



SOCIAL SCIENCES UNIVERSITY OF ANKARA
INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES IN
SOCIAL SCIENCES

HİLAL KELEŞ

BUILDING BRIDGES THROUGH AN INCLUSIVE EDUCATION SYSTEM:
THE CASE
OF SYRIAN REFUGEE CHILDREN IN HATAY/TURKEY

MASTER THESIS

DECEMBER 2019



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THESIS SUPERVISOR
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DECEMBER 2019

TEZ ONAYI

Enstitümüzün Uluslararası İlişkiler Anabilim Dalı Uluslararası İlişkiler (İngilizce) Tezli Yüksek Lisans Programı 160608001 numaralı öğrencisi Hilal KELEŞ'in hazırladığı "Building bridges through inclusive education system: The case of Syrian refugee children in Hatay/Turkey (Kapsayıcı eğitim sistemi ile köprüler kurmak: Hatay'da yaşayan Suriyeli çocuklar örneği)" başlıklı tezi ile ilgili tez savunma sınavı, Lisansüstü Eğitim-Öğretim ve Sınav Yönetmeliği'nin ilgili maddeleri gereğince 09/12/2019 Pazartesi günü saat 10:00'da yapılmış, tezin onayına oy birliği/~~oy çokluğu~~ ile karar verilmiştir.

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PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all materials and results that are not original to this work. I declare that this thesis is written according to the writing rules of Social Sciences University of Ankara, Institute of Social Sciences.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted for the academic and personal support of many people around me during my master process. First of all, I would like to send my greatest gratitude to my thesis advisor, Asst. Prof. Dr. K. Onur Unutulmaz for his intellectual guidance, continuous support, and patience. Not only his academic posture but also his personality inspired me since I have met with him. I always thought I was so lucky that I crossed paths with my supervisor. Together with my supervisor, I would like to thank my thesis committee members Prof. Dr. Şebnem Akçapar and Assoc.Prof. Dr. Başak Yavcan. Each of the committee members inspired me in a way that my research has other potentialities to contribute to refugee studies. I am grateful for their critical feedback and contributions to broaden my horizons.

During my grad school, I crossed paths with beautiful people. My master's teachers have made a great contribution in getting to where I am today and making my dreams come true. I would like to thank Gökhan Bacık, Bestami Bilgiç, Burcu Ucaray Mangıtlı, Halit Mustafa Tagma, and Faruk Ekmekçi for their contributions in this process. Thanks to them, I took classes that I never wanted to end. I also want to thank Syrian children, teachers, and other interviewers for their contributions as part of my thesis. In particular, when I was interviewing with Syrian refugee children, they opened up their world to me, making me deeply understand what they were going through. I'm grateful to have met them on this precious journey. They contributed greatly to my thesis with their knowledge, experience, and observations.

Last and not least, I am grateful to my family for their unconditional support. My family's support is what inspired me to continue and never give up, even when times were difficult. Their support and love are the main driving force of everything I do. Also, I would especially like to thank my dear friends, Rifaat and Seher, for their friendships in my hard times and providing translation support during my field interviews.

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ABSTRACT

BUILDING BRIDGES THROUGH AN INCLUSIVE EDUCATION SYSTEM: THE CASE OF SYRIAN REFUGEE CHILDREN IN HATAY/TURKEY

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December 2019

The civil war that started in Syria in March 2011 has been continuing for the last 8 years with a profound impact on the lives of millions of Syrian citizens. Syrian children, who are currently living in Syria and those who migrated to other countries, pay the heaviest price. Since the outbreak of the war, approximately 5,6 million Syrian refugees have fled from war and conflict and migrated to other countries. At the same time, 6,2 million people were displaced within Syria. While Syrians have been forcibly displaced, they have sought refuge primarily in their border neighbours, specifically including Turkey. Turkey is home to 3,6 million Syrian refugees which make it the largest refugee-hosting country in the world. Almost half of the Syrian refugee population in Turkey is school-age children, which greatly increases the importance of refugee education in Turkey. Education plays a key role in helping refugee children cope with the negative situations they are exposed to and adapt to the country in which they migrate. In this study, the

services provided by the Turkish Government to meet the educational needs of Syrian refugee children since 2011 have been examined, the different education systems applied to refugee students and how these systems have been transformed from temporary policies to permanent policies have been discussed. It also examined how access to education and different educational systems have importance in integrating Syrian refugee children to host society. Finally, the fieldwork conducted in Hatay discussed the accessibility, quality and inclusivity of education services, and identified the difficulties and good examples encountered in the education process. Through the identified challenges and good examples, various policy recommendations have been made to expand the inclusiveness of the current refugee education system.

Keywords: Syrian Refugee Children, Refugee Education, Integration of Refugee Children, Policies on Refugee Education, Inclusive Education

ÖZET

KAPSAYICI BİR EĞİTİM SİSTEMİ İLE KÖPRÜLER KURMAK: HATAY’ DA YAŞAYAN SURIYELİ ÇOCUKLAR ÖRNEĞİ

Hilal Keleş

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Tez Danışmanı: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi K. Onur Unutulmaz

Aralık 2019

2011 yılının Mart ayında Suriye’de başlayan iç savaş, 8 yıldır milyonlarca Suriye vatandaşının hayatını derinden etkileyerek devam etmektedir. Savaşın en ağır bedelini ödeyenler ise hem halen Suriye içerisinde yaşayan hem de diğer ülkelere göç eden sayıları yaklaşık 5 milyonu bulan Suriyeli çocuklardır. Savaş başladığından günümüze kadar yaklaşık 5,6 milyon Suriyeli kişi savaş ve çatışmadan kaçarak başka ülkelere göç zorunlu olarak göç etmiştir, aynı zamanda 6,2 milyon kişi de Suriye içerisinde yerinden edilmiştir. Suriyeliler zorla yerlerinden edilirken, öncelikli olarak sınır komşuları Türkiye’ye sığınmışlardır. Türkiye 3,6 milyon Suriyeli mülteciye ev sahipliği yaparak, dünya’da en fazla mülteci barındıran ülke konumuna gelmiştir. Türkiye’deki Suriyeli mülteci nüfusunun neredeyse yarısını okul çağındaki çocuklar oluşturmaktadır ve bu durum mülteci eğitiminin önemini oldukça arttırmaktadır. Eğitim, mülteci çocukların maruz kaldıkları negatif durumlarla başedebilmeleri ve göç ettikleri ülkeye uyum sağlayabilmeleri için anahtar bir rol oynamaktadır. Bu çalışmada, 2011 yılından bu yana Türk Hükümetinin Suriyeli mülteci çocukların eğitim ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak için verdikleri hizmetler incelenmiş, mülteci öğrencilere uygulanan farklı eğitim sistemleri ve bu sistemlerin geçici politikalardan kalıcı politikara nasıl dönüştüğü tartışılmıştır. Aynı zamanda eğitime erişimin ve farklı eğitim sistemlerinin Suriyeli mülteci çocukların misafir eden topluma uyum sağlamasında nasıl bir önemi olduğu araştırılmıştır. Son olarak, Hatay’da yapılan saha çalışması ile eğitim hizmetlerinin erişilebilirliği, kalitesi ve

kapsayıcılığı tartışılmış, aynı zamanda eğitim sürecinde karşılaşılan zorluklar ve güzel örnekler tespit edilmiştir. Tespit edilen zorluklar ve güzel örnekler üzerinden mevcut mülteci eğitim sisteminin kapsayıcılığının genişletilmesi için çeşitli politika önerilerinde bulunulmuştur.



Anahtar Sözcükler: Suriyeli Mülteci Çocuklar, Mülteci Eğitimi, Mülteci Çocukların Sosyal Uyumu, Mülteci Eğitim Politikaları, Kapsayıcı Eğitim

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFAD	Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency
ALP	Accelerated Learning Programme
CCTE	The Conditional Cash Transfer for Education
DGMM	Directorate of General Migration Management, Republic of Turkey
ESSN	The Emergency Social Safety Net
IOM	International Organization of Migration
LFIP	The Turkish Law on Foreigners and International Protection
MoNE	Ministry of National Education, Republic of Turkey
MoFLSS	Ministry of Family, Labour, and Social Services, Republic of Turkey
NFE	Non-Formal Education
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
PDMM	Provincial Directorate of Migration Management
PDONE	Provincial Directorate of National Education
PEC	Public Education Centre
PICTES	Promoting Integration of Syrian Children to Turkish Education System
TEC	Temporary Education Centre
TRC	Turkish Red Crescent
TL	Turkish Lira (currency)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioners for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund
WFP	The World Food Program
YÖBİS	Foreign National Students Information System



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Migration is a one-way trip. There is no “home” to go back to. (Hall, 1987)

Stuart Hall, “Minimal Selves”

One child, one teacher, one book, one pen can change the world. (Yusufzay, 2012)

Malala Yusufzay

This thesis examines the educational status of Syrian children¹ under temporary protection in Turkey and the processes of their integration into the education system and society. This thesis is also an attempt to understand how different educational activities and systems affect the educational and social lives of Syrian children and their adaptation to society. It also aims to identify the challenges Syrian refugee² children face in the process of access and adaptation to school and to make policy recommendations for the identified challenges.

As it is well-known, Syrians who left their country after the Syrian Civil War, which began in March 2011 due to Syrian’s demands for democracy and reform, have primarily affected neighbouring countries. In this process, Turkey has started to host such

¹ In this thesis, the intent of the child is individuals between the ages of 0-18, as stated in the first article of the United Nations Convention on the rights of the child, to which Turkey is a party.

² Throughout this thesis, Syrian refugees refer to all refugees and stateless persons who fled from Syria regardless of their legal status in the host countries. Many different definitions are used for Syrian citizens who sought refuge in Turkey after the Syrian crisis. State officials, members of the media, academia use different expressions to describe Syrian citizens as guests, refugees, migrants, asylum seekers, and people under temporary protection. Since Turkey is a party by geographical reservation to the 1951 Convention on the legal status of refugees, which built the international refugee regime, it only grants refugee status to persons from Member States of the Council of Europe. Syrians in Turkey are under a temporary protection regime, but do not have refugee status due to both geographic reservation and lack of individual status determination in cases of mass migration. In this thesis, the concept of refugees is used to include the legal definition in the convention, but more broadly to cover all Syrians fleeing conflict and widespread violence and seeking protection outside their country.

a large mass migration for the first time in its history. It was predicted by the government that the Syrian crisis would end in a short time, and short-term solutions were prepared to respond to the needs of Syrian refugees. However, as of 2019, the Syrian crisis has been going on for more than eight years, proving the earlier expectations wrong. It is clear that the number of refugees in Turkey will likely further increase because the crisis still continues and even if the war comes to a swift end soon, it will take some years for Syria to recover and become a stable country again.

The dense Syrian population in Turkey has significant implications for many issue areas, from education to health and from employment to security. Nearly half of the refugees in Turkey are children under the age of 18. Education is considered to be an effective tool to prevent Syrian children from becoming a lost generation and to ensure their adaptation to society. Given these, the education of Syrian refugee children in Turkey chosen as the subject of this thesis. In this study, Syrian children who are involved in different education systems and children who do not have access to education were examined and the difficulties and good examples identified in the Hatay.

Hatay was chosen as a case study because of its cultural diversity and multilingual dynamics. Also, the city is located in the Syrian border where the Syrian refugees firstly admitted to Turkey and where Syrian refugees have family links. According to the data of Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM), Hatay is hosting 440,557 number of Syrian refugees which corresponds 27,37% of its local population (2019). With these qualifications of Hatay, researching the relation between refugee children's integration and education can be differentiated from other cities of Turkey.

The chapters of the thesis are organised in five main parts. Chapter one explains the brief introduction, the background, objective, research questions, importance, structure, ethical assessment, and restrictions of the study. The second chapter constructs the analytical background of the study while reviewing the literature and discussing the methodology of the study. The literature discusses migration, refugee regimes, education theories and systems for refugee children in particular.

Chapter three engages in refugee education in Turkey with a comprehensive approach. This chapter aims to explain the situation of the Syrian children regarding to education. It further discusses Turkey's refugee education policies, the schooling system

for refugee children, and the main challenges in refugee education. It also provides up to date information and data on the education of Syrian children in Turkey.

Chapter four is the backbone of this thesis because it focuses on fieldwork findings. This chapter firstly provides specific information about Hatay as a case study to understand the context. In the second part of the chapter, contributes to the literature by providing field research findings obtained from teachers, students, and school principals. Findings from the interviews with local authorities and members of international and national non-governmental organizations (I/NGOs) are analysed and discussed in the context of integration and education of refugee children in Hatay. It also provides key findings based on the schooling system and summarizes the findings from fieldwork. This chapter is one of the longest chapters as it tries to provide comprehensive information and to provide an answer to research questions of the study.

Chapter five provides an overall evaluation of the research questions and the main findings of the thesis. It summarises the thesis and provides policy recommendations to local and national policymakers of the education sector on quality and inclusive education for Syrian children in Turkey. It also complies the research findings and shows the overview of the study with concluding remarks.

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

This section shall provide an overview of the Syrian refugee crisis in the world and the situation in Turkey. It also briefs the objective, limitations, research questions, and importance of the study.

1.1.1 Syrian Refugee Crisis in the World

Growing anti-government uprisings, overthrown regimes, and bloody civil conflicts have created high instability in the Middle East since 2010. Ongoing conflicts between civilians and states threatened both regional and world security, so international society showed a remarkable interest in the region. The Syrian crisis, which has started in since 2011, has become one of the most significant issues for both international society and neighbouring states. United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees (UNHCR) defines this humanitarian disaster as the most significant migration wave that has been seen in recent human history (Çavuşoğlu, 2016).

When the protests against the Assad regime started, the population of Syria was 21,018,834 (Worldometers, 2019). According to the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights (SOHR), more than 511,000 people have died since the start of the war (HRW, 2018b). In eight years, more than 13 million Syrian nationals have been displaced, including 6,654,000 refugees, 6,184,000 internally displaced people (IDP), and 140,000 asylum-seekers (UNHCR, 2018a). Displaced people have fled from Syria to Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey, and beyond in order to seek safety (UNHCR, 2018a). According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 13,1 million people need support in Syria while 2,98 million people live in besieged and hard to reach areas (2019).

The number of refugees is continuing to grow per month. Neighbouring states of Syria pushed their limits to accept refugees, and now, most of the neighbours are not able to accommodate new flows of refugees. Also, Europe has started accepting a limited number of refugees recently, but these limited number of quotas have been filled up immediately by mostly skilled refugees, and the vast majority of Syrian refugees continue to stay in Turkey that being considered as the final destination for Syrian refugees recently. This mandatory duration of refugees in Turkey has resulted in searching for irregular ways to enter the European countries. Many Syrians tried to flee into Europe in

illegal ways mostly by sea, and these journeys caused terrible human disasters. UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Filippo Grandi stated that *"The worst Mediterranean tragedy of this year has just occurred"* in 2019 (ALJAZEERA, 2019). According to information from the International Organization for Migration (IOM), 12,530 migrants and refugees have risked their lives and entered Europe by sea, and the number of deaths has reached 356 individuals from January to April 2019. Amongst the arrivals, 3,089 of them were Syrian nationals who seek a better life in Europe (IOM, 2019).

When a two-year-old boy, Aylan Kurdi passed away dramatically while trying to flee to Europe by the sea in order to escape from the war and violence in September 2015, Antonio Guterres, the former UN High Commissioner for Refugees at the time, stated that:

These people are forced to go on boats, they pay 4,000 or 5,000 euros, and they die in these desperate circumstances. This does not make sense. We need to have a coherent response to this situation, and in my opinion, only Europe as a whole, based on solidarity, can give that response. (CNN, 2015)

The increasing number of deaths in the sea finally succeeded to attract more attention to the Syrian refugee crisis by different parts of the world, but still, there are no permanent solutions for Syrian refugees. Most importantly, nobody has an idea about when the conflict will end in Syria, and when Syrian refugees will be able to go back to their country if at all. Because of this situation, most probably, today's refugees will become the immigrants or citizens of tomorrow in their respective host countries. States should reconsider their migration as well as integration policies based on this fact because there is a very high number of Syrian refugees, and various studies show that these refugees do not want to go back to their country (Erdoğan, 2015).

1.1.2 Turkey's response to the Syrian Humanitarian Crisis

Turkey has been recently known as a transit country for refugees and asylum-seekers in world politics. Throughout its history, Turkey has been a destination for both irregular migrants and asylum-seekers from the Middle East, Asia, and former Soviet Bloc countries (Kirişçi, 2000). According to Kirişçi, Turkey has been known as a country

of emigration because of a large number of populations migrated to Europe during the 1960s and 1970s to work in the labour force. However, over the last two decades, Turkey has been transformed from a country of emigration to immigration (Kirişçi, 2000). It is estimated by UNHCR (2019), there are 3,99 million refugees and asylum seekers live in Turkey as of 2019 (UNHCR, 2019b). According to World Population Review (2019), 5% of people that live Turkey are refugees and/or asylum-seekers while 95% of the population consists of Turkish nationals with 83,3 million population as of July 2019 (World Population Review, 2019). With almost four million refugees and asylum-seekers, the Government of Turkey continues to host the largest number of refugees worldwide (UNHCR, 2019b).

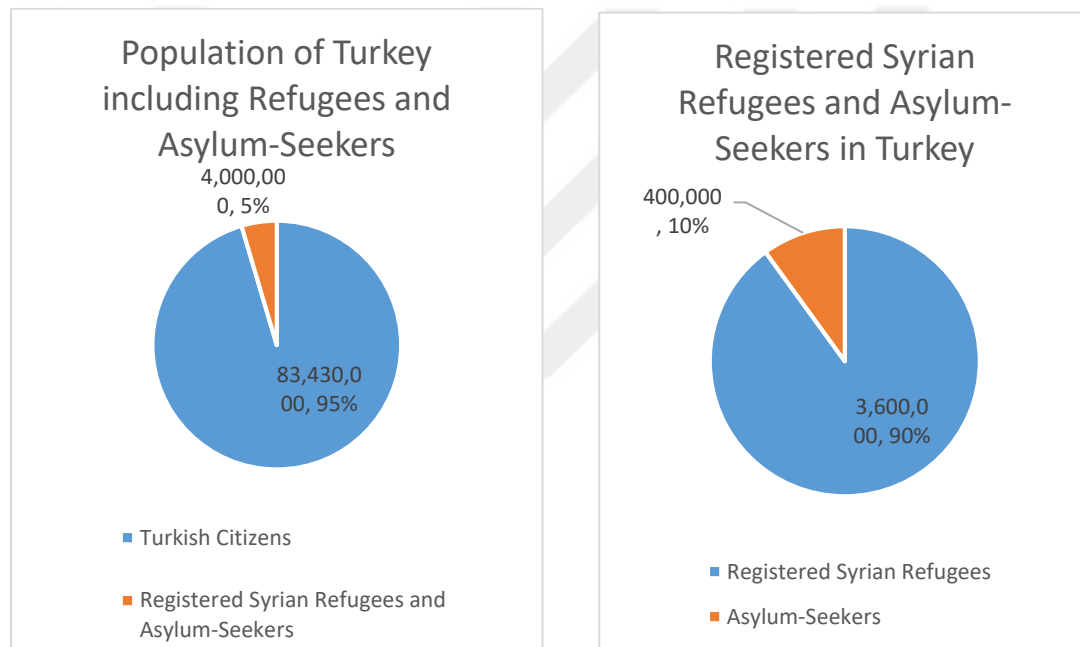


Figure 1- 1: Population of Turkey including Refugees and Asylum-Seekers

Figure 1- 2: Registered Syrian Refugees and Asylum-Seekers in Turkey

Source: Generated using data dated June 2019 sourced by UNHCR (2019)

Beyond Turkey's complicated history of migration, it is more significant that since the foundation of Turkey, she has always been concerned about creating a homogenous sense of national identity. When Turkey started to accept immigrants from other countries, regardless of their religions or cultures, it has always tried to melt into these different ethnic groups in the society and regenerate Turkish identity because of the chronic illness of Turkey, xenophobia (Kirişçi, 2000). Even if Turkish and Muslim

identities are dominant in Turkey, there is a considerable number of Kurds, other minorities, and non-Muslims with a percentage of 28-30 (World Population Review, 2019). In this case, it is hard to say that Turkey is a homogenous country, but in the sense of national identity, Turkey seems to be more homogenous. However, Turkey's open-door policy for Syrians up until 2017 increased the already heterogeneous social fabric of Turkey (Erdoğan, 2015).

1.1.2.1 Admissions to Turkey

On 29th April 2011, the first refugee group, which consisted of 252 Syrians, entered Turkey from the Yayladağı border gate. At that time, the Turkish government announced that there was always a place in Turkey for Syrian people who ran away from war and oppression. Turkey also accepted them as guests rather than refugees and agreed to provide for their humanitarian needs as much as possible (Erdoğan, 2015). When the number of refugees in 2015 has almost reached 2,000,000, the former High Commissioner of UNHCR, Antonio Guterres, announced that Turkey had become the biggest refugee receiving country in the world. Figure 3 shows that since the beginning of the Syrian crisis, Turkey hosts a grand number of Syrian refugees, and it almost reached its absorption capacity with this enormous number of Syrian refugees (İçduygu & Şimşek, 2016).

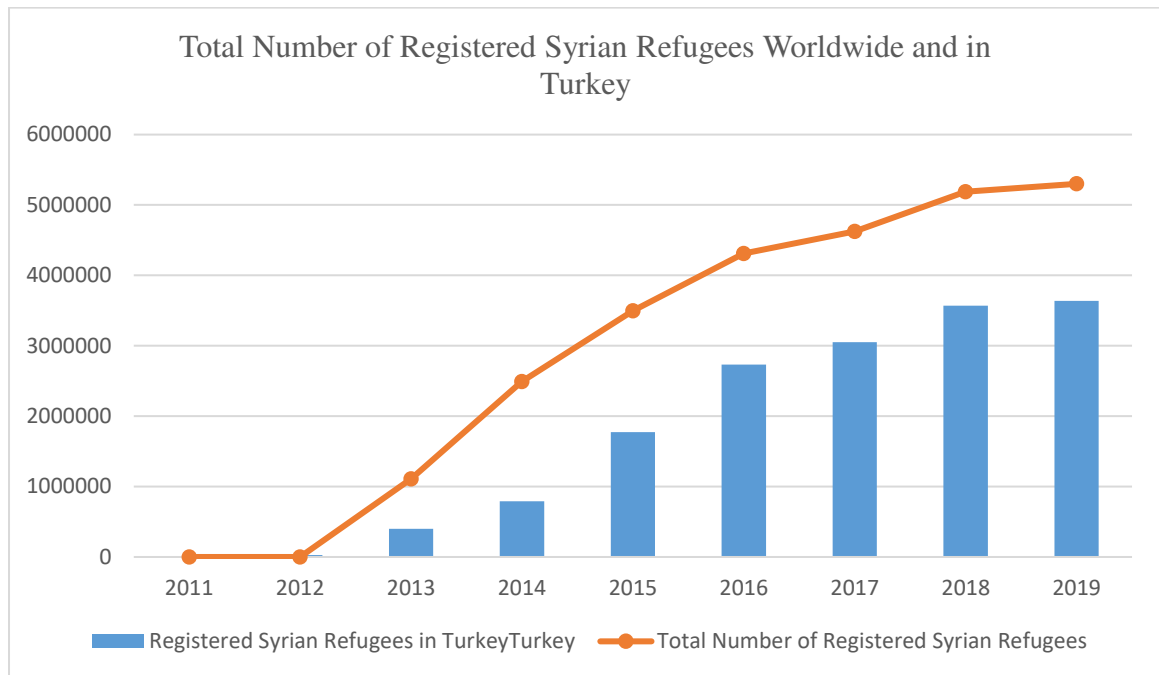


Figure 1- 3: Total Number of Registered Syrian Refugees Worldwide and in Turkey

Source: Generated using data dated from June 2011 to 2019 sourced by UNHCR (UNHCR, 2019a)

One of the most significant parts of this issue is to accept Syrian nationals as guests rather than refugees because people who run away from their country through war, conflicts, or repression from the authority and applied for asylum are called as asylum-seekers in the international law. However, according to the Geneva Convention (1951), Turkey was not able to define Syrians as refugees because of geographical limitations. Even though Turkey did also sign the Additional Protocol in 1967 which lifted the time and geographical limitations of the 1951 Geneva Convention, Turkey still kept the geographical limitation stating that it has long borders with several Middle Eastern countries and lifting the limitations could potentially create unmanageable situations at its borders. There is no definition of the term “guest” under international law, but officials of Government of Turkey preferred to define Syrian refugees as ‘guests’ in order to show hospitality of Turkish people and religious brotherhood with Syrian nationals and to avoid the tensions in the Turkish society for economic and political reasons (İçduygu, Ustubici, Aral, & Ayar, 2017). Previous Minister of Internal Affairs, İdris Naim Şahin, stated that:

... All those people are sacred beings that Allah created. Therefore, we believe to share our bread and water with them. Therefore, Turkey and the Turkish nation have always a superior and precious position among other nations. (İçduygu, Ustubici, Aral, & Ayar, 2017)

While the vague status of ‘guests’ could be seen as an indication of Turkey’s firm belief that the situation was only temporary and the expectation that Syrians would soon return to their homes, the official discourse was one that also contained the possibility of longer-term stay of Syrians. In 2013, Ahmet Davutoğlu, Minister of Foreign Affairs at that time, had a speech in the meeting with Syrian Turkmens;

... I hope you will return to your homes as soon as possible, and each of you will return to your warm homes. However, know that if you have to stay here, our home is your home, our love is your love, our destiny is your destiny. Because we did not open our doors and homes to you, we have opened our hearts to you (*İçduygu, Ustubici, Aral, & Ayar, 2017*).

Initially, not only vast parts of Turkish society but also parts of the world appreciated Turkey’s response against the Syrian crisis. Notably, in internal politics, ruling party (AKP)’s supporters enjoyed the feeling of national pride to protect Syrians against the Assad regime (Kirişçi, et al., 2013). During the first years of the Syrian crisis, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Minister of Foreign Affairs Ahmet Davutoğlu’s speeches on religious and cultural kinship with Syrians resonated within society and were approved mostly by ruling party’s supporters at the beginning of the Syrian crisis. However, after 9 years of unrest in Syria, it is clear that the entire situation has changed, and Turkish community’s reaction becomes more negative due to the massive number of Syrian refugees living in Turkey.

1.2 OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

This thesis focuses on the education experience of Syrian children in Turkey. It is a vital topic considering the prominent place of the school-aged children in the Syrian population in the country. Since the beginning of this massive migration crisis, Turkey quickly became the country which hosts the highest number of refugees in the world. Turkey became home for 3,636,617 Syrian refugees, which equals to 64 % of overall persons of concern in MENA region (Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq, and, Egypt) as of January 2019 (UNHCR, 2019c). When we look at the demographic profile of refugees in Turkey, children constitute the biggest refugee group with 43,9 % (DGMM, 2019).

At the beginning of the crisis, Turkey accepted Syrian refugees temporarily and tried to find short term solutions in order to meet the needs of Syrian refugees. However, starting in 2016, the Turkish Government understood that a high number of refugees will continue to stay in Turkey, and the Turkish Government should establish durable solutions for the refugees. According to UNHCR's research in 2017, 76% of Syrian refugees do not plan to return to Syria in the next 12 months and most believed that there is no country behind to return (UNHCR, 2017). Turkey has then decided to change its policies toward Syrian refugees from a vision of temporariness to a more long-term strategy to handle the issue. Turkish Government has started to apply this policy in each sector, significantly, including in the field of education.

At the beginning of the crisis, the Government of Turkey established Temporary Education Centres (TECs) to meet the educational needs of Syrian children, but in time, various problems have been identified regarding TECs. This concerned quality of training and trainers, the medium of education, different attitudes toward the Turkish education system by teachers in TECs, low school attendance, and worsening social conflicts amongst children. As the Turkish Government has decided to close TECs and transfer refugee children from TECs to public schools, the process became much more challenging and caused potentially increasing numbers of children at risk of becoming "lost generations" (Unutulmaz K. O., 2018). It was a widespread solution that Syrian children should be integrated into the Turkish Education system in order to not to create parallel systems and promote social cohesion. However, realistically it was not an easy transformation for the Turkish Government when we consider the school and teacher capacity of the Ministry of National Education (MoNE), the language barrier, high school drop-out numbers, emerging child protection cases, and lack of trained teachers who can work with different cultures. Since 2016, Turkey started to close the TECs and move Syrian children to Turkish schools. According to the MoNE's plan for the integration process of Syrian children into the Turkish education system, as of September 2019, all the TECs should have been closed by MoNE, and the transition process to Turkish public schools should have been completed. However, as of December 2019, a small number of TECs continue operating in the high refugee populated cities due to challenges in the transition process. Otherwise, a new phase of transition will emerge as a serious issue, which is the integration process of Syrian children into the Turkish education system.

In light of the above information, I have decided to write my thesis on the current education system for Syrian refugees. This thesis will examine the role of different schooling models for Syrian students, the transformation process from TECs to State Schools, and the process in the integration of refugee children into Turkish society. At the end of the research, policy recommendations will be shared in order to promote access to education in better quality and support to refugee children in Turkey in order to fulfil their dreams for the future.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this study, the integration process of Syrian children into the Education system and the transformation of the education system for Syrian children from TECs to State Schools were analysed. Several criteria on integration were determined in order to analyse the integration process of Syrian children into the Turkish education system and also the society. Some of the criteria are accessing to services, language ability, living environment, relations with the host community, school success, social life, and familiarity with the culture or lifestyle of the host community. This study tries to understand the relation between different education systems and integration of Syrian children into the host community, and it also tries to analyse positive and negative parts of different education systems through the eyes of teachers and Syrian children.

The main question of this study is ‘Is Turkey’s education policy towards Syrian children an appropriate way to achieve integration of Syrian children?’.

In order to reach an answer to this question, the study also focuses on different questions in order to have a comprehensive approach. These questions are as below;

- Do Syrian refugee children access to education in Turkish public schools or in TECs?
- What are the main policies of the Ministry of Education toward the education of Syrian children? How did these policies affect the educational status of Syrian children?
- How do Syrian refugee children integrate into Turkey’s education system?
- How do different school systems affect the integration of Syrian children into education?

- What are the problems that Syrian children face in adapting to public schools and education processes?
- How does education contribute to the integration of Syrian children into society?
- How do school principals and teachers evaluate the academic performance, social relationships, and adaptation of Syrian children in their schools?
- What measures should be taken to ensure the access of Syrian children to public schools and to address the problems they face in education?
- How does the inclusive education system affect the education of Syrian children?

1.4 THE IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

There are 65 million displaced people worldwide, of which 22,5 million are refugees. Syrian refugees make up the most populous group of refugees in the world, with a population of 5,6 million (UNHCR, 2019d). According to UNHCR data (UNHCR, 2019c), Turkey is the country with the highest number of refugees (3,634,378) in the world. When we look at the demographic distribution of Syrian refugees in Turkey, we see that the population of children is high enough to attract attention. While in 2014, 46,41 % of Syrian refugees living in Turkey are under the age of 18 (DGMM, 2014), currently this percentage up to 50,91 % of a total number of Syrian refugees in Turkey (DGMM, 2019). To add to this, there are hundreds of thousands of Syrian babies that were born in Turkey. This shows that the number of school-aged Syrians, and hence the importance of their education, will surely increase in the years to come.

Table 1- 1: Distribution of Age and Gender of Syrian Children under Temporary Protection

Distribution of Age and Gender of Syrian Children under Temporary Protection in Turkey			
Age	Male	Female	Total
0-4 age	304,909	285,065	589,974
5-9 age	254,539	239,786	494,325
10-14 age	191,067	176,788	367,855
15-18 age	146,625	119,698	266,323
Total			1,818,187

Source: Generated using data dated 25.12.2019 by DGMM (2019)

The fact that the child population is so dense suggests that policymakers should not ignore the fundamental issues that concern children in the policies they develop. While it is extremely difficult to predict the future of this refugee population in Turkey, it is almost certain that in any scenario a very significant number of Syrians will remain in the country for the foreseeable future. Therefore, it is essential to come up with permanent policies for Syrian refugee children living in Turkey.

Since the Syrian crisis began, both NGOs and the state have made short-term plans for the needs of Syrians. In this context, they provided services to meet more basic needs on a mostly *ad hoc* basis. However, as the Syrian crisis has been going on for over eight years, the need for long-term policies for the provision of services as well as social integration has been understood. Education should be at the core of these policies.

There is a consensus that education is a fundamental human need (Dryden-Peterson, 2016). Despite this importance, education is prevented in cases of war, migration, natural disasters, and the like. Therefore, children forced to migrate from Syria to Turkey are excluded from education. The issue of education has started to become more prominent since the Syrian crisis has extended much more than expected and the numbers of school-age Syrian children in Turkey is increasing. Many different policies have been produced and amended so far regarding the education of Syrian children. In order to assess the respective impacts of these policies and to develop recommendations on future education policies, it has become essential to research the education of Syrian children. This study was designed to demonstrate the educational status of Syrian children living in Hatay, to assess the challenges they face in the field of education, and to discuss how different educational policies affect children's education and integration into society. In other words, instead of only analysing the education models at a theoretical level, it was intended to collect primary data from an actual case study, thereby considering the specificities of the local context.

1.5 SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTERS

This study consists of five chapters. The first chapter explains the background, objectives, research questions, importance, structure, ethical assessment, and restrictions of the study. The second chapter provides a more detailed analytical background while reviewing the literature and discussing the methodology of the study. Chapter three looks at the broader

context of refugee children' education in Turkey. This chapter further discusses the historical background of Syrian refugees in Turkey, Turkey's refugee education policies, the schooling system for refugee children, and the main challenges in refugee education. It also provides up to date information and data on the education of Syrian children with a comprehensive approach.

Chapter four is the backbone of this thesis because it focuses on fieldwork and findings gathered from the field using a number of qualitative methods. Interviews with teachers, students, and school principals were discussed and analysed based on identified main terms and topics. Experiences and observations of local authority and I/NGO members analysed on the concept of education and integration status of refugee children. It also shows the views of local authorities and I/NGOs observation from the field on the relation between integration into the host community and education status of children. This chapter is the longest chapter, and it tries to provide comprehensive information in order to provide an answer to research questions of the study. Chapter five, in turn, provides policy recommendations to local and national policymakers of the education sector on the quality and inclusiveness of education for Syrian children in Turkey. It also summarises the research findings and shows the overview of the study with concluding remarks.

1.6 ETHICAL ASSESSMENT AND RESTRICTIONS OF THE STUDY

In this study, all interviews were conducted with full awareness of ethical standards and policies for the safety of participants and the reliability of the results. All Syrian participant children and teachers were under temporary protection status. The interview questions were approved by the ethical committee of the Social Sciences University of Ankara and the interviews have been conducted in line with proposed time and locations. Also, interviews were conducted face-to-face with the written informed consent of the participants. Personal information belonging to participants were kept confidential in order to protect the safety of participants and to have an objective result. Confidentiality, informed consent, the anonymity of participants were the primary bases of ethical rules in this study. For this reason, personal information of the participants was anonymized in this thesis and all such information will be terminated at a particular time according to the rules of the ethical committee of Social Sciences University of Ankara.

CHAPTER II

2 ANALYTICAL BACKGROUND

This section provides a detailed account of the analytical background of this study. It will first review the literature on migration, refugee education, and inclusive education. Hereupon it describes the methodology of the study.

