ANALYSIS OF MIGRANT EDUCATION IN TURKEY FROM THE EYES OF SYRIAN MIGRANT FAMILIES AND CHILDREN IN ISTANBUL

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This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology.

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I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and standards of ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and standards, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ABSTRACT

MIGRANT EDUCATION IN TURKEY FROM THE EYES OF SYRIAN MIGRANT FAMILIES
AND CHILDREN IN ISTANBUL

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This research investigates the educational experiences of Syrian migrants, in the light of changing education practices of Turkey. Transnational migration theory has been used as a theoretical approach which treats individuals as active actors.The site research was conduct in Eyüp district in Istanbul. Site researcher was conducted with 13 Syrian migrant children and 8 parents, using semi-structured interview technique. Besides, participant observation also applied. This thesis aims that Syrian migrant children are active agents rather than passive ones. Diversified experiences of Syrian migrants in the light of changing educational practices and changing perspectives of children and families have proved that Syrian migrant education in Turkey should study by focusing on the issue.

Keywords: Syrian migrant education, education, migration, transnational migration

ÖZ

İSTANBUL'DA YAŞAYAN SURIYELI GÖÇMEN ÇOCUKLARIN VE AİLELERİNİN GÖZÜNDEN TÜRKİYE'DE GÖÇMEN EĞİTİMİ

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Bu araştırma, Türkiye'deki değişen eğitim uygulamaları ışığında Suriyeli göçmenlerin eğitim deneyimlerini araştırmaktadır. Ulus ötesi göç teorisi, bireyleri aktif bir aktör olarak ele aldığı için teorik bir yaklaşım olarak kullanılmıştır. Saha araştırması İstanbul'un Eyüp ilçesinde gerçekleştirilmiştir. Saha araştırmasında 13 Suriyeli göçmen çocuk ve 8 ebeveyn ile yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme tekniği kullanılarak görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Ayrıca katılımcı gözlem de uygulanan bir diğer yöntemdir. Bu tez, Suriyeli göçmen çocukların pasif olan bir özne olarak görülmesinden ziyade, aktif birer özne olmalarına vurgu yapmayı amaçlamıştır. Suriyeli göçmenlerin değişen eğitim uygulamaları, çocukların ve ailelerin değişen bakış açılarının ışığında çeşitlendirdiği deneyimleri, Türkiye'de Suriyeli göçmen eğitiminin odaklanılarak çalışması gerektiğini kanıtlamıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Suriyeli göçmen eğitimi, eğitim, göçmen, ulusötesi göç

To my lovely family…

To all children who forcibly leave their country…

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFAD – Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency of Turkey

ASAM - Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants

E-Okul – School management information system used in the Turkish public schools

IDMC – Internal Displacement Monitoring Center

ILO – International Labor Organization

İSTKA – Istanbul Development Agency

MoNE – Ministiry of National Education

TEC – Temporary Education Center

TNE – Transnational Education

UN – United Nations

UNESCO - The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNHCR – United Nations High Commissary for Refugees

UNICEF – United Nations Children's Fund

UKOME - Directorate of Transportation Coordination

YÖBİS - School Management Information System used in the Temporary Education Centers

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

When you look into the faces of these quiet creatures who don't know how to tell stories who are mute, who can't make themselves heard, who fade into the woodwork, who only think of the perfect answer after the fact, after they're back at home, who can never think of a story that anyone else will find interesting—is there not more depth and more meaning in them? [1]

1.1   Background of Research

Migration and migrants as a research field attracted me when I witnessed Syrian people migrate to Turkey. Since 2011, the Syrian War has affected the lives of many people. Starting from the first years of the war, Turkey established an "open border policy" to Syrians and accepted them as "guests" (Özden, 2013: 5). The increasing migration rates from Syria to Turkey, since then indicate that thewar will continue for a long time. According to the Turkish Interior Ministry's Migration Management Directorate's data, 3,657,694 Syrian migrant people have temporarily protected by Turkey (2019). Syrian migrants are legally not accorded refugee status in Turkey due to Turkey's geographical restriction in the 1951 Geneva Convention on the Legal Status of Refugees (Foreign and International Protection Law, 2013). Considering sub-paragraph A2 of this agreement, Turkey accepts people as refugees who are forcibly displaced from their country for different reasons (persecution because of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion), but only from European countries (Foreign and International Protection Law, 2013). In general, Syrian migrants are not legally named as a refugee in Turkey due to the limitations of this agreement. In this research, Syrians are categorized as migrants because they are not legally refugees in Turkey, but they forcibly migrate. In this thesis, I prefer to use term Syrian migrants to refer to Syrian forced migrants. The most important group among Syrian migrants is the children 18 and under, whose population of 1,682,612 accounts for 46% of total Syrian migrant population

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[1] Pamuk,O.(2011).Black Book.Faber and Faber.

in Turkey. Researching the needs of this population is not limited to assessing their humanitarian needs, but also their social needs. Considering that, some of these children already started their education when they were in Syria, or were about to, their education after the migration process should be analyzed in detail.

These children who were born and raised in a different culture affected me so much that they inspired me to write this thesis. Also, I had volunteer experience with Syrian migrants, and my observations in the field motivated me to study the education of Syrian migrant children. In light of my experiences, I started to research Syrian migrant education in Turkey, and I saw that researchers are not taking Syrians as active agents in their research. Thus, I choose to conduct a study with Syrian migrant children and their families based on their educational experiences in Turkey.

1.2   Why Study Syrian Migrant Children's Education?

The education of Syrian migrant children is a topic which should be studied in detail in Turkey considering the high number of children migrant populations. Syrian migrant children have been forced to leave their countries in adverse conditions, and after migration, they have faced different problems. Mental and psychological health problems like trauma or disorders and difficulties with cultural adaptation and the language barrier are some of the issues that are generally seen in children who have had to escape from war (Khamis, 2005: 82; Soykoek et al., 2017: 903-4; Aydın and Kaya, 2017: 461). From these issues, I selected to study education as a socio-cultural concept which has a significant effect on the lives of individuals, because education plays a vital role in personal development, socialization and expansion of skills (Meyer, 1977: 57). Education is the way to the verbalization or generation of the character (Vincent, 2003: 52). As stated above, school influences thesocialization and development processes of children, educational policies and education institutions have substantial effects on children.

In 2014, theTurkish government established Temporary Education Centers (TEC) and defined the aim of these centers as follows "The purpose of the education

given in these centers targets masses of students who hosted by our country and these centers established for students to continue their education in Turkey. Also, with these centers, MoNE aims to establish a system; with this system, students can continue their education in institutions which connected to the Ministry of National Education (MoNE) to prevent loss of year." (MEB, 2014: 4). TECs have been established in cities whose Syrian migrant population is high (Adana, Adıyaman, Batman, Diyarbakır, Gaziantep, Hatay, İstanbul, Kahramanmaraş, Kayseri, Kilis, Konya, Malatya, Mardin, Osmaniye, Siirt, Şırnak, Şanlıurfa) (MEB, 2016). In these centers, in addition to the Syrian curriculum, Turkish language classes are also held. It is worth mentioning that the parts related to the Baas regime are removed from the Syrian curriculum. In addition, Syrian teachers hired by the MoNE give classes in TECs and UNICEF gave support to the Ministry of National Education economically to pay the salaries of teachers in TEC's (UNICEF, 2014).

As it is clear from their official status and name of the educational institution the Turkish government at first sees these migrants as "temporary" people who will return to their country soon. However, given their presence in Turkey since 2011, one can easily conclude that Syrian migrants are not temporary anymore. Thus, Syrian migrant's existence in Turkey should be considered while establishing policies for migrants.

Turkish officials eventually became aware that Syrian migrants are not living in Turkey temporarily; therefore, starting from 2016-201,7 Syrian migrant children started to continue their educational lives in Turkish public schools (MEB, 2016). Within a short time, the shift in Syrian migrant children's education brought many issues. These problems and other problems that I saw in the field triggered my desire to research the subject of the education of Syrian migrants.

I selected Istanbul as a research field, even though Syrian migrants live in different cities in Turkey. There are many reasons why I chose Istanbul as a research field. First of all, Istanbul is my hometown, and I have been in contact with Syrian migrants here. This experience led me to see problems better and motivated me to find a solution for them. Secondly, Istanbul is the most crowded city in Turkey due

to its economic and social conditions, including its diverse job and educational opportunities. Also, Istanbul hosts the highest number of Syrian migrants; 548,853 Syrian migrants are currently residing in Istanbul (Migration Management Directorate, 2019).

Another motivation in this research is the gap in the literature about children migrants in Turkey. Children migrants have not been actively searched in Turkish academic literature. To understand the experiences of children, researchers have conducted interviews and surveys with the parents or teachers of children. However, there is not any specific and far-reaching research that includes Syrian migrant children themselves. To close this gap, I select my main segment in this research as Syrian migrant children, and the second segment is Syrian migrant families. Furthermore, the idea of the child is mostly conceived of as a passive actor; which has been sharply critiqued in migration literature (Crawley, 2011; Gillet-Swan and Sargeant, 2016). In the last decade, migration researchers have tried to fill this gap by emphasizing stories from migrant children's perspective (Davies, 2005: 148). Speaking on behalf of children is not an adequate approach in migration studies; children ought to be perceived as agents, and their subjectivity should be acknowledged in migration research (Tyrell et al., 2013: 3). Here I also aim to raise the voices of children and help them to change their voice from passive to active through semi-structured interviews with children and their parents.

Even though Syrian migrant children have right to study equally with all children, they have to work in different industries, and they have to take this role. A fundamental question in my mind is, where do children belong? Where do they want to be? How are they affected by changing policies about education and migrants? In light of these questions in my mind, I determined some research questions and established a research task to conduct my research.

1.3   Research Questions

To conduct this research systematically, I determined main research question and two sub-questions. The central question of this research is *How do Syrian migrant families and children experience educational policies made by Turkey?*

The two sub-questions are, first, *What differences do Syrian migrant children and families percieve between the schooling experiences?;Temporary Education Centers and Turkish public schools?* Second, *What are the implications of educational migrant integration policies from the eyes of children and families?*

As an answer to the questions, transnational migration theory will explain and discussed with experiences of migrant parents and children.

1.4   Design and Method

To discover the educational experiences of Syrian migrant children and their families, I use a qualitative method. There are different techniques in qualitative research to gather data from the field, and interview technique is one of them. Qualitative research method search meaning construction of individuals or groups and demonstrate what is worthwhile for them (Patton, 2015: 50). As a part of the qualitative method, interview strategy tries to understand significant characteristics about a specific topic in research.

There are different kinds of interview techniques, and these techniques are used as a pathfinder while designing questions. According to Mason, qualitative research means three types of interviews: the in-depth, semi-structured, or loosely structured form of interviews (Mason, 2002: 62). Additionally, structured interviews are also used as an interview technique; less flexible than the three types of interviews stated before, they are not always in the scope of qualitative research. In this research, semi-structured interview technique is used.

Semi-structured interviews are in a form that is actively participated by in two parties: the interviewer and the participant. In the semi-structured type of interviews, there are determined questions, but the interviewer is not restricted to

these questions. According to the flow of the interview, questions may broaden or narrow down. Semi-structured interviews give the flexibility to discover unexpected information and establish interaction between parties (Mason, 2002: 62-3). Social formations, changes, and problems are in the scope of qualitative research, and semi-structured interview technique is appropriate for that. As stated before, not only specific questions but questions according to the flow of the interview may be asked. During the transcription process, the interviewer writes questions and answers in a particular way. To get approval from the participants, a consent form should be used. If the target group of a researcher is a sensitive or a disadvantaged group, ethical committee decision may be obtained, or a type of legal consent may be taken from authorities. In this research, because working with migrant children is sensitive, I obtained an ethical committee decision which provide in the Appendix.

Furthermore, during the research, for each child, a permission document was signed by their parents. The research questions that were asked to the children were also shared with their parents. Moreover, the anonymity of participants has protected. Both Syrian migrant children participants and their parents were informed about anonymity and information sharing. In the permission document, it stated that the name of the participants will be changed to respect their anonymity. To give more details about the interviews, firstly, I preferred to conduct interviews at the home of participants. One of the essential features of the interviews is that the interviewee feels himself or herself in a comfortable environment (Neuman and Robson, 2007: 299). For this reason, the interviews were conducted in participants' house. The atmosphere is friendly and relaxed, our conversation goes beyond a daily speech. "The field interview differs from a friendly conversation. It has an explicit purpose-to learn about the informant and setting" (Neuman and Robson, 2007: 297). Secondly, interviews were held from August 2018 to January, 2019. During this period, I visited the site more than ten times. Pilot interviews were conducted with three Syrian migrant children and two parents. After the pilot interviews, questions were added or removed or changed. Interview questions for both Syrian migrant families and children can seen in the Appendix. Interview questions include questions about the: everyday life, schooling experiences,

schooling plans, and general evaluation of their current situation from Syrian migrant's perspective.

For children, interviews took 25-35 minutes while for parents; they took 35-50 minutes. Thirteen children and eight families participated in this research. Thirdly, for the selection of children, there is not any gender bias for being a respondent. For families, only two of the participants are male. Since the fathers of those children are working almost seven days a week, it is hard to reach them. Thus, the number of mother participants is higher than fathers. Fourthly, a Syrian translator who spoke Arabic, English, and Turkish,conducted interviews. After each question, the translator made the transition to me, and I had a chance to add new questions to the interview. Syrian migrant children can speak both Turkish and Arabic language. However, to express themselves more efficiently, the children were asked which language they would like to use. All the participating students stated that they wanted to continue the interview in Arabic. Syrian migrant families also preferred to conduct interviews in Arabic and English translations were made during and after the interviews.

Another method used in this research is participant observation. Participant observation allows the researcher to join the participants' social field, and it is related to ethnographic research. Mainly, participant observation is a method in which the researcher becomes an active participant in daily life activities, rituals, and interactions to understand the culture and the routine of participants (Musante and DeWalt, 2001: 1). For this research, participant observation was done in the neighborhood where the children live and at their schools; which I visited with their parents during the registration process and the end of the semester. Their daily life was observed during these visits. What is their everyday life like? What kind of activities they do to prepare for school? How is their home environment? What are the general perspectives of people about education in this area? These are some questions that I wanted to answer during my participant observation.

During this thesis, I have a chance to visit the TECs and public schools that children attend. Syrian migrant families do not have always chance to visit schools because

schools, especially TECs, are far from home, and Syrian migrants do not know how to use public transportation to reach the schools. Also, the language barrier is a common problem that families hesitate to visit Turkish schools because they do not know the Turkish language well. One of my Syrian native speaker friends and I accompanied some parents to the children's school. During these visits, I had a chance to observe the behaviors of children, teachers, and school managers. Additionally, I had an opportunity to listen to the parties' – Turkish and Syrian individuals – problems, desires, approaches about the Turkish education system and migrant children's adaptation to this system.

To conduct analysis, I choose the thematic analysis method. "A theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set" (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 10). For Syrian migrant children and families, I investigated various themes in the light of patterns that noticed during the interviews. From the interviews conducted with Syrian migrant children and families; I observed various. These themes will be explained in detail in the following chapters.

1.5   Population and Sample of Research

In this research, as I stated before, I study Syrian migrant children and their families to understand their perspectives on education and to share their experiences. I selected my field as Eyüp, and I met with 97 children who are of school age. Of these 97 students, all of them enrolled in the TEC, and 45 of them started attending Turkish public schools in the 2017/2018 school year. In the 2018/2019 period, the other 42 students also began to study in Turkish public schools due to MoNE's decision to integrate Syrian migrant students into the Turkish education system. Of the 45 children in the first cohort, 13 of them and their parents agreed to participate in research.

Additionally, to see the different perspectives of children who startedato Turkish public schools in 2018/2019 fall semester I sought out five participants from that cohort as well. To get more precise answers, two selected children who were older than ten years old and the age of the parents of the children varied between 28-35

years**.** Other than these demographic indicators, socially, there are other indicators worth mentioning about Syrian migrant families. Mothers of the children are not active in the labor force while the fathers are mostly working in the textile industry. The onthly salaries of these men differ; their salaries range between 600 and 1200 TL / month ($ 106-212 per month). Sometimes children work part-time in the textile industry or little shops in the neighborhood. Some children lost their father during the war, and they do not have any financial support other than The Red Crescent.

For a couple of years, some NGO's and philanthropists support these children and their families financially with aim of helping children remain in schooling. There were 18 children in the labor force and their age was between 12 and 18 years. With the help of monthly financial income, these children regularly participated in education. Also, there are some children whose father are alive but cannot join the labor force directly due to injuries, being disabled, or having health problems. Most of these Syrian migrants in Eyüp came from the Aleppo region, and they are Sunni Muslims. During the interview process, I also asked why they choose to live in Eyüp and Istanbul. Generally, they mentioned work opportunities and social networks as the main reasons for living in Eyüp.

1.6   Overview of the Chapters

In the following chapters, I will analyze and discuss the general status of Syrian migrants, migration theories, and field research findings. In the second chapter, the legal status of Syrian migrants in Turkey will be explained with figures and numbers. Temporary Protection Status and services that applied under this status will be explained in detail. Also, in this chapter, educational practices will explain. In the third chapter, I will briefly explain and discuss transnational migration theory. Mainly, I want to focus on transnational migration theory because from my perspective, when Syrian migrants participate into the Turkish education system initially, they have connections with Syrian educational culture though they reside in Turkey.

Thus, I investigate a missing part of the transnational migration theory, namely that it focuses less on forced migrants and their transnationalism process. The fourth chapter is based on field research and findings. This chapter divided into two

subparts. In the first part, the experiences of children are explained, and the results of the thematic analysis are shown. Four themes are investigated during the analysis of interviews. These themes are explained with citations from children and comments made based on the experiences of children. In the second part, experiences of Syrian migrant families taught and similar to Syrian migrant children, four themes investigated, and explanations made — the last chapter based on the discussion of findings and analysis part. In the light of data collected in this research, I offer policy implications and critiques. Following the discussion, general characteristics and results are explained as a conclusion.
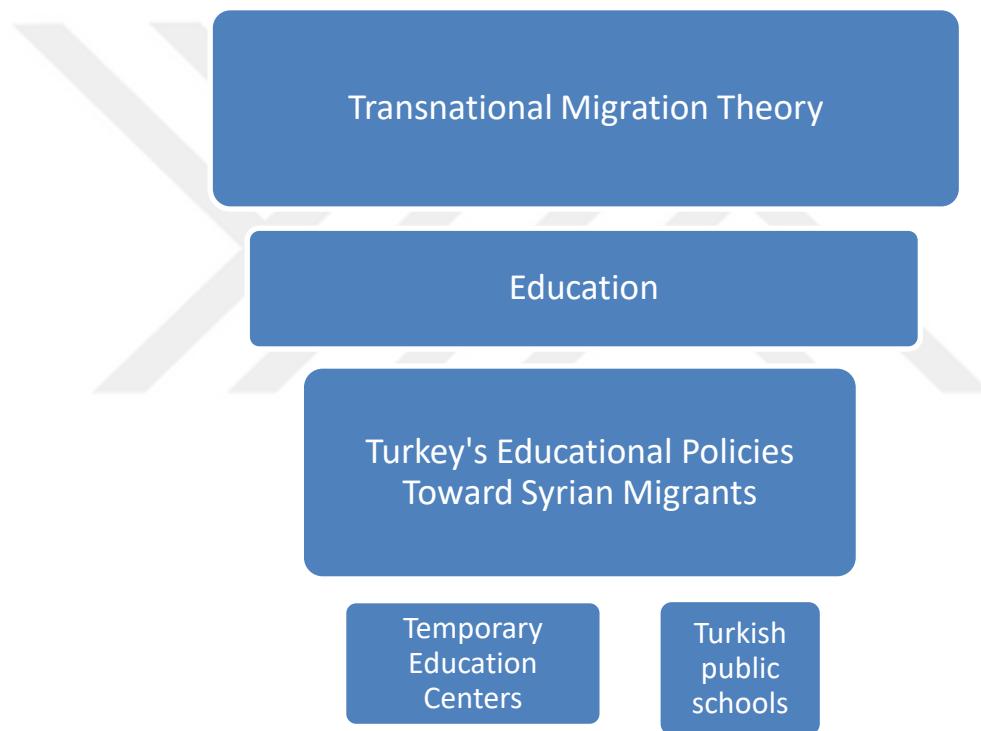
Figure 1.1. Theory and Research Relation

As indicated in Figure 1.1., in this research analyzing the relation of theory and practice is critical. Transnational migration theory is used as main theory. Using this theory , I aim is to understand Turkey's educational policies toward migrants.

In this thesis, the main idea is to show educations place in transnational migration, butI also offer an overview of health and employment in the following chapter.

Health and employment are summarized because in Temporary Protection Laws, Turkey not only gives place to education but also give place to health and employment. I am hoping that this chapter will be beneficial for researchers. For the practice part, health and employment practices will be summarized, and educational practices will be analyzed in detail.

CHAPTER 2

SYRIAN MIGRANTS UNDER TEMPORARY PROTECTION

2.1. Legislative Framework for "Public Rights"

In this chapter, Syrian migrants in Istanbul and the legislative framework that they face within Turkey will be discussed. The legislative framework for refugees is critical in host countries due to accessing humanitarian needs, like health, education, housing, and employment are necessities to sustain a regular life. Because, before 2011, Turkey did not become face to face with huge migration flux, legal responses to this flux were initially not clear and stable. Also, Turkey applies geographical restriction though it is a signatory of the 1951 Geneva Convention and the 1967 additional protocol on the legal status of refugees (UNHCR, 2010). As stated in geographical restriction, only people who are migrating from Europe defined as "refugees." Thus, Syrians do not have legal refugee status, and currently, in Turkey, they are under Temporary Protection framework. The legal framework applied to Syrian refugees has been criticized in many ways. To analyze this legislative framework and give details about public rights of Syrian refugees, firstly process of Syrian migration since 2011 will be explained in detail with numbers and graphs. Secondly, legal responses will be explained separately with the titles of health, labor, and educational "rights." Lastly, because this research mainly focuses on Syrian refugees' education, educational practices, and observations in the field will be explained about educational rights.

Due to Syrian Crisis, high amount of people were forced to leave their country and some of them were internally displaced in the country. According to UNHCR's data, 5,625,871 numbers of people had to flee from Syria to various countries (UNHCR, 2019). Main routes for these people are initially borders of the neighboring countries though some people used these countries as transit countries to reach Europe. Lebanon and Turkey are affected from this human flux mostly, and they opened their doors to Syrian people. Currently, Lebanon hosts 929.654, and Turkey

hosts 3.614.108 number of Syrian refugees[2] (UNHCR, 2019). Accurately, refugee accepting process and meeting the necessities of a high number of people who are in humanitarian need is to manage neatly. In the context of Turkey, refugee accepting process grew gradually. First refugee flux from Syria was in small numbers, and these people started to accommodate in housing centers managed by AFAD. According to data of AFAD, initially, in May 2011, 260 Syrian refugees take shelter in housing centers, and on April 2014, this number increased up to 221.442 (AFAD, 2014: 19). In 3.5 years, this number increased up to 1,650,000, and this unprecedented amount of refugee flux is not only seen both in Turkish and world's history (Erdoğan, 2018: 9). The change in the number of Syrian migrants between the years 2011-2019 can see in Figure 2.1.

