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Understanding irregular migrants' decision making factors in transit

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This Occasional Paper is one of a series produced as part of the Department of Immigration and Border Protection's Research Programme.

The Research Programme is intended to strengthen the evidence base on migration, trade, border management, compliance, law enforcement and national security to inform policy and operational deliberations. Research is framed in an open, inquiring manner that is objective and non-partisan. A particular focus of the Research Programme is placing Australia's experience in the broader global context.

More information about the Research Programme can be found at:

http://www.border.gov.au/about/reports-publications/research-statistics/research/irregular-migration

This Occasional Paper has been produced from research which was commissioned by the Department.

The opinions, comments and analyses expressed in this document are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent the views of the Department.

Executive summary

Context for the research

1. The purpose of this Occasional Paper is to better understand how migrants in transit make decisions about whether to stay, move onwards or return. The term 'transit' is ill-defined in the academic literature. In this study, it refers to Greece and Turkey as countries from which the potential for onward migration is significant. This is relevant for three reasons. First, it can help inform policies intended to support populations in transit including their eventual settlement in transit countries, or facilitate return. Second, it can help understand the experiences of migrants in transit: their number is growing worldwide but they represent a significant gap in knowledge. Third, at a more conceptual level, it is worthwhile to elicit differences between migrant decision making in countries of origin, destination, and transit.

Methodology

2. The authors developed a simple model of migrant decision making in transit from an extensive literature review. The model discerns structural conditions (conditions in the country of origin, transit, and potential destination), individual conditions (individual attributes and social capital) and policy interventions. The model also highlights that information is a significant input to migrants' decisions.

3. The model was tested through a quantitative survey with 1056 respondents from Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan and Syria who were residing in Greece and Turkey at the time of the fieldwork in mid-2015. The significant majority of respondents were men. The survey was followed with 60 in-depth interviews: 30 in Greece and 30 in Turkey. Greece and Turkey provided a good basis for comparing the decision making model because they contrast significantly in terms of the legal status available to migrants, and their access to work, education and welfare.

4. A regression analysis was undertaken to test a) the significance of factors influencing the decision to move onwards as compared to remaining in Greece; and b) the decision to move onwards as compared to remain, and to return as compared to remain in Turkey. Only three of the variables tested were significant in both models, namely country of origin: current living conditions: and whether the current country was the originally intended destination. In Greece, speaking Greek, experiences of abuse, and having migrated with a smuggler were also significant factors. In Turkey, significant factors included being employed, having an irregular migration status, having secondary education and being from an urban area.

Key findings

5. About two-thirds of all respondents in each country planned to migrate onwards – more from Greece than Turkey. About one third planned to stay and very few intended to return to their countries of origin or previous residence. Across both study countries, Iraqis and Syrians were the most likely to plan to migrate onwards, while Pakistanis were the least likely. In Greece, almost all respondents with temporary protection status intended to leave. In both Greece and Turkey, the majority of those who perceived their living conditions to be bad intended to migrate onwards, but so too did the majority of those who perceived their living conditions to be acceptable. Married respondents from an urban background were more inclined to migrate onwards. A majority of respondents in both countries who were planning to move onwards

reported that they had experienced abuse, paid a smuggler, and had already attempted and failed to migrate onwards.

6. Focusing first on those respondents who intended to migrate onwards, the most common reasons cited were: better living conditions in the intended destination; that it was a safe country; good treatment of asylum seekers there; good social welfare policies there; and individual migration aspirations. Of all the factors distinguished in the model, individual factors was the most important, followed by perceived conditions in the destination country, policy interventions, social capital, and conditions in the country of transit. The single factor cited as being of least relevance was that the respondent had received a negative decision on an asylum application.

7. Turning to the much smaller group of respondents who intended to stay and settle in the transit country, the most significant factor influencing the decision was that the current country was peaceful. The next most important factors were individual, of which a lack of money to continue the trip was the most significant, followed by policy interventions and social capital. For the very few respondents who intended to return, the most important individual factor was the inability to satisfy their migration aspirations, followed by a desire to be reunited with family and nostalgia.

8. This study's limitation is that it only provides a 'snapshot' of decision making in transit. Overall, however, it presents the findings from an extensive survey of an understudied migrant population. It explains how transit migrants make migration decisions, discerning the key factors that influence the decision and their interplay. It tests a model that proves quite effective as an analytical tool for understanding a complex process. It presents new empirical data on the experiences of migrants in transit in Greece and Turkey. It also yields implications for policy, distinguishing policy interventions in transit and destination countries, migration-specific and migration-relevant interventions, as well as an analysis of positive and negative interventions.

Policy implications

9. The model proved useful in gaining a better understanding of how migrants in transit make decisions. The model also proved useful in confirming that:
   a. Conditions in the country of origin were clearly significant in the decision about whether or not to return, but their impact on the decision to stay where they were or to move onwards was not discernible.
   b. Conditions in the country of transit were most highly cited in the decision to stay, but also commonly cited in the decision to migrate onwards and return.
   c. Conditions in the intended country of destination were most significant in determining the decision to migrate onwards. Individual factors were very significant across all three decisions.
   d. Social capital was relevant for the decision to move onwards in particular.
   e. Policy interventions were most significant for the decision to move onwards, especially as regards policy settings in the intended destination country.

The Irregular Migration Research Programme

In August 2012, the Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship established an Irregular Migration Research Programme (Research Programme) to identify and address the knowledge gaps in irregular migration research, with a particular focus on placing Australia's experience in a broader global and migration context. The Department was renamed the Department of Immigration and Border Protection (DIBP) following administrative arrangements announced on 18 September 2013.

The Research Programme was established as a multi-layered and integrated programme, including in-house research and analysis, commissioned research, a small grants program, a multi-year research partnership arrangement with the Australian National University and a series of occasional papers. An underlying principle of the Research Programme is that the research be framed in an open, inquiring manner that is objective and non-partisan.

The first occasional paper *Establishing an Evidence-Base for Future Policy Development on Irregular Migration to Australia* identified specific research gaps in the Australian context and made recommendations about how to fill these gaps, drawing on international experience.[1] In this paper, the authors highlighted the lack of research in Australia (and limited research internationally) on migrant decision making, recommending that further research be undertaken on decision making particularly as it relates to leaving origin countries and choosing a destination.

This occasional paper has been produced from research which was commissioned under the Collaborative Research Programme between DIBP and the Australian National University. The Collaborative Research Programme supports the broader Research Programme through the commissioning of research which offers insights into the drivers, determinants, and decision making of irregular migrants.

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[1] Koser and McAuliffe (2013).

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Introduction

In terms of the basic decision about where to go next, decision making by migrants in transit is uniquely complex, entailing three primary decisions (whether to stay, go, or return), with multiple secondary decisions (for example which destination country to go to, and whether to return to the country of origin or a previous country of transit). As with all migration-related decisions, where to go is just one aspect, others include when to go and who to go with.

Transit is often the most difficult situation in which to make a reasoned decision. Migrants may have no legal status, they may have limited resources, and they may not have regular access to information on the multiple potential destinations. Some of these destinations may not be easily accessible, sometimes leading to engagement with migrant smugglers and other agents.

It is difficult to quantify transit migration as it is not always clear whether people intend to stay where they are and for how long, but most commentators agree that the number of migrants *en route* (in transit) to their intended final destination has increased significantly in recent years. In part this is a function of the growth in international migration generally. In part it is a result of more robust policies in destination countries making onward travel more difficult.

Understanding migrant decision making in transit is therefore significant for at least three reasons. First, it can help inform policy. Specifically, what can be done to encourage transit migrants to return home, assuming it is safe to do so; and how might more permanent settlement in transit countries be supported, assuming this is a desirable policy outcome? Second, this study can help better understand the experiences of migrants in transit, noting that all migrants – including transit migrants and irregular migrants – have rights: to what extent are they being respected and, if not, why not? As illustrated in the subsequent review of the literature, this is still a significant gap in knowledge. Third, this study contributes to eliciting the conceptual differences between decision making in countries of origin, destination, and transit.

This Occasional Paper is structured into five sections:

1. A background and framework for the study, conceptualising and defining transit migration, reviewing the existing literature on decision making in transit, and presenting the model that has informed this study.
2. An introduction to the two case studies of transit migrants currently in Greece and Turkey.
3. A presentation of the methodology, data, and analytical methods adopted.
4. The results, which are structured into three sub-sections:
   a. A descriptive analysis of the three categories of migrants according to their intentions relating to: whether to migrate onwards or not; settlement issues; and whether they will return to their country of origin or previous residence.
   b. The factors determining these decisions are discerned and explored in further depth.
   c. A return to the model presented in Section 1 (Background and Framework) to discuss the application of the model used in this study for interpreting the results.
5. The conclusion, which highlights the key findings and implications of this study.

1.   Background and Framework

This section first examines the concept of transit migration, then reviews what is known about the process of migrant decision making in transit, and finally presents the model used for the analysis in this paper.

1.1 Conceptualising Transit

The terms 'transit migration' and 'transit countries' emerged in migration debates in the 1990s in response to changing patterns of migration to Europe (Collyer, Düvell and de Haas, 2012). Despite the increasing prevalence and use of these terms, there is no agreed definition of transit migration (Düvell, 2008). Key unresolved issues in the definition include: intentions of the migrant; duration of the migration (in other words after what time period is a migrant no longer considered to be in transit); and the relationship between legal status and transit (Düvell, 2008). An additional consideration is when and how migrants define themselves as 'in transit'.

Further, the label transit is not only used for migrants and migration processes, but is also often applied to countries, such as Morocco, Turkey, Malaysia, Thailand, or Indonesia, in which there are significant numbers of migrants who (it is assumed) wish to move onwards. However, in each of these and other so-called 'transit countries', many migrants are working and are, in some form, settled. Several countries in pivotal locations simultaneously fit the broad categories of origin, transit, and destination countries for migration (southern European countries are good examples). Moreover, at least anecdotal evidence suggests that even those migrants who arrive in countries generally depicted as destination countries (such as the Netherlands), may plan to move onwards (to Sweden, Norway or North America) (Kuschminder and Siegel, 2016). Multiple states are therefore countries of transit, but simultaneously are often countries of destination and origin. Transit migration adds an additional layer to the 'destination-origin' dichotomy that typically exists in migration studies with reference to two countries (Collyer and de Haas, 2012).

