

TURKEY'S EXPERIENCE OF FORCED MIGRATION AFTER 1980s AND
SOCIAL INTEGRATION: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF DİYARBAKIR
AND İSTANBUL

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ABSTRACT

TURKEY'S EXPERIENCE OF FORCED MIGRATION AFTER 1980s AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF DİYARBAKIR AND İSTANBUL

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This thesis tries to display the practice of forced migration experienced in East and Southeast Anatolia after 1980s in Turkey and its consequences through the lived experiences of internally displaced women and children. In the first phase, the historical background of the practice of forced migration, which continues ever since the Ottoman period and the Republican period as well, has been analyzed within the framework of implementations and laws on settlement. In the second phase, in-depth interviews were made with internally displaced women and children living in Diyarbakır and Istanbul and embarking upon the lived experience of internally displaced women and children before, during and after the flight, the issue of social integration with the 'host' population was analyzed comparatively. What was claimed with this comparative analysis was the fact that there would be a significant difference on experiencing the consequences of forced migration and social integration among the internally displaced women and youngsters living in Diyarbakır, which is a metropolis Kurdish citizens are intense, and those living in Istanbul, where Kurdish citizens are relatively low in numbers. Consequently, through the information gathered with this study, the extent that internally displaced persons are socially integrated with the 'host' populations was depicted and that whether the spatial difference had a significant effect on the issue of social integration was analyzed.

Keywords: Internal Displacement, Forced Migration, Social Integration, Kurds, Internally Displaced Women and Youngsters

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE’DE 1980’LER SONRASI ZORUNLU GÖÇ DENEYİMİ VE TOPLUMSAL BÜTÜNLEŞME: DİYARBAKIR – İSTANBUL KARŞILAŞTIRMASI

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Bu tez, Türkiye’de 1980’ler sonrasında Doğu ve Güneydoğu Anadolu’da yaşanan zorunlu göç pratiğini ve sonuçlarını ülke içinde yerinden edilen kadınların ve gençlerin deneyimleri üzerinden yansıtmaya çalışmaktadır. Bunu yaparken ilk olarak, zorunlu göç pratiğinin Osmanlı döneminden beri süregelen ve Cumhuriyet döneminde de devam eden tarihsel arkaplanı, uygulamalar ve kanunlar çerçevesinde, incelenmiştir. İkinci olarak ise yüz yüze derinlemesine mülakat tekniği kullanılarak Diyarbakır’da ve İstanbul’da görüşmeler yapılmış ve ülke içinde yerinden edilmiş kadın ve gençlerin göç öncesindeki, göç sürecindeki ve göç sonrasındaki deneyimlerinden yola çıkılarak içine girilen ana toplulukla toplumsal bütünleşme düzeyleri karşılaştırmalı olarak incelenmiştir. Bu karşılaştırma Kürt yurttaşların yoğun oldukları bir metropol olan Diyarbakır’daki yerinden edilmiş kadın ve gençlerle, Kürt yurttaşların yoğun olmadıkları bir metropol olan İstanbul’da yaşayan ülke içinde yerinden edilmiş kadın ve gençler arasında toplumsal bütünleşme ve zorunlu göçün sonuçlarını deneyimlemek açısından anlamlı bir farkın olacağı olasılığından yola çıkmaktadır. Böylece, toplanan bilgi üzerinden, yerinden edilmiş yurttaşların içinde buldukları ana toplulukla hangi düzeyde bütünleştikleri tasvir edilmiş ve bütünleşme meselesinde mekansal farklılığın bir öneminin olup olmadığı anlaşılmasına çalışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ülke İçinde Yerinden Edilme, Zorunlu Göç, Toplumsal Bütünleşme, Kürtler, Ülke İçinde Yerinden Edilmiş Kadınlar ve Gençler

To “the children of burnt years”

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The problems of international migration, refugees and asylum seekers experienced throughout the 1990s has been accompanied with the phenomenon of internal displacement as a result of the internal conflicts came out in the post Cold War period. Such that, with reference to the estimation of the Norwegian Refugee Council, considering 2006, there are 24 million internally displaced persons in return for 9 million refugees. Because of the fact that the phenomenon of internal displacement has been experienced this much intensively and has become so outstanding culminated in intervention from international public opinion. In 1992, United Nations, for the first time, appointed the Representative of the Secretary-General on Internally Displaced Persons and in 1998 the document of Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement was approved and presented to the utilization of governments that has experienced internal displacement and authorities, intergovernmental organizations and non-governmental organizations working on the issue of internal displacement. In reference to Guiding Principles:

Internally displaced persons are persons or groups of persons who have been forced to obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border.

Considering Turkey, what was experienced in late 1980s and during the 1990s at the East and South East Anatolia regions, is an austere example of conflict-induced displacement with the villages evacuated, houses burnt down, citizens subjected to torture, suffered from violations of rights and in the end approximately one and a half million citizens, almost all are Kurds, were forcedly migrated or obliged to leave their habitual residence.

