

THE CASE OF CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER FOR EDUCATION (CCTE)
PROGRAMME FOR SYRIANS AND OTHER REFUGEE CHILDREN: AS A
STRATEGY FOR SUPPORTING EDUCATION OF REFUGEE CHILDREN

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DAMLA ÇALIK

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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 material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name: DAMLA ÇALIK

Signature:

ABSTRACT

THE CASE OF CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER FOR EDUCATION (CCTE) PROGRAMME FOR SYRIANS AND OTHER REFUGEE CHILDREN: AS A STRATEGY FOR SUPPORTING EDUCATION OF REFUGEE CHILDREN

ÇALIK, Damla

M.S., The Department of Social Policy

Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Besim Can ZIRH

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Through the years, the number of people coming from Syria has increased, and now it is the 10th year of crisis, and Turkey is still known as "the country hosting the largest number of refugees in the world." The crucial point about this statistic is the striking fact that almost 50% of them are children, and almost 40% of them are out of school. Turkey expanded the national Conditional Cash Transfer for Education Programme to increase the schooling among refugee children, considering the economic vulnerability of the refugee families, predominantly Syrians, for refugee children with the EU's financial support. I found the opportunity to involve in the project for almost four years in different roles. Although the project evaluation reports and case studies indicate the positive effect of CCTE on refugee children's education, I always believe there is a need to study this issue from an academic perspective in order to reveal the gaps and needs in regard to refugee education. In line with that, in this study, apart from the literature, I have interviewed the experts who are part of the key actors and the practitioner for the programme. In this context, this study aims to investigate the issue of refugee children's education in Turkey from the bottom with the case of the

Conditional Cash Transfer for Education for Refugees project to the top with the social policy recommendations for the education of refugee children.

Keywords: Refugee children, education, conditional cash transfers



ÖZ

MÜLTECİ ÇOCUKLARIN EĞİTİMİNİ DESTEKLEMEDE BİR STRATEJİ OLARAK SURİYELİLER VE DİĞER MÜLTECİ ÇOCUKLAR İÇİN ŞARTLI EĞİTİM YARDIMI (ŞEY) PROGRAMI ÖRNEĞİ

ÇALIK, Damla

Yüksek Lisans, Sosyal Politika Bölümü

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Yıllar içerisinde Suriye'den gelen kişilerin sayısı artmış ve krizin 10. yılı itibariyle Türkiye hala "dünyada en fazla mülteciye ev sahipliği yapan ülke" olarak anılmaya devam etmektedir. Bu istatistiğin en can alıcı noktası Suriye'den gelen kişilerin yaklaşık %50'sini çocukların oluşturması ve bu çocukların %40'ının okula gitmediği gerçeğidir. Türkiye, mülteci çocukların okullaşma oranının artırılması amacıyla, çoğunluğu Suriyeli olan mültecilerin ekonomik kırılganlık faktörünü de göz önünde bulundurarak ulusal Şartlı Eğitim için Nakit Transferi Programını AB'nin mali desteği ile mülteci çocuklara da genişletti. Ben de yaklaşık dört yıl boyunca farklı rollerde projede yer alma fırsatı buldum. Proje değerlendirme raporları ve vaka çalışmaları projenin mülteciler üzerindeki olumlu etkisini göstermesine rağmen mülteci çocukların eğitime ilişkin eksiklikleri ve ihtiyaçları ortaya koymak amacıyla bu konuyu akademik bir bakış açısıyla incelemeye her zaman ihtiyaç olduğuna inanıyordum. Bu doğrultuda, bu çalışmada, literatür dışında, programın kilit aktörlerinin ve uygulayıcılarının bir parçası olan uzmanlarla görüşmeler yaptım. Bu bağlamda bu çalışma, mülteci çocukların eğitime ilişkin durumu başta Mülteciler

iin Őartlı Eđitim Yardımı projesini ele alarak bařlayıp, sonrasında Trkiye'deki mlteci ocukların eđitimine iliřkin sorunları ve bu sorunlara ynelik sosyal politikaları sunmayı amalamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mlteci ocuklar, eđitim, řartlı nakit yardımları



To all refugee children in the world



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFAD	The Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency
CCT/E	Conditional Cash Transfer/for Education
DGMM	Directorate General of Migration Management
ESSN	Emergency Social Safety Net
EU	European Union
FRIT	Facility for Refugees in Turkey
I/NGO	International/National Non-Governmental Organization
IFRC	International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
LFIP	Law of Foreigners and International Protection
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
METU	Middle East Technical University
MoFSS	Ministry of Family and Social Services
MoNE	Ministry of National Education
SASF	Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations
TAC	Temporary Accommodation Center
TEC	Temporary Education Center
TRC	Turkish Red Crescent
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WFP	World Food Programme

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

No one lives home unless the home is the mouth of a shark.

Warsan Shire

The word "refugee" had a specific meaning in French as *réfugié*, which refers to Huguenots who are Protestants and encounter religious persecution in French after the cancellation of the Edict of Nantes¹ in 1685 (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). Until around 1914s, the meaning of refugee referred to "one seeking asylum." The broad meaning of refugee has evolved with civilians in Flanders escaping because of World War I and refers to one that flees from danger or persecution (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). While the reconciliation on the definition of a refugee is an entailment, the agreement occurred in the international arena much later than World War I.

The 1951 Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees is the first international document legally binding its signatories to protect those seeking asylum. This document defines "who is a refugee and her/his rights" and identifies a refugee as "a person who is outside his or her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of being persecuted because of his or her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail him or herself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution" (Geneva Convention, 1951, Article 1A (2)).

The Convention is grounded in the wake of World War II and constituted as a result of a substantial human displacement in the world and distinguished the different human movements in the context of migration. In this sense, the Convention

¹ The Edict of Nantes granted rights to France's Calvinist Protestants, known as Huguenots.

contributes to the migration literature while commencing a new era regarding identifying and protecting different types of human mobilities. According to Castels and Miller (1998), the formation of migration around ethnic minorities is mainly led by two types; the European refugees' movement at the end of World War II and gaining independence of colony countries correspondingly returning migrations to their independent countries. The latter type of migration will not be dealt with here; however, the former points out another discussion: the geographical limitation of being a refugee. Until the 1967 Protocol, the Geneva Convention had geographical and time limitations. These limits initially restricted the Convention to persons who became refugees due to events occurring in Europe before January 1, 1951. In other words, if a country does not approve the 1967 additional Protocol of the Geneva Convention, a person who fled from persecution after January 1, 1951, and not European, cannot be recognized as a refugee.

According to the *United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees* (UNHCR)², 80 million people are forcibly displaced worldwide as of mid-2020 (UNHCR, n.d.). Among this number, 45.7 million are internally displaced, 26.3 million are refugees, 4.2 million are asylum seekers, and 3.6 million are Venezuelan refugees and asylum seekers. On the contrary to the premise of the Geneva Convention, 67% of 80 million people are originated from 5 non-European countries; 6.6 million from the Syrian Arab Republic, 3.7 million from Venezuela, 2.7 million from Afghanistan, 2.3 million from South Sudan, and 1 million from Myanmar (UNHCR, n.d.). These numbers indicate the importance of the 1967 Protocol, which removes the geographical and time limitation considering the new trends in human displacement. When looking at where these people seek asylum worldwide, which is the starting point of this thesis discussion, 3.6 million Syrians are hosted in Turkey.

Following the political unrest and armed conflict outbreak in Syria in 2011, the first group of 252 people crossed the border between Turkey and Syria on April 29 in the same year. Turkey had a welcoming attitude towards border crossings. Moreover, a

² UNHCR identifies themselves as “UNHCR, the UN Refugee Agency, is a global organisation dedicated to saving lives, protecting rights and building a better future for refugees, forcibly displaced communities and stateless people. UNHCR works to ensure that everyone who has fled violence, war, disaster or persecution at home has the right to seek asylum and find refuge.”

new discourse was derived, and those people were called with the word *misafir* (guest); however, this word did not specify any legal status. The Turkish policy was built on the assumption that those people would return to Syria very soon; therefore, the temporal policies have been discussed. In the border cities, temporary accommodation centers, in other words, camps, have been established (İçduygu, 2015). Unlike the assumption of Turkey, the not only crisis did not end up, but also new "guests" have crossed the border, and the numbers have reached almost 200.000 by the end of 2012. The "open-door policy" was the reinforcement of the high number of newcomers, although it should be considered as the implementation of the non-refoulement rule, which is identified as "No Contracting State shall expel or return ("refouler") a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his [or her] life or freedom would be threatened on account of his [or her] race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion."³

With the increasing number, naming the incoming population from Syria has been one of Turkey's contested subjects for two main reasons. First and foremost is the legal framework for asylum seekers, and secondly, the unforeseen mass influx within a short period beclouds the one-to-one interview for asylum seekers.

The legal framework of the status determines the rights, responsibilities of asylum seekers, and it was discussed from different perspectives. Although the legal status is a crucial topic to elaborate on, and this thesis will provide the current situation, the discussions on the legal framework will not be included since the main focus of my thesis will not be dealt with from this perspective. Therefore, I would like to clarify the purpose of this thesis and personal relevance while designating the research in the following part.

³ Advisory Opinion on the Extraterritorial Application of Non-Refoulement Obligations under the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol

1.1. Personal Relevance and Purpose

I believe in education, and I will do my best to ensure that my daughter realizes her dream to become a teacher. As our ancestors once said, 'Education is like a light bulb, and those who miss it live in darkness, and I would never want my daughter to live in darkness.'

Father of a refugee child,
UNICEF Photo Essay, 2020

When I decided to study sociology at *Middle East Technical University* (METU) in 2012, more than 100.000 Syrians were in Turkey. It was a vast number, and it was in the middle of the social issues in Turkey. During my undergraduate studies, I have participated in different projects and volunteering work regarding the refugee issue in Turkey. As my graduation approached, I started to apply to international and national organizations working for refugees in Turkey. Then, I had an opportunity to work as a caseworker in the *Turkish Red Crescent* (TRC) for one of the most significant projects regarding the education of refugee children, *Conditional Cash Transfer for Education* (CCTE) Programme for Syrians and other refugees.

On the first workday, July 20, 2017, during my first household visit as a caseworker, I met with Rima, an almost 13-year-old girl, came from Syria with her family approximately three years ago to İstanbul, Turkey. She could barely speak Turkish and not go to school. She desired to go to school near their houses with her friends; however, neither she nor her family was aware of the process for accessing education. I was informed about the legal procedure of access to school for refugee children in Turkey. Through the interpreter, I explained the steps which have been described in regulations.

Rima had an identity card that recognized her status. Besides, her family was able to find a house and get a residence permit, which is the prerequisite for enrolment to the school. Therefore, the only thing left was to find a suitable school, which was a bit challenging. She stated that, with her mother, they went to the nearest school's

management to ask whether she could register and the school was suitable for her age; however, they could not communicate due to the language barrier. Since she is not at the first grade age, she had to take an equivalence exam indicating her education level. Therefore, she was required to apply to the provincial *Ministry of National Education* (MoNE). However, even if she could enroll in the school, she might still have faced the language barrier in the school. The alternative can be the enrolment to the first grade if I can advocate with the school management; however, she was pretty senior comparing the first-grade students; obviously, she might have faced the challenges. Rima craved to enroll in the school, with one condition, the same class with her friends. However, her friends were going to fifth grade. Therefore, due to the language barrier, she did not accept enrollment in the first grade and took the equivalence exam. Although the fact that her family was also supportive regarding the access to school, after they realized that Rima would not feel comfortable in that process, they suggested that Rima stay at home and help the household and her siblings, who are 8 and 9 years old. The siblings could easily enroll in the first grade considering their age, and the family thought that Rima could learn Turkish from her siblings. Albeit unwillingly, the family preferred that Rima stays at home since if all children go to school, the expenses might be intimidated considering the existing financial difficulty that they face. Rima was heartbroken, and I felt that if Rima could not access school now, she would never be able to.

Rima was one of the stories that revealed that the meaning of access to education for refugee children is entirely different from the statistics. The challenges that may be encountered in accessing education for a refugee child are multidimensional. The story of Rima speaks of the invisible parts of access to school for a refugee child, which reveals the underlying obstacles that may result in them being out of school, even if the child and the family are willing for enrolment to the school.

Conditional Cash Transfer for Education Programme for Syrians and Other Refugee Children⁴ was one of the access points for me in order to reach the refugee children. Therefore, I have always found the programme valuable in terms of understanding the

⁴ Hereupon, it will be used as “CCTE for Syrians and other refugees”.

issue of access to education and, in line with that, the gaps and needs in regard to this issue.

Besides, while working as a caseworker in the field, I observed the importance of education for the life of a refugee child. I worked for the refugee children to continue their education, and I utilized my background in order to develop different modalities. Then, I got a promotion to implement CCTE for Syrians and other refugees – Child Protection Component nationwide as a Protection Officer in the TRC head office.

My professional experience in the TRC head office position on CCTE for Syrians and other refugees for the last three years deepened my interest in refugee children's education and my curiosity about the actual effect of the programme. Although the project evaluation reports and case studies indicate the positive effect of CCTE on refugee children's education, I always believe there is a need to study this issue from an academic perspective. As a result, I started my master's studies in Social Policy at METU to discuss, learn and develop my perspective on refugee children's education. By the beginning of 2021, which was the year to write my thesis, the project started its third phase, and I got another promotion to carry out CCTE for Syrians and other refugees - Child Protection Component for TRC as a manager, and I am still working as Project Manager.

In the first part of my professional experience as a caseworker, I found the opportunity to examine CCTE for Syrians and other refugees from different aspects in the context of access to education; however, some question marks still remained and shaped the primary purpose for this thesis.

Therefore, the project of CCTE for Syrians and other refugees is considered the case study in this thesis and discussed as a strategy to support the education of refugee children. Since the education of refugees is a broad term considering the formal and non-formal education for children and adults, in this thesis, in line with the aim of CCTE for Syrians and other refugees, I have narrowed education to compulsory education consisting of 4+4+4 in the Turkish education system.

In line with the case of CCTE for Syrians and other refugees project, the purpose of this study is to examine to what extent the project achieved its goals, which will be discussed in the following sections but moves ahead of this discussion to propose social policy recommendations for the education of refugee children. In line with the purpose of the thesis, in the following part, the research questions have been addressed.

1.2. Research Questions

In the scope of fundamental rights, education is a human right for all children regardless of their race, ethnicity, gender, and disability (Convention on the Rights of Child, 1990). In Turkey, The Basic Law on National Education of Turkey prescribes that, without discrimination, all children, including refugees living in the country, shall enjoy their right to education. Education comes into prominence for the time of human displacement, especially for children, simply because education reinforces social cohesion, access to crucial information, and provides safe places. In line with these legal grounds and arguments, Turkey applies policies towards the education of refugee children.

Considering the high number of school-age refugee children, starting from the year 2016, Turkey established a new structure within the ministries and kicked off new policies targeting refugee children (UNICEF, 2019). CCTE extension for refugees project has started within the scope of these policies in 2017, and the primary purpose of this project is to encourage school enrolment and support the continued attendance of refugee children (UNICEF, 2019).

In this research, my main endeavor will be on the following questions: 1) To what extent does CCTE for Syrians and other refugees achieve its aim of increasing the schooling rate and regular attendance of refugee children? 2) What kind of complementary components is needed to enhance the project's aim? 3) What might be the social policy recommendations for the increased schooling and regular attendance of refugee children?

Therefore, I aim to investigate the issue of the access to school for refugee children in Turkey from the bottom with the case of CCTE for Syrians and other refugees to the top with the social policy recommendations for the education of refugee children. In line with that, I would like to share the methodology of this thesis.

1.3. Methodology

... The average family, then, works a total of thirty-five man-hours a week, for which it receives \$1.75.

Crowded, unsanitary, and dilapidated houses, worn-out clothing, and frequent complaints about the inadequacy of food, both as to amount and quality, characterized the homes investigated...

Children under sixteen were working in 96 of the 199 families studied... Half of these children were less than twelve years of age. Thirty-four of them were eight years old, and under twelve were less than five years old...

Shocking, isn't it? Think of two- and three-year-old children at work! Is that a report of the putting-out system in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries? Indeed no. What is the time and place of the conditions described in this quotation?

Time: August 1934 Place: Connecticut, the USA (Huberman, 1930)

When I read for the first time Leo Huberman, I was in high school, and the book of the Man's Worldly Goods- The Story of the Wealth of Nations was one of my motivations to study sociology. Then I started to study sociology at the university, and the statement that was always in my mind during four years of BA preoccupied me: Sociology is a way to endeavor to understand society, not necessarily the change. As a sociology student, I found out the theories of understanding the world, which was terrific. However, on the other hand, I participated in various volunteering and internships focusing on migration in civil society, feeling that at least I can affect the world's problems, which is unfortunately very similar to what Huberman elaborated. During these experiences, I was acquainted with social policy.

The definition of social policy is arduous, and it altered the conventional definition due to the globalization of society. The ambiguity of the discipline of social policy is defined with a metaphor that "[s]ocial policy as an academic field of study is one of those curious items, rather like an elephant, which we recognize when we see it, but which is notoriously difficult to describe." (Alcock et al., 2004). In the narrow sense, social policy is considered the provision of social welfare through institutions of state

and services; from a broader perspective, social policy beyond its national view has been reconceptualized with reflection on how our experiences of, and interactions with, other spheres of social life (Coffey, 2004). Regarding the reconceptualization of social policy, the resemblance with the sociology discern. Besides, research in social policy, similar to sociology, is concerned with understanding social issues; however, it also insists on providing answers to improve policy to promote wellbeing. (Becker et al., 2012)

In line with the discussions regarding social policy, my desire to give voice (Ragin, 1994) to the refugee children developed the methodology of this thesis; thus, I utilized thinking sociologically while interrogating the research questions in social policy.

Here, I would like to re-evoked the research questions: 1) To what extent does CCTE for Syrians and other refugees achieve its aim of increasing the schooling rate and regular attendance of refugee children? 2) What kind of complementary components is needed to enhance the project's aim? 3) What might be the social policy recommendations for the increased schooling and regular attendance of refugee children?

While interrogating the research questions, one of the most valuable contributions to this study that enabled me to access information and knowledge on where to find the statistics are my four years of experience in CCTE for Syrians and other refugees project. While implementing, progressing, and developing the project both in theory and practice, my observations reinforced the necessity to question CCTE for refugees. Besides, this experience enhanced my network in order to reach the key persons in the context of refugee children's education. Considering entire factors, the qualitative approach has been utilized in the methodology since;

[t]he main strength of the qualitative approach in the social sciences lies in its ability to render more accurate representations of the actual life-worlds of those who inhabit them than purely quantitative surveys and analyses can (Barrero et al. 2018).

In this context, I have interviewed the key actors from different governmental and non-governmental institutions who have been actively worked for the project of CCTE for Syrians and other refugees to elaborate the study at the policy level; besides, I reviewed the national and international literature to describe where I was positioned.

1.3.1. In-depth Interview with the Key Actors for Conditional Cash Transfer for Education Programme for Syrians and Other Refugee Children in Turkey

In this study, while analyzing the case of CCTE for Syrians and other refugees with policy research, I have also conducted interviews with the experts who are part of the key actors and the practitioner for the programme. The interviews have been constituted with semi-structured questions. The interviewers were at least three years of experience in their area and knowledge of CCTE for Syrians and refugees. Initially, through my networks, I have reached five of the experts in order to eliminate the bias; I have utilized the snowball technic and interviewed ten experts overall from international/national non-governmental organizations (I/NGO) and public organizations, consisting of five male and five female.

Table 1: The Data on Respondents⁵

	Gender	Sector	Role
R1: M1, I/NGO	Male	I/NGO	Central Office
R2: M2, I/NGO	Male	I/NGO	Central Office
R3: M3, I/NGO	Male	I/NGO	Central Office
R4: F1, I/NGO	Female	I/NGO	Central Office
R5: M4, Pub.	Male	Public Institution	Central Office
R6: F2, I/NGO	Female	I/NGO	Field Office
R7: F3, Pub.	Female	Public Institution	Central Office
R8: M5, I/NGO	Male	I/NGO	Field Office
R9: F4, I/NGO	Female	I/NGO	Central Office
R10: F5, I/NGO	Female	I/NGO	Field Office

⁵ In the table, respondents are abbrevatited as “R”

The below questions have been inclined, and the interviews took around one hour per person.

- i. Considering the beginning of the mass influx, could you please elaborate on the schooling efforts of Turkey as well as the projects funded by external resources in general?
- ii. What kind of issues have been encountered during these ten years, and what kind of solutions have been proposed/actualized considering your organization as well?
- iii. The theoretical school registration flow⁶ has been shared with you on the screen (showing the process flow). Could you please share in which step what kind of problems might be encountered during the schooling process from the perspective of refugees as well as the institutions?
- iv. Specifically talking on CCTE Project, which is considered one of the most prominent schooling projects for refugees in Turkey, to what extent does CCTE address the issues you have indicated in your previous answers?
- v. CCTE aims to regular attendance of children to school, in other words, not enrolment but increase the time in the school; therefore, a strategic child protection component has been added in order to identify the risk and threat that cause the drop-out of children. Could you please elaborate on the effect of the child protection component in line with its aim?
- vi. What kind of additional solutions or recommendations might be in order to increase the enrolment and regular attendance of refugee children in Turkey? Which actors should be included in this process, and why?

1.3.2. Ethics

Regarding the ethical consideration of this study, the formal process has been identified by the university admission. For the research on social science, the researcher has to submit a document indicating the target group, method, and questions, and based on the document, and the ethical committee considers the ethical dimension of the research. I received approval from the committee as of January 2021 with issue number 28620816 / 15, and then I started to work on the preparation for the

⁶ The school registration flow has been added as ANNEX.

interviews. I have approached the interviewers with an invitation e-mail, and based on their availability, I have conducted the interviews with online tools. Considering the anonymity, I have never used the names and the organizations in this study. Also, before the interviews, I have asked for the verbal consent of each participant in order to attend this interview. After completing the study, it is aimed to share the thesis with respondents and confirmed that their voice records had been permanently deleted.

1.3.3. Limitations

As of March 2020, the world has recognized the COVID-19 as a pandemic, which affects every aspect of life and innately the research. The education has been carried out remotely, in line with that the libraries have been closed, which limits the researchers only with the online tools. Not only for the research but also for our well-being, it was a very stressful and challenging experience, which affected all of our responsibilities. In addition to that, although this study has been designed to include the interviews with refugees, who are the essential agent, due to the pandemic restrictions, the interviews are limited with the experts, and those are also conducted via the online platform. I still believe that with my experiences during the implementation of CCTE for Syrians and other refugees, the involvement of refugee children and families is needed to understand the whole story in the issue of the education of refugee children, and I would like to emphasize this gap for the future studies. In line with the methodology and discussions on the literature, the research analysis has been addressed in the following chapter, and the policy recommendations regarding the analysis findings have been presented. This chapter, it is aimed to introduce the context of the thesis and the purpose in relation to my personal relevance. In addition to that, the methodology, which involves the literature and in-depth interviews, has been shared. Lastly, ethics and limitation have been underlined in line with the methodological tools.

In line with the purpose of this study, in the next chapter, the background information in regards to refugees in Turkey with the specific focus on Syrians considering the high population and legal legislation after a mass influx to Turkey is elaborated.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The last thing I remember of Syria before we left was when my mother was taking me from our place to our grandparents. The roads were full of dead corpses. I saw dead people with no heads or no hands or legs. I was so shocked I couldn't stop crying.

7-year-old Alia, from Aleppo,

Refugee Stories

The main aim of this chapter is to elaborate on the so-called Arab Spring briefly, and more importantly, the relation with the significance for Turkey. In this context, the naming of the mass influx in line with the legal framework of the asylum procedure in Turkey has been framed. Additionally, the rights and services that Turkey has provided for those who are seeking asylum in Turkey have been underlined before exploring the main focus of this thesis, which is the education of refugee children.

Although the coverage of this thesis does not include that, I would like to advert background information about pre-Arab Spring Syria; officially the Syrian Arab Republic, in order to provide a ground for the ensuing discussions.

Despite the centuries-long political struggles, the Syrian Arab Republic⁷ declared independence in 1946 (Kadir & Matar, 2019). The capital and the largest city was Damascus. The war that resulted in the independence of Syria shifted the population.

⁷ Instead of Syrian Arab Republic, hereupon it will be named as Syria in short.