As the number of refugees increases, both in borderline and cities that close to borders, new housing centers, and refugee camps were started to be built. At the beginning of the refugee flux, people escape from Assad's oppression, but as time passes, different actors showed up in Syria. As a result of these political conflicts, not all refugees cross borders with their passports; there were also people who cross boundaries by the help of smugglers and this complicated process aggravate to determine the total number of refugees (Erdoğan, 2018: 9). In addition to that, Turkey's political policy in this migration process is "open door policy" and discourses in Turkish politics paved up to the way to increase in numbers of refugees. While Syrian migration was continuing, Turkish government had various claims about acceptance of Syrian migrants. These claims mostly were shaped by Islamic narratives and the concept of being "guest." In 2013, president Erdoğan visited one of the refugee camps in Gaziantep said that "We are so proud to guest you for four years in Turkey. You are muhajirs, and we are ensars. No matter anyone says, you are not burdened to us. According to our culture and tradition, guest means abundance and honor". ("Erdoğan Suriyeli sığınmacılara seslendi," 2014). Also, in 2011, when Erdoğan was a prime minister, he claimed that "At this position, we are not in a position that closes to our borders to Syrians." These

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[2] UNHCR used term refugees.

discourses triggered refugee flux to Turkey, and the number of Syrian migrants in Turkey increased gradually. It also can be followed from Table 2.1. below.
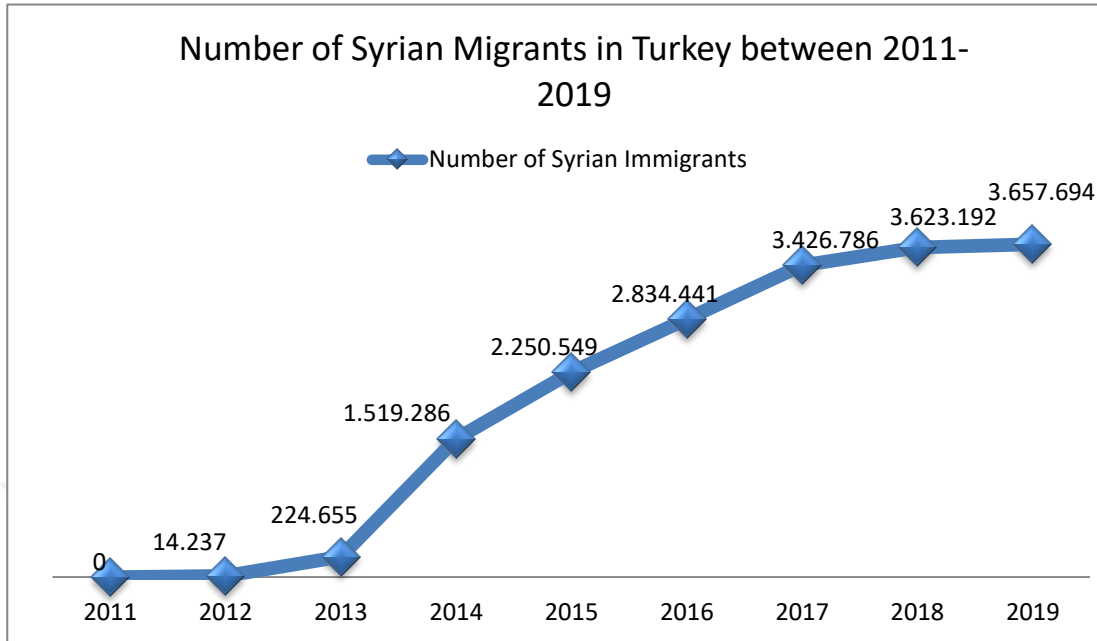
Figure 2.1. Number of Syrian Migrants between 2011-2019

Reference: Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management. (2019).

Though meeting with this highly populated number of migrants needs is hard economically, in 2017, Deputy Prime Minister Recep Akdağ put forward that money spent on Syrians on a sectoral basis is 30 billion 285 million 573 thousand dollars (Gültekinler, 2017). In addition to Turkey, different NGO's, European Union, UNICEF, and UNHCR make fundraising to meet with Syrian migrants needs. According to UNHCR, in 2019, received funding in total account for 582 million dollars while still, 1.06 million dollars needed (UNHCR, 2019). Economically, ensuring a sustainable life is significant while legally establishing a framework applied to Syrian migrants is at least as much important as economics. Since the number of Syrian migrants increased, Turkey needs to develop a legal framework to meet with the needs of Syrians. In 2014, Temporary Protection Laws were accepted and inured to the benefit.

Temporary Protection Laws contain health, education, employment, and housing rights. The European Union and UNHCR legally recognize Temporary Protection regime. European Union established Temporary Protection Directive due to conflicts in Yugoslavia in the 1990s and contrast to 1951 Convention this legal protection was applied to groups come with mass flux not with individuals (European Comission, 2016: 1). Even though Yugoslavian people in line with Europe's refugee criteria, they evaluated as temporary protected people (Orchard and Miller, 2014: 29). This directive started to be applied in 2001 has similarities with Turkey's Temporary Protection Laws, but there are some critical differences. Firstly, in the European Union's guidelines, limitation of Temporary Protection status determined by one year, and it can extend a maximum of two years (Official Journal of the European Communities, 2001). However, in Turkey's Temporary Protection Laws, there is not any time limit for temporary protected status. Secondly, people bind with Temporary Protection Status in Turkey, cannot have a right to become legal refugee due to geographical limitation and limitation in Temporary Protection Laws. However, in the EU's directives, temporary protected people must apply to asylum seeker status (Official Journal of the European Communities, 2001). Thirdly, in Turkish Temporary Protection Laws, education, health, employment, social security, translation, and customs applied to temporary protected people defined as "services" while in European Union, is defined as "rights." Thus, Turkey should establish a rights-based approach rather than defining these rights as services provided by the state to give equal opportunities for Syrian migrants.

 Also, both Turkey and the EU does not allow refoulement. Though these Laws apply the non-refoulement principle, some applications of non-refoulement had been seen in Turkey. Esenyurt Municipality, supported Syrians move more than 3.600 Syrian migrants to Syria after Turkey's military operations to borderlines of Syria. However, it is not clear that Syrians are willing to go back or not. Major of the municipality said that we sent Syrian migrants from Turkey to Syria where "Areas that have been made peaceful and reinstated as 'homeland' by us, as a gift to Syrians" (*"2019' da 25 bin Suriyeli Kardeşimizi evlerine göndereceğiz"*). Additionally,

the European Union put forward that if the enforced return is necessary, this process should respect human rights and if the health situation of people is not well, they cannot be forced to leave the country. In general, temporary protection applications "leave the refugees in a state of prolonged limbo" (Yıldız and Uzgören, 2016: 199) and stand as a barrier in front of people to become refugees internationally to access their rights.

Temporary protection status and refoulement issue not only have local effects in host countries but also have considerably global effects. There is a massive influx from Turkey to European countries to become a refugee in Europe. However, responses to the refugee crisis by Europe are not so welcomed compared to Turkey, Lebanon, and Iraq. A high number of migrants has tried to reach Europe by illegal migrant routes. The migrants mostly take dangerous or illicit roads to reach Europe, and since 2015, more than 1 million migrants tried to reach Greece. This circumstance alarmed European countries and in 2016 a deal was signed between the EU and Turkey about "exchanging" refugees criticized by different authorities and NGO's. Researchers criticized Europe about taking so limited number of refugees considering Turkey, Lebanon, and Iraq (Fargues and Fandrich, 2012; Fargues, 2014). The deal signed in 2016 has nine articles and indicates that; all illegal migrants who migrate from Turkey to Greece will turn back to Turkey and in return with this, Europe will resettle one migrant family residing in Turkey by UN Vulnerability Criteria (EU-Turkey Statement, 2016). Furthermore, visa liberalization for Turkey will be accelerated, and visa obligation for Turkish citizens will be abolished, and EU will donate three billion euro to Turkey and support projects which target people under temporary protection (EU-Turkey Statement, 2016). In the light of this agreement, the number of migrants who are using one of the best-known migration ways around the world, East Mediterranean Route, decreased steadily but migrants started to find new migration routes to reach Europe like Middle Mediterranean Route (Connor, 2018). Under this agreement, an operation named Operation Poseidon Land started to be applied in Turkey, Greece, and Bulgaria but Amnesty claimed that there are human rights violations and actions non-parallel with non-refoulement strategy has been conducted (Amnesty

International, 2014: 17). In the light of these processes, both local and global, temporary protection status should be discussed in a legal context in more detail and right-based way. Also, in Temporary Protection Law education, health and labor force concepts are not defined as "rights" but as "services." This situation negatively affects Syrian migrants because they have not got equal opportunities with other migrants or refugees. In the following pages, "services" stated in Turkey's Temporary Protection Law will be explained in detail.

2.1.1 Labor Force Rights

For a migrant and refugee, the process of migration is hard not only before the migration process but also afterward. To sustain life in humanitarian standards, one should have to gain economically. Considering, migrants who forcibly migrate, have to leave their country without taking much of their investments and savings. Thus, host countries must meet with migrants labor force needs to establish them a sustainable life and prevent the chaos that may occur due to lack of employment opportunities in the society.

After Syrian mass flux, many people stayed out of camps to have more mobility and to work, study, live in cities. Initially, this migration densely was observed in the cities like Hatay, Gaziantep, and Şanlıurfa because of their geographic location and closeness to the border. Then, when these cities get crowded, Syrian migrants started to move around Turkey to big cities, especially Istanbul. Istanbul is economically a leading city; considering income taxpayers share of Istanbul is the highest with 25% of all Turkey's income taxpayers, and also it is leading in the gross domestic product by provinces by kind of economic activity (Gelir İdaresi Başkanlığı, 2019; TÜİK, 2019a). Thus, Istanbul is an attractive place for Syrian migrants to locate and work. However, due to Temporary Protection Law, Syrian migrant employees and employers become face to face with hardships.

Syrian migrants put forward that one of the major problems they have is employment problem and Syrians pointed out that they want to have honorable life and actively engage in the labor force (Erdoğan, 2018). According to Temporary Protection Law, employment arrangements are defined as "Services for accessing to

the labor market." Like other parts of the Law (health and education), the labor force is also defined as service, not as a right. In 2016, The Ministry of Labor and Social Security announced a broad regulation about Work Permission of Foreign Providers and included articles about labor force features of people under Temporary Protection. This law defines accessing and participating in the labor force as a summary in the terms below:

- People under Temporary Protection can get a work permit, six months after their registration,
- Application of work permit done by employers by e-Devlet,
- Work permit exception applies to workers in seasonal agricultural works or animal husbandry work,
- In the granting of the right to apply for a work permit to foreigners who provided with temporary protection, by the Article 24 of the Temporary Protection Regulation, the provinces that are allowed to remain foreigners shall consider,
- A quota will apply to determine the number of employees in the workplace. A number of workers in the workplace cannot exceed 10% of Turkish workers.
- People under Temporary Protection Laws can attend vocational courses conducted by the Turkish Employment Agency, and they have a right to demand a job where they get vocational education. (The Ministry of Labor and Social Security, 2016).

Employment of Syrian migrants is a debatable issue in Turkey. Firstly, as stated in the regulation, a work permit must be taken by employers, and this process is a burden on employers shoulder. Also, it is costly to hire a foreigner due to taxes paid to official institutions, and during the employee selection process, these bureaucratic and economic issues stand as a barrier in front of legal employment of Syrian migrants. Also, some NGO's claim that the process of approving work permits may take more than six months, while government officials deny this long process (İçduygu and Diker, 2017: 21). Amount of work permits given to Syrians seen in Figure 2.2. below between years 2012-2017.
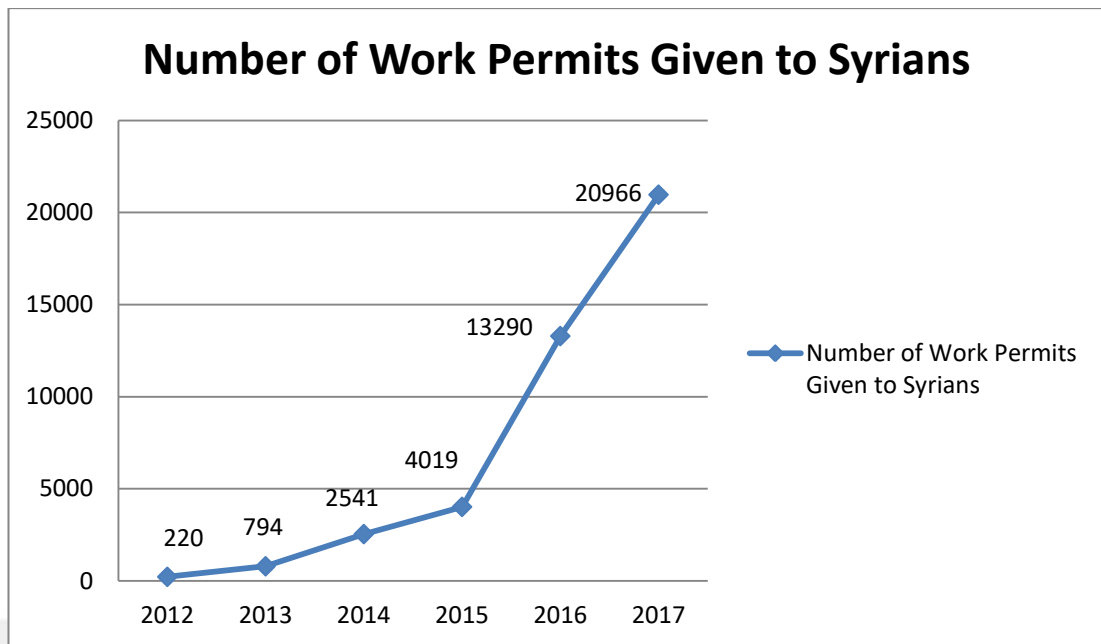
Figure 2.2. Number of Work Permits Given to Syrians

Reference: Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services (2017).

When many work permits given to Syrians were analyzed, a peak of permits in 2016 was observed. This situation may as a result of an agreement signed in 2016 between Turkey and the European Union. Accordance with this agreement, Turkey will take funds to enhance Syrian migrants' situation and conduct projects. These projects are based on health, education, psycho-social support, employment, and other critical factors. In general, as a result of this agreement work permits given to Syrian migrants may increase. However, still, the number of work permits granted is at low levels compared with the total Syrian migrant population. Difficulties of Syrian migrants about attending labor force are not only caused by bureaucratic complexities of getting a work permit but also low education levels, prejudices from Turkish society and gender differences play a significant role on (un)employment of Syrians.

Education levels of Syrian migrants are also crucial to understand expected problems in the employment sector between Turkish citizens and Syrian migrants. In AFAD's demographic research about Syrian migrants, it has stated that 24.7% of them are illiterate, 14.9% of them are literate, 25.3% of them graduated from

elementary school, and 14.9% of them graduated from secondary school (AFAD, 2017: 50). Thus, there is a high population whose education level is low, and this may lead to competing in low skill jobs in Turkey. Researchers also indicate that Syrian migrants mostly seek low socio-economic jobs and three significant reasons of these situations are a language barrier, low levels of education, entering low skilled jobs due to economic problems they face to face with (Özpınar, Çilingir, and Düşündere, 2016: 2). Also, Turkey's unemployment rate has increased steadily since 2011 and reached 14.9% in 2019 (TÜİK, 2019b). As a result, when there is a high unemployment rate in Turkey, the employment of Syrian migrants is not welcomed by Turkish citizens, and oppositions occurred in public opinion. A survey conducted by Hacettepe University's Migration and Politics research center reported that in areas where Syrian migrants located densely (Adana, Gaziantep, Hatay, Şanlıurfa, Mardin) 44% of Turkish participants stated that "Work permit is absolutely not given to Syrian migrants" (Hacettepe University Migration and Politics Research Center, 2014: 28). Overall of Turkey, the percentage of this answer is 48% (ibid: 28). Another question asked to participants was addressing their opinion about the proposition "Syrian migrants take our jobs" is supported by 19.5% in overall Turkey and 36.9% in migrant densely locations (ibid: 28). Kaygısız also showed some examples in various cities of Turkey that Syrian migrants are used as cheap labor in industrial estates; in the following week's unemployed Turkish people demonstrate against this situation and call authorities to have regulation about this issue (Kaygısız, 2017: 9).

In light of these conditions, Syrian migrants are pushed to informal sectors. By taking into account that Turkey's informal sector is large, informal employment[3] is 33.5% in 2019 (TÜİK, 2019b), Syrian migrants' attendance in this sector is inevitable. Though, there is not any precise number shows how many numbers of Syrian migrants are working in the informal sector, a number of work permits may give an idea about how small percentage of Syrian migrants have right to access formal

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[3] ILO defined informal employment as "…informal employment as comprising the total number of informal jobs, whether carried out in formal sector enterprises, informal sector enterprises, or households, during a given reference period."
https://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/stat/download/papers/meas.pdf

sectors with the work permit. According to the Ministry of Family, Labor, and Social Services, since 2017, 20.996 work permits has been given to Syrian migrants (Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services, 2017**).** A number of work permits are low when one takes into account that the number of Syrian migrants between age 15-64 is 2.143.592 (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management, 2019). Of course, not all Syrian migrants are employees. There are entrepreneurs with different sizes of businesses. Companies, established by Syrian migrants in 2017 were 1764 (Kaygısız, 2017: 14). However, restrictions in front of business owners affect Syrian migrant entrepreneurs negatively. Lack of acceptance and financial support in Turkey, high competence with big companies, bureaucratic barriers (like applying hardship for a visa to travel internationally) and language barrier are main problems that Syrian migrant entrepreneurs experienced (Kaygısız, 2017: 14-17; Syrian Economic Forum, 2018: 8-9). International Labour Organization (ILO) in Turkey, conducted projects to overcome barriers in front of Syrian entrepreneurs (ILO,2019) Hopefully, the spread of these projects and encouragement of Syrian entrepreneurship will result in development in economy and increasing share of Syrian migrants in the formal labor force.

Another remarkable indicator for Syrian migrants' labor force participation is gender. For females and males, participating in labor force shares are different (Aksu, Erzan, and Kırdar, 2018: 7). There are many reasons for this difference. Firstly, as men, the education level of women is low. As stated in UN Women and ASAM's latest report, only 20% of Syrian migrant women are working (UN Women and ASAM, 2018: 45). Employment situation diversified from city to city. For example, in big cities like İstanbul, İzmir, and Gaziantep, women participate in the labor force more (ibid: 45). Secondly, there are a high number of single mothers who lost their husband during the war process or before and have to migrate alone. These women have to organize housework and take care of their children. As a result of these social responsibilities, they cannot engage in the workforce actively. Thirdly, women who worked in the informal sector said that they encounter sexual abuse, humiliation, labor exploitation, long working hours in work environments. Women stated their dissatisfaction job reasons as low salary, long working hours,

type of work, physical conditions, late or incomplete pay, and discrimination (ibid: 47). Additionally, only 17% of women said that they are seeking for the job (ibid: 47). Due to various reasons that adults do not participate in the labor force actively, child labor occurs in Syrian migrant families.

Child labor occurs in both female and male children. Table 2.3. below shows the share of Syrian migrant child labor between age groups in Turkey. In cities like Şanlıurfa and Hatay, in every Syrian migrant household, at least one child is working (Yalçın, 2016: 93). Because it is hard to meet with households' needs and high expenses of schools, children have to work in adverse conditions in various industries (textile, food, agriculture). In my field research at Istanbul, I also observed that children attend labor force full-time or part-time. In the discussion, details of child labor in Istanbul will be explained. High rates of child labor, cause school dropouts, and losing a generation in informal sectors. Considering the traumas and problems that Syrian migrant children encounter, entering into the labor force in early ages may also negatively affect them. Even though there is not any detailed research conducted about child labor in Turkey; some news channels interviewed with child laborers who work in Istanbul in textile ateliers (Hahn, J., 2017, *Small hands, big profits: Syrian child labor in Turkey*)

To conclude, Syrian migrants actively engaged in the labor force in informal areas where they do not have any social security, and they have low wages, long working hours, and bad treatments. Gaining a work permit is a hugely hard process for Syrian migrants, and this strict bureaucracy opens a way to increase the share of informal market and child labor. Lack of right-based approach in Temporary Protection Law and articles that limit mobility and employment opportunities of Syrian migrants must be changed.
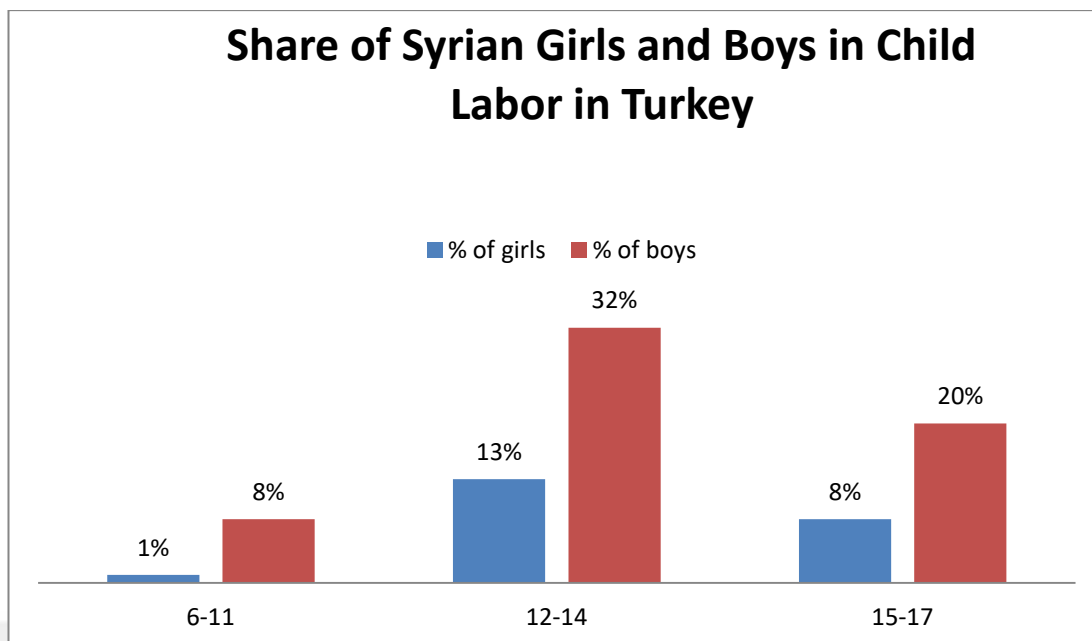
Figure 2.2. Share of Syrian Girls and Boys in Child Labor in Turkey
Reference: UN Women and ASAM. (2018).

2.1.2 Health Rights

Health rights of all people in Turkey regardless of their nationality, guaranteed by Article 56 of the Turkish constitution and Turkey is a signatory of various agreements which states Declaration of Human Rights in 1949, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Right (ICESCR) in 1966, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) in 1966, Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) in 1965, Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1979, Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT) in 1984 and Convention on Rights of the Child (CRC) in 1990 (Mardin, 2017: 2-3). In addition to these conventions, after Syrian mass flux to Turkey, Temporary Protection Laws announced in 2014, define health services rather than health rights. As stated in these Laws, people under Temporary Protection regardless of whether they are living in camps or out of camps can access health services without paying any fee (Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management, 2014). The Prime Ministry Disaster and Emergency Management Authority have paid the fees with coordination of the Ministry of Health. Health insurance of people under temporary protection is only available in the city they register

(Mardin, 2017: 4). To meet with Syrian migrants' health needs in a better way, the Ministry of Health constituted Migrant Health Centers. In these centers, there are doctors, medical personnel, and translators available. These centers spread among various cities of Turkey. Monetarily, Migrant Health Centers are supported by funds of the European Union. Also, World Health Organization (WHO), ASAM (Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants) and Ministry of Health collaborated and worked together on giving training to Syrian health professionals to work in Migrant Health Centers (ASAM,n.d; Diker, 2017:1). Besides from Migration Health Centers, people under Temporary Protection can benefit from public hospitals, family health care centers, mother and child healthcare centers, and tuberculosis dispensaries (Mardin, 2017: 4). Researchers put forward that services of the health institutions both inside and outside of the camps are well-conducted (Sahlool et al., 2012). Even though accessibility and well-establishment of the health center, Syrian migrants confront with some problems.

Main problems that Syrian migrants encounter are a language barrier, lack of right-awareness, negative manners of doctors and nurses, registration problems, and gender-specific problems about healthcare. Psychological and physical healthcare is crucial for Syrian migrants considering the hard migration process that they faced. In the field researches, Syrian migrants indicate the problems mentioned before (Önal and Keklik, 2016: 144) and professionals also stated they observe these issues Syrian migrants face to face within the field (Cloeters and Osserian, 2019: 13). To achieve a sustainable and to reach higher quality living standards, the right to health, and benefit from health institutions in a humanitarian manner is crucial. Turkey should take more steps about the problems which occur in the health field. Considering that, hosting more than 3.5 million migrant needs hiring new health personnel, establishing new hospitals, buying more medicine and machines, regulating social insurance system and these are still needed to be developed. Increasing coordination with NGO's and international shareholders, listening to problems in the field by actors will improve the health system for refugees and pave up the way to have equal opportunities in society.

2.1.3 Educational Rights

As other humanitarian needs, education is explained as a service in the Temporary Protection Law, not a right. According to the Temporary Protection Law, children who are under this Law have rights to access school. Children who are between 54-66 months and 36-66 months can access to pre-school education. Also, children in elementary and secondary education age can access to education. Education process of these children is determined according to Ministry of National Education's legislation. Procedures and principles of students in higher education determined by the Board of Higher Education. Though both Ministry of National Education and Board of Higher Education pave up the way to equal opportunities in their legislation for students under Temporary Protection but these needs must be owned as rights rather than services and this situation is one of the negative aspects of the Temporary Protection Law. The main focus of this research is elementary and secondary school students. Thus, the Ministry of National Education's applications and legislation will be explained in the following pages.

When the number of Syrian migrants started to increase, one of the most salient demographic features of this group is the high number of migrant children. According to recent data, the number of children between 0-18 age is 1.665.151, which makes %46 of total Syrian migrant population in Turkey (Directorate General of Migration Management, 2019). Because these children occupy almost half of Syrian migrant population, their development and attendance to education are highly crucial to have a better future. As stated above, Syrian migrants are considered as people who are "guest" in Turkey and will turn back to their country soon. Unfortunately, educational practices applied to children are in line with this general approach. Though migration flux was in significant rates between the years 2011-2014, initial steps to establish an education policy for Syrian migrants are only achieved in 2014. Before, Syrian migrants tried to open education centers which are not in connection with the Ministry of National Education legally. Notably, a number of illegal schools was dense in the areas near to the border. A documentary that shows the situation of these schools clearly explains the difficulties of Syrian migrant children and teachers. As reported by the documentary named "Schools in

the Borders," there were 13 unregistered schools in Turkey, and 4 of them are located in Reyhanlı, Hatay (Al Jazeera, 2014). Reyhanlı accommodates high number of Syrian migrants due to its geographical proximity with Syria. In this documentary, teachers put forward that, when they observed a considerable number of children in the streets, they decided to open schools that give education in Arabic. These schools were established with funding from various people in the region. Also, the wages of teachers and other school managers were funded by philanthropists. Moreover, during the interviews conducted with school managers and teachers, one of the school manager said that "When we come to Reyhanlı, we thought that there are schools for Syrians, but unfortunately later we realized that there is only one elementary school." (Al Jazeera, 2014).