Accordingly, what this study aims at is to understand the practice of internal displacement in the stated period of time from the point of view of internally displaced children and women. Embarking with this particular aim, the purpose of this study is to understand how the experience of internal displacement take place in memoirs of internally displaced children and women; how the lives of internally displaced children and women in the time period of forced migration and after are affected by the lived experience of internal displacement and that to what extent internally displaced persons' are socially (dis)integrated with the host populations in their 'new' settlements through a comparison between two metropolises, namely Diyarbakır and Istanbul.

1.1. Reason of the Study

Reviewing the related literature, it is obvious that the number of internally displaced children and women are high due to the fact that “the regions of the world characterized by conflict and displacement have relatively high fertility rates and young populations. Women and children thus constitute around eighty percent of IDP populations” (Buscher and Makinson, 2006: 15). It is even thought that three quarters of twenty five million internally displaced persons who were forced to migrate owing to dispute and conflict are women and children.¹ However, although the particular need for academic and policy-oriented studies on internally displaced women and children is obvious, very few studies focus particularly on internally displaced children, stating that studies on internally displaced women are more common. Moreover, most of the limited number of studies concentrates on few dimensions, mainly in the disciplines of psychology and psychiatry.

To give some examples of the general findings of the studies from the disciplines of psychology and psychiatry on internal displacement, Ms. Grac'a Machel, in her report “Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Children: Impact of Armed Conflict on Children” presented to the General Assembly of the United Nations states that “to flee

¹ Available at www.undp.org.tr/pressRelDocuments/CocuklarD5.doc

from one's home is to experience a deep sense of loss, and the decision to flee is not taken lightly. ... Although the decision to leave is normally taken by adults, even the youngest children recognize what is happening and can sense their parents' uncertainty and fear” (Machel, 1996: 17). Moreover, she adds: “wherever it occurs, displacement has a profound physical, emotional and developmental impact on children and increases their vulnerability” (Machel, 1996: 16). Zübeyit Gün, a clinical psychologist working on internal displacement in Turkey, emphasizes the fact that for once migration causes the feeling of “futurlessness and mistrust” in the children.² Moreover, it is also common that children suffer from conflict and problems of personality, generation gap, psychosomatic symptoms and problems caused by bilingualism. Although it is apparent that the experience of forced migration has severe effects on and causes grievances in the psychological well-being of children, the practice of forced migration is a multidimensional problem and therefore the need for studies from more diverse disciplines and even from an interdisciplinary approach is apparent.

Over and above, reviewing the literature fairly displays the fact that the studies focusing peculiarly on the lived experiences and memories of children are needed. This is due to the fact that experience of children and youngsters on the process of internal displacement would be different than the adults' experiences. The importance of the studies with internally displaced children and youngsters not only arise from their particular situation of experiences or memories but also from the fact that the internally displaced children and youngsters are among the most disadvantaged groups after the displacement. Most of the time, they lose access to basic social services, are obliged to live in between distinct social and cultural environments and are subjected to discrimination in the host populations, which in the long run affect internally displaced children's and youngsters' integration levels and processes and therefore require particular attention.

The concern for studying Turkey's experience of forced migration particularly on children and women derives from not only a personal interest in Turkey's Kurdish

² Available at http://www.tesev.org.tr/etkinlik/yerinden_edilme-kof_sunumlar_zgun.php

question but also from an apparent lack of qualitative studies focusing on the experiences of these groups in Turkey. Although the literature on internal displacement displays the fact that the children and women are the most risky and vulnerable groups among internally displaced persons the number of the studies in Turkey are yet limited, even after almost twenty years has passed. In fact the studies on internally displaced women in Turkey are more in numbers, however on children and youngsters are considerably limited. So far, however, there has been little discussion about the social dimensions of the effects of forced migration on children and youngsters. The research to date has tended to focus more on psychological effects of internal displacement on children and youngsters rather than approaching to the subject with a sociological perspective. Zübeyit Gün points out to the fact that not all the problems in the migration process are focused on is a missing point and the circumstances before the migration are very crucial.³ Moreover, Gün states that migration process, the process after the migration and the characteristics of the society into which the internally displaced persons settled are also very important for understanding the phenomenon of internally displaced. According to Gün, this is important because of the fact that the forced migration in Turkey is more like a process of emigration since it caused the confrontation of two much distinct cultures.

Therefore, the importance of qualitative studies in understanding the plight of internally displaced children and youngsters does not only a matter of the suffering experienced by these groups, but also arises from the very significance of the process of integration of internally displaced persons within the host population. Furthermore, the particular place of internally displaced children and youngsters in overcoming the tensions between the internally displaced and both the host population and the state can not be negated since, to quote from Machel, “The recovery and reintegration of children will affect the success of the whole society in returning to a more peaceful path” (Machel, 1996: 56).