Finally, transit migration is also a term that is often associated with irregular migration (Hugo, Tan, and Napitupulu, 2014). Limited options for direct, regular migration to destination countries, it is argued, push people into irregular migration, in which movements are often facilitated by smugglers and include long journeys through multiple transit countries (Düvell, 2014). The result has been a common negative perception of transit migrants, which may explain challenges such as discrimination that many face *en route* (and as also reported in this study). In the context of forced migration, 'secondary movement' refers to refugees who leave the camps or places where they have initially settled in order to move onwards. Once refugees move onwards this can also be considered as transit migration.

1.2 Migrants' Decision Making in Transit

The majority of the academic literature on migrant decision making has been concerned either with the decision to migrate in the first place (for example distinguishing voluntary from forced migration), or the decision to return. Decision making in transit has not been explored in depth; in part perhaps because it is a relatively new phenomenon and in part because it poses significant methodological challenges, as illustrated in Section 3 (Methodology, Data and Analysis). We have summarised below the key findings from a review of the research on decision making in transit, and also some of the conclusions from the wider literature on migrant decision making.

There is a growing body of literature on how asylum seekers and irregular migrants make decisions regarding their destination choices (Brekke and Aarset, 2009; Brekke and Brochman, 2014; Crawley,

2010; Koser and Pinkerton, 2002; Robinson and Segrott, 2002). This literature highlights several different factors that may have an impact on the choice of destination. They include:

- perceived or actual conditions in the intended destination country (Brekke and Aarset, 2009; Brekke and Brochman, 2014; Neumeyer, 2004)
- conditions in the current country of residence (Düvell, 2014; Jordan and Düvell, 2002; Munteanu, 2007; Molodikova, 2014; Schapendonk, 2012)
- access to information (Brewer and Yükseker, 2009; Koser and Pinkerton, 2002)
- social networks (Collyer, 2007; Koser and Pinkerton, 2002; Papadopoulou-Kourkoula, 2008; Suter, 2012)
- economic resources of the migrant (Van Hear, 2014; Van Liempt and Doomernik, 2006)
- the role of migrant smugglers (Crawley, 2010; Gilbert and Koser, 2006; Koser, 1997; Salt and Stein, 1997)
- policy interventions (Brekke and Brochman, 2014; Czaika and Hobolth, 2014; Schapendonk, 2012).

In relation to the first factor, there is an ongoing debate about the extent to which asylum seekers in particular choose their destination. Early research on this topic suggested that asylum seekers had very limited scope to choose their destinations when leaving their countries of origin (Havinga and Bocker, 1999). Further research has demonstrated that their destinations may be selected by smugglers (Crawley, 2010). Some studies indicate that asylum seekers have very little knowledge of asylum policies and practices in destination countries (Crawley, 2010; Gilbert and Koser, 2006), instead making their decisions on the basis of generalisations about security, prosperity, and democracy. This contrasts with other research that suggests that asylum seekers may be well informed for example about comparative welfare provisions in prospective destinations. Furthermore, as per the time lag in the research process, the current events of 2015 in Europe do not necessarily comply with these trends, particularly as in regards to the situation in Germany.

In a situation of transit, perceived conditions in destination countries can be expected to be a clear driver for onward migration. Brekke and Brochman (2014), for example, found that asylum policies, welfare policies and labour market opportunities all influenced the onward destination choices of Eritrean migrants in Italy. One reason may be that in contrast to making decisions in origin countries, which migrants may be leaving quickly or under stress, in transit they may have time to network, research, and deliberate over their next migration decision. On the other hand, migrants in transit may also find themselves in a legally precarious situation and under pressure to move quickly.

Second, conditions in the country of transit have been shown to influence migrants' decisions about onward migration or settlement. A country may have been intended as the final destination, but poor conditions or unrealised ambitions can subsequently result in the aspiration to move onwards (Düvell, 2014; Jordan and Düvell, 2002). For example, Brewer and Yükseker (2009) found in a survey of Eritrean migrants in Turkey that discrimination, racism and police violence prevented them from settling there and prompted onward migration to Greece and the European Union (EU). Poor welfare provision in Italy was one reason why the Eritreans referred to above wanted to leave.

Third, access to information while in transit can have a critical impact on migrants' decision making. Koser and Pinkerton (2002) highlighted how being in transit allowed some migrants to access new information and provided time for reflection before making decisions for onward migration. Collyer (2007) described how individuals encountered during the migration process can be a source of assistance and information on how to survive in transit, in addition to providing information about possible travel routes and destinations. These connections can be vital in influencing migrants' decisions.

Fourth, transit migrants may also receive information from friends and family in prospective destination countries. The existence of social networks has been found to be an important influence on the decision about whether and where to migrate (Brekke and Aarset, 2009; McAuliffe, 2013). In addition to information, social networks can also provide access to resources, and support initial integration upon arrival (de Haas, 2007; Massey et al., 1993; Wilson, 2010). However, social networks may not always be supportive (Portes, 1998). Suter's research (2012) has shown the exploitative role of social networks in transit due to the vulnerable conditions of migrants.

This finding relates to the fifth element—access to economic resources in transit. It has been demonstrated that class and socio-economic status have an impact on the capabilities of irregular migrants to migrate (Van Hear, 2014). Usually, those with more access to resources are able to take more direct routes to their destination, whereas migrants with fewer resources are more likely to migrate in stages, going as far as their money permits at each stage (Van Hear, 2006). The conditions in transit countries and the ability of migrants to gather further resources thus presumably become another factor in migrants' decision making.

Sixth, migrant smugglers often play a role in migrant decision making and onward trajectories. As illustrated by Robinson and Segrott (2002), once a migrant decides to use a smuggler, their options for destination choice are limited to those on offer by the smuggler. Moreover, smugglers can be the primary source of information on destinations to which migrants have access. In other situations, migrants may become 'stranded' in transit where smugglers do not fulfil their commitments, or migrants cannot pay for the next leg of the journey (Collyer, 2006; Van Liempt and Doomernik, 2006). Existing research indicates that smugglers are commonly used to move beyond transit countries (Dimitriadi, 2015).

Finally, policy interventions can be an important factor in migrants' decision making in transit countries. We can draw a distinction between interventions that are intended directly to influence decision making, for example information campaigns and return and reintegration assistance programmes, and interventions that may have an indirect bearing on decision making, such as access to welfare or the labour market, discrimination, and experiences interacting with the authorities.

The above factors highlight the intersecting roles of agency and structure in migrant decision making and the importance of access to information and networks. Migrant decision making is a complex process influenced by migrants' aspirations, current conditions, access to information, the role of social networks, economic resources, and perceptions of the challenges of onward movements. It is also a process that changes across time and place as illustrated in Schapendonk's work on ethnographic trajectories of irregular migrants (2012a, b).

A key element that usually distinguishes migration from return decisions is that return commonly does not involve agents or smugglers (Haug, 2008). However, the decision to return is still complex and influenced by multiple factors, including conditions in the country of destination and origin, individual and social factors, and policy interventions (Black et al., 2004; Koser and Kuschminder, 2015). In a study on assisted voluntary return, Koser and Kuschminder found that the most frequently cited factors in return decision making were a lack of employment or the right to work in the destination country where the decision was being made, and desires for family reunification in the country of origin (2015).

1.3 Modelling Migrants' Decision Making in Transit

We used the model presented in Figure 1 to distinguish factors in the migrant decision making process in transit countries and understand their interplay. In doing so we incorporated the key factors and variables identified in the literature review above, and built on the work of Black et al. (2004), which established a model for return decision making. This approach guided our methodology and subsequent analysis. We assess the model in the final substantive part of the paper.

Figure 1: Factors Determining Migrant Decision Making in Transit
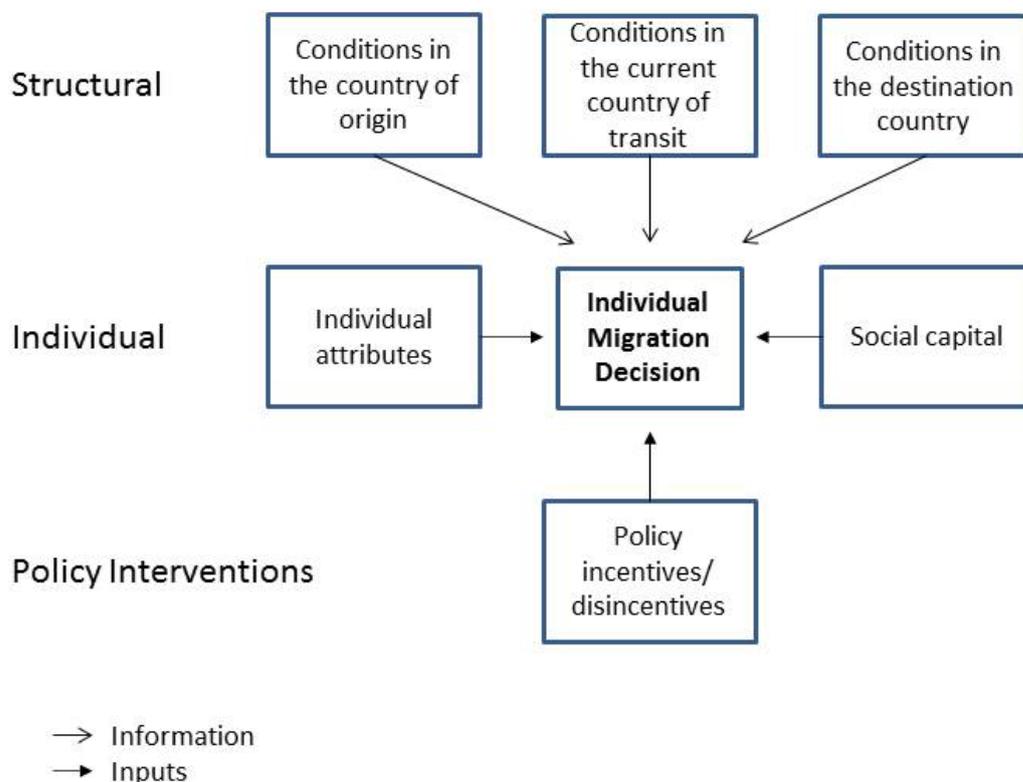
Structural conditions, as presented in this model, concern conditions in the countries of origin, transit, and destination, whether perceived or actual. Individual factors cover individual attributes (for example age and sex), and social capital refers to social networks, intersections with smugglers, and other social and economic resources. The model also identifies policy interventions—specifically incentives and disincentives—whether these are direct or indirect. Importantly, these categories may not be mutually exclusive and can be overlapping. Finally, inputs and information are distinguished as important variables influencing the decision.