2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review mostly focuses on the global scale with minor references to Turkey. It is comprised of three main sections; the concepts of migration, the legal status of refugees, and education theories for refugee children.

2.1.1 The Concept and Theory of Migration

This part examines the main concepts and theories of migration as a start point to migration studies.

2.1.1.1 The Concept of Migration

The concept of migration has a history as old as human history and refers to the fact that human communities went from their homeland to other settlements on earth for specific periods and reasons throughout history (McNeill, 1984). When the literature on the concept of migration is examined, there are various features and definitions in the scope. In general, migration is defined as a movement of displacement from one place to another, either short, medium or long-term, planned or unplanned, in line with social, political and cultural dynamics (Yalçın, 2004). According to another definition, it is defined as a collective action caused by social change, and it affects societies of countries both in receiving and migrating. The areas in which it affects the whole society related to the political, economic, educational, cultural, and social structure of the society (Castles & Miller, 2008). When definitions related to migration are analysed, it is understood that human and human communities have been displaced for a reason or purpose, either

compulsorily or voluntarily, and this is called migration or migration movements (Castles & Miller, 2008).

It is not an easy matter for people to migrate from places other than the place where they were born, raised, and lived. Therefore, it is essential to research and examine the leading factors for migration. The phenomenon of migration has multidimensional content because of having political, economic, demographic, sociological, anthropomorphic, and psychological content. With these aspects, migration is one of the significant social phenomena that has been studied by many different disciplines, both in term of its causes and consequences. For this reason, Massey and others stated that:

Current patterns and trends in immigration suggest that a full understanding of contemporary migratory processes will not be achieved by relying on the tools of one discipline alone, or by focusing on a single level of analysis (Massey et al, p.258).

The current age was described as ‘*the age of migration*’ by Caster and Miller (2008) because of the expansion of migration to the world due to current technologies that developed after World War II. Throughout human history, migration movements have never been as intense and widespread as they are today. According to UN statistics, 258 million people, 3% of the world's population, live outside the borders of their country of birth (IOM, 2017). If there is a country of refugees or migrants with this population, it would be the world's 5th biggest population after China, USA, India, and Indonesia.

2.1.2 Theories of Migration

Although the migration phenomenon is a societal or individual displacement movement, when the migration events are examined as an individual, it is revealed that each migration event has its unique structure. The unique nature of migration events has led to the development of different approaches to migration.

Migration theories are fundamental in terms of examining migration in all aspects, both to better understand the phenomenon of migration and to explain the changes that occur in societies with migration. Today, however, no migration theory can fully explain the phenomenon of migration holistically. The main reason for this is that the migration phenomenon is multi-layered, and the factors that cause migration are very diverse. Although not a single theory has been created that can explain the phenomenon of

migration as a whole, many migration theories have been put forward throughout history to help us systematically explain different types of migration through a theory. These different theories, which examine the causes of international migration, have developed within various disciplines of science such as sociology, economics, geography, and political science, and have even gained an interdisciplinary character (Bijak, 2006). Theories developed on the causes of international migration can also be classified as macro and micro. While the microlevel theories depend on an individual, family, or household levels, macro-level theories shall be applicable on a country level situation.

2.1.2.1 Types of Migration

In order to better understand the phenomenon of migration, it is possible to classify migrations in various ways. In general terms, migration can be classified as voluntarily-forced migration, mass migration-individual migration, internal-external migration, permanent-temporary migration, brain drain- labour migration, and international refugee migration (IOM, 2009). This thesis focusses on education and integration relation of Syrian refugee children in Turkey; for this reason, only voluntarily and forced migration literature will be discussed in this study.

The migration literature distinguishes migration in the form of voluntary and forced migration by placing the will of the individual at the centre in the process of the emergence of the migration movement.

Voluntary migration can be defined as the movement of migrants to relocate freely with their will to achieve better living conditions, job opportunities, financial opportunities, security, and various social opportunities. Migrations from the countryside to the city, international migrations made with the desire for a better life, migrations made by the migrants themselves, such as worker migrations, can be given as an example of voluntary migration. Involuntary migration, there are no coercive and repulsive forces from the outside that push the migrant into immigration, but individual desires and attractive factors in the place for migration of the individual (Castles, Haas, & Miller, 2014).

Forced migration can be defined briefly as a forced displacement movement by the influence of various forces outside of the migrants ' wishes. Factors such as natural

disasters, wars, internal conflicts, state exchanges on various issues such as social, economic, and security are the reasons that push forced migration. Coercive forces from outside, rather than the will of immigrants in forced migration, influence the migration process. More attractive factors in the area of migration than the migration of the driving factors in the area of migration cause migration. Population exchanges, primitive migrations due to natural disasters may be an example of forced migration (Castles, Haas, & Miller, 2014). Forced migration can be both internal and external migration. Syrian crisis will be an example of internal and external migration. While over 5.6 million people have fled Syria since 2011, 6,6 million people are internally displaced (UNHCR, 2019d).

2.1.3 Legal Framework of the Global Refugee Regime

Global refugee regime consists of procedures, rules, and norms that rooted based on the Geneva Convention (Also known as the 1951 UN Convention) which regulates the state's approach for refugees. The Geneva Convention is a key legal document that provides for the determination of the legal status of asylum seekers and refugees in terms of international law. The Geneva Convention was signed in Geneva on 28 July 1951 and entered into force on 22 April 1954. The 1967 Protocol regulates the Geneva Convention. 144 states have signed the 1951 Convention, while 145 states have signed the 1967 Protocol (UNHCR, 1951).

Asylum-seeker is the person who is persecuted or in danger of being persecuted for reasons such as religious language, race, gender, and political thought in his/her country and emigrated to another country for his/her safety. Asylum is a phenomenon encountered in all periods of human history. Besides, large population movements during and after World War II have made it necessary to discuss the concepts of asylum and refugees. Thus, the definition of asylum as a fundamental human right was realized by the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Kaya & Eren, 2014). Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that "Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution". With this phrase, the right to asylum is defined as a right (United Nations General Assembly , 1948). In 1950, UNHCR was established to support millions of Europeans who fled or lost their homes after World War II.

There is often confusion about the legal status of foreigners, for this reason, it is important to clarify the description and understand differences between a refugee, asylum-seeker, conditional refugee, secondary protection, and temporary protection.

2.1.3.1 Refugee and Asylum-Seeker

People who migrate to another country are called refugees and asylum seekers because of specific reasons or because they cannot or do not want to benefit from the protection of the country they live in. These two concepts are often confused with each other, and there are certain differences between these two concepts.

The concept of the refugee is defined as ‘‘a person who is unable or unwilling to return his/her country of origin because of having a well-founded fear of being persecuted for several reasons such as nationality, race membership of a particular social group, religion, or political opinion’’ (UNHCR, 1966).

The concept of an asylum seeker is defined as ‘‘a person who wants to be admitted as a refugee to a country within the framework of the relevant national or international documents and waits for the result of his application for refugee status’’ (UNHCR, 1966).

2.1.3.2 Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP)

1951 The Geneva Convention on the Legal Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol are the most basic legal documents that explain the definition, the rights and responsibilities of refugees. Turkey signed the Geneva Convention on August 24, 1951. However, it limited the convention with the reflex of self-protection as it was likely to encounter the refugee problem frequently in the region. The following are two major drawbacks that Turkey has made to the Geneva Convention. According to the first drawback, no provision of this convention can be interpreted as providing refugees with more than the rights of Turkish nationals in Turkey. The second drawback is for geographical limitation. According to this drawback, Turkey will only accept individuals as a refugee from European countries and individuals from outside of Europe will be recognized as asylum-seekers (Erdoğan, 2015).

Turkey did not face such an intense migration flow until 2011, so far it has assessed Syrian citizens status as set out in the Convention. However, in the aftermath of

the Syrian crisis, the need for different legislation has emerged for Syrians who have sought refuge in Turkey and whose numbers have grown to millions. LFIP regulates the main principles and procedures regarding foreigner's entry into, stay in, and exit from Turkey also regulates the implementation of the protection for foreigners who seek protection from Turkey. Also, main rights, responsibilities, duties, and mandate of DGMM were explained in the regulation (LFIP, 2013).

The concept of asylum-seeker was abolished by the Temporary Protection Regulation issued on 22 October 2014 within the framework of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection. This concept was replaced by new statuses defined by the concepts of conditional refugee, secondary protection, and temporary protection. For this reason, it is not possible for people from outside of Europe, such as Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan, which are the countries that Turkey receives the most migration movements, to receive refugee status in Turkey without removing the geographical limitation. Also, the geographical limitation practice continues to apply in only four countries in the world (Turkey, Madagascar, Congo, and Monaco) (Erdoğan, 2015).

Although Turkey has drawbacks about the Geneva Convention, it has an obligation to accept incoming refugees because it is a party to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. According to LFIP, definitions of refugees, conditional refugee, and subsidiary protection have been listed as below;

Refugees: A person who as a result of events occurring in European countries and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his citizenship and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it, shall be granted refugee status upon completion of the refugee status determination process. (LFIP, 2013)

Conditional Refugee: A person who as a result of events occurring outside European countries and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country; or who, not having

a nationality and being outside the country of former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it, shall be granted conditional refugee status upon completion of the refugee status determination process. Conditional refugees shall be allowed to reside in Turkey temporarily until they are resettled to a third country. (LFIP, 2013)

Subsidiary Protection: A foreigner or a stateless person, who neither could be qualified as a refugee nor as a conditional refugee, shall nevertheless be granted subsidiary protection upon the status determination because if returned to the country of origin or country of [former] habitual residence would:

- a) be sentenced to death or face the execution of the death penalty;
- b) face torture or inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment;
- c) face a serious threat to himself or herself by reason of indiscriminate violence in situations of international or nationwide armed conflict; and therefore, is unable or for the reason of such threat is unwilling, to avail himself or herself of the protection of his country of origin or country of [former] habitual residence. (LFIP, 2013)

Temporary Protection

It is easy to determine whether people who claim asylum in individual cases carry the conditions of asylum. But in the event of mass influx such as the Syrian crisis, this detection becomes almost impossible. For this reason, states can provide temporary protection status in cases of mass influx. The temporary protection status, which has been developed to address the urgent situation of mass influx, consists elements of acceptance into the territory of the country, implementation of the principle of non-refoulment, and meeting the basic needs of the asylum seekers (DGMM, 2014).

States can determine their temporary protection status according to their own specific situation. When people who have fled from war or conflict apply for asylum, the state provides temporary protection status to the individual and asylum procedures are continued by the state. When we look at history, we see that temporary protection status was provided by some European states to protect people fleeing the conflicts in former Yugoslavia that took place in the early 1990s.

Temporary protection status in Turkey is determined under the foreign and international protection law. According to LFIP,

Temporary protection may be provided for foreigners who have been forced to leave their country and cannot return to their country and have arrived at or crossed the borders of Turkey in a mass influx situation seeking immediate and temporary protection (LFIP, 2013).

As mentioned above, temporary protection status applies only in cases of mass influx and emergency situations. The temporary protection status is regulated by the temporary protection regulation. This regulation describes in detail who will benefit from temporary protection, their fundamental rights and responsibilities, the reasons for the start and end of the status.

Asylum seekers who fled the war in Syria and sought refuge in Turkey within the mass influx were granted temporary protection status under the LFIP in 2014. In this thesis, the concept of refugees is used to include the legal definition in the Convention, but more broadly to cover all Syrians fleeing conflict and widespread violence and seeking protection outside of their country.

2.1.4 Refugee Education

Although the phenomenon of migration affects all individuals, children who are the most affected by migration decision and identified as passive actors of the migration process (Giani, 2006). Children are very sensitive not only physically, but also mentally and emotionally. The sudden emergencies deeply affect children's well-being (Sinclair, 2001). Education is defined as one of the most important tools for the individual development of migrant children and their adaptation to the country in which they immigrated, and to benefit from social, cultural and economic life opportunities (Sinclair, 2001). Besides, education helps immigrants gain skills and contribute to the economy of the host country. It also contributes to the social and psychological well-being of immigrants while decreasing the adverse effects of war and conflict and encourages participation in the new social communities and contribute to the lives of refugee children positively while providing the skills and values for their future. Education, especially for child migrants and refugees, plays an essential role in helping them integrate into society, overcome adversity, and develop their academic, social, emotional, and motivational resilience (OECD, 2018). In cases of emergencies, educational activities are very useful to adults as well as children to increase the well-being, integration to the society, and coping mechanisms (Dryden-Peterson, 2016).

As a matter of fact, migration is a much more complex and challenging process for children of educational age. It is stated that children who are exposed to migration and who leave their place of life and start living in another country experience difficulties in adapting to the new environment, a different language, school, education system, teachers and peers (Dryden-Peterson, 2016). For this reason, schools for migrant children are defined not only as of the place where their academic development but also as the place where needs such as socialization, integration, and security are met (Sinclair, 2001). It is also stated that education has a vital role in reducing attitudes and attitudes towards immigrants, such as discrimination, prejudice, and intolerance (Baker, 2001).

Refugee education literature is separated into two main areas which are an education in first-asylum country and education in the resettlement country. The main reason for such a separation is that these refugee-hosting countries have very diverse approaches and practices pertaining to refugee education based on their development levels, experience on asylum history, and perspectives to asylum policies. According to the literature, a first asylum country is the first safe country where refugee sought protection. Contrarily, a resettlement country agrees to admit refugees from the first asylum countries and grant them protection. Another important difference is first asylum countries mainly developing countries with low-income while resettlement countries are developed European Countries with high income (UNHCR, 2019f). (Dryden-Peterson, 2016). 80% of refugees in the world live in first asylum countries while 20% of them reside in resettlement countries. On the contrary, most of the studies on refugee education focus on education status or challenges of refugee children in the resettlement countries (Uruc, 2019). According to Dryden Peterson (2015), the challenges that refugee children face in first asylum countries remain a “black box” in refugee education studies even if there is a lot to analyse and discuss. One of the most prevalent reasons behind this situation is the UNHCR’s stance on separate education in the camps which have started to shift after 2012 in the direction of inclusive education within national education systems (Dryden-Peterson, 2015). Furthermore, the literature on inclusive education mostly has been developed by traditional resettlement countries in the global North.

This section examines the literature on refugee education globally. Right-based approach to refugee education, refugee education theories and systems are discussed.

2.1.5 Education as a Child and Human Right

The International Convention on Child Rights signed 30 years ago, is a turning point, especially for refugee children in the world. According to the convention, it is accepted that children should continue their education under all conditions. At the same time, signatory countries have a responsibility to ensure that all children in their territory have access to education and enjoy their educational rights. In particular, article 28 and 29 regulate the educational rights of children and the effect of education on children's wellbeing.

According to Article 28, primary education is compulsory and free, different forms of secondary education should be available including vocational education, higher education should be accessible, necessary measures should be taken to ensure regular attendance to school, and contribution to the elimination of illiteracy and ignorance around the world is essential. Article 29 focuses on education's effect on a child's personality, talents, potential, and abilities (The General Assembly, 1989).

The Convention has engendered a rights-based approach to education access throughout the world. At the same time, it created a framework for refugee education through a rights-based approach. 192 countries approved the Convention adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1989. Therefore, the Convention has been the most accepted legal framework in the world acknowledging children and young people's rights.

Children suffer the most during the times of war and violence. In a war environment, many children cannot meet their basic needs. Children are deprived of their basic rights since they are not able to access education and health services. Children living in a war environment or migrating to other countries do not have access to the right to education for many years. Children's education under any circumstances prevents them from becoming a lost generation.

Apart from the International Convention on the rights of the child, there are other conventions that draw attention to the importance of Education. These are the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Convention against Discrimination in Education, and the European Convention on Human Rights. These agreements all adopt a rights-based approach to ensure children have access to education and quality education and state the

necessity of providing education without discrimination to each child under all circumstances.

International law documents	The right to education
Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)	✓ Immigrants' the right to education
Convention against Discrimination in Education (UNESCO, 1960)	✓ Preventing every kind of discrimination in education ✓ Equality of opportunity in education ✓ Immigrants should have the same education rights as citizens
Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC, 1989)	✓ Every children should have the right to education regardless of any distinction
European Convention on Human Rights	✓ Providing the right to education

Figure 2-1: International Law Documents on Children's Right to Education

Source: Retrieved from the report of IOM and Embassy of Sweden (Topcuoglu, 2013)

2.1.6 Theories of Refugee Education

The most fundamental problem with the education of refugees in the country where the refugees face the dilemma of temporariness versus permanence because all the education system could be established based on this division. Accordingly, how the refugees will receive an education, which community they will be involved in, which language they will learn, by whom and how the education will be given, poses a major challenge. Therefore, the fact that the clear situation of status and conditions of refugees both by the state and by the refugees facilitates educational policies (Waters & LeBlanc, 2005).

Different frameworks and concepts have been developed for the analysis of the implementation of refugee education in the first asylum countries. According to Spreen and Vally (2006), refugee education can be analysed under four main subjects which are availability (availability of resources and infrastructure), accessibility (access to the right to education guaranteed by national and international law), acceptability (eligibility and acceptance of the content of education given to refugee students), adaptability (compatibility of involving socio-political factors that affect education outside of school). Dryden-Peterson (2001), who published one of the most comprehensive reports on education, explain refugee education with three basic elements; access to education,

quality of education, and inclusive education with protection perspective (Oh & van der Stouwe, 2008) has developed an analysis which states access to school or other educational programs, school structure, curriculum, and school culture that includes quality and relevance of education, and lastly equality of directors in the decision making process for the evaluation of representation and construction.

Figure 2-2 describes how this thesis related to refugee education literature and where it is position itself in the literature. The first cycle differentiates differences between education of refugee children and migrant children whose needs and situations are much more different than each other. For this reason, this thesis only focuses on the education of refugee children's in the literature. When it comes to the second cycle, it examines education in first-asylum and resettlement countries. The researcher realized during the literature review that even if an important number of refugees in the world live in first asylum countries, the literature mostly focuses on refugee education in resettlement countries. Also, while first asylum countries generally defined as developing countries, resettlement countries defined as developed countries. Due to case study took in place in Hatay province of Turkey, this thesis focused on the literature of refugee education in the first-asylum countries.

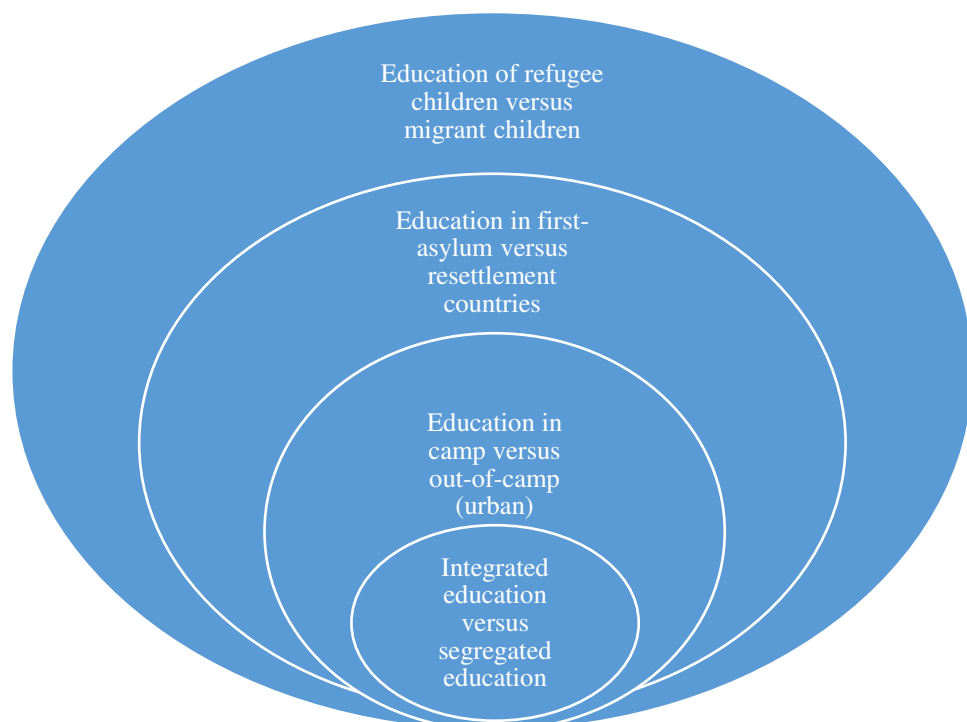


Figure 2-2: Theories of Education and Migration

The third cycle in Figure 2-2 shows the differences between refugee education in camps versus out-of-camp in the first asylum countries. The researcher analysed that even if most of the refugees in the first asylum countries live out-of-the camps, most of the studies and reports focus on refugees living in the camp. Because refugees living in the camps are more visible than urban refugees. Also, reaching refugees who live in out-of-the camp is a real challenge for researchers. Even if the percentage of refugees live out of the camps are higher than the ones live in the camp in the first asylum countries, studies prefer to focus on refugees living in the camps. In Turkey context, almost around 95-98% of refugees live out of the camp, for this reason, this thesis focused on urban refugees. The living environment, access to education, and integration process are very diverse between these two groups of refugees.

The last cycle in Figure 2-2 demonstrates integrated education versus segregated education for refugee children. The literature shows that both integrated and segregated education systems took place in many countries where refugees live. However, generally, resettlement countries use an integrated education system while first-asylum countries generally prefer segregated education system due to physical and technical capacities. Turkey is one of the specific examples in the world because these two systems took place in Turkey recently and the transition process from the segregated education system to an integrated education system continues. The main research questions of this thesis arose from this transition process, how integrated and segregated education systems affected the integration of Syrian children into the education system and the society in Turkey. For this reason, this thesis analysed integrated and segregated education systems in Turkey together with the transition period and how does it affect children. This study also includes out-of-children profiles and try to understand their relationship with education systems in Turkey.

Figure 2-3 also illustrates durable solutions for refugees which are resettlement, voluntary repatriation, and local integration (UNHCR, 1951). Segregated education can be preferable by first asylum countries in the refugee response situations where resettlement and voluntary repatriation options may take place. In these situations, education is considered an urgent basic need and educational activities for children cannot be suspended. For this reason, integration policies cannot be prioritized. While Turkey's first and second phase of policies focuses on the temporariness of education needs, the

third phase of policies starting from 2016 to present focuses on local integration policies (Please see Chapter III for further details of education policies in Turkey). With this aspect, local integration is considered as a durable solution for refugees in Turkey. For this reason, the researcher analyses the linkage between local integration and integrated versus segregated education system for refugees in Turkey.

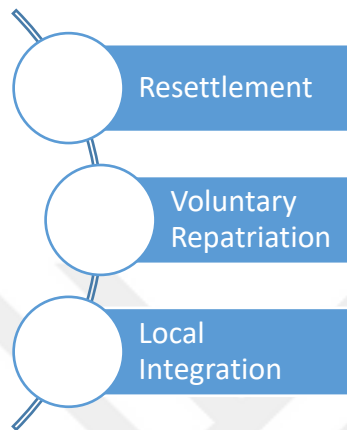


Figure 2-3: Durable Solutions for Refugees

Source: (UNHCR, 1951)

2.1.6.1 Education in Camp Settings

States are responsible to provide education services to refugees. Refugees or asylum seekers live in the camps in line with countries policies for refugees. During that time, education services provided in the camps. Education in the camps for refugees mostly with a limited budget, for this reason, it is hard to provide quality education. Also, in the camps where communication with the outside world is restricted primary education programs mainly were supported (Sinclair, 2011). Refugee children who do not have access to education services outside the camp are restricted from being accredited and access to a recognised education system. In this isolation, the quality and validity of the in-camp education are reduced, while the access of the students to advanced level education is restricted (Oh, S.A and van der Stouwe, M. 2008; LeBlanc, 2005).

In addition, primary education services are more convenient, while secondary education services are not available in every camp and students to have to make long journeys to access education in these situations (Dryden-Peterson, 2011).

2.1.6.2 Education in Urban Settings

As refugees living in cities around the world have increased, the need for different educational approaches has emerged for them. Refugees move from camps to urban to avoid the limited life of the camp, to access better services, to remain unregistered, or to earn better income (UNHCR, 2018a). Refugees have much lower access to education in the urban than in the camps (Dryden-Peterson, 2011). With the addition of the refugee population, both access to education and opportunities for quality education are declining, especially in underdeveloped and developing first asylum countries, where the capacity of the host community is already insufficient. At the same time, refugee children experience more difficulty to access to school when compared with their peers at camps.

Urban refugees in developing countries do not have adequate access to secondary education, they have a hard time to find qualified teachers, or do not have enough physical space for students. All these reasons for access to education directly affect the quality of education (Dryden-Peterson, 2011).

2.1.7 Refugee Education System

Refugee and Migrant children face different challenges to integrate schooling system in their new country due to the forced displacement (Taylor & Sidhu, 2012). Refugee children are much more vulnerable than migrant children in a sense. Forcibly displaced children may have faced many risks in their country of origin such as high protection risks (Sexual-gender based violence, separation from family, losing the relatives, and so on), experience a high level of violence, and trauma. For these reasons, it can be difficult for refugee children to adapt to the education system in their country of residence and can bring different needs. In this study, the analytical framework developed by Dryden-Peterson was used to analyse the different challenges and concepts. It is very crucial for refugee children to have access to the education system, to receive a quality education and to experience an inclusive education in these situations. Therefore, the challenges faced by refugee children are divided into three main categories and discussed below.

2.1.7.1 Access to Education

Refugees living in a country where they are not citizens face serious difficulties in the country where they first sought refuge. The first and most important of these is access to basic services. Even if the rights of refugees are protected by the Geneva Convention, the legislation and practices of each state are different in the implementation process of Refugee Laws. In this context, many factors are effective when it is called access to education. According to Peterson (2001), there are troubles with refugees ' schooling rates and data on their education. Challenges such as inadequate data and statistics on population, high mobility of families, lack of valid data on population records of most students, discrimination, management of refugee education, and interruption of education pose serious risks for refugee children. In this section, these challenges will be discussed.

Uncertainty and Temporariness: The challenge of temporariness versus uncertainty pose a great risk for refugee children because in this kind of situations families see everything temporary and access to education could be a challenge. Also, in this situation, it is challenging for policy-makers to develop efficient education models for refugee children.

When the Syrian crisis began, uncertainty about the future and the idea of impermanence is one of the obstacles to access to education for Syrian children. Syrian families did not pay much attention to the education of the children, as it was thought that the crisis would be short-lived, and they would return to Syria (Taştan, C & Çelik, Z, 2017). In addition, families who have plans to go to a third country and apply to go did not send their children to school in Turkey because they thought they were temporary in Turkey. While families were waiting to go to the third country, the children were kept out of Education. (HRW, 2015).

Mobility of refugees: Syrian families are often on the move due to economic conditions, kinship, health problems, and job opportunities (Tamer, 2017). Refugee families are unable to benefit from basic rights and services in their cities unless they register in the respective Provincial Directorate of Migration Management (PDMM) when they change their current location. Syrian children also have trouble to re-enrol their

children to the school when their parents change cities for various reasons. This situation also encourages children to drop out of school because they are unable to adapt even if they enrol in a new school.

The effect of gender: According to the statistics on access to education rates in the world, boys are more likely to access compared to girls which show gender is also an important element for refugee education. This distinction increases further in non-camp areas and at the secondary and high school education for girls and education becomes less accessible for them (Dryden-Peterson, 2011). Research shows that some families have a sensibility against coeducation and for this reason, they are not able to send their daughter to school. However, according to Dryden-Peterson, (2004), coeducation should apply to refugees without gender discrimination or elimination. Some families feel uncomfortable about the closure of TECs because of the coeducation nature of Turkish public Schools. This led families to take their children from school and marry at child age or send to the work. Girls are more affected by the negative effect of gender in Turkey (Taştan, C & Çelik, Z, 2017).

Language Barrier: Language barrier is seen as a primary challenge that influences the well-being of refugee children socially, emotionally, and academically (Dryden-Peterson, 2015; Ozer, 2017; Coşkun and Emin, 2006). Graetz (1995) states that active participation in lessons and discussions at school directly related to the academic performance of the refugee children. However, when there is a language barrier, there is no way that refugee children can understand the content of the lesson or participate in it. In the resettlement countries such as Germany and the United Kingdom generally, refugee children receive language courses within adaptation classes before their academic life, and during that time they have a chance to learn the language properly which will enable children to communicate with teachers, peers, and social community (Çoşkun & Çoşkun, 2018). On the contrary, MoNE didn't have such a systematic practice to teach Turkish to refugee children until 2019 September. Several Turkish language courses conducted to Syrian refugee children, but language wasn't a criterion to start to school (HRW, 2015).

Aydin and Kaya (2017) found that the majority of Syrian children can't follow the lectures and participate actively in the discussions at classrooms as their peers due to the language barrier. This situation affects the success level of Syrian children and creates an

academic gap between refugee and local children. On the contrary, Tastan and Çelik (2017) found that Turkmen children who are able to speak Turkish well because of their Turkish origin had a better success at school when it was compared with other refugee children.

The language barrier also affects teachers because teachers need to spend more time in order to explain the lectures and wait for refugee children to follow the lecture. Also, refugee children need additional support from teachers while learning. This situation also creates tension between teachers and local families because of local family's complaints that as a reason of refugee children in the classroom, local children cannot follow their peers and cannot be successful at mainstream exams (Şahin and Sümer, 2018).

Bullying and Discrimination: Negative behaviours by peers such as discrimination or bullying has an adverse effect on children's social, educational, and emotional well-being. It also affects children's motivation for academic success, social interaction capacities, and willingness to come to school (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). As a result of these negative attitudes toward refugee children by their peers, refugee children have a hard time to integrate to the school environment and in general integrate to the new society that lives in (Dryden-Peterson, 2015).

Bullying and discrimination is an urgent issue at Turkish public schools against refugee children and refugee children have a great difficulty to deal with negative stereotypes (Çelik & İçduygu, 2018). Çelik and İçduygu (2018) and Tunç and Can (2018) found out that Syrian refugee children face these negative behaviours regularly at school and there is no direct solution to solve this problem.

The economic hardship of families: The financial situation of families plays a decisive role to access to education for refugee children. Studies demonstrate that refugee families have challenges to afford school expenses such as stationery, transportation, books or uniforms in their first asylum countries and because of this challenge, access to education is a challenging issue for several refugee children (Schleicher, 2006).

Similar hardships on financial problems also commonly seen in the refugee community in Turkey. The main reason behind this hardship is lack of employment

opportunities for Syrian refugees in Turkey due to limitations in obtaining a work permit and high level of the unemployment rate (HRW, 2015; Yavcan, 2016). Although there is no enrolment fee for the schools in Turkey, school costs are challenging for refugee families considering transportation, meals, books, and other school materials. Families who cannot afford these costs prefer not to send their children to school. Child labour and child marriage are the most common child protection risks when children are excluded from education (Culbertson & Constant, 2015; Emin, 2016; Kaya & Eren, 2014; Taştan, C & Çelik, Z, 2017). Especially, Syrian children whose families have a low income more likely to work or drop-out to contribute to the family income. Economic challenges and child labour affect enrolment rates negatively which greatly affects the academic performance of the child. (Uyan-Semerci & Erdoğan, 2018). Education, culture, and economic status of families are the most important factors affecting children's access to school.

Lack of infrastructure: Lack of infrastructure mostly seen in first asylum countries as the researcher didn't come across examples from developed countries. Resettlement countries have a strong educational capacity. Also, they host a small number of refugees and their capacities are sufficient to cover the educational needs of refugees.

The problem of infrastructure is seen as one of the most salient problems in dense refugee-hosting cities in Turkey. Studies show that many schools run over their current capacity at the moment especially in South-eastern Turkey (HRW, 2015; (Tunç & Can, 2018) (Taştan, C & Çelik, Z, 2017). Physical barriers, especially the need for classrooms and materials, prevent refugee children from accessing education (Taştan, C & Çelik, Z, 2017). Also, many schools have started to use unsuitable places as classrooms such as storage rooms or laboratories which also negatively affects the quality of education (Şahin and Sümer, 2018). Due to the lack of or overcrowded classrooms and the closure of TECs, the dual education system has been started in many schools. School principals have often highlighted the capacity problem of schools to not enrol Syrian students (Emin, 2016). The transition from TECs to Turkish public School will deteriorate the capacity problems of the schools (Uruc, 2019).

2.1.7.2 Quality Education

What makes education meaningful is the realization of quality learning as well as the rate of enrolment ratio. Education is a tool that prepares students for life, enables them to succeed and acquire a profession. Refugee students achieve their educational goal only when they receive quality education (UNHCR, 2009a). Although access to education at the primary level is largely achieved, there are serious difficulties in the quality of education. Identifying problems related to the quality of education is more difficult than identifying problems with access to education (William, 2001).

According to United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF)'s perspective on quality education, five main analysis dimensions as follows; students, periphery, content, process, and outputs (William, 2001). According to Heneveld and Craig (1995), the quality of education is measured over four elements that affect students' achievement levels. These are children's characteristics, supporting inputs (education policies, infrastructure, societal support mechanisms) enabling conditions (school environment, management and organization processes, curriculum), teacher and learning process (communication in the classroom). Also, Brown (2001), has developed a model to examine quality education for refugees. In this method, there are refugee community, student and parents, and program managers as main actors. These actors have tools such as curriculum evaluation methods or teacher training to influence the quality of education. UNHCR also evaluates the quality of education according to the teacher to student ratio, qualified and trained teacher ratio, and recognition of qualifications gained by students (IRC, 2011).

A shortage of quality teachers: Many studies show that teachers are mainly not trained well to meet the diverse needs of refugees (Dryden-Peterson, 2015; Matthews, 2008). Rivkin, Hanushek, and Kain (2005) state that teachers are the most significant element in determining the quality of education for refugees. If the teachers are not trained well, they face difficulty to understand the challenges and special needs that refugee children have and not be able to respond to the needs of refugee children.

2.1.7.3 Inclusive Education

In the literature, it is suggested that the issue of education for migrant students should be addressed within the framework of multicultural education and a holistic approach. Arnot and Pinson (2005) propose a holistic model in education that recognizes and meets the multiple and complex learning, social and emotional needs of migrant children, based on an assessment of various approaches to migrant education in the UK. To be more concrete, Taylor and Sidhu (2012)'s research on migrant children in Australia addresses the holistic approach to education and states that Catholic schools in Australia do not only offer purely academic education for migrant students but develop a system to meet almost all the needs of students and their families, such as travel, food, clothes, and, educational materials. For example, in schools mentioned in Australia, the school administration deals with the migrant visa processing of its migrant students. Moreover, these schools serve as bridges for migrant children and their families to keep in touch with other institutions that concern them (Taylor & Sidhu, 2012)

Similarly, Bhavnagri (2001) emphasizes that educational environments that are effective in reaching migrant children and their families within the framework of the holistic education model are educational environments that address their holistic and direct needs. In the study, it is mentioned that schools should undertake informative activities related to health and housing, such as learning the languages of the host country, better-paid employment skills, driving, banking, etc. However, it is, of course, not easy for any educational institution to meet the various requirements of these families alone. It is emphasized that there should be active cooperation between schools and other related institutions (Bhavnagri, 2001). This approach mainly aims at strengthening the cohesion and belonging of migrant children to society through schools and gives schools a wider area of initiative and places more responsibilities on them.

