UNDERSTANDING STATE-CIVIL SOCIETY RELATIONS IN EDUCATION
PROVISION FOR NON-CAMP SYRIAN CHILDREN IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

UNDERSTANDING STATE-CIVIL SOCIETY RELATIONS IN EDUCATION
PROVISION FOR NON-CAMP SYRIAN CHILDREN IN TURKEY

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In the shadow of the Syrian conflict generating millions of displaced people, education provision for Syrian children has become a challenge for Turkey as the leading refugee hosting country. While great number of children who do not speak the national language is putting a strain on the limited capacity of state institutions, civil society organizations are trying to bridge the education gap for non-camp Syrian children. Given Turkey's political interests and the evolving migration management context, this dissertation puts the decentralization of responsibilities for non-camp Syrian children under scrutiny and tries to fathom the social and political dynamics at play affecting the status quo in national education during the refugee crisis through a document analysis and interviews conducted with state and civil society representatives. While the regulations related to the education of non-camp Syrian children are addressed, governance strategies regarding response to the crisis in education sector is revealed with a special focus on state-civil society relations in education. Highlighting the paradoxical consequences of the refugee crisis on the national education system in Turkey, this dissertation critically evaluates education policies for Syrian children

and the sociopolitical implications of these policies on the Turkish state. Accordingly, education dimension of the refugee crisis in Turkey is unpacked with a focus on capacities, motivations and approaches of state and civil society organisations in education. The strategies for and challenges in education provision for refugees is displayed in conjunction with national education priorities with an institutionalist point of view.

Key words: Non-camp Refugee Education in Turkey, Civil Society Organizations in Education Sector, Surrogate State, Syrian Crisis, Mass Refugee Influx

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE'DE KAMP DIŞI SURİYELİ ÇOCUKLAR İÇİN EĞİTİM SAĞLANMASINDA DEVLET-SİVİL TOPLUM İLİŞKİSİNİ ANLAMAK

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Milyonlarca insanın yerlerinden edilmesine neden olan Suriye'deki çatışmaların gölgesinde, Suriyeli çocukların eğitim ihtiyacının giderilmesi, en fazla mülteci nüfusuna sahip olan Türkiye için zorlu bir mücadeledir. Milli dili konuşamayan çok sayıda mülteci çocuk devlet kurumlarının sınırlı kapasitelerine yük getirirken, kamp dışı Suriyeli çocukların eğitim boşluğunu sivil toplum kuruluşları gidermeye çalışmaktadırlar. Türkiye'nin siyasi çıkarları ve değişen göç yönetimi çerçevesinde bu tez, Suriyeli mülteci çocukların eğitimdeki sorumluluğun ademi merkezileşmesini incelemekte ve mülteci krizi sürecince milli eğitimdeki mevcut durumu etkileyen sosyal ve siyasi dinamikleri doküman analizi ile sivil toplum ve devlet kuruluşlarıyla yapılan mülakatlarla anlamaya çalışmaktadır. Kentsel bölgelerdeki Suriyeli mülteciler için yapılan düzenlemelere değinilirken, mülteci krizine eğitim sektöründe müdahale için yönetişim stratejileri, eğitimde devlet-sivil toplum ilişkileri üzerince durularak ortaya çıkarılmaktadır. Mülteci krizinin milli eğitim üzerindeki çelişkili sonuçlarının altını çizerken, bu çalışma Suriyeli çocuklar için eğitim politikalarını ve bu politikaların Türk devleti için yansımalarını eleştirel bir şekilde değerlendirmektedir.

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Böylece mülteci krizinin eğitim boyutu devlet ve sivil toplum kuruluşlarının eğitimdeki kapasiteleri, amaçları ve yaklaşımları üzerinde durularak ortaya koyulmaktadır. Mülteciler için eğitim sağlanması hususundaki yöntemler ve zorluklar milli eğitim öncelikleri ile birlikte kurumsalcı bir bakış açısıyla sunulmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türkiye'de kamp dışı mülteci eğitimi, Eğitim sektöründe sivil toplum kuruluşları, Vekil devlet, Suriye krizi, Kitlesel göç.

To my darling husband

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AFAD   Presidency of Disaster and Emergency Management

CRC   Convention on the Rights of the Child

CSO   Civil Society Organisation

DGMM   Directorate General for Migration Management

EIE   Education in Emergencies

EU   European Union

FIPA   Foreigners and International Protection Act

HRW   Human Rights Watch

ICESRC   International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

IDP   Internally Displaced Persons

INEE   Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies

IOM   International Organisation for Migration

TEC   Temporary Education Center

TPC   Temporary Protection Center

TPR   Temporary Protection Regulation/Regime

MoNE   Ministry of National Education

MoI   Ministry of Interior

UNRWA   United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East

UNESCO   United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNHCR   United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNICEF   United Nations Children's Emergency Fund

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

As of 2016, it is five years into the Syrian civil war and around 3 million out of 6 million Syrian refugees[1] are hosted by Turkey in a protracted situation.[2] The Turkish government was the first of Syria's neighbors to formally respond to the influx of Syrian refugees; declaring an 'open border' policy in 2011 and welcoming Syrian citizens in Turkish territories as 'guests'. There are currently 25 refugee camps (or "Temporary Protection Centers" as they are designated by the Turkish government), and they are located in ten provinces near the border of Syria. However, these camps constitute only the tip of an iceberg.

Around 90 percent of nearly 3 million Syrians live outside the refugee camps, scattered in bordering cities and metropolitan cities like Istanbul, Ankara and Bursa according to data provided by the Turkish authorities in 2016.[3] This is a significant fact that has an impact not only on the Syrian people but also on the Turkish state and society itself. In cities such as Kilis, the refugee population has outnumbered the native population, while in other bordering cities such as Sanliurfa, Hatay and Gaziantep, Syrian refugees constitute an average of

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[1] See the database of International Organisation for Migration at http://migration.iom.int/europe/, accessed 11.03.2016

[2] Failure to find acceptable durable solutions results in increasing numbers of refugee situations worldwide can be described as 'protracted.' Refugees are regarded as being in a protracted situation when they have lived in exile for more than five years, and when they still have no immediate prospect of finding a durable solution to their plight by means of voluntary repatriation, local integration, or resettlement. (Dyrden-Peterson 2003). A protracted refugee situation is defined by UNHCR as a case 'in which refugees find themselves in a longstanding and intractable state of limbo.' In that case their lives may not be at risk, 'but their basic rights and essential economic, social and psychological needs remain unfulfilled after years of exile.' (UNHCR 2004;1)

3 See statistics available at http://www.goc.gov.tr/icerik6/gecici-koruma_363_378_4713_icerik and http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=224, accessed 10.05.2016

twenty percent of the population. Although their number remains modest in the larger cities, the phenomenon of 'ghettoization' appears to be occurring where Syrian refugees are overtaking several suburbs that are already resided by socio-economically disadvantaged groups. The Syrian population is also a diverse one in terms socioeconomic background; an underappreciated fact that contributes to a variety of problems, including social conflict.

With nearly 3 million displaced Syrian people out of camps half of which are children, refugee education has today become one of the critical issues for Turkey as a host country. Having several social, political and economic repercussions for Turkey, the 'Syrian refugee crisis' thus has a vast education dimension which is still to be fully dealt with by the Turkish Ministry of National Education (MoNE) on a policy level. Seemingly, great dedication has been shown on different levels of the Turkish government and international society to eliminate the danger of displaced Syrian children and young people becoming a 'lost generation'. Regardless, defined as a new 'disadvantaged group' in Turkey, many Syrian children continue adopting adult roles and responsibilities to generate income for their displaced families, which exacerbates the problem of child labor and early marriages in Turkey.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

It is clear that in an era of forced displacement, education as a human right cannot be restricted to citizen children. Regardless of their circumstances, children should be incorporated into a system of schooling, alternatively into an education system that promotes improved life opportunities. Displaced Syrian children as a disadvantaged group have the right to improve their circumstances and thus education must be provided regardless of their citizenship status. Turkish state is responsible for protection and thus education provision for Syrian children first of all as a party to the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC),

secondly in accordance with its Constitution[4] and thirdly with the 'temporary protection regime' based on an 'open door policy'. However, the Turkish state undertakes education provision for only a very limited number of Syrian children.[5] Whereas access to education for Syrian children has been increasing according to MoNE statistics in February 2016[6], only a small part of the school-aged Syrian children has been integrated into the public education system (approximately 9 percent). The majority of the non-camp Syrian children (particularly girls and at secondary level) have limited access to education mainly due to institutional barriers and poverty (HRW 2015, Save the Children 2014). Approximately 20 percent of Syrian children are attending temporary education centers (TEC) operated majorly by civil society including faith-based and Syrian CSOs relying on charity and voluntarism. TECs can be defined as para-formal schools based on a revised Syrian curriculum in Arabic under a limited managerial role of the Turkish State. Although no reliable data is available on their numbers, it is also known that there are profit-oriented unlicensed private Syrian schools opened and operated by wealthy Syrians in Turkey (HRW 2015).

Syrian children are a socio-economically disadvantaged and ethnically heterogeneous population who do not speak the national language, have arguably limited historical connection to Modern Turkey, have different education experiences and who often have multiple needs due to war traumas. The failure of the public education system to respond to

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[4] According to the Turkish Constitution Article 10 'Everyone is equal before the law without distinction as to language, race, colour, sex, political opinion, philosophical belief, religion and sect, or any such grounds' without any differentiation among foreigners, citizens, refugees or asylum seekers.

[5] According to Turkish national law, all children in Turkey, including foreigners, have the right to receive primary and secondary school education free of charge. The Ministry of National Education's circular on foreigners' access to education (No 2014/21) issued in September 2014, ensures that foreigners under Temporary Protection have access to educational services delivered through schools and temporary education centres overseen by the provincial education directorate in each province. See http://www.unhcr.org/turkey/uploads/root/frequently_asked_questions.pdf, accessed 20.05.2016

[6] Based on the figures provided via an email by MoNE on 18 March 2016 only around 30 percent of total school aged children are having formal education, the rest are either out of school or having non-formal education.

the complex education needs of an unprecedented number of foreign children leads to an increasing weight given to non-state actors as partners by the state. This new relationship in education provision matches a similar trend of growing neoliberalism hand-in-hand with neo-conservatism in national education policies more generally (Hill 2013). The space opened by the Turkish state for CSOs with humanitarian missions mixed with religious ideology and for those formed by Syrian nationals to provide education in a different curriculum and language other than Turkish has wider implications for the Turkish national education. Indeed, characterized by creating social equality and national solidarity with a secular ideal, education has been an important asset for Turkey as a nation-state. The accommodation of civil society institutions instead of state institutions puts into question the influence of schooling in creating citizens in a period when granting citizenships is likely to be the durable solution for the Syrian refugee crisis.[7] While civil society efforts are likely to increase access to education for Syrian children in the short term, failing to accommodate all Syrian children in public education system is likely to hinder social cohesion in the long run. In fact, education provision dependent on charity and voluntarism is likely to worsen the structural gaps to the detriment of the disadvantaged populations like refugees. That is why public education system in Turkey should be restructured with a welfare ideal for all children to create a common political culture and coexistence regardless of cultural and socioeconomic differences.

While the recent literature has produced a number of important studies investigating education for the Syrian refugees in different host countries including Turkey (Seydi 2014, Watkins & Zyck 2014, Culbertson & Constant 2015, Beste 2015, O'Rouke 2015, Ackerman

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[7]As of 2016, the Turkish government announced its plan to grant citizenship through naturalization to Syrian people living in Turkey, which opened a new phase in the management of the Syrian refugee crisis that became the target of criticism. See, 'Erdoğan details dual citizenship for Syrians' Hurriyet Daily News, available at http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/erdogan-details-dual-citizenship-forsyrians, accessed 11.07.2016

2015, Emin 2016), there has been little analysis of the extent to which the decentralisation of responsibilities for refugees in education sector corresponds with the priorities of national education in Turkey. Likewise, few questions have been asked about the impact of proliferating state-civil society relationships on outcomes in refugee education in a political or policy sense. Accordingly, this dissertation scrutinizes education policies for Syrian children out of the camps and tries to understand the state-civil society relations in education for refugees through examining the roles, motivations and capacities of civil society organizations in education provision for Syrian children. Drawing on qualitative interviews with representatives of state and civil society institutions, my own professional experience and policy documents relating to the education of Syrian children, this dissertation seeks to address the changing state-civil society relationship in national education. It also raises questions to understand the intended and unintended consequences of the substitution of private and civil society initiatives for the welfare state notion of education for refugees.

1.2 Purpose of the Study

This dissertation discusses education policies for Syrian children in Turkey with reference to the shrinking role of the state in education provision and the political/ideological nature of refugee education. Accordingly, the social and political dynamics at play that affect the status quo in the national education system in Turkey will be examined. This study will place a critical scrutiny on the role of civil society in education provision for Syrian refugees. As the machinery for separating Turkish natives from the Syrian refugees, the camps have a special and relatively small context in educational provision, and thus are excluded from the scope of this research. Rather, highlighting the paradoxical consequences of the refugee crisis on national education in Turkey, this research addresses the regulations and measures taken for education provision for the non-camp refugees in urban settings.

In the broadest sense, this study tries to illuminate the governance strategies in the education sector throughout the Syrian refugee crisis. More specifically, the purpose of this study is to

reveal key parameters, including the assumptions of the policy makers that have shaped education policies and outcomes for Syrian refugees. With reference to a variety of documents and interviews conducted, this dissertation tries to explore the education dimension of the refugee crisis in Turkey through highlighting the roles, capacities and approaches of state and civil society organisations in education provision. The strategies and challenges in delivering education for non-camp refugees within a nation-state context is displayed with a focus on the relationship between state and civil society institutions.

By deploying institutional analysis in exploring the structure and function of refugee education, this study focuses on the capacity of state and civil society institutions. A basic assumption of the field of institutional studies is the theory that large institutional complexes such as education are 'contingent and contested' (Meyer & Rowen 2006). Considering the fact that education is not neutral but an overly politicized institution in Turkey, I try to reveal whether refugee children's needs or the Turkish state's interests are served through prevailing education measures for refugees. While the impact of the refugee crisis on the greater national education agenda is revealed, I intend to understand the trade-offs involved in adopting certain governance strategies to the exclusion of other possible policies.

Education for refugees is not a neutral service provision but an ideological battle that negotiates key issues of national identity and a larger international political agenda. Meanwhile, the involvement of extra-state agencies in education provision for refugees raises questions about power relations in education among different actors, and about what constitutes 'legitimate knowledge' for Syrian refugees. (Murray 2008; 39). Looking at power relations among different actors that shape education policy for refugees, this study attempts to demonstrate that not only education itself but also support for education is political and ideological.

Overall, this study has not a single focus but a composition of several interlinked focuses – refugees, education, state and civil society – which will help us understand the educational

burden of the current refugee crisis on the Turkish state and its repercussions for both Turkish and Syrian societies. To lay out the challenge of refugee education in national education system and its wider implications for the state and civil society, the nexus between migration management and education priorities is highlighted. Thus, this study provides an inter-disciplinary approach to contribute to the improvement of the conceptual understanding of refugee policies and education by studying the Syrian crisis as a special case. In that respect, this study provides a new contribution to the current literature on refugee education.

Against this background, the overarching research question of this dissertation is the following: what are the repercussions of the Syrian refugee crisis for state-civil society relations in education sector in Turkey? Another related question is as follows: to what extent does the decentralisation of responsibilities for refugees in the education sector correspond with the national priorities of Turkish education? While an emphasis in this thesis is put on the mechanisms utilised by the state and the civil society institutions to cope with the education gaps created by a mass influx of Syrian refugees, another related question is posed: to what extent is the Syrian refugee crisis a critical juncture in national education policies for a transition towards a decentralized education system and multicultural curriculum? Although a clear answer to this question is uncertain, this study does give some conjectural answers by introducing the critical argument that a centralised educational governance with mono-cultural education content does not have the capacity to address the educational needs of a new cultural and linguistic diversity, especially one that possesses an exceptional non-citizen status. Thus the main contention of the study is that the changing immigration paradigm positioning Turkey as a country of arrival for a variety of immigrants of different ethnic and lingual backgrounds calls for structural changes in public education to increase institutional capacity in such a way that multicultural needs are taken into consideration. Unless such changes take place, CSOs will be needed to fill gaps in the state, which in turn can bring into stark relief the link between citizenship and public education in Turkey as a nation-state.

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1.2 Relevance and Significance the Study

We are witnessing the unprecedented scale and scope of mass demographic movements defined as forced displacement.[8] This phenomenon involves increasing numbers of refugees exempt from an all-encompassing legal label. This thesis will refer to the displaced people of Syria as refugees; that is, regardless of the differences in national and international legal conceptualization of 'refugeehood'. A comprehensive summary of immigration theories is outside the scope of this thesis, which also does not consider in detail what refugees go through in arrival destinations as individuals. Rather, the focus of study is how a host state, Turkey, is structurally affected by a mass refugee influx in the education sector.

Mass influx refers to cases where very large numbers of refugees cross borders as a result of massive violations of human rights and widespread violence. The case of individual asylum seekers, on the other hand, refers to situations in which persons facing persecution flee their countries of origin and seek refuge in another country.[9] While rights and obligations of individual asylum seekers and refugees are governed by the 1951 Geneva Convention and 1967 Protocol, these fundamental texts does not have a definition for mass influx (Kirisci 2014). Likewise, although the 1967 United Nations Declaration on Territorial Asylum refers to 'mass influx', there is no definition provided (Kaya & Yilmaz-Eren 2014). Rather, mass

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[8] It is possible to analyse displacement in accordance with causal factors in three sub categories: conflict-induced, development-induced, and disaster-induced displacement. (Czaika 2009). The scope of this research and the related literature review is limited to the conflict-induced migration.

[9] An asylum seeker is defined as an individual who has sought international protection and whose claims for refugee status have not yet been determined (UNHCR 2010). In other words, refugees are determined by international law as persons outside their own country and unwilling to return to it because of fear of persecution for a particular reason, while asylum seekers or refugee claimants are people who arrive by land, sea or air in a particular country and claim refugee status based on the above mentioned definition (Ferris 1998).

influx cases are defined by UNHCR Executive Committee decisions and general international humanitarian law.

The Syrian refugee crisis today may be traced to the scope and scale of population movement across borders, leaving the international refugee regime and individual states unable to provide resources and infrastructure to support the unprecedented number of people in search for the protection or better life conditions. An overwhelming majority of the Syrian refugees today are hosted by developing neighboring countries like Jordan and Lebanon, putting a strain on their capacities for the provision of required goods and services both for their own citizens and for the refugees.[10]

Betts (2009; 2) defines the refugee crisis for the host states by underlining the fact that refugees are people whose own states are unable to or unwilling to give them rights to access food, shelter, legal representation and services like education. When the assumed relationship between the citizen and state is broken, refugee protection ensures that another state can stand as a substitute supplier of the rights normally guaranteed by the country of origin. It also ensures that people whose relationship with their own state has broken down can be reintegrated into the state system. By guaranteeing that all refugees have access to a set of rights, the host state reduces the likelihood that people will be sources of instability. However, in cases when the national legislation does or cannot not guarantee protection and services for all the refugees, refugees turn into potential sources of threat for the state and

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[10] A. Betts (2014) and P. Orchard (2014) refer to the gap in refugee protection between the developed and the developing world as the North-South Impasse. Accordingly, whereas Southern states have historically hosted the overwhelming majority of the refugees, Northern states have few clearly defined obligations to contribute to the protection of refugees in the South, Czaika (2009; 30) determines country-specific refugee gaps as the quantitative deviation of the 'de facto' from the 'should be' refugee population of a country. Czaika's calculations reveal that there is a noticeable inter-regional discrepancy of refugee burdens. Accordingly, particularly Asia-Pacific and the Americas are under-burdened in an inter-regional view while Europe is slightly under-burdened, whereas Africa (and especially Central Africa) is highly overburdened. According to UNHCR (2014b) more than half of all refugees worldwide come from just three countries: Syrian Arab Republic, Afghanistan, and Somalia and an overwhelming majority of these people are hosted by the developing counties surrounding the conflict region.

society. As the refugee numbers grow, a spanner is thrown into the works of the state system. When millions of people do not speak the language of a host country, the refugee crisis culminates in paradoxical consequences for the state education system. These consequences have not always been appreciated in existing literature, but this thesis will explore the particular dynamics and constraints of the state education system itself.

Turkey has been exposed to different mass immigration flows before the Syrian conflict; however, the impact of these immigration movements on the education sector was rather limited because: a) integration of the refugees into Turkish society was relatively easier due to their historical and cultural ties to Turkey like the Bulgarian Turks of 1960s; and b) such influxes were geographically limited and temporary like the Kurdish refugees of the Gulf War of 1990. The irregular and dispersed migrants were left out of the education system due the lack of documentation, thus never becoming an issue for education policy makers until relatively recently. The number of Syrian children involved in the current waves of immigration is too great to be overlooked. The pressure of this form of immigration necessitates sound education policies and the restructuring of service provision that is dedicated to promoting successful integration or repatriation if possible. The unprecedented scale and nature of the refugee crisis and its repercussions for public education system in Turkey has created an impetus for conducting this study.

It is important to note that until the Temporary Protection Regulation declared in 2014 Syrian refugees did not have a legal status in the country. However, the Temporary Protection regime granted Syrians legal right to stay and official access to social services such as health, education and entry into the labor market; this regime initiated an integration discourse assigned to the newly established Directorate General for Migration Management (Icduygu 2015). In the shadow of the unprecedented scale and nature of the refugee crisis, neither emergency aid, nor long-term integration policies for "Syrians Under Temporary

Protection"[11] can be discussed without reference to "education", especially considering that half of the refugees are children.[12] Syrian children with different ethnic and lingual backgrounds have a new status other than citizenship, which becomes not only an issue of universal child rights and thus rights-based migration management but also an issue of national education policies that prioritise national unity and solidarity.

Nearly 3 million Syrian refugees in Turkey makes up only about 3 percent of Turkey's population, which is much below the refugee/indigenous population proportion in Lebanon and Jordan.[13] While all major host countries are introducing strategies to ensure that Syrian refugees can attend school, education policy-making for Syrian refugees is specifically paradoxical in the context of Turkey (regardless of the lower proportion of refugees per person in comparison to other refugee hosting states of the region) for a fundamental reason: most of the Syrian refugees have Arabic or Kurdish as mother-tongue and mother-tongue education is already a contested issue in Turkish politics.[14] Integration of the refugees into the current national education system, which has been an asset to cope with the cultural and linguistic diversity and to create a Turkish national identity, would lead to assimilation or at

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[11] Syrian Citizens living in Turkey as a result of the civil war are officially referred to as 'Syrians Under Temporary Protection' and not as refugees

[12] Approximately half of the Syrian refugees registered by UNHCR and AFAD are under the age of 18 and most have been out of school for months, if not years. See UNHCR Figures at a Glance available at http://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html, accessed 01.06.2016.

[13] Figures are based on 'Quick facts: What you need to know about the Syria crisis: Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey', 16 June 2016, available at https://www.mercycorps.org/articles/iraq-jordan-lebanon-syria-turkey/quick-facts-what-you-need-know-about-syria-crisis, accessed 01.06.2016.

14 For more information on the recent contested developments on Kurdish education in Turkey see 'Kurds not giving up on mother tongue' by Frederike Geerdink posted on 23 September 2014 available athttp://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/09/turkey-kurds-education-in-mother-tongue-schools.html, accessed 03.05.2016

least the suppression of the Syrian national identity. Considering 35,000 children were born in Turkey as at January 2015 (ORSAM 2015a, HRW 2015) the future of a nation and its children, who are expected to be the building blocks of a new Syria, is in question. Since they have a special legal status in Turkey which is assumed to be temporary, Syrian refugees have the right to maintain their cultural, linguistic and ethnic characteristics and ideally should have the means to the transmission of their cultural and linguistic heritage to the generation of Syrian children or young people who are to start or have started education in the Turkish national education system.[15] The national character of the Turkish education system brings about the dilemma of the integration of the Syrian refugees into Turkish society that may threaten their national identities. Such a dilemma is depicted by Derrida in explaining the relationship between the host state and the refugee as the 'guest'. Accordingly, the 'guest' is first of all foreign to the legal language in which the duty of hospitality is formulated. The host as the master of the house – the state -- imposes on the guest a new language of hospitality. In this way, hospitality is exercised by a form of symbolic oppression. In that respect, the dynamics of 'hospitality' are paradoxical because injustice "begins right away from the very threshold of the right to hospitality" (Derrida 2000; 55). The Turkish state oscillates between the necessity of integrating the Syrian refugees into Turkish society and fulfilling the needs of the Syrian refugees in maintaining their own culture and language while the legislation allow education in mother tongue only on secondary school level at private schools. The implications of this paradox for education governance is one of the departure points of this research and is intended to shed a light on the politics of refugee education elsewhere.

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[15] Convention against Discrimination in Education asserts the importance of education in mother tongue (UNESCO 1960) Meanwhile in International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (UN 1966) it is outlined that individuals and bodies have the right to establish educational institutions to provide religious and moral education so long as conformed to minimum standards as may be laid down by the State.

This study frequently refers to the concept of the nation-state for a fundamental reason: the nation-state binds not only refugee rights but also education. Although one political argument is that globalisation is or has unbundled modern nation-states, the nation-state continues to be the acceptable organisational unit for citizenship. Likewise, in the opinion of the OECD, UNESCO and the World Bank the nation state is the central organisational unit for the modern education system (Aubry et al. 2015; 4). Within the Westphalian system, territory provides the indelible link between the state and its citizens (Orchard, 24). Accordingly, the refugee crisis in our time is a phenomenon of the age of the nation-states where cultural boundaries match up with political boundaries in order to ground a common-identity (Kazancigil & Dogan 1986; 188). The presence of Syrian refugee children in Turkish territories brings education into 'collision with the solidity and continuities' of the Turkish nation-state because the non-citizen children do not fit into the norms which define civil rights, which include education enjoyed by virtue of citizenship (Pinson & Arnot 2007; 405). Migration management based on universal human rights is perceived to weaken the connection of citizenship to national identity as citizen's rights are expanded to non-citizens. These non-citizens obey a declaration of hospitality by the nation-state simultaneously challenging the nation-state. Therefore, encouraging a post-national state from within, the presence of refugee children within Turkey has wider repercussions for the stance of the Turkish state at a time when membership to a post-national institution, the European Union (EU), is also being discussed. The Syrian refugee crisis coincides with a set of important developments regarding Turkish immigration and education policies in the EU framework. Turkey has transformed its immigration legislation in accordance with the EU acquis. Meanwhile, there have been several initiatives to raise the level of access and quality of education for the children of ethnic minorities—particularly in the South East of Turkey, the most affected geographical region of Turkey by the refugee crisis--through the EU IPA

program (Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance).[16] In that respect, education policy making for Syrian refugees intersects with the recent EU imposed immigration and national education agenda of the Turkish state. In that context, education aspect of refugee crisis also relates to greater education agenda of the Turkish State. Tracing the making of education policies for Syrian refugees leads to insights into the historical nature of the transformation of Turkey that has been occurring in the past few decades.

State-organized education systems emerged in the nineteenth century in parallel with the proliferation of nation-states. Many modern nation-states developed an educational monopoly in the form of state schools. This monopoly was loosened with the decline of the welfare state, a situation in which social rights were presented by the state to the citizens reciprocally. Since the 1990s, the concept of social citizenship became an abandoned political paradigm that was replaced by the concept of active citizenship and to a neo-liberal agenda. In this context, the state changed its role from the direct provision of services to the planning, monitoring and regulating of services provided by other 'sectors'. Meeting social needs in ways which complemented, supplemented or provided an alternative to the state, voluntary organisations increasingly took responsibility for delivering 'mainstream' services which were previously provided by statutory bodies (Harris 2001: 3). Voluntary organisations were propelled into the center of the social policy stage with an expanded role in welfare provision (including education). The place of the state as the main service provider in basic education was not denounced completely by the global institutions; however, the role of civil society as the supporter for state education started to be accentuated frequently in 1990s. Accordingly, IMF and the World Bank have given bigger roles for CSOs in education for development of the refugee and host communities (Turner et al. 2000). In the refugee crisis, civil society organisations fit into the neoliberal narrative by becoming the

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[16] See the education monitoring reports of Education Reform Initiative (ERG) available at http://www.egitimreformugirisimi.org/en, accessed 10.05.2016.

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primary providers of a social service like education, and even driving content for education. The role of CSOs in education provision for the Syrian children in Turkey today seems to be an extension of the growing role of the civil society in the education sector more generally, as the neo-liberal policies of the past few decades have replaced older nation-state agendas. However, given the political dimension of the educational dimension of the refugee crisis, the national security framework for education and immigration turns this phenomenon a subject worthy of exploration.

According to Orchard (2014; 13) crisis events have the potential to disrupt policy stability and trigger changes in state policies, which can bring about regime transformation or replacement. As put by O'Rourke (2015; 733) the education crisis facing Syrian refugees is largely a product of nations permitting large numbers of refugees to cross into their territory without any means of supplying those persons with basic human rights. During the refugee crisis, in the absence of adequate state level responses, civil society organisations undertake the provision of vital services that are supposed to be provided by the state and that complement the work of UNHCR, the body mandated to safeguard and protect the rights of refugees (Zugasti et. al. 2016). Betts (2014; 236) points out that many of the constitutive areas of the global refugee crisis, lacking predictability and consistency, are organisationally characterised by ad hoc civil society responses (Betts 2014: 363). Therefore, host governments deflect the burden of caring for refugee populations onto international or civil society actors, which weakens the normal connection between territorial sovereignty and state responsibility for people who are present in their territory (Kagan 2011, 2012). This phenomenon is a paradigm for the 'surrogate state' that refers to the extending role of international organisations and civil society in providing basic services to refugees which normally should be provided by the state, but without the capacity to fully substitute for a host government. Indeed, many civil society organisation provides shelters, blankets, food, money health and education services for refugees today in Turkey while education provision by CSOs is especially problematic because the stakes are 'high in the struggle over the

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selection, organisation and assessment' of the valid knowledge for the education of refugees in a delicate political context (Bernstein 1975; 85).

The literature on refugee education is centered on two areas: education in emergencies (EiE) in the context of mass refugee influxes in less developed parts of the world; and immigration to the developed countries of the West in which individual refugee or asylum cases are involved. Turning into a long-term integration project from shortsighted emergency education policies, the case of the education of Syrian refugees in Turkey is *sui generic* and needs to be considered from a critical point of view that encompasses the socio-politics of national education in Turkey. Against the huge bulk of literature on urban migration and education, emigration and education, and state and civil society initiatives to provide mother-tongue education for the Turkish emigrants to Europe and other industrialized countries, there is almost no study exclusively on the education of non-Turkic immigrants or refugees in Turkey. In fact, the literature on the education of non-citizens in Turkey has been a blank page until recently: this is arguably a natural result of the lack of policy or programs for integration (and thus provision of education as a basic right to children of refugees, asylum seekers, or irregular migrants)[17] until the Syrian refugee crisis. Indeed, refugee education as an unfamiliar concept has dropped like a bombshell on the national education agenda with the first waves of Syrian refugees. Today, the education dimension of the Syrian refugee crisis occupies an important volume in the study of the national politics in Turkey. It has become the subject matter of a plethora of conferences, reports and means of media under the aegis of national and international organisations. Education experiences of refugee and asylum seeker pupils have also been reflected in the fast growing academic literature on education in conflict and fragile contexts (Demirdjian 2012; Dryden-Peterson 2011;

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[17] The education monitoring reports usually address access and quality of education for disadvantaged groups including migrants however the figures does not cover non-citizens. See several progress reports by Education Reform Initiative (ERG) available at http://www.egitimreformugirisimi.org/en, accessed 09.05.2016

Ackerman 2015). There is much said and being said about the impacts of the conflict, the subsequent displacement of the pedagogical development of Syrian children and the risk of young Syrians becoming a lost generation. However, few studies consider the impact of the crisis on Turkey as a nation-state and repercussions for the centralised Turkish education system. National education in Turkey has its own particular dynamics and agendas that are separate to the crisis; nonetheless, the refugee education literature has barely dealt with the making of education policies for refugees in conjunction with the national education priorities of the host countries and the changing role of state in education. In that respect, education policy making for Syrian refugees in Turkey as a nation-state and the strategies to cope with the education dimension of the crisis warrants exploration and provides a contribution to the field of refugee studies.

This research explores the stance of institutions, the motivations and strategies involved in the provision of education for Syrian refugees within the broader national education framework in Turkey. In the course of the refugee crisis, the main institutions that have a say in educational policy have been the AFAD (Presidency of Disaster and Emergency Management), MoNE (Ministry of National Education), Directorate General of Migration Management, UNICEF and UNHCR and several civil society organisations. This research mainly focuses on MoNE and the civil society organisations; the reason for this is that the cooperation and conflict between these two bodies has greater implications in terms of structural changes in national education.

Against this background, my personal experiences first as a student in Syria back in 2005 (when I witnessed how education for Syrians works), then as a government officer (who had the chance to observe the decision making mechanism for the education of Syrian refugees in Turkey through 2012 and 2013), and lastly as a volunteer working for UNICEF Turkey and Save the Children in Jordan in 2014 has also provided a particular interest for me in conducting this study.

1.4 Overview of the Study

While each chapter of this dissertation tackles a discrete issue, all the chapters are thematically related and their arguments still build on each other to contribute to an overall analysis. As such, this study starts by outlining the research design in the second chapter. In this early chapter, the methods used to collect data is explained with reference to qualitative research. Limitations of the study and ethical concerns are also put forward in this chapter.

The third chapter is an overview of literature on the education policies for refugees and a conceptual framework for the decentralisation of responsibilities for refugee education. Despite the relatively extensive body of literature focusing on refugees and a growing body of practitioner literature focusing on "education in emergencies", there are very few academic studies focusing specifically on refugee education policy-making in nation-state context. In order to shed a light on refugee education policies, refugee education literature regarding developed and developing world is put under scrutiny separately, due to the fact that the dynamics and conditions of developed and developing countries are different. A special emphasis is put on refugee education policies within the European Union (EU) because Turkey has been undergoing transformations in the EU harmonization process. In this chapter, I deal specifically with institutional decision making and try to trace through the literature review how refugee education policies tend to be influenced by different dynamics at national and supranational level rather than pedagogical concerns. That is why this chapter also refers to discussions on nation-state and citizenship. In that context, this chapter also provides a contextual framework for the civil society and state refugee education nexus in Turkey.

The fourth chapter tries to situate the case in the legal and historical framework of Turkey for the response to the Syrian refugee crisis. This chapter initially presents an overview of the evolution of refugee and asylum policies in Turkey. Then the repercussions of the Syrian refugee crisis for the Turkish state in general is presented with a detailed analysis of the

Syrian refugee influx. The new laws and regulations justifying the response to the crisis are examined with a focus on education rights for refugee children and the legal measures for their integration into the public education.

The research is organized in two main analytical sections in chapters on conceptual and historical legal frameworks. Accordingly, in the fifth chapter, I touch on the evolution of education policies for Syrian refugees through an analysis of policy documents. This chapter analyses the education dimension of the refugee crisis from the state perspective through a variety of policy papers, official declarations and interviews conducted with MoNE experts. The policy documents that are to be analysed within the scope of this dissertation comprises the MoNE circulars on education of foreign students, acts, regulations and action plans relating to education and integration of refugees, asylum seekers and other non-Turkish citizens.[18] This chapter tries to explore the impact of the crisis for Turkish national education system. The factors that have affected education policies for non-camp Syrian refugees in Turkey and the wider implications of these policies are revealed with reference to the space opened for civil society for education provision for Syrians children in the documents. To that end, news, declarations, press releases on the refugee crisis between 2011 and 2016 are also put under scrutiny. Observations of coordination meetings are utilised to evaluate the motives behind the adopted strategies that provide a response to the education problem of Syrian refugees.

The sixth chapter presents an overview of the education and civil society nexus and analyses education services provided by civil society organisations and the challenges confronted during the crisis. This chapter critically examines the relationship between the Turkish state and civil society. This chapter also discusses the motives and strategies of civil society organisations and drawing on fourteen semi-structured interviews, tries to find out why

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[18] For a detailed list of the documents analysed see chapter 2

particular strategies are developed by particular organizations. This stage of the exploration also leads us to an understanding of the state-civil society relations in the education sector regarding the refugee crisis. Twelve civil society organizations are chosen to gather qualitative data through semi-structured interviews conducted with education sector representatives, county programme officers, experts and chief executives of the organizations. These organisations are Turkish Education Volunteers Foundation (TEGV), Save the Children, The RET International, International Blue Crescent (IBC), Yuva Association, Bulbulzade Education Health and Solidarity Foundation, Humanitarian Aid Foundation (IHH), Aziz Mahmut Hudai Foundation, The Research Center on Asylum and Migration (IGAM), Adana Humanitarian Aid Association (AYDER), Syrian Education Commission, Turkish Diyanet Foundation.

The concluding chapter includes the findings of the study. It outlines the key characteristics of the education policy making for refugees in Turkey and the role given to the civil society organisations during the crisis. This chapter examines why the Syrian refugee crisis is paradoxical for Turkey and critically assesses whether existing decentralizing of responsibilities via different CSOs working in education provision for Syrian children can sustainably prevent a lost generation of Syrian refugees. The range of choices and interventions available to policy makers at present is discussed with a specific focus on the role of state and civil society organisations in education provision and the shifting immigration paradigm in Turkey.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH DESIGN

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the design of the study and lays out the framework that has been created to seek an answer to the research questions. It also explains what methods are utilised to collect data in the course of this study. An overview of qualitative research methods is given and the methods uses in this study are focused on: document analysis and semi-structured interview techniques. Sampling method is presented with a table of typologies of civil society organisations (CSOs), the representatives of which were interviewed for data collection. How the data collected, coded and interpreted is explained through analytic procedure phases of qualitative research in this chapter.

2.2 Qualitative Method

According to Creswell (2005), qualitative research is best suited for research problems in which variables are not known and need to be explored. When the literature yields little information about the phenomenon of study, we need to learn more from participants through exploring the perspective of different actors, and this is where qualitative methods are useful. Barbour (2008) points out that qualitative research can provide an understanding of how official figures or phenomenon are created through social processes. This study, through a qualitative method, tries to analyse an area in which variables are not known, the education dimension of the Syrian refugee crisis in Turkey, with reference to existing national education policies and the capacity of the state and civil society organisations. Qualitative research is particularly well suited to studying such a comprehensive topic comprising a set

of complex but paramount linkages that include migration management, education and civil society. It also helps illuminate the specific situation of the crisis and the organisational changes that it generates. Qualitative methodology helps me examine how the current refugee crisis affected bureaucratic procedures and interactions and uncover unintended as well as the intended consequences of new arrangements.

The literature review of this study has helped document the importance of the research problem mentioned in the introductory chapter; however, little was found in literature to discuss how the current themes under study both reinforce and depart from findings in past research. This due in part to the unprecedented scale and nature of the phenomena under scrutiny. The existing research is dominated by a quantitative, data-driven approach to analyse the refugee crisis within current theoretical frameworks. In this context I have departed from most of the existing literature by analysing the education dimension of the response to Syrian refugee crisis in Turkey by focusing on the institutions of of the state and civil society in two phases.

In the first phase the state aspect is handled through a comprehensive document analysis. I have also conducted interviews and had email correspondence with two experts from the MoNE and made use of information gathered from meetings after receiving implicit and formal approval from the Ministry. In the second phase, the civil society is put under scrutiny mainly by means of in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted with the staff responsible for the operations in Turkey relating to education of Syrian refugees. In brief, this research used two different methods that breeds more credibility, which can be called as "triangulation". According to Bowen (2009; 28), by examining information collected through different methods, the researcher can corroborate findings across data sets and thus reduce the impact of potential biases that can exist in a single study. In that way "triangulation" helped me guard against the accusation that my study's findings are simply an artifact of a single method, a single source, or a single investigator's bias.

Documents provide information on the context within which a research is conducted. Such information indicates the conditions that impinge upon phenomena under investigation (Barbour 2008). Document analysis can also be utilised as a means of tracking change and development. Documents like periodic or final reports can help get a clear picture of how an organisation or program fared over time (Bowen 2009). Through document analysis, institutionalisation of ideas can also be traced and then located in relation to wider institutional and contextual changes (Monoghan 2005; 71). Likewise, this research aims to examine the context and content of educational policies for Syrian refugees. To that end a wide range of documents from international and national governmental intuitions is analysed. These documents include policy papers and official decrees comprising education issues for non-citizen entities like refugees, asylum seekers and other migrants and press releases, reports and news articles circulated between 2011 and 2016. The sampling strategy that guided the collection of these documents is purposive. In order to identify policy-related documents referring to education of Syrians in specific and education of refugees and asylum seekers in general, I examined the official websites of Ministry of National Education, Provincial Directorates of National Education, AFAD, UNICEF, UNHCR, IOM (International Organisation for Migration) and national and international civil society organisations. I have selected the policy related documents for an analysis that are publicly available. These documents include:

- Foreign Students Act No.2922, dated 14.10.1983
- 1994 Asylum Regulation (Regulation No. 1994/6169 on the Procedures and Principles related to Possible Population Movements and Aliens Arriving in Turkey either as Individuals or in Groups Wishing to Seek Asylum either from Turkey or Requesting Residence Permission in order to Seek Asylum From Another Country (amended 2006)
- National Action Plan for Asylum and Migration Management, 2007
- MoNE Circular Titled 'Foreign National Students' dated 16.08.2010

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- MoNE Circular titled 'Measures for Syrians Guests Residing out of the Camps', dated 26.04.2013
- MoNE Circular titled 'Education Services for Syrians under temporary protection', dated 16.09.2013
- MoNE Circular titled 'Education Statistics on the Syrian Citizens under Temporaty Protection, dated 7.10.2013
- Foreigners and International Protection Act no. 6458, dated April 2014
- Regulation on Temporary Protection dated 22.11.2014
- MoNE Regulation on 'Education and Training Services for Foreigners' dated 23.10. 2014
- 2014-2018 Development Plan

While this study makes use of document analyses to contextualize the phenomenon and critically describe how the policies for education of Syrian refugees are shaped in a chronological way, semi-structured interviewing is utilised for the second stage of analysis that aims to reveal the role of civil society in education provision for Syrian refugees. Qualitative interviews are especially good at describing social and political processes and helping us understand experiences and reconstruct events in which we do not participate (Rubin & Rubin 2005). The purpose of interviews conducted as part of this study is to find out what happened, discover causes and gather data to be able to generalise to broader processes.

This study makes use of a 'flexible', 'iterative' and 'continuous' research design that has been proposed by Rubin and Rubin (1995). Flexible design means that the selection of interviewees and some of the questions are adapted to the progress of the study and to topics that are accessible and interesting in the field. Iterative design means that the sampling plan and the focus of the single interview in several stages is changed, for example by narrowing the focus (of the sampling and/or the questions). Lastly, continuous design means to redesign

– to adapt and improve the design – throughout the research process, which even suggests including new questions or topics in later interviews. Likewise, in the course of this research, new questions were added to the initial draft of questions or slight changes occurred in wording when found necessary. That is why the wording of the questions addressed to different civil society organisations are not identical yet do not deviate to a great extent from the main list of questions. A different set of questions that paralleled the questions addressed to civil society organisations were also utilised for interviewing the MoNE representatives. As the research progressed, there was a need for scrutinizing state points of view on the issues. This design assists the study in generating unbiased analysis.

According to Creswell et al. (2007) qualitative designs can be divided into five subcategories: narrative research, case studies, grounded theory, phenomenology, and participatory action research. In a broader sense this study is a qualitative study that has the characteristics of a case study: as a case study, it involves a detailed description of the case and the setting of the case while building an in-depth contextual understanding that relies on multiple data sources.

2.2.1 Interviews

The semi-structured interview technique is utilised as one of the means for data gathering in this research because the thesis aims to reach an understanding of how interviewees generate and deploy meaning to respond to the education dimension of the Syrian refugee crisis. My questions in semi-structured interviews were specified, but I was free to probe beyond the answers to elicit details (May 2011; 134-5). According to Barbuor (2008; 120) the 'semi-structured' aspect is crucial as it refers to the capacity of interviews to elicit data on perspectives of salience to respondents rather than the researcher dictating the direction of the encounter, as would be the case with more structured approaches. This study has a small sample. Semi-structured interviews are useful for studying a specific case and for supplementing and validating information derived from others sources. In addition, since

they provide access to perceptions and opinions, they are effective for gaining insight into problems in the field that are not immediately perceptible to policy makers (Laforest et al. 2009).

It is known that loaded, double-barred, leading and presumptive questions should be avoided during interviews (Leech 2002). Within that context, the questions for this research were drafted to be exploratory, open-ended, flexible and un-leading. Follow-up questions and probes were frequently addressed for a fruitful interview. Indeed, the richness of an interview is heavily dependent on these follow-up questions (Rubin & Rubin 2005, Marshall & Rossman 2011). Follow-up questions proved to be crucial for obtaining depth and detail, and helped in obtaining more nuanced answers during my interviews.

The questions were organized around specific themes trying to identify "how", "what" and 'why". Accordingly, they were grouped within different domains of inquiry. The first set of questions aimed to define structures and capacities of civil society organisations and they were significant for a categorisation of the organisations interviewed rather than contributing to the main themes. The second set of questions on the other hand aimed to reveal ideas about civil society and state relations in general. Finally, the last set of questions aimed for two grand themes that were brought about by my literature review and document analysis: 1) how the refugee crisis affects state civil society relations in education and; 2) what strategies are used and challenges are faced to bridge the gap in education provision for Syrian refugees by the civil society organisations.

The interviews started with general, open-ended questions that allowed the respondents to do most of the talking. Anonymous references were made to statements made in other interviews or to findings based on other data sources to validate information already gathered, which also helped encourage the respondents. All the interviews were conducted with staff responsible for the education provision for Syrian refugees within the organisations

in Istanbul, Ankara, Hatay, Adana, Gaziantep and over Skype in English or Turkish. The interview details are given below:

- Turkish Foundation for Education Volunteers (TEGV), Director of Ankara Field Planning and Organization Department, 02.03.2015, Ankara (TR)
- The Research Center on Asylum and Migration (IGAM), Deputy Chairperson, 28.05.2015, Ankara (TR)
- Turkish Diyanet Foundation, Expert at Education Department, 28.09.2015, Ankara (TR)
- International Blue Crescent (IBC), Deputy chairperson, 12.09.2015, Istanbul (TR)
- Aziz Mahmut Hudai Foundation, Education Sector Manager, 13.09.2015, Istanbul (TR)
- Syrian Education Association, Executive Committee Member, 13.09.2015, Istanbul (TR)
- Save the Children, Education Adviser, 10.10.2015, Skype (EN)
- AYDER- Adana Humanitarian Aid Association, Chairperson 10.11.2015, Adana (TR)
- IHH - Humanitarian Relief Foundation, Person in Charge for Education Unit for Syrian Refugees in Reyhanli, 11.11.2015, Hatay (TR)
- Bulbulzade Foundation, Education Coordinator, 13.11.2015, Gaziantep (TR)
- The RET International, Chairperson, 02.02.2016, Ankara (EN)
- The RET International, Programme Coordinator, 06.05.2016. Gaziantep (TR)
- Yuva Association, Education Coordinator for Syrian Refugees, 02.02.2016, Skype (TR)
- Ministry of National Education, Expert, 08.03.2016 Ankara (TR)

2.2.2 Sampling

In qualitative research, who is included in the study is less about technical requirements and more about theoretical considerations. Sampling procedures in qualitative research are sometimes referred to as purposive, meaning that the theoretical purpose of the project, rather than a strict methodological mandate, determines the selection process. For instance, when researching drug dealers, random sampling is simply impractical and a purposive sample may be the only option (Marvasti 2004; 9). Likewise, this study made use of snowball sampling, a type of purpose sampling in accordance with the theoretical purpose to reach the organisations that deal with education provision for Syrian refugees either directly though operating schools -TECs-, or or indirectly through supporting schools or the Syrian children and their families through in different ways including charity.

For some hard-to-reach populations 'snowball sampling' is more suitable, which capitalizes on the networks of a few key interviewees or focus group participants in order to recruit others who share some of their characteristics (Barbour 2008; 51,52). When I started this research, there was no list but a rough number available showing CSOs working in the field of education for refugees. Accordingly, rather than choosing the individuals to be interviewed ahead of time, I developed a tentative list with the help of experts on refugee issues working for UN and government bodies. Once I started my interviews I asked the first interviewee to recommend other potential participants. All interviewees were described as being integrally involved in some aspect of education provision for Syrian refugees, whether in material support or operating schools. Thus, purposeful sampling helped tailor the data sources to best follow up on emerging findings.

According to Laforest et al. (2009) when a semi-structured interview is viewed as a way of supplementing other data collection methods, as in this study, it may be sufficient to conduct only a few interviews with key informants from the study community. The concept of 'saturation' is invoked in relation to sampling of this study. Saturation is described as the

"enough point" where increasing the sample size no longer contributes new evidence and no additional data are being found, whereby the researcher can develop properties of category. (Barbour, 2008; 54, Glaser & Strauss 1967; 65). There is lack of consensus among qualitative researchers on reifying the sample size based on having reached the 'enough point'. However, a variety of strategies for reaching saturation have been established. First, saturation may be achieved more quickly if the sample is cohesive and the goal of the research is understanding phenomena rather than generalising findings to populations. Second, engaging in sustained field research can help achieve theoretical saturation, which rests on close examination of all of the contexts and related themes. Researchers who have been in the field for some time will better understand the nuances of the research setting, so it is more likely that they will develop a thorough understanding of the themes and their interrelationships, thus reaching saturation earlier (Samure & Given 2008). Likewise, my analytical aim to fathom a phenomenon rather than generalising my findings and my experience in the field of refugee education as a volunteer at UNICEF and Save the Children; and as an expert at the Ministry of National Education helped me to reach saturation with relatively small number of interviews during the course of this study.

In common in-depth interview studies, the number of interviews tends to be around 15 ± 10. This number may vary according to a combination of the time and resources available for the investigation and a law of diminishing returns (Kvale 2007; 44). In a similar pattern, this research is comprised of 13 in-depth semi-structured interviews with 12 different civil society organisations operating in the field of education for Syrian refugees and one semi-structured in-depth interview with an expert from MoNE. Thus the number of samples of the study is 13+1. It is also important to mention that initially when the samples for this research was chosen in 2013, the number of civil society organisations working in the field of

education provision for Syrian refugees did not exceed twenty.[19] That is why only eight samples were chosen in the beginning. However, in just one year the number of civil society organisation that were involved in education skyrocketed; it was therefore necessary to enlarge the sample size and conduct four more interviews with almost a year of interval. That is also why this research can be defined as iterative.

Civil society organisations can be superficially categorised as market supporters, public good providers, and social support and advocacy groups. Civil society organisations in Turkey are deeply divided along political lines. Furthermore, they are fragmented in terms of their ideological aims (Icduygu 2011, Aras & Akpinar 2015). Civil society organisations working in the field of education provision for Syrian refugees on the other hand, also diversify in terms of their scope and areas of specialisation/professionalism.

With that in mind, civil society organisations are put under scrutiny in this study by fitting them into one of the categories provided below. These categories match their areas of specialisation and ideologies. This categorisation is based on their mission statements available at their web sites and on their own declarations during my interviews and their mission statements. The faith-based civil society organisations can be described as non-governmental institutions or charity societies gathering people of particular religious ideology around a religiously oriented mission statement. These institutions are subject to laws of associations or foundations in the same manner as the secular ones which do not define themselves in conjunction to any religious ideology. The typologies of CSOs and the representatives interviewed are shown in the table below.

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[19] See the interactive network for international and national CSOs supporting and working for Syrian refugees in Turkey available at https://graphcommons.com/graphs/0711e621-a8c5-4651-a1d6-33106c7bb3f1, accessed 10.05.2016

Table 1. Samples of CSOs working in the field of Education for Syrian Refugees

Specialisation	Scope	Ideology	
		Faith-based	Secular
Humanitarian	National	-IHH -Diyanet Foundation -Aziz Mahmut Hudayi Foundation	IBC
	Local	AY-DER	
Advocacy	National		IGAM
Education	International		-The RET International -Save the Children
	Syrian	Syrian Education Association	
	National		-Yuva Association -TEGV
	Local	Bulbulzade Foundation	

As displayed in table 1, all humanitarian CSOs working in the field of education, with the exception of one -IBC- declared themselves as faith-based association or foundations. Meanwhile, three different CSO organisations declared themselves as merely education focused associations. The Advocacy CSO –IGAM- does not have direct facilities in the field of education; however, they have expertise in education policies for refugees, which is why this CSO is included in the sampling.

2.3 Analyzing Qualitative Data

Data analysis in this research was a big challenge. It involved bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data that seemed to be only loosely interlinked. As qualitative research, the data analysis of this study involved three different phases: (1) text analysis; (2) developing a description and themes; and (3) an interpretation for the larger meaning of the findings (Creswell 2005; 48). Each phase of data analysis entailed data reduction as the realm of collected data was brought into 'manageable chunks' (Marshall & Rossman 1989; 114, 2011; 209). Along with fostering credibility, "triangulation" across different data collection strategies was particularly helpful when dealing with large data sets (Namey 2007; 140). In the first phase of this research, analysis of the documents on the education of Syrian refugees leads to an insight into how the state institutions are affected by the crisis according to which themes are chronologically determined. These themes also help to deal with the data sets gathered in the second phase through semi-structured in-depth interviews focusing on the role given the civil society organisations in the crisis.

It occurred to me during this study that thematic analysis requires a very deep background knowledge. Reliability is of great concern with thematic analysis because research analysts must interpret raw text data in order to apply codes, and because interpretations may vary across analysts (Namey et al. 2007). That is why a subtle and comprehensive reading of the literature was important for this research.

Coding lays the groundwork for uncovering patterns and developing themes toward greater understanding of data (Owen 2014). According to Saldana (2013; 3), a code in qualitative inquiry is most often 'a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data'. Forms of data receptive to the coding process consists of interview transcripts, participant observation field notes, journals, documents, drawings, artifacts, photographs, video, internet sites, e-mail correspondence, literature, and so on (Saldana 2013). In order to make

data sets gathered through interviews manageable for analysis, data sets were refined via structural and a simple frequency coding in this research.

Structural code refers to question-based codes. This approach works for data collected using structured or semi-structured interview or focus group guides that have discrete questions and probes that are repeated across multiple files in a data set. Each discrete question and its associated probes are assigned a code that is then applied or linked to the question and subsequent response text in each data file. Sets of questions that comprise a conceptual domain of inquiry can also be given a structural code (Namey et al. 2007). Likewise, early in this research a preliminary code list was prepared in accordance with questions grouped within different domains of inquiry: organisational structure; state-civil society relations (general); civil society in education for Syrian refugees; relations with the state (specific to the case): relations with the international organisations (specific to the case); and challenges. Within each domain, questions were given code names. These code names included a prefix for the domain and an identifier for the question topic. For example, within 'civil society in education for Syrian refugees' domain participants were asked "Why did you start working for education provision for Syrian Refugees?" The code developed for this question was *Motivations*. In each interview transcript, the code was applied to the section of text that included both the interviewer's question and the participant's response. Each question and respective response was coded this way.