2. Comparative Cases: Greece and Turkey

This model was tested in Greece and Turkey. Both are significant transit and destination countries. At present, Turkey hosts the largest number of refugees in the world (2.7 million) and Greece is at the forefront of Europe's refugee 'crisis' with 852,000 arrivals in 2015 (UNHCR, 2015a; 2015b). Turkey has been steadily receiving Syrian refugees since 2012, and in 2015 Greece experienced a mass influx of migrants, including Syrians, via the Aegean islands. While they share broadly similar recent experiences in terms of large influxes of migrants, there are several key differences that are important to highlight for analysis, in particular the significance of conditions in transit as a potential factor in decision making.

First, it is important to stress that Greece and Turkey have very different status and policy frameworks in regard to migration. Greece is an EU country at the front door of the EU, while Turkey is a hub to several countries in Eurasia and at present the most significant departure point for the EU. In terms of migration policies, Greece is a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention and accepts asylum claims from all

nationalities in the world for processing. Turkey is also a signatory to the 1951 Convention, but limits asylum claims to Europe. This means that citizens of the target countries in this study are not eligible to apply for asylum to the Government of Turkey. In 2013 the Turkish Parliament adopted Turkey's first migration law, termed the Law on Foreigners and International Protection. The law, which came into force in April 2014 (Kilberg, 2014) provides for the first time a status of 'subsidiary protection' or temporary protection for migrants fleeing their countries. The law's implementation has meant that Syrian and Iraqi migrants can apply for temporary protection directly from the Turkish government and receive a legal permit to reside temporarily in Turkey.

In Turkey, migrants from Iraq and Syria can thus choose to apply to the government of Turkey for temporary protection, or to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) as an asylum seeker. Migrants are supposed to make a choice between these options and not engage in both. With temporary protection status, migrants can live in Istanbul, their children are able to attend school, and they should have access to healthcare. Officially, they are not allowed to work; however, large numbers of Syrians (with and without this status) are working in Istanbul. Further, NGOs have reported that those with temporary protection status experience several difficulties in actually receiving health care and education. As of October 2015, it is estimated that only one-third of registered Syrian children in Turkey were enrolled in school.

Alternatively, when applying to UNHCR, migrants are assigned to a satellite city in Turkey, meaning they are not permitted to stay in Istanbul. Every two or four weeks they must sign in with the police in the satellite city in order to keep their status with UNHCR active. Some migrants choose to live in Istanbul and travel to the satellite city to present themselves to the police. At present, UNHCR registers migrants from Iran, Iraq, and Syria. A key challenge is that once a person has registered, the waiting time for an interview with UNHCR is approximately 18 months. Many people applying to UNHCR have an expectation of resettlement in Europe or elsewhere, but in fact only the most vulnerable are submitted for resettlement, and in 2016 UNHCR currently plans to resettle only 36,000 refugees from Turkey, which is 1.7 per cent of the 2.1 million refugees in Turkey (stakeholder interview).

Neither Afghans nor Pakistanis currently receive refugee status from UNHCR; and neither are they entitled to temporary protection. In 2013, the UNHCR stopped processing asylum claims from Afghan migrants due to capacity issues (Al Jazeera, 2014). The UNHCR still registers Afghans, which gives them protection from being deported or detained, but does not give them any rights in Turkey to education, health care, or employment (Dimitriadi, 2015). Further, they do not go through refugee processing (status determination interviews) to determine their claim because Afghans are not referred for resettlement in Turkey. Afghans staged protests in both 2014 and 2015 at the UN headquarters in Ankara in reaction to their frustration with this situation. There are currently few options for Afghans and Pakistanis to access any form of legal status and protection in Turkey.

In Greece, the situation is quite different. The new asylum processing service implemented in 2013 makes claiming asylum easier and faster than previously when the police administered asylum claims. With an application to the New Asylum Service a migrant receives a 'pink card' which serves as a form of identification while their claim is processed. Syrians and Iraqis are entitled to temporary protection in Greece, which is apparently processed quite quickly. Table 1 provides an overview of the number of asylum applications made in Greece by country of origin. From Table 1, it is evident that there is a wide range in asylum recognition rates for the different country of origin groups, with Pakistanis being the lowest at two per cent, compared to Syrians at nearly 100 per cent.

Table 1: Number of Asylum Applications and First Instance Positive Decisions in Greece, 2014

Citizen	Applications	First Instance Positive Decisions 2014	Percentage
Afghanistan	13,310	1,970	14.8
Iran	370	120	32.4
Iraq	575	80	13.9
Pakistan	2,490	65	2.6
Syria	980	590	60.2

Source: Eurostat, 2015. 'Asylum statistics'. Data retrieved 21 July 2015.

Children are permitted to go to school in Greece if they have refugee or temporary protection status. However, there is no support provided to asylum seekers or refugees by the government for accommodation, health care, or living expenses. In light of the current economic crisis in Greece, it is understandable that services for refugees and asylum seekers are not able to be prioritised. It is challenging for any country to receive a mass influx of asylum seekers and this has only been exacerbated within the current conditions in Greece. According to the Greek Refugee Council, in 2014 there were 1160 accommodation places for asylum seekers, which, compared with over 852,000 arrivals in Greece in 2015 (IOM, 2015), is clearly inadequate. From 2011, the European Court of Justice issued a ruling that migrants could not be returned to Greece under the Dublin II convention because of the poor conditions in Greece for refugees and asylum seekers. Resettlement from UNHCR is evidently not in process in Greece, but as of this year the European Commission (EC) has agreed to relocate 120,000 asylum seekers from Eritrea, Iraq and Syria who are in Greece and Italy to other EU member states in an effort to share responsibility. At the time of data collection this policy was not yet in place and thus was not included in the study as influencing decision making.

3.   Methodology, Data and Analysis

The methodology for this study was based on, first, a comprehensive literature review; second, a questionnaire administered using a migrant-to-migrant approach; and third, qualitative interviews with selected questionnaire respondents to gain further insight into the complexities of migrant decision making. The target group for this study included migrants from these five countries: Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan and Syria. An overview of descriptive statistics used in this study and respondent demographic characteristics is presented in Appendix 1.

Regardless of legal status, many migrants are still making decisions whether to migrate onwards, stay or return. At the same time, as demonstrated in the preceding section, even migrants with legal status may live precariously, and the context for their decisions may be similar to that for irregular migrants. Syrians in Turkey were not able to be interviewed as completing the required approval process (as directed by the Turkish government) was not feasible within the given timeframe for this project.

The questionnaire was tested prior to being administered through a migrant-to-migrant approach. This involved the training of migrants by the research team on recruitment, informed consent and ethics, and the questionnaire, in order to administer the survey themselves in native languages with other migrants. As there is no census available of the irregular migrant population in each country it was not possible to use random sampling. Instead the research team used multiple points of entry to find respondents. Entry points included: approaching migrants on the street (Greece=226, Turkey=115); referrals through a limited number of migrant organisations (Greece=29, Turkey=14); and networks developed in the field (Greece=25, Turkey=187). From these entry points, snowball sampling was used to find further

respondents (Greece=249, Turkey=213). After surveys were completed, survey checking was conducted on an ongoing basis. Approximately one in every three respondents interviewed was called to check the survey results. If there were any discrepancies between the information collected during the survey and the checking, this was recorded. An assessment was then made regarding each individual discrepancy and in some cases the original data was used, in others revised data was used, and if the data was deemed unreliable it was discarded (one case). Table 2 shows the number of surveys collected in each country and by country of origin.

Table 2: Survey Data Collection

	Greece	Turkey	Total
Afghanistan	167	208	375
Iran	60	79	138
Iraq	41	96	136
Pakistan	117	146	263
Syria	144	0	144
Total	**529**	**529**	**1058**

The final method used in this study was follow-up in-depth interviews with selected survey respondents. The main selection criteria were employment (we interviewed a mix of employed and unemployed respondents); and complexity of case (where the survey was not optimal for capturing the individual's full story). We sought a balance of the countries of origin, and included women. Table 3 shows the number of qualitative interviews collected in each country and by country of origin. All interviews were translated and transcribed into English and coded for analysis.

Table 3: Interviews Conducted by Country of Origin

	Greece	Turkey	Total
Afghanistan	7	8	15
Iran	6	6	12
Iraq	2	7	9
Pakistan	4	9	13
Syria	11	0	11
Total	**30**	**30**	**60**

The analysis in this paper is based on both descriptive statistics and the use of a probit regression to estimate the probability of wanting to migrate. An explanation of the regression analysis and the results are presented in Appendix 2.

A key limitation of this study is that the results are a snapshot, representing the decision making process of migrants at one moment in time. Research has demonstrated that decision making factors in migration are fluid processes that can change over time and space (Schapendonk, 2012; Wissink, Düvell and van Eerdewijk, 2013). This study can therefore only be interpreted as respondents' intentions at the moment of interview and not their long- term strategy, recognising clearly that their decisions may change. Another limitation is a gender bias, as 92 percent of respondents accessed by this methodology were men.

4.   Results

The results are presented in the following three sections. First, we provide a descriptive overview of the main differences between respondents planning for onward migration, stay or return. Second, we explore the decision making factors for the respondents within each decision of migrate onwards, stay, or return. This exploration is based on several factors that were identified in the questionnaire for each respondent group. Third, we assess the decision making model presented in Section 1.3. Due to the density of information in this study, the majority of results are presented at an aggregate level across the study countries. More disaggregated analysis has not been possible within the confines of this Occasional Paper.

4.1 Descriptive Profile of Respondents Based on Migration Decisions

An initial exploration of the data revealed that the majority of respondents planned to migrate onwards from both Greece and Turkey. However, it is striking that more people were planning to migrate onwards from Greece, an EU member state (74%), than from Turkey (59%), a country usually described as middle income, as shown in Appendix 2. Other research has demonstrated that Greece is primarily a stepping stone for onward migration in the EU (Dimitriadi, 2015). More respondents also planned to stay in Turkey (34%) than in Greece (24%). Very few respondents planned to return to their country of origin: only two per cent from Greece and seven per cent from Turkey.

With regard to the country of origin across both study countries, Iraqis (85%) and Syrians (80%) were most likely to plan to migrate onwards and Pakistanis were least likely (59%). Iranians in Turkey were the only country of origin group where the majority (60%) did *not* plan to migrate onwards.

