

M. Mustafa Erdoğan*

Sevda Akar**

EDUCATION AND HEALTH EXTERNALITIES OF SYRIAN REFUGEES IN TURKEY: THREATS AND OPPORTUNITIES

It is a sad fact that violent military conflicts and human rights abuses have still taken place in our age. Such events have a deep impact not only on the communities in which they are originated but also on many other communities. One of the most important consequences of violent military conflicts and human rights abuses is refugee flight. As a result of the civil war that started in Syria in 2011, Turkey has received a huge influx of refugees. Currently, Turkey has been hosting more than 3 million Syrian refugees. These refugees bring not only some opportunities but also many problems with them. This study focuses on emerging health and education issues of the Syrian refugees in Turkey along with the externalities of health and education expenditures that Turkey allocates for refugees from its own budget.

Key words: refugees, education rights, health and inequality, government policy.

JEL classification: F22, I1, I28, J24.

*«Syria is the biggest humanitarian
and refugee crisis of our time, a continuing cause
of suffering for millions which should be garnering
a groundswell of support around the world».*

Filippo Grandi
UNHCR High Commissioner

1. Introduction

War has a catastrophic effect on the well-being of nations and leaves deep social scars within families and communities. As Murthy and Lakshminarayana (2006, 25) point out, it «... destroys communities and families and often disrupts the development of the social and economic fabric of nations. The effects of war include long-term physical and psychological harm to children and adults».

Violent military conflict remains the dominant root cause of refugee flight. The record volume of individuals forced to flee their homes as a result of wars around

* Prof. Department of Public Finance. Marmara University.

** Asst. Prof. Department of Public Finance. Bandirma Onyedli Eylul University.

the world. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), that number currently stands at over 65.300.000 people, including 21.3 million refugees who have been forced to flee their country. There are also 10 million stateless people who have been denied a nationality and access to basic rights such as education, healthcare, employment and freedom of movement.

Humanitarian crises have a number of effects not only on the refugees themselves but also on the host countries. «The refugee situation has become a classic example of the interdependence of the international community. It fully demonstrates how the problems of one country can have immediate consequences for other countries. It is also an example of interdependence between issues» (UNHCR, 2015, 4, March 20). Currently, the conflict in Syria continues to be the biggest driver of migration.

The vast majority of the world's refugees (86 per cent) are hosted in developing regions (UNHCR, 2016, 4, September 15). Turkey, Ethiopia, Kenya, Jordan, Lebanon, and Pakistan collectively host a third of the world's refugees, though they account for just 1.6 per cent of the world's economy (Hill, 2016, September 16). Syria is the biggest humanitarian and refugee crisis of our time and Turkey is the largest provider of aid to Syrians under temporary protection, as well as other refugee and migrant groups (UNICEF, 2017, 19, February 28).

The main objective of this paper is to discuss education and health challenges of the Syrian refugees in Turkey to contribute to the ongoing policy discussions among governments, donors, and United Nations agencies. A secondary objective of the paper is to identify the positive and negative effects of health and education expenditures for the refugees on the Turkish society. The following part reviews consequences of the Syrian civil war on Turkey. The third and fourth parts investigate education and health challenges of the Syrian refugees in Turkey. The final part evaluates the results to rebuild strengths, adaptation, coping strategies, and resilience.

2. Consequences of the Syrian Civil War on Turkey

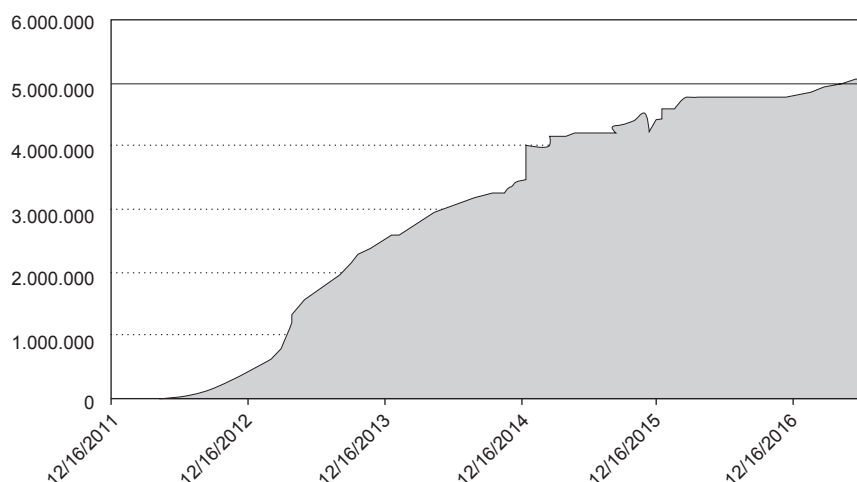
The human rights struggle and anti-government protests, which started in 2011 with the Arab Spring in Syria, turned into a civil war over time. Conflicts that have lasted for more than five years have led many people to lose their lives and more than 5 million Syrians (or a quarter of the country's pre-war population) have crossed the border and registered as refugees in neighboring countries (Oxfam, 2017, March 30). Many Syrians fleeing conflict in their country rushed to Turkey as the closest border country.

