

EDUCATIONAL PERCEPTION OF THE INTERNALLY DISPLACED
FAMILIES' CHILDREN: EVIDENCE FROM İZMİR AND DİYARBAKIR

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ESRA ARI

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Prof. Dr. Meliha Altunışık
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Prof. Dr. Ayşe Saktanber
Head of Department

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 Science.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayşe Gündüz Hoşgör
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Yıldız Ecevit	(METU, SOC)	_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayşe Gündüz Hoşgör	(METU, SOC)	_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Metin Özuğurlu	(AU, L.E.I.R)	_____

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

Name, Last name: Esra Ari

Signature :

ABSTRACT

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Arı, Esra

M. Sc., Department of Sociology

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayşe Gündüz-Hoşgör

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Turkey experienced conflict-induced internal displacement due to the political and social unrest, in the late 1980s and during the 1990s, in East and South East Anatolia regions. The unplanned and involuntary nature of migration led internally displaced persons (IDPs), and in particular forced many Kurdish migrants' children to poverty. Within this framework, this study aims to explore how internally displaced families' high school attending children experience poverty in two cities, İzmir and Diyarbakir. In this thesis, it is argued that the motive behind child poverty among internally displaced children is an overlapping process of forced migration and consequences of neo-liberal economic policies in Turkey.

Although high school education is not compulsory in Turkey, these displaced students prefer to attend high schools instead of working (or besides working) to contribute household budget despite the fact that they are from poor families. In particular, the research aims to understand internally displaced children's expectations from high school and the barriers to their education.

Based on the assumption that education, in today's economic structure, is the only way for displaced children to achieve upward social mobility, the main

research question of this study is that whether high school education would enable these children once caught in poverty in Diyarbakır and İzmir to achieve social upward mobility. All in all, but, it is claimed that although these children seem far from improving their lives through attending high school, social and economic inequalities from the beginning of their lives are barrier to their futher educational achievement and developing their human capital, and hence hinders their social upward mobility.

Keywords: forced migration, child poverty, educational expectations, İzmir, Diyarbakır.

ÖZ

ÜLKE İÇİNDE YERİNDEN EDİLMİŞ AİLELERİN ÇOCUKLARININ EĞİTİM ALGISI: İZMİR VE DİYARBAKIR'DAN BULGULAR

Arı, Esra

Yüksek Lisans, Sosyoloji Anabilim Dalı

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Ayşe Gündüz-Hoşgör

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Türkiye, Doğu ve Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesi'nde meydana gelen politik ve toplumsal huzursuzluk nedeniyle 1980'lerin sonunda ve 1990'lar boyunca iç savaş ve çatışmaların neden olduğu ülke içinde yerinden edilme olgusunu deneyimlemiştir. Göçün hazırlıksız ve zorunlu olma hali ülke içinde yerinden edilenlerin ve özellikle zorunlu Kürt göçerlerin çocuklarının yoksullaşmasına neden olmuştur. Bu kapsamda, bu çalışma, ülke içinde yerinden edilen ailelerin liseye giden çocuklarının yoksulluğu iki farklı şehirde, İzmir ve Diyarbakır'da, nasıl deneyimlediklerini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu tezde, ülke içinde yerinden edilen çocukların deneyimlediği yoksulluğun Türkiye'de zorunlu göç ve neo-liberal ekonomi politikaları sonuçlarının üst üste gelmesiyle yaşanan süreçten kaynaklandığı savunulmaktadır.

Türkiye'de lise eğitimi zorunlu olmamasına rağmen, ülke içinde yerinden edilen bu çocuklar yoksullukla mücadele eden ailelerin üyeleri olsa da ailelerine destek olmak için çalışmak yerine (ya da çalışmanın yanı sıra) liseye gitmeyi tercih etmişlerdir. Bu araştırma, özellikle ülke içinde yerinden edilen

bu çocukların lise eğitiminden beklentilerini ve eğitimleri önündeki engelleri anlamaya çalışmaktadır.

Bugünün ekonomik yapısında, ülke içinde yerinden edilen çocukların yukarı doğru sosyal hareketlilik sağlaması için eğitimin tek yol olduğu varsayımına dayanarak, araştırmanın temel sorusu lise eğitiminin bir kez yoksulluğa yakalanmış İzmir ve Diyarbakır'daki bu çocukların yukarı doğru sosyal hareketlilik sağlamalarını mümkün kılıp kılamayacağıdır. Fakat sonuç olarak, bu çocukların lise eğitimi aracılığıyla hayatlarını iyileştirmekten uzak göründükleri iddia edilmektedir. Daha da önemlisi, bu çocukların doğdukları andan beri maruz kaldıkları sosyal ve ekonomik eşitsizlikler başarı seviyelerini arttırmak ve beşeri sermayelerini geliştirmek için önlerinde engel oluşturmakta ve bu yüzden yukarı doğru sosyal hareketlilik sağlamalarına ket vurmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: zorunlu göç, çocuk yoksulluğu, eğitimle ilgili beklentiler, İzmir, Diyarbakır.

To Sevda AKI, in behalf of all of the children in the world

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The political and social unrest, in the late 1980s and during the 1990s, in East and South East Anatolia regions of Turkey ended up with conflict-induced displacement. The unplanned, sudden and involuntary nature of migration renders internally displaced persons (IDPs) as one of the most disadvantageous groups (Development Center, 2006). While unplanned and sudden nature of forced migration resulted in a rupture in forced migrants' lives, these people who lack basic skills and education generally have become unemployed or working poors in a fast changing market structure in urban areas (Family Research Institution of The Prime Minister's Office, 1998; Akşit et al., 2001; Ersoy and Şengül, 2002; GÖÇ-DER, 2002; Development Centre, 2006; Yüksekler, 2006a; Özbek, 2007; Kaya et al., 2009; Mutlu, 2009). The unplanned and involuntary nature of the migration; lack of economic, social and cultural capital of IDPs and the effects of neo-liberal economic policies overlapped; and consequently had severe effects on displaced people (Altuntaş, 2009). IDPs generally caught in poverty trap. Besides women and elderly, children are amongst the most disadvantageous groups affected from the consequences of internal displacement (Development Centre, 2006; TESEV, 2006; Özbek, 2007).

The main aim of this thesis is to explore the relationship among forced migration, child poverty and education. It is argued that the motive behind child poverty among internally displaced children is the overlapping processes of forced migration and consequences of neo-liberal economic policies in Turkey. This study tries to illustrate the ideas of children concerning their life

situation after forced migration. In general, it is purposed to shed light on the poverty and various kinds of social exclusion experienced by internally displaced children after their practice of forced migration. On the other hand, in particular, this research seeks answers to internally displaced children's expectations from high school, the prices they have been paying for going to high school, the barriers to their education and their problems in high schools. Although high school education is not compulsory in Turkey, these children prefer (or are pushed by their families) to attend high school instead of (or besides) working and contributing to family budget. Keeping in mind that higher level of education is the only way of eliminating poverty for these children (Smits and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2006; Dinçer and Uysal-Kolaşın, 2009), the fundamental point of this study is to reveal whether high school education would enable these children once caught in poverty to achieve social upward mobility.

1.1 Significance of the Thesis

There is a literature gap concerning "child poverty" since the issue of 'child poverty' came up as a distinct area of study from poverty literature in the beginning of 1980s (Dayıođlu, 2007). The issue of child poverty came to the agenda around the discussions that poverty has different effects on children and adults. Although there have been an increasing number of studies on child poverty conducted by both academy and international organizations, they generally focus on adult point of view instead of children's own ideas about their life circumstances. Moreover, most of the literature on child poverty generally originates in U.S.A and Britain.

The literature on child poverty is even more limited in Turkey. One of the recognized and comprehensive studies on child poverty is introduced by Doç. Dr. Meltem Dayıođlu under the name of "Türkiye'de Çocuk Yoksulluđu: Ölçüm Yöntemleri ve Yoksulluđun Belirleyicileri" (Child Poverty in Turkey: Ölçüm Yöntemleri ve Yoksulluđun Belirleyicileri)

Methods of Measurement and Determinants of Poverty). Generally, other research and projects concerning child poverty in Turkey have been conducted by UNICEF. However, although there is a lack of comprehensive studies which include various dimensions of child poverty, there are a considerable number of studies related to the different areas of child poverty such as the subjects of child labor and education since child poverty is a multi-faceted phenomenon.

In terms of forced migration, especially after 1990s, there are various research conducted by academics, NGOs and even by government institutions concerning economic and social consequences of forced migration (Family Research Institution of The Prime Minister's Office, 1998; Akşit et al., 2001; Barut, 2002; Erdoğan, 2002; Ersoy and Şengül, 2002; GÖÇ-DER, 2002; Altuntaş, 2003; Başak Culture and Art Foundation, 2004; Development Centre, 2006; TESEV, 2006; Özbek, 2007; Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2008; Altuntaş, 2009; Kaya et al., 2009; Mutlu, 2009). These studies reveal the relationship between poverty and forced migration. However, there is limited knowledge concerning the relationship among forced migration, poverty and children. Forced migration's impact on children has generally been analyzed as a subtitle in these studies. Moreover, most of the limited number of studies which reflect the relationship between forced migration and children has focused on psychology and psychiatry disciplines.

In this framework, this study centers upon the impact of forced migration on children. Furthermore, the problems of internally displaced children are reflected through children's own ideas. Therefore, this research claims that children are active actors of poverty instead of passive recipients of it.

To sum up, this thesis is important due to the following reasons. First, it aims to contribute to the literature on child poverty in both Turkey and international area. Second, the problems of these children are reflected through their own ideas instead of adults point of view. Third, this study would provide a

significant data on regional discrepancies through a comparison of two cities, one in Western and the other is in Eastern Turkey. Fourth, since children are the future adults of a country, poverty studies with children is particularly significant for the future of a country.

1.2 Research Field

Research was conducted in two cities, İzmir and Diyarbakır. While İzmir represents Western Turkey, Diyarbakır represents Eastern Turkey. The aim of conducting field research in two cities is to identify the impact of regional discrepancies on child poverty. Findings of the field research will further through a comparison of two cities in terms of child poverty.

İzmir is a developed city in Western Anatolia since it is an important industrial and manufacture center in both Aegean region and Turkey. In terms of internal displacement, İzmir is among the western cities sheltering a considerable number of Kurdish forced migrants. This city has a heterogeneous population distribution with people coming from Manisa, Erzurum, Mardin, Konya, Afyon, Balıkesir, Aydın, Sivas, Çorum, Ordu, Tokat, Muş ,Ağrı, Diyarbakır and Şanlıurfa (Turkstat, 2008). Concerning various kinds of social exclusion, İzmir has a significant place in this thesis due to the assumption that internally displaced high school students are at higher risk of being exposed to discrimination based on their ethnicity. In fact, there is an apparent anti-immigrant hostility based on Kurdish ethnicity among middle class in İzmir (Saraçoğlu, 2010). Moreover, İzmir is a less studied area in terms of the consequences of forced migration compared to other big cities such as İstanbul, Mersin and Ankara. Therefore, it is also thought that studying İzmir will contribute to the forced migration literature in Turkey. Internally displaced people generally have resided in slum areas and ruinous inner areas of the city. According to information obtained from some reasearch and authorized people in both governmental and non-governmental organizations, districts of

Kadifekale and Ballıkuyu are among the places where internally displaced Kurdish people settle down. Therefore, most of interviews with the internally displaced students conducted in Kadifekale and Ballıkuyu.

While Diyarbakır has been a regional center of commerce and knowledge since 1980s, the city is not promising in terms of socio-economic development today (Keyman and Lorosdağı, 2010). Although there are many studies on the issue of forced migration in Diyarbakır, this city is preferred to conduct field research due to its importance at Turkey's Kurdish problem and its political stance. Moreover, Diyarbakır has a homogenous population mostly is composed of Kurdish population. Therefore, the assumption is based on the idea that although internally displaced children in Diyarbakır are exposed to various kinds of social exclusion such as economic and spatial exclusion, they are at lower risk of being exposed to cultural discrimination in Diyarbakır. The interviews with internally displaced students were conducted in the districts of Suriçi, Seyrantepe, 450 Evler and Bağlar in Diyarbakır.

1.3 Research Questions

Since children have been one of the most disadvantageous groups among forced migrants, this study seeks answers to some crucial questions;

- “How do these students perceive their socio-economic conditions?”;
- “What do high school students expect from their high school education?”;
- “Although high school is not compulsory in Turkey and these children struggle with poverty, why do these children prefer to attend school instead of working?” ;
- “What kind of prices have they been paying to continue their education?” ;

- “What kind of problems do they face in their schools?”;
- “How do they struggle with their deprivation?”;
- “Do these students perceive any kind of exclusion due to their class position or ethnicity?”;
- “What kind of differences are there between the students living in two different cities (İzmir and Diyarbakır) and between girls and boys?”.

1.4 Constraints of the Field Research

The common problem in both İzmir and Diyarbakır was to reach female students to conduct interviews since their participation in social life is limited. Still, it was easier to reach girls in Diyarbakır because of two reasons. First, girls in Diyarbakır are “luckier” than the ones in İzmir in terms of participation in social life through youth centers. In contrast to İzmir, there are a considerable number of youth organizations at different neighborhoods in Diyarbakır. These organizations can also sometimes be effective at dissolving families’ attitudes concerning limiting their daughters’ life. Therefore, some girls in Diyarbakır are able to attend various activities conducted by these organizations. Still, the number of boys in these youth centers is higher than the girls in Diyarbakır. However, there is a little number of youth centers in İzmir. Therefore, it was harder to contact girls through organizations. Second, students in Diyarbakır, including girls were more inclined to introduce their other friends or relatives who were internally displaced to researchers. This fact stems from the fact that students in Diyarbakır are comfortable at doing interviews on their problems including the subject of forced migration since Diyarbakır is the centre city for Kurds. Therefore, internally displaced students are not in a defense position in this city.

It was hard to reach internally displaced students in İzmir. There can be several reasons behind this fact. First, internally displaced children may not be informed about their forced migration process by their families with the concern of security since there is a serious reaction against Kurdish people in İzmir. Second, children may know about their internal displacement practice. However, their families may warn their children not to share this information with foreign people. A headman from İzmir explained this situation as İzmir is a “resignation area” for Kurds; and Kurds hold a strong defense position in this city since it is in Western Turkey. This fact can be the reason of preferring to be “invisible” in İzmir for some forced migrants. For instance, one of the interviewees told that she and her family came to İzmir due to economic hardship in their village. However, her mother told that they were internally displaced due to the pressures put on them in their villages. She also added that she and her husband had transferred this knowledge to their children in the interviews. This contradictory information supports the idea that although some students know that they were internally displaced; they prefer not to tell it particularly to foreigners. Third, it was hard to reach internally displaced people in İzmir since it is the third biggest city of Turkey; and locations of internally displaced people are more diverse and spread compared to the ones in Diyarbakır. A considerable time and social network are required to reach more internally displaced persons. Fourth, although some families do not name themselves as forced migrants, the reason behind their migration process may be related to the economic constriction affected by the policies implemented in Southeastern and Eastern regions due to conflict environment. Last, it was difficult to reach the forced migrant high school students in İzmir since the number of high school students is already limited in the neighborhoods where the field research was conducted. Therefore, it became more difficult to reach students from not only high schools but also internally displaced families. Due to the reasons mentioned above, it was not possible to conduct all the interviews with internally displaced students in İzmir. Moreover, the ones who are internally displaced were generally not inclined to share all the knowledge

they know. On the other hand, students in Diyarbakır witnessing or informed about their forced migration practice were open and relaxed about sharing their migration stories since they conceive Diyarbakır as the capital city of Kurdish people; and they want to take this issue to the agenda.

However, in Diyarbakır, particularly adult forced migrants and the professionals working in the institutions concerning the issue of forced migration sometimes refused to help about contacting with internally displaced students. They have strong prejudices towards people who want to conduct research. They generally indicated that Diyarbakır has been used as a “laboratory”; and forced migrants in the city have been used as “test subjects” through various projects on this issue. Therefore, they expressed that they could not allow furthering this unethical attitude. Moreover, some adults, like headman, explained that nothing has changed in their city although they have been talking about their problems for a long time. Therefore, they have lost their belief in researchers. It would not have been possible to reach these students without personal contacts. Hence, snowball sampling technique was applied to access to the participants.

1.5 Research Methodology

The research methodology is based on two stages. At first, a desk-top review was carried out. In line with the thesis subject, a literature review concerning the subjects of internal displacement, child poverty and education did set a substructure for the field research. Therefore, both national and international books, articles reports, previous research and related statistics on these subjects were analyzed.

Second, a qualitative research method was applied. Interview techniques were used to gain a deeper insight on the issue. It is not aimed to generalize the

findings of the field research; in contrast it is preferred to gain in-depth understanding on children's life experiences and understand trends.

Semi-structured questionnaire was prepared on related subjects of this thesis. This semi-structured questionnaire is composed of 11 sections. These sections are demography, housing conditions, migration process, education, working profile, health, relationship with family, hobby activities, social support mechanisms, problem areas in students' life and last section including questions on students' past/present/future lives¹.

The target group of this research is high school students due to two reasons. First, these internally displaced students prefer (or have been pushed) to attend high schools instead of working (or besides working) to contribute household budget although they are from poor families. Therefore, it is claimed that attending high school is a significant achievement for them in terms of social upward mobility. Second, it is inquired whether high school attendance would enable them to achieve upward social mobility.

In this context, 37 in-depth interviews and 1 focus group interview were conducted in two cities, İzmir and Diyarbakır. In total, 42 students from İzmir and Diyarbakır participated in research. With regard to gender balance, interviews were conducted with equal number of girls and boys. On the other hand, almost equal number of interviews conducted in both cities regarding equal presentation of two cities.

In Diyarbakır, 20 internally displaced students, 10 boys and 10 girls, participated in in-depth interviews. However, in İzmir, it was not possible to conduct all of the interviews with forced migrant students due to the previously

¹ The English questionnaire form is given in Appendix A.
The Turkish questionnaire form is given in Appendix B.

indicated difficulties at reaching these students. 10 in-depth interviews were conducted with girls in İzmir. 3 out of 10 female interviewees were forced migrants. On the other hand, 7 in-depth interviews and one focus group interview were done with boys in İzmir. 5 out of 7 in-depth interviews were conducted with internally displaced male students. In focus group interview, composed of 5 boys, 4 out of 5 students were internally displaced students.

Along with these interviews, many governmental institutions and Non-Governmental Organizations were visited to gather knowledge on related issues. The visited institutions and organizations in Diyarbakır are Sarmaşık Association for Struggle against Poverty and Sustainable Development, Development Centre, Local Agenda 21, Arjin Youth Center, Bağlar Municipality and Education Support Centers. Besides, headmen (*muhtars*)² of some neighborhoods were visited.

In İzmir, visited institutions and organizations are İGEP (İç Göç Entegrasyon Projesi) [Support to the Solution of Economic and Social Integration Problems in İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir and Bursa as Major In-Migration Destinations], Human Rights Association, Basmane Semt Merkezi (District of Basmane Center), a high school in Alsancak, Kadifekale Toplum Merkezi (Kadifekale Community Center) and İzmir Provincial Directorate for National Education. Especially, one of the interviewed headman (*muhtar*) at Kadifekale was able to give more specific knowledge on research topic. Besides, there were some visits to the families of interviewed students.

Last, field research of this study was written as a project; and proposed to Middle East Technical University Scientific Research Projects Coordination Center. Thanks to the funding provided by this center, the field research was completed.

² The local administrator of the *village* in rural areas and the *neighborhood* in urban areas (Development Cooperative, 2010).

CHAPTER II

THEORETHICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

The main aim of this study is to explore how internally displaced families' high school attending children experience poverty in two cities, İzmir representing western Turkey, while Diyarbakır representing eastern. This study tries to reveal whether internally displaced students in Diyarbakır and İzmir once caught in poverty as a result of the overlapping processes of forced migration and consequences of neo-liberal economic policies would be able to improve their lives through education or not. If these displaced students are not able to get out of poverty through education, there will be an attempt to identify the barriers to social upward mobility.

2.1 Internal Displacement in Turkey

Although there are three types of internal displacement according to its causes- disaster-induced displacement, development-induced displacement and conflict-induced displacement³, this study focuses on the consequences of conflict-induced displacement. "Situations in which persons, regardless of whether there is use of arms or violence, are obliged to leave their places of residence where they with their families or where they live together with other people, as a result of pressure by a person or a group, in order to avoid human right violations or, because their lives are in danger, are described as conflict-induced displacement" (TESEV, 2007: 81).

³ *What is Forced Migration?* (n.d.). Retrived March 15, 2010 from Forced Migration Online Web Site: <http://www.forcedmigration.org/whatisfm.htm>

People flee when they feel that their physical integrity is threatened in a conflict environment. While some people abandon their lands after violence and persecution directed to them; others anticipate the danger and flee. Many people decide to flee as they are identified with groups that have become targets of human rights abuses (Davenport et al., 2003: 32). As Wood points out the purpose of states' repressive acts aim to push out unwanted people in an increasing number of cases (1994 in Davenport et al., 2003:32). However, some other people anticipate the forthcoming threat and flee. A group of people who demonstrated their opposition to the government and some whose friends and family members have recently been subjected to governmental repressive actions can flee due to the fear of persecution (Davenport et al., 2003:32). Overall, people move to other locales when they feel that "their security is at risk in their country of origin" (Davenport et al., 2003:32).

As a matter of fact, children are one of the most disadvantageous groups affected from internal displacement (Başak Culture and Art Foundation, 2004; Mooney, 2005; Development Centre, 2006; Yüksekler, 2006a; Yüksekler, 2006b; Özbek, 2007; Mutlu, 2009). Their education right is violated and their standard development is hindered by internal displacement. Moreover, they usually have high risks of separating from their families during the flight and remaining unprotected (Mooney, 2005:15).

The political and social unrest, in the late 1980s and during the 1990s, in East and South East Anatolia regions of Turkey ended up with conflict-induced displacement. As a result of radical counter-insurgency doctrine proposing the destruction of rural society as a solution to suppress the PKK (Kurdish Workers' Party), large numbers of villages were evacuated and burnt down; the livestock of people were slaughtered; their agricultural areas were destroyed and many people were tortured on the ground of aiding and abetting the PKK. Between 950,000 and 1,200,000 people were forced to abandon their habitual

place of residence (HÜNE, 2006). Considering the population distribution of the region, most of the internally displaced persons (IDPs)⁴ were Kurds (İçduygu et al., 1999; Sirkeci, 2006).

Evacuation of villages was mostly eventuated from rural settlements to urban settlements (Development Center, 2006; Jongerden, 2007; TESEV, 2007). Jongerden named it as “rural-to urban resettlement tracks” (2007:84). The motive behind this track was to cut off the logistic support of PKK from rural areas, especially from mountainous settlements. The out-migration mostly flowed from countryside of some provinces in the east and southeast. These provinces were Adıyaman, Ağrı, Batman, Bingöl, Bitlis, Diyarbakır, Elazığ, Hakkari, Mardin, Muş, Siirt, Şırnak, Tunceli and Van (HÜNE, 2006:14). As a result of rural migrant flux from countryside, the urban population of the nearest cities such as Diyarbakır and Van increased dramatically. Most prominent migration-receiving cities were Adana, Mersin and Antalya in the south; İzmir and Manisa in the west; İstanbul and Kocaeli in the north; and Ankara, the capital, in the central (HÜNE, 2006; Kaya et al., 2009).

Identifying the migration route is related to the displaced people’s social and economic capital. First of all, practically, migration was made to the nearest cities; then expanded to the other cities in the situation of having social network and adequate economic capital to finance further migration (Development Center, 2006). For instance, displaced people stayed in Diyarbakır were the poorest and most deprived groups (Kaya et al., 2009: 99), as they did not have possibilities to further their migration. Having relatives and *hemsehris*⁵ in a city, job opportunities, previous employment experiences

⁴ “Persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violation, violation of human rights, or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border” (Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, 1998 cited in Cohen and Deng, 1998: 305).

⁵ “People from the same place-village, district or region- of origin” (Jongerden, 2007:85).

and low prices of shelter and heating are important factors in identifying migration route (Kaya et al., 2009:172).

Although the practice of internal displacement was not a new event in Turkish Republic history (Beşikçi, 1991; Bayrak, 1999; Mutlu, 2009; Gün, 2010), this displacement especially occurred between the years of 1984 and 2000, was different from previous internal displacement practices. First, the method of internal displacement was different. Evacuations were not carried out on a legal ground (Ayata and Bilginer, 2005; TESEV, 2006; Altuntaş, 2009). They were implemented without any special resettlement law (Ayata and Bilginer, 2005: 19). To be more precise, displaced people did not know where to go; how to go and if they would be able to settle down in the places where they flee. Generally no state assistance was provided to IDPs. In some cases, local authorities supported IDPs in terms of humanitarian aid and shelter (Ayata and Bilginer, 2005: 16). IDPs tried to survive by their informal social networks, in other words by the help of their relatives and *hemşehris* in the towns and cities where they migrate (Ayata and Bilginer, 2005; Jongerden, 2007). Second, this practice of internal displacement hit especially poor people in the region. Most of the people exposed to forced migration were landless peasants or villagers owning small lands (Gün, 2010). Therefore, its consequences were also different from previous internal displacement practices.

Although the practice of internal displacement which occurred during the late 1980s and 1990s in Turkey came to an end in the late 1990s, it has still severe effects on forced migrants, particularly on displaced children. The problem of internal displacement became an urban problem as forced migrants were forced to flee to urban areas; and most of them were not able to return back to their villages (Kurban, 2006: 64). Therefore, research on internally displaced children was conducted in two prominent migration-receiving cities, İzmir and Diyarbakır. Keeping in mind that furthering migration to western Turkey has

been required a certain amount of financial resource and social capital; forced migrants in İzmir are less deprived than the internally displaced people in Diyarbakır.

In line with the main subject of this study, children of displaced families are among the groups who have been most disproportionately affected from the consequences of internal displacement. Before focusing particularly on the impact of internal displacement on children, the problems of internally displaced people after forced migration which occurred during the late 1980s and 1990s in Turkey will be discussed.

2.2 Impact of Internal Displacement on Forced Migrants

Most of the IDPs had to abandon their homes suddenly without any pre-warning (Kaya et al., 2009: 170). The unplanned, sudden and involuntary nature of migration renders IDPs as one of the most disadvantageous groups (Family Research Institution of The Prime Minister's Office, 1998; Development Center, 2006; Altuntaş, 2009). Although they suffered due to the conflict environment and political unrest in their localities, they faced almost equally same traumatic conditions in the cities where they arrived (Akşit et al., 2001). When they arrived to cities, they lacked minimum level of economic, social and cultural capital to adapt their new environment; and consequently they have been exposed to social exclusion⁶ and stigmatization (Şen, 2007:282).

The internal displacement happened in the late 1980s and in 1990s have still ongoing impacts on displaced people (Development Center; 2006). However,

⁶ "Social exclusion is a process through which certain individuals are pushed to the edge of society and hindered from participating fully by virtues of their poverty, or lack of basic competencies and lifelong learning opportunities, or as a result of discrimination" (Adaman and Keyder, 2006:6). Social exclusion is a multi-dimensional phenomenon which can be practiced in various ways such as in economic, spatial, cultural and political areas. Various kinds of social exclusion can intertwine and reinforce the exclusion (de Haan, 2000).

the problems of IDPs after their evacuation should be evaluated with the economic transformation in Turkey since 1980s. The unplanned and involuntary nature of forced migration; lack of economic, social and cultural capital of IDPs and neo-liberal economic policies overlapped; and consequently have had severe effects on displaced people.

In line with the crucial changes in the world economy, Turkey has given way to neo-liberal policies since 1980s. It replaced import-substitute industrialization weighted state interventionism with export-oriented industrialization weighted free market rules as a strategy to respond to the oil crisis during 1970s which was also combined with the international in-debt crisis of Turkey (Ecevit, 1998:34). Required regulations were made by January 24 Decisions in 1980. These regulations aimed to bring market price mechanisms and trade liberalization for export oriented industrialization. The level of production was increased to export most of the products through decreasing real wages, weakening labor unions and reducing domestic demand (Ecevit, 1998:35-36). On the basis of neo-liberal economy, privatization policies have been put into practice in crucial services such as health and education. Following, public sector employment has shrunk considerably (Kaygalak, 2001). These policies had also negative impact on industrial and agricultural sector.

Market-oriented development strategy in Turkey has led to further labor market informalization (Buğra and Keyder, 2005: 23). Neo-liberal policies have resulted in expansion of layoffs, subcontracting, home production, piecework, contracted and seasonal labor in urban employment market. This process has given way to wage declines; and hence children and women have increasingly engaged in this growing informal sector as cheap labor. Indeed, this process has increased disorganized working channels especially for recent migrants. Kaygalak claims that forced migration pattern from eastern and southeastern regions to urban areas due to security reasons in Turkey was another

phenomenon contributing to the growth of informal sector in urban areas (2001: 140). Supporting Kaygalak's claim, Işık and Pınarcıoğlu argue that while informal sector has been growing in Turkey, this recent migration pattern from southeastern has provided cheap labor to the process of urbanization in Turkey for 15 years (2009:174).

These new policies have resulted in increasing poverty, high unemployment rates and growing socio-economic inequality in Turkey as well as other developing countries. Income inequality has much polarized after 1980s in Turkey. While it previously depended particularly on rural/urban discrepancy, this inequality passed on a different stage after 1987. Income inequality has worsened for agricultural labor, the ones involved in small capital, workers and officers (Boratav, 2005 in Altuntaş, 2009: 108). Furthermore, urban areas in Turkey have come under the influence of poverty due to unemployment, increased unequal income distribution, crystallizing social and spatial polarization, regressing social justice idea and declining public services (Kaygalak, 2001: 137).

Although economic growth was achieved through new economy policies, development goal has failed in Turkey (Ecevit, 1998:35). For instance, according to Human Development Index, while Turkey ranked at 70th in terms of national income per capita, its ranking was 96 in terms of human development indices. As Buğra and Keyder put it, "The difference between the two rankings clearly shows that Turkey is not achieving the human development level which its level of economic development could allow" (2005:7).

Neo-liberal policies have particularly hit women, children, minorities and migrants (Chronic Poverty Research Center, 2005). Following the expansion of market forces in Turkey, internally displaced people were among the groups hit severely by the new economic policies. Along with the radical changes in

economic policies and its harsh impacts, this recent migration wave was different from previous chain migration patterns (Erder, 1996; Akşit et al., 2001; Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2009). Previous migrants had an opportunity to settle in places where they had relatives and villagers. Therefore, their social networks enabled them to find jobs and build a squatter housing. Indeed, building a squatter housing (*gecekondu*) in a place where previous migrants had villagers or relatives was a way to adopt city life until 1990 since they were able to get assistance from their relatives or villagers in their hard times and engage in a job via their social networks. On the contrary, the sudden and unplanned nature of the recent migration pattern due to the political unrest in eastern regions rendered these people “isolated”. They were deprived of social networks and informal social assistances in their new environment. Recent migrants also didn’t have an opportunity to build a squatter house, because the demand for land associated with globalization and strict attitudes of local governments towards building squatter houses have been increasing (Buğra and Keyder, 2003: 22-23). Additionally, previous eastern migrants have kept themselves away from new comers due to the political nature of migration (Erder, 1996:296). Class based social and spatial contradictoriness as a result of neo-liberal policies have been deepened in the 1990s through forced migration flows from southeastern and eastern regions to metropolis cities related to the migrants’ ethnicity (Kaygalak, 2001:141). Consequently, recent migration pattern was “tense” and “exclusionary” compared to previous migration pattern which was “soft” and “integrationist” (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2009).