Moving to the reasons for migrating to Greece or Turkey, the most commonly reported reason in Greece was 'security/political reasons' (54%), followed by 'lack of employment opportunities/ lost a job' (11%) and 'did not have the right to stay in the country' (9%). In Turkey, the main reasons for the initial migration were slightly different: 'security/political reasons' (38%), 'lack of employment opportunities/ lost a job' (27%), and 'family reasons' (10%).

In Greece, there was little difference in the migration intention between those who had migrated for different reasons. In Turkey there was more variation with regards to the reason for the initial migration and the current migration decision. Sixty-nine per cent of respondents in Turkey who cited 'risk of deportation, no right to study or work, or police harassment' sought to migrate onwards. The respondents who selected these reasons for their onward migration were predominantly Afghans who had previously been living in Iran (93%). Respondents in Turkey who cited the main reason for their initial migration as a lack of employment or education opportunities were comparatively the least likely to seek to migrate onwards at 52 per cent, however, there is clearly still a large proportion still seeking to migrate onwards. The most likely to seek to return in Turkey were respondents that cited family reasons for their initial migration (12%) or employment and educational opportunities (11%).

In terms of the intended destination country at the initial migration stage, for nearly half of the respondents in Turkey (47%), Turkey was their intended destination country when they left their country of last residence. This number was much lower in Greece with only 18 per cent of respondents intending originally to migrate to Greece. Half of the Pakistanis interviewed in Greece intended to migrate there and 19 per cent of Syrians, but this was less than 10 per cent for all other groups. In Turkey, Iranians (63%) and Pakistanis (60%) were most likely to have sought to migrate there in the first place, followed by Afghans (38%) and Iraqis (33%). For both countries, slightly over half (56%) of the respondents who stated Greece or Turkey was their original intended destination country were still planning to stay, while

slightly over one third (35%) were planning to migrate onwards. This illustrates that migration decision making can change, and an intended destination country may become a transit country.

A higher percentage of respondents had already attempted to migrate onwards from Greece (39%) than from Turkey (13%). In Greece the main reason cited by migrants for not having succeeded was being apprehended by police (80%). The situation was slightly different in Turkey where the main reasons cited for the failed migration attempt were being apprehended by the police (39%) and being returned to Turkey by authorities in another country (35%). In the qualitative interviews, respondents discussed being brought back to Turkey by police both in Greece and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. In Greece, respondents also had a slightly higher number of migration attempts with an average of 4.4 attempts per person compared to an average of 2.3 migration attempts from Turkey. Those who had attempted to migrate onwards were more likely to continue to plan to migrate onwards from both countries (77%) than those who had not (22% in Greece and 18% in Turkey).

Turning to the respondents' current situation in either Greece or Turkey, in terms of migration status there were some differences in onward migration plans between refugees and asylum seekers, irregular migrants, and individuals with temporary protection. In this study, these categorisations are based on migrants' self-reported status. An irregular migrant is defined as someone who has no current status in the country, whereas an asylum seeker is defined as someone who has said they have applied for asylum. In Greece, respondents had varied migration statuses: 25 per cent were awaiting finalisation of asylum claim; 25 per cent had temporary protection; 22 per cent were irregular and 18 per cent were refugees. Most strikingly, in Greece 93 per cent of respondents with temporary protection status sought to migrate onwards. This is interesting as, in comparison, only 59 per cent of respondents with refugee status sought to migrate onwards, being the lowest among all the categories. This appears to suggest that temporary legal status, as it provides less security than refugee status, is an incentive to want to move onwards.

In Turkey, respondents' current migration statuses were quite different with 57 per cent being irregular, 23 per cent awaiting finalisation of an asylum application and four per cent having refugee status. Within these categories there was less variation in migration intentions according to status, with asylum seekers being the most likely to seek to migrate onwards at 64 per cent and those with other statuses the least likely at 53 per cent. These other statuses included students, those with a short term legal residency permit, or those on a holiday visa.

Respondents were asked to assess their subjective living conditions based on a five point scale of 'very bad, bad, average, good, or very good'. This has been assessed as a dummy variable with 0 representing 'very bad or bad' and 1 being 'average, good or very good'. It is concerning that in Greece 58 per cent of respondents assessed their current living situation as bad or very bad. This number was lower in Turkey at 46 per cent. In Greece, a much higher percentage of respondents who perceived their current living conditions as very bad or bad wanted to migrate onwards (87%) than of those that perceived their current living conditions as average, good or very good (55%). This difference was much smaller in Turkey at 64 per cent compared to 54 per cent. These findings indicate the significance of conditions in transit countries as an influential factor in migrant decision making; although it is notable that in both countries more than half those who perceived their living conditions as average or better still wanted to move onwards.

In Turkey, a higher percentage (55%) of respondents were employed than in Greece (32%). However, nearly all respondents employed in Turkey were working irregularly, whereas one third of respondents employed in Greece were working legally. There was little variation between employed respondents in terms of wanting to migrate onwards (48%) or stay (45%). In both countries, amongst those who were unemployed the majority planned to migrate onwards (80%) rather than stay (18%).

It is disconcerting that 62 per cent of respondents in Greece and 52 per cent in Turkey reported experiencing either physical or verbal abuse, or both, since their arrival in the respective country. In both countries people who had experienced abuse more frequently cited wanting to migrant onwards (73% in Greece and 64% in Turkey).

The relevance of speaking Greek or Turkish presented differently in each country. A fair number of respondents spoke the local language in each country (41% in Greece and 33% in Turkey). Yet in both Greece and Turkey, respondents who spoke the local language were only slightly less likely to want to stay (47% in Greece and 42% in Turkey) than migrate onwards (51% in both countries). In other words speaking the local language appeared to have a fairly negligible association with migration aspirations.

In coming to both Greece and Turkey the majority of migrants paid a smuggler (76% in Greece and 63% in Turkey). In Turkey there was a large discrepancy in smuggler use between Afghans (92%) and Pakistanis (86%) on the one hand, and Iraqis (7%) and Iranians (13%) on the other, presumably because Iraqis and Iranians can either easily cross the border or get a visa upon arrival. In the qualitative interviews in Turkey, both Afghan and Pakistani migrants spoke about the challenges and abuse they had suffered in their migration to Turkey:

> *They were torturing me and one other guy very badly…By putting red hot rods on our legs and I can show you the marks of those red rods on my legs as well. Anyways, they forced us to call to Pakistan to our parents; they were torturing us so much and beat us really hard so that our voices might travel so that they might arrange money to send them. They were demanding around 1000 dollars minimums at that time from our families.* (Pakistani male, Turkey)

In the above quote, the respondent had been captured by Iranians who stole all of his possessions and money and tortured him to try to get more money from his family in Pakistan. Other stories were told of agents selling people to other agents to try to make more money from the migrants, of being arrested in Iran, and of people dying along the route due to weather conditions and lack of food and water. Some of the Pakistani respondents in the interviews said that they did not want to migrate onwards as they could not imagine going through the smuggling process a second time. On the whole, however, in both countries, those who had migrated with a smuggler to Greece or Turkey were more likely to seek to migrate onwards (76% in Greece and 57% in Turkey).

Finally, with regard to gauging the relevance of individual characteristics, it needs to be acknowledged that across both countries a limitation of the sample was the gender imbalance as 92% of respondents were male. For some of the country of origin groups, this is most likely reflective of the character of those irregular migrants (such as those from Pakistan), but for other groups, such as Syrians, there is known to be more of a gender balance in these flows. The average age of respondents was 28 years old across both countries. Ethnicity was captured for Afghans, with Hazaras being the most frequent ethnic group at 60 per cent in Greece and 43 per cent in Turkey, followed by Tajiks at 23 per cent in Greece and 35 per cent in Turkey and Pashtuns at 11 per cent in Greece and 12 per cent in Turkey. The majority of respondents had competed secondary school or higher (60%) with Iranians and Iraqis having higher levels of education, Afghans and Pakistanis having lower levels of education, and Syrians having a mid-level of education on the whole. One third of the respondents were married in both countries and the majority of respondents from both countries were from urban areas (65% in Greece and 70% in Turkey).

In regard to the migration decision and demographic characteristics, married respondents were more likely to plan to migrate onwards than unmarried respondents in both Greece (76%) and Turkey (51%). However, planning to migrate onwards did not appear to vary greatly in either country based on level of education (Appendix 2). In both countries, respondents from an urban background were more likely to want to migrate onwards.

In summary, the descriptive profiling indicates that migrants in Greece were more likely to want to migrate onwards than migrants in Turkey, and there were differences in onward migration plans based on nationality, living conditions, employment, experiences with abuse, speaking the language, reason for the initial migration, and background (urban or rural). The next section will examine further the respondents' migration decision making factors.

4.2 Migrants' Decision Making Factors

Having described the main characteristics that distinguish between respondents, that is, planning to migrate onwards, stay or return, this section examines in greater detail the factors influencing these three main decisions. In the survey, once participants had selected one of these options they were asked whether a series of factors influenced their decision to migrate onwards. The first part of this section focuses on the reasons cited by those who intended to move onwards; the second by those who intended to stay; and the third by those who planned to return. Each section refers back to the categories of inputs identified in the model in Section 1.3.

4.2.1 Onward Migration

For those respondents in both Greece and Turkey who stated that they intended to migrate onwards, Figure 2 shows their intended destination. For 26 respondents in Turkey their final intended destination was Greece. However, the findings from interviews in Greece—especially about living conditions there— lead to speculation that, once this group arrive in Greece, some might subsequently try to move further.

It is clear that Germany is by far the most popular intended destination, followed by Sweden. This reflects the current geography of asylum arrivals in Europe, which has been dominated by these two countries. The differences between other EU countries are fairly marginal; but four other entries in Figure 2 appear significant. One is that for 46 of the respondents their intended destination was simply 'Europe'. In addition 37 did not have a planned destination in mind at all—they simply intended to move onwards. It is likely that they were more being driven by circumstances in Greece or Turkey than attracted by specific conditions elsewhere. One participant stated:

> *I can't wait just to get my documents and leave. I just want to settle down even if in a small hut anywhere, whatever country. As I told you, I love Sweden very much and Holland, my husband wants Germany, but the country I want is any country that will take my fingerprint and I will go wherever that is. (*Syrian Female, Greece)

When referring to receiving documents, a strategy for onward migration among Syrian refugees in Greece was to apply for refugee status and then to apply for a refugee passport for travel beyond Greece. With this document Syrian refugees could leave from the airport and fly elsewhere in Europe to apply again for refugee status. Due to the restrictions on returning migrants to Greece under Dublin II, this was often a successful strategy; however it was a lengthy procedure. According to key informants, and the qualitative interviews it could take as long as two years or more to receive the documents.