This ambiguous situation in the education of Syrian migrant children takes attention of the Turkish government in 2012 and however, steps for establishing an educational system come to the agenda of the Turkish government immediately. In 2012, Ministry of National Education said that classes in camps would be conducted in Arabic and curriculum was based on Turkish curriculum; with this approach, the aim is "far from a stylistic attitude to extending their stay in Turkey" ("Bu öğretmenlerin görevine son verildi," 2012). Moreover, in his other speeches, Ministry of National Education put forward that education style applied to Syrian migrants based on their temporary status in Turkey without any registration or gaining certificate (Girit,S., 2015). In 2013, Ministry of National Education started to a circular letter to schools about Syrian migrant's education (Coşkun and Emin, 2016: 14; Seydi, 2014: 277) but until 2014, the publication of Education Services for Foreigners, regulations about Syrian migrants education were in an uncertain situation. According to Education Services for Foreigners circular letter, some articles indicate that Turkish state understands that Syrian migrants are more than guests and not to have any lost generation, their attendance to education must act systematically. To achieve this goal, MoNe announced that they would:

- Establish TEC's in various cities and districts of Turkey and the purpose of these centers are preventing year loss of children that come with mass migration flux,
- Determine educational curriculum and schedule,
- Hire teachers from different disciplines (Turkish, foreign language, form teacher),
- Procure educational materials for TEC's,
- Make data entry of children who has Temporary Protection Identity Card to the e-okul system,
- Support teachers who work in TEC's voluntarily with shareholders (both in a material and immaterial sense) (Ministry of National Education, 2014: 1-6).

MoNe's applications are in line with the Temporary Protection Law published in 2014 because in this Law management of elementary and secondary education of Syrian migrants is under the responsibility of MoNe. One of the critical applications about Syrian migrant children is the establishment of TECs. Initially, TECs were built in the camps, then they spread around Turkey where Syrian migrant population is dense. In the Figure 2.4., an initial number of TECs in different cities of Turkey can be seen. In total, there were 481 TECs around Turkey. When TECs started to shut down, this number decreased slightly. According to MoNe, in 2018, there were only 215 TEC's operated and the number of TEC's according to cities can be seen in Figure 2.5. When these tables are compared, it is understood that the TEC's were closed in 2018 in Amasya, Kahramanmaraş Kocaeli, and Mersin. Also, in general, the number of TEC's decreased steadily in other cities.

Other critical factors about TEC's are quality, content, and support services provided to students.The curriculum of TECs is based on Syrian curriculum but contents about Assad's regime are withdrawn from the curriculum. Moreover, MoNe hired Turkish teachers for TEC's and Turkish classes are included into TEC's curriculum. Students have 15 hours of Turkish classes weekly starting from 2nd grade to 12th grade. In total, elementary school students have 30 hours and secondary school students have 35 hours weekly (MEB, n.d.).

Number of Temporary Education Centres Around Turkey - (2014-2015)

■ Number of Temporary Education Centers Before Transferring Process

Adana	Adıyaman	Amasya	Ankara	Antalya	Batman	Diyarbakır	Gaziantep	Hatay	İstanbul	İzmir	Kahramanmaraş	Kayseri	Kilis	Kocaeli	Konya	Malatya	Mardin	Mersin	Osmaniye	Sakarya	Siirt	Şanlıurfa
24	2	1	7	1	2	2	53	144	79	5	28	3	28	2	21	3	6	17	5	1	1	46

Figure 2.3. TECs Established Around Turkey

Reference: PICTES Project . (n.d).

Number of Temporary Education Centers Around Turkey (December 2018)

■ Number of Temporary Education Centers in December 2018

Adana	Adıyaman	Ankara	Antalya	Batman	Diyarbakır	Gaziantep	Hatay	İstanbul	İzmir	Kayseri	Kilis	Konya	Malatya	Mardin	Osmaniye	Sakarya	Siirt	Şanlıurfa
16	2	4	1	1	2	46	63	16	3	2	19	3	1	1	3	1	1	30
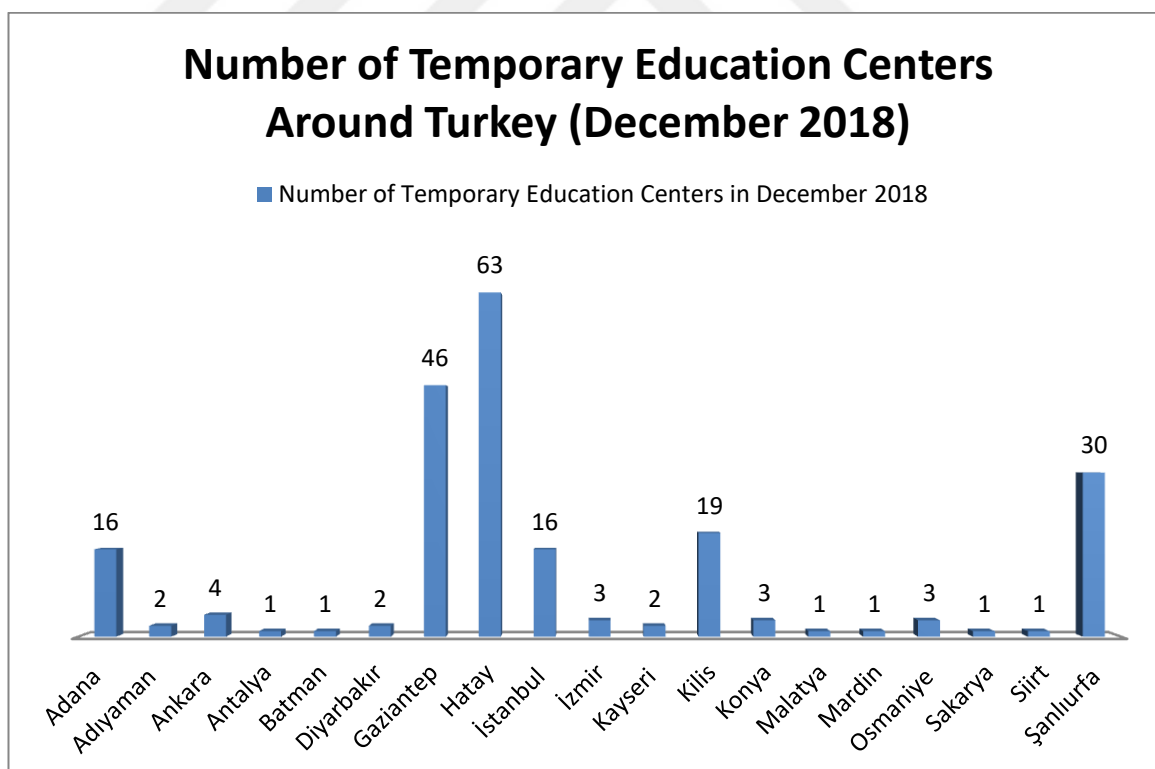
Figure 2.4.   Number of TECs Around Turkey in December 2018

Reference: Turkish Ministry of National Education Lifelong Learning Directorate Department of Immigration and Emergency Education (2018b).

Physical characteristics of TEC's are different from each other. In camps, schools build by government and NGO's while in big cities like Istanbul, some of the TEC's use same school with government schools in a shift; in morning Turkish students take classes, in afternoon Syrian migrants take classes. To increase the number of registered students, MoNe made cooperation with NGO's like UNICEF, ECHO and European Union. This cooperation includes the establishment of TECs and absorption of transportation to schools (UNICEF, 2015). Aim of increasing students to schools achieved numerically, but still, there is not enough information about school dropout rates, attendance rates, and index of integration to the education system. In Table 2.6, a schooling rate of Syrian migrant children can be seen.
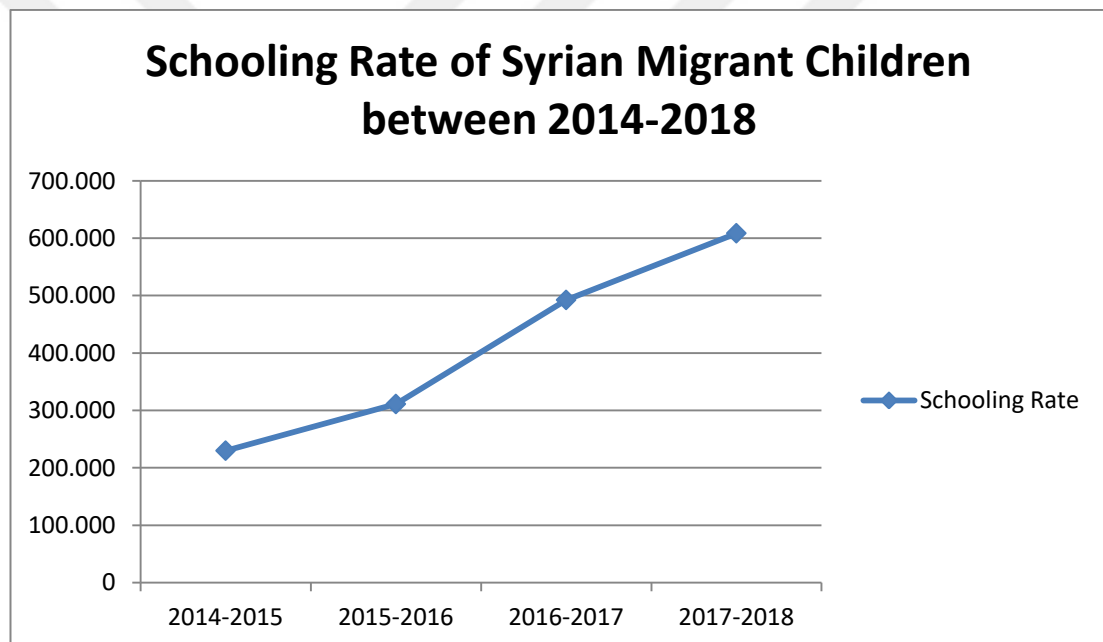
Figure 2.5. Schooling Rate of Syrian Migrant Children (2014-2018)

Reference: Turkish Ministry of National Education Lifelong Learning Directorate Department of Immigration and Emergency Education (2018a).

Though the number of Syrian migrant children registered to schools increased, still almost 40% of children in school age are out of schools. Schooling rate of Syrian migrant children includes children who get distance secondary and high school level education for the 2017-2018 period. Still, 405.906 Syrian migrant children have not registered to schools (Turkish Ministry of National Education Lifelong Learning

Directorate Department of Immigration and Emergency Education, 2018a), and they are faced to face with social issues like child labor or early marriages. In Figure 2.7, the number of Syrian migrant children students enrolled in Turkish public schools in different cities of Turkey can be seen.

Distribution of Syrian Students in Turkish Public Schools by Provinces

■ Distribution of Syrian Students in Turkish Public Schools by Provinces

Province	Value
Adana	4436
Ankara	7948
Antalya	1316
Bursa	12614
Diyarbakır	906
Gaziantep	19025
Hatay	10008
İstanbul	29147
İzmir	9187
Kahramanmaraş	5000
Kocaeli	2720
Konya	6518
Kilis	4987
Mardin	2901
Mersin	6975
Osmaniye	1631
Samsun	1851
Şanlıurfa	6898
Yalova	1029

Figure 2.6. Distribution of Syrian Students in Turkish Public Schools by Provinces
Reference: Education Reform Initiative (2017).

The number of Syrian migrant students is the highest in Istanbul, Gaziantep, Bursa, and İzmir. Considering the number of Syrian migrant population in these cities, it is expected to see a high number of Syrian migrant students. However, in cities Adana, Kilis, Hatay and Mersin where Syrian migrant population is high, it is expected to have more Syrian migrant students. For instance, in İzmir, there are 144.472 Syrian migrants, and the number of children enrolled in public schools is high. However, in Hatay, Kilis, and Mersin, the number of Syrian migrant children engaged in public schools are low even though the number of Syrian migrant in these cities are higher than İzmir. Of course, the number of Syrian migrant children in school-age diversifies city to city; these three cities should analyze in detail in the context of Syrian migrant children education. Considering the number of TEC's in Table 2.3, also in these cities, Syrian migrant children may attend TEC's. In the light

of 2018 data, MoNe put forwards that in 215 TEC's around Turkey number of enrolled children is 108.604. However, considering the high population of these three cities, different problems may stand as a barrier for Syrian migrant students' attendance to school. There may be a lack of access to schools, undeveloped educational infrastructure, high rates of child labor, early marriages, and school drop-out rates may be observed. According to available data, these analyses can conduct in future research to establish reliable policies.

Table 2.1. Syrian Migrant Children's Registration to Schools (In terms of percentage)

Years	Share
2014-2015	30%
2015-2016	39%
2016-2017	59%
2017-2018	62.35%

Reference: Turkish Ministry of National Education Lifelong Learning Directorate Department of Immigration and Emergency Education (2018a).

Even though Figure 2.8. and Table 2.1. indicate that there is an increase in registration to schools, these numbers are not only bound with TEC's. When authorities understand that, Syrian migrants' temporary status will not eliminate for the following years, in the 2016-2017 term, MoNe announced that TEC's would shut down and children in TEC's will transfer to regular Turkish public schools (MEB, 2016). Furthermore, after the 2016-2017 term, students in 1st, 5th, and 9th grades will not register to TEC's. Instead, they will register to public schools. Thus, the gradual transition from TEC's to public schools will be achieved. The number of children enrolled in TEC's and public schools can be seen in Figure 2.8., according to study levels and years.

Syrian Migrant Students Enrolled in Temporary Education Center's and Public Schools in 2018
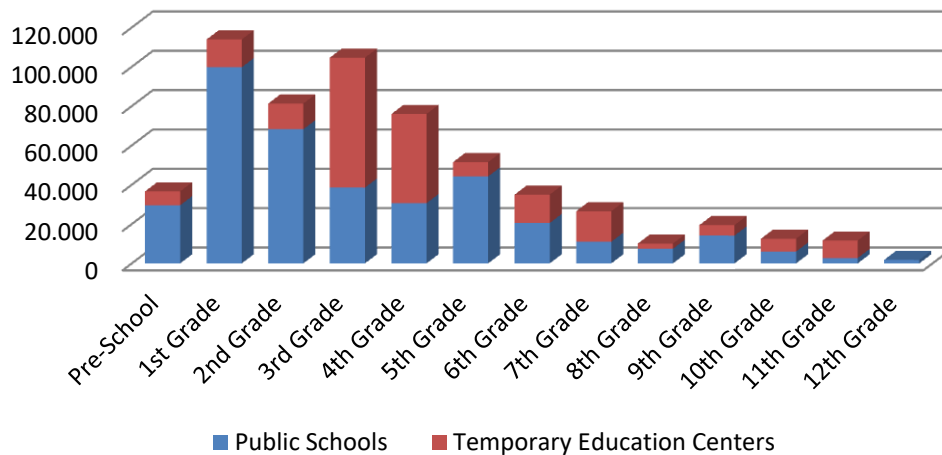
Figure 2.7. Registered Syrian Migrant Students in TEC's and Public Schools in 2018

References: Turkish Ministry of National Education Lifelong Learning Directorate Department of Immigration and Emergency Education (2018a).

Education Reform Initiative, 2018.

The policy of registration 1st, 5th and9[th]-grade students, is successful considering that for all grade types, public school registration level is high. In all three levels, registration to public schools is more than 70% at least in 2018 as seen from Figure 2.8 . After the transition decision, the number of TEC's decreased. In 2018, there were 215 TEC's give education services around Turkey.

1st Grade Syrian Migrant Children in Schooling

100%

■ Public Schools

Figure 2.8. 1st Grade Syrian Migrant Children Registered to Turkish Public Schools in 2018

References: Turkish Ministry of National Education Lifelong Learning Directorate Department of Immigration and Emergency Education. (2018a).

5th Grade Syrian Migrant Children in Schooling

1%

99%
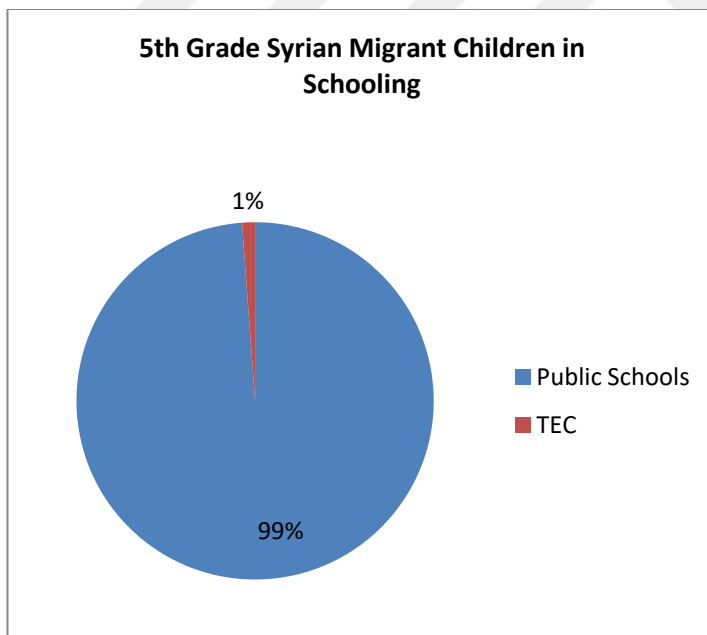
■ Public Schools
■ TEC

Figure 2.9. 5th Grade Syrian Migrant Children Registered to Turkish Public Schools in 2018

References: Turkish Ministry of National Education Lifelong Learning Directorate Department of Immigration and Emergency Education. (2018a).

9th Grade Syrian Migrant Children in Schooling

1%

99%
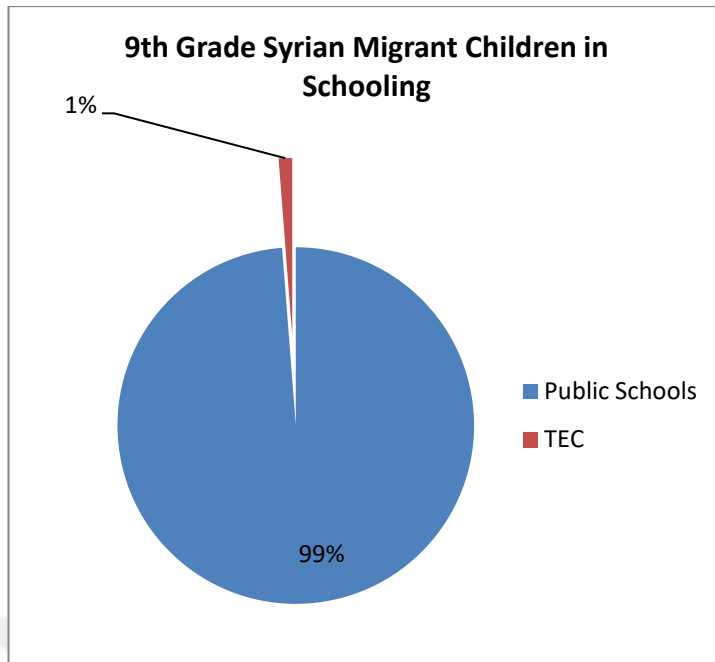
- Public Schools
- TEC

Figure 2.10. 9th Grade Syrian Migrant Children Registered to Turkish Public Schools in 2018

References: Turkish Ministry of National Education Lifelong Learning Directorate Department of Immigration and Emergency Education. (2018a).

In other levels, numbers and percentages are different. For instance, Syrian students registered in 4th grade, the number of enrolled children are almost the same in public schools and TEC's. There are 52,681 students enrolled in public schools and 55,340 students enrolled in TEC's (Turkish Ministry of National Education Lifelong Learning Directorate Department of Immigration and Emergency Education, 2018a). In total, there are 108,021 students at 4th grade, and among elementary and secondary levels, the number of 4th-grade students is the highest (ibid). The percentage of students in 4th grade can be seen in Figure 2.12.

The similar pattern is observed for the students at 8th and 12th grades. There are 12.888 students enrolled in public schools, and there are 16.415 students enrolled in TEC's at 8th grade. There are 2506 students enrolled in public schools, and there are 7157 students enrolled in TEC'S at the 12th grade (ibid). The number of students at the 8th grade can be seen in Figure 2.13. and the number of students at the 12th grade can be seen in Figure 2.14. Due to the fact that 4th, $8^{th,}$ and 12th grades are

transition stages to secondary school, high school, and university respectiveley, MoNe prefers not to transfer all students to public schools.
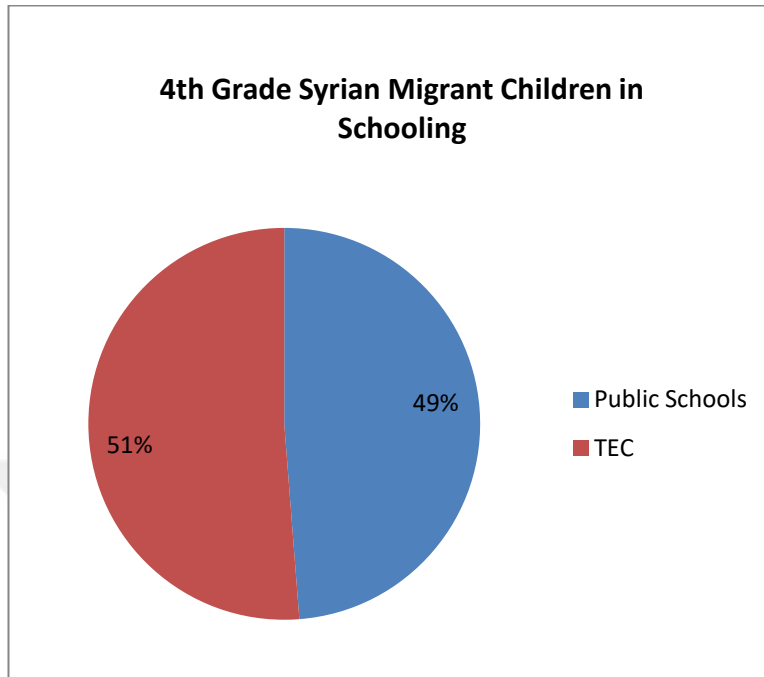
Figure 2.11. 4th Grade Syrian Migrant Children Registered to Schools in 2018

References: Turkish Ministry of National Education Lifelong Learning Directorate Department of Immigration and Emergency Education (2018a).

8th Grade Syrian Migrant Children in Schooling

44% — Public Schools

56% — TEC
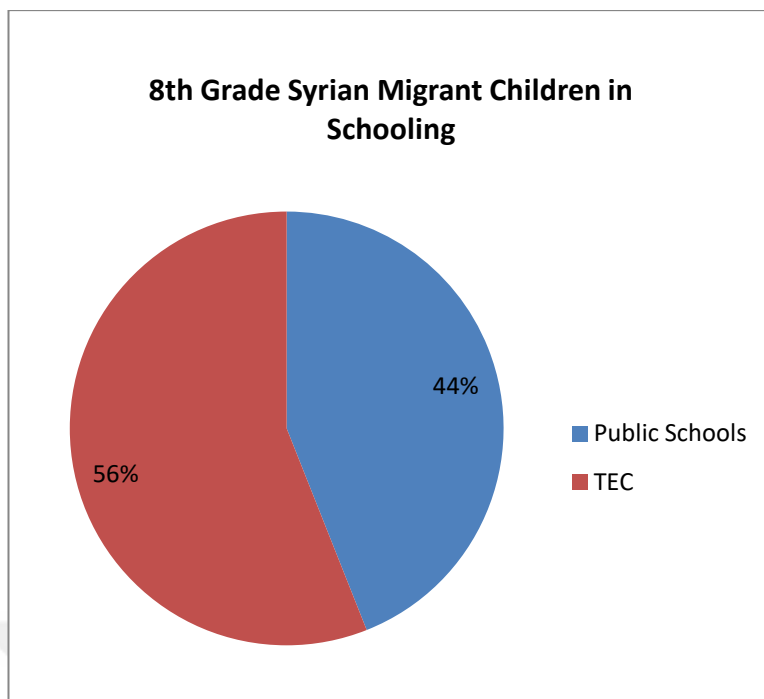
Figure 2.12. 8th Grade Syrian Migrant Children Registered to Schools in 2018

References: Turkish Ministry of National Education Lifelong Learning Directorate Department of Immigration and Emergency Education (2018a).