According to Kirmayer and et.al (2011), one of the negative factors affecting the adaptation of refugee children to school is that the child is confronted with social exclusion and discrimination at the place and school where s/he immigrated. The most important factors that trigger this exclusion are the fact that the local peers and parents in the school have a negative attitude and attitude towards migrant students. Entzinger and

Biezeveld (2003) have discussed that non-immigrant parents do not want their children to study in schools where immigrant children study. Therefore, non-immigrant parents prefer to send their children to another school. Similarly, Pryor (2001) mentions that local children tend to overshoot, disengage, and mock migrant children because migrant children are unable to use language adequately. This can negatively affect the school adaptation, participation, and attendance of migrant children. Moreover, this situation can even lead to school-drop out problem.

Lack of Psychological Support: McBrien (2005) discussed that most of the refugee children experience mental health disorders due to traumatic experiences and extreme violence events that they face during the displacement. When refugee children have mental health-related problems, they can feel disempowerment, have difficulty to establish and sustain relationships, more prone to drop-out and absenteeism, and fail in academic success (Watson, 2009). At the same time, refugee children can behave inappropriately toward their teacher because of mental health-related problems. (Blackwell & Melzak, 2000). These behaviours can be listed as extreme anger and violence, lack of concentration, the problem with authority, inappropriate behaviour against for their age. In these situations, teachers may have difficulty to manage the situation. Sirin and Rogers-Sirin (2015) and Aydın and Kaya (2019) also found similar challenges that Syrian children face in Turkey due to family separation and loss, traumatic experiences, and losing previous networks and belongings. Because of these challenges that refugee children face, they have difficulty to adapt to the school environment and establishing new networks and relationships and get academic success. Most of the cases show that there is a direct relationship within academic achievement and mental well-being of refugee children.

It is essential to address mental well-being problems of refugee children and these interventions should be done by professionals if possible in the mother language of the refugee children. However, lack of language can appear as a barrier to receive qualified mental health support.

2.2 METHODOLOGY

The data and findings used in this thesis were collected using a mostly qualitative methodology, although statistics were used at the same time to the general picture of refugee education and integration in Turkey.

2.2.1 Research Design

A mix of qualitative research methods was used in this study. It has aimed to understand in-depth and reveal the subjective experiences of individuals through qualitative data collection tools (Neuman, 2008). The results obtained in qualitative research are not intended to generalize, but the results obtained are more critical in terms of providing a perspective on the subject (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2008). According to (Creswell, 2013), qualitative research should be preferred in particular when studying subjects with a complex structure and about which one wants to have in-depth knowledge. In qualitative research, the researcher is in a critical position because the researcher collects documents and data, observes the behaviour of participants, and conduct the interviews herself (Neuman, 2008).

There are five different main approaches to qualitative research. These are ethnographic, narrative, case study, phenomenological, and grounded theory. In qualitative research, theory supports the cognitive study of research subjects and supports the underlying knowledge in qualitative studies. Besides, it leads to the research process and methodology while influencing the research question (Creswell, 2013).

In this study, the phenomenological and grounded approach has been preferred based on the main research problem. The phenomenological approach focuses on the life experiences and describes these experiences, while the grounded theory approach investigates the people's experiences and their response or reactions to these experiences. The grounded theory also illustrates the processes and shows how the processes evolve. In the phenomenological approach, the research is a description of how s/he experienced 'what'.

The phenomenological approach focuses on phenomena that we are aware of but do not have an in-depth and detailed understanding of. Facts can appear in various forms

such as concepts, events, experiences, orientations, perceptions, and situations in the world we live in (Creswell, 2013). The basis of phenomenology is formed by individual experiences. In this approach, the researcher focuses on the subjective experiences of the individuals and tries to reveal the perceptions of the individuals. In this way, it is essential to define facts rather than generalize the context (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2008).

This study aims to understand and analyse the education system for Syrian children, how it transformed since the beginning, and how the education system and school experience affects the integration process of Syrian children into the host community. In order to understand these concepts, experiences, and opinions of the teachers, students, school principals who are directly involved with the education of Syrian children were taken into account. According to Mayring (2011), field research forms the basis of qualitative studies, and for this reason, in-depth interviews have been conducted in this research.

2.2.2 Population and Sample

Secondary and high school-age (11-17 years of age) Syrian children who live in Turkey form the universe of this research. In a qualitative study, it is generally not intended for participants to represent the whole population statistically. For this reason, how the case is examined in depth is more critical than the representational power of the sample. Consequently, the selection of non-random, purpose-oriented samples were preferred as a sampling technique in this study.

By the research topic and the problem of this study, the researcher has decided to conduct semi-structured in-depth interviews with Syrian children and their teachers. The location of the study was chosen to be Hatay province of Turkey and all the districts of Hatay are considered within the sample of the study. Interviews with participants were carried out within the permission of the ethics committee of Social Sciences University of Ankara. Interviews were conducted outside of schools because all target population was not in the schools, hence interviews took place in several locations such as houses, cafes, work areas, TECs, and community meeting areas.

Fieldwork was conducted in Hatay province from 23 July to 19 October 2019. There are multiple factors that were considered in the selection of Hatay province for this

study. First of all, according to data from Directorate of General Migration Management (DGMM), as of November 2019, 440,557 Syrians live in Hatay which is the 3rd highest number of the Syrian refugee population in Turkey. Syrian refugees make up 27,37% of the total population in Hatay (DGMM, 2019)(Figure 2-4). Secondly, it is a border city with Syria, and for this reason, a lot of regular and irregular admissions exist in the border. When the refugees enter Turkey through Hatay border, they are more likely to stay in Hatay. Also, Hatay is a multicultural city where different cultures, ethnicities, and religions have coexisted for centuries. Notably, there is a large population of ethnic Arabs that live in Hatay, who can speak Arabic. The similarity of language and culture also attracts Syrians who are looking for a city to live in Turkey. Lastly, because of the common political and historical background of Hatay with Syria, there is much kinship between Turkish and Syrian nationals, so this existing kinship ties also affect Syrian refugees' decision to settle in Hatay. With these specifications, Hatay is a special case for researching the link between education and integration.

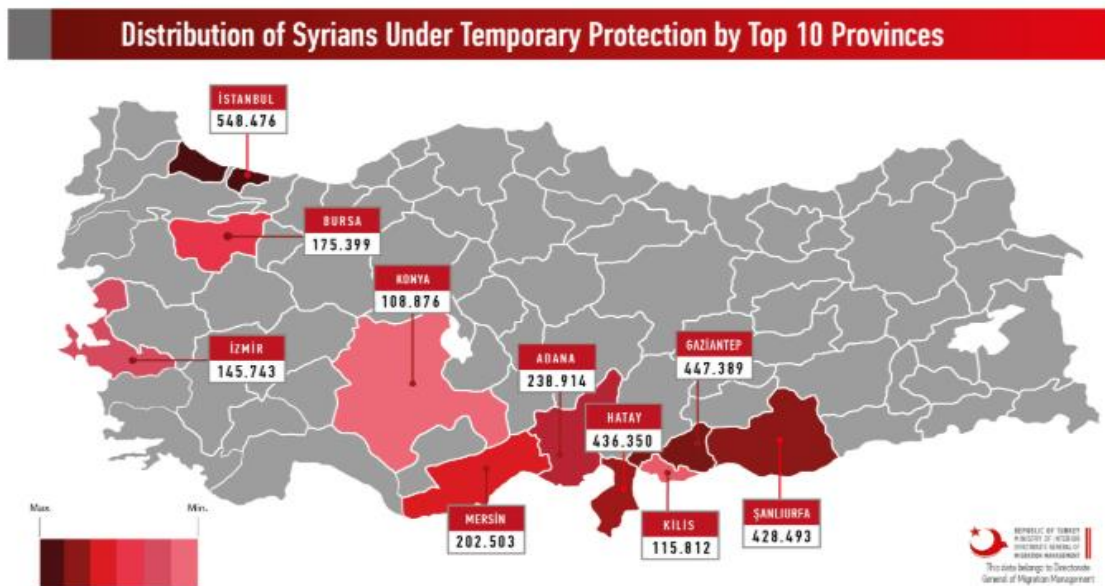


Figure 2- 4: Distribution of Syrians under Temporary Protection by Top 10 Provinces

Source: Retrieved from DGMM website date dated 21.08.2019

In total, 45 interviews were conducted in Hatay, including 30 with Syrian children, 10 with teachers (Turkish and Syrian nationals), and 5 with members of local authorities and I/NGOs (2 Local NGOs, 1 International Organization, 1 Syrian Community-Based Organization, and 1 local authority member). The participants were identified through the

contacts of the researcher in the field and referrals; in other words, a snowballing method has been used in the research.

All the participants who participated in the semi-structured interviews have signed the informed consent form signifying their voluntary participation in the study. Also, the consent of the parents was taken for participant children. The forms of informed consent are in the Appendix.

Teachers

The total number of participant teachers were 10 in this study. While 4 of the teachers were Turkish nationals, other 6 of the teachers were Syrian nationals. The researcher had a chance to have an interview with teachers who works in state schools and TECs. Gender balance amongst the participants is considered. Amongst the participant teachers, 5 of them male and 5 of them were female.

Syrian Students

The total number of participating students was 30 in this study. This study only focused on Syrian children. Both female and male Syrian children participated in the study. Amongst the participant students; 10 children were going to a state school, 9 children were going to Temporary Education Centre, and 11 children were out of the school. The age range of the participant students was between 12 to 17 years old. Gender balance amongst the participants is also considered.

Table 2-1: Age and Gender Distribution of Interviewed Children

Age and Gender Distribution of Interviewed Children			
Age Group	Female	Male	TOTAL
12	2	1	3
13	1	2	3
14	3	4	7
15	4	3	7
16	2	5	7
17	1	2	3
TOTAL	13	17	30

2.2.3 Data Collection Instruments and Procedures

In this study, the review of the existing literature, field notes, and semi-structured interviews was used as the main data collection tools. This methodology allows the researcher to gather detailed information. According to Creswell (2007), interviews are the primary data collection tool in the phenomenological approach, and this approach is based on the views of the participants. In other words, it is difficult to ascertain with observations how people understand the world and how they organize it in their minds, for this reason, it is essential to ask the participants questions in order to learn about their experience on specific objects (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2008).

This research is conducted by using two different methods of data collection in order to have a comprehensive approach. First of all, reports, books, articles, and analysis about the education of Syrian children prepared by political entities, academicians, national and international research centres, UN agencies, and I/NGOs were used. Also, official documents and circulars (*Circular on education and training service for foreigners no: 2458 published under the international protection law no: 2014/21*) on education and training services for foreigners were examined. In the meantime, official data on the current situation of Syrian children in Turkey was obtained from the official websites of DGMM and MoNE. Also, specific information about the status of Syrian children in Turkey and Hatay was requested from related authorities to use in this study. All the information received through the literature review were analysed systematically.

Secondly, the researcher believed that a review of existing literature and laws on international protection/temporary protection was insufficient to understand the context. For this reason, fieldwork gave a good chance for the researcher to better understand the current status of education and integration in Turkey. For this reason, semi-structured interviews with teachers, school principals, and Syrian children are conducted. The in-depth interview technique was used to obtain more detailed information about the education status of Syrian children and their integration into the host community. Based on the experiences of Syrian children, their teachers, and school principals through in-depth interviews, the research aimed to examine the changing education policies for Syrian children and how these affected the integration of Syrian children into the host community. These experiences of participants also contributed to research in order to

develop suggestions on what should be done to increase the quality of education and promote the integration of Syrian children into the host community.

In this context, semi-structured interview forms were prepared. Open-ended questions were prepared in line with research purposes. Interview forms were created separately for each participant group, in the form of an interview protocol for Syrian and Turkish teachers and interview protocol for Syrian children who attend a state school, who attend a TECs, and who are out of school. After the interview protocols were formed, the researcher applied for ethnic committee approval in order to start the fieldwork.

The interviews have been voice-recorded with the consent of the participants and within the framework of the ethical rules and procedures. The researcher also informed the participants that personal information would remain confidential so that participants can express their ideas, opinions, and suggestions freely. The researcher tried to build trust with the participants in order to reach objective information. As most of the participants speak Arabic, and the researcher is not able to speak Arabic, interviews were conducted together with a professional interpreter, who was also asked to obey the rules of ethics.

Information was recorded through note-taking in interviews and field observations. When the researcher recorded data during the interviews, these data were transferred to the excel template that was prepared for each interview. Original copies of the interviews have been saved. All the participants have been saved with a different code, and personal information has been secured. These codes were used while giving a quote from the participants.

This study has focused on the urban setting rather than the camps because of the three main reasons. First of all, the in-camp population only represent around 9% of the refugee population in Turkey according to data in September 2018, but as of November 2019, this percentage significantly decreased to 2% due to new camp closure policy of the DGMM (DGMM, 2019). The second reason is that the main focus of the study is on the integration of Syrian children in the Turkish education system and the society, so the urban context was relevant. Last reason is that school enrolment rates were higher in the camps than out-of-the camp settings because of obligations of the camp management and living conditions in the camp.

The primary purpose of the interviews was discussing the relation between schooling systems for Syrian children and its relation to integration. Interviews with students and teachers have provided a comprehensive approach through different points of views. With the support of findings that have been gathered through the interviews, this study will provide practical suggestions for education policymakers, teachers, families of children, UN agencies, and I/NGOs.

In order to have a comprehensive approach, firstly, the literature review has been conducted on displaced refugees after the Syrian Crisis, the education system for refugees, inclusive education system and then field-work has been conducted.

2.2.4 Data Analysis

Data from in-depth interviews with children and teachers were analysed using data analysis techniques of qualitative research methods. Data is categorized and analysed based on concepts, symbols, or similar characteristics. In this context, the thematic coding method was used for the analysis of the data obtained from the interviews. Data obtained by the researcher during the interviews were conceptualized and created a meaningful finding. Later on, the researcher divided these conceptualized data into thematic parts.

During the in depth-interviews, all the personal information of the participants (their name, institutions, ethnic background, etc.) were kept confidential based on ethical rules and procedures. For this reason, specific code was given for each participant to protect their personal information.

Also, the coding system was created to analyse and understand specialized data. Code system for the students is designed to include their sex, school type, and age. School types are coded as Turkish public schools' number 1, TECs number 2, and out of school number 3 (Please see table 2-2). Code system for the teachers is designed to include their sex, nationality, school type, and age. School types are coded as state schools' number 1, TECs number 2 (Please see table 2-2).

Table 2- 2: Coding System for Participant Children and Teachers

	Sex	School-type	Age	Example
Coding System for Participant Children and Teachers	Female Male	Turkish Public School -1 Temporary Education Centre -2 Out of School -3	From 12 years old to 17 years old	M-1-15
	Sex and Nationality	School-type	Age	Example
Coding System for Participant Teacher	Female -F Male - M Turkish - T Syrian - S	Turkish Public School -1 Temporary Education Centre -2	From 25 years old to 60 years old	FS-2-43

2.2.5 Data Validity

During the interviews, data was mainly collected in Arabic except for the interviews with Turkish teachers and school principals. As the researcher does not speak Arabic, a professional interpreter supported the interviews for Arabic-Turkish translation. During the interviews and after the interviews, the researcher came together with the interpreter, checked the notes, listened to the participant's sound records, and computerize all the data obtained from interviews. The researcher also asked support from one English-Arabic native speaker to check the translation of the quotes used in the study with the purpose of consistency of the research.

CHAPTER III

3 REFUGEE EDUCATION IN TURKEY

This chapter explores how Syrian refugee education is evolved since 2011, explains to different schooling models that Syrian refugee benefits from, and presents significant data on the current situation of Syrian refugee children regards to education at the moment.

3.1 TURKEY’S REFUGEE EDUCATION POLICY

This section discusses the evolution of Turkey’s education policies toward Syrian refugee children from temporary policies to permanent policies. Since the beginning of the Syrian crisis, Turkey’s approach to education policies toward Syrian children had evolved dramatically. As the perspectives on the Syrian crisis changed by the government, education policies, rules and regulations, and available education services have evolved in Turkey. We can analyse this transition in three major stages (Unutulmaz K. O., 2018).

3.1.1 First Phase of Policies (2011-2013)

Turkish government thought that the Syrian civil war would be a short-term conflict. This would mean, obviously, that the Syrian refugees would return to their homeland soon and that there was no need for a comprehensive education policy addressing their situation. For this reason, the Turkish government did not invest in refugee education in the first phase of its policies (Unutulmaz K. O., 2018).

In the first year of the refugee asylum process for Syrians in Turkey since 29 April 2011, Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD) was the main institution responsible for responding to the refugee crisis. Also,

education services were carried out by AFAD in the camps, along with other main services (AFAD, 2011). However, no official document on education has been shared by AFAD. Then, on 13 November 2012, the Minister of Education, Ömer DİNÇER, stated that he is personally carrying out and monitoring the education activities for Syrian children who live in Turkey (Öz, 2012).

In 2012, policies for the education of Syrian children were developed on the assumption that Syrians would return to Syria as early as possible. For this reason, short-term policies were prepared for Syrian children within the camps, and there was no policy developed for children outside of the camps. Moreover, training with the Arabic curriculum was supported in the camps so that Syrians could resume their education from where they left off when they returned to Syria. On 31 July 2012, Ömer DİNÇER stated that;

The courses will be given in Arabic according to our curriculum. While we do not neglect the education of the children in here, we try to do it in a style that is far from the attitude that will reinforce the stay of the families in Turkey. The only places where other countries' curricula are followed are the schools that are opened by foreign embassies in their own premises. We follow our curriculum in all schools except them. (Öz, 2012)

In this statement, it is observed that the education that has been prepared for the camps would be given in Arabic according to the Turkish curriculum and that the attitude that will reinforce their stay in Turkey is to be avoided. On September 28, 2012, Minister DİNÇER stated that suitable classes were prepared for the Syrian children in the camps and teachers who knew Arabic, who was mostly brought up in these classes:

We did not attempt to teach Turkish to Syrian children. We see them as guests in our country and expect them to return to their home country once the situation in Syria has improved. The education provided to them was not designed to allow children to enrol in school and receive diplomas. They are trained as guest students. We think that if they return to their country, they will have no problem adapting to their country's education system. (AA, 2012)

When we look at the remarks of Minister DİNÇER, it shows that Turkey has set its policies on the assumption that the conflict in Syria will end soon and these policies are designed to meet the urgent educational needs of Syrian children in the camps. It is

understood that there is no significant decision taken into consideration for the Syrian children living outside of the camps. In other words, what characterizes this first phase of policies were (i) a sense of temporariness, (ii) short-term and ad-hoc policies towards the school-aged Syrian children at the camps, and (iii) no policy towards the education of Syrian children that live outside of the camps.

3.1.2 Second Phase of Policies (2013-2016)

By 2013, intensive migration to Turkey had continued due to the continued civil war in Syria. Therefore, the education issues of Syrians, whose numbers were increasing rapidly, became more prominent as time progressed. In this context, MoNE took crucial decisions for the education of Syrians with official papers sent to all schools across Turkey on 26 April and 26 September 2013 (DGMM, 2013b)

The circular entitled “Measures for the Citizens of Syria who are hosted outside the Camps in Our Country” is crucial because it is the first official document prepared by MoNE regarding the education of Syrian children. With this document, the aim was to identify suitable places for teaching Syrian students and make necessary arrangements for their schooling (DGMM, 2013b).

On 26 September 2013, MoNE prepared a more comprehensive paper addressing access of Syrian children to education. The title of the circular was “Educational Services for Syrian Citizens under Temporary Protection in Our Country”. This circular introduced a standard to existing services and required a joint action plan in order to respond to the education needs of Syrians. The circular covers Syrians that lived both inside and outside the camps, and also refers to higher education activities. Education programs to be implemented, the roles and responsibilities of each actor, and the objectives of educational activities are all defined by this circular. Although, Ömer Dinçer, former Minister of National Education, had previously stated that they are following the national curriculum in all schools; according to this circular, the new education curriculum will be prepared by the Higher Education Commission of the Syrian National Coalition under the control of MoNE. Also, the circular states that Syrian children with Turkmen descent would be able to study in public schools with Turkish curriculum if they wish. Opening Turkish and vocational training courses for Syrians who want to learn Turkish and

assigning volunteer teachers who wish to provide education to children among Syrian citizens were also included in the circular. According to its article 11, Syrians who have graduated from high school will have a bachelor examination to be conducted by the Syrian National Coalition Commission on Higher Education, and if the students want to get a university education, the necessary arrangements will be made by the Turkish government. This circular is a significant step towards meeting the educational needs demanded by this time. The provincial and district directors started to mobilise their activities after this circular (DGMM, 2013a)

In the meantime, a "Regional Education Coordination Meeting" was held in Gaziantep on 3 September 2013. MoNE, AFAD, UNICEF, Provincial directorates of MoNE in the region, and several experts attended the meeting in order to discuss the educational status of Syrian children in and out of the camps, the needs of Syrian children as well as those of volunteer teachers. As a result of this meeting, the first Seminar on Training for Trainers was organised on 25 October 2013 in Kahramanmaraş with the cooperation of MoNE, UNICEF, and AFAD for Syrian teachers who work voluntarily in the camps. In the seminar, the impact of war on children, methods of dealing with children affected by war, and primary roles and behaviours of teachers were discussed (Coşkun and Taştan, 2016).

In 2014, when the number of the Syrian population in Turkey reached nearly two million, the first comprehensive legal regulation for foreigners, including refugees and asylum seekers in Turkey was drafted and it entered into force in April 2014. This was the Law No. 6458 on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP). The legal status of and legal framework for Syrians under LFIP were established under another piece of legislation, namely the International Protection Regulation, which came into force in October 2014. Through the Temporary Protection Regulation, Syrians living in and out of camps have gained access to health, education, and other services (LFIP, 2013).

The MoNE has issued another circular concerning the education of Syrians who have obtained the temporary protection status and the right to education. This new circular, entitled Education Services for Foreigners No. 2014/21 and went into effect on 23 September 2014, further expanded the scope of the circular issued in the previous year

by establishing and securing the educational services to be offered to Syrian children to a certain standard. Some critical points in the circular can be highlighted:

- The education and training services for foreign students in Turkey are carried out by the MoNE and provincial commissions.
- Students who carry the conditions required for admission to enrolment are placed on equivalence according to their diploma and education documents and are directed to the school at which they will study. All kinds of data entry of foreigners with a foreign identification number are done via e-school and standard automation systems.
- Syrian students who do not have a foreigner identification card will be interviewed according to their statement. If it is necessary, written or oral exams will be prepared for these children to determinate their education levels. The data entry of Syrian students whether they have a foreign identification card or not will be carried out through the Foreign Students Information Management System (YÖBIS). The attendance and course grade information will be entered to the YÖBIS system and then will be referred to the e-school system.
- Turkish will be taught in the TECs. In order to teach Turkish lessons in the TECs, students graduated from the Turkish language and Turkish literature departments can be assigned in the TECs.
- Catch-up courses can be opened by the school directorates in order to ensure the adaptation of the Syrian students.
- Financial and professional support is provided to Syrian voluntary educators who voluntarily support educational activities conducted in TECs in line with agreements made within the framework of cooperation with stakeholders (MEB, 2014).

In short, with the circular issued, education services were to be provided to Syrian children by MoNE through TECs or Turkish public schools. Together with this circular, it has been decided that the “foreigner identification document” was sufficient for Syrian children who wish to enrol in Turkish public schools (MEB, 2014).

It is the first time MoNE has put a strategic plan in place on the issue of education of refugees or temporarily protected individuals in Turkey. In the ministry’s 2015-2019

Strategic Plan, it is stated that efforts will be made to ensure the adaptation of these individuals to the education system:

Efforts will be made to ensure the integration of these students into the education system to ensure that refugees, foreigners under temporary protection, or those who are stateless in our country receive education as long as they are in Turkey. (MEB, 2015, p.37)

In the same way, the strategic plan stated that cooperation with international organizations would be ensured to overcome existing barriers before the education of asylum seekers. It has also been emphasized that the problems experienced in the equivalence studies of asylum-seeker students will be resolved:

This work will be carried out in cooperation with international organizations to address the problems experienced in the equivalence transactions of refugees, foreigners under temporary protection or stateless persons in our country and to eliminate the general problems associated with education in this area. (MEB, 2015)

3.1.3 Third Phase of Policies (2016-present)

While the first and second phases of policies suggest temporary solutions for Syrian students, the third phase policies focused on integration and durable solutions for Syrian children.

In addition to official documents for Syrians' education, the MoNE announced a new road map in 2016 to overcome the barriers in front of Syrians' access to education and to increase the rate of schooling. Firstly, in Turkey, "Migration and Emergency Education Department" was established under the General Directorate of Lifelong Learning of the MoNE in order to coordinate the activities and operations related to education in migration crises. The establishment of this unit within the MoNE enabled closer monitoring of education issues of Syrians (Emin and Barkçin, 2017). The duties of the Migration and Emergency Education Department are stated as follows (MoNE, 2018):

1. To develop, implement, monitor, and evaluate policies for education in cases of migration and emergency

2. To carry out the educational activities with formal and non-formal education institutions under the Ministry in coordination with the relevant units
3. To carry out planning, monitoring, and reporting activities in TECs that were formed during the crisis
4. To determine teaching programs and materials for education in case of migration and emergency, to determine and provide for educational needs in cooperation with the relevant units
5. To cooperate with national and international organizations within the scope of education in case of migration and emergency
6. To coordinate national and international education projects and support programs in cases of migration and emergency
7. To provide coordination between the MoNE and Provincial Directorates of National Education (PDoNE) in case of migration and emergency

At the same time, it has been decided to open Turkish language courses for Syrians in public education centres (PEC) affiliated with General Directorate of Lifelong Learning to promote social cohesion. Besides, it was aimed to provide financial support to Syrian families whose socio-economic situation was insufficient and who were having a hard time to send their children to school. As of the 2016-2017 academic year, high school-age Syrian children were encouraged to attend Vocational High Schools and Imam Hatip High Schools (Emin and Barkçin, 2017).

As of 2016-2017, there has been cooperation with international organizations regarding the education of Syrians, whose numbers have exceeded three million by then. Among them, the most concrete project related to education was the project entitled "Promoting Integration of Syrian Children to Turkish Education System" (PICTES), which is implemented with the EU since October 2016. It is directly funded by the EU to support only Syrian refugees living in Turkey in areas such as health, psycho-social support, education, and migration management. The project is being carried out in 23 provinces with the densest Syrian population in Turkey including Istanbul, Sanliurfa, Hatay, Gaziantep, Kilis and Ankara, Izmir and Bursa. There are activities such as Turkish language education for Syrian children, Arabic language education, compensatory and support courses, transportation services, provision of educational materials, raising

awareness on access to education, development of examination system to determine education levels of students and teachers, provision of guidance services, provision of necessary training equipment, teacher training, training for MoNE administrative and other personnel, monitoring and evaluation. Within the scope of the project, 7.400 people were employed, including 5,600 Turkish teachers, 500 guidance counsellors, 100 Arabic teachers, 1,200 security, and cleaning staff. As of May 2017, 5,959 personnel were employed under the project (SETA and Theirworld, 2017).

As a result of this cooperation, 500 million euros were allocated to the MoNE, of which 300 million euros were allocated for educational expenses and the remaining 200 million euros were allocated for educational infrastructure and school construction. Although this figure would meet only 10% of the current school requirements, the MoNE is expected to address the school requirements partially. The vast majority (72%) of the total budget of 300 million euros is devoted solely to supporting students' learning Turkish and to meeting the expenses of teachers (Emin and Barkçin, 2017). In 2018, PICTES II started to implement with an additional nine more activities and in 26 cities of Turkey. The budget of PICTES II is evaluated as 400 million euros for another 3 years starting from 2018.

Together with the circulars issued and various policies implemented, two alternatives have been presented for the education of Syrian children in Turkey, namely TECs, Turkish public schools (including distance learning and non-formal education opportunities).

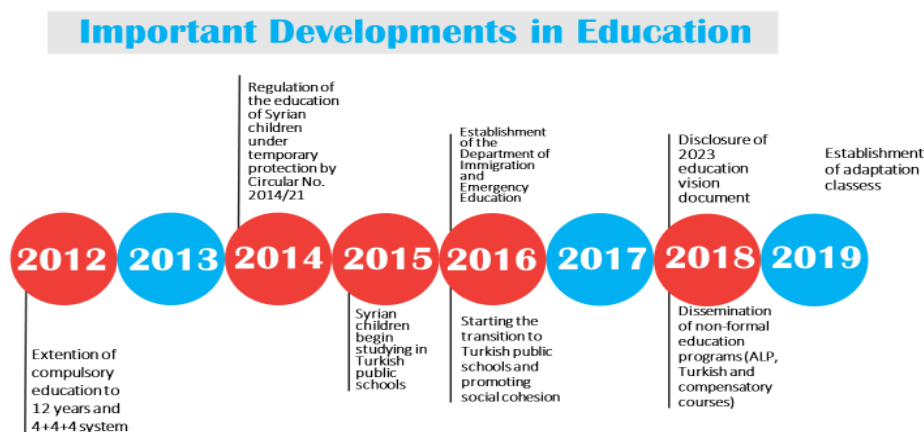


Figure 3-1: Important Developments in Education from 2012 to 2019

3.2 SCHOOLING SYSTEM FOR SYRIAN CHILDREN

As the above background shows, at the beginning of the refugee crisis, only TECs and Private Schools established by Syrian refugees were available for Syrian children who would like to continue their education in Turkey, but starting from 2014, Syrian children also started to access to education in Turkish public schools. In this section, the schooling system for Syrian children will be examined.

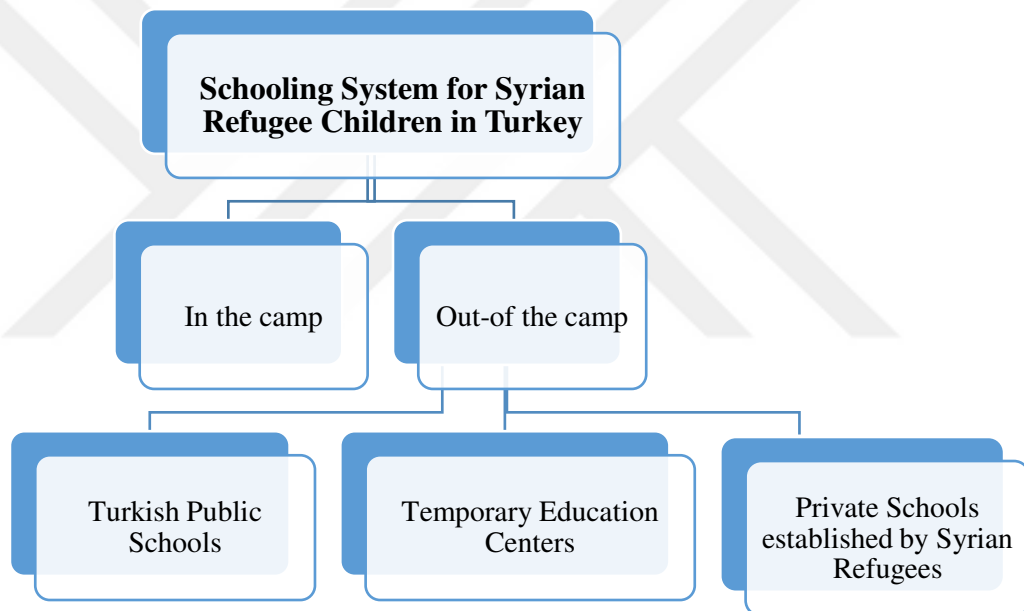


Figure 3- 2: Schooling System for Syrian Refugee Children in Turkey

Figure 3-3 shows the number of school-age children, which has increased dramatically over the last five years as well as the essential number of school-aged children who could not access education. Also, Figure 3-3 shows that the number of Syrian children who go to TECs decreased dramatically in the last two years, while the number of Syrian children goes to Turkish public school increases in line with the changed education policies towards Syrians as described in the previous sections. This massive change in the numbers reflects the effect of circular No. 2014/21.

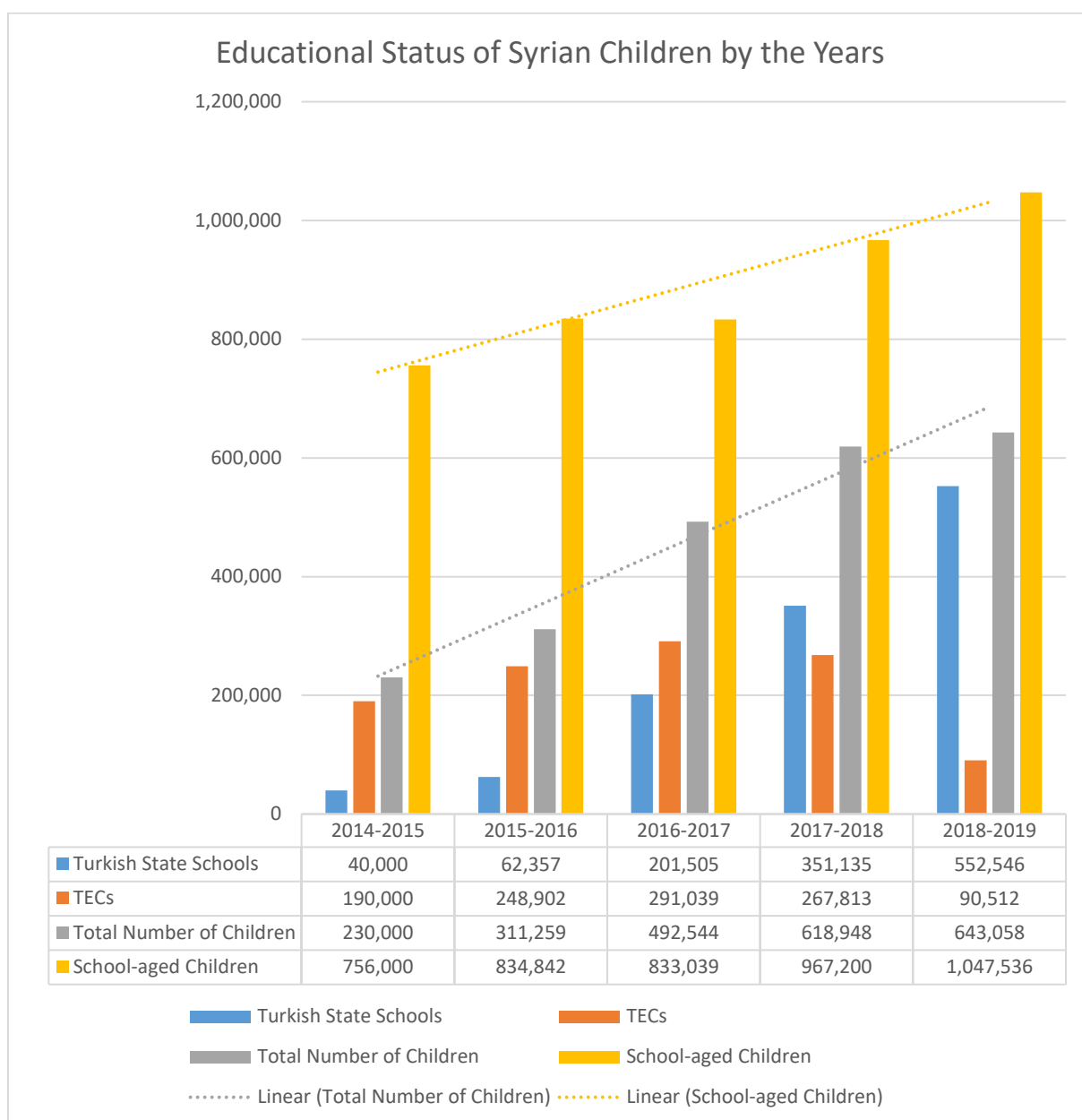


Figure 3- 3: Educational Status of Syrian Children by the Years

Source: Generated using data dated 16.06.2019 sourced by the MoNE Directorate-General for Lifelong Learning, Migration and Emergency Education Department (2019)

As of June 2019, Turkish public schools have a much higher number of Syrian students compared to TECs, but the situation was completely different in 2014, as seen in Figure 3-4. While a number of Syrian children who access to education in TECs were 83 percent of total Syrian children at school, the number of children who study at TECs are 14 % amongst all children access to education. These figures clearly show how the transition of Syrian children into the Turkish education system has changed the picture.