The final two entries worth noting are that 28 respondents apparently intended to go to Canada and 27— representing four per cent—wished to migrate onwards to Australia.

Figure 2: Destination Choice Countries of Participants Wanting to Migrate Onwards (n=683)
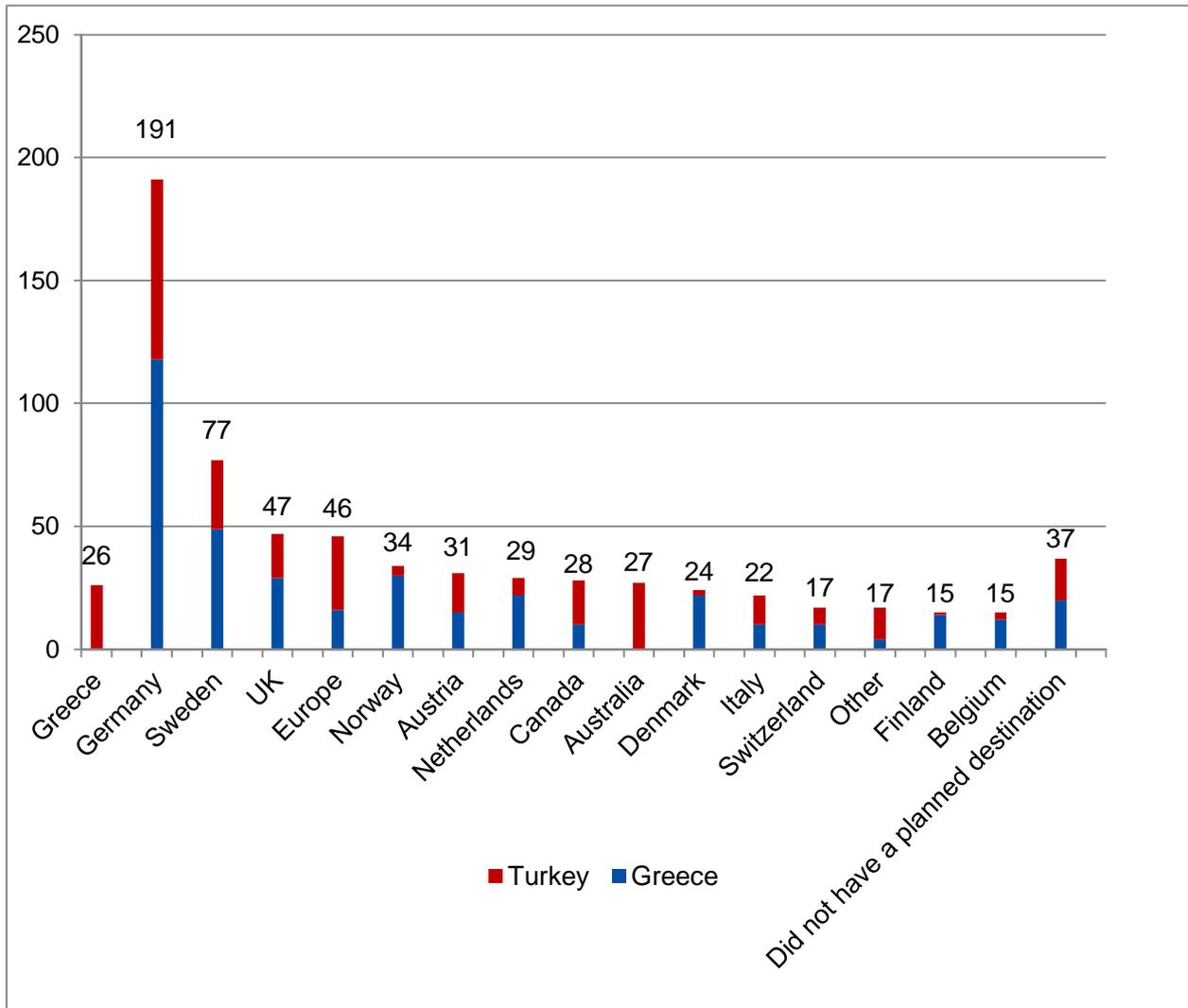
Table 4 below shows the reasons cited by those respondents who said they planned to migrate onwards. The totals in Table 4 represent that percentage of respondents that selected at least one of the variables in the category grouping. For the sake of clarity, these results are not disaggregated by country of origin, but rather by current country of transit.

By indicating the total frequency for the citation of individual factors within the broad categories of conditions in destination country, conditions in country of transit, individual factors, social capital, and policy interventions; the table allows for an indicative ranking of these main categories as factors in the decision to move onward. Individual factors was the most important category, followed by perceived conditions in the destination country, policy interventions, social capital, and conditions in the country of transit.

Within each of these categories, it is also worth discerning which individual factors were of most relevance. In intended destinations, the most commonly cited factors were, in order, 'better living conditions in destination country'; 'safe country'; and 'democracy and freedom'. In the transit country category, the most important factor was the inability to find work. For individual factors, the main factor was migrant aspirations. This was understood from our qualitative interviews to mean that once a migrant had made the decision to leave their country, they wanted to make sure they ultimately achieve their intended migration goals. In the social capital category, the most cited factor was that the respondents'

friends were also migrating onwards. Finally, the most important policy factors were the opportunity to become a citizen or resident, the availability of social welfare (including health and education), and favourable treatment of asylum seekers.

Table 4: Factors in Respondents' Decisions to Migrate Onward

		Greece		Turkey		Total	
		Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Perceived Conditions in the Destination Country	Better living conditions in destination country	364	93	292	95	656	94
	Safe country	376	96	270	87	646	92
	Democracy and Freedom	367	94	223	72	590	84
	Reputation as a good country	344	88	239	77	583	83
	Employment opportunity or better job/earning prospects destination country:	301	77	269	87	570	82
	Education opportunities	244	63	198	64	442	63
	Language	61	16	76	25	137	20
	Total	**387**	**99**	**304**	**98**	**691**	**99**
Conditions in Country of Transit	I am unable to find a job in Greece/Turkey	244	63	195	63	439	63
	Experience abuse/discrimination in Greece/Turkey	189	48	100	32	289	41
	My asylum case is not being processed	79	20	77	25	156	22
	I am living on the streets	65	17	47	15	112	16
	Received a negative decision regarding my asylum request in Greece/Turkey	26	7	33	11	59	8
	Total	304	78	236	76	540	77
Individual Factors and Aspirations	I want to continue my migration aspiration	358	92	237	77	595	85
	I feel I have no other choice	331	85	229	74	560	80
	I want to make money to support my family	220	56	226	73	446	64
	I am tired of living as undocumented	218	56	213	69	431	62
	Total	**389**	**100**	**305**	**99**	**694**	**99**
Social Capital	My friends are migrating onwards	205	53	154	50	359	51
	Reunification with family/friends already living in destination country	205	53	127	41	332	48
	Told by other people in Greece/Turkey it is a good place to go	165	42	131	42	296	42
	Total	**326**	**84**	**239**	**77**	**565**	**81**
Policy Incentives and Disincentives	My intended destination has good opportunities to become a citizen/resident	359	92	260	84	619	89
	My intended destination has good social assistance/health policies	347	89	256	83	603	86
	My intended destination has good asylum seeker treatment	353	91	251	81	604	86
	My intended destination has high acceptance rates of asylum seekers	336	86	232	75	568	81
	The situation in Greece/Turkey is hostile (ie: more crackdowns by police)	256	66	107	35	363	52
	Resettlement wait times are too long	-	-	183	59	183	-
	Total	**385**	**99**	**292**	**95**	**677**	**97**
	Other relevant reasons:	87	22	16	5	103	15

A different reflection on the significance of policy perhaps emerges when the three least cited factors across the table are noted, namely a negative decision on an asylum application, living on the streets, and language. Two of the three are directly in the purview of policy interventions— better accommodation could be provided for migrants and asylum seekers, and asylum decisions can be adjusted. Yet the indications are that even if these policy levers were used, they would have little impact on the onward migrant decision. Overall the findings indicate that perceived conditions in the destination country are more important than conditions in the transit country. The former are positive and the latter negative. Realistic policy interventions can only improve the negative, not reduce the positive.

Another observation worth making on the data presented in Table 4 is on discrepancies between the frequency of reasons cited in Greece and Turkey. The greatest discrepancy was for the reason 'The situation is hostile'. This was cited by 65 per cent of respondents in Greece, as compared with 35 per cent in Turkey who planned to move onwards. The impression of deteriorating conditions in Greece is reinforced by the frequency with which abuse and discrimination were cited as a reason: almost 48 per cent of respondents in Greece cited these compared with 32 per cent in Turkey. In Turkey, it is also noteworthy that 59 per cent of respondents stated resettlement wait times as being too long as a reason in their decision making. Resettlement timeframes and UNHCR processing timeframes were commonly expressed frustrations.

A critical question is to what extent potential migrants are informed about conditions in destination countries, given the significance of these conditions in their decision making. Table 5 shows the sources of information that respondents accessed to receive information on the intended destination country. From Table 5 it is evident that networks in the intended destination country (63%) play the most important role in accessing information on the destination country. This is followed by websites (31%) and social media use (26%). Smugglers were surprisingly irrelevant as sources of information (9%), a finding which contradicts the existing research and literature.

Table 5: Sources of Information on the Intended Destination

	Greece		Turkey		Total	
	Freq	**%**	**Freq**	**%**	**Freq**	**%**
Family/friend in destination country	250	64	193	62	443	63
Internet websites	144	37	72	23	216	31
Social media	137	35	43	14	180	26
Family/friend in other country	102	26	40	12	142	20
Family/friend in origin country	54	14	58	19	112	16
Smuggler	7	2	57	18	64	9
Television	33	8	19	6	52	7
Newspaper	19	5	5	2	24	3
I had no information	21	5	3	1	24	3
Radio	11	3			11	2
Other	12	3	5	2	17	2

There is a fair discrepancy between social media use in Greece (35%) and Turkey (14%). One reason may be the cost of mobile services, or easier access to free 'wifi' in Greece than in Turkey. Country of origin groups also ranged quite significantly in their social media use, with Afghans (3%) and Pakistanis (6%) the lowest users in Turkey compared with Iranians (38%) and Iraqis (27%). There was also a large discrepancy between country of origin groups in Greece citing social media as a source for receiving information on the intended destination country, with Syrians (24%) the lowest users followed by Pakistanis (25%), Afghans (33%), Iranians (59%) and Iraqis (69%).