To put it in a nutshell, this study aims at reminding the apparent importance of confrontation with the phenomenon of internal displacement in Turkey with the aid of

³ Available at http://www.tesev.org.tr/etkinlik/yerinden_edilme-kof_sunumlar_zgun.php

revealing the lived experiences and integration levels of internally displaced women, children and youngsters on the way to construct and maintain an understanding of democracy, justice and peace.

1.2. Methodology of the Study

This research, aiming at examining the social and cultural conditions of the internally displaced people, is based on two stages. At the preliminary stage, a literature review was carried out primarily on the issue of practice of internal displacement in Turkey. In this context, commission reports and few studies made and afterwards, national and international reports, books, articles and reports of research made in Turkey were examined. It is certain that the concepts of integration and especially of social integration were under consideration and the literature was reviewed for indicators of social integration that would be valid and applicable also in the case of internal displacement experienced in Turkey. In the light of the literature review, a field research was designed and written as a project to Middle East Technical University Scientific Research Projects Coordination Center. The field research was completed with the funding provided by the center.

Despite the fact that in recent years there has been an increasing amount of literature on internal displacement in Turkey, few of these studies has paid particular attention to internally displaced children and youngsters. Moreover, a considerable amount of literature on internal displacement in Turkey is based more on quantitative research findings. However, in understanding the lived experience, effects of forced migration and the plight of the internally displaced persons within the host population, a qualitative approach would be more pertinent. According to Stephen Castels the primacy should be given to ethnographic and other qualitative techniques rather than the quantitative methods in forced migration research since quantitative methods can be problematic in this given research area (Castels, 2003: 30). However, this is not to say that the quantitative techniques should be disregarded. Instead, Castels argues for that larger data-sets and surveys should be attached to qualitative techniques. This much adherence on qualitative techniques is due to the fact that qualitative research

methods provide the researcher with a comprehensive insight of the lived world from the subjects' perspective. Uwe Flick states:

Qualitative research is intended to approach the world 'out there' (not in specialized settings such as laboratories) and to understand, describe and sometimes explain social phenomena 'from the inside' in a number of different ways: ... (Flick, 2007: x).

Because interviews gained acceptance for being suitable for the studies of "people's understanding of the meanings in their lived world, describing their experiences and self-understanding, and clarifying and elaborating their own experience on their lived world" (Kvale, 2007: 46) among those "different ways", I have deemed suitable to make face to face in-depth interviews in order to be able to penetrate the experiences of internally displaced women and children. Bruner claims that "we have to study experience if we are to understand reality". In addition, he argues that the way in which experience is expressed, like in narratives, is important for studying "experience which is by nature something internal and personal" (Bek-Pedersen and Montgomery, 2006: 98). In parallel with these discussions, the questionnaire to be used in interviews was composed of three main parts which are socio-economic characteristics; memoirs and narratives of the life before internal displacement and of experiences lived during the period of forced migration; and lastly the life after forced migration and in the host population.

With this aforementioned background, the field research was carried out in two cities in Turkey, namely Diyarbakır and Istanbul in summer, 2008 without applying a pilot study. From 15 June to 2 July 2008, nineteen face to face in-depth interviews were made in Diyarbakır. These interviews included a lawyer from an NGO, four internally displaced women older than thirty; seven internally displaced young women and seven internally displaced young men in the age group of 15 – 30. Then again from 15 July to 30 July 2008 and between 21 – 25 September, twenty-one face to face in-depth interviews were made in Istanbul. Istanbul was visited two times because of the fact that it was difficult to arrange the interviews in Istanbul to some extent due to the problem of trust. The interviews in Istanbul included a lawyer from an NGO, a party

manager of Democratic Society Party (hereafter DTP), four internally displaced women older than thirty, eight internally displaced young women and seven internally displaced young men within the age group of 15 – 30. The interviews were made in the districts of Bağlar, 450 Evler, Suriçi and Batikent in Diyarbakır and of Tarlabası, Gazi, Atışalanı, Ayazma and Fikirtepe in Istanbul.

In studies with refugees and other hidden groups, the representativeness of studies is said to be a controversial issue since the limited number of starting points would lead to a problem of inclusion. In dealing with this problem, it is recommended that the researcher use multiple networks. In this study, before I entered into the field, I had got into contact with more than one organizations that take place in studies of internal displacement in Turkey, both for Diyarbakır and Istanbul. I had access to them via e-mails, which was telling about the study and asking for help in arranging the interviews. Thus, firstly interviews were made with the internally displaced persons arranged by these organizations and then, personal relations and a kind of snowball sampling was used during the research. Therefore, both purposive and snowball sampling were used for the research, pointing out to the fact that snowball sampling was widely used during the field research in Istanbul.