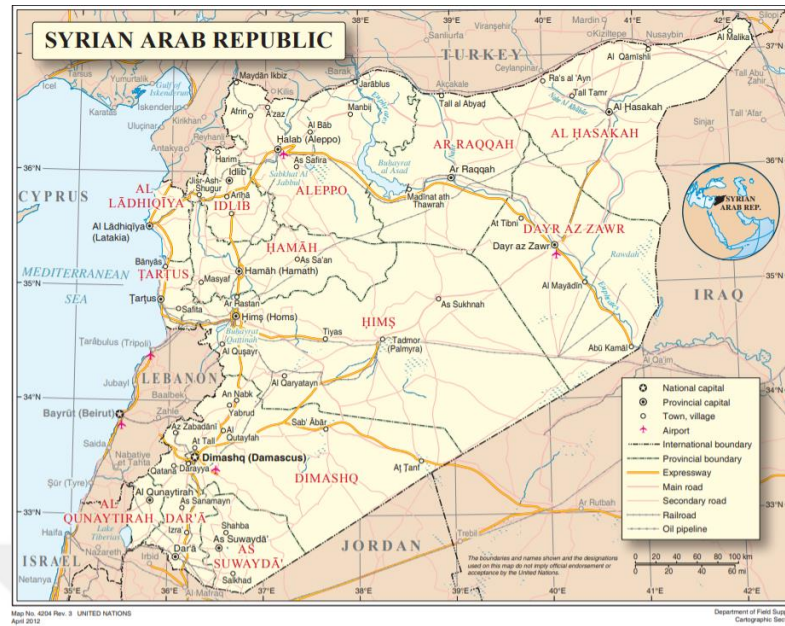


Figure 1: Syrian Arab Republic Map

Source: United Nations

According to the census, it was estimated that there were around 5 million people in the 1960s, and it has reached more than 20 million in 2010 (World Bank, n.d.). The gender distribution remained approximately the same for males and females. However, considering the age distribution as of the 2010s, about 40% of the population were below the age of fourteen (Lesch, 2019). The most common spoken and official language was Arabic; however, there were always multi-ethnic and religious identities speaking of different languages, along with refugees because of the geographical position of Syria (Lesch, 2019).

2.1. Syria Crisis within the Context of Its Significance for Turkey

While briefly referring to the background information of Syria, the year 2010 is confronted as a significant political shift. Not only Syria but also for the Arabic-speaking countries in the Middle East and North Africa region, mainly Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Yemen, and Bahrain; 2010 is the year of uprising towards the already existing regimes. The discussions and studies on the uprisings, which were first named in the literature as the Arab Spring in the US academic foreign journal of Foreign Policy

(Abusharif, 2014), are still ongoing. Even though this issue is beyond the scope of this thesis, it should be underlined that in the context of Syria, the Arab Spring leading to a fierce civil war has resulted in the migration of approximately 13.4 million people, 6.7 million internally displaced, and 6.6 million worldwide since 2011 (UNHCR, n.d.). The majority of the Syrians sought asylum in the neighboring countries considering the geographical accessibility, and according to the UNHCR database, as of 2021, 65.5% of whom in Turkey, and the rest is hosted principally by Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, and Egypt.

In this sense, the year 2011 is explicitly noted for Turkey concerning migration history. The first influx, which started with 252 people crossing the border in 2011, increased dramatically with the intensified use of violence by the Syrian regime (Özden, 2013). Initially, Turkey developed a welcoming attitude towards the Syrians crossing the border and utilized the "open-door policy" (Aras & Mencütek, 2015). With the coordination of *The Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency* (AFAD), Turkey established temporary accommodation centers in the border cities based on the assumption that the Syrians would return to their countries in a short time. As of June 2011, AFAD shared the first statistics on Syrians that in the camps there were 8,535 individuals in Hatay; Yayladağı and Altınözü (ORSAM, 2015). In contradiction to Turkey's assumption, in August 2012, there were 78,409 Syrians; according to AFAD statistics, Turkey's official speech turned into that the threshold number for Syrians is 100.000.

If the number of refugees exceeds 100,000, we will not be able to shelter them [the Syrians].

Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu,
Hürriyet Daily, August 20, 2012.

Meanwhile, Turkey's open-door policy shifted "zero-point delivery," following the international law as avoiding infringing on Syria's national sovereignty by delivering aid shipments to a border crossing since the numbers passed over the certain threshold by October 2012. In order to slow down of mass influx, Turkey decided to focus on to be able to slow down the arrivals of refugees. (Aras et al., 2015; Ahmadoun, 2014). There were three main reasons behind this policy shift; considering the security

dimension of the migration, Turkey was concerned about losing control over the Turkey-Syria border; the foreign policy towards the Syrian opposition became challenging in the international affair; Turkey had started to encounter difficulty in assisting within Syria unless the Syria government approved (Aras & Mencütek, 2015). By considering the increased number of Syrians, Turkey has to respond to the humanitarian needs of Syrians within Turkey and started with the laws and legislations regarding the international protection for those seeking asylum in Turkey since the legal framework on seeking asylum in Turkey does not correspond to the Syrian mass influx. Therefore, in the next part, the legal framework for seeking asylum in Turkey has been elaborated.

2.2. Legal Framework on Seeking Asylum in Turkey

Despite the fact that Turkey is the signatory for the 1951 Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees, it reserves the time and geographical limitations simply because of the non-acceptance of the 1967 Protocol. Unlike the intensive number of non-European populations seeking asylum due to the unrest and armed conflicts, especially in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, Turkey only accepts Europeans as refugees under international protection law. In the sense of adaptation to Convention to the national framework, the 1994 regulation "Procedures and Principles related to Possible Population Movements and Aliens Arriving in Turkey either as Individuals or in Groups Wishing to Seek Asylum either from Turkey or Requesting Residence Permission in order to Seek Asylum From Another Country, Regulation No. 1994/6169" is identified as first detailed regulation regarding the entry, exit and residence of asylum seekers and refugees, that regulation became an obligation after the mass influx from Iraq (İçduygu, 2015). With another mass influx, 1994 regulation was replaced with the *Law of Foreigners and International Protection* (LFIP) in 2013, and the *Directorate General of Migration Management* (DGMM) under the Ministry of Interior was established as the authorized institution in the sense of foreigners' entry into, stay in, and exit from Turkey (UNHCR, 2017). In line with LFIP, four types of international protection have been defined.

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 (Article 61).

Conditional refugees a person who as a result of events occurring outside European countries and owing to wellfounded 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 (Article 62).

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 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 (Article 63).

(1) Temporary protection may be provided for foreigners who have been forced to leave their country, cannot return to the country that they have left, and have arrived

at or crossed the borders of Turkey in a mass influx situation seeking immediate and temporary protection.

(2) The actions to be carried out for the reception of such foreigners into Turkey; their stay in Turkey and rights and obligations; their exit from Turkey; measures to be taken to prevent mass influxes; cooperation and coordination among national and international institutions and organizations; determination of the duties and mandate of the central and provincial institutions and organizations shall be stipulated in a Directive to be issued by the Council of Ministers (Article 91).

The LFIP is a turning point in specifying the protection status of asylum seekers in Turkey, and eventually, the status of Syrians is clarified with Article 91. Syrians had been identified as under temporary protection on April 11, 2014, with the Temporary Protection Regulation. In addition to that, with this new law, the Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM) has been established with the role of "administrative, legislative and operational central-governmental authority responsible for overall migration and international protection affairs in Turkey" (DGMM, n.d.). The regulation mentioned above, which consists of 63 articles, also identified the scope, rights, responsibilities, and termination of the temporary protection (Erdoğan, 2020).

The discourse of "guest" that emerged at the beginning of the cross borders from Syria to Turkey has evolved "Syrians under Temporary Protection"⁸ with the publication of LFIP. Not long before, the discourse has shaped qua Syrians and non-Syrians for refugees, conditional refugees, and subsidiary protection status. Additionally, the statistics indicate the necessity of new regulation for the Syrians, and following with the LFIP, a new Temporary Protection Regulation was prepared on October 22, 2014 (DGMM, 2014).

⁸ The discussion on the discourse of the status of Syrians is a controversial issue in Turkey. United Nations organizations apply the term refugee; however, the governmental organization applies both refugee and Syrians under Temporary Protection. In this thesis, I would prefer to use the term "refugee" from the sociological point of view and "Syrians" -but keeping in mind that Syrians are not a homogenous group- in order to clarify that not comprising other refugees from different nationalities in order to describe Syrians under temporary protection.

Table 2: Refugee Protection in Turkey

International Protection			Temporary Protection
Available upon an individual assessment of asylum seekers			Provided on a group basis in mass-arrival situations where high numbers make individual assessment unfeasible
Terms set out in the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (in force since April 2014)			Terms set out in Temporary Protection Regulation (in force since October 2014)
Refugee	Conditional Refugee	Subsidiary Protection	Temporary protection beneficiary
Less than 100 people	370,000 people	Less than 100 people	3.6 million Syrians

Source: Norwegian Organisation for Asylum Seekers, 2018

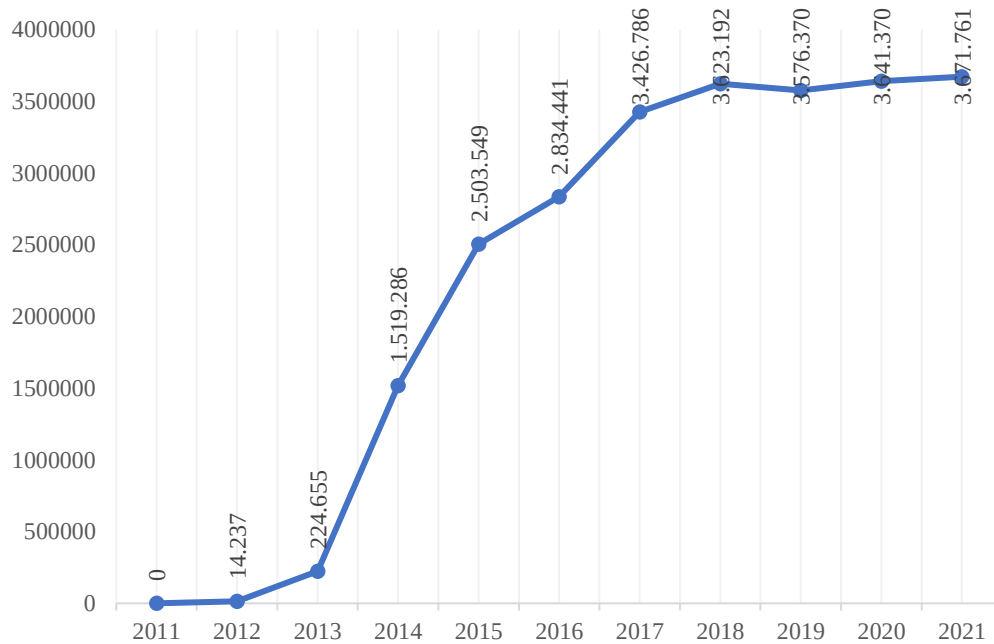
Despite the fact that the case of this thesis includes the "non-Syrians" under international protection; however, the central attempts started after the mass influx from Syria, and the majority of the target population consists of Syrians, I will be comprehending specifically on the issue regarding Syrians in order to convey the framework. Therefore, the statistics, particularly on Syrians, have been addressed in the next part.

2.3. Statistics on Syrians Living in Turkey

Through the years, the number of people coming from Syria has increased, and now it is the 10th year of crisis, and Turkey is still known as "the country hosting the largest number of refugees in the world." (UNHCR, 2020)

According to the DGMM, as of May 5 May 2021, there are 3.671.761 Syrian in Turkey, 3.615.178 of them stay outside the camps, and the rest 56.583 stay in camps.

Table 3: Statistics on Syrians in Turkey by Year



Source: DGMM, 2021

Table 4: Age-gender Distribution of Syrians in Turkey

AGE	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
0-4	259.706	242.438	502.144
5-9	289.412	271.816	561.228
10-14	217.522	204.342	421.864
15-18	137.371	117.650	255.021
19-24	282.128	212.552	494.680
25-29	219.967	159.640	379.607
30-34	165.876	120.386	286.262
35-39	124.463	97.471	221.934
40-44	85.050	74.152	159.202
45-49	57.649	56.360	114.009
50-54	45.733	44.607	90.340
55-59	34.797	34.849	69.646
60-64	22.940	23.686	46.626
65-69	14.942	15.774	30.716
70-74	8.830	9.726	18.556
75-79	4.342	5.382	9.724
80-84	2.379	3.174	5.553
85-89	1.132	1.671	2.803
90+	774	1.072	1.846
TOTAL	1.975.013 (54%)	1.696.748 (46%)	3.671.761 (100%)

Source: DGMM, 2021

The age and gender features of the statistics express that the male population is relatively higher than the female, and the active working-age population is more than 2 million. However, the crucial point about this statistic is the striking fact that almost 50% of them are children. In addition to that striking fact, more than 450.00 children were born in Turkey (Erdoğan, 2019).

In line with the statistics, the need for a humanitarian response towards Syrian becomes apparent. In line with the Temporary Protection Regulation, which frames the rights to admission, stay, and leave the asylum country, which will be elaborated in the following part of this thesis on the parts of accommodation and nutrition. In addition to that, services to be provided to persons benefiting from temporary protection have been elaborated as health, education, access to labor market services, social assistance and services, interpretation services, and customs procedures (Temporary Protection Regulation, 2014), and these will be elaborated in the following part of this thesis, on the part of health, access to labor market services, social assistance and services, and education.

2.4. The Response of Turkey to Needs of Syrians in Turkey

We lost everything during the war. We came to Turkey and started from zero. The assistance has been crucial for us to pay the rent and bills.

Kevser, from Syria IFRC

It has been ten years since the uprising occurred in Syria. Considering that the majority of the Syrian population lives in Turkey, multitudinous responses in line with the government's legislation towards the needs of Syrians have been provided. However, in ten years, the responses have been veered since the Syrian crisis was not only a humanitarian crisis but also considered as a sort of bargaining issue between Turkey and the *European Union* (EU). Thus, to examine Turkey's responses which are significantly linked to attitudes of the EU, certain dates indicating Turkey's approach regarding the Syrians live in Turkey should be noted.

The year 2011 has been identified as the start of the uprising in Syria and the first influx to Turkey. Until 2013, Syrians living in Turkey have been called "guests" in line with the government attitudes that consider this situation is temporary. In foreign policy, Turkey acted in a "welcoming" attitude towards Syrians; therefore, an open-door policy has been utilized. Starting from 2011, Turkey proactively provided services; initially, emergency responses were implemented commencing with setting up fully serviced camps for arriving refugees, namely Temporary Accommodation Centers (TACs), in provinces bordering Syria and offering free medical care and education possibilities for all, the latter being provided in Temporary Education Centers (TECs) (Düzgit et al., 2019). However, the uprisings in Syria have been changed into civil war, and in the meantime, numbers of Syrians in Turkey have been passed the psychological limit, which is 100.000 (WSJ, 2012). In line with that, Turkey had to elaborate the existing responses while acknowledging the not temporality of the almost 1 million Syrian population in Turkey as of 2014. When then, the laws on asylum procedures have been revised, and Syrians were recognized under Temporary Protection with the temporary protection legislation in 2014. Although Turkey's tremendous efforts, the numbers were not manageable considering the TACs' capacities; therefore, most Syrians compulsorily settled in urban settings. The EU uttered the security concern since the beginning of the crisis; however, the EU needed the support and contribution of Turkey in dealing with the threat of terrorist groups traveling to Europe and refugee flows towards Europe (Nas, 2019). Thus, the division of responsibility between Turkey and the EU was proclaimed in March 2016 as a result of long-standing negotiations under the Turkey-EU Statement and Action Plan.

Turkey is making commendable efforts to provide massive humanitarian aid and support to an unprecedented and continuously increasing influx of people seeking refuge from Syria, which has exceeded 2.2 million to date. Turkey has already spent more than € 7 billion of its own resources on addressing this crisis.

The EU-Turkey joint action plan, Brussels, October 15, 2015

The EU-Turkey Statement and Action Plan unambiguously declared that "The EU will, in close cooperation with Turkey, further speed up the disbursement of the initially allocated €3 billion under the Facility for Refugees in Turkey. Once these

resources are about to be used in full, the EU will mobilize additional funding for the Facility up to an additional €3 billion by the end of 2018. It also stressed that the EUR 3 billion funds of 'Refugee Facility for Refugees in Turkey' have to be used to relieve refugees and that the Commission has to make sure the funds are properly used and report regularly to the EP on this matter." (Legislative Train, 2021).

At this point, Turkey is still the country that hosts the largest refugee population that affected the Syrian crisis, with the number of almost 4 million as of 2021. Therefore, the statement mentioned above between the EU and Turkey has vast importance in regards to Turkey's response. In this sense, the following chapter encapsulates the situation of Syrians living in Turkey, and the responses of Turkey in line with the EU support will be elaborated in line with the Temporary Protection legislation of Turkey under a) accommodation and nutrition, b) health and psychosocial wellbeing, c) labor market access d) education.

2.4.1. Accommodation and Nutrition

Temporary Protection Regulation ensures free accommodation with services covering basic survival needs, food, and health care in only TACs that have been supported by AFAD, United Nations organizations, and other national organizations for Syrians (Özden, 2013). Starting from 2012, 26 TACs in 10 different cities hosted 256.971 Syrian refugees; according to DGMM, as of September 16, 2020, 59.877 Syrian refugees live in 7 TACs in 5 different cities. However, inquiries elaborate on the actual state which unfolds the cumbersome living conditions in TACs. The conditions of tents are not appropriate for different climate conditions (Özden, 2015), and the food is not edible, or the distributions are not fair. Also, it is stated that the translators do not have a good command of Arabic, creating some misunderstandings.

On the other hand, 3.559.041 Syrian refugees live in urban areas due to the overcrowdedness and conditions in refugee camps, family ties and financial independence creating housing opportunities outside camps, and the prohibition of the camp entrance registration for immigrants who illegally got into the country (İçduygu, 2015). Since the regulation does not comprise free accommodation and there has been

an increase in rental prices (ORSAM, 2015) in the urban settings for Syrians, poor housing conditions are the primary issue that elicits relevant concerns regarding meeting basic needs (Saleh & Aydın & Koçak, 2018). According to the Turkey Medical Association (2016), in İstanbul, which hosts almost 25% of the Syrian population, refugees have poor nutrition and can eat only one meal a day and mainly carbohydrates. Since they cannot reach a meal consisting of protein or vitamins, nutrition-related illness has been witnessed. In addition to that, the study conducted by AFAD (2014) indicated that 74.7% of Syrians have no sufficient foodstuffs and 70.6% live in houses with no sufficient kitchen equipment. Moreover, half of the households have no means for cooking, and the number of plates, glasses, forks, and spoons per person is much lower than what is needed (TTB, 2014).

Considering the fact that the need for coverage of the basic needs of urban refugees, a specialized response has been developed with the national and international institutions and with the financial support of the EU. In order to help vulnerable refugees to meet their basic needs with a multi-purpose cash transfer scheme providing monthly assistance through debit cards (WFP, 2019), which is named *Emergency Social Safety Net* (ESSN), have been utilized initially pilot in October 2016 and successfully scaled-up nationwide. ESSN provides 120 TL (approximately 40 USD) for each family member that meets the programme's criteria: large families, the elderly, single females, single-headed households, and people living with disabilities. However, those employed with a valid work permit or own registered assets in Turkey are not eligible to receive assistance. The ESSN is the enormous humanitarian aid programme focused on the basic needs ever funded by the European Union. It is currently worth over one billion euros; it is funded under the *Facility for Refugees in Turkey* (FRIT) (WFP,2019). As of 2021 April, each person benefitting from ESSN receives 155 TL (approximately 21 USD), and over 1.8 million refugees in 323.464 households benefit from ESSN (IFRC,2021). Despite the fact that it is still discussable whether or not the payments are adequate for refugee families considering the poverty line, ESSN is a crucial programme to elaborate on its advantages and disadvantages for future studies.

2.4.2. Health and Psychosocial Well-being

Turkey provides health insurance within the scope of health practices (Health Implementation Announcement – SUT) for Syrians who have registered to the DGMM; thus, primary health care services which are family health care centers, mother and child health and contraceptive methods, counseling centers, tuberculosis dispensaries, and migrant polyclinics (Mardin, 2017), can be accessed. During and after the migration, refugees are subjected to harsh living conditions; therefore, the appearance of several health problems was foreseen. According to both academic literature and international reports on the topic, some of the most commonly seen health issues in displaced populations could be malnutrition; diarrhoeal diseases, measles, malaria, respiratory infections; disorders of growth and development in children; anemia; physical violence and related injuries; sexual abuse; sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) including HIV / AIDS; pregnancy and childbirth complications; chronic diseases and complications; mental disorders such as depression, anxiety disorders, sleep disorders and post-traumatic stress disorders; dental health problems (Diker, 2018). Considering the hardship of responding to the health needs of the mass influx without disrupting the national health system, additional support was essential. EU has been a financial supporter for three massive projects in order to maintain the national health system to include Syrians. SIHHAT, which aims to improve the health status of the Syrian population under temporary protection in Turkey with the specific expected results of 790 migrant health units, 102 mobile healthcare vehicles, and five cancer-screening units, will be available in provinces with the highest proportion of Syrian refugees to provide primary, secondary and tertiary healthcare services for up to 3 million persons; 10 community mental health centers will be available in provinces with the highest proportion of Syrian refugees to provide curative and rehabilitative mental health services for up to 1 million persons have been launched in 2016 (EU Delegation, n.d.). Likewise, two projects focused on constructing state hospitals and increasing the capacity of employed Syrian health professionals were launched in 2018 (EU Delegation, n.d.).

The incontrovertible effect of the displacement is related to the psychosocial health of the refugees. The emotional burden of being away from the home country and the

feeling in limbo in the asylum country negatively affect the refugee population's psychosocial well-being. The prevalence of depression and anxiety cases and post-traumatic stress disorder among Syrian refugees have been witnessed (Önen et al. 2014 & Alpak et al. 2015). The health projects launched by the EU also include psychosocial support for the refugees. In addition to that, community centers run by different international and national non-governmental organizations accommodate wellbeing sessions for the refugee population in Turkey.

2.4.3. Labor Market Access

Following the Temporary Protection Regulation that is elaborated on the rights and provided services for Syrians in Turkey, an additional regulation regarding the implementation guide regarding foreigners' work permits provided with temporary protection was promulgated in 2016. The regulation describes the terms of application for the work permit and the work permit exemptions, which are elaborated above:

Terms of Application

The application for work permit exemption of those who are under temporary protection are accepted if they meet the terms set out below:

- a) The foreigner has a temporary identification document/foreigner credentials, which states that they are under temporary protection and a foreigner identity number
- b) As of the date of application for work permit exemption, the minimum temporary protection period of six months is completed
- c) The application is made in the province where the foreigner is given the permit to stay, according to their temporary protection records, and only for employment in seasonal jobs in agriculture and livestock/animal husbandry."

The Scope and Content of the Information Form on Work Permit Exemption

"The following aspects are defined in the information form on work permit exemption in Turkish and Arabic:

- a) They can only work in seasonal jobs in agriculture and livestock/animal husbandry,
- b) They do not have the right to work in a province other than the one they are provided temporary protection in.

(Implementation Guide Regarding the Work Permits of Foreigners Provided with Temporary Protection, 2016).

The majority of the Syrian population lives in urban settings, and more than 2 million are of working age, considered the age between 15-64⁹ (Leghtas, 2019). Moreover, AFAD's survey indicates that 77% of respondents who live in urban settings and working-age have been looking for a job (AFAD, 2017). In addition to Turkey's concrete legislation to enhance the access to the labor market for Syrians, the EU provides financial support for livelihood opportunity-focused projects that include language training, vocational training, and on-the-job training. Notwithstanding, 60.882 work permits have been issued for Syrians as of 2018 (Leghtas, 2019), but it is estimated that almost 1 million Syrians are working without a work permit (Yücel et al. 2018). In other words, Syrians in the informal sector work outside of the protections of laws. Besides, the studies elaborate on the exploitation in the working area, which refers to the below the legal minimum wage and long working hours (İçduygu & Eker, 2017). The highlighting point of Syrians' situation involving the labor market is that the women are reluctant to work because of gender norms and the expected activities from women, such as caretaking and domestic responsibilities (ILO, 2020). Considering the fact that the rate of unemployment, poverty in Turkey, the working conditions of Syrians, and the gender dimension of the issue, the risk of child labor, especially for boys as a negative coping mechanism of families, rises (Support to Life, 2016). Although the statistics on child labor are not specific, it is estimated that more than 1 million children are exposed to be child labor, and the numbers are getting high considering the numbers of Syrians (Yalçın, 2016). Concerning that outstanding fact, 40% of Syrian children are out of school (UNICEF, 2020), which is considerable in terms of the risk of being child labor.