For those planning their onward migration, the majority of people in Turkey were planning to use a smuggler (62%) whereas in Greece only 37 per cent planned to use a smuggler. In Turkey, 11 per cent of respondents were planning to wait for resettlement. In Greece, 22 per cent did not know how they would

migrate onwards, 20 per cent were planning to use legal documents (if these were fake or not was not asked), and 15 per cent planned to go on their own without a smuggler.

4.2.2 Stay

Far fewer respondents in Greece (24%) or Turkey (34%) intended to stay. For this minority, Table 6 shows the main reasons cited, across each country and by category. The most important category was conditions in the current country, and within this category the most cited reason was that the current country was peaceful. Clearly compared to the countries from which the respondents came—Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan and Syria—this was factual. At the same time it is worth noting that 65 per cent of respondents who wanted to leave reported that the situation in Greece was hostile (Table 4 above), but 86 per cent who wanted to stay said that Greece was peaceful. The same comparison stands with regards to the third most cited reason for wanting to stay, namely that the locals were friendly—cited as a reason by 59 per cent of respondents who wanted to stay. What is clear is that the individual experiences of migrants impact their judgment of conditions in the transit country, vary widely, and can have an important impact on their migration decision making.

Across the four categories, the next most significant was individual factors, followed by policy, and finally social capital. It is striking that a fear of being returned was not a reason to stay (or at least a deterrent to move) for most people, and this is reinforced by the number of respondents who had already tried multiple times to migrate onwards. Of the three least frequently cited reasons across all four categories to want to stay, the one that stands out is that only six per cent of respondents across the two countries cited support from NGOs.

Table 6: Factors in Respondents' Decisions to Stay

		Greece		Turkey		Total	
		Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Conditions in Current Country of Transit	It is a peaceful country	112	87	98	54	210	68
	I am well adjusted	101	78	85	47	186	60
	Friendly locals	102	79	81	45	183	59
	I have a job	73	57	91	50	164	53
	Low cost of living	71	55	21	12	92	30
	Total	**124**	**96**	**140**	**77**	**264**	**86**
Individual Factors	Lack of money to continue my trip	41	32	87	48	128	41
	I do not want to stay	14	11	110	61	124	40
	Fear the onward journey	51	40	49	27	100	32
	No particular reason	27	21	11	6	38	12
	To support family in home country	7	5	10	6	17	5
	Total	**79**	**61**	**143**	**79**	**222**	**73**
Social Capital	Married to a local	25	19	5	3	30	10
	I receive good support here from NGO's	14	11	7	4	21	7
	Total	**37**	**29**	**11**	**6**	**48**	**24**
Policy Incentives/ Disincentives	I am waiting for the results of my asylum claim	60	47	60	33	120	39
	Fear being returned to Greece/Turkey	43	33	29	16	72	23
	Total	**75**	**58**	**70**	**39**	**145**	**49**
	Other	52	40	90	50	142	46

It may be confusing that 110 migrants in Turkey who selected the option to stay in Turkey also stated that they do not want to stay in Turkey. The explanation may be that the question was framed to ask "*At this moment, do you want to…*". For the moment they planned to stay in Turkey, but their long term goal was to leave. This situation would logically apply to people seeking resettlement from Turkey. In Turkey there were 122 respondents currently in the asylum process with UNHCR and a further 25 respondents who

had received refugee status. It was also evident from the interviews that many respondents were staying in Turkey simply pending an expected opportunity for resettlement or to try and migrate onwards irregularly. Some participants expressed that they did not want to migrate irregularly and wanted to wait for a regular opportunity such as resettlement. One respondent stated their frustration with the process:

> *I find it strange that they make us come, we who want to travel to other countries, they leave us in a country in the middle, where we lose all our money and then we go empty-handed to those countries. Why can't we be directly accepted in one of those countries, while we still have money and still in control? Why? And even those who go illegally, they welcome them, and that's already someone who's breaking the law, and they accept them. Why don't they accept those who obey the law? (*Iraqi Male, Turkey)

Again there are implications here for policy. It seems that the ability to 'anchor' people in transit countries depends far more on their personal experiences and initial intentions—which are hard to influence directly through policy—than the services provided by NGOs, for example, which clearly can be directly influenced.

A final observation on these data is that over 40 per cent of respondents cited a lack of money to continue their trip as a reason to want to stay. This reinforces one of the main conclusions drawn from the review of the literature in Section 1 (Background and Framework) above: migrants' ability to gather additional resources in the transit country is a factor in their decision making.

4.2.3 Return

An even smaller proportion of respondents said that they wanted to return, either to their origin country or to their last place of residence (2% in Greece and 7% in Turkey). Table 7 below provides insights into their reasoning; however, this must be interpreted with caution as there were very few respondents in this category. Perhaps the most striking conclusion is that, across all of the migrant groups, so few participants wanted to return.

In Turkey, Pakistanis were the most likely to select for the option to return, but this was not the case in Greece. Again, this is surprising as the majority of Assisted Voluntary Return flows from Greece are to Pakistan (Koser and Kuschminder, 2015).

In order, the categories most cited as influencing the decision to return were individual factors; conditions in the origin country; conditions in the transit country; social capital; and, lastly, policy interventions. The most frequently cited reason was an inability to meet migration aspirations especially with regard to work and education. The second reason cited was a desire to be reunited with family, and the third was nostalgia. This combination encapsulates the importance of a decision making model that combines structural conditions, personal and social attributes, and policy interventions.

Once again, the data suggests limited input for policy. The least important reason for wanting to return was a negative decision on an asylum request, followed by the fact that the respondent was 'living on the streets'.

A negative decision on an asylum request was found (above) not to be influential in the decision to migrate onward, and neither here on the decision to return. The implication (within the limitations of this study) is that asylum decisions are not a policy lever for influencing migration decisions, other than indirectly by limiting the rights of rejected asylum seekers and their access to work and welfare.

Table 7: Factors in Respondents' Decisions to Return

		Greece		Turkey		Total	
		Freq	**%**	**Freq**	**%**	**Freq**	**%**
Origin Country Conditions	Better living conditions in home country than in destination	7	70	23	59	30	61
	Employment opportunity or better job prospects in origin country	4	40	9	23	13	27
	Improvement in security situation of origin country / end of conflict	3	30	10	26	13	27
	Political change/improvement of political and legal status in origin country	2	20	8	21	10	20
	Total	**8**	**80**	**27**	**69**	**35**	**72**
Conditions in current country of transit	I do not have the right to work in Greece/Turkey	5	50	23	59	28	57
	I am unable to find a job in Greece/Turkey	8	80	13	33	21	43
	I experience abuse/discrimination	5	50	8	21	13	27
	My asylum case is not being processed	5	50	3	8	8	16
	I am living on the streets			4	10	4	8
	I have received a negative decision regarding my asylum request	2	20			2	4
	Total	**9**	**90**	**24**	**62**	**33**	**69**
Individual Factors	I have not been able to meet my migration aspirations including work or educational goals	7	70	27	69	34	69
	I have nostalgia for my home country and way of life	6	60	26	67	32	65
	I feel I have no choice	9	90	19	49	28	57
	I want the dignity of return as a normal passenger/ I do not want to be deported	8	80	10	26	18	37
	Total	**10**	**100**	**35**	**90**	**45**	**92**
Social Capital	I want to be reunited with my family in my country of origin	8	80	25	64	33	**67**
Policy Incentives/ Disincentives	The situation in Greece/Turkey is hostile (ie: more crackdowns by police)	4	40	4	10	8	**16**
	Other relevant reasons	6	60	3	8	9	18

It is also important to again remember that this reflects the decision of the current moment. The interviews reflected that some other participants were planning to return over the longer term:

> *I want to go back but I wish to go back when I have enough money in my pocket. Right now, I have no option, I just want to stay here ... because I need to earn some money, but, I will not go further, I will go back to Pakistan in the future. (*Pakistani Male, Turkey)

As is well established in the return migration literature this statement reflects that return may be an option for more participants when they have achieved their migration ambitions and when return is a safe option, which clearly was not the case for some of the origin country groups in this study.

4.3 Testing the Model of Migrants' Decision Making Processes in Transit

Cognisant of the methodological and analytical limitations of this study, the preceding results permit us to assess the extent to which the model in Figure 1 ("Factors determining migrant decision making in transit") provides a framework. For this assessment the research team has combined the analysis of

decision making factors from Section 4.2 and the results of the regression analysis in Appendix 3 to examine each of the categories in migration decision making processes in transit.

4.3.1 Conditions in the Country of Origin

It is evident that conditions in the country of origin have a significant impact on migrants' decision making processes in transit. As mentioned previously, the countries of origin included in this study are primarily conflict countries and post- conflict countries to which return is, understandably, not desirable. This was strongly found to be the case with the descriptive statistic that less than two per cent of respondents in Greece, and only seven per cent in Turkey, wanted to return to their countries or origin. Of those planning to return, 71 per cent cited conditions in the origin country as one of the factors influencing their decision to return. The regression results further show that in Turkey respondents who were irregular (as compared to asylum seekers) and employed were more likely to return than migrate onwards. It was difficult to assess the degree to which conditions in the country of origin impact on the decision to stay in the country of transit or migrate onwards. However, it is clear that for several respondents, the conditions in the country of origin removed the option of return, and therefore their decision making factors were framed around conditions in the current country and the perception of the destination country.

4.3.2 Conditions in the Current Country of Transit

On the whole, conditions in the country of transit were most highly cited as a factor in the decision to stay (86%), but were also commonly cited in the decision to migrate onwards (77%) and return (69%). Conditions in the country of transit have been examined further in four principal ways in this paper: current subjective living conditions; employment; migration status; and experiences of abuse.

First, and perhaps most strikingly, respondents' current subjective living conditions in Greece and Turkey were a significant factor in their migration decisions, as has been highlighted in other studies (Düvell, 2014; Jordan and Düvell, 2002). The number of people reporting bad or very bad living conditions in Greece is particularly concerning (58%). The significance of subjective living conditions was highlighted in the regression analysis with participants who had good or average conditions being 20 per cent less likely to migrate onwards. These findings illustrate that living conditions are a central component in decision making for onward migration. They also highlight, as a clear implication for policy intervention, that improving living conditions may alleviate the need for onward migration.