The questionnaire of the interviews was designed as semi-structured and the interviews lasted minimum half an hour and maximum one and a half hour on average with exceptions. All interviews were recorded on tape recorder. Considering the fact that written consent would lead to a feeling of insecurity or a problem of mistrust, all of the informants were asked for their consent only verbally. In addition, all of the informants were acquainted with the recording. For children, either the families knew about the interview or they were interviewed beside their families. After all the interviews were finished, then they were transcribed. The analysis was based predominantly on these transcribed interviews and also personal observations and conversations on the field. The stories of the thirty seven internally displaced informants in this study, not only gave rich and detailed information about but also provided the researcher with profound insight on the practice of internal displacement in Turkey, nevertheless they can not be said to be representative of all internally displaced children and women in Turkey. Therefore, the results discoursed in this

study does not have a claim of generalizability but rather the results presented in this study are bounded up with the experiences of the internally displaced persons who were interviewed within this research.

1.3. Limitations of the Study

First and foremost, the basic obstacle in this study was one of mine that I didn't know Kurdish that is the mother tongue of the group with which I have made the interviews. Although the fact that I did not know Kurdish was not a big challenge for the interviews made with internally displaced young people, it was hard to communicate with internally displaced women because the majority did not know Turkish enough to express themselves. In cases, when there was a problem of language, then I requested someone to help us for the translation. However, it was a little bit difficult to explain the people helping me that the translation should be in the informants' own words. Therefore, after I have completed the field research, I asked for one of my friends to listen to and translate some of the interviews again.

Secondly, some of the non-governmental organizations did not help with the arrangement of the interviews. While some expressed that they did not have time or could not reach that specific age group of internally displaced persons, one of the officers from a non-governmental organization in Diyarbakır stated that the internally displaced persons in the region were so much accustomed to this kind of research and this leads to a sort of expectancy among the people, however it always ends up with disappointment.

Finally, another problem arised when I wanted to utilize the right of information acquirement. It was not possible to obtain information particularly on the numbers of application to Compensation Law, of admitted and refused applications and the reasons for. Moreover, hardly any question posed on the issue of village guard system, village guards and offenses committed by village guards were provided with answers by the concerned authorities.

1.4. Organization of the Study

This study is organized in six chapters. In the introduction chapter, main issues to be explained are purpose and reason of the study, and methodology and organization of the study. The second chapter includes a literature review on theories of forced migration and social integration and conceptualization of the terms internal displacement, internally displaced persons and social integration. In the third chapter, the main aim is to focus on Turkey's experience of forced migration and internal displacement from a historical perspective, including an examination of Turkish laws on resettlement, the application of resettlement in the process of nation-building in Turkey and an examination of some suggestions provided and practices put by the Turkish governments in order to cope with the consequences of internal displacement after 1980s. The third chapter also aims at examining the practice of internal displacement in terms of human rights violations with reference to both the Turkish Constitution and International Conventions and it ends up with a review of some of the fundamental examples of case studies on internal displacement in Turkey. The fourth chapter, beginning with the socio-demographic characteristics of the informants, underlines the effects of the experience of forced migration on internally displaced women and children with quotations from the interviews made for this study. The fifth chapter aims at examining the plight of social integration of internally displaced women and youngsters with respect to the specified indicators for understanding the internally displaced persons' levels of social integration. The last chapter is the conclusion and in addition to the aim of giving an overview of the social integration levels of internally displaced persons in Istanbul and Diyarbakır, it intends to propose some policy recommendations on the way to social integration of internally displaced persons, overcoming the consequences of the practice of internal displacement in Turkey and suggestions on further research.

Since therefore, what this piece of work mainly aims at is to speak to the point of experience of forced migration in Turkey on behalf of internally displaced women and youngsters through their lived experiences. Thereby this study seeks answers for the following questions: What are the underlying structures of internal displacement practiced in the second half of the 1980s and during 1990s in Turkey? How does

internal displacement take place in memoirs of internally displaced women and children? How this practice affected internally displaced women's and children's life? On which levels internally displaced women and children can be said to have been socially (dis)integrated with the host populations? Can we talk about a significant difference among internally displaced women's and children's social integration levels living in Diyarbakır and in Istanbul?

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

The main aim of this study is to sort out the social consequences of the practice of internal displacement experienced during late 1980s and 1990s in Turkey's Eastern Anatolia and Southeastern Anatolia regions. To specify, the purpose of this study is to look into the integration levels of internally displaced women and youngsters settled down in Diyarbakır and Istanbul in a comparative perspective. Thus this chapter of the study aims at providing a theoretical framework for understanding the integration levels of the internally displaced women and youngsters and whether the spatial disparity has significance in integration affair. What follows is the conceptualization of two main subjects of which the first is the arguments on and definitions of forced migration and the second is the operationalization of the concept of social integration.

