment for children, since attendance at school requires a minimum amount of material capability and as the number of school-age children increases, this competition may become more intense. Figure 5 shows that in the families with one or two school-age children, the out-of-school ratio is 41% which is higher than for families with three school-age children, and it equals to the ratio of the largest category ($F = 1.19$, $p > 0.10$). On the other hand, the percentage of households with children out of school is the same for families with one to three children, but it increases to 74% in families with four and more children. Similar to the above picture, the real difference between families becomes visible in the largest families with the highest number of children at a school age ($\chi^2 = 19.33$, $p < 0.01$).

Care need in households

Previous field work has shown that 43% of Syrian households have at least one person with disability or chronic illness (AFAD, 2014). The participants in our survey are in a similar situation: 16% of households include a family member suffering with a disability and the percentage of those with a member suffering from a chronic illness is 32%. In total, 42% of participating families include a member who suffers from one of these two problems.

In the poorest households, the average number of people with a disability is 0.34, almost twice the average for other income categories which change between 0.16 and 0.20. The picture is almost similar in the case of the number of people with chronic illnesses; while the overall average is 0.40, this score is 0.45 in the lowest quartile, 0.47 in the second quartile and it drops to 0.39 and then to 0.32 in the following quartiles. According to these figures, the need for care is significantly higher for poor families and the children of these families are more vulnerable to these risks.

As presented in Figure 6, there is no relationship between the number of persons needing care and school access in these households. A small difference of 4 points between the minimum and maximum numbers is statistically insignificant ($\chi^2 = 0.51$, sig. = 0.47).

Multivariate analysis

In order to present the effects of each risk factor on school access, we conducted two multivariate analyses: a logistic regression where being a family with a child out of school is the dependent variable and a linear regression in which we used dropout ratio as dependent variable. Our aim is trying to understand effects of above-discussed factors after controlling for other independent variables. Results of the analysis are presented below.

According to the results of logistic regression, the most important determinant of having a child out of school is the level of education of the respondent;[8] the greater the educational level of the respondent, the more the propensity of having a child out of school declines, even after controlling for other risk factors such as the number of school children, household members and income of the family. It is clear that one's education may affect all these risk factors, such living in better household conditions, being employed or having higher incomes, but our analysis shows that the level of education of respondent has a direct negative effect on the attendance of school-age children, keeping other factors constant.

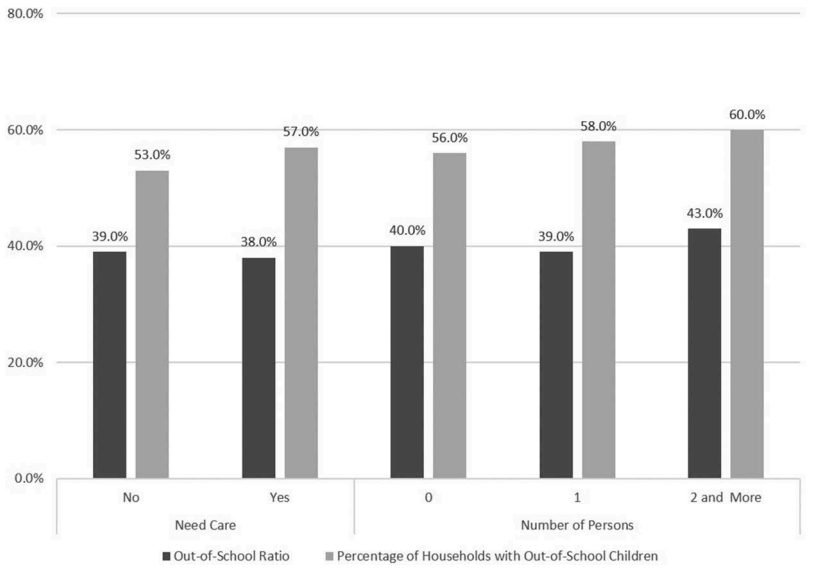

Figure 6. Out-of-school ratio according to the need for care and number of people needing care (%).

Table 1. Determinants of being out-of-school and dropout ratio.