12th Grade Syrian Migrant Children in Schooling

26% — Public Schools

74% — TEC
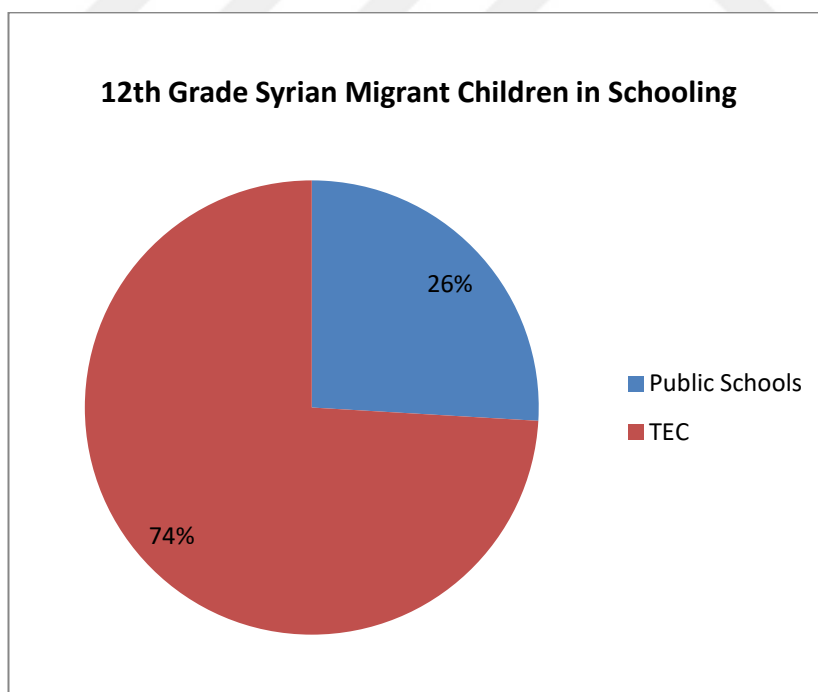
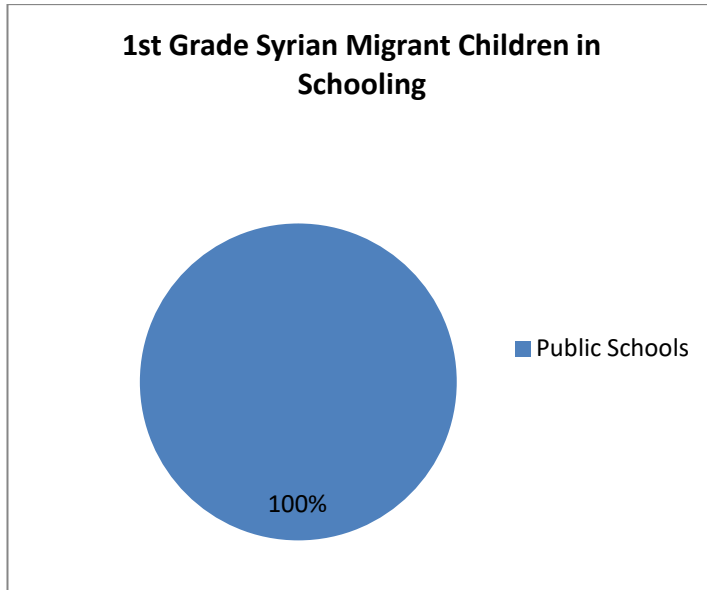Figure 2.13. 12th Grade Syrian Migrant Children Registered to Schools in 2018

References: Turkish Ministry of National Education Lifelong Learning Directorate Department of Immigration and Emergency Education (2018a).

The transition process from TEC's to public schools has both advantages and disadvantages for Syrian migrant children. Because, having a homogenous environment in TEC's may cause a lack of adaptation to Turkish society but also, when the Turkish educational curriculum analyzed, it is lack of multicultural values. Thus, Syrian migrant children may alien to the education system, especially classes like social studies and human rights, citizenship, and democracy classes. Even, human rights, citizenship, and democracy class seem more inclusionary by its name. Unfortunately, it makes emphasis on Turkish values and system, rather than a global level. Also, if policymakers add ice-breaking classes or events to curriculum, it may help to reduce prejudices between Turkish and Syrian migrant children considering the high rate of discriminatory discourses in society and media (Erdoğan, 2018: 147-165). In the next section, educational practices will analyze in the light of processes in the Turkish education system for Syrian migrant The transition process from TEC's to public schools has both advantages and disadvantages for Syrian migrant children. Because, having a homogenous environment in TEC's may cause a lack of adaptation to Turkish society but also, when the Turkish educational curriculum analyzed, it is lack of multicultural values. Thus, Syrian migrant children may alien to the education system, especially classes like social studies and human rights, citizenship, and democracy classes. Even, human rights, citizenship, and democracy classes seem more inclusionary by their names. Unfortunately, it makes emphasis on Turkish values and system, rather than a global level. Also, if policymakers add ice-breaking classes or events to curriculum, it may help to reduce prejudices between Turkish and Syrian migrant children considering the high rate of discriminatory discourses in society and media (Erdoğan, 2018: 147-165). In the next section, educational practices will be analyzed in the light of processes in the Turkish education system for Syrian migrant children.

2.2   Educational Practices

Even though Temporary Protection Law claims that children under Temporary Protection can benefit from educational services in Turkey, in practice, the schooling process is complex for Syrian migrants. According to MoNE, to register any educational institution in Turkey (whether it is Temporary Education Center or

Turkish public schools), students have to have a residence permit and Foreigner Identification Certificate. These documents have been given to Syrian migrants when they first arrived to Turkey. In 2013, MoNE published a circular about Syrian migrants' education but this circular is only comprise Syrian migrant students who are living in camps.

Table 2.2. Chronological Table about TECs

2013	Circular published by MoNE about Syrian migrants education
2014	•Law on Foreigners and International Protection
2014	•Temporary Protection Legislation
2014	•Circular published by MoNE named as Education and Training Services for Foreigners
2016/ 2017	•Transfer from TECs to Turkish public schools
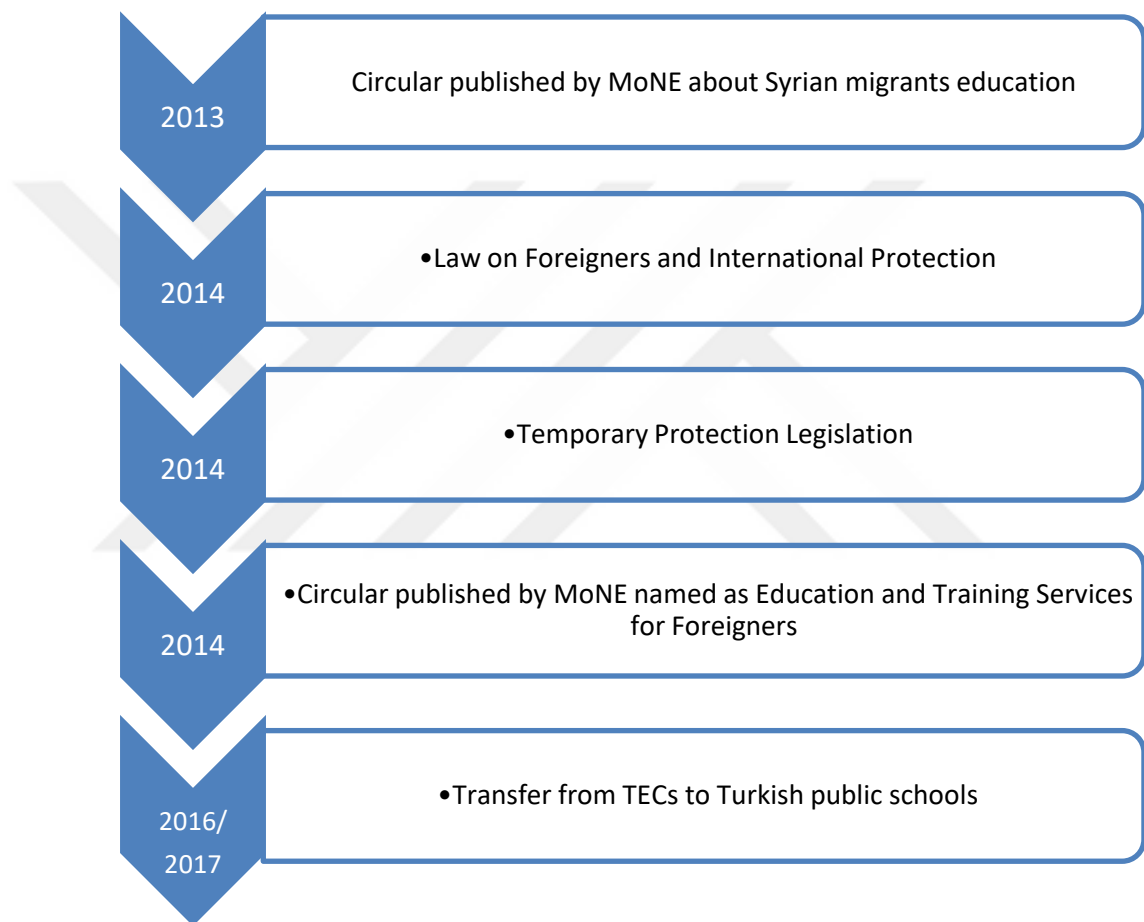
In 2014, with Law on Foreigners and International Protection Syrians uncertain status has been determined and a decree about Temporary Protection Status has been explained. After this law, Temporary Protection Legislation has been published. In this legislation, scope of Temporary Protection, first transactions to be taken under Temporary Protection were explained. Following this legislation, a circular were published by MoNE that explains educational services for people

under Temporary Protection regime. In the circular, establishment of TECs, registration processes and data collection were explained. The number of TECs was determined according to Syrian migrant population in various cities. As indicated in former parts of this chapter, the number of TECs increased steadily. However, in 2016/2017 semester, MoNE announced that TECs will be shut down and Syrian migrant students will be transferred to Turkish public schools. All in all, in general, Turkey has shifted its education policies according to Syrian migrant students since 2014.

As followed from the Table 2.2, MoNE decided to shut down TEC's in the following three years (starting from 2016/2017 semester) and transfer Syrian migrant children to Turkish public schools. Specifically, children, who want to register 1st, 5th and 9th grades, would not register TECs since 2016 and their transfer to Turkish public schools was aimed. The transfer and registration from TEC to Turkish public schools has been determined by MoNE, but in this process, not only schools are active agents, but also provincial education ministries and accreditation committees have a significant role. These commissions determine which schools and grade levels that Syrian migrant children can register.

Provincial MoNE Commission determined registration of Syrian migrant students to both TEC and Turkish public schools but schools, that students will register, are determined according to their residence (MEB, 2014). Also, students, who transfer from TEC to Turkish public schools, have to show their school report in order to register Turkish schools but in some cities school report is not enough for registration. The class in which the child wishes to enroll is based on official documents showing the level of education that the child completed in Syria (UNHCR, 2017). However, when these documents are not available, an interview or a short exam is conducted by Provincial MoNE Commission (UNHCR, 2017).

To follow students who register TEC, an electronic system called YÖBİS (Foreign Student Information Operating System) was put into operation. This system aims to follow registered students electronically. Students who enroll to Turkish public

schools are registered into another electronic system named e-Okul. e-Okul is a school management information system that is operated by MoNE. This system follows grades, absenteeism, transfer process between schools; certificates (merit, appreciation, graduation) can reach by school managers, teachers, and parents. Also, registration of students to schools in primary, secondary, and high school level are made via this system. Students who register to TEC can be followed from YÖBİS system, but when they transfer to Turkish public schools, they have to be registered to the e-Okul system. In general, to enroll primary or secondary level education institutes in Turkey, students under Temporary Protection have to follow this path. However, high school registration is different than primary and secondary education. Students who did not complete high school in Syria, should get into contact with national education directorate of last enrolled province in Syria and get a transcript. If a student cannot communicate with the directorate, the student should go to the Provincial MoNE Commission and apply to register high school. According to the age and education level of the student, the commission will decide which level that children register. Also, for students who graduated from TEC and want to enroll Turkish high schools have to get an accreditation document from Provincial MoNE Directorate (YUVA, n.d). In general, the registration process to TEC and Turkish public schools may take time for students and collecting documents, reaching provincial MoNE directorates or communicating with Syrian national education institutions are hard for Syrian migrant students.

To conclude, a shift in Syrian migrants' education since 2013 has been observed in Turkey. Turkey's unclear migration policy may cause also shifts in education policies for Syrian migrants. In the following chapter, to understand migration policies, education's place initially neo-classical, and dual-labor migration theory will be explained. Then a more contemporary migration theory, transnational migration theory will be discussed and education's place in transnational migration theory will be analyzed in detail.

CHAPTER 3

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION THEORIES

In this research, the transnational migration theory will be discussed to analyze the educational practices of Syrian migrants. As a researcher, I find transnational migration theory relevant because when Syrian migrants started to settle Turkey, Syrian migrant children enrolled in TEC's established by the Turkish government. TEC's are transnational educational institutes because the curriculum is same with Syria (except Turkish class) and TEC serves as a bridge between Syria and Turkey in an educational sense. Transnational migration theory was selected as a case to analyze due to its theoretical framework which claims "the lives of an increasing number of individuals can no longer be understood by looking only at what goes on within national boundaries" (Levitt and Schiller, 2004: 1003). Actions and movements of individuals do not only stick to national practices, but also they are about international practices. To understand how transnational migration theory comprised, former theories which take it roots mostly from focusing on voluntary migration movements, neo-classical migration theory, and dual-labor migration theory will be summarized at the beginning of this chapter. The differences and similarities of these approaches are also explained at the end of the chapter.

Considering a high number of voluntary migrants, forced migrants and refugees it is hard to draw a strict national line to actions and practices of people in host countries because people can keep their bonds with their culture while trying to sustain life in another one. In Syrian migrant's case in Turkey, educational practices has been exposed to change since migration flux started. Thus, Syrian migrants' case is specifically important considering the impact of national boundaries. After the Syrian Civil War, they neither belong to Syria nor another country, like Turkey, legally. Even though, in Turkey, Syrian migrants are under Temporary Protection Law, their social field is dominated by Turkish values. As a social field, schools, or educational places are selected in this research to understand changing paradigms from a transnational perspective.

The discussion will combine what transnational migration theory states about integration and how educational practices of Turkey relate to this. The relation of transnationalism and integration is crucial to analyze because it paves up the way to understand how connections are established between integration in transnational migration theory and integration in practice. To explain the theoretical framework of transnational migration theory, analysis of different researchers (Portes, Rumbaut, Glick Schiller and Levitt) will be included and discussed. The relation of transnationalism and integration will also be discussed in detail with supportive examples.

3.1 Migration Theories

3.1.1 Overview of Neo-classical and Dual-labor Migration Theory

After World War II, due to human resource need, different countries accepted migrants to their countries, especially Europe and the United States are the most popular destination roots (Fassman and Munz, 1992: 458-9; Reimers, 1981:2). However, this migration type is mostly labor migration, which made voluntarily. Labor migration has importance in migration literature specifically after a high number of laborer afflux into the United States and Europe. Starting from Ravenstein, there is significant literature that claims most of the time, causes of migration are economical and made by choice. According to Ravenstein, even though there may be different reasons for migration (bad laws and taxation system, climate problems) the main triggering factor is living in above conditions (Ravenstein, 1889: 286). Hoping to have socio-economically high status, to live in a high-quality environment, accessing health and educational services in a better way can be listed as above conditions to be reached.

Ravenstein claims that migration mostly occurs in short distances, and if they go long distances, the main reason is to reach more industrial or commercial areas (Lee, 1966: 48). After Ravenstein, development of a neoclassical theory which claims that migration is related to wage earnings and labor force (Harris and Todaro, 1970; Massey et al., 1993). Neoclassical theory assumes those push and pulls factors in migration mainly driven by the rationale of economic gain. Push

factors of migration are related to characteristics of origin country while pull factors are affected by the destination country. For neoclassical theorists, one of the most rigid differences between origin and destination countries is an accumulation of capital. Origin countries mostly have less capital, are hard put to meet with workforce needs while destination countries developed in an economic sense, and are able to meet with the needs of the laborer. Castles and Miller state that migration flow from less developed to developed countries are mostly from middle-class people in origin countries not from impoverished people (Castles and Miller, 2008:32-3). Thus, learned skills and earned capital affect the profile of migrants. "In line with other research, the higher the level of an individual's pre-migration skill, the greater the occupational achievement after migration" (Findlay et al., 2009: 875).

Neoclassical migration theory divided into two aspects; these are macro and micro-level migrations. The macro perspective of the neoclassical theory lies on the international wage difference level of countries, and the micro perspective focuses on individual choices, which are mainly sustained by cost-benefit analysis. When individuals make decisions about migration, they do not only consider monetary gain but also costs that they will pay economically, culturally, psychologically, and socially (Massey et al., 1993: 434). Micro-level migration decisions are also tied with the situation of households. Even though micro level migration is assumed to base on individual decisions, networks of individuals especially household members are critical to be considered. Haug put forwards that, a crucial point in the migration chain is enacting to return the host country or migration of other household members to have long-lasting life in the host country (Haug, 2008: 591). When several people in the migration process take into consideration not only the importance of economic capital but also cultural and social capital come into the front stage. Nonetheless, economic capital is seen as a central reason to migrate, other benefits of the host country also affect migration decision. Voluntarily made migration decision may have different consequences.

To start with, after migration experiences in destination countries can lead migrants to take different actions. These actions include return migration due to a number of reasons; migrants cannot adapt to the destination country or cannot meet their needs in destination country, cultural, psychological and social isolation, changing political or social order in destination or origin country, cultural and social bonds in origin country. Staying in the destination country with keeping bonds to origin country or culture, staying in destination country without keeping bonds with origin country and adapt to destination country may be some of the reasons which determine changes in migration decision. In addition to that, some European countries economically supported labor migrants to encourage return migration (Dustman et al., 1996: 217). The idea of turning back or staying in a destination country is also related to socioeconomic status and education level of migrants. Laborer migrants in Germany mostly back to their home countries have lack of speaking German fluently, less skilled in the workforce, low educational level and have tight social or economic (like remittances) bonds with home countries (Constant & Massey, 2003: 633-43). Germany is not only a case that shows social or cultural reasons precluded economic reasons about migration or return migration decision. Survey results conducted in the United States with migrants showed that skills of migrants are significant about giving return decision, and most of the time, less-skilled migrants turn into their countries (Borjas, 1994: 25). Moreover, another research which discusses from Canada to Hong Kong claims that not only economic factors affect the choice of return migration but also political reasons have a role (Fong, 2012: 34-41). In general, according to neo-classical migration theory approach, migrants who decided to have return migration   is misread migration process about economic gains (Cassarino, 2004: 2).

After the establishment of neo-classical economic theory, dual labor market theory has developed. Against the idea of push factors of origin and pull factors of destination countries, this theory claims that pull factors of destination countries have more weight on migration decision than push factors of the origin country. Pull factors of countries and lack of labor force in different business areas cause to migrants to be employed in low-level jobs in peripheral industries while natives are

employed in a more higher level, prestigious and professional jobs (Wilson and Portes, 1980: 299-301). These push and pull factors mainly have been observed after World War II. Countries which reach rapid industrial development cannot meet with labor needs and to fill this gap, laborers are demanded from different countries. Specifically, European countries like France and Germany demand huge number of migrants both from member countries and nonmember countries of the European Union. Countries like Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain are pushing countries of Southern Europe. The essential factor about these countries is after the 1970s, they started to act as pull factors from both African countries and natives who worked in North European countries (Penninx, 1986: 952). Migrants from Africa, Asia, and the Middle East to Southern European countries are not always legal, and these situations aggravate the process of calculating several migrants and rates in migrant-receiving countries. After the 1970s, when European countries realized that both legal and illegal number of migrants started to increase, governments started to get precautions for increasing number of migrants. Both illegal and legal migrants were problems in the eyes of European governments because of issues like safety, employment, and infrastructure.

Additionally, the nature of push and pull factors started to diversify when European governments changed their perspective according to migrants. This perspective change is not only for illegal migrants but also for legal migrants. Illegal migrants come host countries by using tourist visa and stay there even validation date of the passport has over. In the 1970s, Portuguese and Spanish workers mostly escape from dictatorship in their countries used this tactic to sustain their lives in France (Castles and Miller, 2008: 98). In the following years, the United States faced a high number of illegal migrants caused by this factor and expected to continue in next year's (Warren & Kerwin, 2017:125). In addition to illegal migrants, policies that accept legal migrants to countries may become problematic. For instance, in the first times of labor migration, European governments called labor migrants as "guest workers," but after time passes, laborers started to have family merges. Family merges open way to stay in the destination country, and migrants started to establish their lives in these countries.

In the first years of agreement between European and worker-sending countries' government, main aim in European countries was filling the gap in the labor market and access cheap labor force. There was a gap in the labor market because the natives did not want to work in less prestigious areas as working class. As a result of this, they are increasing the gap in the working-class triggered governments to make an agreement with countries which has an excess labor force. The beginning of the 1960s and 70s, specifically Germany, France, and Switzerland made agreements with Southern European, Middle East, and Asian countries. However, these agreements only focused on economic needs of migrants, and there is not much to say about social or cultural needs. As time goes by, the social and cultural needs of migrants started to observe by the government. Even though at the first time of migration, laborer image in host countries mind looks like a robot, governments began to meet with their social needs lately. For instance, Max Frisch claimed that "We wanted people… but we get people instead". An indicator that European countries understand that they get people is family reunification.

The reunification of the family is one of the most significant social needs of "guest workers." Some countries like Switzerland (until the 1960s) banned reunification of the family, but after a while, this process was seen as a fundamental human right and countries have to accept also families of migrants (Castles and Miller, 2008: 110). The reunification of family and individual needs were in the scope of a micro factor of neo-classical theory. Micro part of the neoclassical theory put forwards that individuals are rational actors and they can make migration decision in line with cost-benefit analysis which does include not only economic costs or benefits but also psychological ones (Massey et al., 1993: 434). Economic reasons were the primary factor for migrating or staying in host countries, but as time passes, this trend has changed.

3.1.2 Shifted Migration Trends

During the migration timeframe, the aims and actions of migrants changed. Even though specifically after World War II and following the period people tend to migrate due to economic reasons, war, famine, violation of human rights also

forced a high number of people to migrate from their home country forcibly. One may consider that labor migration of people continuing; this migration type does not have any direct effect on all humanity. However, forcibly migrated people have not only affected one or two specific countries but the entire world. There are 67 million people who forcibly displaced from their countries in 2018 (UNHCR, 2018). In addition, people do not always migrate other countries forcibly but are displaced internally in their home countries. In 2018, there are 11.8 million internally displaced people around the world due to conflict and 18.8 million people due to disasters (IDMC, 2018).In light of this information, theories like neo-classical theory or world-systems theory are not capable of to understand forced migration dynamics and situations of internally displaced people.

Integration or adaptation process of migrants into destination countries comes into the front side in migration literature. Considering this fact, the assimilation theory and transnational theory have gained importance. Assimilation theory firstly introduced by Chicago School of Sociology (Park, Warner, and Srole) and Milton Gordon's "Seven Stages of Assimilation" is the first systemized theory about assimilation. In his book *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins,* he identified different types of assimilation and claimed the first stage of assimilation as acculturation (Gordon, 1964). Assimilation process not only affects specific generation but also it sustain it effects from generation to generation. These intergenerational processes establish a gap between ancestors and descendants. As time passes, the assimilation theory is criticized due to costs of assimilation. Acculturation, changing identity are some points which the assimilation theory is criticized. Moreover, the assimilation theory has differentiated. Segmented assimilation claims that society has different segments, and migrants will occupy different segments in host countries. This theory also put forwards that migrant most of the time segmented in lower classes and experience downward mobility. Portes and Zhou claim that the issue of downward mobility related to hosting countries environment, which is different from origin country (Portes and Zhou, 1993: 77). In addition, assimilation theory mostly rejects the values come from the origin country and only focuses on changes of individuals in

the destination country. As a result of this understanding, migration theories are established in a new way, and the contemporarily transnational theory started to explain how connections occur between home and host countries.

3.1.3 Transnational Migration Theory

Transnational migration theory based on the assumption that migrants now are not only belonging to one country and national borders, migration process does not cause to efface bond with the home country but lead to creating bonds more than only home country. In this research, the transnational migration theory will be used as the central aproach to analyze Syrian migrants education in Istanbul.

Transnational migration theory was firstly constructed against neo-classical theory (Basch et al., 1994; Schiller et al., 1992) and criticized by different academicians (Dunn, 2005; Waldinger and Fitzgerald, 2004). Then, it has revised in the light of critiques and highly increased migration actions occurred in the last decades (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007; Portes et al., 1999). Transnational migrants are called "transmigrants," which implies people who migrated into a new country but continue their relationship with a country that they originated (Glick, Schiller and Fouron, 1999: 344). Chaney also defined transnational migrants as people not breaking their bonds with their home country and have "feet in two societies" (Chaney, 1979: 209). Different sociologists, philosophers also mention these roots and destinations as a duality, which does not exist anymore.