2.4.4. Education

Turkey approached the education of Syrian children as a top priority, considering that the children are the most vulnerable group among refugee populations (Bircan et al., 2015), observing the rising numbers as of 2013. As a result, *temporary education centers* (TECs) have been launched to provide primary and secondary education within

⁹ The working-age is a conflicting issue. Although the fact that the international resources identify the working-age between 15-64; working children, who are under the age of 18, should be recognized as child labor that causes physical and emotional harm. In Turkey, the working-age is identified in line with the international resources, however, there is a specific regulation that regulates the working conditions of young workers who are age 15 and above. (Bianet, 2021)

and outside the camps where most Syrian refugees live. The curriculum was adapted from Syria, and the lectures were designed in Arabic. At the end of the 2014-2015 academic year, there were 425 TECs with almost 250.000 refugee children and only 60.000 refugee children integrated into public education. By the end of the 2014–2015 academic year, 34 TECs in refugee camps and 232 TECs outside the camps provided education to Syrian children (UNICEF, 2015). This number had grown to 425 TECs spread across 21 cities in Turkey as of 2016. The language of instruction at TECs, which is Arabic, affects the schooling rate in TECs since there were almost 250,000 Syrian students at TECs, whereas just under 60,000 Syrian students attended public schools in Turkey (Aras et al., 2016; Coşkun et al., 2016).

From the beginning of 2016, it was considered that most of the Syrian refugees continue to stay in Turkey, and integration becomes the most critical component of the refugee issue. Therefore the TECs started to shut down, and the refugee children were referred to public education. As a result of accepting the risk of creating a marginalized society that the TECs would possibly create by adopting a Syrian curriculum, Turkey has decided to integrate the Syrian children into the public school system and adopted a three-year plan of closing out all of the TECs (Eryaman et al., 2019). In addition to that, with the encouragement of Syrian children to go to public schools, the language barrier of children who previously went to a temporary education center has become the biggest problem in accessing and continuing education. Considering the fact that in order to access and continue to the school of Syrian children, a comprehensive approach focusing on the Turkish language has been examined. *The Project on Promoting Integration of Syrian Kids into the Turkish Education System (PIKTES)* in cooperation with MoNE and the financial support of the EU have been actualized towards the end of 2017 (EU Turkey Delegation, 2017). The main aim of the project is to promote the access of children under temporary protection to education in Turkey and to support their social cohesion with the main activities of Turkish – Arabic language, catch-up-back-up training, transportation, and stationary service for primary school, including early childhood as well as vocational and technical training in 23 provinces that have the highest number of refugees (PIKTES, n.d.).

According to Lifelong Learning (2020), which has the mandate on refugee children's schooling, the schooling rate of Syrian children increased from %30 to %63 as of 2020. However, almost 400.000 children are out of school, and the schooling rate decreases when the grades increase.

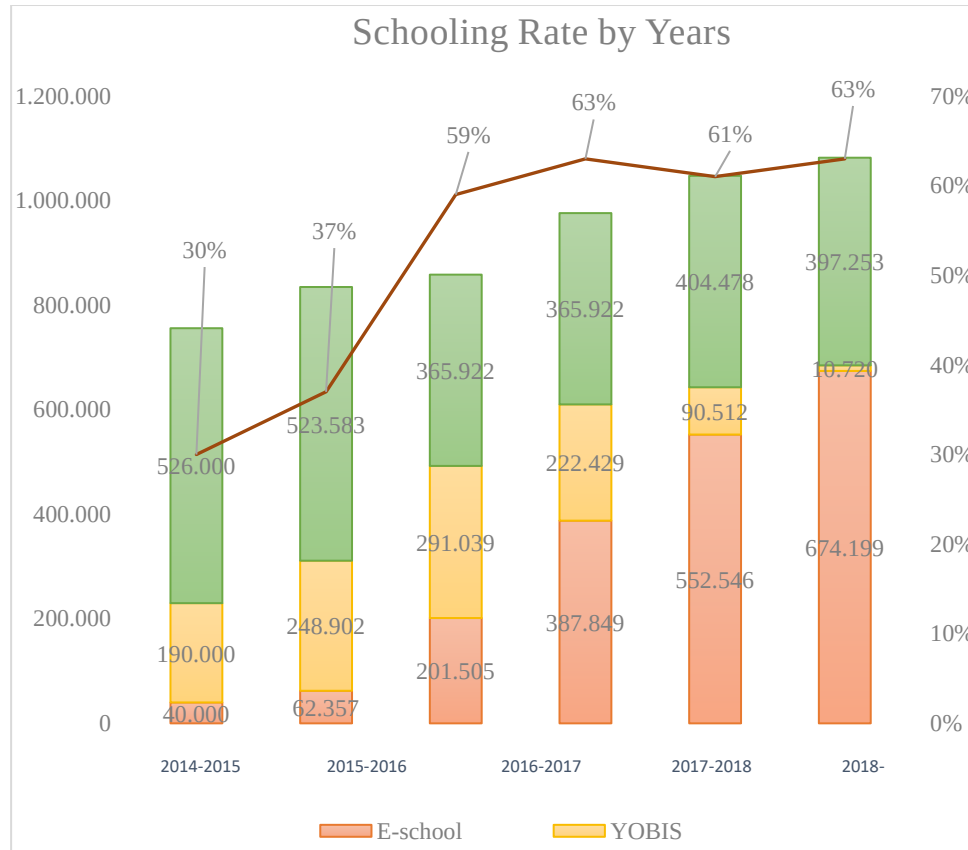


Figure 2: Schooling Rate of Syrian Children by Years in Turkey
Source: Lifelong Learning, 2020

The above graph indicates the refugee children enrolled in public schools as E-school, temporary education centers (TECs) as YOBIS, and out-of-school children. The gender distribution is almost equal; %50,82 boys and %49,18 girls. According to the statistics, the figures alter according to grades, and the statistics become much more meaningful considering the considerable amount of out of school children.

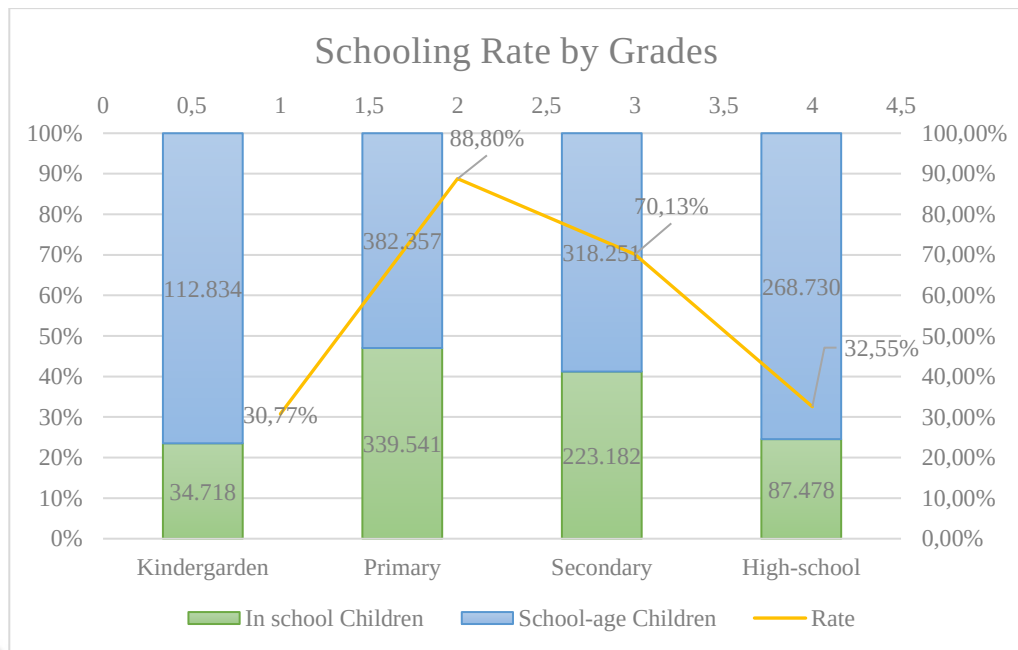


Figure 3: Schooling Rate of Syrian Children by Grades in Turkey

Source: Lifelong Learning, 2020 (As of 2019 statistics)

Various international organizations' research on the refugee issue indicates the children's susceptibility in the context of migration. Children are disproportionately vulnerable to violence, abuse, exploitation, trafficking, and detention (IOM, 2018). Thus the countries should take measures in order to eliminate the prospective risks that refugee children might face. All these measures should consider the Convention on the Rights of Child (CRC) for the needs of refugee children. CRC puts the children's rights include the right to health, education, family life, play and recreation, an adequate standard of living, and to be protected from abuse and harm under protection. In line with CRC, the first and foremost measure towards refugee children is access to school since the schools are considered safe places and can actualize their rights.

Thus, education is the critical element of the provisions of eliminating the risks for refugee children. When considering the vast children population among Syrians in Turkey, the education policies were an obligation, and it is a fact that Turkey also focused on the needs of children since the very beginning of the Syrian influx. Although the EU-funded projects shape policies regarding refugees, Turkey's integration policies reinforce the access to education of refugee children. In the scope

of refugee children's education, Turkey's efforts are deniable. However, the education system's capacity exceeds its limit, and the EU financial support the developed explicitly for the enhancement of the refugee children's education in Turkey. The projects starting from 2016 in cooperation with the Ministry of National Education (MoNE) have focused on both the schools' physical capacity and the equal opportunities for refugee children, including additional language courses and the review of courses to promote Syrian children's integration into the Turkish education system. In this sense, the Conditional Cash Transfer for Education (CCTE) Programme for Syrians and Other Refugee Children¹⁰ was launched as one of the explicit and unique parts of the EU contribution in the scope of education in 2017.

The European Union and UNICEF have launched the largest ever EU humanitarian contribution to Education in Emergencies, valued at EUR 34 million. The Conditional Cash Transfer for Education (CCTE) project aims to increase the number of refugee children enrolled in and attending school in Turkey.

EU Delegation Turkey, 2017

Since the primary purpose of this thesis is to interrogate the education of the refugee children with the case of CCTE for refugees, in the following chapter, the education of refugee children and CCTE for refugees will be elaborated on in detail. Regarding that, the different examples from the world on CCTE for education have been reviewed, and the literature on CCTE for education has been reviewed.

¹⁰ Hereupon, it will be used as CCTE for refugees.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

Conditional Cash Transfers (CCTs) started in the late 1990s (Millan et al. 2019) and accelerated with growing scope in order to eliminate the potential impact of the global financial crisis of 2008 (World Bank, 2009). The primary purpose of CCTs is to reduce the potential negative impact on economically disadvantaged families (World Bank, 2009). In line with the primary purpose, CCTs aim to achieve two main objectives: a) With the cash support, facilitate the meeting basic needs of economically disadvantaged families, b) With the condition of the programme, develop a positive behavioral change in the area of health and education. Thus, while investing in their children's human capital, they will have the capacity to develop strategies to dispose of chronic poverty for the next generations (Esenyel, 2009). CCTs are utilized significantly in low and middle-income countries of Latin America, Africa, Asia, and certain high-income countries (Medgyesi, 2016).

For Turkey, CCTs have been added to the agenda with the economic crisis in 2001 (Dama et al. 2018). With the name of Social Mitigation Risk Project, "poor families with children aged 0–6 or in primary or secondary school, and pregnant mothers (poorest 6% of the population)" (World Bank, 2009) have been targeted in order to mitigate health and education risk. CCTs for health and education started in 2002 with the support of the World Bank, piloting in 6 cities and expand its scope all Turkey within two years (Zabcı, 2003), and still going on. The condition of the programme has been identified as regular health control and regular school attendance so that they can benefit from the determined cash transfer. The amounts vary for gender and grade, which will be comprehensively elaborated for the following chapter.

When it comes to the year 2017, considering the economic vulnerability of the refugee families, predominantly Syrians, CCT for education has been expanded for refugees with the EU's financial support and in cooperation with the Turkish Red Crescent, UNICEF, Ministry of Family and Social Services and Ministry of National Education with the same conditions and aims that encourage enrolment and improve school attendance of refugee children (UNICEF, 2021).

3.1. Brief Information on Conditional Cash Transfer for Education (CCTE) Programme for Syrians and Other Refugee Children

In line with the national programme, to support families and encourage girls to continue their education, varying amounts of cash support are paid to the beneficiary according to different classes every two months. However, there is no additional care support besides this cash support. Thus, CCTE for refugees programme arose with the idea that care support should be needed to understand children's non-attendance. Therefore, in addition to the cash component of the national programme, a child protection component is added for refugee children to understand their non-attendance and other child protection needs and risks. In other words, CCTE for refugees has two components which are cash and child protection. Since the process for refugee children is different from the Turkish children due to the legal status and language barrier, a specific roadmap should have been presented. Thus, I would like to clarify the eligibility of the programme and the operationalization of two components.

3.1.1. Cash Component

The programme application may fulfill through Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations (SASFs) or the TRC Service Centers launched specifically in the cities with a high refugee population as supporting service providers for SASFs. SASFs or Service Centers assess the family in terms of income and social security. If there is no social security and the income is above the poverty line, the family can apply to the programme. However, the essential part is that since the programme is for the children's education, at least one child has to be going to school.



Figure 4: The Process of Applying to CCTE

Source: Prepared while utilizing UNICEF ve Turkish Red Crescent websites

The payments transfer bi-monthly vary on gender and grades. If the child misses school more than four days in one month, they cannot be paid for that specific month; however, they can still benefit from the programme for the following months. In parallel with the national programme, the girls receive relatively

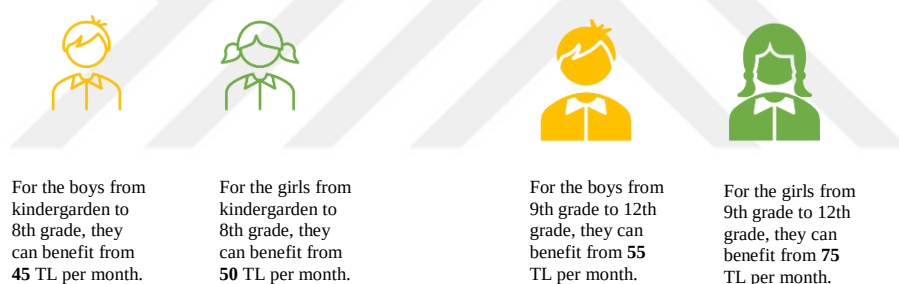


Figure 5: The Amounts of CCTE based on Gender and Grades

Source: Prepared while utilizing UNICEF ve Turkish Red Crescent websites

3.1.2. Child Protection Component

The programme has a strategic child protection component, which aims to respond to refugee children's needs while continuing to school. The child protection component consists of social workers and interpreters assigned to the Turkish Red Crescent and conducts household visits for the children who miss more than four school days in a month in order to understand the reason behind the absenteeism and respond accordingly.

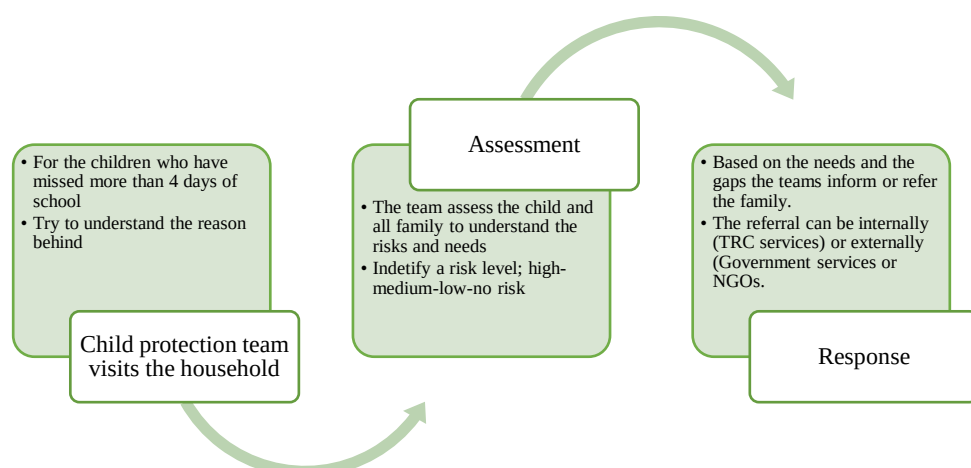


Figure 6: The Process of the Child Protection Component

Source: Prepared while utilizing UNICEF ve Turkish Red Crescent websites

The programme started in mid-2017 and consisted of three phases; the first phase was between mid-2017-September 2018, and the second was between September 2018-December 2020. The programme is in its third phase starting from January 2021 and is planned to continue at the end of May 2022. As of April 2021, 685.977 children benefitted from the cash component, and 86.199 children benefitted from the child protection component of the programme (UNICEF, 2021).

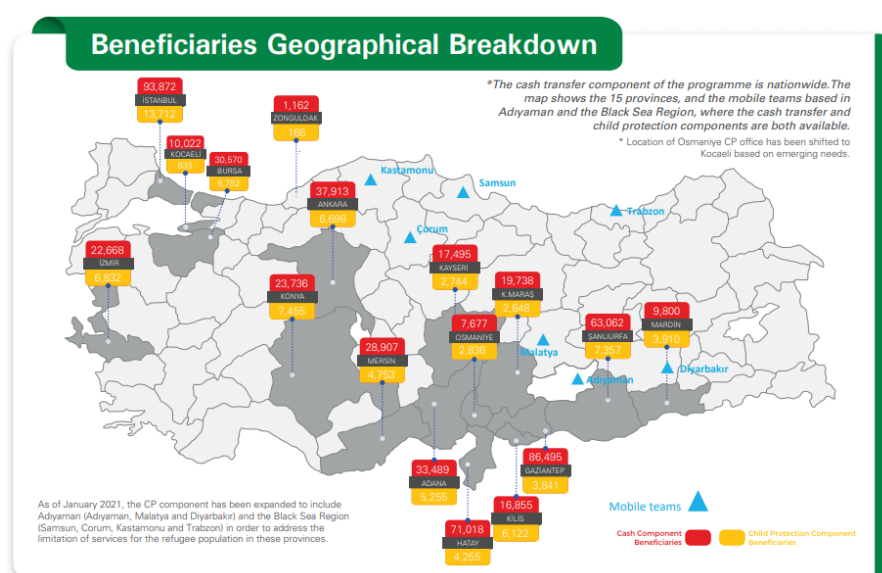


Figure 7: The Statistics of CCTE for Refugees

Source: UNICEF

All these efforts enable to reveal of the needs and gaps regarding the education of refugee children. With UNICEF and the Turkish Red Crescent cooperation, powerful success stories have been published; however, only one evaluation report has been published focusing on CCTE for refugees until today. I was one of the witnesses of the whole process and perceived that further interrogation is in need. I have considered that CCTE for refugees at the forefront of implementing social policy and a vital programme that considers the multi-dimensional needs of refugee children, whereas harboring positive and negative unintended outcomes. Therefore, the case of CCTE for refugees is explicitly distinguished since the social policy of the education of refugees has been built on this programme and with additional unique child protection component and interrogation of this issue has the potential of becoming a loadstar for future studies. In line with that, in order to interrogate the access to education of refugee children with the case of CCTE for refugees, the literature on CCTEs has been reviewed.

3.2. Literature Review on Examples from the World on Conditional Cash Transfers for Education

The literature on *conditional cash transfers* (CCTs) is confronted primarily regarding so-called developing countries, especially in the economic crisis (Reimers et al., 2006). The remarkable feature of CCTs is addressed in the innovative position within social assistance. In the conventional sense of social assistance, the focus is the redistribution of income for economically disadvantaged groups in order to eliminate short-term poverty (Rawlings, 2005), in other words, sustain the minimum standards for those groups. However, with acknowledging the failure of the market, social assistance also transformed, and investing in the human capital of socioeconomically disadvantaged groups was highlighted as a way to promote the virtuous cycle between social protection and human development (World Bank, 2005).

In line with that, children were considered the ones who have the capabilities; thus, CCTs was constituted based on the idea that the investment should be made to children's health, wellbeing, and education; therefore, children will be able to escape poverty when they reach adulthood (Fernald et al., 2008). For this very reason, CCTs

are provided for the health/nutrition and education of children. The conditional health/nutrition cash transfers target preschool children and pregnant and lactating women, and the common condition is complying with the country's regulation such as following vaccination calendar or regular health visits (Briere, 2006); however, the health/nutrition component will not be dealt with in this study, and CCTs for education will be elaborated.

The literature has been approached CCT for education¹¹ in 5 main topics, and I will follow that process: the aim, the selection of target population and the conditions, the starting point and the evolution for other countries, budgetary issue, and impact.

Regarding the aim of CCTEs, the literature builds consensus, which is identified that promoting human capital accumulation and reducing poverty in the long term (Fernald, 2008). In line with that, it is purposed increasing the number of years of schooling, specifically the completion of compulsory education. The fundamental justification behind that is that the research indicates the correlation between a higher level of education and accession to the labor market. Compulsory education differs based on countries' regulations; however, the general overview shows that compulsory education considers primary education until the upper secondary level (Ibarraran, 2017). Although not in all regions, CCTEs explicitly aim to reduce child labor in some countries while supporting schooling (Cecchini, 2011). In brief, the theory of change of CCTEs suggests that while allaying the immediate poverty with cash support, complying with the conditionalities of CCTEs will enhance the human capital of children, which provides the capability to break the cycle of poverty (Ibarraran, 2017).

Correspondingly the aim of CCTEs, the target population consists of socioeconomically disadvantaged families, however in practice, the migrants are excluded (Cecchini, 2011), and CCTEs consider the family as a unit (Cecchini, 2011). The crucial point regarding the design of CCTEs is that designate women as the recipient of the cash, and it is reflected in the growing attention to gender in development (Feldman, 1992). Since the research indicates that the income control by

¹¹ Hereupon, it will be used as CCTE for conditional cash transfers for education.

women is more likely to translate into higher expenditures on health and education (Haddinnott et al., 1997), the strong message is that the cash should be transferred to women, not to men, has been emphasized in CCTEs.

However, some scholars also criticized this issue since empowerment should be supported by capacity development and increased decision-making possibilities (Molyneux, 2009). Nevertheless, in addition to this gender focus, the sub-aim of reducing long-term gender inequalities by promoting girls schooling with higher amount transfers have been utilized for CCTEs (Adato, 2010). Although the transfer amounts vary based on a budget of countries, the conditionality requires at least 80% school attendance in order to get payment, and the payments are transferred monthly or bi-monthly, and the amount may vary based on grades and gender in some countries (Ibarraran, 2017).

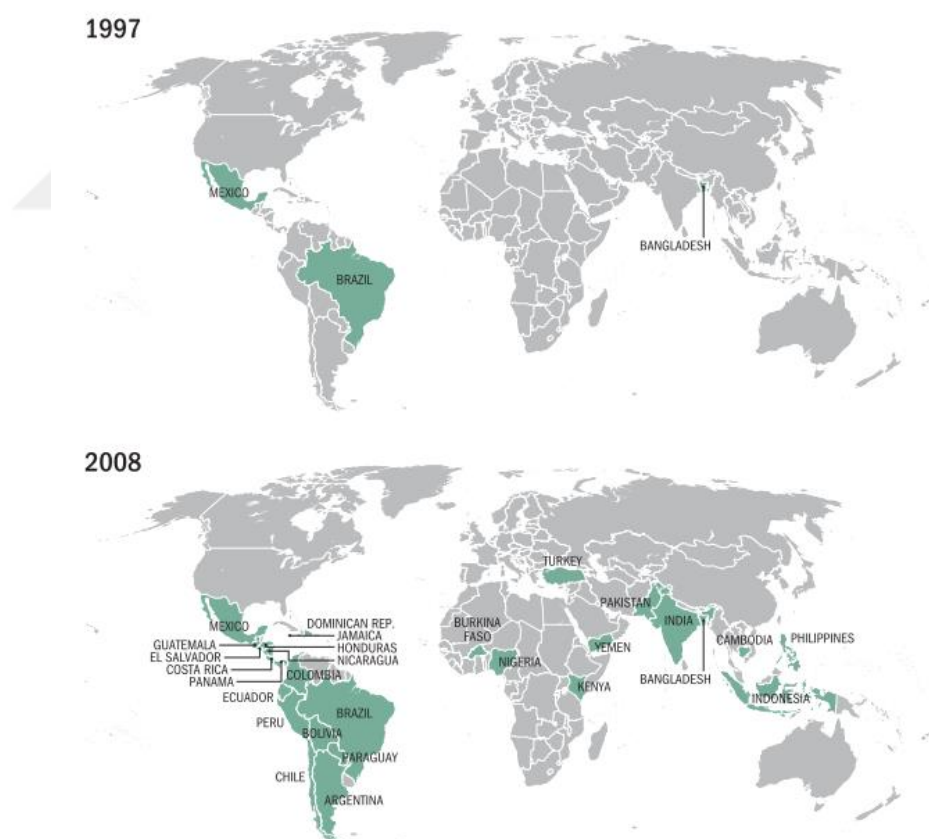


Figure 8: CCTE Implemented Countries in 1997 and 2008

Source: World Bank, 2009

Most of CCTEs follow these working principles; however, the close look for the different CCTEs is valuable in order to elaborate the context. The first structured CCTE has been developed for Mexico, titled Programme de Educación, Salud y Alimentación (PROGRESA), in 1997 (Millan, 2019), and the implementation has been expanded with different projects for around 20 in different countries and even in many cases, the social policy of countries have relied on this projects (Hailu et al., 2008).