Since forced migrants have been generally unable to return their villages, the problem of internal displacement has become an urban problem (Kurban, 2006: 64). Research conducted to find out forced migration’s impact on displaced people have almost same results (Family Research Institution of The Prime Minister’s Office, 1998; Akşit et al., 2001; Ersoy and Şengül, 2002; GÖÇ- DER, 2002; Development Centre, 2006; TESEV, 2006; Yüksek, 2006a;

Yükseker, 2006b; Özbek, 2007; Altuntaş, 2009; Kaya et al., 2009). Internally displaced people have faced unemployment, low income, inadequate housing, malnutrition, insufficient medical care and limited access to education services. Beyond material deprivation, some of them have difficulties at adapting to urban environment; and they have been perceived as “potential criminals” (Barut, 2002; Başak Culture and Art Foundation, 2004; Altuntaş, 2009). This multi-dimensional layer of deprivation and marginalization was practiced more intensified when migrants are identified with specific ethnic identity (Altuntaş, 2003).

Although almost twenty years passed after the process of forced migration, the economic conditions of internally displaced families generally did not recover. Many research concerning the consequences of internal displacement in Turkey indicate that forced migrants have come to the fore as “new urban poors” (Kaygalak, 2001; Altuntaş, 2009; Saraçoğlu, 2009).

Almost all of the forced migrants’ means of subsistence was livelihood agriculture and animal husbandry in their previous settlements (Akşit et al., 2001; Ersoy and Şengül, 2002; Development Center, 2006; Yüksek, 2006b; Özbek, 2007; Altuntaş, 2009). After arriving to cities, they lost their livelihood properties and became dependent on market economy for their needs. Most of these people did not have any opportunity to convert their agricultural and animal possessions into money (Development Center, 2006; Özbek 2007). Due to the lack of social and cultural capital, they could not find jobs in new market economy; or they became unskilled labor⁷ in the cities. It was indicated that unemployment rate among internally displaced people in Diyarbakır was around 60-70% (Ersoy and Şengül, 2002). Forced migrants who are employed have engaged in cheap and insecure jobs such as peddling, portering, worked in construction and textile workshops; namely they have been mostly working

⁷ IDPs were skilled labor previously, because their means of existence were agricultural and stockbreeding activities in their villages (Altuntaş, 2009:106).

in informal sector; and they lack social security coverage. Although many members of a household are working, they are still poor and in a constant need due to their insufficient level of minimum wage, irregular income, informal employment and lack of social security networks (Kahraman et al., 2002; Özbek, 2007). Moreover, as a method to survive in cities, the migrants in 1950s preserved their economic contacts with their villages, and hence they were able to supply their basic needs from their villages. However, forced migrants generally lost their both economic and social contacts with their villages (Akşit et al., 2001:64). Therefore, the pattern of forced migration is different from the previous migration patterns. According to Altuntaş, the poverty and deprivation of Kurdish people have been deepened as the inequality created by globalization and the spiritual and material devastation created by forced migration came together (2009:106-107). Many research point out that forced migrants are a part of the new urban poors (Barut, 2002; Erdoğan, 2007; Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2008). Within the context of new poverty⁸ discussions, poverty became a permanent rather than a temporary case; and hence displaced Kurdish people were caught up in poverty cycle. Therefore displaced families' children are at potential risk of inheriting this poverty. In contrast to previous migrants who had chance for social upward mobility⁹, new migrants have almost no chances to overcome their poverty. As Yüksek puts it, “without doubt, village evacuations have not only created a horizontal, geographical displacement for tens of thousands of people, but also a vertical and downward displacement in terms of their standards of living” (2006d: 49).

⁸ New poverty emerges as an interaction of social exclusion, inequality and poverty. According to Gordon and Townsend, as pointed out by Özbek, “in new poverty conceptualization, the term social exclusion refers to the role of political, social and cultural aspects of exclusion in contrast to the emphasis on economic exclusion which dominates the traditional conceptualization of poverty” (2000 in 2007 :26).

⁹ If a person moves to a higher social status or improves his/her social status, the change from one social status to a higher status is social upward mobility (Mulkey, 1993:129).

Another significant problem of forced migrants is housing (Family Research Institution of The Prime Minister's Office, 1998; Barut 2002; Ersoy and Şengül, 2002; Development Center, 2006). In 1990s, neo-liberalism had also impact on housing and land markets. Contrary to the previous migrants, land was not available for informal housing anymore as the demand for land associated with globalization has reinforced capitalist property rights (Buğra and Keyder, 2003: 23). Moreover, local authorities have not been forgiving about unlicensed building in recent years especially in western Turkey. Therefore, forced migrants did not have a chance to build shanty houses like previous migrants; and hence they had to rent shanties with no infrastructure. In eastern cities, shelter problem is comparatively not as hard as for the displaced people living in western cities due to the potentially available urban land for informal housing, authorities' tolerance about building up shanty houses and partial aid by authorities for shelter (Family Research Institution of The Prime Minister's Office, 1998: 79). However, this process brought irregular urbanization in these cities (Tunç, 2002:176). Some other displaced people, settled in abandoned ruinous houses in the city center. In addition, displaced people share small houses with crowded household members. Overall, they live in inadequate, unhygienic and unsafe housings.

Overall, deterioration of economic conditions as a result of neoliberal policies, poverty, inability to build informal housing, unplanned and involuntary nature of the migration came together. Besides, social assistances have been cut gradually. This overlapping process rendered forced migrants as one of the most disadvantageous groups. To illustrate, widespread use of green card and high demand for aid-in-kind among displaced people can be evaluated as the indicators of poverty (Development Center, 2006).

When displaced parents were unemployed or the income of a household was not enough to meet needs, child labor was used a strategy to overcome poverty (Akşit et al., 2001). Although using child labor is not a unique method of

displaced families, there has been an increasing trend of working children especially in southeastern provinces, İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir since 1990s (Yükseker, 2006b: 227). Moreover, children of displaced people cannot benefit equally from educational opportunities and health facilities¹⁰.

Another aspect of the social exclusion that forced migrants have been subjected to is discrimination (Barut, 2002; Development Centre, 2006). Some of the displaced people think that they have difficulties such as renting house and finding job because of being a Kurd and villager (Yükseker, 2006b: 232). They expressed that several house owners were unwilling to rent their homes to them as they have many children. Some others have been discriminated while looking for a job due to their ethnicity. Some families also indicated that a number of teachers treated harshly to their children on the ground of their Kurdish ethnicity (GÖÇ-DER, 2002; Yüksek, 2006b). Moreover, some of the Kurds had language problem in their new settlements. Regarding language problem, particularly women were affected due to their lack of Turkish (Akşit et al., 2001; Özbek, 2007). The language problem of displaced people can hinder their participation in public services such as benefiting from health services.

A small number of the forced migrants may not practice poverty as intensified as the period of their initial arrival to urban settlements. However, their poverty mostly has become persistent; and hence they are mostly unable to reverse their deprivation (Başak Culture and Art Foundation, 2004). Displacement can probably leave internally displaced people chronically poor since internally displaced people have fewer economic opportunities and they have limited access to state and relief services. They are closer to suffer from high levels of discrimination and exclusion. “Those who have had to flee their homes due to

¹⁰ The consequences of internal displacement in terms of children will be discussed broadly in next section.

persecution and violent conflict are often members of marginalized groups” (Chronic Poverty Research Center, 2005:18).

As pointed out by Deng, “most of the displaced Kurds are said to be crowded into shantytowns on the outskirts of the major cities, many without access to proper sanitation, health care, or educational facilities for the young, and without stable employment prospects” (1998: 5-6). “Economic exclusion, or a permanent state of unemployment, has been progressively leading to cultural exclusion, which has been reinforced with political exclusion, especially in cases where these people are originally immigrants, or from different ethnic backgrounds” (Buğra and Keyder, 2003: 21).

2.3 Impact of Internal Displacement on Children

Children born into disadvantaged families are more likely to be future poor adults, and start another cycle of poverty for their own children. Since chronic poverty is inheritable, children in poor households are at high risk of staying poor in their future adult lives. Therefore, these children are closer to inherit the poverty of their families; and then they may transfer their poverty to their own children. Consequently, poverty may be transmitted over generations and lives (Concoran and Chaudry, 1997; Vleminck and Smeeding, 2001; Chronic Poverty Center, 2005).

Although child poverty¹¹ is not independent from adults’ situation, this study argues that displaced children have been disproportionately affected from the

¹¹ Children living in poverty experience deprivation of the material, spiritual and emotional resources needed to survive, develop and thrive, leaving them unable to enjoy their rights, achieve their full potential or participate as full and equal members of society. This definition suggests that the poverty children experience with their hands, minds and hearts is interrelated. Material poverty – for example, starting the day without a nutritious meal or being forced to engage in hazardous labor – hinders cognitive capacity as well as physical growth. Living in an environment that provides little stimulation or emotional support to children, on the other hand, can remove much of the positive effect of growing up in a materially rich household. By

consequences of internal displacement. Relative risks of poverty are higher for displaced children compared to adults for some reasons. First, poverty can create serious and lifelong consequences for children (Corcoran and Chaudry, 1997; Lichter, 1997; Bianchi, 1999; Minujin et al., 2006; Dayıođlu, 2007). Childhood poverty affects physical, cognitive and emotional well-being of children, health and survival rates, life expectancy, educational achievement, job prospects and future incomes (Vleminckx and Smeeding, 2001; Minujin et al., 2006). Even short-term deprivation can affect long-term development of children; chronic poverty can have permanent impact on children. This would create an obstacle for children later in their social life as the period of childhood is significant for acquiring adulthood abilities, interests and motivation. The effects of deprivation in childhood can be carried into adulthood; and its consequences may only be entirely recognized by tomorrow's adults (Ashworth et al., 1994; Corcoran and Chaudry, 1997; Lichter, 1997:3). Second, there is a widespread assumption that household poverty is synonymous to child poverty. However, child poverty rate may possibly be higher than adult poverty rate since resources of a household are not distributed equally among household members; and economic well-being of children is disproportionately affected from the factors leading to poverty. (Oropesa and Landale, 2000; Dayıođlu, 2007). For instance, the group at highest risk of poverty is children in Turkey¹² (Dayıođlu, 2007: 3). In brief, poverty is disproportionately shared by children in Turkey¹³ as well as other

discriminating against their participation in society and inhibiting their potential, poverty not only causes children suffering – it also disempowers them (UNICEF, 2004:18).

¹² A child is defined as a person under the age of 18 according to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. In Turkey, while 34.6 percent of the total population is under the age of 18; 26 percent of the total population is under the age of 15 (TurkStat, 2010). Although fertility rates have been falling in Turkey, it has still a considerable number of child and youth populations.

¹³ In 2006, while 17.81% of people in Turkey were living with food and non-food poverty, this rate was 26.11 % for children under the age of 15 (TurkStat, 2007). Disproportional poverty rates for children further regarding rural/urban discrepancy. The rate of food and non-food poverty for children under the age of 15 was 15.86 % in urban areas; whereas it was 41.99% in rural localities. Experiences of poverty among children may differentiate according to regions

countries. Third, there are different causes and effects of child poverty which is differentiated from adult poverty since children have special needs and interests just as being a child. As far as anti-poverty policies overlook the specificity of children living in poverty, they cannot be successful at alleviating child poverty although these policies have some positive effects on adults (Minujin et al., 2006; Dayioğlu, 2007).

Keeping in mind that displaced families' deprivation is generally persistent rather than a temporary situation; the consequences of internal displacement have still impact on displaced children. Therefore, displaced children or children of displaced families have been disproportionately affected from the consequences of forced migration in Turkey (Development Centre, 2006; Özbek, 2007; Mutlu, 2009). While there are various factors contributing to child poverty in Turkey¹⁴, in the context of this thesis, internal displacement which occurred between the years of 1984 and 2000 is a country-specific factor leading to deprivation of children. Certainly, it is not claimed that forced migration was the sole reason behind recent child poverty trends in Turkey. However, intertwined processes of neo-liberal economy politics and conflict-

(Gordon et al., 2003; UNICEF, 2004), rural/urban localities (Dayioğlu, 2007; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007), gender Gordon et al., 2003; UNICEF, 2004; Smits and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2006; Dayioğlu, 2007; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007) and ethnicity/race (Corcoran and Chaudry, 1997; Daniel and Ivatts, 1998; Goldson et al., 2002). Therefore, deprivation of children can become deeper related to his/her locality, gender and ethnicity/race. For instance, striking inequality in child poverty rates have become apparent depending on different regions in Turkey. While Southeastern part of Turkey, both its rural and urban localities, has hosted most of the poor children; Western Marmara is the most prosperous region in terms of child poverty (Dayioğlu, 2007:16).

¹⁴ The factors contributing to child poverty in Turkey are low household income; parents' informal and irregular employment; parents' long-term unemployment, low educational level of parents; high fertility rates, particularly the ones who are born into large families with only one breadwinner; ill/disable household head; the place where children reside in regarding regional differences and rural/urban discrepancy, especially growing up in dry, mountainous rural areas where outmoded farming techniques and limited access to major markets threaten livelihoods ; recent rural-urban migration and single-parenthood (UNICEF, 2006; Dayioğlu, 2007). On the other part, owning physical assets can be a determinant factor of reducing child poverty particularly in rural areas (Dayioğlu, 2007: 20).

induced internal displacement in Turkey had a negative impact on child poverty; and in particular displaced children's deprivation.

Displaced children's families were already generally landless peasants or villagers having small landownership (Gün, 2010: 70). Class position of displaced families is the major factor at explaining these families' deprivation in urban areas. As these children's families arrived to cities without economic, social and cultural capital or they were born into severely deprived households in cities; these children lack equal opportunities in their social life. They are closer to be captured by risks of inadequate housing, malnutrition, insufficient health provisions and unequal educational opportunities.

To start with, internally displaced families' children have not benefited equally from educational opportunities. Lack of equal educational opportunities indicates that using education as a tool to improve poor living standards is almost impossible for displaced families' children. They are far from using education to achieve social upward mobility for some reasons. First of all, in the beginning of 1990s during the evacuations, many schools were closed in villages, so children couldn't keep on going to school; and hence they were cut off from their educational rights (Development Center, 2006; Yükseksek 2006b). Second, the economic status of the displaced families had a direct impact on children's education (Akşit et al., 2001; Development Center, 2006). Many children had to drop out or have never attended school after arriving to cities due to material deprivation. For instance, according to Barut's research conducted with 2139 internally displaced people, 43.4% of the displaced children between the ages of 6 and 14 did not attend school after forced migration (2002: 153). Although education is free of charge, hidden costs of education such as registration fee, school uniforms, transportation costs and educational equipments bring an extra burden on poor families' budgets. Besides direct expenditures, there are also indirect costs of schooling including losing active participation of children in labor market (Gündüz-Hoşgör and

Smits, 2006). Therefore, many displaced children have never attended school or dropped out to work after forced migration on the ground of contributing to family budget. Regarding gender aspect, as Smiths and Gündüz-Hoşgör put it, “while families struggle with poverty, in decision making process regarding ‘who will go to school’, families may assign priority to boys because of the cultural patriarchal norms” (2006: 92-93).

However, the school attendance has been increasing among displaced families’ children due to the educational financial supports such as Conditional Cash Transfers (Şartlı Nakit Transferi) [ŞNT]¹⁵ given to parents to keep their children in schools (Development Center, 2006; Yüksek, 2006b). In addition, free-of-charge distribution of important items such as books has also lowered the educational costs. Another reason of increase in school attendance is that, as pointed out by Yüksek, “the education of children has become desirable for families who have severed their ties from village life (where education has traditionally not been so valued among agricultural producers), and who have been living in the city for many years” (2007c: 274). Moreover, life in the city has sometimes lessened the patriarchal power balance within families (Yüksek, 2006a: 157). Consequently, girls’ enrollment to schools has also increased.

However, a considerable part of the displaced children attending school have to work after school, at the weekends or in summer holidays in order to contribute

¹⁵ Conditional Cash Transfers (ŞNT) are directed by Social Assistance and Solidarity General Directorate (SYDGM). Some kinds of Conditional Cash Transfers aim to alleviate child poverty via releasing health and education assistances to the neediest part of society. While the target group of health assistance is 0-6 aged children and pregnant women; the target group of educational assistance is primary and secondary school children. The amount of cash transfers with the aim of increasing schooling is higher for girls than boys to close gender gap in education. Regarding health and educational transfers, respectively, southeastern and eastern regions have hosted most of the beneficiaries (Başbakanlık Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Genel Müdürlüğü, 2010). Higher level of assistances directed to southeastern and eastern regions depict disproportional distribution of poverty among children on the basis of regional discrepancy. Moreover, in general, fifty percent more fund is allocated to Southeastern and Eastern General Directorate of Social Assistance and Solidarity.

to the family budget (Development Center, 2006). Unfortunately, working displaced children who attend school lack equal educational opportunities since child labor and schooling are mostly incompatible activities. Working has a negative impact on students' achievement level. Long working hours, inadequate time to study, irregular attendance to classes, tiredness originating in work, involvement in less-qualified schools in their neighborhoods, crowded classes and lack of personal attention render them unable to adapt their education (Development Centre, 2006). Moreover, displaced children who generally live in crowded houses are deprived of a quiet place to study. Although graduating from elementary school (at least) or high school (as long as it is possible) is valuable for some displaced families (Yükseker, 2006b:231), most of the students lack parental interest in their education process. Displaced students do not generally have any guidance in their families due to low education level of their parents. Therefore, forced migrants' children are most likely to be unsuccessful in schools (Development Centre, 2006:39). However, there can be still some exceptions due to the strong support mechanisms besides familial support¹⁶.

Some research found out that children of displaced families are exposed to discriminatory attitudes in schools (GÖÇ-DER, 2002; Yüksek, 2006b; Mutlu, 2009). Therefore, beyond material limitations, these children are also insulted in schools due to their ethnic origin, being from eastern and southeastern regions and their inadequate Turkish language.

These displaced children who lack equal educational rights will be deprived of adequate skills and human capital to compete in new market economy. As new market economy provides jobs to skilled and highly educated people, they will be unable to involve in formal sector with security coverage; and consequently

¹⁶ This possibility was observed for some displaced students during the research of this study in Diyarbakır which will be detailed in the analysis chapter.

they will end up with marginal jobs to survive. Since economic exclusion triggers cultural and political exclusion, displaced children are at high risk of being future poor adults.

Child labor¹⁷ is one of the main strategies to struggle with poverty among internally displaced poor families (Akşit et al., 2001; Development Center, 2006). Although there are many factors which leads to the emergence of child labor¹⁸, poverty is the main factor behind contemporary forms of child labor. In Turkey, child labor is still intensified in agricultural sector, however, the number of working street children which is amongst the worst forms of child labor¹⁹ has been increasing since the beginning of 1990s in Turkey (Akşit et al., 2001; Gündüz - Hoşgör and Bilgin, 2005; Gündüz -Hoşgör et al., 2005;

¹⁷ Child labor manifests itself in agricultural, industry, service and business sectors and domestic labor (Gündüz - Hoşgör and Bilgin, 2005; Özbek, 2007; Ertürk, 2010). Although domestic labor which is primarily performed by girls is not an economic activity, girls are among the risk groups in terms of dropping out school and involving in economic activity due to deteriorating economic household conditions (Gündüz - Hoşgör et al., 2005:3). While economic activity covers all market production (paid) and some types of non-market production (unpaid) including production of goods for own use; whether in formal or informal sector; it does not cover domestic labor that is performed in children's own household (Gündüz -Hoşgör and Bilgin, 2005:133).

¹⁸ In Turkey, rapid and uncontrollable migration from rural areas to cities, dissolution of agricultural employment, shrinking welfare expenditures, economic crises, high unemployment rates, unequal income distribution, high fertility rates, low level of parental education and high costs of education are among the factors contributing to the problem of child labor (Gündüz Hoşgör and Bilgin, 2005: 125). Moreover, traditional worldview, increasing demand for child labor and the deficiency in legal context are also significant factors contributing to the emergence of child labor. In the context of traditional worldview, child labor is culturally accepted phenomenon in Turkey. Child labor is considered as an "apprenticeship" for adult life as working enables children to gain self-discipline and struggle with hardships as well as it is a way of contributing to family budget. Moreover, it is a kind of family solidarity in the situation of existing unemployed male members in a household (Akşit et al., 2001: xii). Next, while growing informal sector demands employment for long hours with low wages, child labor has come to the fore as cheap labor besides its easily disciplined and controllable nature (Gündüz - Hoşgör and Bilgin, 2005; Özbek 2007; Gün, 2010). Last, existing legal regulations to alleviate child labor is not implemented effectively, which in turn contributes to increase in the number of working children.

¹⁹ National Action Plan related to International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labor identified the worst forms of child labor as some stages of furniture manufacturing in industry; seasonal and temporary agricultural work, particularly cotton gathering and working on streets in urban informal sector (Gündüz -Hoşgör et al., 2005:1).

Dikici-Bilgin, 2006). Children working on the streets have become more visible especially in İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Adana, Mersin, Diyarbakır, Şanlıurfa and Gaziantep.

Research conducted on working street children identified the main factor which contributes to increase in the number of working street children as the migration patterns after the midst of 1980s (Akşit et al., 2001; Gün, 2010). This internal migration process was pushed by both economic difficulties and political unrest which occurred between the years of 1984 and 2000 in eastern region. As Akşit and others put it, “political unrest and economic factors (ie. finding jobs, etc.) were the main push-and-pull factors, most often appearing hand in hand” (2001:64).

Displaced families who lack basic skills and education generally have become unemployed or working poors in cities. Moreover, since they mostly migrated after the midst of 1980s, they can be considered as new comers. New comers are more deprived compared to previous migrants since they lacked the opportunities that previous migrants had. Particularly, many internally displaced people fled to poor and ruinous neighborhoods in cities have been exploited by entrepreneurs and landlords as cheap labor and helpless tenants (Özbek, 2007:35). In some situations, the unplanned and sudden nature of migration due to political unrest has exacerbated the situations of migrants. Indeed, forced migrants mostly lost their bonds with their original settlement that means that they have lacked cash support and local products from their original settlement. Since these cash and in kind supports were significant survival mechanisms for previous migrants in cities, the characteristic of this migration was different from previous ones (Akşit et al., 2001:64). Consequently, these families have pushed their children to streets as a survival strategy to cope with their poverty.

It is indicated that most of the working street children's families migrated from eastern regions. (Kahveci et al. 1996; Akşit et al., 2001; Gündüz - Hoşgör and Bilgin, 2005; Gündüz -Hoşgör et al., 2005; Dikici Bilgin, 2006). Altuntaş's research on working street children indicates that that these children defined themselves as "easterner" and "poor" (2003). A research on shoe-shine boys in İzmir conducted by Kahveci and others indicates that these boys were mostly Kurds (1996:41). Another research on working street children conducted in Adana, İzmir and Diyarbakır points out that a number of the mothers spoke only Kurdish; and either mixed languages (Arabic, Kurdish) or only Kurdish was spoken at home except 9 of 65 families (Akşit et al., 2001:63). In particular, considerable number of reaserch found out that many working street children are the children of displaced families (Karatay 1999a and 1999b cited in Altuntaş, 2009; Akşit et al., 2001; Altuntaş, 2003).

Working street children are mostly involved in shoe-polishing, weighing, selling small items such as napkins, water, chewing gums, stuffed mussels and flowers (Kahveci et al. 1996; Akşit et al., 2001; Gündüz - Hoşgör and Bilgin, 2005; Gündüz -Hoşgör et al., 2005; Dikici Bilgin, 2006; Gün, 2010). If their fathers are not unemployed, these fathers mostly engage in urban informal sector such as construction, street vending and portage. The working practices of these children are mostly encouraged by their parents. Indeed, these children work involuntarily due to the pressure exposed to them by their families. The earnings of these children are mostly not used as pocket money; instead of it, the earnings are given to families, especially to mothers. In some households with unemployed parents, working street children are the sole breadwinners of their families (Akşit et al., 2001: 67).

Regarding gender aspect, most of the working street children are boys. Indeed, gender is shown as the most important personal characteristic at determining a child's entrance into the workforce (Gündüz-Hoşgör and Dikici; 2005: 126). The role of being "breadwinner" is given to boys, and thus families are not

inclined to send girls to street work. In line with patriarchal social values, girls' participation in workforce outside the home environment without a male member from household is not culturally accepted. Therefore, boys form the majority of the child labor in Turkey on the basis of involving in economic activity (Akşit et al., 2001:37). Related to the strict gender division of labor, girls involve generally in domestic labor. They may help their mothers with house chores and look after their siblings (Hancıoğlu et al., 2003 in Akşit et al., 2001:37). While 66% of the 6-17 year age group child labor was composed of boys, 34% of child labor was performed by girls (TurkStat, 2007). However, while child labor on the basis of economic activities was 5.9%, child labor on the basis of domestic labor which was mostly performed by girls was 43.1%. Still, girls are also at risk of involving economic activity. The nationwide migration and poverty can intersect with the global wide demand of cheap labor (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007: 162); and consequently some girls can also be used as cheap labor such as in textiles sector.

Child labor depends also on age factor (Dayıoğlu and Gündüz - Hoşgör, 2004). The possibility of engagement in child labor increases with older age. The significant increase in employment for the 15-17 year age group is mainly related to compulsory basic education. Many children cannot further their education after compulsory education due to their economic hardship. It should be noted that engagement in child labor may not increase with older age for girls like boys. For instance, working street girls are pushed back from streets particularly after the age of 12 related to the pressure of socially assigned sex roles (Akşit et al., 2001: 37). However, still girls carry the risk of dropping out school; and working in small workshops related to division of labor due to deepened poverty.

Working street children face many risks related to working on the streets. They are under the threat of traffic, noise, air pollution, alcoholics, gangs and drug abusers. In some cases, although not as high as it is expected, drug addiction

can be observed among displaced children (Başak Culture and Art Foundation, 2004:65). Temporary child labor in hazardous work environment is threatening for physical, psychological and social development of children. Moreover, working street children are in danger of both working and living on the streets²⁰. The ones living on the streets are closer to be captured by the risks as they lack familial and community protection (Akşit et al., 2001; Başak Culture and Art Foundation, 2004; Gündüz -Hoşgör et al., 2005). Girls are at lower risk of being affected by the risks on streets that boys have to face such as drug dealers since “girls are restricted by the social norms regarding the ‘purity’ of women and the ‘honor’ of the family” (Akşit et al., 2001: 37).

Child labor in the last two decades has had a more depressing aspect. First of all, working children do not generally involve in skill-investing jobs (Gündüz-Hoşgör and Dikici; 2005). They wash cars, polish shoes, sell goods, pick and separate garbage and work in textiles (Akşit et al., 2001). While traditional work practices of children were in farms and small workshops to gain skill for their future lives, children have recently started to work as unskilled workers (Gündüz - Hoşgör and Bilgin, 2005:124). Second, child labor has moved from inside to outside of household; and hence it is now more practiced out of household. Third, children have started to work for market production instead of production of goods for their own use; and so they became paid labor workers contrary to the previous unpaid nature of child labor (Erder, 2010:40). While unpaid child labor was 69% in 1994, it was 44% in 2006. On the other hand, paid child labor increased from 29% in 1994 to 53% in 2006. Child labor has mostly become *paid* labor. Therefore, working children have *become workers (işçileşme)* day by day (Çelik, 2010: 65). Both lack of equal education opportunities and changing nature of child labor put more barriers in front of

²⁰ Most of the working street children live with their families. On the other hand, some of them both work and live on the streets. These children mostly collect and separate garbage on the streets (Kahveci et al. 1996; Akşit et al., 2001; Başak Culture and Art Foundation, 2004).

working children to achieve social upward mobility which used to be more obtainable through education and training at work.

Seasonal agricultural work is another alternative subsistence way of displaced families (Development Center, 2006; Özbek, 2007). These households have migrated with their children to other regions between three months to seven months in a year. Children of these families are mostly actively involved in seasonal agricultural labor; and they work as paid labor. Although there is a significant information deficiency on these seasonal agricultural workers, considerable numbers of children have involved in seasonal and temporary agricultural work which is amongst the worst forms of child labor. According to Baseline Survey on Worst Forms of Child Labor in the Agricultural Sector which is on children picking cotton in Adana-Karataş, seasonal agricultural work was a barrier to these children's education (Gülçubuk et al., 2003). Children generally have involved in labor force from April to November; and hence their working period coincides with school period. Consequently, some never attend school, some of them have drop out and some others attend classes irregularly. These children work long hours and 7 days in a week. Besides long work hours, these children are threatened by harmful chemicals and dangerous tools and machinery (Özbek, 2007: 18). Their working and living conditions were severely inconvenient as they live in plastic tents without adequate sanitation; and hence these children's health was also under threat. The same research also manifested that these children working in Karataş district were mostly from eastern and southeastern cities. These cities were, in a descending order, Adıyaman (34%), Şanlıurfa (15.6%), Hatay (14.4%), Kahramanmaraş (13.6%), Adana (9.6%), Diyarbakır (7.5%), İçel (2.9%), Tekirdağ (1.0%) and Gaziantep (0.6%).

Indeed, other displaced working children who are less visible should not be forgotten. It is not easy to track them since most of them engage in informal sector. While some of them work in small factories and workshops such as

small textile and leather workshops, press shops, garages, shoe repair shops; others are occupied in tailors, barbers, constructions, restaurants and coffee shops (Kahveci et al. 1996).

Working which is a widespread phenomenon among displaced students has a negative impact on their education life. Many studies put forth that there is a negative relationship between child labor and schooling (Akşit et al., 2001; Dayıoğlu, 2005; Gündüz - Hoşgör and Bilgin, 2005; Smits and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2006; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007). Working children lack equal educational opportunities as working practice hinders education process of children. Particularly, school drop-out rates among working children are significantly high. While 31.5 % of working children between the ages of 6 and 17 enrolled in a school, 68.5% of them did not (TurkStat, 2007). Furthermore, this ratio is higher for girls due to gender discrimination.

The main obstacle to working children's education process is their families' economic hardship. Generally, benefits of working are higher than benefits of schooling for poor households; and consequently families attribute more economic value instead of psychological value to their children. As they are not inclined to invest in education process of their children, they can drop their children out school and send them to work as a short-time survival strategy. Indeed, not investing in child education results in perpetuation of poverty and deprivation (Gündüz - Hoşgör et al., 2005:39). As Gündüz - Hoşgör and Bilgin put it, "in time, the child's earnings factor into a cycle of dependency, perpetuating the child's 'out-of-school status and legitimizing child labor'" (2005:129). Negative impact of poverty on schooling is greater for girls. In the situation of economic hardship, priority is mostly given to boys' schooling due to cultural patriarchal norms (Smits and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2006). However, some families whose migration history is traced back longer in urban environment attribute more psychological value instead of economic value to

their children; and hence support their children's schooling (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982 in Akşit et al, 2001: xii).