Structural coding helped me form a basis for in-depth analysis of copious data. However, it was not sufficient to lead to an in depth analysis within and across topics by itself, that is why I continued coding by counting the frequency of phrases in the interview transcripts. Through simple frequency coding, recurrent subthemes were determined. In order to develop clarity for this thesis, I limited the number of main themes to six. Developing the appropriate limited subtheme categories was arduous because the interviews were designed as in-depth semi-structured interviews that led to a wide variety of responses as new topics were added

by the interviewee. The themes were limited to a reasonable number only after a comprehensive analysis and literature review.

According to Glaser and Strauss (1966; 57) in qualitative work there is no clear-cut line between data collection and analysis (except during periods of systematic reflection). There is no sharp division between implicit coding and either data collection or data analysis. In the course of my research there tended to be a continual blurring and intertwining of these operations - from the beginning of the investigation until its near end. A line between analysis and data collection is often developed only through interpretation. Interpretation is often referred to as the 'telling the story' (Marshall & Rossman 2011; 219). Likewise, this research tries to bring meaning and coherence to the themes, patterns and categories by developing linkages and creating a story line that makes sense and engaging to read. To that end, after the thematic analysis of documents and interviews in the fourth and fifths chapters, findings of the study will be interpreted with reference to the country context and literature review on the refugee education, refugees and civil society in the concluding chapter.

2.4 Limitations of the Study

According to Ryfman (2007), two major characteristics of humanitarian action are its fluidity and the fact that it is constantly evolving. This research was mainly based on analysis of documents and interviews to gather facts in the case of a humanitarian emergency. Indeed, gathering facts is not an easy endeavor when several dimensions of the subject to be studied is dynamic. Some of the documents were being shaped during the data collection phase of this study. In that sense it was crucial to keep up with the most recent developments and reevaluate the findings throughout this study.

In addition, official documents on education of Syrian refugees per se were relatively scarce, as the case of these refugees is mostly handled as a part of discourse of emergency management rather than through an analysis of refugee education as provided by state

authorities. It should be underlined that the policy making process for Syrian refugees was not complete when this research was finalized. Analyzing the case of policy making for Syrian refugees required special care to avoid making overgeneralisations.

Another limitation was the accessibility of useful data. Since education provision for Syrian refugees could not be fully regulated in host communities by the official institutions unlike the camps, there was neither exact number of Syrian students in the host communities nor number of schools operated by civil society organisations especially in the early phases of this research.

Last but not least, my affiliation with the state institutions just before the conduct of the interviews may have led to some bias: interviewees may have been cautious, not telling the whole truth or just telling what the government would want to hear. In order to mitigate against that limitation, my stance and objective was clarified to the interviewee before starting the interview.

2.5 Ethical Concerns

Throughout this research, a special concern was paid not to harm any individual or institution by keeping names anonymous. Although none of the participants demanded anonymity, neither titles nor names were revealed. As argued by Israel and Hay (2006; 3) social scientists do not have an inalienable right to conduct research involving other people. Social scientists have the freedom to conduct research so long as the product of the research is not harmful to the individual and the social good.

Research participants need to understand, first, that they are authorizing someone else to involve them in research and, second, what they are authorizing (Israel & Hay 2006; 62). Accordingly, participants were informed about the purpose, methods, demands, possible discomforts and possible outcomes of the research, including whether and how results might

be disseminated. As the participants of this research tend to have high levels of literacy and linguistic ability, they had substantial understanding for consent.

Before conducting the interviews an appeal with the research proposal and interview questions attached was made to the General Directorate for Migration Management (DGMM) in Ankara considering the susceptibility of the subject for the Turkish Authorities. Accordingly, a letter was received as a response stating that interviews was left to the discretion of civil society organisations and no further permission was required from state institutions for this study. Nonetheless it was also advised by DGMM that the Syrian refugees should be addressed as 'guests under temporary protection'. Such concerns in mind, it should be underlined that not only do nation-states seek to control the language of hospitality afforded to foreign bodies or 'guests', there is a hodgepodge of different concepts that occasionally collide and concur to explain and analyse forced migration. However, we speak of refugees when forced and involuntary migration is triggered of by persecution for different reasons and when subsequently these persecuted people have to cross national boundaries (Gingrich 2002; 15). In order to avoid more confusion created by the plethora of concepts, this study opted for adhering to referring to the Syrian nationals who have crossed the border to flee the civil war in Syria with fear of persecution as 'refugees' regardless of the domestic practices and national /international legal criteria for refugee status. Furthermore, the phenomenon under scrutiny is referred to as 'mass influx of refugees', the cross border population movements due to massive violation of human rights and widespread violence. Last but not least, in order to take the view point of the state institutions, an appeal was made to the Ministry of National Education and official consent was granted for an interview with education experts on the subject.

2.6 Conclusion

In order to present a picture of the impact of the refugee crisis on the institutional capacity of the Turkish state and civil society, a qualitative methodology is implemented in two

stages. First of all, to find out what mechanisms are developed by education policy-makers for the resolution of the crisis, a comprehensive document analysis will be made. Several policy documents and official statements are analysed to contextualise the phenomenon and describe critically how the policy was shaped. Secondly, semi-structured interviewing will be utilised additionally to overcome the weakness or intrinsic biases and the problems that come from a single method. In that second stage, the role played by the civil society organisations in education provision for Syrian refugees is analysed. To that end, twelve semi structured in-depth interviews with the representatives from different CSOs working for education provision for Syrian refugees and one interview with MoNE experts are analysed. Snowball sampling method is used to choose civil society organisations. Special attention will be paid to choose a variety of organisations that would fit one of the prevalent categories of specialisation and ideologies. The major limitation of the study is due to the fact that the policy making for Syrian refugees is an incomplete process. The volatility and dynamic nature of the case with ever changing numbers and new incidents adding new dimensions to crisis makes it difficult to construct general statements.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This chapter sheds a light on to the literature regarding forced displacement and education to come up with conceptual framework for the education of Syrian refugees in Turkey. Accordingly, the international framework for refugee education is given to set a human rights based approach to basic education and reiterate the responsibilities of the states who pledge to obey these documents including Turkey. Education policies for displaced people in the developed and developing world is put under scrutiny separately for the reason that the dynamics and conditions of these countries are different: refugee education in developed countries primarily aims at integration, while in the developing world the stated aim is generally repatriation. Considering the stance of Turkey as an EU candidate state, special attention is paid to education policies for refugees and other immigrants in the EU context. This chapter also deals specifically with education policy making for refugees in a nation-state context. An analysis of the literature identifies the paradoxical consequences of inter-state population movements for national education systems as a significant area of study that this thesis seeks to address. This chapter will trace the gap in the literature on how the state tends to decentralize responsibilities for education of the refugee children especially during mass refugee influxes and the wider repercussions of this decentralization policies for the nation-state. To that end a special emphasis is put on identifying institutionalism as an approach to refugee education. In that context, the aim of this chapter is to show the nation-state and the displacement nexus in a world in growing neoliberalism with a new role given

to civil society in education and the projection of this nexus in the Turkish national education policies.

3.2 Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Theory

An approach that deals with the refugee education with reference to where the refugees are stationed is Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory. Ecological theory allows us to consider how institutions may be designed to accommodate the needs of refugee children. By drawing on the influence of environment on child development, Bronfenbrenner (1999) illustrates that human beings do not develop in isolation; rather they develop in relation to the various contexts or systems to which they belong throughout their life. His theory helps organize the different influences set out as "nested system's ranging from the 'micro' to 'macro'" on refugee children's development. (Bronfenbrenner 1999;11).

Adopting Bronfenbrenner's ecological model, Anderson et al. (2004) explains refugee child's development with three different phases of refugee child's experience: pre-migration, trans-migration and post-migration; which acknowledge the disruptions in the individual's life in addition to other developmental or ecological changes. Within this model each if the three phases can be dramatic tensions that arise due to 'atypical conditions' within the ecological systems which impact and interfere with the normal development of the child. Anderson et al. emphasizes the impact of traumatic experiences in pre-migration and trans-migration phases on the refugee child and the importance of the supportive structures to be provided by the host country to ease the adaptation and acculturation process of the refugee child.

Refugee children tend to carry with them their past experiences and expectations of their ecosystems and roles within these ecosystems. There is external pressure on refugee children to adapt to new ecosystem demands and relationships which occur as they go from the pre-migration to trans-migration to post-migration contexts. These differences in ecosystems are

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a function of the abnormal experiences which occur to refugees and of the fact that refugees most often move to countries which are quite different from their own. The major task for the refugee child and family, as well as for the schools and services within the host country, is to manage this transition as smoothly as possible, and establish some mutually beneficial and adaptive ecosystems. For the child and the family, the task involves adapting to the new environment, while the task for the schools and services in the host country is to adapt and develop optimally supportive structures (Anderson et al.2004; 9).

According to Hamilton (2004), refugee children's adaptation into a new and foreign school system is a complicated process that requires interventions at different levels. Hamilton points out that schools need to develop specific policies and procedures that focus on ensuring the creation of a mutually adaptive relationship between the refugee child, parents, schools and the surrounding community and help services. Accordingly, these policies and procedures should promote and support the development of clear communication channels between the school and home, host community awareness and teacher understanding. While ecological theory allows us to consider how institutions may be designed to accommodate the needs of refugee children, it does not show how the policy of nation states or a situation or discourse of crisis might shape the provision of education as a service or institutional interventions.

3.3 Education Policy for Refugees

Education is the key to identity and the lifeblood of a shared environment; however, how education might be envisioned to respond productively when identity is renegotiated in times of loss and change during displacement is a dilemma. Ensuring access to education for refugees depends on refugee governance structures and asylum policies in different locations and at different historical times. This dilemma requires a case-specific conceptualization of education policy-making for refugees.

Refugee education along with other social services, might be stubbornly bound by national constraints or borders. People live across borders, but the social contract between citizen and state is still fulfilled within the boundaries of the nation-state (Levitt 2013). In that context, analyzing the mandate of the nation-state to specify the rules that govern the state's behavior – from the terms of hospitality to 'guests' to the relationship between citizens and state, as well as the contract implied in knowledge production -- is particularly important. In addition, institutions involved in education service delivery and prescribing education policies and programs in refugee hosting states are numerous and varied. These institutions include bilateral aid agencies, multilateral organisations, national governments, international and local CSOs and sometimes peacekeeping forces (Monogham 2015; 71). Thus, the education dilemma for refugees involves international aspects but is also paradoxically generated within relationships between nation-states and civil society organisations.

UN and donor agencies may be involved in making decisions and policies about refugee education across many countries. Although these actors are not likely to be the sole determiner of a policy, they have been actively engaged in discussions and consultations about and, in some cases, the writing of documents which contain policy statements. These organisations may also act as surrogate states when they become service providers in education. In that context, while studying education policy making for refugees, global institutions and international human rights documents should also be considered. As a matter of fact, refugee education is an issue that can be hardly dealt without reference to international perspectives embodied by the UN's refugee mandate.

3.3.1 International Dimension of Refugee Education

Access to rights in host countries influence the livelihood security and overall well-being of refugees (Kibreab 2008). Education is one of the globally defined basic human rights for refugees. As put by Kagan (2011) and O'Rourke (2015), the right to education is classified as a second-generation human right like, social, economic and cultural rights, such as the

right to economic security and the right to health care. Second-generation human rights are considered 'positive liberties' because they give individuals the right to something and the state the obligation to provide services for its people. In the shadow of the unprecedented scope of the displacement of people across the borders, education as a second-generation human right is no longer deemed insignificant of lesser valued human rights as compared with first generation human rights, or negative liberties, which 'restrict the state from interfering in the individual's participation in political and civil society' (O'Rourke 2015; 729).

Refugee education started to be conceptualised in the aftermath of the Second World War when the provision of education for refugees started to be uttered in international legal instruments as a coherent field (Bromley & Andina 2010). UNESCO carried the global mandate for education, including for refugees and other displaced populations until mid-1960s. When it was clear that UNESCO's focus on national-level policy left little capacity to act for refugees, UNHCR began to create capacity for refugee education (Dryden-Peterson 2011). The most sophisticated and the oldest educational organisation for refugees, however, has been UNRWA, which operates schools, trains teachers and also offers post-secondary education and training in a number of countries hosting Palestinian refugees (Dodds & Inquai 1983).

Until the 1980s, few resources were allocated to education within the UNHCR. UNHCR thus typically emphasised the creation of schools operated through refugees' own organisations. Within that context refugees often developed their own schools and other informal learning programmes, which were overtly political, as a result of their struggles for self-determination (Dodds & Inquai 1983). Another important approach of the UNHCR at this time was the provision of scholarships for refugee students as a central part of its education programme (Dryden-Peterson 2011). Against the vast refugee flows of the 1980s, however, UNHCR's approach to refugee education also changed. Increasing numbers of refugees in less developed countries in the 1980s led to the institutionalisation of the refugee camps as the

primary mode of assistance and thus brought about the structural necessity of separate schools for refugees rather than providing scholarships to local schools (Dyrden-Peterson 2011).

While the political dynamics of the Cold War led to burgeoning refugee populations, a belief in the power and necessity of education ignited with the institutionalisation of a rights-based framework with the ratification by all but two countries of the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). The development of refugee education since this time is connected integrally to international instruments for refugee regime, institutional relationships, and shifting understandings of the purposes of education (Dryden-Peterson 2011).

3.3.1.1 Refugee Education in International Legal Instruments

Zolberg (1989) suggest that refugees are people who are displaced from their countries as victims of events for which, at least as individuals, they cannot be held responsible. Bauman (2004; 76-78) refers to refugees as 'products of globalisation' as 'human waste' with no useful function to play in the land of their arrival. Referring to Bauman, Derrida (2000; 88-89) describes refugees as the 'stateless', 'lawless nomads', 'absolute foreigners' who 'continue to recognize the language, what is called the mother tongue as their last resting place'. Apart from the subjective definitions and perceptions of who a refugee is, the legal definition based on the 1951 Convention on Refugees recognizes a refugee as someone who has 'fled his home owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside

the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it'(UNHCR 2010). [20]

The 1951 Refugee Convention has been the key legal document in defining who is a refugee and the legal obligations of the states towards them. The Convention lays down basic minimum standards for the treatment of refugees, without prejudice to States granting more favourable treatment. Such rights include access to the courts, primary education and work. Such rights also include the provision for documentation, including a refugee travel document in passport form. The 1951 Convention, as a post-Second World War instrument, was originally limited in scope to persons fleeing events occurring before 1 January 1951 and within Europe. The 1967 Protocol removed these limitations and thus gave the Convention universal coverage (UNHCR 2010). Under the Convention and Protocol, there is a particular role for UNHCR. States undertake to cooperate with UNHCR in the exercise of its functions, which are set out in its Statute of 1950 along with a range of other General Assembly resolutions. By its Statute, UNHCR is tasked with promoting international instruments for the protection of refugees, and supervising their application (UNHCR 2010).

The 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol set standards that apply to children in the same way as to adults. Accordingly: (1) a child who has a "well-founded fear of being persecuted" for one of the stated reasons is a "refugee"; (2) a child who holds refugee status cannot be forced to return to the country of origin (the principle of non-refoulement); and (3) no distinction is made between children and adults in social welfare and legal rights.

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[20] Apart from the definition given by UN agencies, Zolberg et al. (1989) alternatively suggests that refugees can be categorised into three, based on the factors that lead to the displacement. The first two categories, parallel with the UN definition, describes the refugee as an activist, 'engaging in some politically significant activity that the state seeks to extinguish; and as a target, by misfortune of belonging—often by accident of birth—to a social or cultural group that has been singled out for the abuse of state power'. The third category, on the other hand, majorly differs from the original definition by stating refugee as a mere 'victim'. 'This covers persons displaced by societal or international violence that is not necessarily directed at them as individuals but makes life in their own country impossible' (Zolberg et al. 1989; 30).

Furthermore, the Convention sets standards which are of special importance to children: refugees must receive the "same treatment" as nationals in primary education, and treatment at least as favourable as that given to non-refugee aliens in secondary education (UNHCR 1994). 'The Contracting States shall accord to refugees treatment as favourable as possible and, in any event, not less favourable than that accorded to aliens generally in the same circumstances, with respect to education other than elementary education and, in particular, as regards access to studies, the recognition of foreign school certificates, diplomas and degrees, the remission of fees and charges and the award of scholarships' (1951 Convention, Article 21, Public Education).

Notably, the distinction between elementary and higher education is dependent on the definitions applied by each contracting state. With respect to education beyond the elementary level including general higher education and vocational training, Contracting States are to grant refugees as favourable treatment as possible according to the 1951 Convention. However, this general statement lacks a measurable standard and therefore a minimum obligation is imposed through which refugees must receive at least the same treatment with regard to higher education as other foreigners in the same circumstances (UNHCR 2000).

On the other hand, the mention of recognition of foreign certificates, diplomas and degrees in this provision of the 1951 Convention is solely intended for the purpose of admission to advanced studies, which require a prior diploma, certificate or degree. It is also important to note that with regard to the remission of fees or charges this article should be read together with the more favourable provision in Article 29, which bestows refugees with the same treatment as nationals regarding duties, charges or taxes of any description whatsoever, which are levied by the state (UNHCR 2000). In that respect access to education should be maintained on the basis of equal opportunities, regardless of the person's legal status, nationality or gender (Anselme & Hands).

Although not specifically geared towards the protection of refugees, many international human rights and humanitarian law instruments are directly applicable to refugees (Barnes 2009; 5). Likewise, there are different reference points in accordance with the Convention regarding the right of education along with other social and economic rights. Since many countries has not ratified the 1951 Convention and the 1967 protocol, or ratified them with a geographic limitation like Turkey, it is especially important to look at other binding and non-binding international documents making reference to education for refugees.

Article 26, paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Declaration of Human Rights states that:

> Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

> Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. (Article 26)

The importance of the right to education is such that, according to the United Nations' Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR), it 'epitomizes the indivisibility and interdependence of all human rights' (UNESCO 2014; 9). The right to education is asserted in numerous international treaties and texts of varying legal nature, and it has been affirmed by both legally binding and non-binding inter-state instruments.

The 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), one of the most comprehensive texts on the right to education, lays out obligations by which the State must abide with at all levels of education, primary, secondary and post-secondary (or higher) (UN 1966). It is important to note that, although educational provision is depicted as state's duty for its citizens in many of the legal texts, the responsibility of state for educational provision is not limited to the its citizens only. According to the 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), it is each state's responsibility to provide

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children with the right to education and Article 22 clearly includes the refugee children for the enjoyment of all the rights put forth in the convention for any other child living in their country of origin. Accordingly, states shall take appropriate measures to ensure that a child who is seeking refugee status or who is considered a refugee receive appropriate protection and humanitarian assistance in the enjoyment of applicable rights set forth in CRC and in other international human rights or humanitarian instruments to which the States are Parties.

> For this purpose, States Parties shall provide, … co-operation in any efforts by the United Nations and other competent intergovernmental organisations or nongovernmental organisations co-operating with the United Nations to protect and assist such a child …In cases where no parents or other members of the family can be found, the child shall be accorded the same protection as any other child permanently or temporarily deprived of his or her family environment for any reason, as set forth in the present Convention. (Article 22)

It can be implied from the CRC that whatever benefits a state gives to the children who are its citizens; it must give to all children, including those who are refugees on its territory. In that sense the CRC is highly important for refugee children because all signatory governments have agreed to its standards which are strong means of protecting children, including refugees in any country and in the case of a state non being a signatory of the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol CRC could be used as a basis for the protection of refugee children (UNHCR 1994, Demirdjian 2012).

While devolving responsibility for primary education to refugee communities, UNHCR also focused most of its financial resources and staff on post-primary education. Beginning in 1960s, postsecondary scholarships for refugees were introduced, which emphasised the integration of individual refugees, often in urban areas (Dryden-Peterson 2011). Indeed, early international refugee education policies focused on refugees' immersion and integration into the host or resettlement countries. According to Smith (2011) refugee camps and settlements following the Second World War were functionalized to engage refugees in modern economic development of the surrounding communities and the refugee education policies were focused on assimilation so that the refugees will fit into the new country and

contribute economically. From the 1980s onwards, however, the idea of education for repatriation started to dominate international refugee education policies. Smith (2011) argues that the ideas of repatriation that were proposed at this time as a durable solution within the context of large-scale refugee crises started to constitute the base of international refugee education policies. Accordingly, UNHCR field guidelines were developed in 2003 to promote the universal application of standards in the education sector, and harmonized approach to a wide range of refugee education needs. According to the Guidelines:

> Any formal curriculum should be based on what the students used before the displacements, based on the memory of their teachers and educational materials they had brought with them. Controversial elements should be omitted [and] the curriculum should be formally redefined, through a consultation process which includes refugee educators and ideally staff of the education ministries of the countries of origin and asylum as well as the implementing partners. The language of instruction should be that of the country of origin as that of the curriculum, but with additional 'subject time' given to language instruction of the host country as well thematic messages in line with the CRC. (UNHCR Education Field Guidelines 2003; iii-19)

Likewise, according to UNESCO, curriculum policy for refugees should support the long term development of individual students and of the society and, for refugee populations, should be supportive of 'durable solutions, normally repatriation' (Sinclair 2002; 29). Against the increasing emphasis on education for repatriation rather than integration by international agencies, it is clear that contemporary educational policy making for refugees at a state level should be analysed in terms of the location of refugees. In developed and developing countries, capacity and decisions about solutions differ according to the level of economic development and the number of refugees received.

3.3.3 Towards a Country-Specific Approach to Refugee Education Policy

Although there are similarities in terms of the legal approach and education of refugee children and young people there are also considerable differences in the policies of countries with respect to provision of education for refugees. There is also a considerable difference

per country in which refugees may or may not acquire permanent residence or citizenship of the host country (Bourgonje 2010).

Less developed countries are both the major source and destination of refugees. As was mentioned in this chapter previously, a great majority of the world's refugees originates from developing countries, while at the same time these countries host the majority of the global refugee population. Social, economic and political structures of different countries are diverse; therefore, the effects of refugees can vary considerably from region to region, and, even from country to country. Therefore, it is impossible to generalize different refugee contexts.

Refugees in developed countries are naturally expected to fare better educationally than those in developing countries. Developed countries generally have universal and compulsory primary education, and all refugee children in those countries have to attend school for a certain number of years. In addition, refugees receive language and other training to speed up and simplify their integration into the society. Many other countries that receive refugees, on the other hand, are poor, and do not as yet have universal primary education. As a result, many of these states give preference to their own nationals rather than the refugees (Dodds & Inquai 1983). As developed and developing countries are burdened differently by the refugees (Czaika 2009), it is crucial to make a clear distinction between developed and developing countries as hosts when studying refugees and thus also education policies for refugees.

Likewise, the current literature on education policies for refugees has a tendency to handle refugees in the developed world and the developing world separately. Refugee education and related policies in the developed world is studied as a part of the broader context of immigration, integration and global issues in education mostly with reference to pedagogical development theories (Wiggan & Hutchison eds. 2009). Education policies for refugees in

the developing world, on the other hand, are usually analysed within the larger framework of Education in Emergencies (EIE) under humanitarian assistance (Demirdjian ed. 2012).

3.3.3.1 Refugee Education in the Developed World

Parallel with the literature on the integration of immigrants specifically in the developed world, a body of literature on refugee education is based on the discussions around multiculturalism, social justice, post–national citizenship, and the related pedagogical issues including second language acquisition and inclusive education. With this approach, concepts of globalisation in education are linked to understanding the refugee regime and the ways in which refugee flows contribute to globalisation of education (Adams & Kirova eds. 2007). Children from marginalised groups experience education systems which are created to cater the needs of the majority of the society. Understanding of and fitting into the mainstream education setting designed for natives might be difficult for the strangers. According to Allerby and Brown (2008), this is an issue of global concern for all those involved in education of marginalised groups or those positioned as separate from the mainstream for other reasons. Thus, fathoming the educational experiences of such groups is crucial for steps to be taken to develop all-inclusive education systems.

For Hutchison and Wiggan (2009), on the other hand, nations are struggling more to educate their migrant population along with the intensifying globalisation process. They point out that while the migrant students are faced with the complexities of cross-cultural education and the language barriers, host countries are increasingly facing the challenge of teaching students who do not speak the language of instruction. One of the consequences of language barrier in learning is increasing rate of drop outs among migrant students.

Several educational researchers, especially those adopting the aforementioned approach, have included refugees together under the broader terms "immigrant" or "migrant" (Hutchison & Wiggan 2009, Hannah 2007). Putting refugees and immigrants into the same category can make it difficult to sort out the differences in immigrant and refugee children's

educational experiences. Several scholars argue that in major developed countries, education policy has reflected an 'undifferentiated ethnospace' in its subsuming of refugee education under broader categories concerning social justice, multiculturalism and English-language provision (Keddie 2012, Sidhu & Taylor 2007). Without doubt, there are similarities between immigrants and refugees that allow researchers to consider them in combination. In both cases the children are to leave the social and educational systems they belong to, and encounter a different society with a different culture, language and a different education system. Both groups of children also encounter various levels of xenophobic attitudes and discrimination to some extent. However, for McBrien (2009), given the considerable differences in terms of pre-migration experiences, the latter being highly traumatic, it is important to study the populations separately.

Farrell (2006), Szente & Hoot (2006) and McBrien (2009) consider special challenges for refugee children in developed countries and create a compelling picture of hardships frequently experienced by families and children who are involuntary or forced migrants in these countries. Among the major challenges is the fact that most refugee children have experienced trauma that can impede their ability to learn. Trauma can affect the students' attention spans, memory skills, and impulse control. Refugee children are at risk of post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, anxiety and grief that persist over many years due to experiences of war and violence. It is found out that children react to such stressors differently than adults do, and that different cultures display diverse reaction patterns; thus it may be difficult for teachers and service providers in countries which are havens for refugees from different cultures to cope with the repercussions of traumatic disorders. In developed counties like the United States, since the number of refugee students are much smaller than immigrant students, teachers are not always informed about differences between refugee and immigrant children and unaware that refugee children are frequently affected by multiple physical and psychological traumas (McBrien 2009).

Australia is the only developed country to enforce a policy of mandatory detention of asylum seekers who arrive in the country without documents, regardless of their age or family situation. Although many of the children can attend local schools outside the detention compound, other children are still living and attending school in the detention centres isolated from the mainstream culture. Detention is a negative socialization experience for children: it accentuates developmental risk, threatens the relationship between children and the significant caregivers, limits educational opportunities and reduces the potential to recover form trauma and exacerbates the effects of other trauma. On this basis, Farrell (2007) criticizes current detention policies and practices in Australia. Farrell also points out that many refugee children educated in the Australian community have similar experiences to those of detainee children. Many children have diverse cultural and linguistic background and thus educational needs. Therefore, educational programs need to be designed to address these differences rather than a customized one-size-fits-all approach.

Within a particular national group, refugees come from different ethnic, religious and political groups. Refugees are also from different social classes in the society they belonged to in their country of origin; despite the persistent generalisation that those who have fled world's poorest countries are from urban middle classes. Likewise, the educational background of refugees differs. Among the refugee children there are some who have a fairly complete education as well as those who have had interrupted education experiences. In that context, Rutter (2001) underlines the importance of appreciating and considering the variety of refugee children's backgrounds and prior experiences.

Specifically addressing the issue of justice within refugee education, Keddie (2012) argues that neoliberal discourses have constituted a shift away from equity and social justice priorities in Australia. Combined with the limited representation of refugee issues in education policy, neoliberal discourses have exacerbated the lack of resourcing for teachers and schools to support their refugee students. Consistent with the limited representation of refugee students within education policy, there is a tendency for schooling and teacher

practice to homogenise different students' identities. This homogenising has often constructed refugee students along deficit lines with a predominant focus on their disadvantages, in relation to, for example, the trauma of their pre-migration experiences, their language and cultural barriers, and their lack of social capital ignoring the potential of these students to positively contribute to society (Sidhu & Taylor 2007).

Like Keddie, Arnot et al. (2012) and Pinson et al. (2010) trace the impact of neoliberalism on the education policies and how these policies are reflected upon the refugee children in the developed world, specifically in Britain. In this context, it is important to emphasize that historically, modern education systems were projects of state-formation and the expansion of education is usually associated with the development of a welfare state and the social rights of the citizen. However, immigration control, along with neoliberalism, tends to create a tension between universal rights on education and the provision of social justice.

A study (Szente & Hoot 2007) conducted in the New York on the needs of refugee school children puts forth that lack of background information and inappropriate academic assessment are among the major setbacks for the academic success of the refugee children. Accordingly, information on the previous educational experience, certificates and even basic biographical data is not sufficient most of the time to provide the teachers and education services with required professional preparation. Furthermore, the same study suggests that academic grading and testing presents a challenge in assessing refugee children's true knowledge without the existence of a common solid language base to use for communication. The study concludes with a warning for the teachers against falling into the fallacy of assuming that the students are slow learners or need special education because they do not speak fluent English.

3.3.3.2 Refugees in European Education Policy

As previously mentioned, there is a growing concern about studying the education of immigrant and refugee population separately as the latter have traumatic experiences and

thus different needs (McBrien 2009). Nonetheless, as the potential citizens, education policies for refugees and asylum seekers are generally examined in accordance with the integration strategies for immigrants in the EU context as in the rest of the developed world. The legislative measures developed by the EU to promote integration of immigrants and thus refugees put the following obligations on the member states in brief: (1) to promote teaching of the mother tongue and culture of the country of origin; (2) to promote teaching adapted to the specific needs of such children within a period of four years and provide teacher training; and (3) to provide migrants the same treatment as nationals in education and prohibit discrimination, with the right to appeal to prohibit any discrimination based on race or ethnic origin in different areas, including education (Qureshi & Janmaat 2014). Mother tongue education is also referred as a basic right in many international legal instruments forming base for the European Education Policy. For instance, the Convention against Discrimination in Education asserts the importance of education in mother tongue (UNESCO 1960) Meanwhile in International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (UN 1966) it is outlined that individuals and bodies have the right to establish educational institutions to provide religious and moral education so long as conformed to minimum standards as may be laid down by the State. Last but not the least European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (Council of Europe 1998) lays down the standards to protect and promote regional and minority languages and to enable speakers of a regional or minority language to use it in private and public life. Although, the Charter excludes the languages of recent immigrants, once a language has entered the scope of application of the Charter owing to its historical/traditional presence in the state, the Charter is aimed to benefit every person, irrespective of her/his ethnicity.

Dealing with the political, economic and social consequences of the global crisis of displacement has been a major challenge for many countries in Europe. This challenge is also evident in the contradictions on refugee-related topics. While on the one hand refugees are regarded as a social security problem, as a threat to a nation's prosperity and a burden

for the welfare system, refugees as the migrants are on the other hand also viewed as a way to ensure the competitiveness and viability of these countries given the demographic change and the ageing of the population and the challenges coming along with it, such as imbalances in the pension system and a skills shortage. The defense of the security and economic interests of nation states is challenged by the goal set by the EU member states to apply humanistic ideals such as human rights and democratic principles in regard to the refugees. The requirements for non-discrimination against refugees are hard to reconcile with the common practice of giving priority to the national interests. According to Seukwa (2013), the narrow view adopted in migration policy, which is tailored to the interests of the EU states, tends to ignore the global interdependencies of the causes of displacement. The worldwide displacement actually stems from the global structural imbalance caused by the excessive exploitation of natural and human resources to the disadvantage of the poor countries. Despite the ever more restrictive immigration policies in European countries, there have been many initiatives to promote integration of refugees and asylum seekers into education systems and labor markets in European states.

With the EU Council Directive 2003/9/EC of 27 January 2003, which lay down minimum standards for the reception of asylum seekers as well as for the promotion of access to education and of participation in employment and vocational training, an important signal at an EU level was sent to the member states regarding the recognition of asylum seekers and refugees as subjects of integration, and hence subjects of education regardless of whether they have a secure residence status. For the first time, asylum seekers were explicitly mentioned in The European Social Fund (ESF) Regulation 2007-2013 parallel to a community initiative called EQUAL aiming to reduce differences in prosperity and living standards across the EU Member States and regions and thus promoting both economic and social cohesion. One of the themes of EQUAL was the social and vocational integration of asylum seekers, a unique programme given that no EU funding had ever explicitly supported this very disadvantaged target group to find employment and access vocational education

and training. Having just arrived in the host society, asylum seekers do not often have easy access to information and as a result do not know where to find information on language courses and other educational and training opportunities. Thus EQUAL was composed of initiatives for counselling and mediation services and language courses aiming to assist asylum seekers to develop their professional skills and find jobs.

The EU has increasingly become aware of an "integration problem" of immigrant children in the education systems and refugees and asylum seekers are not exempt from the efforts to provide equal opportunities in education. Immigrant children are in a disadvantaged position in the education systems in general, but the degree of difference compared to native peers varies quite substantially between countries in Europe (Heckmann 2008). The underachievement of immigrant children in Europe is prominently explained through Bourdieu's model of social relation on "habitus" which is the system of durable, transposable dispositions functioning as structuring structures. Accordingly, social relations are reproduced as an outcome of already existing power relations. While preserving past experiences, the system of dispositions perpetuates itself into the future (Bourdieu 1990; 54). Many forms of cultural capital like language are heavily dependent on the context they develop and devalued in other contexts. Shortage of the cultural, social and economic capital of the immigrant families is a setback for the successful education. Although there is no legal segregation of schools in European countries for immigrant children, de facto segregation in urban schools – usually in disadvantaged city quarters – exists in all European countries that have experienced relevant immigration flows from less developed countries adding to the perpetuation of the immigrant habitus (Heckman 2008).

Despite the efforts for promoting the employment of refugees, asylum seekers and other immigrants in supranational level at EU, one has to take account specific characteristics of states and a series of contextual challenges. Indeed, how much influence the EU really has at the national institutional level whether, in light of distinct state ideologies and particularistic trends within the education system remains as a question which requires a state

specific look at the education policies. Qureshi and Janmaat (2014) examine education policies for immigrants in major EU states through the prism of Koopmans et al. (2005) ideal-typical incorporation strategies - integration, assimilation and separation. Accordingly, integration is the strategy encouraging participation in the society of the receiving country, whilst giving the opportunity to retain and develop the minority language and culture (multiculturalism). Assimilation is the policy encouraging participation in the receiving society and adoption of the receiving country's language and culture. Unlike assimilation, which indicates a one-way process of including refugees in the receiving society in a way that does not allow them to publicly practise the culture of their country of origin (Vrecer 2010; 489), integration indicates a reciprocal process of facilitating a sharing of resources— economic and social---and an equalizing of rights, political and territorial, and the development of cultural exchanges and new cultural forms, between immigrants and all other members of a society (Stubbs 1996: 36). According to several scholars, integration is best realized when the dominant group in a receiving society implements multiculturalism (Berry 2001, Vrecer 2010). Separation is the policy discouraging participation in the receiving society and encouraging the retention of minority language and culture to facilitate return to the country of origin. Although assimilationist domination can be added as a subcategory to the policies towards the immigrants as a way of discouraging participation in the receiving society and ignoring the linguistic and cultural differences, ideally it should not exist in the EU context as it is in contradiction with the fundamental legislative measures developed by the EU. Assimilationist domination particularly could be applied to the Turkish case in the aftermath of the of the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne.

Most European states have accepted the role of education in integrating migrants and enhancing social cohesion at official level. Indeed, European societies have become increasingly diverse as a result of legal and illegal migration flows, and educationists are facing the challenge of how to address the presence of migrant students. In recent years, there has been increasing activity at European level in the field of intercultural education despite

the principle of subsidiarity. The research by Faas et al. (2014) through analysis of key European level policy documents and developments in the field of intercultural education highlighted that there has been increasing European educational policy cooperation. In the EU context the inability of current school systems to tackle the issue of multiculturalism is now recognized, and possible routes for modification have been suggested. These are expressly targeted at addressing the recent and present reality of increased 'human mobility' from within and outside Europe. The involvement of the EU at supranational level is viewed as necessary by many, notably because one of the freedoms guaranteed by the principle of free movement of persons across the EU - a mobility that is at times hampered by the inadequacies of foreign school systems to deal with the specific needs of children on the move (Faas et al. 2014). The main emphasis of recent EU level initiatives is not on the impact that better schooling may have on the political participation of pupils with a migrant background but on the better integration of migrants into society and more particularly into the labour market. It is expected that the political and social participation of this group will be enhanced by education that is more inclusive. It should be noted that Lisbon Agenda of 2000 and the role assigned to education in that process can only met at the level of the community and not at a national level (Dale 2009). However, it is impossible to scale the national down to the regional without any loss of meaning. That is why instead of talking about a cohesive European Education Policy trying to replace or modify national educational policies, it is better to talk about the effects of a putative 'European Education Policy' on domestic education Policies if the member states. (Dale 2009; 36). In Turkey, as a candidate of EU membership, the phenomenon of Europeanisation has growingly affected the national education policy making and migration management. These developments will be referred to in the next chapters that will formulate a framework for refugee education in Turkey. However, here it is important to address the refugee education in the major refugee and asylum seeker hosting states in Europe, the leading state being Germany during the current Syrian refugee crisis (UNHCR 2014b, 2014c).

Education and integration policies for refugees in Germany at state and federal level are inextricable from its long history as a country of immigration. Today's Germany as a country of immigration dates back to the guest workers in the 1960s. For the first generation of immigrants there was no real integration policy in education and training. The first integration policies in Germany were formulated in 1970 exclusively from a labor market perspective (Bendel 2014). The teaching of immigrant children was partly based on the assumption that they would reside in Germany for a temporary period. Accordingly, two seemingly contradictory objectives were formulated on federal level in 1970s. The first measure was to ensure that immigrant children were accommodated in German schools with additional language support classes to teach them German. The second measure was the provision of separate mother tongue classes (Muttersprachlicher Ergänzungsunterricht) to ensure reintegration into their country of origin upon their return. (Qureshi & Janmaat 2014). Some variations of the application of this policy led to segregation in schools (Yildiz 2013).

With the onset of the Europeanisation and globalisation of education, Germany started formulating integration strategies relating to the education of immigrants based on multiculturalism. The results of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) demonstrated from 1997 onwards that the children of immigrants have considerably fewer opportunities than their German-origin peers in German education system (Wilborg 2009). Underachievement of immigrant children was found to mainly stem from language setbacks, thus the federal governments increasingly prompted the creation of German language courses tailored to the special needs of targeted immigrant groups, including youth as well as immigrant women with children (Bendel 2014). Apart from the growing emphasis in German language acquisition among different immigrant population, the 1990s marked the start of the development of more multicultural concepts within education in Germany in contrast to the previous systems considered to be non-integrative. In that context, secondary schools in Berlin and North Westphalia started to pride mother tongue education for

immigrants as a second foreign language (Yildiz 2013). On the other hand, bilingual education schemes as German-Greek, German-Turkish, German-Spanish etc. schools in Berlin and Hamburg commenced (Yildiz 2013). According to Luchtenberg (2004; 50) the shift was a reflection of increasing influence of the European Education Policy and related EU directives to 'broaden the concept of multicultural education to European and global perspectives'. Likewise, Qureshi and Janmaat (2014; 772) assert that the implementation of this directive by Germany provides a good example of national states borrowing from a transnational normative model. The acceptance of multicultural education in Germany led to the caesura of the minority-only language classes and mother tongue instruction as a means to reintegration to the county of origin and instead was seen as an integral effort to support multiculturalism. Today it is accepted by German authorities that children who grow up speaking two languages possess a treasure which will greatly help them in life. Bilingualism is seen as treasure as long as German language acquisition never lacks behind the languages of the country of origin. Although Germany is still a *Kulturnation* (Foroutan 2013) with an essential German culture that is inherently linked to language and German language as the most important precondition to obtaining citizenship, there is considerable space for mother tongue education for the children of newly arrived immigrants in several German states as classes out of the main curriculum, non-compulsory, independent or as a part of bilingual education schemes to include both the immigrants from different ethno-linguistic background and German native speakers. Despite relative cut backs from the state budget and shrinkage, complementary mother tongue education (Muttersprachlicher Ergänzungsunterricht) is also still applied in several states as non-compulsory complementary education for 2-5 hours per week at primary and secondary schools (Yildiz 2013) along with general social and economic integration efforts.

Qureshi and Janmaat (2014) note that due to the decentralised education system in Germany, different variations are present within different states for the offering of religious education. For instance, in areas with large population of Muslims, Islamic instruction including

different sects in religious education, in line with liberal democratic values of the state is provided. Regulations regarding the access of irregular migrants to education differ from one federal state to another. While no law explicitly addresses the irregular migrants, several states have enacted new regulations that aim to enable undocumented children to attend school (Laubenthal 2011).

Despite the legal and administrative limbo due to the unprecedented numbers of Syrian refugee families, all Syrian children with asylum status can access German schools. Overwhelmed by new comers, German schools do not have enough teachers and as documented in other refugee hosting states, teachers in Germany also lack training in how they might meet the needs of their new students, with little knowledge of how to work with language learners or overaged students, or to address issues of trauma. However, most of the teachers are already experienced working with immigrant children in economic and legal limbo and German language learners. German schools are developing multiple, flexible approaches to educating refugees and asylum seekers, for instance some integrate the children into existing classrooms and others create a separate classroom for children of all ages (Dryden-Peterson et. al. 2016).

In most German states like Bavaria, the initial entry point for most of the recent flood of arrivals, state law mandates that children of asylum seekers be enrolled in school. Because most newly arrived pupils would fail if placed directly in regular classes, public schools and private groups offer "transition" courses ranging from a few months to two years. During such classes, students not only learn the German language but are also taught social customs that may be different than those they were raised with, such as boys and girls looking one another directly in the eye when speaking to one another. [21]

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[21] See 'Germany's challenge: How will schools absorb thousands of Syrian children?' by L. King available at http://www.latimes.com/world/europe/la-fg-germany-schools-syrians-20150908-story.html, accessed 10.04.2016

It is highlighted by teacher associations in Germany that if more than 30 percent of kids in a classroom don't speak good German, the quality of education suffers. That would be bad for those children who could actually achieve more, but also for migrant or refugee students who are struggling to integrate in Germany. Accordingly, if integration is to succeed, then the classrooms should not be 100 percent refugee children. If the percentage of kids who speak very little or no German is too high, that means too much class time is devoted to making sure everyone can catch up with their German. With that said, in the chaotic situation brought about by the Syrian refugee flows, a concentrated bureaucracy makes it harder to implement integration (according to a teacher in Bremen). Another teacher migrant/non-migrant distinction is not the right factor to determine how well the students do in school. Rather, it is a question of whether their families are open to the norms and values of the German education system: 'Students whose parents aren't interested in their children's school work are at a disadvantage, she said, adding that when the language barrier prevents her from speaking with parents there is hardly any room for improvement'.[22]

3.3.3.3 Refugee Education in the Developing World

A distinct approach detected through this review of the existing literature deals with refugee education within the larger framework of education in emergencies (EiE). This approach focuses mainly on cases of massive population influxes due to conflicts or disasters in the developing or underdeveloped countries. The main principle of refugee education in such cases is that the refugees are to be voluntarily repatriated once the emergency situation is over and thus the refugee status is considered to be temporary. In such cases, education provision for refugees has two dimensions. On the one hand, large number of refugees are usually housed in camps separate from general public, and the tendency is to set up separate schools, which is often inadequate for the big numbers of refugee children in need of

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[22] 'How to Integrate Refugee Kids in German Schools' available at http://www.dw.com/en/how-to-integrate-refugee-kids-in-german-schools/a-18785567, accessed 03.05.2016

education. Primary education for refugees particularly in camps become a cooperative effort between UNHCR, national governments, voluntary bodies and refugee organisations. In many refugee hosting countries there is also number of refugees living in urban areas trying to be incorporated into the existing education system which already lacks sufficient means for quality education. Refugees fare even worse in post primary schools, where limited numbers of places are made available for them in secondary and vocational education and training. Such provision remains a major problem especially as more and more refugee children complete primary education in host countries. In addition, a small number of refugees are eligible for university education. (Dodds & Inquai 1983)

According to Davies and Talbot (2008), the field of the relationship of education to conflict is a fast-growing one. During the past decade, there has been a growing global recognition of the vital role played by the provision of high-quality education in conflict, emergencies, and early reconstruction. The theme of 'education in emergencies' came to the fore in the 1990s in connection with the concept of 'complex humanitarian emergencies' generating refugees or IDPs. Nicolai (2003;11) defines education in emergencies as a 'set of linked project activities that enable learning structures to continue in times of acute crisis of long-term instability'.

The World Education Forum held in Dakar in April 2000 affirmed the crucial role that education plays 'to meet the needs of education systems affected by conflict, natural calamities and instability and conduct educational programs in ways that promote mutual understanding, peace and tolerance, and that help to prevent violence and conflict', and incorporated the pledge in a Framework for Action adopted in pursuit of the objectives of Education for All (Sinclair 2002; 21, Davies & Talbot 2008).

Education was largely excluded from humanitarian assistance until 2000s. before that date only less than 2 per cent of humanitarian funding was allocated to the education sector (Price 2010; 8). Under the reforms to humanitarian response introduced in early 2000s, a

coordinating mechanism of humanitarian clusters was established, with strict accountability to beneficiaries, governments, and donors. The Education Cluster is led globally by a partnership of UNICEF and the Save the Children Alliance. According to Davies & Talbot (2008), this represents a broad institutional commitment to education in emergencies.

Despite spurious arguments against rapid educational response in refugee emergencies[23] education is increasingly viewed as the "fourth pillar", or a "central pillar", of humanitarian response, alongside the pillars of nourishment, shelter and health services. The global humanitarian assistance community has acknowledged the importance of educational response during emergencies based on three hypotheses. First of all, it is possible and psychologically beneficial to refugee and other crisis-affected children and adolescents to participate rapidly in community-based healing activities including elements of education and recreation, with subsequent systematization of these activities. Secondly these psychological benefits together with learned knowledge, skills and values can contribute to peace-building and to social and economic development. Thirdly, in many situations, education can serve as a tool for protection and prevention of harm (Sinclair 2001).

Sinclair (2002) emphasizes that every crisis is sui generis and there does not exist a single formula for successful response. The response must always be designed from the 'bottom up', using some form of participatory appraisal, in order to achieve the best result in shortest time possible. That said, it is possible to identify general principles to improve the quality of response in many emergency situations under four headings: access, resources, curriculum and coordination.

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[23] Several arguments are advanced for delaying education to newly arrived refugees. According to Sinclair (2001) the most influential arguments are as follows: 1. Education may prevent rapid voluntary repatriation; 2. Staff are too busy, there are insufficient vehicles or staff housing; 3. Education is not urgent, not life-saving.

Access: According to Sinclair (2002) access to education and related activates must be ensured even in crisis situations and rapid access should be followed by improvement of quality and coverage, including access to all levels of education and recognition of studies. Sinclair further points out that education programmes should be gender sensitive and inclusive to serve as a tool for child protection.

Resources: Education programmes, should use a community based participatory approach, with emphasis on capacity for teachers and young/adult educators, and provide incentives to avoid teacher turnover (Sinclair 2002; 29-30).

Curriculum: For Sinclair, policy should support the long term development of individual students and of the society and for refugee populations, should be supportive of a durable solution, usually repatriation and help meet their psychological needs in short- and longer-term. Education programmes should be enriched to include life skills for education for peace/conflict resolution, tolerance, human rights and citizenship

Capacity Building: Governments and assistance agencies should promote co-ordination between all agencies and stakeholders. External assistance programmes should include capacity building to promote transparent, accountable and inclusive system management by local actors. (Sinclair 2002; 29-30)

Oh (2012) defines education in the refugee camps by disjuncture: between the state (identity), and territory (belonging), the present (protracted refugee situation) and the future (repatriation, resettlement, and integration), nowhere (camp) and everywhere (global resettlement). This is because:

> education has traditionally been situated within the nation-states and its sovereignty. Refugees and their educational endeavors are dislocated from their geographical, political and social context, and are consigned to a lace that is outside the recognized territory and sovereignty of the original nation-state. (Oh 2012; 79)

According to Hannah (2007), education provision in refugee camps serves many purposes, including providing structure and a degree of continuity in the daily lives of the children, providing important psychological support. Hannah further points out that:

> Community and cultural identity is maintained in an alien and perhaps hostile environment, retaining a sense of purpose and dignity in a situation that can all too often breed a sense of hopelessness and despair. Optimism about the future can be promoted by providing education and training in anticipation of reconstruction, and social and economic development, breaking the cycle of poverty breeding violence, breeding poverty. Skills for conflict resolution and peace-building, and positive attitudes towards citizenship, can be built into the curriculum. The involvement of the refugee community in the design and delivery of education programs for both children and adults has become increasingly recognized as an important factor in overcoming the dependency that often results from prolonged periods in refugee camps. In the most challenging of circumstances therefore, educational provision in refugee camps can make an enormous contribution towards the promotion of access, equity and democracy. (Hannah 2007; 9)

Education is also evidently essential as a preparation for economic and social reintegration of refugee and internally displaced populations (Davies & Talbot 2008). For Joyner (1996; 72) the psychological importance of schools in the context of war is considerable, particularly among displaced populations. Accordingly, schools are symbolic of a return to some form of recognizable routine. They are often among the first community structures to be established in the aftermath of displacement. Indeed, schools provide ideal forum for reaching the war affected populations.

Oh (2012) points out that, CSOs and multilateral organizations may act as 'pseudo nation-states' in the provision of education. For example, the UNRWA provides education for Palestinians in the occupied territories, Lebanon, Syria and Jordan, where the host governments do not have the capacity to provide basic services.[24] In fact early after it was

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[24] Created in December 1949, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) is a relief and human development agency, originally intended to provide jobs on public works projects and direct relief for Arab Palestinians who fled or were expelled from their homes during the fighting that followed the end of the British mandate over the region of Palestine.

formed the agency sought to shift expenditures from relief to education. UNRWA's director John Davis stated in his report dated 1960 that a 'well planned and properly executed programme' for improving general and vocational education would benefit the refugees whether or not they are repatriated, making them productive wherever they resided (Schiff 1995; 60).

Demirdjian (2012b) lays out the role of CSOs in Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon as providers of extracurricular activities. According to Demirdjian, CSOs generally provide services to fill the gaps of UNRWA schools. Oh and Demirdjian's arguments are parallel with surrogate state theory, which refers to the extending role of UNHCR or other international organisations in providing basic services to refugees which normally should be provided by the state, but without the capacity to fully substitute for a host government. Accordingly, lack of domestically recognized civil status for refugees has the effect of deflecting responsibility from a host government towards the United Nations and the non-governmental sector. In that respect, diffusion of responsibility produces a situation where it is difficult to actually implement theoretical rights (Trad and Kagan 2008; 159).

There exists a notion that quality in education has little priority in most developing countries. Underlining the fact that 'quality' in education is an abstract phenomenon which is hard to judge and agree on, in a study analysing the accessibility and quality of education in the Kakuma Camp in Kenya harbouring majorly Sudanese refugees Mareng (2010) argues that the quality of education in the camp setting can be better than what the outsiders assumed. As Mareng (2010) suggests, most of the refugee children perceived the camp's education as very good because they had learnt more things in a few years at the camp than in the years that they had spent outside the camp. In other words, many things were lacking in the camp, but the children were satisfied with the little that they had and were not bothered about the quality of education. Mareng further praises aid agencies' policies of education in the camp for what has been achieved in terms of level of education.

Despite the aforementioned ever increasing international institutional commitment to education in emergencies, EFA Global Monitoring Report (2011) reveals a disturbing picture of the state of education in refugee camps. According to the Report enrolment rates averaged 69% for primary school and just 30% for secondary school. There are several obstacles to ensure that refugee children receive education. School attendance rates for displaced populations are desperately low in several refugee hosting developing countries. Sometimes refugee children are denied education because host governments are not providing or cannot provide universal primary education for their own children. Poor infrastructure, inadequate resources and a lack of trained teachers are common limitations. The hours limited and school materials are insufficient. Pupil/teacher ratios are very high and many teachers are untrained. In some cases, scarcity of secondary education opportunities exposes youth to the risk of recruitment by armed groups. Sometimes the education provided is not in the refugee children's mother tongue. In some situations, refugee children have no, or very limited, access to post-primary education or other types of training. More generally, restrictions on refugee employment reinforce poverty, which in turn dampens prospects for education. Difficulty obtaining refugee status leads many displaced people to go underground. Living in urban settlements, lacking employment rights and denied access to local schools, refugee children have few opportunities for education (EFA 2011, UNHCR 2004).

Consequently, it should be underlined that provision of quality education is also a challenge to be overcome in the developing world in terms of refugee education. Getting children into school is not an end in itself. Instead it should be a means to deliver the knowledge and skills that people and countries need to flourish (EFA 2011). According to UNHCR (2004), quality of education for refugee children should be as high as that for nationals of the same age. However, in reality, quality of education in these countries already tends to be poor, which in turn exacerbates the dilemmas of education provision for refugee children. Refugees, also, find it necessary to develop a degree of self-reliance and to avoid unnecessary dependence on the overstretched resources of their host countries. Most of them consider education

necessary for preparation to the eventual return to their homeland, and the possible assumption of responsibilities for running a new state. This is especially true when the refugees are closely linked with a struggle for self-determination. (Dodds & Inquai 1983). Meyer (2006) argues that, in some spheres, refugee influx can create opportunities and broader social, political and economic development in the area and become a benefit rather than a burden for the host community. Accordingly, contrary to popular readings of refugee situations, the potential for refugees to present a 'burden' is often due to host government restrictions on livelihood opportunities. (Meyer 2006; 12). Therein, aid policies for development rather than relief has the potential to 'empower' refugees to act as a 'benefit' rather than a 'burden'. Indeed, the refugee is a financial burden on the receiving country and the more unskilled the new comer is, the more likely they will be a a bigger fiscal burden on the state.

3.4 Institutional Approach to Refugee Education

Using a historical institutional approach to the changes to the refugee protection regime, Orchard (2014; 32) argues that crisis events drive changes in the norms that underpin refugee protection. Crises 'unleash short bouts of intense ideational contestation in which agents struggle to provide compelling and convincing diagnoses of the pathologies afflicting the old regime/policy paradigm and the reforms appropriate to the resolution of the crisis'(Hay 2008; 67). Based on that, Betts (2008; 134) argues that UNHCR was created to address the situation of a particular group of people at a particular juncture of history and with new junctures it has to reform itself.

In institutional analysis, a critical juncture is a turning point during which a particular policy is selected from more than one policy alternative. The occurrence of critical juncture is the effect of the interactions of social, economic, political, or international forces (Shih et al. 2012; 307). Critical junctures are characterized by a situation in which the structural (that is, economic, cultural, ideological, organisational) influences on political action are

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significantly relaxed for a relatively short period, with two main consequences: the range of plausible choices open to powerful political actors expands substantially and the consequences of their decisions for the outcome of interest are potentially much more momentous (Cappocia & Kelemen 2007; 343). Contingency, in other words, becomes paramount. Despite the existence of other policy alternatives, once a particular choice is designated, it becomes very difficult to return to the old track later on. As such, the critical juncture constitutes a situation that is qualitatively different from the "normal" historical development of the institutional setting of interest. Analyses of critical junctures most often focus not on random small events but instead on decisions by influential actors—political leaders, policymakers, bureaucrats, judges—and examine how, during a phase of institutional fluidity, they steer outcomes toward a new equilibrium (Cappocia & Kelemen 2005). In educational policy making, critical junctures might be brought about by a refugee crisis. Within the context of this study, it is argued that just such a critical juncture has been brought about by the Syrian refugee crisis: a phenomenon that has caused changes in educational policymaking that is in turn visible in the state—civil society relationship.