I would like to overview five of those programmes, Mexico, Brazil, Bangladesh, Chile, Indonesia, considering that these are the representative features for CCTEs considering their extent and content.



Table 5: Mexico, Chile, Brazil, Bangladesh, and Indonesia CCTE Programmes

Country & Name of the Programme	Starting Year	Target	Benefits	Condition
Mexico-Oportunidades (formerly Progres)	1997	Extremely poor household identifying with mean proxy testing	Bi-monthly- Education: primary school—varies by grade, \$12–\$23 per child per month plus \$23 per child per year for school materials; secondary—varies by grade and gender, \$34–\$43 per child per month plus \$29 per child per year for school materials; middle/higher—varies by grade and gender \$57–\$74 per child per month plus \$29 per child per year for school materials	School enrolment and minimum attendance rate of 80% monthly and 93% annually
Chile-Solidarity Chile	2002	268,000 households (the estimated number of indigent households in the country)	Monthly- Decreasing monthly benefits for the first 24 months: \$21 per month for the first 6 months, \$16 per month for the second 6 months of the programme, \$11 per month for the third 6 months, and finally \$8 for the last 6 months	Signature and compliance with a contract committing to participate in the education activities identified, together with personalized assistance in 7 areas (health, education, employment, housing, income, family life, and legal documentation)

Table 6: Mexico, Chile, Brazil, Bangladesh, and Indonesia CCTE Programmes (continued)

Brazil- Bolsa Familia (formerly Programme de Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil Year started in 1996)	2003	Extremely poor household identifying with mean proxy testing	Monthly- Basic benefit (R\$62) for extremely poor families	School enrolment of all children aged 6–15 and youth aged 15–17 Daily school attendance of at least 85% each month for all school-age children Participation in parent-teacher meetings
Bangladesh - Reaching Out-of-School Children Year	2004	Children who have not had an opportunity to attend primary school in remote areas and dropouts from primary school	Twice a year- In 36 subdistricts: Tk 100 per month to children and approximately Tk 25,000 per year to community school In 24 subdistricts: no stipend to children, but approximately Tk 55,000 per year to community school	75% attendance and 75% performance in examinations, as judged by school teacher
Indonesia - Programme Keluarga Harapan (formerly Jaring Pengaman Sosial)	2007	Poorest households identifying with mean proxy testing	Quarterly- Minimum Rp 600,000; maximum Rp 2,200,000	Children aged 7–15 enroll and attend a minimum of 85% of school days Children aged 15–18 who have not completed 9 years of basic education enroll in an education programme to complete the equivalent of 9 years of basic education

Source: Prepared based on World Bank, 2009

CCTEs have been developed firstly in Mexico and following that Brazil and Bangladesh with the aim of supporting schooling. For the case of Brazil, short and long-term poverty elimination and child labor reduction have been aimed (World Bank, 2001). As of 2005, more than 5.7 million families have been reached, and 124.5 million reais have been distributed for the families (MEC-Brazil, 2005). Since the first CCTE launched in Mexico, it can be deduced that Brazil follows Mexico's specific education objectives, lowering the rate of child illness to reduce school absences and encouraging family participation in schooling (Reimers, 2006). The budget for the Mexico case is 914 million dollars which equal 10.5 billion pesos as of 2004 (Reimers, 2006). The Mexico and Brazil cases are considered the largest CCTEs since the coverage reaches millions of households. These cases specifically target the economically disadvantaged groups that are expected to be more affected by the crisis and should be invested in children's education to eliminate the long-term risks. Similar to Brazil and Mexico, Chile also focuses on impoverished families, and the underlined part of that is the cross-sector coordination while providing cash transfer in order to reach the correct families in need as well as include ones who have disabled and elderly persons (Cecchini, 2011). Whereas for the case of Bangladesh and Indonesia, although the fact that economically disadvantaged families are included in the programme, the gender focus is also added considering the gender inequality among the society (World Bank, 2009). Therefore, complementary programmes were also implemented besides CCTEs for these two countries with the specific aim of eliminating child labor and child marriage. In addition to that, for all of the cases, the recipients have been identified as women or the children's guardians, in line with the idea of including gender in development.

While elaborating the cases of CCTEs, it is observed that even the aim and target population share similarities, the differential conditions and expected behavior have been utilized based on the needs and gaps of the context. While glancing at the schooling rates of these countries, the below table emerges; however, Chile shares no data in the same report.

Table 6: The Schooling Rate of Mexico, Brazil, Bangladesh, and
Indonesia

	Indonesia	Bangladesh	Brazil	Mexico
Net enrolment in primary level	94.5% total (2005) 92.8% for girls, 96.2% for boys	88.8% total (2004) 90.5% for girls, 87.4% for boys	94.7% total (2004) 95.2% for girls, 94.2% for boys 77.7%	97.7% total (2005) 97.3% for girls, 98.1% for boys
Net enrolment in secondary level	57.4% total (2005) 57.1% for girls, 57.7% for boys	40.1% total (2004) 40.2% for girls, 41.8% for boys	77.7% total (2004) 81.3% for girls, 74.2% for boys	68.6% total (2005)68.4% for girls, 68.8% for boys

Source: Prepared based on World Bank, 2009

One of the discussion points regarding CCTEs is the financial resource of the programme and, in parallel with that, the programme's sustainability. The sustaining the human development without the programme, in other words, the exit strategy, concentrates on the increasing capacity of families and creating autonomous income generation (Britto, 2006). In 1997, there were only three CCTEs worldwide, but the success of the programme enabled that to reach broad coverage, geographic scope, and an increase in the value the monetary transfers provided (Bastagli, 2009). The financial contribution of the World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank and the cooperation with the Inter-American Social Protection Network enable the programme to start and sustain for a limited time (Cecchini, 2011). However, the long-term solution for the externally funded programmes is considered to integrate to social policy and social assistance budget. However, it was commonly perceived too costly, which is undoubtedly a controversial issue from the government's point, which will not be addressed in this study. Nevertheless, I would like to share a brief comparison on the budget issue:

Indonesia and Egypt spent 5% of their gross domestic product (GDP) in 2005 and 8% of GDP in 2004 on energy subsidies. Another example is the bailouts of insolvent contributory pension funds. In Brazil, the government spends 3.7% of GDP to cover the deficit in the main federal pension programmes, which deliver more than 50% of their benefits to the richest 20% of the population.

On the other hand, Brazil's Bolsa Familia, covering the poorest 20% of the population, cost about 0.4% of GDP in 2007, which is only one-tenth of the federal pension programmes. (Son, 2008)

The literature mainly elaborates the abovementioned dimensions of CCTEs while examining the impact of the programme. Therefore, the central part of the literature depends on the impact of CCTEs. Although considerable research indicates the positive effect on education (Schady et al., 2006), it is still questionable that CCTEs are not adequate to eliminate poverty (Ibarraran, 2017). In line with that, the transfer amount is also questionable whether it is enough to cover children's basic needs while they are in school. Also, the studies also underline the unexpected negative results in line with the inadequacy of transfer amounts, especially for secondary education considering the fact that child labor (Dubois et al., 2012). Regarding the increase in school enrolment and attendance, the results show a positive diagram, especially among girls in Mexico (Son, 2008); however, the long-term effects are still questionable (Adato, 2011), and the impact of CCTs on child cognitive, language or motor development which is correlated to the long term effects have not been studied (Fernald, 2006). In addition to that, the literature suggests the complementarity with the other services in order to encourage positive behavior changes among the families (Levy, 2007). The design of the programmes has been criticized that the more focus should be for those who are chronically poor since they are not even able to acknowledge the programme (Ibarraran, 2017). Therefore, for some countries' implementation of CCTEs, the social protection programmes and CCTEs coordinate to assess families' vulnerability with scheduled visits (Millan, 2019). However, it is also underlined that the various components of CCTEs should be examined in order to investigate the impact. (Ceccili, 2011). The significant gap in the literature on CCTEs regarding the migrant population leaps out, although the fact that the migrant population is considered the most vulnerable group (Adato, 2010) brings us to the objective of this thesis.

Before proceeding with the literature on CCTE for refugees, I would like to bracket it here. Although it is not in the scope of this study, I would like to allow another discussion within the literature, which propounds the political dimension of CCTEs. One of the crucial debates about the political dimension of CCTEs criticizes the

predetermined conditionality of the programme, which assumes that “a low-income family must be irrational or incapable of knowing what is in its long-term interests or lacks some kind of vital information” (Standing 2007,); therefore, the state should decide on the needs of poor people. In line with that, the states assert the programme for the propagandistic aims, and it may affect the decision of beneficiaries (Cesar, 2015). While these two engaged debates are still ongoing, the perseveringly emphasized points of CCTEs that women have to receive cash transfers are discussed from the feminist perspective. Although CCTs are designed as child-centered, the fulfillment of conditionality, following the child's education, has been attributed to the women who consider that women are status as mothers, which confirm the traditional gender roles (Şener, 2016). Besides, managing poverty is also assigned to women rather than supporting women's empowerment (Chant, 2007).

3.3. Literature Review on Conditional Cash Transfer for Education (CCTE) Programme for Syrians and Other Refugee Children

CCTE for refugees has been designed based on the same regulations as the national programme; therefore, primarily, the literature on the national CCTE programme in Turkey has been elaborated.

Turkey encountered a severe economic crisis in 2011, and the field visits mainly aim to understand the impacts of the crisis have indicated that many economically disadvantaged families have withdrawn their children from school (Bergmann, 2014). In response to that emergent situation, with the financial support of the World Bank, Social Risk Mitigation Project (SRMP) has been implemented, and the agreement was signed in September 2001, after one month it promulgated (Ortakaya, 2009). CCTE, *Şartlı Eğitim Yardımı* in Turkish, was one of the components of the project and targeted 6% of the population who are considered as "poorest" in order to increase enrolment and attendance of children to school, and started as a pilot in six places (Ankara-Keçiören, Çankırı-Merkez, Kahramanmaraş-Göksun, Zonguldak-Ereğli, Gaziantep-Yavuzeli, and Sinop-Durağan), in a short while extended to nationwide (Esenyel, 2009). Until 2007, the World Bank supported the programme, and then the programme was transferred to the General Directorate of Social Assistance and

Solidarity (Bergmann, 2014), and for the process of application, verification and transfer have been vested responsibility to Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations (formerly Social Solidarity Foundations). In other words, CCTE integrated the national budget and identified it as one of the social policy implementations in the area of education. Through CCTE, 2.978.145 children were reached at the end of 2008 (Ortakaya, 2009).

Although the fact that not considerable studies have been focused on the impact of CCTE in Turkey, I would like to share three important pieces of research regarding this issue.

The first one, which the implementing actor conducted, *Ministry of Family and Social Services* (MoFSS) (the name was Family and Social Policies at the time the research have been conducted) in 2012, states that the children's achievement was positively affected (MoFSS, 2012). However, a strong statement has been shared in the research that "Nearly half of the respondents claimed that they are determined to have their children educated, even if they are not eligible for CCTs, even though they would be in financial difficulties." (MoFSS, 2012). The second one, which was conducted six years ago from the Ministry research, elaborates the interim impact of CCTE with a quantitative method utilizing regression discontinuity design share their findings, which are;

CCTE programme shows no positive impact on primary school enrolment rates; there is no evidence that CCT programme affected the rate of progression from primary school to secondary school; CCTE programme raises secondary school enrolment for girls by 10.7 percent (Ahmed, 2006).

The third one, which is based on the research of the Ministry, reinforced the same arguments, but also the respondents emphasized that the transfer amounts are not enough to alleviate immediate poverty (Yıldırım, 2014). Therefore, I would like to share the transfer amounts for the first years of the programme below:

Table 7: CCTE Transfer Amounts in Turkey

2003 April & August	2003 August & December	2004 January & July	2004 July & 2005 January
For the first child: 12 TL (8 USD) For the second child: 10 TL (6 USD) For the third and the rest: 8 TL (5 USD)	For the first child: 13,8 TL (10 USD) For the second child: 12,4 TL (9 USD) For the third and the rest: 11 TL (8 USD)	For the first child: 16,5 TL (10 USD) For the second child: 15 TL (9 USD) For the third and the rest: 13 TL (8 USD)	Primary school- boys: 16,5 TL (11 USD) Primary school girls: 20 TL (13 USD) Secondary school- boys: 25 TL (17 USD) Secondary school-girls: 35 TL (23 USD)

Source: Ortakaya, 2009

According to 2011 figures, a primary school boy receives nearly 15 USD, whereas a primary school girl gets nearly 20 USD; secondary school boys get 25 USD and 30 USD for girls, and the currency is 1.675 TL for 1 USD (MoFSS, 2012). As for 2021, the amounts are; primary school- boys: 45 TL (5 USD); primary school girls: 50 TL (5 USD); secondary school- boys: 55 TL (6 USD); secondary school-girls: 75 TL (8 USD), (MoFSS FAQ).

I also would like to share the detailed information regarding the beneficiaries based on gender and grade and the allocated budget for CCTE in Turkey; unfortunately, the governmental entities did not share in a public document, whereas compiled all statistics regarding social protection in one document. Therefore, an extensive report issued by SETA has been considered for his information, although its data was from 2017.

Table 8: National CCTE beneficiaries as of 2017

	Girl	Boy
Primary school	472.967	489.647
Secondary school	570.683	584.086
High school	267.685	266.774

Source: SETA, 2018

While looking at the total budget allocated for this programme is 761.469.000 TL (approximately 217.562.571 USD) as of 2017, and 40% proportion of the budget targets the East part of Turkey in line with the aim of CCTE (SETA, 2018).

Before continuing with the literature on CCTE for refugees, similar to the literature on CCTE implementations in different countries, I would like to share the political discussion on CCTE in Turkey in the literature. The scholars who study national CCTE from the policy perspective highlight the intersection of the time that AKP became the governing party, and the programme started to be widely publicized. It was approached that the programme is very much following the AKP's approach on neoliberal and conservative opinion, especially the role of women, and the programme reinforces the family-centered social policy (Şener, 2016). In addition to that, it has been argued that the programme has been used to increase the interest in AKP and the vote for AKP, especially in the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia, where poverty levels are pretty high (Buğra & Candaş, 2011). Although the discussions on the political dimension of the programme are beyond the scope of this thesis, the literature on that has been shared in order to set out in full. Besides, the same discussions were not encountered in the literature on CCTE for refugees simply because of the status of refugees and not eligibility to vote. The discussion on the refugee programme/projects is still in place rather from the perspective of the EU-Turkey deal. Also, this discussion was not encountered in the literature on CCTE for refugees, whereas the humanitarian response framework has been underlined.

In light of this information, I would like to continue with the literature on CCTE for refugees. UNICEF, as the programme implementing partner, explains CCTE for refugees very clearly with that statement:

The Syrian refugee crisis is in its 10th year, with no end in sight. Millions have been forced to flee their homes to neighbouring countries, their futures uncertain. Children continue to pay the highest price and bear the heaviest burden of the crisis: their education, their hopes and dreams, and even their lives, all continue to be at risk. Turkey is home to the largest number of refugees, migrants and asylum seekers, standing at over 4 million. More than 3.6 million are Syrian including over 1.6 million children. More than 3.6 million are Syrian including 1.7 million children. More than 770,000 refugee children have enrolled in schools. Despite significant achievements and the commitment of the Government of Turkey, hosting the highest number of refugees in the world is putting enormous strain on the country's basic services and infrastructure, particularly when it comes to education and child protection.

The Conditional Cash Transfer for Education (CCTE) programme aims to encourage enrolment and improve the school attendance of children. It is a national social assistance programme that has been implemented by the Ministry of Family and Social Services since 2003 and was extended to Syrian and other refugee families in mid-2017. This extension is being implemented through a close partnership between the Ministry of Family and Social Services, the Ministry of National Education, the Turkish Red Crescent, and UNICEF. It has been made possible by the generous support of the European Union, as well as the Governments of Norway and the United States of America. After a very successful implementation during 2017-18, 2018-19, and 2019-20 school years, CCTE continues to reach refugee families in the new school year.

CCTE Programme includes a strategic child protection component to ensure the continued school enrolment and attendance of the most vulnerable refugee children, as well as their referral to child protection services when needed. This component is implemented by outreach teams consisting of social workers and translators working in the field. The outreach teams visit families whose children are not meeting or are at risk of not meeting the attendance condition of CCTE programme. These teams assess and identify the children's and families' needs in order to address them in a personalized and systematic manner. Through this component, CCTE programme is expected to mitigate child protection risks and violations, which are closely intertwined with economic vulnerabilities and contribute to non-attendance at school as well as child labor, child marriage, physical and emotional violence and family separation. The cash transfer component of the programme is nationwide. The child protection component is focusing on 15 provinces, Adıyaman and the Black Sea Region. "Due to movement restrictions put in place due to the unprecedented COVID-19 pandemic, TRC Child Protection teams were not able to carry out household visits from mid-March 2020 through June 2020. During the aforementioned period, the teams focused on following up at-risk

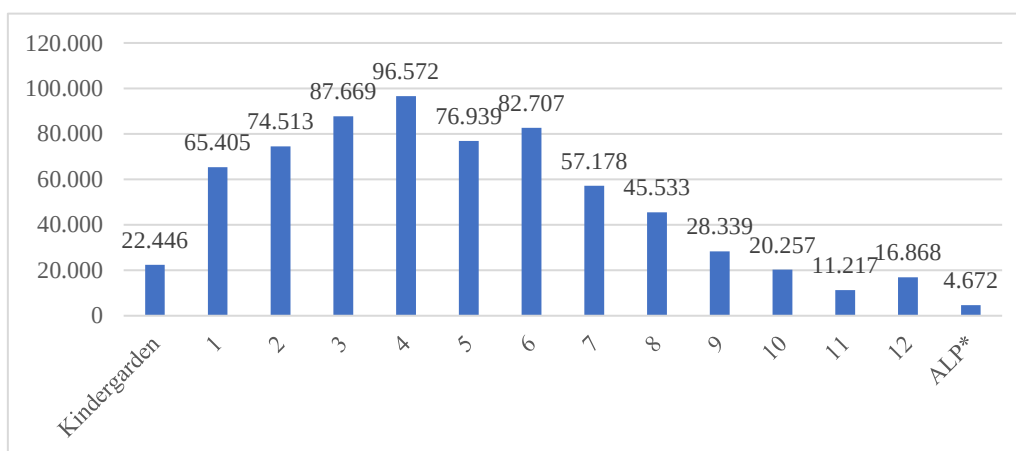
cases that had previously been identified. Starting from July 2020, in view of the limitations in the outreach activities linked to the evolution of the pandemic situation in Turkey, the modality of the fieldwork has temporarily changed, and the TRC CP teams have been conducting remote assessments to identify, assess and follow up CP cases.

UNICEF,
Fact Sheet, April
2021

The literature on CCTE for refugees is very limited; however, the final evaluation report prepared by AIR in 2020 comprehensively elaborates on the effects of both cash and child protection components of CCTE for refugees. The research indicates that the cash component has positively affected the regular attendance, and more affirmatively, for girls, in line with that boys are considered more vulnerable in this context. Regarding conditionality, almost two-thirds of the beneficiaries meet the conditionality of 80% of regular attendance. Although it is not unaided enough, the child protection component still reinforces to overcome non-financial barriers and messages regarding the importance of schooling and regular attendance. The research also finds out the unintended effects: the child protection component is reflected in the parents they have cared for and equity. Parents also mention peer bullying, discrimination in the schools. Although all the interviews state the positive impact of CCTE for refugees, concerns about sustainability without external financial support have been voiced (Ring, 2020).

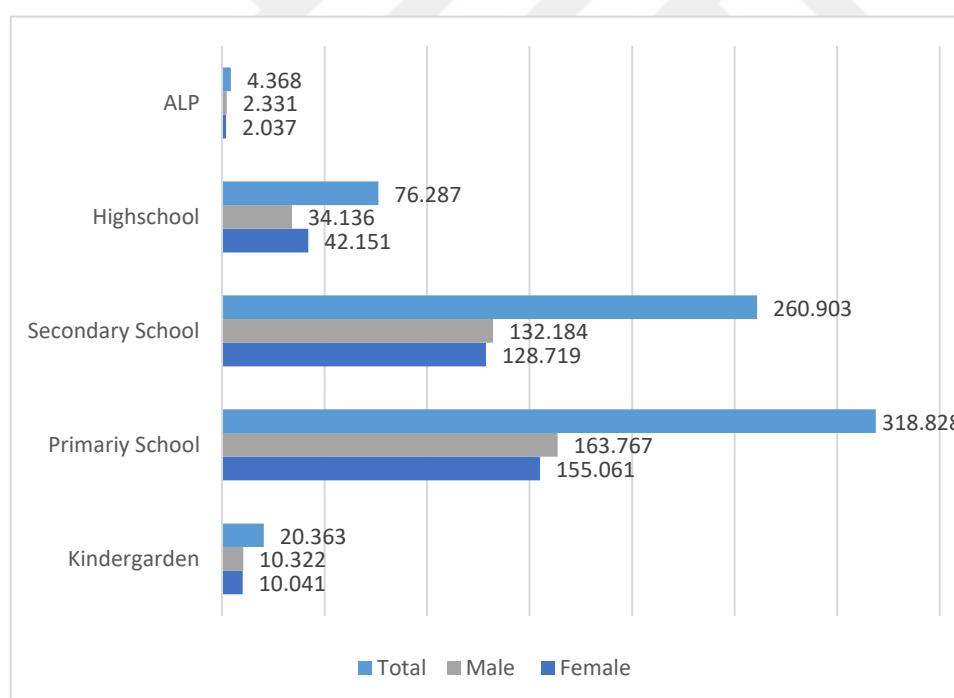
The statistics regarding the beneficiaries of CCTE for refugees regularly are shared by another implementing partner, the Turkish Red Crescent. As of May 2021, 695.556 children benefitted from the cash transfer of CCTE for refugees, which cost 1 billion TL (156 million Euro).

Table 9: CCTE for Refugees Cash Beneficiaries based on Grades and ALP¹²



Source: Kızılaykart, 2021

Table 10: CCTE for Refugees Cash Beneficiaries based on Grades and Gender



Source: UNICEF, 2021

¹² ALP, Accelerated Learning Programme, which have been indicated with a star, is a non-formal education programme run by UNICEF, provides language support in order refugee children to enroll the grades that their ages match.

Considering that around 1 million Syrian children are at school-age, these statistics on CCTE for refugees indicate that there are around 400.000 out-of-school children, besides the continuation to the school of the beneficiary children are questionable. In addition to that, the gender breakdown of CCTE reveals another debate, which is the low enrolment for high school for refugee children but lower for boys.

In the manner of literature on CCTE for refugees, the statistics do not adequately express the programme's impact. In this chapter, the literature on CCTEs in different countries and for refugees which elaborates the impact on access to the school of children have been shared; however, although the programme's prerequisites are established based on that the child has to enroll the school, the literature does not focus on the issues that might be encountered during the access to school and the importance of school. Therefore, in line with the aim of this research, the following chapter addresses the issue of access to education for Syrian children in Turkey and the importance of access to education for refugee children.

I would like to emphasize that, in this thesis the education is considered only 4+4+4 education system of Turkey, which is compulsory for all children living in Turkey. Although the fact that the change in the education system may effect the discussion of this thesis, it is limited only for the 4+4+4 system since it is the current system. However, the discussion points may enlighten the important pillar of the current education system in relation to education of refugee children.

CHAPTER 4

THE ISSUE OF ACCESS TO EDUCATION FOR SYRIAN CHILDREN IN TURKEY

This is not just about teaching reading and writing but giving young refugees a safe space to express themselves.

Teenage Syrian refugee Mohamad Al Jounde, who set up a school in Lebanon and won the International Children's Peace Prize

The main aim of this chapter is to elaborate on the issue of access to education for Syrian children since it is the prerequisite in order to benefit from CCTE for refugees. In line with that, the formal procedure of access to education is clarified. In addition to that, why education is needed for refugee children has been discussed to position the interrogating the research questions and the case of CCTE for refugees.

Ministry of National Education (MoNE) have been published the Circular on Foreigners Access to Education in September 2014. The circular consists of the types of schools that are provided for refugee children and the regulation for enrolment to schools. The thing is that the regulation does not bespeak for the refugees in Turkey simply because it is Turkish and constituted with a formal language. Therefore, information dissemination on the access to education for refugee children has to be performed with varied channels and in particular languages. In this sense, the role of the I/NGOs was explicit while informing the refugees regarding the issue of access to education. Considering the process in the circular, I prepared a visual that indicates the necessary steps in order to access school, and the first step is about discerning which type of school a child is able to access.