Second, employment was also determined to be a critical factor (significant in the regression analysis in Turkey) in influencing decision making. Sixty-three per cent of respondents who wanted to migrate onwards cited not being able to find a job as a factor in their decision making, while 53 per cent of respondents wanting to stay cited having a job as a reason to stay, and 43 per cent of respondents wanting to return cited being unable to find a job as a decision making factor (Appendix 2). Employment was significant in the Turkish case in the regression analysis where employed respondents were significantly more likely to plan to stay in Turkey or return as compared to migrate onwards. Clearly, employment acts as an attraction to stay and unemployment instigates more commonly onward migration than return. This is particularly important in the current environment in the Turkish context where Afghan, Iraqi and Syrian refugees do not have the right to work. As has been argued by İçduygu (2015), labour market integration is a critical policy step needed in Turkey to assist refugees.

Third we examined conditions in the transit country through an exploration of migration status. Although overlapping with individual factors, 69 per cent of respondents in Turkey and 56 per cent in Greece seeking to migrate onwards cited one of their decision making factors as being 'tired of being undocumented'. In the regression analysis it was surprising that migration status had no effect in Greece. We assume this is first because there is such a strong desire to move onwards from Greece, and second, that migrants use status acquisition in Greece to acquire documents to migrate further. That is, gaining

status in Greece is a strategy for onward migration and not necessarily for staying. In Turkey, migration status was significant as irregular migrants were less likely to want to stay in Turkey. This demonstrates the importance of country context and shows that access to regularised migration status is important for attracting migrants to stay in a country.

Finally, we examined the role of abuse in migrants' decision making. Previous research has shown experiences of abuse to be an important factor in driving decision for onward migration in both Greece and Turkey (Brewer and Yükseker, 2009; Dimitriadi, 2015). It is important to stress that instances of reported abuse were very high in this study which is concerning in itself. Forty-eight per cent of respondents cited abuse as influencing their decisions to migrate onwards in Greece and 32 per cent in Turkey.

Conditions in the country of transit can clearly draw people to stay or motivate them to leave. In this study we found a mix of both of these factors with employment and good living conditions being the strongest factors motivating people to stay and unemployment, poor living conditions, and irregular migration status being the strongest factors motivating people to leave either through onward migration (more commonly) or return.

4.3.3 Perceived Conditions in the Country of Destination

Perceived conditions in the country of destination were understandably most significant in determining the decision to migrate onwards. They were cited by 99 per cent of respondents seeking to migrate onwards. Within the perceived conditions in the destination country 'better living conditions' was the most highly cited factor at 94 per cent. This relates to the observation above that poor living conditions in the transit country were a central factor in onward migration intentions.

Significantly, the results also show that respondents whose initial migration destination country was Greece or Turkey were significantly less likely to seek to migrate onwards. This is one of the first quantitative studies that can test this decision making process and the findings contradict the qualitative literature, which indicates that decisions regularly change in transit (Wissink, Düvell and van Eerdewijk, 2013). Again, it is important to note that our data is only a snapshot; however, the results do suggest that decision making for onward migration versus stay (in particular) may be less unchanging than described in other studies.

4.3.4. Individual Factors

Individual factors were highly cited as influencing the three migration intentions: onward migration (99%); stay (73%); or return (92%). Most commonly within the individual factors the migration aspiration was cited in the decision making process with 85 per cent of respondents seeking to migrate onwards stating 'I want to continue my migration aspiration' and 69 per cent of respondents seeking to return stating 'I have not been able to meet my migration aspirations including work or educational goals'. Aspirations are known to be central in the original decision to migrate and clearly continue to be important in transit.

4.3.5 Social Capital

Social capital is a more difficult variable to capture in quantitative research and was represented by fewer variables in this study. This may be one reason why it figures slightly less frequently on the whole in the decision making factors. At the same time, there is also evidence that social capital plays a significant role in determining the onward migration decision in particular. It is quite striking that 51 per cent of respondents state 'my friends are migrating onwards' as one of the factors in their decision to migrate onward. Further, social networks in the country of destination are the most commonly accessed source of information on the destination country (63%).

4.3.6 Policy Incentives and Disincentives

Policy incentives and disincentives were most highly cited as influencing the decision to migrate onwards. Policies were cited as an attraction to the intended destination country such as 'good opportunities to become a citizen/ resident' (89%), 'good asylum seeker treatment' (86%) and 'good social assistance/ health policies' (86%). Policy disincentives in the current country also factored, but less frequently: 'resettlement wait times are too long' (59%) and 'the situation in Greece/ Turkey is more hostile' (52%). Further analysis to understand how these different policies may or may not affect destination choice is planned for the near future.

5.   Conclusions

This Occasional Paper presents the main findings from an extensive survey of 1056 migrants in Greece and Turkey, most of whom consider themselves to be in transit to another destination. The study has yielded a wealth of original empirical data, which cannot all be presented or analysed within the scope of this paper. The focus here has been on presenting data and analysis that help to better understand the decision making process of migrants in transit; and at the same time to try to inform policy, illuminate migrant experiences in transit, and make a conceptual contribution to the limited literature on decision making in transit.

A number of reservations have been noted. For administrative reasons it was not possible to interview exactly the same nationalities across the two study countries Greece and Turkey, thus limiting the scope for direct comparison. It was not feasible only to interview irregular migrants, and so migrants with other statuses were also included. In hindsight an advantage of this strategy has been the ability to analyse the relevance of legal status in the decision making process, although the analysis presented here does not systematically compare the decisions of irregular migrants with that or migrants with other statuses. In Greece, there were too few respondents planning to return to use a multinomial probit regression and thus the regression results are modelled differently for Greece and Turkey; however this still allows for comparison of the results between the two models. Finally this paper does not systematically compare decision making in Greece and Turkey, or between the five national groups interviewed.

Although this paper was not commissioned as a policy review, it has flagged policy implications throughout, and tested the relevance of policy interventions as an integral part of the model presented. It demonstrates that policy interventions were most relevant for those who were planning to move onwards, and in particular regarding policy settings in the intended destination such as access to asylum, and social welfare provisions. In contrast the analysis indicates that policy levers in the country of transit are relatively short. An important distinction is made between migration-specific and migration-relevant policy interventions. Some policies are specific to migrants and asylum seekers, for example those governing access to legal status and welfare. Others are not specific to them, but are still relevant for them and equally important, such as those promoting safety and democracy. In other words managing migration and asylum is about more than migration and asylum policy alone. Another important distinction that emerges is that migrants and asylum seekers appear to give more weight to positive policy interventions (for example access to social welfare) than negative interventions (for example negative decisions on asylum applications) in their decisions. This distinction will form the subject of a forthcoming Occasional Paper in this series.

A second contribution this study can make is discovering more about the experiences of migrants in transit—they are a growing population about which relatively little still is known. One of the most striking findings from this study was how bad conditions apparently are for migrants in transit, including in Greece, which is an EU member state. Many reported experiencing abuse. Many are formally excluded

from the labour market and are working illegally. Some are living on the streets. At the same time, the majority of those respondents who felt that their living conditions were above average still intended to migrate onwards. Much more research is required to understand the experiences of migrants in transit, not just to inform policies on migration, but also to guarantee their rights.

As more and more migrants are moving through transit countries, the traditional origin-destination country dichotomy in migration needs to be expanded to include transit countries. A third contribution of this study is to demonstrate that decision making factors in transit warrant further attention as distinct from the initial migration decision. The results show that decision making factors in transit differ from the original migration decision due to the complexity of deciding whether to stay and settle in the country of transit or migrate onwards. The qualitative interviews also showed that in some cases the decisions presented in the survey data were uncertain as, in a small number of cases; respondents had actually changed their decisions between the time of the survey and the time of the interview. Introducing transit into migration models will have similarly far-reaching implications on other aspects of migration.

Finally, in devising a model based on a literature review and testing it here, this study has made a modest contribution towards filling a conceptual gap in the research. A strength of the model is that it allows for the interplay of structural, individual and policy factors. A weakness is that it provides only for a static (point-in-time) view of the decision making process. The model also does not determine a clear hierarchy of factors within the decision making process. Decision making is clearly a multidimensional process influenced by a wide array of structural, individual and policy factors. Further work is required to understand how different decision making factors are prioritised by migrants and at different times.

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Appendix 1: Descriptives Table Overview, All Respondents

	GREECE		TURKEY		TOTAL	
	Freq	**%**	**Freq**	**%**	**Freq**	**%**
Country of Origin						
Afghanistan	167	31.6	208	39.3	375	35.4
Iran	60	11.3	79	14.9	139	13.1
Iraq	41	7.8	96	18.2	137	13
Pakistan	117	22.1	146	27.6	263	24.9
Syria	144	27.2	-	-	144	13.6
Total	529	100	529	100	1,058	100
Current migration status						
Refugee	96	18.2	25	4.7	121	11.4
Asylum seeker	135	25.5	122	23.1	257	24.3
Irregular	117	22.1	301	56.9	418	39.5
Temporary protection	133	25.1	1	0.2	134	12.7
Other	48	9.1	80	15.1	128	12.1
Total	529	100	529	100	1,058	100
Current Subjective living conditions						
Bad	308	58.2	241	45.6	549	51.9
Good or average	221	41.8	288	54.4	509	48.1
Total	529	100	529	100	1,058	100
Currently employed	168	31.8	289	54.6	457	43.2
Have attempted to migrate onwards	209	39.5	66	12.5	275	26
Current country is intended destination	99	18.7	252	47.6	351	33.2
Experienced physical or verbal abuse	329	62.2	170	32.1	499	51.9
Language	219	41.4	175	33.1	394	37.2
Migrated with a smuggler	402	76	334	63.1	736	69.6
Married	173	32.7	165	31.2	338	32
Reason for initial migration						
Security	288	54.4	201	38	489	46.2
Risk/no right to work	98	18.5	64	12.1	162	15.3
Lack of employment /education	82	15.5	178	33.7	260	24.6
Family reasons	30	5.7	51	9.6	81	7.7
Other	27	5.1	33	6.2	60	5.7
Missing	4	0.8	2	0.4	6	0.6
Total	529	100	529	100	1,058	100
Education						
No formal education	63	11.9	68	12.9	131	12.4
Primary	148	28	139	26.3	287	27.1
Secondary	172	32.5	156	29.5	328	31
Vocat./higher	146	27.6	166	31.4	312	29.5
Total	529	100	529	100	1,058	100
Urban	341	64.5	371	70.1	712	67.3
Male	488	92.3	489	92.4	977	92.3
Duration in transit						
Came directly	15	2.8	62	11.7	77	7.3
0-3 months	100	18.9	66	12.5	166	15.7
4-12 months	95	18	184	34.8	279	26.4
1-3 years	81	15.3	142	26.8	223	21.1
>3 years	231	43.7	50	9.5	281	26.6
Missing	7	1.3	25	4.7	32	3.0
Total	529	100	529	100	1,058	100
Age (Mean/SD)	29.44	8.7	27.19	10.3	28.32	9.6