Research specifically focusing on educational policy for refugees with an institutional approach rather than pedagogical one is quite uncommon and a significant gap in the field. There are few scholars working in this area; however, that does not mean that we are unable to conceptualising education policy-making with reference to refugees via alternative methodologies like social or historical institutionalism.

The methodological possibilities that constructivism offers to Education in Emergencies (EIE) can be demonstrated by introducing a historical institutional framework analysis that examines the relationship between education and state building. Paulson and Shields (2015) suggest that different and often divergent theories of conflict held by policymakers and practitioners have led to very different education policies and programmes in conflict affected states. Accordingly, education service provision is a form of soft power wielded by bilateral and multilateral organisations to induce conflict affected states to act in accordance

with the interests of other states, particularly the United States and its allies in the European Union. For Paulson and Shields, EIE research has become 'caught up in powerful political agendas and strategies' continuing to ask questions about policies and programmes but eclipsing questions regarding why and how these policies and programmes are developed and implemented in the first place (Paulson and Shields 2015; 64).

Likewise, Monoghan (2015; 69) argues that, historical institutionalism and frame analysis are particularly salient to EIE scholars in developing critiques of education interventions as well as considering alternative interventions capable of addressing structural problems of education in conflict affected states. Historical institutionalism studies take as their starting point a real world problem or puzzle that emerges from observed events. Such a study might ask how different host asylum policies impact refugees' access to education. Accordingly, knowing both the formative and lasting capacity of specific institutional legacies and arrangements helps understanding the range of choices and actual possibilities available to policymakers and practitioners.

Education of Palestinian refugees is a case in recent history that reveals a great deal about the politics of education that involves internal and external ideological battles. Looking at the power relations among internal and external actors that shapes the curriculum building process, Murray (2008) demonstrates that not only is education itself political, international aid and support for education are also political. Accordingly, the development of school curricula for refugees must negotiate issues of nation building, identity and the writing of history. Meanwhile the intervention of external agencies raises questions about the power relations between the various actors involved and what constitutes 'legitimate knowledge'. According to Murray (2008; 39), 'unlike the other three pillars of humanitarian response – food, health and shelter – education is never neutral, it is intrinsically ideological and political'.

Whether or not refugees follow the curriculum from their country of origin, the curriculum from the host country or an adapted curriculum, there has been little to no study of how and why particular curricular decisions are made. Furthermore, no research has examined the beliefs and assumptions driving refugee education policy decisions or their implications for refugee education services. In order to bridge the gap in the literature Smith (2011) tries to examine the 'assumptions' that policy makers at different levels have about refugee education and how these assumptions operate in refugee education policy making. Smith uses the word 'assumption' to highlight the taken-for-granted truths about what refugees needs. Paying particular attention to the ways refugee policies are socially and historically constructed, Smith focuses on focus on policy-makers' assumptions and how they are manifested in formal and informal policies that exist in the key institutions in refugee education. Accordingly, there are three categories of assumptions that influence refugee education policies. The first is the expected future as a result of a durable solution—resettlement, integration, repatriation—for a particular group of refugees.[25] The second

[25] In face of today's unprecedented refugee crisis, UNHCR pursues its three traditional types of durable solutions under its mandate– voluntary repatriation, resettlement, and local integration. However, in many instances, a durable solution is determined by factors that are often outside of UNHCR's control, which aggravates challenges of finding durable solutions for refugees. It is UNHCR's view that voluntary repatriation of refugees should be exclusively based upon free and informed decisions and only when the national protection of one's rights is guaranteed. When conditions in the country of origin are deemed to be right and safe, UNHCR in collaboration with its partners promotes and facilitates the voluntary return of refugees. These processes can range from registration and screening to repatriation agreements and packages, transportation arrangements or reception in countries of origin (UNHCR 2014a). According UNHCR figures, (2014a) until recently the number of refugee returns has been higher than the total number of resettled refugees. However, prolonged conflicts and ongoing humanitarian crises in many parts of the world have given way to a decline in the overall number of refugee returns. Under these circumstances, resettlement -by definition the transfer of refugees from an asylum country to another State that has agreed to admit them as refugees and ultimately grant them permanent settlement- as both burden-sharing and a protection tool has increasingly gained ground. Unfortunately, considering the ever increasing number of displaced people, resettlement remains far from being an all-encompassing solution. A third durable solution, local integration, is a complex and gradual process which comprises distinct but related legal,

category of assumptions affecting refugee education policies related to the resources of funding available to support refugees. In that context the sustainability of donor funding for refugees is among the factors that is expected to affect the education policy making for refugees. The third category of assumptions that influence refugee education policy-making has to do with who makes policy decisions or the institutional decision-makers involved in policy-making. In that context, Smith analyses the roles of host governments, country of origin governments and key UN agencies and reveals an emphasis on security and protection over education concerns in education policymaking. Overall, like Murray does with a post-structural, institutional approach, Smith indicates that refugee education policies tend to be influenced by political, national security and economic motives rather than education or pedagogical concerns or refugees' educational needs and aspirations.

The institutionalisation of education as a human right is fundamental to refugee education in both the developed and developing world, and this growing importance given to education partly explains the rise of emergency education as a field. According to Bromley and Andina (2010), thinking of education as a human right leads to an emphasis on incorporating every human being, regardless of their circumstances, into a system of schooling, alternatively into an education system. Using a theoretical application of sociological neo-institutionalism to

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economic, social and cultural dimensions and imposes considerable demands on both the refugees and host governments. By extending entitlements and rights to locally integrated refugees, the host government inherently obliges/requires refugees to live up to the norms, rules, and regulations of the host country. In many cases, acquiring the nationality of the country of asylum is the culmination of this process. UNHCR estimates that, during the past decade, 1.1 million refugees around the world became citizens in their country of asylum. Nonetheless measuring local integration through official statistics remains a challenge, as data on the naturalization of refugees are often unreported. Similarly, the availability of data on naturalization is limited by the fact that countries often do not distinguish between naturalized refugees and non-refugees in their national statistical systems (UNHCR 2014a). Where repatriation or resettlement is not a viable option, especially in protracted refugee situations, local integration can play a significant role in restoring refugees' dignity, sense of peace, and self-reliance. On the basis of this assertion, it is important to note that the achievement and sustainability of cordial relations between refugees and their hosts depend to a large extent on how refugees are accepted by the host population (Agblorti 2011).

explain the rapid and recent rise of emergency education as a professional field and focusing specifically on the creation of global standards for Education in Emergencies, Bromley and Andina (2010; 579) argue that international standards in emergency education arise due to the institutionalisation of education as a human right and the rationalisation of approaches to solving social problems through individual actorhood. Accordingly, instead of the status quo or government-led agreements, a specific type of international standards emerges – broadly inclusive voluntary arrangements led by CSOs.

On the other hand, Agulilar and Retemal (2009) point out that international organisations as the main humanitarian players in the field are developing more precise indicators and assessment parameters for emergency education as part of their Medium Term Plans and field evaluation systems. Accordingly, to achieve quality educational in coordination with partners, mainly local CSOs and the related Ministries, result-based management requires that the organisations establish clear educational objectives, define the expected results at the outset, agree on performance indicators, and allocate its resources – human, financial, information and supplies (Aguilar and Retemal 2009; 10). The reflection of the planning efforts of the international organisations to governments and/or the local educational authorities and the civil society is important as the cooperation among them has proved to be highly rewarding in terms of bridging the process of emergency education into rehabilitation and reconstruction of the education system.

For Morpeth and Creed (2012), in developing countries, the inclusion of the massive number of marginalised and displaced children into education system can only be realized by provision of services in diversity as formal and non-formal services. This is because of two reasons. First of all, diversity of the needs should be considered. Secondly, many state education systems cannot meet the demands in quantity and quality. Therefore, governments must continue to reform, improve and expand the public system, but also consider reconceptualising their role away from being the exclusive provider and towards encouraging a more diversified and equitable educational system. In that context, CSO-run

para-formal education programmes are closely linked to formal education by adopting a similar curriculum and preparing children for the same or equivalent examinations/levels. These initiatives, for Morpeth and Creed (2012; 206), alter the structure of education in some way to increase access, relevance and efficiency for particular groups of marginalised learners.

3.5 Mass Refugee Education Challenge for the National-State

Modern societies have been defined as nation-states, a political unit controlling a bounded territory and a national community. The concept of 'nation-state' suggests that all people who live in the territory of one state are members of the same nation. Although there is practical impossibility nested in the definition in a globalized world with increasing human mobility, many states are still characterized by one dominant national community and one or many smaller 'nations' or minority communities. In the modern sense, citizenship practices are closely linked to nationhood because it determines the mutual rights and obligations of groups of people living within a certain territory and their state, namely the 'nation-state' (Kartal 2009, 35). Nation-state as we know is rapidly becoming endangered due to globalisation and the population movements, yet it is not extinct. Territory, political community and bureaucracy are intimately linked while citizenship is still territorially defined (Cornelisse 2010; 58). In brief, nation-state continues to provide the dominant criterion of culture and collective identity. It is still the most important source of sovereignty (Smith 1991: 170).

Forced displacement have led more and more people to become exempt from the framework of citizenship as refugees, asylum seekers or irregular migrants (İçduygu 2000). Meanwhile, the traditional language of citizenship is confronted by the alternative discourse of universal human rights (Turner 1994: 157). However non-citizens are still subordinated by the politics of belonging, which is often today expressed in a retrieval of nationalism and the different logic of rights and membership that the host state employs (Pinson & Arnot 2007). Education

right for the displaced is imposed on the nation-state as a universal enforcement. The nation-state could handle the presence of a random and seldom non-citizen entities in its territory, however when the numbers are growing, provision of education becomes a fiscal and organizational challenge to be overcome without breaking the delicate equilibrium of citizenship, nationhood and the universal rights regarding identity and the perpetuation of culture and language.

The severing from established home places and cultural practices throws any held belief about cultural identity as fixed or stable into chaos. 'With migration, identity is renegotiated through a visceral process of becoming in relation to new contexts, new challenges, and new impositions of versions of oneself and, and by, others' (Kelly 2009; 5). The identity issue is even more complicated in relation to cases when people are forcefully displaced and externally take refuge in another country. The system of nation-states systematically denies the possibility of establishing a home for a refugee through its insistence upon the principle of the sovereignty and state's hegemony over the questions of identity (Xenos 1996; 243). According to Banks (2008; 34) there is no culture without language and the mother tongue means one's own culture. In that sense, mother tongue education is significant for the members of the society to maintain their life with the first acquired language, to keep their mother tongue and culture alive and to be successful. The death of a language means the death of a culture. In that context, integrating the refugees lacking a predictable future in protracted situations into national education systems have wider repercussions for the future of nations in displacement. As has been argued: 'The concepts of temporality and of permanence-linked to those of time and space-as central features of postmodernity are challenged by the presence of such children in school systems' (Pinson & Arnot 2007; 405). Education provision for refugees in protracted crisis situations is a vast and challenging topic due the uncertainties included. Although there is a now set of programmes devoted to refugee education by international agencies specialising in refugees and asylum seekers, the existing literature does not analyse in great detail the new refugee education strategies that are being

employed by host states in protracted refugee situations. In mass refugee influxes due to conflict, policy-makers often have to confront the issues that go straight to the heart of the conflict itself. Subjects such as history, geography, religion, language, literature and even music become battlegrounds that reflect the lines of conflict inside and outside the classroom (Murray 2008). Whose history, religion or language to teach are questions that are present in educational debates that are also integral to how we understand citizenship.

Beyond providing children with literacy, numeracy and an array of crucial skills, education opportunities for refugee children in protracted situations is vital because schools can give social and emotional support. Indeed, schools are places that can be safe and protective environments, provide refugee children with hope and aspirations. In the refugee crisis of this century, education provision for refugees brings about many strategic questions for education policy-makers of the host states: Should longer-term measures be implemented to allow refugee children to follow the host country's curriculum? Or should parallel systems be set up for children to follow an adapted curriculum? How far should refugee's own culture and language be sustained? Should the priority be adaptation to the new environment or preparation to return home? Finding the most suitable solution is crucial to prevent a "lost generation" of refugees (Beste 2015).

Mass refugee education in protracted situations is a complicated phenomenon and the key dimensions on developing a policy on refugee education can be listed as: (a) longitude of stay; (b) intended durable solution (integration vs. resettlement and return); (c) political organisation level of the populations; (d) attitudes of the hosting government to the refugees; (e) cultural and linguistic homogeneity of the host society and refugees; and lastly (f) where the refugees are settled (camp vs. spontaneously settled populations) (Davies 2004; 155). However, it is not easy to provide education for refugees in traditional national education systems designed to raise citizens in a nation-state, especially given the uncertainties regarding the refugee situations.

When the rules for defining the "insider" and the "outsider" become blurred and ambiguous, and the language of hospitality is not controlled by the State, the foundations of sovereignty becomes unsteady (Betts 2009: 7). In fact, as refugees do not conventionally fit into the state system based on the territorially defined citizenship, they have the potential to become a source of instability or a treat to state security. People crossing borders, especially irregular migrants, are viewed as undermining the exercise of state sovereignty. The arrival of large numbers of migrants, especially from very different social or cultural backgrounds than the receiving community can also pose serious challenges to social cohesion. This can have practical implications for a nation-state regarding the allocation of resources as well as more conceptual implications regarding models of integration and national identity, which all relapses to the need for a sound education policy for refugees. Since education is a state bound concept, the traditional education systems are in need of transformation to meet the needs of immigrants as non-citizen entities, especially considering the blurring borders and increasing population movements (Green 1997;1).

As Moore (2007; 3) points out, 'what we know affects who we are (or are perceived to be). Issues of knowledge entail issues of identity, thus education policy has a social function within the wider role of state and state policy. Education has a pivotal role in promoting a sense of individual and collective welfare and through this a sense of social cohesion and sense of citizenship whereby individuals take their place in their communities be that at a local, national or even a global level. As argued by Bell and Stevenson (2006; 59-72), 'education systems have never developed purely in response to needs of capital and economic considerations, but are rather the product of struggles in which wider social forces have asserted their rights to welfare as an important citizen entitlement'. Where to situate education for mass numbers of refugees as non-citizens on the other hand is remains as a gap in the literature on nation-state and education.

Indeed, every curriculum has a particular transmission function which upholds the values of the educational developers, policy makers and the society at large (Ho 2002; 198). In fact,

education which includes, political, cultural and moral values within its brief, have the capacity to play a significant part in the acquisition of civil values and democratic principles, so essential in the future development of a nation's citizenry. Therefore, educators and policy makers have great responsibility to build the future of a nation and therein lies the importance of education policy making for refugees.

Societies that accept immigrants without language proficiency in the major or official language must have a well-defined language education policy, and this is because immigration is perceived to pose existential, democratic and egalitarian threats (Shorten 2010). First of all, if a substantial number of incoming migrants refrain from adopting their own national language then this may have long term implications for their national distinctiveness and identity. In cases when their national language is not spoken elsewhere this may lead to linguistic destitution. When the refugee status is temporary and repatriation is expected this existential threat takes a come complicated dimension. Second, their lack of competence in the formal language might hinder effective participation in democratic procedures and enjoying services. Third, for immigrants or refugees without competence in major or formal languages of the hosting society, employment and social integration might be hindered, which will bring about question on equal opportunities. As a matter of fact, societies within territories have become more diverse comprising a variety of non-citizen entities however this diversity reflects not merely cultural and social differences, but also disparity in statuses and access to rights including education rights. The formal curriculum and the concept of schooling contribute to the public definition of what an educated person should know, and what language they should speak. Attainments in schooling are important indicator in the assignment of socials ranks and contribute to the maintenance of cultural distinctions within a society as well as between societies (Zajda & Zajda 2002). All these and more make education policies important for the future of refugees in a society who usually are disadvantaged in comparison to the host societies due to the language barriers and other unfavorable conditions they are in.

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Ruiz and Sanchez advocates a pedagogy of 'alterity', one of 'deference', which allows the discovery of the student as an individual, of each situation and of individual lives; an education that searches the acceptance and reception (hospitality) of the other culturally different, and not only the "cognitive, intellectual" comprehension of the cultural differences. The education of reception (hospitality) leads to successful integration. The integration is closely linked to a change of model in intercultural education. According to Ruiz and Sanchez (2011) all educational activity, both inside and outside the school, cannot rest on cultural variables because this would merely serve to perpetuate an 'aggrandised' culture and would widen the gap between members of different cultures. The knowledge and appraisal of the culture of the others (traditions, customs, language, etc.) will favour, although not necessarily bring about, coexistence among individuals and the acceptance of the culturally different person (Ruiz & Sanchez 2011; 5).

According to Hannah (2007), being a key site in which both the host and incoming populations learn about one another, education plays a crucial role in integration process. The term integration, at times mistakenly identified with assimilation, means that immigrants adopt customs, values, ways of life, language, and so forth, and that they adapt to the norms of coexistence within the host society. The definition of Habermas (1996) that the immigrants should take on board the common political culture (the minimum cultural common denominator) for their integration but resist giving up their particular cultural ways of life is closer to what should be meant by integration. In that context, the content of national education and the system itself should be placed under scrutiny in terms of the extent to which they facilitate intercultural understanding and inclusion.

National education systems also should be judged by the educational performance of refugee children in comparison with the host community. Education is also the key for the empowerment of refugees and for the measurement of achievement in their inclusion. Fielden (2008) assumes that local integration of refugees is an economic process of empowering refugees to attain sustainable livelihoods and could help them to function within

the local economy in host communities. Self-reliance is the key for integration, which can be realized through aid strategies for development. With the potential to lead to self-reliance, education is one of the core sectors for a successful implementation of local integration. (Dyrden –Peterson 2003)

Ruiz and Sanchez writes that education aimed at integration must go beyond mere "intellectual understanding" of the cultural differences. It is fundamentally an education towards welcoming and recognizing the other and his/her own specific circumstances. The intercultural education should aim to understand why the other has left their homeland, their families, their roots. If it does not answer these questions and discover the history of the uprooting that lies behind each immigrant, then there is no integration or welcome of the other.

3.6 Conceptualizing Civil Society and Refugee Education nexus

The notion of 'civil society' is highly complex and its meaning has been subject to much debate. It is difficult to define civil society in a few words, because it involves diverse actors within and across countries (Malena & Heinrich 2007). Due to the current lack of consensus about its nature, examining the state-civil society relations in education, and particularly in refugee education during a period defined as a crisis is therefore also extremely difficult. Civil society can be defined as the sphere of autonomous associations that are independent of the public and profit oriented sectors and designed to advance collective interests and ideas. (Pong 2014, Malena & Heinrich 2007; 341). Campaign networks, education unions, foundations, research platforms, school-parents associations, chambers are the first to come to mind as civil society organizations (CSOs) in education. However, when refugee education is considered, these categories must be expanded due to the blurring responsibilities of the state for refugees. It is possible to define humanitarian aid and charity organizations as civil society actors in education for refugees within the scope of this research.

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The emphasis on civil society in education as an alternative to state should be examined in terms of global economic and political changes and the welfare crisis of post-Fordism (Deakin 2001). The concept of social citizenship left its place to the concept of active citizenship along with the neoliberal discourse in crescendo (Sariipek 2006, Turner 2000). Starting form 1990s on voluntary organizations were propelled into the center of the social policy stage with an expanded role in welfare provision. Voluntary organizations increasingly took responsibility for delivering 'mainstream' services which were previously provided by statutory bodies. Their importance and status were dramatically enhanced. Governmental agencies, particularly local authority departments, now needed voluntary organizations in order to plan and implement their social policies. Thus voluntary organizations became 'providers' and 'contractors', competing to sell their services to government and filling in the "gaps" in the state's social services (Harris 2001; 3, Schuller 2009; 85, Forte 2014).[26] Therefore, the modus operandi of state-civil society relations in the neoliberal world order is defined by a 'commitment' or 'social contract' with a changed role of the state from the provision of basic needs of citizens to a managerial role.[27]

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[26] Neoliberalism looks to the welfare state from a utilitarian perspective and for example accepts some interventions for the sake of eliminating poverty and provision of equal opportunities, yet these interventions would be (a) aid services limited to only those in need rather than general services open to everybody, (b) carried out by volunteers rather than by means of welfare state, and (c) against the relation of the needs to any kind of rights and the definition of social rights other than the individual rights. According to that approach, provision of social and individual needs by the state not only limits individual freedom, but also hinders the operability of the market as it cannot meet the actual needs (Koray 2005; 34). In brief, neoliberalism utilizes civil society as a part of neoliberal solutions to the problems created by structural adaptation to neoliberalism.

[27] According to the commitment principle of the neoliberal discourse, the needs of a society should be voiced by people closest to this need and the state should support civil society organizations to fulfil the needs. Social contract principles, on the other hand, are a partnership framework between the state and the civil society based on voluntarism. According to that principle, the state gives support to CSOs that have the

Thus the place of the state as the main service provider in basic education is not denounced by the neoliberal discourse, however, the role of civil society as the supporter for state education have been accentuated frequently since early 1990s.[28] Accordingly, IMF and the World Bank have given bigger roles for CSOs in education for the purpose of development in the shadow of the retrograding welfare state. However, the role of civil society in refugee education is more complex due to two interrelated facts: (1) Refugees are not citizens and thus not a part of the civil society-state dichotomy in the traditional sense. (2) Refugees are displaced people seeking protection of another state along with the international legislation which gives responsibility to the state and not the civil society for protection and service provision for the refugee. Thus the question is why civil society undertakes the burden of education for refugees while this service is not linked to the direct interests of the citizens which is frequently referred to for the justification of neoliberal policies.[29]

Since the late 1990s, a range of actors outside the government have become involved in refugee children's education in basic education especially in the developing world, which also coincides with the growing neoliberal discourse (Pong 2014). The increasing role given to CSOs in education of refugee children stems from two facts: (1) the arrival of asylum seeking and refugee children has major implications for the national education systems in

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potential to raise the living standards of the people while the state itself retreats from service provision (Bullain 2006; 19).

[28] Educational reforms in accordance with neoliberal policies are emphasized in three directions: (a) redefinition of the content of education in line with the market demand; (b) reorganizing the financing of education; and (c) reorganizing the role of education in social mobility and underlining its egalitarian and politic function. Accordingly, public spending is channeled from the secondary and tertiary education to basic education for the sake of improvement and extension of basic education with the idea that social utility of free basic education is more than secondary and tertiary education.

[29] According to Hill (2013) neoliberalism is based on the systematic use of state power, under the ideological guise of 'non-intervention', to impose a hegemonic project of recomposition of the rule of capital in domestic resource allocation, international economic integration, the reproduction of the state, ideology, and the reproduction of the working class while neoconservatism aids neoliberalism in the formation of a state strong on enforcing the neoliberalization of schools and society.

terms of funding and resources, (2) their presence challenges the somewhat delicate balance between diverse and often contradictory educational agendas such as the promotion of an inclusive ethos, cultural diversity, and social justice, at the same time as promoting academic standards and performance in a competitive school environment. "To a great extent, the presence of these children and their complex needs puts the school ethos and teachers' professional experience and knowledge" into test (Arnot et al. 2012; 14). Therefore, along with the increasing number of displacement (increasing numbers of refugees, asylum seekers and others which can be define as irregular migrants) a space is opened by the state for civil society to have roles as education providers even in basic education to fill the capacity gaps of the education systems designed originally to meet the needs of the nation-state.

Educational responses to asylum-seeking and refugee children – the ways in which their needs and rights are perceived, the support offered to them, and the way teachers and schools define their responsibility towards them – should be integral to the promotion of social justice. However, in the neoliberal world order coinciding with increasing displacement in masses, major objectives of national state education - such as social justice and national unity- gives way to other issues such as national security, and international political interests of the state hosting the refugees. Furthermore, the desire and the rights of the refugees in protracted situations to sustain their languages and cultures in the new land leads to serious dysfunctions in the integration into the national education systems (Niculescu 2015). Not knowing whether they are to be repatriated or re/settled creates a dilemma that should be unraveled by the policy makers while leaving the refugees in limbo. In brief, the persistence of the nation-state on the one hand, and the desire and the rights of the new comers to perpetuate their own culture and mother tongues on the other hand—a situation which could be defined as 'two nostalgias' (Derrida 2000; 88-89)—make education policy making for refugees and immigrants in traditional national education systems a complexity. This complexity is increasingly tried to be unraveled by 'reconceptualizing' education through 'para-formal education' system (Morpeth & Creed 2012). This tendency is also evident

during Syrian refugee crisis in Turkey. In several education policy documents which will be analyzed in this dissertation, the role of civil society in meeting the emergency needs of refugee children including education increasingly gains official ground through state-civil society cooperation. It is important to note that Turkish government has played the big brother for the Syrians via utilizing humanitarian CSOs. The open border policy along with political interests in Syria was shaped around the ideal of humanitarian aid for the Muslim people in need. However, when the prospects for a solution to the crisis ended by 2012, civil society this time is utilized to meet the education needs of Syrian children because the public education system neither has institutional capacity and human resources nor the legislative framework to do so. That is arguably because education is a social service designed for citizens and not for the refugees. In that context civil society becomes a surrogate state undertaking the responsibilities of the state for the refugees. This argument will be studied in detail in the upcoming chapters of this dissertation with reference to the different types of civil society organizations in Turkey.

National discourses and practices in public education have been the most important asset in the transformation of Turkey from a heterogeneous imperial homeland to a putatively homogenous national homeland. For over 30 years now, however, the transnational political and economic forces reflected in the neoliberal policies has given way to a new rhetoric of what 'national' is hand in hand with a growing neo-conservatism that can be discussed with reference to education policies as well. In that process, the role of civil society in education also developed in accordance with neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism. Replacing ethnic nationalism with an Islamic one emphasizing 'charity' for the sake of Islamic brotherhood/sisterhood (instead of mobilization of resources for social equality), faith-based

CSOs proliferated with new supportive roles in education in the past few decades.[30] The Syrian crisis on the other hand gave way to the direct involvement of humanitarian organizations –especially those based on Islamic ideals- into education sector. Their presence as education providers for Syrian refugees as the preferred partners by the state however, serves the wider state interests as well as neoliberalism and neoconservatism agenda in education. Meanwhile, the Syrian CSOs operating Syrian schools compose a bigger paradox for a national education system that is based on a unification law in education not allowing foreign entities operate schools in Turkey.[31] Indeed, public education has been the biggest state institution and the hallmark of the nation-state in Turkey. However, the increasing role of non-state institutions and decentralized curriculum during the Syrian refugee crisis indicates transformation of the aims of primary and secondary education in the shadow of growing neo-conservatism and international interests of Turkey with her political goals in Syria.

Education as a major state institution arguably differs from other social services because it functions as an instrument for citizenship. In fact, education is one of the primary services to be provided to refugees as a fundamental human right. The dynamics of refugee education are, however, particularly complex and problematic due to the relationship between national education policy and a wider citizenship agenda related to migration management. Bell and

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[30] A type of civil society that can be defined via faith-based non-state actors serving the state ideology also have been involved in education system via student dorms, Islamic courses and private schools at preschool, primary and secondary levels.

[31] Similar to other nation-states, public schools are 'guardians of the national character' in Turkey (Durkheim 1961; 3). Likewise, there is thus a connection between the unification of the national state and compulsory public education. Turkish state encompasses diverse ethnic groups with different languages. Public education in Turkey has been a central project for a nation-state aiming for national unity and loyal citizenship. The centralized education system has been an important asset for the state as it has established a hegemonic power that assimilate cultural and linguistic diversity and builds a secular Turkish national identity. Meanwhile, MoNE has had a conventional monopoly in education provision in terms of organization and the content of knowledge to be transmitted to next generations. See, Education Basic Law, article 1 available athttp://mevzuat.meb.gov.tr/html/temkanun_0/temelkanun_0.html, accessed 12.04.2015

Stevenson (2006) explain this complexity through emphasizing the distinctness of education from other social services as a means to create citizens; Accordingly, education is different from other forms of social service provision because of the unique way in which it represents 'not only a key citizenship entitlement, but also has a hegemonic influence and a unique capacity to shape the discourse relating to how individuals define themselves', alternatively their identities (ibid., 61-62).

The connection between the citizens and the state is established via the idea of the duties of the enlightened citizen, with the state having to fill the gap that may exists between education and talent. Accordingly, 'for citizens to be worthy of the name, the state has to give everyone those elements of education that will enable them to perform the rights [and duties] of citizens in an enlightened manner' (Bourdieu 2014; 226). School is an institution of 'domination' as its function is to give everyone the instruments of citizenship, of being an economic agent, the capacity indispensable for minimal participation in different fields. However, school is also an instrument of 'integration', and it is this integration that makes submission to the state, or citizenship, possible. In that context, when the state relinquishes its role as the sole provider of education for all children regardless of social class, ethnicity or religion with a primary objective of social cohesion and national unity and retreats to a role of managing only, national unity and in turbulent political environments national security issues are likely to surface. Indeed, some Islamic movements mobilized mainly through their networks in the education by opening hundreds of private schools, dorms, and study centers (*dersane*) with the pretext of quality education for the poor, seizing the opportunities brought about by the shrinking role of state in education in the past forty years,

turned into national security threat in Turkey recently.[32] Such developments indicate the significance of education institutions as the key elements in ideological indoctrination and the indispensable role of state education in creating new/potential loyal citizens (Althusser 1979, Hill 2013). For that reason, in the current refugee crisis, although I agree that migration and education policies should be located in a human rights centered framework, I believe that the national security and national unity dimension needs to be considered as well. To what extend these dimensions are reflected to the making of education policies for refugees giving weight to civil society is a question of concern in this study.

Coinciding with the refugee crisis there have been changes in education legislation in Turkey to accommodate a multicultural curriculum and education in mother tongue along with democratization efforts.[33] The decentralization of responsibility in education due to the inability to respond to the existing cultural and lingual diversity increasing with the new immigration flows like the mass influxes of Syrians into the county has repercussions for the wider education agenda in relation to national unity. In fact, the related policy choices for education of Syrian refugees have implications for other disadvantaged populations as well as the linguistic and cultural rights of minorities in Turkey.

On the other hand, while civil society efforts via para-formal education system is likely to increase access to education for refugees (Morpeth & Creed 2012), educating them in

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[32] The infamous coup attempt on 15 July 2016 is allegedly organized by an Islamic movement that mobilized mainly through the private educational institutions and Islamic charity organizations. See 'The Breaking Up Of Turkey's Islamic Alliance: The Akp-Gulen Conflict And Implications For Middle East Studies' by S. Demiralp. 20 April 2016 available at http://www.rubincenter.org/2016/04/the-breaking-up-of-turkeys-islamic-alliance-the-akp-gulen-conflict-and-implications-for-middle-east-studies/, accessed 04.08.2016.

[33] Education in mother tongue, or teaching of the mother tongue is allowed in Turkey for the first time in the history of the Republic in accordance with a 'democratization package' in 2014, however this type of education is restricted to private institutions on secondary school level comprising only certain courses and to private non-formal education institutions. In public schools, on the other hand, mother tongue education can only be given as an elective foreign language course. See 'AKP ve Anadilde Egitim' by Utku Kizilok (2013) available athttp://marksist.net/utku-kizilok/akp-ve-anadilde-egitim.htm, accessed 09.09.2016

segregated schools and failing to accommodate all Syrian children into public education system might lead to integration problems, limit education opportunities and reduce the potential to help them recover from traumas of war and displacement (Farrel 2007). The refugee crisis has shown that civil society organisations has substituted the role of state as education providers for refugees to a great extend in providing universal basic education as well as adult education and vocational programs, however the growing prominence of CSOs in the delivery of educational programs raises a set of complex and controversial issues. First of all, the legitimacy of the state as the primary entity that establishes the goals, content, credentials and materials of public schooling while also regulating key features of the system's administration financing is eroding. Secondly, the legitimacy and moral authority of the CSOs themselves is eroding as they assume the role of providing services as contractors to for international and binational financial donor agencies (Sutton and Arnove 2004; x). That is why the motivations and capacities of a variety of non-state institutions for education of the Syrian refugees needs a closer look to evaluate the pros and cons of the neoliberal strategies developed to cope with the education dimension of the refugee crisis.

It should be acknowledged that it is not easy to develop a position towards education that would enable refugees maintain their cultures and languages by means of ad hoc civil society efforts, however it is also not possible to integrate the Syrian children in a unified education system which is based a curriculum disregarding the cultural and lingual diversity. Considering the pervasive nature of the complex power struggles and security concerns in all national(ist) contexts including Turkey and a history characterized by a strong nation-state tradition, decentralization of responsibilities for refugee children may lead to unintended backlashes. The involvement of faith based and Syrian civil society organizations in refugee education epitomizes a greater contradiction with the justification of the restriction

to foreign educational institutions through national concerns of the government in Turkey.[34] In fact, recent decentralizing of responsibly for Syrian refugees is one of the facts proving the political and ideological double standard of education and support to education that favors the interests of the ruling power rather than considering the needs of the refugees and the to need to integrate them into the host society. What rather should be done is accommodating the refugee children in a restructured public education system that will help them adapt to new ecosystem demands and relationships which occur as they go from the pre-migration to trans-migration to post-migration contexts. The major task of the schools and services should be to manage this transition as smoothly as possible, and establish some mutually beneficial and adoptive ecosystems for the child and the family rather than implementations allowing for a segregated education in a different curriculum and language run by CSOs to mitigate the fiscal burdens on the state. The aim of refugee education should be creation of a common political culture via acquisition of civil values and democratic principles that are essential in the future development of a nation's citizenry.

3.7 Conclusion

Discussions on refugee education usually commence with an international legal framework comprising a variety of legal documents. The 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol set standards that apply to children in the same way as to adults. Furthermore, the Convention states that refugees must receive the "same treatment" as nationals in primary education, and treatment at least as favorable as that given to non-refugee aliens in secondary

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[34] After the new education system known as 4+4+4 launched in 2012, AKP government aimed at reopening the Imam-Hatip Schools at junior level-formal schools based on religious education- that had been closed down by the previous governments together with the junior high sections of foreign schools that had been giving education since the Lausanne treaty of 1923 under state supervision. Despite the fact that imam-hatip junior schools were reopened, the foreign schools were not allowed to reopen.

education which is parallel with other international binding and non-binding documents emphasizing education as an inalienable right for all children.

Despite the relatively extensive body of literature focused on global refugee rights, there are few academic studies focusing specifically on refugee education policy-making; the one exception is the growing body of practitioner literature focusing on "education in emergencies". The contemporary educational policy making for refugees is usually analyzed in terms of the location of refugees, as in developed and developing countries for the capacity of the countries and the choice of durable solution differ according to their level of economic development and the number of refugees received. However, there is a gap in the literature in dealing with the repercussions of refugee influxes for state education systems designed for the citizens in an era of forced displacement.

Education policies for refugees in the developed world is shaped to lead to the successful integration of the refugee population in the host society. Thus education policies in the developed world are linked to the discussions around immigration, multiculturalism, social justice and the related pedagogical issues (which include second language acquisition and inclusive education). The host countries of the developed world are facing several challenges in teaching refugee students as the refugee students initially do not speak the language of instruction at schools. One of the consequences of language barrier in learning is increasing rate of drop-outs among migrant students, which creates further marginalization of 'the other'. Another challenge that is focused on in the education in emergencies literature stems from the fact that most refugee children have experienced trauma that can impede their ability to learn. Refugee children are at risk of post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, anxiety and grief that persist over many years due to experiences of war and violence. It is found out that children react to such stressors differently than adults, and that different cultures display diverse reaction patterns; thus it may be difficult for teachers and service providers to cope with the repercussions of traumatic disorders. In that context, Bronfenbrenner's ecological model also emphasizes the impact of traumatic experiences in

pre-migration and trans-migration phases on the refugee child and the importance of the supportive structures to be provided by the host country to ease the adaptation and acculturation process of the refugee child. A third challenge stems from the fact that many developed counties receive refugees from many different parts of the world. Therefore, many refugee children have diverse cultural and linguistic background and thus educational needs. Therefore, the literature in this field tends to argue that educational programs need to be designed to address these differences rather than a customized one-size-fits-all approach. Last but not least, the lack of background information and inappropriate academic assessment are among the major setbacks for the academic success of the refugee children. Accordingly, information on the previous educational experience, certificates and even basic biographical data of the refuges is not sufficient most of the time to provide the teachers and education services with required professional preparation.

Immigration control, along with neoliberalism tends to create tension between universal rights on education and the provision of social justice in the developed countries. Neoliberal discourses prevailing in the developed world have constituted a shift away from equity and social justice priorities. Combined with the limited representation of refugee issues in education policy, neoliberal discourses have exacerbated lack of resourcing for teachers and schools to support refugee students. There is a significant number of studies developing connections between neoliberalism in policy and institutions and the growing problem of refugee crises as they appear in the developed world.

A review of the literature shows that refugee education policies in the developing world is primarily shaped within the larger framework of humanitarian assistance in emergencies. The cases in the developing world generally result from massive population influxes due to conflicts or disasters when the refugee status is considered to be temporary and thus the education policies are tailored for repatriation. In that context, the theme of 'education in emergencies' came to the fore, which can be defined as a set of linked project activities that enable structured learning to continue in times of acute crisis of long-term instability.

Education provision for refugees may prevent rapid voluntary repatriation, regardless however, education is increasingly viewed as a "central pillar" of humanitarian response. Importance of educational response during emergencies have been accentuated with three arguments. First of all, it is psychologically beneficial to crisis-affected children and adolescents as it creates an atmosphere of recreation. Secondly learned knowledge, skills and values can contribute to peace-building and to social and economic development. Thirdly in many situations, education can serve as a tool for protection as in keeping children and youth away from affiliation with terrorist groups.

According to the EIE approach, in crisis situations rapid access to education should be followed by improvement of quality. Ideally, quality of education for refugee children should be as high as that is provided for nationals of the same age. Education programmes should use a community based participatory approach supportive of a durable solution, usually repatriation. Capacity for teachers and young/adult educators, should be created via incentives to avoid teacher turnover and most important of all to provide opportunities to the affected population for leading a decent life.

In that context, education provision for refugees has two dimensions: education in camp and non-camp settings. Education provision in refugee camps serves many purposes, including providing structure and a degree of continuity in the daily lives of refugee children. Moreover, education is also evidently essential as a preparation for economic and social reintegration of the displaced populations. However, refugee camps also represent a limbo where traditional ties of education to identity (state) and belonging (territory) has been disrupted, which creates many challenges in education provision. Alien and perhaps hostile environments of the camps on the top of the scarcity of resources can too often breed a sense of hopelessness and despair which has the potential to cause the loss of a generation.

Education for non-camp refugees in host communities in the developing countries requires special attention as it includes issues of integration, adaptation and survival without regular

aid available to refugee families. Refugees settle usually in slum areas which already lack quality of education in many aspects. Poor infrastructure, inadequate resources and a lack of trained teachers are common limitations for education of refugees in urban areas. Pupil/teacher ratios are very high and many teachers are untrained to deal with different socio-cultural backgrounds. In some cases, scarcity of secondary education opportunities exposes youth to the risk of involvement into illegal activities. Sometimes the education provided is not in the refugee children's mother tongue, which leads to dropouts or poor academic results. In some situations, refugee children have no, or very limited, access to post-primary education or other types of training. More generally, restrictions on refugee employment reinforce poverty, which in turn dampens prospects for education. Sometimes refugee children are denied education due to the lack of legal status.

It is possible to conceptualize education policies for refugees with reference to alternative methodologies like institutionalism. Accordingly, the capacity of specific institutional legacies and arrangements helps understanding the range of choices and actual possibilities available to policymakers and practitioners. How and why particular curricular decisions are made for refugees is one of the questions to be asked based on such an approach to education policy making for the refugees. Refugee policies are socially and historically constructed and thus weather refugees follow the curriculum from their country of origin, the curriculum from the host country or an adapted curriculum are contingent with 'assumptions' of policy makers at different levels. Overall refugee education policies tend to be influenced by political, national security and economic motives rather than pedagogical concerns or refugees' educational needs and aspirations. The ideal case for the ecological theory however, suggest that the impact of traumatic experiences in pre-migration and trans-migration phases on the refugee child should be considered when developing policies for refugee children and supportive structures should be provided by the host country to ease the adaptation and acculturation process of the refugee child.

Crisis events drive changes in the norms that underpin refugee protection and thus education policies for refugees. Crisis event bring about critical juncture, a turning point during which a particular policy is selected from more than one policy alternative. Analyses of critical junctures focus on how, during a phase of institutional fluidity, policy makers steer outcomes toward a new equilibrium. The current literature that considers education policy and refugees has not employed institutionalism to consider the impact of response to refugee crises with an emphasis on the national education systems. Within the context of this study, by taking up an institutionalist understanding of the 'critical juncture', it is aimed to make an original contribution to the field of refugee education in the context of the Syrian refugee crisis in Turkey. Accordingly, it is suggested in this study that a critical juncture in education system is reached due to the increasing numbers of refugee children dispersed in Turkey. This critical juncture brings about challenges to status quo in education system through civil society becoming a surrogate for the state despite its responsibility for education of Syrian children in accordance with national and international legislation. Decentralization of responsibility for refugee children also has wider implications for education in Turkey aiming national unity and social cohesion. This critical juncture will be the subject of main analytical chapters of this study with reference to state-civil society relations in education. However, before going into further detail on the education policy making for non-camp Syrian children, it is important to look into the legal framework for the response to the Syrian refugee crisis in Turkey. This framework will be introduced in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

HISTORICAL LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR TURKEY'S RESPONSE

TO SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS IN THE EDUCATION SECTOR

4.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a historical legal framework for the response to the Syrian refugee crisis in education sector. To that end first, migration management in Turkey is presented within a historical perspective which examines the current legal framework and regulation regarding the temporary protection regime afforded to the Syrian refugees. This section introduces a detailed picture of the impact of the crisis and the response by the related state institutions by presenting a number of figures to develop an understanding of the crisis and the frameworks developed to respond to it. Then the nexus between migration management and education policies is presented with a specific focus on the legal framework for the education of refugees, asylum seekers and the irregular migrants. Migration management for foreign children is presented with a focus on the national legal documents comprising measures for education provision for the displaced children as a disadvantaged group. This chapter aims to contribute to the main argument of this dissertation that a new education policy is needed in Turkey through unpacking the changing immigration paradigm with reference to the recent statistics on increasing numbers of foreign children and the Syrian refugee crisis in particular.

4.2 Overview of Migration Management in Turkey

As put by Kirisci (2007), Turkey historically maintains a two-tier asylum policy. The first tier ıs centered on Europe and is deeply rooted in Turkey's role as an ally of the US during

the cold war. During that period, in close cooperation with the UNHCR, Turkey received refugees from the Communist Bloc countries in Europe, and the Soviet Union. During their stay in Turkey, such refugees enjoyed all the rights provided for in the Convention. The second tier of Turkey's asylum policy was formulated to deal with people arriving from outside Europe. The second tier started to be shaped mainly in late 1980s and continues today with the regulations to deal with the mass influxes from the neighboring countries.

The Turkish Republic has been subject to cross border mass population movements throughout its history, which can be examined in three phases with different characteristics in terms of ethnic origin of people migrating. The first immigration wave to the Turkish nation-state was from the previous Ottoman Empire land where people had close ethno-cultural proximity to Turkey. This period was followed by a second wave from Yugoslavia and Bulgaria as a result of the coercive assimilation policies towards the Turkish Muslim minority between 1950s and late 1980s (Kartal &Basci 2014). In these phases, the common characteristic of people forcibly or voluntarily settling in Turkey was their identities as 'Ottoman', 'Muslim' or 'Turkic', alternatively 'of Turkish origin or culture'. Because of the identity element, they were not considered as 'refugees'. As put by Tolay (2015; 59), rather, they were considered as Turks or related communities returning to their 'homeland'. Immigrants who were accepted on the basis of descent, like the immigration of a total of 600,000 Bulgarian Turks in masses with intervals in 1950s to 1990s was regulated with amendments to the Settlement Act of 1934 envisioning accommodation with no further special adjustments for access to other social rights.

The third wave, on the other hand, differed from the previous ones as it comprised people that are not of Turkish 'descent and culture'. Kirisci (2006) differentiates the first two phases as 'old immigration' from the 'new immigration' which is characterized by the arrival in Turkey of migrants of non-Turkish origin. Starting from the 1980s, the number of non-Turkish immigrants started to systematically outnumber the number of the Turkish immigrants which had repercussions on the study of immigration as a field.

According to Kiricsi (2000), full refugee status in international law opens the prospects of acquiring citizenship through naturalization. That is why in respect to the granting of refugee status, Turkey followed a restrictive policy for those who are not of Turkish decent and culture. Kirisci (2007) further argues that the founding fathers of the Turkish Republic were concerned about creating a homogenous sense of national identity in an otherwise ethnically and culturally diverse country. Exclusive priority was therefore given to encouraging and accepting immigrants that were either Muslim Turkish speakers, or who were officially considered to belong to ethnic groups that would easily melt into a Turkish identity such as Bosnians, Circassians, Pomaks, and Tatars (Kirisci 2007; 93). With a concern for sustaining a homogenous national identity, Turkey ratified the 1951 Geneva Convention and its 1967 Protocol with a geographic limitation[35] confining Turkey's obligations relating to the Status of Refugees to European refugees (Icduygu & Aksel 2013). It should be clarified that the "geographical limitation" policy does not mean that Turkey does not undertake any legal obligations towards refugees from 'non-European' countries of origin. Rather it means that Turkey considers itself bound by the 1951 Convention obligations *per se* only in regards to such 'European' refugees. Accordingly, rights of non-European refugees had been regulated through different laws and disconnected provisions, which created important setbacks in practice (Erguven & Ozturanli 2013).

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[35] Turkey's asylum policy has been characterized by the "geographical limitation" to the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees means that Turkey does not yet have in place a fully-fledged status determination process for asylum seekers coming from outside Europe. Instead applications from such asylum seekers are assessed in cooperation with the UNHCR. Asylum seekers are granted temporary protection until a decision is reached. Those who are recognized as refugees are then expected to be resettled to third countries with the support of the UNHCR.

Since the 1980s, as a transit zone between Asia, Europe and Africa, Turkey has witnessed a new pattern of immigration wave involving asylum seekers and irregular migrants from instable counties in Asia, Africa and Eastern Europe (Icduygu & Yukseker 2012).[36] Collapse of socialist systems prompted the citizens of these countries to arrive in Turkey in search of temporary work. In the East, oppressive governments in countries like Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran and Iraq, and the humanitarian insecurity pushed people, especially ethnic and religious minorities, to enter Turkey seeking asylum (Icduygu & Aksel 2013). For a long time, Turkish Government left the UNHCR considerable responsibility to shelter these asylum seekers temporarily, with the tacit understanding that they would be resettled out of Turkey once recognized as refugees or would be deported. However, the growing number of illegal entries and rejected asylum seekers strained this practice. The situation was also aggravated by mass influxes of Kurdish refugees from the Northern Iraq in 1988 and 1991, which amounted to almost half a million. Officials were also concerned about the national security issues, especially that militants of a Kurdish separatists were among these asylum seekers.

It is worth emphasizing that Turkey never granted full refugee status to the Kurdish refugees in 1991, neither pursued a resettlement policy. Kurdish refugees were rapidly repatriated via

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[36] Irregular migration, is described as population movement that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and receiving countries. It should be underlined that there is no clear or universally accepted definition of irregular migration. From the perspective of destination countries, it is entry, stay or work in a country without the necessary authorisation or documents required under immigration regulations. From the perspective of the sending country, the irregularity is for example seen in cases in which a person crosses an international boundary without a valid passport or travel document or does not fulfil the administrative requirements for leaving the country. There is, however, a tendency to restrict the use of the term "illegal migration" to cases of smuggling of migrants and trafficking in persons. For further definitions see http://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms . The irregular migrants either use Turkey as a transit state to cross into a third country, or stay or work in the country without the necessary permits. While the number of irregular transit migrants entering Turkey between 2000-2008 was about 70,000, the number of to be refugees and asylum seekers accommodating in Turkey reached 12,451 only in 2007 (see Kartal & Basci; 181). This dynamic was further aggravated by the surge in the number of asylum seekers parallel with the chaotic situation in the neighbouring countries. All together more than 118,000 asylum applications had been lodged as of the end of 2013. Turkey became the fifth largest recipient of individual asylum seeker in 2013, in contrast to 15th position in 2010. (UNHCR 2014 Asylum Trends)

mobilization of the international community (Kirisci 2000). However the mass influx of refugees from Iraq in 1991 had a deep and long-lasting impact on Turkish asylum policy. With national security concerns and the emerging mass immigration patterns of "non-Turks", Turkey was compelled to take new measures with regard to the management of migrants and asylum seekers (Kirisci 2007).

4.2.1 Towards a Normative Migration Management

To accomplish economic, political, and social order the State requires compliance and cooperation by those subject to its authority. In the long term, protection of individual freedoms and rights, and provision of responses to the basic needs of all including the immigrants is necessary for social cohesion. Immigration brings about diversity and thus affects social cohesion. According to Cholewinski and Taran (2010) social cohesion in societies characterized by migration is only possible in a context of human rights, social justice, and respect for democracy.

A rights-based approach to immigration is placement of universal human right norms defined by the relevant international instruments as central premises of national migration legislation, policy, and practice founded on the rule of law. Application of these norms is, of course, conditioned by historical, economic, social, and cultural factors (Cholewinski & Taran 2010). In Turkey, it was only with the pressure of the EU accession negotiations that the necessary policies began to take effect (Pitkanen et al. 2012) and immigration policies evolved into a more rights based approach.

Within the aforementioned context, the 1994 Asylum Regulation aimed to bring status determination under the control of the Turkish government. Accordingly, non-European refugees were provided with "temporary asylum-seeker" status until resettled in a third country through a joint procedure of the UNHCR and the Ministry of Interior. Defining the conditions of applying for asylum in Turkey, it introduced strict measures governing access to asylum procedures, with little reference to the rights. Article 8 of this regulation defined

the need to respond to mass influxes of refugees before the refugees could cross the border into Turkey. In times when they cross the border, local authorities were responsible to keep them in camps as close to the border as possible. The Article 12 of the regulation, on the other hand, envisaged classification of refugee and asylum seekers according to their nationality and distinguished them from infiltrators and terrorists. In article 27, education and working of refugees and asylum seekers was envisaged to be subject to 'general provisions' with no further explanation.[37]

Although the regulations filled the vacuum about the refugee rights in domestic law, it created new problems regarding the international law, which was reflected on the decisions of European Court of Human Rights against the practices of Turkey (Erten 2014). While the geographical limitation clause continued, Turkey was argued to be undermining the rights of asylum seekers and refugees by denying them access to asylum procedures or failing to provide them adequate protection by violating the principle of non-refoulement (Kirisci 2007).

According to Icduygu and Aksel (2013), the 2000s signifies the upsurge of migration flows with respect to four different categories of immigration in Turkey: (i) irregular migrants; (ii) transit migrants; (iii) asylum seekers and refugees; and (iv) regular migrants. In the shadow of the ever increasing numbers, the asylum assessment system became under strain as the status determination process sometimes took years. This increase led the UNHCR to employ the services of a Turkish CSO, Association of Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM). Since 2013 ASAM and UNHCR have worked together to pre-register asylum seekers before they can actually be given a date for an interview (Kirisci 2014).

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[37] 1994 Asylum Regulation (Türkiye'ye İltica Eden veya Başka Bir Ülkeye İltica Etmek Üzere Türkiye'den İkamet İzni Talep Eden Münferit Yabancılar ile Topluca Sığınma Amacıyla Sınırlarımıza Gelen Yabancılara ve Olabilecek Nüfus Hareketlerine Uygulanacak Usul ve Esaslar Hakkında Yönetmelik) available at http://www.hyd.org.tr/?pid=296, accessed 11.06.2015

Asylum seekers and refugees had been considered parallel with irregular migrants due to their entry to Turkey before the recent transformation of legal framework for immigration, which was brought about mainly as a result of EU accession process. Accordingly, to conform EU Acquis, the Action Plan on Asylum and Migration was adopted by the Turkish government in 2005. The Action Plan laid out the tasks and the timetable for Turkey to follow in order to amend its legislation in line with EU directives on asylum and migration policies, which would eventually lead to abrogation of its geographical limitation clause. According to Zieck (2010) Turkey made lifting this limitation clause subject to two conditions: first, legislation and infrastructure should be amended to prevent a direct influx of refugees into Turkey during the accession phase' and secondly, as Turkey's geographical location will make it a major first asylum state in the Union, and EU member states should share this burden with Turkey. The Syrian refugee crisis was a new turning point for Turkey to revise the refugee and asylum policies. Indeed, Syrian refugee crisis has coincided with a period in Turkish history when social policy based on new immigration trends started to appear and new regulations were made to establish an effective system for regular and irregular immigration in line with EU priorities.

4.2.1.1 Foreigners and International Protection Act

In line with the National Action Plan for Asylum and Migration in 2005, Foreigners and International Protection Act -FIPA (Law No. 6458 on Foreigners and International Protection of 4/4/2013) was adopted in 2013 which was to be put into force in 2014 by the newly established General Directorate for Migration Management. This legislative development is important as it coincides with the Syrian refugee crisis and would be the affecting the future of over 2 million people who fled their countries.

Despite maintaining a "geographical limitation" to the 1951 Refugee Convention, this Act introduced landmark reforms that provide Turkey with more efficient and fair management of immigration. According to Erten (2014), this Act was capable of meeting contemporary

needs with an up to date terminology regarding modern human rights perceptions in general. Aiming to establish an effective system for regular and irregular immigration in line with EU priorities, this law included an emphasis on integrating immigrants into the country and treating asylum seekers and irregular migrants in accordance with the international norms (Icduygu 2015; 7).

Indeed, whereas the 1994 Regulation granted 'temporary asylum status' to refugees coming out of Europe, FIPA attributed 'conditional refuge' status to those coming from non-European countries in Article 62. In FIPA conditional refugee is defined as a person who:

> as a result of events occurring outside European countries and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear,…. unable to return to it, shall be granted conditional refugee status upon completion of the refugee status determination process. Conditional refugees shall be allowed to reside in Turkey temporarily until they are resettled to a third country'. [38]

Furthermore 'subsidiary protection' is envisaged in Article 63 for those who neither could be qualified as a refugee nor as a conditional refugee. Accordingly, a foreigner or a stateless person:

> who neither could be qualified as a refugee nor as a conditional refugee, shall nevertheless be granted subsidiary protection upon the status determination because if returned to the country of origin or country of [former] habitual residence would be sentenced to death or face the execution of the death penalty; face torture or inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment; face serious threat to himself or herself by reason of indiscriminate violence in situations of international or nationwide armed conflict; and therefore is unable or for the reason of such threat is unwilling, to avail himself or herself of the protection of his country of origin or country of [former] habitual residence. [39]

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[38]Law on Foreigners and International Protection available at
http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/5167fbb20.pdf,
and http://www.goc.gov.tr/files/files/eng_minikanun_5_son.pdf accessed 14.02.2015

[39]ibid

The most important article of FIPA for the Syrian refugees in Turkey is article 91 on temporary protection, which may be provided for foreigners who have been forced to leave their country, cannot return to the country that they have left, and have arrived at or crossed the borders of Turkey in a mass influx situation seeking immediate and temporary protection. In article 91 cooperation and coordination among national and international institutions and organisations was envisaged as required for the actions to be carried out that involved the reception and stay of such foreigners in Turkey.