	Out of schoo1			Dropout ratio	
Variable	*B*	Sig.	Exp(*B*)	*B*	Sig.
Respondent's education	−0.21*	0.07	0.81	−0.04*	0.09
Number of school children = 1–2	−1.12***	0.00	0.33	−0.01	0.89
Number of school children = 3	−1.09***	0.00	0.34	−0.07	0.25
Number of school children = 4+		0.34		0	
Household members = 1–4	0.22	0.58	1.24	0.13^{+}	0.07
Household members = 5–7	−0.23	0.44	0.80	−0.03	0.57
Household member = 7+		0.04		0	
Equivalent income first *Q*	0.70*	0.06	2.02	0.15**	0.04
Equivalent income second *Q*	−0.20	0.56	0.82	−0.02	0.75
Equivalent income third *Q*	0.03	0.94	1.03	0.02	0.80
Equivalent income fourth *Q*				0	
Care need = 1	−0.11	0.64	0.89	0.00	0.95
Constant	1.41***	0.00	4.11	0.44***	0.00
Nagelkerke-R^2		0.128			
Adj. R^2				0.066	

*$p < 0.10$; **$p < 0.05$; ***$p < 0.01$.

Table 1 shows that the number of school-age children is an important factor. In households where the number of school-age children is one to two or three, the propensity of having a child out of school is one-third that of the families with four or more school-age children. This finding shows that there is a competition for school attendance among the school-age children. Although we don't have more than anecdotal evidence, it is possible to speculate that girls are losers of this dramatic competition, as the childhood marriage is a common practice among refugees.

Meanwhile, the number of household members is not a significantly affecting factor as shown in Table 1, meaning that the composition of the household is more important than the living crowded households.

Our previous analyses presented the significance of the household income and differences between different income quartiles. According to the results of the logistic regression, probability of the existence of a school-age child not attending to school is two times bigger in the lowest income quartile, compared to the richest quartile, whereas there is no difference between other income categories. This finding shows that a basic income level is needed for providing school access to Syrian children.

Our logistic analysis shows that having a care-needing person in the household doesn't influence out-of-school variable.

In our second analysis, we used out-of-school ratio, the ratio of out-of-school children to all school-age children as dependent variable and used linear regression technique. According to our findings, the respondent's education has a negative effect on this ratio ($b = -0.04$, $p < 0.10$), similar to our previous analysis. Education – as the proxy indicator of socioeconomic status – affects school attendance of children, even after controlling for other factors.

However, same model shows that the number of school children doesn't have a significant effect on this variable, meaning that the competition hypothesis is not valid for out-of-school ratio. On the other hand, the number of household members has a reverse effect. The ratio of out-of-school children is higher in the relatively smaller household ($b = 0.13$, $p < 0.10$).

The household income has a negative effect on our second model. The ratio of out-of-school children is significantly higher in the poorest households ($b = 0.15$, $p < 0.05$). This income threshold seems to be valid, as there is no significant difference between other income categories.

Both models show that the respondent's education has an important effect on the school attendance of Syrian children.

According to our findings, our 'competition' hypothesis is valid for our first model, being a family with child out of school, but it doesn't affect the ratio of school-age children who cannot attend school.

Finally, both analyses showed that there is an income threshold to access to school, the poorest families have higher ratios of out-of-school children and the probability of being a family with child out school is almost double of other families.

Conclusion

Within the limits of the data available, we find that, as expected, material conditions affect school registration and the size of Syrian households is larger for poorer families. Children from the wealthiest households live in less crowded houses, even though they share their houses with other families. Living in an overcrowded family (more than seven members) affects the propensity to be out of school. The number of children living in the household also has an effect, as limited resources force families to choose among their children as to who will have the chance to go to school. The percentage of households with children out of school is the same for families with one to three children, but it increases to 74% in families with four and more children. The real difference between families becomes visible in the largest families with the highest number of children at a school age.

In the poorest households, the average number of people with disabilities is almost twice bigger than for other income categories. According to these figures, the need for care is significantly higher for poor families and although it has no effect on school access, this also endangers the well-being of children in these families. Another risk is child labor. According to our survey, one-fourth of the interviewee families have working children in their households. It is clear that as the income of the family increases, a child's propensity to work decreases. Still, even in the highest income families, we observed child labor.

According to the multivariate analysis, the most important determinant of having a child out of school is the level of education of the respondent; the higher the level of education of the respondent, the less the propensity of having a child out of school. As the education level of the respondent – who is one of the parents – is utilized as a proxy variable indicating the household socioeconomic status, this finding may be interpreted as the vicious exclusion of children from the lower socioeconomic status and transition of the social exclusion from one generation to another generation.