Graph 1 shows an overall number of registered Syrian refugees until the end of 2016. This graph includes 2.97 million Syrians registered in Turkey, 2 million Syrians registered by UNHCR in Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and Lebanon, as well as more than 30,000 Syrian refugees registered in North Africa. According to the UNHCR (2017, July 6), there are currently 5,136,969 registered Syrian refugees in different countries.

According to İçduygu and Şimşek (2016, 60), Syrian migration to Turkey could be divided into three periods. The first period started in 2011 and it lasted until the summer of 2015. The Turkish authorities followed an «open door» policy toward Syrian refugees and began constructing tents in the southern provinces of Hatay, Kilis, Gaziantep, and Şanlıurfa. Especially after the failure of the Kofi Annan's six-point plan for Syria for a ceasefire in the second half of 2012, conflicts in Syria deepened and on average more than 20,000 refugees arrived in Turkey monthly, which continued to rise in the following years. By the late 2014, 55,000 people were seeking asylum in Turkey every month —fueled by increased violence in Syria and neighboring Iraq—.

The Turkish government called the refugees first as «guests» or «visitors» and has developed discourses and policies in 2011-2012, assuming that Syrian asylum seekers would return soon. However, it became increasingly clear by the time that they were unlikely to return soon, if they would ever do so. Therefore, it

GRAPH 1
REGISTERED SYRIAN REFUGEES



SOURCE: UNHCR (2017, April 6). Syria Regional Refugee Response, Inter-agency Information Sharing Portal. Retrieved from: <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php#>

became an obligation to grant these refugees temporary protection status dictated by the European Union's 2001 regulations. The Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP) that defines only refugees from Europe as refugees¹ came into force in April 2013. LFIP accepted others as «conditional» refugees and are given temporary protection until they can find a new and safe third country (Korkmaz, 2016, September 13).

The relevant regulation defines «temporary protection» as the protection provided to those who were forced to leave their country, unable to return back, arriving to and crossing Turkey's borders in groups or individuals during mass influx seeking temporary protection and whose requests for international protection cannot be considered at individual level. The temporary protection regime

provides Syrians the right to stay in Turkey for an indefinite time period, to be protected from forced return and given response to their urgent needs. The law ensured an extensive framework for protecting and encouraging all asylum-seekers and refugees, regardless of their country of origin, in line with international standards (UNHCR, 2016, 1, December 22).

Despite some imposed restrictions, Turkey's open door refugee policy has resulted in an explosion of refugees and immigrants². The number of refugees arriving in Europe seeking international protection increased from 138,000 in 2014 to nearly 500,000 in late 2015. It was a period when thousands of refugees suffered seriously at European borders. Some tragically lost their lives

¹ While Turkey has raised a geographical reservation by only accepting people coming from Europe as refugees «conditional» refugees arriving from the East are supposed to be treated equally, according to the 1951 and 1967 UN refugee conventions to which Turkey is a signatory (KORKMAZ, 2016, September 13).

² Migrants are people who make a conscious choice to leave their country to seek a better life elsewhere. They are free to return home at any time if things do not work out as they had hoped. Whereas, refugees are forced to leave their country because they are at risk of, or have experienced persecution. The concerns of refugees are human rights and safety, not economic advantage.

TABLE 1

CURRENT STATUS IN AFAD TEMPORARY PROTECTION CENTERS, 2017

Province	Total
Şanlıurfa	112.374
Gaziantep	38.417
Kilis	35.835
Hatay	19.687
Kahramanmaraş	23.917
Malatya	10.153
Adıyaman	9.651
Osmaniye	7.301
Mardin.....	4.978
Adana	555
Overall Total	262.868

SOURCE: AFAD (2017, March 27). *Barınma Merkezlerinde Son Durum*, T.C. Başbakanlık Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı. Retrieved from: <https://www.afad.gov.tr/tr/2374/Barınma-Merkezlerinde-Son-Durum>

at sea. These events marked the second period. After a new wave of refugees arrived in Europe in the summer of 2015, the EU and Turkey agreed on an Action Plan on 29 November 2015 to control and limit the irregular migration (İçduygu & Şimşek, 2016, 61).