It should also be underlined that an important reference is made in Article 92 of FIPA for cooperation with the UNHCR, International Organisation for Migration, and other international organisations and civil society organisations related to the international protection procedures. Accordingly, it is stated that the Ministry of Interior 'may cooperate with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, International Organisation for Migration, and other international organisations and non-governmental organisations for issues related to the international protection procedures.'[40]

The procedures related to FIPA are administered by Ministry of Interior (MoI) Directorate General for Migration Management (DGMM). It is important to note that the current protection regime creates a set of binding protection obligations towards all persons (including and protection from refoulement) seeking international protection in Turkey regardless of country of origin. FIPA apply to all asylum applicants the same way regardless of whether they originate from a 'European' country or a 'non-European' country. However, the FIPA offers a lesser set of rights and entitlements to 'non-European' "international protection" status holders – most notably in regards to access to Turkish citizenship and

[40]ibid.

family unification rights, among other. Asylum seekers from non-European countries are expected to apply for an individual "international protection" status under FIPA and are subject to a status determination procedure conducted by the DGMM.[41]

In line with FIPA temporary protection regime, Temporary Protection Regulation (TPR) was circulated on 22 October 2014. The DGMM is the agency in charge of registering and granting status to refugees from Syria within the scope of the TPR which will be handled in detail in the following section.

4.2.2 Syrian Refugee Crisis and TPR

Towards the end of 2011, conflict in Syria was declared to meet the criteria of civil war by the international community. As the fighting between government forces and the Free Syrian Army and Sunni Islamic militants intensified, so did the burden on the civilian population. The exodus of Syrian people for secure environments began shortly after the fighting intensified. Turkey was the first of Syria's neighbors to formally respond to the influx of Syrian refugees when the Government of Turkey declared an open border policy and a protection regime in 2011 based on Article 10 of 1994 Regulation.[42] As mentioned before, Turkey retains a geographic limitation to its ratification of the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees (Refugee Convention), which means that only those fleeing as a consequence of "events occurring in Europe" can be given refugee status. In that context, it is important to underline that the Turkish government avoided using the term 'refugee' for

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[41] For further information, see Asylum Intervention Database available at http://www.asylumineurope.org/reports/country/turkey/introduction-asylum-context-turkey, accessed 03.05.2016

[42] 1994 Asylum Regulation at http://www.hyd.org.tr/?pid=296, accessed 30.06.2014

Syrians and instead referred to them as "Syrian guests under temporary protection" which assures no forcible returns (non-refoulement), registration with the Turkish authorities and support inside the borders of the camps for Syrians.[43]

There are 25 camps, or Temporary Protection Centers (TPC) as they are referred to by Turkish state authorities, in Turkey operated under the aegis of AFAD (Prime Ministry Disaster and Emergency Management Authority). In these camps AFAD coordinates humanitarian assistance and services including health and education to over 250, 000 Syrian and 16,000 Iraqi refugees.[44] Turkish government claimed to have spent 5.6 billion US dollars for Syrian refugees as opposed to 394 million US dollar contribution of the international community of June 2015.[45] According to many sources, refugees living in camps have better conditions in terms of access to the basic services and social environment than the ones living outside the camps. Recreational and educational activities are available and security is provided by the Turkish security forces inside the camps. Turkey was praised many times by the international community for the high standards of the camps (McClelland 2014). From a sociological point of view, however, these camps, as transit zones for many refugees, represent the 'institutionalisation of temporariness, as a form of radical social exclusion and marginalization in modern society and a conservation of borders as dividing lines' (Toth 2006). Despite the "open borders", the Turkish state, as all modern sovereign states do, has a tendency to reconstitute the 'physical frontiers' through the camps. Indeed, camps consolidate the non-territorial way to separate the natives from the immigrants (Ivan 2012). In that respect, there may be much to be discussed about state and sovereignty in the context

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[43] Legal Status of Individuals Fleeing Syria: Syria Needs Analyses Project, June 2013 athttp://reliefweb.int/report/syrian-arab-republic/legal-status-individuals-fleeing-syria-syria-needs-analysis-project-june, accessed 10.01.2014

[44] See, https://www.afad.gov.tr/tr/IcerikDetay1.aspx?ID=16&IcerikID=848, accessed 10.05.2016

[45] AFAD Emergency Report at; https://www.afad.gov.tr/TR/IcerikDetay1.aspx?ID=16&IcerikID=747 accessed 06.06.2015

of the current refugee crisis. However, camps constitute only the tip of an iceberg as an overwhelming number of Syrians live out of the camps, scattered in different urban areas in Turkey.

Figure 1. Syrian Refugees in camps in by years
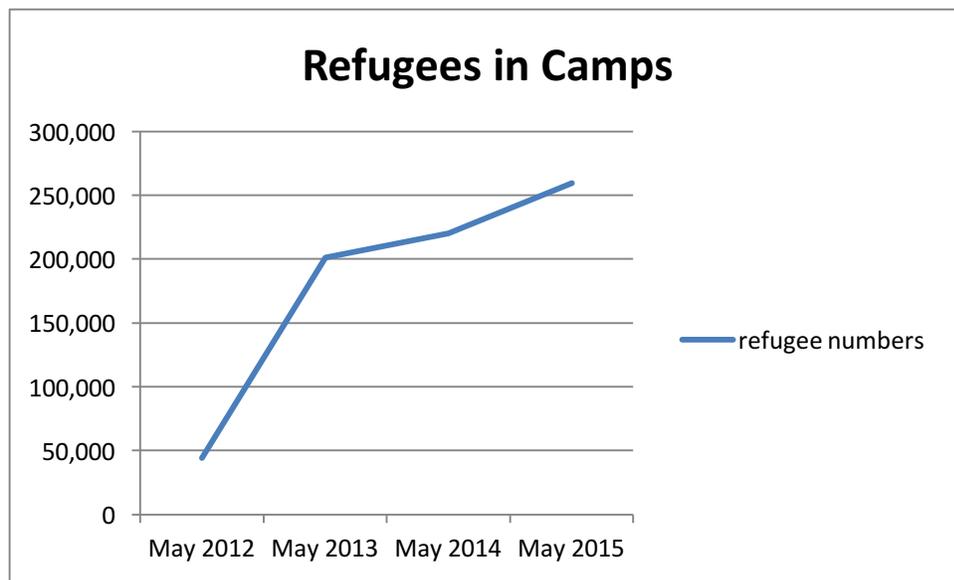
Source: Based on data from AFAD and UNHCR 2015 figures

By 2015, Turkey was the major refugee-hosting country in the world (see Figure 1). According to UNHCR data for May 2016, the number of Syrians registered in Turkey was estimated to approach 3 million. According to a report published by ORSAM (2015a), 85 percent of the Syrians live outside the refugee camps, in bordering cities and metropolitan cities like Istanbul, Ankara and Bursa. Unlike "luckier" ones living in camps, Syrian refugees in urban settings are dependent on support from the host communities, municipalities, international and national Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and International Aid

Agencies to meet their needs including food and education (ORSAM 2015a). That is a significant fact not only for Syrian people but also for the Turkish state and society itself.

It is important to note that Turkey is bigger in terms of land, population and pre capita GDP than the other refugee hosting countries like Jordan and Lebanon in the region. The number of refugees makes up only about 3.4 percent of Turkey's population as of August 2016, which is much below the refugee/indigenous population ratios in Lebanon and Jordan.[46] However, providing basic services for such number of non-citizen population creates a challenge for the Turkish state while Turkish hospitality pushes its limits as the refugee/indigenous ratio raises up to 95, 24, 20 and 16 percent in border cities of Kilis, Hatay, Sanliurfa and Gaziantep (See Figure 3).[47]

Regardless of the spread or scale of refugees in Turkish territories, it should be underlined that Turkey's humanitarian activities toward Syrian refugees developed as a part and parcel of its over-all policy in the Syria conflict (Ahmodoun 2014). From the beginning of the crisis Turkish government took clear stance against the Assad regime: it sought the international isolation of the regime and provisioned a Syria without Assad.

It should be noted that, lacking work authorization, most urban refugees worked either informally or in otherwise unacceptable conditions with very low wages. This in turn raised question about child labour, illegal activities, and wage deflation in the labour market meanwhile igniting hostility among host populations (Icduygu 2015). The refugee paradigm shifted from humanitarian emergency to integration in the fifth year of the crisis, and thus new regulations paved the way for legal employment and integration measures.

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[46] While the Syrian refugee-citizen ratio in reaches 30 percent in Lebanon it exceeds 10 percent in Jordan, see data.unhcr.org, accessed 10.05.2016

[47] Data is retrieved from www.goc.gov.tr in April 2016. Also see http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/10-ilde-suriyeli-multeci-sayisi-yerel-nufusla-yarisiyor-29831750, accessed 15.04.2016

Figure 2. Number of Syrians under TPR

# of Registerd Syrians
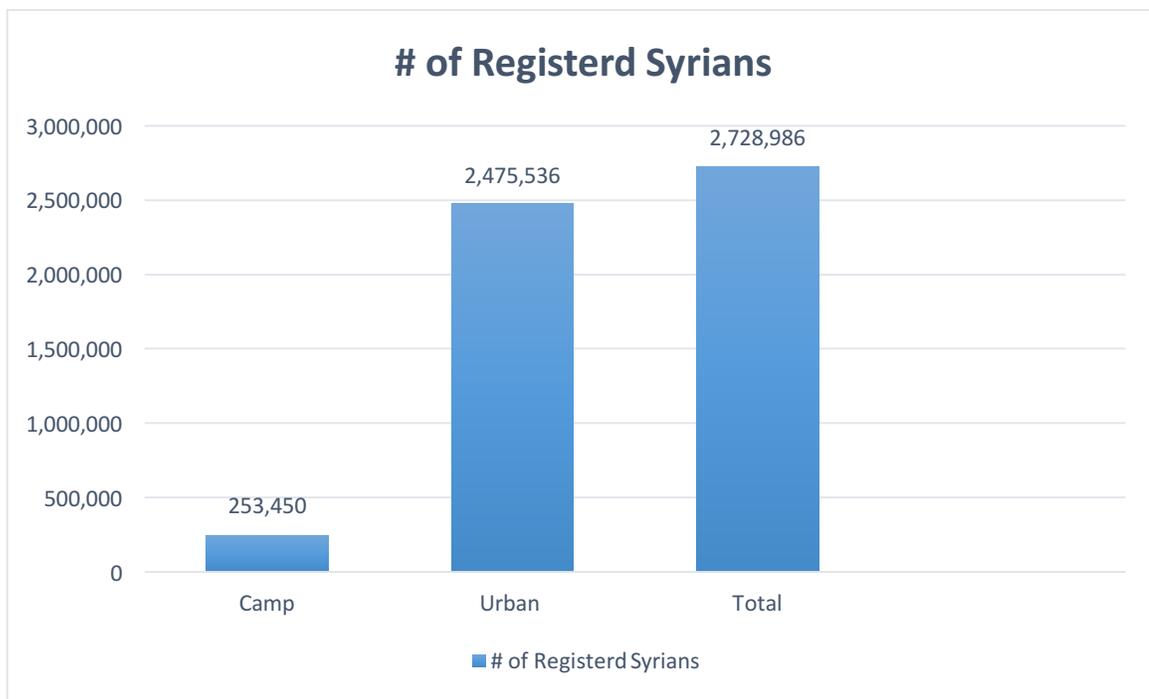
Source: www.goc.gov.tr accessed 06.05.2016

In 2014, however, the 'Temporary Protection Regime' started to be applied with a new law on Foreigners and International Protection was granted to all Syrian nationals, stateless persons, and refugees from Syria in need of international protection, including those without identification documents. The rights applicable to Syrian refugees, whether they are residing in or outside of the camps, are also enumerated within the temporary protection regulation. The Temporary Protection regime for refugees from Syria grants beneficiaries the right to a legal stay as well as some level of access to basic rights and services. The "temporary protection" status is acquired on prima facie, group-basis, granted to Syrian nationals and Stateless Palestinians originating from Syria. DGMM is the responsible authority for the registration and status decisions within the scope of the "temporary protection" regime,

which is based on Article 91 of the FIPA and the TPR of 22 October 2014. TPR determines the proceedings to be carried out related to their reception to Turkey, their stay in Turkey, their rights and obligations.[48]

Table 2. Number of Camps and Syrian Refugees as of August 2016

PROVINCE	# OF CAMPS	TOTAL POPULATION
	25	253,487
Hatay	5	18,550
Gaziantep	5	45,057
Sanliurfa	5	101,929
Kilis	2	30,700
Mardin	3	9,702
Kahramanmaras	1	18,403
Osmaniye	1	9,035
Adiyaman	1	9,791
Adana	1	10,018
Malatya	1	7,612

Source: www.afad.gov.tr accessed 04.05.2016

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[48] Temporary Protection Regulation available athttp://www.goc.gov.tr/files/_dokuman28.pdf, accessed 14.02.2015

As part of the temporary protection regime, Syrian nationals, refugees and stateless persons from Syria seeking international protection are admitted to Turkey and will not be sent back to Syria against his or her will. The temporary protection regime is applied to all Syrian nationals, stateless persons, and refugees from Syria who are in need of international protection, including those without identification documents. The rights applicable to Syrian refugees, whether they are residing in or outside of the camps, are also enumerated within the temporary protection regulation. These cover, broadly: access to health, access to education, access to social assistance, and access to the labor market.

Figure 3. Syrian Refugees in Turkey
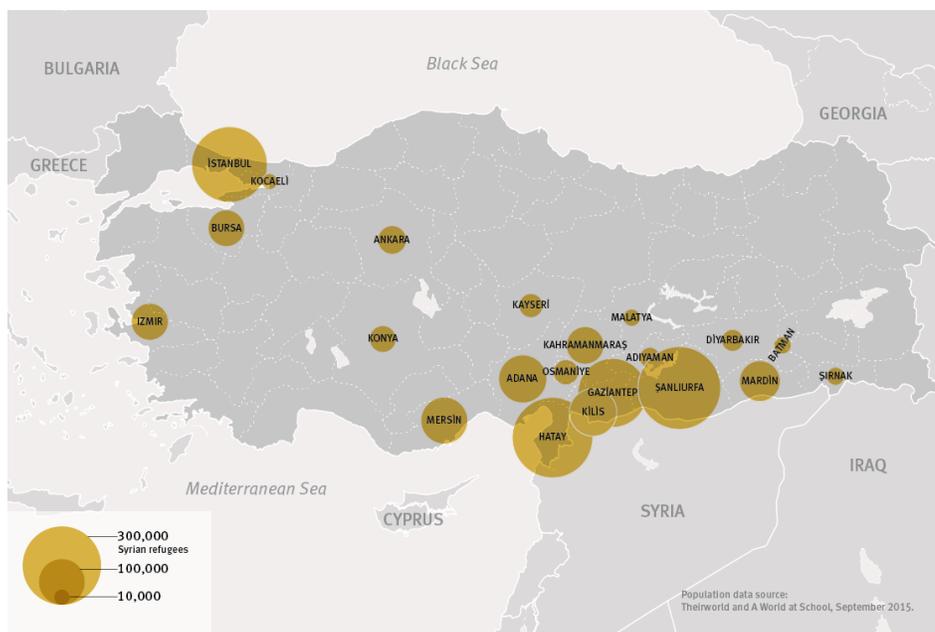
Source: www.hrw.org accessed 10.05.2016

Figure 4. Ratios of Syrian Refugees in Immediate Host Countries

Egypt
3%

Iraq
6%

Jordan
16%

Turkey
45%

Lebanon
30%

Syrian Refugees
Based on UNHCR figures (March 2015)
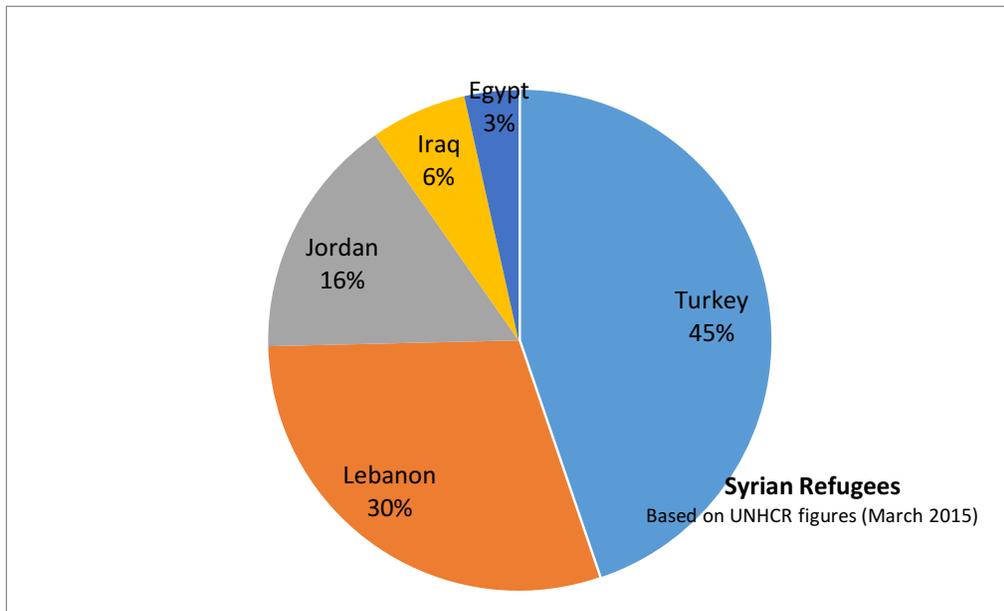
The implementation of some of these rights, such as access to social assistance, labor market and education are subject to further decisions by the relevant line ministries, including the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Family and Social Policies and Ministry of National (See Figure 5). The education dimension and the MoNE regulations generated in response to refugee crisis will be discussed in the next chapter; however, the historical and legal framework will be given below.

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Figure 5. Temporary Protection Regime

TEMPORARY PROTECTION REGIME

AFAD

CAMP → DGMM ← URBAN

UNHCR

Related Ministries,

Local Governments,

UNICEF

Local Governments,

International Organisations
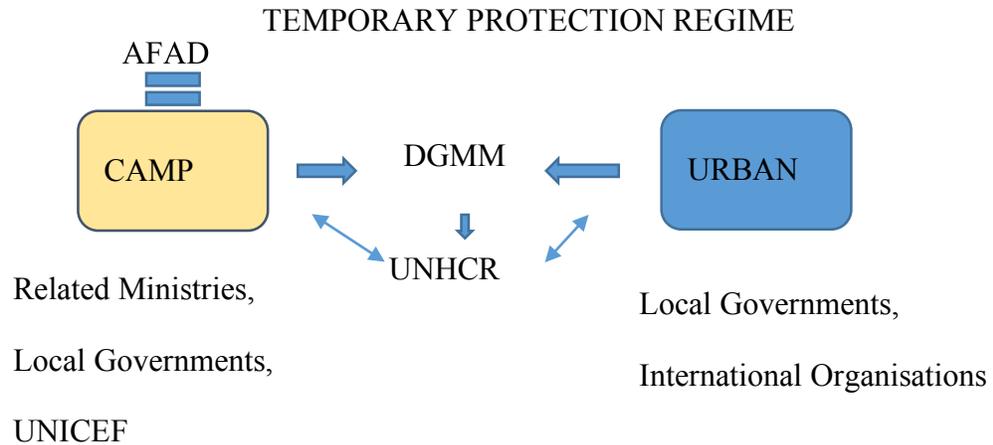
4.3 Migration Management and Education Sector Nexus

4.3.1 Historical Overview

Historically, it is not possible to talk about an education policy within the greater framework migration management until the legal developments coinciding with the Syrian refugee crisis because, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, immigration waves to Turkey can be characterized as sometimes seldom and irregular and at other times dense mass influxes with a majority of people of Turkish background. For instance, immigration from Bulgaria in 1950s and 1990s did not have a big impact on the capacity of the state to provide education because almost 99 % of them had Turkish as their mother-tongue and had a historical cultural connection to Turkey, which led to a quick integration into the public education system (Colak 2013). Even though hardly any of them had ever lived in Turkey, most of them had a certain knowledge of the Turkish language: thus there were no measures for integration.

In the past few decades Turkey also hosted non-Turkic populations in its territory from non-European countries like Iraq[49] and become a transit country for many asylum seekers from less developed countries (Icduygu &Yukseker 2012). However, the scope of these mass population movements was temporary, relatively small or limited to a certain area, thus never having great repercussions for the national education system. The only demographic movement that had a considerable effect on education policies was the return of nearly 400,000 Turkish emigrants to Germany back to Turkey between 1983-1985. This development led to the establishment of public high schools providing education in Germany and the reservation of quotas for the children of the returnees at high schools providing education in German so as to help these children maintain the language skills attained in Germany (Demircioglu 1984). The return of the Turkish immigrants back to Turkey did not have an emergency aspect as does the Syrian refugee influx. Besides, considering the homogenous ethnic character of the returnees, providing education has never had a paradoxical aspect as does providing education to Syrian refugees, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Although the literature has dealt with the several aspects like settlement and integration policies in general, there are no specific study on the education aspect of the immigration waves with the exception of a study including policy recommendation on immigrant children in Turkey conducted under the aegis of IOM (International Organisation for Migration) by Topcuoglu et. al in 2012.

That said, securing education for a variety of foreign, non-citizen children and young people has always been problematic despite never being spoken out loud in the shadow of the vast

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[49] According to ORSAM (2010) less Iraqis take refuge in Turkey due to factors such as geographic distance, language differences (most Iraqis do not speak Turkish), the high cost of living in Turkey and the low number of humanitarian organisations working on refugee assistance. But more importantly, except for the Turkmens, the difficulty of obtaining a residence permit in Turkey makes Turkey a transit country for many Iraqis.

education gap of citizen children. Indeed, Turkey does not have a good record in terms of gender, geographical and economic disparities in education (UNICEF 2012). However, An important sub-group of out-of-school children is asylum-seekers, refugees, and children of irregular migrants, for whom the state is obliged to ensure access to basic education regardless of their citizenship status according to both international and domestic law (see Appendix A for the list of all International Legal Documents establishing a binding framework for the Protection of Immigrant Children for Turkey). As a party to ICESCR and CRC Turkey has the obligation to ensure education rights for all children between 6-18 years of age. This obligation also covers the children of refugees and asylum seekers in theory regardless of any specific act. However, it is important to note that Turkey signed CRC based on the Article 3 and 6 of the Constitution on14 September 2010 with reservations on articles 17, 29, 30 on the language, education and cultural rights of minority children with a reference to the Lausanne Treaty of 1923. (Topcuoglu et. al 2012)

The first legal framework regarding the protection of non-citizen children is the Children Protection Act No. 5395. Rights based amendments to the migration and asylum policies were recently introduced with the 1994 Asylum regulation. This regulation did not envisage a special procedure in the migration management for the children but the right to education for the children of refugee and asylum seekers. Unfortunately, in practice the Child Protection Act was not sufficient, for the implementation of the 1994 regulation was questionable (Topcuoglu et al. 2012). On the other hand, a secondary legal framework was for the unaccompanied minors, not all of the immigrant children in the MoI Circular No. 57 in 2006. In this circular the unaccompanied minor was defined as:

> Refugee or asylum seeker under 18, stateless or foreigner who entered Turkish territories legally or illegally without the custody of an adult, and will be so unless custody is taken. Those who were left without custody upon entrance into Turkish territories are also under this category.

Apart from the right to education for the refugee and asylum seeker children and the procedures for the detection and placement of the unaccompanied minor there were no legal

regulations for refugee children. The lack of any regulation related to the fact that the right to education for refugees and asylum seekers created gaps in domestic policy which necessitated ensuring education for all residents in Turkish territories, regardless of their citizenship status. This shortfall was addressed by the Action Plan for Asylum and Migration Management in 2005. In that context the regulatory and supervisory responsibility of the State regarding integration activities and the necessity of the establishment of an institution authorized by law to carry out integration activities was emphasised. It was envisaged that this institution would ensure coordination with other institutions and organisations and local authorities. Employers and civil societies would also be encouraged.

Seeing compulsory education as essential, The Action Plan emphasised the necessity of Turkish language education provision to secure the educational and social rights of refugees and asylum seekers and other immigrants. Accordingly, Turkish language, cultural adaptation, and integration was to be encouraged and language courses were to be organized with support of CSOs and Universities. The Ministry of National Education was designated as responsible for taking necessary measures for the refugees, asylum seeker and other immigrants of compulsory school age. Access to education and supportive language training programs was envisaged to be organized by the Ministry projects for trainer of trainees with EU funds.

The first MoNE regulation addressing the refugee and asylum seekers was MoNE circular 2010/48, according to which, for education provision for refugee and asylum seeker children provincial education directorates should take necessary measures in cooperation with the provincial security directorates.[50] If refugee and asylum seekers cannot provide documents on previous education, personal statements were to be taken as the basis for placement, and

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[50] Circular 'Yabanci Uyruklu Ogrenciler 2010/48' dated 16.08.2010 available at http://www.egitimmevzuat.com/index.php/201008181394/2010/yabanci-uyruklu-oerencler-201048-genelge.html, accessed 10.11.2015

written and oral tests could be given for detection if required. In the course of replacement to be held by a commission under the aegis of provincial educational directorate, an interpreter in the native tongue of the refugee or asylum seeker child should ideally be present. However, in practice there were different implementations in different provinces. Some children were not registered to public schools by the principal with the excuse that they did not speak adequate Turkish and others were interviewed in Turkish rather than their mother tongues in some cases. For those who were eligible to enroll in Turkish schools, language was a major problem. There were no initiatives to help the student learn Turkish even if they were registered. Furthermore, being able to make use of public education services depended on obtaining necessary residence permits and identity numbers (Bilgin 2011). Not all migrants, however have residence permits considering the illegal entries into the country.

In terms of education, one of the setbacks stemming from the lack of legal status and thus identity documentation leads to issues of recognition of education. Although the regulations allow for the children without identity numbers to attend schools as guest students, however that means the students will not be eligible for qualification documents. For instance, according to unofficial data, there are up to 20,000 Armenian illegal immigrants working in Turkey. Their children have no documents and are not granted the right to education.[51] In 2011, MoNE gave the right to these children to have education as guest students in Armenian minority schools. After 5 years of education however, these students were not entitled to a diploma (Topcuoglu et al. 2012).

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[51]See 'Armenian migrants in Turkey: an all-female story' by Fazila Mat, 20.11.2012 available at http://www.balcanicaucaso.org/eng/Areas/Turkey/Armenian-migrants-in-Turkey-an-all-female-story-125834, accessed 10.05.2016

4.3.2 Current Situation

In line with the 10th development plan for 2014-2018, migration management in the education sector has two main parameters: emigration from Turkey and immigration to Turkey. In terms of emigration, assessing Turkish education system in line with the EU membership perspective and globalizing dynamics is crucial. Accordingly, the aim is the formation of an education system to develop and empower Turkish citizens competent not only on a national but also on an international scale. In terms of immigration to Turkey, migration management in the education sector is clustered around (a) regular migration; (b) irregular migration and; (c) population movements to Turkey comprising people in need of protection, the refugee and asylum seeker.[52] Syrian refugees, on the other hand, have a privileged status among all irregular migrants due to the political interests included in the management of the Syrian refugee crisis.

Regarding regular migration, the state policy is focusing on university education. Accordingly, the aim is ensuring that university students with scholarships graduating from universities in Turkey to be employed in good positions in their countries of origin and contribute to the publicizing of Turkey internationally. The ones without scholarships, on the other hand, might be employed in Turkey if needed.

Education for irregular migrants together with refugee and asylum seeker children on the other hand are handled within the larger framework of child protection, thus excluding immigrants over 18. Five factors are indicative of the access to rights and sources for immigrant children in Turkey (Topcuoglu et. al 2012):

- Country of origin
- Arrival in a specific migration wave

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[52] See 2014-2018 10th Development Plan Migration Special Report available at www.kalkinma.gov.tr, accessed 05.04.216

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- Arrival reasons
- Asylum claim
- Accompany status

Table 3 shows that children are at risk in accordance with their immigration status due to legal gaps and institutional problems in implementation of the legal framework that mean they miss out on certain rights, including education.

Irregular or illegal migrants are defined as those migrants who encounter legal status problems. Occupying a large grey area between legal and illegal, irregular migration is linked to the legal shortfalls in authorisation in the case of documents required under immigration regulations for entry, stay or work in a country. When children are considered, the failures of authorization result in children not being able to benefit from rights such as education (see table 3). Without documentation, it becomes difficult to detect not only the biological age but also the history of prior learning of the children. This creates a setback for the enrollment of illegal migrants into the right level of schools.

In 2015, the number of irregular migrants rose to 146.485 from 44.415 in 2011. Syria, Iraq Pakistan and Afghanistan were the 4 major source countries for irregular migration to Turkey.[53] No administrative data is found regarding illegal/irregular immigrant children. However, this number indicates the severity of the picture for the irregular immigrant children in terms of access to rights and risk factors mentioned in the table 3.

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[53] See figures at http://www.goc.gov.tr/icerik6/duzensiz-goc_363_378_4710_icerik, accessed 10.04.2016

Table 3. Typology of legal status of children in irregular and forced migration

Status	Entry	Residence	Labour	Risks in Terms of Child Rights
Arrival individually or by migrant smuggling	Illegal	Illegal	Illegal	Health, nutrition, development, education under risk
Arrival by human trafficking (those exposed to forced labour, sexual abuse or organ trafficking	Illegal	Illegal	Illegal	Serious human rights violations and abuse risk
Transit arrivals by migrant smuggling or human trafficking	Illegal	Illegal	Not available	Life, development, education rights under serious risk of violation
Migrant children working illegally (in domestic law the criterion for illegal labour depends on age and the quality of the labour)[54]	Legal (for example on tourist visa)	Legal	Illegal	Child labour and rights violations including education rights
Children of illegal migrants	Legal (for example on tourist visa)	Illegal	Illegal	Child labour, inability to access education, risk of unhealthy accommodation

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[54] The International Labour Organisation (ILO) defines the age limit of child labour at 15 years of age but that age can be higher for dangerous labour.

Table 3. Typology of legal status of children in irregular and forced migration (continued)

Status	Entry	Residence	Labour	Risks in Terms of Child Rights
Children of refugees and asylum seekers	Non-refoulement	Legal	Illegal	Development rights, education rights slightly at risks partially depending on local implementations
Children of families whose asylum claims has been rejected	Illegal	Illegal	Illegal	Health, nutrition and development under risk
Undocumented children born in the arrival country to the irregular migrants	Not available	Illegal	Illegal	Mother-child health, infant death risks, education rights at risk
Children of families arrived legally but lost legal status of residence due to administrative or political changes in their country of origin	Legal	Indefinite	Illegal	Heath, education, nutrition, development at risk
Children of settled migrants (arrived within regulations or settlement policies)	Legal	Legal	Legal	Discrimination, access to education and social services are at risk
Children under Temporary Protection	Legal	Legal	Legal	Cultural, linguistic, education rights are at risk under threat of discrimination

Source: Retrieved according to recent legal framework from R. Topcuoglu (2012).

Although data is available on the number of foreign children enrolled in Turkish primary and secondary schools in Annual Migration Reports of DGMM (figure 6), no data is available on how many of these children are refugee and asylum seekers. In 2010, before the Syrian conflict, 28.9 per cent of the 8707 refugees and 6044 asylum seekers registered with UNHCR in Turkey was 0 to 17 year-olds. This number rose to 274,703 in 2016, 33 per cent of whom were between 0-17 (see Table 4). Here it is important to note that these numbers do not include Syrian refugees as, according to national legislation, they are under a temporary protection regime.

It is worth highlighting the fact that the number of children enrolled with a foreign identity number decreases in higher grades according to MoNE e-School records. Another issue worth highlighting is the significant difference between the number of girls and boys; for every 100 boys enrolled in a basic education school with a foreign identity number there are 87 girls (UNICEF 2012).

It was not until the FIPA in 2013 that the envisaged measures in the National Action Plan of 2006 on the integration of foreigners into Turkey were implemented within the context of the Syrian refugee crisis. In article 58 of FIPA, MoNE is designated to take the necessary measures to ensure that children have access to education in removal centers for foreigners subject to administrative detention. In article 66, The Ministry for Family and Social Policies are held responsible for provisions apply to international protection claims lodged by unaccompanied children. Accordingly, the best interest of the child shall be the primary consideration in all actions related to unaccompanied children.

Table 4. Refugee and Asylum Seekers as of 31 July 2016

NO. OF ASYLUM SEEKERS AND REFUGEES, BY AGE AND GENDER											
AGE	0-4		5-11		12-17		18-59		60+		
GENDER	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
Afghanistan	4,214	4,519	6,943	8,122	4,474	6,576	20,356	54,155	600	805	110,764
Iran	602	641	1,062	1,184	672	900	8,177	13,998	178	180	27,594
Iraq	5,977	6,463	10,490	11,424	6,476	7,704	28,890	42,596	2,233	2,045	124,298
Somalia	99	119	221	245	214	218	1,346	1,369	44	43	3,918
Others	251	254	340	387	205	230	2,754	3,486	104	118	8,129
Total M/F	11,143	11,996	19,056	21,362	12,041	15,628	61,523	11,5604	3,159	3,191	
GRAND TOTALS	23,139		40,418		27,669		177,127		6,350		274,703

Source: UNHCR Turkey, www.unhcr.org.tr accessed 05.06.2016

Figure 6. Number of Foreign Students in Primary and Secondary Schools in Turkey in 2015

TOTAL 53,878

Syria	22,348
Iraq	9,091
Afganistan	6,109
Russian Federation	2,088
Iran	1,870
Kazakstan	1,248
Uzbekstan	1,164
Kyrgystan	856
Ukrain	686

■ Number of Foreign Students in Primary and Secondary Schools in Turkey
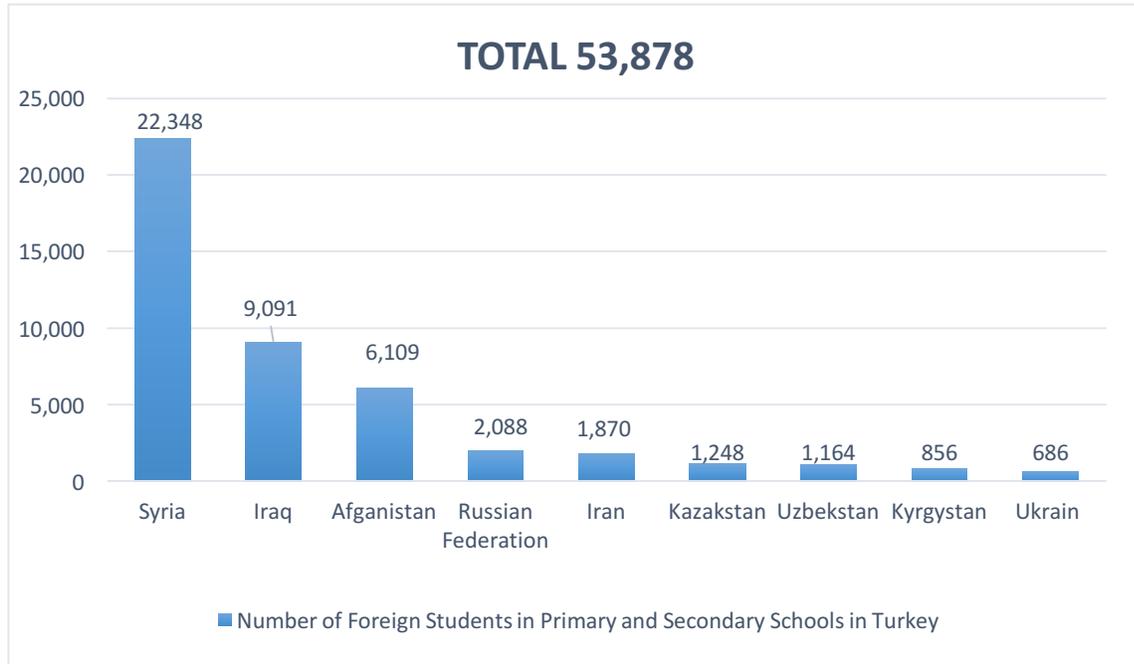
Source: DGMM Annual migration report available at www.goc.gov.tr accessed 10.06.2016

According to FIPA, Article 89 applicant or international protection beneficiary and family members shall have access to primary and secondary education. However, further measures for education are mentioned in Article 28 of the related TPR, which envisages TPR education provision for foreigners inside and outside temporary accommodation centers to be under the control and responsibility of the MoNE. According to TPR, pre-school education services for foreigners may be provided to children who are 36-66 months old, where the children who are 54-66 months old are prioritized. Education activities for those at the age of primary and secondary education shall be carried out in line with the relevant legislation of the Ministry of National Education. Furthermore, language and vocational courses, addressing all age groups may be organized depending on the demand. Procedures and principles related

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to higher education, on the other hand, shall be determined by the Presidency of Council of Higher Education. If the foreigner has received education under a different curriculum, which was documented, these documents shall be evaluated by relevant units of the MoNE or Presidency of Council of Higher Education and equivalence proceedings shall be conducted for the grades deemed appropriate.[55] This document is very important for the subsequent refugee education policies as it outlines education provision for non-citizen entities in broadest terms.

In the 10th development plan, there is an emphasis on the equality principle of the constitution: refugee and asylum seeker children are mentioned to be among the disadvantaged child groups. Accordingly, the situation for these children and the measures to taken in the development plan for 2014-2018 are shown in table 5.

In the light of the above mentioned facts and figures, it must be underlined that the immigration of children (like the adults) brings about legal outcomes. Crossing into the territories of another state, the children and young people become located in a position that ensures that they cannot enjoy the same citizenship-based rights like education. The foreign child becomes an issue of (a) international human/child rights; (b) migration management; and (c) education policy. Such a nexus is illustrated in Figure 7.

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[55] Temporary Protection Regulation.

Figure 7. Migration-Education Nexus

International Law

child/human/refugee

National Legal Framework

National Education Priorities ⟷ Foreign Child ⟷ Migration Management
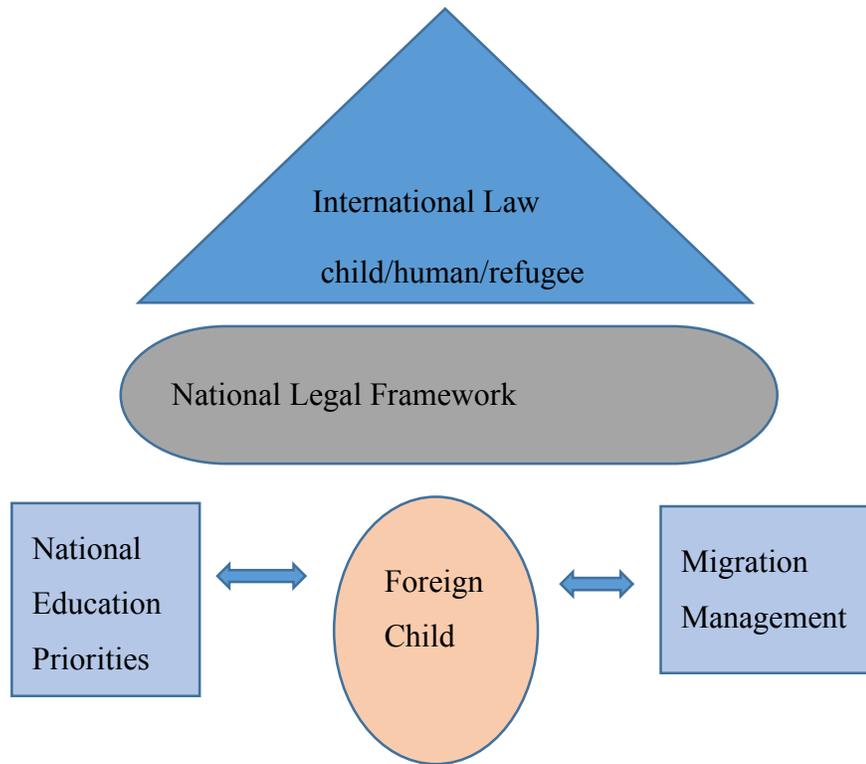
Table 5. Children victim of forced displacement

Situation Summary	Measures	Intervention	Evaluation and Monitoring
Under Municipality responsibility according to regulations on organisation of social services	Formation of mechanism for prevention of discrimination and marginalisation	Formation of mechanism for Access to social rights. Need analysis by local governments and CSOs Provision of multi-dimensional social welfare mechanisms Social protection on basis of psycho-social support by local governments Regional regulations to ensure access to education Local governments taking responsibility for creating services	Data collection and analysis on refugee and asylum seekers

Source: Development Plan 2014-2018 Child Working Group Report available at www.kalkinma.gov.tr accessed 10.05.2016

4.4 Conclusion

Modern Turkey's traditional immigration policy was shaped very much by nation building concerns, as well as by efforts to sustain a homogenous national identity. Recent migration waves, which do not include immigrants from Turkish 'descent and culture' (unlike previous ones), however, create a challenge for sustaining a homogenous national identity. From the 1980s on, Turkey has witnessed a new pattern of immigration involving nationals of neighboring countries and transit illegal migrants. In line with EU accession process, Turkey started to form a rights-based framework for migration management in the 2000s. In order to conform EU Acquis, the Action Plan on Asylum and Migration was adopted by the Turkish government in 2005. The Action Plan laid out the tasks and the timetable for Turkey to follow in order to amend its legislation in line with EU directives on asylum and migration policies. Although a geographic limitation clause has not been abrogated, Foreigners and International Protection Act has been adopted relatively recently, and it aims at fair and efficient management of immigration with an up-to-date terminology for modern human rights. The timing of the Act is important as a motive to create a legal framework for the response to the Syrian refugee crisis. FIPA envisages temporary protection for Syrian refugees as foreigners who have been forced to leave their country cannot return to the country that they have left, and have arrived at or crossed the borders of Turkey in a mass influx situation seeking protection. Syrian refugee crisis is managed in line with the related Temporary Protection Regime. Both camp and non-camp refugees are entitled temporary protection accordingly. Recreational and educational activities are available and security is provided by the Turkish security forces inside the camps. However, 85 percent of the Syrians live outside of refugee camps, scattered in different bordering cities and other metropolitan cities. In that context a great role is overtaken by different civil society organisations to meet the basic needs of Syrian refugees.

Parallel with recent migration management agenda, the education rights of the foreign child in Turkish territories found a place in the national education. Indeed, irregular migrant

children are still the most disadvantaged group in terms of access to education as they lack documentation for school enrollment. Child victims of forced displacement, on the other, hand suffer from discrimination and marginalizing due to economic disadvantages. The TPR envisages education activities for Syrian refugees to be conducted inside and outside camps under the control and responsibility of the Ministry of National Education. Accordingly, the next chapter will place the policy and practices of the Ministry since the beginning of the Syrian refugee crisis under scrutiny.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF THE MAKING OF EDUCATION POLICIES FOR SYRIAN

REFUGEES IN TURKEY

5.1 Introduction

The disruption of education is likely to prove a serious impediment to professional and economic growth if it affects an entire generation that is expected to be the major building block of a new state and society. Beyond providing them with literacy, numeracy and an array of crucial skills, schooling can give social and emotional support to displaced children to overcome the traumas of war. In the case of the Turkish response to the Syrian refugee crisis, the immediate response focused on addressing the most immediate needs of the refugees (food, shelter, medical attention). Other less obvious impacts of the conflict became evident before long. The displacement of such a vast number of young Syrian people has made them unable to pursue their education, whether primary, secondary or tertiary, bringing the Syrian children and young people to the verge of becoming a "lost generation".

In the current refugee crisis, children comprise nearly 50 percent of the total number of Syrian refugees registered by the Turkish state authorities.[56] According to the Ministry of National Education, number of school-aged children (5-17 years) was above 800,000 as of

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[56] Total number of refugees as of 31 December 2015 according to UNHCR and Directorate General for Migration Management of was 2,503,549. In February 2016 this number was 2,608,616 according to the same sources.

February 2016. Although enrolment rates within the camps remained quite high, it tended to be as low as 30 percent in host communities until 2015.[57] These figures not only show the risk of a lost generation of Syrian children, but also put the Turkish state at risk since education is significantly related to social stability and cohesion. That is why education provision for Syrian refugees is an issue that cannot be neglected by the state authorities.

Table 6. Registered Syrian Refugees according to age-gender

AGE	Male	Female	Total
Total	1,452,342	1,276,644	2,728,986
0-4	188,277	175,789	364,066
5-9	197,196	186,352	383,548
10-14	150,366	137,580	287,946
15-18	131,534	110,799	242,333
19-24	218,848	173,800	392,648
25+	673,561	492,306	1,058,455

Source: Retrieved from 2016 DGMM data, available at www.goc.gov.tr, accessed 10.06.2016

Education policy making for refugees is not an easy task to achieve in Turkey for two interrelated and self-reinforcing reasons. First, entailing issues of identity, education is nested in the state through a central education system tailored for citizens. Secondly, Turkish

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[57] UNHCR 2014 Syria Regional Response Plan estimated that only approximately 14 % of school aged children outside of camps are attending school in 2012-2013. In 2014 this rate was 27 % according to Dorman (2014).

education system already suffers from an opportunity gap to the detriment of the marginalised poor and girls. Unprecedented scope and the language barriers also turns education provision into a paradox difficult to unravel for the education policy makers in Turkey. This chapter tries to explore how the education dimension of the crisis is governed by the state institutions, centrally the Ministry of National Education.

Turkish authorities have done a lot since beginning of the crisis for a solution to the education impasse of Syrian refugees. However, education cannot be isolated from its social context. It is part of the wider society and one of the major cultural fields in which ''different groups with distinct political, economic, and cultural visions attempt to define what the socially legitimate means and ends of a society are to be'' (Apple 1993; 17). Accordingly, education and its content are not politically neutral or technically objective. Politics is intrinsic to the process of education. This feature of education is inherent in the very establishment of the national education system particularly in Turkey, where the organisation and purpose of education has always been a battleground among different groups to shape the country's past and future direction. There is overwhelming evidence to suggest that reforms on formal schooling has been the reflection of political and ideological endeavors of the Turkish state (Herrera 2004). The mass Syrian influx and the ever increasing number of Syrian refugees in urban setting however, gives way to new governance strategies in education in Turkey including the involvement of non-state actors in formal education provision for refugees.

With that in mind, this chapter aims a policy level analysis of the measures for education of the Syrian refugees since the beginning of the crisis in Turkey with a special emphasis on the space opened in for non-state actors in several documents for education of Syrian children in host communities. This chapter tries to explore the parameters that have affected education policies for non-camp Syrian refugees in Turkey and the implications of these policies for Syrian refugees and Turkish state and civil society. To that end, official papers by the Ministry of National Education and news, official declarations and press releases between 2011 and 2016 are put under scrutiny. Notes from causal meetings and semi-structured

interviews with experts from the Ministry also utilized to evaluate the motives behind the adopted strategies. With that in mind, there is an emphasis on the characteristics of Turkish national education policy based on the 1924 Law on Unification of Education. Accordingly, the main argument in this chapter is that growing decentralizing of state responsibility for education of Syrian children is evident in the recent policy documents and regulations. The decentralization strategies underlines partnership with civil society organizations to fill education gaps in national education originally designed for the citizen child in a nation-state framework. This chapter also puts the emphasis on the role of civil society in education provision for Syrian children in contradiction with the national education law based on secular principals, central governance and mono-cultural education content.

5.2 Wishful Thinking: Education for Repatriation

The camps necessitate the establishment of separate schools for the refugees. However, as was discovered through the work of Smith (2011) the 'assumptions' that policy makers at different levels have affect education policy making for refugees. Smith uses the word 'assumption' to highlight the taken-for-granted truths about what refugees needs. In the case under study here, education policy-makers' assumptions about the durable solutions for a particular group of refugees also affect education policy making. The conflict in Syria was assumed to be short-lived by the policy makers in Turkey. The assumption, or wishful thinking of the foreign policy makers, that the refugees will be repatriated soon was the main factor affecting education policies for Syrian refugees, which led to the neglect of non-camp refugee children.

The Ministry of National Education responded to the first wave of refugee influx in April 2011 with field work to explore the newly established camps and a following order dated 18 June 2011 on the formation of educational institutions and the standards of educational

services to be given in these institutions in the camps.[58] In early regulations of the Ministry regarding education provision for the Syrian refugees in camps, it was emphasised that the courses for the Syrian refugees were to be conducted in Arabic according to the Turkish curriculum so that education for the Syrian refugee children would not be ignored while approaches that would reinforce the prospects for the refugee families' settlement in Turkey would be evaded. In that respect, education was not delayed for the newly arrived refugees, however it was restricted to the camps without any opportunity for acquiring Turkish language skills. Mentioning that education aiming for Turkish skills may prevent rapid voluntary repatriation, in a press release in 2012 the Minister of Education Omer Dincer stated:

> …We have provided prefabricated classrooms. We are trying to give education to these children as the circumstances allow. We have appointed teachers who know Arabic… Local administrations also make effort for the education of these children.

> … We have no effort to teach Turkish language to Syrian children, we see them as guests in our country and expect them to return back to their countries when the conditions get better. Education provided to them has not been planned to register them to schools and give them diplomas. They are subject to guest student status. We aim to prevent any adaptation problems when they go back to their countries. [59]

Parallel with the literature on education in emergencies, the education provision for Syrian refugees was perceived to be as important as basic humanitarian response in Turkey in the camps. Naturally, however, Turkish state authorities initially had neither a long term agenda

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[58]Interview with MoNE Expert, 18 March 2016, Ankara

[59]Press Release, 31 November 2012, MoNE, translated into English form Turkish Web Site, http://www.meb.gov.tr/haberler/2012/03102012.pdf, accessed 04.04.2012

on education for refugees nor a well-defined education policy. There was no mention of children out of camps despite their ever increasing numbers.[60]

The education facilities stated very early on in to the crisis and the attendance levels were to 90 percent high for primary schools. As of 31 December 2015, the number of classrooms in the camps reached 1211. The students number was 78,707. That said the level of in camp secondary schooling is still below 60 percent mostly due to the traumas and economic conditions.[61]

Overall, initial regulations aimed repatriation or the refugees in short term and avoided any act that would encourage their stay in Turkey permanently. Although measures were taken to provide education for the camp refugees until they return their home countries, the provision of education for the non-camp refugees was seen as an unjustifiable service that would affect the decision of the refugees to stay or return rather than as a human right. Lack of any measures for education of the non-camp refugees or ignoring the education rights of these refugees in fact was reinforcing a nation-state that set all measures for services provision only for the citizens (Xenos 1996; 243). Such education policies ignoring the right to education for Syrian refugees, however, underestimated the fact that guaranteeing that all refugees have access to a set of rights reduces the likelihood that people will fall outside the state system and so become a potential source of threat. In that sense in the early years of the crisis, the shortfall of education provision for Syrian refugees out of the camps was in fact a strategic flaw that could not only arguably lead to a threat to national security but also to the entire generation of Syrians.

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[60] There was no reliable data on the numbers of non-camp refugees until 2013 until the Government declared that it would be open to cooperation with United Nations agencies to support their efforts.

[61] Interview with MoNE expert, 8 March 2016, Ankara

Table 7. Education figures in camps

# of Class rooms	# of students at school level				# of teachers		Adult Education			
							In progress		completed	
	Preschool	Elementary	Middle	High	Turkish	Arab	# of Training	# of Trainer	# of Training	# of Trainer
1,211	6,857	42,491	20,051	9,308	315	2,532	298	13,936	2,036	61,749

Source: DGMM 2015 Annual Migration Report available at www.goc.gov.tr *accessed 11.05.2015*

In a circular titled 'Measures for Syrian Guests Residing out of the Camps' sent by the Ministry to provincial education administrations on 26 April 2013, the Ministry tried to explore the educational needs of Syrians living in host communities for the first time since the beginning of the Syrian displacement to Turkey.[62] In this circular it was mentioned that all the needs of the Syrian citizens residing within the camps were met by related state institutions. It was also underlined that the Ministry was aware of the educational institutions – pointedly not designating them as schools – operated by civil initiatives out of the camps. With that circular, The Ministry ordered local public authorities to inspect these institutions in terms of infrastructural standards and suitability for educational facilities. In the same notice, data on the number Syrian students and the capacity of these institutions were also inquired. Asking for inspection and detection of these institutions, while praising local authorities and civil society for their efforts, no important implementation was referred to as a possible solution to the education problems of Syrian refugees out of the camps. However, this notice was important for two reasons: it was the first formal document addressing issues regarding education of the Syrian refugees out of the camps and it was admitting the presence of Syrian schools in Turkish territory operated by civil society and private initiatives.

Private schools in Turkey are regulated within the central education governance in Turkey and their existence is recognized constitutionally (Taskin 2010). However, the right to open schools operating in languages other than Turkish and with a foreign curriculum is limited. Accordingly, international schools can be opened only for students of foreign nationals by foreign legal and private entities in partnership with entities holding Turkish nationality in line with Direct Foreign Investment Law of 4875 only under a Cabinet decree.[63] The

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[62] Melikgazi Subprovincial Education Directorate Web Site 'Ülkemizde Kamp Dışında Misafir Edilen Suriye Vatandaşlarına Yönelik Tedbirler', Circular dated 26 April 2013, available athttp://melikgazi.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/2013_05/03024558_suriye.pdf, accessed 10.09.2014.

[63] See the Private Education Law available at
http://mevzuat.meb.gov.tr/html/ozelogretimkanun_1/ozelogrkanun_1.html, accessed 04.05.2015

presence of the private schools for Syrian refugees were against the law, and in normal conditions they would not be allowed. However, the state turned a blind eye to the existence of these schools until it developed a means to control them.

This development has one theoretical implication. Accordingly, the schools operated by civil society institutions is a paradigm for surrogate state or a pseudo nation-state in the provision of education which refers to the extending international and national non-state actors in providing basic services to refugees which normally should be provided by the state. It is generally recognized that all states have an obligation to refugees to provide their basic rights. However, the said principle is only the part of customary law and thus the legal status of refugees is mostly governed by the host state's national laws concerning foreign nationals. And beyond the national law, it is a set of political interests that make a state decision in the refugees. The presence of alternative institutions that intersect in scope and purpose creates a set of choices available to the states in terms of institutional options to advance their interests. In some cases, the nation-state lets or encourages the non-state actors take on tasks on national or local level which deviates from those prescribes at the global level (Betts 2013). The presence of civil society as a surrogate state tends to complement a tendency to see refugees as a problem to be managed rather than as people with rights. When Turkey as host state deflect the burden of caring for refugee populations onto non-state actors, the normal connection between territorial sovereignty and state responsibility for people who are present in its territory is weakened (Kagan 2011, 2012). On a symbolic level, this responsibility shift helps Turkey, which could not politically accept full integration of refugees into the education system due to the legal restrictions that nevertheless tolerate their presence. It also can help reduce the political costs for a host state in that the host government is freed from making key decisions about a refugee population that may be a source of political sensitivity with a neighboring state. In short, in line with state interests "parallel services" emerges which could have wider repercussions for the secular and national characteristics of the Turkish state, and even for the national security in the long run,

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especially considering the nexus between ideology and education. Indeed, education can be a means for the dissipation of different ideologies in contradiction with the formal state ideology. The creation of an identity in contradiction with the state interests can easily become a national security issue. Meanwhile, immigration always has an immense national security dimension within the sovereign state. That is why it is imperative that the Turkish state controls the emergent parallel education services for Syrian refugees through maintaining a managerial role rather than as being the main service provider by means of necessary regulations.