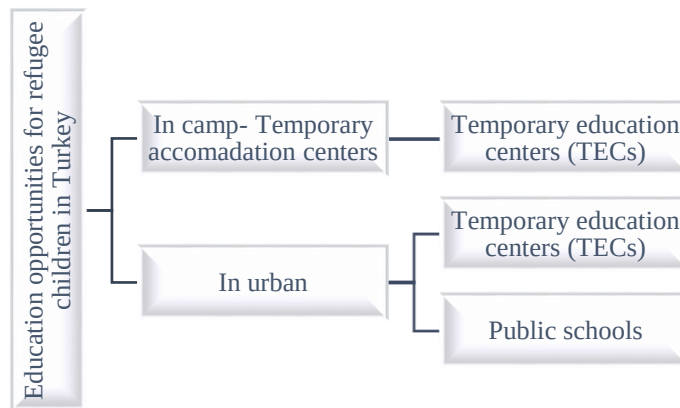


Figure 9: School Types for Refugee Children in Turkey

Source: Prepared based on the legal procedure, and literature

Two types of schools have been provided for refugee children in order to access education in Turkey; *Temporary Education Centres* (TECs) and Turkish public schools¹³, which are free of charge (Gümüş et al., 2020). TECs were found in camps and the border cities in order to respond to the emergent education need of Syrian children. The main idea was the continuation of the education of Syrian children; by this means, when the Syrians turn back to their home countries, they will not face discontinuity for their education. For this very reason, the Syrian curriculum has been furnished, Arabic as the language of instruction (Deane, 2016), and the Syrian teacher has contributed to the lectures (Coşkun et al., 2016; Gümüş et al. 2020). However, the presence of the TECs as the exception to the monotype education system of Turkey (Coşkun et al., 2017), meanwhile reinforcing the risk of being a margined population due to the teaching language and curriculum, has been criticized (Eryaman & Evran, 2019). In addition to that, the acceptance of the permanence of the Syrian population has been voiced with the governmental actors.

Pointing out that predictions in 2011 were bankrupt, we had to develop a new education paradigm as the Ministry. Although the education at TECs seems to be a good example compared to its examples in the world, there is a possibility

¹³ Although the fact that there are private schools in the scope of public education that are accessible for refugees, it is not highly preferable. Also, private schools are not free of charge. Therefore, I would only include access to free education for refugee children in Turkey.

that these children may experience any accreditation problems with the document or certificate they will receive at the end of this education later lives.

MoNE, Deputy Secretary, Ercan Demirci

Hence, the new policy on the education of Syrians in Turkey has been decided that all Syrian children's registration into the public schools and the TECs closure within the next three years, starting from the year 2017 (Tanrikulu, 2018). In other words, in order to access education, the public schools appeared the sole option with the conjunction of its own obstacles. However, the process of access to school for a refugee child is considerably challenging.

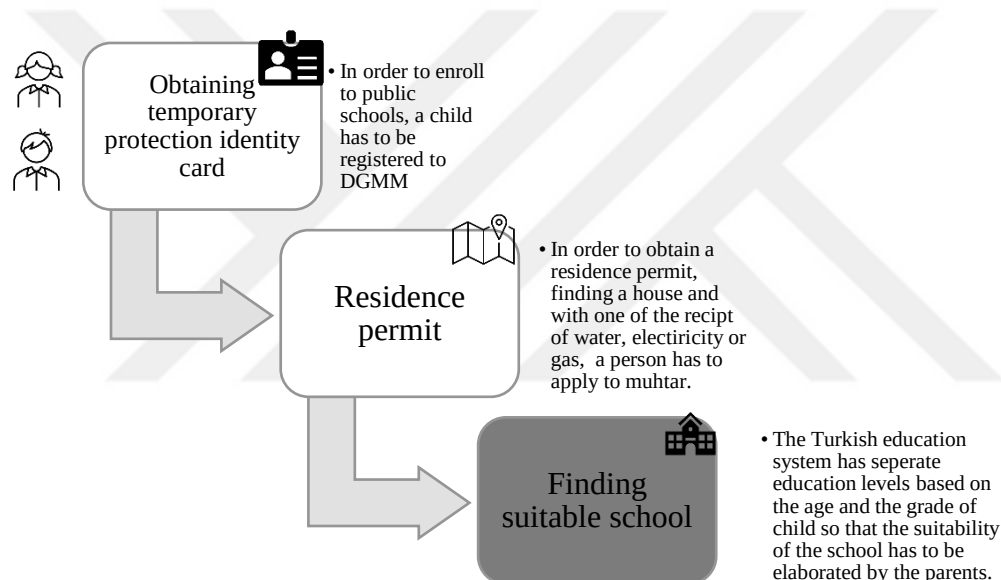


Figure 10: Schooling Process for Refugee Children in Turkey

Source: Prepared based on the legal framework, and literature

Turkey has 12 years of compulsory education which consists of a 4+4+4 system. The children are placed in the nearest school for the first four grades based on their current address since the registration must be in line with the address-based population registration system. For the second four grades, the system places the children anew; however, there is a possibility to choose İmam Hatip Schools for that part. For the last four grades, the opportunities vary, and the children can choose Anatolian High School, Science High School, Fine Arts High School, Sports High School, Social

Sciences High School, High Schools carrying out Vocational and Technical Programmes Anatolian Imam Hatip High Schools or get accepted based on the exam.

Considering the age-grade matchup, which is related to identifying a suitable school, the table below indicates which age group should go to which grade.

Table 11: Age-Grade Matchup for School

1-4. Grades	5-8. Grades	9-12. Grades
5.5/6-9 years	10-13 years	14-17 years

Source: MoNE, 2018

This table indicates that the children above ten years old have to enroll in the grades between 5-8 and can not enroll in the first four grades. However, considering that the refugee children may encounter difficulties. For instance, if the child is above ten years old and has never been able to access school in Syria or Turkey, s/he has to take an equivalence exam to understand the level of education. However, this exam consists of academic and oral parts in Turkish, which is inclined the double burden for a refugee child.

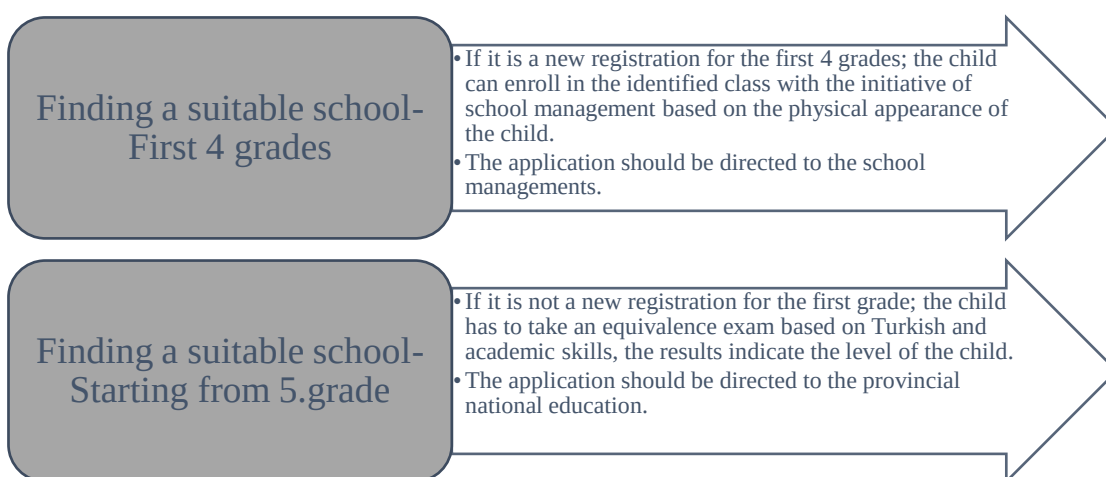


Figure 11: Finding a Suitable School for Refugee Children in Turkey

Source: Prepared based on the legal framework, and literature

At the very beginning of the migration from Syria to Turkey, there were 756.000 school-aged children, and very few of them were going to the beforementioned TECs; concurrently, the schooling rate was around 30% (Lifelong Learning, 2020). Through the undeniable response of Turkey in regards to the education of refugee children, education continued uninterrupted; however, the Arabic-intensive education in TECs belated the Turkish learning language for the refugee children. The transition from TECs to public schools has been considered a crucial step in the context of integration into the education system; however, due to the relatively complex process for access to school is elaborated the risk of being out of school for refugee children.

In this sense, considering that almost 400.000 refugee children are out of school, I would like to focus on the importance of education for refugee children in the following chapter.

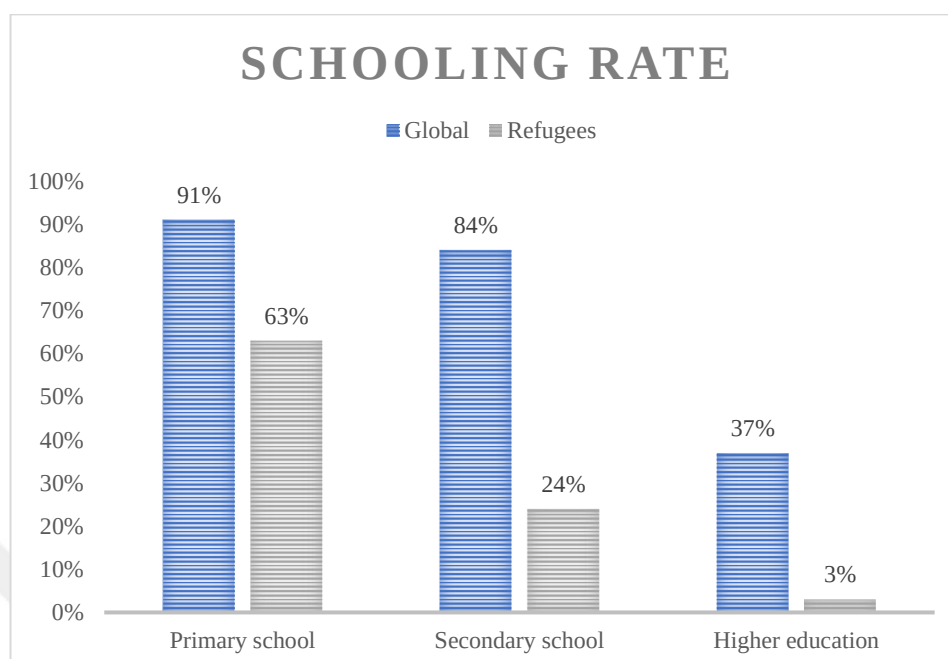
4.1. Why Education Matters for Syrian Children Living in Turkey?

Glancing at the numbers regarding out-of-school children worldwide, a striking fact is confronted. It is considered that more than 260 million children are out of school as of 2019¹⁴ (HRW, 2020). The schooling rate is 91% for primary school, 84% for secondary school globally (UNHCR, 2019). Focusing on the refugee children worldwide, almost 4 million children are out of school (Save the Children, 2018); besides, the schooling rates are much less comparing the global statistics.

Yet another striking fact is that almost 3 million school-aged children live in just five countries: Sudan, Uganda, Pakistan, Lebanon, and Turkey (UNHCR, 2018), and each of these children has their own stories more critical than the numbers. Therefore, I would like to share stories of only three refugee children in order to present their lives before I started to elaborate on the importance of education.

¹⁴ Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, I would like to share the latest statistics before that because COVID-19 completely changed the dynamics of education.

Table 12: Schooling Rate for Global and Refugees



Source: UNHCR, 2019

Human Stories

"Mohammed is just six years old. He came to Turkey from a village near Aleppo almost a month ago. He lives with his mother and four siblings in a room in Antakya. His father stayed in Syria after he was hit in the head by shrapnel. As a result, he has difficulty with his memory. Mohammed has gone to school yet, neither in Syria nor in Turkey. According to his mother, the war has affected him the most among her children. He wrings his hands tightly and prefers to keep quietly to himself. His biggest fear is airplanes. 'I am happy because there are not any airplanes here. I am not scared when I go to bed now. I miss my dad the most in Syria. I want to become a doctor in the future.'" UNICEF, Photo Essay, 2014

Fatima is 11 years old when they cross the border to Turkey, and she is immediately forced to work. She works at a sewing factory 13 hours a day and for a monthly salary of 350 TL. There is no time for school as the family depends on her wages to pay the rent and cover daily expenses. They attempt to get to Europe several times by crossing

the Mediterranean but fail every time. Istanbul becomes their place of struggle. Fatima was married off at age 16 as a consequence of hunger and poverty, leaving her in an abusive relationship and despair." Refugee Today, İda Brink & Martin Thaulaw

"Amira lives in a two-room house with a tiny yard down a dusty, narrow lane in a small border town in southern Turkey. The home is crowded, as she shares the space with her three younger siblings, her parents, aunt, uncle, and five cousins. There is very little furniture between them, just a couple of mats on the floor in each room. Amira's father works as a cleaner in her school. He wants all his children to go to school – though this is not easy. Due to the conflict, some of them have missed as much as three years of school, missing out on the crucial learning of early years." Concern Worldwide, 2015

These anecdotes from refugee children living in Turkey are only three unique stories, and indeed, 400.000 out-of-school refugee children (UNICEF&MONE, 2019) have their own stories. The question of why education matters for refugee children in Turkey are precisely interrelated with these stories.

The conceptualization of the answer for the question of why education matters for refugee children vary with which discipline is utilized. In this study, the rights-based approach has been utilized for this question, which advocates for the education right for every child. Although the fact that the primary purpose of this chapter does not correspond to constitute the theoretical framework, internalized perspective is aimed to be emphasized while analyzing the issue of access to education of refugee children. Since "the analysis should begin with a definition of the social issues/problem from a rights perspective including the use of international, regional, and country-specific laws and instruments" (Gabel, 2016), the legal framework should be provided.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights Article 26 identifies the right to education:

Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally

available, and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance, and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

As laid down in the Convention on the Rights of the Child to which Turkey is also a party, States Parties recognize the right of the child to education, and to achieve this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity, they shall, in particular:

Make primary education compulsory and available free to all;

Encourage the development of different forms of secondary education, including general and vocational education, make them available and accessible to every child, and take appropriate measures such as the introduction of free education and offering financial assistance in case of need;

Make higher education accessible to all on the basis of capacity by every appropriate means;

Make educational and vocational information and guidance available and accessible to all children;

Take measures to encourage regular attendance at schools and the reduction of dropout rates;

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that school discipline is administered in a manner consistent with the child's human dignity and conformity with the present Convention;

States Parties shall promote and encourage international cooperation in matters relating to education, in particular, to contribute to the elimination of ignorance and illiteracy throughout the world and facilitating access to scientific and technical knowledge and modern teaching methods. In this regard, a particular account shall be taken of the needs of developing countries.

The Basic Law on National Education of Turkey prescribes that, without discrimination, all children living in the country shall enjoy their right to education. In addition, the legislation on international protection and temporary protection also set forth that the state has guaranteed the right to education of migrant children in Turkey (Çalık, 2019).

In this regard, the first answer for the question in the title matters since it is the actualization of the education rights of refugee children in line with articles that have

been mentioned in detail above of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Convention on the Rights of the Child. Moreover, reversely asking the same question in order to explore the consequences of the violation of the education right of refugee children is momentous. *What if refugee children cannot access education?*

Before the crisis, the Ministry of Education centrally managed the Syria education system. Available data suggest that only a tiny portion of children were included in kindergarten/preschool education in Syria, and according to the data from 2013, this rate was as low as 5%. From 1971 to 2010, the primary school enrolment rate rose from 72% to 98%, whereas it dropped to 67% in 2013 due to the conflict that had broken out. Similarly, while the schooling rate for lower-secondary education was 26,2% in 1971, it increased to 70,6% in 2012 and declined to 45,5% in 2013 due to the crisis. A comparison of boys and girls with access to education in 1971 suggests that 90,9% of boys were in primary school, whereas this figure was 54,5 among girls. Although the schooling rate of boys presented a consistent trend over the years, it dropped to 64% in 2013, and while this figure went up as high as 91% for girls in 2009, it declined to 62% in 2013. In lower-secondary education, this figure started as 14,5% for girls and 37,7% for boys and had climbed to 70% for all children before the crises broke out; it descended to 45% in 2013. Another striking fact about the quality of the Syrian education system is the average number of students per teacher. According to 2002 data, the average number of students per teacher was 25; yet there are no available data about the following years. In light of all these data, it became clear that although participation in education was initially relatively low, schooling rates had grown steadily over the years, which indicates the tremendous efforts put in promoting access to education in Syria. In the same vein, even though the schooling rates of boys were almost twice as much as those of girls, girls' schooling rates also showed a significant surge in the following years. Nevertheless, the changing conditions driven by the conflict that broke out in 2011 have undeniably disrupted children's academic lives (Çalık, 2019).

Considering the age at which Syrian children come to Turkey, I would like to divide the situations related to these age groups into three.

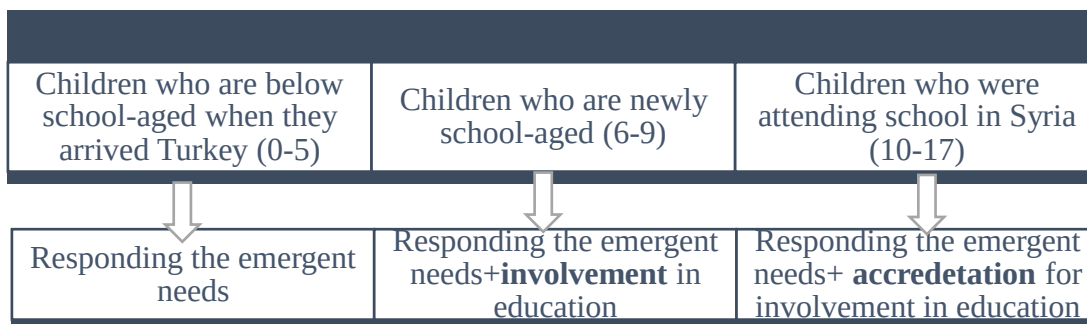


Figure 12: The Interventions towards the Education of Refugee Children based on Their Ages

Source: Prepared based on the legal framework, and literature

Considering the education system in Turkey, the refugee children in terms of their ages can be categorized into three groups. The children below the school-aged when they arrived in Turkey should benefit from the facilities that emerged needs before and during the migration route; however, education is not an obligation for that group. The kindergarten might be relevant for the age above three; however, compulsory education does not cover that part. Although it is vital to mainstream the importance of education for those groups, those groups should be followed up, especially when they reach the school-aged. For the newly school-aged children, immediate involvement in the education system is essential in order not to cause drop-outs. The Turkish education system automatically assigns a school for those groups, and there is no other process needed to identify academic or language levels. However, the child still may face obstacles while enrolling in the school or within the school, which is another discussion that is elaborated in the literature. The group of age between 10-17 when they arrived in Turkey is the most affected one due to the interruption of education and cannot provide the level of education. Therefore, immediate actions have to be taken regarding accreditation, which is enabled with the equivalence exam in Turkey. However, as previously mentioned, for the children who are above ten years and even continued school in Syria, the equivalence exam is a challenge due to the language barrier. In line with that argument, although the only reason is not the equivalence exam, the majority of drop-outs can be encountered within that group.

Although the tremendous efforts of Turkey for the enrolment of the refugee children to the school, a considerable number, around 400.000 (UNICEF, 2019), were not able to access it. In this regard, I would like to utilize my conceptualization based on personal experiences while elaborating literature. The importance of access to education for refugee children should be considered in four categories; a) protection & safety of a child, b) psychosocial wellbeing of a child, c) integration of a child into the society, d) academic and social learning for a child. Besides, these four categories should be approached differently for those who are newly school-aged children (years 6-9) and already school-aged children (10-17) simply because the needs and interventions are entirely different for refugee children. Touching the categories briefly;

[e]ducation protects refugee children and youth from forced recruitment into armed groups, child labor, sexual exploitation, and child marriage. Education also strengthens community resilience (UNHCR, n.d.).

Classrooms provide a safe space for children. In addition to providing children with skills, classrooms help connect refugee children to social services and provide a sense of normalcy and a safe space for children who have often faced trauma (United Nations Foundation, 2016).

School is considered one of the best ways to give children the structure and predictability they need. School can focus children's attention, stimulate their creativity, and develop their social skills. Teachers can be trained to look for signs of emotional problems and help children talk about their experiences" (UNHCR, 2019). Also, "[s]chools can provide safe places, learning opportunities, and new encounters and interactions with the host society (Çelik et al., 2018).

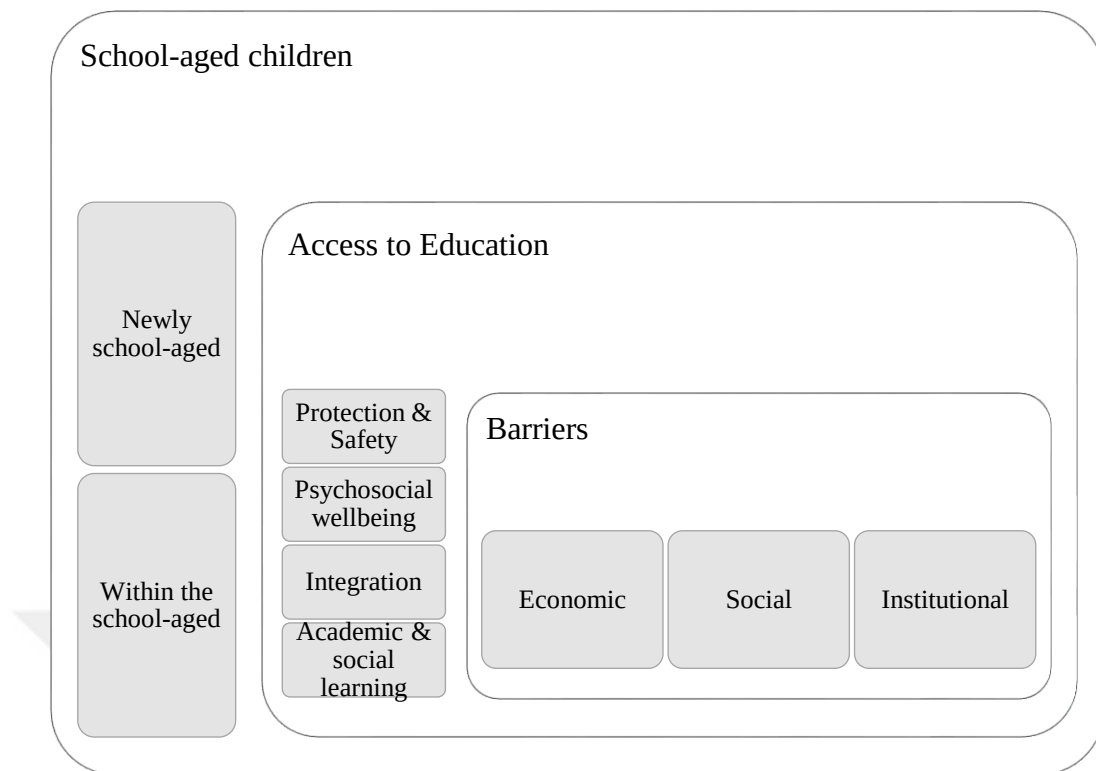


Figure 13: The Advantages and Barriers of Access to Education for Refugee Children

Source: Prepared based on the literature

The barriers regarding access to education for refugee children are concentrated in three categories; economic, social, and institutional.

It is estimated that 70% of Syrians in Turkey live below, or close to, the poverty line, which increases the risk of child labor and forced child marriages, and vulnerable children may become victims of trafficking, both for early marriage and as seasonal agricultural workers (Hammargren, 2020).

Education contributes to social cohesion in various ways. The provision of education as an equal opportunity to all citizens will give to social harmony (Heyneman, 2000). Improving access to education will be through controlling and reducing social conflicts (Kantzara, 2011). In addition, education enables individuals to participate in social life and structures (Duman, 2019). Considering that the language barrier is an obstacle for refugee children, education also reinforces Turkish learning and contributes to social

cohesion. The institutional barrier consists of structural deficiencies like classroom capacities, discriminatory attitudes towards Syrians, and unpreventable peer bullying. In addition to the actualization of human rights, education for refugee children matters since it provides a protective & safe environment, enhances psychosocial wellbeing and integration, and increases knowledge academically and socially. Considering the barriers that prevent refugee children from accessing school, a comprehensive approach should have been developed not only for the enrolment but also for the school continuation of refugee children. Therefore, a nationwide programme with specific attention regarding qualified involvement in the education of refugee children was needed. For this very reason, I approached CCTE for refugees project from the point that its cash component provides economic support, and the child protection component reveals the obstacles that refugee children face while accessing education. In line with that, although the literature draws a framework in regard to the interpretation of CCTEs, I aimed to interrogate CCTE for refugees not only from interpretations in the literature but also hearing from the implemented partners.