Table 1 shows the number of refugees in Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD) temporary protection centers. According to this table, Turkey has opened temporary protection centers for the refugees in ten provinces close to the Syrian border. The most crowded of these centers are in Şanlıurfa, Gaziantep, and Kilis, respectively.

According to the latest data by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), there are currently approximately 3.2 million (3,175,726) foreign nationals present in Turkish territory, making Turkey the host country with the largest refugee population in the world. In other words, Turkey's refugee intake dwarfs European countries. Most of the refugees in Turkey are Syrians (3,079,914) who are granted with the temporary protection status. Syrian refugees account for 3.9 per

cent of Turkey's population. Close to half of refugees in Turkey are children and young people; 29.9 per cent of refugees are below the age of 12 and 14.8 per cent are aged between 12 and 17 (2017, July). Available data is limited only to registered refugees and does not fully reflect the actual situation.

Currently, 262,868 Syrians reside in 24 state-run camps, called temporary accommodation centers (AFAD, 2017, March 27). Although the Turkish government ensures provision of education, health-care, social, and monetary support to refugees for free in these camps, about 91 per cent of the Syrian refugees in Turkey remain outside camp settings with a limited access to fundamental services (Boček, 2016, August 10). The rest live in almost all parts of Turkey and try to survive by their own means. Nevertheless, Balkan and Tumen (2016, 659) suggest that the majority of refugees who are living out of camps prefer to stay close to the camps to benefit from health, education, food, and other basic public services.

The rapid influx of refugees raises complex questions of housing, legal status, labour, education, and health, in specific as well as broader challenges of social and economic integration. Integration of refugees into Turkish economic and social life remains a challenge (UNHCR, 2016, 27, December 23). Host country experiences show both advantages and challenges as a result of immigration. However, there is generally a lack of balance towards positive and negative impact attribution of immigrants. Usually, a very negative image of immigrants is the case, despite their statistically small impact on society. Concerns over crime, disease, terrorism, detention and surveillance are consistently pushed well to the fore. According to Randall, who compares the Daily Telegraph, the Guardian and the Independent, notes that «the issue of asylum and immigration is reported in terms of a threat and invasion despite a lack of statistical evidence supporting such dramatic claims» (Randall, 2003, December 8).

The current situation in Turkey is that the influx of refugees has placed a significant demand on overstretched public service sector. It has caused

crowding in schools and hospitals, rents have risen in poorer areas, and there are downward pressures on wages since workers compete in an increasingly crowded economy (Culbertson & Constant, 2015, 9). The Turkish public has increasingly expressed concern about perceived contribution of refugees to rising retail prices and housing costs, increased unemployment, declining availability and quality of social services and their economic competition with the Turkish citizens. This has bred frustration and resentment among the Turkish population (UNHCR, 2015, March 20).

There is also integration difficulties and friction with local people. As Shah (2008, May 26) reveals, «Where there is a perception that refugees appear to get more benefits than local poor people, tensions and hostilities may rise and immigration can become a social or political issue, where racism can be used to exploit feelings or as an excuse for woes of the local population». Concerns about illegal immigration can spill over to ill-feelings towards the majority of refugees who are law-abiding and contributing to the economy.

Indeed, refugees offer an increased talent pool for the host country's economy, if they have been well educated in their original country and if their skills complemented those of the natives. It is also the case that host countries are enriched by cultural diversity, which brings different perspectives and knowledge. Moreover, as Peri (2013) highlights the issue, refugees are more willing than natives to move in order to find jobs. As a consequence, they help stabilize the economy and reduce the «mismatch» between local demand for labor and its supply. Additionally, their willingness to move helps slow wage decline in stagnant regions and contributes to economic growth in booming ones. Furthermore, international connections of refugees may constitute an asset. For example, as indicated by Bahçekapılı and Çetin (2015, 14), foreign trade balance of Turkey improved after the Syrian refugees arrived. The main reason for this appears as commercial activities of the Syrian refugees with other regional countries increased, leading to Turkey's improved exports to these regions.

Currently, Turkey is spending approximately \$590 million (€557 million) a month for its refugees. Since the beginning of the Syrian civil war, the Turkish government has spent about \$29 billion (approximately €27 billion), which does not include expenditures by the private sector and civil society (Çetingüleç, 2017, February 21). The European Commission and its Member States, on the other hand, provide only €3 billion for humanitarian and development projects for 2016 and 2017³.