5.4 Regulation through Cooperation with Civil Society

One of the most comprehensive documents regarding the education of Syrian refugees was issued on 16 September 2013 under the heading 'Education services for the Syrians under temporary protection'[64]. This circular was important as it aimed to regulate and standardize educational facilities for Syrian refugee children in and out of the camps while accentuating the significance of coordination among different organisations for resolutions of problems regarding education of Syrian refugees not only in camps but also in the host communities. In this circular, it was underlined that education services to be provided was to be planned, coordinated and monitored only by the Ministry and the staff appointed by the Ministry locally.

This circular also reveals the politicized nature of refugee education. Accordingly, an important aspect of the circular was the fact that it envisaged a new curriculum and materials to be prepared in cooperation with Syrian National Coalition, alternatively Syrian Interim

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[64] Igdir Subprovincial Education Directorate Web Site, 'Ülkemizde Geçici Koruma Altında Bulunan Suriye Vatandaşlarına Yönelik Eğitim Öğretim Hizmetleri' circular dated16.09.2013, available at http://igdir.meb.gov.tr/www/ulkemizde-gecici-koruma-altinda-bulunan-suriye-vatandaslarina-yonelik-egitim-ogretim-hizmetleri/icerik_gorme_engelli/437, accessed 21.10. 2014

Government (See image 1 and 2). That cooperation is important for two reasons. First of all, it in has a very political undertone parallel with the international policy of the Turkish government looking for a resolution of the crisis without Assad. Purging curriculum and text books from the elements reflecting a Syria with Assad was essential because of the general stance of Turkish government in support of Syrian opposition groups. In other words, that refugee children would soon be the buildings stones of a new Syria in accordance with the political interest of the Turkish government was underlying educational policies for Syrian refugees as well.

Secondly, such cooperation was technically necessary in a highly centralised national education system not allowing educational planning and material development suitable for non-citizen children.[65] In that sense cooperation with the Interim Government and the related

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[65] Since the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, centralised bureaucracy pervades all the public enterprises in Turkey including education. Although there have been periodic adjustments within the education system over years, the underlying administrative principle based on central governance stayed intact. Turkey's education system is in many respects among the most centralised of middle income countries. It is far more centralised than all members of the European Union that it hopes to join (Gershberg 2005). The centralisation of modern education governance in Turkey dates back to 1924 Education Unification Law when the Ministry of National Education was made responsible for all educational institutions and all educational training. Ministry of National Education is responsible for the education system, while its general directorates and their units are responsible for different aspects of education and policy compliance, such as basic education, secondary education, vocational education, special education and guidance and counselling. Provincial and District National Education Directorates across 81 Turkish provinces support the implementation of education policy. The Board of Education develops curriculum, plans and objectives, and approves textbooks. The Directorate for Strategy Development serves as the consultation unit and coordinates the work of establishing education strategies, policies and goals. In brief the Ministry is responsible for development of the national educational program on all educational levels and simultaneously serves as controlling body of all educational establishments. All major decisions are taken by the Ministry of National Education. Likewise, implementation of policies is controlled by the Ministry (Nohl et al. 2008: 43, OECD 2013). Teacher employment is all controlled by the central organs within the Ministry. Decisions on financial management are centrally taken and are shared with provincial authorities, while schools organise instruction. The central government makes schooling decisions on planning and structure and responds to the needs of education institutions and the labour market across the regions. Meanwhile, tertiary institutions and vocational education institutions have autonomy to address

Syrian CSOs was seen as necessary for technical and political reasons. Only that way barriers agaits increasing schooling rates of refugees could be surmounted.

As displayed in figures 8 and 9, the images of symbols of Syrian Arab Republic under Assad rule were replaced with symbols adopted by The Syrian Opposition[66] in the books to be used in Turkey for primary and secondary education of Syrians in Turkey. The books were revised by a commission formed by the Syrian Interim Government - the opposition umbrella group called the National Coalition for Syrian Revolutionary and Opposition Forces- in coordination with the Turkish government. The subject of 'Love for the homeland and the leader' was replaced by 'love for the homeland'. This changes shows how in fact education as well as support to education for Syrian refugees is very political issue.

The tolerance for the existence of Syrian schools and education programs apart from the centralised education is in contradiction with the historically assimilationist national education policies aiming at solidifying national unity through centralised curriculum and the emphasis on the Turkishness and Turkish language since the republican nation-building process. Indeed, secular education under the 1924 Education Unification Law was attributed a critical function in the modernization efforts of the nation-building process. It was strongly

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their needs to a certain extend. (OECD 2013). A uniform curriculum is carried out in all public and private schools, and is closely monitored by the inspectors of the MoNE. The Board of Education has the main responsibility in curriculum development is the final approving body for any curriculum to be used in schools. Textbooks can be written by either the commissions formed by the Ministry or by independent authors in Turkey. Again, all textbooks have to be examined and approved by the Ministry before they can be used in schools.

[66] The Syrian opposition, represented by the National Coalition for Syrian Revolutionary and Opposition Forces (commonly named the Syrian National Coalition) used a modified version of the independence flag first used in 1932. The independence flag began to be used as a universal display of the protesting opposition in late 2011 and in 2016 is recognized as "the symbol of Syria's uprising". The opposition wanted to distinguish themselves from the current Syrian government and favoured the use of the flag used when Syria gained its independence from France. Khaled Kamal, an official from the Syrian National Council, now believes this flag to also represent independence and the end of Bashar al-Assad's government. Today the flag is mainly used in areas controlled by the Syrian National Coalition. Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Flag_of_Syria, accessed 05.05.2015

believed to be a positive agent for the transformation of the traditional, Islamic community into a 'modern society', as in many of the newly established nation-states. This function of education was essential in terms of the development of Turkey's new citizenship identity (Gok 2005). Meanwhile, other multicultural educational content and organisations were not well tolerated in Turkish state education since the state building process. For instance, Turkey pursued a strict assimilationist domination policy towards its minorities in the early republican period which was best reflected in the national education programs exalting the Turkish nation and aiming to produce loyal Turkish nationalist citizens. As put by Sarioglu, (2004; 215-216) assimilationist policy was apparent from the pressure applied to minority schools and particularly Greek Communal Schools for their transformation into Turkish state schools. The Greek schools constituted the main target of Turkish nationalism. Under the strict supervision of the Turkish Ministry of National Education, a nationalist programme was systematically imposed on these establishments: 'Their curricula rapidly became 'Turkified'; teachers were dismissed and students were faced with the dilemma of trying to maintain their own identity and culture whilst satisfying the demands of Turkish teachers and co-directors' (Sarioglu 2004; 215).

The new tolerance of the Turkish state that appeared in the wake of the Syrian refugee crisis allowed refugees to have education in Syrian curriculum and in Arabic language. This is a sharp departure to the historical intolerance to non-Muslim, non-Turkish schools in Turkish territories. This new policy accommodation is the result of an open-ended crisis situation, but it could also be considered a critical juncture for the education system that marks a move towards decentralisation. However, before jumping into conclusions, one hypothetical question would be whether this is an exception: would the government allow such schools to operate if the refugees were from a different ethnic and religious background? It is not difficult to give an answer to such a question considering the recent neo-liberal reforms of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) that develop an ideology based on Islamic nationalism rather than multiculturalism. As put by Inal (2012), AKP presented a

constructivist educational philosophy with a tendency to meet the needs of global competition; however, nationalism blended with Islamic references as the official ideology of Turkish state was redefined in revised text books as an outlook of economic liberalism. In brief, the emphasis was put on making the national education responsive to the prevailing economic thought by putting religion on fore front rather than generating an education content susceptible to cultural and linguistic differences. Indeed, the idea of a religious "brotherhood" has become dominant in the text books published since the AKP education reforms (Inal 2012; 23). Assumed to be a homogenous Muslim community, Syrian people as a foreign policy asset for Turkey to advance interests in the Syrian crisis thus are given the space for continuing secular and Islamic education in their native languages and in Arabic.[67] Indeed, as will be put under scrutiny in the next chapter, many schools operated by the faith-based CSOs emphasised Islamic undertones in the school curricula rather than secular education.

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[67] It is interesting to note that Islamist leadership of the AKP, views religion almost entirely as a mirror image of society. In that AKP shares the early nationalist understanding of religion in Turkish modernization in the early years of the republic to a certain extend. Although vice versa might be argued, AKP opens the door for more secular understanding of Islam for an idealized religious nation or alternatively a 'pious generation'. In doing so, the state has to work out a new understanding of Islam and teach it to people (Seufert 2006; 141). This understanding is very evident in the recent controversial education reforms aiming for wide spreading religious education in conjunction with education based on positive sciences. Secular historical narrative has given way to a a 'religious nationalism' which puts an emphasis on the natural fit between the Turkish people and Islam; that is, the Turkish people's essence was realized only in Islam. (Kaplan 2005). The curricula and course programs are developed according to that aim with an increasing reference to religion in conjunction with conceptualization of Turkish-Islam. (Kaya 2015).

Figure 8. From the Project for Revision of Syrian Curriculum: Before and After

Source: Syrian Education Commission brochure 2015.

Figure 9. From the Project for Revision of Syrian Curriculum: Before and After

Source: Syrian Education Commission brochure 2015.

Envisaged in the aforementioned circular was the Turkish language courses to be provided for all age groups of refugees. There was the outstanding reference to schooling of Syrian children out of the camps; referred to as host communities. Accordingly, children who have 'residence permits' would be accommodated within public school system. Educational facilities were to be executed by the voluntary international and national organisations for

Syrian children lacking residency permits and these schools would be monitored by the state authorities locally. It was also mentioned that the Ministry would provide convenience for domestically accredited/recognized international and national organisations on condition that they provide facilities within the Ministry standards. In that context, the state gave way to the non-state institutions to fill the gap for legislative barriers for access of irregular Syrian migrants lacking documentation to enroll in public schools.

According to Seydi (2013), this document was a milestone in terms of meeting the education needs of Syrian refugees according to which Provincial education authorities started taking action. This document was succeeded by another circular titled "Education Statistics on the Syrian Citizens under Temporary Protection" circulated on 7 October 2013 requesting data on educational facilities in camps and in host communities.[68] These two documents show the efforts of the Ministry to regulate educational facilities out of the camps despite not restricting their facilities. Neither of the circulars put any restrictions on Syrian schools despite the fact that Turkish constitution and the national education law confines provision of formal education and training only to institutions following a curriculum accredited by the Ministry. That represents how bigger political picture can affect education policies. In that case a crisis situation leads to ignorance of extra-legal activities in education and the state shrinks to a managerial role giving way to non-state agents to fill the structural gaps.

In an interview broadcasted on one of the state TV channels on 20 December 2013, the Deputy Undersecretary of the Ministry underlined that there was no problem regarding

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[68] Siverek Subprovincial Education Directorate Web Site 'Ulkemizde Gecici Koruma Altinda Bulunan Suriye Vatandaslarina Yonelik Egitim Istaistikleri'circular dated 07.10.2013 available at http://siverek.meb.gov.tr/www/suriye-vatandaslarina-yonelik-egitim-istatistikleri/icerik/863, accessed 22. 10. 2014.

education provision for the Syrian people in the camps with a schooling rate that reached 100 per cent. Accentuating the number of refugees out of the camps reaching 700 000, deputy undersecretary praised the efforts of the municipal authorities and various civil society organisations at local level for education provision for Syrian guests. [69]

5.5 Legal Basis for Education of Syrian Children

It was not until the entering into force of the new immigration law (*Foreigners and International Protection Act no. 6458)* in April 2014 that the education provision for Syrian refugees had a legal formal basis. Following this development, the Ministry circulated a notice titled 'Education and Training Services for Foreigners (2014/21)' signed by the Minister to all the provincial education authorities on 23 October 2014. With reference to the recent law on international protection, the existing law on primary education on national education, the Convention on the Rights of the Child and International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, this circular envisaged actions and procedures related to the coordination of education activities targeting foreigners. Accordingly, a Ministerial commission under the undersecretary was to be established.

Duties of The Ministry Commission is indicated in the circular as follows:

- Perform work to eliminate problems and hesitations faced regarding education of foreigners

- Prepare situational reports reflecting the educational needs of the foreigners coming to Turkey in masses; ensure the coordination with other relevant public

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[69] Interview with Yusuf Buyuk- Deputy Undersecretary at the Conference on the Education of Syrian Refugee Children, 'Detayli Bakis'TRT TURK, available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f1eidNNpFcA, accessed 22.10.2014

institutions and organisations, civil society institutions and/or international institutions (partners) who carry out work in the mentioned area.

- Perform necessary monitoring and reporting activities with regards to education activities targeting foreigners at all types or levels of education institutions under the Ministry as well as at the temporary centres established in crisis situations.[70]

The circular also envisaged the establishment of Provincial Commissions under the auspices of the National Education Provincial Directorates to carry out actions and procedures concerning foreigners. Accordingly there shall be at least one principal from educational institutions of every type and level and a foreign language teacher who has the capability to make interviews with foreign students or an interpreter as well as one official from other related institutions to (Provincial Directorate of Migration, Provincial Security Directorate, AFAD, Provincial Directorate of Religious Affairs, Provincial Directorate of Family and Social Policies, Provincial Directorate of Health) as deemed appropriate by the Governor and education coordinators in the provinces where there are temporary education centres.

Bringing further flexibility to increase the school attendance rates of the Syrian children, the circular decreed that a "foreigner identification document"—not a residency permit—was sufficient for registration in the Turkish public school system.[71] Indeed Turkish authorities

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[70] Denizli Provincial Education Directorate Web Site 'Yabancilari Yonelik Egitim-Ogretim Hizmetleri' (unofficial translation) Circular dated 23.10.2014, available at http://denizli.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/2014_09/24023256_201421saylgenelge.pdf, accessed 15/02.2015

[71] The circular envisaged that "foreigner identification document" given by the respective institution is required for the registration of school age foreigners and requesting adults, who came to our country as part of a mass influx, to the temporary education centers or to all types and levels of education institutions under the Ministry (except higher education institutions) and they shall be registered by the provincial commissions to the appropriate education institutions under the Ministry or temporary education centers through student placement and transfer commissions.

clearly expressed their commitment to increasing schooling rates of Syrian refugee children. On October 2, 2015, deputy undersecretary for education Yusuf Buyuk stated:

> If we cannot educate these students, they will fall into the wrong hands, they are going to be exploited by gangs, criminals….We are trying to improve the standards in our country which means also improving standards for Syrians.[72]

The applicability of the circular in general was questionable considering the limited capacity of national education institutions in Turkey; however, it is important to mention that this document tried to find a resolution to education problems of not only Syrian but also other refugees and irregular migrants under the shade of a highly centralised education system based on nation-state practices. These practices have a long history of ignoring the needs of non-citizen entities in Turkey. Furthermore, the legal basis for the education for non-citizen entities indicates that initial short-term policies for repatriation were replaced by long-term policies that leave space for the integration of Syrian refugees in Turkey. The issuance of Circular 2014/21 arose out of the Ministry's recognition that it needed to work toward the "elimination of barriers" such as language barriers, legislative barriers, and technical infrastructure gaps that prevented Syrian refugee students from attending school. (HRW 2015; 17)

Another important aspect of the circular was the intention of the Ministry to regulate all educational facilities that had been continuing with the initiative of different non-profit civil organisations and private enterprises through an accreditation system naming them as "temporary education centres". In that context there were to be two parallel systems of formal education for Syrian refugees at primary and secondary level in the host communities: public education and temporary education enters.

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[72] Press Release to Reuters published in 'No School for 400,000 Syrian Refugee Children in Turkey – Official," Reuters, October 2, 2015, http://uk.reuters.com/article/2015/10/02/uk-mideast-crisis-turkey-education-idUKKCN0RW1WK20151002 accessed 15.02 2016

Figure 10. Education System for Syrian Refugees

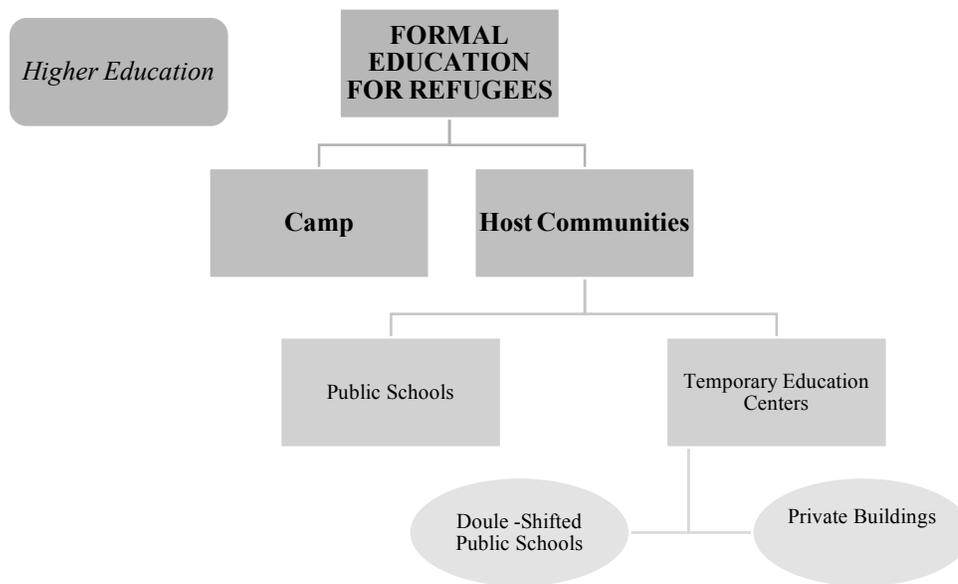**Table 8. Numbers of Syrian Students in Public Schools and TECs**

Temporary Education Centers			Public Schools		
Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total
125,043	122,801	247,844	37,432	38,316	75,748
Total school aged children: 834,842					

Source: Ministry of National Education, February 2016

5.5.1 A Para-formal Education System

As was discussed earlier in the literature review, the inclusion of the huge number of displaced children into state education system especially in developing countries can only be realized by the provision of services in diversity and the reconceptualization of the role of the state away from being the exclusive provider of education. In some cases, para-formal education programmes are closely linked to formal education, and this is because they adopt a similar curriculum and prepare children for the same or equivalent examinations/levels (Morpeth and Creed 2012). During the Syrian refugee crisis, such a system was also developed in Turkey to meet these needs; that is, despite the central national education system.

Accordingly, the state gave formal status to the schools by entitling them Temporary Education Centers (TECs) operated by civil society. This act put them under control without taking over full financial responsibility. This regulative act in fact reflects neoliberal policies in education that shrink the role of the state in providing social services; the state takes on a primarily managerial role in its deregulation of education as a public service. This development is parallel with global neo-liberalisation in education and will be discussed in detail in the sixth chapter, which will focus on the increasing role of civil society in education provision. Although the role of civil society organisations has increased in education as supportive service providers to bridge the educational opportunity gap with neo-liberalisation and Europeanisation in Turkey since 1990s, they never did have roles as direct service providers in organising or determining the content of formal education until the refugee crisis. In that context, the refugee crisis paves the way for new roles for CSOs in formal education provision through TECs.

According to the aforementioned circular, TECs were to be established to carry out activities under the national education provincial/district directorates with the approval of governors in provinces affected by mass influx. The aim of education provided at these centres was

described as enabling foreign students who had fled to Turkey in masses to continue their education, to prevent any loss of year when they return back to their country or when they want to continue to any type and level of education institution under the Ministry and continue their education in Turkey.[73]

In that context, TECs aimed not only education for repatriation but also supportive compensatory education to integrate them into public education system. To that end, Turkish Language courses of four to six hours were held compulsory at these centres operating with an adopted Syrian curriculum with Arabic language. Accordingly, the activities were to be carried out over the weekly course schedule and education programme to be specifically determined by the Ministry in order to ensure unity in implementation. At Temporary Education Centers:

a) The principle of "Education against the unity, security and interests of Turkish nation and state and contrary to the Turkish people's national, moral, humanitarian, spiritual and cultural values shall not be taught at the temporary education centers." shall be accorded.

b) In the requested fields, non-formal education courses and activities other than courses shall be opened through the non-formal education institutions in line with the available capacity. Provincial commission shall appoint teachers and master trainers for the activities pursuant to article 9 of the referred Directive.

c) For the Turkish courses to be carried out at the temporary education centres, provincial commission shall appoint teachers among:

- Turkish and Turkish literature teachers
- Primary school teachers
- Foreign language teachers

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[73] Ministry Circular 'Yabancilari Yonelik Egitim-Ogretim Hizmetleri' (unofficial translation) dated 23.10.2014

d) Necessary measures for the provision of materials needed for the education activities carried out shall be taken in cooperation with partners in line with the Ministry instructions.[74]

The presence of TECs despite the central education system was parallel with refugee education policies aiming at repatriation through a curriculum based on materials the students originally used before displacement. These policies refined educational materials brought from the country of origin; a strategy that is stated in UNHCR Education Field Guidelines, as mentioned in the literature review of this study.

During the 2014-2015 school year, there were 34 temporary education centres in camps and 232 outside of camps in 19 provinces. In 2014-2015, total primary and secondary enrolment in temporary education centers was 74,097 in camps and 101,257 outside camps (HRW 2015). By February 2016, this number reached 247844 as seen in Table 3. While some temporary education centers were established and operated by civil society organisations and individual donors in private buildings, some were operated by local authorities through making use of public buildings. There were also several ones that operated on a private basis with tuitions. In the upcoming chapter temporary education centers will be handled within the context of the role of civil society organisations for education provision for Syrian refugees.

According to educational needs assessment for urban Syrian refugees in 2014 by Yuva Association, qualifications and teaching methods of the teachers in the temporary education centers were questionable (Dorman 2014). Furthermore, infrastructural standards in the private buildings were much lower than the regular schools despite the fact that the Ministry

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[74] Ministry Circular 'Yabancilari Yonelik Egitim-Ogretim Hizmetleri' (unofficial translation) dated 23.10.2014

gave great importance to accreditation of different Syrian schools. In fact, new regulations by Ministry were supposed to overcome such shortcomings. That was also why CSOs were encouraged to utilize public schools which have higher standards as second-shift Syrian schools.[75]

The Ministry tried to expand the capacity of public schools to accommodate the massive influx of Syrian children in coordination with different organisations. In 2015, more than 100 public school buildings in the provinces of Adana, Ankara, Diyarbakir, Gaziantep, Hatay and Kayseri were allocated as second-shift Syrian schools operated though different organisations as partners of the ministry [76.] As part of the new measures, Turkish students in these provinces attended classes before noon and refugee students attend in the afternoon. In these schools, Syrian teachers were employed on a voluntary basis and the incentives were met by civil society organisations and UNICEF. The course books were based on the revised Syrian curriculum. These books were published and distributed via different institutions including humanitarian aid organisations. The language of instruction was Arabic; however, Turkish courses were also provided 4 to 6 hours per week.

Since Turkish National Education Law does not allow school education in another language and curricula, the education given to Syrians in public school buildings is strictly referred to as 'temporary education centers' rather than schools; this designation is provided in order to provide a limited exception to the existing law on national education. However, the utilization of public schools brings about an economic burden that is associated with second-

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[75] Interview with MoNE Expert, 18 March 2016, Ankara

[76] 'Suriyelilere Yuz Okul' available at http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/suriyelilere-100-okul-30105072, accessed 03.04.2016

shift schooling. Accordingly, in a double-shift system, teaching equipment and assets are worn twice faster in the same period of time as a traditional school would. That is, double-shift schools will suffer the effects of extensive use to the detriment of citizen children (Sagyndykova 2013).[77]

According to letter from the Ministry to Human Rights watch in 2015, the additional cost of educating Syrian students in 2014-2015 was 700 million TL (approximately $252 million); however, the Ministry does not allocate specific funds for the education of Syrian refugees. Rather, it meets relevant expenses within its general budget; therefore, more specific data on its overall spending on the education of Syrian refugees is not available (HRW 2015).

In a report by BBC Turkey, Associate Professor Murat Erdogan from the Hacettepe University Migration Politics Research Centre stated that it was not easy to teach Turkish to six hundred thousand Syrian children. He argues that extra measures should be taken. emphasizing the temporary education centers, alternatively known as Syrian schools, as a short term solution:

> It is impossible for Turkey to create capacity to teach in Arabic to all of those children. Even in 20 years that cannot be possible. You would have to open up new schools and train the teachers. Teachers will give lessons in Arabic. That is impossible. First of all, these children should be taught Turkish very urgently.
>
> That is also difficult but not impossible. There are many teacher candidates waiting to be appointed now. Some of these teachers could be given new in-service trainings. Around 10 thousand teachers could be trained on this issue, new positions could be

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[77] Although double-shift education is a financially practical implementation, it reduces efficiency and thus quality of education to a great extent. In the educational year of 2000-1, 22 % of primary schools were double shifted. This rate rose to 45 % in densely populated city centers (Dülger 2004). While Government Development Plans aimed reducing this rate by half by 2003 and eliminating double shift education totally by 2010, the rates did not change in years. To make things worse, in some instances double shift rates increased in order to compensate for the inadequate capacity of elementary and secondary schools at times through the years. [77] The reason for the unsuccessful attempt to quit double shift education is state's inability to provide adequate number of classrooms each year due to the rapid urban migration and increasing population (Uçar 1999).

opened, and a real education campaign could be started. That way the integration process of these children would be easier (Girit 2015)

In this context, it can be argued that temporary education centres do not present a long term solution to the education of Syrian refugees whose presence in Turkey has developed into a protracted situation. As mentioned earlier in this study, education is distinct from other forms of social provision as it 'has a hegemonic influence' to create citizenship (Bell & Stevenson 2006; 61). However, these institutions have become a parallel education system in which the traditional relationship between the education and the nation-state does not exist, creating an anomy in centralised education system. Firstly, the curriculum followed in these centres does not reflect the socio-cultural values to be transmitted to the next generations to contribute for social cohesion in a nation-state. Secondly, neither Syrian teachers and administrators nor the students are citizens of the country these schools are located, which naturally keeps them exempt from any responsibility towards the Turkish state that normally is expected from citizens. In that respect the binding nature of the regulation mechanism of the Ministry is questionable.

Technically, inspection mechanisms for education institutions work in accordance with the legislation defined within the national educational systems. In that respect, the attempts to regulate the para-formal institutions, or alternatively monitoring and inspecting temporary education centres which are already out of the existing national education system is questionable. Furthermore, Syrian administrators and teachers cannot be held responsible to the Ministry, as they are not citizens to be bound by the legislation. Qualifications of a great majority of these teachers are also questionable because Syrian universities are not accredited and some Syrian teachers are only high school graduates. Syrian teachers did not have work permission at the time this study was conducted. They were, therefore, not entitled to receive salaries for their work in temporary education centres. Some teachers received financial "incentives" underwritten by UNICEF, UNHCR and several other international and national civil society organisations. Mostly however, temporary education centres charged tuitions to

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be the salary of the teachers (Dorman 2014). Notwithstanding, many faced financial insecurity that made it harder for temporary education centres to retain good teachers, which also brought about the question of quality (HRW 2015). To overcome these limitations and achieve total control of these centres the Ministry is expected soon to try to find a way to employ Syrian teachers officially under its aegis.[78] However, how this will be achieved within the existing system and limited capacity is a matter of concern.

Syrian curriculum and Arabic language along with lack of complete control over these education institutions contradicts the national education law that envisages a centrally governed education system. Despite the inherent impossibility of sustaining temporary education centres, the Ministry continues efforts to monitor the pre-existing schools operated via private initiatives or civil society organisations through an electronic data management system called YOBIS that keeps pace with the legislative amendments.[79] Lately, the Ministry of National Education also started carrying out baccalaureate examinations for Syrian students who are 12th-graders in the temporary education centres in Turkey or hold certificates indicating that they have graduated from high school in their home countries. Through this examination, called High School Proficiency and Equivalency Examination for International Students (YÖLYDS), Syrian and Iraqi students who had to leave their home countries will get their high school equivalency certificates and the chance to attend higher education institutions only if they take and successfully pass this examination. Examination was held in in the provincial centers of Adana, Adıyaman, Batman, Gaziantep, Hatay, İstanbul, Kahramanmaraş, Kayseri, Kilis, Malatya, Mardin, Mersin, Osmaniye and Şanlıurfa in 2015. [80]

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[78] Based on the interview with MoNE expert on 8 March 2016.

[79] YOBIS automation system can be reached at https://yobis.meb.gov.tr/

[80] Public announcement available at https://yobis.meb.gov.tr/PublicAnnouncement/91ab7529-f24e-4b55-b2dd-daeac3269e49, accessed 17.10.2015

5.5.2 Public Schools

As mentioned previously in this chapter, Turkish public schools are officially available to all Syrian primary and secondary school-aged students as long as they are registered as temporary protection beneficiaries. If they are able to present a "Foreigner ID" they may register at any Turkish school under Circular 2014/2132. Enrolment is free, although parents may be charged additional "activity fees" throughout the school year. In urban centers, schools are generally available within walking distance of residential neighbourhoods, and in rural areas of the country the government provides buses for free for primary school students.

In early 2016 almost 80,000 Syrian children were studying in Turkish public schools (See table 4). According to Ackerman (2015), language is the most formidable barrier to enrolment, especially for older children who struggle to learn by immersion. The fact that language support programs are limited and that teachers don't receive training for multilingual classrooms in public schools in Turkey also detrimental for the Syrian students.

Educational needs assessment of Yuva Association points out the mixed benefits of attending Turkish schools. Accordingly, for some Syrian parents sending their children to public schools is a double edged sword.

> It's good because they learn in another language that they will keep learning and they don't have to stop, but at the same time they will forget the Arabic education. Also it's a way to integrate into the new society unless other students accept the idea of Syrian students learning with them (Dorman 2014).

That represents pros and cons of integration into the public education system from the view point of refugees themselves, however there is another aspect, which is the burden on the public education system, and thus the Turkish state.

In a report published by ORSAM (2015b) it is suggested that class sizes have increased (on average 1-5 students per class) after Syrian refugee entry in the provinces bordering Syria. For example, in Gaziantep the number of students per teacher would, on average, be 19 %

lower (per year) if there were no Syrian refugees. This figure show the impact of the Syrian refugees on a Turkish public education already notorious for being overburdened in especially disadvantageous slum areas of the big cities. This situation brings about the question of quality and equality in education once again not only for the Turkish students but also for the Syrian ones.[81] Turkey was a country notorious for low schooling rates until recently. The share to education from the national budget increased figuratively after 2003 and with the launching of Support for Basic Education Program in 2002, and schooling rates started to increase across the country.[82] However, the quality of education in Turkey is still much below OECD standards (World Bank; 2011a). Unfortunately, even if the refugee children access education, it is highly likely that they will suffers intensely from unequal opportunities for access to quality education. Similar to the TECs, enrolment rates are highest in the lower grades, with a sharp drop in the numbers enrolled in higher grades in public schools.[83] On the other hand, the education system in Turkey is highly centralised, and individual schools are not allocated direct funds over which they have discretion. In that respect, it can be concluded that the centralised school system does not currently have enough room and funding to create effective solutions that would cater to the needs of Syrian children.

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[81] Before the crisis, while the student number per classroom was 21,6 in OECD average, this number was 31 for Turkey. Besides this number varies to a great extend regionally. The highest number of students per classroom was in Sanliurfa with 62 students on the average. Gaziantep and Istanbul followed Sanliurfa with 51 students per classroom (Kılıç & Tanman; 2009). Accordingly, it can be concluded that in densely populated provinces the number of classrooms are not adequate with respect to the number of students, which means environments for educational activities are usually not suitable for achieving quality education in these provinces.

[82] With the 'Support for Basic Education Program' boarding schools established, transportation, lunch and book subsides were implemented, which led to important achievements in eliminating inequality of access based on gender in the first five years of basic education.

[83] 3RP 2015-2016 Turkey available at http://www.3rpsyriacrisis.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/3RP-Report-Turkey-A4-low-res.pdf, accessed 04.03.2016

In the south eastern provinces of Turkey, which host the highest percentages of Syrian refugees, schools "were already in a disadvantaged position [prior to the arrival of the Syrian population] in terms of basic education indicators such as enrolment rates, student per teacher, or student per classroom ratios." Public educational services in these areas are "extremely strained" now that they are faced with an influx of Syrian students (HRW 2015; 19).

> Out of 40 students in Kiziltepe whom we taught Turkish this year only 2 were enrolled in public schools. The principals do not want Syrian children into the schools because the classes are already overcrowded. (Interview with The RET International, 06.05.2016, Gaziantep)

The challenges faced by the Ministry of education in education provision to the Syrian refugees in public sector can be defined under three main headings: (1) infrastructure and equipment; (2) human resources; and (3) institutional capacity. Accordingly, the sudden influx of the refugees that stroke urban areas and refugee camps pushed the limits of infrastructural capacities of public schools. Indeed, some of the cities were harboring more refugees than the native population, which put a significant strain on the physical capacities of public education. Secondly, the teachers and administrators lack experience on dealing with the case due to its unprecedented scope and nature. Human resources are not sufficient to manage students with traumas. Last but not least, the Ministry lacked the institutional capacity for effective response to the crisis. The MoNE expert explained the institutional barriers as follows:

> When we first responded this crisis we did so within the borders of existing legislation because that was a new case. We tried to design education and training facilities for a group that had not been defined before. Until September 2014 most of these people were not registered. That is, we knew that they existed physically but their existence was not a data we could examine. Our institutional background created problems in terms of providing services to this undefined group, in terms of data processing electronically, or the enrolment regulations. (Interview with MoNE expert, 8.03.2016, Ankara)

5.6 Role of UN in Education Provision for Syrian Refugees in Turkey

As mentioned previously in this chapter, surrogate state refers to the extending role of non-state organisations in providing basic services, including education to refugees, which normally should be provided by the state. The appearance of a 'surrogate state' is highly possible in countries undergoing refugee influxes. In other host countries affected by the crisis like Jordan and Lebanon, education is widely provided by international organisations including UNHCR and UNICEF. Especially in camp settings, all schools are operated by different international organisations in these counties. However, in Turkey, international organisations were not allowed to operate in the camps initially (Icduygu 2015). Although this policy became more relaxed as the crisis grew financially, education was never left merely in the hands of international organisations in the camps due to national security concerns. With that said, Turkey is included in the Regional Refugees Response Plan for the Syrian refugee crisis (3RP). In education sector the 3RP objectives for 2016-2017 are to:

> 1) ensure sustained access to formal and non-formal education programmes for refugee children, youth and adults in camps and urban areas that are inclusive and promote life-long learning
>
> 2) Enhance the quality of education delivered through safe and inclusive learning environments to Syrian refugee women, girls, boys and men. [84]

In Turkey, cooperation with international organisations under the 3RP started later on when the bigger dimension of the crisis, refugees in host communities, were finally faced by the state authorities. There are two reasons for the relatively late commencement of the

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[84] The 3RP is a country driven, regionally coherent planning process including UN agencies and NGOs. It draws together the national crisis response plans for humanitarian relief, resilience and stabilization in the five most affected neighbouring countries to Syria, namely, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, Turkey and Egypt, in a coordinated regional framework.

operations of international organisations in Turkey. First, provision of services to the Syrian refugees was a part of Turkish Government's overall policy including support of the Syrian opposition, as well as the people. The Turkish Government tried to build an image of big brother of the neighborhood protecting the weak ones through proving as a strong state capable of meeting the needs of refugees.[85] Secondly, it can be concluded that the central education tradition tries to supervise the civil non-state actors. Barely having capacity for educating refugees, the Turkish state did not give up education as it always had a security dimension to its involvement in education. This dimension involves using education to eliminate possible threats against national solidarity and unity of the Turkish state:

> No other refugee hosting country is a strong state, Turkey, however is a show case and an exception. In those countries the UN is the coordinating body. Turkish state, on the other hand, so strong that it did not tend to cooperate with UN. Prime Ministry coordinates everything. Ministry of education is strong. In the other host states, UN is the coordinating body and everything is executed according to UN rules. Host governments are not that important. When a circular is issued in Turkey, or when the host government takes a decision, the objectives are clear. Despite the critique of the UN and CSOs the lack of adequate free space in Turkey, I think, Turkey is dreamlike because a path is drawn. Maybe it was not in the beginning but now it is. I see a huge difference between now and four years ago. I see ministry staff had a life education because UN and other international CSOs came and the crisis developed and more refugees arrived. So many meetings were held and gradually donor governments and EU helped expertise of state staff increase. In 2011 and 2012 everybody thought the refugees were to leave in 3 or 6 months but we knew refugees stay 17 years on average from out experience in other countries. That was a real experience and a long term challenge. That way state policies transformed from humanitarian emergency to long term development. (Interview with the RET International, 02.02.2016, Ankara)

State institutions started to intensify cooperation with UN agencies, notably UNICEF, for education provision for Syrian children in camps and in host communities in 2013. The cooperation agreement signed between the Ministry and UNICEF in 2013 aimed to ensure

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[85] Evidence for this argument is based on 'Blurring the Borders: Syrian Spillover Risks by Turkey' by International Crisis Group, Europe Report No. 225, dated 30 April 2013, available at https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/eastern-mediterranean/syria/blurring-borders-syrian-spillover-risks-turkey, accessed 21.09.2015

effective and efficient collaboration in providing quality education services to Syrian children under temporary protection of Turkey. In that agreement the Parties agreed to cooperate in data sharing for education activities, planning, and implementation and monitoring of education activities, and lastly on conducting communication activities for increasing awareness and social support with respect to provision of quality education services to all Syrian children living in camps and host communities. [86]

The first activity with reference to this cooperation agreement was the first 'Regional Education Coordination Meeting' on in September 2013. With the participation of the Ministry, AFAD and UNICEF, education problems in camps were handled and the measures to be taken for the Syrians living in host communities were discussed during this meeting. Other activities on the training of teachers in the camps followed the first initiatives to solve the education problems of Syrian refugees (Seydi 2013). This meeting was followed by regular education working group meetings and teacher training activates organized in coordination with the Ministry.

UNICEF and UNHCR provide technical and financial support. For example, the Ministry consulted the agencies on the development of Circular 2014/21. UNICEF also provided technical assistance for the registration and monitoring of Syrian students in the database known as YOBIS.

Last but not the least, Provincial Action Plans frame programme was signed between the Ministry and UNICEF in November 2015. The Provincial Action Plans were developed with a holistic approach to respond to all aspects of education including demand for education

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[86] The cooperation agreement was accessed via UNICEF Ankara office in May 2015

and service delivery. They aim was to strengthen the resilience of the education system and schools at the provincial level by the provision of incentives and trainings for Syrian Volunteer Teachers, establishment of new double-shifts for Syrian children; construction of new education centres; provision of student and school supplies; and maintenance and renovation costs for existing and new schools serving Syrian children. [87]

That a community-based approach is necessary in education provision for refugees is a common conclusion in educational literature in this field. The argument is that refugees themselves should be given opportunities as teachers. However, this is not an easy task to achieve in Turkey due to several legal restrictions on the employment of foreigners. Ironically, while the Ministry tries to regulate temporary education centres under its aegis, it has no right to employ Syrian teachers and give them any salary. To overcome legal restrictions, the Ministry intensified cooperation with UNICEF. To that end the Ministry signed a protocol with PTT (the national postal and telegraph directorate of Turkey) and UNICEF to transfer the funds provided by UNICEF as incentives to the Syrian teachers working on voluntary basis in temporary education centres in November 2014. The objective of the protocol was based on *INEE Guidance Notes on Teacher Compensation in Fragile States* envisaging Strategies for ensuring that sufficient number of teachers were attracted to the profession, retained once in position and kept motivated to provide quality education. According to INEE 'an established system for teacher compensation increases teacher motivation; helps to stabilize the education system thus effecting control, professionalism and accountability; decreases teacher absenteeism and high levels of turnover; protects the

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[87] 'School bell rings for hundred of thousand of Syrian Children in Turkey' UNICEF Press Release 2 October 2015 available at http://www.unicef.org.tr/basinmerkezidetay.aspx?id=22593&dil=en&d=1 accessed 14.11.2015

investment made in teacher training; and ultimately increases the quality and availability of education for children.'[88]

According to UNHCR Intern-Agency Regional update January-March 2015, more than 4,000 Syrian refugees who had been working as volunteer teachers in schools established in refugee camps and temporary education centres received monthly incentive payments. Each camp-based teacher received the equivalent of €130 per month, while those outside the camps are paid €190 and payments are made using postal service pre-paid cards distributed by PTT.

5.7 Privileged Integration

Domestic politics, international and regional equilibrium led to the formulation of new scenarios for resolution of Syrian refugee crisis in the long run and the service providing state units started taking new measures. Accordingly, the Ministry of National Education also defined new middle and long term strategies. According to one of the national education experts, the Ministry strategic plans for Syrian refugees for 2016-2018 cover measures for integration, adaptation and keeping their mother tongues alive. New regulations will be implemented accordingly, which prioritize three areas: a) physical infrastructure; b) teacher qualifications; and c) educational curricula and materials for integration.

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[88] INEE (2009) INEE Guidance Notes on Teacher Compensation in Fragile States, Situations of Displacement and Post-Crisis Recovery. New York: INEE, p. 2, available at http://www.ineesite.org/uploads/documents/store/INEE_teachers_r3.pdf. For further valuable guidance on teacher compensation. Also see IIEP-UNESCO (2010) Guidebook for Planning Education in Emergencies and Reconstruction. 2nd ed. Paris: IIEP-UNESCO, section 3, chapter 3.2, 'Teacher Motivation, Compensation and Working Conditions', pp. 25-47. and see, http://www.iiep.unesco.org/fileadmin/user_upload/Cap_Dev_Technical_Assistance/pdf/Guidebook/Guide boook.pdf, accessed 10.08.2015

Turkey recently changed the related legislation to enable Syrian refugees to access the labour market.[89] This decision has the potential to help approximately one million working age Syrians to find jobs. In that, Syrian teachers are expected to be formally appointed by the Ministry of Education directly to support the needs of Syrian refugees. In that respect, different from the refugee and immigrant receiving countries in Europe teachers should be incorporated into the education system and integrated in public education intuitions as well, which duplicates the dilemma of education provision for refugees in Turkey. This dilemma is expected to be solved by a new unit established in April 2016 within the Ministry of National Education named 'Directorate for Migration and Emergency Education'. The responsibilities of this unit is defined as follows:

- Developing, implementing and monitoring education policies for migration and emergency situations,

- Cooperation with related organisations for the education facilities to be executed by the related units on the Ministry.

- Reporting and monitoring of the education in the temporary education centers to be established in emergencies

- Determining education programs and materials to be used in migration and emergency cases, fulfilling needs upon their assessment in coordination with related units.

- Cooperating with the international and national organisations in cases of migration and emergency

- Supporting national and international projects for migration and emergency cases

- Providing coordination between the central and provincial units if the ministry in cases of migration and emergencies[90]

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[89] "Regulation on Work Permit of Refugees Under Temporary Protection", Official Journal No. 2016/8375,15 January 2016

[90] See MoNE website at http://hbogm.meb.gov.tr/www/birimlerimiz/kategori/3acessed 05.05.2016

In a symposium organized by Adiyaman University and Syrian Scientific Renaissance Association in May 2016, the 'Islamic brotherhood' theme was repeated by the provincial governor, major and by the university president. Meanwhile, the director of the aforementioned department emphasized programing an education for refugees that would enable them to maintain their languages and culture:

> The attitude of the international community has proved that the Syrian problem will continue in the long run. That is why we have to take measures to save the future of the Syrian children rather than interim policies. We need to serve educational opportunities to those children in best possible way. In that respect we need to make every effort to help the Syrian children maintain Arabic language and Syrian culture. [91]

The formulation of curricula and education materials is particularly problematic as both are conventionally means for transmission of republican history and the related cultural values which contributes to national solidarity in an ethnically and linguistically divided Turkish society. Public schools in Turkey are institutions where future citizens are educated and socialized in the values that underpin Republic of Turkey. In that respect, how the education programme will be created by the state institutions for non-citizen children and young people is highly paradoxical. It is envisioned that the TECs, tutoring in both Arabic and Turkish, will allow for a smooth transition to the public schools that teach the national curriculum and language.

With that said, Turkish language has had a great importance in national policy with an unstated goal to develop a sentimental allegiance in individuals to their nation which cannot be erased and forces them to remain within the society to which they belong (Celik 2014; 23). In fact, Turkish national education has repeatedly targeted other languages as a corrupter of the ideal mono-ethnic state (Smith-Kocamahlul 2001). Turkish language has always been exalted through education system which is evident in the assignment of 'Turkish Language

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[91] Syrians in between hope and reality, Symposium footage available at http://www.haberler.com/gercek-ve-umut-arasinda-suriyeli-multeciler-8436680-haberi/, accessed 13.05.2016.

and Narration' courses at all grades at high school as the "threshold" course, which means that a student who do not have a pass mark in that course cannot proceed to the next grade regardless of their success at other courses. Naturally, ensuring the children to speak Turkish properly is one of the general aims in Turkish National Education Basic Law (Article 20). Furthermore, the same Law also had general equality principle taking the needs of the society into consideration. According to Article 4 and 5:

> The education institutions are open to anyone regardless of language, ethnicity, religion and race. No privilege shall be given to any family, party or class (Article 4)

> National education service shall be organized in accordance with the demands, competence of Turkish citizens and the needs of the Turkish society (Article 5) [92]

In that context, how the possible demands of Syrian refugees to maintain their native languages will be addressed in the shadow of many other minority groups in Turkey is a very controversial issue in with regard to the existing goals of Turkish National Education.

Education provision to keep the mother tongue of Syrians born in Turkish territories alive could lead to segregation and thus problems of integration into the Turkish society as was experienced in Germany in 1970s. On the other hand, there is a thin line between assimilation and integration when these children are mainstreamed into the centrally governed education system designed for national solidarity. The German experience as a country of immigration led to an increasing multiculturalism in Education, though bilingual schools and flexibility in religious education. In that sense, on the way from being a source of refugees to being a refugee hosting county, Turkish education might need multicultural transformation as was experienced in Germany. On the other hand, as is implied by the Islamic undertone in general education policies of the AKP government, it is more likely that the Syrian refugees will have privileges in accordance with their ethnic and religious backgrounds as opposed to the

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[92] Turkish National Education Basic Law available at
http://mevzuat.meb.gov.tr/html/temkanun_0/temelkanun_0.html, accessed 02.05.2015

other ethnic and religious minorities among host communities and the refugees. Indeed, while the emphasis is on the maintenance of the language of culture of the refugees through revision of national education policies, Syrian refugees of Kurdish origin are ignored.

On the other hand, education in mother tongue, or teaching of the mother tongue is allowed in Turkey for the first time in the history of the Republic in accordance with a 'democratization package' in 2014, however this type of education is restricted to private institutions on secondary school level comprising only certain lessons and to private non-formal education institutions. In public schools, on the other hand, mother tongue education can only be given as an elective foreign language course. Providing education that will allow for the Syrian children have courses to help them maintain their mother tongue and culture within public education will be double standard unless the ethnic minorities have the same opportunities.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter put education policies for Syrian refugees under scrutiny and traced them as a parallel response alongside the chronology of the refugee crisis. Accordingly, it was found out that education policies for refugees was transformed as new dimensions were added to the Syrian conflict, namely the increasing refugee numbers and diminishing prospects for the end of the conflict in Syria. In almost five years from 2011, when the crisis started, to 2016, education policies shifted from an emergency response to one that takes into consideration long-term requirements of protracted displacement. We can talk about three phases of education policy making for Syrian refugees.

In the first phase, the initial year of the conflict, there emerged the wrong assumption that the refugees would be voluntarily repatriated prevented education authorities from any long term policy making. Instead, education provision was limited to the refugee camps with an emergency reflex focusing continuation of Syrian curriculum with Arabic language. When

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prospects for an end to the conflict in the near future faded in 2013, the second phase started in terms of educational policy making for integration rather than repatriation. In this phase, the Ministry had to face the reality of the increasing number of school aged children in host communities. Accordingly, MoNE took education provision for non-camp Syrians into its agenda and initially sought to detect the number and capacity of extra-legal Syrian schools operated by civil society organisations and private enterprises in host communities which had been ignored by the Ministry authorities due to political and practical reasons based on the assumption that the crisis was temporary. With circulars addressing the provincial education directorates in the border cities, the Ministry tried to have information on the infrastructural standards of those schools through appointing public local authorities for inspection. In the third phase, alert by the presence of extra-legal institutions that had formed to meet the education needs of Syrian refugees in host communities, the Ministry started looking for ways to regulate and standardize education for Syrian children. To that end, MoNE circulated new regulations based on TPR and FIPA and looked into new educational governance mechanism taking the non-state actors into account rather than the state as the body responsible for education provision for refugees within the public education system. Indeed, in many of the education policy documents for Syrian refugees explored in this study there is a special emphasis on cooperation with the civil society organisations.

Cooperation with civil society was important for two reasons. First of all, civil society actively involved in education was technically and politically necessary in a highly centralised national education system not allowing educational planning and material development suitable for non-citizen children. Indeed, MoNE neither had the capacity nor the means for education provision for children who do not share the common language and values of the Turkish nation-state in an education system already overburdened lacking the capacity to provide equal opportunities for each member of Turkish society regardless of class, ethnicity and gender. Secondly it has a very political undertone parallel with the international policy of the Turkish government that sought a resolution of the crisis without

Assad. Maintaining the connection of the Syrian children and young people to their homeland through an education based on curriculum and text books purged of elements reflecting a Syria with Assad was essential because of the general stance of Turkish government in support of Syrian opposition groups. In other words, that refugee children would be the buildings stones of a new Syria when they were repatriated in accordance with the political interest of the Turkish government.

Education provision for Syrian refugees was mainly designated to CSOs through temporary education centers as para-formal education institutions with a supervisory role of the state relieving the financial and administrative burden to provide education. This development is parallel with the neo-liberalisation pattern in education increasing the prominence of civil society and decreasing the role of the state. However, such policies are rather controversial due to erosion of the role of state as the legitimate entity that establishes the goals, content credentials and materials of public schooling. Temporary education centers providing education in accordance with a revised Syrian curriculum in Arabic as de facto schools neither reflect the traditional relationship between education and citizen responsibilities neither the socio-cultural and political values to be transmitted to the next generations to contribute for social cohesion in a nation-state. Secondly, neither Syrian teachers and administrators nor the students are citizens of the country these schools are located, which naturally keeps them exempt from any responsibility towards the Turkish state that normally is expected from citizens. In that respect the binding nature of the regulation mechanism of the Ministry is questionable. In fact, governance of the education during the refugee crisis through letting the civil society be the surrogate of the state fill the service gap is not a sustainable approach for a nation-state troubled with the presence of different political groups with different agendas parallel or in contradiction with the secular state agenda aiming for national unity since its establishment. Although there are issue-specific CSOs working for education provision for refugees in Turkey, a great many of them have ideological visions and education agendas which are in contradiction with the state education

defined in the Law of Unification of Education and Basic Education. The profile of CSOs involved in education provision for Syrian refugees will be discussed in detail in the next chapter based on the findings from interviews from CSO representatives. However, here it is important to note that as the state retreats from education provision, it risks its own existence due to the broken nexus of education and state hegemony over the citizen.

The tolerance for the existence of Syrian schools and an education programs in Arabic based on revised Syrian curriculum apart from public and private schools under the aegis of centralised governance in Turkey is in contradiction with the national education policies aiming at solidifying national unity through centralised curriculum with emphasis on the Turkishness and Turkish language since the republican nation-building process. Indeed, a historical overview of education policies in Turkey has shown that multicultural educational content and organisations has not been well tolerated in Turkey since the state building process. Turkey pursued a strict assimilationist domination policy in education towards its minorities which is best reflected to the national education programs exalting the Turkish language and a sunni-islamic culture while ignoring other languages and faiths within society. The tolerance for the Syrian schools within Turkey unlike the historical education policies can be linked to the recent neo-liberal reforms of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) attenuating a kind an ideology based on Islamic nationalism rather than multiculturalism. Syrian people, assumed to be a homogenous Muslim community, thus are given the space for continuing Islamic education in Arabic. Syrian refugees come from different ethnic, religious and linguistics background while the Turkish education policies address education concerns of only Sunni Arabs among the 3 million refugees including Kurds.

As of 2016, while only 9 percent of total school aged Syrian refugee children in Turkey nearly 20 percent of them are accommodated in temporary education centers. The long term policy for Syrian refugees, however, is integration into the public education system. This policy has long term repercussions for the Syrian refugees in terms of economic

empowerment and adaptation. Nonetheless, it also pushes the limits of the capacity of public schools especially in already disadvantaged regions in terms of student/ teacher, student/ classroom ratios. In the shadow of the limited capacity of the public schools in the border cities like Sanliurfa to absorb foreign students, integration into public education is not an easy task. The fact that many older refugee children do not speak the language of instruction fluently proposes a challenge for the educational system. Adding to the language barrier is the question of the teachers' professional experience in dealing with cultural and linguistic differences and possible discrimination by other students. In that sense, the presence of Syrian children in public schools challenges the ambitious educational agenda of the government to raise the quality of education all over Turkey to the detriment of welfare of Turkish citizens. In that context, it very likely that the role of civil society will continue in education provision for Syrian refugees, with an emphasis on Turkish language teaching rather than formal education. However, to what extend the CSOs should take a role in education is questionable in the shadow of recent development in Turkey regarding civil society.

It is envisioned that the TECs, tutoring in both Arabic and Turkish, will allow for a transition to integration into to the public schools. Meanwhile, MoNE officials emphasize the importance of programing an education for refugees that would enable them to maintain their languages and culture. Accordingly, in order to serve educational opportunities to Syrian refugees in best possible way every effort is said to be made to help the Syrian children and young people maintain Arabic language and Syrian culture, which forms a paradox in the Turkish national education exalting the Turkish language to the detriment of minority languages. In that context, long term education policies for Syrian refugees is a very controversial issue with regard to the existing goals of Turkish National Education for national unity in the shadow of the presence of ethnic minorities in Turkey.

To overcome structural and financial barriers that prevent control of education for Syrian refugees, the MoNE also cooperates with different international UN agencies. For instance,

instead of paying salaries to refugee teachers working at temporary education centers in and out of the camps the Ministry channels the funds from UNICEF as incentives. Despite the close cooperation, unlike other states affected by the refugee crisis, these institutions have limited roles in education provision in Turkey partly due to the national education tradition alert against possible foreign treats against national solidarity and unity of the Turkish state.

In the shadow of new developments to find a solution to the refugee crisis haunting European states, it is clear that new regulations for full-fledged integration of Syrian children into the national education are on the way. However, only time will show us how Turkish authorities will overcome institutional and structural obstacles. On the other hand, the analysis of the education policy documents for the Syrian children has shown, in accordance with the argument of this study, that the state regulations and legislation have increasingly given weight to civil society in education provision for Syrian children in primary and secondary levels. There is an increasing utterance to cooperation with CSOs in the majority of the documents analyzed in this chapter. However, there is no mention of what is meant by civil society considering the different types of CSOs working in different aspects of education including advocacy and social rights like education unions and policy platforms. The current role given to the civil society by the Turkish state in education of Syrian children will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS IN EDUCATION PROVISION NON-CAMP SYRIAN CHILDREN

6.1 Introduction

Unlike other countries hosting Syrian Refugees, the Turkish government took full responsibility for funding and managing the camps rather than delegating it to international actors or civil society. This tendency loosened later on and some CSOs and UN agencies were allowed in the camps in close coordination with AFAD (Ahmadoun 2014). Turkey nonetheless presents a different governing paradigm in terms of humanitarian assistance to refugees. As the gradually increasing number of refugees overburdened the exiting refugee camps (see table 3), informal approaches like the 'zero point delivery policy' to handle the crisis was developed by Turkish authorities for both political and practical reasons.[93] For example, to prevent the refugee influxes, the government provided support to CSOs that manage camps for internally displaced people within Syria, near the Turkish border where they provide humanitarian assistance such as clean water, sanitation, education, and emergency kits to tens of thousands of Syrians in need in order to prevent border crossing (Icduygu 2015).