Figure 3- 4: Percentage of Syrian Children who have access to education across School Categories (From 2014-2015 to 2018-2019)

Source: Source: Generated using data dated 16.06.2019 sourced by the MoNE Directorate-General for Lifelong Learning, Migration and Emergency Education Department (2019)

It is important to have a more detailed look at what TECs are and what kind of education is provided in them. Therefore, the next section examines TECs and their activities.

3.2.1 Temporary Education Centres

Temporary education centres (TECs) are educational centres for school-age Syrian children both in and out of camps, covering Primary and Secondary Education, which provide Arabic education adhering to the Syrian curriculum (MEB, 2014; USAK & Brookings, 2013). Starting from 2013, TECs have been opened in many cities where a large Syrian refugee population existed (Kirişçi, 2014). TECs provide instruction in Arabic with additional Turkish and all education services are free of charge for students (Yavcan & El-Ghali, 2017).

According to Taştan and Çelik (2017), there were 432 TECs that were in operation in 22 cities in 2017. According to MoNE (2018), there were around 318 TECs operating in 21 cities in 2018. In the current situation, as of 14 June 2019, there are 112 TECs still operating in 18 cities of Turkey and 90.512 children study in these TECs both in and out of the camp. This decline in the number of TECs in Turkey confirms the above-discussed policy change whereby the TECs are being gradually closed.

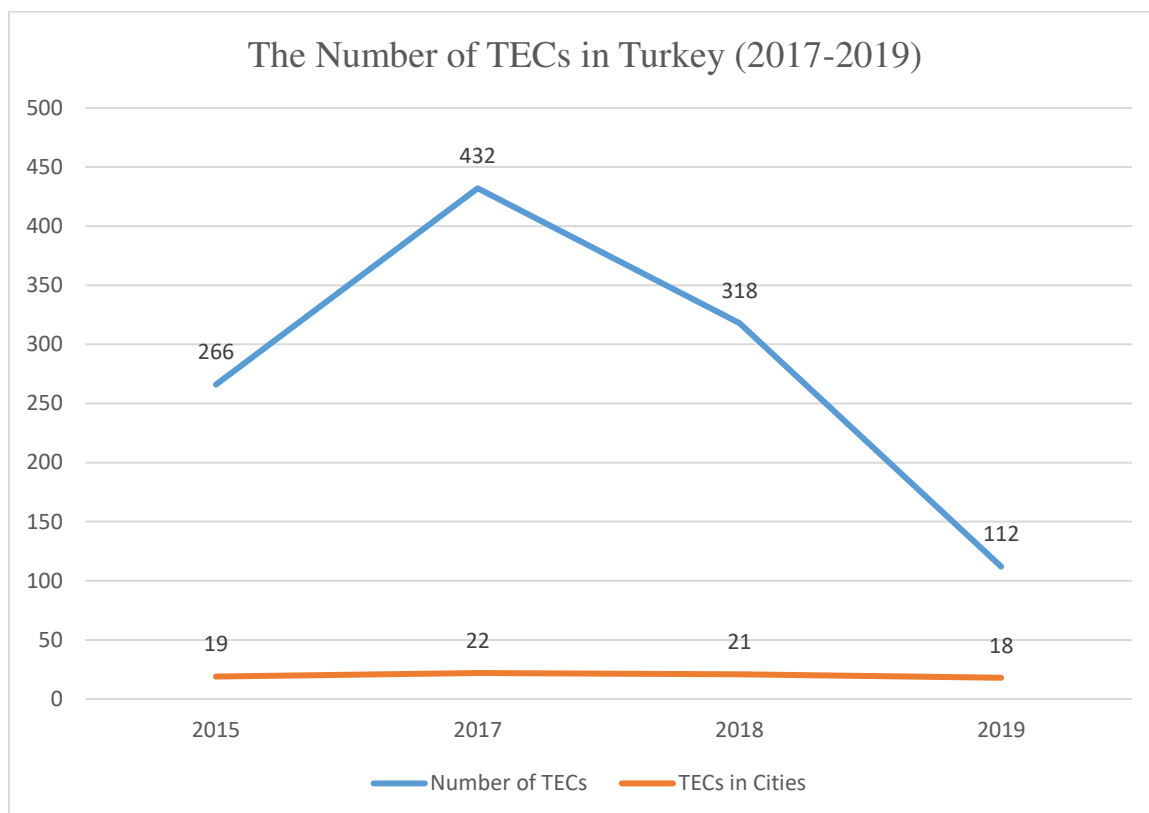


Figure 3- 5: The Number of TECs in Turkey (2017-2019)

Source: Generated using data dated 16.06.2019 sourced by the MoNE Directorate-General for Lifelong Learning, Migration and Emergency Education Department (2019) and UNICEF data (2015)

As seen in figure 3-5, TECs have been an important dynamics of refugee education in Turkey since the 2013-2014 education year. It both protected children becoming a lost generation and reduced the effects of war on children through education. Also, due to the similar nature of Syrian education culture, families preferred to send their children to TECs rather than Turkish public schools in the early phase of the transition period. For this reason, the transition from TECs to Turkish public school took a long time, and it still does. Even if MoNE announced that all Syrian children should transfer to Turkish public school with 2019-2020 education year, it became a challenge both for families, children, and school administrators to maintain the process smoothly. Interviews with teachers and local actors also showed that Turkish public schools were not ready enough for this transition physically and technically.

3.2.1.1 Education in Temporary Accommodation Centres

In 2012, policies for the education of Syrian children were developed on the assumption that Syrians would return in the first place, and these short-term policies were only prepared for Syrian children within the camps. Moreover, training with Arabic curricula was supported in the camps so that Syrians could resume their education from where they left off when they returned (Coşkun & Emin, 2016).

Figure 3-6 shows that the number of Syrian children who study out-of-the camp TECs is higher than the number of those who study in the camps. This information is in line with a number of refugee children lives in camps and urban. Also, access to education in camps is much easier for refugee children in the camps (Interview with Victoria, a project manager at I/NGO).

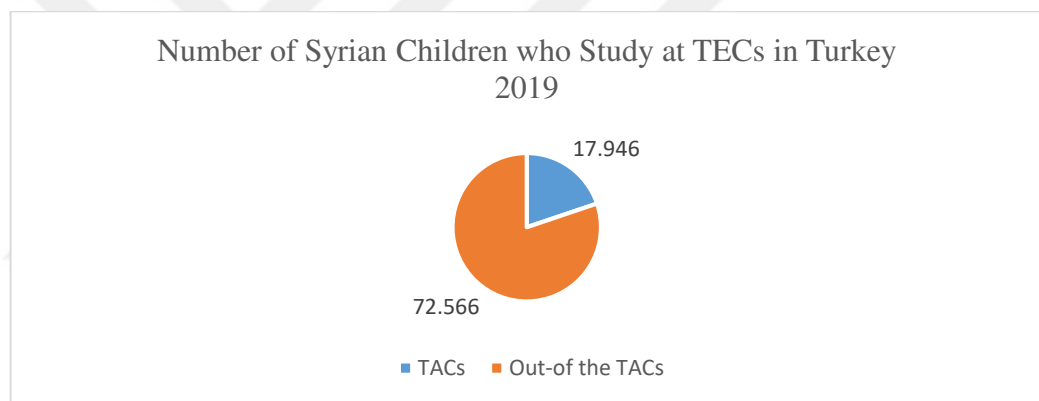


Figure 3- 6: The Number of Syrian Children who Study at TECs in Turkey, 2019

Source: Source: Generated using data dated 16.06.2019 sourced by the MoNE Directorate-General for Lifelong Learning, Migration and Emergency Education Department (2019)

3.2.1.2 Education in Urban Centres

Turkey Diyanet Foundation (*Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı*) and other NGOs played a leading role in the establishment of the TECs, and the management and financing of TECs were made through the NGO's from the early years of the crisis (Taştan, C & Çelik, Z, 2017). Most of the TECs use the buildings of schools connected to MoNE. Thus, these buildings are allocated to TECs in the afternoon while public schools do their education during the day. Besides, there are also TECs that provide educational services by using

one floor of any building or by renting outbuildings that are not up to school standards (Coşkun and Emin, 2016).

With the circular on "Education and Training Services for foreigners" issued in 2014 (2014/21), the management and coordination of TECs was left entirely to managers of TECs. TECs are formed with the governor's office depending on the PDoNE in the provinces and districts affected by the mass influx. TEC management includes a Syrian executive as well as a Turkish executive.

In the circular, the aim of the education given in TECs is to ensure that students who come with mass flow do not leave their education in the event of their return to their country or to continue their education in Turkey and to ensure that they do not experience a loss of years if they wish to move to educational institutions affiliated with the Ministry (MoNE, 2014). At the beginning of the process, TECs were established only in 19 cities where the Syrian refugee population is high. During the 2014-2015 education year, 34 TECs in the camps and 232 TECs out of the camps were established by Turkish and Syrian associations, foundations in coordination with MoNE (UNICEF, 2015).

MoNE stated with the circular number 2014/21 that any Syrian child could register the TECs in the camps or out of the camps even if the child is not registered in the PDMM. This decision became significant for the children who wish to continue their study in Turkey because registration was a challenge in some of the cities in Turkey (Emin, 2016). Registration and education status determination exams were conducted by the commission that consisted of school managers, teachers, and Syrian volunteer teachers.

When TECs were established, the main challenge for the MoNE was finding suitable teachers who can speak Arabic and educate Syrian children. For this purpose, MoNE has started to cooperate with Turkey Diyanet Foundation. Syrian voluntary educators have started to apply to the Provincial Directorates of Turkey Diyanet Foundations to work as a teacher in the TECs. The commission in the Provincial Directorates of Turkish Diyanet Foundation has started to evaluate the candidates based on their educational background and language abilities. These volunteer teachers have started to work in the TECs voluntarily and without payment (Taştan, C & Çelik, Z, 2017)

To make the situation more sustainable, in 2014, MoNE, UNICEF, and Turkish Post (PTT) have signed a protocol for supporting Syrian voluntary educators on 6 November 2014. According to this protocol, UNICEF would provide a monthly payment (at the time 150 US dollars for those who stays in camps and 220 US dollars for who stay out of the camps) for Syrian voluntary educators through PTT card (UNICEF, 2014). On 22 December 2014, MoNE has published a new circular regarding the status of Syrian volunteer teachers and announced that payments for Syrian voluntary educators have increased to 1,300 Turkish Lira (TL) considering Turkey's minimum wage standards. The number of Syrian voluntary educators was announced as 13,116 in 2016 (MoNE, 2017a).

Figure 3-7 shows that primary school-age children had more access to school when compared to other education levels. Even if the number of children who study in TECs decreases every year gradually, it is obvious that primary school-age children have more access to school. According to MoNE's data in 2019, 95,50% of age-relevant Syrian children have access to primary education in Turkey either in TECs or Turkish public schools. However, this data shows that school-drop out increases after primary education level during the years. According to MoNE data (2019), the total number of school-age children in high school level is 269,236 according to 2019 data, but only 15,707 children can access to education in TECs which equals to 5,83% of the total number of high school level children. Data including Turkish public schools shows that only 26,77% of Syrian children have access to high school in Turkey, which includes a number of children never attends high school or any school in Turkey and number of children attended and drop-out school. Main reasons for low access to school in high school level are mostly related to the low-socioeconomic level of Syrian families, and cultural reasons and these reasons are discussed in detail in the following sections.

In the below figure, the high school category also shows the number of children who attends high school preparation classes, catch-up classes, as well as the open high school student numbers. According to Figure 3-7, pre-school level numbers are quite low because all the pre-school age children obliged to start in the Turkish public schools in 2018. According to overall data, 33,9% of Syrian children in pre-school age can access to school.

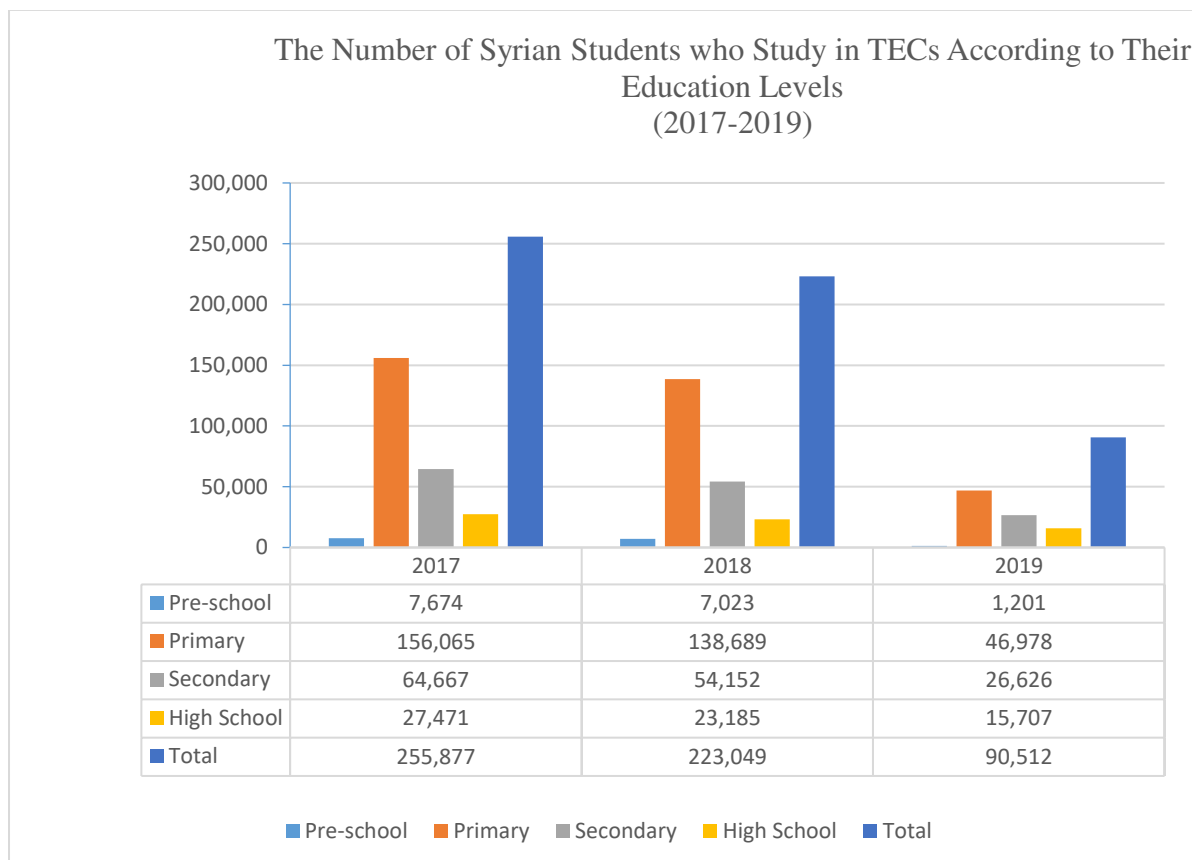


Figure 3- 7: The Number of Syrian Students who Study in TECs According to Their Education Level (2017-2019)

Source: Generated using data dated 13.11.2017, 22.11.2018, and 16.06.2019 sourced by the MoNE Directorate-General for Lifelong Learning, Migration and Emergency Education Department (2019)

This data also shows the effect of MoNE's decision of transition from TECs to Turkish public schools in 2016. The decision was that first, fifth, and ninth-grade students should enrol Turkish public schools, where other grades were not obligated to enrol Turkish public schools in 2016. However, later a new decision was announced by MoNE and all the students at TEC at any level are planned to be transferred to Turkish public schools by the end of 2019.

Even if TECs are set to be closed to close down at the end of 2019, there is still a significant number of TECs open in Turkey. According to Interviewee at the Hatay PDoNE (2019), no circular established the current situation of TECs as of August 2019, for this reason, there is significant uncertainty about the status of TECs in the province. The PDoNE official thinks that TECs were designed to prevent Syrian children from becoming a lost generation, for this reason, even if TECs appear to have finalized their

primary function, there is a possibility that a small number of TECs will continue operating for out-of-school children for a few extra years, organizing catch-up courses, or establishing Turkish Language Centres under the control of MoNE. The PDoNE official stated that TECs would be used as adaptation centres for Syrians who never attended school in Turkey in order to teach them the language and familiarize them with the Turkish education system. Lastly, according to this PDoNE official, TECs could be transferred to Turkish public schools because there is not enough school capacity in high refugee population cities even if several schools were constructed in the last two years (Interview with Ahmet, an education officer at PDoNE).

When we look at the gender distribution of Syrian children in all education levels, it is observed that there are no noticeable differences among the genders. According to MoNE data in 2019, in total, there is 643,058 student access to school, and amongst them, there are 316,485 girls and 326,573 boys in Turkey.

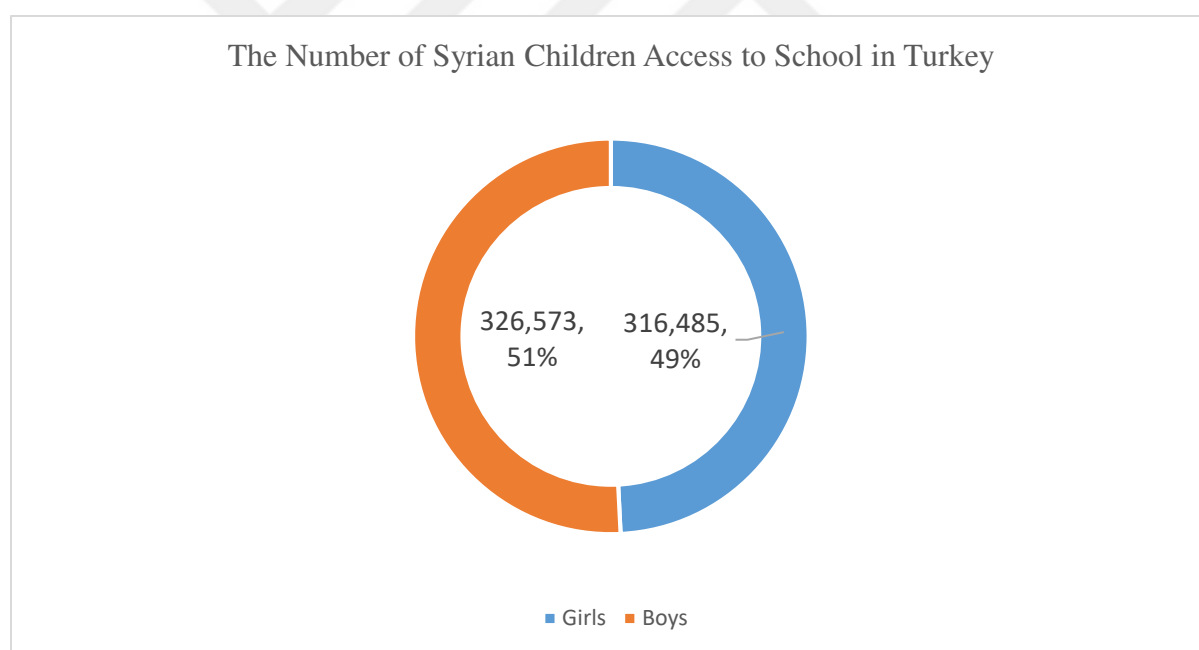


Figure 3- 8: The Division of Gender for Syrian Children Access to Education in Turkey

Source: Generated using data dated 16.06.2019 sourced by the MoNE Directorate-General for Lifelong Learning, Migration and Emergency Education Department (2019)

In the early years of the TECs, the Libyan curriculum was used in the education of Syrian children (BEKAM, 2015). However, later, the Syrian educational commission had a role in examining Syrian school books and extracting some biased and ideological

aspects from the textbooks (Erdoğan, 2015). After 2014, MoNE was also involved in the design of textbooks for Syrian children.

Between 2012 and 2016, Turkish lessons were taught 5 hours in a week in the TECs, but in the 2017-2018 school year, MoNE has decided to increase the share of a number of Turkish courses to 15 hours a week at the primary school level. For this reason, 15 hours were devoted to teaching Turkish to Syrian children in TECs in a 30 hour a week. The main goal of increasing the hours of Turkish lessons is to ensure the integration of Syrian students to the Turkish education system within a short period in TEC (Taştan, C & Çelik, Z, 2017). There are also Turkish teachers assigned by the MoNE in TECs for 15 hours of Turkish lessons (Directorate General of Lifelong Learning, 2019).

3.2.2 Turkish Public Schools

According to Circular No. 2014/21 of the MoNE, it became possible for Syrian children to enrol in any public school with a foreign identification document. Also, children who do not have an identification document can register to schools as a guest student but are not able to obtain a document from the school regarding their education in Turkey (MoNE, 2014).

With this circular, Syrian student who wishes to study in a Turkish public school can benefit from all kinds of educational services offered to children in Turkey and receive education together with their Turkish peers. Especially since the war in Syria has continued after 2014, it is very often emphasized that Syrian children should be included in the Turkish education system so that they can adapt to Turkish society with the understanding that Syrians in Turkey will now remain the country for the long-term (Yavuz and Spear, 2016). As of the 2016-2017 school year, the MoNE has initiated studies to increase the number of Syrian children in public schools.

First of all, as of 2016, Syrian students at kindergarten and first-grade level started to include in the Turkish education system, and then the first classes of the 4+4+4 education levels, i.e., students at the first, fifth and ninth-grade level, were directed to public schools (MEB, 2016). As a result of these initiatives, the number of Syrian children in Turkish public schools more than tripled from 62,357 in 2015-2016 to 201,505 in 2016-2017 education year.

Table 3- 1: The Number of Syrian Students in Turkish Public Schools by Years (2014-2015 to 2018-2019)

The Number of Syrian Students in Turkish Public Schools by Years (2016-2019)					
Class	2014-2015	2015-2016	2016-2017	2017-2018	2018-2019
Pre-School	Data is not available	Data is not available	25,267	27,94	30,997
1.Grade			93,088	95,461	99,914
2.Grade			66,39	93,208	92,938
3.Grade			35,86	69,655	70,211
4.Grade			27,765	52,681	55,494
5.Grade			40,458	65,175	67,503
6.Grade			19,748	42,507	42,817
7.Grade			9,971	21,504	22,444
8.Grade			6,77	12,888	13,862
9.Grade			14,038	19,325	20,254
10.Grade			5,789	10,325	10,29
11.Grade			2,561	5,066	5,344
12.Grade			1,62	2,506	2,849
High School Preparation			4	5	5
Open Schools			8,597	16,68	17,624
Total Number of Students	40,000	62,357	201,505	387,849	534,785
Percentage of total number of Syrian students	17,39 %	20,03 %	40,91 %	63,55 %	85,92 %

Source: Generated using data dated 13.11.2017, 22.11.2018, and 16.06.2019 sourced by the MoNE Directorate-General for Lifelong Learning, Migration and Emergency Education Department (2019)

Table 3-1 clearly shows that MoNE's decision on transformation from TECs to Turkish public schools had success in a short time and the numbers of Syrian children in Turkish public schools increased rapidly while the number of Syrian children in TECs decreases gradually. Accordingly, Turkish public schools had more Syrian students compared to TECs in each education level (Table 3-1). This clearly shows the impact of

MoNE's decision to enrol Syrian students at the first, fifth, and ninth-grade levels to public schools in 2016.

According to Table 3-1, the lowest schooling is at the high school level. There are four main reasons for this situation. The first reason is that Syrian children and their families in Turkey face financial problems in their daily lives. For this reason, Syrian children start to work at a young age to maintain their families (SETA and Theirworld, 2017). The second reason is that according to the Syrian education system in Syria, compulsory education was only for nine years (from 6 years old to 15 years old) and high school education was not compulsory. This is also why the participation in high school is lower than at other levels of education (UNESCO, 2018). Also, before the war, the percentage of participation to high school was 26% in Syria which shows that low participation to high school in Turkey is not fully related to negative effects of war (Please see table 3-4). The third reason is that the integration of Syrian children in high schools is more challenging for them when it is compared to other grades because of the difficulty of the courses and the language barrier. The language barrier became more challenging in the high school level because the study topics became more complex and comprehensive and Syrian children have a hard time to understand the course topics from in the language that they are newly learning (Interviews a Syrian child, Veli). Also, families decide to marry their children or prefer to not to send girls to the school due to cultural reasons (SETA and Theirworld, 2017).

In the high school level, Syrian students follow the general procedures on the Turkish education system. First of all, they need to get the high school examination at the end of the 8th grade and then choose a high school according to their exam results.

Syrian children in high school age have two options based on their situation. If they have 8th-grade equivalence, they can approach the PDoNE offices, and PDoNE can decide which school the student will attend. If the student graduates from the 8th grade in Turkey and takes the high school exam, she/he can register at the relevant high school according to her/his grades in the exam. However, it is observed that Syrian children who have access to school mostly attend the Imam (religious) Hatip High Schools or Vocational High Schools. The number of Syrian children who go to Anatolian High Schools, which are usually attended by students who achieve higher scores in the exams,

is very limited. Main reasons for this situation are low grades in the high school exam and schools' attitude toward Syrian children (Interviews with Turkish and Syrian teachers).

Syrian children can also join apprenticeship programs through Vocational Training Centres (VTCs) where they can study and learn a profession, while also earning some income (around one-third of the minimum wage). District Vocational Training Centre Directorates receive applications throughout the year (Interview with Ahmet, an education officer at PDoNE, 2019; Turkish Red Crescent, 2019).

There are open secondary and high school opportunities available for Syrian children who cannot continue their formal education in Turkey for various reasons. Every child under temporary protection can benefit from this opportunity to continue his/her education. There are currently five school types with open education opportunities. These are an Open Secondary School, Open High School, Open Vocational High School, Open Imam Hatip High School, and Open Vocational and Technical High School. For the Open Secondary and High Schools, students can continue their study through long-distance. The language of all courses and exams in these schools are Turkish. However, only in Imam Hatip Secondary and High Schools, some Arabic courses are also available. To register to open schools, Syrian children should approach PDoNE or PECs (UNICEF, 2019).

3.2.3 Syrian-Private Schools

During the first years of the crisis, Syrians have opened private schools with their initiatives. Turkish Government also allowed these initiatives in order to support the education of Syrian children temporarily. However, in time, some of these schools have transformed into TECs, and some of them were closed by the government (BEKAM, 2015; Interview with Syrian teachers, 2019).

Syrian families did not show much interest to these schools because even if there were some founders of the school, they were still requesting education fees and most of the Syrian families were not able to cover these costs (Interview with Syrian teachers, 2019).

3.2.4 Non-Formal Education Activities by the Turkish Government and Humanitarian Actors

According to MoNE's data, the number of Syrian children still not attending school in Turkey is over 448.901 (Çatar, 2019). These children live in difficult conditions, and they are more vulnerable to the risks of child labour, child marriage, discrimination, and child abuse. Many of those who have never been to school or have been away for a few years need special support to re-adapt to their educational environment.

Directorate General of Lifelong Learning of MoNE expands its activities on Non-Formal Education (NFE) to prevent a lost generation of Syrian children. Through NFE activities, MoNE focus out-of-school Syrian refugee children who have never been to school or have been away for a few years. These children need extra educational support to integrate into the education system in Turkey.

In the scope of the NFE activities, several educational programs were implemented by MoNE itself or together with national, international, or UN organizations (Yavcan & El-Ghali, 2017). Several organizations have established NFE projects in Turkey since the beginning of Syrian crisis, but all education-related activities by UN agencies or national/international associations should get permission from MoNE in order to implement their activities officially and accelerate their programs (Interview with Ahmet, an education officer at PDoNE, 2019).

Some of these activities and programs need to be highlighted here.

Language Courses:

Turkish Language Courses are designed for Syrian children of all ages. Turkish Language Courses aim to increase the language skills of children to promote social cohesion in the host community and direct children to formal education. Turkish courses are organized by MoNE through PECs/Turkish public schools/TECs or national/international or UN agencies. MoNE recently implemented a specific Turkish Language Course program together with the Ministry of Youth and Sport in 24 cities and 83 Youth Centres (Turkish Red Crescent, 2019)

Basic Literacy Courses are designed for Syrian children who wish to improve their literacy skills both in Turkish and Arabic. All Syrian children under Temporary Protection have a chance to enrol in these programs. The primary purpose of these programs is supporting Syrian children, both in integrating with the host society and in improving their skills in Arabic literacy. These programs are jointly implemented by MoNE and Turkish Red Crescent (TRC), but it is only available in Hatay province in Turkey at the moment (Turkish Red Crescent, 2019).

Catch-up Courses:

ALP (Accelerated Learning Program) is designed for Syrian children aged 10 to 18 who have missed more than three years of schooling. ALP aims to provide these children with the opportunity to be reintegrated to formal education. Registration to the ALP program could be through Public Education Centres (PEC). ALP program is ongoing in 12 cities of Turkey (Gaziantep, Hatay, Şanlıurfa, Mersin, Adana, Kayseri, Kilis, Bursa, İzmir, Ankara, İstanbul, and Konya) with 75 PECs (Turkish Red Crescent, 2019; UNICEF, 2019).

The program is implemented in partnership with TRC, MoNE, and PECs. ALP program starts with intensive A1 and A2 level Turkish language classes to help improve children's reading, writing, and speaking skills. ALP also has two education level modules. Students can finalize primary education and secondary education modules in 16 months (8 months for each module). After completing the modules, the students can get the exam in the provincial equivalence commissions, and the successful ones would receive an equivalence certificate. Students can continue their formal education with these documents from where they left off (UNICEF, 2019).

3.3 CURRENT SITUATION OF TEACHERS IN REFUGEE EDUCATION IN TURKEY

In this part of the section, teachers who are the core actors in the education of Syrian children are discussed. Turkish and Syrian teachers were discussed separately.

3.3.1 Turkish Teachers

When TECs were established, only Syrian teachers were employed. For this reason, Turkish teachers were teaching only a small number of Syrian students in Turkish public schools. However, in 2016, when the circular on TECs was published, it was decided to revise the TECs. Within the scope of this decision, Turkish lessons were included in the curriculums in TECs. It was only 5 hours a week at the beginning of the process but then increased to 15 hours a week during the PICTES project. Turkish teachers were employed for these courses. This situation revealed the need for an expert staff in the field. Especially in crisis areas where the refugee population is dense well-trained, experienced, highly motivated teachers were needed (Yavuz and Mızrak, 2016).

In order to meet the needs of teachers, a total of 5,468 Turkish Language teachers were recruited under the Labour Law No. 4857. These teachers were selected as graduates of Turkish, and Turkish language and literature teaching departments. These teachers were assigned to Turkish public schools and TECs in 23 cities where Syrians lived extensively and where the PICTES project was conducted. These teachers are employed under the PICTES project, and teachers' pay and social rights are covered within the project (Taştan, C & Çelik, Z, 2017).

These teachers received training and seminars on several topics such as working with traumatized students, providing psychological support to students, conflict management, foreign language teaching methodologies, guidance and counselling, skills aimed at removing cultural and social barriers, history and cultural histories of societies, etc. within the orientation process.

These training have both empowered teachers with no previous experience of working with refugee children and improved their educational skills. In fact, educational programs with children who have experienced trauma are different from typical educational programs. In particular, the first and most crucial component of training activities in emergencies is qualified teacher assistance (Yavuz and Mızrak, 2016). Although the purpose of employing these teachers is to teach Turkish to Syrian children and to increase their language proficiency, it is also vital that the teachers contribute to the integration processes of Syrian children. Experienced teachers in working with

disadvantaged students can only provide quality education to disadvantaged children (Taştan, C & Çelik, Z, 2017).

3.3.2 Syrian Teachers

Syrian teachers serve in both TECs and Turkish public schools. 13,178 Syrian teachers are employed for the education of Syrian children. MoNE signed a protocol with UNICEF in 2016. Within this protocol, as of November 2016, Syrian voluntary educators were paid a monthly payment of 1,300 TL. Besides, the MoNE has made choices among Syrians who have graduated from universities in certain areas in their countries with specific criteria, paving the way for these individuals to work as volunteer teachers. In this way, the selected Syrian voluntary educators are provided with in-service training to contribute to the education process of Syrian students in line with the curriculum. Syrian volunteer teachers received a formation training, and the successful ones were certified.

Starting from the 2016-2017 academic year, it is planned that students of TECs will be directed to Turkish public schools and TECs will be transformed into an orientation centre in the transition to the Turkish education system over time (MEB, 2016). For this reason, there was a situation of uncertainty regarding the future of Syrian teachers employed in TECs (Balkar, 2016). However, in the current situation, Syrian voluntary educators were transferred to Public Schools as volunteer teachers to support the Syrian children in the schools. Syrian voluntary educators are not able to give courses at the moment. They only provide counselling for Syrian children, attends some courses as an observer, and coordinate relations with the parents of the children (Interview with Ahmed, a Syrian teacher).

3.4 CURRENT EDUCATION STATUS OF REFUGEE CHILDREN IN TURKEY

This part shows the current educational status of refugee children and at the same time out-of-school children data.

3.4.1 Current Data on Education

Almost half of the Syrians under temporary protection in Turkey are children who are under 18 years old. There are 1 million 818 thousand Syrian children registered within

the temporary protection in Turkey. When we look at the age distribution of Syrian children; there are 494,325 children are in the primary school age, including pre-school age, 634,178 children in the secondary and high school age. Therefore, 1,082,172 million school-age (5-17) children continue to live in Turkey. More important than that, there are 589,974 children born in Turkey who will start school in Turkey soon (DGMM, 2019).

Table 3- 2: Age and Gender Distribution of Syrians under Temporary Protection

Distribution of Age and Gender of Syrian Children under Temporary Protection in Turkey			
Age	Male	Female	Total
0-4 age	304,909	285,065	589,974
5-9 age	254,539	239,786	494,325
10-14 age	191,067	176,788	367,855
15-18 age	146,625	119,698	266,323
Total			1,818,187

Source: Generated using data dated 25.12.2019 by DGMM (2019)

This information shows us that one of the areas most affected by the Syrian crisis is education. The number of Syrian children living in Turkey is increasing day by day. Moreover, in parallel, educational needs and problems related to education are becoming prominent.

MoNE announced that 61,39% of school-aged Syrian children were enrolled in formal education in Turkey as of March 2019. Of the 643,000 children in formal education, 86% are enrolled in Turkish public schools and 14% in TECs. Moreover, enrolment in ALP continues to grow with 10,453 children currently benefitting from the program. Even if the enrolment level to school increases by the day, there are still an important number of children out of the school (UNHCR, 2019e). According to data shared in November, the percentage of enrolled children increased to 63.23%. 25,278 children still registered with YÖBİS system, while 659,450 children registered with the e-school system (Çatar, 2019).