2.1. Theories of Forced Migration and Definition of Internally Displaced Persons

In its most general definition, migration “is ordinarily defined as the relatively permanent movement of persons over a significant distance” (Sills and others, 1968: 286). Since there is discussion, even for this basic narrow definition of the word, on the exact meanings of the terms “permanent” and “significant”, it is not surprising that for such a phenomenon like migration, existing throughout the human history, various attempts from different perspectives have been made to classify the phenomenon and diverse typologies were offered in understanding migration. The main elements of classification in typologies of migration are distance, duration and cause (Guinness, 2002: 23). Moreover, the mostly used and important variables have been distance, temporary or permanent nature, causes, selectivity and international or internal dimensions of migration. It is obvious that the characteristics of human movement are complex and providing a comprehensive framework for migration is

beyond the limits of this study. Nevertheless, for the requirements of this study, the cause variable is crucial in order to provide a theoretical framework for the concept of forced migration.

Surely, there are different explanations and typologies for the involuntary dimension of migration, to name forced migration. To begin with the widely quoted typology of forced migration it was provided by William Petersen in 1958 with an aim to bring together the internal and international migration in one typology for a general theory of migration (Petersen, 1958: 49). In Petersen's typology, there are five classes of migration: *primitive*, *forced*, *impelled*, *free* and *mass*. The primitive migration in Petersen's typology "does not denote to the wandering of primitive peoples as such, but rather a movement related to man's inability to cope with natural forces" (Petersen, 1958: 55). Therefore, the primitive migration was a result of an ecological push. As to the forced and impelled classes of migration, Petersen claims:

If in primitive migrations the activating agent is ecological pressure, in forced migrations it is the state or some functionally equivalent social institution. It is useful to divide this class into impelled migration, when the migrants retain some power to decide whether or not to leave, and forced migration, when they do not have this power (Petersen, 1958: 58).

As it is obvious above, Petersen makes a distinction between forced and impelled migration on the grounds that in impelled migration there still exists an element of choice. Moreover, what Petersen points at seems important for comprehending the dynamics of migration at the present time:

In modern times, however, those induced to flee have often been specific groups among the population, rather than everyone occupying a particular territory. Political dissidents, of course, always were ousted when they became a danger to state security; but with the growth of nationalism ethnic as well as political homogeneity has been sought (Petersen, 1958: 59).

The three categories provided above was of involuntary migration, focusing on the will dimension in migration, Petersen suggests two more categories in which migrants are active in the migration decision, namely free and mass migration. The basic distinction among these two categories is that the former is small in numbers whereas the latter eventuates in large scale. Table 1 summarizes Petersen’s typology of migration:

Table 1: Petersen’s Typology of Migration

Relation	Migratory force	Class of migration	Type of migration	
			Conservative	Innovating
Nature and man	Ecological push	Primitive	Wandering Ranging	Flight from the land
State (or equivalent) and man	Migration policy	Forced Impelled	Displacement Flight	Slave trade
Man and his norms	Higher aspirations	Free	Group	Coolie trade Pioneer
Collective behavior	Social momentum	Mass	Settlement	Urbanization

(Source: Petersen, 1958)

Among those who provided a typology of forced migration it was Kunz who argued that refugee’s motivation for seeking a new place differed from that of voluntary migrants (Kunz, 1973: 125). Kunz’s typology bases on a distinguishment of two types of refugees and three types of refugee movements. As to the types of refugees, Kunz defined *reactive fate groups* as those who flee their countries without a plan on how to return and *purpose groups* as those who leave to use the countries of asylum for organizing resistance for an eventual return (Veney, 2007: 10). Considering refugee movements, Kunz suggests three terms: *anticipatory refugee movements*, *acute refugee movements* and *intermediate situations*. The anticipatory refugee, in Kunz’s diction, leaves the home country before the conditions deteriorate. Acute refugee movements, contrary to anticipatory ones, are result of great political changes or movements of armies, thus the primary purpose for an acute refugee is to achieve safety situation. And the final refugee movement is the intermediate situations that can take place in between anticipatory or acute movements.

Another typology of forced migration is provided by Kuhlman who first of all defines forced migration:

as migration under duress, in the face of a crisis of some sort. A crisis means that the condition is limited in time, the result of an event or a series of events, rather than a long-term condition. Duress implies that forced migration is explained mainly not by the motivation of the migrant, but by the crisis that made him flee (Kuhlman, 2000: 4-5).

Table 2: Kuhlman's Typology of Forced Migration

Agent	Motivation	Means	Destination	
Government	Development	Direct compulsion	Resettlement area (internal)	
		Ethnic cleansing	Direct Compulsion	Internal (usually organized) International (usually a particular country)
	Random Violence		First internal (random) Then international (random)	
			Persecution	International (random)
	Eliminating dissidents	Direct Compulsion	International (usually a particular country) Internal exile (organized)	
			Random Violence	First internal (random) Then international (random)
		Persecution		International (random)
		Deportation of foreigners	Direct compulsion	country of origin
	Terrorist Groups (Sponsored by Violence International random)	Ethnic cleansing	Random Violence	Internal (random) International (random)
				Eliminating dissidents
slave trade		Direct Compulsion	Internal Market World market	
Natural Disasters	Fear, loss of home, loss of livelihood	Controlled evacuation	resettlement area (internal)	
		Flight	Internal (random)	