Overall, educational deprivation is worrying since it means that inadequate human capital would lead these children to further their lives as unskilled and cheap labor. Keeping in mind that higher levels of education decrease the risk of poverty, they would most probably be earnings poor. Consequently, they would inherit the poverty of their families; and hence be caught up with cycle of poverty. As education is a significant tool to gain human capital through rendering a child more skilled and adaptable to an era of fast technological development, lack of skills would render a child more disadvantaged. This means that they are closer to the risk of multiple layers of *social exclusion* due to their *poverty* and *deprivation* in their early ages.

In terms of spatial exclusion, displaced children mostly live in ghettos or ruinous houses in city centers. In other words, their neighborhoods are bypassed by local authorities. Hence, they do not have adequate social services to meet their basic needs such as qualified hospitals and schools (Barut, 2002; Başak Culture and Art Foundation, 2004; Altuntaş, 2009). Moreover, in these spatially excluded areas they are closer to face with some kind of threats such as drug addiction (Mutlu, 2009).

In terms of social relations, some displaced children have problems with their families (Başak Culture and Art Foundation, 2004; Mutlu, 2009). While their families hold the traditions from village life, these children have mostly grown in urban culture. This contradictory situation has created a conflictual situation with their families. Moreover, some displaced children's families broke down after forced migration. Therefore, considerable amount of them are deprived of familial support. These children lacking familial support have more problems regarding integration into urban life. They have the idea of being unworthiness and they are more inclined to be captured by drug addiction (Mutlu, 2009).

These children also have problems with their peer group. The ones in eastern cities are excluded on the ground of coming from villages, their dressing types and speech. On the other hand, the ones in western cities are discriminated due to their Kurdish ethnicity (Mutlu, 2009).

One of the severest problems that displaced children have to deal is stigmatization (GÖÇ-DER 2002; Yüksek, 2006b; Altuntaş, 2009). Altuntaş claimed that new perception of childhood was created via exclusion terminology (2009: 111). They are named as “street children”, “thinner-addicted” and “snatcher”. Moreover, they are perceived as “potential criminals” and “terrorists” (GÖÇ-DER, 2002; Yüksek, 2006a; Altuntaş, 2009). Although it is not articulated directly, it is implied that there is a link between increasing crimes and internally displaced people (Altuntaş, 2009:112). It should be noted that although some of the IDPs involved in mugging and demonstrations such as in Diyarbakır in 2006²¹, it cannot be concluded that all the children from internally displaced families are inclined to crime or they committed crime. This stigmatization has deepened the deprivation of children. Consequently, these children are hindered from participating into social life equally. In brief, discrimination and deprivation based on ethnicity can as well push marginalized children into lifetime poverty (Chronic Poverty Research Center, 2005:23).

To sum up, overlapping processes of forced migration and the consequences of neo-liberal policies have had a severe impact on displaced families’ children in many dimensions. Displaced children are exposed to various types of social exclusion including economic, social, cultural and spatial exclusion. With the aim of illustrating displaced children’s life conditions after forced migration and gaining a deeper insight on the problems of displaced families’ children,

²¹ In March 2006, mass demonstrations took place at the funeral of PKK members in Diyarbakır. Demonstrations lasted several days. As the majority of the demonstrators were children and they were at the forefront, it created strong reactions in public opinion (Yüksek, 2006: 158).

the findings of some research related to the impact of forced migration on children will be presented next.

Generally, the studies concerning forced migration in Turkey presents the impact of internal displacement on children as a subtitle. However, some parts of these studies provide significant information on displaced children. Therefore, two of the research which will be emphasized below are not solely on displaced children. On the other hand, the other two studies conducted by Başak Culture and Art Foundation in 2004 and 2010 aims particularly to understand the effects of internal displacement on children and young people.

2.3.1 Migrants' Association for Social Solidarity and Culture (GÖÇ-DER-Göç Edenler Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Kültür Derneği)

“Socio-economic and Socio-Cultural Conditions of Kurdish Citizens of Kurdish Citizens of Turkish Republic Before and After Forced Migration” (Zorunlu Göçe Maruz Kalan Kürt Kökenli T.C.Vatandaşlarının Göç Öncesi ve Göç Sonrası Sosyoekonomik, Sosyokültürel Durumları) (2002)

This research reported by Mehmet Barut is one of the earliest studies aiming to shed light on the event of forced migration, the life circumstances of displaced people before and after forced migration and their tendencies of returning to their villages. Within the scope of this research, in total 2139 in-depth interviews were done with internally displaced people in Diyarbakır, Batman, Van, İzmir and İçel.

One section of this research is elaborated on the education process of children after forced migration. The report indicates that 43.4% of the interviewed displaced families' children did not go to school after forced migration. The reasons hindering the education process of these children are listed as poverty

with 75.4%, working with 6.7%, long distance to school with 5.4%, gender of the child (female) with 3.6%, language-culture incompatibility with 3.2% and religious factors with 1.2%. The highest rate of interruption at education process among children was in Batman with 77.8%. According to Barut schooling is a process which enables children to gain major skills, fundamental experiences of socialization and rules of conduct for their future lives. Therefore, education is a significant and cheapest tool which prepares children to life. However, these children who did not attend school have to socialize out of school areas, particularly on streets (2002: 154).

This research also searched the problems of children who were in education. The problems of children in schools are identified as being not able to speak their native language (36.5%), inadequate Turkish language (30%), being exposed to discrimination on the ground of their ethnicity (9.7%), both working and going to school (9.2%), inability to have friends in their schools (6.4 %), long distance to schools (5.6%) and expensive education expenditures (2.5%). This research points out that discrimination in school towards displaced students based on their ethnicity mostly emerges in İzmir with 24.1% and İçel with 17.8%. Displaced students are subjected to insult directed by their friends, teachers and school administration in schools due to their ethnic origin (2002: 167). According to Barut, this discriminatory attitudes stem from the fact that internally displaced Kurdish people have been perceived as “potential criminals” following their involuntary flight to cities. Moreover, even previous Kurdish migrants in urban areas who are more adapted to urban life have tried to keep themselves away from internally displaced Kurdish people since they have had threat perceptions due to the political nature of forced migration; and they have been embarrassed of the poverty and deprivation of displaced Kurdish people (2002: 167). Unfortunately, children have also been affected from the discriminatory attitudes directed towards Kurdish people even in their education life.

2.3.2 Başak Culture and Art Foundation (Başak Kültür ve Sanat Vakfı)

“Do Not Be Sorry, But Look After Immigration and Its Effect on Children and Youngsters” (Sorun Etme Sahip Çık Projesi ve Zorunlu Göçün Çocuklar ve Gençler Üzerindeki Etkileri) (2004)

This research particularly puts emphasis on the problems of displaced children and young people after forced migration. The aim of this research is to find out the psycho-sociological effects of forced migration on children and young people in İstanbul. The research methodology of this study is based on both qualitative and quantitative data.

Children are evaluated in two groups in this research. When it is considered that immigration had taken place 10-15 years ago, first group of children, older than 15 years old now, were young kids but still old enough to remember the immigration period. Second group of children, younger than 10-15 years old now, were babies when internal displacement had taken place or were born in İstanbul. Since there are long-term consequences of forced migration, both groups have been affected from the process of internal displacement.

A majority of the first group of children, older than 15 years old, were not sent to school due to the lack of legitimate papers of birth certificates and residential papers in their new settlements besides economic limitations and political pressures on the displaced families. The ones who were able to go to school faced difficulties at their education process. They lost time for school as they have gone through severe experiences of low-level of war in their villages (2004:58). These children were not successful in schools since there is a huge difference at education quality compared to their schools in their villages. Linguistic difficulties at lessons, cultural adaptation problems and lack of parental support for their lessons rendered them also unsuccessful in schools.

Their environment with no place to study was another factor decreased their achievement level. The economic, social and cultural constraints led to low academic achievement level among displaced children in schools; and they lost interest in education to some extent.

With regard to girls, they have been raised with strict conservative values (2004:59). Families who do not approve metropolitan culture put severe pressure on girls. These girls generally do not have social interaction. The ones who work have a life between home and work such as an atelier are possibly happier since they can have an interaction with other people; and they may find friends in the working place. Cultural and economic factors have forced some of these girls to arranged marriages generally with their relatives at their small ages. Girls have a heavy house work with their mothers; and hence they are responsible from house chores and looking after their younger siblings. Although some mothers are critical about gender inequality, some other mothers are even more conservative after immigration.

Regarding boys, they have been subjected to risks in metropolitan areas (2004:59). Boys have been at risk of falling into drug addiction in a group of friends who are in similar situation with low socio-economic status as a result of family pressure, cultural conflicts, adaptation problems and working stress. Still, strong family ties have been effective at keeping children away from trouble partially. Young men have faced difficulties at finding jobs since they have low level of education. Moreover, their ethnic identity is another obstacle to find jobs since they have been perceived as 'potential criminals'. Therefore, they generally work irregularly without security coverage (2004:60). These young men have communication problems with their families on the ground of generational difference triggered by cultural and political conflicts. Existing economic, cultural and social conflicts have also created communication difficulties with other people in the city. In the situation of comparing themselves with their peer group who has better conditions, they feel angry and

may react with inappropriate actions. As families have many kids, they do lack effective control system on them. Due to the long-term effects of traumatic forced migration experiences, most common psychological symptom is distrust among these children and young people (2004:60). They lack someone to trust and share their secrets.

In first group, both males and females raised up in poverty accept their circumstances (2004:58). Therefore, their expectations are at minimum levels.

Second group of children, younger than 10-15 years old, has also been under the influence of forced migration, particularly in terms of economic difficulties. However, they are definitely luckier than the first group (2004:60). They generally go to school. As they do know both Kurdish and Turkish, they do not have language difficulties at school. Their linguistic advantage enables them to use public spaces and facilities. “In a way, these children are the ‘windows of the family’, windows that open to outside world” (2004:60). This group generally works at summers or after school instead of dropping out school to work. However, these children have also grown up under extremely difficult conditions, in families lacking economic, social and cultural capital. They are under the influence of their parents’ depression and distrust. Moreover, some are exposed to violence directed by their families who were also exposed to violence.

2.3.3 Development Center (Kalkınma Merkezi)

“Forced Migration and its Effects. Diyarbakır” (Zorunlu Göç ve Etkileri. Diyarbakır) (2006)

This research which was conducted in five neighborhoods of Diyarbakır including Fatihpaşa, Gündoğan, Aziziye, Savaş and Benusen aims to understand internally displaced people’s previous lives in their villages, the

process of forced migration and the living conditions of these people after forced migration. In this context, both qualitative and quantitative methods including questionnaires, focus group and in-depth interviews were applied to displaced people among 400 households. Although this research does not particularly focus on children, the situation of children and young people after internal displacement is emphasized in various sections of the research.

Children under the age of 15 form 46% of the target group. These children are deprived of satisfactory living conditions in their neighborhoods in terms of education and social facilities which are significant for a child's development. Displaced children lack safe places and playgrounds to play in their neighborhoods.

In terms of education, students from internally displaced families have faced various problems in their new schools. First of all, the class sizes became overcrowded, even doubled or tripled, following the years in which mass flow of migrants fled to city. Second, these students were often older than their classmates since there weren't any schools in their villages or they were unable to go to school. Third, they were unsuccessful at their new schools due to the low qualified education in their village schools. Fourth, families who had economic difficulties gave priority to their sons in terms of schooling. Some girls were not sent to schools on account of the fact that they were 'grown up'. Moreover, girls are on the path of marriage, and hence they would not contribute to family budget. Insecure environment at schools is another factor for families not to send their daughters to school. Last, along with the educational expenses, the additional money demanded by the school administrations are beyond the economic capacities of displaced families. Some families had to drop their children out due to their financial limitations. The problems related to displaced children's education which are indicated by this research are shortage of teachers, poor physical conditions of the schools, overcrowded class size, inabilities of mothers to understand teachers'

comments concerning their children's education due to their inadequate Turkish language, limited educational equipments, irregular attendance of working children, delays in starting school due to the seasonal agricultural work, families' inability to meet the educational needs of their children (pocket money, extra books, diet) and lack of parental interest in children's school performance (2006:37). Moreover, overcrowded houses lack a quiet environment for studying. There is a reluctance and lack of demand among displaced families and children to further their education after compulsory education since they believe in that high school graduation is not an important advantage to find jobs.

Child labor is a widespread phenomenon among these households. When parents are unemployed or work with low income, children can be the sole breadwinner of the families or they have to work to contribute to household budget. This research finds out that children under the age of 14 work in 24 % of the families. Money gained by children is mostly given to mothers for the needs of the household. Boys do scavenging (paper, metal, glass), sell ice in bus terminals, shine shoes, carry things and sell food or napkins (2006:49). While some of the working children are not sent to school due to their present work, some both work and attend school. Sending children out for work can create some tensions within families. When these children cannot find jobs, some families, particularly fathers can put pressure on them. Therefore, there are many children planning to abandon home to find relief from family stress (2006:50). Although, adults maintaining old traditions did not allow women/girls to work after the first years of internal displacement, dire poverty among these families led also women/girls to work. Girls who have never attended school or dropped out work in carpentry shops, cotton fields and sell small items such as ice-cream and napkins. However, after the age of 11-12, girls are not sent to work on streets. Instead, they engage in brick plant, carpentry shops and agricultural field on the ground of that these places are less open to harassment (2006:51).

Some children also gather around traffic lights and wipe the windows of stopping cars. Moreover, some are involved in begging. Working children are exposed to various threats and risks on streets. Some working street displaced children fell into bad habits (adhesives such as thinner, bally, etc.); and were captured by gangs.

Seasonal agricultural work which is one of the primary sources of income for many internally displaced families has a serious negative impact on children. In 17% of the households, all of the family members involve in seasonal agricultural work. Families moving out for seasonal work live in plastic tents or in shabby places. Facilities such as toilet, bath and kitchen are limited; and hence these families lack hygiene in their temporary settlements. These living conditions are extremely unhealthy for children's development. Moreover, working conditions are harsh for children. They work 12 hours under the sun (2006:54). Daily wage rate of children is lower than adults. In terms of education, seasonal agricultural work is a big obstacle to these children's schooling since they cannot attend schools in periods parallel with the seasonal agricultural work. Some schools in these neighborhoods, although unofficially, adjust their schedules according to the timing of seasonal agricultural work. Therefore, curriculum in schools is managed quickly (2006: 56-57).

Young people feel that they are exposed to exclusion, since they cannot wear what they want due to their financial limitations; and they think that the people in the city center look them like aliens. This feeling of exclusion gives harm to their self-confidence. When teenagers from these neighborhoods go to nearby mass housing areas where middle class people live, they are perceived as 'potential criminals' by these people in these areas. Therefore, they are not allowed to benefit from social activity places such as football and basketball fields. This means that these internally displaced children are also excluded from the social activities which are common for their peer group. Lack of

fluent Turkish language among young people hinders them to express themselves clearly, which in turn decrease their self-confidence (2006:32).

Overall, a recent research published by Bařak Culture and Art Foundation in 2010 proves that displaced children are more deprived than their peer group.

2.3.4 Bařak Culture and Art Foundation (Bařak Kltr ve Sanat Vakfı)

“The Impact of Forced Migration on Children and Youth: 2004-2010 Comparative Report” (Zorunlu Gçn ocuklar ve Genler zerindeki Etkileri: 2004-2010 Karřılařtırmalı Rapor) (2010)

This research puts forth that the situation of displaced children between the ages of 11-17 and youth between the ages of 18-24 in İstanbul is twice worse than their peers living in the same city.

Regarding health indicators, 14.6% of the 260 interviewed children and 16.5% of the 267 interviewed youth have chronic illness. However, in general, the rate of chronic illness is 7.4% for İstanbul. While under-five mortality rate is 34.7% among interviewed households, it is 10.3 % for İstanbul. Moreover, displaced children and youth are exposed to malnutrition. While the rate of children and young people who can eat white/red meat is 20%, this rate is 61% in general for İstanbul.

With regard to education of displaced children and youth, illiteracy rate is 0.4% among children and 3.4% among youth. School enrollment rate has increased to 85.4 % among children and 25% among youth. While illiteracy rate for the ages of 18-24 is 1.4% in İstanbul according to Turkstat statistics, it is 3.4% for the same age group in the research. This research report indicates that although children and young people benefit from the educational services of the city, they have still lower educational level compared to their peers in İstanbul. In

terms of gender aspect, displaced girls drop out school earlier than displaced boys. The factors behind lower education level among girls are inability to meet educational expenses or being obliged to work (64%) and families' disallowance for schooling (12.4%).

While unemployment rate is 25% for youth in the research, it is 20% for the same age group in İstanbul. 56% of the employed displaced young are unregistered. The unemployment rate is 26.4% for displaced young women, whereas it is 14.5% for young men. There is a gender inequality in terms of wages. 67% of young women and %50 of young men earn minimum salary or lower than it.

Displaced children and youth have limited opportunities to participate in social activities compared to their peers. For instance, 57.1 % of the interviewed children and 42.5% of the youth have never gone to the cinema, theatre or a concert.

All in all, as studies concerning the impact of internal displacement on children indicate that internally displaced families' children have faced many types of exclusion. In terms of economic exclusion, their minimum needs can not be met by their families. They have insufficient housing and inadequate access to basic services such as health and education. Regarding spatial exclusion²², they live in ruinous houses in city centers and ghettos. The neighbourhoods where they live lack adequate services which are critical for a child's development. These children do not live in safe environments; and hence face many threats like violence and drug usage. With regard to cultural exclusion²³, their participation in social life is hindered due to their ethnicity, language and

²² Spatial exclusion is uneven distribution of poverty on a spatial/geographical basis due to disproportional distribution of public services (Adaman and Keyder, 2006: 9).

²³ Being not able to participate in social and cultural life for some reasons such as ethnicity or race, religion, language or accent, sexual orientation and dress codes which are different compared to majority of population (Adaman and Keyder, 2006: 10).

dressings. In terms of familial support, they generally lack familial care and time. Regarding human rights approach, they do have limited rights to decide on their own lives. Overall, internally displaced children have been in a deep poverty and deprivation.

2.4 The Role of Education for Getting Internally Displaced Children out of Poverty

People from disadvantageous groups do not have equal life chances. It is accepted that some groups have been systematically discriminated against other groups; and social inequalities have been inherited throughout generations. As Esping-Andersen puts it, “the problem to be solved is not merely lingering, isolated inequities but the systematic reproduction of inequalities” (1999: 43). As a solution to the problem of intergenerational inequalities, the idea of “universal compulsory education” claims that guarantying equal access to education would eliminate inherited inequalities since inadequate access to education hinders reaching to higher strata. Thus, inequality in education is an obstacle which paralyzes social upward mobility (Dinçer and Uysal-Kolaşın, 2009:3). To be more precise, human capital is the determining factor of obtaining equal life chances.

Meanwhile, there have been intense debates on education system around the world. Although the central role of the state in education policies is acknowledged by many scholars, it is argued that global forces are also crucial to understand the role of educational institutions in a society. Comparative study of educational systems emphasizes the impact of global social forces on education (Buchmann and Hannum, 2001; Saha 2001). According to this view, global perspective is an important tool to understand the factors behind failed policies of educational expansion which is far away from creating structural change in education.

Within the context of this study, it is thought that all factors at international, national and local levels have impact on failed education policies with regard to the emphasis particularly on internally displaced families' high school attending children. The assumption is that attending secondary school is a kind of achievement for poor households since secondary school is not compulsory in Turkey and cost of education is an extra burden for these poor families. However, what is significant is whether these children attending high schools can use education as a tool to achieve upward social mobility or not. Therefore, besides attending high school, educational achievement of internally displaced children is significant to use education for getting themselves out of poverty. Accordingly, determining factors of educational achievement will be elaborated.

2.4.1 Determining Factors of Educational Achievement

There are two main perspectives on students' educational achievement. While the first perspective determines the main factor behind educational achievement as family background; the counter-argument identifies the main factor behind educational achievement as school effects (Buchmann and Hannum, 2001; Berliner, 2007). The Coleman Report (Coleman et al., 1966) in the United States, the Plowden Report (Peaker, 1971) in Great Britain and the research conducted by Cristopher Jencks and others (1972) were leading studies which concluded that family background is more important than school factors at determining educational achievement (Mulkey, 1993; Ballantine, 2001; Buchmann and Hannum, 2001). According to this view, "families are an ascribed status that affects children's educational opportunities and long-term life-chances" (Mulkey, 1993: 134). On the other hand, some other studies like "Coleman Report for a developing country" (Heyneman, 1976) and a subsequent research (Heyneman and Loxley, 1976) concluded that the impact of school factors have a greater influence than family factors at determining student achievement especially in developing countries. However, largely

accepted perspective concerning students' educational achievement holds the idea that "inside school factors" (Berliner, 2007) such as qualifications of teachers, teacher-student ratio, physical infrastructure of a school, distribution of free books, revision of curriculum and improved school activities cannot be enough to explain educational achievement gap. Although the power of schools and educators are crucial factors behind achievement, "outside school factors" (Berliner, 2007) related to family background are identified as the most powerful factors leading to students' educational achievement and equal educational rights.

Significant number of family background factors is critical at determining students' achievement. These are family income, parents' occupational status, parental education, number of siblings and settlement patterns (rural/urban areas and regional background) (Kayaalp, 2002; Kirdar, 2007; Akar, 2009; Dinçer and Kolaşın, 2009).

One of the most powerful factors which contribute directly to academic success is socioeconomic status (SES) of the families (Mulkey, 1993; Portes and MacLeod, 1996; Ballantine, 2001; Buchmann and Hannum, 2001; Kayaalp, 2002; Gündüz-Hoşgör and Smits, 2006; Kirdar, 2007). Considerable number of case studies found out that there is a significant impact of family's class on student's mathematics and language achievement (Buchmann and Hannum, 2001: 83). On the other hand, a substantial number of studies disregard the relationship between poverty and educational outcomes. However, Rothstein claims that the common sense which identifies the reason of achievement gap as "failing schools" ignores the fact that social class characteristics of a stratified society most likely has a significant impact on learning in schools (2004: 9-10 cited in Berliner, 2007: 490). Therefore, it is most likely to be accepted that there is a strong association between lack of material resources and educational inequality.

In fact, cost of education is an extra burden for families with limited financial resources (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007). These families have to limit their resources for their children's schooling process such as direct costs of education including school fee, educational equipments, school uniforms and transportation costs. Limited educational resources have a negative impact on students' achievement level. Besides direct costs, indirect costs of education are other obstacles to students' academic achievement. Some families depend on child labor at both home and labor market as a survival strategy. This situation is a significant factor behind achievement level of a student since working children have little aspiration for higher education and adaptation problems to school. Furthermore, some other children can never attend school or drop out to look after their families. As it is understood, poor households may take immediate costs of schooling into consideration instead of future expected benefits of schooling. According to Rothsein, besides school reform, it is required to improve the social and economic conditions of families to raise the achievement level of children (2004: 9-10 cited in Berliner, 2007: 490).

Fair access to qualified education is believed to increase life chances of people since education has become an important tool to achieve social upward mobility in today's economic structure (Dinçer and Kolaşın, 2009). It is obvious that qualified education is more accessible in private schools (Mulkey, 1993; Ballantine, 2001; Kayaalp, 2002; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007). Wealthier families prefer to send their children to reputable schools by paying extra money for qualified education due to private schools' effect on achievement. On the other hand, poor families have to send their children to unqualified schools. Coleman and others found out that students in private schools are more successful than the ones in public schools (1981). There are various factors leading to this educational achievement gap. In private schools, there are smaller classes, more attention by teachers, better discipline and conduct, a greater achievement-oriented class environment, more homework and higher attendance than public schools (Mulkey, 1993: 133). What is more striking is

that private schools operate better than public schools at lessening the effect of ascriptive differences among students. Research on minority student achievement indicates that minority students are more successful in private schools than public schools (Mulkey, 1993: 133).

Educational level of parents and occupations of families are powerful determinants of educational achievement (Portes and MacLeod, 1996; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007; Dinçer and Kolaşın, 2009). It is expected that high level educated families are more inclined to make economic, social and cultural investment in educational process of their children. White-collar families form the biggest part in society in terms of investing in their children's education since they are aware of the significance of educational process in terms of expected future returns of education. According to status attainment theory, parents are less able to provide a good position for their children through occupational transmission and direct capital transfer since education becomes a significant tool to achieve upward mobility especially in modern societies (Smits and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2006: 93). Therefore parents in non-manual occupations are more aware of the importance of education; and hence they are more inclined to invest in their children's education. On the other hand, in societies where direct capital transfer is still important, parents are less inclined to support their children's education. For instance, families involved in agriculture are more reluctant to spend money on schooling since direct capital transfer and occupational transmission are still important for them (Smits and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2006; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007). As Ulufer puts it, "children of working class families will probably stay in the same class, while middle class families' children have more opportunity to make upward social mobility in the future" (1998: 84).

Higher class families with higher educational level are more active at directing their children's education both at home and school. As Useem puts it, "the involvement of highly educated parents in their children's placement in critical

decision points in the tracking system is one mechanism by which educational advantage is transmitted from one generation to the next” (1992:263). According to Bourdieu (1977), cultural capital such as knowledge, music and art transmitted to their children is closely associated with the educational success of their children (Sadovnik, 2007). Therefore, families’ lack of cultural capital means that these children are subjected to inherit inequalities from their families. While children from middle class families benefit from their families’ cultural capital, the failure of students from lower class families derives from the social inequality from the beginning. The children inheriting inequalities from their families have difficulties at communicating with their teachers in schools and participate less in school activities. High educated families are not only aware of the significance of education but also they are more able to obtain educational resources also at home such as books, magazines and newspapers. Moreover, children from high educated parents are more involved in out of school activities, which in turn raise their value to education and supplement their learning process (Ballentine, 2001: 217).

A significant number of studies concerning education emphasize the significance of social capital at children’s adaptation to school (Portes and MacLeod, 1996). Organized family and strong community networks increase parental control on children. According to Portes and MacLeod, the “closure” of such communities characterizes a form of social capital since it helps parents to pass work discipline and achievement values to their children (1996: 257).

Bernstein claims that discursive codes of students differ according to their social classes (1990). According to his claim, speech patterns of students reflect their social class backgrounds. He furthers his argument by stating that students from middle class families having dominant discursive codes are more advantageous in school environment since schools are constructed on the basis of ruling class ideology (1990). As he puts it, “These dominant discursive codes can have a direct relation to physical resources, in which these agents

become dominant agents of the field of production and are responsible for managerial, technological, administrative and financial functions” (Bernstein, 1990:13). In fact, he emphasizes the relationship between social stratification at macro level and school processes at micro-level by linking a class analysis with language (Sadovnik: 2007: 8).

Family aspiration is also an important factor behind the achievement level of a student. Parents who have obtained a certain level of education may possibly demand at least same educational level from their children (Smits and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2006: 94). Children from families who put high standards for their children are more inclined to be successful at school (Ballentine, 2001: 218). Parents as role models are crucial agents for their children’s future expectations (Kayaalp, 2002: 28). Furthermore, older siblings’ higher educational level has also a positive impact on education level of younger ones (Akar, 2009). Generally, educational aspirations of the families increase with their wealth and level of education.

Indeed, maternal education has a strong effect on children’s achievement. There is a positive relationship between high maternal education and reading and mathematics outcomes of children (Akar, 2009: 264). Especially for girls, the role of mothers behind their educational attainment and achievement is significant. The mothers who have completed a certain level of education may probably assign more value to education compared to illiterate and less literate mothers. Especially, the mothers who contribute to family budget via formal employment would be more aware of the importance of education. Therefore, we can expect from mothers who have high educational level and a gainful job to be more persistent on their girls’ achievement (Smits and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2006). Especially in rural areas, uneducated mothers who have adopted traditional gender roles have a negative impact on the schooling process of their daughters as they are mostly inclined to keep their daughters under

control (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007:164). These mothers hold key positions of transferring traditional gender roles to their daughters.

There is a negative relationship between the number of siblings and educational achievement. According to “resource dilution hypothesis”, material resources and parental attention are restricted with additional children that leads to lower achievement level of children (Ballentine, 2001; Buchmann and Hannum, 2001; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007). Parents with fewer children are more able to offer higher educational advantages to their children. Children from smaller families have higher verbal ability, encouragement to perform in school, attainment in extracurricular intellectual activities, academic pursuits and motivation to go to college (Ballentine, 2001:220). This means that these children are equipped with more human capital to achieve social upward mobility. Nevertheless, the smaller children in crowded households are luckier than elders in terms of achievement since their elderly sisters and brothers may participate in household chores and look after their siblings or work in paid or unpaid jobs (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007). Therefore, smaller siblings have more opportunity to be successful at school via their elderly siblings’ direct or indirect contribution to household income.

Peer group effect and bad habits are significant factors which influence academic achievement (Kayaalp, 2002: 33). Violence and bullying are among some factors which decrease academic achievement. Moreover, corporal punishment and the feeling of fear in school environment have negative impact on educational achievement (Akşit et al., 2001).

The settlement pattern of children has also a strong impact on achievement (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007; Kirdar, 2007). Some regions of a country can have lower level of development compared to other regions; and these regions mostly have inadequate educational services. Children living in rural settlements are also disadvantageous compared to their urban peers due to poor

school infrastructure in rural areas. The availability, long distances from home to school, low-standard physical conditions of schools, insufficient number of teachers and absence of attractive learning environment in rural areas have serious effects on achievement level of children (Akar, 2009; Kirdar 2009). However, still some students in urban areas have to also attend low-qualified schools in urban areas. Especially, migrant students whose families migrated from rural areas to urban areas generally live in squatter settlements in either inner-city areas or urban periphery. In these areas, migrant children attend schools which are low-qualified, resource-poor and overcrowded since urban schools have to allocate scarce resources among migrants and native poor. Furthermore, these children face cultural problems due to diverse population in urban settlements (Akar, 2009: 263).

Gender is a crucial point at determining academic achievement and equal opportunities for all students (Mulkey, 1993; Ballentine 2001; Smits and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2006; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007). There are significant numbers of external barriers to girls' achievement throughout their education life. Girls are systematically discouraged early on from following studies to obtain well-paid jobs. Although girls are generally more successful than boys at primary school, they have gradually become less successful than boys especially in mathematics and science courses. According to Fennema and Carpenter, differences in mathematics achievement begin to increase by adolescence (1981 in Mulkey, 1993: 136). This trend can be explained by different socialization experiences of boys and girls. With the onset of adolescence, girls' perceptions of who they are and how they should behave start to be shaped related to achievement and job preference (Ballentine, 2001: 98). Girls mostly move towards traditional and sex-segregated jobs via internalizing gender based aspiration patterns with the beginning of adolescence period (Mulkey, 1993; Ballentine, 2001). Although well paying jobs require a facility with computer technology, girls are subjected to move away from high-paying jobs in technology, science and engineering due to socialization process at

home environment and society. Leading students to gender appropriate jobs reinforces inequality further in workforce. In today's economy, women concentrate in 20 of more than 400 job categories; and two out of three minimum-wage earners are women (American Association of University Women Educational Foundation, 1998: 7).