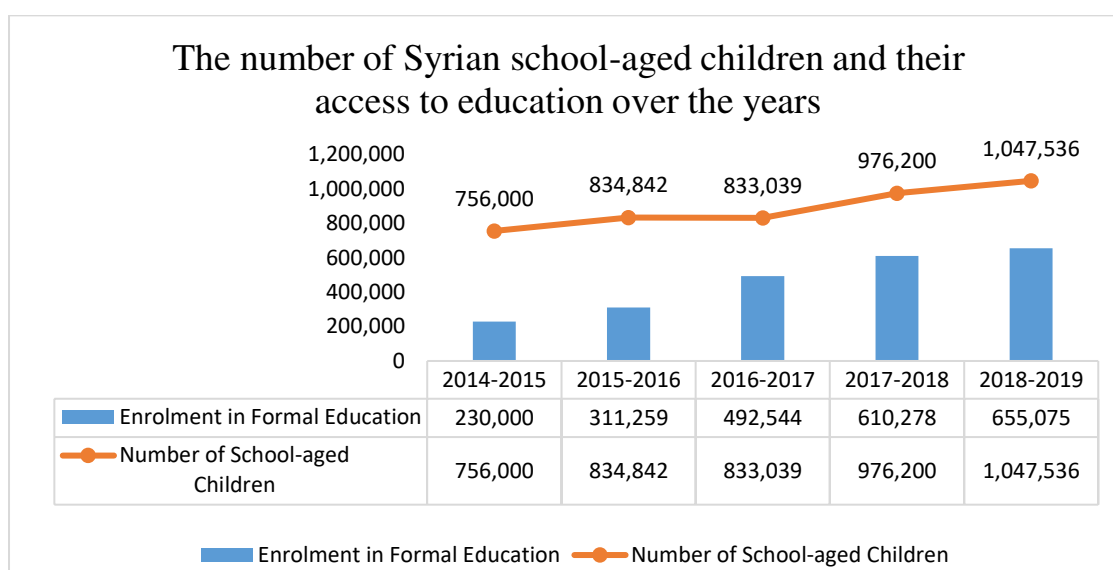


Figure 3- 9: The Number of Syrian School-aged Children and Their Access to Education over the Years

Source: Generated using data dated 03.12.2018 sourced by the MoNE Directorate-General for Lifelong Learning, Migration and Emergency Education Department (2018) and data dated May 2019 sourced by the UNHCR Operational Portal, Turkey Education Sector Achievements.

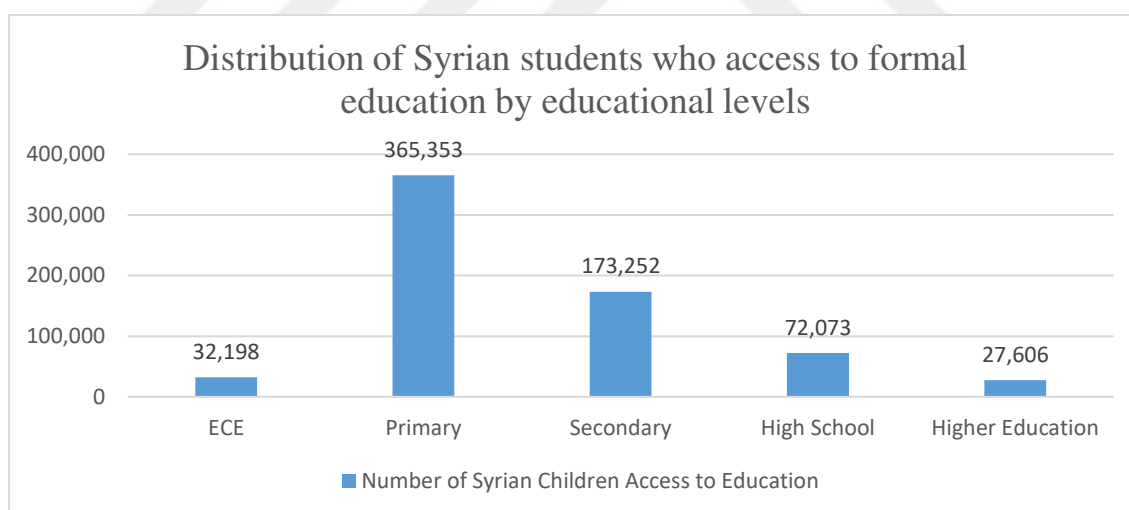


Figure 3- 10: Distribution of Syrian Students who Access to Formal Education by Educational Levels

Source: Generated using data dated May 2019 sourced by the UNHCR Operational Portal, Turkey Education Sector Achievements.

According to UNHCR data in June 2019, 495,849 children are benefitting from the Conditional Cash Transfer for Education (CCTE) program (UNHCR, Turkey Education Sector, 2019). However, according to figure 3-2, 643,058 Syrian children have

access to education. 147,209 children do not benefit from CCTE based on this data. However, MoNE's data obtained from E-school and Foreign National Students Information System (YÖBİS), which also includes school drop-out children and data of these children are not delete from the system regularly (Interview with Seher, a Syrian teacher). CCTE beneficiaries regularly attend school, and most of the CCTE applicants are more likely to get assistance. For this reason, the number of children who have access to education could be lower than it is in the statistics because of school-drop outs and their registration records in e-school and YÖBİS systems.

3.4.2 Current Situation of Syrian Out-of-School Children

1,047,536 Syrian children are of primary education age, according to DGMM data (DGMM, 2019). According to the MoNE data, 643,058 thousand Syrian children were educated in TECs and Turkish public schools as of June 2019. Therefore, there are 404,478 thousand Syrian children who are of educational age and cannot attend school. In other words, 61% of Syrian children have been schooled, while 39% have not yet been schooled.

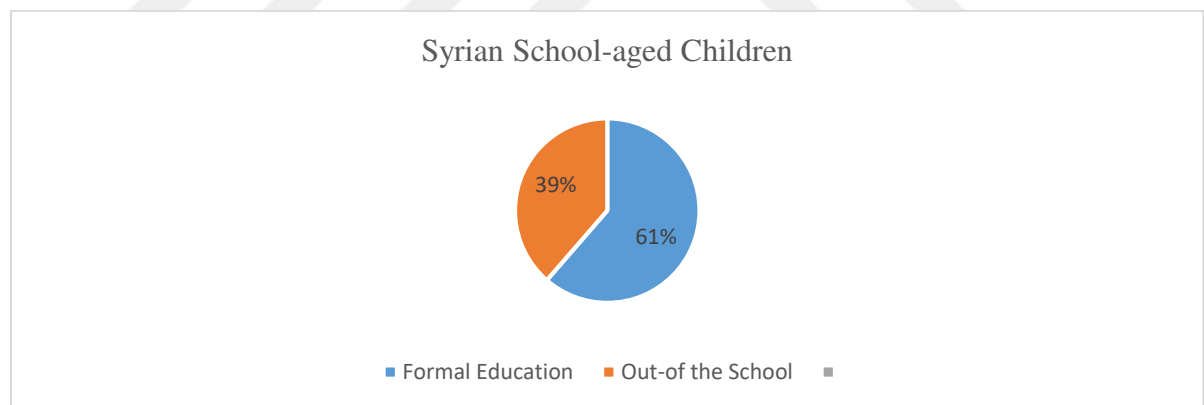


Figure 3- 1: Distribution of Syrian Children Access to Formal Education by Educational Levels

Source: Generated using data dated 16.06.2019 sourced by the MoNE Directorate-General for Lifelong Learning, Migration and Emergency Education Department (2019)

Looking at the studies on the reasons why Syrian children are unable to attend school, it is observed that families whose economic conditions are unfavourable cannot attend school because their children are forced to study (Culbertson and Constant, 2015). Boys with single parents, in particular, are more disadvantaged in this regard than girls (McBrien, 2005). Another obstacle to schooling is that the mother tongue is different. As

a matter of fact, TECs, whose educational language is Arabic, is not present in every province/district. Syrian families do not want to send their children to Turkish public schools due to their inability to communicate because the language of education is Turkish (Coşkun & Emin, 2016). Another reason the Syrian child is unable to attend school is cultural reasons. Especially girls are more affected by cultural causes. Indeed, in Syria, girls of high school age can marry in early life. This is an element that prevents girls from attending school. Another cultural situation is that boys and girls are educated in separate classes in Syria. The fact that there are mixed classes in Turkey is also an obstacle to the inability of girls to attend school (Interview with Halid, a Syrian teacher). Another reason is the security concern that Syrian families live in. Syrian families are not in favour of sending their children to school when there is a far distance between the house and the school and no transportation option was available (Taştan, C & Çelik, Z, 2017). The last obstacle to schooling is the short-term residence of Syrians in Turkey. In other words, Syrians can change places in the country frequently. This high mobility also negatively affects children's continued education. Along with these, children with physical or mental disabilities, as well as the disadvantage of migration, do not have access to education because of challenges to access special education opportunities for foreigners in Turkey (Interview with Halid, a Syrian teacher).

3.4.3 Syrian Children in Need of Special Education

The issue of education of Syrian children is usually targeted at children studying in TECs and public schools, while access to education of Syrian children with various health problems is out of focus. However, children who have physical and mental health problems due to both natural and war-related reasons have limited access to education rights in Turkey.

According to Circular No. 2014/21 titled “Education Services for Foreign Nationals” published by the MoNE on 23 September 2014, all children have a right to access to education in Turkey, and the ministry and provincial commissions should take the necessary measures and complete the preparations on this regard (MoNE, 2014b). This circular has been disseminated to every national education unit, including special education departments. However, a separate circular for Syrian children in need of special

education has not been published, and this topic has been arranged within the existing circulars.

In the current guidelines, only one section mentioned the status of foreign students. According to this circular, foreign student who continue or will continue his/her education in Turkey benefit from the Educational Evaluation and diagnostic services offered in the Guidance and Research Centre. The report of the Special Education Evaluation Board is prepared for those who are determined to need special education as a result of Educational Evaluation and diagnosis (MoNE, 2018). However, these children do not benefit from special education services, and Guidance and Research Centre refers them to public schools if there is any school designed for special education.

There is no statistical information on Syrian children in need of special education, and there is very little research done in this area. According to national and international humanitarian organizations, there are many children with disabilities and special education needs in the cities of Istanbul, Şanlıurfa, Hatay, and Gaziantep, where many Syrian refugees live. National and international humanitarian organizations organize various activities and training for children in need of special education, but these services are inadequate for a refugee group corresponding to a large number (Interview with Veli, a social worker at local NGO).

3.4.4 Good Practices in Education of Syrian Children in Turkey

Good practices in the Education system for Syrian refugee children such as PICTES, Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN), CCTE, and adaptation classes were discussed.

3.4.4.1 PICTES Project

In order to support the integration of Syrian children into Turkish Education system, PICTES (Promoting Integration of Syrian Children to Turkish Education System) Project was signed within the context of FRIT (Facility for Refugees in Turkey) agreement on 03.10.2016. The FRIT agreement is a financial program of the European Union and member states that support both refugees and host countries in the world. This program aims to support refugees and host counties on humanitarian aid, migration

management, education, basic needs, protection, health, the substructure of municipalities. The budget of the FRIT was 3 billion Euro (Akdağ, 2019).

Education was one of the most significant parts of the FRIT program. The project was signed between MoNE and EU delegation for two years at the beginning of the project. However, as the need continues in the education sector and the success of the project caused the extension of the project. It was declared that Turkey would be granted with an additional 400,000,000 Euro with “Commission Implementation Decision” document which is issued by European Commission on 24 July 2018. This project was called PICTES II, and it was signed on 20 December 2018. PICTES II shared the same objectives with PICTES I (Akdağ, 2019).

PICTES I project is implemented in the 23 cities of Turkey where Syrian refugee population are most densely concentrated. PICTES II is being implemented in 26 provinces.

There were two main targets for the PICTES projects on integration;

1. Increasing Turkish language proficiency of Syrian children who study at TECs in order to facilitate the transition from TECs to public schools
2. Increasing Turkish language proficiency for Syrian children who study at public schools in order to improve their adaptation process in the school (UNICEF, 2018)

PICTES project also aims to improve integration and support current education facilities in Turkey. Within the scope of the PICTES, I project, 15 activities were conducted as below. In the PICTES II project, nine more activities were added to the project on Pre-school education, social integration activities, vocational and technical education, and Turkish language courses for adults. Please see a total of 24 activities in the PICTES II project.

- Turkish language courses for Syrian children both in and out of school
- Catch-up courses for Syrian children out of school or at TECs
- Arabic language courses for Syrian children both in and out of school
- Back-up courses for children in state schools

- School transformation for Syrian and socio-economically disadvantaged Turkish students
 - Awareness-raising activities to promote the integration of Syrian children into the education system
 - Procurement of education materials
 - Developing an examination system to determine Turkish language proficiency levels of Syrian students
 - School guidance and counselling assistance for Syrian students
 - Providing educational equipment
 - Teacher training
 - Awareness Raising for MoNE administrative and other staff
 - Monitoring and supervision
 - Providing stationery materials
 - Providing course books and/or clothing aid
 - Providing cleaning and security staff to state schools and temporary education centres (TECs)
 - Pre-education services for Syrian and Turkish children
 - Turkish language training for Syrian parents
 - Social integration activities for Syrian and Turkish families
 - Social integration activities for Syrian students and Turkish peers
- (PICTES, 2019)

These activities show that PICTES is a multifunctional and comprehensive project to support each aspect of the education system for Syrian children.

In 2018, PICTES II started to implement with an additional nine more activities and in 26 cities of Turkey. The budget of PICTES II is evaluated as 400 million euros for another 3 years (36 months) starting from 2018. Main outcomes of PICTES II are as

follows; access of Syrian students to education increased, quality of education for Syrian students increased, operational capacity of educational institutions and staff improved, and social integration of Syrian students and parents improved (Çatar, 2019).

Lastly, PICTES II supported Turkish Language Proficiency Exam in 2019. The exam was performed in 81 provinces of Turkey on 3 May 2019. All the students took the exam simultaneously in their own classroom. Exam questionnaire was prepared by PICTES. 300,347 Syrian students took the exam in 2019 (Çatar, 2019).

3.4.4.2 ESSN and CCTE

The ESSN is a program that provides regular, unconditional cash payments to the most vulnerable refugee families living in Turkey. It is implemented jointly by the Ministry of Family Labour and Social Services (MoFLSS), the World Food Programme (WFP), and the Turkish Red Crescent. ESSN beneficiaries receive monthly payments and decide how to cover their essential needs, such as expenses of house rents, medicines, education, or food. ESSN is one of the significant humanitarian aid programs in Turkey that was ever funded by the EU. At the moment, it is worth one billion euros, which is funded for the Refugees in Turkey.

ESSN is designed for four primary purposes. These purposes are (i) supporting the vulnerable refugees in order to meet their basic needs, (ii) reducing household debts, (iii) supporting families to have financial control and their independence, and (iv) reducing families' use of negative coping mechanisms such as child labour, and enhancing national crisis response capacities (WFP, 2019).

Registered individuals who live in Turkey under international protection or temporary protection can apply to the ESSN program, but there are specific criteria in order to receive assistance. Large families, single head of households, single females, the older people, or people with disabilities are more likely to receive the assistance. Also, refugees who have a valid work permit or who own property are not eligible to receive assistance. As of June 2019, 1,64 million people received assistance through the ESSN project (WFP, 2019).

The CCTE (Conditional Cash Transfer for Education) is a program that provides regular, unconditional cash payment to the Syrian children who attend school in Turkey.

The program is funded by UNICEF, and it is implemented jointly by MoFLSS, MoNE, TRC, WFP, and UNICEF. CCTE beneficiaries receive monthly payments to cover their educational needs. The CCTE program has been established as a component of the ESSN program (UNICEF, 2019).

CCTE is designed to increase the number of refugee children who can access education. It both increases school access and protect children from harmful practices such as child labour and child marriage. According to Turkish Law on Social Assistance and Solidarity, Turkish children who receive this assistance should have at least 80% of school attendance, so CCTE had the same procedures in line with national social assistance. CCTE is a strong tool to address poverty, marginalization, school drop-out, child labour, and child marriage (UNICEF, 2019).

Vulnerable registered families who live in Turkey under international protection or temporary protection can apply to the CCTE program for all their children who access formal or non-formal education within MoNE. While beneficiaries of ESSN do not need to apply because all their family information in the ESSN system, non-ESSN beneficiaries who are ineligible for ESSN should apply to the program through TRC offices or SASFs with supporting documents (exp. school registration document). In order to receive assistance, families should be registered in Turkey, families should not have a regular income including property which can generate income, families should not have social security, and families should have at least one child who attends to school. While at the beginning of the program, only Turkish public-school students were eligible to receive the assistance, later on, the program extended and covered students of TECs and children who receive non-formal education certified by MoNE (UNICEF, 2019).

TRC, MoFLSS, MoNE, and UNICEF works closely in order to run the program smoothly. They established an effective monitoring mechanism. TRC and MoFLSS conduct regular house visits for the beneficiaries of CCTE. MoNE shares school attendance records through YÖBİS or E-school system. If a child quit school, the payment will be suspended (UNICEF, 2019)

As of June 2019, 495,849 children are benefitting from the CCTE program (UNHCR, Turkey Education Sector, 2019e). In parallel to this number, the number of Syrian children accesses to school increased gradually by years and CCTE program has

contributed to increasing school attendance of Syrian children significantly. Through this program, 3 million 800 thousand TL cash transfers have been made to-date (UNICEF, 2017). Figure 3-11 shows that a high population of Syrians by provinces are in line with CCTE beneficiaries.

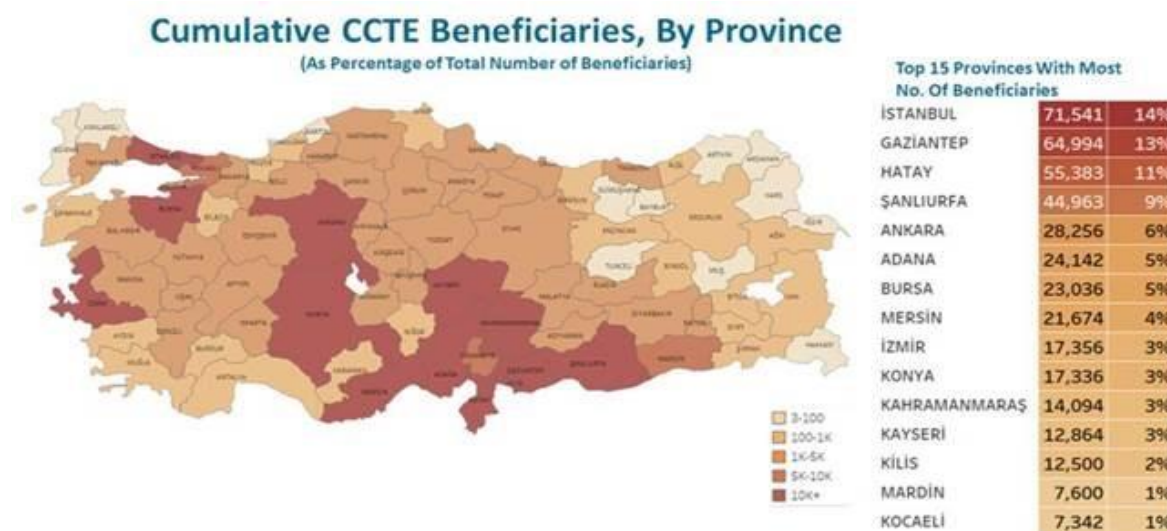


Figure 3- 2: Cumulative CCTE Beneficiaries, by Province

Source: UNICEF (2019)

There is positive discrimination against girls in the CCTE program; for this reason, the girls receive more grants than boys in each month to promote access to education for girls. Also, each child can get an extra 100 TL at the beginning of each semester (UNICEF, 2017).

Table 3- 3: Monthly Payments for CCTE Beneficiaries

Monthly Payments for CCTE Beneficiaries		
	Girls	Boys
Pre-school to 8th grade	40,00 TL	35,00 TL
8th grade to 12th grade	60,00 TL	50,00 TL

Source: UNICEF (2019)

As of September 2019, there is been a new development on CCTE payments. In order to address the limited reach of the CCTE to older refugee children (who were found

less likely to be enrolled in school or to attend school regularly), new CCTE top-ups have been introduced at the beginning of school terms. The new top-ups will be applied from Grade 5 onwards as it was found that deterioration of regular school attendance and increased risk of dropping out already begins in lower secondary school for refugee children. However, refugee children in Grades 9 onwards and ALP will get slightly higher top-ups (than refugee children in lower secondary) since the situation worsens for these children and the idea is to promote school completion up to 12th grade. It should also be noted that the national CCTE is also implementing top-ups for high school children (Grades 9-12) in the 2019-2020 school year (Interview with Victoria, a project manager at I/NGO).

CCTE Motivational Payments for Secondary School / ALP Students

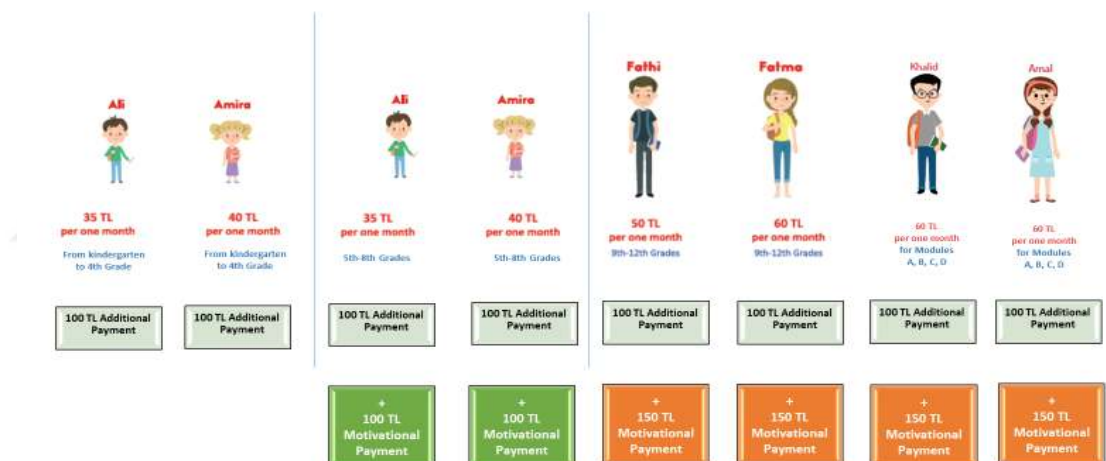


Figure 3-13: CCTE Motivational Payments for Secondary School / ALP Students

Source: Interview with Victoria, a project manager at I/NGO member

3.4.4.3 Adaptation Classes

Another good and the most recent practice is an adaptation class model. Adaptation classes were established with circular dated 6 September 2019. Adaptation classes will play a crucial role in this process when TECs are closed and all Syrian refugee students begin to move into public schools. Syrian students are having difficulty adapting to the education system because of the language barrier. At the same time, students who

will move from TECs to Turkish public schools for the first time will experience the challenge of facing a new education system (MoNE, 2019b).

Adaptation classes aimed to increase Turkish language proficiency of foreign students through Adaptation Classes so that they can catch up with courses taught at public schools and communicate with their peers effectively. Students will have a total of 30 hours in Adaptation Classes ranging from Turkish language training to elective foreign language (Arabic or English), visual arts and physical education etc. According to regulation, adaptation classes can be opened from third grade to twelfth grade in any school based on the need. Each of the adaptation classes has a minimum of 10 students and a maximum of 30 students. If there is not enough demand from each class, the classes can be merged. If there is no adaptation class at the school where the student is located, the student may be transferred to a nearby school. Students can take courses for at least 1 semester and at most 2 semesters in adaptation classes (MoNE, 2019b).

Adaptation classes can be evaluated within the framework of social adaptation policies of MoNE. Although it is a late practice in Turkey, it is a good element that will make the transition from TECs to Turkish public schools more smoothly in the context of integration. Similar practices for adaptation classes are often implemented in European countries such as Germany and the UK, and these practices are evaluated within the scope of refugee integration policies (Coşkun & Coşkun, 2018). Although it is a new practice, the field practices on adaptation classes will be discussed in chapter five.

3.5 EDUCATION SYSTEM IN SYRIA BEFORE THE SYRIAN CRISIS

The civil war in Syria has profoundly and negatively affected Syria's education system. Because of the civil war, 2,1 million children dropped out of schools, 3,3 million children in the school-age need educational support. The number of school-age refugee children scattered in various regions, especially in neighbouring countries, is expressed in millions. The Syrian national education system, which started a significant education mobilization from the early 2000s and reached a remarkable level in 2011, appears to have collapsed along with the Civil War. The primary education schooling rate, which was 91% in 2011, declined to 37% in 2015. In 2007, the high school enrolment rate was 72%. This rate was higher than the average of all Middle Eastern and Northern European

countries. Schooling rates in Syria before the war in 2011 are as follows in table 3-4 (UNESCO, 2006).

Table 3- 4: Schooling Rates in Syria before the War in 2011

Schooling Rates in Syria before the War in 2011	
Education Levels	The Rate of Access to School
Pre-School	12%
Primary School	92%
Secondary School	69%
High School	26%

Source: Generated using data dated 12.07.2019 sourced by the UNESCO website (2019)

According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) report of 2016; primary education in Syria was mandatory and free from the 1st grade to 9th grade since 2002. Basically, the education system in Syria is divided into two levels: primary and secondary level. Grades from first to sixth are primary education. From the 1st grade to 4th grade was called as the first cycle, fifth and 6th grade called a second cycle. While 7th, 8th, and 9th grades in the middle school were called as the first cycle, 10th, 11th, and 12th grades in the middle school were called as a second cycle (UNESCO, 2006). In elementary school, students were educated in mixed classes, while in middle school and high school, girls and boys were mostly educated in separate classes in public schools. However, based on each city's dynamics, there are different practices were available for coeducation. University education was still also coeducation (Interview with Mahmoud, a Syrian Teacher).

Students are subject to a final exam at the 9th grade and continue their secondary education according to the results of this exam. According to the exam results, students are referred to either the technical high school or the general high school. Technical high schools include vocational schools such as industry and agriculture, as well as craft schools for female students. Besides, the vocational schools of Commerce and computer science were opened later. Secondary education in the second tier is three years. In general, high schools, students are divided into literature and science classes according to their ability and skills. 12th-grade students take university exams. They are placed in universities and departments according to the result of the university exam.

Although Arabic was the language of education, intensive English and French language courses were provided for students. According to 2008 data, 98% of schools in Syria were public schools, 1,8% were private schools, and 0,2% were depending on the United Nations that was operating for the education of refugee children in Syria. Of the 8 million students who were educated in Syria in 2007, 4 million were in primary education, 1,4 million were in secondary education, and 2,3 million were in higher education (UNESCO, 2006).

Because of the 8-year war in Syria, the access to education of children who continue to live in Syria has almost come to a standstill. After the intensifying conflicts after 2011, the schooling rate dropped below 50%. Only 40% of Syrian school-age children who are in refugee status in various regional countries can attend school at the moment (UNHCR, 2019).

CHAPTER IV

4 HATAY CASE STUDY AND FINDINGS

In this section of the thesis, education and integration status of Syrian refugee children in Hatay is analysed and discussed. This section endeavours to explain why Hatay is a special case regarding the education and integration status of refugee children and how the city resembles and differentiates from other provinces in Turkey. To better understand the findings of the thesis, the demographic profile, current situation of Syrian refugee children in the city is explained. Once and for all, findings were shared in line with the literature.

4.1 SITUATION ANALYSIS ON EDUCATION

This part of the study provides detail on the data and analytics used to support the explaining findings of the fieldwork conducted in Hatay province. This part includes 4 sections.

4.1.1 Historical and Demographic Profile

There is no doubt that Hatay is one of the most unique places in Turkey due to its cultural composition. Hatay has been the meeting point of different faiths and cultures throughout history. From the past to this day, Muslims, Jews and Christians lived together in Hatay. Hatay was home to major empires, for this reason, it has a rich cultural heritage today, with traces of many civilizations it has hosted. It is possible to see mosques, churches, synagogues and djemevi side by side in Hatay and observe their neighbourhoods. When we look at the ethnic structure, we see that Hatay is a mosaic structure. It is a geography where Turks, Arabs, Turkmen and Kurds live together peacefully.

Cultural diversity has brought tolerance. Local people act with the awareness that they live in a mixed place and share the responsibility to the same extent. People from different ethnicities or religions (Turks, Alewis, Armenians, Jews, and Greeks) express that they are from Hatay without the need to state their other identities. The members of

this unique common culture of Hatay continue to live in harmony today, while at the same time protecting their assets. When the concept of multiculturalism is discussed in Turkey, Hatay is often referred to by researchers. The different communities living in Hatay maintained their own identity but also protected themselves against the outside world, and on the other hand, they built a common regional culture. Lastly, thanks to this cultural diversity, Hatay has multilingual dynamics. For this reason, Arabic is also the mother tongue of many people living in Hatay (Dogruel, 2005).

Doğruel's research on Hatay shows that although it harbours some tensions and intransigence between communities, it is a region where there is no fighting and a conscious effort is made by the communities living there to avoid it. Communities that have different characteristics in terms of religion, nationality and tradition are respecting each other's assets and can stretch their boundaries in this direction. These communities have been living together in the same geography for centuries. With these interesting qualifications, Hatay offers a remarkable experience in multiculturalism (Dogruel, 2005).

According to 2019 population statistics, the current local population of Hatay is 1,609,856 which makes the city 13th biggest metropolitan city in Turkey (Yeşil & Eskiocak, 2018). There are 15 districts in Hatay. The multi-religious, multi-ethnic, and multi-cultural structure of Hatay reflects its characteristic in each district.

When we look at the geographical distribution where Syrians live in the Hatay province, there are neighbourhoods where Syrians live heavily, but there is no intense ghettoization like Afghans living in Ovakent neighbourhood of Hatay province. Syrians live in the same neighbourhoods with the local people. Another factor determining the Syrian settlement in the city was the similarity of sectarian and socioeconomic levels. Considering that most of the refugees coming from Syria to Turkey are Sunni Arabs, it is visible that Syrians live in areas where local people with similar ethnicity and sectarian group lives. It was pointed out that the Kurdish and Alawite groups from Syria mostly preferred Alawite dominated areas, while the Sunni groups from Syria preferred to live in Sunni dominated neighbourhoods. Also, almost in every district and neighbourhood of the city, Syrian and local community live together based on their socio-economic level. (Interview with Elif, a project officer at NGO).

Therefore, interviews were conducted in the districts of Antakya, Iskenderun, Reyhanlı, Kırıkhan, and Yayladağı where the majority of Syrians lives. However, the researcher is not able to find a participant to conduct interviews in the districts of Arsuz, Defne, and Samandağ where the Alewi population mostly lives. Interviews with non-governmental organizations confirm that there are few numbers of Syrian refugees in the districts of Arsuz, Defne, and Samandağ (Interview with Veli, a social worker at NGO).

4.1.2 Strategic Importance of Hatay for the Syria Crisis

When the Syria crisis has begun, Syrian refugees entered Turkey for the first time from Hatay border gate. On 29 April 2011, 252 Syrian citizens crossed the border through Yayladağı border gate and reached Turkey. The first camp for Syrian refugees was established in Yayladağı district, and two more camps were established in Altınözü district as admissions continued (Erdoğan, 2015).

Since the beginning of the conflict, Hatay has been one of the preferred cities by refugees to live. There are three main reasons for this preference. The first reason is that Hatay and Syria are border neighbours. Since the war was expected to be short-lived when it first began, the Turkish state has set up camps in cities in the border region to host refugees. Likewise, refugees have opted to stay in cities in the border region to make it easier to return after the conflict has ended (Kirişçi, et al., 2013).

Another important reason is that there are an Arab origin community lives in Hatay and they spoke Arabic. The widespread use of the Arabic language in the city has encouraged refugees to live in Hatay. Thus, refugees were able to contact host community members without a language barrier, at least in the public spaces. The last reason is the kinship between Syrian refugees and the citizens in Hatay. While borders were drawn during World War II, families living in the border region were separated, while some remained in Syria and other families remained in Turkey. From past to present, these families have maintained kinship relationships and visited each other at certain times. When the war began, some of the Syrian families chose to come to their relatives living in Hatay. Because they speak the same language and come from similar cultures, Syrian refugees have often preferred to live in Hatay (Interview with Veli, a social worker at NGO; Interview with Ziyad, a Syrian teacher). Since the war began, Hatay has been one

of the cities where most Syrian refugees live. The statistics also show that from the past to the present day, Hatay is a city often favoured by Syrian refugees to live in.

Table 4-1: Number of Syrian Refugees Living in Hatay by Years

Years	2014		2019	
Location	Camp	Out of Camp	Camp	Out of Camp
Number of Syrian Refugees	14,735	190,000	10,836	429,721
TOTAL	204,735		440,557	

Source: Generated using data dated 14.11.2019 sourced by (DGMM, 2019) and (Erdoğan, 2015)

As the table 4-1 shows, Hatay continues to be one of the cities that hosts the greatest number of Syrian refugees. According to information obtained in November 2019, Hatay hosts the highest number of refugees compared to its population after Kilis. The fact that refugees make up 27% of the total population in Hatay, also raises some challenges for both the refugee and host community. As Hatay has hosted a high number of refugees since the beginning of the war, there are several challenges across the city regarding access to services, receiving quality services, and social cohesion. Especially in the education sector, these challenges have become more visible in 2019 according to previous years. (Interview with Veli, a social worker at NGO)

Table 4-2: Cities Host High Number Syrian Refugees based on Comparison with Provincial Population

	Province	Syrian refugees	Host Community	Percentage of comparison with the provincial population
1	Kilis	115,737	142,541	81,20%
2	Hatay	440,557	1,609,856	27,37%
3	Şanlıurfa	429,890	2,035,809	21,12%
4	Gaziantep	452,113	2,028,563	22,29%
5	Adana	240,410	2,220,125	10,83%

Source: Generated using data dated 14.11.2019 sourced by (DGMM, 2019)

Interviews with NGOs, government agencies, teachers and children show that 2019 was the year when Syrian children had the most difficulty in accessing education in the Hatay province. Also, social tensions at schools increased gradually. According to the information obtained in the interviews, there are three specific reasons why accessing education and social cohesion in Hatay became more challenging compared to previous

years for Syrian children. These specific reasons can be listed as lack of registration, the decongestion and closure process of the camps, and transition from TECs to Turkish public schools.

4.1.3 Specific Challenges and Situations Related to Education in Hatay

In this section, specific situations and challenges regarding Hatay was discussed based on the findings from the fieldwork. Lack of registration, closure and decongestion process of camps, Transition from TECs to Turkish public schools, and Social Inclusion and Tension topic were identified as specific situations for Hatay province.

4.1.3.1 Suspension of registration

In November 2017, registration is suspended in the Hatay by Hatay governorate due to hosting the high number of refugees and lack of capacity to respond to refugees' needs in the province. Hatay PDMM only issued a registration for urgent medical cases, new-born babies, and family reunification cases (Interview with Victoria, a project manager at I/NGO). For this reason, Syrian families who had just arrived in Turkey could not register in Hatay even if they wanted to live in Hatay. There have been many refugees who have been unable to access basic rights and services, including education, because they cannot register and receive temporary protection (HRW, 2018b).