(Source: Kuhlman, 2000: 3-4)

It is obvious in the table above that according to Kuhlman; it is not always the state, the agent of forced migration but also terrorist groups, commercial entities and natural disasters can be the agents in the practice of forced migration. This is important for the fact that most of the literature on causes of forced migration implies violence and persecution as the causes of flight rather than referring to natural disasters or development projects (Kuhlman, 2000: 5). Moreover, Kuhlman points at that most of the forced migration in history, is closely linked with the emergence of the nation-state. At this point, it is important to touch upon Milica Zarkovic Bookman's positioning of involuntary migration in the perspective of a demographic struggle power in relation to struggles for territory and control of the sources. According to Bookman, there are three types of involuntary population transfers. Two of these population transfers, namely ethnic dilution and ethnic consolidation imply the movement of a target group into a region. Ethnic dilution is the resettlement of people in an area with an aim of diluting the pre-existing population in that area and ethnic consolidation is the resettlement of people in an area for strengthening the desired ethnic group. Whereas the third category, implies the movement out of a region, that is ethnic cleansing, which means deportation of people from an area to cleanse the 'undesirables' (Bookman, 1997: 122-125). The methods of ethnic cleansing are coerced departures, harassment to induce departure, cultural cleansing, payment for expulsion and genocide (Bookman, 1997: 133 – 137).

With a particular emphasis on Kuhlman's multidimensional conceptualization of the term, the definition of forced migration which will be used in this study depends on the definition provided by International Association for the Study of Forced Migration, that is:

a general term that refers to the movements of refugees and internally displaced people (those displaced by conflicts) as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects.⁴

⁴ Available at <http://www.forcedmigration.org/whatisfm.htm>

Moreover, the terms of forced migration and internal displacement and forced migrants, internally displaced and internally displaced persons will be used interchangeably with regard to the definitions provided in this study.

Nevertheless, among the three types of forced migration defined by Forced Migration Online, namely conflict-induced, development-induced and disaster-induced displacement, the scope of this study is limited only with the conflict-induced forced migration practiced in Turkey in late 1980s and during 1990s in Southeast Anatolia and East Anatolia regions and internally displaced persons during this period. Now, it needs clarification on what it is meant by the category of internally displaced persons.

2.1.1. Looking Through the Term “Internally Displaced Persons”

Despite the fact that the practice of internal displacement has been on the agenda long before 1990s, the interest of international community for the internally displaced persons has soared with the increasing number of internally displaced persons due to internal conflicts, particularly after the Cold War and the growing aversion of countries in accepting refugees, thus a rising belief on the requirement of internal protection of persons instead of asylum-seeking. What goes on brought about was the need for a definition for this particular group of people. Underlying the definition of internal displacement there are two core elements, namely the “involuntary nature of the movement” and the fact that the “movement takes place within national borders” (Mooney, 2005: 10). That the movement eventuates within national borders is crucial for that by this way the definition distinguishes the internally displaced person from that of a refugee. Eventually a definition for internally displaced persons was suggested in 1992 by United Nations Secretary-General. According to the definition the internally displaced persons are:

Persons or groups who have been forced to flee their homes suddenly or unexpectedly in large numbers, as a result of armed conflict, internal strife, systematic violations of human rights or natural or man-made disaster, and who are within the territory of their own country (Mooney, 2005: 10).

Regarding this definition, Mooney states that the causes listed in the definition above were borrowed from the broader refugee definitions. Moreover, despite the fact that the definition encompasses the persons displaced by natural or human-made disasters, according to Mooney, it cannot be ignored that there are also cases of internal displacement due to reasons of earthquakes, famine, and nuclear or chemical accidents. Therefore a broader definition was required. Moreover, the 1992 definition of internally displaced persons was narrow in other respects (Mooney, 2005: 11). To begin with, that the definition limited the concept of internally displaced persons to those who had “been forced to flee their homes suddenly or unexpectedly”, disregarded the fact that in some cases such as in Burma, Iraq or Turkey, internal displacement was not practiced suddenly or unexpectedly, but rather it became a state policy. Another limitation of the 1992 definition was with the “criterion of being “forced to flee” (Mooney, 2005: 11). The point with this criterion is that internally displaced persons are not absolutely forced, but they “were obliged to leave their homes” (Mooney, 2005: 11). Finally, the diction of people fleeing “in large numbers” excluded the examples of internally displaced persons who fled in small groups or even individually. Regarding these problematic issues, with the document of Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement a broader definition was provided in 1998 for the internally displaced persons, which seems to gain recognition and been used by governments, United Nations, non-governmental organizations and other actors (Mooney, 2005: 11). The widely accepted definition of the term internally displaced persons follows:

Persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border (UN document E/CN.4/1998/53/Add.2).