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[93] Turkey has invented the term "zero-point operation" that enables the extension of cross-border assistance without directly challenging the principle of Syrian national sovereignty for cross border relief aid delivery, which is being applied for the first time in history (O. B. Dincer et al. 2013). According to international law, there needs to be either the receiving government's approval or a U.N. Security Council resolution to be able to deliver aid to a country. Since both of these requirements are unachievable in Syria, Turkish Government has created its own way: Trucks carry aid just to the border, from which Syrian people in need take it over the frontier with trucks. In this way, there is no border violation at all. See, http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkeys-zero-point-operation.aspx?pageID=238&nid=62286, accessed 10.02.2016

Similar to the extensive involvement of CSOs in the relief efforts immediately after the earthquake disaster in 1999, CSOs appeared on the scene from the very beginning of the refugee crisis. Civil society organisations working on issues concerning Syrian refugees in host communities diversifies motivations as well as ideology, area of specialisation, professionalism, relationship with the state, and relationship with the international organisations. Although the exact number of CSOs involved in response to the Syrian Refugee Crisis in Turkey is not known, most of the CSOs supporting the Syrian refugees are faith-based ones while the secular ones usually work in the field through funds from international organisations. While some of the CSOs operate locally, others are active in a number of provinces and even within Syria. The level of professionalism among these CSOs also differ to a great extent. Some CSOs have a long history of aid provision with many international connections, while others were founded recently to meet the imperatives of the refugee crisis (Erdogan 2014).

CSOs were actively involved in providing aid for those residing out of the camps from the very beginnings of the crisis. The activities pursued by the CSOs can be summarized as emergency assistance including food, clothes and cash provision, medical relief, building infrastructure and investing in social and human capital. However, it is not possible to confine the role of CSOs to the field of humanitarian assistance. According to Aras and Akpinar (2015; 242) Turkish civil society organisations pursued low-level peacebuilding activities opposed to the high-level peacebuilding of the state. According to a report by ORSAM (2015a) CSOs also play a conciliatory role in society to ease the tensions between the host communities and Syrian refugees in urban areas.

CSOs also actively work in the field of education provision for Syrian refugees. Their role in education provision, however, is quite contradictory because of the fact that education is distinct from other forms of social service provision. As this thesis has argued, education represents not only a key citizenship entitlement, but also has a hegemonic influence and a unique capacity to shape the discourse relating to how individuals define themselves. The

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Turkish state has long had a conventional monopoly in education provision in terms of organisation and content of knowledge to be transmitted through a centralised education system aiming for 'national unity' and 'raising loyal citizens'. The refugee crisis, however, has paved the way to a para-formal education system for Syrian refugees operated mostly by the civil society organisations; and these organisations are in theory exempt from having to implement a project of state-based hegemony. Parallel with the growth of neoliberal discourse, the role of the state has shrunk during the refugee crisis and it is maintained only a managerial role in education. To the extent that refugee crisis civil society organisations act as a surrogate state, a substitute for the role of state as education providers for refugees, the role of education in 'creating citizens' becomes doubly open to question.

In that context, this chapter analyses the role of civil society organisations in educational provision for Syrian refugees. In doing so, data gathered from the interviews with representatives of twelve different civil society organisations operating in Ankara, Hatay, Adana, Gaziantep and Istanbul is used. Furthermore, data from the interviews and meetings with the Ministry of National Education experts is also utilised.

Presenting a general framework for the role of civil society organisations in the refugee crisis, this chapter discusses the roles, motives and capacities of civil society organisations in education provision specifically and tries to find out why particular type of strategies were developed by particular organisations to find a solution to the education gap of refugees. Challenges confronted during the crisis are put under scrutiny with an emphasis on the relation between the Turkish state and civil society.

6.2 Overview of Civil Society and Education Nexus in Turkey

According to Icduygu (2011), if civil society in Turkey is to be defined only as 'an associational life outside of the state', it can be argued that civil society has a long history dating back to Ottoman Empire as 'philanthropic institutions', which created social solidarity

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outside political and economic spheres through charitable activities. However, if civil society is to be viewed as a sphere that contributes to public participation and democratization on a voluntary basis, then the history of civil society in Turkey is rather short. Civil society activities were repressed occasionally in modern Turkish history. In the 1990s, however, the collapse of the import-substitution model of industrialization, the rise of neo-liberal ideology and limited state control over the market brought about legislative reforms lifting the restrictions on civil associations (Zencirci 2015). It can be argued that this development was a turning point in terms of state-civil society relations in Turkey. Later on, parallel with the EU harmonization process in early 2000s, civil society organisations flourished by means of EU projects (Zencirci 2015) that aim to bring about 'good governance' bringing the non-state actors into the service sector. [94] along with these developments with an argument that different choices should be put into action for quality education the civil society has become more involved in education, an area that used to be solely under responsibility of the welfare state. Today as "willing is infinite while the sources are finite", a neoliberal economic perspective continues as follows:

> Mechanisms of the state have been shrinking along with liberalization. You cannot do performance-oriented evaluation to any employee of the State. A public servant does the job if s/he feels like to do it. Health, law, education...these may be the basic responsibility of the state. But State affairs should be reduced, state needs to have a dynamic structure ... The greatest advantage of private sector is its input-output efficiency ratio. The private sector is for profit ... what does it do? Looks at the input

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[94] In its current usage the word "governance" is often preceded by the adjective "good". "Good governance", is defined as the art of managing the interaction of three mechanisms: the market, the state and civil society. Good governance is further associated with the spread of democracy and free market economics. Not long ago, government and its institutions were considered to be responsible for good governance. However today it is widely accepted that good governance requires healthy flourishing democracy which comes to mean the accountability of the rulers to the ruled, transparency in the way public decisions are made and leaders are selected, and access to information so that citizens can make informed judgments and evaluate performance. Governance is not solely limited to the field of national politics. The international relations literature on governance emerged in the aftermath of the Cold War with the burgeoning civil society institutions both domestically and internationally.

to the output, it is what is called efficiency. The state needs to be transparent. State and civil society organisations should be able to work and sit side by side with the private sector. (Interview with TEGV, 02.03.2015, Ankara)

As put by Celik (2012; 84), although the sphere of civil society expanded along with the EU harmonization process, the Turkish state still retains its centralised system. However, as stated initially above, it must be underlined that philanthropic welfare organisations—mostly called *vakifs*—as civil society organisations have represented a third sector as an apolitical domain. Their primary function is argued to be supporting the state by providing social services to the poor, but they are not expected to engage in rights-based activism on behalf of the oppressed. During the 2000s, *vakifs* became implicated in disputes about social policy and state and civil society relations. Social assistance provision through the *vakifs* was seen as a manifestation of "sadaka culture": a type of welfare culture deemed religious, backwards, and likely to create dependency among the recipients (Zencirci 2015; 548).

Several scholars argue that the Marmara earthquake of 1999 brought about a significant opportunity for civil society organisations to come to the fore front, as the disaster revealed a fault line in the Turkish state mechanism. The image of the all-powerful state was shattered when state institutions proved to be inefficient to manage the disaster. Meanwhile, several CSOs mobilised an unprecedented emergency response and were credited for their role in rescue, relief and advocacy for survivors (Kubicek 2002, Karatas 2013, Johnson 2011, Jalali 2002, Jacoby & Ozerdem 2006, 2008). Ozerdem and Jacoby (2006; 68) argue that for the first time in Turkish history, civil society's potential as a vehicle for fundamental change was recognised, although the state had never formally or practically relinquished its supervisory position. According to Keyman and Icduygu (2003), this disaster made it very clear that the strong state is in fact very weak in responding and coping with serious problems: 'The failure of the Turkish state to respond quickly to crisis situations in responding has given rise to a popular belief that CSOs and a more participatory political culture are necessary for the effective solution of the problems confronting Turkish society' (Keyman & Icduydu 2003; 227).

Aras and Akpinar (2015) argue that in 2000s civil society organizations appeared to be more organized, able to speak out, and strengthened financially with EU funds. Along with these developments the closeness to the ruling power paved the way for the politicization of the CSOs. Policies of the ruling party AKP were promoted that positioned Turkey to play a more influential role internationally and paved the way for faith-based humanitarian aid organisations to initiate different aid campaigns in different parts of the world (Aras & Akpinar 2015). Although many Turkish humanitarian aid organisations are involved in education provision as a part of humanitarian relief in less developed counties, their connections with international CSOs and the international humanitarian aid movement remain limited. The efforts of these organisations are largely isolated under the Turkish flag. Only a few participate in the international humanitarian support coordination mechanisms under the international humanitarian aid 'code of conduct'.[95]

Within Turkey, however, more CSOs are working in cooperation with UNHCR. By the end of 1995, The Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants, the first CSO with the word "asylum" in its name, was formed with the encouragement, guidance and support of UNHCR. Today there are few CSOs with the words "asylum, refuge or refugee" in their name. (Corabatir et al. 2013; 4-5). Although there are issue-specific CSOs in Turkey, a great many CSOs in Turkey have ideological societal visions. The activities of these CSOs are framed to a large extend by secular democratic Turkey or an Islamic order. Furthermore,

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[95] The Code of Conduct for The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and NGOs in Disaster Relief, was developed and agreed upon by eight of the world's largest disaster response agencies in the summer of 1994. The Code of Conduct, like most professional codes, is a voluntary one. It lays down ten points of principle which all humanitarian actors should adhere to in their disaster response work, and goes on to describe the relationships that agencies working in disasters should seek with donor governments, host governments and the UN system. The code is self-policing. There is as yet no international association for disaster-response NGOs which possesses any authority to sanction its members. The Code of Conduct continues to be used by the International Federation to monitor its own standards of relief delivery and to encourage other agencies to set similar standards. See more at: http://www.ifrc.org/en/publications-and-reports/code-of-conduct/#sthash.m8Kilbnt.dpuf, accessed 09.03.2016

'although they institutionally take place outside the state, they can have strong normative and ideological ties with state power' (Keyman & Icduygu 2003; 228). For instance, AKP's social policy regime is based on Islamic references like charity, which is very useful in motivating and mobilizing civil initiatives toward providing social assistance. For Yucesan Ozdemir and Ozdemir (2013) it is not simply a matter of assistance to the poor, but rather a strategy, which is issued in the construction of the political and ideological bonds/links that keep the ruling party in power.

According to UNESCO (2010, 2015), although state has the ultimate responsibility for, and authority over education, CSOs can play a major role in education. Three distinct roles can be identified as (a) service providers where state provision is absent or insufficient: (b) innovators and sources of new thinking and practices; (c) informed critics and advocates on a whole range of development issues (UNESCO 2010).

In line with the general tendency for neoliberal politics and the EU accession process, the emphasis on civil society-state partnership in education also increased and numbers of CSOs working in the field of education proliferated in Turkey. According to Aksay (2007) the categories laid out by UNESCO are applicable to CSOs working in the field of education in Turkey. That said, the growing prominence of CSOs is not reflected in academic literature. There are only a few studies focusing on CSOs working in the field of education in Turkey one of which assumes private education institutions to be CSOs (Berber 2000).

It is seen that, with the changing role of state with neo-liberal policies charity foundations and associations aiming to help socioeconomically disadvantaged but successful students via granting scholarships are 'semi-formal' institutions that can be categorised according to their ideological views. Some of them perceive themselves as the extension of the republican state, and education as the means of modernization by the state (Inal 2005). Some others, on the other hand, support students to have religious education.

It is important to note that, civil society originations have been involved in supportive education facilities although organisation and the content of formal education provision has been the responsibility of the state. Civil society organizations implementing supportive education programs via volunteers usually work with the objective of actualizing the principle of equal opportunities. These volunteer organisations are institutionalized in terms of organisational structure. These organisations, providing public services with the aim of obtaining social interest, are involved in issue-based activities usually in cooperation with the state. In that respect as the "third sector" between public and the private, they fit in the definition of social initiatives aiming for the benefit for society and characterized by a discourse of social responsibility. These organizations represent an extension of social solidarity and are assistance-centered civil society organizations in general. Emphasizing participation in the welfare process, such CSOs have internalized the concept of active citizenship and believe that citizens should also provide contributions to ensure that the state provides social welfare services:

> There is supply however no population that demands. We form the demand. There is a population which has been made unconscious. We are talking about a more active citizenship than the pincer of voting and military service. I vote, I send my son to military service so I am a good citizen. No my pal, what added value have you created for this country? That is the matter. What have you done for enhancing the school?.. I believe the question should be this...If I work and produce added values to change something and if the state cares for the one who does not, that is not fair. Everybody should create an added value. (Interview with TEGV, 02.03.2015, Ankara)

Yildiz (2013), points out that CSOs were given active roles under World Bank and EU projects particularly after 2000 specifically in adult education projects, in order to alleviate the negative economic and social effects of the privatization of the public institutions. Indeed, the quality and quantity of CSOs have fast grown in the field of education, however they are far from having a strong impact on education and related policies (Karatas 2013; 76) as a result of the following factors: a weak popular base; lack of cooperation with other CSOs, the bias of the state towards CSOs; and inability to put forward authentic proposals due to lack of experience and expertise in the field. For Karatas (2013; 78), there is more prospect

for state-civil society partnerships in education at a local level than the central one due to the bureaucratic hurdles.

Last not but least it must be mentioned that several CSOs working for solidarity with refugees and asylum seekers have been giving support for refugee and asylum seeker children in Turkey through Turkish courses, social facilities and educational materials (Corabatir & Oskay 2006). However, there is not much information on the basis and scope of such facilities. With the Syrian refugee crisis, we have seen that the role given to the CSOs in education has increased unprecedentedly. The following sections will focus on the role of civil society in education with a focus on the Syrian refugee crisis.

6.3 Motivations of CSOs in Education Provision to Syrian Refugees

As was mentioned in the country framework, Turkish civil society is highly fragmented along political and ideological lines. CSOs motivations for their involvement in education provision for Syrian children are considerably related to how they declared themselves in my interviews, such as faith-based vs. secular or issue based and professional. However, as was discovered through my interviews with the Ministry experts, there are also profit-oriented ones, which actually act as private schools. School fees imposed by such CSOs constitute a barrier preventing access to education for many students. Although education is free for refugee children, several TECs operated by CSOs are dependent on donations from students with wealthier parents. In some cases, these schools may choose to admit students whose parents could provide donations over those who could not. (Aras&Yasun 2016)

According to Tonessen (2007), faith-based and religious civil society organisations play a prominent role as providers and channels of international aid. Religious leaders and communities are recognized as vital local providers of health services, education and poverty alleviation. According to Tonessen. the numbers of Islamic CSOs operating in the third world countries grew more than six times between 1980 and 2000. Educational institutions

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are powerful means to disseminate ideologies, including religious ones, that encourage different agendas. For a centralised state, there are perceived and actual threats when non-state actors tackle formal education provision as an alternative to the state. Indeed, CSOs schools without any control may be instruments for the dissemination of ideologies that could be in contradiction with the state ideology. This contradiction can become a threat to national security. Although no one has spoken out such a treat, considering the delicate power balance between different actors in Syrian crisis the motivations of CSOs in education provision for Syrian children should be well explored.

Since the emergence of the AKP Party as a governing force, religion has entered the symbolic order of the nation-state and Turkish nationalism has become blended with religion. There is a growing emphasis on religion in education as a reflection of a wider political project that is supported by the ruling party. This tendency is also evident in the mission statements of several CSO. Accordingly, supportive education facilities organized by several faith-based CSOs like academic scholarships are seen as a means to disseminate the moral values based on Islam.

> Our mission is to raise a qualified generation that is devoted to Islamic moral values, responsible and well educated to represent Islam through the help of qualified and self-sacrificing educators sharing our values, to respond to the needs of society, ensuring the solidarity among Muslims and being the gate to the spiritual mission path (Interview with Bulbulzade Vakfi, 13.11.2015, Gaziantep)

Faith-based CSOs, tend to base their motivations in education provision for Syrians to the concept of 'Islamic brother/sisterhood' and the danger of assimilation by secular western ideas. Thus the recurring themes for such organisations have 'religious nationalist' ideological undertones. Accordingly, it was underlined by one of the CSOs studied that Syrian people were facing assimilation in the countries they were forced to immigrate to; education was seen as necessary to prevent such assimilation:

> The greatest problem faced by the Syrians immigrating Turkey or to Europe via Turkey their inability to retain their cultural identities, languages and their beliefs. One important characteristic of geographies under the shadow of wars is the fact that

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the victims are exposed to exploitation and assimilation. In the fifth year of the civil war, the greatest reality for Syrians is the fact that are exposed to exploitation and degeneration. The practices of missionary institutions under the pretext of educational support estranges Syrian children and youth from their identities and puts them in conflict with their moral values. The refugees are forced to compromise and move away from their identities for better life and career. Unless the schools in Turkey and Syria are supported, brain drain will continue and Syrian youth will be instruments of missionary organisations…. We care about the continuation of education for Syrian children and we believe that should be done without assimilating and marginalizing the children. (Interview with IHH, 11.11.2015, Hatay)

The faith-based CSOs explained their involvement in educational facilities as an Islamic obligation to help other Muslim people beyond the accepted benefits of education as a useful mechanism to reduce the psychosocial impact of displacement and trauma and against the exploitation of the vulnerable refugee children.

Our aim is to supply Syrian brothers/sisters with true knowledge and helping them gain good manners, raise their degrees and qualities to become individuals useful for society and to build bridges between two societies through common facilities with Turkish students. (Interview with AY-DER, 10.11.2015, Adana)

Personally, I think we should help people who face a humanitarian disaster in general. War, flood, earthquake have no religious base for aid; it is our duty to help those people without making any difference. More specifically however, these people (Syrians) are our brothers in religion and it is a religious duty to be concerned about the problems of other Muslims. I am answering with my religious Muslim identity now. They should be living in conditions not worse than us. This is our duty. They should never live as second class, they should have the opportunities they had in their country here. Unfortunately, that is the ideal case however it is not always possible to reach the ideals in reality. (Interview with Aziz Mahmut Hudayi Foundation, 13.09.2015, Istanbul)

In response to the crisis, Muslim identity and the Ottoman history comes to the forefront. These CSOs, yearning for the coexistence of Muslims from different ethnic identities under one empire, claim to be modern representatives of the past Islamic civilizations. In that respect the concept of nation-state contradicts the ideology of such CSOs. Associating global justice with Islamic identity, these CSOs have an Islamist-humanist character, a civil version of the ruling Government's religious nationalism. Syrian refugees are incorporated into education by the centerline of civil society through a religious nationalism that has been

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intensively advertised by the ruling party for the past decade. Therefore, the individual, ethnic and religious differences among the Syrian refugees are ignored just as other ethnic and linguistic differences are ignored in the national education system.

While the secular CSOs encourage girls and boys to coexist in the same classrooms regardless of their ages, noting the fact that the Kurdish refugees have less Islamic concerns in terms of education, the Islamic undertone of the motivations of the faith-based CSOs are evident in their approach to gender equality in education. Accordingly, for some CSOs education for Syrian refugees should be based on Islamic values segregating girls and boys in secondary schools just like the Imam-Hatip schools in Turkey:

> As society is consisted of women and men, discriminating men and women in any social sphere including education means breaking the social balance. That is why women should be able to have as much educational opportunity as men do. It is women who give birth to the society due to the motherhood, thus an educated society depends of educated mothers. … in order to sustain the gender equality in education, sociocultural dimensions should be considered. Syrians are Muslims are you know and unless there are special conditions men and women are now allowed to be present together in Islam. … providing girls over 12-13 years of age classrooms or schools like Imam-Hatip schools that have gender segregated education would increase the schooling rates of Syrian girls and increase the socio-economic advantages for Syrian women. (Interview with AY-DER, 10.11.2015, Adana).

Another important motivation that pushed some CSOs into education provision for Syrian refugees is more political. Accordingly, several CSOs are in close cooperation with the Syrian Interim Government to achieve political objectives in the long run, the most significant of which is nation building among the diaspora. That is, education is utilized for the construction of a new national identity. Such objectives also serve the position of the Turkish government in the crisis against the Assad regime and the yearning for a Syria without Assad. One of the CSOs defining itself as an education association for Syrians operates like a proxy educational authority in the name of Syrian Interim Government for Syrians living in neighbouring countries and in liberated areas of Syria:

> Our aim is to provide education to children fleeing Syria and to supervise education in areas under the control of opposition forces… [We] work like a ministry for Syrians

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rather than a civil society organisation. (Interview with Syrian Education Association, 13.09.2015, Istanbul)

A non-state institution acting as the ministry of a para-formal education system is highly controversial in the Turkish nation state context in general and in the centrally governed education system in particular. However, it also reveals the strategic context of education. When the war ends, the young Syrians will be the integral in rebuilding the country and the education of fellow nationals in accordance with political aspirations is too important to be given up even in the uncertainty of a diasporic context.

Apart from those who have clear ideological and political motives, several CSOs see education as a means for resolving social problems between refugee and host communities. Accentuating refugees as a vulnerable group, one of the CSOs whose focus is completely on education explained their involvement in education provision as follows:

> The moment they decided to stay, not only Syrian refugees but also Turkish citizens needed to be educated. No one opened their doors for them. It was not always rainbows and butterflies. There was conflict between two communities. That is why these two communities were supposed to come together. We commenced our services from that point. (Interview with Yuva Association, 02.02.2016, Skype)

It can be concluded that social cohesion and development is among the motives of CSOs as they involve themselves in education provision for Syrian refugees. However, in addition to these three categories based on our findings from CSOs, it can be argued that some CSOs are motivated by profit. According to the Ministry, several private enterprises established civil associations are eligible for support from the Ministry to open, and these enterprises then operate TECs aiming for profit. In that sense, forming another category to define the profit-oriented CSOs might be more accurate in that specific case although it is ironic as well because the essence of a CSO is being non-profit. In that respect we are facing a CSO anomaly in the course of Syrian refugee crisis.

6.4 Role of CSOs in Education Provision for Syrian Refugees

Regardless of their motives or areas of speciation, almost all CSOs examined in this study had taken on the initiative of providing education services to Syrian refugees in host communities earlier than the state institutions. Indeed, initially education as a part of humanitarian assistance was broadly neglected by state for non-camp refugees. To fill this gap, several humanitarian CSOs added education provision for Syrian refugees in non-camp settings into their agendas.

> In 2011 nobody cared about education of Syrians. In 2012 when we contacted AFAD and The Turkish Red Crescent about this project on education, they said their priority was humanitarian assistance. To some extent they were right, as humanitarian assistance was the priority, but these children as a result lost two years out of school. The failure to provide education to these children means that they not only reinforce their unequal plight, but they may also become a threat for the host community (interview with International Blue Crescent, 12.09.2015 Istanbul).

Before the Syrian crisis, CSOs did not have a widespread formal education agenda within Turkey apart from a few faith-based CSOs providing supportive non-formal religious education services like *Quran* courses and operating student dorms. The limited role of CSOs in formal education was mainly due to legal restrictions within the national education system in Turkey designating the Ministry of National Education as the unique central organisation responsible for education provision and programming. Education and training in Turkey is executed under State supervision in line with the 1982 constitution and with a single curriculum. The maintenance of centralisation in Turkish Education system is usually legitimized by issues of nation building, social unity, political philosophy, and potential religious conflict. These issues have formed crucial aspects of the education policy-making context since the establishment of the Turkish Republic (Gershberg 2005). The Syrian refugee crisis, however, enabled many CSOs to work in the field of formal education more broadly.

> Our facilities in Turkey has a priority for humanitarian aid, the main title is humanitarian aid and educational support services. As you know education is bound to Ministry of Education in Turkey… Private entities or institutions cannot have

> educational facilities apart from opening private schools. We are a foundation thus we do not have direct education services but supportive education services within the larger frame work of humanitarian assistance, especially abroad…. Recently, however we have educational services for Syrians. We have two schools. (Interview with Aziz Mahmut Hudayi Foundation, 13.09.2015, Istanbul)

As was mentioned in the previous chapter, many Syrians schools were opened by CSOs, especially the humanitarian ones. Although they were put under the regulation of the Ministry and recognized as TEC, they are still being operated as an extension of a para-formal education system for Syrians, which is unprecedented in the history of Turkish Republic with unified educational institutions under one entity:

> We open schools all expenses are on us. Meanwhile there are private schools opened by businessmen. We also support these schools through providing education materials, text books, stationary… we have 44 schools in Istanbul, 232 in Turkey, Antep, Antakya, Reyhanli, Batman… everywhere but mostly in the South East. We have more than 250 000 students. All teachers are from Syria. (Interview with Syrian Education Association, 13.09.2015, Istanbul)

There are few CSOs which focus only on education. Several other CSOs continue education facilities along with their humanitarian agenda through cash and food assistance to the families of the students. Some of the CSOs sees providing access to education for refugee children as a means of reaching the vulnerable refugee families in need. In that sense families and children become the beneficiaries of assistance to the poor simultaneously parallel with the 'sadaka culture' that has developed through the construction of the political and ideological links to humanitarian aid as discussed earlier in this chapter. Thus education becomes an extension of a religious welfare likely to create dependency among the recipients.

> …as you may also consider filling someone's stomach is not enough. You should feed the minds as well. These people have many problems in terms of education… First of all, they did not come here directly leaving schools back in Syria. Some of them had been in camps for over three years. They had been dropouts for the previous 2-3 years already, which is a big problem. They have language problems. Thus we thought about giving orientation education for the children of the families we have already been giving humanitarian aid. (Interview with Aziz Mahmut Hudayi Foundation, 13.09.2015, Istanbul)

> While we meet the daily needs of our refugee brothers, on the other hand we support the refugee children to continue their education. We meet all the needs of students and the staff in schools through zekat funds [Islamic donations] (Interview with Bulbulzade Foundation, 13.11.2015, Gaziantep)

In fact, several CSOs started with food and cash support for Syrian families and then food incentives for children who attend school. That way, more Syrian families started sending their children to school. That can be considered an effective way for increasing school enrolment of Syrian refugees in either public schools or TECs. Many CSOs also provide transportation to increase the enrolment rates to public schools or TECs.

The beneficiaries of educational support by CSOs during the refugee crisis is not limited to Syrians only. Several CSOs benefit the Turkish students in public schools allocated as second-shift Syrian schools, through refurbishment and renovation.

> Well the state allocated its schools however we noticed these schools are being worn down. We have furnished the computer lab of the schools in Kilis… we renewed all the study desks in these schools. In that way we also contribute to the national education because Turkish children are attending these schools in the morning (Interview with International Blue Crescent, 12.09.2015 Istanbul)

The operations of some CSOs surpasses Turkish territories. It should be mentioned that several Turkish CSOs carry out operations within Syria for the internally displaced people in and out of the camps. In that context they help Turkish Government's "zero point delivery policy" that enables the extension of cross-border assistance. In that context CSOs are involved in cross-border assistance without directly challenging the principle of Syrian national sovereignty; they are supporting the Turkish state policy or rather utilising the Turkish state to advance interests across the borders of another state (Dincer et al. 2013).

> We support students in and out of the camps in Syria with stationary, transportation, several other education equipment. We also provide financial support for renovation of schools destroyed by the Assad regime. Many schools have been targeted and destroyed by Assad forces. (Interview with IHH, 11.11.2015, Hatay)

Having a community based approach rather than outsourcing employees, many CSOs recruit refugees as teachers and related educational support staff. According to one of the CSOs studied, that approach increases self-reliance of refugees:

> There was a big problem about Syrian teachers. They were working on a voluntary basis. But this people do not have food to eat, some one who do not have bread to eat will not volunteer. Some one should have give their salaries. That is why we undertook supporting teachers financially. Refugee workforce can lift Syrians out of the sense of limbo associated with being displaced and help create a self-sustainable refugee population, spreading optimism and hope. (Interview with International Blue Crescent, 12.09.2015, Istanbul)

Indeed, CSOs have been important intermediaries to promote the community based approach for refugee education through incentives that would allow Syrian teachers feel monetary content for what they do voluntarily.

As was mentioned in the previous chapter, an important hurdle in education of Syrian children is supplying suitable educational materials. The Syrian text books were revised by a commission delegated by the Syrian Interim Government; however, publication and circulation of these books required financial and organisational support of CSOs. Majority of the CSOs studied contributed to publication and circulation of the revised text books:

> We have carried out the revision of the Syrian course books with the Interim Government. As a result, all 'impurities' of Assad regime was removed from 204 books for different grades. These books were printed and distributed in Turkey and 'liberated areas' in Syria with the financial support from Qatar. (Interview with Syrian Education Association, 13.09.2015, Istanbul)

Last but not the least, several CSOs also provide vocational training or language courses for adults of young people. In doing so these CSOs have a different approach, which will be handled in the following section.

6.5 Approaches of CSOs to Education of Syrian Refugees

As was mentioned previously in this study, there are two main approaches to refugee education policy: education for refugees is programmed either for repatriation or integration.

Accordingly, it was found out that integration into the host society is the main purpose in education policy making for refugees in the developed world, whereas education aimed for repartition is normally provided in the the developing world within the larger framework of humanitarian assistance in emergencies. Repatriation and integration are multi-sectorial endeavors with many variables that must include education. Schools are powerful tools in the process of repatriation and social integration for refugees.

Due to the ever changing nature of the refugee crisis from an emergency to a protracted refugee situation and the related policies of the state, CSOs have different and inconsistent approaches to education for refugees. Obviously, humanitarian CSOs tend to make effort for education for repatriation whereas professional ones have efforts for integration through education. Having said that, it must be underlined that, there are major differences in methods and content of education for repatriation or integration. Methods used by CSOs in educational provision for Syrian refugees can be categorised accordingly. The difference in approaches is naturally stemming from the uncertainty and lack of an announced state policy about the future of the refugees.

6.5.1 Education for Repatriation

In this study, it is found out that most of the CSOs have supported educational facilities in Arabic that aims at repatriation rather than integration. When asked about the reasons, similar answers were given by all the humanitarian CSOs studied. First of all, they do not want to encourage the refugees to stay:

> If you give Turkish education to these children, they would have a perception in their minds that they are wanted to stay and settle in here and get adopted to society… it could be perceived that they are preferred to stay. But when we give education in Arabic they would be happy and satisfied as we prevent them from forgetting their mother tongues and support them. (Interview with Diyanet Foundation, 28.09.2015, Ankara)

Secondly, just like the state institutions, most of the CSOs have viewed Syrian refugees as temporary residents. Accordingly, approaches adopted by CSOs are short term, and so are the Temporary Education Centers that are true to their names; temporary. These schools are not long terms schools but schools opened for a temporary mission in an emergency situation. When this mission is no longer needed they will be shut down.

> We do not think of keeping these children here. They will go back… If we thought, they would stay in Turkey we would conduct courses in Turkish but we think they will go back… There is no other way. We cannot keep all the refugees here. But there is a reality almost half of them will not be returning back because they have established business, households, schools here (Interview with Aziz Mahmut Hudayi Foundation, 13.09.2015, Istanbul).

There are also rights-based and practical reasons that led CSOs to adopt an approach emphasizing repatriation. While learning Arabic as their mother tongue is emphasized to be their basic rights there is no reference to the Kurdish Syrians children whose mother tongues are Kurdish.

> As you know there are schools belonging to minorities all around the world. In the West there are schools belonging to the Turks living there. The aim is to give education in their mother tongues. Education in their mother tongue is their most basic rights. They are not our citizens yet, learning their own languages is their basic rights. (Interview with IHH, 11.11.2015, Hatay)

Providing education in Arabic, the assumed mother tongue, is assumed to be a more humanist approach. Meanwhile, it is also perceived to be more practical.

> Our provision is that these people will go back… learning Turkish will take time. It is more important to give education in their native tongue. These schools might be accepted as private schools for Syrians. This situation will end in these or that way. Either positive or negative. Those who want to can get integrated to Turkish system and have education in Turkish schools once they overcome the Turkish language barrier… But now we apply Arabic and Syrian curriculum (Interview with AY-DER, 10.11.2015, Adana).

> Language of instruction in our schools is Arabic. If we tried to give education Turkish, except for the first graders, we would have to teach the language first, which would not be efficient and would require extra time. Besides these people came here temporality to go back to their countries so it is not possible for them to accept

Today it is clear that prospects of repatriation in the near future is highly dim. In that sense all the efforts of many humanitarian CSOs in education provision might be futile and palliative rather than being a durable solution for the education problem of the refugees.

6.5.2. Education for Integration

Due to the refugee influx that has an emergency dimension, none of the humanitarian CSOs got into the field with long or medium term plans; however, so did more professional CSOs specialized in education as new dimensions were added to the crisis. Professional education initiatives for refugees and vulnerable people focused on integration rather than a dim possibility of repatriation.

One of the international CSOs surveyed is specialized in protection through education, and committed to assist communities to meet the educational needs, in the broadest sense, of young people made vulnerable by displacement, violence, armed conflict and disasters. In Turkey, this CSO focuses on certified language trainings for Syrian youth in order to facilitate communication between host and refugee communities and provide access to the Turkish education system. These training courses are tailored at various levels accredited for university access. Advanced Turkish language skills are seen essential to Syrian youth who wish to gain access to Turkish schools, universities or the labour market, while basic Turkish is urgently needed by the most vulnerable Syrian women, as it enables them to seek the help of existing protection services and enforce their rights. When asked why they invest in refugees who are supposed to stay in the host country for a short period of time by definition, the answer came as follows:

Of course, by definition, refugees would be displaced for a short term, however no one can predict how long refugees will stay refugees. The realities of the Afghan refugees in Pakistan demonstrate to us that some of these refugees have been there since 1979. The same applies in Tanzania for the Burundian refugees, many of whom

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have been there 30 years. We are realistic that not all refugees repatriate due to many reasons such as security, lack of infrastructure, lack of work opportunities, lack of educational institutions, etc. in their home countries. As such, we are devoted to ensuring that no matter where the refugees are, the education we provide stays with each person for a lifetime and enables and empowers them to be self-sufficient. Our educational activities include either formalized or non-formalised post-primary education, including vocational training, which empowers the refugees to repatriate and be instrumental in the reconstruction of their countries. However, we recognise that a considerable number of refugees will not return to their country of origin. Formal and informal post-primary education, vocational training and/or life skills training provides them with the assets to make something of their lives, including if they integrate locally within the host country's society.

… What we do in Turkey is over emergency aid, our positioning is bridging the gap level by level until self-reliance is achieved. We work on transitional development rather than emergency aid. (Interview with RET International, 02.02.2016,Ankara)

The facilities of professional educational CSOs commenced later than the humanitarian ones for two main reasons. First of all, some of these CSOs are international ones and it is known that they were not allowed to operate in Turkey until 2013. Secondly, they entered into the field with long-term development plans rather than emergency reflex.

Our aim tends to be development in minimum ten years in the aftermath of the refugee influx. We started out facilities in 2014 because we were not registered before. Until then I thought Turkish government was not open to working with international CSOs but I was told that was not the case by one of the Turkish diplomats. Only after hearing that we tool initiative to operate in Turkey. (Interview with The RET International, 02.02.2016, Ankara)

We did not have any activities in the first years of the crisis the we started in in Hatay in late 2013 after taking necessary permits. Now we operate in coordination with the local civil society organisations and the government offices. We established child friendly spaces, for 400 children with access to recreational activities. We have a referral mechanism to match children in need of specialised support with trained psychologists. We have awareness raising activities with parents and community members on key child protection issues. Recently we provided hygiene packages for over 700 children in TECs in Hatay. (interview with Save the Children, Skype, 10.10.2016)

Another CSO also focuses solely on adult education to empower Syrian community. Their aim is to develop and implement psychosocial support programs especially for Syrians women's emotional and cognitive well-being, to improve and strengthen professional skills

through vocational trainings and income generating activities, and to increase the dialogue and solidarity between Syrian refugees and the local people through social activities. Although the target group is specified as adults, children are also the beneficiaries of such programs.

> Our focus has always been education; empowerment through education. We are not a humanitarian CSO. Our main target group is adults however to reach especially women, as you may also know, you should provide safe spaces for children as well. That is why we created child friendly spaces and pre-school education for children. Thus our centers are not only for adults but also for children simultaneously. (Interview with Yuva Association, 02.02.2016, Skype)

Different from the humanitarian CSOs targeting children through para formal education given in Syrian schools or TECs, professional or issue-based CSOs tend to provide non-formal education targeting Syrian children, youth, and adults. The centers that such education is given are open to Turkish beneficiaries as well to foster intercultural dialogue and social acceptance of Syrian community by the host community. In that sense it can be concluded that CSOs that have been involved in education professionally tend to focus on education for integration and plan their activities accordingly, whereas the humanitarian CSOs have supported education for repatriation in an emergency context.

6.6 State-Civil Society Relations in Education Provision for Syrian Refugees

It is known that CSOs were still not allowed to operate in the camps when this study was conducted. However, they were gradually being selected by the state as partners for service provision. The Turkish state has shown its good intention through inviting CSOs as stakeholders to the formal meeting aiming to resolve the problems faced during service provision to refugees. The willingness of the state to cooperate with CSOs was plain on several occasions including a seminar organized by Civil Society Disaster Platform in December 2014. Accordingly, AFAD representative underlined the fact that AFAD was working in the field with international and national CSOs registered by the Turkish State

without any bias and discrimination on condition that they contacted AFAD.[96] Cooperation with CSOs working in education provision, on the other hand, arguably needed special attention as the field of education has traditionally been nested in the state in Turkey.

It is not possible to talk about a state-civil society cooperation in education provision in the initial phase of the crisis when the focus was solely on provision of services for the camp refugees only. However, when the crisis gained a new dimension with the increasing numbers of Syrians residing out of the camps, state institutions especially the Ministry of National Education and related provincial educational directorates started to cooperate with a variety of civil society institutions including the international ones to provide education for the Syrian refugees. Parallel with the neo-liberal agenda shrinking the role of state to a managerial one, Turkish nation-state has adopted new strategies to cope with the education aspect of the crisis through establishing a control mechanism through cooperation with CSOs which already established mechanisms to fill the absence of the state in the field. However, as mentioned before this has implications for the role of state as the main institution that sees its mission as having a hegemonic influence over organisations and content of education; a hegemony that is also a kind of organon for the creation of the bond between the state and the citizens.

> I do not have the authority to speak in general terms, but in terms of education provision for Syrian refugees we have the strongest cooperation with the civil society. I am really assertive on that because we have established the legislative base for this cooperation. With the circular we sent to the provinces on 22 October 2014 we set the framework for how to get in partnership with CSOs, the format of the agreements and the general standards for such cooperation. We have established an infrastructure for the CSOs to cooperate with us for education provision for the Syrian refugees and we ensured that all facilities are held under our control and in our standards though constant supervision. (Interview with MoNE Expert, 08.03.2016, Ankara)

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[96] Seminar Report 'for 'Syrian Refugees from the Perspective of State-NGO Cooperation' available athttp://sitap.org/en/seminar-for-syrian-refugees-from-the-perspective-of-state-ngo-cooperation/ accessed 06.11.2015

There are two separate working group meetings held under the aegis of the Ministry regularly. The first working group comprises mainly faith-based national CSOs, whereas the other includes international organisations, both governmental and non-governmental ones working in the field of education provision in Turkey. The objective of these working group meetings is enabling consultation and the standardisation of educational facilities for Syrian refugees.

6.6.1 A Symbiotic Relationship

Despite the general will of the state institutions to leverage and cooperate with civil society, some of the CSOs considered the state-civil society relationship during the Syrian refugee crisis as a problematic one. For some CSOs, the relationship has historically been problematic. For them the Turkish state has never fully trusted civil society, despite the progress achieved with EU harmonization process. Defining the state as suspicious towards the CSOs, one of the CSOs explained that this suspicion surfaced again in the Syrian refugee crisis:

> Turkish state has a security reflex regarding the civil society organisations, especially the international ones. Thus, when the crisis first started the first reaction of Turkey was avoiding asking for support of UN agencies, international and national CSOs. However, when the numbers of refugees became unmanageable, gradually and selectively some faith-based CSOs were allowed to take part in humanitarian aid, cross-border particularly. That way Turkey was aiming to prevent the IDPs to cross the border. Faith based organisations were the first to step in. (interview with IGAM, 28.05.2015, Ankara)

> 20 years ago the state was seeing the CSOs as a threat, a nest of divisive and destructive facilities. Today the relationship is much better however it is not at an acceptable level. State authorities, especially the political ones, believe that the state should cooperate with the civil society as a result of the modern conditions but with a reflex remnant of the old days, they do not accept CSOs within the borders drawn for the state. (Interview with International Blue Crescent, 12.09.2015, Istanbul)

For some CSOs, the state does not see the CSOs reliable partners, which is evident in its reluctance of local or national state authorities to share data on the Syrian refugees.

> As an advocacy and research foundation we needed data and the most important source of data for need assessment for education of Syrian refugees was state institutions. However most of the time the data was not shared by the State (Interview with IGAM, 28.05.2015, Ankara)

The state-civil society relationship within the context of Syrian refugee crisis can be described as a symbiotic one that is not necessarily beneficial for both sides: a relationship the threatens to move from symbiosis to parasitism or predation, in the same way that the language of hospitality can move to hostility. Not relinquishing its supervisory role, the State sees CSOs as a temporary or unofficial partner (an 'equerry') rather than a real partner in practice; the CSO is used to make up for a temporary inability to respond to the crisis efficiently in the short term. Emphasising the incapacity of the state in taking initiative in emergency situations, some of the CSO representatives pointed out how the CSOs filled the gap of services for refugees locally.

> They prefer seeing CSOs as equerries rather than partners for cooperation. For instance, [a local state unit] asked for information from CSOs on Syrian refugees being aided. As opposed to that, when we asked for information from them to prevent recurrent aid, we were rejected with the excuse that 'it was impossible for the state to share information'. I think that incident presents the attitude of state institutions towards CSOs. ... Had it not been CSOs and individual people, the state would have been in real trouble. State sure is strong, has more opportunities however it is cumbersome as well. It does not have the capacity to go into the field and reach the capillaries. It is not expected to be active out of its working hours form 8 am to 5 pm. In extraordinary crisis situations local and civil elements should step in. Civil servant mindset would be clogged in such situations. (Interview with AY-DER, 10.11.2015, Adana)

> CSO is founded for an aim. There is no 'your CSO' or 'my CSO'. In this or that way a CSO is founded to support advocacy for human rights or health or education. What is important is that state supervises canalizes them well. We, for instance, work well with the state. We go to the Governorates. We ask them the need because we cannot reach the Syrians all. And this is a good cooperation because the state knows where there is need. On the other hand, the state cannot intervene it all centrally from Ankara. While intervening the state does so through making use of the tax money of the Turkish citizens. Why would state do that while there are voluntary people or organisations to do that which do not oppose the rules of state? (Interview with International Blue Crescent, 12.09.2015, Istanbul)

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Most of the CSOs studied here see the state involvement in education provision for Syrian refugees as obligatory for practical and institutional reasons. In fact, CSOs are obliged to work in closer coordination with the Ministry for the sake of accreditation of education given in schools operated by CSOs.

> There are some CSOs opening schools without getting in touch with the Ministry. That is so wrong because if the Ministry does not coordinate how that are going to give the accredited certificates. (Interview with International Blue Crescent, 12.09.2015, Istanbul)

On the other hand, state institutions are obligated to undertake that cooperation due to technical and legal factors. Cooperation was technically necessary in a highly centralised national education system that does not allow for the educational planning and material development suitable for non-citizen children. In one of my meeting with Ministry experts, the cooperation with the Syrian Interim Government was justified as follows:

> We cannot revise or publish the books of the regime in Syria as the Ministry... We cannot publish books that have the copyrights of another regime. Only Syrian Interim Government and CSOs can do this. Yet we are planning to publish our own books with our own content for the next educational year. (Interview with MoNE expert, 08.03.2016)[97]

As stated in the previous chapter, as a result of the efforts of the state to regulate and control the Syrian schools operated by CSOs, those schools were turned into TECs and coordinators principals were appointed to those Syrian schools by the Ministry. Only a few CSOs see this regulation problematic because the state does not see CSOs as real partners for solution, and rather overtakes the system established by CSO.

> Education of Syrians has been recently overtaken by the state, Ministry of Education. Until this year [2015] education was provided by CSOs and private initiatives... In our province, the system works well because the provincial directorate of education built on the system we had built previously without breaking it down. Regardless our

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[97] Also was announced at the 'Third Education Working Group Meeting' regarding the Syrians under Temporary Protection held on 8 March 2016 in Ankara.

> relationship with the state is not at a level we'd like it to be. Classical state reflex, it does not want CSOs to take initiative. For instance, the coordinator principals appointed by the state to our schools (with one or two exceptions) are currently in touch with us for supply of cleaning materials, education materials, and transportation however they don't want us to be involved in personnel and education problems despite we have great experience from previous year. State should see us as partners for solution and practice. (Interview with AY-DER, 10.11.2015, Adana)

For most of CSOs interviewed however, state control is beneficial. The fact that Turkey is a strong state does not affect state-civil society cooperation in educational service provision for the Syrian refugees negatively. On the contrary, State regulations form a framework for the CSOs to work more systematically, especially through formal agreements and coordination meetings with the Ministry of National Education. Furthermore, the state paves the way for CSOs to operate in different countries internationally, and in the case of Syrian refugee for cross-border operations.

> Turkish people is nation who likes donating. As the economic power increases the rate of donation increase as well. Meanwhile the state opens venues for the civil society to operate overseas. Like the Somali example. When the state opens the venues through looking out for the delicate balance and interests, CSOs operate more easily. (Interview with Diyanet Foundation, 28.09.2015, Ankara)

In that respect it can be argued that despite crediting the role undertaken by the civil society for education provision, the state has not relinquished its supervisory position in education in Turkey. Rather it maintains a patrimonial attitude and continues the centrist mentality though making use of civil society organisations. Unlike many states in which CSOs operate within the field of emergency aid, Turkey is a strong state and does not let CSOs operate in an unlimited space. One of the international CSOs surveyed sees a strong state an advantage for working in the field of education for refugees.

> When we get registered in Turkey, we never thought we would be totally independent. Our philosophy is working in cooperation with the host governments and achieving mutual objectives. We entered Turkey with that objective. Our aim is to be hand in hand with the state institutions. In fact, the host government is a role model in Turkey because it is strong. In all 27 countries we work, the state is weak state. I enjoy working in Turkey because we cannot have real partnerships in weak states. Partnership with the Turkish state is possible because it has a vision. At first the

infrastructure was not adequate for such a big number of refugees, however now there is a vision and we see that. Once the mutual objectives and priorities are established we involve in wherever out niche suits. If out niche does not suit, we do not get involved. For instance, from the very beginning we did not get involved in temporary education centers. (Interview with The RET International, 02.02.2016, Ankara)

As the refugee paradigm shifts to integration, the extent of state-civil society cooperation also changes. Unlike the short-term plans based on education strategies for repatriation, the Ministry does not have medium or long term plans to involve CSOs in formal education provision for Syrian refugees. In this phase focused on integration, CSOs are rather expected to contribute to refugee education through awareness raising facilities for Syrian refugees to expedite their access to education.

> We do not expect the CSOs to support formal education in the long run. We are to define the standards and design the formal education for the Syrian refugees. We are concerned about language and economic barriers and social adaptation. WE expect CSOs to assist us in removing these barriers. We do not want a CSOs to publish education materials or open schools. Our national education system and state tradition is not suitable for that. (Interview with MoNE Expert, 08.03.2012, Ankara)

Thus for the state, civil society was seen as a temporary gap filler and not a long term partner. Most CSOs, on the other hand, also agree that education is a field that should be under state responsibility in general. Accordingly, the presence of CSOs in this field should only temporary, until the state developed necessary capacities and infrastructure in the long run.

> In fact, in general, each CSOs objective should be self-annihilation because we exist to meet certain needs at a certain time. In the long run this needs should be met by the State as the general coordinator in a just way and civil society should retreat. Thus what is ideal in the long run is the withdrawal of the CSOs and provision of this service by the state evenly and just. Of course there can be long term partnerships. I actually define what we do as an important model for the state as we serve to many different people. Our 'Public Centers' are good models in the field of vocational education. If the state can coordinate these centers and reach everyone, there will be no need for our existence. (Interview with Yuva Asosoication, 02.02.2016, Skype)

> I understand the criticism that the state throws off its responsibility. I understand; yet, there is something critical: these people, I mean volunteers, should be able to do something. Otherwise they will sit aside and content themselves with whatever provides the state. Then, how can we talk about improvement… There are shortages in education. there are lost children, mainstreaming children… TEGV opens its doors

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to win them in its target group. I believe, here, we need to concentrate on outputs. Although I agree with with the state as the main provider of education, I consider civil society self-organisation very important; it is important that the civil society pursue organisational working models. Here hundreds of people work together for the same purpose; I think we should not deny this, we should not deny its achievements. There is a gap in the system, and you do not do anything to get rid of it? Yet, through collaborations, the civil society has made certain achievements in the educational field. And, I think, it provides a further model. It provides know-how. This is also important. (Interview with TEGV, 02.03.2015, Ankara)

Indeed, national education system in Turkey does not define CSOs as educational service providers. Furthermore, TECs operated by associations or foundations are not sustainable as they are dependent on donations. TECs are not guaranteed to sustain educational standards meanwhile Syrian refugees are vulnerable groups who do not have the economic means to reach private education services. Thus the Ministry should not have CSOs in long term response plans which brings about the education provision and citizenship dilemma. In the 10th development plan it is underlined that migration management is a humanitarian as well as a security issue. Considering how CSOs engaged in education provision evolved into national security threat, education of Syrian refuges has too much of a security dimension which makes education too important for the state to leave simply in the hands of CSOs with different ideological motivations. On the other hand, in line with Inal (2005), it should be underlined that CSOs working as charity organisations in education are para formal institutions attempting to fill in the shortages of the state rather than questioning the system. According to Inal (2005), charity and voluntarism in education represents a pre-modern approach that may worsen the structural gaps to the detriment of the disadvantaged populations like refugees.

6.6.2 Semipermeable Structure

As mentioned before, civil society in Turkey is deeply divided along political and ethnic lines. Furthermore, civil society is fragmented in terms of its ideological aims. Thus civil society in Turkey does not stand as one mass of people against the state. The lack of a

singular focus also allows the state to cooperate with non-threatening groups and crack down on those who has more potential or desire to challenge the state (Kubicek 2002; 771). The politically and ideologically fragmented structure of the civil society allows the Turkish state to play favuorites. In a like manner, regardless of the favorable conditions for the state-civil society cooperation in education provision for Syrian refugees, the Ministry has a tendency to be selective regarding cooperation with CSOs. According to two of the CSOs studied, there are reliable and unreliable CSOs in the eyes of the Ministry.

> In general, when such an analysis is made [the relationship between the state and society] I prefer distinguishing faith-based and secular CSOs. Of course there are CSOs which have been in long-term subtle partnership with the state, but we are [as a secular CSO] not among those. Especially regarding Syrian refugees, state is in cooperation with several CSOs, however we are not even invited. On the other hand, there is communication problems between secular and faith-based CSOs. That is, we have difficulty in expressing who we are. (Interview with Yuva Association, 02.02.2016, Skype)

It seems that while the state encourages some CSOs in education provision for Syrian refugees to close the service gap, it views some CSOs with skepticism rather than welcoming them as partners, which is rather problematic for the CSOs who defines themselves secular. In that sense, in this specific field, education for Syrian refugees, faith-based ones are favored for cooperation.

> When the issue is helping people and the state supports that why would the people not help? Of course there may be some malicious CSOs but there is no meaning in restricting all CSOs putting them all I one pot. The state might be right at certain points, of course…. I think sometimes the security threat becomes a security threat according to the political views of people. We all love Turkey. Does the President love Turkey more than I do? [Now] we don't have problems regarding cooperation with the state, however we had in the beginning. (Interview with International Blue Crescent, 12.09.2015, Istanbul)

It is important to underline that one of the civil society organisations studied here is a 'GONGO-Government Organized Non-Governmental Organisation' which means an organisation created by a government and resembling a civil society organisation, usually created for the purpose of promoting issues that the government wants to bring attention to

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or advance its interests. In that sense, Diyanet Foundation is not traditional CSO and rather reflects the AKP's Islamic sentiment in international relations through a humanitarian aid agenda. Although Diyanet Foundation had not been involved in formal education within Turkey before, it was favored by the state as a partner as opposed to other organisations who have the potential to 'exploit and abuse the situation' (From the interview with a national Education Expert). Thus Diyanet Foundation was prompted to be involved in formal education projects as a reliable partner for state institutions to prevent the corruption and exploitation of the situation according to the representative of that foundation.

> We are made to be involved in education provision for Syrian refugees to maintain the social and economic balance… First CSOs got involved in the process but there emerged some problems and some CSOs started abusing the whole situation. Like some CSOs opens schools but demands tuition fees from the families. Or some of them just shuts down in a few months after seeing they cannot handle the process. Our foundation was uttered to get into the education sector [in several meetings to resolve the Refugee crisis]. The presence of our foundation was seen necessary [by the state] to prevent exploitation and to bring up healthy individuals. (Interview with Diyanet Foundation, 28.09.2015, Ankara)

Indeed, as was pointed out in my interview with the national education expert, certain CSOs are more convenient to work with just by the nature of their composition. CSOs whose staff has public education experience as teachers or administrators are easier to work with for the Ministry due to their knowledge on the priorities of the Ministry. Several international organisations, on the other hand are not aware of these priorities, which will be handled in detail in the next section.

> There is difference from one CSOs to another. Some have capacity some do not, some are arrogant. I am speaking on problem basis. Some have profit concerns. There is faith-based international ones which are [Christian] missionaries. There are professional ones who make projects. Those who are more successful are the native faith-based ones. They support us in psycho-social support, education materials for schools and revision of education materials. We gather these groups together and organize meetings regularly for consultation and exchange opinions. We have two different meeting groups, one with the international CSOs and UN agencies and AFAD, the other meetings are with the faith-based ones. These two meetings are independent from each other. These two working groups have different members. (Interview with MoNE Expert, 08.03.2016, Ankara)

6.7 International CSOs

As mentioned above, CSOs in Turkey can be defined as service providers to fill the service gaps of the state until necessary infrastructure and capacity is developed. As the refugee paradigm shifts from repatriation to integration and long-term development through empowerment, state–civil society partnerships also develop in favour of professional international organisations having expertise in the education of vulnerable groups like refugees.

> So the international organisations were not allowed initially and they found local partners. International organisations funded national ones and sent their staff to work under their umbrellas. But the residency permits of the international officers could not be extended in the end of 3 months, which created problems. After a critical threshold, the state had to give permission to international CSOs only after meticulous examination. Currently many international organisations work on the field, a majority of which operates cross-border. (Interview with IGAM, 28.05.2015, Ankara)

One of the CSOs studied emphasised how the transparent funding procedures of the UN agencies were beneficial for their operations in Turkey for education of Syrian refugees.

> We are one of UN's main implementing bodies. We also work with UNHCR and UNICEF. What is important is UN draws a general framework. It funds projects that are prepared within this framework. They have a grading system. They fund projects that are successfully fitting into their rules. BM cooperates with local governments while announcing procurements. (Interview with International Blue Crescent, 12.09.2015, Istanbul)

It is found out in this research that many national CSOs are funded by international governmental or non-governmental organisations for their operations for education provision for Syrian refugees with the exception of faith-based ones that are dependent on national donations.