For instance, Deleuze is against the idea of confiding roots (1987: 15) and some sociologists claim that second-generation who experienced transnational migration may affect from the idea of the root (Levitt, 2009; Wessendorf, 2007; Thomson and Crul, 2007). Nowadays, transmigrants are living in different countries due to several reasons, but specifically, the main reason is inequalities around the world. To live in an honorable way, meeting with basic humanitarian needs, ethnic, racial, religious, or gender-based discriminations should be eliminated. As mentioned before, migratory flows are mostly from South to North countries. The way of migration analyzed in transnational migration theory is the same with neo-classical theory or

assimilation theory but approach to solve problems of migrants is crucially varied. Transnational migration theory closed a gap in migration theories. They are starting from neo-classical migration theory migrants only defined as people who seek to maximize their economic situation. However, this value maximization process is not only a benchmark of migration decision. Precisely, considering the last decade wars in Iraq, Syria, and South Africa forced people to migrate all around the world to countries, which are not always parallel to their values or their intention. Transnational migration theory discusses social fields or problems in the social area of host countries. In this perspective, transnational migration theory differs from economy-based theories which are driven by deliberate individual decisions. Even adaptation problems may be seen at people, who migrated intentionally, it is expected to see problems in the social or economic field with forced migration or other types of migration. In the social field, specifically socio-cultural effects or practices of transnationalism can be observed.

The values of migrants are transferred by them to the host country from the country of origin with sustaining their culture and practices, using their mother tongue in everyday life and education, establishing socio-cultural communities and involving into transnational areas. Because migrants establish a social field in host countries, the development and sustainability of this field may be subject to a change as time passes. Moreover, the social field in the host countries has not been significantly understood as a barrier to damage bonds with origin country. Remittances, visits to the host country in holidays, entrepreneurial activity plans to origin country are examples of continuing transnational bonds in the host country. Even, in host country establishments of diasporas, migrant associations, attending politics with authorizing minority parties and forming sports teams are examples of developments of migrant social spaces in host countries. Transnationalism is also divided into categories according to social spheres in the host countries.

There are different kinds of transnationalism types named linear, reactive, and resource-based transnationalism. The type of transnationalism, which aims to build up social sphere leading country or to take the base from the origin country to establish social sphere in the host country, is called linear transnationalism

(Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002: 771). When one analyzes linear transnationalism process, as time passes, migrants can adapt the socio-cultural environment of host country and bonds with origin country declines (Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002: 773). In voluntarily migration actions, individuals may have a chance to travel their home country, support associations that they involved monetarily, make trade between origin and the host country, but in forced migration, similar situations do not come upon much. Thus, if migrants have to leave their country of origin forcibly due to various reasons (war, famine, violation of human rights, political instability, etc.) reaching home country is becoming nostalgia for migrants.

In addition to that, attitudes of host country toward migrants play a crucial role. If host countries are lack of transnational approach in social, economic, and cultural senses, assimilation of individuals to host country is inevitable. In addition to linear transnational approach, areactive and resource-based transnational approaches are also observed in different spheres of migrant society. The reactive approach essentially explains the process which migrants cannot sustain their bonds with their home country because of discriminatory acts that they become face to face to in the host country (ibid: 772). Reactive transnationalism takes its roots from reactive ethnicity which is established by Portes and Rumbaut, and reactive ethnicity implies increased ethnicity awareness as a reaction to negative, discriminatory approaches of the host society (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001 as cited in Snel et al., 2016: 513).

Another research focused specifically on effects of remittances from Norway to host countries of migrants and found out that not only exposing discrimination but also sending remittances do not affect belonging to country (Carling and Hoeslchler: 954). The resource-based approach put forwards that migrants try to make a connection with their home countries but during the first arrival time due to lack of economic resources they cannot achieve it (Chaloyan, 2017: 41; Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002: 772). If economic accumulation occurs, the chances of transnational migration increase for migrants. In resource-based approach, there is a chance to decrease levels of transnationalism if migrants stay in the host country for longer

time to have more resources. However, decreasing levels of transnationalism are not desirable. Resource-based transnationalism has the positive effect of origin country when migrants reach good economic position. Migrants have a chance to invest their home country by establishing mosques, churches, institutions, and donations to different groups. In general, linear, resource-based, and reactive transnationalism are general categories of transnational migration.

According to new migration movements in the world, to understand the nature of migration looking practices at origin country is not enough. One should also observe practices in the host country and how these practices are related to the origin country. How socially, economically, politically subjects exchange between an origin and host countries are some questions that transnational migration theory wants to explore. Social, political, religious, linguistic practices of migrants in host countries are not only affected by origin country but are also developed as a framework of faithful citizens by migrants country of origin (Basch et al., 1994: 10). The transnational theory does not create a barrier to adaptation; instead, it supports integration process (Lima, 2010: 1). Categories of transnationalism can develop and migrants included in these categories should extend to establish connections between theory and practice in a better way.

3.1.3.1   Transnationalism and Integration

In the European context, researchers used integration term as a tool to approach migrants as active agents without only gaze upon policies and practices applied by policymakers rather than the term assimilation (Erdal and Oeppen, 2013: 869). Though there are some researchers implies that because integration is a process, it is not in conflict with transnationalism and integration of migrants enrich host country (Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002: 767; Levitt et al., 2003: 569). However, some researchers also claim that transnationalism and integration are opposite poles; rather than have a supporting role, transnationalism has a negative role in integration (Lacroix, 2009: 1678). Researchers who support the former, one made different classifications of integration in the context of transnationalism. Erdal and Oeppen defined four various relationship types between transnationalism and

integration; alarmist, less alarmist but pessimistic, positive and pragmatist (Erdal and Oeppen, 2013: 872). Alarmist view lies on the assumption that due to transnational bonds or relationships, migrants have two-fold faithfulness challenge, and this circumstance stands as a barrier to their integration (ibid: 872). Less alarmist but pessimistic view implies that because migrants do not have enough cultural or social capital in the host country, they increase transnational bonds, and this situation paves up to way for less integration. Another relationship type named a positive relationship. In this type, integration and transnationalism are in a supportive relationship (ibid: 872). Last relationship type is the pragmatic type, which indicates that migrants do not have to choose between transnationalism and migration (ibid: 873). Academic writings from a pragmatic perspective also claim that transnationalism exists beyond the borders of integration (ibid: 874).

Another researcher, Tsuda also tries to investigate relationship types between origin and host country involvement try to understand the connection between transnationalism and integration (Tsuda, 2012: 631). To understand this relationship, Tsuda offers four ways. The first way is establishing a reverse relationship between the host and origin countries. Tsuda named this approach as a zero-sum approach, and this approach indicates that if an migrant is closer to one of these countries more, another country will fall astern in context of belonging and integration (ibid: 635). Secondly, the zero-sum approach mentions origin and host countries as auxiliary actors for each other. It implies a balance between two countries; when migrants can exist, sustain their life in one country without playing an efficient role on each other (ibid: 635). The third one implies a mutual relationship between the two countries. Tsuda named it as positively reinforcing and refers that when migrants actively interconnect with one society, this process positively affects attachment to other society (ibid: 635). The last one refers to negative interactive relation, which states any detachment with one society leads to becoming detach with other society too (ibid: 635). However, in this integration research, Tsuda mainly focuses on socioeconomic and political transnationalism parts. These integration types vary across place and time of migration. For instance, researches found out that Turkish guest workers in Europe send remittances in their

first years of migration and they aim to send money to their families or to make investments in home country (Sayan, 2004: 69-70). However, when families merge in Europe or migrants decided not to turn Turkey, they made investments in Europe. Asian migrants who work in different countries also put forward that they regularly send remittances to their home country or make investments in their home country because they plan to turn back after a while (Stahl and Arnold, 1986: 899-900). In the case of forced migration, migrants or refugees do not have so many time or chance to decide where and how to go. Even though integration patterns may follow a similar path with migrants and refugees who forcibly migrate, integration categorizations may differ. For migrants who forcibly migrated cannot be evaluated with the same categories as voluntarily migrated migrants. Thus, Tsuda's integration model is not largely suitable for migrants who have to migrate forcibly.

Another research conducted in the United Kingdom about the integration of refugees and other migrants put forward that employment, housing, health, and education are primary indicators integration (Ager and Strang, 2004: 3). In addition to this research, Snel points out that integration has two different aspects which named as structural and socio-cultural (Snel et al., 2006: 267). Structural integration is concerning the educational and occupational status of migrants, while socio-cultural integration is related to social capital or the social network of migrants in the host country (ibid: 267). Ager and Strang also claim that though employment, housing, health, and education are cornerstones of integration, socialization, safety, right awareness and feel belonging to host society are other indicators of integration. To start with, one of the structural components, employment will be discussed.

Employment is a need not only for citizens but also for migrants and refugees to sustain their lives without needing basic needs. Though employment occupies a critical place in lives of migrants and refugees, undetermined policies of governments, hazardous working environments, restrictions, and limitations in restrictive laws stand as barriers in front of attending labor force in host countries.

Besides, employment serves as a tool for mobility for individuals, and it also affects the career of future generations. However, in the light of researches, which focus on the mobility of migrants, claim that most of the time, migrants experience downward social mobility (Fielding, 1995; Freidman and Macmillan, 2017). Other than the socioeconomic side, psychologically being employed affects migrants or refugees in host countries. According to Jackson and Bauder's research conducted in Canada with refugees, being employed increases belonging level (Jackson and Bauder, 2013: 374).

Moreover, education level plays a vital role in employment, but being highly educated is not always resulted as being employed. Even though there are researches that indicate increase in education level also results as an increase in finding a job (Bevelander, 2011: 42), there are also researchers which show though migrants are highly-educated and worked as professionals in their country of origin, in host country they experience unemployment, work temporarily or part-time (Krahn et al., 2000: 69-71). Thus, employment and integration are about urban dynamics, policies of host countries, and psychological needs.

Another indicator, housing is also crucial for integration in different senses. First of all, considering human nature and Maslow's hierarchy of needs, the first two steps of the hierarchical diagram are psychological and safety needs. In the light of this knowledge, one can easily conclude that a safe, secure place to live is the basic need of a human. Thus, housing captures a particular place in the lives of people. For migrants and refugees, having a safe place in the host country is not only a part of the integration but also it is a fundamental need. As reported by UNHCR, 69% of refugees around the world are living outside of the camps, living conditions in urban or rural areas of host countries shed light on their integration process. Various researches indicate that living in mixed neighborhoods increase integration level of migrants, minorities and refugees into host country (Fennelly and Orfield, 2014: 21) but some researches also indicate that living in the mixed neighborhood is not have any effect on integration (Boschman, 2011: 20).

Another integration indicator, health occupies a critical place in integration, but for both migrants and refugees, there are potential barriers in front of accessing health services at host countries. According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights , everyone has a right to get health services to sustain their lives, and mothers and childhood needs special care (United Nations, 2015: 52). Though accessing health services is a human right, attaining health services may problematic for various humans like migrants and refugees. Language barrier, cultural differences, health care models may play barrier role for migrants or refugees while accessing health services. Because, migrants and refugees may have a traumatic background if they escape from war, famine or disasters, psychological support is crucial for their integration to the host country. When adult refugees are analyzed psychologically, their childhood background about the war process affects their psychological health (Opaas et al., 2015: 632). Regardless of where the war took place, traumatic effects may be seen in both adults and children. Because, due to wars, people may internally displace in their country, or they may involuntarily migrate to different countries, they need to get health support. Quality and context of these health services are crucial. Specifically, showing regard to a high number of women and children migrants or refugees around the world, humanely accessing health service is a new need. However, not all refugees accepted countries are prosperous in the integration of migrants and refugees into the healthcare system. For instance, in the United Kingdom, tests can be conducted by hospitals or healthcare institutions, but treatment is not always provided (2009: 768). Also, in some countries, health insurances do not meet with all treatment or surgery costs. As a result, economic problems stand as a barrier in front of sustaining a decent life.

Moreover, in the context of maternal healthcare due to hardship to access for health services, mortality rates may increase. Lack of family planning services may also have additional adverse effects on having a healthy pregnancy process. Accessing healthcare services is crucial in refugee and migrant accepted countries considering the fact of a high number of refugee and migrant children. Researchers conducted in Australia, United States of America, Uganda, Turkey mainly focus on the mental health of migrants and refugees (Sirin and Sirin, 2017; Carrico et al.,

2017; Tiong et al., 2006). Results imply that both in children and adults, various diseases may be observed. Especially, mental diseases and health problems observed due to inadequate vaccination spread among migrants and refugees. To have a good quality of life, treatment methods and accessing healthcare services should become more manageable, and information sessions for migrants and refugees should set by authorities.

Furthermore, if governments or NGO's will not take due precautions, psychological problems affect social lives and integration processes, and physical health problems affect their sustainability of good quality life in host countries. To save the next generations who become face to face with war since their childhood, good organization and improving quality of health services are indispensable. Chiefly, psychological, and physical treatment of children health is crucial because children cannot be able to get a good education without treating the aforementioned health problems. These health problems lead to a lack of integration to host society and stir up isolation from society.

The last indicator, education plays a massive role in the integration of both adults and children. Specifically, for children who start formal education in host countries, schools are places that they become face to face with and interact with citizens of the host country so much in the first time. A planned integration strategy for education should be implemented considering refugees' and migrants' needs to keep these children on a proper educational track. To establish healthy educational integration strategies, needs, and backgrounds of refugees and migrants, children and families have to be determined. In the case of education, not only accessing education services in the host country is significant but also past experiences in education may strengthen or weaken the integration process. For instance, different researches indicate that if the education level of migrants or refugees is high, their transnational activities also increase according to their educational level (Snel et al., 2006: 267). To meet with migrants educational needs, host countries should start to develop educational policies parallel to transnational migration values and transnational educational fields occurred.

In the last decades, due to high migration flows, a transnational education field was established in various countries. International schools, TECs, minority schools are some examples of these fields. Experiences of children and motivations of parents, who send their children to facilities where transnational education is dominant, are crucial to be analyzed.

The curriculum of schools and other educational facilities also illustrate integration approach of host countries. In refugee and migrant accepted countries, school curriculums are lack of multicultural values (Dilworth, 2004: 155; Salinas, 2006: 20). Multicultural values are needed in education to prevent racism and one region or one country based cultural accumulation. Also, considering that migrant children have a chance to continue their education in their country of origin, learning about their culture and language can positively affect their adaptation process. Internationally, different countries used various educational policies to adopt migrant children to the education system. Considering that, in the last decades, there were so many migrants and refugees who were forcibly displaced from their country of origin and had to sustain their lives in host countries. For instance, Syrian migrants in Turkey, at first get an education in TEC's, but because war has not ended since 2011, these centers started to shut down, and all children started formal public schools in Turkey. Contrary to this, at the 1980s in Malawi and Zimbabwe, Mozambique refugees followed Mozambique curriculum, and when they come back to Mozambique, they prevented from loss of the year in education (Sinclair, 2007: 54). In countries like Germany, though there have been a high number of migrants from various countries like Turkey, Poland, Romania, and some Middle East countries, the education system is not designed multiculturally (Sliwka, 2010: 210).

In contrast, migrants have to adopt the national education system in Germany. In Germany, Turkish migrants are at the below of German peers about reaching high-level education and this situation may be an indicator of not having enough information and integration to the German education system (Kristen and Granato, 2007: 354). Similarly, refugee education in host countries is problematic due to lack

of information about educational rights and education system, language barrier, limited economic support and discriminatory practices (Crul et al., 2017: 68; Kırkıç et al., 2018: 238-9). To solve these issues, in the last decades, ' different educational approaches have been applied by various countries, and they aimed to increase the adaptation level of migrants and refugees. Though, sometimes national policies implemented in education for migrants and refugees were based on assimilatory practices, more inclusionary approaches like multicultural education has been applied in various countries.

In the last decades, multicultural education in Europe and the United States of America started to occupy a significant place to establish equal opportunity for minorities. Labor migrations to Germany, France, and Belgium followed with family reunification, and education of 1.5 and 2.0 generation migrant children has taken attention from education, sociology, and administrative areas. Also, in the United States of America, migrants from different backgrounds, and different countries increased year by year. Most of the migrants of the United States originated from Latin America and Asia, and these migrant groups doubled from 1999 to 2017 (Migration Policy Institute, 2017). Increase in children population, whose at least one parent is migrant, more than doubled between 1990-2017 and share of migrant children born in the United States, increased from 77% to 88% (ibid). Lastly, Turkey is a country that hosts a high number of refugees and migrants around the world. In the first time of the Turkish Republic's history with the Syrian War, a high number of migrant children below 18 started to live in Turkey. Considering Turkey's ethnic diversity, a high number of children from various ethnicities included in the education system and curriculum designs should appeal to humanitarian values. To meet the demands of rapidly increased migrants, inclusive and participatory curriculum should be designed and applied in host countries.

During the migration process, not only adults but also children sustain their social lives in between host and home countries. Specifically, multilingual and cultural adaptation processes of migrant children in transnational fields are hard (Endo, 2016: 166-7; MacPherson and Goso, 2008: 211-3). Even though multiculturalism

and value of multicultural curriculum in densely migrant populated countries increased in last decades (Banks, 2016), due to conflicts that have been continuing specifically in the Middle East and Africa, these education strategies transitivize according to dynamics of the migrant population. In the following section, bonds of transnational migration and education will explain. Educational policy examples from different migrant hosted countries will be explained in the context of transnationalism and multicultural education.

3.1.3.2   Transnationalism and Education

Definition of transnational education used by a number of researchers in various meanings (Adick, 2018; Gu, 2009; Healey and Michael, 2015; Heffernan et al., 2010). Gu defines transnational education (TNE) as a popular trend in education since the 1980s and divides it into four main parts; economic orientation, the domination of market principles, blurring boundaries, the emergence of new delivery models (Gu, 2009: 625-631). However, Gu's perception of transnational education has limited with higher education because he applied the definition of United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO-CEPES) and the European Council to approach TNE (ibid: 625). In this definition, it was implied that

"a[A]ll types of higher education study programs, or sets of courses of study, or educational services (including those of distance education) in which the learners are located in a country different from the one where the awarding institution is based. Such programs may belong to the education system of a State different from the State in which it operates, or may operate independently of any national education system." (UNESCO-CEPES, 1999, cited from Gu, 2009: 625).

The Global Alliance for Transnational Education (GATE) definition of transnational education is more inclusionary about all levels of education.
"Any teaching or learning activity in which the students are in a different country (the host country) to that in which the institution is providing the education is based (the home country). This situation requires that national boundaries be crossed by information about the education, and by staff and/or education materials (whether

the information and the education, and the materials travel by mail, computer network, radio or television broadcast or other means)" (GATE, 1995:1, cited from Heffernan et al., 2010: 28).

Adick claims that TNE means educational spheres based on private ground, where there is not any place for governmental, state or for-profit institutions, across national borders with aiming to conduct education (Adick, 2018: 126).

Limiting transnational education with one level of education and for only non-governmental/state/profit institutions are not so much realistic, considering the fact that there are so many migrant children around the world who are far from their country of origin voluntarily or forcibly and have to get education in host countries in all levels (primary, secondary, tertiary). Pitkanen and Takala offer the term called transnational education space to imply combining various nations' regions educational activities and relations (Pitkanen and Takala, 2012: 230). Transnational education spaces in host countries have a critical impact on migrants and refugees because entering into schooling, children or adults for the first time encounter with host countries culture and values densely.

Considering the fact of a high number of migrants around the world, schooling experiences are crucial to analyze to see how connections established between host and origin countries in an educational, social setting. Place of education in transnationalism has been remaining on various researchers' agenda. Transnationalism research takes two different agencies in education as the principal research focus. The first category of researchers focuses on migrant pupils' experiences in school and education life (Zhou, 1998; Mendez and Staudt, 2013). The second category of researchers focuses on teachers' and parents' opinions about migrants' education and transnationalism (Hahn, 2015; Adams and Shambleau, 2006; Reichert and Purta, 2019). Because, children, parents, and teachers are actively engaged in schooling and learning practices, opinions, and experiences of these agents are crucial to building a transnational education system. In addition to pupils, families, and teachers, institutions have a role in establishing transnational education fields. Especially, communication between host

and origin country governments, non-governmental organizations, networks, and artifacts are other factors that should not be forgotten in the context of transnational education (Schneider, 2017: 613).

Transnational education occupies an important place in policy and practice development in the last decades. TNE focuses on higher education and does not consider primary education as a tool to meet with transnational needs of migrant children. National universities branches in other countries, online learning systems, exchange programs are TNE researches mainly concerned about (Heffernan et al., 2010; Kesper-Biermann et al., 2018). Even though, some researchers state that TNE is available in K-12 education level (Kesper-Biermann et al., 2018: 114), these institutions in various countries mainly target migrants who voluntarily migrate and have access to these institutions in specified areas. Though migrant education researches mainly endure voluntarily migration processes, children who forcibly leave their origin country and have to live in a host country should have a place in the education system. Due to war, famine, starvation millions of children has to change educational institutions that they enrolled and have to adapt to the host countries education system. To sustain their education lives, education systems developed in host countries are needed to be analyzed, and reforms should be made according to the demands of migrant and refugee children. Researches also claim that for forcibly migrated children, both receiving and sending countries have a common point about their education and this education should not only in boundaries of one countries culture or curriculum (Espindola and Suarez, 2017: 55). Thus, the curriculum in both countries should include multicultural and ethical values that applicable around the world. As a suitable education system example, multicultural education has including humanitarian values and ethical concerns in curricula without mentioning on one country's values, is parallel with expectations of transnational education may use as a tool for developing TNE in K-12 level education. Considering 52% of forcibly migrated people around the world is below age 18 (UNHCR, 2018: 3) establishing a more comprehensive TNE should develop.

3.1.3.3 How can Transnational Education be improved? Examples from Multicultural Education

As stated in the former part, TNE in elementary, secondary and high school level is not applied though it may have significant benefits to migrant and refugee students. Considering that, transnationalism has increased around the world; TNE should concern elementary, secondary and high school education. For these education levels, host countries may select to apply multicultural education in national schools or multicultural education may also apply in TNE institutions. However, TNE criticizes multiculturalism from various perspectives. "From the perspective of transnationalism, the main problem with multiculturalism however is that, it takes the nation-state to be its entire moral universe. In this way, it often appears divorced from the process of transnationalization that are increasingly affect the ways in which many people think about their identity, their sense of belonging and the cultural spaces that they inhabit" (Drinkwater et al., 2019: 39). Also, Vertovec gave example from political sphere and stated that transnational political engagement of migrants constitute problems for nation-state centered policies including multiculturalism (Vertovec, 2001: 16). In addition to that, in some researches both concepts of transnationalism and multiculturalism in political sphere has used but researchers indicated that these concepts are not opposite poles (Gerdes et al., 2012: 117). Though, there are so many critiques about the relationship between transnationalism and multiculturalism, because TNE mostly focused on higher education, multiculturalism can use as a framework and developments can make in TNE to reach migrant and refugee children's education.

Accessing TNE is widespread among countries considering higher educational institutes, and it means providing education to students from one foreign institution to another. This service can apply in the K-12 to enhance connections between origin and host countries. As a result of this, migrant students at the K-12 level also will not stay distant from their culture. In this part of the research, multicultural education will be given as an example to develop transnational education for K-12 level institutions. Due to its culturally diversified nature, multicultural education may develop and combine with TNE to serve students in K-12 level. Arshad-Ayaz,

offers a proposal for a transnational multicultural education and put forwards that, multicultural education should re-analyze and develop because it has some reasons to failure (Arshad-Ayaz, 2011: 72). Multicultural education should develop in a global worldview and transnational multicultural education will aim to have citizens of the world (ibid: 74). In general, Arshad-Ayaz makes emphasis on deficiencies of multiculturalism and combining it with TNE. Similarly, in these research shortcomings of both multicultural and transnational education will be emphasized and examples from multicultural education will be explained to develop TNE for K-12 level.

Multicultural education takes its basis from respecting every race, ethnicity, religion, a linguistic group from various strata of society (Banks, 2011: 13) and it is a useful way in integrating migrant and refugee children into the education system in host countries. Initially, multicultural education started in the U.S.A. in response to the Civil Rights Movement (1960s/70s), and this move triggered the establishment of multicultural education (Gollnick and Chin, 2017: 20). After the effect of the Civil Rights Movement, non-segregated class and schools followed by the establishment of multicultural curricula and classroom designs (ibid: 21). The aim is to increase intercultural relations and eliminate only one dominant culture's values in the education system. In the following years, the 1990s, multicultural education theory was criticized and developed from various other ideas. Predominant critiques imply that multicultural education has not only to give enough substance on power dynamics and domination in education but also spotlight contrast characteristics rather than sameness (Jay, 2003; Troyna, 1987). These critiques also focus on anti-racist discourses and criticize multicultural education from that perspective**.**

From these critiques, different theories emerged based on race and inequality. However, theorists who design framework of multicultural education state that one of the mains in multicultural education theory is having equal opportunities for all races (Banks, 2011; Bode and Nieto, 2008). Critical pedagogy, antiracist theory, and critical race theory were established and aimed to fill the gaps in the multicultural theory. To sum, critical pedagogy implies going beyond learned values in everyday

life with education, mainly approach dominant values in society in a critical way; antiracist theory, started in Canada and spread among Europe specifically in Britain, to criticize liberal multicultural theories (Gillborn, 2006: 12), aim to show racist applications has continued in education and eliminate racism. Critical race theory points out white dominance and racial inequalities in mainstream society and culture. From perspectives of multiculturalists, multicultural education framework build up "critical thinking about these and other issues to ensure that education serves the needs of all groups equitably" (Gollnick and Chin, 2017: 22). In general, the goal of multicultural education and educational understanding of transnational education are parallel. Because both of these approaches link various cultures with each other and offer equal opportunities from students without putting much value to another. Applications of transnational and multicultural education conducted by different countries for migrants are significant to understand educational practices for migrants considering that schools have a role in academic, emotional, and social development.