According to standard achievement tests, girls are more successful than boys at reading, writing and literature. On the other hand, boys are better at science and mathematics (Mulkey, 1993; American Association of University Women Educational Foundation, 1998). While boys participate in computer science and science courses based on mathematics; girls are enrolled in advanced math and science courses fewer than boys. Furthermore, they do not perform well on these areas compared to their male counterparts (American Association of University Women Educational Foundation, 1998). Regarding school factors, as Ballentine puts it, "males are expected to be independent thinkers and develop creative ways to solve challenging math problems instead of using rigid formulas" (Ballentine, 2001: 99). On the other hand, women accept negative gender-role stereotypes as characteristics of their own. In other words, they believe that they are not as clever as their male peers. In schools, teachers offer more challenging math questions to boys since they expect boys to be better problem solvers than girls. Moreover, girls do not take attention as much as boys even if they have high achievement levels (Ballentine, 2001: 99). According to Fennema and Leder, while males are inclined to attribute their success to internal causes and failure to external or unstable causes; females are inclined to attribute successes to external or unstable causes and failure to internal causes (1990; cited in Ballentine, 2001: 99).

Parental support and involvement affect achievement level of their daughters. High-level educated parents are better at influencing their children's course selection since college-educated parents are more knowledgeable about educational decisions of their children (Useem, 1992). Thus, parents who have

higher socio-economic level manage to direct their daughters to more advanced courses.

There are some research concerning the factors behind different achievement levels of girls and boys. Some studies conducted by sociobiologists have identified the possible explanations by inborn characteristics. However, there is still insufficient evidence to explain the role of biology at learning and achievement with regard to sex differences. In fact, a considerable number of research indicates that achievement gender gap originates in culture and home environment (Ballentine, 2001: 100).

Many studies indicate that there is a substantial educational gap on the basis of students' race and ethnicity (Mulkey, 1993; Ballentine 2001; Lee 2002; Kirdar 2007). In fact, the factors contributing to racial and ethnic achievement gap are multi-dimensional and controversial. Lee identifies the factors behind this achievement gap as “socioeconomic and family conditions (educational attainment, income, poverty, single household); youth culture and student behaviors (motivation and effort for learning, alcohol and illicit drug use, crime); and schooling conditions and practices (instructional resources, teachers, course taking, dropout, segregation)” (2002: 6).

Racist perspective explains achievement gap with the claim that some human races are inherently inferior to others. Therefore, according to this perspective educational gap among different races and ethnicities is related to genetic factors (Jensen, 1969). However, there is a strong counter-argument to this perspective which asserts that achievement gap among different races and ethnicities results from unequal life chances. According to Mulkey, research findings indicate that initially mathematical ability develops similarly among white and black preschool children. However, mathematical achievement later differentiates due to lack of same education opportunities (1993: 138). Coleman's study (1966) and Jenck's research emphasize that while

socioeconomic composition of the school is mostly related to students' achievement, school itself have little impact on equalizing opportunity. Therefore, family background is the major determinant of the success also among different races and ethnicities (Mulkey, 1993; Gillborn and Youdell, 2001).

Some other studies emphasize teachers' judgments about the notions of ability (Gillborn and Youdell, 2001). Some students from particular ethnicity and race face obstacles in convincing their teachers about their abilities. Although teachers do not directly reflect their concerns between ability and ethnicity; they tacitly identify that some students lack necessary skills and effort to achieve (Gillborn and Youdell, 2001:83). Moreover, some research explains the achievement gap among students with peer culture. For instance, Ferguson claims that peer culture of Black students is more opposite to achievement (2001, in Lee, 2002: 7). However, concerning studies mostly do not support this claim.

Poor language skill is one of the reasons led to academic shortcomings (Akar, 2009). For some ethnic minority children, lack of official language proficiency poses a further challenge for achievement. Being not able to speak official language fluently can seriously hinder the ability of children to grasp the instruction given in schools (Kirdar: 2007: 6). Therefore, this process creates detrimental effect on their success level. Moreover, mothers' ability to speak official language is possibly a significant factor behind achievement of students (Smits and Gündüz-Hoşgör: 2006).

Indeed, multiple factors have impact on achievement gap related to race and ethnicity. Nevertheless, the most widely accepted idea concerning the solution of lessening achievement gap is mainly based on equal distribution of income (Mulkey, 1993: 139).

Regarding the main subject of this study, for internally displaced families' high school attending children, participating in education is crucial to obtain better economic circumstances in their future lives. In other words, it is argued that gaining skills and abilities by investing in human capital can be their unique way not to inherit their families' socio-economic disadvantages. Since these students' families lack economic, social and cultural capital in post-industrial economy of today, it is acknowledged that obtaining knowledge is their only way to reach qualified occupations with higher incomes. However, these poor children are able to achieve upward social mobility through not only involving in schools but also educational achievement.

Achievement level of students is determined by the interplay of multi-dimensional factors at international, national and local levels. All these factors including family background, in-school factors, global forces and national dynamics are interrelated. Therefore, considering all the factors together would propose a deeper insight on the issue of students' educational achievement.

Accordingly, the main problems related to the education system in Turkey will be analysed since these problems are also decisive factors behind student achievement level; and hence making social upward mobility for internally displaced families' high school attending children.

2.4.2 Problems in Turkish Education System Related to Students' Academic Achievement Level

Following the law on extension of compulsory education in 1997, enrollment rates have increased considerably in Turkey. However, expansion in primary school education is not parallel with secondary education. Net enrolment rate

for secondary education²⁴ is 64.95% at 2009/2010 period. Moreover, net enrollment rates decrease further for girls since secondary education is not compulsory and traditional values create a barrier to girls' education. While net enrollment rate is 67.55 % for boys, it is 62.21% for girls at 2009/10 period. Enrollment rates in primary and secondary education since 1997, the year in which compulsory education was extended from five years to eight years, are presented at Table 2.1.

There are other attempts besides extending compulsory education to encourage the expansion of education. Ministry of Education issued a directive warning by which parents who do not send their children to school would be prosecuted on the basis of Law No. 222 on Primary Education and Law No. 5395 on Child Protection (Akar, 2009: 265). Furthermore, Conditional Cash Transfers via Law 3294 on Primary Education are offered to poor parents to meet educational needs of children with the condition of enrolling their children in schools. After the enactment of law on extension of compulsory education, a tremendous effort has been made to include poor children and girls in schools.

²⁴ "Secondary school net enrollment ratio is the number of children enrolled in secondary school who are of official secondary school age, expressed as a percentage of the total number of children of official secondary school age. On the other hand, secondary school gross enrollment ratio is the number of children enrolled in secondary school, regardless of age, expressed as a percentage of the total number of children of official secondary school age" (UNICEF, 2007:133).

Regarding gross enrollment rates, both high and low gross enrollment rates are undesirable. High gross enrollment rate (over 100 percent) points out that large number of over-age children are in primary school; which refers to poor academic progress and a high level of repetition in the school system. On the other part, low gross enrollment rate reflects low net enrollment rates from lack of school attendance either because children have poor access to school or kept away by their parents (Education and Literacy, 1998).

Table 2.1 Enrollment Rates in Primary and Secondary Education

Primary Education						
	Gross Enrollment Rates			Net Enrollment Rates		
Years	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1997–1998	89,51	96,26	82,43	84,74	90,25	78,97
1998–1999	94,31	100,72	87,6	89,26	94,48	83,79
1999–2000	97,52	103,31	91,47	93,54	98,41	88,45
2000–2001	100,93	106,32	95,31	95,28	99,58	90,79
2001–2002	99,45	104,19	94,51	92,4	96,2	88,45
2002–2003	96,49	100,89	91,91	90,98	94,49	87,34
2003–2004	96,3	100,31	92,14	90,21	93,41	86,89
2004–2005	95,74	99,48	91,85	89,66	92,58	86,63
2005–2006	95,59	98,83	92,24	89,77	92,29	87,16
2006–2007	96,34	99,21	93,37	90,13	92,25	87,93
2007–2008	104,54	106,41	102,57	97,37	98,53	96,14
2008–2009	103,84	104,91	102,71	96,49	96,99	95,97
2009–2010	106,48	107,05	105,88	98,17	98,47	97,84
Secondary Education						
	Gross Enrollment Rates			Net Enrollment Rates		
Years	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1997–1998	52,79	60,2	44,97	37,87	41,39	34,16
1998–1999	57,15	64,89	48,99	38,87	42,34	35,22
1999–2000	58,84	67,1	50,15	40,38	44,05	36,52
2000–2001	60,97	69,67	51,84	43,95	48,49	39,18
2001–2002	67,89	76,94	58,38	48,11	53,01	42,97
2002–2003	80,76	93,36	67,52	50,57	55,72	45,16
2003–2004	80,97	90,8	70,67	53,37	58,08	48,43
2004–2005	80,9	89,53	71,88	54,87	59,05	50,51
2005–2006	85,18	95,07	74,88	56,63	61,13	51,95
2006–2007	86,64	96,24	76,66	56,51	60,71	52,16
2007–2008	87,55	94,04	80,7	58,56	61,17	55,81
2008–2009	76,62	80,96	72,05	58,52	60,63	56,3
2009–2010	84,19	89,14	78,97	64,95	67,55	62,21

Source: Turkish Statistical Institute. (2010). *Education Statistics*. Retrieved from http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?tb_id=14&ust_id=5

Along with the efforts for expansion of education, there have been some recent reforms in Turkey to improve the education system and achievement level of the students (Akşit, 2007: 132). Some of them were accepted before Turkey's acceptance as European Union (EU) candidate country in 2004. Some others were planned to meet the strategic objectives of the EU. One reform initiative is on curriculum which was launched in 2005. This reform aims to prepare young citizens better to real world via curriculum renewal. Second reform program was introduced in 2004 to decentralize educational provision. However, second reform initiation did not succeed although this structural change is still on the agenda. On the other hand, with regard to curriculum renewal, there are serious deficiencies in implementing these reforms. Many teachers have difficulties to adopt totally different methodology (Akşit, 2007: 136). Therefore, curriculum renewal is not adequate by only itself to increase student's achievement level.

The percentage of public spending on education has been increasing in Turkey. However, still Turkey has one of the lowest public expenditure on education compared to other OECD and European countries (Akşit, 2007; Akar, 2009). Although Ministry of Education has been providing textbooks and student's study books for free since 2003-2004 education period, there are still substantial deficiencies in schools such as chairs, desks, books and teaching and learning equipments which in turn affect educational achievement level of students. Teachers may spend from their salaries to complete some of these deficiencies (Aksoy, 2008: 226). Furthermore, educational spending is still high for poor families since they need to pay for transportation, school uniforms, stationary, pocket money and money demand asked by school officials for the needs of schools. In this situation, some families may prefer to send some of their children to school; and they possibly give priority to boys (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007: 169).

Table 2.2 Expenditure on educational institutions as a percentage of GDP (1995, 2000, 2006)

Total all levels of education	Years		
	2006	2000	1995
Countries			
Austria	5,5	5,5	6,2
Canada	6,5	5,9	6,7
Czech Republic	4,8	4,2	5,1
Denmark	7,3	6,6	6,2
France	5,9	6,4	6,6
Italy	4,9	4,5	4,6
Japan	5	5	5
Mexico	5,7	5	5,1
Netherlands	5,6	5,1	5,4
Poland	5,7	5,6	5,2
Slovak Republic	4,3	4,1	4,7
Spain	4,7	4,8	5,3
Sweden	6,3	6,3	6
Turkey	2,7	2,5	1,7
United States	7,4	7	6,6

Source: OECD. (2009). *Education at a Glance, OECD Indicators*. Retrieved from <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/41/25/43636332.pdf>

Despite the fact that there have been various policy implications to alleviate educational problems, there are still significant problems. Although compulsory education was extended from five years to eight years, educational infrastructure is still deficit. On the other hand, unequal educational opportunities are obstacle to improve the life chances of people. The most serious inequalities in terms of inequality in education emerges between rural and urban settlements; boys and girls; West and East regions (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007; Akar et al., 2009). In terms of educational access and achievement, Northeastern, Middle Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia are the most disadvantageous regions (Akar et al., 2009). Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) results indicate that achievement rates significantly differ according to rural/urban settlement and geographic location. Rural areas

of Southeastern Anatolia host most of the unsuccessful students (Dinçer and Kolaşın, 2009). Furthermore, there is a tremendous disparity between private and public schools in terms of education quality. Students in private schools are more advantageous than their peers in public schools. The most prominent problems in public schools are overcrowded classes, a shortage in teaching staff and inadequate educational resources. For instance, while average class size was 17.8 for private schools, it was 27.5 for public schools in Turkey at primary education (OECD, 2009). On the other hand, average class size in total was 21.4 for OECD countries. This rate was 27.2 for Turkey. Turkey ranked second worst after Korea in terms of average class size (OECD, 2009).

Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) is conducted among OECD and participatory countries at every three years in the areas of mathematics, science and reading. The results of PISA also exhibit the inequalities at education system in Turkey. Turkey got first rank among OECD countries in terms of inequality among schools (Dinçer and Kolaşın, 2009:3). When the performance of private and public schools in Turkey is analyzed, the results are in favor of private schools. According to PISA results, private schools are more successful than both public schools in Turkey and the average performance of OECD public and private schools (Akşit, 2007:132).

Dinçer and Kolaşın identified some factors behind achievement level of students in Turkey according to PISA results (2009). At first, gender has a significant impact on student's achievement. PISA results manifest that girls are more successful than boys in reading. However, boys are more successful than girls in the areas of mathematics and science.

Dinçer and Kolaşın claim that the most important determinant factor of achievement is family background (2009). With regard to family background, parental age, educational level and occupation are the main determinants behind achievement. There is a positive relationship between particularly

education level of father and achievement level of a student. An educated father may allocate more time to his/her children and help with his/her children's lessons. Educated father may possibly earn higher wage and allocate more resources to educational expenditures (Dinçer and Kolaşın, 2009: 12). On the other hand, educational level of mother is particularly a significant factor behind girls' education. For instance, having non-Turkish speaking mother has also a negative impact on achievement due to their lack of essential knowledge about their children's education (Smits and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2006). To sum up, socio-economic status of the family is a crucial factor behind student achievement (Dinçer and Kolaşın, 2009).

Regarding in-school factors, student's achievement level highly depends on the program types (vocational high schools, Anatolian high schools, science high school) in which students are enrolled (Dinçer and Kolaşın, 2009:4). Students in Anatolian and science high schools are more successful than their peers in vocational and regular high schools. The condition of academic success while enrolling in schools is another significant factor behind students' achievement level since academic background has a strong impact on students' academic success (Dinçer and Kolaşın, 2009:4). Student-teacher ratio has also a considerable impact on achievement level of students in Turkey. Shortage in teaching staff leads to the attitude of disinterestedness among students and irregular attendance at schools (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007: 170). Although in-school factors have significance at determining academic achievement, according to Dinçer and Kolaşın, there should be policies to improve the socio-economic background of families instead of school reforms to alleviate educational inequalities in Turkey (2009:14).

Turkey has witnessed a significant degree of rural-urban and inter-regional internal migration (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007; Akar, 2009). Migrants generally settle in *gecekondu* areas in ruinous inner-city areas or squatter settlements in undeveloped areas of urban periphery. Schools in these areas are not ready to

meet the demands of extensive and unplanned migration flows. These schools are resource-poor, overcrowded and poor-qualified. They struggle with low academic achievement level of students, intercultural issues related to diverse student profile and lack of parental awareness regarding education and child development (Akar, 2009:1). Furthermore, the teachers in these schools are not well equipped to meet the needs of new migrants. According to Aksel and others, migrant students have lower self-esteem and life satisfaction compared to non-migrant students (2007, in Akar, 2009: 264). Especially, crowded schools can also create an environment for violence. All in all, all these factors had a negative impact on educational achievement of students.

Although expansion of education is important, the qualification of education that students benefited from seems equally important at determining students' future lives. Especially for poor students, education is their only tool to break the cycle of poverty. Therefore, the research for this thesis particularly focused on what internally displaced families' high school attending children expect from education and if they are able to achieve upward social mobility through education. Accordingly, next chapter will give findings of field research in İzmir and Diyarbakır which was conducted with forty two poor high school students whose families were internally displaced.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION OF THE INTERNALLY DISPLACED FAMILIES' CHILDREN: EVIDENCE FROM İZMİR AND DİYARBAKIR

3.1 Introduction

The main aim of this chapter is to illustrate the ideas of children concerning their life situation after forced migration. In general, this thesis purposes to understand the poverty and social exclusion experienced by children after their practice of internal displacement. On the other hand, in particular, this study seeks answers to internally displaced children's expectations from high school, the prices they have been paying for going to high school, the barriers to their education and their problems in high schools.

The thesis has an assumption that higher level of education is the only way of eliminating poverty for these children since lack of economic and social capital is a big hurdle to break the cycle of poverty for poor households. Although high school education is not compulsory in Turkey, these children prefer (or are pushed) to attend high school by their families instead of (or besides) working and contributing to family budget. Therefore, this study also tries to reveal the value attributed to education by these internally displaced children.

Interviews in the research were conducted with high school children who both witnessed the practice of internal displacement and did not witness this

process²⁵. Since both groups of children have been affected from the consequences of forced migration, the life circumstances of both groups are significant in terms of child poverty.

The findings of the research will further through a comparison of two cities, İzmir and Diyarbakır and two genders, boys and girls. As expected, there are striking differences concerning regional differences and gender aspect.

Children's problems would be elaborated in the word of themselves since it is aimed to reflect their own ideas about their own problems. Children's own ideas, instead of an adult perspective on their problems, will enable to have a deeper insight on their own problems.

Next, a brief information on the places where the research was conducted, Diyarbakır and İzmir, will be given.

3.2 Profiles of İzmir and Diyarbakır

3.2.1 Profile of İzmir

İzmir is the third largest city of Turkey after İstanbul and Ankara. It hosts 5.3% of the total population of Turkey (TurkStat, 2010). In net migration rate order, İzmir is the second city after İstanbul. Reasons of migration can be listed as the migration of a family member, job seeking and marriage (İzmir Development Agency, 2009: 63). However, due to forced emigration, 146.208 more people have been added to the population of İzmir between 1985 and 1990. In 1995-2000 period, forced emigration rate relatively decreased to 125.375 (TurkStat, 2000 in İzmir Development Agency, 2009:63). According to Turkstat statistics,

²⁵ Both group of children, whether witnessed internal displacement or not, are named as forced migrant children or internally displaced children in this chapter.

the largest number of population migrating to İzmir comes respectively from Manisa, Erzurum and Mardin²⁶.

İzmir is an important industrial and manufacture center in both Aegean region and Turkey. It is the trade and service center of Aegean region. There are various economic sectors in the city. The largest employment share is in manufacturing sector with 36%. Key areas in manufacturing are food product and beverages; tobacco products; textile; wearing appeal, dressing and dyeing fur; pulp, paper and paper products; coke; refined petroleum product and nuclear fuel; chemicals and chemical products; rubber and plastic products; non-metallic products; basic metals; machinery and equipment n.e.c.; office machinery and computers; electoral machinery and apparatus n.e.c.; medical, precision and optical instruments, watches and clocks; motor vehicles, trailers and semi-trailers and other transport equipments. The second largest sector is wholesale and retail trade, repair of motorcycles and personal and household goods with 29%. Trade sector share increases to 37% with hotels, restaurant sectors. Service sector has a share of 23% among economic sectors in İzmir. Services sector in İzmir includes land transport, transport via pipelines; post and telecommunications; financial intermediation; real estate; renting of machinery and equipment without operator; business activities; health and social work; computer and related activities; education; public administration and defence; and recreational, cultural and sporting activities (İzmir Development Agency, 2009:77-83). Parallel to the general trend in Turkey, while employment in service sector has been on increase, employment in industry and agriculture has been decreasing.

Although there are various economic sectors in İzmir, unemployment is a significant problem for the city. In 2008, 6% of the unemployed people in

²⁶ *İzmir'de en çok Manisalılar Yaşıyor (Özel)*. (September, 2008). Retrieved March 15, 2010 from Haberler.Com Website: <http://www.haberler.com/izmir-de-en-cok-manisalilar-yasiyor-ozel-haberi/>

Turkey were in İzmir. While non-agricultural unemployment was 10,5% for Turkey, it was higher for İzmir with 11,8% at 2007 (Sönmez, 2010: 178-179). The unemployment problem in İzmir became more serious by the end of 2008 and at 2009. After the effects of global crisis got bigger at the end of 2008, there was a significant decrease in registered employment in İzmir. Besides confirmed job loss in registered employment, there are a large number of unregistered job losses such as in construction, transportation, tourist trade and textile. To sum up, global economic crisis hit İzmir severely. Shrinking in various sectors in İzmir is higher compared to other cities in Turkey. Furthermore, partial recovery in agriculture and tourism at 2009 was not enough to compensate the loss in industry in İzmir (Sönmez, 2010: 181-183).

In terms of internal displacement, İzmir is among the western cities sheltering a considerable number of Kurdish forced migrants as a result of political unrest and violence in Eastern and Southeastern Turkey between 1984 and 2000. These forced migrants have formed a Kurdish mass of poor through economic and spatial exclusion in İzmir (Saraçoğlu, 2010). Regarding spatial exclusion, forced migrant Kurds in İzmir generally concentrated in slum and ruinous areas near city center. For instance, Kadifekale hosts particularly forced migrants from Mardin. Concerning economic exclusion, Kurds have a significant share in informal sector in İzmir. For instance, 9% out of total people who are able to work in Kadifekale were employed in formal sector. Almost half of the rest were unemployed; and the other half were in temporary and unsecured jobs in informal sector (Karayığit, 2005:11). These people mostly involve in stuffed mussel sale (midyecilik), street trading (işportacılık) and pedlar's trade (pazarcılık). Unlike the migration pattern took place between 1960 and 1980, these kinds jobs are not temporary and used for extra income for new comers. On the contrary, these jobs are both permanent and a unique way of subsisting on for them. Therefore, these informal jobs have been identified with Kurdish population. Moreover, these jobs' transmission from Kurds to other ethnicities has not been possible (Saraçoğlu, 2010: 383).

In fact, there is an apparent anti-immigrant hostility based on Kurdish ethnicity among middle class in İzmir (Saraçoğlu, 2010). The factor behind this hostility derives from two processes. While the first process is the impact of neoliberal economic policies on urban areas of İzmir, the second process is the migration flow from Eastern Turkey to İzmir due to security concerns; and its' images in urban life (Saraçoğlu, 2010: 369). These two intertwined process led to prejudice about Kurds among middle class. This prejudice has been shaped by middle class's superficial contact with Kurdish people through sharing common public area and shopping from them at bazaars (or on streets). Since high class has no contact with Kurds, this hostility is particularly developed by middle class. The Kurdish people are coded as "ignorant", "the people destructing urban environment", "separatist", "occupier" and "the ones subsisting by undeserved gain" by middle class in İzmir (Saraçoğlu, 2010: 370).

Unfortunately, recent incidences confirm the anti-immigrant attitude based on Kurdish ethnicity in İzmir. On November 22, 2009 an attack was carried out to DTP (Demokratik Toplum Partisi) [Democratic Society Party] convoy at Hatay Dörtyol in İzmir. On April 6, 2010 a group of people, between 50 and 60, attacked southeastern students staying in a student lodging in Tire, İzmir on the ground of burning a Turkish flag. These incidences are significant indicators of ethnic tension in İzmir (Yıldırım and Haspolat: 2010).

3.2.2 Profile of Diyarbakır

The city of Diyarbakır is one of the biggest cities in Eastern Turkey with 1 362 708 people. The population growth of Diyarbakır has been much greater than the region as well as Turkey as a whole since 1960. While population increased by 6.83 times in Diyarbakır between 1960 and 2000, it was 2.44 for Turkey and 3.22 for the region in same period. Population growth rate was 1.83% for Turkey between the years of 1990 and 2000. However, it was 3,78% for

Diyarbakır. Excessive population growth in the city stemmed from the successive periods of martial law and Emergency Rule and regional armed conflict (Yerel Gündem 21 and Sarmaşık, 2007:9).

Historically, Diyarbakır was a regional center of commerce, politics, culture and knowledge (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2003, Yerel Gündem 21 and Sarmaşık, 2007). It went into an era of stagnation by the Late Ottoman Empire due to expansion of industrial capitalism, geographic shifts in trade that supported oversea trades and world empires' regional conflict in the Middle East and Caucasus (Yerel Gündem 21 and Sarmaşık, 2007:7). Still, in the first years of Republic, Diyarbakır ranked third in terms of total employment capacity according to the first General Industry and Workplace Census in 1927 (Yerel Gündem 21 and Sarmaşık, 2007:7). Diyarbakır was among the most developed ten cities since 1980s (Keyman and Lorosdağı, 2010:135). However, by 2000s, Diyarbakır ranked 63rd among 81 provinces with regard to socio-economic development index (Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, 2003). In terms of industrial production, Diyarbakır's rank was 54 among 81 provinces in 2000 (Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, 2003). Furthermore, neo-liberal policies after 1980s particularly hit the people in region subsisting by agriculture and stockbreeding. However, no other employment opportunities have been created for these people who could not support themselves by rural economy anymore (Yerel Gündem 21 and Sarmaşık, 2007:8).

Diyarbakır has a low share in industrial investment. Experts identify the reason behind low level of investment in Diyarbakır as lack of local investor confidence due to inadequate and undependable infrastructure, particularly electricity (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2003:160). Although Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP) initiated in 1977 for irrigation and the production of hydroelectric power has been successful at creating economic improvement in neighboring regions in Southeastern Anatolia, economic activity has changed only modestly over the last decade in Diyarbakır (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2003:156-

161). Still, existing industry is composed of enterprises on textile and food. Another significant sector in the city is marble business. Marble sector provides 30% of total employment in the city (Keyman and Lorosdağı, 2010:149). Although service sector has developed in Diyarbakır, there are two significant problems related to this sector. First, there is inadequate specialization in this sector. Second, informal sector has been expanding in service sector. Therefore, most of the employees do not have social security coverage which is an obstacle for sustainable development (Keyman and Lorosdağı, 2010:149).

Most of the public and private investments stopped due to conflict environment, which in turn created unemployment and economic recession problems. While the number of private firms in Diyarbakır was 87 in 1991, it was 50 in 1997 (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2003: 162). There has been a significant capital flight and brain drain from city. Net migration rate with 44% is twice higher than the average of Turkey (Keyman and Lorosdağı, 2010:139). People have generally migrated to western cities on the ground of job opportunities in region.

In last twenty years, economic problems of the city have considerably increased due to sudden excessive population growth (Development Centre, 2006). Most common problems in city are unemployment, lacking of housing, inadequate urban infrastructure and integration difficulties. Although these problems had existed before, they got bigger with sudden excessive population growth. Moreover, sudden rupture from rural life has also created adaptation problems to city life among internally displaced people (Ersoy and Şengül, 2002; Development Centre, 2006).

Internally displaced people who used to subsist by rural production relations have been exposed to economic exclusion in the city. These people lacking human capital have not been able to involve in regular jobs with social security

coverage, which in turn has deepened their deprivation and poverty. Previously inadequate employment opportunities have further lagged behind high employment demand with the sudden population growth. While unemployment rate for Turkey is estimated as 14% in 2009, Diyarbakır has second highest unemployment rate with 20,6% after Adana with 26,5% (Turkstat, 2010). Moreover, informal sector has been growing day after day in the city.

Sudden over urbanization has also created problems related to infrastructure and town planning. Over migration into the city starting with 1990s gave rise to unplanned urbanization. Since urban house stock was not enough to meet the demand for housing by internally displaced people, squatting increased considerably; which in turn also gave harm to historical structure of the city (Ersoy and Şengül, 2002).

Diyarbakır has a significant place in terms of Turkey's Kurdish Problem in Turkey. It is a symbolic city regarding this problem and its solution (Keyman and Lorosdağı, 2010:134). Diyarbakır with its young and old alike is mentioned with political unrest and crisis. On March 28, 2006, mass demonstrations took place at the funeral of PKK members in Diyarbakır. Demonstrations lasted for four days. Many branch banks, government agencies and police stations were damaged. Ten people died at demonstrations. Hundreds of people were taken into custody. However, the main point on the agenda was large number of children at forefront in demonstrations. These children named as "children throwing stones" at mass media. Eight of the people taken into custody were between the age of 12 and 15. On the purpose of ruling this case, Diyarbakır Juvenile High Criminal Court was established in the framework of new Turkish Criminal Law and Child Restraint Law put into force on June 1, 2005. The court used the statement of "children led to crime" instead of "suspected" regarding this recent law. These eight children were acquitted on February 5, 2010.

It is argued that reflections of child poverty are different regarding two different cities presented above. Just before introducing the findings of the research conducted in İzmir and Diyarbakır, the selection of participants for interviews will be explained briefly.

3.3 Selecting Participants

Participants were selected through a combination of snowball and theoretical sampling. According to theoretical sampling, the participants were selected regarding theoretical aims instead of statistical purposes (Rim, 2010). Therefore, the participants were not selected randomly; and there is no aim for generalization and representativeness. In contrast, participants were selected purposefully on the ground of including forced migrant high school students; and this research aims to understand trends.

In Diyarbakır, I visited youth centers located in Sümerpark. A female forced migrant student from Local Agenda 21 was the key person in the research in Diyarbakır. She took me to her friends who were also internally displaced high school students. Since her friends trust her, they accepted to make interviews without hesitation. Snowball sampling was useful since being introduced by someone whom they already known led to high acceptance for participating in interviews.

I reached some headmen (*muhtars*) through Sarmaşık Association for Struggle against Poverty and Sustainable Development; Development Centre and Local Agenda 21. These headmen also enabled me to reach many forced migrant students.

Moreover, I contacted with two officers from Bağlar Municipality via my personal contacts. One of them directed me to Education Support Centers

(Eđitim Destek Evleri); and the other led me to Arjin Youth Center (Arjin Genlik Evi). I conducted some of the interviews in these centers.

In İzmir, my personal contact enabled me to get in touch with an expert working in Basmane Semt Merkezi (District of Basmane Center) under the conduct of the Municipality. She directed me to a headman who was also internally displaced. This headman introduced me other headmen in Kadifekale area. Some of the interviews were conducted by the help of these headmen.

Through my second personal contact, I reached an expert at İGEP (İ Gö Entegrasyon Projesi) [Support to the Solution of Economic and Social Integration Problems in İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir and Bursa as Major In-Migration Destimators]. He led me to Ballıkuyu area. His close relationship with the people living in this area created a big opportunity to get assistance from people living in Ballıkuyu. By their reference, it was possible to reach some of the participants.

I visited Human Rights Association (İHD) in İzmir via my third personal contact. A member of İHD introduced me an internally displaced family living in Onur Mahallesi. Moreover, an employee in the hotel where researchers stayed introduced us the owner of a grocery (*bakkal*) next to this hotel. The owner of this grocery reached us to his neighbor who is a forced migrant. The daughter of this forced migrant, who is a high school student, accepted to make an interview.