Despite the fact that there seems to be a consensus on the definition of internally displaced persons provided in the Guiding Principles, there are still some crucial

points to mention. First of all, the question of whether the internally displaced persons should be defined as a special category is still disputed on. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is one of the opponents of the discussion on recognizing the internally displaced persons as a special category. The ICRC “provides assistance and protection to *all* civilian victims of armed conflict and prefers to target assistance on the basis of vulnerability, not category” (UNHCR, 2006: 155) and argues that recognizing the internally displaced persons as a special category has the risk of leading to discrimination against the other vulnerable groups. Some others also argued that rather than describing the internally displaced persons as a special category, they should be defined in terms of as victims of war (Mooney, 2005: 14). However, what is pointed at by UNHCR seems to be crucial on deciding. According to UNHCR, that internally displaced persons are identified as a distinct category does not refer to a privileged status but rather to ensure that “their unique needs are addressed” since the protection of particular disadvantaged groups, let it be internally displaced persons in this context, is enhanced through special attention (UNHCR, 2006: 156). What is more, Mooney is also for the definition of internally displaced persons as a special category since the practice of internal displacement is fairly related with deliberate violation of rights, for example in case of forced migration of ethnic minorities that “amounts to what has become known as “ethnic cleansing”, which *prima facie* violates the principle of non-discrimination” (Mooney, 2005: 15). Furthermore, experience displays the fact that the internally displaced persons have special urgent needs such as shelter, food, access to adequate health services and need for a solution to their plight like return, restitution or landmines (Mooney, 2005: 17 – 18). On this issue Roberta Cohen has noted that ‘The fact of the matter is that internally displaced persons do have needs that make them different from others in the general population’ and Dennis McNamara, who has over thirty years of experience in working with populations in situations of war and violence, states that there is ‘no doubt that the internally displaced have been among the most vulnerable. Not only that, but they also get the least help.’ (Mooney, 2005: 18) Therefore, the need for a distinct categorization is obvious for internally displaced persons.

Secondly, during the deliberations of the definition of internally displaced persons in 1998 among UN Special-Representative and specialists of international law, some preferred to limit the definition of internally displaced persons to those subject to persecution or conflict. However, before, many non-governmental organizations had pointed at that such a limitation of the definition had the risk of providing a definition that did 'not accurately depict the variety of the root causes of displacement' (Mooney, 2005: 12). However, despite the fact that the broader definition was accepted, global statistics still rely more on those displaced by conflict or persecution (UNHCR, 2006: 153 and Mooney, 2005: 12).

Thirdly, it was argued during the 1998 deliberations and there is still debate on further expanding the definition of internally displaced persons so that it will include those who migrate because of extreme poverty or other economic problems. Nevertheless, the current definition does not include these groups. According to Mooney, this is due to the fact that coercion is not clear in most cases (Mooney, 2005: 13). Moreover, Robert Goldman, who was a member of the legal team that participated in formation of Guiding Principles, stated that the reason of providing a definition for internally displaced persons was to "address the plight of a particular group of persons who had distinct protection and assistance needs resulting from forced displacement; to enlarge the definition would risk losing this focus" (Mooney, 2005: 13).

Furthermore, it is crucial to remember that the definition of internally displaced persons provided in the Guiding Principles, does not denote to a legal one as it is with the definition of refugee which is recognized as a special legal status. Thus the definition of internally displaced persons provided in the Guiding Principles is more a description of "the factual situation of a person being displaced within one's country of habitual residence" (Mooney, 2005: 13). Thus the definition of internally displaced persons is a descriptive one.

Finally, despite the fact that "commonsense seems to indicate that a long period displacement would erase any feeling of limbo, and DPs would simply "get on with it," making a new life where they are" (Holtsman and Nezam, 2004: 94), the question

of when the internal displacement can be said to have come to an end needs specific attention. This necessity arises due to the reasons of decisions on termination of programs intended for internally displaced persons and on limits of national and international responsibility, on the exact numbers of the internally displaced persons, on policy-making directed at internally displaced persons and most importantly of internally displaced persons' entitlement to know their own plight (Mooney, 2003: 4). Although there is no consensus on the issue of end of internal displacement, Mooney, examining the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, the refugee experience by analogy and implication and cases of internal displacement, provides three sets of possible criteria for the decision on when the internal displacement ends (Mooney, 2003). These are cause-based, solution-based and needs-based criteria. To begin with the cause-based criteria, Mooney argues for the development of specific criteria for different inducements of internal displacement, particularly internal displacement caused by natural disasters or development projects. However, when thought of internal displacement caused by an on-going conflict, Mooney asks "whether it is in the best interests of the displaced to continue to consider them as such" (Mooney, 2003: 6). Secondly, the solution-based criterion is about the ability of internally displaced persons' return to the original place or (re)settlement in the new place. Thirdly, the needs-based criteria look for the elimination of needs and vulnerabilities of the internally displaced persons. Mooney, in the end, claims that an integrated approach, including solution-based and needs-based criteria on deciding whether the internally displaced persons are still in need of specific international attention and assistance, should be applied (Mooney, 2003: 6). What Cohen claims as to the issue of end of internal displacement, displays the multidimensional and relational nature and importance of the subject:

It [Ending displacement] will also require a commitment to providing longer-term support for the restoration of civil society, electoral systems, judicial institutions that can resolve property and land disputes and due process procedures to safeguard human rights. Most welcome in this regard is the increased recognition being given to the view that post-conflict reconstruction must include not only the rebuilding of physical infrastructure but the restoration of a framework of governance inclusive of democratization, social justice and respect for human rights (Cohen, 2003: 23).