Turkey is now in *the third period* that İçduygu and Şimşek (2016) identify. *The third period* refers to a process in which policies and practices are moving in the direction of integration. For instance, the Turkish government started to issue work permits for Syrian refugees who have been in Turkey for more than six months in January 2016⁴. The following sections will review two other ingredients of integration: providing health and education services for the Syrian refugees.

3. Refugee Education Challenge

A particular area of concern is education for the refugees. Education is an investment with rich dividends for the refugees and the host country. As Nobel Peace Prize laureate and celebrated education activist Malala Yousafzai suggests, «Refugee children have the potential to help rebuild safe, peaceful, prosperous countries, but they can't do this without education». Education gives refugees the intellectual tools to shape the future of their own countries from the day they return home, or to contribute meaningfully to the countries that offer them shelter, protection and a vision of a future. UN High Commissioner for Refugees Filippo Grandi points out that

³ This facility is planned to supply grants and other financial assistance to the refugees in Turkey (EC, 2016, 1).

⁴ According to the work permit regulation, employers have to apply on behalf of employees once residency, registration, and health requirements are met. An employment quota also applies: Syrians cannot exceed 10 per cent of the employed Turkish citizens in the same workplace. As of July, only 5,500 have been granted a work permit in 2016, which amounts to 0.2 per cent of the Syrian refugee population (İÇDUYGU & ŞİMŞEK, 2016, 62).

«Refugees have skills, ideas, hopes and dreams... They are also tough, resilient and creative, with the energy and drive to shape their own destinies, given the chance» (UNHCR, 2016, 3, September, 15).

The returns on investing in education are immense and far-reaching. There is solid evidence that quality education improves job prospects, boosts confidence and self-esteem. It gives people the opportunity to make friends and find mentors and provides them with the skills for self-reliance, problem solving, critical thinking and teamwork. Education of children reduces child marriage, child labour, exploitative and dangerous work, and teenage pregnancy. Failing to provide education for refugees of school-going age can be hugely damaging, not only for individuals but also for their families and societies. It means lost opportunities for peaceful and sustainable development (UNHCR, 2016, 5, September 15). Moreover, the fact that the Syrians have not benefited from educational opportunities enough may negatively affect crime rates and cause some social problems in the long run (Orhan & Gündoğar, 2015, 8).

As the number of people forcibly displaced by conflict and violence rises, demand for education naturally grows and the resources in the countries that shelter them are stretched ever thinner. Refugee children are five times more likely to be out of school than non-refugee children. Only 50 per cent have access to primary education, compared with a global level of more than 90 per cent. The gap becomes a chasm when they get older. Although 84 per cent of non-refugee adolescents attend lower secondary school, only 22 per cent of refugee adolescents have that same opportunity. At the higher education level, just one per cent of refugees attend university compared to 34 per cent globally (UNHCR, 2016, 4, September 15).

There are a number of legal, political, socio-economic and administrative challenges to education for refugees. One of the main difficulties for refugee children to continue their education in Turkey is to access education. While many refugees cannot access education easily, some others do not see education as a necessity (Yavuz & Mızrak, 2016, 180). Additional factors that kept Syrian children out of schools are the absence of suitable

documentation, the need to work for a living, costs of education, distance from school, safety issues, culture or language barriers or strong varieties in the curriculum. This may have highly negative long-run consequences (Berti, 2015, 45-46).

The inclusion of refugees in national education systems requires strong partnerships and a significant investment of time and resources to support children and youth to succeed in the new system, with training in the language of instruction where needed (UNHCR, 2016, 19, September 15). According to the Turkish legislation related to education, all children, including a foreign national have the right to benefit from free «basic education». Even though the right to education is available for all, Syrian refugees had difficulties enrolling their children into the public school system. One reason is a lack of any clear regulation indicating the formal procedures for the enrollment of the students (İçduygu & Şimşek, 2016, 66). Another reason is education infrastructure.

Providing access to education for refugees has not been easy. Because the educational system has already been overcrowded and the system has been working under the financial burden and overworked personnel (Berti, 2015, 45-46). Expanding the size of the classrooms to absorb Syrian refugee children would most likely worsen the existing performance problems (Kirişçi, 2014, 26). In addition, with a larger student population, school infrastructure is strained and maintenance and operational costs are higher than prior to the Syrian crisis (UNHCR, 2015, March 20). Moreover, Turkish teachers are not sufficiently equipped to deal with students who have been out of school for an extended period of time and do not speak Turkish. Many students need psychosocial or additional academic support to adapt to the new curriculum (UNHCR, 2015, March 20). To resolve these issues would require significant resources and would create major pressure on the Turkish government budget (Kirişçi, 2014, 26).