The issue of access to education for refugee children has been discussed from the point of formal procedure and its significance. Considering the fact that access to education is key for CCTE for refugees with its cash and child protection component, these two issues have been evaluated intersectional. In line with that, the analysis of the in-depth interviews has been elaborated in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER FOR EDUCATION PROGRAMME FOR SYRIANS AND OTHER REFUGEE CHILDREN IN TURKEY AS A STRATEGY FOR SUPPORTING THE EDUCATION OF REFUGEE CHILDREN

Education gave me the strength to carry on. I wouldn't be here without it.

Syrian refugee and UNICEF Goodwill Ambassador Muzoon Almellehan

This study focuses on refugee children's access to education, which has been narrowed down with compulsory education consisting of the 4+4+4 system, considering the high proportion of mainly Syrian refugees in Turkey while exploring strategies for supporting the education of refugee children with the case of CCTE project for refugees. In the previous chapters, the legal framework for the status of Syrians and the services that have been provided for them have been detailed. In addition, the process of access to education and the importance of education for refugee children have been explained. In line with the case of CCTE for refugees, the literature on CCTE in the world and specifically on CCTE for refugees in Turkey has been considered in order to address discussions on strategies for the education of children in Turkey. Considering the limited literature on CCTE for refugees, a further method has been utilized by interviewing key actors from different implementation partners. Although approaches combining formal procedures, official statistics, and literature reviews are certainly valuable, I have always been inclined to emphasize the unspoken findings, which in this case can be clarified solely by meeting and observing experts who are working directly for the education of refugee children. Therefore, in this chapter, interpreting in-depth interviews with experts and blending those findings with the previously discussed materials, I will be seeking to answer the research questions.

5.1. Findings on the Transition Period from Temporary Education Centers (TECs) to Public Schools

I started with a warm-up question in order to highlight the repercussions of the Syrian crisis that has been going on for ten years and to remember what has been implemented in education during this time. Afterward, looking from the vantage point of the present day, I asked interviewees what kinds of obstacles have been encountered in education for refugee children and whether those obstacles could be eliminated.

Finding 1: The ambiguity of the status of Syrian refugees has caused structured responses regarding the education of refugee children to be established quite late.

At the beginning of the influx of refugees, the education of refugee children was designed based on the Syrian curriculum in TECs within camps and in border cities since Turkey expected that the Syrian crisis would be concluded soon. In contrast to this expectation of the Turkish government, however, the situation in Syria intensified, and the number of refugees from Syria to Turkey drastically increased quickly. Since the legal framework for asylum seekers in Turkey was not prepared for that mass influx, the regulation has been revised; accordingly, Syrians have been recognized as being under temporary protection, which assures them certain rights and services. In line with the Turkish government's original expectation, temporary solutions were first provided for education for refugee children through TECs. However, the increased numbers indicated that integration into public schools had to be accelerated to avoid the creation of a dual education approach. In line with that, the decision made by the Turkish government suggested that refugee children should be referred to public schools quickly, but considering the need for a smooth transition, it was decided that this should be done by degrees. All the respondents have similarly mentioned that process which has also been underlined in the literature. However, their observations during this period indicate the challenges of that transitions at the field and central level.

Based on the observations in the south part of Turkey, the R8 (M, I/NGO) said that the Turkish education system has its structural problem, considering the high number of school-aged children, and in addition to that, the high number of refugee children at school-aged, the school capacities remained incapable. The schools' facilities, including the number of teachers, did not sufficiently respond to the needs. In parallel with that, while elaborating this process, the R2 (M, I/NGO) referred to the schooling issue for the east part of Turkey; the ongoing challenge regarding school capacities was emphasized. As another crucial point regarding the consequences of this policy shift, since decisive actions were expected to be taken by the schools, the question of the roles of teachers assigned to TECs after this decision remained unanswered. R4 (F, I/NGO), who was working for the education of refugee children as this transition began, stated that children who were eligible to enroll in the 1st, 5th, and 9th grades had to attend public schools and that classes for these grades were shut down in the TECs. When these children went to public schools, everyone spoke Turkish, and none of the teachers could speak Arabic because the Arabic-speaking teachers in the TECs had remained in the TECs. With time, all grades were shut down one by one, and new assignments for the teachers in the TECs were not designated. The same participant shared an anecdote regarding the effect of that transition for refugee children:

Even after they enrolled in the public schools, most of the children who were previously going to TECs continued to come to their previous schools to see their friends and teachers because they did not feel comfortable [in the public schools]. We were seeing them in the school gardens, playing (R4, F, I/NGO).

The interviews clearly indicated that although the decision to shift from TECs to public schools was made quickly, the road map for doing so was not clearly discussed or formulated at the beginning of the process. Furthermore, until the formal process was decided, it was thought that due to the complexity of the process of enrolling refugee children in school, a considerable number of these children would drop out after the obligatory transition from TECs to public schools. Parents also worried that education at public schools could cause a risk of their children losing their native language, although supportive Arabic courses have been provided via non-formal educational programmes (PICTES, n.d.). When the decision about the process of enrolling refugee students in public schools became apparent, which was described as very difficult by

the respondents, “back to school” campaigns were promoted, and the teachers who were working in TECs were assigned to those efforts (UNICEF, 2021).

In light of the interviews, it is clear that the pursuit of a rapid transition from TECs to public schools created unexpected results with negative impacts on the education of refugee children in terms of access to school, which was repeatedly underlined in the literature. Therefore, although these interview questions were designed as mere warm-up questions, a meaningful finding that confirmed the literature was obtained: the ambiguity of the status of Syrian refugees delayed the creation of structured responses regarding the education of refugee children.

5.2 Findings on the Reflection of Central Decisions on Refugee Education at Field Level

The issue of access is key for the education of refugee children and also for the case of CCTE for refugees since enrolment in school is mandatory in order to benefit from the programme. Although official documents formulated the process of access to school for refugee children, its implementation in practice remained vague. Therefore, I continued the interviews with questions related to access to education, showing a simple visual indicating the current flow and asking whether participants had encountered challenges in any of those stages.

Finding 2: Since the central management of the Ministry of National Education prepares the regulations in line with the general operations of the Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM), rather than considering local dynamics, initiatives have resulted that may cause the loss of education rights in practice.

National and international laws have guaranteed children’s rights to education in Turkey, and for refugees, new regulations were made operative with the recognition of Syrian refugees as being under temporary protection as of 2016.

The first step identified for refugee children is obtaining an ID card to enroll in the school system; otherwise, children may still attend courses if school capacity allows,

but their efforts will not yield any certificates due to their lack of system registry. Regarding the issue of ID cards, respondents stated that it was challenging at the beginning of the crisis to get appointments from the DGMM, primarily due to the high numbers of Syrians waiting to obtain IDs.

In some provinces, appointments were sold for money by the people who had been able to obtain them, which can be considered a strategy for survival due to economic vulnerabilities. However, with the efforts of the DGMM and the UNHCR verification process, the issue is now described as having mainly been resolved. However, R4 (F, I/NGO) emphasized the working conditions of the enrolment system of schools concerning ID cards, which was crucial from the perspective of child protection. I was informed that the enrolment system, known as E-OKUL¹⁵, accepted registrations with the ID number of one parent. However, as R4 underlined, it is common knowledge that some of the adult refugees do not prefer to register due to other plans, such as going back to Syria for a while or crossing the border into the EU countries. Therefore, most of the children could not enroll in school for this reason, or else the system registered them as unaccompanied minors. With the new system for Syrians, called YÖBİS¹⁶, this problem was largely solved, and now for both systems, enrolment can be completed without the parents' ID numbers.

For the next step in enrolment, a residential address is necessary to determine which school a child should attend. The respondents explained that finding a home in Turkey, communicating with the landlord, and signing the rental contract is both financially and emotionally exhausting for refugee families, which has also been discussed in the literature. R5 (M, Pub.), who is familiar with the Central Population Administration System (MERNİS), for residential addresses, mentioned the previous situation, in

¹⁵ Turkey's Ministry of National Education launched a comprehensive project called E-OKUL in May 2006. In accordance with the project, all identification information found in the Central Population Administration System (MERNİS) of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and school registration information such as the class of each student was recorded into the central information system by schools using unique identification numbers over a period of nearly one month. All of the students enrolled in formal education are aimed to be recorded into the system and the transfer of a student to another school is carried out electronically by the system.

¹⁶ YÖBİS is the E-OKUL equivalent for foreign students in Turkey.

which only one family could be registered to one residential address. Considering the poverty level among refugee families, it is frequently preferred to live together with more than one household to reduce costs; however, in the beginning, it was not possible for the other families to register at the shared address due to the MERNİS system. R5 (M, Pub.) described the complexity of the registration system, even for Turkish citizens:

You can still encounter that in your house, another family is registered; therefore, you have to find that family to notify the civil registry in order for you to be registered (R5, M, Pub.).

With the support of neighbors, communication activities of NGOs, and other community-based support, these two stages have been clarified for most refugee families, as the respondents explained. However, from the point of view of inclusive education, disabled refugee children have been ignored in a sense. R6 (F, I/NGO) highlighted that since the process for the enrolment of disabled children is slightly different from that for non-disabled ones, extra efforts have to be made by caretakers to obtain health reports and communicate with the relevant institutions, which is also complicated due to the perpetual changing regulations.

The most problematic area that the respondents identified was the equivalence exam for those above primary school age, which needs clarification of their level of education from the perspective of the Ministry of National Education. Until 2018, it was arranged by the Ministry at the district level; however, a centralized decision suggested that exams should be held in certain schools and at certain times, which has to be done with an application to the relevant provincial directorate of the Ministry of National Education. The respondents specifically mentioned that accessing these institutions and finding the right person is difficult for anyone, and especially for refugees. Besides, for children who have never been enrolled in school in Syria or Turkey, this exam cannot evaluate their level since the exam is in Turkish, and these children do not have an academic background. Moreover, the exam practice for these groups does not correspond to the normal process, and it is open to interpretation by the provincial directorate of the Ministry or the schools.

The interviews conducted for this work revealed the gaps in the formal process of access to education, indicating that even if the families can complete the entire process, they may still encounter a language barrier while communicating with school management. In some cases, they face discrimination, which results in being unwilling to return to the school management again. Especially in regions with higher numbers of refugee children, such as İstanbul, Şanlıurfa, and Gaziantep, the school management can decide whether children can enroll or not just by looking at their physical appearances. If the school management thinks that a child is small enough to study with primary school children, that child may be accepted even though he or she is older than others in that grade. The reverse situation can also occur; children who are tall for their ages may not be able to enroll at the appropriate level.

These findings, which have been discussed in the literature, signal the problems inherent in utilizing the local initiatives of institutions, including the Ministry of National Education and the schools, which, in some cases, may even culminate in children losing their educational rights.

5.3 Findings on the Measurement of the Success of Access to Education

While asking these questions, I expected that the respondents would touch upon the issue of schooling in general, and a central theme emerged that is crucial in discussing refugee children's access to schooling. This theme was how to measure the success of education for refugee children, and the discussion was mainly shaped by issues of quantity versus quality and enrolment versus school attendance.

Finding 3: The assessment of achievement in the area of access to education is addressed with an enrolment-centric understanding, which considers the school enrolment rate, rather than outcome-centric, thus ignoring the essential aims of education, which are to enable children to increase their capacities and break the cycle of poverty.

Considering the schooling rates in Turkey, a reasonably successful situation has been achieved. According to the statistics of the Ministry of National Education, the rate for

primary school enrolment is 93%, for middle school is 95%, and for high school is 85% (MoNE, 2020). From the respondents' perspective, however, statistics about enrolment rates do not necessarily reflect children's attendance. Since the system automatically enrolls children based on their addresses, statistics will reflect a child attending a certain school even if the child does not go to school at all. The respondents' argument can be further supported by the schooling rate for open learning¹⁷. The children who enroll in open learning account for 24.2% of enrolment among all school types (Doğruluk Payı, 2020), but respondents elaborated that most of those children have actually dropped out. For those who have enrolled in public schools, after a certain level of non-attendance, the E-OKUL system automatically enrolls them into open learning simply because the schooling rate should not be seen to be decreasing.

Focusing on the statistics for refugee children, which have been discussed in previous chapters, the rates are relatively lower than those for Turkish children; however, they are similar to the pre-war statistics of Syria. The schooling rate among refugee children in Turkey is 88% for primary school, 70% for middle school, and 32% for high school. The critical point that the respondents highlighted here is that the perspective of refugee families is closely linked to the primary school enrolment rate, with those schools being viewed as daycare centers. Since the education system in Syria was a 6+3+3 system, refugee families are more inclined to remove their children from school after the primary level. Considering the 4+4+4 Turkish education system, the rate of middle school enrolment decreases sharply in line with refugee families' perspectives.

The respondents shared their observations that children, even if they do not go to school, have still been registered to schools by the provincial Ministry of National Education in order to boost enrolment rates. Regarding problems with the continuity of education, it was also observed that adequate training was not provided to teachers in order to teach refugees Turkish or manage multicultural classes.

The teachers were in a quandary with a class that consisted of both Turkish and Syrian students. They were saying 'if I teach based on the level of a Syrian child,

¹⁷ In Turkish, open learning is "açık öğretim."

then the Turkish child is bored; or the reverse, if I teach based on the level of the Turkish child, the Syrian child cannot follow the lecture due to the language barrier' (R7, F, Pub.).

It should also be underlined here that the school enrolment rates do not express children's regular attendance or the improvement of academic success. The respondents considered the school enrolment rate to be fairly successful; however, they questioned whether this education is enough for the children to later access university education and the labor market. The quality of schools and teachers was also stated as an essential factor for the academic achievement of refugee children. Another point that the respondents mentioned is that even if the children graduate from university and find a suitable job, because of their legal status as refugees, they will have to apply for a work permit, which is expensive and is generally not preferred by employers. Considering the unemployment rate in Turkey, since refugee families cannot see the results of education, they think that their children will be "jobless graduates." R2 shared an important anecdote from his previous experiences concerning the primary aim of education.

Between 2007 and 2014, a programme was implemented regarding supporting entrepreneurship, and the Turkish Employment Agency [İŞKUR] registered the unemployed people and supported people with a certain amount of money aiming to cover expenses such as minibus tickets, since looking for a job also cost money. Women and small businesses have been supported. For instance, the programme has financially supported people to launch grocery stores or for agricultural tools. However, we noticed that these people did not have the necessary knowledge to continue to work. The lesson learned from this experience is that we encountered the concept of the capability of the people. If you don't provide quality education, support for businesses doesn't mean anything. Most of those businesses went bankrupt and even fell into debt (R2, M, I/NGO).

This statement reinforces the idea that the quality of education in Turkey should be revisited in order to determine whether it provides the necessary knowledge and skills for children's futures. Although it has been argued that access to schools provides safety for children and is crucial in terms of protection, it is also necessary to consider the roles of academic learning, integration, and the aims of education, which must be sustained with regular attendance, and to contribute to the capacity of children for their future lives after compulsory education.

In light of these interviews, the remarks made in parallel with the literature indicate that schooling efforts have been centralized around an enrolment-centered understanding, in spite of the fact that the fundamental premise of this education is to increase the knowledge, skills, and perspectives of refugee children.

5.4 Findings on CCTE for Refugees as a Strategy for Refugee Children

This discussion brings us to the case of CCTE for refugees since the main aim of the programme is to increase attendance and schooling durations by offering support with the cash component while using the child protection component to understand the reasons for non-attendance and develop solutions accordingly. With the previous questions, the discussions contributed to an understanding of the challenges in the education of refugee children.

However, in this study, the case of CCTE for refugees has been selected as a crucial programme to serve as a strategy to support refugee children's education. Therefore, in the interviews, I asked specific questions about CCTE for refugees, to what extent the programme achieves its goals, and how it responds to refugee children's educational needs. In parallel with that, questions were asked about the effects of the specific cash and child protection components. Since only one evaluation report on CCTE for refugees has been published to date (AIR, 2020), as discussed in the literature review, I believe that these interviews play a crucial role in providing more data on this topic.

Finding 4: CCTE for refugees positively impacts the school attendance of children in multi-child families with its cash component, and the child protection component further positively supports the identification of risks and the continuity of schooling. However, it is still far from being a failproof strategy for the education of refugee children.

Since all of the respondents had personally observed the implementation of CCTE for refugees in the field and at multiple levels, they identified the significant points clearly. The first point to be highlighted regarding this programme was the adaptation of the

national programme. Due to the political atmosphere and the ease of adapting to an existing system, the national programme has been extended for refugees with all its features and conditions. However, the programme has not been revised based on the needs of refugee children, which are contextually different from those of Turkish children. One of the examples to support this argument is that the programme was designed while considering gender equality. A higher level of cash transfer was accordingly planned for girls, just as in the national programme; however, the statistics and the literature indicate that boys are relatively more vulnerable than girls due to exposure to child labor in refugee populations. R5 (M, Pub.) summarized this problem with the following proverb:

To a man with a hammer, everything looks like a nail (R5, M, Pub.).

This proverb refers to the fact that the national CCTE programme was designed in the wake of the economic crisis in 2001, an entirely different context from the mass influx of Syrian refugees. Although the programme's main aim is to provide cash support for economically disadvantaged groups to convince them to continue the school attendance of their children, which can be considered to be in line with the needs of the Syrian population, as well, schooling practices are different for the Syrian population. As previously mentioned, the Syrian education system was designed to be 6+3+3, with a tendency for children to withdraw from school after the 6th grade. In addition to that, living conditions in Turkey force refugee families to rely on negative coping mechanisms, including child labor, child marriage, and domestic labor, in order to increase the family budget. In this context, it can be said that CCTE programme for refugees was not designed according to the specific characteristics of the Syrian population regarding education.

The respondents also mentioned the insufficient cash transfer amounts considering the poverty level in Turkey; however, since the national programme designates the amounts, it is impossible to increase them. With this issue in mind, the programme did begin to transfer supplemental "top-up" payments to support families financially. The common view of the cash component of this programme is that for multi-child families, cash support can be used to convince them to send their children back to

school since the support allows them to cover meaningful expenditures; however, for children who economically maintain their families, it has no impact. Another respondent (R1, M, I/NGO) further argued that the programme's design does not explicitly aim to increase refugee children's enrolment; it aims to increase school attendance. In parallel with this argument, the respondents stated that the core problem affecting the school attendance of refugee children is economical, aiming to simplify the issue when other problems are considered.

The other problems discussed by the respondents included child protection risks such as child labor, child marriage, abuse, and neglect, and issues that may be considered minor risks, such as basic health problems. The respondents agreed that the value of the child protection component of the programme lies in the fact that risky situations can be detected and responded to as necessary. However, considering the high number of refugee children and the limited scope of the operational areas of child protection teams, it was stated that all of the relevant needs could not be met. The child protection component is directly related to the capacity of human resources.

Moreover, although Turkey has a structured social assistance system, the system has been criticized for its inability to follow the progress of beneficiaries. It was also stated that the necessary sanctions were not applied by governmental organizations, which meant that the efforts of the child protection teams might be in vain. The crucial contribution regarding the programme's conditionality is that the conditionality does not impact attendance; instead, the respondents argued, making education more mainstream facilitates positive behavioral changes among refugee families. The respondents described the weaknesses of the programme; even if a child benefits from CCTE until the 12th grade, the support stops abruptly after compulsory education is completed and no additional support is provided to continue on to university or access the labor market, which is considered to be an essential step in breaking the cycle of poverty that is currently being ignored.

Looking at the targets set for the programme, by the end of the 2017-2018 school year, 368,090 children had been reached by the cash component of CCTE programme for refugees, far surpassing the initial target of reaching 250,000 children by the end of

2017-2018 school year (UNICEF, n.d.). As of 2021, more than 600,000 refugee children had benefited from the cash component. For the child protection component, the target was also reached, with 86,199 children having been assessed. However, considering the achievement of the programme from the perspective of reaching numerical targets does not fully measure the success of the crucial aim.

In light of the interviews, it was seen that CCTE programme's aims are only achieved for certain groups; however, the child protection component is an effective implementation that should be invested in more. Although all respondents described the positive impacts of the programme, it was stressed that CCTE for refugees is far from solving the issues of education of refugee children as a social policy; however, it can be considered as a small part of a broader approach. Considering the gaps and needs that remain in the access to schooling, the programme cannot be said to be fully operationalized.

In the interviews, the respondents frequently touched upon the importance of education for refugee children. Therefore, although it was not included in the original interview plans, a sub-question was asked about the importance or meaning of education for refugee children.

The importance of education for refugee children is frequently mentioned in reference to the following condition: "If we need to talk about the ideal education..." This refers to the essential goal of education: to provide academic learning and skills to access the labor market for refugee children with an inclusive education that eliminates discrimination. However, the respondents also elaborated on the impact of "ideal education" in regard to the life of refugee children, whereby as children learn academic and social skills, their capabilities increase. Additionally, schools reinforce social cohesion, enabling families to build networks with other families from different backgrounds, especially for women, and they provide a place for children's friendships and feelings of belonging.

5.5 Findings on the Exit Strategy on CCTE for Refugees

CCTE for Refugees in Turkey has been implemented as of 2017, and it is still in progress with the financial support of the EU. In the discussion in regard to additional solutions or recommendations to programme, the respondents underlined two main issues: the first thing is complementarity with other projects considering the economic vulnerability of refugee children in Turkey and the second thing is the exit strategy on CCTE for Refugees since the education of refugee children cannot be maintained only with the external funds.

Finding 5: The transfer amount of CCTE for refugees is inadequate in the context of Turkey, and the complementarity with the other projects/programmes is essential in order to support the education of the most vulnerable refugee children. In line with that, in order to ensure the sustainability of the education of refugee children, the governmental organization has to take over the responsibility.

The first thing that the respondents underlined was the economic vulnerability of the refugee population in Turkey. Considering the amount of CCTE for refugees, it is mentioned that additional in-kind assistance might be needed. The programme was designed to reinforce regular attendance; however, for that very reason, providing healthy nutrition and equal material is essential in order to achieve the aim of the programme. Especially in the Turkey context, the transfer amounts are relatively low, and close cooperation with the other projects/programmes in the context of refugee children is essential. Thus, the cash transfer of CCTE for refugees may cover some part of the needs, and the other projects of other governmental and non-governmental organizations may support the children with in-kind assistance.

In addition to that, although the programme does not have a specific focus on the cover the children who are not enrolled in the school, the specific attention for the out-of-school children is critical. Therefore, it is criticized that the programme cannot reach the most vulnerable refugee children. It was also underlined by R8 (M, I/NGO), the gap of a shared platform that indicates the poverty and vulnerability of the families in the databases of governmental and non-governmental organizations causes the

incoordination between programmes and loss of time and child protection component's human resources capacity. Especially for that reason, it was underlined that the education of refugee children should be reconsidered by the governmental organizations, and in line with that the exit strategy for the programme should be considered. The respondents mentioned the governmental organizations' unwillingness to take over the programme considering their human resources capacity, lack of knowledge in the context of migration, and, more importantly, economic burden.

In light of the interviews, although the CCTE for refugees has been elaborated the center of the efforts of education of refugee children, it is underlined that the coordination with the other programme/projects in order to reduce the vulnerabilities simply because the transfer amount is not enough to cover needs of refugee children. Additionally, in order to reach that aim, it is essential to advocate with the governmental organizations to take more responsibilities in regard to the education of refugee children.

5.6 Findings on CCTE for Refugees as a Strategy for Refugee Children during the COVID-19 Pandemic

These interviews were conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic. Although the interview questions did not directly include that issue, the respondents did briefly address the particularities of the implementation of CCTE for refugees during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Finding 6: Due to the system error during COVID-19, some of the beneficiaries did not benefit from the cash transfer even the education was online, which reveals the risk of questioning the programme's credibility from the perspective of beneficiaries.

Before referring to those statements in the interviews, I would like to share some research findings on rapid needs assessment regarding the effect of COVID-19, specifically for children who were regularly attending school and benefiting from CCTE for refugees. These findings indicate that 34% of the refugee children who were

regularly attending school could not continue distance learning due to a lack of knowledge about distance learning and its tools, technical deficiencies, and language barriers (TRC, 2020). In line with that, the respondents also underlined the negative impact of COVID-19 in our interviews, explicitly focusing on socioeconomically vulnerable groups and explaining that, as the pandemic continues, dropouts will increase, and the eventual return to school will be challenging because children may have already been exposed to child labor or child marriage as harmful coping mechanisms of the families. One of the interesting points underlined by both R5 and R9 was that since education was not conducted face-to-face during COVID-19, absenteeism records should not be shown in the E-OKUL or YÖBİS systems. However, there were absentee entries in the system of the Ministry of National Education; accordingly, some children were not able to benefit from the cash support component of CCTE for refugees, and this issue is still not resolved. The reason behind this system error is still not understood; however, considering that most refugee families have become much more economically vulnerable and need additional support as a result of the pandemic, it is expected that this issue may negatively affect the programme's reliability from the perspective of its beneficiaries in the long term.