At first, it was aimed to reach students through high schools. However, Ministry of Education refused the application to conduct research at schools. Still, a high school in Alsancak was visited through a personal contact in the process of our application to Ministry of Education. One of the administrators in this high school introduced us four internally displaced students.

3.4 Findings of the Research

3.4.1 Introducing Participants and Their Household Characteristics

Eventually, the interviews were conducted with 42 high school students. While 20 in-depth interviews were conducted in Diyarbakır; 18 interviews, 17 in-depth and one focus group, were conducted in İzmir with 22 students in İzmir. List of the participants and their profiles (Table 3.1) and their household characteristics (Table 3.2) are presented below.

Table 3.1 List of the participants and their profiles

No	Nick Name	Age	Sex	City	Type of School	Grade	Migration Type	Working Status
1	Derya	16	Female	Diyarbakır	General High School	10	Forced	cleaner
2	Aslı	16	Female	Diyarbakır	Anatolian High School	9	Forced	salesperson
3	Nazlı	18	Female	Diyarbakır	General High School	11	Forced	not occupied
4	Gökçe	21	Female	Diyarbakır	General High School	11	Forced	salesperson
5	Gözde	16	Female	Diyarbakır	Anatolian High School	11	Forced	apprentice
6	Gül	20	Female	Diyarbakır	Open High School	9	Forced	not occupied
7	Zehra	17	Female	Diyarbakır	General High School	9	Forced	not occupied
8	Sevda	19	Female	Diyarbakır	General High School	11	Forced	not occupied
9	Yasemin	16	Female	Diyarbakır	Vocational High School	9	Forced	not occupied
10	Özge	17	Female	Diyarbakır	General High School	10	Forced	not occupied
11	Irmak	16	Male	Diyarbakır	General High School	10	Forced	not occupied
12	Niyazi	18	Male	Diyarbakır	Vocational High School	10	Forced	hairdresser
13	Fatih	18	Male	Diyarbakır	General High School	11	Forced	builder
14	Kerem	17	Male	Diyarbakır	General High School	11	Forced	repairer
15	Hakan	17	Male	Diyarbakır	General High School	11	Forced	not occupied
16	Gökhan	18	Male	Diyarbakır	General High School	11	Forced	agricultural worker
17	Ender	21	Male	Diyarbakır	General High School	11	Forced	not occupied
18	Mahsun	15	Male	Diyarbakır	Anatolian High School	9	Forced	not occupied
19	Selçuk	17	Male	Diyarbakır	Vocational High School	12	Forced	not occupied
20	Mustafa	16	Male	Diyarbakır	N.A.	N.A.	Forced	not occupied
21	Ayşe	N.A.	Female	İzmir	General High School	10	Forced	not occupied
22	Sevgi	16	Female	İzmir	General High School	9	Voluntary	not occupied
23	Günseli	15	Female	İzmir	Vocational High School	9	Voluntary	not occupied
24	Yağmur	14	Female	İzmir	General High School	9	Voluntary	not occupied
25	Deniz	15	Female	İzmir	General High School	9	Voluntary	not occupied
26	Nimet	16	Female	İzmir	General High School	10	Voluntary	not occupied
27	Burçin	15	Female	İzmir	Vocational High School	9	Voluntary	not occupied
28	Defne	16	Female	İzmir	Vocational High School	9	Forced	worker in textiles
29	Nejla	17	Female	İzmir	General High School	9	Forced	not occupied

Table 3.1 Continued

30	Okşan	16	Female	İzmir	General High School	N.A.	Voluntary	not occupied
31	Cem	18	Male	İzmir	General High School	12	Forced	pedlar
32	Hasan	16	Male	İzmir	Vocational High School	11	Forced	greengrocer
33	Mehmet	19	Male	İzmir	General High School	12	Forced	pedlar
34	Baran	21	Male	İzmir	General High School	12	Forced	pedlar
35	Murat	18	Male	İzmir	General High School	9	Forced	pedlar
36	Onur	15	Male	İzmir	Vocational High School	9	Voluntary	not occupied
37	Alper	19	Male	İzmir	Open High School	10	Voluntary	waiter
38	Barış	N.A.	Male	İzmir	General High School	12	Forced	pedlar
39	Ahmet	N.A.	Male	İzmir	General High School	12	Forced	N.A.
40	Kadir	N.A.	Male	İzmir	General High School	12	Forced	N.A.
41	Nazım	N.A.	Male	İzmir	General High School	12	Forced	N.A.
42	Metin	N.A.	Male	İzmir	General High School	12	Voluntary	N.A.

Table 3.2 Household Characteristics

No	Nickname	father's education	mother's education	household size	number of siblings	average monthly income	house ownership	health insurance	computer ownership	internet access
1	Derya	elementary school	illiterate	8	6	50-100 TL	Rented	Green Card	no	no
2	Aslı	elementary school	illiterate	7	5	N.A.	Houseowner	BAĞ-KUR	no	no
3	Nazlı	Read-Write	illiterate	7	11	300-350 TL	Houseowner	Green Card	no	no
4	Gökçe	elementary school	illiterate	5	4	750 TL	Rented	Green Card	no	no
5	Gözde	Read-Write	Read-Write	5	3	500-800 TL	Houseowner	Green Card	yes	no
6	Gül	elementary school	elementary school	7	10	700-800 TL	Rented	SSK	no	no
7	Zehra	no father	elementary school	10	8	700-750 TL	Rented	under 18 (SGK)	no	no
8	Sevda	no father	illiterate	3	2	75-150 TL	Houseowner	Green Card	no	no
9	Yasemin	secondary school	illiterate	6	6	300 TL	Houseowner	SSK	no	no
10	Özge	Read-Write	Read-Write	7	5	150 TL	Houseowner	Green Card	no	no
11	İrmak	high school	illiterate	7	5	N.A.	Houseowner	SSK	yes	no
12	Niyazi	elementary school	illiterate	7	5	N.A.	Houseowner	Green Card	no	no
13	Fatih	no father	illiterate	6	6	1.200 TL	Houseowner	Green Card	no	no
14	Kerem	open school 8	illiterate	8	6	350-400 TL	Houseowner	Green Card	no	no
15	Hakan	Read-Write	illiterate	6	8	750-800 TL	Houseowner	none	yes	N.A.
16	Gökhan	elementary school	illiterate	5	3	500 TL	Houseowner	none	no	no
17	Ender	illiterate	illiterate	6	4	800 TL	Houseowner	Green Card	yes	N.A.
18	Mahsun	illiterate	illiterate	7	8	800 TL	Houseowner	Green Card	no	no
19	Selçuk	elementary school	Read-Write	3	6	400-650 TL	Houseowner	SSK	yes	yes
20	Mustafa	elementary school	second grade	7	5	0 TL	Houseowner	Green Card	no	no
21	Ayşe	elementary school	illiterate	9	7	N.A.	Rented	Green Card	yes	no
22	Sevgi	elementary school	illiterate	6	4	500-600 TL	Houseowner	none	no	no

Table 3.2 Continued

23	Günseli	elementary school	illiterate	13	11	600 TL	Houseowner	none	yes	yes
24	Yağmur	elementary school	elementary school	7	5	200 TL	Houseowner	none	yes	N.A.
25	Deniz	illiterate	illiterate	9	12	1.100 TL	Houseowner	none	no	no
26	Nimet	secondary school	elementary school	6	4	N.A.	Houseowner	Green Card	no	no
27	Burçin	elementary school	illiterate	8	6	600 TL	Houseowner	Green Card	yes	yes
28	Defne	elementary school	illiterate	6	4	N.A.	Rented	Green Card	no	no
29	Nejla	illiterate	illiterate	8	6	N.A.	Houseowner	under 18 (SGK)	yes	yes
30	Okşan	secondary school	second grade	7	5	900-1000 TL	Houseowner	none	no	no
31	Cem	elementary school	elementary school	6	4	700-800 TL	Rented	none	yes	N.A.
32	Hasan	secondary school	elementary school	5	3	800-900 TL	Rented	BAĞ-KUR	no	no
33	Mehmet	elementary school	illiterate	7	6	800-900 TL	Houseowner	BAĞ-KUR	yes	no
34	Baran	no father	illiterate	2	9	1000 TL	Houseowner	BAĞ-KUR	yes	yes
35	Murat	elementary school	Read	6	4	350-400 TL	Rented	Green Card	no	no
36	Onur	Read	second grade	3	2	700-800 TL	Houseowner	BAĞ-KUR	no	no
37	Alper	Read	illiterate	6	4	800 TL	Rented	Green Card	no	no
38	Bartış	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	2500 TL	Houseowner	none	yes	yes
39	Ahmet	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	yes	no
40	Kadir	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
41	Nazım	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
42	Metin	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.

3.4.1.1 Gender and Age

A specific attention is paid to gender-balanced approach in this study. Interviews were conducted with almost equal number of boys and girls during the research since the expectations from education and poverty experiences of children vary on the basis of gender difference.

The age-range of interviewed high school students spanned from age 14 to age 21. Although high school education or secondary education covers 14-17 year old children, there are many interviewed students who are older than 17 years old.

3.4.1.2 Socio-economic Profile of the Families of the Interviewed Students

Household Size

Households are overcrowded in both Diyarbakır and İzmir. In Diyarbakır, the number of household members ranges generally from five to ten. Exceptionally, there are two households with three members. In these cases, part of the family members returned back to their villages which were evacuated; went to western cities to work or married. In İzmir, the number of household members ranges from five to nine. There are also three exceptional cases, households with two, three and thirteen members, in İzmir. In the first case, some older siblings got married and some others were in touristic towns to work. In the second case, there is a dissolution of marriage. In the third case, there are eleven siblings and parents in a small house.

Educational Level of Parents

Keeping in mind that parental education has a significant impact on children's well-being (Corcoran and Chaudry, 1997; Dayıođlu, 2007), the average level

of parental education is considerably low. Generally, the education level of mothers is lower than fathers. While most of the fathers completed just fifth grade, there are still some of them who are illiterate. On the other hand, there are a large number of mothers who have never attended school and who are illiterate. In Diyarbakır, 14 out of 20 mothers have never attended school. Three of them are literate. The rest of them completed at most fifth grade. Although education level of fathers is higher than mothers, 2 out of 20 fathers have never attended school in Diyarbakır. 4 out of 20 fathers know read-write. One of them learnt read-write during his military service. Others mostly completed fifth grade. There are two fathers; one is about to get eighth grade degree through open school and the other got high school degree. Education level of parents is higher in İzmir than Diyarbakır. In İzmir, 10 out of 17 mothers have never got formal education²⁷. There are more mothers who have completed fifth grade compared to Diyarbakır. 2 out of 17 fathers have never attended school in İzmir²⁸. The rest of the fathers generally completed fifth grade. There are 3 fathers who completed eighth grade. In both İzmir and Diyarbakır, some of the students' mothers do not know Turkish. These students communicate with their mothers in Kurdish. All in all, displaced children in both İzmir and Diyarbakır are also disadvantaged with regard to child well being particularly including educational achievement since low parental education has a direct impact on the success of the students (Mulkey, 1993; Useem, 1992; Portes and MacLeod, 1996; Ballantine, 2001; Kayaalp, 2002; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007; Dinçer and Kolaşin, 2009).

²⁷ The educational level of 5 mothers could not be obtained in a focus group interview composed of 5 students. Therefore, data related to educational level of mothers is derived from conducted 17 deep interviews in İzmir.

²⁸ The educational level of 5 fathers could not be obtained in a focus group interview composed of 5 students. Therefore, data on educational level of fathers is derived from conducted 17 deep interviews in İzmir.

Household Income and Occupations

These overcrowded households try to survive with limited income in both İzmir and Diyarbakır. However, interviewed students' household income in İzmir is higher than the ones in Diyarbakır since there are more job opportunities available in informal sector in İzmir. Moreover, İzmir is among the most developed cities in Turkey and hosts a considerable number of middle class families. The commodities sold by internally displaced families such as greengrocery are demanded by middle class families such as officers (Saraçoğlu, 2009). According to the information got from interviewed students, the household income for per month generally ranges from 0 TL (Turkish Liras) to 800 TL in Diyarbakır. However, one displaced student's monthly household income is 1200 TL. On the other hand, monthly household income generally ranges from 200 TL to 1000 TL in İzmir. However, one displaced student's monthly household income is 2500 TL. Conducted interviews clearly reveal that students in Diyarbakır have more limited income than the ones in İzmir. However, expenses for vital needs such as housing and food are more expensive in İzmir compared to Diyarbakır; and the families in Diyarbakır are more able to get financial aid and assistance in kind. Therefore, the economic situation of displaced families in both İzmir and Diyarbakır is limited to meet their needs. Overcrowded households are even unable to meet the basic needs of their children. For instance, most of the interviewed male students have to work to meet their educational expenses.

Previous occupations of these families in their villages and low educational level of parents hinder them to find jobs in formal sector. Generally, fathers and older male children are working at informal urban economy. Moreover, significant numbers of fathers are unemployed among interviewed students. This fact was previously also set forth by many other studies concerning the consequences of forced migration (Akşit et al., 2001; Ersoy and Şengül, 2002; GÖÇ-DER, 2002; Development Centre, 2006; Yüksekler, 2006b; Özbek, 2007;

Kaya et al., 2009). Therefore, most of the families cannot get rid of poverty after arriving to cities from their villages. This means that these families are caught in a continuing cycle of poverty and deprivation.

Forced migrants in both Diyarbakır and İzmir, and the ones who are not forced migrants in İzmir were involved in subsistence agriculture and stockbreeding in their villages. A small portion of the families were selling their products which they got from their lands and making cattle trade in their villages.

Families' lack of skill and education which are required in post-industrial economy to engage in qualified jobs led them to work in informal jobs without security coverage. Beyond informal jobs without security coverage, most of them do not have regular jobs. Many studies on the consequences of forced migration have also emphasized that displaced children's families are generally involved in precarious employment (Family Research Institution of The Prime Minister's Office, 1998; Akşit et al., 2001; Barut, 2002; Ersoy and Şengül, 2002; Development Center, 2006; TESEV, 2006; Altuntaş, 2009).

Interviewed students in Diyarbakır state that their fathers work as peddler, selling mostly greengrocery; builder; repairer; carrier and dyer. Some of these children's fathers or older male siblings go to western cities such as İstanbul and Manisa to work in constructions and repair shops. When forced migrants in Diyarbakır first arrived to city center, they also worked as seasonal agricultural workers and carriage with horse-drawn vehicle. In some cases, part of the families went back to their villages and did subsistence agriculture. When parents go back to their villages, children generally live with their older siblings or relatives.

Nazlı states that:

My parents turned back to our village. My father is old now. He could not work in constructions anymore. After working in constructions, he did not work for a few months. However, he got reactions for not working since he has got 11 children and he has to look after family. As a result of these reactions, he went back to our village and he has been engaged in subsistence stockbreeding which is what he can manage to do.

Some girls, especially in Diyarbakır, complain that their fathers have always been reluctant to work. At this situation, some of the family members including children who can find jobs are employed in temporary jobs without security coverage such as clothing shops, carpeting workshops, stationery, restaurants and homes as a cleaner. On the other hand, male students in İzmir stated that Kurds are very hard-working; and they do any work that they can find.

Bariş tells that:

Our Eastern people are very hard-working. They do anything without complaining about rain, snow and mud.

The occupations of fathers in İzmir are similar to the ones in Diyarbakır. They mostly work as peddler selling mostly greengrocery, ring-shaped bagel (*gevrek*) and stuffed mussel; builder; repairer; carrier and dyer. The stuffed mussel sale is done only by people from Mardin. Gathered mussels from coast are bought; inner part of mussels is generally prepared by women in homes or small workshops and the sale is made by male members of the family. In İzmir, another economic sector that families involve in is textile related to the city's economic structure. Generally, at least one of the family members worked or has been still working in textile sector.

As mentioned by many other researches (Family Research Institution of The Prime Minister's Office, 1998; Akşit et al., 2001; Ersoy and Şengül, 2002; GÖÇ-DER, 2002; Development Centre, 2006; Yüksek, 2006b; Özbek, 2007; Kaya et al., 2009), fathers or family members of these children have generally

irregular mode of work in both Diyarbakır and İzmir. These families are always at risk of being unemployed related to fluctuation in economy and a decrease in demand. For instance, considerable number of interviewed students' fathers stopped working at constructions and textile due to recession in construction and textile sector. One of the internally displaced student's fathers is a headman in İzmir, which is a different case for both cities.

Still, there are a small number of families who have ameliorated their economic situation in time in İzmir. For instance, one of the internally displaced students father sold bagels when he first arrived to İzmir. After a time, he owned a grocery. Nazım told that when they first arrived to İzmir, they had nothing to survive. He explains this situation as:

My family was very poor when they first arrived to İzmir from their evacuated village. My father always tells that they could not even find food for me when I was a little child. He says that they mixed water and sugar to feed me.

Another forced migrant high school student in İzmir stated that he went to school with a piece of bread in elementary school since their economic situation was really bad compared to their recent years in İzmir. Barış explains his past years in school as:

I was bringing egg and bread to school for lunch time. My school director was mocking at me. My nickname was "egg" at school.

Although a small number of families have obtained better economic conditions compared to their first years in the city, most of the families are still in economic constrain. The number of unemployed fathers is considerably high. In most situations, mothers do not work. In this situation, as indicated by previous research (Kahveci et al., 1996; Akşit et al., 2001; Gündüz - Hoşgör and Bilgin, 2005; Gündüz -Hoşgör et al., 2005; Development Center, 2006; Dikici Bilgin, 2006; Gün 2010), the sole breadwinners of these families are

their children. Some of the siblings of interviewed students drop out after compulsory education to look after their family. This is especially prevailing among older siblings. Therefore, younger siblings are luckier than the bigger ones in terms of education since they have more opportunity to continue their education thanks to older siblings' contribution to family budget.

Health Security

In terms of health security, green card is commonly used among the students and their families in Diyarbakır. Only 4 out of 20 interviewees have Social Insurance Institution Security (SSK) coverage in Diyarbakır. 1 out of 20 interviewees have Social Security Organization for Artisans and Self-Employed (Bağ-Kur) security. On the other hand, there is generally no health security among the students and their families in İzmir. Just 6 of the families have green cards; and other 4 families have Bağ-Kur security coverage. Only 2 participants from both Diyarbakır and İzmir mentioned that they are benefiting from universal health provision for the ones under eighteen years old. Most of the students are not informed about this recent health provision legislation.

Social Assistance

Families of these students have constant attempts to get assistance from governmental and non-governmental organizations in both İzmir and Diyarbakır. The most common assistance is coal aid in both cities. Food allowance is generally relieved at Ramadan month. Besides firing and food assistance, some students get education provision from Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation. Deniz Feneri Association was mentioned as one of the NGOs that their families receive aid in İzmir. It is also stated that this NGO relieves irregular assistance. The most common stated association giving regular support to families in Diyarbakır is Sarmaşık Association for Struggle Against Poverty and Sustainable Development (Sarmaşık Yoksullukla

Mücadele ve Sürdürülebilir Kalkınma Derneği). This association provides both education scholarships to students and food cheque to families to make shopping from Food Bank established by this association. Still, most of the assistances relieved by governmental and non-governmental organizations are irregular in both cities. A student from Diyarbakır also mentioned the big assistance campaigns by government agencies during election periods. Students generally did not state that they get assistance from their neighbors at their harsh times. As mentioned in the theoretical chapter of this study (Erder, 1996; Akşit et al., 2001; Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2009), this situation is different from previous migration processes since previous migrants were able to get assistance from their relatives and villagers. Even the ones in İzmir who are not forced migrants are in economic hardship due to the extension of neo-liberal economy policies in Turkey. Interviewed migrants are severally isolated in harsh city life as they lack social networks and informal social assistances in the cities.

3.4.1.3 Migration Stories

It is essential to understand what internally displaced children experience and what they remember in order to ease their pains. To this end, this section aims to cover an historical analysis.

There are only four students who both witnessed and remember the years that internal displacement took place in both cities. However, students in Diyarbakır have strong information on this process due to the political environment in the city although they did not practice it or they were very young to remember this process.

Gökçe who remembers this process of forced migration tells that:

I remember that when I was seven or eight years old in 1993 or 1994, there was a big physical and psychological pressure on both women and men in village...

A big pressure was put particularly on four families including my family. Our home was busted almost every day with the claim of aiding and abetting... My father started not to come home. When soldiers came, they asked my father... The same incident repeated in every two or three days. There were three families just like us... After these three families migrated, we also had to flee.

Baran who also witnessed internal displacement process tells that:

We came to İzmir due to the village evacuations. They told us to evacuate our village in one week. We did not have a right not to leave our village. We did not want to abandon our village, so we were undecided. That is why we went to my grandfather's village as a transitional period... In fact, we thought about going to the nearest villages. There were two villages already fled to our village. The villages squeezed so much that people were settling in little and ruinous houses... We sold our animals in one week for a cheap price...

Whenever soldiers came to our villages, we entered into houses. There was a big fear. There was a commander who was very strict. He commanded to "evacuate" our village. Some people wanted to resist. My family was one of those who left the village last... Some could not take their property. As I remember, they did not have economic opportunity to go another place; and there wasn't any empty place in the nearest villages. Therefore, they left their properties, and abandoned the village...

At the roof of our house, there was a little window. I was watching the soldiers and next village from that window... I do not know but they gave a punishment to a person from our village to stand without moving...

Students who did not witness migration process form the majority of the interviewed internally displaced students. Still, in Diyarbakır, almost all of the displaced families' children have information on forced migration process. Moreover, they are open to share their knowledge concerning the practice of internal displacement. On the other hand, students in İzmir are not well

informed about the process of forced migration; and it was not easy to get migration stories from the students in İzmir even though there were some students who have been informed on this process.

Internally displaced students state that their families generally fled directly from their villages to İzmir and Diyarbakır. Since more economic and social capital is required for migrating to İzmir which is a long-distance migration (Development Centre, 2006; Kaya et al., 2009), internally displaced students' families in Diyarbakır are more deprived than the ones in İzmir.

There are also some chain migration types (Development Centre, 2006; Kaya et al., 2009). Some of the students' families first fled to the nearest villages or cities, and then to other cities. There are two reasons behind this situation. First, some did not have enough economic resources to finance their migration route with crowded household since the flight was sudden and unplanned. Therefore, as a transition period, first they moved to nearest villages, towns or cities. Second, some families tried to create time not to leave their villages since they did not want to abandon their lands where they had been living for a long time. If the security problems would have disappeared, they could have returned back to their villages.

Some other families first fled to cities like Bursa and Adana, and then moved to İzmir and Diyarbakır. These families involved in seasonal agricultural work in Adana and Bursa. As mentioned in the theoretical chapter of this study (Gülçubuk et al., 2003; Özbek, 2007; Çetinkaya, 2009), they generally engaged in work with their all family members including their children. Seasonal agricultural work created big problems also for interviewed children. First, these children could not start school in time or they had irregular attendance to classes since their working period coincides with school period. As they had to work with their family to contribute to household budget, they could not register for schools. Second, they had to work in harsh conditions at their child

age such as picking cotton in a critical time period for their development. Third, their living conditions were inconvenient, which means that their health has been under threat.

In line with the theoretical chapter of this study (Davenport et al., 2003), some families fled due to threat perception in a conflict environment. For instance, some of their neighborhood villages were evacuated or burnt down. On the other hand, as stated by some internally displaced students, some families were exposed to direct violence and did not have time to organize migration. Therefore, as indicated by previous research (Development Center, 2006; TESEV, 2006; Altuntaş, 2009), migration was sudden and unplanned. These families had to flee in a short time period such as in one day or one week. When these families arrived to cities, they had severe economic hardship since they could not sell any of their animals and land. Moreover, some of them could not even take their properties from their homes. Barış tells that:

When my family first came to İzmir, they had nothing. What my family told is that they had nothing else except one plate, two spoons, one blanket and one curtain. Our economic situation got better in time.

Niyazi tells that:

When we had to abandon our village, we did not have a chance to take anything. We came to Diyarbakır in a panic. We had animals in our village. We could not sell them. They burnt them down. We had to flee all of a sudden.

The families who had time to leave their village compared to other forced migrants could sell their animals and lands. However, they had to sell them under their real value due to limited time. Some of these families managed at least to buy ruinous houses in Diyarbakır and İzmir through this sale. Selçuk tells that:

They had given us one or two days to evacuate our village. A large number of cattle had been fed in our village. My father was in jail at that time. Therefore, my grandmother had sold them in Diyarbakır. However, she sold them with a very low price since she did not know the price of cattle. After we had stayed one of our relatives' home for one month, they bought two houses with the money obtained by selling almost sixty cattle. They said that they paid for these houses more than their real value. It was also an unbalanced deal.

Following the previous sections; introducing participants, socio-economic profiles of the interviewed students and their migration stories; the main topic of this research, how internally displaced children experience education, will be elaborated.

3.4.2 Experiences Related with Education

This section will focus on the factors interrupting students' education; students' expectations from high school; families' support to their children's education and barriers to the academic achievement of internally displaced students. Findings concerning children's education are crucial since the aim is to comprehend whether these internally displaced students are able to achieve upward social mobility or not through education.

3.4.2.1 Reasons of Interruption at Education

There are various reasons interrupting interviewed displaced children's education which are in parallel to the theoretical chapter of this study (Barut, 2002; Başak Culture and Art Foundation, 2004; Development Center, 2006; Yüksekler, 2006b). First, the political disorder and conflict environment in East and South East Anatolia regions ended up with inability to access to schools. Baran, 21 years old, explains this situation as:

I started first grade when I was ten years old. I could start going to school when we arrived to İzmir, because there weren't any teachers at our village. When teachers came to village, they were killed by terrorists. Therefore, government did not send teachers to our village anymore.

Second, the chronic poverty that internally displaced families got caught led to disruption in their children's education. In some situations, most of the displaced families' members including their children had to work to survive after forced migration. Although most of them have been working, they still cannot get rid of poverty. These people are part of working urban poors (Kaygalak, 2001; Altuntaş, 2009; Saraçoğlu, 2009), which in turn is a barrier to some displaced children's right of education. Some of these working children could not attend school on time due to coincidence of working time and school period. Sevda, 19 years old, states that:

I started school when I was 10 years old. My family and I were working as seasonal agricultural workers after internal displacement. When we returned from work to Diyarbakır, registration period for schools had finished. This happened for several times. Therefore, it was not possible for us to start school. One year, we left our identity cards to our neighbor to make registration for us; but she also could not manage to register us. My grandfather did not let us return from work earlier. When my uncles insisted on returning back earlier one year, we decided to come back earlier. The school administration got my sister and cousin, but they did not accept my application due to my 10 years old age. Although the school did not accept me to school, I went to school. When my sister and cousin were at class, I was waiting in school garden all the day. I really wanted to attend school. My mother tried to convince me that it was not possible for me to enroll in a school, but I never gave up. The director of the school saw that I never left the school; and hence he approved my application for school forcibly. When I started school, everybody had learnt to read and write. I remember that I was writing one word for pages to catch them. At second grade, my teacher appreciated my assiduity and ambition. Therefore, she enabled me to pass from second grade to third grade.

Third reason interrupting students' education process is related to gender roles (Barut, 2002; Başak Culture and Art Foundation, 2004; Development Center, 2006; Smits and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2006; Dayıoğlu, 2007; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007). Many interviewed students stated that more traditional families expect from their daughters to marry after compulsory education, because it is generally thought that girls are on course of participating in another family by marriage; and they would contribute to their husbands' family through domestic labor. On the other hand, boys are responsible for looking after their own family. Therefore, it is more plausible to invest in boys' education instead of girls' schooling for traditional families. Gökçe, 21 years old, attending third-grade high school in Diyarbakır tells her struggle to continue her schooling after compulsory education and the reason of losing years in her education life as:

At our village, the school was till fifth grade... At that time, there wasn't any girl going to school after fifth-grade from neither our village nor neighborhood villages. The families had fears, reactions and different thoughts. I did not go to school for three years after fifth-grade, but I cried and got beaten up every day during these three years. However, I was still insisting on attending school. Even when I went to water fountain to bring water, I was crying. Villagers got used to seeing me while I was crying due to not being able to go to school. They did not even ask me the reason made me cry since they knew the reason. I was regarded as crazy. My friends at the age of twelve or thirteen just like me started to make wedding chest.... I never gave up. One day, Osman Baydemir and Aysel Demirtaş visited our village during the village festivals (*köy eğlenceleri*). At that time, Selahattin Demirtaş was the president of Bar President... The visitors gave a seminar at mosque of our village. It was an incredible opportunity for me. I asked Selahattin Demirtaş to Aysel Demirtaş. She replied that he had not come; and asked me the reason for looking him. I explained my situation that I was not able to go to school. They called my father, and brought me to Diyarbakır. They provided me school uniforms from DEKASUM (Kadın Sorunlarını Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi). Then, we visited Selahattin Demirtaş. I complained my father to him for not allowing me to go to school... My father came to Diyarbakır. He said to my father that he had to send me to school; otherwise my father would be indicted by them. My father replied

that he could not send me to school due to lack of material resources and troublous environment in village. This time, I complained all people in my village to Selahattin Demirtaş. At the end, I started to secondary school in Diyarbakır. I visited school director to consult him for my female friends in my village. This incidence was heart in my village. All the villagers attacked our house due to my complaint to the school director. There was a severe psychological pressure on me by the villagers. I was going to school with boys by a service. The families of these boys were coming in front of the service at days we took ration cards since they were curious about my grades. I never returned home without a letter of appreciation. At school, boys from my village were always watching me. Whenever I talked to a different person, they reported it to village. Thus, I was so careful at school. Anyway, girls in my village started to go to school gradually after me.

Fourth reason interrupting students' education is late birth registration (Başak Culture and Art Foundation, 2004) as indicated by students. There are several factors led families to late birth-registration. At first, some families cannot overcome bureaucratic hurdles for registration. Second, the fee for birth registration such as transaction and mail cost is an obstacle for families who have economic hardship. Third, some families are unconscious about the significance of birth registration to benefit from citizenship rights such as health and education services. Last, some ethnic minorities are reluctant for birth registration since they have hesitations to be visible due to some reasons such as fear; birth registration conflicts with their traditions; and they perceive birth registration as an official way to dilute their culture (Dow, 1998). In Turkey, bureaucratic hurdles for registration and economic hardship of poor families are the main factors behind late birth registration. In some situations, some people may prefer to be invisible due to security concerns in Turkey. A significant number of interviewed internally displaced students state that they are older than their class mates due to late birth registration.

These students have faced various difficulties regarding their education. However, they are still enrolled in high school although it is not compulsory in

Turkey. Therefore, students' expectations from education are crucial to understand the reasons behind furthering their education. With this regard, their expectations from high school or education will be elaborated next.

3.4.2.2 Expectations from High School

As mentioned previously, a qualitative research method was applied in this study. The analysis of research furthers through a comparison between two cities and genders. However, in contrast to the aim of generalization, these comparisons are made to understand a trend concerning variations related to two cities and genders.

Expectations from high school change considerably with regard to gender-based differences and two cities, İzmir and Diyarbakır. The value attributed to education by girls is considerably higher than boys in both İzmir and Diyarbakır. Regarding two different cities, students in Diyarbakır generally conceive education as a way of struggling through pen. On the other hand, students in İzmir generally think that education is a tool to recover their own financial situations.