The involvement of international organisations in Turkey during the Syrian refugee crisis has wider repercussions for the national CSOs than funding. First of all, the fact that international organisations initially preferred to be intermediaries between international donors and national CSOs led to the proliferation of national CSOs working for Syrian

refugees. Secondly, international organisations transferred their expertise to develop the capacity of national CSOs. Indeed, many CSOs benefited from this partnership. However, future of these national or local CSOs are questionable as this partnership will not be sustainable in the aftermath of the crisis.

> There are many international CSOs that have entered and registered in Turkey. That is, they can operate in Turkey however, these institutions prefer to stay as intermediaries. For instance, an American CSO prefers to be the intermediary for the funds to come from America through finding a local partner rather than being the implementing agency in the field. That is something new for Turkey. In fact, Syrian issue was never expected to stay in the agenda for such a long time and many CSOs started to work in the field. That is something good on the one hand since there are CSOs operating in cities other than Istanbul and Ankara. On the other hand, there is a point I should criticize that is we, the local or national CSOs have almost become the subcontractors of the international ones. We can say that, they are the ones giving money and we are doing the job. Such a position is problematic because it is not sustainable. There is no provision about what is going to happen to those CSOs when the crisis is over…Of course there CSOs have brought something new to Turkey. Suddenly civil society became a field that employs large numbers of people with unprecedented amount of salaries. But we cannot offer that much opportunities. If we presented the first year, the next year we had to start over again. These international CSOs put pressure on us in that sense. (Interview with Yuva Association, 02.02.2016, Skype)

International organisations had relatively less direct roles in education provision for Syrian refugees in Turkey than other refugee hosting states. In fact, the Turkish case was a new paradigm for the international organisations which did not resemble other immediate refugee hosting states in the history of displacement. Indeed, Turkey is more developed and industrialized than many other refugee hosting states in addition to being an exceptionally strong state in the region. According to the Ministry, international CSOs provide considerable financial support, however, lack the institutional capacity to work with them. Since they are beneficiaries of emergency aid funds, they employ experts in emergency education to work in Turkey. However, their expertise is related to operations in third world countries and they cannot necessarily be adapted to the circumstances in Turkey. It is found out that only those who are ready to conform the rules of the state had the opportunity to

establish partnership with the Ministry for education provision for refugees, which also explains the attempt of the state to control the field of education for refugees.

> International organisations have their own agendas, they don't care marrying the priorities of the host government and goals with theirs. Because there are independent and apolitical, we are apolitical too but our philosophy is always marrying our goals as well as the goals of the host governments, as well as whatever are the priorities that have been identified as the gaps. Other international CSOs do not have this vision. That is, they have their own independent goals and they actually don't care what the goals of those governments are and in the case of Turkey especially they are not used to working with such a host government. They are used to working with weak host governments and so that is why they do not care. They are not used to caring about the state. Turkey is a different paradigm for most international CSOs because it is the only country where they really have to obey the law the rules that exist, the infrastructure that exist. In other host countries they can disregard them. They may have to follow registration rule and legislation but they don't have to follow much else. They can pretty much do whatever they want. Especially if they are in the camps they may have to follow UNHCR or the UN guidelines, or UN security regulation but if they are in urban areas, they pretty much have the green light to do whatever they want. And because they are used to working in that type of state context they are like cowboys in the wild west. They do any thing they want there but they cannot in Turkey. So that is a source of frustration for the international community. They have to always confirm to the regulations here. So it is an entirely different paradigm to work here. (Interview with the RET International, 02.02.2016, Ankara)

6.8 Challenges

Initially in our analysis of the challenges that are faced by the CSO in education provision for Syrian refugees, it is worth mentioning that almost none of the CSO organisations—international, national or local—studied here see bureaucratic requirements for CSOs operating in Turkey as an impediment. According to CSOs, processing time of registration and paper work in Turkey is easy, at least much shorter than the average processing time in other refugee hosting states.

The main challenge for the CSOs as service provides in the education of Syrian refugees derives from the difficulty of dealing with children who carry the traumas of war with them.

Accordingly finding qualified staff who are capable of coping with these children is not an easy task for most of the CSOs.

Trauma can affect the students' attention spans, memory skills, and impulse control. Refugee children are at risk of post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, anxiety and grief that persist over many years due to experiences of war and violence. In addition, different cultures display diverse reaction patterns to such traumas. Thus, it is difficult for service providers to find skilled and experienced staff who do not have language barriers to cope with the repercussions of traumatic disorders. Although most of the CSOs does not see human resources as a real problem, the qualifications and capacity of the staff volunteering at temporary education centres to cope with the special psychological needs of the refugee children is questionable. Besides the Syrian teachers themselves are traumatised. Finding qualified teachers is another challenge that requires time and effort.

> We have problems with the [quality of] teachers. And the children are problematic. Some of them lost their families. Some of them have no one here. That is education for Syrian children is much more difficult than education of Turkish children. That is why we also have units that give psycho-social support. For example, while there is one guide teacher in Turkish primary or secondary school we have 4 or 5 five in Syrian schools. …We don't have problems with finding teachers. The Ministry has a list. They have listed the incoming teachers as a security measure. We either apply to the Ministry for teachers or find them ourselves through notices. But generally we appoint teachers that were indicated by the Ministry. They have lost of teachers in their list, thousands of teachers. That is why we do not have any problems with human resources but quality. (Interview with International Blue Crescent, 12.09.2015, Istanbul)

One of the CSOs which has ideological motives linked the difficulty in finding qualified teachers to the brain-drain of the educated Syrians by the asylum practices of Western countries and emphasised the disadvantaged position of the refugees in disadvantaged slum areas in terms of education:

> I don't think that the Western world is altruistic in its personnel policies. They want to pick the qualified ones. That is why what remains here is not qualified elite. In that sense Turkey has undertaken a really big burden. ..Those university graduates who have language skills go to the West because they have taken charming offers. That is reality. I have read in the press, one of the developed countries says it will give

humanitarian assistance but it already listed the people they will give aid. Whom they want to take is predetermined. That is a very self-interested attitude and not acceptable. …Turkey, on the other hand, has accepted everyone regardless of their status. Our school is Sultanbeyli, which has a certain socio-economic and demographic structure. It is an underdeveloped part of Istanbul already. Thus those who come from Syria are uneducated people with limited opportunities. We have difficulty in finding qualified teachers for our schools. That is a reality. (Interview with Aziz Mahmut Hudayi Foundation, 13.09.2015)

In that content Syrian refugees as a disadvantaged group as victims of forced displacement go through the disadvantages of being stuck in slum areas already overburdened with student population and lacking quality education opportunities. One of the reasons for the insufficient quality in education is the wide socioeconomic disparities between different schools. For instance, in urban slum areas expanded as a result of migration, education quality of schools attended by students from migrant or native families are much lower than schools attended by students from wealthy and middle class neighborhoods due to insufficient financial resources, social and human capital. Akar (2010; 264-273) draws attention to the academic failures due to poverty in immigrant receiving urban areas. According to Akar, immigration brings about limited educational resources denoting less qualified education for both the immigrant and native population. A study by Gökçe (2009) also supports Akar's arguments on the effects of migration to provision of quality education. Accordingly, 30 percent of elementary school children in Ankara, the capital city of Turkey, attend schools in slum areas. The results of Gökçe's study shows that serious inequalities are experienced by these children in terms of educational opportunities. These students need more qualified educational environments, teachers and materials in order to alleviate the inherited disadvantages due to lack of social and cultural capital. However, as the students

outnumber the capacity of the schools, double-shift schooling[98] is implemented. Moreover, teachers prefer working in socio-culturally developed neighborhoods. Due to rapid human resources circulation in those areas, number of experienced teachers and managers that could enhance quality of education remain inadequate.

Another CSO, on the other hand, pointed out the need for the psychosocial activities with a religious content and the importance of coordination between the state and CSO organisations for rehabilitative facilities for not only refugee children but also for teachers and indicated religious authorities as the agency to be responsible for psychological support for refugees.

> We only deal with education now but that is not adequate, we should also provide rehabilitation because these people lead abnormal lives. We have seen teachers who had found out that their siblings got killed [in Syria] two days before yet had to teach. Imagine how education is possible for children who lost their parents before their very eyes. Last year, it took us three months to teach children not to go under desks when they hear an aircraft in one of our schools located close to an airport. We eyewitness children crying because of hunger in our classrooms. We saw the mood of teachers who could not afford paying their rents. We saw so many examples of trauma like this and we keep on seeing more. Unless these traumas are healed, no proper education is possible. Unfortunately, we could not find any institution to cooperate to deal with those traumas…The biggest responsibility should be taken by the Diyanet[99] because such a big trauma can only be cured by religious teachings. Guidance teachers of the Ministry of National Education, Phycologists from Directorates of Family and Social

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[98] Double shift schooling refers to a format of operation in which students are educated in multiple shifts. The main advantage for the implementation of a double shift schooling format is to curb the skyrocketing costs associated with operating an educational system. Twice as many students can be educated in any one facility if students attend in shifts. However, some disadvantages exist. Accordingly, in a double shift system, schools are apt to sustain twice the wear and tear on facilities in the same period of time as a traditional school would. Additionally, those resources that may be maximized as a result of the double shift will also suffer the effects of extensive use. There is a greater cost of repair and maintenance of facilities and buses due to extensive use. Some double shift schools may have teachers who teach two shifts for greater pay. It's possible that the quality of instruction may suffer for second shift students, due to teacher fatigue or burn out. Additionally, the shorter day may lessen the number of hours of academic exposure and totally eradicate extracurricular programs. (For more information on double-shift schooling see 'Academic Performance in Double-Shift Schooling' by G. Sagyndykova, 12 November 2013 available at http://www.u.arizona.edu/~galiyas/Research_files/DSSpaper_nov13.pdf), accessed 10.01.2015

[99] Republic of Turkey Presidency for Religious Affairs

> Policies should have been long involved in the process. Unfortunately, we haven't seen any initiatives yet. (Interview with AY-DER, 10.11.2015, Adana)

All in all, refugee education is a challenge per se for all the CSOs involved. Without doubt, Syrian refugees will be staying in our country for a long time. Either for the sake of humanity or for political reasons, their integration into Turkish society is imperative. Most of the CSOs participated in thus survey pointed out that Turkish civil society has to establish an environment for two nations to coexist in peace. Otherwise the trajectory that is feared is the generation of Ghettos inhabited by the Syrians; an environment that would be a malignant one for Turkish society.

Integration normally designates a mutual benefit, in which education and employment are successfully adopted by immigrants. In that respect, CSOs have a big responsibility. However, the existing regulations on employment and education is seen as a challenge that is gradually being overcome as new legal amendments are made by the state. For instance, until 2014, there was a problem for the accreditation of the education given at schools operated by the CSOs. However, with the new regulations by the Ministry of National Education, Syrian students were allowed to continue their education within the national education system with the certificates in hand. Today the education given by these CSOs are recognized by the Turkish state.

One of the CSOs specialized in giving vocational trainings for empowerment of refugees explained how their activities were in contradiction with the existing employment law as follows:

> Until recently the vocational trainings we gave were clogged at a certain point because even though they gained the vocational skills, they would not be employed legally as they did not have work permits. But now with the work permits we are about to sign agreements with provincial educational authorities. We do not know how long that will take at the moment but that way, in the end they will have official certificates from public education centers. That is, these certificates will be valid for them to get jobs with social security. In fact, now they can establish businesses though registering with the chamber of merchants and craftsmen. Thus, we are about to overcome this challenge legally. But before that we were in a deadlock as the Syrians were working

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illegally. I think now we can progress more easily. (Interview with Yuva Association, 02.02.2016, Skype)

That said the "Regulation on Work Permit of Refugees Under Temporary Protection" has been issued in the Official Journal No. 2016/8375, dated 15 January 2016, granting refugees work permit under certain conditions and restrictions. In that context, one of the biggest impediments to the social integration of Syrian refugees into Turkey is expected to be surpassed. Indeed, without the work permits, lacking the ability to work legally, the only alternative was (and continues to be) to work illegally for low wages, without any entitlements or social benefits. This made Syrian refugees vulnerable to exploitation magnifying the child labor problem in Turkey.

The RET explained how the economical disadvantages and language barriers of parents affect the education of refugee children:

> The parents of children in public schools are having difficulty in following up their children when there because they have communication problems. The first barrier in front of the schooling of the refugee children is the economic problems of the families. Children have to contribute to the household and thus have to work most of the time. Even if the education materials are provided for free there are additional costs for the parents like the transportation. That is why the parents still cannot afford sending their children to school. (Interview with Bulbulzade Foundation, 13.11.2015, Gaziantep)

In that sense, even though the right to education is granted, there are logistical problems such as transportation costs and Syrian parents' preferences and concerns that limit the number of Syrian children going to school. Furthermore, the target of the education is not ethnically homogeneous group, neither are they are already disadvantaged children who already had been disadvantaged or vulnerable groups before the influx.

> The main problem is the language barrier. But the Syrian refugees are not homogenous, some has Kurdish some has Arabic as mother tongue. We try to bring Kurdish, Turkish and Arabic speakers for social cohesion in our youth centers (Interview with The RET International, 06.05.2016, Gaziantep)

6.9 Conclusion

This chapter surveyed the civil society aspect of response to Syrian refugee crisis based on the findings from interviews conducted with the representatives of 12 different CSO and national education experts from the Ministry. It should be emphasised that parallel with neo-liberalisation and the EU accession process before the crisis different CSOs were involved in supportive education facilities as an extension of social solidarity and active citizenship of the neoliberal era. During the refugee crisis, however, a variety of CSOs involved in formal education provision for Syrian refugees through opening up schools for Syrian children to provide basic and secondary education. In that context CSO are acting increasingly as a surrogate for the state. This development is a continuation of the increasing role of CSOs in education for the disadvantaged populations to make up for the insufficient services of the state and the civil society endeavor to bridge the opportunity gap in education. It was found out that different CSOs take up roles in education provision for Syiran refugees. These CSOs can be categorized as (a) humanitarian and issue-based/professional ones in terms of scope of operations, (b) faith-based and secular ones in terms of ideology, (c) Syrian, Turkish, and international ones in terms of staff. Different CSOs have different motivations for involvement in education provision for Syrian refugees. They have ideological, political, social and profit oriented motivations. It is seen that the motivations of faith-based CSOs were formed as a reaction to the 'assimilationist' and 'imperialist facilities' of the Western world whereas the secular ones have a more professional profile with an issue specific agenda aiming for social cohesion based on voluntarism.

The data gathered also revealed that most of national humanitarian CSOs are faith based and have education strategies that aims for repatriation whereas the professional ones, with a specific education agenda, have operations to support integration and social adaptation. Their roles, on the other hand, can be summarized as, operating TECs, renovation and refurbishment of double-shifted schools, providing teachers incentives, preparing, publishing and distributing educational materials, providing financial support to families,

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providing Turkish language courses and vocational trainings, providing transportation and finally cross border humanitarian relief operations.

The relationship between the state and civil society in education provision for Syrian refugees can be described as a symbiotic relationship brought about by mutual interests that tends to favour the state rather than the CSO. In this case, CSOs are seen as subsidiaries to fill the service gap of the state institutions unit the state develops the capacity to deal with the issue by itself. The relationship can also be defined as selectively permeable as the state opts for cooperating with CSOs that are perceived to be reliable in terms of their motivations. In other words, CSOs that have similar agendas to the government are to be more convenient for partners for the state. Although MoNE is told be open to partnerships with any CSO, a great deal of the cooperation was so far held with the faith-based ones which have a similar agenda to the government in education.

As the needs of refugees and the education paradigm for refugees shifts from repatriation to integration, so does the cooperation from humanitarian CSOs to professional ones. Accordingly, international professional organizations that have expertise in refugee education for integration and willing to adapt themselves to working with a strong state also established direct partnerships with the state in the later phases of the crisis. In fact, in the longer term, there is limited cooperation with the CSOs that are involved in education provision for Syrian refugees through a para-formal education system. Rather they are expected to support the state as subsidiaries in raising enrolment rates through financial support to families or awareness raising activities while formal education and the related services are to be provided solely by the Ministry.

The involvement of international CSOs indirectly as funding agencies has repercussions for national CSOs. International CSOs as funding agents led to the proliferation of national CSOs as partners working in the field of education for Syrian refugees. While doing so, international CSOs also transferred their expertise to develop the capacity of national CSOs.

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Despite the increasing capacity of state and civil society institutions to deal with refugee education, there are still challenges that needs to be surmounted, the most important of which is the difficulty of dealing with refugee children per se. The war experiences of these children requires experienced and qualified staff capable of dealing with traumatic children. This challenge, according to the CSOs, can only be overcome by the measures to be taken by the State.

Finally, it can be argued that CSOs working in education at as para-formal institutions attempts to fill in the shortages of the state rather than questioning and trying to change represents a palliative solution that could worsen the structural gaps in the long run as the near history of Turkey revealed. The presence of non-state entities as education providers might turn out to be a national security treat considering the fact that both migration management and education has a human rights as well as a national security dimension. Many CSOs view themselves as temporary and believe that if their mission should end they should retreat in the long run when the needs could be met by the State. However, it is clear that there are certain Syrian CSOs who see themselves as an educational authority on behalf of the Syrians in diaspora. Education as a means for the dissemination of different ideologies is an area very open to exploitation; in this case, the state should consider the the risk of the symbiotic relationship turning into one of hostility, and not leave education in the hands of CSOs. Considering different motives of the CSOs in conflict with the existence of education for national solidarity and social cohesion, it can be argued that intended outcomes for integration of Syrian refugees can be achieved only if state institutions are responsible for ensuring equal opportunities for Syrian children to create a common citizenship culture whilst respecting their cultural and linguistic differences.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

Behind the central problem that has been analysed in this research is the institutionalisation of education as a human right for all children including the displaced. Indeed, the right to education for all children defined within the national and international legislation is likely to be in tension with the nation state's priorities and the financial capacity, which in turn puts the language of hospitality for the refugees in question.

Thinking of education as a human right leads to an emphasis on incorporating every human being, regardless of his or her circumstances, into a system of schooling and into an education system more broadly. Declaration of Human Rights (Article No. 26) and Convention on Child Rights (Article No. 28) deals with education right in the context of "equal opportunities". For nations pledging to obey these documents, disparities of educational outcomes to individuals from different social or ethnic backgrounds due to different social conditions or biases should be unacceptable. Disparities in educational outcomes undermine social equity principle of education. In fact, equity in education is an extension of economic and politic equality and is an indispensable element for sustaining welfare society within the frame of social rights. In the shadow of a growing number of externally displaced children, equal opportunities in education cannot be restricted to providing education in an equally measure only to citizens and children of citizens. Nonetheless, growing numbers of refugees and mass displacement becomes a social welfare problem in nation-states founded on a contract with the citizens assumed to be a nation. While the human rights based approach to education favors education as a basic right for all children, the rationalisation of approaches to solving social problems through active citizenship in the neoliberal context can undermine equality of access to education. In the context of Turkey's response to the Syrian refugee

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crisis, the dynamic of this response has given way to voluntary arrangements led by CSOs instead of the status quo or government-led agreements.

With that said, this study has detected a tendency in the literature to analyse the education of refugees in terms of the location of refugees: as in economically developed or developing countries as the host state. The refugee burden and durable solutions proposed differ according to level of economic development of host countries and the number of refugees received. In that context, the literature on refugee education is clustered around two main approaches. First, parallel with the literature on the integration of refugees specifically in the developed world, a body of literature on refugee education is based on the discussions around immigration, multiculturalism, social justice and the related pedagogical issues including second language acquisition and inclusive education. With this approach, concepts of globalisation and multiculturalism are linked to ways in which refugee flows contribute to globalisation of education. Pedagogical development theories are utilised to draw on the influence of environment on the refugee child in developed countries. Although education for refugees is usually discussed along with immigrant children in this body of literature, it is important to note that there can be differences between the issues and educational needs immigrant children and refugee and asylum seeking children face. However, there are also many common issues and challenges confronted by most of the newly arrived children including refugees or the immigrants (Bourgonje 2010).

Another distinct body of literature deals with refugee education within the larger framework of humanitarian assistance in emergencies. Refugee education policies in the developing world is shaped within the larger framework of humanitarian assistance in emergencies. The cases in the developing world generally result from massive population influxes due to conflicts or disasters when the refugee status is considered to be temporary and thus the education policies are tailored for repatriation. In the latter context, the theme of 'education in emergencies' comes to the fore which can be defined as a set of linked project activities that enable structured learning to continue in times of acute crisis.

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Refugee education policies for non-camp Syrian children in Turkey epitomises a blend of the two approaches detected through an analysis of the response to crisis in education evolving from an emergency response to one that takes long-term integration into consideration with certain privileges for Syrian children in public education. The fact that the current crisis has turned into a protracted refugee situation leaving the refugees in an intractable state of limbo in its fifth year makes policies for education provision for Syrian refugees a dilemma. In fact, providing education for Syrian refugees in host communities has been a challenging and complex enterprise for Turkey. Considering only less than half of the registered Syrian children are enrolled in schools, and that their number drop dramatically at the higher grades of education to the detriment of the girls, there is a big education dimension of the refugee crisis that is not easy to be overcome due to the institutional and structural problems in the Turkish education system and the wider political context.

The making of education policies for Syrian children in Turkey had a dynamic character that went hand in hand with new legislations as a natural result of the critical junctures brought about by the changing nature of the Syrian refugee crisis. The main assumption overriding the making of education policies is that all Syrian refugees are Sunni Arabs. Indeed, there is no reference to the ethnic diversities among the refugees by the state in defining objectives in education to Syrian children. Another assumption is that all Syrian children will be repatriated to be the building blocks of a new Syria. In that context, the many Syrians willing to remain in Turkey have been ignored and thus there has been little effort to promote the integration of Syrian children until very recently.

The Turkish state's response to the education aspect of refugee crisis went through several phases from a period of neglect, failure and then efforts for effective management. Lacking predictability in its early stages, the Syrian refugee crisis in Turkey was characterised by ad hoc civil society responses; however, later on this crisis paved the way for permanent changes in legislation which also opens space for long term state-civil society cooperation.

While education policies for Syrian refugees have evolved over the last four years, shifting from an emergency response to one that takes the long-term concerns of protracted displacement that will lead to integration into Turkish national education system, the intention of the policy makers to increase cooperation with civil society in education provision for Syrian refugees has led to the emergence of a new paradigm in education provision. As was revealed through the document analysis in this research, the de facto role of civil society in education provision for Syrian children turned into de jure in the later phases of the crisis.

In order to situate the education dimension of the Syrian refugee crisis within the larger literature on refugee education between the problems of the developed and the developing world, I first examined migration policies in transition under the recent structural and legislative changes to migration management. These legislative changes were the result of a new immigration pattern involving displaced persons who do not have shared history, culture and language. The increasing number of immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers and irregular migrants arriving in Turkey recently, also has its repercussions on national education. Crossing into the territories of another state, the foreign children are processed in such a way that that they cannot have education based on citizenship. The foreign child becomes an object of (a) international human/child rights; (b) migration management; and (c) national education priorities. That is why Ministry of National Education has been one of the focal points or agents in the new migration management structure. In terms of immigration to Turkey, migration management in the education sector is clustered around (a) regular migration; (b) irregular migration; and (c) population movements to Turkey comprising people in need of protection: refugee and asylum seeker.[100] Syrian refugees, on the other hand, have a special status among all immigrants due to the foreign policy interests included

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[100] See 2014-2018 10th Development Plan Migration Special Report available at www.kalkinma.gov.tr accessed 10.06.2016

in the management of the Syrian crisis. Due to the scope and complexity of the crisis, education for non-camp Syrian children is specifically problematic, turning the issue a test case for the new migration management in Turkey. This thesis has offered an original contribution to the literature on the education of refugees by considering in detail the Syrian refugee crisis in Turkey with reference to the decentralising of state responsibilities for education provision for non-camp refugees by means of a variety of CSOs. A society with a long multicultural history faces problems that differ substantially from a multicultural society constantly fueled with new waves of immigrants (Niculescu 2015). Considering that Turkey has become the epitome for the latter as a new destination for migratory movements recently as well as the former historically comprising different ethnic minorities, education policies for all immigrant children, and specifically Syrian children, has wider repercussion for other ethno-lingual entities and Turkey as a nation-state established on a secular ideal.

As has been argued, the provision of education for non-camp refugees is related to the universal rights that inhere in migration policies but is also crucial for the following reasons. Education firstly ensures that displaced generations are equipped to rebuild their lives and communities: either in the host country, upon their repatriation or on resettlement to another country. Whether in new regions within their countries or in other countries, amid uncertainty about the future, refugees need skills and information to help them adjust to their new circumstances, integrate into communities and thrive. Disruption of education is likely to prove serious impediment to professional and economic growth of a generation of a nation who are expected to be the major building blocks of a new state and society. Second, educational absenteeism puts refugee children at a life-long disadvantage, hindering their chances of getting decent work and moving out of cycles of poverty. Social networks and support systems that normally protect children and young people erode in times of conflict and displacement; and thus children and young people become more exposed to exploitation if they remain out of school for a long time (Save the Children 2014). Third, and the most important for this study, education of refugees is the key element that eventually leads to

successful integration in cases when repatriation or resettlement are not among the options for the resolution of refugee problem. Education plays a crucial role in the integration process, being a key site in which both the host and incoming populations learn with, and about, one another (Hannah 2007). Education of refugees, as the potential citizens, is of great importance for any nation-state in creating the 'moral unity' and 'social stability' necessary for social cohesion and normative integration (Durkheim 2002). Moreover, schooling is significantly related to keeping individuals away from unlawful behavior (Sinclair 2001). More specifically, education plays a role in national security as a shield against recruitment of children and young people by terrorist organisations. In that respect, developing solid education policies for refugees is a critical issue not only for the refugee population and the international community but also for the national security of host countries like Turkey that faces power struggles between different regional, religious, sectarian, tribal and ethnic entities. Despite the fact that the Turkish state is responsible for education provision for Syrian children in accordance with the national and international legislation, the unprecedented scope of the crisis led to governance strategies in education giving weight to civil society. In that way, civil society is expected to fill the gaps in public education that is not sufficient to meet the needs of refugee children and the political interests of the Turkish state at the same time. There is little awareness in this context in national policy to the growing inequalities of educational access and inconsistencies of nation-building that emerge in this new, hybrid educational system.

The circumstances that hinder the integration of non-camp Syrian children into Turkish public education are comprised of three factors. First, there are legislative barriers for the registration of the undocumented refugees to public schools. Second, and more importantly, public education is overburdened due to insufficient funding causing the socio-economically disadvantaged compete for scarce resources. In the bordering cities like Kilis and several disadvantages suburbs in metropolitan cities, Syrian refugee numbers are as high as the indigenous population. Considering the overburdened public schools, it is hard to

accommodate Syrian children in the public education system, and even if they were to be accommodated this would be to the detriment of the citizen children who already compete for scarce resource and opportunities for better education opportunities. Integration into the public education system has long-term repercussions for the Syrian refugees in terms of economic empowerment, social cohesion and adaptation. Nonetheless, it also tests the limits of the capacity of public schools, especially in already disadvantaged regions where student/teacher and student/ classroom ratios already suffer from inequalities. In that sense, the presence of Syrian children in public schools challenges the ambitious educational agenda of the government to raise the quality of education all over Turkey to the detriment of welfare of Turkish citizens. Third, neither the national curriculum nor the human resources and teacher qualifications are sufficient to meet the needs of traumatized children who do not speak Turkish. Indeed, teachers are not equipped with experience and training to deal with the refugee child in the current teacher training system. In fact, the presence of Syrian children who do not speak the national language and do not have historical ties with Turkey in the education system tends to reveal and exacerbate the problems that have always been there within the Turkish education system itself (Davies 2004; 159). Considering there is no allocation from the national education budget for the refugee children, the shortfall, stems from insufficient funding for increasing institutional capacity and the fact that the current education system in Turkey does not allow education planning for the 'other', which in turn necessitates the involvement of civil society organizations. In that context, the civil society becomes a surrogate state undertaking the responsibilities of the state in a non-systematised or eclectic way. While the charity and voluntary organizations are seen as gap fillers in service provision, the sustainability of this system is questionable.

There are at least three broad political dynamics affecting the state–civil society relations with reference to the education policy making for Syrian refugees: the first one is the increasing *neo-liberalization* in education sector in Turkey. In the neo-liberal service, the role of CSOs in education provision can be linked to the shrinking of the state in service

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provision, in which the state apparatus takes on a primarily managerial role. Cooperation between the state and civil society in education provision for Syrian refugees can in this context be described as a symbiotic one. CSOs are seen as subsidiaries that fill the service gap of the state institutions until the state develops the capacity to manage the issue. Indeed, it is a symbiotic relationship brought about by mutual interests that tends to favor the state rather than the CSO in relieving the financial burden of the refugees. In this case, CSOs are seen as subsidiaries to the state institutions in the shadow of the dwindling of equally distributed resources to the detriment of the socioeconomically disadvantaged Syrian and Turkish children.

The other dynamic is the increasing *neo-conservatism*. Giving weight to faith-based civil society in education provision for Syrians children reflects the general tendency in education to decentralise education in line with a neo-conservatism that controls education through curriculum change in accordance with an ideological battle to create more 'religious generations'. Specifically, faith-based CSOs tend to be the preferred partners for the state during the Syrian refugee crisis to operate the TECs. This is a partly intended and partly unintended extension of the growing neo-conservatism in education. TECs as para-formal schools in a foreign curriculum and language have wider repercussions for the national character of education in Turkey with a secular ideal. Therefore, the hidden agendas, if any, of the CSOs in operating these schools is significant given the delicate political equilibrium in Turkey.

More generally, the CSOs that have that are willing to execute the Government agenda are perceived to provide a more convenient partnership for welfare services including education. In that context the Turkish state's relationship with the civil society in education provision for Syrian children is a selectively permeable or alternatively as 'passive-exclusive' one because the state opts for cooperating with CSOs that are perceived to be beneficial, obedient and reliable in terms of their ideologies. This is the natural consequence of the strong patrimonial attitude and weak distributive capacity of the Turkish state. While this attitude

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is criticized by some CSOs, some other see it as a favorable condition giving them a regulatory framework to work in cooperation with the state to achieve the objectives defined by the state.

Although the Ministry is told be open to partnerships with any CSO, a great deal of the cooperation so far during the refugee crisis has been held with faith-based humanitarian CSOs that have a similar agenda to the State in the governance of the refugee crisis. The stated purpose of these CSOs is to help the Muslim people in need. Indeed, analysis of the motivations of civil society organisations in educational provision for Syrian refugees revealed that a religious nationalist agenda based on Sunni Islam lies behind the educational response by the faith-based CSOs similar to that of the State. Considering the ethnic and religious differences among the Syrian refugees, however, such motivations are incompatible with cultural rights of refugees and the notion of a secular Turkish state.

While the Syrian refugee crisis leads to proliferation of non-state actors in education in general, it is important to note that there is not any single composition of civil societies involved in education for refugees; there are both secular and religious providers, as was underlined through a typology of CSOs early in this study. The fact that the Islamic humanitarian charity organizations and Syrian associations have a new role as direct education providers is a critical aspect of the response to Syrian refugee crisis and also for the changing and widening the role of civil society in education.

The involvement of Syrian associations is also linked to the third dynamic of state-civil society relations that can be defined as the *political interests* in maintaining the cultural bonds of Syrian children with their homeland. The integration of Syrian children into current public education system is likely to lead to assimilation. Indeed, maintaining the cultural and linguistic characteristic of Syrian children born in Turkey five years into crisis is not easy to realize through the existing public education structure that lacks both the legislation and capacity to provide multicultural curriculum. Furthermore, there is the great influence of the

Syrian political elite in Turkey on the refugee education policies who work as an education authority via the Syrian CSOs. In fact, Syrian political society in diaspora as a new civil society is very influential in the formation of education policies for Syrian refugees in Turkey.

As this dissertation has argued, civil society is paradoxically divided in terms of approaches to refugee education between education for repatriation and education for integration along with the methods utilized. While the presence of faith-based Turkish and Syrian CSOs providing education for Syrian children though para-formal schools has deeper political and ideological undertones, the issue based/professional international and national CSOs on the other hand are focused on creating social cohesion by bringing the socioeconomically disadvantaged host and refugee communities together. The main focus is on teaching Turkish to the Syrian children and young people and providing vocational education that takes gender equality into consideration in the education programs and content.

It can be inferred that social cohesion and development is among the motives of many issue-based CSOs; however, in addition there are CSOs that are motivated by profit making through operating temporary education centers, or schools in Syrian curriculum. This is a fact that widens the education gap for the more disadvantaged refugee children whose families cannot even afford the daily expenses of the children (which include transportation). According to the interviews conducted with the Ministry and Diyanet foundation, several private enterprises established civil associations to be eligible for support from the Ministry to open schools in Syrian curriculum. Although there is no data on their numbers, it is also a fact that there is no mechanism to prevent their presence while the number of Syrian CSOs is increasing every other day. While the statistics show an increase in schooling for refugees through TECs, it is likely that the more the child is socioeconomically disadvantaged, the less the chances that they will be reflected in the statistics. In that context, the broader question is to what extent the basic education policy settings work for Syrian children. Subject to a changing educational system based on new state-civil society relations, Syrian

children are prone to be subject to inequality in terms of educational opportunities. Indeed, as was detected recently by Aras and Yasun (2016), the majority of TECs do not provide uniforms to students and even the absence of uniforms can be a barrier that works to prevent a child's access to regular schooling. An approach in education based on charity and voluntarism, on the other hand, arguably will never solve the problem of inequality for refugee children and in fact relies on this problem in order to provide a service. As discussed in this dissertation, charity and voluntarism in education represents an approach that will at best stabilise and may actually worsen the structural gaps to the detriment of the disadvantaged populations like refugees.

It should be underlined that education is different from other forms of social service provision because of the unique way in which it represents 'not only a key citizenship entitlement, but also has a hegemonic influence and a unique capacity to shape the discourse relating to how individuals define themselves'; that is, the identities of educational actors. The methods used for the governance of the crisis through the decentralisation of responsibilities is very controversial considering the importance of education to create a democratic culture that enables different cultures to live together while the nation state maintains its existence. The legitimacy of the Turkish state as the primary entity that establishes the goals, content, credentials and materials of public schooling while also regulating key features of the system's administration seems to have eroded in the context of the new education provision for displaced Syrian children.

Recent Turkish history would suggest that the transformation of education initiatives by faith based non-state actors has not addressed or may have exacerbated national security threats. Turning a blind eye to the presence of non-state education institutions for Syrians may not be the correct policy choice for the current circumstances. Instead of opening a space for the CSOs for education provision, the argument of this thesis is that the limits of neo-liberalism and neo-conservativism both need to be addressed in the educational space. Raising the capacity of the public education system through new funding and structural changes seems

required in order to improve the capacity of education institutions as well as the qualifications of the teachers. Meeting the needs of refugees as a new cultural and linguistic diversity introduced into Turkey should rather be considered as a long-term education policy—despite the difficulties involved and the tension this creates in relation to neo-liberal and conservative policies. Educational responses to asylum-seeking and refugee children, the ways in which their needs and rights are perceived, the support offered to them, and the way teachers and schools define their responsibility towards them, should be integral to the promotion of social justice rather than the ideological and political interests of the ruling elite. However, in Turkey, education policies for Syrian refugees tend to be influenced by political and ideological motives rather than the minimum standards defined by the international law or refugees' educational needs and aspirations. This is evident in state-civil society relations in terms of education provision for refugees. A significant example of the state-civil society cooperation was in preparation of a revised Syrian curriculum and course books for Syrian refugee children that would also reflect the interests of Turkish government regarding a Syria without Assad in partnership with the Syrian civil society. In that respect, the assumption that refugee children would be the buildings stones of a new Syria in accordance with the political interest of the Turkish government was an important motive underlying educational policies for Syrians.

The repercussions of the Syrian refugee crisis for the role of civil society is not limited to the national framework. First of all, the involvement of international governmental/non-governmental organisations in Turkey as intermediaries between international donors and national CSOs has led to the proliferation of national CSOs working in the field of education for refugees. (It is important to note that the conditions are less favorable for international CSOs; they are not welcomed if they are suspected to be political organisations, spies or Christian missionaries. Initially they were not granted accreditation, and that is why most of these organisations opted for having national partners.) Secondly, international organisations transferred their expertise to develop the capacity of national CSOs. Indeed, many CSOs

benefited from this partnership. However, the future of the partnership of national or local CSOs may not be sustainable as it depends on the sustainably of foreign donations. Indeed, at the time this dissertation was being finalized, several international CSOs operating in Hatay were being investigated due to alleged fraud by USAid, the US government's foreign aid arm. This investigation resulted in US funding of various international agencies being partly suspended in May 2016, which created barriers for local CSOs partnering with international organisations.[101]

Most of the CSOs have an emergency aid scheme rather than a sustainable funding system to provide their education, which diminishes long-term prospects and strategies. With the emergency reflex, the main motive of the involvement of most CSOs in education provision is to make up for the lost school periods for Syrian students. The sustainability of educational services provided by such CSOs is questionable for two reasons. First, most of the CSOs tend to be service providers as contractors to international and binational financial donor agencies. Secondly, the existence of CSOs are not institutional and do generate sustainable financial sources but are based on voluntary work and charity.

The roles of CSOs can be summarized as, operating TECs, renovation and refurbishment of double-shifted schools, providing teachers incentives, preparing, publishing and distributing educational materials, providing financial support to families, providing Turkish language courses and vocational trainings, providing transportation and finally education dimension of cross-border relief operations. In this context, credit should be given for their role in education provision. Nonetheless, education for refugees cannot be dealt solely by civil society attempts. Letting the civil society provide education by means of a biased decentralisation and thus keeping Syrian children out of the public education system brings

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[101] 'Goal fires staff in Turkey after inquiry into Syrian aid contracts' in the Irish Times available at http://www.irishtimes.com/news/politics/goal-fires-staff-in-turkey-after-inquiry-into-syrian-aid-contracts-1.2645976#.V69kjHe9WrY.facebook, accessed 01.06.2016

about little prospects for creating joint values for refugee children with the rest of Turkish society. Given the aim of education for social cohesion, public education should be provided for all regardless of ethnic, racial or socioeconomic differences through state institutions. Once access is ensured, equity and quality are also vital areas that need to be addressed by the Turkish state. Dealing with refugee children is a challenge that needs to be surmounted through developing teacher skills. The war experiences of these children requires experienced and qualified staff capable of dealing with traumatic children.

National education priories entails issues of national identity and has a strong association with national cohesion in Turkey. Turkey's modern education system tried to build social cohesion with limited reference to cultural diversity. To promote homogenization, Turkish-nation state used primarily language (Turkish as the official common language and language of instruction), religious-national values and a centralised school system and unified school curricula. Despite recent policy changes in accordance with EU harmonization process, central education planning disregarding the ethnic and cultural diversities in Turkish society persists in the Turkish national education system; the most important barrier to changing the educational system is the insistence on the ban on mother tongue education due to political concerns about the national unity. If the Syrian children are to be incorporated into public education, a significant question is how to keep the cultural and linguistic identities of Syrian children and young people alive in the current national education system given that they are expected to be the building blocks of a new Syria. In that sense, the necessity of a multicultural curriculum in Turkey reiterates itself.

The educational policy of the Turkish government therefore faces a significant dilemma, the need for a restructuring of public education to provide equal opportunities for all the children in a manner that also addresses cultural differences. The argument that immigrants should take on board the common political culture (the minimum cultural common denominator) for their integration but resist giving up their particular cultural ways of life addresses what should be the definition of integration. National education in this context should address a

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new social existence that involves the discovery of the student as an individual, of each situation and of individual lives: an education that searches the acceptance and reception of the other culturally different. The knowledge and appraisal of the culture of the others (traditions, customs, language, etc.) will favour, although not necessarily bring about, coexistence among individuals and the acceptance of the 'other'. It should fundamentally be an education towards welcoming and recognising the other and his/her own specific circumstances; this involves the development of a new ethic of hospitality. Education should have as a purpose the development of a shared understanding about why the other has left their homeland, their families, and their roots. This can have practical implications for a nation-state regarding the allocation of resources as well as more conceptual implications regarding models of integration and national identity.

Changing regulations in the education of Syrian refugees are likely to prioritize three areas: (a) physical infrastructure; (b) teacher qualifications; (c) educational curricula and materials for integration. Development of physical infrastructure depends widely on the financial resources; meanwhile, teacher qualifications and education content for refugees pose a greater challenge in the nation-state. Teaching content development is a necessary step for a fully-fledged integration of Syrian children into Turkish national education system. However, education content in another language for another 'nation' is contradictory to the 'national' education system considering the nation-state practice dictating Turkish language and culture as the indispensable elements of public education. Given the thin line between a "parasite" and "guest", to prevent a generation of Syrians being treated as parasites in Turkish territories, there should be an emphasis on full integration into the "host" society. Their acceptance or shared participation in language of hospitality can only be realized through public education and employment rights, and not in isolation from general society. It should be underlined that children develop throughout their life in relation to the various systems to which they belong. The 'atypical conditions' brought about by displacement arguably interfere with the development of the child. The creation of supportive structures

to ease the adaptation and acculturation process of the refugee child in their new ecosystems should be considered by Turkish policy-makers as one of the primary purposes of education.

The absolute objective of integrating all the Syrian students into the Turkish education system is likely to necessitate the integration of Syrian teachers into the system through formal employment; but considering the number of teachers already working for TECs and the discontent it will create among these teachers, this should be handled gradually. There are several obstacles for the realization of that aim. Firstly, the employment of Syrian teachers will create more popular discontent in the shadow of millions of Turkish graduates waiting to be appointed as a teacher. Secondly, Syrian teachers need to be trained to learn Turkish first, which requires extra time and financial sources. Last but not the least, it is almost impossible to accredit these teachers due to the fact that Syrian universities have not been recognized by Turkish authorities and that as refugees, most of the Syrian teachers naturally have not brought their diplomas along with them. Even the credibility of the existing documents is questionable considering war conditions that eroded all formal channels and left a huge bureaucratic gap filled only with corruption. Thus, how the Turkish authorities can solve this issue is a matter of concern.

This thesis has tackled a complex phenomenon that is still in progress and incredibly complicated in scope and enormous in scale. Considering that Turkey is still arriving at terms of an agreement with EU to solve the refugee crisis, it is clear that further attempts to raise access to education for Syrian children will follow. The failure to address the education needs of the Syrian refugees effectively on a policy level could lead to detrimental long-term effects for both Turkish state and society as well as Syrian refugees themselves. Accordingly, unless the centrally governed education system is reformed to address the changing immigration patterns, education provision for Syrian refugees will remain as a dilemma. This paradox will ultimately reveal the efforts of current state and civil society organizations to close the education gap of Syrian refugees as futile.

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The scope of the research in this dissertation was limited to education provision for non-camp refugee children. Considering new and emerging trends, however, for example that eleven percent of all state university students in Turkey were Syrian young people in 2015, more questions can be raised about the relation between the welfare state for citizens and tertiary education during mass refugee influxes; this is only one educational trend that should be the subject of further studies.[102] This dissertation is a reference point for the continuing examination of new and larger contexts for refugee education. It has examined and identified the increasing role of civil society in education under the shadow of a nation state that is responsible for meeting the great challenge of providing services to both its citizens and refugees at the same time.

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[102]http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/some-5600-syrians-enrolled-at-turkeys-universities-afad.aspx?pageID=238&nid=99085 accessed 10.09.2016

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTERNATIONAL LEGAL DOCUMENTS ESTABLISHING A FRAMEWORK

FOR THE PROTECTION OF REFUGEE CHILDREN

International Legal Documents	Rights Envisaged
The Universal Declaration Of Human Rights (1948)	- Right to life (3) - Human rights and basic principles of human dignity (1) - Non-discrimination: prevention of segregation based on race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, or property (2) - Prohibition of Slavery, torture and inhuman treatment (4.5) - Freedom of movement (13) - Asylum right (14) - Nonrefoulment (33) - Education
Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960)	- Elimination of all forms of discrimination in education (1.3) - Equality of opportunity in education (4) - Ensuring the right to non-citizens the same education provided to citizens (3)
The United Nations Convention on Civil and Political Rights (1966)	- the prohibition of slavery and the slave trade (8) - Prohibition of forced labour (8) - Prohibition of discretionary detention (9) - Freedom to travel (12) - Procedural safeguards against the deportation of foreigners (13) - Trial of minors in accordance with the need for rehabilitation (14)

International Legal Documents	Rights Envisaged
The United Nations Convention on Civil and Political Rights (1966) (continued)	• Freedom of association and assembly (21, 22) • Entitlement to protection measures required by the status of minority for every child without discrimination based on race, colour, sex, language, religion, national or social origin, property, birth, (24)
The United Nations International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966)	• For the benefit of the interest of all children and young people, taking special protection and support measures, protection against economic and social exploitation and employment at hazardous works, age limit for paid work (10)
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women	• Ensuring gender equality • The elimination of human trafficking (6) • Ensuring gender equality in the field of education (10) • Prohibition of Forced marriages and child marriages (16) • Detection of the minimum age of marriage (16) • Equality of personal and parental rights in marriage (16)
European Convention on Human Rights	• The minimum age of marriage - the prohibition of child marriage (12) • Protocol 1 to ensure the right to education (2) • Protocol 4 the prohibition of expulsion of foreigners massively (4)
European Union Charter of Fundamental Rights	• Asylum right in accordance with 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol (18) • Assuring the UN children's rights once again (24)

International Legal Documents	Rights Envisaged
United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and additional Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime	• Declaration human trafficking as crime • Prohibition of the exposure of children to trafficking
Council of Europe Convention on Protection of Children against Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse	• Protecting the rights of all children exposed to sexual exploitation and abuse (1,2) • Awareness and training of staff dealing with these children (5)
ILO Convention concerning Medical Care and Sickness Benefits 1969 (No. 130)	• Minimum work age as 15 • The elimination of child labour
ILO Convention concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999 (No. 182)	• Defines and prohibits exploitation of Children in prostitution, pornography, and drug smuggling as the worst forms of child labor (3) • Elimination of forms of work threatening, health and security of the Children

Source: Retrieved from Topcuoglu (2012)

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APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Değerli Katılımcı;

Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Sosyoloji Bölümünde doktora çalışmalarımı yürütüyorum. Doktora çalışmam krizin başladığı 2011 yılından bu yana Türkiyede Suriyeli mültecilerin eğitimine yönelik eğitim politikalarını ve bu çerçevede sivil toplum kuruluşlarının rollerini anlamayı hedeflemektedir. Çalışmamda bu süreçte eğitim alanında yapılan düzenlemeleri ve bu çerçevede eğitimde devlet-sivil toplum ilişkisini analiz ediyorum. Bu çalışma yalnızca bilimsel amaçlı kullanılacak ve isimleriniz anonim tutulacaktır. Bu çalışma için zaman ayırdığınız icin teşekkür ederim.

GÖRÜŞME SORULARI

Kurumsal Yapı;

1. Vizyonunuz ve misyonunuz nedir?
2. Tarihsel gelişiminiz ve şimdiki kurumsal yapınız hakkında bilgi verebilir misiniz?
3. Hedef kitleniz kimdir?
4. Kuruluşununuz Türkiye'deki faaliyet alanları nelerdir?
5. Örgütsel sorunlar yaşadığınızı düşünüyor musunuz? Varsa sorunlarınız hangi alanlarda ortaya çıkıyor?
    - a.) Katılım
    - b) Karar alma süreçleri
    - c.) Verimlilik
    - d.) Etkinlik / İşlevsellik
    - e.) Örgütsel kapasite / İnsan kaynakları
    - f.) Örgüt içi çatışma / Katılım süreksizliği
    - g.) Diğer
6. Faaliyetlerinizin finansmanında kullandığınız kaynaklar nelerdir? Ne gibi sorunlarla karşılaşıyorsunuz?

Sivil Toplum- Devlet İlişkilileri (Genel)

7. Türkiye'de sivil toplum-devlet arasında nasıl bir ilişki olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz? Bu ilişki değişmekte midir? Neden?
8. Kurumunuzun devletle olan ilişkisini nasıl tanımlarsınız? Devlet kurumları ile işbirliği içinde misiniz? İşbirliği içinde iseniz, işbirliği hangi alanlardadır?
9. Kayıt ve bürokratik gereklilikler faaliyetlerinizi nasıl etkiliyor?

Suriyeli Mülteciler ve Eğitim

Sivil Toplumun Rolü

10. Suriyeli Mültecilerin eğitimi alanında sivil toplumun rolünü nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?

11. Bir sivil toplum kurulusu olarak ilk ne zaman neden ve nasıl eğitim alanında çalışmaya başladınız?

12. Eğitim alanında Suriyelilere yardım amaçlı kurumsal stratejiniz ve araçlarınız nelerdir? Bu alanda ne gibi faaliyetleriniz bulunmaktadır?

> Eğitim dili nedir? Neden?
>
> Hangi müfredat takip edilmektedir? Neden?
>
> Hangi ders kitapları kullanılmaktadır? Neden?
>
> Haftada kaç saat nasıl bir eğitim verilmektedir?
>
> Eğitim için nasıl mekânlar kullanılmaktadır? Sınıflar kaç kişiliktir?
>
> Öğretmenlerin uyruğu nedir? Neden?

13. Sizin entegrasyon ve geri dönüş ve bu bağlamda eğitim konusunda ne gibi öngörünüz vardır?

14. Suriyeliler ve eğitim alanında çalışan STK'lar arasındaki ilişkiler konusunda neler söyleyebilirsiniz? Bu alanda Türkiye'de ulusal düzeyde bir sivil toplum ortaklığından söz etmek mümkün mü? Sizce Türkiye'de bu alanda çalışan STK'ların birbirleriyle ilişkileri nasıldır? Nasıl olmalıdır?

Devletle İlişkiler

15. Suriyeli mültecilerin eğitimi sorunu ekseninde devlet-sivil toplum ilişkilerini nasıl görüyorsunuz? İşbirliğini engelleyen ya da kolaylaştıran faktörler nelerdir? Sizin bu alanda devlet ile işbirlikleriniz ne boyuttadır? Bu iş birliği ne boyutta olmalıdır?

16. Sivil toplum kuruluşlarının uzun vadede Suriyelilere eğitim alanında rolü ne olmalıdır? Devlet nasıl bir rol üstlenmelidir?

Uluslararası Kuruluşlar

17. Suriyeli mültecilerin eğitimi sorunu ekseninde uluslararası kuruluşlar-sivil toplum ilişkilerini nasıl görüyorsunuz? İşbirliğini engelleyen ya da kolaylaştıran faktörler nelerdir? Sizin bu alanda uluslararası kuruluşlar ile işbirlikleriniz ne boyuttadır? Bu iş birliği ne boyutta olmalıdır?

Zorluklar

18. Suriyeli mültecilerin eğitimi konusunda karşılaştığınız güçlükler nelerdir? (erişim sağlanması, mali sorunlar, algı, insan kaynakları vs.)

Toplumsal cinsiyet ve sınıf

19. Suriyeli mültecilerin eğitiminindi toplumsal cinsiyet dengesinin korunması sizin için ne kadar önemlidir? Bunun için özel bir programınız var mi? sizce kadınların ve kızların eğitimine engel olan faktörler nelerdir? Bu faktörler Türkiye'nin var olan toplumsal cinsiyet sorunlarından farklı mıdır?

20. Suriyelileri Türkiye'de yeni bir toplumsal sınıf olarak nasıl tanımlarsınız? Eğitimin sosyal ve kültürel boyutu düşünüldüğünde Suriyeliler nasıl bir konumdalar?

CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION
Surname, Name: McCarthy, Aslihan
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EDUCATION
- Ph.D. Middle East Technical University, Turkey, Sociology, Ankara 2016
- M.Sc, Middle East Technical University, Turkey, Middle East Studies, Ankara 2007
- B.A, Hacettepe University, Faculty of Letters, American Culture and Literature, Ankara 2003
- Sirri Yircali Anatolian High School, Balikesir, 1999

WORK EXPERIENCE
- Research Assistant, Monash University, Border Crossing Observatory, Victoria, Australia, December 2015-May 2016
- Internship, UNICEF, Ankara, February- May 2015
- Internship, Save the Children-Jordan, Amman, September- November 2014
- Administrator, DG for EU and External Affairs, Ministry of National Education, Ankara, November 2011- March 2014
- Project Expert, Project Coordination Center, Ministry of National Education, Ankara, December 2010- November 2011
- Project Coordinator, Sanliurfa Governorship, Sanliurfa, March 2009- November 2010
- Teacher, Ministry of Education, Gaziantep/Şanlıurfa, September 2008-March 2009
- Teacher, (Part Time) Markaz al Birunee, Kuwait, February- August 2008
- Teacher, Deulcom International English Language School, Ankara, 2005- 2007

SCHOLARSHIPS AND AWARDS
- Awarded Overseas Ph.D. research scholarship by The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TUBITAK), 2014
- Awarded Palestinian-Turkish Friendship Scholarship, 2014
- Awarded letter of appreciation by Sanliurfa Governorate, 2010
- Awarded scholarship by Kuwait University, 2007-2008
- Awarded scholarship to study Arabic Language in Syria and in Egypt, 2004-2005.

CERTIFICATES
- Qasid Arabic Institute, Amman, Advanced Arabic Studies, September-December 2014
- Birzeit University, West Bank, Palestinian and Arabic Studies, June-August 2014

- University of Cambridge CELTA (Certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages), 2006.
- Kuwait University, Kuwait, Program for Arabic Language, and Islamic Culture 2007-2008
- Damascus University, Syria, Intermediate Arabic, 2004-2005

PUBLICATIONS

Tezel, A & A. Gunduz (2014). "Religionsundervisning i Tyrkia", in *Religion og Livssyn* No. 2 (Religious Education in Turkey in Religion and Spritualty 2014 No.2 available at www.religion.no)

Tezel, A. (2007). Global Tendencies, Local Implications: The Role of International Organisations in the West Bank and Gaza, 1993-2003, Middle East Technical University, Institute of Social Sciences, MSc. Thesis, Ankara

TRAINING

- "Ensuring quality education for every Syrian young person" workshop organized by University of Oxford, Refugee Studies Center, 19-20 September 2014, Amman Jordan.
- "Social Policy for Overseas Turks" workshop by Ministry of Family and Social Policies, 28-29 May 2013, Istanbul Turkey.
- "Latin America" workshop organized by Ankara University and TIKA, 22-23 November 2012, Ankara Turkey.
- Holocaust Education training by International School for Holocaust Training at Yad Vashem, 8-12 June 2012 Jerusalem, Israel
- Preparation of Grant Application Guide" training by Ministry of Labor and Social Security 12-14 July 2011, Ankara
- Preparation of Terms of Reference (ToR) in accordance with EU Service Standards training by Ministry of Labor and Social Security, 18-19 April 2011, Ankara
- "EU Education and Youth Seminars" by MoNE, 8-12 November 2012
- Project Cycle Management in EU training by MoNE Project Coordination Center, 12-15 July 2010, Ankara
- Project Cycle Management training by Karacadag Development Agency, 10-11 April 2010, Şanlıurfa

LANGUAGE SKILLS

Turkish, mother tongue

English, fluent;

Arabic (Standard) fluent; Good at Syrian/Palestinian/Jordanian colloquials;

German, working knowledge

Persian, basic.