Among the Syrian refugee population, it is estimated that approximately one million are school-aged children, of which 450,000 are attending school,

leaving the remainder vulnerable to child labour and other forms of exploitation and abuse (UNHCR, 2016, 27, December 23).

As seen in Table 2, primary school educational services provided in temporary protection centers in Turkey for Syrian refugees is 55.6 per cent of the total education provided. Whereas middle school education is 24.5 per cent, high school education is 11.4 per cent, and pre-school is 8.4 per cent. These figures reflect only the registered refugees, who remain in the temporary protection camps (TPCs). The rest is more likely to be out of education. According to more recent figures (Reliefweb, 2016 September 30), only 37 per cent of an estimated 934,000 school-aged Syrian children are enrolled in formal education programs. While over 85 per cent of children living in camps are enrolled in formal education this percentage falls to around 30 per cent for those living in urban areas.

Table 3 indicates the number of Syrian children enrolled in fundamental education services. As of 2015-2016, the number of Syrian children in the age of fundamental education is about 625,155; 10 per cent of them are in pre-school, 35 per cent in primary school, 27 per cent in middle school, and 28 per cent in high school.

Table 4 shows the number of Syrian children enrolled according to the years. Looking at the educational access status of Syrian children in the age of basic education in Turkey, it is observed that the number has increased exponentially. When the Syrian refugee influx started in 2011, Syrian children, who could benefit from education services both inside and outside the TPCs were modest with only 34,000. This number, however, increased rapidly. According to the Ministry of National Education, 491,896 refugee children have enrolled the public schools and temporary education centers in December 2016 and the enrollment rate among the refugee children had reached 59 per cent. As Jalbout (2015, 6) acknowledges, this shows that Turkey has demonstrated strong leadership in extending the right to education to all Syrian refugee children within its borders, despite the high economic and social costs of hosting the largest Syrian refugee population in the world.

TABLE 2
EDUCATIONAL SERVICES PROVIDED IN
TEMPORARY PROTECTION CENTERS
FOR SYRIAN REFUGEES, 2015

Educational services			Number
Number of Classrooms			1,211
Number of Students	Pre-school		6,857
	Primary school		45,491
	Middle school		20,051
	High school		9,308
Teacher	Turkish		315
	Arab		2,532
Adult Courses	Ongoing	Course	298
		Trainee	13,936
	Completed	Course	2,036
		Trainee	61,749

SOURCE: Directorate General of Migration Management, Turkey (2016). «2015 Türkiye Göç Raporu», Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management Publications, n° 35, April, pp. 90-91.

TABLE 3
THE SYRIAN CHILDREN ENROLLED FOR
FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION IN TURKEY,
2015-2016

Fundamental education	Number of Children	Per cent
Pre-school	60,320	10
Primary school.....	218,099	35
Middle school.....	172,544	27
High school.....	174,192	28
Total	625,155	100

SOURCE: EMİN, M. N. (2016). Türkiye'deki Suriyeli Çocukların Eğitimi: Temel Eğitim Politikaları. SETA, Siyaset, Ekonomi ve Toplum Araştırmaları Vakfı, Sayı: 153, p. 16.

TABLE 4
THE NUMBER OF SYRIAN STUDENTS ENROLLED ACCORDING TO YEARS

		2011-2012	2012-2013	2013-2014	2014-2015	2015-2016
Pre-School	In TPC	3,000	5,000	8,000	8,145	11,351
	Outside TPC	500	1,000	2,000	4,911	3,888
Primary School	In TPC	13,000	23,000	33,000	43,720	129,403
	Outside TPC	4,500	11,500	40,000	19,255	46,035
Middle School	In TPC	7,000	13,000	20,000	22,595	56,738
	Outside TPC	2,000	8,000	22,000	28,084	12,711
High School	In TPC	3,000	4,000	8,000	10,045	26,036
	Outside TPC	1,000	2,000	6,000	13,144	4,241
Total	In TPC	26,000	45,000	69,000	84,505	223,528
	Outside TPC	8,000	22,500	70,000	125,394	66,875
	Total	34,000	67,500	139,000	209,899	290,403

NOTE: TPC reflected Temporary Protection Centers.

SOURCE: EMIN, M. N. (2016). Türkiye'deki Suriyeli Çocukların Eğitimi: Temel Eğitim Politikaları. *SETA, Siyaset, Ekonomi ve Toplum Araştırmaları Vakfı, Sayı: 153*, p. 16.