Female students think that education is their only way to get rid of their constricted life in various dimensions including their economic, social and cultural lives. Still, boys in Diyarbakır are more ambitious to use education as a tool to achieve upward social mobility and create change for their society compared to boys in İzmir. A headman (*muhtar*) from İzmir identifies the reasons for girls' higher expectations from education as:

In this risky environment, girls stand out as the ones who are protecting themselves because of some reasons. First, they devote themselves to education with the intention of breaking patriarchal structure. Second, they wish to stand on their own shoes as a part of their economic freedom. Third, their enthusiasm is still strong since

they do not fall into bad habits. Fourth, they perceive that education is their only way to break their confined lives in their homes.

The reasons identified by the headman are parallel with the statements made by interviewed girls. Although enrollment rates of girls are lower than boys (Smits and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2006; Gündüz Hoşgör, 2007; Turkstat, 2010), girls have higher expectations from high school compared to interviewed boys. There are particularly economic, social and cultural factors led girls to attribute higher value to education.

First, girls intend to have a higher qualified life by education. Education would provide them to have skilled jobs with higher income. They observe life qualities of other people in cities; and they compare their life quality with wealthy people. They are subjected to economic exclusion; and hence they cannot benefit from the opportunities from which their peer group can do. This fact makes them dedicated to eliminate poverty that they inherited from their families.

Gül who managed to enroll in school by her own efforts in Diyarbakır explains her expectations from high school as follows:

My biggest dream was going to school since I was a little child. We are ten brothers and sisters. We were not sent to school due to various economic impossibilities. My parents could not afford all of our school expenses. I want to earn my money since I do not want to be in need of anyone. My three older sisters are married. However, I want to get my economic freedom.

Ayşe from İzmir indicated her reason for going to high school as:

First of all, I want to have an occupation. I do not want to continue my life in difficulties like my parents. If I have a profession, I will also look after them. That is why my mother sends me to school. She says that I should not be like them; and I should stand on my own shoes. I should not be a burden on anyone.

Most of the interviewed girls state that their mothers push them to further their education. Although there are contradictory examples regarding mothers' support for their daughters' education in Turkey (Smiths and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2006; Gündüz Hoşgör, 2007), most of the interviewed students indicated that particularly their mothers support their education not to have same kind of economic hardship that their mothers face. Besides, some mothers also perceive their daughter's education as a tool to break the cycle of dependency on men. Furthermore, another important factor behind mothers' support is the effect of cities in which they have lived for a considerable time period. In time, these mothers have realized that education is significant tool for obtaining a qualified job particularly in urban areas and alleviating poverty.

When Aslı's expectations from high school were asked, she replied as:

Salvation... I do not like being dependent on anyone or taking money from my family. I want to stand on my shoes. That is why I replied as salvation. When I get my profession, I will earn my own money.

Although the expectations of girls from education are parallel in some dimensions, there is a significant difference between the interviewed girls in İzmir and Diyarbakır. While girls in Diyarbakır generally perceive education as a tool to improve not only their individual conditions but also their society's situation; girls in İzmir have individualistic targets through education. This can be illustrated by the statement of an internally displaced female student from Diyarbakır. Sevda says that:

I want to attend faculty of law. A person identified his/her occupation according to his/her need. I identified my job through unfavorable incidents in my environment. If I identified my profession according to my individual needs, it would be selfish. When I look around me, I see that bad events have been happening. At first, I wanted to be a Turkish teacher. In time, when I saw the events and people around me, I changed my mind and decided to attend law faculty since our people need a lawyer. Besides, I want

to help my mother. She is too tired as she has confronted difficulties for us. At least, I do not want to make her efforts to down the drain. I want to provide her happiness and serenity in her last days.

Along with economic factors, there are cultural and social factors push girls to further their education in both cities. Most of the interviewed girls' families give limited rights to their girls due to patriarchal values reflecting traditional gender roles (Akşit et al., 2001; Smiths and Gündüz Hoşgör, 2006; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007). Most of them are not allowed to participate in social life. These girls have constricted life among their home, school and their relatives' houses. Some luckier girls can attend free activities such as language, computer and theater courses. This tendency is more widespread among girls in Diyarbakır compared to İzmir. Still, there is a big familial and societal pressure on girls that constrict them into their homes; which in turn keep them away from the activities that they want to attend.

Özge tells her expectations from education as:

In this country, women are harshly crushed. If we did not have education, even if we had jobs, they would think that women are ignorant. Men always try to make use of women. I can observe this situation in my real life. I want to have education to be respected by people.

Still, there are some boys who attach importance to high school. However, the number of boys who have expectations from high school is more in Diyarbakır than İzmir. The factors led boys to attend high school differ according to various groups of boys. First group of boys believe in that it will be easier to find jobs with high school diploma. Second group of boys attend high school due to family pressure. Murat from İzmir explains his expectations from high school and his reasons make him to go to high school as follows:

My parents pushed me to go to high school to get a high school diploma. Now, I am in regular high school, but I will enroll in

vocational high school next year. I do not want to go to university. Someone who graduates from vocational high school has higher possibility of finding jobs. This fact is repeated also by my teachers and counseling in my school. Besides higher possibility of finding jobs, I prefer to go to high school for my future. There are some of my friends who dropped out school after attending school for two or three months although their families push them to go to high school. They prefer to work. They do not like going to school; and they do not have any desire for education.

Gökhan from Diyarbakır explains his reasons for going to high school as:

I do not go to school only to obtain a profession just like everybody. I do attend school to learn something and to be informed instead of being illiterate. For sure, today obtaining a profession is very important. However, my biggest aim for going to school is still to be deeply read person.

The two answers, one from İzmir and another from Diyarbakır, indicate the difference between the ideals of students in two different cities. Boys in İzmir have more practical aims for furthering their education just like survival. On the other hand, students in Diyarbakır have more idealistic stance instead of just being pragmatist. They are inclined to gain moral force as a strategy to defend their people's rights.

Third group of boys further their education just because their peer group attend school. Moreover, going to school is a way to get away from troubles at their homes for some students. Barış explains that:

I go to school not to be at home. In the situation of being at home, there is always a brawl for some reasons. School is a way to escape from home for me. I also want to come to school at Saturdays and Sundays at some days. School is comfortable. High school is great. I can keep coming to school more than five years. Sometimes, I come to school at the weekends due to the possibility of meeting someone. I sometimes want to sleep at school.

Fourth group of boys have education to obtain respected and qualified jobs.

Baran replied to the question asking his expectations from high school as:

I want to have a profession considering my desires. I have been selling stuffed mussels since I was a child as I have to do it. The working conditions are really hard. Although a man sends you away, you have to keep on going to same place again to earn your living. It creates resentment. He warns you not to come, but you go again. I am not a cheeky person. However, I have to go. The problem is not about money. Therefore, I said to myself that I would work since I got into university; after all I will have a desired profession at least.

Expectations from high school are more related to societal responsibility among the boys in Diyarbakır compared to the boys in İzmir just like girls in Diyarbakır. Students in Diyarbakır want to contribute to their people through education. There are two factors behind this significant difference. First, the practice of internal displacement is transferred to these students by their families in Diyarbakır. Therefore, they are more aware of their past; and hence they have a strong feeling of injustice. The feeling of injustice mobilizes these students to further their education related to the problems of their society. Second, Diyarbakır is the center for Kurdish people; and it has a vivid political environment. These students are in the middle of political discussions at any time in this city. This political environment has a strong impact on students in terms of determining their expectation from education. Selçuk from Diyarbakır tells his expectations from high school and the reasons for furthering his education as:

When I observe my environment, there is again something about Kurdishness. When I analyze our people... For instance, the people carrying tons of coal, but they can bring 3-4 TL to their home at the end of the day. Their family drama is different. People doing this type of jobs in İstanbul are again our people. When you consider, you see the same thing all the time. Why do not our people have education? This consciousness should be settled among our people. I have many friends who dropped out school. They are drug addicts on streets now. They have all pain and drama. These are hurtful

facts. I believe in that I can break this chain through education. I am a volunteer teacher in Academy of Informatics (Bilişim Akademisi). They are again all our people. There is a big difference among regions when it is compared to western Turkey. The difference should be made up. I do struggle as far as I can do although it is such little.

A group of male students, generally in İzmir, do not have any expectations from high school anymore. Although they started high school with big expectations, they have lost their expectations in time. They indicate the reason behind this fact as low level of education that they have to take in their schools. These students indicate that they realized that it is not possible to use education as a tool to make their previous aims true. Realizing that education would not carry them to the places where they expect when they first started high school has led to a feeling among them. This feeling implies that going to high school or university instead of working is a time loss since it ends up with being late to start in life. Hasan attending vocational high school in İzmir explains this situation as:

When I started school, I aimed to obtain a profession. However, it seems that it will not happen. I still do not know even repairing. My expectation was to obtain a good profession, but I do not have any expectations any more. I want to learn something and graduate. I do not have any other expectations.

Ahmet from the focus group interview conducted in İzmir replied one of his friends who indicated that he wanted to attend university after high school to have a qualified profession as follows:

Everybody wants to get into university; and further his education. However, even university graduates are unemployed today. You say that you want to graduate from university and do your best. However, after graduating from university, your age will proceed, you will be more than twenty years old and you will be adult. You won't have any occupation; you will have nothing. What will you do? How will you support yourself? Your family will not look after you any longer. You will be in charge of military service.

In terms of educational expectations, although it is not possible to make generalizations, it is possible to understand some trends related to gender and city differences. Regarding gender differences, girls have more value on education compared to boys due to their constricted life related to economic, social and cultural factors. With regard to regional difference, students have strong societal educational expectations in Diyarbakır in contrast to the ones having individualistic educational expectations in İzmir.

These interviewed students have different experiences concerning their families' support to their education. Next, familial support to students' education process will be presented.

3.4.2.3 Familial Support to Education Process

All of the interviewed students are enrolled in high schools. However, it does not mean that all of them are supported completely by their families in their education process due to financial hardship and students' gender. Some interviewed students, especially boys, have to work to save money for their educational expenses. Some other interviewed students, particularly girls, were enrolled in schools after their struggle to receive education. Still, there is a plenty of families, more than expected, who push their children to have education. The increasing trend of familial support to displaced children's education was also indicated by other research (Başak Culture and Art Foundation, 2004; Yüksekler, 2006b). The reason of this situation is related to their deprivation, which has turned into chronic poverty after internal displacement (Barut, 2002; Erdoğan, 2002; Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2008). These families are generally aware that they do not have necessary education level and skills to engage in a job with higher and regular income in urban life since they supported themselves with agriculture and stockbreeding in their villages. Therefore, they support their children in terms of education to prevent the transmission of economic hardship practiced by themselves. Moreover, they

started to get aware of the future benefits of investing in education, particularly through spending considerable time in urban areas.

Bariş explains the attitudes of families towards education as:

Among people coming from Eastern part of Turkey, there is a pressure of families on their children to attend high school or university since they could not have education. They do everything for our education. For instance, my father sells bagel without considering summer or winter to send me to school and private training center just as not to experience what my family has experienced. Therefore, they have an effort to send us to school.

In Diyarbakır, Selçuk replies to the question concerning his familial support for his education as:

They always give me examples about the situations of people who do not have education. They support me to have education not to become like uneducated people.

When he was asked about the situations of uneducated people, he answered as:

They carry coal. There aren't any other possible job opportunities that they can manage to do in Diyarbakır. There is no factory. They do same kinds of jobs such as portage.

However, these students' familial support for their education process cannot be generalized. There are some counter examples among interviewed students who had to struggle to further their education. Baran indicates that his family has never supported his education. On the contrary, his family attributes more economic value to him; and pushes him to work and earn money, which is in line with the theoretical chapter of this study (Gündüz - Hoşgör et al., 2005). He tells that:

Nobody from my family supports my desire to go to school. My age has also little impact on their stance. They say that it is too late to have education at my age. When I calculate my age, I will

graduate from university at least at the age of 26 or 27. Therefore, I will possibly have my profession at my thirty. However, I insisted on going to school and having a profession regarding what I want to do. I have been working since I was a child. When we first arrived to İzmir, I was selling bagels at winters, and I was selling mussel at summers including weekends. I stopped working at winters after seventh grade. I do work at summers since I do not want to work at winters. I earn good money from mussels at summers. I meet my educational expenses with the money I earn at summers.

These students are at high risk of dropping out school, which is also set forth by previous studies (Gündüz - Hoşgör and Bilgin, 2005; Gündüz - Hoşgör et al., 2005; Gündüz - Hoşgör, 2007). Their families start to put pressure on them to drop out school particularly when their children are not successful at school since they think that investing in education becomes a waste of family resources. However, girls are still more at risk of dropping out school compared to boys since families give their priority to their sons in terms of education due to the traditional division of labor related to gender roles (Smiths and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2006). According to traditional patriarchal values, while boys coded as “breadwinners” are always responsible from looking after their families, girls coded as the ones who are responsible from domestic labor are on the course of marriage and participating in another family.

Gül tells her parents’ attitude towards her education as:

My parents’ thoughts on girls’ education have changed. However, previously what they thought was that girls are not sent to school. They had no reason for sending their daughters to school. Their attitude was not same for boys. For instance, they sent my older brother to school, but he did not want to go. We were dying for going to school, but they did not send us to school. We worked after elementary school. They did not allow us to have education due to both economic limitation and their prejudices on girls’ education.

One day, while I was talking to my friends, I discovered that there was a possibility of distant learning. When I was seventeen years

old, I applied to secondary school on my own. At first, I did not tell anything to my parents. After one year, I realized that my grades were good. I was studying at home. In fact, my mother knew that I was enrolled in distant learning, but she did not show any interest. I was always reading book, so they did not realize a significant difference. They did not support me until third year since they believed in that I could not manage to study. My father's sister completed high school; and got into Çukurova University at the department of law. In fact, her achievement had an impact on my parents. They started to think that our daughter could also be successful if a girl from our family could do it. Therefore, they are supporting my education now.

Supporting the claims of interviewed girls, there are two crucial points for girls to further their education. First, an academic achievement of a family member, particularly a girl's or woman's achievement, convinces families about the possibility of girls' achievement. When they witness an achievement story next to them, they can overcome their prejudices easier. Second, being successful at school is another important factor which increases the possibility of attending school for girls. In the case of failure at school, this situation is assessed as a waste of limited family resources. Therefore, families start to make pressures on girls to stop going to school.

Ayşe tells that:

My father was supporting my education at first. However, when I failed the class, he started to think that there is no hope for me. My father believes in that I cannot be successful. He forces me to work. He says that I cannot have a profession. I still go to school thanks to my mother. She wants me to further my education since she wishes that I would not be like her.

As understood, there is not a general trend among students concerning their familial support to their education. There is considerable number of girls who indicate that particularly their mothers do their best for their daughters' education to break the cycle of dependency on their male counterparts. These mothers perceive education as the only way for their daughters' independency

since they have a harsh life span including economic dependency, psychological and physical violence exposed by their husbands.

To sum up, the issue of familial support to education is more complex than expected. The attitudes of families concerning education vary not only between two different genders but also among same gender. There are some reasons behind these variations. First, the families who are more integrated into urban life has become aware of the significance of education to obtain a qualified job; and hence to get rid of poverty. However, since the traditional gender roles are still prevalent among some families, a priority is given to boys in education. On the other hand, some families are still not aware of the importance of education in post-industrial economy; and hence expect their sons to work and contribute to household budget at present. Second, mothers who have higher level of awareness on gender equality and who are more open to urban life have realized that education is their daughters' only way to get their independence and not to experience same kind of difficulties that they have been experiencing.

Although these students have different expectations from education, they have to obtain a high academic achievement level to make their expectations true. Therefore, the obstacles in front of these students' academic achievement will be discussed next.

3.4.2.4 Barriers to Academic Achievement

There are two major perspectives at identifying the barriers to students' educational achievement. The first perspective argues that the main factor behind low educational achievement is family background (Coleman et al., 1966; Peaker, 1971; Jencks et al., 1972; Rothsein, 2004; Berliner, 2007). On the other hand, the counter-argument claims that the key factor behind educational achievement is in-school factors (Heyneman, 1976; Heyneman and

Loxley, 1976). Although both perspectives identify significant drivers behind academic achievement level, many studies set forth that family background has a greater impact on achievement level of students (Mulkey, 1993; Ballantine, 2001; Buchmann and Hannum, 2001; Kayaalp, 2002; Kirdar, 2007; Akar, 2009; Dinçer and Kolaşın, 2009; Portes and MacLeod, 2009). This study also argues that socioeconomic status of families is the most important factor behind student's achievement level. Therefore, first, the relationship between the socio-economic background of students and their academic achievement level will be analyzed.

Socioeconomic Status of Families

Households with low income have to minimize their resources for the educational expenses of their children (Kayaalp, 2002; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007). Since most of these families are caught up with chronic poverty after internal displacement, these children have to further their education with limited resources. Educational expenses are extra burden for those internally displaced families. Many of these students in both İzmir and Diyarbakır face economic constraints during their education.

Derya tells her expenses for school as:

Especially at the beginning of school, I need money for pencils and notebooks. Later, school administration asks for contribution money (*aidat parası*) for the needs of school such as central heating system. They put pressure on the ones who do not give contribution money. I remember that I was sent to home several times by reason of not being able to give the money for central heating system. They take you out of class and ask for money. I was also sent to home at elementary school. When I registered to high school, they want 40 TL registration fee from me. I asked the reason of intended money. They replied that the money was for whitewash of the school, cleaning of restrooms and caretakers. They sent me to home last year, but I do not know if they will send

me to home again on the ground of not giving the money they asked for.

Ayşe tells her financial problems about school as:

My biggest problem in my daily life is lack of money. My mother does not give any money related to my school expenses. I need money for school uniforms, working papers and internet cafes for my homework. When I do not have money, I get working papers from my friends and write them down. When I need internet, I go to my neighbor's home. My school uniforms are from first grade at secondary school. In fact, teachers get angry for wearing different school uniform, but I wear. When I tell my situation, they help me. For instance, they give me school uniforms.

Families' limited resources hinder students' access to required educational items and services (Ballentine, 2001; Kayaalp, 2002; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007). Parallely, these students are deprived of extra books, learning equipments, computer, internet connection, private training center (*dershane*) and even pocket money for school, which in turn decrease their academic achievement.

Keeping in mind that use of technology is a significant factor in post-industrial societies to have a qualified job (Esping-Andersen, 2000); most of the interviewed students do not have computer and internet access at their home. Still, students in İzmir are more advantageous in terms of use of technology. In Diyarbakır, 15 out of 20 students do not have computers. Moreover, only 2 out of 5 computer owners have internet access. On the other hand, in İzmir, while 10 students have computers, other 10 students do not have computers. Only 5 of 10 computer owners have internet access.

Cem tells the impact of economic limitations on his education as follows:

I failed at first grade at high school due to both monetary impossibilities and familial problems. My uncle sent me to private training center (*dershane*) at first grade since I had difficulties at lessons. Our economic situation is very bad. This year, I did not

want to go to private training center not to be an extra burden on my family. However, I am going to take Student Selection Examination (ÖSS) this year; and I have to attend university. Sometimes, you have to be prepared to sacrifice from something. Therefore, I go to private training center.

Many academic studies claim that socioeconomic background of families has a significant impact on achievement level at math and geometry courses (Buchmann and Hannum, 2001). Supporting this idea, most of the interviewed students indicated that they have problems at math and geometry courses in both İzmir and Diyarbakır.

While wealthier families are able to send their children to more qualified schools (Mulkey, 1993; Ballantine, 2001; Kayaalp, 2002), these families with limited economic resources have to send their children to unqualified schools. Interviewed students have weak academic background since they cannot have qualified education in elementary school. This situation ends up with perpetuating their weak academic success in high school.

Although interviewed students are enrolled in school, their siblings sometimes dropped out school. There are various factors behind this fact including financial limitation of these families, low parental education level, unqualified parental occupation and being from crowded household. These factors are all in parallel with previous research (Gündüz - Hoşgör and Bilgin, 2005; Gündüz - Hoşgör, 2007). Interviewed students in both İzmir and Diyarbakır indicate that some of their siblings dropped out school to work on the ground of contributing family budget. The ones who dropped out are generally older siblings. Thanks to their contribution to family budget, younger siblings are luckier to further their education. Another significant point indicated by some students is that one is not forced to go to school in their family, if he/she does not desire to have education. If someone does not care school, instead of

investing in education for nothing; their families push their sons to work and their girls to marry.

Interviewed children's parents have low education level and they have unskilled occupations. Therefore, parents are unable to guide education process of their children, which in turn has a negative impact on academic achievement of their children. Parents who have low education level are generally not able to make economic, social and cultural investment in their children's education (Useem, 1992; Portes and MacLeod, 1996; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007; Dinçer and Kolaşın, 2009). Moreover, parents in manual occupations are not aware enough of the significance of education; and hence they are reluctant to invest in their children's education (Smits and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2006; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007). Accordingly, interviewed students' parents generally push them to work at their small age to contribute to family budget. These children are at high risk of inheriting their families' occupations since they involve in jobs done by their family members when they are at school age.

Sevgi explains the factors led his brother to drop out school as:

My brother dropped out school. There is no pressure on children for education in my family. The one who is ambitious at having education goes to school. However, the one who does not have desire for education does not go to school. My father thinks that the one whose grades are good can go to school. He claims that if one did not care about school, why he/she should attend school for no reason? Instead of it, he should help him at work. In fact, my brother was willing to go to high school. At that time, my father owned a greengrocer. My brother was going to his greengrocery after school. After eighth grade, he decided not to go to school. He worked at greengrocery to help my father. I think if that greengrocery did not exist, he would continue his education.

Interviewed students generally think that their families do not attribute psychological value (Gündüz-Hoşgör et al., 2005) to them. They think that their families do not have interest for their children including their education.

A considerable part of the students indicate that their families do not even attend parents' meeting at school in both Diyarbakır and İzmir. Moreover, being from overcrowded families is another disadvantageous position for these children since this situation leads to families' lack of attention to interviewed students. This phenomenon is explained by "resource dilution hypothesis" which implies that material resources and parental attention are restricted with additional children that leads to lower achievement level of children (Ballentine, 2001; Buchmann and Hannum, 2001; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007).

Barış and Ahmet in the focus group interview tell the irrelevance of their families towards them as:

A child is not valuable when there are a lot of children. For instance, if you have nine children, then they will not be valuable. However, if you have one, you have only eyes for him/her. Children are left unattended.

They give birth to children and then they leave them out to streets. None of our families visit school to ask after us. They also probably think that there can't be any reason to come since our school is in Alsancak which is a classy area in İzmir.

Derya tells her parents' unconcern as:

Our economic situation was not good after we fled our village; even six years had passed from our internal displacement. I remember that we did not have regular pocket money for school. We were six siblings. My mother could not meet the demands of any us. She did not ask about our problems any day. I excuse her. My father has already slurred over us since we are girls. He did not care about his family. There was nobody who guides us.

Keeping in mind that these children are from crowded families with limited economic, social and cultural capital; interviewed students made a success of going to high school. In the situation of being from an overcrowded household with limited capital, while some siblings can go to school, some others may

not. Younger siblings are luckier in terms of attending school since older ones generally contribute to house through working. In some situations, younger siblings can go to school thanks to their older siblings' contribution to household budget.

Gül from Diyarbakır is at first grade at distant training high school although she is 20 years old. She explains that she faced many obstacles to go to school. First, her family was in an economic hardship after internal displacement, so she had to work. Second, her family had prejudices about girls' education. However, she emphasizes that her parents' thought on girls' education have changed. She also highlights that her younger sisters were able to go to school thanks to her and her sister's working practice. In other words, she had to sacrifice from her education right as an older sibling. She tells her experience as:

We had to work in the past. At that period, my younger sister could go to school since I and my bigger sister were working and contributing to household income. In a sense, I and my older sister enable her to attend school. We made not only her but also my other two siblings' education possible. Although I did not send them to school directly, they had the opportunity to go to school since I was contributing to home.

Furthermore, these students' weak academic level sometimes stems from the fact that some students have language problem when they start school (Barut, 2002; Kirdar, 2007; Akar, 2009). When some interviewed students started school, they did not know Turkish or had little Turkish since their mother language is Kurdish. This language problem, a barrier to understand the lessons told in schools, led to weak academic background for some students. Some of the students indicate that they have still problems at Turkish language classes.

Ender from Diyarbakır tells his language problem at elementary school as:

Our mother language is Kurdish. We were speaking Kurdish. Before starting elementary school, I did not know any Turkish. Then I started school at ten years old according to my age on identity card. When I started school, speaking Turkish was very difficult for me. I had many difficulties due to language problem. Teachers' attitudes towards us were like reprehension. We did not know how to say "teacher" when we went to the blackboard. We learnt spelling and words, but I was not able to understand the things that the teacher was telling in class. I was like in an imagination world. Sounds made me feel that I was in an imagination world.

Nejla from İzmir tells that she did not know fluent Turkish when she started school at first. She explains that:

When I started school, I knew a little Turkish. I had language problem at school. I sometimes did not understand the things said by teachers. I did not know what they were talking about. The things they told sounded me unfamiliar. I started to understand in time. Teacher was aware that I and some of my friends did not understand Turkish. She was helping to us who did not know Turkish.

Baran from İzmir tells his situation related to his language problem concerning his education and everyday life as:

I did not know any Turkish when we arrived to İzmir and when I started first grade. People in there (village) do not know Turkish easily. In village, people who know read-write were considered as very sophisticated people. When I started school, it was very hard. It was like learning English such as saying "hello". I and my brother knew only "nasılsın, iyi misin?" (How are you, are you well?) in Turkish. We did not know any Turkish. At high school, arguments are sometimes broken out in my class. When I tell that I grew up with Kurdish, Kurdish was spoken as mother language in our home and my native language is Kurdish; they say that there is no language named Kurdish, but there is Turkish language. I think the language which learnt at first is one's native language. Whenever I say something about my native language, they pretend like I am decrying Turkish. When I speak with someone, I prefer Kurdish since I have easier communication and I can express myself better in Kurdish. But someone stands out and says there is

nothing as Kurdish. He/she humiliates it. Willingly or unwillingly, it is a value for you that you have used it for years. When she/he decries it, you are offended. This time, you solidify in opposition. Although there is no opposition for me, something like opposition emerges.

I learnt Turkish easily. It is not a very difficult language. My mother still does not know Turkish. We speak Kurdish at home because of my mother. I have still difficulties while speaking in Turkish since there are a lot of words that I do not know their meaning in Turkish. I do not know some of the Kurdish words' Turkish meaning easily. I am hard pressed too much. However, I am in a good position compared to others. There are many people worse than me. I learnt Turkish through going to school.

Another significant factor behind students' low academic achievement level is their living conditions (Development Center, 2006). Interviewed displaced students live in small houses with overcrowded population. Moreover, the houses where they live have weak infrastructure. Therefore, there is also a heating problem at winters for these students.

Most of the students, especially girls, indicate that they cannot find empty place in their homes to study. Even if they find somewhere to study, they state that it is cold in winter. To sum up, the homes where they live hinder them to concentrate on their academic workload. Sevgi tells her lack of place for studying as:

Our home belongs to us. However, it is hard to say that it is a home. It is too small. I do not have any place to study. I have trouble with this home. When I go to back rooms, it is freezing. When I go to front room, my brothers and sisters are always there. I do not know how I spent this year. When I was in secondary school, my grades were good even though I was working in crowded room. However, I need a silent place at high school since there is too much memorizing. I have difficulties to study in my home since I do not have a silent place.

In fact, Sevgi's comment also puts emphasis on Turkish educational system. As she mentioned, many courses are required to memorize. Unfortunately, the educational system in Turkey is based on the tradition of memorization (Köymen, 1992; Mclsaac, 1992; Bayram and Seels, 1997). The memorization-based characteristic of education system should be also responsible from poor academic performance among students in Turkey (Köymen, 1992).

To sum up, familial background of students such as family income, parental education, occupational status of parents, number of siblings, household conditions and native language of families are all significant factors at determining students' achievement level. In fact, still related to socio-economic status of the families, child labor is another factor led to low academic achievement level among students.

Child Labor

While interviewed working girls are occupied as cleaner, sales person and worker in textile; boys are employed as hairdresser, builder, repairer, agricultural worker, pedlar, greengrocer and waiter. There is a negative relationship between students' working practice and their achievement level (Akşit et al., 2001; Dayıoğlu, 2005; Gündüz - Hoşgör and Bilgin, 2005; Smits and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2006; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007). Most of the interviewed students, particularly boys, are not opposed to working at childhood, and they think that working is a necessary practice to start in life. However, they also indicate that working has a negative impact on their achievement level at school. Since working results in fatigue, irregular attendance to classes, adaptation problems to school and being exposed to possible threats on streets such as drug addiction; working and attending school at the same time has a negative impact on these students' academic success.

Mehmet tells the effects of working on his education as:

There is a tea break at quarter past three in the place where I sell stuffed mussels. I went out from school at half past two. I have to get out from school fifteen minutes earlier to catch the bus since I have to go to home, butter up the mussels and carry them to bus stop. The bus arrives at thirty five past two o'clock. Therefore, I have to get out from school earlier to be at work place at quarter past three. My teacher sometimes allows me go earlier; but sometimes she does not. When she does not allow me go out earlier, I have to run away. Therefore, I have absences at school... It is hard. You cannot study due to lack of time. I cannot study systematically like my friends although teachers advice us to study systematically. You cannot make plans. After coming from work, I sleep for one or two hours; then I study. I cannot study enough... I wake up early in the mornings. If I have time after preparing mussels in the morning, I look over the lessons according to my schedule for that school day.

Many interviewed students families' are not able to meet educational expenses of their children. Therefore, some displaced students attend school by their own efforts through working. Interviewed children work in hairdresser, repairer, constructions, textile workshops, stationary shop, shoemaker, cafes, fields; and they sell small items such as stuffed mussels and bagels. A girl from Diyarbakır works as a cleaner in homes.

After these children generally save money for their basic educational expenses like bus fee, school uniform and pocket money for school; they give the rest of their money to their families, especially to their mothers, for the needs of their households which is in line with previous research concerning child labor (Kahveci et al. 1996; Akşit et al., 2001; Gündüz - Hoşgör and Bilgin, 2005; Gündüz -Hoşgör et al., 2005; Dikici - Bilgin, 2006; Gün, 2010).

Niyazi thinks that working has a positive effect on his education. He explains his thought as:

I think working is a very good practice related to education process. It has a positive impact on my education since I can meet my educational needs.

However, although most of the students are able to go to school by creating their own financial resources; interviewed students' academic achievement level is not promising. Therefore, interviewed working children are farther from attending qualified schools due to the negative impact of working on education.

Another depressing aspect of these displaced children's working practice is that they do not involve in skill-investing jobs (Gündüz-Hoşgör and Dikici; 2005; Dikici-Bilgin, 2006; Erder, 2010). The jobs in which they involve reduce their chances to achieve social upward mobility due to the unskilled nature of their works.