Schools are also places for identity construction, and the identity construction of migrant children is not only bear on the experiences from the country of origin. When migrant enters school environment in the host society, not only experiences from the country of origin but also valuable experiences in the journey of migration affect their identity construction process in schools (Oikonomidoy, 2011: 21). Migrant and refugee receiving countries have to establish education policies and practices by migrants and refugees needs. Researches conducted about migrant education imply educational inequalities, experiences of migrant children or families, and policy recommendations to reach inequality barrier. Migrants educational problems can be listed as, language barrier, lack of information about educational services in the host country, scarcity of multicultural values in the school curriculum, accreditation problems between home and host country and discriminatory acts that they become face to face in schools. Migrant children do not experience the process of migration same, so to achieve higher levels in education, teachers and schools should motivate migrant children to engage in education system actively, establish multiculturalism and multilingualism in schools

(Stojanov, 2018: 40). Buckland put forward that, in refugee education, refugee camps are more suited education place compared with refugee children living outside of refugee camps and continue on formal education due to oral and curriculum-based problems (Buckland, 2011: 7-8). However, in recent years with perpetual wars and famines forced refugees and migrants to live in camps for an uncertain time. Thus, continuing education with only bounding curriculum and values of origin country are not valuable considering the future of the children.

Integration to the host country is not dropping out mother tongue or origin countries culture; instead, it is becoming bilingual in linguistic sense or learning new cultural values in a social sense. Clearly, not only migrants should learn the values of the host country, but also people from the host country should be able to understand and learn the values of migrants. Glick also claims that specifically in transnational migration literature, more nationalist approaches confuse social cohesion between migrant and local people (Glick Schiller, 2010: 109). If integration expected from a specific party, most of the time they are migrants who are expected to integrate, this leads to an assimilatory process. In education, this pattern is also conventional. Host countries expect from migrants to integrate to the mainstream education system, rather than re-design education system considering different parties needs, integrating TNE and multicultural education in K-12 level.

To understand the integration practices of migrants, to achieve a prosperous and equal integration level, some migrant-receiving countries have applied multicultural education policies and practices, nonetheless, before using multicultural policies to understand that the main problems in the education system are crucial. As an example, in Germany, the main reason for designing such a system is low participation and success of migration in education. According to results of OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development), migrants in Germany from different backgrounds (Italy, Poland, and Turkey) educationally attain professional institutions almost 20 percent less (OECD, 2018: 102). Also, TIES (The Integration of the European Second Generation) study implies that, in various

European countries, the educational attainment of migrants is distinct (Crul and Heering, 2008). In different cities of Austria, France, and Switzerland, migrants attend education in various degrees, but the common point in three countries is an increased level of education in the second generation and upward educational mobility trend between first and second-generation migrants (Schnell, 2014: 73). Though in the second generation, results are getting better. Still, the equivalency gap is negative compared with natives. For instance, in Germany, where 23.6% of the German population has migrant routes (DW, 2017), the main problem of migrants is learning the language and becoming bilingual. Thus, bilingualism and multiculturalism should be common values in society. However, acquiring German and accessing high-level educational institutions are not easy for migrants. According to a research made by 41 Turkish migrants in Germany, language learning develops as a huge barrier in front of education and the past; classes were segregated for migrants because it was thought that they were temporary in Germany, affect their integration into education system negatively (Barwick, 2016: 95). Peer participation occupies a significant place in education for migrant children (Messiou and Azaola, 2017: 3). Hence, segregating migrants from their peers and establishing classes based on one nationality open a way to establish "natives" and "foreigner" groups, which is not the preferred method in multicultural education. PISA results are another indicator for Germany to become aware of the value of multicultural education. According to PISA results, almost 20% of migrant students left school without having any certificate, only 13% of migrant children can able to pass Abitur tests and start university, and a high number of migrant students repeat their classes (Luchtenberg, 2011: 468). Furthermore, teachers are not capable of meeting with migrant children needs and diagnosing their problems during their educational lives (ibid: 469). In general, lack of adaptation to host society and lack of attention from professionals caused less educational attainment and established a gap between migrant and native students.

To avoid this gap, multicultural projects started to apply in Germany. School Without Racism – School Without Courage is one of the examples that started in the 1980s at Belgium, Germany and other European countries to avoid discrimination

and racism with using humanitarian values, democracy and human rights (ibid: 467). BMW Group also supports multicultural education practices and projects. In 2006, a project conducted with children who are between 8-13 years old from various nationalities gathered outside of school with their parents to discover other culture's values and characteristics (ibid: 468). However, these projects were not national; they were applied in some specific areas of Germany. Considering a high number of forced migrant children around the world, number of projects to support migrant education should increase and they should be supported in a multicultural and multilingual way.

Until now, researches have been conducted with migrants in European countries chiefly focus on voluntarily migrants. However, especially after the Syrian War, several children and their families forcibly leave their country and are not named as refugees in these countries. Turkey, Lebanon, Uganda, Iran, and Pakistan are the most refugee-hosted countries around the world (UNHCR, 2018). However, when these countries educational practices were analyzed, there are not any multicultural or transnational educational practices, and policies exist. As a distinct case, Turkey, named Syrian refugees as under Temporary Protection and establish TEC's as explained in Chapter 1 and 2. When one analyzes the definition of TNE, TECs are also perceived as transnational educational facilities. However, Turkey's decision to shut down TECs and transfer Syrian migrant children to Turkish public schools is opposite to transnational migration policies. 1.5 and 2.0 generations Syrian migrants in Turkey have been studying in schools with Turkish-nationalism based curriculum which is not related with their main culture or multiculturalism. In the next chapter, Istanbul, as a particular case, will be analyzed in the context of Syrian migrant education. Istanbul is selected because it is the most Syrian migrant living city.

CHAPTER 4

SYRIAN MIGRANT FAMILIES IN ISTANBUL

4.1   General Characteristics of Respondents in the Research

As stated above, in this research, Syrian migrant children and their parents in Eyüp are the main participants. In this district, there are many Syrian migrant household units, and for this research, I reached seven families. The process of sampling is considered as one of the significant cornerstones in the research. To conduct sampling properly, representatives of the population should match with universe empirically or theoretically (Mason, 2002: 123). In addition, strategically sampling has a crucial role in research because sampling strategy has been strongly connected with data analysis and argument that is intended to build. As a strategy, homogenous sampling has been used in this research. Homogenous sampling is a sampling strategy, which is used to "describe a particular subgroup in-depth," and similar processes or experiences are highlighted (Palinkas et al., 2015: 3-17).

During the sampling process, I tried to select children who studied at least one year in both TEC's and Turkish public schools. Specifically, mostly, I target children who started Turkish public schools in the 2017-2018 periods. These children have studied at least one year in Turkish public schools and enough time to gain experiences. Also, starting from the 2017-2018 period, some children changed their schools because they moved into a new house. Moving into a new house opens a way to compare also different Turkish public schools in the context of their approaches to Syrian migrant students. Moreover, in my sample, there are two children whose public school experience is less than one year and one child who dropped out the school. I added these cases to my research to enrich data.

In this part of my thesis, firstly, I want to explain the demographic variables of participants. Table 4.1 shows the demographic features[4] of children participants.

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[4] To maintain anonymity, name of participants changed.

Before conducting interview with children, their parents signed a permission form. Additionally, if families want to see questions that directed to their children, questions printed as hard copy and they were given to parents. Interviews with children and parents were conducted separately. If the physical situation of the house was not available, a quiet place in house selected and interviews were conducted in that area. During the interview, sometimes children did not want to continue because they got bored, or they did not want to share their experiences. In these situations, the interview lasted without forcing.

Table 4.1. Demographic Features of Syrian Migrant Children

No	Name	Age	Gender	Grade	Years in Turkey
1	Sima	12	F	4	3
2	Melike	15	F	9	5
3	Aya	13	F	7	5
4	Salih	10	M	5	5
5	Maysa	10	F	4	6
6	Omar	11	M	3	6
7	Ahla	12	F	5	6
8	Atike	11	F	4	5.5

Table 4.2. (continued)

9	Adem	14	M	7	6
10	Samia	13	F	7	5
11	Esver	12	F	4	5
12	Siraç	11	M	4	3
13	Hira	9,5	F	4	5.5

The average age of children is 11.8, average years spend in Turkey is five years. 30% of children are male; 70% of children are female. The youngest child in this research is ten years old and attends to 4th grade. The oldest child in this research is 15 years old and is at 9th grade. When education histories of children were analyzed, only four of them said that they went to school in Syria and remembered their schools. Other nine students started education in Turkey at TEC or studied 1st grade in Syria and continue their education first in TEC then Turkish public schools. The children were registered to schools according to the address system. In Turkey, according to a place of residence, school of children are determined from the e-Okul system. Transfer to different school is also made with the demand of parents petition. In this research, except one, all children went to schools according to e-Okul system. One of the childrenhad been transferred to another school with her mothers' petition. In this study, 13 children are registered to 6 different schools. Names of schools will not be mentioned due to ethical concerns. Four months after conducting interviews, one of the children dropped the school because of discrimination that she had encountered. Further details will be given about this topic in the discussion part.

Table 4.2 includes demographic information about the parents of children[5]. As seen in Table 4.2, the educational level of parents varies between at least illiterate and at most high school graduate. In most of the families, the education level of females is low compared with males. Women's claimed that they studied until 6th or 7th grade at most, and then they got married. Some parents do not know writing formal Arabic. As a result, they are not able to teach their children how to write in their mother tongue.

Table 4.3. Demographic Features of Syrian Migrant Families

No	Name	Age	Gender	Grade	Years in Turkey	Education Level	# of Children	Occupation
1	Emina	F	42	Married	6	High school	5	Housewife
2	Sadan	F	33	Married	3	Secondary school	5	Housewife
3	Rima	F	28	Married	6	Secondary school	5	Housewife
4	Mariam	F	40	Married	6	Secondary school	7	Housewife
5	Salma	F	38	Not Married	6	Secondary School	8	Housewife
6	Usame	M	?	Married	6	Secondary School	5	A worker in the Textile Industry
7	Vahide	F	27	Married	5.5	Secondary school	4	Housewife
8	Kasım	M	38	Married	5.5	Secondary School	4	Shopkeeper

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[5] To maintain anonymity, name of participants changed.

4.2 General Characteristics of the Field in the Research

As a researcher, I have been visited Eyüp for 1.5 years. I regularly visit neighborhoods where Syrian migrants live and the areas around their neighborhoods. Additionally, I have a chance to visit the TEC's and Turkish public schools with parents of Syrian children. During my time there, I had the opportunity to observe in these different areas. Overall, I observed effects of changing education system on Syrian migrant children and families, changing the physical structure of the neighborhoods, communication between Turkish and Syrian people; schools approach to Syrian migrant children and their families and daily life problems faced by Syrian migrant families.

When I first started to work in Eyüp, I observed that the socioeconomic status of both Turkish and Syrian people is in lower-middle levels. Eyüp's socio-economic development structure was researched by Eyüp Municipality and a report published to show municipalities' strategic plan between the years 2015-2019 (Eyüp Belediyesi, n.d.). According to this report, in 2014 Eyup district has 28 neighborhoods. In the report, industrial facilities in Eyüp district have been analyzed by occupational branches. According to number of industrial facilities, leading facilities are textile and machinery industry in Eyüp district (Eyüp Belediyesi, 2014: 41). In addition to occupational structure, education levels of people living in Eyüp Municipality were also analyzed in the report. In the light of data collected by TÜİK in 2014, in Eyüp district 42% of people are graduated from elementary school, 21% of people from high school and 12% of them from college or university level, respectively (Eyüp Belediyesi, n.d.: 33). Even though, there is detailed data about socioeconomic features of population living in Eyüp Municipality, there is not any specific data about Syrian migrants under Temporary Protection in both reports.

Erdoğan put forwards that, ratio of Syrian migrants under Temporary Protection to population of Eyüp district is 2,87% (Erdoğan, 2017: 36). In Eyüp district, in total there were 10.779 Syrian migrants under Temporary Protection according to 2016 data but Erdoğan states that this number may be up to 12.500 and the percentage rises to 3.33% (ibid: 49). Lack of regulations about municipalities' responsibilities on

migrants causes some problems about using resources. Economically, municipalities are not getting any monetary support for migrants and this situation creates a resource sharing problem for municipalities which host more than 3% of migrants to its population (ibid: 75). Eyüp Municipality distributed hygiene materials with cooperating IMPR Humanitarian Association but this support was limited with only 68 families (*Suriyeli Ailelere Yardım*, 2016). In addition to this support, Eyüp Municipality and İSTKA (Istanbul Development Agency) established a center named as "Farkındayız" and this center has provided social, cultural, educational and sports activities to Syrian migrant children (İSTKA, n.d). Other than these two support activities, there is not any specific activity conducted by Eyüp Municipality for Syrian migrants and there is not any specific published data. This lack of support situation of municipalities may be because of unclear macro policies and lack of resource sharing capacities (Erdoğan, 2017: 122).

Furthermore, during the field research, according to participant observation, it has been observed that Syrian migrants in Eyüp lives in poor sheltering conditions and they work in textile sector mostly. Considering the information above about occupational structure of Eyüp, it has been expected that Syrian migrant population densely working in textile sector due to high number of facilities. In the Image 4.1, houses that Syrian migrant's living in can be seen. In this slum-like area, not only Syrian people but also Turkish people are currently resided.

Image 4.1. Syrian Migrants Neighorhood in Eyüp

Image 4.2. Syrian Migrants Neighborhood in Eyüp

However, Eyüp has started to change with architectural and infrastructure establishments. As a result of this process, socioeconomic statuses of the neighborhoods changed. In these neighborhoods, most people are from a working-class background and education level is not so high both in Turkish and Syrian people. Job opportunities are limited to manual job areas and clerical occupations. In this area, there are small textile workshops, automobile industry workshops, local shops like barbers, small markets for food and clothing. Architectural areas are mainly sluts and apartments side by side in both neighborhoods. There are not so many high floored buildings seen until the last five years. In 2013, a Theme Amusement and Shopping Center opened in Yeşilpınar neighborhood, and this leads to having job opportunities for people in Yeşilpınar region. Architectural view of amusement center is also different from the region. Amusement and shopping center spreads in a vast area with tall buildings.

Image 4.3. Isfanbul Amusement Center in Eyüp

Reference: https://seyahatdergisi.com/vialand-nerede-giris-ucreti-tanitimi/

Image 4.4. Shopping center and apartments newly located in Eyüp

Additionally, the establishment of an amusement center developed transportation opportunities in the region, more buses are added to the route and frequency of bus times is increased. Istanbul Municipality planned to have two different subway routes that pass through Eyüp. Also, in the last few months, a small shopping center has been located in Akşemsettin neighborhood. This shopping center is under tall and luxury housing, which does not look similar to apartments and sluts in the region. This tall and luxury building is located close to one of the planned subway stations. Establishment of such huge buildings in Eyüp may be a sign that the district will change in the next few years both socially and physically.

Furthermore, an ongoing urban transformation has spread in the region; homeowners sell their homes or terrains to contractors[6]. Mainly, slut owners sell areas to builders, and after destruction process, great apartments take the place of sluts. Probably the subway to the region and urban transformation will change the

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[6] In last 10 years, old buildings and houses in Istanbul has in wide urban transnformation. Agreement signed between houseowners and vendors. Vendors renew old houses, enlarge apartments and make profit by selling these new houses.

socio-economic and architectural situation of the neighborhood. Another factor that is as important as the physical condition and socioeconomic level of the neighborhood is the daily life experiences of those living in the neighborhood. Specifically, children spend most of their time in school, and schooling comprises their everyday life. Because of this, their experiences in school are crucial to be analyzed.

Some of the children I reached attend to schools that are not in their neighborhood due to different reasons. Reasons may sort as; having problems with schools in the region, quota problem in schools, address change, the absence of the desired school type in the neighborhood (for example, Anatolian Imam Hatip High School[7]). Even though there is a high density of Syrian migrants in this area, the TEC, which children used to go between years 2016-2018, is far from their place of residence.

One of the TECs that Syrian migrant children attend was located in Güzeltepe neighborhood. Güzeltepe neighborhood is the fourth most populated neighborhood after Akşemsettin, Yeşilpınar and Göktürk neighborhoods (Eyüp Belediyesi, n.d.: 32). This TEC shares the same building with a Turkish public school. In the morning from 8:30-14:30 regular Turkish school teaches lessons. Between hours of 15.30-20.00 TEC conducts classes. To reach TEC, children have to use private shuttles. However, due to economic difficulties, families cannot afford monthly shuttle payments.

As indicated in Chapter 2, for students to reach TECs, UNICEF pays for the transportation costs and thanks to this support, the economic burden on the families' shoulder eliminated in terms of transportation. However, with transferring children to Turkish public schools, transportation costs played a negative role in Syrian migrant families' lives.

Especially, transportation costs for Turkish public school stressed by Syrian migrant parents and it will be discussed in the following chapters. Transportation costs in Istanbul are determined by UKOME (Directorate of Transportation Coordination)

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[7] Imamhatip high schools are secondary education institutions. Imam Hatip schools curriculum is different from other secondary education institutions. In addition to regular curriculum, students take Arabic and Islamic based (Qur'an, hadith, fiqh, prophetic biography) classes.

and fees are paid to shuttle drivers monthly. The fees are valid for the transportation between the school of student and the residence of student. Fees are determined according to the kilometers between school and house of the students. For 2018, UKOME announced the fees as in the Table 4.3 below.

Table 4.4. Shuttle Fees in Istanbul

Distance (km)	Fee (TL)	Fee ($)
0-1	215	38
1-3	235	42
3-5	255	45.5
5-7	265	47
7-9	280	49
9-11	330	58
11-13	380	67
13-15	400	70
15-17	430	76
17-19	455	80
19-21	485	85
21-23	505	89
23-25	525	92
More than 25 (for each km)	4,50	0.79

Reference: UKOME. (2018).

Because most of the families have more than three children at school age, it is not so affordable to catch up with shuttle payment considering their limited salaries as explained in Chapter 1. As indicated in Chapter 1, salaries of Syrian migrants are between 100$ and 220 $ per month. Considering high shuttle fees, for Syrian migrants it is hard to reach transportation opportunity for schools. Families shared their opinions about cost of transportation and using shuttle.

During my observations, when I asked families about the schooling process, their main excuse to not sending their children is the shuttle payment. Additionally, I

observed that, child labor specifically is so common in single mother-headed families. Single-mother headed families sent their children to work because they cannot meet with their needs as a household. Due to the fact that they lost the main breadwinner figure of the family, dad, women have to take care of younger children. When families learn that UNICEF provides shuttle payments, they started to register their children to TEC. After a while, when some benefactors support economically disadvantaged families, specifically families whose children are working in informal sectors, they also registered their children to TEC's. Before TEC's, children spent most of their time in the streets, or they were forced to work illegally in the textile industry or local shops. Overall, one of the main aims to establish TEC's is to save children and support their educational lives. Even though still there are some children in labor force full-time or part-time, most of them engaged in the education system. During the last seven years, not only Turkey or Syria physically or politically were effected from war but also children, families, and their lives hugely were affected in different senses.

All in all, to find answers to my research questions, in the following chapters, firstly I try to explain How TEC and Turkish public schools appear in the eyes of children. Secondly, I want to investigate what future perspectives and demands of children about education are. Lastly, I want to investigate the transnational role of TECs.

4.3 From Migration Theories to Application: How Turkey's Educational Applications Are Experienced by Syrian Migrants?

As explained in Chapter 3, various migration theories used to understand the migration process and after. In short, neo-classical migration theory states that migrants choose the best option to migrate because they do a cost-benefit analysis. However, the current situation around the world showed that due to war, famine, and human-made catastrophes, millions of people are forcibly displaced, and they do not have a chance to make a cost-benefit analysis. After the neo-classical migration theory, assimilation and transnational theories established. Assimilation theory mainly implies that assimilation is seen in migrants with the internalization of values of the host country with breaking bonds with origin country and culture.

Assimilation theory branched with various models like ethnic/disadvantaged model and segmented assimilation model. However, as new migration waves occur, the sufficiency of assimilation model comes into the discussion because when migrants settled into a host country, they do not lose their bonds with their country of origin, but they become part of two or more different countries. From the educational side, migrants establish schools, language courses, and hobby or art courses with people from their origin and build a transnational space in the host country. In Turkey with Syrian migrant flux, a unique type of transnational education institution is found. It is unique because rather than migrants, the government established TECs as transnational spaces where the Syrian curriculum has studied, and Turkish classes are conducted in addition to this national curriculum.

Mainly, in the first years of TEC application, it looked fine from policy makers due to their belief in the discourse that "Syrians will turn back to their country soon." However, these transnational spaces, TEC's were shut down by Turkish state after that Syrian migrant children directly registered to Turkish public schools as explained in Chapter 2. This transition process is not only an educational policy change but also it reflects Turkey's ambiguous migration policy; in this case, it shifts from transnational to assimilatory practices. As a researcher, I approach this transition process from transnationalism to cultural assimilation. I choose to say cultural assimilation due to the curriculum of Turkish schools. In regular Turkish public schools, classes are conducted in Turkish and this curriculum is lack of multicultural values. In Turkish and social sciences classes, there are objectionable contents for a child who has a war experience and traumatic background (MEB, 2018: 11-12).

To understand the perspectives of Syrian migrant children and families about the Turkish education system, TECs and public schools, questions are asked. Questions designed to find a pattern between parents and children's perspective of the Turkish education system. After completing 13 interviews with children, themes are defined as discrimination, peers, adaptation to Turkish public schools, academic and physical opportunities in Turkish public schools, homework and time concepts in

TECs and teacher behaviors in Turkish public schools and TECs. After 8 interviews with families of children, themes are defined as language barrier, economic hardships with meeting school needs, children's alienation to their own culture and language and motivation levels of children in Turkish public schools and TECs.

4.3.1 Educational Experiences of Syrian Migrant Children about Turkish Public Schools and TECs

The gradual closure of the TECs, which put into practice in 2014, underlined the changing policies of the MoNE regarding Syrian students. After four years, the so-called closure of these "temporary" centers showed that the MoNE took solutions that are more substantial and understand that Syrian migrants are not temporary any more. In the transition process from TEC's to Turkish public schools, there is not any specific research conducted with Syrian migrant students who are the subjects of education. Therfore, the education policies cannot be fully understood. Researches' conducted about Syrian migrant education mostly take main subjects as teachers, school managers and parents of Syrian migrant children (Hos, 2016; Ozer et al., 2017; Taşkın and Erdemli, 2017) or just focus on policies without getting Syrian migrant students opinions (Alpaydın, 2017; Bircan and Sunata, 2015). However, children, who are directly, exposed to educational policy changes and experience educational institutions in general, are not included in the research. Moreover, discussions held in Turkish public opinion are mostly from Turkish people's perspective without taking Syrian migrants as active voices. In an educational sense, changeover process from TEC's to Turkish public schools was not discussed considering Syrian migrants but this changing process in Turkish media shaped within the framework of the inadequacy of physical facilities and number of teachers ("Geçici Eğitim Merkezleri Kapatıldı. Sınıf Mevcutları Arttı").

To overcome these shortcomings, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 13 Syrian students and 8 parents by including the opinions of Syrian students and their parents. The thematic analysis method is used in the analysis of these interviews. Four different themes are determined in the light of the interviews of Syrian students. These themes are, discrimination, relationship with peers and

teachers, physical and academic facilities of Turkish public schools, and the physical and educational facilities of TECs. For Syrian migrant parents, themes are defined as language barrier, the economic burden of education, cultural and linguistic differences in schools, and adaptation problems of their children to Turkish schools. In the following parts of this chapter, these themes will be discussed by using Syrian migrants statements in the semi-structured interviews.

4.3.1.1 Physical and Academic Features of TECs

Through this research, Syrian migrant students mainly mentioned both positive and negative sides of TECs. Furthermore, they made a comparison of TECs and Turkish public schools in social, academic, and physical aspects. During the analysis of interviews, as a researcher, I observed some patterns that most of the Syrian migrant children had mentioned about TECs. Firstly, children put forward that breaks in TECs are too long, and classes are not conducted systematically.

"I don't have any good experience in TECs. Especially I do not like the flexible break hours in there. In Turkish public school break time is limited. You know when to come from break. But in TECs it takes too much time. Sometimes a break can be 20-30 minutes and it's boring. There is no planning in class hours" (Maysa, 10).