TÜRKİYE'DE KAMP DIŞI SURİYELİ ÇOCUKLAR İÇİN EĞİTİM SAĞLANMASINDA DEVLET-SİVİL TOPLUM İLİŞKİSİNİ ANLAMAK

2016 yılı itibarıyla Türkiye 3 milyon Suriyeli misafir etmektedir. Bu Suriyelilerin yüzde doksanı kamp dışında çeşitli şehirlerde dağınık yaşamaktadırlar ve yarıya yakını çocuklardan oluşmaktadır. Bu minvalde Suriyeli mülteci krizinin büyük bir eğitim boyutu vardır. Politika düzeyinde bu çocukların eğitimi konusunda sorumluluk Milli Eğitim Bakanlığına aittir. Görünürde çeşitli seviyelerde 'kayıp nesil' in önlenmesi için büyük bir çaba harcanmaktadır ancak 'dezavantajlı grup' olarak adlandırılan bu çocuklar halen mülteci ailelerine gelir sağlamak için yetişkin rolleri üstlenmekte ve Türkiye'de var olan çocuk işçiliği ve erken evlilik problemini arttırmaktadırlar.

Sorunun Tanımı ve Çalışmanın Amacı

Bir insan hakkı olarak eğitimin, içinde bulunduğumuz zorunlu göç çağında, vatandaş çocuklarla sınırlanamayacağı açıktır. Durumlarından bağımsız olarak çocuklar, daha iyi yaşam fırsatları için okul sistemine dahil edilmelidir. Ulusal ve uluslararası yasal çerçevede çocuklara eğitim sağlamakla yükümlü iken, Türk devleti çok sınırlı sayıda Suriyeli çocuğa eğitim sağlamaktadır. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı (MEB) istatistiklerine göre Suriye çocukların okullaşma oranı artmış olsa da, ancak bu çocukların yüzde dokuzu milli eğitim sistemine dahil edilmiştir. Kız çocuklarının ve orta seviyede eğitime katılım oranları son derece düşükken, Suriyeli çocukların yaklaşık yüzde yirmisi sivil toplum kuruluşları (STK) tarafından işletilen ve revize edilmiş Suriye müfredatında Arapça eğitim veren okullara devam etmektedir. Ayrıca sayıları bilinmemekle birlikte kar amaçlı Suriye okulları da mevcuttur.

Devlet eğitim sisteminin daha önce görülmemiş sayıdaki, milli dili konuşamayan, etnik olarak farklı, devletle sınırlı tarihi bağı bulunan ve sosyo-ekonomik açıdan dezavantajlı,

travmaya maruz kalmış bir nüfusa eğitim hizmetleri sunmaktaki başarısızlığı, milli eğitimde artan neo-liberal ve muhafazakâr politikalarla paralel olarak devlet dışı aktörlere ağırlık verilmesine yol açmaktadır. İnsani yardım odaklı ve dini inanç temelli ve de Suriyeliler tarafından kurulan STK'ların, başka bir müfredatta ve dilde eğitim vermelerinin laik bir anlayışla sosyal eşitlik ve milli bütünlük amacıyla kurulmuş olan Türk milli eğitim sistemi için daha geniş yankıları vardır. Devlet yerine sivil toplum kurumlarının kullanılması, Suriyelilere vatandaşlık verilmesinin tek çözüm olarak görüldüğü bir dönemde okullaşmanın vatandaş yaratmak üzerindeki etkisini gündeme getirir. Sivil toplum çabalarının eğitime erişimi arttırması muhtemelken, Suriyeli çocukları ortak siyasi kültür oluşturmak ve değişik kültürel ve ideolojik bireylerin bir arada yaşaması için yeniden yapılandırılmış bir kamu eğitim sistemi içerisine dahil edememek toplumsal bütünlüğü engeller.

Literatürde son dönemde Türkiye'nin de içinde bulunduğu ev sahibi ülkelerde Suriyeli mültecilerin eğitim sorunlarını ortaya koyan çok sayıda çalışmaya rastlansa da mülteciler için eğitimde devlet sorumluluğunun dağıtılmasının Türkiye'de eğitim öncelikleriyle hangi ölçüde örtüştüğünü inceleyen bir çalışma yoktur. Bu minvalde, bu çalışma kamp dışı Suriyeli çocuklar için eğitim politikalarını masaya yatırmakta ve mülteci eğitimde devlet sivil toplum ilişkilerini, STK'ların Suriyeli çocukların eğitimdeki rollerini, kapasitelerini ve amaçlarını göz önüne alarak sivil ve devlet kurum temsilcileri ile yapılan mülakatlar ve doküman incelemesi ile anlamaya çalışmaktadır

Bu tez Suriyeli çocuklar için eğitim politikalarını devletin eğitiminde küçülen rolüne atıfla Türkiye'deki ideolojik-politik çerçevede tartışmaktadır. Buna göre, Türkiye'de milli eğitim sistemi içinde statükoyu etkileyen sosyal ve politik dinamikleri ve Suriyeli mülteciler için eğitim sağlanmasında sivil toplumun rolünü eleştirel bir şekilde incelemektedir. Kamplarda yaşayan çocuklar araştırmanın kapsamı dışındadır. Bu araştırma kentsel ortamlardaki mülteciler için eğitim sağlanması için alınan önlemlerle ilgilidir. Geniş anlamda bu çalışma, Suriyeli mülteci krizi boyunca eğitim sektöründe yönetişim stratejilerini aydınlatmaya çalışır. Daha spesifik olarak, bu çalışmanın amacı, Suriyeli mülteciler için eğitim politikalarını ve bu politikaların sonuçlarını şekillendiren

politika yapıcıların varsayımları da dahil olmak üzere önemli parametreleri ortaya koymaktır.

Bu tezin ana tartışlarından biri mülteciler için eğitimin tarafsız değil siyasi olduğudur. Bu eğitim milli kimlikle ilgili siyasi amaçlar çerçevesinde ideolojik bir savaştır. Bu konuya devlet dışı aktörlerin katılması ise değişik aktörler arasındaki güç mücadelesini ve mülteciler için neyin geçerli bilgi olacağı konusunda sorunları ortaya koyar. Mülteciler için eğitim politikalarını şekillendiren farklı aktörler arasındaki güç ilişkilerine bakarak bu çalışma hem eğitim hem de eğitime desteğin politik ve ideolojik olduğunu vurgulamaktadır.

Sonuç olarak bu çalışmanın bir değil birkaç bağlantılı odak noktası vardır. Milli eğitim sistemde mülteciler için eğitiminin zorlukları ve bu zorlukların devlet-sivil toplum ilişkileri için sonuçlarını ortaya sermek için göç yönetimi ve eğitim öncelikleri arasındaki bağ vurgulanmaktadır. Böylece bu çalışma mülteci politikaları ve eğitimin kavramsal anlayışının geliştirilmesine katkıda bulunmak için disiplinler arası bir yöntem sunar. Bu arka plan çerçevesinde esas araştırma sorusu şöyledir: Türkiye'de eğitim sektöründe devlet-sivil toplum ilişkileri üzerine Suriye mülteci krizinin etkileri nelerdir? Diğer bir soru ise şöyledir: Eğitim sektöründe mülteciler için sorumlulukların adem-i merkeziyeti eğitimde ne ölçüde Türkiye'nin ulusal önceliklerine tekabül eder?

Bu tez Suriyeli mültecilerin eğitim boşluğu ile başa çıkmak için devlet ve sivil toplum kuruluşları tarafından kullanılan mekanizmaları ele alırken, başka bir ilgili soru şudur: Suriyeli mülteci krizi milli eğitimde adem-i merkeziyetçilik ve çok kültürlü müfredat için ne ölçüde bir kritik dönemeçtir? Bu soruya net bir cevap belirsiz olmasına rağmen, bu çalışmada tek kültürlü eğitim içeriğine sahip bir merkezi eğitim yönetiminin, yeni bir kültürel ve dilsel çeşitliliğin eğitim ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak için kapasiteye sahip olmadığı tartışırken bazı konjonktürel cevaplar verilmektedir. Böylece çalışmanın esas argümanı, Türkiye çeşitli etnik ve dilsel arka plana sahip göçmenlerin varış noktası olarak bir değişim yaşarken devlet eğitim sisteminin bu farklılıkları göz önüne alarak kapasitesini geliştirdiği bir yeniden yapılanmaya ihtiyaç duyduğudur. Bu değişiklikler

hayat bulmadığı sürece STK'lara ihtiyaç duyulacaktır ki bu Türkiye'de vatandaşlık ve kamu eğitimi dinamiklerinin sorgulanmasına neden olacaktır.

Çalışmanın önemi

Türkiye Suriye krizi öncesinde de farklı kitlesel göç akımlarının maruz kalmıştır ancak bu göçlerin eğitim sektörüne etkisi şu iki nedenden sınırlı olmuştur; a) 1960'lardaki Bulgaristan Türkleri gibi Türkiye'ye tarihsel ve kültürel bağları olan mültecilerin entegrasyonu kolay olmuştur; b) düzensiz ve dağınık göçmenler belgelerin eksikliği nedeniyle eğitim sisteminin dışında bırakılmıştır. 1990larda Körfez Savaşı ile gelen Kürt mülteciler coğrafi olarak sınırlı ve geçici idi ve yine eğitime sorun teşkil etmemişti. Suriye krizi ile gelen çocuk sayısı ise göz ardı edilemeyecek kadar büyüktür ve de kriz kronik hale gelmiştir. Bu tarz bir göç, entegrasyonu veya mümkün olması halinde geri dönüşü hızlandıracak sağlam eğitim politikalarını gerektirmektedir. Suriye mülteci krizinin daha önce görülmemiş boyutu ve doğası ve bunun Türkiye'deki eğitim sistemine etkileri bu çalışmanın yapılması için itici güç olmuştur.

Türkiye'deki yaklaşık 3 milyon Suriyeli mülteci ülke nüfusunun sadece yaklaşık yüzde 3'ünü oluşturmaktadır ki bu da Lübnan ve Ürdün gibi ülkelerdeki mülteci/yerli nüfus oranının çok altındadır. Bütün mülteci misafir eden ülkeler mülteci çocukların eğitimi için stratejiler geliştirse de, mülteciler için eğitim politikaları Türkiye için özellikle paradoksaldır (düşük mülteci/yerli nüfus oranına rağmen) çünkü Mültecilerin çoğunun anadili Arapça ya da Kürtçedir ve anadili eğitimi Türkiye'de zaten oldukça tartışmalı bir konudur. Mülteci çocukların, Türk kimliği yaratmak amacıyla kültürel ve dilsel çeşitlilik ile başa çıkmak için yaratılmış halı hazırdaki eğitim sistemine entegrasyonları asimilasyona ya da en azından Suriye milli kimliğinin askıya alınmasına neden olacaktır. 2015'te 35.000 Suriyeli çocuğun Türkiye'de doğmuş olduğu göz önüne alınırsa yeni Suriye'nin yapı tasları olması beklenen bir neslin geleceği tartışmalıdır. Türkiye'de geçici statüye sahip oldukları için Suriyeli mültecilerin, kültürel, dilsel ve etnik karakterlerini Türkiye'de doğan ve bu ülkede okula başlayan gelecek nesillere aktarmak için bir araçları olmalıdır. Türk eğitim sisteminin milli karakteri Suriyelilerin Türkiye'ye entegrasyonu sırasında milli kimliklerini kaybetmeleri ikilemini ortaya çıkarmaktadır.

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Bu minvalde Türkiye'nin ev sahipliği ve misafir söylemi problemlidir zira ev sahipliği ev sahibinin ana dilinde formüle edilmekte ve misafirler ev sahibinin dilini konuşmaya mecbur bırakılmaktadırlar. Bu bağlamda misafirperverliğin dinamikleri oldukça çelişkilidir. Türk devleti Suriyeli mültecileri Türk toplumuna entegre etmek ve mültecilerin kendi kültür ve dillerini koruma ihtiyaçlarını gidermek arasında gidip gelmektedir. Bu çelişkinin eğitimde yönetişim için önemi bu araştırma için çıkış noktalarındandır ve de başka yerlerdeki mülteci eğitim politikalarına ışık tutması amaçlanmaktadır.

Ulus-devlet kavramı bu çalışmada sık sık anılmaktadır çünkü sadece mülteci hakları değil aynı zamanda eğitim de ulus-devlet ile bağıntılıdır. Küreselleşmenin modern ulus-devletlerin sonunu getirmekte olduğu iddia edilse de, ulus-devlet vatandaşlık için kabul edilebilir organizasyon birimi olmaya devam etmektedir. Aynı şekilde, OECD, UNESCO ve Dünya Bankası'nın görüşüne göre ulus-devlet, modern eğitim sisteminin merkezi örgütsel birimdir ve devlet sınırları ve vatandaşlık arasında silinmez bir bağlantı vardır. Bu bağlamda günümüzdeki mülteci krizi ortak kimliğin siyasi sınırlarla örtüştüğü ulus-devlete özgü bir krizdir. Türkiye topraklarında Suriyeli mülteci çocukların bulunması, eğitimi Türk ulus-devletinin devamlılığı ve sağlamlığı ile çatışmaya sokar zira vatandaş olmayan çocuklar eğitimin de dahil olduğu vatandaşlıkla belirlenen sivil hakları belirleyen normlara uymaz. İnsan hakları bazlı göç yönetimi milli kimlik ve vatandaşlık arasındaki bağı zayıflatmaktadır çünkü vatandaşın hakları vatandaş olmayana genişletilir. Bu yüzden, ulus devlete meydan okuyan şekilde Suriyeli çocukların Türkiye'de bulunulmasının Avrupa Birliği (AB) gibi ulus ötesi bir kuruma katılım tartışılırken daha büyük yankıları vardır. Suriye krizi AB'ye üyelik çerçevesinde göç ve eğitim alanında bir dizi önemli gelişme ile tesadüf etmektedir. Türkiye'de yakın zamanda AB'ye uyum çerçevesinde göç mevzuatı değiştirmiştir. Aynı zamanda eğitime erişim ve kalite, etnik azınlıkların eğitim hakları ile ilgili bazı düzenlemeler de AB'ye uyum çalışmaları çerçevesinde yapılmıştır. Bu bakımdan Suriyeli çocuklar için eğitim politikaları Türkiye'nin daha geniş anlamada eğitim gündemiyle de kesişmektedir.

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Suriyeli çocuklar için eğitim politikalarını takip etmek gecen on yılda Türkiye'de yaşanan tarihsel değişimlerin nereye varacağına ışık tutacaktır.

Çalışmanın Yöntemi

Bu çalışmanın literatür incelemesi araştırma probleminin öneminin belgelenmesine yardımcı olmuştur. Ancak literatürde bu araştırmadaki mevcut temaların geçmişte yapılan çalışmaların bulgularından ne derece ayrıştığını ya da bu bulgularla örtüştüğünü tartışmak için yeterli örnek bulunamamıştır. Bu, araştırma konusu olan olayın daha önce görülmemiş doğası ve ölçeğinden kaynaklanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda bu çalışma mülteci eğitimi üzerine mevcut literatürden Türkiye'de Suriye mülteci krizine müdahalede devlet ve sivil toplum kurumları üzerine iki aşamada yoğunlaşarak ayrılmaktadır. İlk aşamada devlet boyutu detaylı bir doküman analizi ile ele alınmaktadır. Aynı zamanda MEB ile görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiş ve e-postalarla alınan veriler de gerekli izinler alınarak bu aşamada kullanılmıştır. İkinci aşamada ise sivil toplum boyutu Türkiye'de Suriyelilerin eğitimi ile ilgili çalışmalar yürüten 12 STK ile derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Toplamda 15 mülakat gerçekleştirilmiştir. Kısaca bu araştırma daha fazla güvenirlik doğurmak için iki farklı yöntem kullanmaktadır. Böylece potansiyel önyargıları farklı yöntemlerle toplanan bilgi ve bulgularla azaltmaya çalışmaktadır.

Dokümanlar bir araştırmanın bağlamı hakkında bilgi vermektedir ve bu bilgiler araştırılan olayla ilgili şartları ortaya koyar. Doküman analizi de bir kurumun değişim ve gelişimini takip etmek için kullanılabilir. Doküman analizi ile fikirlerin kurumsallaşması da takip edilebilir ve de daha geniş kurumsal ve bağlamsal değişmeler içinde konumlandırılabilir. Aynı şekilde bu çalışmada Suriyeliler için eğitim politikaların bağlam ve içeriği incelenmektedir ve bu amaçla 2011-2016 yılları arasında Suriyeli mülteciler ile ilgili yayınlanmış hükümet belgeleri, kanunlar, yönetmelikler ve resmi haber ve açıklamalar incelenmiştir. Dolayısıyla dokümanların seçilmesi amaçsaldır. Özel ve genel olarak mülteci ve sığınmacıların eğitiminde Suriyelilerin eğitime atıf yapan politika belgelerini belirlemek amacıyla, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, İl Milli Eğitim Müdürlüklerine, AFAD, UNICEF, BMMYK, Uluslararası Göç Örgütü gibi ulusal ve uluslararası kurumların herkese açık olan web siteleri incelenmiştir.

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Bu çalışma, doküman analizini, incelenen olayı bağlamsallaştırmak ve eğitim politikaların nasıl düzenlendiğini eleştirel şekilde tanımlamak için kullanırken, yarı-yapılandırılmış görüşmeler sivil toplumun Suriyeli çocuklarının eğitimdeki rolünü ortaya koymak adına yapılmıştır. On iki STK eğitim sektörü temsilcileri, il programı koordinatörleri, uzmanlar ve kuruluşların başkanları ile on dört yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme yapılarak nitel veri toplanmıştır. Bu kuruluşlar Save the Children, Türk Eğitim Gönüllüleri Vakfı (TEGV), RET Uluslararası, Uluslararası Mavi Hilal (IBC), Yuva Derneği, Bülbülzade Eğitim Sağlık ve Dayanışma Vakfı, İnsani Yardım Vakfı (İHH), Aziz Mahmut Hüdai Vakfı, İltica ve Göç Araştırma Merkezi (IGAM), Adana İnsani Yardım Derneği (AYDER), Suriye Eğitim Komisyonu, Türk Diyanet Vakfıdır. Ayrıca bu çalışma, 'esnek', 'iteratif' ve 'sürekli' araştırma tasarımı kullanmıştır.

Çalışmaya Genel Bakış

Bu çalışmanın her bölümü münferit bir konu üzerinde dururken bütün bölümlerin argümanları tematik olarak çalışmadaki bütünsel analize katlı sağlamaya çalışmaktadır. Böylece bu çalışmanın girişten sonra ikinci bölümü araştırma yöntemleri ile başlamaktadır. Çalışma için kullanılan metotlar nitel araştırma teknikleri ile açıklanmaktadır. Çalışmanın sınırlılıkları ve etik kaygılar da bu bölümde ortaya koyulmuştur.

Üçüncü bölüm mülteciler için eğitimde devletin sorumlulukların adem-i merkeziyeti için bir kavramsal çerçeve oluşturmak amacıyla literatüre bakış niteliğindedir. Mülteciler için "acil durumlarda eğitim" konusuna odaklanan literatür artmasına rağmen, ulus-devlet bağlamında mülteci eğitim politikası oluşturulmasına odaklanan çok az akademik çalışma vardır. Mülteci eğitim politikalarına ışık tutmak için gelişmiş ve gelişmekte olan ülkeler üzerine yapılan çalışmalar ayrı ayrı incelenmiştir çünkü bu ülkelerin dinamikleri ve şartları birbirinden farklıdır. Türkiye'nin AB uyum sürecinde geçirdiği değişimler göz önüne alınarak bu bölümde AB bünyesinde mülteci eğitim politikalarına vurgu yapılmıştır. Bu bölümde özellikle kurumsal kararlar ele alınmakta ve de mülteci eğitim politikaların pedagojik kaygılardan ziyadene ne gibi ulus ve ulus üstü dinamiklerle ortaya çıktığı tartışılmaktadır. Bu yüzden bu bölüm aynı zamanda ulus-devlet ve vatandaşlık

konularına da değinmektedir. Bu bağlamda bu bölüm Türkiye'de sivil toplum ve mülteci eğitimi ilişkisini ortaya koyacak bir kavramsal çerçeve oluşturmaktadır.

Dördüncü bölüm vakayı Türkiye'nin mülteci krizine müdahalesindeki yasal ve tarihi çerçevede konumlandırmaya çalışmaktadır. Bu bölüm ilk olarak Türkiye'de mülteci ve sığınma politikalarının evrimi genel bir bakışla sunar. Daha sonra mülteci krizinin Türk devletine yansıması Suriye mülteci akınına detaylı bir bakışla sunulur. Krize müdahaleyi meşrulaştıran yasa ve düzenlemeler mülteci çocukların eğitim hakları ve eğitim sistemine entegrasyonları konusundaki yasal önlemlerin altı çizilerek incelenmiştir.

Araştırma, kavramsal ve tarihi çerçeve ardından iki ana analiz bölümü şeklinde düzenlenmiştir. Buna göre, beşinci bölümde politika belgelerinin analizi yoluyla Suriyeli mülteciler için eğitim politikalarının evrimi tartışılmıştır. Bu bölüm politika belgeleri, resmi beyanlar ve MEB uzmanları ile yapılan görüşmeler aracılığıyla devlet açısından mülteci krizinin eğitim boyutunu analiz eder. Politika dokümanları mülteciler ve yabancı öğrencilerle ilgili MEB genelgelerini, faaliyet planlarını, kanun ve yönetmelikleri kapsar. Bu dokümanlarla mülteci eğitiminde sivil toplumun rolünün fiili durumdan yasal çerçeveye geçişi üzerinde durulmaktadır. Bu bölüm Türk milli eğitim sistemi için krizin etkilerini, kamp-dışı Suriyeli mülteciler için eğitim politikalarını etkileyen faktörleri ve bu politikaların daha geniş etkilerini ortaya çıkarmaya çalışır.

Altıncı bölüm Türkiye'de eğitim ve sivil toplum ilişkisine genel bir bakış sunar ve de STK'lar tarafından sunulan eğitim hizmetlerini ve de kriz boyunca eğitim alanında yaşanan zorlukları analiz eder. Bu bölümde eleştirel biçimde devlet ve sivil toplum arasındaki ilişki incelenmektedir. Bu bölüm ayrıca sivil toplum kuruluşlarının bağlantılarını ve stratejileri tartışır ve yarı-yapılanmış görüşmeler yoluyla neden belli stratejilerin belli kurumlar tarafından geliştirildiğini bulmaya çalışır. Araştırmanın bu aşaması bizi mülteci krizi esnasında eğitim alanında devlet-sivil toplum ilişkilerini anlayama yöneltir.

Sonuç bölümü çalışmanın bulgularını içermektedir. Türkiye'de mülteci krizi sırasında sivil toplum kuruluşlarına verilen rolü ve eğitim politikasının temel özelliklerini özetlemektedir. Suriyeli mülteci krizinin Türkiye için neden paradoksal olduğu

vurgulanır ve mevcut politikaların Suriyeli mültecilerin bir kayıp nesil olmasını önleyebilir ve de sürdürülebilir olup olmadığı değerlendirir. Politika seçimleri ve mevcut müdahaleler devlet ve sivil toplum kuruluşlarının rolü üzerinde odaklanılarak ve Türkiye'de değişen göç paradigması ile tartışılmaktadır.

Araştırmanın Sonuçları

Türkiye'de Suriyeli çocuklar için eğitim politikaları, kriz durumunun değişen doğası gereği kritik kavşak noktalarının doğal bir sonucu olarak yeni mevzuatlar ile el ele dinamik bir karaktere sahiptir. Eğitim politikalarının yapımında ağır basan ana varsayım tüm Suriyeli mültecilerin Sünni Araplar olmasıdır. Nitekim devlet tarafından Suriyeli çocukların eğitiminde hedeflerin tanımlanmasında mülteciler arasında etnik farklılıklara yönelik hiçbir referans yoktur. Başka bir varsayım tüm Suriyeli çocukların dezavantajlı olduğu ve yeni bir Suriye'nin yapı taşları olarak geri dönecek olmalarıdır. Türkiye'de kalmaya istekli birçok Suriyeli de böylece görmezden gelinmiş ve bu nedenle çok yakın zamanlara kadar Suriye çocukların entegrasyonu için çok az çaba gösterilmiştir.

Beş yılda mülteci krizinin eğitim yönüne devlet müdahalesi ihmal, kapasite eksikliği ve etkin yönetim için çabadan oluşan birkaç aşamadan geçmiştir. Erken aşamalarında müdahale geçici devlet ve sivil toplum çabaları ile karakterize edilmiş, ancak daha sonra bu çabalar krizin kalıcılığı ilgili mevzuatta değişikliklere yol açılmıştır ve sivil toplumun rolü fiili durumdan sıyrılarak yasal çerçeveye oturmuştur. Dört yılda Suriyeli çocuklar için eğitim politikaları acil durum müdahalesinden Türk milli eğitimine entegrasyonu bir çözüm olarak öne çıkaran bir boyut alırken, politika yapıcıların sivil toplum ile eğitim konusunda iş birliğini arttırma niyetlerine birçok politika belgesinde yer verilmiş bu da sivil tolumun mülteci eğitimindeki fiili rolünü yasal hale getirmiştir.

Suriyeli mülteci krizinin eğitim boyutunu, gelişmiş ve gelişmekte olan dünya problemlerine atıfla daha geniş literatürde konumlandırabilmek için Türkiye'de göç yönetiminde son yapısal ve yasal değişiklikler ve göç politikalarına bu çalışma çerçevesinde göz atılmıştır. Türkiye'ye, tarih, kültür ya da dil paylaşmayan bir göç modeline doğru paradigma değişiminin sonucu olarak bu yasal değişikliklere ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır. Göçmen, mülteci, sığınmacı ve Türkiye'ye son dönemde gelen düzensiz

göçmenlerin sayısının artması, aynı zamanda milli eğitim üzerinde de yansımalara sahiptir. Başka bir devletin toprakları içine geçerek yabancı çocuklar, vatandaşlığa dayalı bir eğitim alamayacakları bir pozisyona girmektedirler. Bu nedenle, yabancı çocuk (a) uluslararası insan / çocuk hakları, (b) göç yönetimi ve (c) milli eğitim önceliklerinin bir nesnesi haline gelir. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı'nın yeni göç yönetim yapısında odak noktalardan biri olması bu nedenledir. Türkiye'ye göç açısından, eğitim sektöründeki göç yönetimi; (a) düzenli göç, (b) düzensiz göç ve (c) Türkiye korunmaya muhtaç insanları kapsayan nüfus hareketleri: mülteci ve sığınmacı olarak kümelenmiştir. Diğer taraftan Suriyeli mülteciler, Suriye krizinin yönetiminde yer alan dış politika çıkarları nedeniyle tüm göçmenler arasında özel bir statüye sahiptir. Krizin kapsam alanı ve karmaşıklığı nedeniyle, kamp-dışı Suriyeli çocukların eğitimi Türkiye'de yeni göç yönetimi için bir deneme vakasına dönen, özellikle sorunlu bir konudur. Bu tez, Türkiye'deki Suriyeli mülteci krizi detayında kamp dışı mülteciler için eğitim sağlanması için devlet sorumluluklarının çeşitli STK'lar araçlarıyla adem-i merkezileşmesine atıfla literatüre orijinal bir katkı sağlamayı önermektedir. Uzun ve çok kültürlü geçmişe sahip bir toplum, sürekli yeni dalga göçmen alarak beslenen çok kültürlü bir toplumdan önemli ölçüde farklı sorunlarla karşı karşıya gelir. Türkiye'nin hem tarihsel olarak farklı dilsel etnik azınlıklara sahip olması hem de son dönemde yeni göç harekelerinde hedef ülke olması göz ününe alındığında, tüm göçmen çocuklar ve özellikle Suriyeli çocuklar için eğitim politikalarının diğer etnik-dilli varlıklar ve laiklik ideali üzerine kurulmuş bir ulus-devlet olarak Türkiye için daha geniş yankıları vardır.

Eğitim çocuk için; sınır gözetmeksizin, neredeyse istisnasız devlet güvencesinde olan devredilemez ve vazgeçilmez bir haktır. Eğitimin, krizler dâhil olmak üzere oluşan ve fark edilen her durumda insan hakkı olduğu yaygın olarak kabul edilmektedir. Ayrıca, eğitim "bireylerin tüm potansiyellerine ulaşmalarını ve sağlık ve yaşam hakkı gibi başka diğer haklarını da uygulayabilmelerini sağlayan", "fırsat veren hak" olarak da tanımlanabilir. Kamp-dışı göçmenlere eğitim sağlanması göç politikalarına yönelik evrensel haklarla ilgili olmasının yanında şu nedenlerden dolayı da önemlidir: İlk olarak, eğitim yerinden edilmiş nesillerin geri dönüşlerinde, ya ev sahibi ülkede ya da başka bir

ülkeye yerleşmelerinde hayatlarını ve toplumlarını yeniden inşa etmesini sağlar. Kendi ülkelerinde ya da başka ülkelerin yeni bölgelerinde olsun, gelecekle ilgili belirsizlikler ortasında mültecilerin yeni koşullara uyum sağlaması, topluma entegrasyonuna ve gelişmelerine yardımcı olmak amacıyla beceri ve bilgiye ihtiyaçları vardır. Eğitime erişilememesi, yeni bir devlet ve toplumun temel yapı taşları olması beklenen bir milletin neslinin profesyonel ve ekonomik büyümesine ciddi olarak engel olur. İkinci olarak, okulu bırakma, mülteci çocukların saygın bir iş sahibi olma ve yoksulluk döngüsünün dışında olma şanslarını engelleyerek bir ömür boyu dezavantajlı olmalarına neden olur. Normalde çocukları ve gençleri koruyan sosyal ağlar ve destek sistemleri zamanla yer değişimi ve çatışmayla aşınır ve böylelikle çocuklar ve gençler okuldan uzun zaman uzak kalırlarsa sömürüye daha çok maruz kalacaklardır. Üçüncü ve bu çalışma için en önemli olan ise, mültecilerin eğitiminin, geri dönüş ve yeniden yerleşimin mülteci sorununun çözümü için seçenekler arasında olmadığı durumlarda başarılı entegrasyonu sağlayan anahtar bir unsur olmasıdır. Ev sahibi ve gelen nüfusların hem birbirleri hakkında hem de birbirleriyle ilgili bilgi sahibi olmalarını temel alan eğitim bu entegrasyon sürecinde çok önemli bir role sahiptir. Bir ülkenin potansiyel vatandaşları olarak Mültecilerin eğitimi, "ahlaki birlik", "sosyal istikrar", sosyal uyum ve normatif bütünlüğün sağlanmasında her ulus-devlet için büyük öneme sahiptir. Buna ek olarak, eğitime devam etmek bireyleri yasadışı davranışlardan korumakla önemli ölçüde ilişkilidir. Daha belirgin olarak eğitim, terör örgütlerinin çocukların ve gençlerin istihdamına karşı bir kalkan olarak ulusal güvenliği sağlayıcı bir rol oynar. Bu bağlamda, mülteciler için düzgün eğitim politikalarının geliştirilmesi mülteci nüfusunun sadece uluslararası toplum için değil, aynı zamanda farklı, bölgesel, dinsel, mezhepsel, aşiret ve etnik unsurlar arasındaki güç mücadelesi ile damgalanmış Türkiye gibi ev sahibi ülkelerin ulusal güvenliği için de önemli bir konudur. Türk devleti, ulusal ve uluslararası mevzuata uygun olarak Suriyeli çocuklara eğitim sağlanması için sorumlu olmasına karşın, krizin benzeri görülmemiş kapsamı eğitimde sivil topluma ağırlık veren yönetim stratejilerine yol açmıştır. Bu yolla sivil toplumun kamu eğitimindeki boşlukları doldurması beklenirken hem Türk devletinin politik çıkarları hem de mülteci çocukların ihtiyaçları karşılanmaya çalışılmaktadır.

Kamp-dışı Suriyeli mültecilerin kamu eğitimiyle bütünleşmesini engelleyen üç faktör vardır. İlk olarak, belgesiz mültecilerin okullara kayıt olmasını engelleyen yasal düzenlemeler vardır. İkinci ve daha önemlisi, kıt kaynaklar için yarışan bir çok sosyo-ekonomik olarak dezavantajlı unsur gölgesinde, yetersiz fona bağlı olarak eğitim haddinden fazla yüke sahiptir. Kilis gibi sınır şehirlerde ve bazı dezavantajlı banliyöleri olan büyükşehirlerde, Suriyeli mülteci sayısı yerli nüfus kadar yüksektir. Okullardaki aşırı yüklenme dikkate alındığında Suriyeli çocukları eğitim sistemine yerleştirmek zordur ki yerleştirilseler bile bu kıt kaynaklara sahip vatandaş çocukların daha iyi eğitim koşullarına sahip olma mücadelesine zarar verir. Ekonomik güç, sosyal uyum ve adaptasyon açısından Suriyeli mültecilerin eğitim sistemiyle bütünleşmeleri uzun vadeli etkilere sahiptir. Bununla birlikte, zaten öğretmen/öğrenci, öğrenci/sınıf oranları açısından dezavantajlı olan bölgelerde devlet okullarının kapasitesi zorlanmaktadır. Bu anlamda, devlet okullarında Suriyeli çocukların varlığı hükümetin eğitimin kalitesini yükseltmek için iddialı eğitim gündemine Türk vatandaşlarının refahı zararına meydan okumaktadır. Üçüncü olarak, ne milli müfredat ne de insan kaynağı ve öğretmen niteliği Türkçe konuşmayan ve travma yaşamış çocukların ihtiyaçlarını karşılamaya yeterlidir. Aslında öğretmenlerin hiçbiri mevcut öğretmen yetiştirme sisteminde mülteci çocuk ile başa çıkmak için gerekli tecrübe ve eğitim ile donatılmamıştır. Türkiye'deki eğitim sistemiyle tarihi bağları olmayan ve ulusal dili konuşmayan Suriyeli çocukların varlığı, zaten Türk eğitim sisteminde var olan sorunları ortaya çıkarma ve arttırma eğilimindedir. Kısacası, eğitimde yetersiz fonlama ve yapılandırma 'öteki' için eğitimi planlamaya izin vermemektedir ve böylece sivil topluma ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, sivil toplum devletin sorumluluklarını üstlenen bir vekil devlet haline gelir.

Suriyeli mültecilerin eğitimini etkileyen iki ulusal politika dinamiği vardır: neo-liberalleşme ve yeni muhafazakârlık. Bu kapsamda Suriyeli mültecilerin eğitim koşulları için devlet ve sivil toplum işbirliği yapması yarı geçirgen ve simbiyotik olarak tanımlanabilir. STK'lar, devletin konuyu yönetmedeki kapasitesini geliştirene kadar devlet kurumlarındaki hizmet boşluğunu dolduran tamamlayıcı, bağlı kuruluşlar olarak görülür. Nitekim, karşılıklı çıkarlar mültecilerin finansal yükünü gidermede STK'lardan

ziyade devlet lehine olma eğilimindedir. Bu durumda STK'lar devlet kurumlarını tamamlayıcı olarak görülmektedir. Devletin politika yapıcılarının kendi ideolojileri açısından güvenilir olduğunu algıladığı STK'larla işbirliğini seçmesi bu ilişkiyi, seçici geçirgen ya da alternatif olarak "pasif- özel" olarak da tanımlayabilir. Bu durum, güçlü patrimonyal tutum ve Türk devletinin zayıf yeniden dağıtım kapasitesinin ve düzenlemelerinin doğal sonucudur. Başka bir deyişle, hükümete benzer gündemleri olan STK'larla işbirliği daha uygun görülmektedir. Bakanlıkların ve ilgili devlet kurumalarının her STK ile işbirliğine açık olduğu söylense de, şimdiye kadarki işbirliğinin büyük bir kısmı hükümetin eğitim gündemiyle benzer gündeme sahip yani amacı aynı zamanda sadık vatandaşlar olan Sünni Müslümanlar yetiştirmek olan inanç temelli STK'lar ile işbirliği gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Bu çalışmada daha önce vurgulanan STK tipolojisinde, mülteciler için eğitime katılan bir tek sivil toplum olmadığı dikkate alınmalıdır. Suriyeli mülteci krizine müdahalede kritik konumda olan İslami insani yardım kuruluşları ve Suriyeli kuruluşların eğitim vermek gibi bir role de sahiptir. Nitekim Suriyeli mülteciler için eğitim sağlayan sivil toplum kuruluşlarının amaçlarının analizi, devlet ile işbirliklerinin temelinde eğitimdeki hedefleri hükümet ile benzer Sünni-İslam'a dayanan dindar milli gündemi olan inanç temelli STK'ların olduğunu ortaya çıkartmıştır. Suriyeli mülteciler arasındaki etnik ve dini farklılıklar dikkate alındığında, Suriyeli çocukların eğitiminde yeni muhafazakâr gündemin empoze edilmesinin laik Türk devleti ve kültürel haklarla uyumluluğu sorgulanmalıdır. Suriyeli çocuklara eğitim sağlamada inanç temelli sivil topluma ağırlık vermek, eğitimdeki genel eğilim olan yeni muhafazakârlıkla bağlantılı ideolojik savaş uyarınca "dindar nesiller" oluşturmak için eğitimi kontrol etmeye çalışıldığını gösterir. İnanç temelli STK'lar devlet için büyüyen neo-liberal ve yeni muhafazakâr eğitim için tercih edilebilir ortaklardır. Ancak mülteciler için eğitimde inanç temelli sivil toplumunun rolü yabancı müfredat ve dil eğitimi sağlaması açısından değerlendirildiğinde Türkiye'de eğitimin laik ideali ve ulusal karakteri açısından geniş etkilere sahiptir.

Diğer taraftan Suriyeli kuruluşların eğitim alanına müdahalesi Suriyeli çocukların anavatanlarıyla olan kültürel bağlarını korumaları için siyasi çıkarlarla bağlantılıdır. Mevcut kamu eğitim sisteminin içine Suriyeli çocukların entegrasyonunun asimilasyona yol açması muhtemeldir. Nitekim beş yılda krizin içine Türkiye'de doğan Suriyeli çocukların kültürel ve dilsel özelliklerini koruyabilmeleri kapasite ve mevzuatı çok kültürlü müfredat sağlamak için yeterli olmayan mevcut kamu eğitim yapısında kolay değildir. Ayrıca, Suriyeli STK'lar aracılığıyla eğitim otoritesi olarak çalışan Suriyeli siyasi seçkinlerin mültecilerin eğitim politikaları üzerinde önemli etkisi vardır. Yani, yeni bir sivil toplum olarak diasporada Suriyeli siyasi toplum, Türkiye'deki Suriyeli mültecilerin eğitim politikalarının oluşumunda ve eğitim içeriğinin belirlenmesinde etkili olmaktadır.

İnanç temelli Türk ve Suriyeli STK'ların varlığı ve de Suriyeli çocuklara eğitim veren para-formal okulların derin siyasi ve ideolojik tonları olmasına rağmen, profesyonel ulusal ve uluslararası STK'lar sosyoekonomik olarak dezavantajlı ev sahibi ve mülteci toplulukları bir araya getirmek yoluyla sosyal uyumu yaratmaya odaklanmışlardır. Bu amaçla Suriyeli çocuk ve gençlere, öğretim ve eğitim programlarında cinsiyet eşitliğinin dikkate alındığı formal olmayan eğitim ve mesleki eğitim sağlamak temel odak noktasıdır. Bu bağlamda, sivil toplumun mülteci eğitimine yaklaşımları açısından; geri dönüş için eğitim ve bütünleşmek için eğitim arasında ikiye bölünmüş olduğu görülmektedir. Birçok sorun odaklı STK'nın amaçları arasında sosyal uyum ve kalkınma vardır. Buna ek olarak genellikle inanç temelli STK'ların desteğiyle Suriye müfredatına faaliyet gösteren Geçici Eğitim Merkezleri (GEM) ise geri dönüş odaklıdır.

Ailelerinin çocukların ulaşımı dâhil günlük ihtiyaçlarını bile karşılayamadığı dezavantajlı mülteci çocuklar için eğitimdeki uçurumun giderek büyüdüğü bir gerçektir. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı ve Diyanet Vakfı ile yapılan görüşmelere göre, Bakanlıktan destek alabilmek için Suriye müfredatında okullar açmak için özel işletmelerce kurulmuş birçok sivil dernek vardır. Sayıları hakkında güvenilir veri olmasa da Suriyeli STK'larının sayısı her geçen gün artarken varlıklarını önlemek için bir mekanizma olmadığı bir gerçektir. Bu bağlamda, edinilen istatistikler Geçici Eğitim Merkezleri (GEM)

aracılığıyla mültecilerin okullaşmasında bir artış olduğunu gösterirken, çocuk sosyoekonomik olarak daha dezavantajlı oldukça istatistiklere yansıma şansı da o kadar az olmaktadır. Bu bağlamda asıl soru, Suriyeli çocuklar için temel eğitim çalışmalarının eğitimde eşitlik ilkesi ile ne ölçüde uyuştuğudur.

Eğitimin diğer sosyal hizmet sunumlarından farklı olduğunun altı çizilmelidir zira diğer sosyal hizmetlerden farklı olarak eğitim sadece vatandaşlık için önemli bir anahtar değil, aynı zamanda hegemonik etkisi ve bireylerin kendilerini nasıl tanımlayacaklarını yani kendi kimliklerine ilişkin söylemi şekillendirme kapasitesi bakımından diğer hizmetlerden faklıdır. Ulus-devletler varlığını korurken farklı kültürlerle birlikte yaşamaya imkan sağlayan demokratik bir kültür oluşturmak için kullanılan eğitimin önemi dikkate alındığında Suriyeli çocukların eğitimde sorumlulukların adem-i merkeziyeti ve kriz yönetirlerken kullanılan yöntemler epey tartışmalıdır. Kamusal okullaşmanın hedefleri, içeriği, kimlik ve materyallerini belirleyen ve aynı zamanda sistemin yönetimin temel özelliklerini düzenleyen yetkili varlık olarak Türk devletinin meşruiyeti Suriyeli çocuklara eğitim sağlaması konusunda aşınmaktadır. Yakın Türk tarihinde inanç temelli devlet dışı aktörler tarafından başlatılan eğitim girişimlerinin ulusal güvenliği tehdit eden unsurlar haline dönüşmesi göz önüne alındığında Suriyeliler için devlet-dışı eğitim kurumlarının varlığına göz yummak doğru bir politika olmayabilir. Eğitim sağlaması için STK'lara yer açmak yerine, mültecilerin ihtiyaçlarını karşılayacak şekilde yeni kültürel ve dilsel çeşitlilik içeren eğitim kurumlarının yanı sıra öğretmenlerin nitelikleri ve kurum kapasitelerini artırmak için yapısal değişiklikler yoluyla kamu eğitim sisteminin kapasitesini yükseltmek içerdiği zorluklara rağmen uzun vadeli eğitim politikasının amaçlarından olmadılar. Sığınmacı ve mülteci çocuklar için eğitime müdahale, onların ihtiyaçlarının ve haklarının algılanması, onlara sunulan destek, öğretmenlerin ve okulların onlara olan sorumluluklarını tanımlama biçimleri, yönetici seçkinlerin politik ve ideolojik çıkarlarından ziyade sosyal adalet tanıtımıyla bütünleşik olmalıdır. Fakat Suriyeliler için eğitimde devlet-sivil toplum ilişkilerinde de görüldüğü üzere Türkiye'de, Suriyeli mülteciler için eğitim politikaları, mülteciler için eğitim sağlanması bakımından uluslararası hukuk veya mültecilerin eğitim ihtiyaçları ve

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beklentileri tarafından tanımlanan asgari standartlardan ziyade politik ve ideolojik etkenlerden etkilenme eğilimindedir. Bu bağlamda oluşan devlet-sivil toplum işbirliğine önemli bir örnek, Suriyeli sivil toplum ile işbirliği içinde, Esad olmadan, Suriye'ye ilişkin Türk hükümetinin çıkarlarını yansıtan Suriyeli mülteci çocuklar için gözden geçirilmiş bir Suriyeli müfredat ve ders kitaplarının hazırlanmasıdır. Bu bağlamda, mülteci çocukların yeni bir Suriye'nin bina taşları olacağı varsayımı, Türk hükümetinin siyasi çıkarı doğrultusunda Suriyeliler için eğitim politikalarının altında yatan önemli bir güdü olmuştur.

Sivil toplumun rolü bakımından Suriye mülteci krizinin yankıları ulusal çerçeveyle sınırlı değildir. Uluslararası donörler ve ulusal STK'lar arasındaki aracılar olarak uluslararası hükümet ve sivil toplum kuruluşlarının müdahil olması mültecilerin eğitimi alanında çalışan ulusal STK'ların sayısının çoğalmasına neden olmuştur. Koşulların uluslar arası STK'lar için daha az elverişli olduğunu vurgulamak önemlidir zira bu kuruluşlar siyasi örgütlenme ya da casus veya Hıristiyan misyonerler oldukları şüphelerinden dolayı devlet erkanında hoş karşılanmamaktadırlar. Başlangıçta Türkiye'de operasyonları için bir çok uluslararası sivil toplum ya da hükümet kurulusu için yetki onayı verilmemiştir bu nedenle bu kuruluşlar kendilerine ulusal ortak seçmişlerdir. Aynı zamanda uluslararası kuruluşlar, ulusal STK'ların kapasitelerinin geliştirilmesi için uzmanlıklarını transfer etmişlerdir. Sonunda birçok yerel STK bu ortaklıktan faydalanmıştır. Ancak, uluslararası toplumun ulusal ya da yerel STK'lar ile ortaklığının geleceği yabancı bağışlara bağlı olduğu için sürdürülebilir olmayabilir. Nitekim bu tezin sonuçlandığı dönemde Hatay'da faaliyet gösteren bazı uluslar arası STK'lar USAid-ABD hükümetinin dış yardım kolu-hakkındaki dolandırıcılık iddiaları nedeniyle soruşturma altındaydılar. Bu soruşturma ABD fon desteği alan çeşitli uluslar arası kuruluşun Mayıs 2016'da kısmen askıya alınması ile sonuçlanmıştır. Bu durum uluslar arası ortaklıkları olan yerel STK'ları da etkilemiştir.

STK'ların rolü, GEM'lerin faaliyeti, öğretmenlere teşvikler sağlamak, ailelere mali destek sağlamak, eğitim materyallerinin hazırlanması, basılması ve dağıtılması, Türk dil kursları ve mesleki eğitim sağlamak, ulaşım sağlamak, yenileme ve ikili eğitim veren

devlet okullarının yenilenmesi ve son olarak sınır ötesi yardım operasyonlarında eğitim boyutu olarak özetlenebilir. STK'ların çoğunun esas olarak eğitimde uzun vadeli stratejisi olmayan bir acil yardım planı vardır. Acil refleks ile eğitim sağlamada birçok STK'nın katılımındaki ana etki Suriye müfredatında öğretilen Arapça yoluyla Suriyeli öğrencilerin kaybettikleri okul dönemlerini telafi etmektir. STK'ların sağladığı eğitim hizmetlerinin sürdürülebilirliği uluslararası ve ulusal mali donör kuruluşları için yükleniciler olarak hizmet üstlenmek eğiliminde oldukları için tartışmaya açıktır

Mültecilere eğitim sağlamada STK'ların rolüne inanılmalıdır. Yine de mülteciler için eğitim sadece sivil toplum girişimleri ile ele alınamaz. Sivil toplumun önyargılı bir adem-i merkezîleşme ile eğitim sağlamasına izin vermek, Suriyeli çocukların kamu eğitim sisteminin dışında tutulması nedeniyle Türk toplumunun geri kalanı ile mülteci çocuklar için ortak değerler oluşturmak için yeterli değildir. Eğitimin sosyal uyum için amacı göz önüne alındığında, devlet kurumları aracılığıyla etnik, ırksal ya da sosyoekonomik hiçbir farklılığa bakılmaksızın çocuklara eğitim sağlanmalıdır. Bir defa erişim sağlandığında eşitlik ve nitelik Türk devleti tarafından hedeflenmesi gereken hayati alanlardır. Mülteci çocuklarla ilgilenmek öğretmenlik becerileriyle üstesinden gelmeyi gerektiren bir zorlu bir görevdir. Savaşı görmüş bu çocuklara eğitim vermek için travma yaşamış çocuklarla baş edebilecek niteliğe sahip çalışanların olmasını gerektirir.

Milli eğitim öncelikleri ulusal kimlik konularını beraberinde getirir çünkü Türkiye'de eğitim ve milli birlik arasında güçlü bir ilişki vardır. Türkiye'nin modern eğitim sistemi kültürel çeşitliliğe sınırlı referansla sosyal uyum inşa etmeye çalışmıştır. Homojenliği artırmak için Türk-ulus devleti öncelikle dili (resmi ortak dil ve eğitim dili olarak Türkçe), dini-ulusal değerleri ve merkezi bir okul sistemi ve birleşik okul müfredatını kullanmıştır. AB uyum süreci doğrultusunda son politika değişikliklere rağmen, Türk toplumunda etnik ve kültürel farklılıkları göz ardı eden merkezi eğitim planlamasında, ulusal birlik konusunda siyasi kaygılar nedeniyle anadilde eğitim veya anadil eğitimi tartışmalı bir konudur. Suriyeli çocuklar kamu eğitimine dâhil edilirse, yeni bir Suriye'nin yapı taşları olması beklenen Suriyeli çocukların ve gençlerin kültürel ve dilsel kimliklerini mevcut ulusal eğitim sisteminde nasıl canlı tutabileceği önemli bir sorudur.

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Bu anlamda Türkiye'de çok kültürlü bir müfredat gerekliliği kendini yinelemektedir. Uzun vadede yapılması gereken, kamu eğitiminin, tüm çocuklar için eşit fırsatlar sağlayarak ve ayrıca onların kültürel farklılıklarını da göz önünde tutarak yeniden yapılanmasını sağlamaktır.

Göçmenlerin ortak siyasi kültürü (asgari kültürel ortak payda) dikkate almaları ama kendi hayatlarının özel kültürel yaşam şekillerinden vazgeçmeye direnmeleri entegrasyon için en uygun tanımdır. Bu bağlamda milli eğitim her şartta ve her bireysel hayatta öğrencinin birey olarak keşfine ve kültürel olarak farklı olan diğerin araştırılması ve kabullenilmesine ve içeri alınmasına izin vermelidir. Diğerinin kültürünün bilinmesi ve bu kültüre saygı duyulması (gelenek, görenek, dil, vs.) her durumda öyle sonuçlanacak olmasa da farklı bireylerin birlikte yaşamasını ve 'diğerinin' kabullenilmesini destekleyecektir. Eğitim kendi özel koşullarını ve diğerlerini tanıyan ve hoş gören bir eğitim olmalıdır. Eğitim, diğerlerinin neden anavatanlarından, ailelerinden ve köklerinden ayrıldığını anlamayı amaçlamalıdır. Bu modelde bir eğitim sisteminin, kaynakların tahsisi açısından ulus-devlet için daha pratik anlamı olacağı gibi entegrasyon ve ulusal kimlik modelleri ile ilgili daha kavramsal etkileri olabilir.

Suriyeli mültecilerin eğitimi ile ilgili yeni düzenlemeler üç alanda öncelik sırasına koyulmuştur: (a) fiziksel altyapı; (b) öğretmen nitelikleri; (c) eğitim müfredatı ve entegrasyon için malzemeler. Fiziksel altyapının gelişmesi çoğunlukla finansal kaynaklara bağlıyken öğretmen nitelikleri ve mülteciler için eğitimin içeriği ulus-devlet için daha büyük sorun teşkil etmektedir. Öğretme içeriğini geliştirmek, Suriyeli çocukların Türk milli eğitim sistemine tam olarak uyum sağlamaları için gerekli bir adımdır. Ancak, başka bir dilde eğitim içeriği kamu eğitiminin vazgeçilmez unsurları olarak Türk dilini ve kültürünü dikte eden ulus-devlet uygulamaları dikkate alındığında "ulusal" eğitim sistemine aykırıdır. Yine de "Parazit" ve "misafir" arasındaki ince çizgiyi göz önünde bulundurarak Suriyelilerin Türk topraklarında parazit olarak muamele görmesini engellemek için topluma tam olarak uyum sağlamalılar. Onların kabul edilirliği ya da konukseverliğin dili üzerindeki kontrol ancak eğitim ve istihdam haklarıyla gerçekleştirilebilir.

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Türk eğitim sistemi içine tüm Suriyeli öğrencileri entegre etme mutlak hedefi GEM'ler için çalışan öğretmen sayısının büyüklüğü ve bu öğretmenler arasında oluşabilecek huzursuzluk da dikkate alınarak Suriyeli öğretmenlerin de resmi istihdam ile kamu eğitim sisteme dahil olmalarınını gerektirebilir. Ancak bu amacı gerçekleştirirken bazı engeller vardır. İlk olarak, Suriyeli öğretmenlerin istihdamı milyonlarca işe alınmayı bekleyen öğretmenin gölgesinde toplumsal huzursuzluk yaratacaktır. İkinci olarak, Suriyeli öğretmenlere Türkçe öğretebilmek için öncelikle fazladan zaman ve finansal kaynak gereklidir. Sonuncu ama son derece önemli olarak, bu öğretmenlere resmi yetki vermek neredeyse imkânsızdır çünkü Suriye üniversiteleri Türk otoriteler tarafından tanınmamaktadır ki tanınsalar bile Suriyeli öğretmenlerin birçoğu diplomalarını yanlarında getirmemişlerdir. Savaş koşulları dikkate alındığında tüm resmi kanalları aşınmış ve yolsuzlukla dolu büyük bir bürokratik boşluğun var olduğu bir ülkenin belgelerin geçerliliği bile sorgulanmalıdır. Türk otoritelerin bu sorunu nasıl çözebileceği tartışma konusudur.

Bu tez hala devam eden ve kapsamı inanılmaz derecede karmaşık ve büyük ölçekte bir olguyu ele almaktadır. Türkiye'nin halen mülteci krizini çözmek için AB ile anlaşmaya çalıştığı dikkate alındığında Suriyeli çocuklar için eğitime erişim girişimleri artmaya devam edecektir. Etkili politik düzeyde Suriyeli mültecilerin eğitim ihtiyaçlarını karşılamadaki başarısızlık hem Türk devleti ve toplumuna hem de Suriyeli mültecilerin kendilerine uzun vadeli zararlara sebep olabilir. Buna göre, merkezi eğitim yönetimi değişen göç modelline cevap verecek şekilde reform edilmediği sürece, Suriyeli çocuklar için eğitim bir çıkmaz olarak kalmaya devam edecektir. Bu çıkmaz ise şu anda Suriyeli çocukların eğitim boşluğunun giderilmesi için gösterilen devlet ve sivil toplum çabaların uzun vadece boşa çıkmasına neden olacaktır.

Bu araştırmanın kapsamı mülteci çocukları için eğitim sağlanması alanıyla sınırlı tutulmuştur. Türkiye'de 2015 yılında üniversite öğrencilerinin yüzde on birinin Suriyeli olduğu göz önüne alınırsa vatandaşlar için refah devleti ve mülteci akınlarında yüksek öğretim arasındaki bağ hakkında farklı çalışmalara yol gösterecek sorular gündeme getirebilir. Bu kapsamda yapılan bu çalışmanın hem kendi vatandaşlarına hem de

mültecilere hizmet vermek konusunda ulus-devletin mücadelesi ve bu noktada sivil toplumun genişleyen rolünü görmek açısından referans noktası olması beklenmektedir.