Getting a primary education is difficult enough for refugee children, but obtaining a place in secondary school is harder still. There are fewer secondary schools in most refugee environments and girls frequently lose out. At the global level, for every ten refugee boys in primary school there are fewer than eight refugee girls; at secondary school, the figure is worse, with fewer than seven refugee girls for every ten refugee boys (UNHCR, 2016, 43, September 15).

Secondary education is a long-term investment whose ultimate benefits can be difficult to see for a family that has lost everything, especially when adolescents can bring in much-needed cash here and now. Sending adolescents out to earn a wage through child labour is a route many refugee families find difficult to avoid, the more so if keeping them in school will present an additional financial burden because of

transport costs, fees, books, and pens (UNHCR, 2016, 20, September 15).

Secondary education deserves urgent attention because it is there that students, their families, and their communities experience the true benefits of a proper schooling. Building on the foundations of primary school, secondary education promotes social cohesion, gender equality, and better health. As UNHCR (2016, 21, September 15) reveals, without the safety net of secondary education, adolescent refugees can become increasingly vulnerable. If they are not drawn into child labour, they may grow bored or feel helpless, adrift and frustrated and thus become easy prey for recruitment by armed groups. For girls, there are the additional dangers of child marriage and teenage pregnancy, confinement to domestic labour or sexual exploitation.

To reach university education level, a young refugee has to overcome significant barriers. Young refugees are greatly disadvantaged in accessing university education as well as technical and vocational training. In 2015, the Turkish government subsidized the tuition costs of roughly 1,600 Syrian refugees; 2.2 per cent of Syrian youth refugees are enrolled in Turkish universities. This rate is just 20 per cent of the students enrolled in Syria before the war (UNHCR, 2016, 1, September 16).

Turkey has led and financed the vast majority of the educational response to the Syrian refugee crisis. Although Turkey has taken on these challenges willingly, its ability to provide the long-term educational needs of refugee populations is limited. As Jalbout (2015, 1) underlines the important point, this is «a burden that Turkey cannot continue to shoulder alone. To provide quality, sustainable educational opportunities for all children, greater financing from the wider international community is necessary».

4. Refugee Health Challenge

One of the greatest challenges facing public health officials today has been preparing for the health problems experienced by large populations displaced by natural or man-made disasters like a civil war (Randall, 2003, December 8). The pressure derives from a significant rise in need, demand, and costs as a result of refugee influx. Lack of enough staff and constructions is likely to result in a total breakdown of the healthcare system for the refugee and host community (Berti, 2015, 45). The poor living conditions are setting the ground for the emergence of new diseases for the refugees as well as negatively affecting the recovery process of existing diseases.

Refugees who are living in the protection centers must receive both healthy accommodation and basic nutrition for a healthy life. Poor nutrition, language problems, and low level of education, economic inadequacy, and lack of social security have negative effects on health in the areas, where refugees or asylum

seekers are concentrated (Aygün *et al.*, 2016, 7). Syrian refugees, especially those living in local communities are exposed to vaccine-preventable diseases. Thus, specifically primary and chronic disease healthcare service provision is needed for Syrian refugees. Focusing on the primary healthcare provision appears as the right policy since it would both likely to reduce the patient load on secondary and tertiary healthcare and respective costs.

The most frightening possibility for the host country is communicable diseases carried together with incoming people. There are infectious diseases due to migration. It is known that cutaneous leishmaniasis, typhoid fever and Hepatitis A are endemic in Syria. There were also polio cases spotted recently. Yet, these diseases, with the exception of polio, are also observed frequently in Turkey too. In other words, Syrians cannot be said to have brought in a serious threat of communicable disease. To the contrary, they run the risk of getting communicable diseases here for being in an alien environment and living in rather bad conditions. The leading one among these is drug resistant tuberculosis. There are also risks emanating from living in crowded environments including meningitis, scabies, pneumonia and bronchitis. Since infancy and childhood period immunizations are interrupted, child refugees are vulnerable to chicken pox, diphtheria, whooping cough, mumps and neonatal tetanus while adults must be checked for sexually transmitted diseases and new ones such as Crimean-Congo hemorrhagic fever. Since refugees are given polio and measles vaccines in and out of camps, the risk of breakout is low though some sporadic cases may be seen (Dedeoğlu, 2016, 10-11).

There are now regular treatment services provided to Syrians. Those in camps can consult health centers established there or receive services from hospitals they are referred to. For out of camp Syrians, it is only recently that health services started to be extended to refugees who have registered. These registered refugees can, within the province of their registration,

consult family doctors and Syrian polyclinics launched in community health centers for the first level health services and to hospitals under the Ministry of Health for the second level services. At the first level, they pay 20 per cent of the cost of medicine and they can receive treatment and operation free at the second level (TMA, 2016, 11).