Another child also said that breaks in the TECs are so long and school hours are too late. "I don't like TEC so much because the classes are hard and breaks are too long. I do not like it. Hours are also not appropriate. We go to school at 3 pm and come at 8 pm. It's not efficient" (Ahla, 12).

In the light of Maysa and Ahla's narratives, time schedule of TECs are not well planned. Beside Aysa and Mahla, other children in this research also mentioned about timing problem and irregularity of class schedule in TECs. Sima compared TEC and Turkish public school about classes and regularity. "I liked TEC, but Turkish school is better. It is better because in Turkish school all things are regular compared with TEC. Especially teachers in Turkish school are better, they are more responsible" (Sima, 12).

Other than problems about schedule of TECs, accessing TECs sometimes hard for children because not all TECs are close to homes of children. "The only problem for me about TEC is the way. I studied for one year at TEC, but it was really far from home with shuttle" (Samia, 13).

One child said that due to high prices of shuttle, he could not attend school in his first years and he did not have any information about UNICEF's support of transportation for schools.

"I studied first and second grade in Syria. Then we came to Turkey, and I had to work because we cannot meet with our basic needs, even my father works. Also, we do not have any information about TEC. When we learn about it (TEC), there was a shuttle payment issue. We cannot pay the cost of shuttle. However, when I learned that there is shuttle support, I started to study in TEC" (Adem, 14).

In Adem's case, it had been observed that when Syrian migrants firstly arrived in Turkey, their economic situationwas not available to meet with their everyday life needs. Also, Syrian migrants were not aware of their rights, and lack of information caused Adem to participate in the labor force in early ages.

Beside, Sima, Ahla, Maysa and Adem's comments, other Syrian migrant children claim TECs are better for them. Notably, one of the main differences emphasized by children is language difference. "I like TEC more than Turkish school. I learn in TEC better because it is Arabic. Though I cannot write good, learning in Arabic is good. Teachers and classes and friends are all really fine. In Turkish school, I also learn but learning Arabic is easier" (Hira, 9.5). Another child stated that
"I like TEC more than Turkish school because we can speak Arabic in TEC. In TEC generally we can give our opinion more, and we can have healthy communication.

Also, if there was more entertainment and Turkish classes, it would be better for TECs. Once we have one sport class and school is not paying so much attention to it. But students need this class" (Melike, 15).

According to Melike's answer, one can state that using mother language in school leads to have better communication in school environment. Also, according to her statement, school is not giving importance to some classes though they are significant to children. With this example, one can also see that though schools are establishing rules and they have a structure, demands of students are also crucial to analyze to have a better school environment.

In these two examples, the importance of getting an education in mother language emphasized by children and children demand more Turkish classes to practice Turkish more. Moreover, while conducting research even though Melike can outstandingly speak Turkish, she preferred to interview in Arabic because she said that she feels more comfortable and she can express herself more clearly.

Furthermore, in TEC, there are social events that Syrian migrant children have a chance to meet with their peers who come from a similar background with them. Hadith competition is one of which is conducted between students in various TECs at Istanbul. "The best thing that happened in school is when there is a Hadith competition between three schools. I become the 1st person in the competition. I got a price that 1 gr golden. We are memorizing Hadiths and telling it. Competition is about that. It's good to be the 1st one. Getting a prize and meeting with new people motivated me much" (Melike, 15).

Also, competitions may take place inside of the class, and children perceived this as a motivation tool. "Better thing in Syrian school is giving us certificates. We had competitions at school about hadiths, Turkish, etc. In the class itself, sometimes teachers did small competitions and gave us some certificates they are good. They are motivating" (Aya, 13).

Syrian migrant children also mention physical features of TECs. "In TEC I liked most that there is a big conference room and playground is bigger. Sometimes we watch some stuff in the conference room" (Aya,13). In addition, structure and cleanliness

of TECs take attention of one child. "School and classes are clean and well organized. It surprised me so much." (Maysa, 10).

This difference may because of differences in school culture between Syria and Turkey. Also it may be as a result of resources of schools. If a school does not have enough budgets, meeting with schools needs may get harder.

In general, from 13 interviews with Syrian migrant children, 10 of them stated that they prefer to study in Turkish public schools because they are more organized and academically better. However, they also stated that they want to have more Arabic classes because it is their mother tongue, and they want to do more practice on it academically. Also, schedule and timing are significant from the perspectives of children, considering their opinions about break times in TECs. Considering their narratives about TECs, one can conclude that there were problems with the curriculum and schedules of TECs.

4.3.1.2   Physical and Academic Features of Turkish Public Schools

As TEC's features discussed in the former part, in this part, children's experiences in Turkish public schools will be discussed. As stated before, 77% of Syrian migrant children in this research prefer to study in Turkish public schools rather than TECs. Even this rate is high, of course, Turkish public schools have both positive and negative sides like TEC.

One of the most significant reasons that Syrian migrant children like Turkish schools more is the organization system in Turkish public schools. "Having more courses and more class hours are the best things in a Turkish school. I like to learn new things. In Turkish school, I can learn new things more. Also, in Turkish school we watch videos about classes it is a good thing, I liked it. In TEC , we do not have this kind of things" (Sima, 12).

Also, timing is one of the most repetitive pattern in the experiences of children. Children give importance to timely events, and they prefer Turkish public schools

because, from their perspective, there is much order in the schedule of Turkish public schools. Maysa said her opinions about exam schedule by comparing TECs and Turkish public schools:

"I like the Turkish school most. Education in Turkish school is better. I feel that we are learning some stuff. In Syrian school, there is not any system. For instance, on Monday, they told us that 'You will have an exam on Wednesday'. However, when Wednesday comes, there was not any exam, and they postponed it. In the Turkish school, there is a program and schedule. When they say to do something, we do that on-time" (Maysa, 10).

As stated before, children complained about long and irregular breaks in TECs. However, some children got used to having long break hours and cannot adapt short breaks in Turkish public schools. "In Turkish schools, I want to break to be more; breaks are short for me" (Omar, 11). In addition, children put forward that homework is easy in Turkish public schools because it is not only based on memorizing. "In TEC everything is hard about homework. Because homework is not rational. Math teacher wants us to write all multiplication table 10 times. It makes 10*10*10 lines! Not that easy! In Turkish schools homework is easy and rational" (Ahla, 12).

Furthermore, children believe that if they properly learn Turkish, for the future, it will be beneficial for themselves. Thus, some of them select to choose Turkish public schools because of that. "Both Syrian and Turkish schools are fine. I think there is not much difference. The stuff is good and people are fine. My Turkish is medium level. If I know Turkish, it will be better for me. So Turkish school is beneficial in that sense" (Samia, 13).

As stated in the previous part, some children put forward that they want to learn in Arabic because they can understand Arabic better. However, this situation differs from child to child. One of the children in this research stated that "Classes are normal, but I don't like classes in TEC. Especially Arabic class. Because we do not know how to read and write in Arabic, it is hard for me to learn this in school.

Learning Turkish is easier, so I like Turkish schools more" (Omar, 11). In this case, the background of Arabic is significant for children to have sustainable education life in TEC. Oppose to children who stated that they have healthy communication in TEC because they speak Arabic, Omar focuses not on speaking abilities in Arabic but reading and writing abilities that they used in TEC. Also, it is a sign that children become face to face with losing their mother tongue when it is not taught with well-designed class structure. "The bad thing for me is that I can write Turkish fast and good. In Arabic, I cannot" (Hira, 9.5).

For activities, children claim that they have trips and sports activities in Turkish public schools. "This semester, I started a new Turkish school. Last year I also studied in a Turkish school. This school was nice; we had some trips to Beşiktaş and Sarıyer. Beşiktaş is a nice place. We also had sports tournaments at school; it was really fine" (Adem, 14).

For physical features of Turkish schools, children mention cleanness and some physical differences with TEC.

"I surprised to see these drawings on the walls of the Turkish school" (Atike,11).

"School and classes are clean. It surprised me so much" (Maysa, 10).

"During summer, there is a swimming pool in our school; it is surprised me when I first saw it" (Omar, 11).

"When I come to Turkish school, stairs are different. The physical structure of the school is different from the older one. I surprised when I see it" (Hira, 9.5).

Though these comments, a child compared two of the Turkish public schools that he studied:

"My old Turkish school, they had better breaks than here. In this new school is 5 minutes. And the garden is so small, and the school is so crowded. Such a small garden for this crowd!" (Adem, 14).

Experiences of children about physical features of schools may diversify according to their ages, schools and time that they spent in school. In general, children surprised with physical features, but none of these children surprised anything

about academic parts in school. Mostly, their attention oriented and focused on physical characteristics. Also, Adem's comment shows that the design of some schools should be renewed considering the number of students in the school.   In the following sections, social parts for both TECs and Turkish public schools will be explained more.

4.3.1.3   Peer and Teacher Effects on Syrian Migrant Children in TECs and Turkish Public Schools

Narratives of Syrian migrant children also developed in the context of their social experiences in TECs and Turkish public schools. Also, to understand their educational background, perception of teacher, and peers, questions about schools in Syria were asked children. However, most of the children did not remember much about their school experiences in Syria, or they did not attend school when they were in Syria. Social experiences of Syrian migrant children mainly rely on their relationship with teachers and peers. Also, bullying is mentioned by children of different ages. In this part, initial experiences with teachers and peers will be explained then, bullying issue will be analyzed in detail. For children, their relations with children and their peers have a crucial factor in their educational lives. The effect of peers and teachers are also mentioned in educational literature (Christenson and Havsy, 2004: 63-5). During their comparisons between TEC's and Turkish public schools, children mostly mentioned their teachers and peers.

4.3.1.3.1   Effect of Peers

Relationship with peers affects school adaptation of children. Aya and Samia are going to the same school, but they are studying in different classes. Aya is satisfied with her peers and classes while Samia has problems with her peers, and she will register to a different school next semester.

"Yes, I like my school (Turkish public school). The best thing is school is spending time with my friends. When I say school, beautiful things come to my mind… how can I describe it? I like my friends so much. We play together in the breaks" (Samia, 13).

"I do not like my friends… Even one of them. Because they do not behave us in a good manner because we are Syrians, I accept that I am a shy person and do not make friends easily. Still, I tried... After a while, I could not communicate with them because they insulted other Syrians and me as a thief. One of my best friends drops school because they insulted us as a thief. At the end, I do not have any friends in school. I will change my school next semester. I missed the days in TEC. All my friends are nice" (Aya, 13).

Atike also mentions that there is a barrier between her and her friends in Turkish public schools.

"I have only one friend Ceren; she likes me so much. In general, nobody cares and wants to be friend with me. My friends in Syrian school they are better friends even while playing I enter the game without asking them permission. They call me. In Turkish school, I feel that I have to get permission from them" (Atike, 11).

During the interview, Atike also put forward that even though TEC classes are not conducted systematically, she prefers to study in there because she has friends in TEC. In Atike's example, one can see importance of peer effect on education. She feels there is a barrier between her and her friends.

In general, the experiences of children with their peers are various. However, when children make comparison with TEC and Turkish public schools some children who become face to face with discriminatory discourses from their friends put forward that they prefer studying in TEC even education is less systematic there.

4.3.1.3.2   Effect of Teachers

Syrian migrant children's experiences with their teachers in TEC's and Turkish public schools are crucial to analyze. Sometimes, children put forward that they become face to face with problems with teachers not only in class level but also in managerial level in schools. Furthermore, some children who studied in Syria compared teachers in TECs and Syria. While making this comparison, some children also mentioned their teachers in Syria and compared them with teachers in Turkish

public schools. To start with, children criticized teachers working in both TECs and Turkish public schools.

"All the teachers are nice in TECs, but just some teachers discriminate against students. They favor some of the students that I do not know why. I like our school manager so much. Once he was a teacher, then he became a manager. There was a teacher so discriminative. I said to the manager of this teacher. Then after the manager talked with the teacher, she stopped doing discrimination and problem was solved. He (manager) care about our problems and solve them" (Melike, 15).

Another child mentions her experience with her teacher in TEC:

"In TEC, classes are not conducted properly. However, it is different among classes. Some teachers conduct classes in a good way; they start class on time; teachers do not waste time. However, in my class most of the time when the weather was good we were out, playing games in the garden. It is good to play games, but I want to learn about our classes too" (Esver, 12).

In TECs, critics to teachers are mostly parallel with lack of systematization in the curriculum and schedule. "I do not like teachers and classes in TEC. They give so hard classes. Every little distractibility leads to punishment. My friends are nice at this school, but we are suffering together" (Ahla, 12).

Another child put forward that even though the teacher know that she cannot be able to afford books, he is always complaining about this and not finding a solution to buy books.

"At once in the second semester of Turkish school, I could not bring all the books because we cannot afford it. School distributes some books without any charge, but teachers are not using these books, they want us to buy another book. We wanted help from an NGO to get books. But books came late 1-2 weeks. During these weeks, my teacher got mad at me and shouted to me because I do not have the books. That is the worst thing that happened to me at Turkish school" (Sima, 12).

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One of the children stated that the source of these problems is the lack of information between parties.

"In general teachers and friends are fine in a Turkish school. There are some bad people too. I do not want to judge anyone due to his or her personality. My sister had bad times at school because the teacher is calling her as a thief. Teachers do not know about us, and we do not know about them. If they try to know us and communicate with us, problems will be solved" (Salih, 10).

Furthermore, some children mention that their relationship with teachers is really good, and this motivates them to continue their education.

"My teacher likes me too much, and I like my teacher so much. The best thing is she likes me so much. It's motivating" (Maysa, 10).

"In Turkish school, teachers are treating better to us. They are calmer than others are. It is motivating me" (Sirac, 11).

In addition to explanation and comparison between TECs and Turkish public schools, children compared schools and teachers in Syria and TECs.

"I just remember one thing in Syria at school… teachers are making afraid of something called 'home of mice'. They tell us that 'If you do not listen to us, you will go to the home of mice.' I am afraid, a little bit. I think teachers in TECs are better. Classes are not conducted systematically, but the behavior of teachers are better" (Aya, 13).

"When I compare teachers in Turkey (in TEC and Turkish public schools) they are better than teachers in Syria. In Syria, you were not able to communicate with teachers easily; they are egoistic. In Turkey, you can communicate with teachers like a friend. Especially in TEC. Teachers in public schools are also fine, but in TEC, we can speak Arabic with them" (Melike, 15).

Beyond the experiences with peers and teachers in Turkey and Syria, children mentioned how they experience the changeover process from studying TECs to Turkish public schools.

"One day in TEC, school manager gave us a brochure about registering Turkish public schools. At first, I was surprised and felt sad about not studying in TEC anymore because here we speak Arabic, and our classes are similar like we study Syria" (Esver, 12).

Melike also mentions complex bureaucratic situation about registering to Turkish public schools.

"I graduated from TEC. I studied between 5th and 8th grade in there. When I try to register the high school, school manager said that I need to get an accreditation document. My family and I went to the Ministry of National Education bureau in Istanbul. However, we could not communicate clearly because we could not speak Turkish well. Then I went to another bureau about education in my district. Every time they wanted a different document from us, it is a hard process. I could not register to school easily. By the time I enrolled, the school had already begun. The registration process took 2.5 months to complete, and I started school two months late" (Melike, 15).

Another child Samia claims that when she went to local authorities to learn which school she had to register. When she tried to register this school, school manager told her to go *imamhatip* secondary school where she could get Arabic and Qur'an classes and did not want to register her to secondary school.

"In general, I changed different schools, and one of them is problematic about registration. First, I was going to imamhatip, but I needed to use a shuttle to go there, and it costs much. Then, my mother and I went to the local authorities to ask which school I could register. They said that I could register the closest school in our neighborhood. We already know this school because my sister is studying there. However, when we went there for registration, they did not want me to register and started to fight and shout. In the end, they registered me, but I do now want to continue there because I'm afraid. Then we changed my school again and continue to imamhatip" (Samia, 13).

Experiences of children indicate that they are not informed well about the transition from TECs to Turkish public schools. Even though they received a brochure about the transition from TECs to Turkish public schools, experiences process is not easy as written in the brochure and information is not enough to deal with the bureaucratic system, considering the language barrier they become face to face with. All in all, children shared their social experiences in TECs and Turkish public schools with emphasizing their relationship with their peers and teachers. Their narratives and experiences in both schools are a reflection of the policies in Turkey about Syrians education.

4.3.1.4 Bullying

In Turkish public schools, critics to teachers and their peers mostly based on bully acts about children's Syrian identity and low socioeconomic level.

"I don't like my teacher and my classmates. Their attitude towards me is not in a good manner. There is a psycho teacher. When my family visit school teacher act them normally and tell them that we like your children etc. But after that in school, she does nothing but creating problems for me. When a bad thing happened in school (fight, robbery, etc.), she insults Syrians. I am good at painting in a Turkish school. There was a painting competition when other girls saw me doing well in the painting they wanted me to write their names calligraphically. Also, the teacher said to me, "I appointed you to write everyone's name calligraphically". But I refused it. It is an eye for an eye. They did not treat me well, so I did not treat them in a good manner. As I said, they insult Syrian students as thieves. Our teacher said that there is a thief in class and we will find it. She put marks and wrote names to paper money that we bring. She thought that she would find a thief with this way, but in the end, she couldn't find it and continue insulting us. Once, they tried to insult me and prepare a trap. When I was outside of the class, they put some money or papers that look like money to insult me. Then the teacher invited me to class and told me that there is a thief and we will find it. Then I told them you made me a plan and have a trap when I am outside. But I am not a thief, and you made a plan. I do not know they made a plan or not. But it looks like that. They tried to insult me

as a thief. When they invited me to class, I refused it. When I denied it, teacher got upset. After a while, she left school. Other teachers come to class, and she was nice. We do not have a problem with her. Some teachers said that do not blame Syrians and overdose things. Do not accuse them of all items. But still, I had bad experiences with this bad teacher." (Aya, 13).

Sima mentioned her experience with her peers about 23rd April ceremonies conducted in school.
"One of my friends said that I could not participate in 23rd April ceremony because I am Syrian. Actually, first, I wanted to participate, but now I do not want any more" (Sima, 12).

Atike also mentioned her experience with her peers;
"They bad things sometimes, for example, they say that Syrians come to their country and they do bad things in there. Sometimes they say Syrians are killing Turkish people, but I do not believe them. During breaks, I am generally lonely". (Atike, 11)

In all three experiences, children bullying that they become face to face due to their Syrian identity. As a result of discriminatory acts, also isolation is observed in Syrian migrant children's behavior, and this situation may affect their integration to education in a negative way. In the following chapter, experiences and ideas of Syrian migrant families will be discussed. In the light of both Syrian migrant children and families experiences, in the discussion section changeover from TECs and Turkish public schools will be discussed in detail.

4.3.2   Educational Experiences of Syrian Migrant Families about Turkish Public Schools and TECs

Education process cannot be thought without the participation of families. Like Syrian migrant children, Syrian migrant families involved in education during registration, social and academic support to their children, establish communication with teachers and school managers. In the interviews, questions were asked to

Syrian migrant parents shown in the appendix. During the thematic analysis, three themes were observed as central themes. Language barrier and cultural differences, the economic burden of education, and adaptation problems of their children to Turkish schools are the themes observed as a pattern in the interviews.

4.3.2.1   Language Barrier and Cultural Differences

First of all, all families in this research pointed out that they questioned the changeover process from TECs to Turkish public schools because from their perspective in TECs children use their mother language more, learn more easily, and if they go back to Syria, TECs will have accreditation. Cultural and linguistic differences between TECs and Turkish public schools were mainly emphasized during the interviews

"When my kids were going to TECs, it's beneficial for them because I see that they are learning. In Turkish school, they are teaching in the same way, but the language is problematic" (Kasım, 38).

From Kasım's answer, language, act as a barrier in front of his children's education. He perceives mother language as a tool to conduct education in a more proper manner. Because language used to express some cultural ties, Kasım may also indicate linguistic and cultural differences with indicating language barrier in education.

A mother, Salma, compares her two children about understanding classes.

"My son learned some stuff in a Turkish school. I think, and he understands what he is doing. Because his language (Turkish) is good, but for my daughter, I cannot say that. Even in multiple-choice exams, she is just making up from her mind. She wants to quit school because of language, and her teacher is not good" (Salma, 38).

Like Kasım, Salma also emphasizing how linguistic differences may affect learning process. For Salma, the main reason of difference in understanding classes between her children is adaptation to Turkish language. She also makes emphasis on how her children is being far from their culture in Turkish schools.

"In TEC, my children are close to their culture more. They do homework about their culture and present them. But in Turkish schools, they learn Turkish culture. They are far from their culture in school" (Salma, 38).

Another mother Sadan put forwards that her youngest child started first grade in Turkish school but he had problems with learning Turkish alphabet though his age is appropriate to start schooling.

"My youngest son started school when he was seven. But he has problems with Turkish. In one year, he learned the alphabet" (Sadan, 33).

Vahide also stated that she wants her children to study in Turkish but also she wants her children to improve their Arabic because it is their mother language.

"For the education system also I don't have much idea. I just know from my kids. We did not receive any information from officials. First, our neighbors send their children to TEC. We heard from them and registered our children, but school is too far from our home. Then my children said that this school would shut down, so we have to register them into Turkish schools. Because we are in Turkey, I prefer my kids to study in Turkish. But in summer school, I want them to improve their Arabic to find an Arabic course. Arabic is their mother language; they have to know it properly" (Vahide, 27).

Moreover, the language barrier that families experience is a barrier when they are trying to communicate with school and teachers. It also disables them to track their children's status.

"In Syria, I always visit their schools. But in here I visit TECs, but I cannot visit Turkish schools because I do not know Turkish. I was in touch with my children's teachers, who were continuing TEC. When one of my children was studying in TEC, his teacher established a Whatsapp group to establish effective communication. From there, I am contacting the teacher and follow what is going on in their educational lives" (Emina, 42).

"If I know Turkish I surely go to mothers meeting, I used to go to Syria. But in Turkey, I cannot" (Mariam, 40).

"I really want to know about Turkish people and their culture, their laws, etc. To know this, I need to learn Turkish. Because I don't know Turkish, I also cannot communicate with my children's teacher and I don't know are they good or bad in school" (Salma, 38).

In addition to family-school relations, Emina has worried about language for accreditation issues. Because, her children are taking education in Turkish, she have doubts about accreditation of Turkish diploma in Syria.

"I wish that they had not close to TECs. Because maybe when we go back to Syria, they may not accept Turkish diploma. But if my children want to stay here and become a citizen of Turkey, the diploma will work" (Emina, 42).

As stated in the examples above, Syrian migrant families have problems with language barrier that their children become face to face, communicating with the school and accreditation. Though when they were living in Syria, they stated that they were visiting schools regularly, they do not have same experience in Turkish schools. Most of them put forward that they visited Turkish public schools to see the environment, but they cannot communicate with teachers or managers in the school. Syrian migrant families are also afraid that, their children are getting education in an environment where they become alien to their main culture and language. Also, they have hesitations about their children's learning levels when children get education in Turkish. Thus, in general, language barrier stands as a problem in front of Syrian migrant families to track their children's educational progress.

4.3.2.2   Adaptation Problems of Children

Syrian migrant families focused on their children's experiences about adaptation processes and some problems in Turkish schools.

"Problem in my daughters' class is discrimination. Whatever bad happens in class, they insult Syrian students, and they said to her, 'You are Syrian, so you are more able to do these bad things'. It affects my daughter's adaptation to school

negatively. My daughter has another Syrian friend in other classes, and they are satisfied with the school. It's about luck and environment" (Emina,42).

In contrast of Emina's child's experiences Vahide and Kasım stated that their children are more motivated for education in Turkish schools.

"My children are more excited and more motivated to go to Turkish school. They like TEC, but they like the Turkish school more. They are more excited and motivated. They ask for it. First months it's hard for them but knows it's all okay, they adapted to school." (Vahide, 27).

"Manner of teachers are different. Turkish teachers treat children nicely so much. They do not have any problem with them, and it motivates my children. Teachers nice manner affected my children positively even they started Turkish school recently" (Kasım, 38).

Moreover, a mother put forward that her daughter's first experience in Turkish school is not good because of problems in the registration process.

"When we were trying to register my daughter to school, we cannot communicate with them, and they started to shout. At the end, they register my daughter, but my daughter was unhappy in this school. We have to change her school because this experience affected her in a bad way" (Salma, 38).

Other than in-class and out-class effects, Syrian migrant families commented on homework and class structures in both TECs and Turkish public schools. A Syrian migrant mother Rima commented on homework and classes structure. Rima's comments are parallel with Syrian migrant children's experience. In the previous chapter, Syrian migrant children put forward that in TECs teachers and homework are more strict, and they perceived it negatively while here a mother perceived this situation positively.

"TEC is better; they care about homework and other stuff more. They are strict. In TEC my children take more serious about homework, in a Turkish school, they are more relax (Rima, 28)".

There are also some comments about comparing schools in Syria and Turkey from Syrian migrant families' perspectives.