In light of the interpretation of these interviews, the analysis conducted here contributes significantly to the understanding of the research questions. From the point of view of reaching the set targets for CCTE for refugees, the programme was appropriately implemented and did reach the targets for both the cash and child protection components. Considering the schooling rate of refugee children in Turkey, enrolment in primary education, which consists of the first four grades, is about 90%; however, in line with the literature, respondents did not mention any impact of CCTE for refugees on that rate. In other words, most refugee families already favor sending their children to primary school, and CCTE for refugees is seen as simply additional cash support. Looking at middle school, however, the schooling rate is around 70%, and for high school, a dramatic decrease in enrolment is encountered. Any interpretation derived by looking at schooling from an enrolment-centric perspective will not reflect an optimistic framework for refugee children since the continuation of schooling after primary years is considerably low. Therefore, cash support is not a solution, especially for children above the ages of 13 or 14, because of child labor.

Although the unique child protection component assesses children who have missed more than four days of school in order to understand the reason behind their absenteeism, because of the lack of supportive mechanisms, these efforts may not yield considerable achievements reflected in statistics. More importantly, the programme only focuses on school attendance; it has no other tools to be implemented in order to respond to needs during the education process to increase the capacities of children and after education in order to ensure access to the labor market. Therefore, in the next section, I will discuss the programme's complimentary components designed to reach the main aim of the programme and policy recommendations regarding the education of refugee children from an outcome-centered perspective.

5.7 Policy Recommendations for Enhancing the Education of Refugee Children in Turkey

In this study, considering the centralizing of CCTE for refugees, the main focus is refugee children's access to education, considered explicitly from a social policy perspective. In line with that, while examining the literature on CCTE, interviews were also conducted with experts who were practitioners in the field of education of refugee children in order to identify the gaps and needs of the programme and of education for refugee children in Turkey. In line with the findings of this analysis, I would like to share policy suggestions to enhance the education of refugee children while keeping in mind that education must be focused on meaningful outcomes to break the cycle of poverty among socioeconomically vulnerable families.

5.6.1. Short-Term Recommendations

The short-term recommendations offered in this section focus on the better implementation of CCTE for refugees to enhance the education of refugee children. Since CCTE programme for refugees has been designed based on the national programme, its implementation does not correspond to the needs of refugee children. Therefore, it is suggested that the programme be assessed based on the existing challenges and that some parts be amended, including the cash amounts for boys and girls and the targeting, since the main challenge is not the primary school but rather schooling at middle and high school levels.

In contrast to the considerations of the national programme, boys are relatively more vulnerable in refugee populations in terms of access to education; therefore, the gender dimension of the programme for refugees should be reviewed. In addition, the programme's implementation should be evaluated with more specific objectives since the dynamics are entirely different in different regions. Significantly, the role of the child protection component should be reconsidered in terms of local dynamics. For instance, İstanbul and Kayseri do not have precisely the same features regarding the needs of refugee children. Although the child protection component has reached almost 90,000 children, a relatively representative number, a specific response plan should be developed with partners in order to address the identified needs for the education of refugee children. It has been concluded that CCTE for refugees is a good example of a strategy to enhance the school attendance of refugee children, but it accordingly does not target out-of-school children. Therefore, efforts should be directed toward that group of children since their vulnerability is higher than that seen among those who already have access to the programme.

Specifically elaborating on the children who are out of school for a long time and have to take an equivalence exam, the revised regulation, which includes the facilitation to enroll the school, should be developed. Although the Accelerated Learning Programme (ALP) targets out-of-school children, the reached numbers are pretty low, and the program's effect was not shared yet. An important point to be made regarding the implementation of CCTE for refugees is that cooperation with other sectoral actors remains limited, in turn limiting the capacity to enhance the education of refugee children. Therefore, further communication with other I/NGOs and education-related projects must be considered for comprehensive results.

Considering the still ongoing obstacles within the schools, which have been observed during the transition period for TECs to public schools, a comprehensive response plan should be designed. In order to eliminate the obstacles, which include the language barrier, peer bullying, and psychosocial well-being, coordination with other ongoing projects/programmes is critical.

5.6.2. Long-Term Recommendations

In this section, the focus of the proposed long-term recommendations extends beyond CCTE for refugees, and social policy revisions are suggested to enhance refugee children's access to education.

The main challenge regarding the education of refugee children has been identified in the political dimension for the refugee children in Turkey. Cooperation and communication between government organizations as well as NGOs are limited, preventing a comprehensive approach. Additionally, although CCTE for refugees specifically targets out-of-school children, the child protection component still identifies them with the household visits. However, the response for out-school children does not correspond to the needs, which have more vulnerabilities than newly school-aged children.

In line with that, the issue of education of refugee children has been approached from an enrolment-centered perspective, which ignores the expected outcomes of education in providing access to higher education and the labor market. Therefore, it is suggested that while increasing communication between ministries and NGOs, approaches to education should have outcome-centered perspectives in order to prevent potential future risks. Furthermore, although Turkey has structured social assistance programmes, the follow-up of the progress of beneficiaries has not been made possible; therefore, social protection needs to be better sustained in the long term. While increasing the communication of ministries, system integrations should also be considered to target the most vulnerable groups and eliminate duplicated support mechanisms. In this context, the capacity building for governmental organizations and human resources support should be considered to better respond to refugee children.

Considering that the child protection component identifies the risks and vulnerabilities and refers them to the ministries, their capacity is critical to eliminate the risks. Since social protection has been based on human resources capacities, system integrations will be particularly helpful. However, the ultimate goal regarding social protection is the empowerment of the children and their families. Therefore, mainstreaming the

protection in relevant stakeholders, including MoNE, DGMM, SASFs, and the involvement of the families is essential to provide safe and protective space for children in order for them to continue their education and reach successful results. Especially for refugee children, practices at the field level provide a favorable environment for applying these initiatives. Therefore, it is strongly recommended that a monitoring framework be established for schools and provincial directorates in order to ensure standardized implementations based on the legal framework. In this regard, child protection needs should be addressed in cooperation with NGOs and local initiatives that include refugee groups.

Although CCTE for refugees is an excellent example of the education of refugee children, the crucial point about the programme is the lack of exit strategy, which is directly interlinked with the social policies on the education of refugee children. Especially in the Turkey context, it is evident that the transfer amounts are not adequate to break the poverty cycle, only reinforcing the motivation of children who have already continue school. However, considering around 400.000 refugee children out of school in Turkey, a comprehensive approach regarding the education of refugee children is a must to eliminate the child protection risks, including child labor, child marriage, and even child trafficking. Thus, it is strongly recommended to redesign the ambiguous social policy for the education of refugee children in order to protect refugee children.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In this study, I aimed to transform my experiences of four years experiences with my different roles in the project of CCTE for refugees to academic study. In line with that aim, I have intentionally interrogated the access to education of refugee children in Turkey, considering the education right should be actualized for every child.

Acknowledging that the issue of managing a mass influx should be sensitively approached, I have utilized the right-based approach while discussing the research questions. In this context, the children have been considered one of the most vulnerable groups, considering the risks during the migration route and the asylum country.

Turkey keeps the reputation of hosting the highest number of refugees all over the world. If the political discussions on that issue are excluded, Turkey has provided remarkable responses concerning the needs of refugees, and the education of children is always considered one of the primary areas. However, it should be underlined that the efforts of Turkey have always included EU financial support.

CCTE for refugees, as one of the EU-funded projects, has started to implement in 2017 and is still in progress. I have observed all process of CCTE for refugees in different roles while working at the Turkish Red Crescent, which was explained in the personal relevance of the thesis. The project has been adapted from the national CCTE programme, although the migration context is entirely different from the economic crisis that was the first time national CCTE started to be implemented. In addition to that, the prerequisite in order to benefit from CCTE for refugees, which is access to school, has obstacles in itself. Therefore, while elaborating the rights and services

provided for refugees in Turkey, access to education for refugee children has been addressed before dealing with the research questions focused on CCTE for refugees.

In line with that, in the introduction chapter, I have addressed the thesis's purpose and methodology. In addition to literature, I have conducted in-depth interviews in order to listen to the issue from the practitioners. In this regard, interviews with the key actors provided the most contributed interpretations in this thesis. However, the crucial actor of the issue, the refugees, could not be involved due to the COVID-19 pandemic and all of the interviews conducted via online tools.

Before starting the discussion on CCTE for refugees, the issue of access to education has been elaborated since the prerequisite for the programme is enrollment to the school. Although there is considerable literature on the challenges of access to education for refugee children, the gray areas have been discovered through the interviews. The schooling rate of primary education indicates that the majority of school-aged children have access to school. However, especially the children out of school for more than three years need special attention to return to school. In line with that, the schooling rates are considerably low for secondary and high school. What is more to the point is that there is no study that indicates the outcome of completed education for refugee children. In other words, the schooling rates do not reflect the academic quality of a refugee child in order to access higher education and the labor market. The outcome of the completed education is a crucial point since the main aim of the implemented programme in relation to education is to increase the capacity of children in order to decrease poverty in the long term. However, if the children and their parents cannot observe the education results, they may become reluctant to continue to school and even incline to drop out the school for “more efficient” activities.

In the literature part, the implementation of CCTEs in the world has been considered to position my case's role. The literature has been approached CCTE in 5 main topics, the aim, the selection of target population and the conditions, the starting point and the evolution for other countries, budgetary issue, and impact. CCTEs, all over the world, target socioeconomically disadvantaged families and stipulate regular attendance. The

vital discussion regarding CCTEs in the literature, which is related to the discussion of this thesis, is the impact of the programme. Although considerable research indicates the positive effect on education (Schady et al., 2006), it is still questionable that CCTEs are not adequate to eliminate poverty (Ibarraran, 2017). In line with that, the transfer amount is also questionable whether it is enough to cover children's basic needs while they are in school, and the studies underline the unexpected negative results in line with the inadequacy of transfer amounts, especially for secondary education because child labor (Dubois et al., 2012).

In line with the literature and the in-depth interviews, the main findings of this thesis are summarized:

Finding 1: The ambiguity of the status of Syrian refugees has caused structured responses regarding the education of refugee children to be established quite late.

Finding 2: Since the central management of the Ministry of National Education prepares the regulations in line with the general operations of the Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM), rather than considering local dynamics, initiatives have resulted that may cause the loss of education rights in practice.

Finding 3: The assessment of achievement in the area of access to education is addressed with an enrolment-centric understanding, which considers the school enrolment rate, rather than outcome-centric, thus ignoring the essential aims of education, which are to enable children to increase their capacities and break the cycle of poverty.

Finding 4: CCTE for refugees positively impacts the school attendance of children in multi-child families with its cash component, and the child protection component further positively supports the identification of risks and the continuity of schooling. However, it is still far from being a failproof strategy for the education of refugee children.

Finding 5: The transfer amount of CCTE for refugees is inadequate in the context of Turkey, and the complementarity with the other projects/programmes is essential in order to support the education of the most vulnerable refugee children. In line with that, in order to ensure the sustainability of the education of refugee children, the governmental organization has to take over the responsibility.

Finding 6: Due to the system error during COVID-19, some of the beneficiaries did not benefit from the cash transfer even the education was online, which reveals the risk of questioning the programme's credibility from the perspective of beneficiaries.

Findings one and two fundamentally confirm the existing literature, and I found these findings quite valuable since they have been reached through experts in the field. Furthermore, the impact of these findings is still relevant; therefore, it gives room to provide recommendations. The rest four findings are crucial to understanding specifically CCTE for refugees as well as the perspective towards the education of refugee children in Turkey.

In line with the findings, I have presented the short and long-term recommendations. The short-term recommendations aim to revision on implement CCTE for refugees, and the long-term recommendations explicitly refer to the social policy on the education of refugee children, which is beyond the scope of CCTE for refugees.

The short-term recommendations are summarized in parallel with the findings:

- In order to eliminate the obstacles which have been figured out, especially during the transition period from TECs to public schools and still relevant, which include the language barrier, peer bullying, and psychosocial well-being, coordination with other ongoing projects/programmes with CCTE for refugees is critical.
- Since CCTE programme for refugees has been designed based on the national programme, its implementation does not correspond to the needs of refugee children. Therefore, it is suggested that the programme be assessed based on the existing challenges and that some parts be amended, including the cash amounts for boys and girls and the targeting, since the main challenge is not the primary school but rather schooling at middle and high school levels. In contrast to the considerations of the national programme, boys are relatively more vulnerable in refugee populations in terms of access to education;

therefore, the gender dimension of the programme for refugees should be reviewed.

- The programme's implementation should be evaluated with more specific objectives since the dynamics are entirely different in different regions.

The long-term recommendations are summarized in parallel with the findings:

- The issue of education of refugee children has been approached from an enrolment-centered perspective, which ignores the expected outcomes of education in providing access to higher education and the labor market. Therefore, it is suggested that while increasing communication between ministries and NGOs, approaches to education should have outcome-centered perspectives in order to prevent potential future risks.
- While increasing the communication of ministries, system integrations should also be considered to target the most vulnerable groups and eliminate duplicated support mechanisms. Since social protection has been based on human resources capacities, system integrations will be particularly helpful.
- The capacity building for governmental organizations and human resources support should be considered to better respond to refugee children. Considering that the child protection component identifies the risks and vulnerabilities and refers them to the ministries, their capacity is critical to eliminate the risks.
- The ultimate goal regarding social protection is the empowerment of the children and their families. Therefore, mainstreaming the protection in relevant stakeholders, including MoNE, DGMM, SASFs, and the involvement of the families is essential to provide safe and protective space for children in order for them to continue their education and reach successful results.
- In line with the mainstreaming protection, it is strongly recommended that a monitoring framework be established for schools and provincial directorates in order to ensure standardized implementations based on the legal framework. In this regard, child protection needs should be addressed in cooperation with NGOs and local initiatives that include refugee groups.

- Although CCTE for refugees is an excellent example of the education of refugee children, the crucial point about the programme is the lack of exit strategy, which is directly interlinked with the social policies on the education of refugee children. Especially in the Turkey context, it is evident that the transfer amounts are not adequate to break the poverty cycle, only reinforcing the motivation of children who have already continue school. However, considering around 400.000 refugee children out of school in Turkey, a comprehensive approach regarding the education of refugee children is a must to eliminate the child protection risks, including child labor, child marriage, and even child trafficking. Thus, it is strongly recommended to redesign the ambiguous social policy for the education of refugee children in order to protect refugee children.

In this context, CCTE for refugees is still relevant in order to enhance the continuation of school for refugee children. However, considering the poverty line among the refugee population, the cash transfer does not correspond to the economic needs of families. Although the child protection component mainstreams the importance of education, the response capacity is limited by the ministries' actions. Besides, the child protection component is designed on the human resources capacity, and its sustainability is questionable without the external fund. Therefore, it has been analyzed that considering the issues regarding the education of refugee children, CCTE for refugees is a strategic case; however, the programme cannot be attributed as the social policy towards the education of refugee children. Besides, there are scarcely any studies focus on CCTE for refugees. Therefore, the contribution of this thesis is considered a step while interrogating refugee education that is supported with projects. Additionally, the literature on the political dimension of CCTEs worldwide, as well as in Turkey, provides a non-negligible analysis, highlighting that the design of programmes is based on the assumption of governments and the reinforcement of gender roles within the family and society. Although the case of CCTE for refugees cannot be considered as patronage due to the legal status disallow to vote for refugees, the discussion on the reinforcement of the gender role is still relevant. Thus, I believe that the programme's effects can be elaborated from different perspectives in the future.

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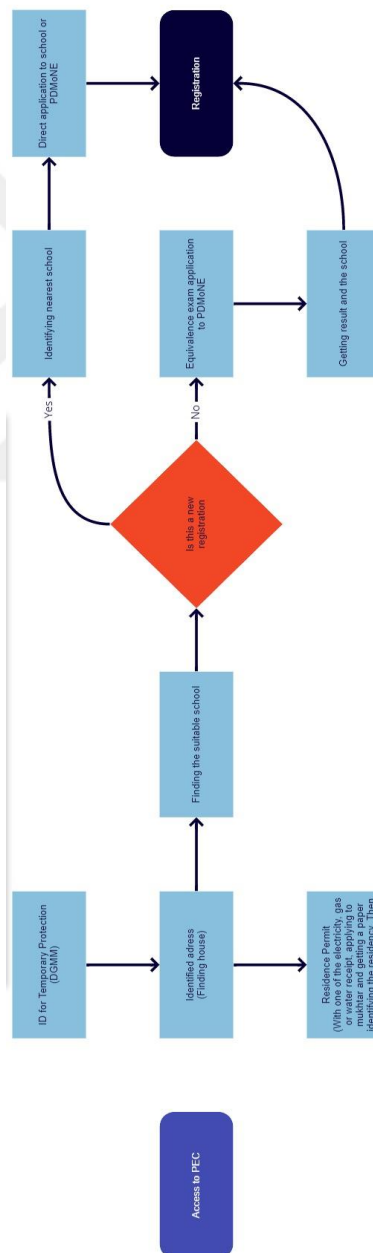
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: THE PROCESS OF ACCESS TO EDUCATION FOR REFUGEE CHILDREN



**APPENDIX B: APPROVAL LETTER FROM METU HUMAN SUBJECTS
ETHICS COMMITTEE**

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

DUMLUPINAR BULVARI 06800
ÇANKAYA ANKARA/TURKEY
T: +90 312 210 22 91
F: +90 312 210 79 59
ueam@metu.edu.tr
www.ueam.metu.edu.tr

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29 OCAK 2021

Konu : Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi : İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Besim Can ZIRH

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız Damla ÇALIK'ın "Mülteci Çocukların Eğitime Erişimi: Türkiye'de Şartlı Eğitim Yardım Projesi Örneği" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve **015-ODTU-2021** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.


Prof. Dr. Mine MISIRLISOY
İAEK Başkanı

APPENDIX C: TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET

GİRİŞ

Bu tezin temel amacı, Türkiye’de mülteci çocukların eğitimini desteklemek amacıyla 2017 yılından beri yürütülen Mülteciler için Şartlı Eğitim Yardımı projesini bir vaka örneği olarak ele alarak, öncelikle projenin etkisini ve bütünde de mülteci çocukların eğitimine ilişkin uygulamaları değerlendirerek bu konuda sosyal politika önerileri geliştirmektir.

Mülteciler için Şartlı Eğitim Yardımı projesi, başlangıcından beri gerek sahada gerek merkez ofiste farklı rollerle profesyonel olarak dahil olduğum bir proje olduğu için özellikle bir vaka olarak seçilmiştir. Gerek projenin uygulanışı gerek gelişimi ve değişimi süreçlerinde tanıklık ettiğim süreçler, bu konunun akademik bir perspektiften çalışılması gerektiği fikrimi pekiştirmiştir. Türkiye’de bulunan yaklaşık 4 milyon mülteci nüfusunun %50’sini çocukların oluşturduğu ve okul çağındaki mülteci çocukların da %40’ının okul dışı kaldığı düşünüldüğünde, mülteci çocukların eğitimi sosyal politika bağlamında özel çalışma gerektirmektedir. Buna paralel olarak mülteci çocuklar için eğitimin önemi de bu çalışmada ifade edilen temel konulardan biri olarak yer almaktadır.

Çeşitli uluslararası kuruluşların mülteci sorununa ilişkin araştırmaları, çocukların göç bağlamındaki duyarlılığına işaret etmektedir. Çocuklar orantısız şiddete, istismara, sömürüye, insan ticaretine ve gözüaltına alınmaya karşı savunmasızdır (IOM, 2018). Bu nedenle ülkeler, mülteci çocukların karşılaşılabilecekleri olası riskleri ortadan kaldıracak önlemler almalıdır. Tüm bu önlemler, mülteci çocukların ihtiyaçları için Çocuk Haklarına Dair Sözleşme’yi (ÇHS) dikkate almalıdır. ÇHS, çocukların sağlık, eğitim, aile hayatı, oyun ve eğlence, yeterli yaşam standardı, istismar ve zarardan korunma haklarını koruma altına alır. ÇHS doğrultusunda, okullar güvenli yerler olarak tayin edilir ve çocukların haklarını hayata geçirebilecekleri alanlar olarak kabul

edilir. Bu bağlamda mülteci çocuklara yönelik ilk ve en önemli müdahale okula erişim olmalıdır.

Bu nedenle eğitim, mülteci çocuklar için risklerin ortadan kaldırılmasına yönelik hükümlerin kritik bir unsurudur. Türkiye'deki Suriyeli popülasyonunun büyük bir kısmını çocuk nüfusu oluşturmaktadır ve bu durum eğitim politikalarının bir zorunluluk olduğu gerçeğini vurgulamaktadır. Keza Türkiye akınının başlangıcından itibaren çocukların ihtiyaçlarına odaklanmıştır. Her ne kadar bu odak AB destekli projeler ile politikaları şekillendirse de, Türkiye'nin entegrasyon politikaları mülteci çocukların eğitime erişimini desteklemiştir.

Mülteci çocukların eğitimi kapsamında Türkiye'nin çabaları yadsınamaz. Ancak, eğitim sisteminin kapasitesi sınırlarını zorlamaya başlamış ve AB mali desteği Türkiye'deki mülteci çocukların eğitiminin iyileştirilmesi için açık bir şekilde tartışma konusu haline gelmiştir. Bu bağlamda, 2016 yılından itibaren Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı (MEB) ile işbirliği içinde başlayan projeler, hem okulların fiziksel kapasitesine hem de Suriyeli çocukların Türkiye'ye entegrasyonunu teşvik etmek için ek dil kursları ve kursların gözden geçirilmesi de dahil olmak üzere mülteci çocuklar için eşit fırsatlara odaklanmıştır. Bu anlamda Suriyeliler ve Diğer Mülteci Çocuklara Yönelik Şartlı Eğitim Nakit Transferi (ŞEY) Programı, 2017 yılında AB'nin eğitim kapsamındaki katkısının açık ve özgün parçalarından biri olarak hayata geçirilmiştir.

Kapsamı ve amacı ile beraber kişisel deneyimlerimin programa dair merakımı arttırması ile birlikte Mülteciler için ŞEY Programı bu çalışmanın örnek vakası olarak ele alınmıştır. Ancak bütünsel bir bakış açısı ile değerlendirilerek mülteci çocukların eğitime erişimi konusu da araştırmanın içerisine dahil edilmiştir.

Bu bağlamda tez çalışmam kapsamında ele alınan araştırma soruları şu şekildedir: 1) Mülteciler için Şartlı Eğitim Yardımı projesi, mülteci çocukların okullaşma oranlarını ve düzenli devamlarını arttırma hedefine ne ölçüde ulaşıyor? 2) Projenin amacını gerçekleştirebilmesi için ne tür tamamlayıcı bileşenlere ihtiyaç var? 3) Mülteci çocukların okullaşmasının ve okula düzenli devamın arttırılması için sosyal politika önerileri neler olabilir?

Çalışma kapsamında, mülteci çocukların eğitimi, yalnızca 4+4+4 sisteminden oluşan 12 yıllık eğitimi kapsamakla birlikte, Dünya’da Şartlı Eğitim Yardımları uygulamalarına ek olarak, Mülteciler için Şartlı Eğitim Yardımı (kısaca ŞEY olarak ifade edilecektir.) projesinden faydalanmanın temel şartı olan eğitime erişim, bir diğer deyişle, okula kayıt hususu da göz önünde bulundurularak literatür taraması gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu bağlamda tezin en önemli katkılarından birinin literatürde göçmen odağı ile ŞEY programının değerlendirilmemiş olması ve Türkiye’de yürütülen ve böylesine geniş bir kapsama ulaşan ŞEY’in etkisine dair yalnızca bir değerlendirme raporunun yayımlanmış olmasından kaynaklı olarak, literatürde yeni bir tartışma zemini oluşturması olarak değerlendirilmiştir.

ARKA PLAN BİLGİSİ

Türkiye’nin 2021 yılı itibarıyla halen en çok sayıda mülteciye ev sahipliği yaptığı ifade edilmektedir. Ancak Türkiye’nin iltica hukukunda, yalnızca Avrupa’dan gelen kişiler mülteci olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda Suriye krizinin ardından Türkiye’ye göçün öznesi olan kişileri bu yasal çerçevede tanımlandırmak en önemli zorluklardan birine dönüşmüş durumdaydı. Birebir görüşmeler ile statü değerlendirmesi yapılamaması ve göçün kısa bir süre sonra sona ereceği ve Suriye’den gelen kişilerin ülkelerine döneceği öngörüsü ile Türkiye yeni bir statü tanımlayarak “geçici koruma yönetmeliğini” oluşturmuştur. Ancak ilerleyen süreçte göç artarak devam etmiş ve çoğunluğu çocuklardan oluşan bu kitlesel akına bir insani müdahale planı geliştirilmiştir.

Geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin temel hak ve hizmetlere erişimi bu yönetmelik ile güvence altına alınmış ve özellikle eğitim konusunda hızlı çözümler geliştirilmiştir. Bunlardan ilki Suriye müfredatı ve Arapça eğitim ile dizayn edilmiş Geçici Eğitim Merkezleridir (GEM). Kısa bir süre sonra göç edenlerin sayısının artması ile hem GEM’ler yetersiz kalmış hem de ikili eğitim sistemi oluşturma riski ile karşılaşmıştır. Bu bağlamda da mülteci çocukların hızlı bir şekilde devlet okullarına entegrasyonu gündemi oluşturulmuştur.

Bu geiş sreci belli bařlı glklerle gerekleřmiř ve devlet okullarında da bu srecin etkileri srmřtr. zellikle dil bariyeri, akran zorbalıęı, uygun sınıfa kaydolamama gibi sorunlarla karřılařılmıř ve bu sorunlara yapısal cevaplar oluřturmak gnden gne zorlařmıřtır. Bir bařka deyiřle mlteci ocukların eęitime eriřim ve devamlılıęı kendi iinde glklerle bařlamıřtır diyebiliriz. Bu sorunları en aza indirmek iin devlet kurumları ve sivil toplum kuruluřları eřitli proje ve programlar geliřtirse de bugn hala 400.000'in zerinde mlteci ocuęun okul dıřı kaldıęını bilmekte, ve halihazırda kayıtlı olan ocukların da devam oranına dair soru iřaretleri devam etmektedir.

Bu alıřmanın vaka rneęi olarak ele alınan Mlteciler iin řEY Programından faydalanabilmek iin temel řart okula kayıttır. Tam olarak bu sebeple Suriye'den Trkiye'ye doęru gerekleřen yoęun g ve bunu takiben geliřtirilen mdahale planları ele alınmıř; eęitim konusu zelinde sre paylařılmıřtır. Her ne kadar mlteci ocukların eęitime eriřim sreci Trkiyeli ocuklar iin uygulanan prosedre ok benzer olsa da, zellikle Suriye'de herhangi bir okula gitmemiř ve Trkiye'ye g ettięinde okula bařlama yařını oktan gemiř ocuklar iin sre olduka karıřıktır. G srecinin etkileri ve sıęınılan lkeye dair bilgi eksiklikleri de bir araya geldięinde, mlteci ocuklar iin eęitime eriřim epey etrefilli bir hale dnřebilmektedir.

Buna paralel olarak alıřmanın metodolojisi vaka rneęini merkeze alarak aynı zamanda vaka rneęine eriřime kadar olan sreci de ele alacak řekilde oluřturulmuřtur.

METODOLOJİ

Arařtırma sorularına yanıtlar aramak amacıyla Trkiye'deki iltica hukuku, Suriyeliler zelinde hak ve hizmetler ve zellikle eęitim hakkı baęlamında literatr ve yasal ereve arařtırılmıřtır.

Mlteciler iin řEY projesinin tartıřılması iin zemini oluřturan bu arařtırmaların ardından, dnyada řartlı eęitim yardımlarının yıllar ierisindeki geliřimi ve farklı lkelerdeki uygulanıřları ele alınmıřtır. Bu baęlamda řartlı eęitim yardımı bařlangıcı ve geliřimi, amacı ve hedef kitlesi, řartları, finansal desteęi ve etkisi aısından ele alınmıřtır.

Öncelikli olarak Meksika’da ekonomik krizlerde sosyoekonomik olarak dezavantajlı ailelerin çocuklarını desteklemek amacıyla ortaya çıkan şartlı eğitim yardımı, yıllar içerisinde çeşitli ülkelerde uygulanmıştır. Hedef kitlesini ekonomik krizden en çok etkilenme ihtimali olan sosyoekonomik olarak dezavantajlı ailelerden oluşturmakla birlikte, bu destekler sayesinde uzun vadede çocukların kapasitesini arttırarak, bir başka deyişle eğitimlerini destekleyerek, yoksulluk döngüsünü kırmak amacıyla uygulanmıştır. Program, çocukların düzenli olarak okula devamı şartı ile belli miktar nakit transferi sağlanması prensibi ile çalışmaktadır. Ancak nakit yardımı, eğitimin ana akımlaştırılmasında bir teşvik olarak amaçlanmıştır. Düzenli devam ülkeden ülkeye değişmekle birlikte genel uygulama olarak bakıldığında bir ay içerisinde %80 devamlılığı işaret etmektedir. Cinsiyete ve sınıfa göre farklı ödemelerin yapıldığı uygulamalar da bulunmaktadır. Ancak temel prensibi ve amacı tüm uygulamalarda aynı noktayı işaret etmektedir. Programın ilk uygulamasında Dünya Bankası gibi kalkınma odaklı enstitüler desteklemiş, ardından bazı ülkeler kendi sosyal politikalarına entegre ederek devlet bütçelerine eklemiştir.

Programın etkilerine bakıldığında belirli gruplar için olumlu etkilerinden söz edilse de uzun vadedeki etkilerine dair henüz net bir çalışma bulunmamaktadır. Programın temel amacının yoksulluk döngüsünün kırılması olarak düşünüldüğünde, bu amaca ulaşıldığına dair bir sonuçtan bahsetmek mümkün gözükmemektedir. Bu bağlamda okula halihazırda devam eden çocukların aile ekonomilerine küçük de olsa olumlu etki ederek okula devam etmelerini teşvik eden bir program olduğu söylenebilmektedir. Ancak özellikle ilkokuldan sonra çocuk işçiliği gibi risklerin de belirginleşmesi ile eğitimin ana akımlaştırması bu noktada gerçekleştirilemeyen hedefler olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Ayrıca literatür göçmen ve/veya mülteci çocuklar özelinde de program etkisine dair çalışmalar barındırmamaktadır. Bu bağlamda Mülteciler için ŞEY Programının araştırılması daha da önem kazanmaktadır.

Mülteciler için ŞEY Programına bakıldığında, yaşa ve cinsiyete göre değişiklik gösteren ve %80 devam şartına bağlı olarak ödenen nakit transfer prensibiyle çalıştığı görülmektedir. Okul öncesi eğitimdeki çocuklarla ilkokula giden (anasınıfından 8’inci sınıfa kadar) erkek çocuklar ayda 45, kız çocuklar 50 TL almaktadır. Liseye giden (9-

12 sınıf) erkek çocuklar ayda 55, kız çocuklar 75 TL almaktadır. Hızlandırılmış eğitim programına devam edenlere ise cinsiyete bakılmaksızın ayda 75 TL ödenmektedir. Hızlandırılmış eğitim programı, uzun süredir okula devam etmeyen çocukların yaşlarına uygun sınıflara devam edebilmeleri için desteklendikleri bir program olmakla birlikte, faydalanıcı sayısı oldukça düşük olduğu için önemli bir bileşen olarak bu çalışmada değerlendirilmemiştir. Programın ulusal programdan uyarlandığı bilinmekle birlikte, ulusal programdan farklı olarak mülteciler özelinde stratejik bir çocuk koruma bileşeni olduğu görülmektedir. Bu bileşen ile devam şartını yerine getirmeyen çocukların evlerine ziyaret düzenleyerek devamsızlığın nedenini anlamak ve gerekli bilgilendirmeler ile yönlendirmelerin yapılarak çocukların eğitimine devam etmelerini sağlamak amaçlanmaktadır. Bu program kapsamında Nisan 2021 itibariyle 685.977 çocuk nakit transferinden faydalanmış, 86.199 çocuğa da çocuk koruma ziyaretleri ile ulaşılmıştır (UNICEF, 2021).

Mülteciler için ŞEY Programı özelinde yalnızca bir etki değerlendirme raporu bulunmaktadır ve bu çalışma da literatür taraması kapsamında incelenmiştir. Programın nakit bileşenin etkileri tam olarak belirlenememekle birlikte özellikle çocuk koruma bileşenin gerek okula devamı teşvik gerek çocukların ve ailelerinin kendileri ile ilgileniyor hissetmeleri bağlamında önemli bulunduğu ifade edilmiştir. Ancak bunun dışında literatürde Mülteciler için ŞEY Programı özelinde bir çalışma bulunamamış ve bu çalışmanın da programın etkisine dair kapsamı yeterli bulunmamıştır.

Literatürde altı çizilen ancak doğrudan bu çalışma ile bağlantılı olmayan iki konu dikkat çekmektedir. Bunlardan ilki toplumsal cinsiyete ilişkin değerlendirmeler, diğeri ise ŞEY programının diğer tüm sosyal yardımlar gibi siyasi partilerin oy amaçlı kullandığı propagandaya dönüştürülme riskidir. Bu bağlamda özellikle toplumsal cinsiyete ilişkin değerlendirmeler, nakit transferinin kadınlar, çoğunlukla anneler üzerinden sağlanan bir uygulama olması ve bunun eğitim, sağlık vb. konularda esas sorumlunun kadın olarak tanımlanmasına ilişkindir. Bu bağlamda yoksulluğun kadınlar tarafından baş edilmesi gereken bir olgu olduğuna dair atıfta bulunduğu ifade edilerek toplumsal cinsiyet rollerini pekiştiren bir uygulamaya dönüştüğü eleştirilmiştir. Programın siyasi propaganda aracı olarak kullanılmasına ilişkin olarak

da toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin pekiştirilmesini benimseyen partilerin, bu programı öne çıkararak özellikle sosyoekonomik olarak dezavantajlı kesimin oylarını almak üzere öne çıkardığına dair bir değerlendirme görülmektedir. Keza bu durum 2003 seçimlerinde Türkiye’de de AKP tarafından da uygulanan bir yöntem olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

Literatüre taramasına ek olarak, programın uygulanış sürecinde aktif olarak rol alan ve özellikle mültecilerin eğitimi alanında çalışmalar yürüten uzmanlarla derinlemesine mülakatlar gerçekleştirilmiştir. Metodolojinin en değerli kısmını oluşturan bu kısımda, alanda en az 3 yıl çalışma deneyimi olan, devlet kurumlarında ya da sivil toplum kuruluşlarında çalışmalar yürütmüş, 5 kadın ve 5 erkek uzman ile görüşülmüştür. Görüşmelerden önce ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurul onayına başvurulmuş ve sorular için onay alınmıştır. Görüşmeler COVID-19 tedbirleri kapsamında çevrimiçi araçlar ile gerçekleştirilmiş, sözlü olarak rıza alınmıştır. Görüşmecilere dair tüm bilgiler anonim olarak paylaşılmış ve bu bağlamda tüm bilgilerin tez yazım aşamasından sonra silineceğine dair bilgi verilmiştir. Bu bağlamda görüşmecilere yarı-yapılandırılmış şu sorular yöneltilmiştir:

- Suriye’den Türkiye’ye doğru gerçekleşen kitlesel akının başlangıcından itibaren Türkiye’nin okullaştırma çalışmaları kapsamındaki çalışmaları ile fonlarla yürütülen projeleri ele alarak fikirlerinizi paylaşabilir misiniz?
- Mülteci çocukların okullaştırılması kapsamında, geçtiğimiz 10 yılda ne gibi konularda sorunlarla karşılaşıldı ve kurumunuzun çalışma alanını da düşünerek bu sorunlara nasıl çözümler oluşturuldu?
- *Teorik okula kayıt akışı gösterilir. (Okula kayıt için kimlik alınır, muhtara gidilerek ikamet izni alınır vs.)* Bir mülteci çocuğun okula kaydolma sürecinde pratikte hangi adımlarda sorunlar yaşanıyor? Hem mülteciler hem de kurumlar açısından değerlendirebilir misiniz?
- Özellikle Şartlı Eğitim Yardımı Projesinden konuşacak olursak, bu proje ne derece okullaşma sorununa dokunabiliyor? Bir önceki sorudaki cevabınızdaki sorun alanlarını düşünebilirsiniz.
- *Şartlı Eğitim Yardımı, okula düzenli devamı sağlayan bir projedir ve tam da bu sebeple stratejik bir çocuk koruma bileşeni bulunmaktadır. Bu bileşen*

sayesinde okula devamlılığın önünde engel olan risk ve tehditlerin elimine edilmesi amaçlanmaktadır. Bu amaç bağlamında değerlendirildiğinde çocuk koruma bileşeninin etkilerini değerlendirebilir misiniz?

- Ne gibi ek öneriler/çözümler mülteci çocukların okula erişim ve devamlılığını artırır ve bunun için hangi aktörler neden bu sürece dahil olmalıdır?

Görüşmelerde soru olarak planlanmamış ancak görüşmeciler tarafından dile getirilen konular da bulgular kısmında ele alınmıştır.

Programın değerlendirilmesine ilişkin en önemli öznelere olan mülteci aileler ve çocuklar COVID-19 pandemi tedbirleri nedeniyle bu çalışmaya dahil edilememiştir ve bu husus çalışmanın en önemli kısıtlılığı olarak değerlendirilmiştir.

Literatür taraması ve derinlemesine görüşmeler ışığında temel bulgulara erişilmiş ve bu bağlamda araştırma soruları yanıtlanmaya çalışılmıştır. Bununla paralel olarak da sosyal politika önerileri sunulmuştur.

TEMEL BULGULAR

Derinlemesine görüşmeler ve literatür taraması değerlendirilerek 6 temel bulguya erişilmiştir. Bu bulguların ilk ikisi literatürü görüşmeler ile de onaylayan bulgular olmakla birlikte diğer dördü Mülteciler için ŞEY Programı ve mülteci çocukların eğitimi özelinde değerlendirmeler barındırmaktadır.

Bu bağlamda temel bulgulara aşağıda yer verilmiştir.

Bulgu I: Suriyeli mültecilerin statüsünün belirsizliği, mülteci çocukların eğitimine ilişkin yapılandırılmış yanıtların oldukça geç oluşturulmasına neden olmuştur.

Bulgu II: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı merkez yönetiminin yönetmelikleri, Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü'nün (GİGM) genel işleyişine uygun olarak hazırlanmaktadır ve bu durum yerel dinamikleri dikkate almadığı için uygulamada mülteci çocukların eğitim hakkının kaybedilmesine neden olabilecek girişimlerle sonuçlanabilmektedir.

Bulgu III: Eğitime erişim alanındaki başarı, sonuç odaklı olmaktan ziyade okula kayıt oranını dikkate alan kayıt merkezli bir anlayışla ele alınmaktadır ve bu nedenle eğitimin temel amaçlarından olan çocukların kapasitelerini arttırılarak yoksulluk döngüsünün kırılması amacı göz ardı edilmektedir.

Bulgu IV: Mülteciler için ŞEY, nakit bileşeni ile çok çocuklu ailelerde çocukların okula devamını olumlu yönde etkilerken; çocuk koruma bileşeni, risklerin belirlenmesini ve okullaşmanın sürekliliğini daha da olumlu desteklemektedir. Ancak yine de mülteci çocukların eğitimi için uygulanabilir bir strateji olmaktan uzaktır.

Bulgu V: Mülteciler için ŞEY transfer tutarı Türkiye bağlamında yetersizdir ve en dezavantajlı mülteci çocukların eğitimi desteklemek için diğer projeler/programlar ile tamamlayıcı bir şekilde çalışıyor olması esastır. Bu doğrultuda mülteci çocukların eğitimlerinin sürdürülebilirliğini sağlamak için devlet kurumlarının sorumluluklarını yerine getiriyor olması gerekmektedir.

Bulgu VI: COVID-19 döneminde sistem hatası nedeniyle bazı yararlanıcıların eğitimin çevrimiçi olmasına rağmen nakit transferinden yararlanamaması, yararlanıcılar açısından programın güvenilirliğini sorgulama riskini ortaya çıkartmaktadır.

Bu bulgular ışığında araştırma sorularına ilişkin değerlendirilmelerde bulunulmuştur. Mülteciler için ŞEY Programı örneği, ulaşılan kişi bağlamında değerlendirildiğinde başarılı bir tablo sunmaktadır. Ancak programın temel amacına bakıldığında mülteci çocukların eğitime devamlılığına ilişkin yeterli kaynağı sunamadığı görülmektedir. Nakit bileşeni bağlamında bakıldığında, Türkiye özelindeki yoksulluk düzeyi de göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, yalnızca çok çocuklu ailelerin ekonomisini destekler noktadadır. Ancak yine de nakit desteğinin sağladığı avantajlar, çocukların yaşlarının artması ve çocuk işçiliği vb. ekonomik getiri sağlayıcı faaliyetler göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, aileler tarafından olumlu karşılanmamaktadır. Ötesi, çocuklarının eğitime katılımının çıktılarını somut olarak göremeyen aileler, çocuklarını okula göndermekte bir motivasyon da bulamamaktadırlar. Bu bağlamda mülteci çocukların eğitimi için daha yapısal çözümler üretilmesi konusu gündeme gelmektedir. Programın çocuk koruma bileşeni ele alındığında ise sahada görünürlüğün de etkisi ile

aileler ve çocukları ikna konusunda daha efektif olduğu söylenebilmektedir. Fakat programın finansal olarak sürdürülebilir olmaması ve insan kaynaklarına dayanan bir uygulayışı olması nedeniyle uzun vadede etkilerinin devam edebilmesi soru işaretleri barındırmaktadır. Program her ne kadar doğrudan okul dışı kalmış çocukları hedeflemese de, çocuk koruma ziyaretlerinde tespit edilen okul dışı kalmış çocuklar ve diğer tüm çocuk koruma risklerine anında müdahale edilebilmekte ve riskler devam ettiği sürece takibi sağlanabilmektedir. Ancak sürecin esas sahibi olan devlet kurumlarının yeterince kapasitesinin olmaması, göç konusunda uzmanlıkların henüz yapılaşmamasının da etkisiyle çocuk koruma ekiplerinin eforları da çoğu zaman sonuçsuz kalmaktadır.

Bu bulgular ve değerlendirmeler ışığında kısa ve uzun vadeli sosyal politika önerileri sunulmuştur.

ÖNERİLER

Bu çalışma, araştırma sorularına ilişkin bulgular ışığında, özelde Mülteciler için ŞEY Programının iyileştirilmesi ve büyük çerçevede mültecilerin eğitime ilişkin geliştirilmesi gereken sosyal politikalara ilişkin kısa ve uzun vadeli öneriler ile tamamlanmıştır.

Bu bağlamda kısa ve uzun vadeli öneriler aşağıda yer almaktadır.

Kısa Vadeli Öneriler

- Özellikle GEM'lerden devlet okullarına geçiş sürecinde tespit edilen ve halen geçerliliğini koruyan dil engeli, akran zorbalığı ve psikososyal esenlik gibi engellerin ortadan kaldırılması için, devam eden diğer proje/programlarla koordinasyon Mülteciler için ŞEY Programının etkin bir şekilde uygulanabilmesi için kritik öneme sahiptir.
- Mülteciler için ŞEY programı ulusal programa dayalı olarak tasarlandığından, uygulama mülteci çocukların ihtiyaçlarını karşılamamaktadır. Bu nedenle, programın mülteci çocuklar özelinde mevcut sorunlara göre değerlendirilmesi ve erkekler ve kızlar için nakit miktarları ve hedefleme dahil olmak üzere bazı uygulamaların değiştirilmesi önerilmektedir, çünkü yaşanan sorun ilkökul

değil, orta ve lise eğitim düzeyindedir. Ulusal programın çalışma prensibinin aksine, mülteci nüfus içinde erkek çocuklar eğitime erişim açısından nispeten daha savunmasızdır; bu nedenle mülteciler için programın toplumsal cinsiyet boyutu gözden geçirilmelidir.

- Her bölgenin yereldeki dinamiği tamamen farklı olduğu için programın etkisine ilişkin değerlendirmeler daha spesifik hedeflerle ölçümlenmelidir.

Uzun Vadeli Öneriler

- Mülteci çocukların eğitimi konusuna, yükseköğretime ve işgücü piyasasına erişim sağlamada eğitimin beklenen sonuçlarını göz ardı eden kayıt merkezli bir bakış açısıyla yaklaşımıdır. Bu nedenle, bakanlıklar ve STK'lar arasındaki iletişimi artırırken, gelecekteki olası riskleri önlemek için eğitime yönelik yaklaşımların sonuç merkezli bakış açılarına sahip olması önerilmektedir.
- Bakanlıkların birbirleriyle iletişimini artırırken, en hassas grupları hedef almak ve mükerrer destek mekanizmalarını ortadan kaldırmak için sistem entegrasyonları düşünülmelidir. Sosyal koruma, insan kaynağı kapasitesine dayandığı için sistem entegrasyonu en dezavantajlı aileleri tespit etmekte önemlidir.
- Mülteci çocukların ihtiyaçlarına daha iyi yanıt verebilmek için devlet kurumları için kapasite geliştirme ve insan kaynağı desteği düşünülmelidir. Çocuk koruma bileşeninin riskleri ve kırılganlıkları belirleyip bakanlıklara yönlendirdiği düşünüldüğünde, riskleri ortadan kaldırmak için devlet kurumlarının kapasiteleri kritiktir.
- Sosyal korumaya ilişkin nihai hedef, çocukların ve ailelerinin güçlendirilmesidir. Bu nedenle, koruma anlayışının MEB, GİGM, SYDV'ler dahil ilgili paydaşlarda ve ailelerin katılımında yaygınlaştırılması, çocukların eğitimlerine devam etmeleri ve başarılı sonuçlara ulaşmaları için güvenli ve koruyucu bir alan sağlamak için elzemdir. Korumanın ana akımlaştırılması önerilmektedir.
- Koruma ana akımlaştırılmasına paralel olarak, yasal çerçeveye dayalı standartlaştırılmış uygulamaların sağlanması için okullar ve il müdürlükleri için bir izleme çerçevesi oluşturulması şiddetle tavsiye edilmektedir. Bu

bağlamda, çocuk koruma ihtiyaçları, STK'lar ve mülteci gruplarını içeren yerel girişimlerle iş birliği içinde ele alınmalıdır.

- Mülteciler için ŞEY, mülteci çocukların eğitiminin desteklenmesinde başarılı bir örnek olmasına rağmen, programın can alıcı noktası, mülteci çocukların eğitimine ilişkin sosyal politikalarla doğrudan bağlantılı olan çıkış stratejisinin olmamasıdır. Özellikle Türkiye bağlamında, transfer tutarlarının yoksulluk döngüsünü kırmak için yeterli olmadığı, sadece okula devam eden çocukların motivasyonunu güçlendirdiği açıktır. Ancak, Türkiye'de okula gitmeyen yaklaşık 400.000 mülteci çocuk düşünüldüğünde, çocuk işçiliği, çocuk yaşta evlilik ve hatta çocuk ticareti gibi çocuk koruma risklerini ortadan kaldırmak için mülteci çocukların eğitime yönelik kapsamlı bir yaklaşım şarttır. Bu nedenle, mülteci çocukları korumak için mülteci çocukların eğitime yönelik muğlak olan sosyal politikanın yeniden tasarlanması şiddetle tavsiye edilmektedir.

Bu çalışmanın kısıtlılıkları da göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, gelecek araştırmalara fikir vermesi amacıyla iki konunun yeniden altını çizmek önem arz etmektedir. Mülteciler için ŞEY Programının uygulanışında, devlet kurumları ve sivil toplum kuruluşları önemli paydaşlardandır. Ancak programın etkisi, faydalanıcılar ile birden fazla sayıda görüşmeler yoluyla da değerlendirilmesi gerekmektedir. Bu bağlamda ilerleyen çalışmalar için öneri niteliğinde değerlendirilmek üzere not düşmek istediğim en önemli konu budur. Ek olarak, programın uygulanışında kurgulanmış olan nakit transferi tutarlarının cinsiyete göre farklılaşması hususu ile programın anneleri/kadınları nakit transferin yapıldığı kişi olarak tanımlaması hususu, toplumsal cinsiyet teması özelinde çalışıldığında programın etkisine ve amacına dair önemli bulgular sunacağına inanmaktayım.

APPENDIX D: TEZ İZİN FORMU/THESES PERMISSION FORM

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Soyadı / Surname : ÇALIK
Adı / Name : DAMLA
Bölümü / Department : Sosyal Politika

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (İngilizce / English) : THE CASE OF CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER FOR EDUCATION (CCTE) PROGRAMME FOR SYRIANS AND OTHER REFUGEE CHILDREN: AS A STRATEGY FOR SUPPORTING EDUCATION OF REFUGEE CHILDREN

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: Yüksek Lisans / Master ☒ Doktora / PhD

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