The Turkish government provides healthcare at a subsidized rate for refugees. The state hospitals that are near the Syrian border serve to the Syrian refugees between 30 per cent and 40 per cent of the total service (Orhan & Gündoğar, 2015, 8). Health personnel working in camps and provinces where there are many Syrian refugees are confronted with various problems. These problems include intensive work engagement for long periods, difficulty in communicating with Syrians due to language barriers and cultural differences. It is not clear how long those physicians with temporary assignments will stay and none has been trained for a service of this kind (TMA, 2016, 14).

Within the scope of the health services rendered to Syrian nationals, 780,000 operations have been carried out, 20,2 million outpatient services have been rendered, and 940,000 hospital patients were treated and 178,000 Syrian babies were born in Turkey (AFAD, 2016, 1). Table 5 shows the healthcare services provided in temporary protection centers for refugees.

Health care and reproductive health services are both life-saving in nature and closely linked to protection issues (UNHCR, 2016, 16, December 23). However, they are the most hindered services. Pregnancy care and monitoring, postnatal and newborn care, disease screenings, infant and child monitoring and family planning services are problematic even in camps. Out of camps, these services are mostly crippled (Dedeoğlu, 2016, 11). Even where services are available, the lack of access to these services increase the likelihood of unwanted pregnancies, unsafe abortion, and serious gender-based violence health consequences; refugee and migrant women and adolescent girls that have

TABLE 5
HEALTHCARE SERVICES PROVIDED IN
TEMPORARY PROTECTION
CENTERS FOR SYRIAN REFUGEES, 2015

Number of Doctors		Domestic	96
		Foreign	20
Temporary Protection Centers	Polyclinic	Daily	7.442
		Total	4.886.843
	Referral to Hospital	Daily	2.275
		Total	906.869
Hospital Data	Polyclinic	Daily	12.589
		Total	5.839.073
	At hospital	Daily	792
		Total	455.950
	Number of births Turkey		151.746
	Operation	Daily	516
		Total	313.117

SOURCE: Directorate General of Migration Management (2016). *2015 Türkiye Göç Raporu*, Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management Publications, N° 35, April 2016, pp. 90-91.

less access to family planning and contraception, are *inter alia* more at risk of unintended pregnancies; both refugees and migrant women and men are more at risk of violence, forced sex, sexually transmitted infections, including HIV and Hepatitis B (UNHCR, 2016, 16, December 23). Table 6 shows that a total of 175.882 vaccinations were carried out at the temporary protection centers under the health services in 2015.

In February 2017, UNICEF provided technical support to the Ministry of Health (MoH) to conduct a nationwide vaccination campaign for all refugee and migrant children under the age of 5. The campaign, which took place from 15 February-3 March 2017, aimed to protect almost 340.000 children against a variety of communicable diseases including diphtheria,

TABLE 6

DISTRIBUTION OF VACCINATION, BABY AND CHILDREN FOLLOW-UP NUMBERS AT THE TEMPORARY PROTECTION CENTERS BY YEARS

Service rendered	2011-2012	2013	2014	2015
Number of vaccines	45,351	182,254	163,471	175,882
Number of baby follow-up	4,573	32,528	33,266	41,527
Number of children follow-up	3,831	42,522	22,526	29,031

SOURCE: Directorate General of Migration Management, (2016), *2015 Türkiye Göç Raporu*, Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management Publications, n° 35, April 2016, pp. 92-93.

TABLE 7

DISTRIBUTION OF MEDICAL EXAMINATION NUMBERS AT THE TEMPORARY PROTECTION CENTERS BY YEARS

	2011-2012	2013	2014	2015
Family Practitioner	17,639	95,024	86,862	139,529
General Practitioner	171,288	778,864	582,684	729,684
Total	188,927	873,888	669,546	869,213

SOURCE: Directorate General of Migration Management, (2016), *2015 Türkiye Göç Raporu*, Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management Publications, n° 35, April 2016, pp. 92-93.

pertussis, tetanus, poliomyelitis and influenza (via the pentavalent vaccine), MMR (measles, mumps, rubella) and Hepatitis B⁵ (UNICEF, 2017, February 28).

Table 7 shows the distribution of medical examination numbers at the temporary protection centers by years. In temporary protection centers, a total of 869,213 medical examinations were conducted in 2015 within the scope of health services.