Appendix 2: Descriptive Statistics Based on Decision to Migrate Onwards, Stay in Current Country, or Return

	GREECE								TURKEY							
	Migrate		Stay		Return		Total		Migrate		Stay		Return		Total	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Country of Origin																
Afghanistan	120	71.9	46	27.5	1	0.6	167	100	116	55.8	82	39.4	10	4.8	208	100
Iran	44	73.3	14	23.3	2	3.3	60	100	32	40.5	43	54.4	4	5.1	79	100
Iraq	36	87.8	4	9.8	1	2.4	41	100	81	84.4	13	13.5	2	2.1	96	100
Pakistan	75	64.1	40	34.2	2	1.7	117	100	80	54.8	43	29.5	23	15.8	146	100
Syria	115	79.9	25	17.4	4	2.8	144	100								
Total	390	73.7	129	24.4	10	1.9	529	100	309	58.4	181	34.2	39	7.4	529	100
Current migration status																
Refugee	57	59.4	37	38.5	2	2.1	96	100	14	56.0	10	40.0	1	4.0	25	100
Asylum seeker	84	62.2	47	34.8	4	3.0	135	100	78	63.9	43	35.3	1	0.8	122	100
Irregular	99	84.6	18	15.4	-	-	117	100	179	59.5	94	31.2	33	9.3	331	100
Temporary protection	123	92.5	7	5.3	3	2.3	133	100	-	-	1	100	-	-	1	100
Other	27	56.3	20	41.7	1	2.1	48	100	38	47.5	33	41.25	4	11.25	51	100
Total	390	73.7	129	24.4	10	1.9	529	100	309	58.4	181	34.2	39	7.4	529	100
Current Subjective living conditions																
Bad	269	87.3	31	10.1	8	2.6	308	100	155	64.3	66	27.4	20	8.3	241	100
Good or average	121	54.8	98	44.3	2	1.0	221	100	154	53.5	115	39.9	19	6.6	288	100
Total	390	73.7	129	24.4	10	1.9	529	100	309	58.4	181	34.2	39	7.4	529	100
Currently employed	87	51.8	79	47.0	2	1.2	168	100	132	45.7	125	43.3	32	11.1	289	100
Have attempted to migrate onwards	160	76.6	45	21.5	4	1.9	209	100	51	77.3	12	18.2	3	4.6	66	100
Current country is intended destination	36	36.4	59	59.6	4	4.0	99	100	87	34.5	135	53.6	30	11.9	252	100
Experienced verbal or physical abuse	239	72.6	86	26.1	4	1.2	329	100	111	65.3	50	29.4	9	5.3	170	100
Language	112	51.1	102	46.6	5	2.3	219	100	90	51.4	73	41.7	12	6.9	175	100
Migrated with a smuggler	305	75.9	91	22.6	6	1.5	402	100	189	56.6	114	34.1	31	9.3	334	100
Married	132	76.3	39	22.5	2	1.2	173	100	84	50.9	64	38.8	17	10.3	165	100
Reason for initial migration																
Security	227	78.8	55	19.1	6	2.1	288	100	119	59.2	72	35.8	10	5.0	201	100
Risk/no right to work	67	68.4	30	30.6	1	1.0	98	100	44	68.8	18	28.1	2	3.1	64	100
Lack of employment /education	54	65.9	28	34.2	-	-	82	100	93	52.3	65	36.5	20	11.2	178	100
Family reasons	22	73.3	7	23.3	1	3.3	30	100	32	62.8	13	25.5	6	11.8	51	100
Other	18	66.7	7	25.9	2	7.4	27	100	19	57.6	13	39.4	1	3.0	33	100
Missing	2	50	2	50	-	-	4	100	2	100	-	-	-	-	2	100
Total	390	73.7	129	24.4	10	1.9	529	100	309	58.4	181	34.2	39	7.4	529	100
Education																
No formal education	47	69.1	20	29.4	1	1.5	68	100	27	42.9	29	46.0	7	11.1	63	100
Primary	102	73.4	32	23.0	5	3.6	139	100	87	58.8	51	34.5	10	6.8	148	100
Secondary	119	76.3	35	22.4	2	1.3	156	100	113	65.7	43	25.0	16	9.3	172	100
Vocat./higher	122	73.5	42	25.3	2	1.2	166	100	82	56.2	58	39.7	6	4.1	146	100
Total	390	73.7	129	24.4	10	1.9	529	100	309	58.4	181	34.2	39	7.4	529	100
Urban	252	73.9	83	24.3	6	1.8	341	100	231	62.3	121	32.6	19	5.1	371	100
Male	353	72.3	125	25.6	10	2.1	488	100	287	58.7	165	33.7	37	7.6	489	100

Appendix 3: Regression Analysis and Results

The dependent variable in the regression analysis is based on the question: At this moment, do you want to:

1) stay in Greece/Turkey?

2) migrate to another country?

3) return to your country of origin? or

4) return to the country you were last living in?

For the Greece sample, a standard probit regression is used where the value 1 represents wanting to migrate onwards and 0 represents wanting to stay in Greece. The model predicts the probability that an individual will migrate onwards. For example, the variable 'current subjective living conditions' is significant in the model and is interpreted as an individual who states their current subjective living conditions are average, good, or very good is 20 percentage points less likely to seek to migrate onwards. There were only eight respondents selecting return, which included an aggregation of both 'return to your country of origin' or 'return to the country you were last living in', so this was dropped from the regression model for Greece. In Turkey, the return option, again including the aggregate return variable, was large enough that we were able to use a multinomial probit regression to estimate the probability of wanting to stay in Turkey as compared to migrating onwards; and the probability of return as compared to migrating onwards. A multinomial model is used as the dependent variable now has three options of: migrant onwards, stay or return. This model results in two columns of first: stay versus migrate onwards and second, return versus migrate onwards. The models are estimated with robust standard errors and results are presented as average marginal effects.

The independent variables selected for the analysis reflect the model presented in Section 1.3 (Modelling Migrants' Decision Making in Transit) where possible. Conditions in the country of origin were assessed through the use of origin country and reason for the initial migration. Conditions in the country of transit were represented through current migration status, subjective living conditions, employed, experienced abuse, and speaking the local language. The destination country is represented through whether or not Turkey/Greece was the intended destination country in the initial migration.

Policy incentives and disincentives are represented by having previously attempted to migrate onwards and having used a smuggler in the initial migration: in essence, if someone tried to migrate onwards and was prevented from doing so because of a disincentive (border controls or police restrictions to movement, etc). These restraints act as a proxy for a policy disincentive. Smugglers are used to bypass border controls, which are a manifestation of a policy disincentive for migration.

Finally, individual factors are represented through age, gender, marital status, educational attainment, and whether the migrant is from a rural or urban background. Each of these variables is described in the descriptive analysis in Section 4.1 (Descriptive Profile of Respondents Based on Migration Decisions). Regrettably, there was no appropriate variable for social capital, and therefore it was excluded from this analysis.

Model 1: Probit Regression Greece

Migrate onwards versus stay in Greece	Average Marginal Effects	SE
Country of origin (ref category: Afghanistan)		
Iran	0.14[*]	0.06
Iraq	0.13	0.08
Pakistan	0.11[*]	0.05
Syria	0.10[*]	0.05
Current Migration Status (ref category: Asylum seeker)		
Refugee	0.04	0.04
Irregular	0.06	0.04
Temporary protection	0.05	0.06
Other	0.07	0.09
Current subjective living conditions	-0.19[**]	0.03
Employed	-0.03	0.04
Previously attempted to migrate onwards	0.01	0.04
Greece/ Turkey was the intended destination	-0.23[**]	0.04
Experienced Abuse	-0.07[*]	0.05
Migrated with a smuggler	0.07[+]	(0.04)
Speaks Greek/ Turkish	-0.19[**]	0.04
Reason for migration (ref category: security)		
Risk/no right to work or stay	-0.02	0.04
Family reasons	0.03	0.06
Other reasons	-0.07	0.07
Lack of employment/educational opportunities	-0.02	0.04
Married	-0.06	0.04
Age	0.00	0.00
Male	-0.05	0.07
Education (ref category: no education)		
Primary	0.03	0.05
Secondary	0.05	0.05
Vocational/higher	-0.03	0.05
Urban	-0.03	0.03
Observations	514	
Pseudo R^2	0.39	

[+] $p < 0.1$, [*] $p < 0.05$, [**] $p < 0.01$

Model 2: Multinomial Probit Regression Turkey

	Stay in Turkey versus Migrate onwards		Return versus Migrate onwards	
	Average Marginal Effects	SE	Average Marginal Effects	SE
Country of origin (ref category: Afghanistan)				
Iran	-0.03	0.08	0.04	0.05
Iraq	-0.38**	0.08	0.01	0.05
Pakistan	-0.27**	0.06	0.05	0.03
Current Migration Status (ref category: Asylum seeker)				
Refugee	-0.04	0.10	0.07	0.08
Irregular	-0.13*	0.06	0.11+	0.06
Other	-0.01	0.08	0.13*	0.06
Current subjective living conditions	0.10**	0.04	-0.03	0.02
Employed	0.09+	0.04	0.05+	0.03
Previously attempted to migrate onwards	-0.12*	0.06	-0.00	0.04
Greece/ Turkey was the intended destination	0.27**	0.04	0.05*	0.03
Experienced Abuse	-0.04	0.05	-0.01	0.03
Migrated with a smuggler	-0.07	0.07	0.03	0.04
Speaks Greek/ Turkish	-0.03	0.05	-0.01	0.03
Reason for migration (ref category: security)				
Risk/no right to work or stay	-0.12+	0.07	-0.03	0.06
Family reasons	0.02	0.08	0.00	0.04
Other reasons	-0.01	0.08	-0.07	0.07
Lack of employment/educational opportunities	-0.04	0.05	-0.00	0.03
Married	0.04	0.05	0.03	0.03
Age	-0.00	0.00	-0.00	0.00
Male	0.08	0.07	-0.01	0.05
Education (ref category: no education)				
Primary	-0.03	0.06	-0.02	0.04
Secondary	-0.11+	0.06	0.02	0.04
Vocational/higher	-0.03	0.06	-0.01	0.04
Urban	-0.11*	0.05	0.01	(0.03
Observations	526			

+ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$