As mentioned in the theoretical chapter of this study (Akşit et al., 2001; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007), boys generally form most of the working children among interviewed students. Girls are generally not allowed to work in an unknown place particularly after puberty. In this respect, girls are luckier than boys on the ground of not being affected by the negative effects of working on schooling. Still, girls are at risk of working due to economic hardship of their families. Some girls among interviewed students already work at summers to save money for their school expenses. Gökçe tells her working experience as:

I was working as porter all of the days in a week. Then, I started to work only at summers in a shoe seller and clothing shop. This year, I did not work at summer. This summer, I was a volunteer instructor and I wrote projects in Local Agenda 21. I only worked near to bairam in a shoe seller that I worked before to meet my educational expenses. I think nobody should work when he/she is a child. Instead of working, a child should focus on her/his lessons. Every child wants to have a rest at summer holidays. I started to work due to economic problems of my family. My family did not force me to work, but I knew their situation, what else I could do

except working? There is nothing to do. After buying school items, I was giving the rest of the money to my family.

Sevda tells the positive and negative effects of working on education as:

I think one who works is more successful since you can be aware of the difficulties of life. When you work under the heel of someone all the time, you get more ambitious not to work under the heel of someone anymore. To reverse your fate, you set a target to have education.

However, there are also negative effects of working on education. Some of my friends both work and go to school. They become exhausted when they return from work; and they do not have any energy to study. They get bad grades from exams.

Moreover, interviewed girls have to involve in domestic labor which is in line with previous studies (Gündüz - Hoşgör and Bilgin, 2005; Smits and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2006; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007). Interviewed girls indicate that they help their mothers at house chores, looking after their sisters and serving to guests. Domestic labor makes some female students unable to study at home, and it also creates adaptation problems at school; which in turn decrease their academic achievement.

Nejla tells her duty for house chores and its effects on school as:

I failed at ninth grade. Ninth grade was difficult for me. Besides, family environment was not available for studying. Our home is very crowded. It is hard to study at home. Last year, at first period of school, my aunt gave birth and she stayed in our house. Therefore, the guests were coming all the time. It was at the same period with my exam dates. I could not study. At second period of school, my father was caught pneumonia. He stayed at hospital for a month. The guests started to come again. It was once more during my exam dates. There wasn't any room at my house for studying. Moreover, I generally do the house chores. If a guest comes one night, I have to deal with guests even though the next day I have a math exam.

Nazlı who had to drop out school for one year to look after her mother tells that:

I had a break for one year after secondary school, and then I started high school. My mother was sick after secondary school, she had an operation. She was living in our village. You know village work. The work related to village life is hard. Since she had an operation, she could not do hard work. She wanted me to help her. I went to our village to help my mother for one year. However, I went there on the condition that I would attend school after one year.

Some other interviewed students have to interrupt school due to the financial problems of their families. These students work during this period. When the economic situation of a family gets a little better, they start going to school again. This process creates adaptation problems in their education life; and hence has a negative impact on students' academic aspirations and achievement level.

Fatih tells that he had to stop going to school for one year due to the economic problems of his family. He states that:

I stopped going to school after secondary school for one year. We had to work after internal displacement. I first started to work when I was fifteen or sixteen years old. I have been working at constructing barriers near roads at summers. I had to drop out school to work for one year. When we work at constructing barriers, I work all the days almost ten or twelve hours in a day. If I had a chance, I would prefer just going to school. To what end does working and working go? We suffer a lot.

Gökçe tells the impacts of working on education as:

Working has a big impact on education. I both worked and went to school in the past. It was very hard. For instance, I go to school at the mornings and come to home at noon now. I have a rest for one or two hours, I eat lunch, I let myself go, I sleep; and then I focus on my lessons efficiently and I feel that I am successful. However, when I was working after school, mental fatigue with physical fatigue is very different. I could never study. I did not have any

energy to open the pages of a book. I was sleeping without eating anything after work.

Even though some of the students do not work now, their previous working experience at their childhood has long-term effects. Students with low academic background have difficulties at improving their weak lessons at present. Moreover, students having low academic achievement level can only attend unqualified schools since qualified schools condition high academic success for registration (Dinçer and Kolaşın, 2009).

To sum up, “outside school factors” (Berliner, 2007) related to familial background are significant factors at determining students’ educational achievement. This study claims that, in light of the findings of the research, the most important factor behind academic achievement level is socioeconomic status (SES) of families. Still, “inside school factors” (Berliner, 2007) have also impact on student’s achievement level. Therefore, the impact of inside school factors on students’ achievement level will be discussed following.

School Effects

Interviewed internally displaced students have limited economic opportunities; and hence they have to enroll in financially less-supported public schools in their neighborhoods (Akar, 2009). Moreover, since these students generally have weak academic background, they cannot participate in better qualified public schools such as Anatolian High Schools. Supporting this claim, there are only two internally displaced female students and one forced migrant male student from Diyarbakır going to Anatolian High Schools among forty two interviewed students.

Some of the “inside school factors” can be listed as qualifications of teachers, teacher-student ratio, physical infrastructure of a school, distribution of free

books, revision of curriculum and improved school activities (Berliner, 2007). Most common problems related to school-factors indicated by the students are unqualified teachers; discipline at schools; overcrowded classes; money demanded by school administrations; inability to concentrate on lessons due to disorderliness at class; unqualified, inadequate or lack of education-related equipment; limited social activities; and lack of hygiene in both Diyarbakır and İzmir. These factors generally overlap, which in turn pose an obstacle for students to be successful and achieve social upward mobility.

With regard to qualifications of teachers, a considerable amount of the interviewed students indicate that their teachers are not good at teaching. Furthermore, most of the teachers cannot take control of class. Lack of qualified teachers and the disorderliness in class (Mulkey, 1993; Ballantine, 2001) create a problem for some interviewed students who are willing to benefit from the lectures. Another problem related to teachers is their prejudices towards students; which in turn leads to a loss of motivation among students. In fact, students' perception of prejudices has negative impact on their achievement level (Mulkey, 1993; Ballantine, 2001).

Hakan who first fled to Germany as a refugee; and then deported by German government on the ground of improvement of human rights in Turkey tells his problems about school as:

I do not like teachers. I cannot say that they are teachers. They attribute more value to science students. At the beginning of the school, gym teacher gave a lecture at traffic lesson. He warned us to take the lesson seriously. What he said was that he gave bad marks even to science students. What price if they are science students. I was offended. Teachers cannot manage to communicate with students. Mellifluous is a need for good communication. They are a little strict. Some of them threaten at first, but then they ignore. We are fifty students at class, what can be expected? Without any doubt, one of the students speaks. It creates problem since we are processing at lessons slowly. There are some students

who do not listen the teacher or some students both do not listen the teachers and disturb us. Teachers are mentally depressed. They are also fed up with students. However, there are some teachers who are good at lecturing and who can keep the noisy class quiet. Hygiene is another problem at school. In fact, it was same in İstanbul and Ankara; not only in Diyarbakır. I was going to school in Germany, the school was clean. Even if students are not clean, the staff was cleaning schools. Don't we say that we are Muslims; cleanliness is next to the godliness.

However, some of the students in Diyarbakır states that their teachers have additional effort at lectures to render them more successful regardless of their teachers' qualifications. This fact is again related to the political environment of the region. Some teachers, particularly who are also from the same region, have an extra effort to develop the capacities of the children and to motivate them to further their education on the ground of using education as a strategy to struggle with poverty and to defend their rights. Still, students generally think that individual effort is not enough to catch up with the students at private and Anatolian high schools. A considerable number of the students make an emphasis on inequality in education. Some students think that the problem of educational inequality is related to state policy; and this problem is a structural problem.

Derya from Diyarbakır tells her problems related to her school as:

Our education level is very low compared to private and Anatolian high schools. We are sixty five students in class. No importance to education is attached at regular high schools. Even if a student has three failed lessons, teachers make him/her pass the class. For this reason, lazy students speak at classes, which in turn disturb prudent students. It is crowded. We are sitting four students in a desk. If a class is 80 minutes, half of it is wasted due to noise even if teachers do their best. However, we are three students in a desk since some students do not attend classes.

Teachers do their best. They know education in Southeastern Turkey. They advise us to further our education. If needed, they give us supplementary lessons. They tell us that we should consult

them in the situation of having questions related to lessons. Teachers take care of us. However, state does not take care of us. It would be better if state established more schools in southeastern Turkey. The biggest problem is lack of schools now. I am enrolled in the most crowded school in Diyarbakır, Birlik High School in Bağlar.

All students sometimes have problems with school administrators. They give warning to our school uniforms. They sometimes get angry when we do not sing the Turkish National Anthem. They yell as louts, idiots...why don't you sing? There is trouble due to headscarf and fights in school. There is no ground for discussion in school; you even do not have a right for discussion in school. In one way, they do not want us to tell our ideas since they also know that it is forbidden. We are young, so we want to tell our ideas. We do not want to be quiet. They prefer to keep silent due to their occupations. They force us not to express our ideas. For instance, they enforced us to attend 29th of October ceremony. All students get bored during these kinds of ceremonies. We do not want to attend since you have to stand long hours with holding a flag in your hand. They impose obligation. They count one as absent who do not attend. Moreover, they bring the ones out of class to account for not participating in ceremony.

Some part of the students, especially in Diyarbakır, thinks that the reason of their weak lessons is themselves as they consider that their teachers do their best. In other words, they “internalize” the problems related to their weak lessons (Mulkey, 1993; Ballentine, 2001). Niyazi stopped going to school for two years after their village was burnt down due to his psychological problems. He tells that he has trouble with math courses, and then he explains its reason as:

I am unable to understand math. It is a little bit difficult. I do not have problems with my teachers. They are very good at lecturing. I cannot even devote myself to lesson; I cannot understand.

However, there are also other students indicating that they are unsuccessful at some lessons due to their unqualified teachers. Sevda tells that:

I have trouble with math and geometry lessons. For instance, I had a teacher at eight grade. I could never manage to overcome math classes. However, when he started to give lecture on math, I started to like math lessons. As soon as I came to home from school, I immediately started to solve problems. Whenever you find the answers, it is very fun. When I could solve math and geometry questions, I feel on the top of the world. I think the problem stems from the teachers. For instance, our teacher at high school really desired success for us, but I think he cannot transfer his knowledge to us. When my friends tell, I understand; but when my teacher tells, I cannot. In fact, he did his best. However, when you do not understand, you take the fall.

Concerning teachers' prejudices towards students (Gillborn and Youdell, 2001), some interviewed students in Diyarbakır complain about the teachers coming from western Turkey. They think that these teachers have prejudices towards students in their region. Ender states that:

Our political vision is clear. However, they intentionally say the exact opposite... For instance, what a wife of a commissioned officer does is indicating that his husband is a commissioned officer. We already know everything. We know your ideas owing to your husband. Even if she knew, she brought up the subject. Students could not stand anymore since many of our teachers do the same thing. When students asked that whether she was here to lecture or to annoy us, what she said was "I let you arrested!"

With regard to the relationship between class size and achievement (Mulkey, 1993; Ballantine, 2001), the class sizes are considerably higher in Diyarbakır than İzmir. While the maximum class size indicated by a student from Diyarbakır is 65, it is 41 in İzmir. However, Anatolian High Schools have apparently less students in one class like 24 or 30 students for per class. There are direct effects of class size on student achievement. The most common problems concerning overcrowded class size are teacher's lack of attention to students and being unable to concentrate at lessons.

Kerem tells the negative consequences of crowded class as follows:

You cannot concentrate on a lesson due to noise in a crowded class. Moreover, there is no possibility to communicate with teachers when you have questions about lessons. Last year, when my class size was 40, I could never understand the lessons. Furthermore, I have a better communication with my teachers now since our class size is 26 now.

Nazlı explains that she is not able to understand lessons due to the number of students in her class. She tells that:

How can be a lecture given in such a crowded class? Any noise from each of us leads to noise in class. I cannot understand anything. For instance, if the class size was smaller, teachers would pay attention to each of us. We can understand better.

Discipline at school is another in-school factor related to students' achievement level (Kayaalp, 2002). A considerable number of students in Diyarbakır emphasizes that there is too much school discipline put by school management. Fatih states that the school discipline is just like the discipline in Guatemala. This discipline is on both dressing and the topics related to their ethnicity. Some students complain about teachers' reactions when they speak Kurdish.

Although İzmir takes part in a developed region of Turkey, students have almost similar complaints about the problems related to their schools in İzmir. This fact stems from the fact that forced migrants and new comers generally reside in peripheral neighborhoods of İzmir (Akar, 2009). In these neighborhoods, government investment including educational investment is lower than wealthier neighborhoods of the city. Therefore, they face similar problems about their schools like unqualified teachers, disorderliness in class, lack of individual attention, lack of educational equipments, low academic achievement level and still crowded classes compared to the other schools in İzmir.

Baran from İzmir tells his problems related to his school as:

In my class, some students even do not know four operation. There are some who do not know easier subjects. Teachers are not well-qualified. They lack knowledge or they cannot manage to tell what they know. I know there are some informed teachers, but they cannot transfer their knowledge to students. Some other teachers are not well informed, but they can transfer the things they know to students. There are both kinds of teachers in our school. Another problem is that teachers are not able to handle the class. In other words, they cannot make students listen the lesson. In our class, it is hardly managed to make us listen the lesson. In other classes, there is no lesson. It was same in elementary school. For instance, we had an English teacher. The first day, her lecture was very good. Then, she lost the control of class. Afterwards, she could never give lecture. At eighth grade, we didn't learn anything from English course. In exam, she was writing the questions and their answers on the board; then we wrote them down. It is not education. We did not learn anything. However, she was a very qualified and well informed teacher. Unfortunately, she could not get control over the class. There are some other teachers, like our geography teacher, nobody can speak at lessons; but he does not lecture. He shoots the breeze. He tells his children. Moreover, there is a communication problem between students and teachers. They cannot understand each other. Neither can teachers understand students, nor can students understand teachers.

Hasan tells his problem related to school as:

Teachers says us “attend or not attend classes, it is your business, anyway it is not compulsory”. Their lecturing is not good. They are fed up with students. They do not attend classes to lecture. They are not willing to tell lesson. They do not come for instruction. They want to leave class as soon as it rings. I am not good with teachers. Damn them! They do ignore us. However, thank god, I am good with my friends. In fact, I am looking forward to going to school to see my friends.

In İzmir, there is an emphasis on teachers' disinterestedness towards students. However, as indicated above, some students in Diyarbakır state that some of their teachers have special concern for the students to increase their success and motivation.

Cem tells that his biggest dream which did not come true is attending a private school. He explains his feelings as:

I want to attend private schools since education is qualified in these schools. I had education in Kadifekale Elementary School since eighth grade. I did not get any academic background from that school. We did not have any teachers. I received a bad qualified education. Although we had teachers, they left us unattended. I can say that they did not give education at that school; and hence I did not receive any training from that school.

Students in both Diyarbakır and İzmir have a limited access to educational equipments; and lack adequate school activities. They cannot benefit from the opportunities which contribute to their academic success. In the schools which they attend, the supporting educational resources such as computer labs, science labs and libraries are not enough. Even if they have some of these possibilities, there are out of date materials such as books in their libraries; and inadequate technological equipment such as computers.

Mehmet tells about their possibilities in his school as:

There is not any opportunity in our school. We have almost no facilities to make an activity in our school garden. If I had an opportunity, I would contribute to my school in terms of technological equipment, sport areas, lectures... I wish students could have an access to educational needs. We lack the things I have mentioned. In gym lesson, a student brings ball from his/her home. She/he does not have a ball in school. We are not supported enough by Ministry of Education. We put goal posts by ourselves. Last year, we had volleyball posts. We were sometimes playing volleyball at breaks for fun. One of our previous school directors sold volleyball and goal posts. We went to waste collector and bought them back. He was a school director for three months in our school and he sold them when he was leaving our school. Now, he is a school director in another high school. We have a library, but it is inadequate. We have computers but the tools of computers are inadequate. Moreover, computer room is not open all the time for use. We do not have labs. We had a theatre group last year. Some teachers took responsibility of this theatre group. However, after

these teachers went to another school, new teachers do not take care about theatre activity.

Overall, inside school factors such as qualifications of teachers, teacher-student ratio, physical infrastructure of a school and improved school activities are also significant factors behind achievement level of students. However, besides familial background and school effects, there is another determinant factor at students' achievement level. Particularly in Diyarbakır, there are various kinds of support mechanisms to increase the achievement level of students. Following, these support mechanisms will be set forth.

Support Mechanisms Related to Education

Both group of students lack familial support for their lessons since their parents have low educational level (Portes and MacLeod, 1996; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2007; Dinçer and Kolaşın, 2009); and hence their families are unable to help them to deal with their lessons. These students sometimes get assistance from their older siblings if their brothers or sisters are still in education process and successful enough to help them. Some other students get institutional assistance for their lessons. Students in Diyarbakır have more access to many free of charge academic courses for students. In this respect, there is a huge difference between Diyarbakır and İzmir in terms of educational support mechanisms other than schools. While there a number of free of charge courses conducted by Non-Governmental Organizations and Municipality in Diyarbakır in order to support students' education process, there aren't any facilities in İzmir indicated by the interviewed students. There are only three students who are not forced migrants in İzmir indicated that they attend free theatre courses conducted by Kadifekale Community Center (Kadifekale Toplum Merkezi).

These free of charge courses related to education improve students' academic achievement level through supporting their lessons at which they have difficulties. The most common support mechanisms expressed by the interviewed students in Diyarbakır are Education Support Centers (Eğitim Destek Evleri). These centers are conducted by municipalities in Diyarbakır. The courses in these centers are at various areas like math and science. Sarmaşık (Sarmaşık Association for Struggle against Poverty and Sustainable Development) is one of the most mentioned association which gives various scholarship to students for educational expenses. Some students have also scholarship for private training centers. There are some other NGOs which give free courses concerning students' lessons that they have trouble at school or preparation to ÖSS. Some of the NGOs and institutions indicated by the students can be listed as the Association of Seyrantepe, Arjin Youth Center, EPİDEM (Kadın Eğitim ve Psikolojik Danışmanlık Merkezi) [Woman Education and Psychological Counselling Center] , Local Agenda 21 (Yerel Gündem 21), MED-DER (Mezepotamya Eğitim Derneği) [Mesopotamia Education Association] , Fatihpaşa Study Center and Library of Melik Ahmet.

Selçuk from Diyarbakır tells about his past experience in an institution as:

There are some teachers with who we are still in contact from Fatihpaşa Study Center. I and my older sisters got math and history courses from this center for one year. My sisters' achievement was higher than me as they were studying. This center created an opportunity for them to attend a private training center free of charge. Fatihpaşa Study Center assisted me particularly at secondary school. Now I do not prefer to take assistance. There are always accessible institutions to anybody who is willing to get assistance in Diyarbakır.

Still, female students are more ambitious than boys to get assistance in order to increase their academic achievement level. Interviewed girls are generally dedicated to change their fate through education. Besides courses' positive impact on students' academic success, they also enable female students to

involve in social life. Girls' parents generally only allow girls to participate in institutional activities. Moreover, staff in these institutions has also created a personal contact with these students' parents, and hence win the confidence of families. Still some parents are reluctant to let their girls involve in activities. For instance, Zehra living in Diyarbakır indicated that she is not allowed to go anywhere except school. Some female students expressed that they are not permitted to go out due to the possible rumors in their neighborhoods and their families' anxiety on the threats in the city such as kidnapping children, violence, drug usage and being disturbed by males on streets. Female students who are able to attend these courses get a chance to be in other places rather than their homes and schools. Some of the institutions also organize social activities such as picnics, sightseeing and theatre. Students in these institutions have a chance to meet their peer group and guiding people. Some people from these institutions support and encourage students for their academic studies, which in turn renders students more ambitious to increase their academic achievement. Therefore, students have access to not only institutional support but also individual backing in Diyarbakır. There are many volunteer and adamant people in NGOs or other institutions in the city to involve more children in education due to their belief in struggle through higher level education.

Gökçe tells about the support for her lessons as:

I had elder brother whose name is Recep from Local Agenda 21 City Council in the past. He lectured me on basic math. Now, I am involved in English courses at Local Agenda 21 Youth Center. It is great. It is the first time that I like English; and I feel that I want to learn English. When I go home, I make a revision. While my mother does not know even Turkish, I speak English with her. Moreover, previously, my math teacher in tenth grade was giving me geometry lessons. At the beginning of this year, my previous teacher with who I am still in contact was teaching me language and expression lesson at cafes. Now, I am studying by myself. By the time, I go to a private training course next year, I will be a lawyer, and we will implement law.

Many interviewed students emphasize that although they want to attend private training courses (*dershane*) for their academic achievement, they are not able to go due to their economic problems. These students generally are not satisfied with the education which they get from their schools. They feel that they need extra support from these private courses to get into universities. However, still students in Diyarbakır have more opportunities to find scholarship for private training centers and free of charge courses to improve their lessons.

Sevda tells her previous educational support and her opinion about private training centers as:

There was an association called MED-DER which was established by university students. When I was going to MED-DER, I had the feeling that I was able to understand.

My teachers in MED-DER were university students. They are now in various cities after gaining an occupation. When they were in Diyarbakır, I was consulting them all the time after school till evening. My grades were very good. After they went, I am not so successful. I cannot ask the questions that I cannot manage to solve. These questions are accumulating.

I have never attended private training course. Anyway, I am objected to private training centers (*dershane*). The ones who have better economic situation can go to private training centers, others cannot. Therefore, I was objected to these private centers. As a reaction to private education centers, the teachers in MED-DER established that association. We who had no economic possibilities were going to there. The ones who were going to private training centers were telling their classes in those centers. We did not have that opportunity. I was nursing a grievance to private education centers. You can enter in a university without these private centers. I intended to go to a private education center this year, but I did not go to help my mother. If I went to the private education center, my scholarship would end. However, I will attend private training center next year. If a person is ambitious, he/she can get into a university without course. However, courses are good at leading. You can improve your test technique through lots of resources and

text examinations. You solve problems against time; but you cannot do this in home.

To sum up, although students in Diyarbakır are able to reach both institutional and personal support, students in İzmir lack any kind of support mechanisms.

In general, interviewed students face obstacles influencing their education in terms of familial background, in-school factors and lack of support mechanisms. Although they encounter significant barriers to higher level of education, they do have expectations for obtaining a profession through education. Accordingly, the following section will briefly introduce their occupational expectations and the reasons for identifying these occupations.

3.4.2.5 Occupational Expectations of Students

There are apparent differences between students in Diyarbakır and İzmir regarding their prospected future occupations. Students in Diyarbakır identify their future jobs based on social responsibility and the needs of their society. The political environment in Diyarbakır and the feeling of injustice shape students' ideal jobs. Both boys and girls generally identify their ideal works as the profession of law and authorship to defend their people's rights; doctorate and jobs related to psychology to help their people and profession of teaching to contribute their society.

On the other hand, students in İzmir generally identify their ideal jobs based on their individualistic purposes and division of labor related to gender roles. Interviewed girls identify their ideal works as nursing, profession of teaching, secretariat, banking, doctorate, jobs related to child development and food departments. These girls identify these jobs to improve their individualistic situation. Besides, occupations desired by boys in İzmir are jobs related to computer and electric-electronic, professions of teaching and law, policing and

works related to administrative functions. There are just three students who indicate that they want to make a contribution to their society through their occupations. Other boys generally want to have education to obtain better living conditions. Furthermore, a boy indicated that he wants to be a policeman in his future although he expresses that he is exposed to maltreatment by polices in İzmir. The reason behind this fact may be related to acquiring power used by polices.

Some of these students identify their future professions with regard to their role models. The characteristics of their role models lead them to make choices on their occupations. Therefore, the role models of the students are important in their present and future life. Next section will give brief information concerning these students' role models.

3.4.2.6 Role Models of Students

Interviewed students take different people as their role models in Diyarbakır and İzmir. Students in Diyarbakır have political stance at taking one as their role model person. Political leaders, writers, singers and religious leaders such as Osman Baydemir, Mehmet Uzun and Ahmet Kaya are indicated as their role models by some students. Briefly, these people are models for these students due to their ideology, thoughts, resistance, attitudes, spirit of struggle, professions, achievement, works, reactions to injustice and religious knowledge. Some students, particularly girls, take their relatives, teachers and people around them as their role models due to their success stories, qualified occupations and state of being free. A part of the students in Diyarbakır indicate that there is no role model for them.

Students in İzmir particularly take their successful family members and friends as their role models since they are educated and they have good professions. In this respect, many students indicate that their qualified teachers are role models

for them. Moreover, a boy stated that a TV star is his role model since he wants to be a member of a mafia. He explains that he will help to needy people in the situation of being from a mafia.

3.4.3 Perceptions of Social Exclusion

Students in Diyarbakır and İzmir have a strong feeling of injustice since they are exposed to various kinds of social exclusion. There is a clear difference in terms of social exclusion between the students in Diyarbakır and İzmir. While students in Diyarbakır are generally exposed to economic exclusion, students in İzmir are mostly exposed to both economic and cultural exclusion. Keeping in mind that İzmir hosts a heterogeneous population; Kurds are also excluded on the ground of their ethnicity. On the other hand, Kurdish students in Diyarbakır do not experience cultural exclusion on the basis of their ethnicity since their city is composed of mostly Kurdish population. However, interviewed students in Diyarbakır think that they are excluded on the basis of their ethnicity in other cities of Turkey, particularly in western cities. These students indicate that when they work in western cities in summers or when they have a chance to go other cities, they are subjected to discriminatory attitudes in these cities. Still, students in İzmir face discriminatory attitudes in their everyday life such as at work, school or on streets.

Students in both Diyarbakır and İzmir are subjected to economic exclusion. These displaced students do not have the same economic opportunities compared to their peer groups. With regard to relative child poverty, exclusion of some children from the activities and advantages which are common for their peers despite the fact that their minimal physical needs are met (UNICEF Innocenti Research Center, 2000:3), these children cannot participate in social activities which is common for their peer group. They generally have the feeling of injustice since they are aware of the possibilities that they cannot benefit from, while their peers can benefit from these opportunities.

Derya tells her feelings as:

Children should not work. I worked also when I was a little child. I remember one of my friends at sixth grade. I was so jealous of her till eighth grade. She was so smart; and her economic situation was very good. She was wearing new jewelries every day. I was jealous of her. I asked myself that why do I have to work; but she does not. Although I worked, why did not I have a family like her; but she did have.

I would prefer to just go to school to save my future. For sure, working is good. However, nobody can say that working does not make one feel humiliated, working sometimes makes somebody really humiliated. There are such people in working places; for instance when I go cleaning with my sister, I cry. When their daughters say that “look mum here is not clean enough or do we find money at street?”, I feel humiliated. We clean rest rooms ultimately. In the meantime, I think and I say, “Why do not I, my mother or my sisters live in homes like them; but they?” Sometimes when I go with my sister for cleaning, I see these families, their cars. I am jealous of their possibilities. Especially, I envy their children. I think about their children. They are not more beautiful and smarter than me; but they are more superior and luckier than me. They had a head start in life.

Students in İzmir also have the feeling that they are exposed to economic exclusion. They also think that they do not have the same opportunities that their peer group has; and hence they are not able participate in the activities that are common for their peers.

In focus group interview in İzmir, Barış explains poverty as:

I think if somebody eats things that I cannot eat or wears things that I cannot wear, this is poverty. If I cannot wear like him/her, eat like him/her and leave in luxury places like him/her, this is poverty. In our neighborhood, Kale or in Agora, there are many poor people. They depend on a piece of bread and a cup of soup that the government gives to them.

Baran illustrates poverty as:

Poverty is a relative term. If you ask an officer, he tells that he cannot get on well. Thus, he participates in demonstrations; he goes on strike. A teacher earns 1.500 TL; but he/she cannot get on well. For instance, both he/she and his wife/her husband work; but he/she still thinks that he/she cannot subsist. He conceives himself as a poor person. On the other hand, another family has to survive with 500 TL. From my point of view, my economic situation is good; but my economic situation is really bad when I compare it with others' situation.

Many students in Diyarbakır feel that they do not have the same opportunities compared to their peers in Western Turkey. They think that public services are not distributed equally to their region. This situation refers to spatial exclusion that is the uneven distribution of poverty on a spatial/geographical basis due to disproportional distribution of public services (Adaman and Keyder, 2006:9).

Ender from Diyarbakır tells his feeling about inequality as:

The education level changes from a school to another school, even from a class to another class. There is nothing in here in terms of education. The education system in here gives nothing to us since there is no education here.

The policies implemented in here are parallel to education policies. Education system is shaped by the policy implemented in here. The fate of here is predetermined. The political view here is also apparent. In other words, Diyarbakır is not same with İzmir, İstanbul, Erzincan or Malatya. The education level in these cities is not same. Opinions of teachers are not same. For instance, most of the teachers who have opposing-views are in here. To sum up, the education level of schools in here are not equal to schools in other regions.

Gökçe explains her feelings about educational inequality regarding regional disparities as:

I believe in that a different education policy is implemented in southeastern. There was not a fully fledged education. I remember

that our teacher in elementary school was playing saz; and we were singing. I still had not learnt how to read and write completely at seventh grade.

Students in Diyarbakır think that children in western Turkey are luckier than them in every respect. However, although there are striking differences at education quality indicators among regions, students in İzmir also do not have access to qualified educational institutions since they reside in peripheral areas of the city (Akar, 2009).

Regarding cultural exclusion, a disadvantageous position compared to the rest of society due to the ascribed status such as ethnicity/race and religion (Adaman and Keyder, 2006), students in Diyarbakır do not complain about discrimination on the basis of their Kurdish identity in their city. However, they generally indicate that Kurds are generally excluded due to their ethnicity in Turkey.

Fatih from Diyarbakır tells his experience while working in western cities as:

I have been working generally in western cities like İzmir, İstanbul, Ankara, Çorum and Samsun. Even if people in building side try to not reveal, exclusion is unquestionable towards us. Willingly or unwillingly, their stance towards us is different undoubtedly. You can feel it every time. First, they have a stance like a chap. After a little time, they directly start to talk about political issues. The people in building side from these cities where we go for work directly ask questions about the party that I support. After learning my party, their behaviors change.

However, interviewed students in İzmir are more at risk of being subjected to cultural exclusion in their everyday life based on their ethnicity. Some students face discriminatory attitudes at their schools; some are exposed to exclusion on streets of İzmir and some others have trouble with discrimination at working place.

Students who attend schools in their neighborhood are less exposed to discrimination based on their ethnicity and economic situation since these schools host generally students from same ethnicity and similar social class. However, the ones who go to high schools having more heterogonous student profile are exposed to more exclusion posed by their teachers and peer group. Kadir tells that:

A teacher of us really provokes the students by offending them. What he says is: “is there anybody who graduated from university in your family?; “are you from mountain?”. One day I made him angry, he yelled at me as: “bully, bandit!” “Are you peasant?” “Don’t you get education?” “Is your family also from mountain?”....

Students in focus group interview in İzmir claim that their school administration separated Kurdish and Turkish classes in the past. Although this claim was not verified by school administration, their claim is significant since their past experience, whether true or not, led them to think they have been exposed to discriminatory attitudes at school based on their ethnic identity. Nevertheless, this claim was also confirmed by four students in the focus group interview.