The risk of psychological problems is high for refugees due to their pre-migration experiences including

emotional and physical violence. Problems such as anxiety, depression and post-traumatic stress disorders constitute important health problems particularly for children and women. Although there are psychologists and psychiatrists assigned to camps by the state and some voluntary organizations, it is too difficult for refugees living out of camps to receive these services. Males feel themselves as useless and lost. It could be expected that these problems will be further aggravated as a result of past and future traumas, worries about the future, fear of being deported, deprivation and exclusion (Dedeoğlu, 2016, 11).

Table 8 demonstrates the psychosocial support services provided by temporary protection centers to Syrian refugees in 2015. A total of 71,698 psychosocial support

⁵ According to the MoH, 248,525 children were reached in the first ten days of the campaign, or 77 per cent of the total target. Of these, 97,553 children received pentavalent immunizations, 73,144 children were reached with MMR vaccines, and 20,721 were protected against Hepatitis B (UNICEF, 2017, February 28).

TABLE 8

**PSYCHOSOCIAL SUPPORT SERVICES
PROVIDED BY TEMPORARY PROTECTION
CENTERS TO SYRIAN REFUGEES IN 2015**

Province	Psychosocial Support Service Provided Refugees
Kilis	34,621
Gaziantep	13,148
Adana	6,790
Şanlıurfa	5,000
Malatya	4,594
Mardin.....	3,221
Osmaniye	3,044
Kahramanmaraş.....	591
Adıyaman	509
Other.....	180
Total	71,698

SOURCE: Directorate General of Migration Management, Turkey (2016) «2015 Türkiye Göç Raporu», Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management Publications, n° 35, April 2016, pp. 90-91.

services were provided to Syrian refugees at the temporary protection centers in 2015. It is important to recognize that the need for rehabilitation services are likely to be much more than could be provided.

5. Summary and Conclusions

The violent military conflict which started in 2011 in Syria turned into a civil war over time and the international community failed to share responsibility for hosting refugees. This left a few countries coping with large numbers of people. Since the closest border country to Syria is Turkey, most Syrians rushed to Turkey for a shelter. Turkey applied an open door policy and has provided the needs for these refugees largely alone. This refugee influx had initially been assumed as a temporary phenomenon. However, it became increasingly clear by the time that the Syrian refugees were unlikely to return

soon, if they would ever do so. This phenomenon led to many challenges and consequences.

One of the consequences of the influx of refugees is that Turkey gave temporary protection status to more than 3,2 million foreign nationals, making Turkey the host country with the largest refugee population in the world. It is important to note that available data is limited only to registered refugees and does not fully reflect the actual situation. The influx of so many refugees in Turkey has stretched the country's resources and placed an enormous economic strain on Turkey. Turkey is now spending approximately €557 million a month for the refugees. Since the beginning of the Syrian civil war, the Turkish government has spent about €27 billion, which does not include expenditures by the private sector and civil society. The European Commission and EC member states are funding only a small amount of the cost incurred with just €3 billion for humanitarian and development projects for the 2016–2017 period.

The current situation is that the emergency situation is almost over. What is required now is to recognize the long-term economic, social, and political responsibility of integrating Syrian refugees into the Turkish society. It is documented in this paper that the current provision of education and health services to the refugees is less than desirable. Lack of enough staff and related infrastructure constrains the quality of education and the poor living conditions are setting the ground for the emergence of new diseases for the refugees as well as negatively affecting the recovery process of existing patients. Syrian refugees, especially those living in local communities are exposed to vaccine-preventable diseases. Thus, provision of primary and chronic disease healthcare service is particularly important. It is also important to recognize that in unexpected events like war and migration, all the victims but particularly women and children are very much affected psychologically. Therefore, substantial increase in the provision of rehabilitation services is required.

It becomes clear from the paper that education is an investment with rich dividends for the refugees and the

host country. It gives the refugees an intellectual tool to shape the future of their own countries from the day they return home, or to contribute meaningfully to Turkey that offers them a shelter. In other words, education provides the keys to a future in which refugees can find solutions for themselves and their communities. It provides the refugees the skills for self-reliance, improves job prospects, and boosts confidence and self-esteem. Failing to provide education for refugees of school-going age can be hugely damaging, not only for individuals but also for their families and societies. That may leave them vulnerable to child labor and other forms of exploitation and abuse.

The paper takes the stand that refugees should not just be seen as a burden. Given access to education and livelihoods, refugees may offer an increased talent pool for the host country's economy and actively contribute to their host societies. It is also the case that host countries are enriched by cultural diversity, which brings different perspectives and knowledge. Moreover, refugees help stabilize the economy and reduce the «mismatch» between local demand for labor and its supply since they are more willing than natives to move to find jobs. Furthermore, international connections of refugees may constitute an asset.

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