Figure 4-1: Provinces that have suspended Registration for Syrian Refugees

Source: The figure is taken by HRW's website (HRW, 2018b)

4.1.3.2 Closure and Decongestion Process of Camps

In line with DGMM's social cohesion strategy, DGMM had started to camp closure and decongestion process. The main purpose of camp closure and decongestion process is that the Turkish government does not want those in good financial condition and able to work to remain in the camps. Instead of them, the refugees, who are highly vulnerable and have no other options, are thought to remain in the camps. Another reason for camp closure is its negative effect on social cohesion strategy of DGMM (Interview with Veli, a social worker at NGO). Integration of Syrian refugees to society became an initial priority for the Turkish government with the concept of "harmonization" rather than integration. Turkey even established Harmonization and Communication Unit to oversee Turkey's efforts for social integration and harmonization (Unutulmaz K. O., 2018). Camp closure process can be seen as a part of the harmonization process. As the Turkish government announced 2019 as the year of social cohesion, all respective public authorities plan their activities accordingly.

Camp closures & decongestion has started in 2018 and continued intensively in 2019. In this context, in cooperation with UNHCR, social cohesion assistance was provided to those who left the camps. Refugees could decide which city they wish to live, and their registration had transferred to these cities. At the end of this process, Hatay became the most preferred city to live in. Only in the last camp closure process, around 10,000 Syrian refugees come to Hatay to reside (Interview with Victoria, a project manager at I/NGO)

With families coming from the camps, Hatay's population has increased dramatically, which made access to services more difficult for both refugee and the local community. Capacity and social cohesion problems increased in Hatay gradually due to the sudden increase in the refugee population (Interview with Victoria, a project manager at I/NGO).

4.1.3.3 The transition from TECs to Turkish Public Schools

MoNE announced that Turkey would like to fully integrate all Syrian students into the national education system as a part of the integration strategy of the state. Starting from 2016 to 2019, significant steps have been taken for the transition to achieve an ambitious goal of full integration of Syrian students into national formal education system (Unutulmaz K. O., 2018).

In the year of 2015, there were around 69 TECs in 12 districts of Hatay province. 52 were located in urban areas where the rest were located in rural. TECs mostly provided education in primary and secondary school when it was compared with pre-primary and high school levels (Save the Children, 2015)(Please see the table 4-3).

Table 4-3: TEC Levels by District in Hatay

TEC Levels by District				
District	Pre-Primary School	Primary School	Secondary School	High School
Altinozu	0	3	3	1
Antakya	5	16	13	6
Belen	0	13	2	2
Dortyol	0	0	0	0
Erzin	0	1	1	0
Hassa	0	3	3	1
Iskenderun	4	8	8	7
Kirikhan	0	6	6	4
Kumlu	0	1	1	0
Payas	0	1	1	1
Reyhanli	4	17	14	5
Yayladagi	2	3	3	3
TOTAL	15	62	55	30

Source: Retrieved from UNHCR's website date dated 20.11.2019

However, according to Unutulmaz (2019), the number of TECs have increased significantly to 129 (123 TEC in out-of-camp and 3 in camps) in the education year of 2016-2017. This gradual increase shows both the high demand for TECs at the same time increasing number of school-aged Syrian refugee children. When we look at the current situation, during the transition process from TECs to Turkish public schools, the majority of TECs are closed. Reportedly, PDNE has decided to keep 19 TECs due to capacity problems in the Turkish public schools. The situation of children goes to these TECs are

not clear at the moment. Also, due to the capacity problem in the Turkish public schools, refugee children referred to TECs as a short-term solution (Interview with Veli, a social worker at NGO).

According to data obtained by Hatay PDNE website, there are 1,311 schools 14,174 classrooms, 20,950 teachers, and 398,675 local students exist in Hatay province as of 2019 (PDNE, 2019).

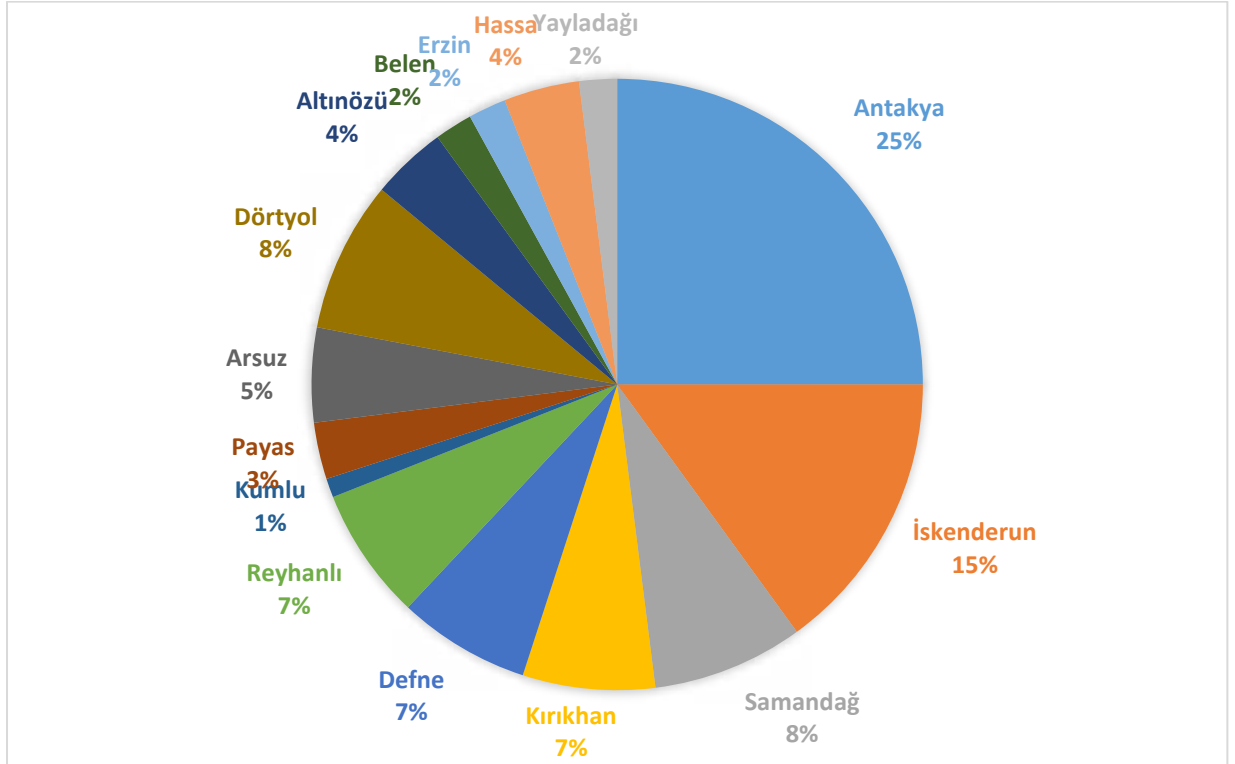


Figure 4- 2: Distribution of Local Students by District (2017-2018)

Source: Retrieved from Hatay Socio-Economic Report dated 2018 by (Yeşil & Eskiocak, 2018)

As figure 4-2 shows, Antakya and İskenderun has the highest number of students in Hatay. Reyhanlı, Kırıkhan, Dört Yol, Samandağ, and Defne districts are other big districts which host a medium number of students in the city. Table 4-3 also shows the locations of Syrian refugees which is in line with the local population. Interviews also took place in Antakya, İskenderun, Kırıkhan, Reyhanlı, and Yayladağı in line with the refugee population.

Table 4-3: Syrian Refugee Children's Status on Education in Hatay by District (2014-2015 Education Year)

District	Number of TECs	Number of Students Enrolled	Syrian Population	School-Aged Syrians	Percentage Enrolled in TECs	The ratio of Children per TEC
Altinozu	3	857	14,700	4,909	17,4	1,637
Antakya	21	9,068	82,980	27,715	32,7	1,320
Belen	4	1,024	6,731	2,248	45,5	562
Dortyol	1	500	8,621	2,879	17,3	2,879
Erzin	1	151	4,950	1,653	9,1	1,653
Hassa	3	480	6,883	2,298	20,8	766
Iskenderun	8	2,185	31,176	10,412	20,9	1,302
Kirikhan	6	3,133	44,342	14,810	21,1	2,468
Kumlu	1	454	5,718	1,909	23,7	1,910
Payas	1	267	2,598	867	30,7	868
Reyhanli	17	9,607	94,111	31,433	30,5	1,849
Yayladagi	3	919	8,159	2,725	33,7	908
TOTAL	69	28,645	310,969	103,864	27,5	18,122

Source: Retrieved from UNHCR's website date dated 20.11.2019 (Save the Children, 2015)

Even if TECs are set to be closed at the end of 2019, there are still 19 TECs open in Hatay, while the rest of them had closed gradually. According to Interview at the Hatay PDoNE (2019), no circular established the current situation of TECs as of August 2019, for this reason, there is significant uncertainty about the status of TECs in the province. The PDoNE official thinks that TECs were designed to prevent Syrian children from becoming a lost generation, for this reason, even if TECs appear to have finalized their primary function. However, there is a possibility that a small number of TECs will continue operating for out-of-school children for a few extra years to organize catch-up courses or establish Turkish Language Centres under the control of MoNE. The PDoNE official stated that TECs would be used as adaptation centres for Syrians who never attended school in Turkey to teach them the language and familiarize them with the Turkish education system. Lastly, according to this PDoNE official, TECs could be transferred to Turkish public schools because there is not enough school capacity in high refugee population cities even if several schools were constructed in the last two years (Interview with Ahmet, an education officer at PDoNE).

4.1.3.4 Social Inclusion and Tensions

While it is an advantage that one of the local languages is Arabic, there are still alienation and disintegration between ethnic and sectarian groups in Hatay. The trade from/to Syria was damaged too which causes the perception of Syrians to create economic problems and increase the rents. Also, increasing numbers of Syrian refugees in the city created small tensions after hosting the high number of Syrian refugees for 8 years.

Regarding peaceful co-existence, The Metropolitan Mayor of Hatay Mr. Lütfü Savaş made press releases about Syrians which might foster negative perception against Syrians. The Mayor noted that Syrian refugees have led to unemployment and increases in rents in Hatay, resulting in economic problems for Turkish youth. He also claimed that more and more Syrians were living in his home town. Based on high birth rates among the Syrian population, he commented that in ten years' time they could even be able to provide the mayor (T24, 2019).

Despite those statements, it is hard to say there is a grave social tension amongst refugees and host community members in Hatay because they were only two social tension incidents reported since July 2016 according to the police records. Some families have negative attitudes toward Syrians because of hosting high numbers and problems at school, but the situation as regards to social cohesion is much better compared with other refugee-hosting cities such as Şanlıurfa (Interview with Veli, a social worker at NGO).



	NÜFUS	SEÇMEN SAYISI	VATANDAŞLIK KAZANAN SURIYELİ SEÇMEN	SURIYELİ SEÇMEN ORANI (%)	VATANDAŞLIK KAZANAN SURIYELİ	VATANDAŞLIK KAZANMAYAN SURIYELİ SAYISI
DEFNE	152.491	107.397	165	0,15	195	1.527
YAYLADAĞI	32.995	22.127	3.177	14,36	5.748	4.761
SAMANDAĞ	123.071	82.331	83	0,10	84	322
ANTAKYA	371.500	243.339	3.345	1,37	5.420	72.532
İSKENDERUN	245.728	174.221	982	0,56	1.287	21.154
BELEN	33.855	24.017	270	1,12	426	6.833
ALTINÖZÜ	61.689	37.616	306	0,81	524	16.364
KIRIKHAN	116.096	76.241	907	1,19	1.390	27.908
KUMLU	14.266	9.101	64	0,70	111	3.747
PAYAS	42.250	28.380	108	0,38	189	4.748
ERZİN	42.156	29.222	19	0,07	32	2.436
ARSUZ	89.569	63.527	105	0,17	110	2.472
HASSA	57.503	38.097	164	0,43	191	5.224
DÖRTYOL	125.529	84.728	127	0,15	236	6.815
REYHANLI	99.150	58.076	2.774	4,78	4.850	55.914
	1.607.848	1.078.420	12.596	1,17	20.793	232.757

Figure 4-3: The number of Syrian Refugees who granted Turkish citizenship in Hatay Province

Source: Retrieved from UNHCR's website date dated 17.01.2019 (Milli Gazete, 2019)

4.2 FINDINGS FROM THE FIELD STUDY

Within the scope of the field survey, a total of 45 interviews were conducted with 30 Syrian children, ten teachers, two local non-governmental organization, one international non-governmental organization, one Syrian community-based organization, and one staff from the provincial directorate of national education. In these interviews, the access and adaptation processes of Syrian students were examined, and the effects of education on adaptation to the host community were examined. These findings were evaluated in terms of access to education, quality of education, and inclusivity of education. However, topics such as the profile of Syrian children and educational backgrounds that could be related to the subject were not mentioned. Within the scope of this study, the findings obtained from the interviewers also determined the selection and importance of the titles.

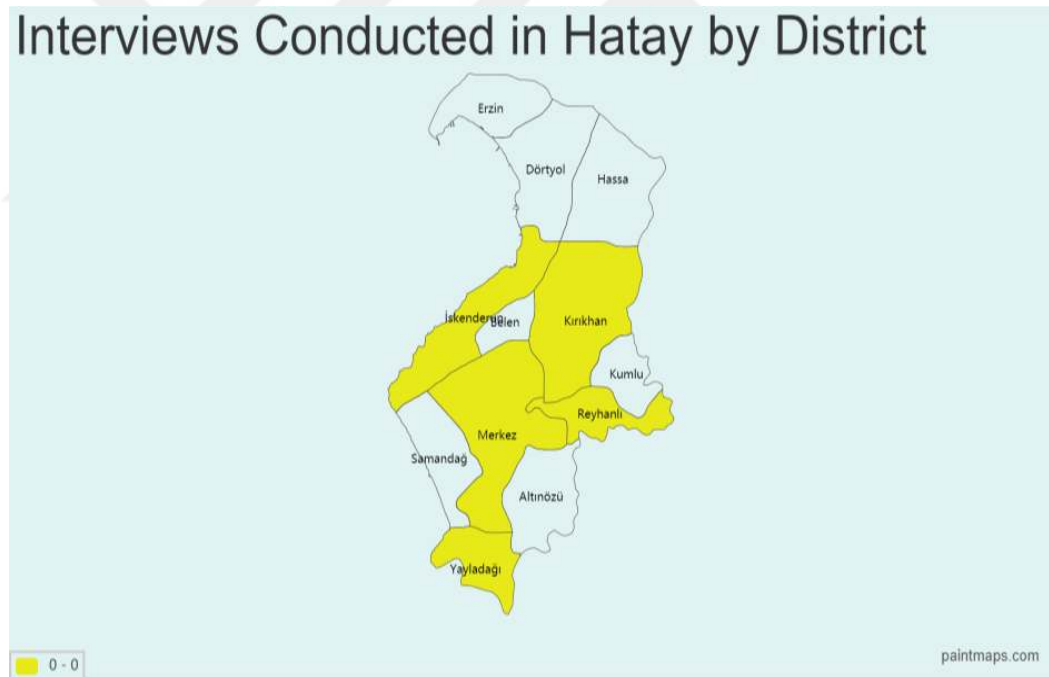


Figure 4-2: Interviews Conducted in Hatay by District

Since the beginning of the Syrian crises, many positive steps have been taken by the Turkish government for the education of refugee children, and refugee education is gradually improving. The Turkish government has been trying to regulate the refugee education system through regulations which enacted in the years of 2013, 2014 and 2016. While temporary policies were in place in education until 2014, integration policies in

education were put into effect after 2016 (Unutulmaz K. O., 2018). Despite the efforts of both the Turkish government, I/NGOs and the United Nations on education, there are still many serious challenges in the areas of access, quality, and inclusive education in Turkey. In this section, these challenges faced by refugee children is analysed with the support of field findings under three main headings. In the end, key findings are presented based on integrated and segregated education models.

4.2.1 Access to Education

Access to education is the fundamental right of all refugee children. Although legal arrangements have been made to allow refugee children access to education in Turkey, there is still a serious population that has not been able to access to school. According to information shared by the MoNE, only 63,23 % of Syrian children have access to education as of October 2019 (MoNE, 2019a). According to research conducted in Turkey by several researchers, the main barriers to access to education are language barriers, discrimination, child labour and child marriage caused by economic hardship, lack of infrastructure, uncertainty and temporariness, and mobility of refugees (Taştan, C & Çelik, Z, 2017; UNICEF, 2015; Emin, 2016)

4.2.1.1 Out-of-School Children

Refugee students have difficulty adapting to school and class because they cannot use the language adequately and have difficulty in establishing relationships with teachers and local students. These students may also face humiliation and exclusion. This may adversely affect the adaptation, participation, and attendance of immigrant children. For this reason, refugee children can leave school. Apart from the problems experienced by immigrant children at school, they also face absenteeism or drop-out due to family reasons or socio-economic reasons (Pryor, 2001).

“We came to Hatay when the camp in Urfa had closed in 2018. I went to school in camp for 3 years... My classes at the camp were good, but my Turkish was not very good. I was good at math. I enrolled in school here last year. There were a few Syrian students at my school. Turkish children didn’t want to be friend with me, because I don’t understand Turkish. The school environment was different than I got used to. I felt very alone. I didn’t want to go to school, so I just quit. It’s better that I help my parents at home. ” (Interview with a Syrian student, Emel, F-3-12)

As it is seen from the above interview conducted with a 12 years old Syrian girl who left TEC in the camp and started to live in urban and go to Turkish public school, children who stayed in the camps and studied in TECs for several years face several difficulties to adapt new environment and integrate to the school. They feel alone, isolated, and excluded from the society that they live in. Once they have left the school, the distance with the host community is more likely to increase if there is no interaction.

In the interviews conducted within the scope of the study, it was stated that Syrian children were not stable on attendance due to language problems in Turkish public schools and not being able to adapt to school sufficiently, and experienced high absences and dropouts. It was also found in studies similar to the finding that refugee children tend to leave the school due to the fact that they cannot make enough connections with its classmates (Taştan, C & Çelik, Z, 2017). The administrators and teachers state that the Syrian students who are absent or who never come to school cannot meet with their parents and have not heard from them. This makes it difficult for Syrian students to be involved in school and educational processes. It has been observed that schools do not have any monitoring mechanisms regarding their attendance or absence:

“I was attending secondary school, I did not understand the lessons because I did not speak Turkish. The teacher was not interested in me anyway. The teacher told us 'you will be nothing'. So, I quit school, I started working.” (Interview with a Syrian student, Ali, M-3-12)

This makes it difficult for Syrian students to be involved in school and educational processes. It has been observed that schools do not have any monitoring mechanisms regarding their attendance or dropout. Moreover, teachers usually think that Syrian students do not come to school. A high school Turkish teacher said:

“He had nothing to buy from here, so it would be a waste of time, and for us, too. Also, these students will be not permanent at school, and therefore it is not important to follow the absenteeism of these students” (Interview with a Turkish Teacher, Cemalettin, MT-2-34)

Therefore, some teachers appear not to be interested in the educational processes of Syrian students enough like other students. This disinterest prevents Syrian students who already have difficulty in adapting to school, making strong connections with the school. Therefore, they tend to absent or leave school.

In the literature, child marriage also mentions as a cause of drop-out by many researchers. However, in the fieldwork, the researcher didn't come across with child marriage case amongst child participants, but I/NGO member shared information about child marriage cases in Hatay.

“We are working on child protection for last 3 years, but still, we have the challenge to solve child marriage cases. Even if there is a clear regulation and the school prevent children from child marriage, some families insistently continue to marry their children in early ages. Child marriage cases are one of the most challenging ones all the time. From identification to implementation and referral to follow-up, each case management step is hard to continue for us. Teachers are in the best position to identify child marriage cases if they follow up the children closely, check their attendance regularly, and reach children in cases of drop-out. They are obligated to inform authorities for this kind of things, but unfortunately, many teachers are not taking necessary steps indicated in the Turkish law. I came across many cases that children were forced to drop out the school by their families with the purpose of marriage when the case is reflected to our side it was too late. Teachers could make a change with being a bit more careful about drop-out children and absenteeism at school.” (Interview with a Turkish teacher, Ayşe, FT-2-32)

While some of the refugee children started school and quit for several reasons, an important number of refugee children could not start school in Turkey at all due to mismatch of class and age, lack of registration, cultural or economic reasons.

“We came to Turkey 2 years ago to escape from the conflicts in Idlib. The principal didn't allow me to start school because we couldn't register in Hatay. I started working with my brothers in irregular jobs. Then my brother achieved to register our family, but I couldn't go to school because the month was April...There is an association next to our house, sometimes I go there if there is an event or activity for children. The brother working there said that there is a training for me. They signed me up for classes. I learned some Turkish there, I made friends. I missed going to school because I had stopped going to school in Syria because of the war. I was so sad when the class ended.” (Interview with a Syrian child, Hasan, M-3-16)

Refugee children who stayed out of education for 3 or more years due to war and conflict, it is hard to integrate them to the school again. As Hasan mentioned, in certain situations, even if refugee children want to go to school, due to several barriers they cannot access education. ALP programme has developed for this target group. Through

ALP programme refugee children has a chance to get into the education environment again, increase language abilities, receive catch-up courses, and prepare themselves to return mainstream schools again.

4.2.1.2 Lack of documentation & Registration

Registration is the main element for refugees which will open all the doors to access main rights and services. In the literature, it is not often discussed that Syrian children have trouble to access to education due to lack of registration. In the early years of the Syrian crisis, documents such as passports, police registration certificates and residence permits were required to enrol in school, but since 2014, children started to enrol school easily regardless of registration status of their families (Kirişçi, et al., 2013). However, when we look at the Hatay case, the situation shows that lack of documentation prevents a number of children to access school.

The adverse effect of the suspension of registration in Hatay became visible during the fieldwork. Both teachers, I/NGO members, and students mention that families couldn't register themselves because of restriction policies in Hatay PDMM. Even if schools can accept unregistered children as 'guest' student, school principals are not in favour of registering these children. Since November 2017, I/NGOs showed great efforts to register the children who are in the school-age in the PDMM through advocacy and different initiatives.

“ I don't go to school because we couldn't get TP ID. The school didn't register me because there was no ID. That's why I haven't been able to go to school since we came to Turkey. My dad tried hard to register our family, but they have closed registration.” (Interview with a Syrian Student, Emel, F-3-12)

“ It used to be easy to register refugees, but starting from November 2017, they stopped new registration of refugees in Hatay. They took this decision due to the large population of refugees in Hatay, but the unregistered refugees did not have access to any services in the process. We've done a lot of advocacy for children, but we still couldn't manage to enrol unregistered students to school. We identified and listed unregistered children as NGOs working in this city and shared this data with UNHCR. They started advocacy with DGMM to register these children. Through this initiative, we registered many children, but they only registered those with names on the list. Unfortunately, other children could not register. (Interview with Victoria, a project manager at I/NGO)

“We came from Istanbul to Hatay 3 months ago because İstanbul governorate didn't allow us to live in İstanbul anymore. When we first came to Turkey in 2018

January through irregular ways, we couldn't get a TP ID from Hatay. They said we can go to other cities to register our family. We went to İstanbul for registration and work, but İstanbul PDMM also didn't register us. The school didn't accept me either in here or İstanbul. They said now the school is full, there is no place, if the new school opens in our neighbourhood, they can take me to the school, but as a guest student. If there is no diploma, what I can do?" (Interview with a Syrian child, Hasan, M-3-16)

States are obligated to respect children's rights based on international law. According to International Children's Convention, every child has a right to access to education. The Turkish government has made very serious attempts to schooling Syrian children and integrate them into the national education system. However, suspension of registration with the decision of governorate had a negative impact on refugee children and caused them to be unable to access to education.

4.2.1.3 Socio-economic and cultural status of Syrian parents

The socio-economic and cultural characteristics of families determine the status of children's educational opportunities. Some families are continually trying to create educational opportunities for their children, while others do not. Therefore, children of some families may be advantageous in accessing educational opportunities, while others may be disadvantaged. The socio-economic and cultural status of the parents is an essential factor affecting the academic success of the child, his interest and abilities, his interest in the lessons, his attendance and adaptation to school. Immigrant families are more disadvantaged than the locals in socio-economic terms because they cannot easily integrate into the social and economic life of the host society (Rong & Preissle, 1998). The situation is similar for the parents of Syrian children. It has been seen that the socio-economic situation of the Syrian parents is not good, and their children are inadequate to cover school expenses such as stationery, social activities, course materials and resources. This has been expressed both by teachers as well as by Syrian students themselves.

"Our family's financial situation is not good. We have many expenses at school. We have a Red Crescent card, but sometimes it is not enough. I had friends who left school because of economic hardship." (Interview with a Syrian Student, Yusuf, M-1-15)

“All children with low socioeconomic status are in my class. As for Syrian children, it was difficult. We cannot get support from the administration. I spent 500 TL out of my own pocket. I did not do it because I had to.” (Interview with a Syrian Teacher, Halid, MS-1-29)

“Our economic situation is good. My father is an engineer in Saudi Arabia, and he is sending money to us. Since both my parents are educated, they give importance to our education. They are sending us to courses.” (Interview with a Syrian student, Raneem, F-2-14)

As can be understood from the interviews, school expenses which Syrian parents have difficulty in meeting tried to be compensated by teachers or administrators. This indicates that teachers and administrators are trying to help Syrian parents with costs, but that this situation is not sustainable, and they need more support. The negative impact of poverty on the educational processes of Syrian children is also encountered in other studies (Taştan, C & Çelik, Z, 2017). In these studies, it was stated that Syrian children could not participate in education due to poverty or the children who participated had difficulty in paying the education costs.

Child labour is a common protection concern for refugee children in Turkey and specifically in Hatay province. Common reasons for child labour are financial problems (lack of breadwinner or female head of household at home, lack of job opportunities for adults etc.), cultural reasons (social norms), schooling reasons (challenges to access to school or have a quality and inclusive education) can be listed as a cause for refugee children to work (Interview with Elif, a project officer at NGO). According to STL’s research on child labour in Hatay province, 24% of Syrian households have at least one working children. Also, amongst working children, %70-80 of refugee children works at least six days a week (Yalcin, 2016). On the contrary to the adverse effects of child labour, most of the working children have a good knowledge of the Turkish language and the high percentage of integration to the study. 14 years old working child who lives in Iskenderun stated that

“ When we came to Turkey, we had to suspend our education. The school was good, but it was costly for my family. My father can't work, and the Red Crescent card isn't enough, so I must work. I love to work because I have a lot of Turk and Syrian friends there. We work together at the bus station. We carry little things. We go to the seaside together after work, spending time there.” (Interview with a Syrian child, Vael, M-3-14)

It is important to highlight that almost all the working children that have been interviewed were speaking very good Turkish and interviews were conducted in Turkish. Working children learn the language quickly, yet they do not know how to write and read most of the time. Due to high interaction with society and support of speaking Turkish, working children have a chance to build good relations with society.

In addition, teachers and administrators stated that their schools are already in disadvantaged areas, that they have low academic and socio-economic students, and that this disadvantage has increased with the arrival of Syrian students. Besides, it was stated that many of the local students in the classroom were at a low socio-economic level and that the help given to the Syrians caused a reaction by the local parents and students. However, apart from these, field works show that families with a high level of education and good economic conditions give importance to the education of their children and monitor their education status regularly.

At the same time, cultural preferences and beliefs of the families play important role access of refugee children to education. The coeducational system can be cited as an example of these cultural preferences and beliefs. It has been observed that many Syrian families are unfamiliar with and do not prefer the coeducational system, especially at the secondary and high school level. Although some teachers and children expressed during the interviews that some families feel discomfort with co-education, it was observed that some families did not send their children to school because of this co-education. The importance of this has been more decisive for some families, especially after the closure of TECs where girls and boys have separate classes and break times in the level of secondary school.

“ Everything was great when I went to middle school. I was getting along very well with my teachers and friends at the TEC. When I started high school in the Turkish public school, my parents wouldn't let me continue. my dad said it's not good for boys and girls to go to the same school and attend the same class at my age. ” (Interview with a Syrian student, Hayad, M-3-15)

“ One of the bad reflections of the closure of TECs was the coeducational system in Turkey. Even though I'm a teacher, I'm also a father. It bothers me that my 16-year-old daughter is in the same class with boys. I wish we were given a different chance because this situation is not in line with our sensibilities. There are families

around me who don't send their children to school because they're uncomfortable with this system. Also, coeducation is reducing children's interest in classes at school. They start paying attention to different things. For this reason, coeducation should be given up. ‘’(Interview with a Syrian student, Ziyad, M-1-45)

Coeducation will be one of the main reasons for families to not to send their children to school because the coeducation system was not existing in Syria in the secondary and high school level. Taştan and Çelik state that even if there are great similarities amongst Turkish and Syrian society regards to religion, tradition, and even food, there are also significant differences in certain aspects of life such as coeducation which have an adverse effect on schooling of Syrian girls (Taştan, C & Çelik, Z, 2017). Coeducation will be an element of both access to school and inclusive education category at the same time. Both children and teachers have an idea that coeducation can be made the process more difficult during the integration to education process because both families and students are generally reactive to this issue and have a strong reaction against coeducation system in Turkey (SETA and Theirworld, 2017).

4.2.2 Quality of Education

Quality education determinates the regular attendance of children at school and prevents them from being out-of-school. It also helps children to integrate to the school system and society (Dryden-Peterson, 2011). The language barrier, Mismatch of Class Levels and Ages, Academic Performance, and Poorly Trained Teachers are discussed with the findings from fieldwork.

4.2.2.1 Language Barrier

As experienced in the migrant education processes of other countries, the language problem of Syrian students in Turkey is one of the main issues to be addressed. Language is an element that directly affects the process of adaptation of immigrant students to education, either positively or negatively. The success of migrant students in language education accelerates compliance, while wrong practices and methods lead to problems in the adaptation process (McBrien, 2005).

The findings in the teacher and student interviews included in the study revealed that language was the most fundamental problem Syrian students had in the process of

adapting to Turkish public schools. The fact that most Syrian students have Arabic as their mother tongue and that they have limited knowledge of Turkish prevents them from communicating with local teachers, students, and administrators. Moreover, this language problem causes children to face problems in psychological areas such as adaptation to the education process, participation and attendance, academic and social success, relationships with teachers, students, and other school staff, and exhibiting introversion or aggressive behaviour. Therefore, as mentioned in this section, the language problem of the Syrian students is not only in the field of education, but there is a barrier set in front of the integration of the refugee students into society.

On the contrary to above, Turkmen descent children who are able to speak Turkish because of their Turkish origin, are generally more successful than other Syrian children and have a better academic performance at school due to their language skills. Also, Syrian children with Turkmen descent are experiencing bullying less likely than their Syrian peers. A Turkmen descent child living in Yayladağı stated that

‘‘ I love my teachers, I love my friends at school. We've been living here together with them for many years. They're there whenever we need them...I was the most successful one in my class last year. My teacher got me a present.’’ (Interview with a Syrian child, Yahya, M-1-16)

As Graetz (1995) mentioned, academic performance is strongly linked with active participation in the classrooms. According to Aydın and Kaya (2017), Syrian children with limited Turkish knowledge have a difficulty to follow and participate in the discussions at school which is worsening academic performance of Syrian children.

In the interviews with Turkish teachers, the teachers were asked questions about their relationship with the Syrian students and what the communication problems with these students were. The most crucial finding in this context is that teachers are not able to communicate to Syrian students because of the language barrier, their relationship is very limited, and this limited relationship has a negative impact on the adaptation of Syrian students to educational processes. The teachers expressed this situation in their own words as follows:

“The biggest problem we have is the language problem. Once you know the language, the rest is easy. However, because they do not speak the language, we cannot communicate.” (Interview with a Turkish teacher, Ayşe, FT-2-32)

“There were 25 people in my class, and 2 of them are Syrians. I have not had any contact with the other one in a year. He is very passive in class. He does not understand what we discuss in the class.” (Interview with a Turkish Teacher, Cemalettin, MT-2-34)

As it is understood from the teachers' statements, the problem of language and language-based communication was found to be at the heart of the problems experienced by Syrian students. As a matter of fact, it was mentioned by the participating teachers that to solve all the problems mentioned by the interviewees, students should learn Turkish at a minimum level to communicate with the Syrian students. The Turkish teacher who was interviewed in the same school mentioned that to establish communication with the Syrian students, these students should have at least one year of Turkish education before starting primary school and start primary school with a minimum degree of Turkish knowledge:

“She did not want to come at first, and when she did, she cried a lot. She could not talk to anyone, and she could not communicate. She was afraid of her friends. These children should learn the language and come here, or they will not learn anything here. They must go through the Turkish preparation process for one year. They will feel better if they are together. They get into school easier.” (Interview with a Turkish Teacher, Ayşe, FT-2-32)

Some teachers have emphasized that it is necessary for Syrian students to be included in public schools and that Syrians should be included in Turkish education and curriculum for social cohesion processes. In the meeting with the PDoNE, the interviewee stated that:

"We aim to teach the laws, rules, reading style, social life, and behaviour of Turkey; these children cannot learn if they are in a separate classroom, they can learn within our own children" (Interview with Ahmet, an education officer at PDoNE)

The Syrian Community-Based Organization worker emphasized that education is a fundamental right for Syrian students and that they must be in the same schools and

classes as the local students to benefit from the opportunities of the society they live in and stated that the MoNE's policy of including Syrian students in public schools is correct.

The main objective of MoNE since 2014 is to ensure that Syrian students receive education in Turkish public schools. As a matter of fact, as in the world examples, immigrant students whose mother tongue is different according to the inclusive education model do not receive education in separate classes. They are directly included in the education together with their local peers in the same schools and classrooms (Kaya & Aydın, 2014). In this context, the education of immigrant children together with their local peers is also crucial in order to prevent these students from getting away from the ghetto and getting into society. However, contrary to this view, some of the Turkish teachers stated that Syrian students should be educated in a completely different school, in their own language, and with their teachers.

“These students should be trained in separate schools with separate teachers. Temporary Education Centres should not be closed, and these students should receive an education there. Sooner or later they will be back. Why do we always try to teach Turkish? They will be a foreigner to their home country” (Interview with a Turkish Teacher, Cemalettin, MT-2-34)

The presence of the Syrians in Turkey is entering its eighth year. Therefore, this issue is no longer temporary and has become a long-term issue. Assuming that there are more than one million Syrian children in the education age, there is a need for teachers to provide education to these children. This need was emphasized during the interview with the PDoNE official and INGO member. However, it is seen that education faculties have not yet updated their programs to meet this need. For this reason, it is essential that the education faculties be reconsidered to professionalize the new teachers in terms of migrant education towards Turkey's increasing migration potential.