"In Syria, schools are dirty physically. But TECs are clean. I think they effected from Turkish culture because as far as I see, cleaning and hygiene really have importance in Turkish culture. In Syria, the teacher is a teacher. He has a hierarchical position. You cannot reach to the teacher easily. You cannot talk to them easily. But when I come here and visit TEC, teachers are like friends with students. I have a bad image of teachers in Syria because we afraid of them somehow. With TECs this image corrupted, now I think that teachers in TECs are communicating with children in a good manner. In Turkish schools, also not all teachers are showing off, but in Syria, all of them are showing off. Here sometimes we have a communication problem, but still, I'm fine. There is a huge system in Turkey about registration, documentation, etc. There is not such a system in Syria as in Turkey." (Emina, 42).

4.3.2.3   Economic Burden of Education

Thirdly, families stated that they are not able to meet with the educational needs of their children, and they do not have any social support about it.

"For the Turkish education system, I just want free service. They all go to school in the morning. They are girls and I am afraid of them. Sometimes it is dark, and there may be bad people or dogs" (Mariam, 40).

"Classes and facilities are fine in Turkish schools. But the way takes so much time. We do not have enough money to service or bus. Sometimes the weather is rainy. No shuttle can pick them to school because we need to pay money for shuttle. We do not have any budget for transportation costs. My children walks 15-20 minutes to school. They sometimes come and they all wicked because of the rain. I have do not have much money to shuttle; I barely pay for the house" (Kasım, 38).

Another economic hardship for Syrian migrant families about meeting the needs of their children in education is the cost of books and trips. As children' statements shown in the former chapter even though books distributed by MoNe without paying any charge, teachers demand another book to conduct classes and they give homework from these books. During my observations in the field, I learnt that some

trips in schools do not cost so much, maximum 10 TL (1.76 $) but some trips cost so much 60 TL (10.60 $). Families stated that this process is increased costs of education.

"In general we are not able to pay for additional books and trips. School should take care of that. School should take care of bringing books to these children free. I did not send my children to trips because of the money, to be honest. I could not pay for them. I think school should take care of it also" (Mariam, 40).

"My husband does not let my children go on trips because we have three children who are going to school. In each month, they have a trip. It is costly. Sometimes my children felt bad about it, but I talk with them" (Sadan, 33).

All in all, in this part, four themes that Syrian migrant families mentioned analyzed in detail with referencing their explanations. Even though Syrian migrant families and their children sometimes perceived practices in education differently, they remarked similar points in the Turkish education system. Some migrant families support transfer process from TECs to Turkish public schools while others have concerns about this transition process and their main concerns are based on keeping their children's bonds with Syrian culture and accreditation of Turkish diploma. The language barrier, also mentioned in the interviews by Syrian migrant families and they are not only focusing on the language barrier they experience but also mentioned how not knowing Turkish in a good level affect their children's educational processes. In the following part, the discussion about research findings will be conducted.

4.4. Discussion

In this study, questions directed to Syrian migrant children and families aimed to understand their perceptions about both TECs and Turkish public schools. Also, changeover process between these two schools and perceptions of Syrian migrants about this progess is crucial to understand. As indicated by the Syrian migrants' narratives children are not satisfied with TECs. They criticized it in context of schedule, curriculum and structure. From their statements, it can be clearly understood that Syrian migrant children are in disadvantaged position academically

when one compares them with non-migrant children. However, Syrian migrant families stated that they prefer their children to study in TECs because some of them believe that if their children get education in their mother language, learning process will be easier. Some of them put forward that they prefer TECs because if they will go back to Syria, they will not want to become face to face with accreditation problem. A significant observation made during the research is that families mostly think about going back to Syria and while they are making plans in Turkey, they think about validity of these plans in Syria. However, children mostly did not mention any ideas about going back to Syria. From the answers of participants, it has been observed that experiences and perspectives of families have diversified. In addition, lack of multilingual and multicultural classes cause Syrian migrant students to lost in mainstream education system in Turkey. Thus, Turkey is face to face with educational inequality problem in the following years if needs and demands of Syrian migrant children will not meet.

Moreover, Syrian migrant put forward that in Turkish public schools classes are conducted in a proper manner and system is going well. From statements of children, it can be understood that design of TECs were not well planned. Also, Syrian migrant children make emphasis on discrimination and bullying that they faced. One of the cases analyzed in this research showed that even in same school and same grade level, one Syrian migrant child could be satisfied while other become face to face with bullying acts. To eliminate this situation, psychological counseling services in Turkish public schools should work actively, teachers should be aware of bullying in and out of classes. To solve this negative environment in class, more participatory education techniques should be used. In addition, from families' perspectives, with TECs more participatory educational environments are established because in these centers both children and families involved into education system actively. While in Turkish schools, parents become more passive due to language barrier. It has been known that parent involvement to education is highly crucial because parent involvement in education increases motivation of children, supports school about monitoring and following educational process and has effects on student behavior (Cotton and Wikelund, 1989: 18-19). Considering

the fact of these benefits of parent involvement to education, Syrian migrant families' passive role may affect children negatively. Due to language barrier, families are not fully able to communicate with their children about education and cannot support them academically in various classes. Language barrier may affect Syrian migrant families and children prominently and solutions should be found to overcome this barrier. For each school, a teacher who knows Arabic and can communicate with children can be assigned. In addition, Turkish language courses can extend for adults. To avert lack of information problem caused by language barrier may overcome with making regular announcements and arranging information sessions in neighborhoods.

Furthermore, Syrian migrant families mentioned high costs of education. This situation stands out in the research about economic problems of education. In TECs, families are not face to face with high costs because transportation costs compensated by UNICEF and there is not much additional stationery costs. However, in Turkish public schools transportation costs are higher. Transportation costs are not only problem of Syrian migrant families but every year when transportation costs announced in Istanbul, voices raised in Turkish public opinion about transportation costs of students ("*Okul servis ücretleri 2018-2019 döneminde ne kadar oldu*?")**.** Policy makers especially focus on cost of transportation issue and develop sustainable solutions. Another economic burden for families is trips arranged in the school. For each trip, even a small payment will demand from school and Syrian migrant families cannot meet with these costs. However, they do not want their children to become isolated from social activities held by school.

Also, families mention high prices of additional books. Even though, MoNE distributes course books free of charge in schools, in Turkish public schools, teachers want additional course books and this increases cost of education for Syrian migrant families. During my observations in the site, I observed that Eyüp Municipality has stationary support when semester begins ("*Eyüp Belediyesi'nin kırtasiye yardımı yüzleri güldürüyor",* 2017). However, considering high prices of

books and other stationary products, this support is limited and should be expanded.

Lastly, as a brief summary, pros and cons of TEC and Turkish public schools can see in the Table 4.4 and 4.5 below. In the light of these tables, policy recommendations will make in the conclusion part.

Table 4.5. Pros and Cons of TEC

Pros	Cons
Classes teaching in Arabic	Lack of multiculturalism in curriculum
No language barrier in parent-teacher relationship	Isolated from Turkish students
No transportation and additional book costs	Less developed school schedule

Table 4.6. Pros and Cons of Turkish Public Schools

Pros	Cons
More developed school and class schedule	Lack of multiculturalism in curriculum
Not isolated from Turkish and Syrian students	Bureaucratic barriers for registration
	Language barrier
	Transportation, trip and additional book costs

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In this research, my aim has been to understand the experiences of Syrian migrant children and families entering the Turkish educational system and analyze their experiences. This research has a unique characteristic because in Turkey, there is not any research conducted both with Syrian migrant children and families with taking them as active agents. Understanding their experiences and opinions about education in Turkey is critical to develop more sustainable policies for migrant education. I selected transnational migration theory for this research because this theory basically gives importance to the bonds that migrants establish in the host country while keeping their connection with their country of origin. In this research TNE evaluated sociologically with considering social relations in education. There is a really unique case for Turkey that MoNE established a TNE space (TECs) to meet Syrian migrants' educational needs, then shut it down and transfered Syrian migrant students to Turkish schools. As Glick Schiller and Levitt state, "If individuals engage in social relations and practices that cross borders as a regular feature of everyday life, then they exhibit a transnational way of being" (2004: 1011). In Turkey, as an everyday life case, Syrian migrant children and their families engaged in socio-cultural relations in TECs. Transferring Syrian migrant children who studied in TEC to Turkish public schools was perceived as changing migration policy of Turkey. Initially, Turkey accepted these migrants with their diversified culture and established a transnational place. However, after a while, Turkey changed it is educational policy toward Syrian migrants to a more assimilatory approach. This process was also observed in the discourses of children who started to adapt and liked Turkish public schools more and became alien to their culture and language. Also, parents are worried about losing their culture in the next generation and they demand more cultural and linguistic classes to keep their children in touch with Syrian culture.

Moreover, families and children complained for a lack of information about changing policies in the education system. Since Syrian migrants have to migrate

into Turkey, there is not any systematic information cycle about the services and rights provided for them. Even though, the governments established transnational education area, TECs, Syrian migrant children and families put forward that they did not get any information from officials about that. They were forced to rely on word of mouth as a way to learn about their rights information from other Syrian migrants. This not an appropriate method to learn about one's rights. Government can encourage non-governmental organizations and municipalities to offer more informative sessions about right awareness to Syrian migrants. If migrants are not aware of their rights, right violations start to occur. As stated in Chapter 4, because of high economical burden of education and other needs some children have to join to labor force when they first migrated to Turkey. Also, until Syrian migrants headr about TECs and the transportation support, child was forced to attend labor force. As seen in this case, a lack of right awareness has significant social consequences. As explained in Chapter 2, the MoNE's various institutions are in charge of transfer and registration process of Syrian migrant children at Turkish public schools. However, complex bureaucratic processes and changing applications for migrant education stand as a barrier in front of Syrian migrants about accessing education. In a short time, changed education paradigm can affect the education of Syrian migrant children negatively. This change in a short period points out Turkey's unstable migration policies and lack of theoretical framework in the background in the established procedures.

When Turkey's educational policies are analyzed about Syrian migrant education in the context of transnational migration theory, a researcher may criticize practices from various perspectives. Firstly, to avoid from assimilation and to establish an equal educational environment all migrant children have right to get a proper education. Espindola and Orozco also put forward that because migrant children have to move forcibly between countries, they have a right to get an education that enables transition from one to other and become successful (Espindola and Orozco, 2018: 54). In the case of Syrian migrants, they opt to keep their bonds with their culture firstly by establishing their own schools in the areas close to the borderline, and this process was followed by the establishment of TECs by Turkish government. However, transfer to public schools affects both families and children. Considering

the narratives of Syrian migrant families and children, in Turkish public schools, there is not any class linguistically or culturally close to their mother tongue or culture. To improve this situation, policy implications should be developed in the light of needs of Syrian migrants.

Secondly, from the expressions of Syrian migrant parents, it can be clearly seen that the economic costs of transferring children to Turkish public schools is high for families to meet. To establish a healthier education, for migrants who have transnational bonds, host country officials should try to share the economic burden with other countries. For Syrian migrants transporation costs were met with the support of UNICEF studying in TECs. However, in Turkish public schools, there is no such support for transportation. Considering the criticisms of that European countries' lack of their support to Turkey about Syrian migrants, a supportive role could be taken in context of education.

Thirdly, the accreditation of Turkish public schools in Syria is a question in Syrian migrants' minds. Even though, the war is still continuing in Syria, some families have hopes or plans to return. In this case, they do not want their children to face accreditation problem in their country of origin. Even if countries have problems politically, a clear accreditation system should be established. To achieve this, not only Turkey but also Syria should take concrete steps to save future generations because establishing policies to go in line with transnationalism is not only in responsibility of the host country but also a responsibility of the origin country. To maintain migrant childrens' transnational ties in both countries in a healthy way, responsibility should be shared.

In the light of interviews and site work, policy recommendations of this thesis include following:

• To establish healthy communication with Syrian migrant children and families in schools, the MoNE should appoint native Arabic speaker teachers to Turkish public schools.

• Arabic classes in schools should be conducted by teachers who can speak both Arabic and Turkish.

• In areas where Syrian migrants are living densely, the number of schools should be increased or school shifts and schedules be redesigned.

- To give information about the registration process and Turkish educational system, schools should employ Arabic speaker assistants or volunteers from NGO's get involve into this process.

- The curriculum should be redesigned and a multicultural perspective should be at center.

- Additional costs in schools (trips, additional course books, transportation costs) should be minimized and a sustainable solution should be found so that every student to participate these events and benefit from these services.

- Municipalities and NGO's should work in the field more to understand the problems and demands of the migrants. MoNE and government can share responsibility and establish more projects with municipalities and NGO's more to serve Syrian migrants in a better way.

- To avoid child labor and to incrase participation in education, educational progress of children must be followed periodically. Transparent and accountable mechanisms should adapt for following children in Turkish education system.

- More developmental and sustainable approaches should implement in Turkish education system to meet with migrants needs.

In addition, though these policy recommendations and site work observations are valuable, as in every research, there are limitations and shortcomings of this study. To understand the educational experiences and integration process of Syrian migrants in Istanbul, the focus is on only Eyüp district. So, it is hard to generalize the educational experiences of all Syrian migrants in Istanbul. Moreover, because time is limited, I was able to meet many Syrian migrants but I conduct interviews with only 21 of them. Also, the age range of children participated in this research is limited between 9and 15 years, but in Turkey there are many Syrian migrant children younger or older than this segment, and their experiences may differ. Considering the age range of the students participating in this research, we can say that there is a limitation about the age segment too. Due to the age segment, the interview process went slow sometimes because it was hard to explain the meaning of integration and to capture the ideas of children about education.

Furthermore, qualitative research methods were used in this research. As a result, it is hard to draw a general framework, unlike in quantitative research. The answers of participants were not measured as in quantitative research, and analysis is not available to see a general trend with more participants. Also, due to the nature of qualitative research, it is generally subjective and relies on personal experiences and narratives.

Overall, in this research the main research question is "How do Syrian migrant families and children experience educational policies made by Turkey?" As a researcher, I also tried to understand changing migrant education practices. In the light of interviews and analysis of changing educational practices, it can be clearly seen that initially Turkey was closer to transnational migration theory considering its establishment of TECs. However, in the last four years a more assimilationist approach has been adopted. This shift of educational migration policies in such a short time may affect Syrian migrant children's bonds with their culture. Negative perceptions towards TECs may also create a negative image in Syrian migrant children's minds because they put forward that TECs are not academically systematic and Syrian migrant childrens' discourses was that Syrian migrant children prefer to study in Turkish school more. Even these claims show how changing policies affect the perceptions of Syrian migrant children. Policy makers should be aware of the importance of changing policies in education on the future lives of Syrian migrants.

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APPENDICES

A.   Ethical Committee Decision

ARAŞTIRMA ETİK KURUL KARARLARI
(Research Ethics Committee Decision)

Toplantı Tarihi   : 31.10.2018
Toplantı Sayısı   : 30/2018
Toplantı Saati   : 11:00
Toplantıya Katılanlar :
                         Prof. Dr. Nihat BULUT
                         Prof. Dr. Cem BEHAR
                         Doç. Dr. Elif ÇELEBİ
                         Doç. Dr. Hızır Murat KÖSE
                         Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Sinem ELKATİP HATİPOĞLU
                         Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Betül NİZAM
                         Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Eyyüp Said KAYA

Karar No 1:

İstanbul Şehir University Research Ethics Committee has reviewed the project named "Analysis of Syrian Refugee Education in Turkey in Context of Migration Theories: Evaluation of Temporary Education Center and Public Schools in Istanbul from the Eyes of Syrian Immigrant Families and Children" by Assist. Ayşe Perihan Kırkıç

According to the given information, Aim of this study is to investigate adaptation practices of Syrian immigrants to educational life in Turkey. Despite the fact that immigrant individuals are the subject of practices in the education policies applied to immigrants, academic literature have limited studies with migrant families and children. The main purpose of this study is to better understand the practices of immigrants who have migrated from Syria and to analyze them in a comprehensive manner with migration theories. It is also an important goal of this study to understand the connection between migration theories and practical events.

Qualitative methods will use in this research. Interviews will conduct in a semi-structured way. Additionally, informal interview techniques will also use to establish a peaceful environment and to have active listening for both parties. Interviews will conduct with Syrian immigrant families and children. Questions determined by researcher (Ayşe Perihan Kırkıç) and approved by consultant (Eda Ünlü Yücesoy). Before starting to interview, consent form will give to participants. In this form, basic information about research, communication information of researcher and a statement that indicates their consent to participate in research.
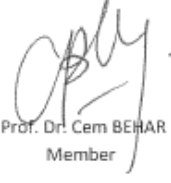
Followed by this information, undersigned Research Ethics Committee Members have seen no harm in view of ethics in the project entitled "Analysis of Syrian Refugee Education in Turkey in Context of Migration Theories: Evaluation of Temporary Education Center and Public Schools in Istanbul from the Eyes of Syrian Immigrant Families and Children" by Assist. Ayşe Perihan Kırkıç

Prof. Dr. Nihat BULUT
Member

Prof. Dr. Cem BEHAR
Member

Doç. Dr. Elif ÇELEBİ
Member

Doç. Dr. Hızır Murat KÖSE
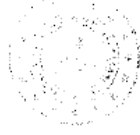Member

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Betül NİZAM
Member

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Sinem ELKATİP HATİPOĞLU
Member

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Eyyüp Said KAYA
Member

B. Research Approval

T.C.
İSTANBUL VALİLİĞİ
İstanbul İl Göç İdaresi Müdürlüğü

Sayı : 72104824-000-E.26291
Konu : Anket İzni Hk.

15/03/2019

İSTANBUL ŞEHİR ÜNİVERSİTESİ REKTÖRLÜĞÜNE

İlgi : 05.03.2019 tarihli ve 62103649-000/13512 sayılı yazı.

İstanbul Şehir Üniversitesi'nde yüksek lisans öğrencisi olan Ayşe Perihan Kırkıç tarafından "Suriyeli Mülteci Ailelerin ve Çocukların Eğitim Hayatında Edindikleri Tecrübeleri Uluslararası Göç Kapsamında İncelenmesi" konulu tez çalışması kapsamında araştırma izni talep edilmiştir.

Talebiniz Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü'ne iletilmiştir. İşarımıza gelen ilgi cevapta: söz konusu çalışma, 6458 sayılı Yabancılar ve Uluslararası Koruma Kanunu 94 üncü maddesi ile 2014/6883 karar sayılı Geçici Koruma Yönetmeliği 51 inci maddesinde belirtilen gizlilik ilkelerine gerekli hassasiyetin gösterilmesi: çalışmaya konu kişilerden ve/veya aile üyelerinden yapılacak araştırmanın hiçbir aşamasında ad, soyad, telefon, e-posta adresi, ikametgah adresi ile uyruk, din, mezhep, etnik gruba mensubiyet gibi hassas bilgilerin istenmemesi ve hâlihazırda gönderilen anket sorularının içerisinden sayılan hususlardaki bilgi taleplerinin çıkarılması: çalışmalar esnasında ses/video kaydı alınmaması kaydı ile anket soruları olumlu değerlendirilmiş İl Göç İdaresi Müdürlüğümüzce de uygun görülmüş olup gereğini.

Bilgilerinize rica ederim.

Recep BATU
Vali a.
İl Göç İderisi Müdürü

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C. Permission Document in Arabic

<div dir="rtl">

طلب إذن ومعلومات عن البحث

اسم الباحث / اسم العائلة: عائشة بيريهان كركتش

رقم الهاتف: 46 32 618 555 0

البريد الإلكتروني: aysekirkic@std.sehir.edu.tr

معلومات البحث: سيتم إجراء هذا البحث من قبل عائشة بيريهان كركتش طالبة ماجستير في علم الاجتماع في جامع إسطنبول شهير. سيتم إدراج أسئلتكم ضمن رسالة الماجستير التي تخص عائشة بيريهان. المعلومات الشخصية عن المشاركين (الاسم، العنوان، إلخ...) لن يتم تحديدها في هذا البحث. الهدف الرئيسي من هذا البحث هو فهم كيفية تعامل واقتراب المهاجرين السوريين من نظام التعليم التركي. انتقاداتكم وآراؤكم مرحب بها وتملكون الحرية لتسألوا جميع ما يخطر على بالكم. الأسئلة ستكون موجهة للوالدين والأبناء. تم وضع الأسئلة لقياس كيفية فهم الاطفال والوالدين للنظام التعليمي التركي والثقافة المدرسية. عند توقيعك على هذه الوثيقة فإنك تشير الى تطوعك في المشاركة في هذا البحث. عند نشر رسالة الماجستير، سيتم إعطائكم نسخة منها. إن كانت لديكم أسئلة أخرى فلا تترددوا في الاتصال بي على الرقم الموضح في الأعلى.

عائشة بيريهان كركتش

التوقيع: التوقيع:

التاريخ: التاريخ:

</div>

D. Permission Document in English

Permission and Information Request about Research

Researcher Name / Surname: Ayşe Perihan Kırkıç

Cell Phone: 0555 618 32 46

E-mail: aysekirkic@std.sehir.edu.tr

Research Information: This research will be conducted by Ayşe Perihan Kırkıç as a student of İstanbul Şehir University Sociology Master Program. Questions that you answer will be included in Master Thesis of Ayşe Perihan Kırkıç. Private information about participants (name, address etc.) will not specified in research. In this research, the main goal is to understand how Syrian immigrants approach to Turkish educational system. You are welcome to make critiques on the education system and feel free to say your opinions. Questions will be directed to parents and children. The questions are prepared to measure how children and parents understand Turkish educational system and school culture. If you sign this document, you indicate that you volunteer to participate in the research. When thesis will published a copy of thesis will be given to you. If you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact with me.

Ayşe Perihan Kırkıç

Signature: Signature:

Date: Date:

E. **Questions Asked to Syrian Migrant Children**

1. **Can you give details about yourself? (Name,age etc.)**

2. **How long have you been in Turkey?**

3. **Have you ever studied in Syria?**

4. **Are you going to school? (If no, ask why s/he is not going or dropped it)**

5. **If yes, do you like your school?**

6. **What do you like in your school?**

7. **What do you think about your classroom and your teacher?**

8. **What do you think about your friends?**

9. **Does your best friend in school is from Turkey or from Syria?**

10. **What do you think about Turkish children in school?**

11. **Can you compare schools in Syria and Turkey? (If student attend school in Syria, if not go to next question)**

12. **What is your best experience in Turkish school? Do you want to share them with us?**

13. **Have you ever have a problem in Turkish school with your friends or teacher? Do you want to share them with us?**

14. **Do you like your school faacilities? (Building, classsrooms, opportunities etc.)**

15. **What do you want to see more in your school? (More classrooms, more labratories, more game centers, more painting classes etc.)**

16. **What do you think about breaks in both schools? Can you compare them? Mostly, what do you do in breaks? Who are you playing or hanging out with?**

17. **What do you think about your current deskmate?**

18. **What do you think about homeworks and exams in Turkish school?**

19. **What is the hardest class for you in Turkish school?**

20. **Does your family support you for homeworks in Turkish school?**

21. **Is there anything that surprised you in Turkish school when you first started?**

22. **What do you think about Temporary Education Centre's?**

23. **What do you think about classsrooms and teachers in Temporary Education Centre's?**

24. **What do you think about your friends in Temporary Education Centre?**

25. **What was your favorite class in Temporary Education Centre?**

26. **What was your best experience in Temporary Education Centre? Do you want to share them with us?**

27. **Have you ever have a problem in Temporary Education Centre with your friends or teacher? Do you want to share them with us?**

28. **What do you think about homeworks and exams in Temporary Education Centre?**

29. **Did your family support you for homeworks in Temporary Education Centre?**

30. **What is the hardest class for you in Temporary Education Centre?**

31. **Is there anything that surprised you in Temporary Education Centre when you first started?**

32. **Do you like Temporary Education Centre or Turkish school most? If you have a chance which one will you select to study? Why?**

33. **What job do you want to work in the future? Why?**

F.   Questions Asked to Syrian Migrant Families

1.   **Can you give details about yourself?**

2.   **How long have you been in Turkey?**

3.   **Did you live in a city other than Istanbul?**

4.   **What is your educational status?**

5.   **How many children do you have? Do they go to school? If yes, how many of them are going to school? If no, why they are not attending educational life in Turkey?**

6.   **If you lived in a city other than Istanbul did your children attend Contemporary Education Centre or Turkish schools at these cities?**

7.   **Have you ever visited the schools where your children study?**

8.   **What do you think about physical facilities of school? Do they meet with needs of children? (Garden, classrooms etc.)**

9.   **What do you think about teachers? Have you ever get contact with them?**

10.   **Do you observe a difference between attitudes of teachers to children between these schools?**

11.   **What do you think about Turkish educational system?**

12.   **What do you think about Temporary Education Centre's? (Pros/cons)**

13.   **What do you think about Turkish schools? (Pros/cons)**

14.   **Can you compare schools in Syria and Temporary Education Centre's?**

15.   **Can you compare schools in Syria and Turkish schools?**

16.   **What differences did you observe in your children while they were going to different schools?**

17.   **Do your children share their experiences (and social) in school? Can you share their both positive and negative experiences with us?**

18.   **Do you help your children on their classes?**

19.   **Do you have any advice for Turkish educational system to make developments in the future?**

20.   **What do you think about the education of your children in the future?**