Barış tells his experience of discrimination at his everyday life as:

For instance, I got qualifying examination fifteen days ago. It was a driving test. They asked me my registration card. I gave it to them. What the teacher did exactly was, “Are you from Mardin?” I answered as, “yes, why?” We discussed; and hence I failed.

I live in Kale. They know me. Whenever they see me, they ask my identity card. For instance, they even took off my socks two days ago since they thought that there was weed or drug in my socks. Whenever it is asked where I am from, I start to think what would happen if I say that I am from Mardin. Therefore, I have to say I am from İzmir.

Cem tells that he is excluded at school just because of being Kurdish. He tells his experience as:

For instance, they generalize all Kurds to PKK. However, it is not true. I never deny that I am a Kurd; and my native language is Kurdish. Some of my friends and I are exposed to exclusion since we are from Mardin. They do not talk with us. When a topic is discussed in class, they tell us not to speak... They say that the place where we come from is obvious. They intend to say that our thoughts are not significant. They prickle us with their words... The agenda was 7 Kurdish people coming to Turkey from border. At class, my friend used an expression as all the Kurds are dishonorable. I was offended with his expression; and hence I opposed to him; and asked him the reason of generalizing all the Kurds as same. I am also a Kurd and I am from Mardin. I warned him to weigh his words. He answered that you all Kurdish people are from PKK, you are all the same!..

As it is understood by students' own words, students in İzmir are more exposed to intertwined process of exclusion. Along with economic exclusion, most of the students in İzmir have faced discrimination on the ground of being Kurd at least once in their lives. In fact, there is an apparent anti-immigrant hostility based on Kurdish ethnicity among middle class in İzmir (Saraçoğlu, 2010). Moreover, since İzmir is a place where nationalism is on rise, more Kurds are at risk of being excluded based on their ethnicity.

In terms of neighborhood exclusion which emerges due to the disproportional and low quality of community services (Adaman and Keyder, 2006), students in both İzmir and Diyarbakır have similar problems concerning their neighborhoods. They complain about garbage dump, noise and limited opportunities in their neighborhoods. There are not enough hobby areas such as football fields, basketball courts and parks in the places where these children reside in. Female students also have complaints on security problems. They state that they feel unsecure since there are drug addicted people and many

vagrants who give disturbance to them in their neighborhoods. Moreover, it is stated that kidnapping is a recent problem in Diyarbakır.

Although students in Diyarbakır think that there are still limited opportunities in their neighborhoods, they state that their neighborhoods became better after Osman Baydemir was elected as a mayor. They say that there is less garbage dump; and there are more recreational areas. On the contrary, students in İzmir have the feeling that their neighborhood was discarded by governmental institutions; and these institutions have no attempt to ameliorate their conditions. In fact, they feel that they are exposed to spatial exclusion. Interviewed students think that their neighborhood has become worse day by day. They also state that they do not have same kind of opportunities like wealthy neighborhoods.

In terms of various types of social exclusion, both students in Diyarbakır and İzmir are exposed to economic and spatial exclusion. However, there is a trend which implies that while students in Diyarbakır are not exposed to cultural exclusion based on their ethnicity in their city, students in İzmir are subjected to discriminatory attitudes due to their Kurdishness in their everyday life in the city where they live in.

Barış illustrates these discriminatory attitudes towards Kurdish students in İzmir with his concise explanation. He tells that:

Sometimes, it is asked me where I am from. In these situations, I stop and think what will happen, if I tell that I am from Mardin? Therefore, I have to say that I am from İzmir.

Last section will put forward future expectations of internally displaced students through comparing two cities, İzmir and Diyarbakır.

3.4.4 Future Expectations

Future expectations of students vary significantly with regard to two different cities. This situation is again related to political stance of the students and their environment. Both girls and boys in Diyarbakır have societal expectations from future. Future expectations of these students are generally shaped by the problems in their city. Both girls and boys state their future expectations as social peace, the end of disorder related to Kurdish problem and the wealth of eastern region.

Mehmet explains his future expectations as:

I wish I could use my native language and experience my culture at everywhere. I imagine a place where I can express my ideas freely. I want to see the end of security problems and incidences particularly in southeastern Turkey. I want equal opportunities for all like job opportunities in western Turkey.

Gül explains her future expectations as:

I never desire anything for my personal circumstances. I wish southeastern Turkey and Diyarbakır would be developed parts of Turkey. I hope these places would provide a variety of job opportunities for people.

However, both girls and boys in İzmir have individualistic expectations from future. They generally indicate that their future expectations are having a good profession, better economic conditions and being a wealthy person. Besides, a boy indicated that he has no expectations from future. Just one boy from İzmir has some future expectations in terms of social responsibility. Baran states that:

I want to be a helpful person. I want to be beneficial to my country. I wish I would be a qualified person at future. I do not want much money. I want to have money to live at ease since I experience difficulties now. However, my aim is not money at all.

Concerning future expectations of the students, it is possible to elaborate a trend with regard to two different cities, one is in western Turkey, and the other takes place in Southeastern Turkey. This trend implies that while students in Diyarbakır have wishes related with their community, students in İzmir have desires based on more individualistic wishes for future.

3.5.5 Summary

Interviewed forced migrant students have experienced various dimensions of deprivation. They have insufficient housing; inadequate access to basic services such as health and education; and limited access to technology and information. In terms of spatial exclusion, they live in ruinous houses in city centers and ghettos. Particularly the neighborhoods of the students in İzmir have been by-passed by governmental institutions. Moreover, students in both Diyarbakır and İzmir do not live in safe environments; and hence face violence, drug use and burglary. In terms of familial support, they generally lack of familial care and time. With regard to human rights approach, in particular, girls do have limited rights to decide on their own lives. Overall, in terms of relative poverty, these students cannot participate in social activities which are common for their peers.

In terms educational expectations, regarding gender difference, female students have a high value on education for salvation in various aspects including economic, social and cultural limitations. With regard to different cities, while students in Diyarbakır attribute value on education on the ground of societal responsibilities, students in İzmir have individualistic expectations from education.

Male and female students have different strategies to struggle with their deprivation. While boys mostly engage in child labor to struggle with their

deprivation as a quick response to their current needs, girls attributed a significant value on education concerning future gains of schooling.

Students in both İzmir and Diyarbakır are exposed to various types of exclusion such as economic and spatial exclusion. However, in terms of cultural exclusion, students in İzmir are at higher risk of being exposed to discrimination based on their ethnicity.

In terms of social support mechanisms, students in İzmir are almost completely isolated. However, students in Diyarbakır have both institutional and personal support mechanisms thanks to NGOs and Municipalities in the city.

Last, both group of students in two different cities lack adequate access to technology and information which is a factor at the core of post-fordist era for production and creation of wealth. This fact, limited access to technology and information, reduces equal life chances of the interviewed students.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

Although high school education is not compulsory in Turkey, interviewed students preferred to attend high schools with the hope of improving their lives. Even if they have to pay the price for going to school, their belief in obtaining a better life quality through education has pushed these students to education. Keeping in mind that these students coming from internally displaced families lacking economic, cultural and social capital; attending high school is a significant achievement for these students. In today's economic structure, education is their only way to overcome their poverty which they inherited from their families and have upward social mobility.

“Three forces are driving modern economies- finance, knowledge and social capital” (Ball, 2008:20). Knowledge is the key factor for productivity, qualified occupational position and creation of wealth in today's modern economy. Participating in education is an investment in human capital that increases labor productivity and future income (Wößmann, 2003:29). Therefore, the power of education has been emphasized to eliminate the disadvantages taken from familial socioeconomic structure. It is believed in that education is the main way to promote social equality. However, inequality in educational opportunities is a barrier to social upward mobility and breaking intergenerational poverty.

It is acknowledged that human capital is the main drive to increase life chances of people. In line with this idea, the main aim of this study is based on an effort to understand whether these students would be able to achieve social upward

mobility through education or not. If they are not able to get out of poverty through education, identifying the main factors hindering their equal life chances is crucial to gain a deeper insight on the issue.

The most important factor leading these internally displaced students to high school is developing a strategy to overcome their poverty. They wished to have social upward mobility through education, at least when they first attended to high school. Unfortunately, this research indicates that it does not seem possible that these internally displaced children would be able to reach equitable jobs, income and status through education. Some students have already despaired of achieving social upward mobility through education although they attributed a high value to education at first in terms of not inheriting their families' poverty. Therefore, these students who once get trapped to poverty are not generally able to get out of poverty through just education due to some reasons that I will elaborate below.

With regard to İzmir, education in high school, without some exceptions, most likely do not enable these students to achieve social upward mobility. Although these students are enrolled in high schools, they are far from getting qualified education. They attend mostly poor public schools receiving no extra funding to improve their education quality. Since these internally displaced students coming from poor families, they are not able to get a qualified education and further their education without a strong academic knowledge. Their achievement level is generally poor. As expected, they cannot attend private courses to improve their lessons. As for, their low academic achievement make them to further their education in low qualified schools.

There are various factors hindering them to get a qualified education; and hence improve their human capital. These factors are strongly associated with parental socioeconomic status. Low parental income and education level and unqualified occupations held by parents are most significant factors behind

their low educational level (Smits and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2006; Dayıoğlu, 2007). Parents lacking economic, social and cultural capital are not able to invest in their children's education; cannot guide their children at their education life and do not have high aspirations from their academic life.

Being from large families is another disadvantage for these students' educational achievement. Living in crowded household decreases their share from household income; besides leading to lack of parental attention and having no room for studying. Keeping in mind that these children are from poor families, they start to work in similar kinds of jobs hold by their family members when they are small for working on the ground of their physical and psychological development. Therefore, working has a negative impact on their academic achievement. These children live in impoverished neighborhoods without opportunities for child development and risky environments with possible threats such as drug abusers; which in turn decrease their academic success.

Moreover, there is a considerable number of students started school without Turkish or with limited Turkish since their native language is Kurdish. This has been a problem for them to understand lectures.

In fact, girls are more disadvantageous than boys as educational priority is given to boys. Therefore, some girls have to further their education without a familial support to their education.

Last, students in İzmir have been exposed to a severe discrimination in their everyday life on the ground of their Kurdish ethnicity. Even their teachers and administrators have a prejudice towards these students in terms of their achievement level and behaviors. This fact leads to a decrease in their motivation at their school life.

Students in İzmir are almost isolated. They do not have a chance to reach institutional or personal assistance for their education life. A considerable part of the interviewed students have already lost their belief in education system. Moreover, since they do not generally have a strong political stance like the students in Diyarbakır; they do not have any motivation to eliminate injustice on the ground of their ethnicity through education. Even the ones, who have still value on education, have generally personal expectations such as improving their life conditions. Furthermore, some have dreams for being a rich person; but not through education.

With regard to Diyarbakır, still, students in this city are closer to achieve social upward mobility through education in high school. Although these internally displaced students in Diyarbakır face to same obstacles including low parental socioeconomic status, crowded household, child labor, attending less qualified schools, risky and unhealthy environment, and problems related to gender discrimination and their native language; there are three significant differences render these students more advantageous. First, displaced students in Diyarbakır are not isolated. There are strong social assistance programs in Diyarbakır mostly initiated by Municipality and Non-Governmental Organizations. The programs initiated by the municipality and NGOs aim to raise consciousness of both students and their parents, organize activities to improve students' human capital such as English and computer courses, provide free courses for university preparation and give financial aid for educational purposes. Moreover, some of these students have also personal support from their sensitive teachers who wants to contribute to their students in terms of knowledge and motivation in their schools and leading people in the NGOs. Therefore, these students are guided and motivated by their personal relationships besides institutional relationships. These institutions and people have an important role in their lives since they lack support and guidance from their families.

Second, students in Diyarbakır are extremely politicized in terms of Kurdish problem. They have high level of social responsibility for Kurdish people due to the political environment of the city. Therefore, along with their personal expectations from education, education is a way for struggling with pen for Kurds. Through obtaining qualified jobs, they intend to defend Kurdish people's rights and contribute to their society. Students in Diyarbakır generally identify their future jobs related to the problems and needs of their people. However, still most of these internally displaced students attend low qualified public schools in their neighborhood. Still, there are two displaced female and one displaced male students who could enter to Anatolian High Schools.

Third, there is almost no possibility of being exposed to discrimination due to their ethnicity in their everyday life and particularly in their schools. In contrast, in their schools, there are a significant number of teachers pushing them to further their education. They have the feeling of injustice on the ground of their ethnicity for Turkey generally.

Girls, in both İzmir and Diyarbakır, are closer to get better positions through education since they attribute a higher value to education compared to boys. The main factor behind this fact is being exposed to various kinds of pressures due to their gender. Therefore, education is their only way for salvation in terms of economic, social and cultural pressures. These overlapped limitations render girls more ambitious to get their independence through education. More important, sometimes their mothers can be the main actors supporting their daughters' education since these mothers think that they would not practice same kinds of problems like themselves if they were able to get education. Moreover, girls in Diyarbakır have also societal motivations besides individual motivations to use education as a tool. They emphasize that education is one kind of a struggle to defend Kurds' rights. Therefore, both personal and societal factors make the girls in Diyarbakır more adamant to reach better positions in their future lives.

Gökçe from Diyarbakır states that girls are more motivated to be successful in their future lives. She explains that:

After seeing my success at school, people in my village start to send their daughters to school. None of the boys going to school with me are now enrolled in school. Only I and girls subsequent to me go to school now. All of the girls are at successful positions now; one of them got scholarship from a private high school, and the rest are also successful like her. We all concentrate on Student Selection Examination (ÖSS) now. If there will be someone who will be doing well at future from our village, this person will be among women.

To sum up, there is possibility for some internally students to achieve social upward mobility. However, most of these students most possibly would inherit the poverty of their families since they lack equal educational opportunities. The sudden and unplanned nature of forced migration have intersected with neo-liberal economy policies after 1980s; and hence more severely hit forced migrants, and particularly children, who are in need of special concern compared to adults. As stated by Yüksekler, unlike previous voluntary migrants who had some possibility to achieve social upward mobility, internally displaced students quickly became urban poor (2006b). The barriers to their academic achievement; and hence upward social mobility are based on various factors mostly related to class positions of students.

Modern liberal education theory underlines the importance of education as a tool to reduce economic inequality between rich and poor. This approach emphasizes the power of educational system to promote an egalitarian society. Therefore, education is considered as a “great equalizer” (Bowles and Gintis, 2007:56). It is claimed that free and universal education is an instrument to obtain equitable jobs, income and status independent from one’s class background and race-ethnic origins. In the situation of failure, the reason must be attributed to inherent personal capabilities and patterns of free choice or one’s efforts to invest in themselves. However, data obtained from field

research does not verify the claim of modern liberal education theory. A considerable part of the students have still expectations from education to have better life conditions; and they have effort to invest in themselves, particularly girls and some boys in both cities. Still, the grade level of these students is not promising to achieve upward social mobility. A significant part of the students seems not able to further their education after high school. Unfortunately, it is not possible to obtain a qualified occupational position with higher income through a high school diploma in today's economic structure.

While this modern liberal education theory focuses on individual characteristics, it avoids institutional and social structural factors. This theory is not strong enough to explain the reasons at identifying failure at educational achievement.

In terms of institutional factors, school factors such as qualifications of teachers, teacher-student ratio, physical infrastructure of a school, distribution of free books, revision of curriculum and improved school activities have impact on students' achievement (Berliner, 2007). Modern liberal education theory has an assumption that all students have an access to equal quality of schools. However, interviewed displaced students attend low funded public schools at their neighborhoods in slums and ruinous areas in city center. Therefore, these schools have limited resources to improve students' achievement. Students' problems related to in-school factors are unqualified teachers, overcrowded classes, lack of technological equipments, libraries with out of date books and inadequate social activity facilities. These schools generally give education to poor students. The achievement level of these schools is low; and hence there is not a competition among students which increases students' motivation for success. This fact is also related to familial background of the students. These families with limited income are not able to send their children to qualified schools. It is obvious that there are class inequalities in school system. Therefore, it does not seem possible that

“schools are on the road to equality of educational opportunity” (Bowles and Gintis, 2007:58).

Although school factors important at identifying achievement level of students, the common sense which identifies the reason of achievement gap as “failing schools” also ignores the fact that social class characteristics of a stratified society most likely has a significant impact on learning in schools (Rothstein, 9-10 in Berliner, 2007:490). In fact, ignoring the effect of social-class characteristics of the families would conceal the real factors behind achievement gap among students. This means that parental income, education and occupation have a strong impact on students’ achievement level. Families with limited income are unable to invest in their children’s education. While wealthy families prefer to send their children to private schools for a qualified education, poor families even sometimes cannot create resources for indirect costs of education. High level educated parents are more inclined to invest in their children’s education since they are more aware of the significance of education for wealth creation. On the other hand, students’ parents with low education are not enough aware of the central role of education to achieve qualified jobs with higher income. These families have generally less value on education compared to middle class families. High educated families in non-manual occupations are conscious about tracking their children’s education. Therefore, the educational advantages of these families are transmitted to their children. Low educated parents are not able to guide their children’s education. Moreover, parental skills or cultural capital such as knowledge, music and art are transmitted to their children. Families with social capital have strong community relations, which in turn creates higher academic achievement and work discipline expectations from their children. On the other hand, families lacking social relations are isolated in severe urban life, and have no strong community network like in İzmir. Their isolated position may end up with ignoring their children and lack of control on them since they have to deal with various kinds of problems to survive. To sum up, “families are an ascribed

status that affects children's educational opportunities and long-term life-chances" (Mulkey, 1993: 134).

It is claimed that social class inequalities are determinant at identifying students' achievement level. Achievement level of the students is not related to their inborn capacities; but it is related to their social class inequality from the beginning. Students' low academic achievement due their class position is a barrier to further their education and develop their human capital; and hence to achieve social upward mobility. While existing educational system perpetuates the privileges of dominant class, it does not only perpetuate but also deepens the disadvantages of working class. Therefore, it should be started with families through doing them less poor for creating equal life chances to children. This means that for an egalitarian system, structural forces that create poverty are at the center to gain a deeper understanding on the concerning problem.

Before end, there are some significant arguments obtained from this research. First, regarding gender aspect, girls attribute more value to education compared to boys since education is their only way for "salvation". Second, in terms of two different cities, the belief in education and academic achievement level of the students are higher in Diyarbakır than İzmir. In fact, families in Diyarbakır are more deprived than the ones in İzmir since financing migration to İzmir is required more economic power. However, there are more role models and support mechanisms offered through NGOs and the municipality in Diyarbakır compared to İzmir. Third, while the educational and future expectations of students in Diyarbakır are shaped by societal responsibility, the expectations of students in İzmir are shaped by individualistic concerns. Fourth, both group of students in Diyarbakır and İzmir have limited access to technology and information which are the most significant tools in post-industrial economy. Overall, children are most probably not able to get out of poverty cycle without improving their families' socio-economic situation.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (ENGLISH)

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

- 1) Age of the student:
- 2) Student's a) height:
b) weight:
- 3) Student's date of place:
- 4) Household size:
 - a) number of siblings:
 - b) number of people living in the same house except his/her parents and siblings:
- 5) Is father employed?
If 'yes', his occupation:
- 6) Is mother employed?
If 'yes', her occupation:
- 7) Is there anybody who works except his/her parents in household?
If 'yes', a) how many people are there?
b) what are their jobs?
- 8) Average monthly household income:
- 9) Education level of her/his father:
- 10) Education level of her/his mother:
- 11) a) Is there anybody who goes to school except him/her in his/her family?
b) Is there anybody at school age who does not go to school? If 'yes', why?
- 12) Is there anyone who has health insurance in your family?
 - a) If 'yes',
 - i) type of the health insurance?
 - ii) who has health insurance in the family? (including the interviewee)
 - b) If 'green card' owner:
 - i) who has green card in the family? (including the interviewee)

13) Does your family get assistance from any kind of institution or people? (municipality, governorship, NGO, SYDV, neighbors, relatives etc.)?

If 'yes', a) what kind of assistance does your family get? (food, heating, cloth, monetary assistance , ...)

b) If 'monetary assistance', how much?

c) What is the period of assistance?

14) Is there a computer in your house?

If 'yes', does she/he have an internet access?

HOUSING CONDITIONS

15) Ownership status of the house:

a) houseowner

b) rented

c) not houseowner, but rent is not paid

16) If house is rented, how much is the rent?

MIGRATION PROCESS

17) Since which year has your family lived in İzmir/Diyarbakır?

18) Where did your family live before they came to İzmir/Diyarbakır?

19) Do you know why did your family migrate to İzmir/Diyarbakır?

If 'yes', why and how did your family come to İzmir/Diyarbakır?

20) What was the occupation of your family in their previous place of residence?

21) What kind of jobs did your family perform when they first arrived to İzmir/Diyarbakır?

EDUCATION

22) What is the frequency of attendance to the school?

- 23) What is the meaning of education for you? What are your expectations from high school?
- 24) Do you have problems at school?
If 'yes', what kind of problems?
- 25) Did you drop out school before you attend to high school?
If 'yes', why?
- 26) Do you have problems in your education life before high school?
If 'yes', what kind of problems?
- 27) What was your grade point average last year?
- 28) Do you have weak lessons at school?
If 'yes', why do you think that you have problem at these lessons?
- 29) Is there anybody or any institution helping you for your lessons? (brother, sister, teacher, municipality, NGO, private training center, etc.)
- 30) What kind of opportunities and activities do you have at your school? (computer, internet access, library, basketball field, etc.)
- 31) Have you ever attended a private training center?
If 'yes', when and how long?
- 32) Does your family support your education process?
a) If 'yes', why?
b) If 'no', why and what does your family expect from you?

WORKING PROFILE

- 33) At what age did you start to work?
- 34) How many hours/days do you work in a day/week?
- 35) What do you do?
- 36) What did you do previously?
- 37) Why do you work? Why did you start to work?
- 38) How much do you earn for a month?
- 39) To whom do you give your earning?
- 40) What is done with your earning?

- 41) If you did not want to work, what would be the reaction of your family?
- 42) In your opinion, what is the impact of working on your education?
- 43) In your opinion, should children work? Yes/ No, why?
- 44) If you have a possibility, do you prefer just to go to school or both work and study? Why?
- 45) What are the most important problems that you face during the work?
- 46) Do you perform any kind of work at home?
If 'yes', how does it affect your education?

HEALTH

- 47) Do you have a permanent illness?
If 'yes', what is it?
- 48) With kind of illness do you face most frequently?
- 49) When you get sick, what does your family do?

RELATIONSHIP WITH FAMILY

- 50) Do you have any problems with your family? If 'yes', why? What kind of problems do you have with your family?

HOBBY ACTIVITIES

- 51) Activity except school/work:
 - a) Activity at school
 - b) Activities conducted by municipality/ NGOs/other institutions
 - c) Private training center
 - d) Hobby activities
 - e) Other...
- 52) Do you have problems with your friends from your neighborhood?

If 'yes', what kind of problems do you have? Why? Can you give an example?

53) Do you have a life out of your neighborhood?

Yes/No, why?

54) Do you meet with your schoolmates, when you are not in school?

a) If 'yes', how often?

b) If 'no', why?

55) Is there any place for social activities (park, football/basketball field, youth center, etc.) in your neighborhood?

If 'yes', do you use? Why/ why not?

56) How often do you read book/newspaper?

ROLE MODEL

57) Do you take someone as a model for yourself? If 'yes', who and why?

SOCIAL SUPPORT MECHANISMS

58) When you confront a problem, who do you ask for advice?

59) With whom do you share your important decisions?

PROBLEM AREAS

60) What is your biggest problem in your everyday life? Why?

61) What do you do when you face these problems?

PAST & TODAY & FUTURE

62) Is there anything that you desire to do; but you could not manage to do up till today?

63) Is there particularly anything that you like or you do not like in the place where you live?

64) Have you ever gone to the place where your family migrated from? Do you prefer to live in there? Why?

65) In your opinion, where will you be and what will you be doing 10 years later?

66) What do you want to be in future?

67) What is your biggest expectation from future?

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (TURKISH)

DEMOGRAFİK BİLGİ

- 1) Öğrencinin yaşı:
- 2) Öğrencinin a) boyu:
b) kilosu:
- 3) Öğrencinin doğum yeri:
- 4) Evde birlikte yaşadığı kişi sayısı:
a) kardeş sayısı:
b) anne/baba ve kardeşler dışında kaç kişi:
- 5) Baban çalışıyor mu?
'Evet' ise, işi:
- 6) Annen çalışıyor mu?
'Evet' ise, işi:
- 7) Annen ve baba dışında hanede çalışan biri var mı?
'Evet' ise a) Kaç kişi çalışıyor?
b) Ne iş yapıyorlar?
- 8) Hane halkının aylık net geliri:
- 9) Babanın eğitim durumu:
- 10) Annenin eğitim durumu:
- 11) a) Senin dışında ailede kaç kişi ve kimler okula gidiyor?
b) Okul çağında olup da gitmeyenler var mı? 'Var' ise, neden?
- 12) Ailende sağlık sigortası olan biri var mı?
a) Sağlık sigortası olan varsa:
i) Nedir?
ii) Kimlerin var?
b) Yeşil Kart sahipliği varsa:
i) Kimlerin var?
- 13) Ailen herhangi bir kurumdan (belediye, valilik, STK, SYDV, komşu, akraba vb.) yardım alıyor mu?
'Evet' ise a) Ne tür yardım alıyor? (yiyecek, yakacak, nakit para,vb.)
b) Nakit para alıyorsa, ne kadar alıyor? (TL)

c) Yardımın periyodu nedir?

14) Evinizde bilgisayar var mı?

KONUT BİLGİLERİ

15) Oturduğunuz evin mülkiyet durumu nedir?

a) ev sahibi

b) kira

c) bize ait değil ama kira ödemiyoruz

16) Kira ise kira miktarı nedir?

GÖÇ SÜRECİ

17) Ailen kaç yılından beri İzmir/Diyarbakır'da yaşıyor?

18) Ailen İzmir'e/Diyarbakır'a gelmeden önce nerelerde yaşadılar?

19) Ailenin buraya neden geldiğini biliyor musun?

'Evet' ise, ailen İzmir'e/Diyarbakır'a neden ve nasıl gelmişler?

20) Ailen göç ettikleri yerde ne iş yapıyorlarmış?

21) Ailen İzmir'e/Diyarbakır'a ilk geldiklerinde ne işler yapmışlar?

EĞİTİM

22) Okula ne sıklıkta gidiyorsun?

23) Eğitim senin için ne ifade ediyor? Lise eğitiminden beklentilerin nelerdir?

24) Okulda herhangi bir sorun yaşıyor musun?

'Evet' ise, ne tür sorunların var?

25) Liseden önceki eğitim hayatına hiç ara verdin mi?

'Evet' ise, neden?

26) Liseye gelene kadarki eğitim hayatında sorun yaşadın mı?

'Evet' ise, ne tür sorunlar yaşadın?

27) Geçen sene not ortalaman kaçtı?

- 28) Okulda zayıf olduğun dersler var mı?
'Evet' ise, sence neden bu derslerde sorun yaşıyorsun?
- 29) Derslerine yardım eden biri veya bir kurum var mı? (ağabey, abla, öğretmen, belediye, STK, dersane, vb.)
- 30) Okulda ne tür imkânlar ve etkinlikler var? (bilgisayar, basket sahası, vb.)
- 31) Dershaneye hiç gittin mi?
'Evet' ise, ne zaman ve ne süre gittin?
- 32) Ailen eğitime devam etme noktasında sana destek oluyor mu?
a) 'Evet' ise, neden?
b) 'Hayır' ise, neden ve senden beklentileri nelerdir?

ÇALIŞMA PROFİLİ

- 33) İlk olarak kaç yaşında çalışmaya başladın?
- 34) Haftada kaç gün/ günde kaç saat çalışıyorsun?
- 35) Şu an ne iş yapıyorsun?
- 36) Daha önce ne tür işler yaptın?
- 37) Neden çalışmaya başladın/ çalışıyorsun?
- 38) Aylık ne kadar kazanıyorsun/kazanıyordun?
- 39) Çalışıp kazandığın parayı kime veriyorsun?
- 40) Kazancın ne için kullanılıyor?
- 41) Eğer çalışmak istemesen ailenin tepkisi ne olur?
- 42) Çalışmanın eğitim hayatına etkileri sence nelerdir?
- 43) Sence çocuklar çalışmalı mıdır? Evet/ Hayır, neden?
- 44) Şu an imkânın olsa sadece okumayı mı, yoksa sadece çalışmayı mı tercih edersin? Neden?
- 45) Çalışırken karşılaştığın sorun var mı?
'Var' ise, nedir?
- 46) Ev içinde yaptığın iş var mı?
'Evet' ise, eğitimini nasıl etkiliyor?

SAĞLIK DURUMU

47) Devamlı hastalığın var mı?

‘Evet’ ise, nedir?

48) En çok hangi hastalığa yakalanırsın?

49) Hastalandığında ailen ne yapar?

AİLE İÇİ İLİŞKİLER

50) Ailenle sorun yaşıyor musun?

‘Evet’ ise, neden? Ne tür sorunlar yaşıyorsun?

BOŞ ZAMAN ETKİNLİKLERİ

51) Okul/iş harici aktivite:

- a) Okulda faaliyet
- b) Belediye/gönüllü eğitim
- c) Dershane
- d) Spor/hobi
- e) Diğer...

52) Mahalle arkadaşlarıyla yaşadığın sorun var mı?

‘Var’ ise, ne tür sorunlar yaşarsınız, neden yaşadığınızı düşünürsünüz, örnek verebilir misiniz?

53) Mahallenin dışında bir yaşamın var mı?

Var/Yok, Neden?

54) Okulda olmadığın zaman okul arkadaşlarıyla görüşür müsün?

- a) Evetse, ne sıklıkta?
- b) Hayırsa, neden?

55) Mahallende sosyal aktivitelere katılabileceğin (park, futbol, basketbol sahası, gençlik merkezi, vb.) bir yer var mı?

‘Var’ ise, kullanıyor musun?

56) Ne sıklıkta gazete/kitap okursun?

MODEL ALMA

57) Kimi kendine model alıyorsun? Neden?

SOSYAL DESTEK SİSTEMLERİ

58) Zor bir durumla karşılaştığında veya bir sorunla karşılaştığında en çok kime danışır ve kimden öğüt alırsın?

59) Yaşamındaki önemli kararlar hakkında kiminle konuşursun?

SORUN ALANLARI

60) Gündelik hayatında en çok canını sıkan şey veya şu andaki en büyük sorunun nedir? Neden?

61) Bu sorunlarla karşılaştığında ne yapıyorsun?

GEÇMİŞ & BUGÜN & GELECEK

62) Bugüne kadar çok yapmak istediğin fakat yapamadığın bir şey var mıdır?

‘Var’ ise, nedir?

63) Şuan yaşadığın yerde özellikle sevdiğin ya da sevmediğin bir şey var mı?

64) Ailenin göç ettiği yere hiç gittin mi? Orada yaşamayı tercih eder misin, neden?

65) 10 yıl sonra nerede olacağını ve ne yapacağını düşünüyorsun?

66) İleride, mesleğinin ne olmasını istersin?

67) Gelecek yaşından en önemli beklentin nedir?