4.2.2.2 Mismatch of Class Levels and Ages

Syrian children who have been suspended for an extended period of education have to be enrolled in classes where they are younger than the rest of their classmates because they are not able to read and write in Turkish. These children cannot receive an

education with their peers or may face negative situations such as exclusion or discrimination with other children in their class (SETA and Theirworld, 2017). For this reason, there is a need for compensatory training especially for the students who have stopped their education for a long time to catch their peers both in language and other academic training. The Turkish teacher and Syrian student expressed their situation in their own words as follows:

“My pupil is normally a fourth-year-old, but because he was illiterate, they gave him to my class, so that they could start at least the second grade. At first, he did not want to come. He could not talk to anyone. He was afraid of his friends.” (Interview with a Turkish Teacher, Ayşe, FT-2-32)

“When I had to move to high school 3rd grade, they started me at high school 1st grade in a Turkish school. I never agreed with them because they were younger than me. I lost three years.” (Interview with a Syrian Student, M-1-17)

As it can be understood from the statements of the interviewees, students who are enrolled in one or second grade of primary school cannot be together with their peers in the educational environment because they do not speak Turkish when they are older and cannot participate in the classroom and extracurricular activities together. On the other hand, students who are directed to the appropriate level of age cannot participate in academic education because they do not speak Turkish and they have difficulty in closing the academic deficit in previous levels.

4.2.2.3 Academic Performance

Migrant children are disadvantaged in terms of access to education, equal access to educational opportunities, and social/academic success in the countries of migration (McBrien, 2005). Immigrant children may have lower social and academic performance than local students due to reasons such as struggling with unequal conditions in schools, lack of teachers and lack of language learning. The fact that Syrian students do not have sufficient command of the Turkish language, it also affects their academic and social success in Turkish public schools negatively. As a matter of fact, most of the Syrian students start school without any Turkish education, and as a result of this, they cannot follow the courses due to lack of Turkish and have difficulty in academic performance (Kaya & Aydın, 2014).

Syrian teachers and students were interviewed within the scope of the study. In the answers, Syrian students stated that they could not evaluate their academic success sufficiently due to the language barrier and that these students are still in the language learning stage. The interviewees stated that Syrian students could learn to read and write in Turkish at the end of the year, but there were serious deficiencies in understanding what they read. Moreover, some teachers stated that they could not make any assessment and evaluation regarding the academic levels of Syrian students and that they had to take the students randomly to the upper level. The secondary school, the 8th-grade teacher, explained this situation as follows:

“We cannot, of course, measure the academic success of the child. They say to us, just give it a grade. ... I gave the exam paper and then took it back and wrote 50.” (Interview with a Turkish Teacher, Cemalettin, MT-2-34)

On the contrary, many teachers have stated that the mathematics achievement of the Syrian students in their class is much better than the other students. Therefore, because Syrian students have problems in reading and understanding Turkish, they are considered as unsuccessful in verbal courses. However, it was stated by the teachers that they were successful in the numerical process content such as mathematics.

“They are very good at math. There are very good ones among our students. One of them is the best in my class. They are very successful, actually.” (Interview with a Turkish Teacher, Cemalettin, MT-2-34)

“Their math skills are great. I wanted to refer my students to take the exams of Science and Art Education Centres, but I couldn't because they are not a citizen of the Republic of Turkey. In math, they turn our children” (Interview with a Turkish Teacher, Ayşe, FT-2-32)

Syrian students need compensatory education to address the gaps in academic education as well as language education. Compensation training is a significant opportunity to catch up with peers, especially for long-term students. At this point, it is vital to benefit from Arabic-speaking teachers or Syrian teachers in TECs. As a matter of fact, it was stated by a PDoNE staff that local teachers are inadequate in providing compensatory training since they do not speak the language and that a separate vacancy should be formed for compensatory training:

“ Catch-up training is not possible with our existing teachers. Who will? There is no staff to give it to them. There is no such staff in the PDoNE. This compensatory training cannot be done with calculations such as voluntary work, additional course fees, etc.” (Interview with a PDoNE official, Ahmet)

For this reason, it is essential that compensatory education is provided primarily by teachers who can communicate with Syrian students.

4.2.2.4 Poorly Trained Teachers

Teachers are key persons for the education of refugee children. As refugee children have different special needs, teachers need to be trained or equipped to meet these needs. However, studies show that teachers in Turkey were not prepared to deal with refugee children whom may have difficulties in learning and several traumas (Taştan, C & Çelik, Z, 2017) (Çelik & İçduygu, 2018). For this reason, specialized training is mandatory for Turkish teachers to improve their professional development and to learn how to deal with refugee children who have experienced on violence, loss, and trauma (UNICEF, 2015). Aydın and Kaya (2019) also found that teachers’ school and professional experience is not enough to tackle Syrian students. When teachers apply a wrong policy on refugee children, the vulnerability of refugee children can be worsening.

There are several areas that teachers need professional and educational support. The first area, Turkish teaching skills for non-Turkish speakers. As language barrier has seen one of the most important dynamics of integration of refugee children, children should receive a quality Turkish lessons by a professional teacher (Taylor & Sidhu, 2011; Aydın & Kaya, 2019; Taştan, C & Çelik, Z, 2017). Teaching a language to a foreigner needs specific qualifications.

A second important area to improve is learning how to deal with children who are experienced violence and trauma. Syrian children have different psychological problems and coping mechanisms. When teachers cannot meet the psychological needs of children, problems will arise swiftly (Şahin and Sümer, 2018).

“ Most of the Syrian children are suffering from trauma. For this reason, they need professional support. As counselling teachers at school, it is more than our capacities and what we can do. We have received training by UNICEF in 2016 and 2018 in this regard, but the theory is much more different than practice. “ (Interview with a Turkish teacher, Elif, FT-1-24)

Studies also show that some teachers are likely to express discriminative behaviours against refugee children with or without their self-awareness. Teachers may label their refugee students as unsuccessful and incapable from the beginning and ignore all the success that refugee children achieve. This kind of behaviours affects the well-being of the child as well as class motivation (Huttova et al. 2008; Sprietsma, 2009). Below interview shows that children realize when their teacher demonstrate discriminative behaviours against themselves and this leads demotivation for refugee students.

“I was good with my previous teacher, but the new teacher doesn’t like Syrian students in the class. I ask questions when I don’t understand, but she does not interesting with me at all...Once I gave the same answers in the exam with my Turkish friend, but she gave me a bad grade. For her, I would never succeed.” (Interview with a Syrian student, Ola, F-1-16)

Last significant area to expertise for a teacher is learning how to create a rich learning environment for all students in the classrooms (Florian & Linklater, 2010). Albeit, teachers are not trained on peace studies and conflict management even if they receive inclusive education knowledge in their studies. As UNICEF (2015) stated that creating a peaceful environment is crucial for learning of refugee children. A child who was bullied mentioned that

“ Sometimes we have problems with Turkish children in the class and things just get just too big suddenly. Some of our teachers try to manage the conflict while others don't even consider it at all.” (Interview with a Syrian student, Ola, F-1-16)

“There are so many Syrian children in our school, I don't speak Arabic, but in time, we started to get used to each other. Due to their several vulnerabilities, I want to show special attention to Syrian children. For this reason, I got into a fight with my fellow teachers at school and got treated badly. When I tried to do something new at school, they told me: you are young now, you will see after 2 years, the Syrian does not understand what you already doing, you make yourself tired for no reason... I was demotivated when I face with this issue regularly. When I achieve a good thing at school, other teachers afraid that the principal will ask the same thing from them.” (Interview with a Turkish teacher, Elif, FT-1-24)

This situation shows that the theory which is learned at university is not adequate to meet the practical needs of the teachers. Also, not only academic success but also personal motivation and interest is crucial for teachers in the teaching environment. As stated above, young and motivated teachers facing bullying from their colleagues at the workplace.

Also, there are several challenges mentioned during the interviews on Syrian volunteer teachers whom previously provided education to Syrian children in the TECs and continue to work in the Turkish public school and they try to increase relationships between Turkish teachers and Syrian families and deal with problems of Syrian children at the moment. Unutulmaz (2018) mentioned that most of the Syrian voluntary educators are not have any technical qualification for being a teacher. Interviews also support this argument.

“ I used to stay at the camp, I'm a math teacher. In the camp, the children couldn't access to education. For this reason, we started an initiative to teach children voluntarily. Things changed when UNICEF started paying teachers. People who had nothing to do with teaching became a teacher to receive a salary from UNICEF. They did more harm than good to these children because they didn't know how to teach. Some people paid for forgery degrees to be a teacher. Unfortunately, they became teachers in the TECs. That is why I support the transition period to Turkish schools. At least, children get a proper education by real teachers.” (Interview with a Syrian teacher, Halid, MS-1-29)

It cannot be possible to give students a quality education without qualified teachers. At the same time, children's respect for teachers and the working conditions of the teachers affects the quality learning environment significantly.

“ I teach Turkish at TEC within PICTES project. We work in very difficult conditions here, no one sees our work. Working with refugee children is very difficult. They're so naughty, they don't listen to lessons, they fight between them all the time. We've received some training from UNICEF, but we're not experts at it. Besides, they have no respect for us. They don't listen to our lesson, whereas the most important lesson is Turkish. They only love and respect Syrian teachers... In response to all these difficulties, we are still working on an uncertain path. We want to be appointed to state service. It's so exhausting thinking about our future all the time. ” (Interview with a Turkish teacher, Cemalettin, MF-2-34)

The well-being of teachers is essential for an efficient learning environment. It is natural that teachers feel demotivated in this kind of circumstances. The researcher didn't

come across this challenge in the literature but believe that it is a noteworthy issue to touch upon.

4.2.3 Inclusive Education

Inclusive education increase belonging of children to the school environment, at the same it increases the well-being of refugee children. In this part of the thesis, the relationship between teachers and Syrian parents, the satisfaction of Syrian students with the education, lack of psychological support mechanisms, and bullying is discussed with their effects of inclusive education.

4.2.3.1 Relationship between Teachers and Syrian Parents

The strong relationship between parents and school has a positive effect on children's behaviours and educational processes. When parents appear visibly at school, students behave in a more controlled manner, become more respectful of each other, and follow school rules. Participation of migrant parents in educational processes leads to harmonious interactions between home, school, and society (Rong & Preissle, 1998).

Parental participation has been identified as the key to effective education for refugee-origin students. Aydin and Kaya (2019) found that Syrian parents whom have a good relationship with their children's teachers and monitor their children's situation at school regularly contribute the integration of their children to schooling system which also increases the academic performance of their children. However, there are many studies indicating that the parents of immigrant students cannot actively participate in school and their children's education process. The disadvantage of migration is also manifested in accessing educational processes and educational opportunities (Uluocak, 2009). A similar situation was observed for the parents of Syrian children. As a matter of fact, Syrian parents are not interested in the education of their children.

The administrators and teachers stated that they could not communicate with the Syrian parents because of the language barrier, and this situation negatively affected the education process of the children. Teachers and administrators stated that they could not communicate with their parents about any situation related to Syrian students and they could not communicate with them. The first-grade teacher explained this as follows:

“We have no communication with the family. We cannot speak because we do not speak any language. They do not come to school. Even if they do, we cannot talk anyway. At least they need to send an interpreter to Syrian schools. We need to talk to the parents through that interpreter.” (Interview with a Turkish Teacher, Ayşe, FT-2-32)

“I tried to communicate with the parent by opening the Arabic-Turkish translate program. We need someone who speaks Arabic. It could be a call centre.” (Interview with a Turkish Teacher, Ayşe, FT-2-32)

Lack of communication between teachers and parents weakens students' school ties. While some teachers cannot communicate because they do not speak any language, others do not care about communication with families because of their prejudices. However, an inclusive education system is only possible if the parent-teacher relationship is strong and the problems are solved in a short time. Parent-teacher relationship is significant especially when students have conflicts amongst them.

4.2.3.2 The satisfaction of Syrian Students with Education

Almost all the Syrian students attending Turkish public schools stated that they were satisfied with the Turkish public schools. However, they also said that they were satisfied with the TECs too. They stated that they had to move to Turkish public school and they missed their teachers and Syrian friends at TECs. However, they stated that they needed to go to the Turkish public school because they need to learn the language in order to go to university in Turkey. On the other hand, according to a Syrian teacher, the primary motivation of Syrian families to send their children to TECs is that Arabic language education in TECs, therefore their children will not forget their language and culture.

“Although most families want their children to learn Turkish, they do not want them to forget Arabic. That is why they wanted TEC to continue with Turkish and Arabic education. However, then the kids cannot get used to the system. If they are staying in Turkey should get used to this system and have to prepare themselves to live in Turkey.” (Interview with a Syrian teacher, Maral, FS-1-39)

Research has also emphasized that preserving the mother tongue of immigrant children enables them to establish healthy communication with their own family and not to break with their own culture, thus playing an essential role in achieving psychological

well-being in children (McBrien, 2005). Naturally, besides the necessity of learning Turkish for Syrian children, having a good command of their mother tongue is very important for establishing a healthy relationship with their families and expressing themselves better. It is known that MoNE officials are conducting studies in order to have elective courses for both Arabic and Arabic language and literature in the schools where Syrian students are present (Coşkun & Emin, 2016). Having such courses is vital for Syrian students to know their language and culture and to strengthen their relations with their families. Besides, the presence of these courses will provide an essential motivation for Syrian parents to send their children to public schools. At the same time, it will enable Turkish students to integrate with the culture of Syrian students through inclusive education.

4.2.3.3 Lack of Psychological Support Mechanisms

Trauma is often encountered in individuals and children who are forced to migrate from an environment of violence such as internal conflict and war. The likelihood of trauma is much higher especially in children who have lost a relative (mother, father, siblings, or relatives). These children need more support to overcome the trauma they have experienced in every sense. In addition, children who have been separated from their parents because of the war face many disadvantaged situations (Amato, 2005). Research has shown that traumatized children often experience situations such as introversion, violence, and depression (Sirin, S & Rogers-Sirin, L, 2015; SETA and Theirworld, 2017).

Education is seen as a very useful mechanism to reduce the impact of the negative psychological condition caused by trauma and migration (Sinclair, 2001). For this reason, children exposed to trauma need guidance and psychological counselling. Syrian children living in Turkey have also suffered many traumas because of experiencing war and violence. Many studies conducted in Turkey also proves this argument (Coşkun & Emin, 2016) (Sirin, S & Rogers-Sirin, L, 2015). When we look at the Hatay case, teachers, PDNE staff, and I/NGO members shared that the well-being of Syrian children has been damaged by trauma and the effects remain. Interviews show that some of the students were found to exhibit aggressive, violent, aggressive, withdrawn or depressed behaviour. Also, as a part of the field research, children were asked ‘‘How do you feel yourself in general?’’ to understand the general well-being of children. The average answer was 6.15

out of 10, while the average answer for girls were 5.8 and boys were 6.5. By looking at these results, we can say that Syrian children in Hatay regularly need psychological guidance and counselling. However, the interviews show that guidance services in schools are inadequate. For this reason, students and their families prefer to visit I/NGOs to receive psychological counselling and support. There are three main reasons behind inadequate psychological support at schools; first is language barriers, second is overcrowded schools, and the third one is poorly trained teachers.

“You want teachers to provide psychological counselling to Syrian children. To achieve this, first, you should understand their prejudices against Syrians and then break down those prejudices. If you can achieve that, you can expect them to support the children. How can a teacher who is against Syrians and don't want them in the city, support the child? Teachers don't know how to work with different cultures, and they don't even know that war-related trauma is the cause of children's negative behaviour. According to them, Syrian children are naughty, lazy, and prone to violence. Unfortunately, teachers are not being given enough support in this regard. Humanitarian actors also do not carry out activities aimed at teachers. The problem of social cohesion can be solved very easily through the school if humanitarian actors give enough attention to teachers instead of working with imams or mukhtars.” (Interview with Ahmet, an education officer at PDNE)

“Syrian children at our school are very prone to violence. They fight with Turkish students all the time. That's why Turkish parents come to complain all the time, and we don't know what to do. We couldn't solve this problem. These kids need professional support who understands their language. Also, there's a lot of traumatized kids, so which one should we take care of?” (Interview with a teacher, Elif, FT-1-24)

“Those who in need of psychological support among Syrian children often come to our centre. We give them counselling in Arabic. Most students say that they don't get enough support at school, so they prefer us. But our capacity is limited, we can't help everyone. Teachers at the school need to take a more active role in dealing with Syrian children.” (Interview with Elif, a project officer at NGO).

“Syrian children need psychological support in their mother tongue. This problem is solved at our school because there are teachers in Reyhanlı who speak Arabic. But, teachers are still having hard time-solving children's problems, they don't have enough expertise in working with different cultures, war-related traumas etc. These teachers should receive specialized training.” (Interview with a teacher, Amina, FS-2-41)

As the interviews show, refugee students cannot receive adequate support on psychological support from their teachers by the reason of language barrier, high demand

on psychological support, and lack of experience of the teachers on working with refugee children. the teachers' lack of experience and knowledge of working with refugee children. This situation directly affects social cohesion issues at school. Tensions between students are reflected in families, which negatively affects social cohesion in the community. As seen in the above interviews, teachers play a key role here. Both the training capacity of guidance teachers and the guidance service need to be improved to both increases the inclusiveness of education and ensure the integration of children into school.

4.2.3.4 Bullying

Bullying is a new concept for students, teachers, and families. Even if people were more or less aware of behaviours which will refer to bullying, they were not in the position to identify bullying and make a clear distinction between bullying and violence.

Studies in refugee education in Turkey show that Syrian children are being bullied by their Turkish peers. Bullying can be shown as negative attitudes toward Syrian children or discriminatory behaviours. Peer bullying is generally observed in schools where are few numbers of Syrian children exist (Tunç & Can, 2018; Çelik & İçduygu, 2018; Aydın & Kaya, 2019; HRW, 2015). Peer bullying negatively affects children's education status. When Syrian children face peer bullying at school, they feel excluded, their well-being will be decreased, and even they can drop out the school (Tunç & Can, 2018). Also, teachers have a difficulty to handle issues related to peer-bullying or they prefer to not to involve the issue at all.

“With the arrival of Syrian children in Turkish schools, the schools became very crowded. Syrian children could not immediately get used to the new environment because the education system that they get used to was completely different. Some of the Turkish children are biased against Syrian children. They make fun of them all the time and calling them as -Suri-. We no longer know how to solve this problem. When we try to solve the problem, we have trouble with Turkish parents. Some teachers are not interested in this issue at all to not to get into trouble.”(Interview with a Syrian teacher, Seher, FS-1-26)

Also, according to the interview with teachers, there is no reporting mechanism for bullying cases at school. Children do not know that they should speak out when they

face bullying and necessary actions should be taken to protect the well-being of children. 17 years old child explains bullying as follows:

‘‘At school, we sometimes argue with Turkish students. They make fun of us when we don't understand the lessons. When we tell the teacher, he doesn't protect us at all. Sometimes he even gets mad at us when we don't understand the lesson and says, 'Why don't you understand?'' (Interview with a Syrian student, Muhammed, M-1-17)

As the participant child stated, children often have difficulty to manage peer-bullying at school. Çelik and İçduygu (2018) also found that when students try to solve peer bullying problems together with their teachers, some of the children feel alienated, marginalized, depressed, and stigmatized. In the end, if the child cannot figure out the problem, they prefer to drop out school (Tunç & Can, 2018). Field interviews with children also support this argument.

For Ager & Strang, citizenship is a peak point for integration, while Massey and Bartley discuss it is a significant mean for full inclusion (Koser Akcapar & Simsek, 2018). Refugee children also have different opinions about receiving Turkish citizenship. The researcher has a chance to interview with two Syrian children who are granted Turkish citizenship, these interviews also show that having citizenship alone is not enough to promote integration or decrease discrimination such as the examples in UK, France, and Germany (Koser Akcapar & Simsek, 2018).

‘‘We were used to live in the Yayladagi camp for the last 5 years. The Turkish government have granted citizenship for us last year, but now they want to send us from the camp because we became Turkish. My mother said it will affect our financial situation...I have a lot of Turkish friend at school. After we received the citizenship, my friends said to me that I became pure Turkish now...’’ (Interview with a Syrian student, Merva, F-1-15)

‘‘We live in Turkey for 5 years... 1 year ago, we got a Turkish identity card. Our financial support was stopped by the government. My father still doesn't have a regular job, so we have financial difficulty...My friends and their parents behaved badly to me at school. They said the government is distributing citizenship like distributing food for the poor and they do not deserve citizenship. These sentences made me sad.’’ (Interview with a Syrian student, Yahya, M-1-15)

‘‘2 years ago, I moved from TEC to Turkish public school. I didn't understand the lessons in the beginning because my Turkish wasn't good. My teachers didn't help

me enough. There were only 3 Syrians in the classroom. Turkish kids didn't want us in the classroom. They were saying all the time: Why did you come to Turkey and Why didn't defend your country. The teachers didn't say anything to the Turkish students either. I got bored too, I dropped out of school. I've been working at the bakery for 1 year. I have a good relationship with my employer, he doesn't say such words to me.''(Interview with a Syrian child, Cemal, M-1-17)

These examples show that negative attitudes toward Syrian children becoming a mainstream issue at Turkish public schools. The prejudice of Turkish families against Syrian families with the influence of media and politics undoubtedly affects Turkish children as well. Most of the children that interviewed mentioned about peer bullying at Turkish public school especially in the first year that they arrived at Turkish public school. Only children with high-income level whose families are well-educated, who speaks Turkish very well, and Turkmen children who are mostly living in Yayladağı district and no difficulty in Turkish stated that they love school environment, the teachers and other students welcome them in the classrooms. This situation shows us it is hard to understand the main roots of bullying and further research with the perspective of Turkish children is necessary to understand the concept.

4.2.4 Key Findings based on Schooling System

In this part of the chapter, findings are categorized based on the schooling system. General findings of the interviews mainly summarized below.

4.2.4.1 Turkish Public School

- Integration to Turkish public-school process has not been smooth. The transition process of refugee students is not well planned. As a result, an important number of refugee children could not have access to education due to capacity or other structural problems.
- Even if Syrian students go to school, they are not able to understand lectures due to the language barrier. Syrian students feel excluded and alone when they could not interact with their teachers and peers in the classroom. Syrian students who are able to speak and understand Turkish, involve discussions at classrooms more, but their understanding of the lectures is limited compared to their local peers. For

this reason, academic performance is not quite well amongst who goes to Turkish public school.

- Lack of enough interaction with peers and teachers without involving the activities in the classroom affects students emotionally. It also decreases the quality of education.
- Syrian children who are good at the Turkish language have better relations with their local peers. When the language barrier is eliminated, Syrian children establish a good relationship with their Turkish peers (except for the ones who knows Arabic)
- Refugee children generally mention that local students who know Arabic try to help them when they have a hard time in the lectures. It shows common language also has a positive impact on the integration process of children and makes children feel closer to each other.
- Children who can speak and do not speak the Turkish language are both subjected to peer bullying from time to time. However, students who can speak Turkish are less bullied.
- Schools have huge challenges in regard to infrastructure, school materials, and overcrowded classrooms. Each school cannot benefit from the support of the PICTES project. Lack of coordination between schools and PDNEs or MoNE and lack of awareness of how to get benefit from PICTES project are the main reasons behind the lack of support from PICTES.
- Syrian students stated that they have friends both from the refugee and host community.
- Turkmen children who study in Turkish public schools seem integrated well to the school and society thanks to higher social acceptance levels as well as language proficiency.
- Lack of communication between MoNE and PDNEs makes educational services inaccessible.

4.2.4.2 TECs

- Children studying at TECs have more hope of returning to Syria compared with their peers who go to Turkish public school. There is a perception amongst them that they are not permanent in Turkey.
- Although, there is an intensive language program on Turkish, refugee students have a hard time to learn Turkish. Lack of interaction with the host community plays a crucial role in this regard.
- Syrian students stated that they generally became friends with their refugee peers.
- Syrian children like to go to TECs, but they are not satisfied with the education that they are receiving there.
- Some Syrians advocate closure of TECs, while others do not want to send their children to Turkish public schools due to the fear of assimilation.
- Having Turkish citizenship does not directly affect the integration process of refugee children.

4.2.4.3 Out-of-School Children

- Main reasons for out-of-school in Hatay are identified as; challenges in registration, low socio-economic level, challenges in school enrolment due to capacity problem, cultural practices, bullying, child marriage, child labour, lack of breadwinner in the household.
- Staying out of school for more than 3 years makes it difficult to get back to school.
- Working children learn the language so quickly because they interact with the host community all the time. Also, they feel comfortable in their relations with local peers. Many working children stated that they became friends with their local peers at the workplace.
- The transition from TECs to Turkish public-school system created challenges for some children in the adaptation process. The transition process was not planned efficiently to ensure children's school enrolment. Due to this transition process and lack of capacity in the schools, some children could not register to school in the education year of 2019-2020.

- The percentage of out-of-school or low attendance in high school was also a common problem in Syria before the war, hence this problem is not directly related to negative effects of war on children. For this reason, referring these out-of-school children to education is much challenging.



Table 4-4: SWOT Analysis of Schooling System for Syrian Children

SWOT ANALYSIS OF SCHOOLING SYSTEM FOR SYRIAN CHILDREN		
	Turkish Public School	Temporary Education Centers
Strengths	1) Increase relation with Turkish peers and teachers	1) Education in the mother tongue
	2) Provide internationally recognized diploma	2) Good communication with teachers
	3) Shorten the process of learning Turkish	3) Good relationship between parents and teachers
	4) Provide safe educational environments	4) Familiar environment & establishment of friendships
	5) Contribute normalization process of the children	5) Low number of school-drop out or absenteeism
	6) Education with experienced and qualified teachers	6) Education is in line with Syrian culture, cultural values and language abilities are protected
	7) Receiving quality counselling services	7) High level of participation in the courses
	8) Better social facilities and variety of social activities	8) Teachers are well-aware of students' education backgrounds and their war-related traumatic backgrounds
	9) Standardized curriculum	
	10) Receiving education in similar socioeconomic status of neighborhood	
Weaknesses	1) Bullying and discrimination	1) Delay in learning Turkish
	2) High risk of drop-out and absenteeism	2) Differences in curriculum from one TEC to another
	3) Challenges in adaptation process	3) Lack of quality education
	4) Lack of receiving qualified and specialized psycho-social counselling services	4) Increase the likelihood of ghettoization
	5) Limited relation between parents and teachers	5) Low academic performance compared to local peers
	6) Difficulty to catch-up their local peers	6) Repetition of trauma
	7) Teachers are not well-aware of students' war-related traumas	7) Lack of validity
Threats	1) Risk of assimilation (culture and language)	1) Children and youth marginalization
	2) As a result of drop-out, emerging of child labor or child marriage cases	2) Postpone Integration
	3) Increase of violence events in school environment	3) Teacher's inappropriate behaviors that do not comply with the code of conduct
Opportunities	1) Establishment of an inclusive education model for Turkish education system	1) Supported to establishment of adaptation classes
	2) Easy access to government's main services	2) Getting the benefit from the teachers' experience in TECs
	3) Better student achievement level at high school or university entrance exam	3) Experience at education in emergencies for future
	4) Promote integration	4) No risk of assimilation
	5) Child protection mechanism is in place and it protects children from abuse and harm	

In this chapter of the thesis, the issues of Syrian children's access to education, getting a quality education, and access to an inclusive school system were discussed with regards to the integration perspective. In three main titles, the challenges faced by Syrian children in Hatay were listed and these challenges also link with refugee education literature. While some of the issues match with literature such as language barrier, lack of psychological support, bullying, and mismatch of age and classes, some of the new findings discussed such as special situation of Hatay regards to access to registration and school enrolment, positive attitudes toward Turkmen descent Syrian children at school, huge capacity problems at schools, high integration level of working children, and different effects of language barrier. The Turkish government, international society, and humanitarian actors work hard to eliminate these challenges and provide quality and inclusive education for one and every child. While access to school got a better improvement according to previous years, the Turkish government should focus on more quality and inclusive education to meet the academic, social, and emotional needs of Syrian refugee children. The next chapter of this thesis share recommendations to address identified challenges and concludes the study.

CHAPTER V

5 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study was designed to identify challenges that Syrian children face in access to school and during the education process, and to develop policy recommendations for the identified challenges on education. In this context, in-depth interviews were conducted with 30 Syrian children, ten teachers, two local non-governmental organization, one international non-governmental organization, one Syrian community-based organization, and one provincial national education directorate staff in the 5 districts of Hatay within the framework of the phenomenological qualitative research methods and the findings from these in-depth interviews were analysed.

In the interviews conducted with Syrian children and teachers within the scope of the study, several challenges and barriers identified which negatively affects the integration process of Syrian children to the Turkish education system. Despite the greatest efforts by the Turkish government and humanitarian organizations for last 9 years, the most significant difficulty faced by Syrian children in accessing education and adaptation process was determined as the language barrier. This finding coincides with the findings of national and international studies. In countries with the immigrant experience, the fact that immigrant children do not know the local language and this challenge seen as the biggest obstacle for equal access to educational opportunities. Therefore, in countries such as Canada, Germany, and Australia, which receive intensive immigration, language education policies for immigrant children are being developed. Countries receiving immigration are conducting additional studies to improve the language skills of immigrant children, such as language courses, preparatory classes or compensatory training (Coşkun & Coşkun, 2018).

The fact that most Syrian students are native speakers of Arabic and that these students do not know Turkish or have limited knowledge of Turkish is a serious barrier to their adaptation to the education process. It shows that even if Syrian children attends language courses or other language related activities, these courses are not sufficient to learn the language for children. Because of the language barrier, Syrian students have

difficulty in communicating with local teachers, peers, and administrators in their schools. This lack of communication leads to a loss of motivation among Syrian students and a feeling of reluctance towards school. While the role of Syrian volunteer teachers was promoting relations between Syrian children, their teachers and families, it was found that the role of Syrian volunteer teachers is not clear and effective at schools currently. The language barrier also impedes the placement of Syrian students into classes appropriate to their age and academic level. Because Syrian students do not know the language, they can be started from the first level of primary school even if they are older or they are directed to higher classes even though they are not suitable for their academic level because of their age. This situation causes Syrian students not to receive an education with their peers and has conflicts with local students in their class due to age mismatch. The language barrier also affects the academic performance of Syrian students negatively. During the interviews, Syrian children stated that they were successful in Syria, but they were unable to sustain that success in Turkey because of the language barrier. School administrators and teachers stated that the Syrian students are not active in the lessons due to lack of Turkish language and did not understand what was being told, so they could not measure their academic performance.

The most important actors determining the Syrian students' relations with the school are administrators, teachers, and students. It is emphasized in the literature that the relationship between school and students should be strong in the education process of immigrants. For instance, in Australian schools, the school administration is concerned with the immigrant visa procedures of its immigrant students. Moreover, it seems that these schools serve as bridges to ensure the communication of migrant children and their families with other institutions and organizations of interest to them (Taylor & Sidhu, 2012). Therefore, the quality of the relationship between immigrant students and the school is in line with the adaptation of immigrant children to school and society. However, there was no strong relationship between Syrian students and the school. Findings from the teacher interviews showed that there were severe prejudice and reluctance towards Syrian students. On the grounds that administrators cause problems such as school management, resource supply, and discipline. Also, it was found that Syrian students should be educated in separate schools and not in public schools due to reasons such as teachers' difficulty in classroom management, disrupting the course flow,

being unable to communicate, and having to spend over time. Looking at the expressions used in the interviews, it was found that Turkish teachers used the concepts of “our children” for Turkish students and used the concepts of ‘‘they’’ when they state Syrian students. Also, a similar expression is found out by Syrian teachers. As can be seen from these statements, teachers do not accept Syrian students as local students. Moreover, Syrian children are seen as temporary who will / should return to their country when the time comes. Studies conducted on this subject reflecting the experiences of different countries have found similar conclusions that teachers who are interested in immigrant students have prejudices.

Based on the observations and opinions of the administrators, teachers and Syrian parents on the approach of the local students and the parents towards the Syrian students, it was found that the Syrian children faced social exclusion and discrimination by their local peers. It was found that most of the local students were not able to relate to their Syrian peers in their classrooms and did not interact in the classroom and extracurricular activities. Some local parents do not want Syrian students to receive education in the same environment as their children. Also, the financial aid provided to the Syrian families is not provided to the local families causes adverse reactions to the Syrians.

It has been determined that the poor relationship between Syrian students and the school is closely related to the lack of reliable guidance and psychological counselling mechanism. However, Syrian students have a high risk of psychological problems and trauma due to their emigration and fleeing the war environment. However, the guidance service is expected to help school stakeholders establish healthy relationships by guiding their attitudes and attitudes towards Syrian students. However, it was seen within the scope of the study that the guidance services of schools are not sufficient to meet this need.

During the interviews with Turkish teachers, findings on the relationship of Syrian parents with their children's educational processes have been obtained. The main reason why Syrian parents are unable to deal with their children's educational processes is that their socio-economic situation is inadequate. Therefore, Syrian parents are unable to cover their children's school expenses, such as stationery, social activities, course materials, and resources. Although these deficiencies of Syrian students were tried to be

met by school administrators and classroom teachers, it was understood that this was not sustainable. It is observed during the interviews that due to financial barriers, many children quit the school and start working in order to maintain their families despite the effects of several financial support programs available for them.

School administrators and teachers have difficulty communicating with Syrian parents due to the language barrier. In many schools, there were teachers who did not communicate with the parents of Syrian students for one year. Despite this lack of communication, however, Syrian students are generally satisfied with Turkish public schools and administrators and teachers. However, Syrian families want to use their preferences in favour of TECs if there are TECs near their homes. The main reason for this is that there is Arabic education in TECs. Therefore, their children and they do not have language problems, and they want to be educated in their mother tongue and according to the Syrian curriculum. However, with the closure process of TECs, reportedly Syrian families have a negative attitude toward closure of TECs. Especially, families whose children face problems in Turkish public school have a negative attitude toward the closure of TECs. However, according to a Syrian teacher, Syrian parents realized that their children should learn Turkish and that this was an obligation for them. However, the most significant demand for Syrian parents is that their children learn and not forget their mother tongue and their culture.

In addition to the above problems faced by Syrian children, there are specific challenges also identified during the interviews in Hatay. These challenges can be listed as suspension of registration, closure and decongestion process of camps, the transition from TECs to Turkish Public Schools, and social inclusions and tensions. These challenges are specific to Syrian children lives in Hatay. Access to education is more difficult for Syrian children in Hatay than receiving quality and inclusive education because most of the children face a challenge in the first phase which is access to education due to suspension of registration, overcrowded classes, and challenges in registration to school due to new developments in the city.

The study, which focuses on the challenges faced by Syrian students in Turkish public schools and integration of Syrian children into Turkish education, concluded that the language barrier and language-related lack of communication were central to the

problems faced by Syrian students in the education process. The language problem is the most visible part of the problem that Syrian children face. Therefore, efforts to remove the language barrier will reduce a significant portion of Syrians' educational problems. However, the findings in this study suggest that the education problems of Syrian refugees should be looked at in multidimensional terms and that all dimensions should be analysed independently. For example, the problems that Syrian children experience in education, such as lack of language, are not just problems caused by their immigration process. Teachers are the most critical stakeholders to address these problems and can change prejudices and attitudes towards Syrian children through their education. However, when teachers have these prejudices, the problem of discrimination deepens even more. Detecting the underlying causes of these prejudices requires a study by itself. As a result of this research, another prominent finding for teachers is that teachers' past experiences are inadequate for the education of refugee children. This is an essential factor that negatively affects both the education and adaptation process of Syrian children. Therefore, the impact of teachers' inexperience problem on the education of refugee children on the education and adaptation process of Syrian children should be comprehensively addressed. At the same time, there is a need for national and international funds to train teachers on working with different cultures and inclusive education. If the problems are handled thoroughly, models can be produced to provide more realistic solutions to the problem of experience of teachers.