In households where the number of school children is one to two, or three, the propensity of having a child out of school is one-third that of families with four or more school-age children. The number of household members is not a significantly affecting factor. These findings may be interpreted as the existence of a dramatic competition between children of the crowded families.

These findings are crucial for developing targeted social policies that will contribute to the current and future well-being of children for this particularly vulnerable group. With the limited available resources, it is important to find out the target group who experience difficulties more for access to school. Which group of children? According to our findings, providing support to families with the lowest incomes, those families who have more than four children and those parents with the lowest education will increase children's access to school which definitely contributes to their well-being.

Although we cannot generalize our findings due to the limitations of data collection, we still believe that our findings contribute to the existing and developing literature with respect to the conditions of household income, number of children, number of person in the household who needs care and education level of parents. To conduct further research on these points is important as it will also provide a different intervention tool for developing policies for increasing access to education for refugee children.

Notes

1. Syrians are not accepted as refugees according to Turkish laws. Turkey has a 'geographical limitation' to the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol, reserving this status only for persons of European origin. This means that Syrians living in Turkey didn't have a legal status until the acceptance in April 2013 of the new law which gives them 'temporary protection'. See Refugee Rights Turkey (2015) and Kaya and Eren (2015). For the number of Syrians living in Turkey, see http://www.goc.gov.tr/icerik6/temporary-protection_915_1024_4748_icerik (accessed on 25.09.2016).
2. We have been studying and working with children in Turkey using a child well-being approach (Muderrisoğlu, Uyan-Semerci, Yakut-Çakar, Karatay, & Ekim-Akkan, 2013; Uyan-Semerci et al., 2012; Uyan-Semerci & Erdoğan, 2016; Uyan-Semerci, Erdoğan, & Kavak, 2014). The child well-being approach – a multidimensional and a holistic approach

– aims at increasing the capabilities of the child in accordance with the basic indicators in each domain: health, material well-being, education, housing and environment, participation, risk and relationships (Ben-Arieh, 2009, 2010a, 2010b; Bradshaw, 2011). The child well-being approach combines both objective life conditions and children's subjective experiences. In the first child well-being research study that was conducted in Istanbul, Turkey, based on the existing literature, eight domains were determined for measuring child well-being: material well-being, education, health, risk and security, housing and environment, participation, relations and subjective well-being (Uyan-Semerci et al., 2012).

3. The legal status of Syrians in Turkey has been defined by The Law on Foreigner and International Protection (2013) and the following directives: The Directive of Temporary Protection (2013), and Education Services for Foreigners (2014). For a detailed discussion see İçduygu and Millet (2016) and Emin (2016).
4. Hatay and Şanlıurfa are two cities where Syrians form a significant portion of the population. Hatay hosts 387,040 Syrians (Hatay's population is 1,553,000) and this number is 397,510 for Şanlıurfa (which has a population of 1,892,320). Both cities have historical connections with Syria and were hosting a significant Syrian population before the Civil War (Directorate General of Migration Management, 2016).
5. As the distribution of the Syrian population across neighborhoods is unknown, the STL fieldworkers, trained by the project managers of the institution, conducted interviews in the neighborhoods known as the hosts of Syrian refugees. The lack of the official data prevents to design a probabilistic sampling frame and purposive sampling methods are preferred. In the neighborhoods, interviewers used a random walk method and conducted face-to-face interviews for Syrians those are accepted to be interviewed. All interviews are conducted in Arabic. This sampling method may limit the generalizability of findings, however reliable in the case of refugees (Spring et al., 2003; Sulaiman-Hill & Thompson, 2011).
6. The equivalent income ratio is calculated by assigning a value of 1.0 to the household head, of 0.5 to each additional adult member and of 0.3 to each child (OECD, 2013). After calculating the equivalent income ratio, we grouped households according to the income per capita quartiles. The limits of the quartiles are as follows: less than or equal to 307 TL (102 USD), 308–388 TL (103–129 USD), 389–500 TL (130–167 USD) and more than 500 TL (167 USD).
7. For poverty statistics, see TURKSTAT, Poverty Statistics, http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1013, accessed on 25.09.2016.
8. We included this variable as a proxy indicator of socioeconomic status of the respondent. This variable is constructed by using a 4-point scale, where 1 stands for the lowest level of education and 4 means university graduate. Mean and median of this scale is 2, with a standard deviation of 1.06.

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