The education process of Syrian children is perhaps the most critical phase of the adaptation process. Therefore, the problems to be experienced in this process should be seriously analysed. Although this study examines the challenges of Syrian children in Turkish public schools and TECs such as language barrier, lack of communication, the inexperience of teachers, prejudices, lack of psychological support and socio-economic problems of refugee children, poorly trained teachers, and registration-related challenges, it also draws attention to many different problems. In this study, it is concluded that every small problem that Syrian refugee children experience during the education process is essential and that these small problems can quickly turn into bigger ones. Therefore, addressing the educational challenges of Syrian students and producing solutions is necessary for providing qualified and inclusive education. However, it is also essential to

find solutions to the educational challenges of Syrian children in order to prevent the formation of a lost generation.

The recommendations for the solution of the problems faced by Syrian refugee children in the process of adaptation to education are as follows by each level:

Ministry of National Education and Central Government Level

- A stable and long-term policy for the education of refugees should be developed by MoNE in Turkey.
- The Turkish Government should be aware of the non-homogenous structure of Turkish and refugee communities' lives in Turkey. MoNE should arrange the curriculum based on multi-diversity, multi-ethnicity, and multi-religious values in which everyone can involve and feel inclusiveness of the society.
- MoNE should regularly share the data on the educational status of Syrian children with the public to allow humanitarian organizations to prepare their funding plans accordingly and independent researchers to make an assessment and an analysis of the education of Syrians.
- Teachers and administrators should be empowered on the topics such as child, human, and refugee's rights to ensure that they gained a rights-based approach rather than aid-based approach.
- Syrian students should go through the orientation process of the school system and the education process before starting school.
- Syrian students should undergo six months / one year of language and preparatory education in the summer or during the period before starting school and then be included in the educational process according to their levels. Supplementary language courses should be established to improve Turkish language proficiency during the training process.
- Teachers and administrators should be informed about the current situation of Syrians in the country, the services that Syrians can benefit from in Turkey, and organizations and institutions that provide these services during the in-service training or all academic year.
- The number of Turkish teaching materials should be increased.
- Support mechanisms (granting scholarships, participation in the Olympics, etc.) should be established in order to increase the integration of successful Syrian students.

- Teachers should establish measurement mechanisms to evaluate the academic performance of Syrian students.
- Syrian teachers who were working in TECs can be assigned as assistant teachers in Turkish public schools.
- The situation of Syrian volunteer teachers should be clarified by MoNE and UNICEF urgently. Amongst them, highly skilled volunteer teachers should continue their profession. These volunteer teachers should have a secure contract. Salaries of volunteer teachers should increase to the minimum wage standards. Also, the system which can evaluate the quality and performance of volunteer teachers should be established.
- For teacher candidates, courses should be developed for the education of students with different mother tongue and refugee backgrounds, which will provide them with the skills and strategy to communicate with these students.
- Coordination between national and local level line ministries should strengthen in order to better organize PICTES II supports. MoNE should ensure that all PDoNEs are well aware of implementation phases of PICTES which will ensure equal support for each school.
- A new tool or method should be established in order to monitor the implementation of PICTES II project as it is a huge project and covers a lot of provinces with several activities.
- Providing a free daily meal to all students can lessen the financial burden of refugee families and motivate families to send their children to school.
- MoNE should expand vocational training opportunities that will enable refugee children to provide income for their families while earning new skills.

At the level of Provincial and District Directorates of National Education

- Turkish language courses should be organized in cooperation with municipalities, schools, public education centres or related NGOs for families of Syrian students. PDoNE should organize and promote these activities.
- Teachers should be informed about social assistance available for Syrians and I/NGOs or UN agencies based in the city where they live.
- Efforts should be made to raise awareness of the human rights and fundamental rights of Syrian students' education for administrators, teachers, local students, and parents.
- PDoNE should increase cooperation with PDMM and regularly monitor the population of school-age children.

- Compensation training should be provided for Syrian children with class level and age mismatch to remedy this mismatch.
- The district commissions in the District Directorates of National Education should follow the education process of the children enrolled in the schools and take the necessary measures for solving the problems encountered in the education process.
- Teachers who speak Arabic can be assigned to schools where these Syrian students and their parents are in contact with the school.
- In Turkish public schools, elective courses such as Arabic, Arabic Language and Literature can be created, and Syrian teachers employed in TECs can be worked in these fields.
- It is necessary to ensure that all Syrian children and their companions in the district have access to information on the possibilities for access to educational services.
- Strong in-service training programs should be organized to ensure that current teachers can provide quality education to students of different native and immigrant backgrounds. Teachers need to increase their ability to cope with potentially discriminatory and bullying behaviour among students. Provincial directorates can bring in external experts for these training and benefit from national and international funds.
- The guidance and psychological counselling services of schools should be strengthened, and guidance and psychological counselling services should receive in-service training in order to provide support to the psychological problems of students with different mother tongue and refugee backgrounds. Guidance and research centres in districts should improve teachers ' competence in coping with post-traumatic stress disorder. Syrian guidance teachers can be utilized in this sense. At the same time, teachers working with children experiencing war trauma should also be given psychological support, considering they have suffered 'secondary trauma.'
- Continuous interpreter services are required to provide in the Turkish public schools in order to children's access to educational rights.

At Schools Level

- In-school activities should be organized that will bring Syrian students and their families together with local students and families and increase their communication.

- In order to overcome the language barrier at the school, it is necessary to request the assignment of an interpreter and follow the process.
- Projects and activities should be planned in schools to facilitate the fusion of Syrian and Turkish students. Cooperation with civil society should be initiated in the activities required for the budget.
- In order to facilitate Turkish learning for Syrian family members, courses should be opened in cooperation with public education centres in schools.

At Teachers Level

- In-class and extracurricular activities should be organized to strengthen the relations between Syrian students and local peers.
- Syrian students who are absent from school and who leave school should be followed up, and the reasons for absenteeism and drop-out should be investigated in order to get them back into school.
- Teachers should work against anti-discrimination and bullying towards students and their parents and empower them for these incidents.
- With the support of professional interpreters, psychological counsellors in schools must create safe and healing environments where Syrian students can share personal information.

At Humanitarian Organizations Level

- All kinds of assistance and support provided to Syrian students should be provided in a way that does not harm the sense of justice of local students and parents and includes all local and other refugee groups in need of assistance and support.
- As only I/NGOs who have a protocol with MoNE in national level can provide educational activities for children, I/NGOs who would like to work in the field of education should prioritize receiving protocol first before starting their education activities. I/NGOs should work closely with PDoNE to identify provincial/district level educational needs of children.
- I/NGOs should be in close communication with PDoNE and should prepare projects for the identified needs on education.

CHAPTER VI

6 BIBLIOGRAPHY

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CHAPTER VII

7 APPENDICES

7.1 APPENDIX A: INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR TEACHERS

You are invited to join a master thesis research study of the integration of Syrian Children through Education, which is being conducted by Hilal Keles, who is a master student at Ankara Social Sciences University, Turkey. The purpose of this study is to learn the integration process of Syrian children who lives under temporary protection in Turkey on education. You were selected as a participant for the study because you are working with Syrian students in the schools which works under Ministry of Education. Please read the form carefully before starting the research. When you sign the form, it means you are accepting to participate the research voluntarily. You have a right to not to participate the research and/or quit the research whenever you want.

PURPOSE OF STUDY

This study is designed in order to learn and analyse the integration process of Syrian children to school which is works under Ministry of National Education. It is essential to answer the questions truly, under no influence by anyone, and entirely in order for reaching the target of the study.

NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS IN THE STUDY

In total, ten teachers (5 Syrians under temporary protection and 5 Turkish nationals) and 30 Syrian children under temporary protection will participate the study. The study is based on voluntariness.

METHODS OF STUDY

- We will have an interview with you on the integration of Syrian refugee children on your schools between 6 July to 20 July 2019 (Interviews will be conducted before or after determinated dates due to administrative affairs).
- The audio record will be used during the interview with your consent.
- During the interview, only written interview questions will be asked to you.
- Each interview will take around 45-60 minutes.

RISKS WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF STUDY

- During the interview, your personal information will be saved by the researcher. However, this information will be kept confidential by the researcher.
- During the interview, you may give an emotional reaction. The interview will be terminated if you feel uncomfortable, anxious or if you do not want to continue to interview.

ADVANTAGEOUS OF PARTICIPATING THE STUDY

With participating in the study, you will contribute to the policy recommendations on integration of refugee students on education.

COSTS

Within this study, participants will not receive in-cash or in-kind support.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Your personal information will be saved and kept confidential in the scope of research. Your personal information will be anonymized and will be used in this way. In any circumstances, your personal information will not be shared with another person or institution, and your personal information will be destructed in the duration proposed by ethical committee.

CONTACT INFORMATION

If you would like to get in touch with the researcher, you can send an e-mail to hilalkeles@gmail.com, or you can call 05054138410.

VOLUNTEERING

This study is voluntary research, and you are expected to participate this study voluntarily. You have a right to not to participate in the study or leave the study whenever you want.

CONSENT OF PARTICIPANT

I have read the informed consent form. I have understood my rights and responsibilities in this study. The researcher informed me of what is written above in written and verbal way. In the view of above information, I accept to participate in the study voluntarily and share my personal information.

Hereby with this document, I accept that I would like to participate in this research voluntarily.

Signature of the participant: _____

Date:

Name-Surname of the participant:

Signature of the researcher: _____

Date:

Name-Surname of the researcher:

7.2 APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR CHILDREN

I study for a master degree at Ankara Social Sciences University on International Relations department, and I am preparing my master thesis on the subject of “Integration of Syrian Children through education”. I do this research in order to learn education situation and integration process of Syrian children who lives in Turkey. I want to invite you to participate in this research. I have invited you to participate this research because your experience in Turkey can help me to understand the situation better and the information that we received during the research can help Syrian children to have a better education. I will share the details of the research with you below.

DETAILS OF THE RESEARCH

- Our interview will take about 45-60 minutes.
- We will conduct the interview in the place where you will comfortable, and your family give permission.
- As long as your family gives consent; only you, me, and our interpreter will conduct the interview.
- During the interview, I will ask questions to you about your life in Turkey, your relations with your family and friends, and your living environment. If there is any question that you do not want to answer, it is enough to inform me that you do not want to share this information. If you do not feel comfortable during the interview, we can cancel the interview immediately.
- During the interview, I will be writing the information that you have provided. If there is any information that you do not want to be recorded, you can share it with me, so we will be able to delete this part from our conversation.
- There are no right or wrong answer in the questions that I will ask you. I only would like to learn what do you think or feel. For this reason, it is essential to provide answers faithfully and honestly.
- Thanks to your participation in this research, I can better understand the education situation of Syrian children and write about it. By this way, people who read my research and responsible for policymaking will be able to learn about your experiences.
- During the interview, you will be asked to share your personal information, but your personal information will never be used. Your personal information will never be shared with anyone and will be deleted after a while.
- Apart from these, I would like to request you to share details about this interview with your family.
- If you have questions during the interview, you can ask me directly. If you have questions to ask after the interview, you can send an e-mail to hilalkeles@gmail.com address or call my phone number 05054138410.
- Participation in this research is voluntary. If you do not want, you do not need to participate. You can terminate the interview whenever you want.

If you would like to participate in this research, you can write your name on the line below and sign it.

Hereby with this document, I accept that I would like to participate in this research voluntarily.

Signature of the participant: _____

Date:

Name-Surname of the participant:

Hereby with this document, I accept that my child will participate in this research with my consent.

Signature of the parent: _____

Date:

Name-Surname of the parent:

Signature of the researcher: _____

Date:

Name-Surname of the researcher:

7.3 APPENDIX C: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ALL PARTICIPANT CHILDREN

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ALL PARTICIPANT CHILDREN

Questionnaire for All Participant Children

Common Questions

1. Demography Related Questions

- 1.1 What is your gender?
- 1.2 How old are you?
- 1.3 What is your nationality?
- 1.4 Are your parents alive?
- 1.5 What is the education level of your mother?
- 1.6 What is the education level of your father?
- 1.7 How many sisters and brothers you have?
- 1.8 Which district do you live in?
- 1.9 Does your family live alone or with other families/relatives in your home?
- 1.10 How do you define your general household income?
- 1.11 How do your family maintain the house?
- 1.12 Do you receive social assistance (ESSN-The Emergency Social Safety Net) through Turkish Red Crescent Card (TRC)?
- 1.13 Do you receive education support (CCTE-Conditional Cash Transfer for Education) through Turkish Red Crescent Card (TRC)?

2. Migration Related Questions

- 2.1 In what year have you arrived in Turkey?
- 2.2 Why did your family decide to come to Hatay specifically?

3. Education Related Questions

- 3.1 Do you go to school in Turkey?
- 3.2 If yes, how many years did you attend school in Turkey?
- 3.3 If no, how many years you could not go to school?

Specific Questions for Children who go to public school

1. Questions Related to Living Environment

- 1.1 Do you have neighbours? Are they Turkish or Syrian?
- 1.2 Are you friend with your neighbour's children?
- 1.3 How many friends you have in your neighbourhood?
- 1.4 How do you spend your typical day in your neighbourhood?

2. Questions Related to School Experience in Turkey

- 2.1 In What year did you start school in Turkey?
- 2.2 How did you feel when you first started to school?
- 2.3 Could you please describe your school experience to me with three words?
- 2.4 Do you have friends in your school? Are they Turkish or Syrian?
- 2.5 Could you please describe me your typical day in the school?

- 2.6 How are your relations with your teachers and school managers?
- 2.7 What are the differences between this school and your school in Syria?
- 2.8 Could you please share a good and bad memory of you in the school?
- 2.9 Is there anyone in the school you can ask support or share your private information?
- 2.10 Imagine that a new Syrian child registered in your school. What would you like to suggest her/him on the first day of the school?
- 2.11 If you have any chance, what would you like to change about your school experience?
- 2.12 How do you feel now in school? Is there any difference between your first day in school and now?
- 2.13 How are your grades at school? Do you feel successful at school?

3. Questions Related to Language

- 3.1 How many languages can you speak?
- 3.2 Which language do you prefer to speak or feel more comfortable?
- 3.3 How do you know/learn Turkish?
- 3.4 Do you speak Turkish in school?
- 3.5 Do your teachers or friends appreciate you when you speak Turkish?
- 3.6 Do you speak Turkish out of school?
- 3.7 Do your friends in school try to learn your language to communicate with you?

4. Questions Related to Belonging

- 4.1 Do you miss Syria and how frequently?
- 4.2 How do you feel in Turkey? Do you feel like home or in a foreign country?
- 4.3 Do you know what rights you have in Turkey? Do you think you can access the main services in Turkey?
- 4.4 Do you express your ideas and feelings in society?
- 4.5 Do you feel comfortable when you spend time in the public space?
- 4.6 What do you think about differences and similarities amongst Syrian and Turkish society?
- 4.7 Do you know the culture, people's behaviours, important days, and society rules in Turkey?
- 4.8 According to your experience in Turkey, how Turkish society behave Syrians?
- 4.9 Do you want to return to Syria if the war ends?
- 4.10 Do you want to have Turkish citizenship?
- 4.11 Why having Turkish citizenship is important/not important for you? (The question will be asked based on the above answer)
- 4.12 Where would you like to see yourself after ten years?
- 4.13 How do you feel generally? Please indicate your general well-being from 1 to 10. (10 means you are very happy, and 1 means you are not happy at all).

Specific Questions for Children who go to Temporary Education Centre

1. Questions Related to Living Environment

- 1.1 Do you have neighbours? Are they Turkish or Syrian?
- 1.2 If they are Turkish, are you friend with your neighbour's children?
- 1.3 How many friends you have in your neighbourhood?
- 1.4 How do you spend your typical day in your neighbourhood?

2. Questions Related to School Experience in Turkey?

- 2.1 When did you start school in Turkey?
- 2.2 How did you feel when you first started school?
- 2.3 Could you please describe your school experience to me with three words?
- 2.4 Do you have friends at your school?
- 2.5 Could you please describe me your typical day in the school?
- 2.6 How are your relations with your teachers and school managers?
- 2.7 What are the differences between this school and your school in Syria?
- 2.8 Could you please share a good and bad memory of you in the school?
- 2.9 Is there anyone in the school you can ask support or share your private information?
- 2.10 Imagine that a new Syrian child registered in your school. What would you like to suggest to her/him on the first day of the school?
- 2.11 If you have any chance, what would you like to change about your school experience?
- 2.12 How do you feel now in school? Is there any difference between your first day in school and now?
- 2.13 How are your grades at school? Do you feel successful at school?

3. Questions Related to Language

- 3.1 How many languages can you speak?
- 3.2 Which language do you prefer to speak or feel more comfortable?
- 3.3 How do you know/learn Turkish?
- 3.4 Do you speak Turkish in school?
- 3.5 Do your teachers or friends appreciate you when you speak Turkish?
- 3.6 Do you speak Turkish out of school?
- 3.7 Do your Turkish friends try to learn your language in order to communicate with you?

4. Questions Related to Belonging

- 4.1 Do you miss Syria and how frequently?
- 4.2 How do you feel in Turkey? Do you feel like home or in a foreign country?
- 4.3 Do you know what rights you have in Turkey? Do you think you can access main services in Turkey?
- 4.4 Do you express your ideas and feelings in society?
- 4.5 Do you feel comfortable when you spend time in a public space?
- 4.6 What do you think about differences and similarities amongst Syrian and Turkish society?

- 4.7 Do you know the culture, people's behaviours, important days, and society rules in Turkey?
- 4.8 According to your experience in Turkey, how Turkish society behave Syrians?
- 4.9 Do you want to return to Syria if the war ends?
- 4.10 Do you want to have Turkish citizenship?
- 4.11 Why having Turkish citizenship is important/not important for you? (The question will be asked based on the above answer)
- 4.12 Where would you like to see yourself after ten years?
- 4.13 How do you feel generally? Please indicate your general well-being from 1 to 10. (10 means you are very happy, and 1 means you are not happy at all).

Specific Questions for Children out of School

1. Questions Related to Living Environment

- 1.1. Do you have neighbours? Are they Turkish or Syrian?
- 1.2. If they are Turkish, are you friend with your neighbour's children?
- 1.3. How many friends you have in your neighbourhood?
- 1.4. How do you spend your typical day in your neighbourhood?

2. Questions Related to School/Work Experience in Turkey

- 2.1 When did you quit school and why?
- 2.2 Were you going to school when you were in Syria?
- 2.3 Could you please describe your school experience to me with three words if you attended school in Turkey?
- 2.4 Do you have friends? Are they Turkish or Syrian?
- 2.5 Could you please describe me your typical day?
- 2.6 How is your relationship with your employer and work friends? (If the child is working) Do you meet with them after work?
- 2.7 Could you please share a good and bad memory of you when you're working? (If the child is working)
- 2.8 Is there anyone in the workplace/ at home you can ask support or share your private information?
- 2.9 Imagine that a new Syrian child started to work in the same place as you. What would you like to suggest her/him on the first day of the work? (If the child is working)
- 2.10 If you have any chance, what would you like to change about your work/education experience?
- 2.11 Would you like to continue your education in Turkey?

3. Questions Related to Language

- 3.1 How many languages can you speak?
- 3.2 Which language do you prefer to speak or feel more comfortable?
- 3.3 How do you know/learn Turkish?
- 3.4 Do you speak Turkish in the work/at home?

3.5 Do your family members/ employers/friends appreciate you when you speak Turkish?

3.6 Do your friends in the work/neighbourhood try to learn your language in order to communicate with you?

4. Questions Related to Belonging

4.1. Do you miss Syria and how frequently?

4.2. How do you feel in Turkey? Do you feel like home or in a foreign country?

4.3. Do you know what rights you have in Turkey? Do you think you can access main services in Turkey?

4.4. Do you express your ideas and feelings in the society?

4.5. Do you feel comfortable when you spend time in the public space?

4.6. What do you think about differences and similarities amongst Syrian and Turkish society?

4.7. Do you know the culture, people's behaviours, important days, and society rules in Turkey?

4.8. According to your experience in Turkey, how Turkish society behave Syrians?

4.9. Do you want to return to Syria if the war ends?

4.10. Do you want to have Turkish citizenship?

4.11. Why having Turkish citizenship is important/not important for you? (The question will be asked based on the above answer)

4.12. Where would you like to see yourself after ten years?

4.13. How do you feel generally? Please indicate your general well-being from 1 to 10. (10 means you are very happy, and 1 means you are not happy at all).

7.4 APPENDIX D: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ALL PARTICIPANT CHILDREN

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ALL PARTICIPANT CHILDREN

Basic Questionnaire for All Participant Teachers

Common Questions

1. What is your sex?
2. What year were you born in?
3. Where are you from?
4. Which district are you working in Hatay?
5. Do you know Turkish? (If the participant is Syrian teacher)
6. Do you know Arabic? (If the participant is a Turkish teacher)

Specific Questions for Turkish Teachers

1. Questions Related to Education and Work Experience

- 1.1 What did you study at university?
- 1.2 What is your branch right now in school?
- 1.3 How long have you been working as a teacher?
- 1.4 Are you working in a Temporary Education Centre or State School?
- 1.5 Have you received a specific training/seminar on working with refugees/multicultural groups during your education or work experience?
- 1.6 Which age group are you working within the school?

2. Questions Related to Working with Syrian Children

- 2.1 How long have you been working with Syrian children?
- 2.2 What is your role in the school and how it affects Syrian children in the school?
- 2.3 What do you think about the role of Syrian teachers in the schools?
- 2.4 How is your relationship with Syrian children?
- 2.5 How is your relationship with the parents of Syrian children? Do they involve enough in the education status of their children?
- 2.6 How do you define your experience of working with Syrian children?
- 2.7 What was your reaction when you first interact with Syrian children in your classroom? What is changed since then?
- 2.8 What are your main concerns/challenges about working with Syrian children?

2.9 What should be done to eliminate these problems?

2.10 If you have any chance, what you would like to change about your experience with refugee children?

3. Questions Related to Access to Education and Schooling System

3.1 What are the main challenges Syrian children facing during the enrolment of the school?

3.2 What are the main challenges Syrian children facing during the education process?

3.3 Did any of your Syrian student quit the school? If yes, do you know the reason?

3.4 Do you think that the current curriculum is suitable for Syrian children?

3.5 Do you think that your school provides inclusive education for Syrian children? What are the main challenges to have inclusive education in your school?

3.6 What are the advantages of state schools for Syrian children?

3.7 What are the disadvantages of state schools for Syrian children?

3.8 What are the advantages of Temporary Education Centre for Syrian children?

3.9 What is the disadvantage of Temporary Education Centre for Syrian children?

3.10 If you have a chance, what would you like to change the education system of Syrian children?

4. Questions Related to Friendship, Language, and Belongingness

4.1 How is the friendship between Syrian and Turkish children in your school? (If the teacher works in State School)

4.2 How is the friendship between Syrian students in your school? (If the teacher works in Temporary Education Centre)

4.3 Do Syrian children have Turkish friends out of the school? (If the teacher works in Temporary Education Centre)

4.4 Have you ever observed negative attitudes (bullying, harassment, physical violence, etc.) when Syrian and Turkish children interact with each other? What are the root causes of this behaviour? How do you or school management address this kind of incidents? (If the teacher works in Public School)

4.5 Have you ever observed negative attitudes (bullying, harassment, physical violence, etc.) when Syrian and Turkish children interact with each other while they are out-of-school? What are the root causes of this behavior? How do you

or school management address this kind of incidents? (If the teacher works in Temporary Education Centre)

- 4.6** How is the participation level of Syrian children in your courses?
- 4.7** Did you see any improvements in the language proficiency level of Syrian children during your teaching period?
- 4.8** Do Syrian children use their mother tongue in the class/school? How is the reaction of Turkish children?
- 4.9** Do you teach specific information on the Turkish Republic, important days in Turkish, society rules, and Turkish culture to your Syrian children? How is their reaction?
- 4.10** Do Turkish children support their Syrian friends in the classroom? (If the teacher works in State School)
- 4.11** How do you evaluate the adaptation process of Syrian children in the school?
- 4.12** How the school affects the integration of Syrian children into host community?
- 4.13** Do you think Syrian children have a sense of belonging and feel safe in the school environment?
- 4.14** Do Syrian children aware of their rights and responsibilities to their school and society?
- 4.15** During the out of school hours, do your Syrian students participate in social activities/events that take place in the community?
- 4.16** Do you think the integration of Syrian children into society affects their academic success?
- 4.17** What do you observe about the dreams of your students in their future? Would they like to return to Syria or continue to live in Turkey?
- 4.18** What could be done to support the integration of Syrian children into state schools and society?

Specific Questions for Syrian Teachers

1. Questions Related to Education and Work Experience

- 1.1. What did you study at university?
- 1.2. What is your branch right now in school?
- 1.3. How long have you been working as a teacher?
- 1.4. Are you working in a Temporary Education Centre or State School?
- 1.5. Have you received a specific training/seminar on working with refugees/multicultural groups during your education or work experience?
- 1.6. Which age group are you working within the school?

2. Questions Related to Working with Syrian Children

- 2.1. How long are you working with Syrian children?
- 2.2. What is your role in the school and how it affects Syrian children in the school?
- 2.3. What do you think about the role of Turkish teachers in the schools?
- 2.4. How is your relationship with Syrian children?
- 2.5. How is your relationship with the parents of Syrian children? Do they involve enough in the education status of their children?
- 2.6. How do you define your experience of working with Syrian children?
- 2.7. What was your reaction when you first interact with Syrian children in your classroom? What is changed since then?
- 2.8. What are your main concerns/challenges about working with Syrian children?
- 2.9. What should be done to eliminate these problems?
- 2.10. If you have any chance, what you would like to change about your experience with refugee children?

3. Questions Related to Access to Education and Schooling System

- 3.1. What are the main challenges Syrian children facing during the enrolment of the school?
- 3.2. What are the main challenges Syrian children facing during the education process?
- 3.3. Did any of your Syrian student quit the school? If yes, do you know the reason?
- 3.4. Do you think that the current curriculum is suitable for Syrian children?
- 3.5. Do you think that your school provides inclusive education for Syrian children?
What are the main challenges to have inclusive education in your school?

- 3.6. What are the advantages of state schools for Syrian children?
- 3.7. What are the disadvantages of state schools for Syrian children?
- 3.8. What are the advantages of Temporary Education Centre for Syrian children?
- 3.9. What is the disadvantage of Temporary Education Centre for Syrian children?
- 3.10. If you have a chance, what would you like to change the education system of Syrian children?

4. Questions Related to Friendship, Language, and Belongingness

- 4.1. How is the friendship between Syrian and Turkish children in your school? (If the teacher works in State School)
- 4.2. How is the friendship between Syrian students in your school? (If the teacher works in Temporary Education Centre)
- 4.3. Do Syrian children have Turkish friends out of the school? (If the teacher works in Temporary Education Centre)
- 4.4. Have you ever observed negative attitudes (bullying, harassment, physical violence, etc.) when Syrian and Turkish children interact with each other? What are the root causes of this behaviour? How do you or school management address this kind of incidents? (If the teacher works in Public School)
- 4.5. Have you ever observed negative attitudes (bullying, harassment, physical violence, etc.) when Syrian and Turkish children interact with each other while they are out-of-school? What are the root causes of this behaviour? How do you or school management address this kind of incidents? (If the teacher works in Temporary Education Centre)
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- 4.10. Do Turkish children support their Syrian friends in the classroom? (If the teacher works in State School)

- 4.11.** How do you evaluate the adaptation process of Syrian children in the school?
- 4.12.** How the school affects the integration of Syrian children into host community?
- 4.13.** Do you think Syrian children have a sense of belonging and feel safe in the school environment?
- 4.14.** Do Syrian children aware of their rights and responsibilities in the school and society?
- 4.15.** During the out of school hours, do Syrian children participate in social activities/events that take place in the community?
- 4.16.** Do you think the integration of Syrian children into society affects their academic success?
- 4.17.** What do you observe about the dreams of your students in their future?
Would they like to return to Syria or continue to live in Turkey?
- 4.18.** What could be done to support the integration of Syrian children into state schools and society?

7.5 APPENDIX E: DATA OF PARTICIPANTS

Data of Participant Children

Interviews with Syrian Children								
No	Name	Sex	Age	Nationality	School Type	Province	Date of Interview	Code
1	Raneem	F	14	Syrian	TEC	Antakya	06.07.2019	F-2-14
2	Tesnim	F	15	Syrian	Turkish Public School	Antakya	06.07.2019	F-1-15
3	Yusuf	M	15	Syrian	Turkish Public School	Kirikhan	06.07.2019	M-1-15
4	Ahmet	M	16	Syrian	Turkish Public School	Kirikhan	07.07.2019	M-1-16
5	Yahya	M	15	Syrian	Turkish Public School	Kirikhan	07.07.2019	M-1-13
6	Muhammed	M	17	Syrian	Turkish Public School	Kirikhan	08.07.2019	M-1-17
7	Ola	F	16	Syrian	Turkish Public School	Kirikhan	08.07.2019	F-1-16
8	Nazim	M	16	Syrian	Turkish Public School	Reyhanli	08.07.2019	M-1-16
9	Cemal	M	16	Syrian	Out-of-School	Reyhanli	08.07.2019	M-3-16
10	Rifaat	M	14	Syrian	TEC	Reyhanli	13.07.2019	M-2-14
11	Ahmad	M	13	Syrian	TEC	Reyhanli	13.07.2019	M-2-13
12	Ferhand	M	13	Syrian	TEC	Reyhanli	13.07.2019	M-2-13
13	Vael	M	14	Syrian	Out-of-School	Iskenderun	14.07.2019	M-3-14
14	Ali	M	12	Syrian	Out-of-School	Iskenderun	14.07.2019	M-3-12
15	Ela	F	15	Syrian	Out-of-School	Iskenderun	14.07.2019	F-3-15
16	Hasan	M	16	Syrian	Out-of-School	Iskenderun	14.07.2019	M-3-16
17	Samer	M	15	Syrian	TEC	Iskenderun	18.07.2019	M-2-15
18	Celile	F	14	Syrian	TEC	Antakya	20.07.2019	F-2-14
19	Mustafa	M	14	Syrian	TEC	Antakya	20.07.2019	M-2-14
20	Zeynep	F	13	Syrian	Out-of-School	Antakya	20.07.2019	F-3-13
21	Nura	F	16	Syrian	TEC	Antakya	06.10.2019	F-2-16
22	Hayad	F	15	Syrian	Out-of-School	Antakya	06.10.2019	M-3-15
23	Abdulkadir	M	17	Syrian	Out-of-School	Antakya	06.10.2019	M-3-17
24	Nura	F	12	Syrian	TEC	Antakya	06.10.2019	F-2-12
25	Emel	F	12	Syrian	Out-of-School	Reyhanli	29.09.2019	F-3-12
26	Amal	F	14	Syrian	Out-of-School	Reyhanli	29.09.2019	F-3-14
27	Merva	F	15	Syrian	Turkish Public School	Yayladagi	07.10.2019	F-1-15
28	Yahya	M	16	Syrian	Turkish Public School	Yayladagi	07.10.2019	M-1-16
29	Ömer	M	14	Syrian	Out-of-School	Yayladagi	07.10.2019	M-3-14
30	Meryem	F	17	Syrian	Turkish Public School	Yayladagi	07.10.2019	F-1-17

Data of Participant Teachers

Interviews with Teachers								
Number	Name	Sex	Age	Nationality	School Type	District	Date of Interview	Code
1	Cemalettin	Male	34	Turkish	TEC	Kırıkhan	14.07.2019	MT-2-34
2	Ayşe	Female	32	Turkish	TEC	Kırıkhan	13.07.2019	FT-2-32
3	Maral	Female	39	Syrian	Turkish Public School	Antakya	06.07.2019	FS-1-39
4	Halid	Male	29	Syrian	Turkish Public School	Kırıkhan	14.07.2019	MS-1-29
5	Seher	Female	26	Syrian	Turkish Public School	Antakya	13.09.2019	FS-1-26
6	Ziyad	Male	45	Syrian	Turkish Public School	Antakya	07.07.2019	MS-1-45
7	Amina	Female	41	Syrian	TEC	Reyhanli	07.07.2019	FS-2-41
8	Ali	Male	32	Turkish	Turkish Public School	Yayladagi	07.10.2019	MT-1-32
9	Mahmoud	Male	39	Syrian	Turkish Public School	Reyhanli	29.09.2019	MS-1-39
10	Elif	Female	24	Turkish	TEC	Iskenderun	28.09.2019	FT-2-24

Data of Other Participants

Interviews with I/NGOs and Local Authorities						
No	Name	Sex	Age	Nationality	Organization	Date of Interview
1	Ahmet	Male	43	Turkish	PDoNE	21.07.2019
2	Elif	Female	28	Turkish	NGO	21.07.2019
3	Ahmad	Male	34	Syrian	Syrian Community Based Organization	22.07.2019
4	Victoria	Female	38	French	INGO	22.07.2019
5	Veli	Male	45	Turkish	NGO	19.10.2019

7.6 APPENDIX F: ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL

KARAR: 2019/07



T.C.
ANKARA SOSYAL BİLİMLER ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL VE BEŞERİ BİLİMLER ARAŞTIRMALARI
VE BİLİMSEL YAYIN ETİK KURULU

ETİK ONAY BELGESİ

ARAŞTIRMANIN YÖNTEMİ	Mülakat - Veri Kaynakları Taraması
ARAŞTIRMANIN ADI	Kapsayıcı Eğitim Sistemi ile Köprüler Kurmak: Hatay'da Yaşayan Suriyeli Çocuklar Örneği
SORUMLU ARAŞTIRMACININ ADI SOYADI	Hilal KELEŞ
KARAR	UYGUNDUR

ETİK KURUL ÜYESİ

İMZA / TARİH

1. Prof. Dr. Sevgi KURTULMUŞ (Başkan)	İznilidir	22.7./2019
2. Prof. Dr. Ali Osman KURT (Başkan Yardımcısı)	İznilidir	22.7./2019
3. Prof. Dr. Latif TOKAT (Üye)	İznilidir	22.7./2019
4. Prof. Dr. Mehmet Emin BİLGE (Üye)	Mazeretli: Katılmadı	22.7./2019
5. Prof. Dr. Ali GÜNEŞ (Üye)	İznilidir	22.7./2019
6. Prof. Dr. Çetin ÖNDER (Üye)	İznilidir	22.7./2019
7. Prof. Dr. Abdulhakim KOÇIN (Üye)	İznilidir	22.7./2019

8 CURRICULUM VITAE

Hilal Keles

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WORK EXPERIENCE

Child Protection Officer <i>UNICEF / GAZIANTEP</i>	Oct 2019 – Present
Senior Protection Assistant <i>UNHCR / HATAY</i>	Jan 2018 – Oct 2019
Project Manager <i>SUPPORT TO LIFE / KAYSERI</i>	Sep 2017 – Jan 2018
Project Officer <i>SUPPORT TO LIFE / HATAY</i>	June 2016 – Sep 2017

EDUCATION

Social Sciences University of Ankara <i>Master's degree in International Relations</i>	2014-2019
Istanbul University <i>Bachelor's degree in Sociology</i>	2016-Present
Zirve University <i>Bachelor's degree in Political Science and Public Administration</i>	2009-2014
Yıldırım Beyazıt Anatolian High School	2005-2009

LANGUAGES

- *Turkish – Mother Language*
- *English – Fluent*

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Migrant Studies, International Organizations, Gender Studies, Identity and Turkish Politics