Considering Turkey's experience of internal displacement, Mooney's integrated approach in relation with Cohen's multidimensional perspective seems to be crucial since the plight of internally displaced persons in Turkey is still deplorable. There are still far too much obstacles before return and what is more almost any concrete steps are made for the integration of internally displaced persons in the 'new' –despite the fact that at least ten years has gone over the practice of internal displacement-settlements. Therefore, from a more ideal perspective, the internal displacement cannot be said to have come to an end until when the internally displaced persons are in the social, economic and safety conditions at least they were in before the practice of displacement.

2.1.2. On The Guiding Principles

Although the internally displaced persons are considered to be the largest 'at risk' population in the world, providing an adequate definition for them has been slow and complex (Velath, 2003: 37). Thus, the importance of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement is that it provided a widely accepted definition for the term internally displaced persons and that the rights of internally displaced persons in the Guiding Principles are focused on as needs of a specific group despite the fact that the document is not viewed as a "revolutionary document" (Banerjee, 2005: 239). In the document the scope of the internally displaced persons is portrayed widely far too much and this wider definition leads to diversities in the conception and resilience on the issues of responsibility of the international community, obligations of states, rights of the internally displaced persons, when the internal displacement ends, return and social integration. Despite the fact that the document points at principles relating to protection from displacement, to protection during displacement, to humanitarian assistance and to return, resettlement and reintegration; the Guiding Principles is considered to be an example of soft law, contrary to international refugee law that is binding. Therefore, as mentioned above, the definition of internally displaced persons does not refer to a special legal status. Moreover, the Principles do not constitute a judiciary *corpus juris*, but it more depends on an aggregation of international humanitarian law and human rights law (TESEV, 2008: 40). As to the critics of the document, it is argued that the discussions and practices around the

Guiding Principles focus more on how the international community should behave in cases of emergency and miss the target of finding durable solutions to the plight of internally displaced persons (TESEV, 2008: 44).

2.1.3. Brief History of Internal Displacement in Turkey after 1980s

Considering the definition of internally displaced persons as it takes place in the Guiding Principles, there exist three sub-categories of displacement, to name disaster-induced displacement, development-induced displacement and conflict-induced displacement (TESEV, 2008: 72). Environmental or natural causes such as earthquake, flood, volcano or landslide and radioactivity, nuclear emanation and industrial accidents form the category of disaster-induced displacement, whilst development-induced displacement refers to people's change of location by practitioners due to planned development projects in a country, such as dams, highways, airports or urban renewal plans. And finally the situations - whether violence or weapon is used, as a result of enforcement of another group - within which persons are obliged to leave the places they have been living in order to escape from human rights violations and/or because their safety of lives are in distress is included in conflict-induced displacement (TESEV, 2008: 72).

It is for sure that the practice of forced migration experienced in Turkey beginning in the second half of 1980s and ongoing up until the end of 1990s is an austere example of conflict-induced displacement. The practice of forced migration beginning in late 1980s, discounting the fact that this is not the first time in the history of Turkish Republic that Kurds are internally displaced, began just a few years after Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan (Kurdistan Workers Party -hereafter PKK) has, in 1984, started its attacks towards military units. Since then PKK redounded its efficacy gradually, while Turkish Armed Forces (hereafter TSK) were losing the control. One of the measures that TSK took against an undeclared war, in 1986, was that of the village guard system, which aimed at armament of the villagers in East and Southeast Anatolia regions of Turkey. However, in 1987, PKK harshly contended with village guards and killed most of the village guards and even massacred some of the families with women and children (Zürcher, 2003: 434). In March 1987, PKK started to make

raids and burn down villages upon instruction and this strategy of PKK continued until the beginning of 1990s (Kirişçi and Winrow, 1997: 130). Moreover, schools and the teachers also became targets of PKK and between August, 1984 and November 1994 128 teachers were killed and more than 80% of these murders were attributed to PKK (Kirişçi and Winrow, 1997: 131). Accordingly, as Jongerden argues, what the response of TSK was reorganization in the army and implementation of a counter-insurgency war doctrine, which began to emerge between 1991 and 1993 and fully implemented since then (Jongerden, 2007: 43 - 44). Within this new doctrine, the villages and smaller rural settlements became targets once more, but this time of TSK since “the destruction of rural society was simply considered part of the solution” (Jongerden, 2007: 44). It is President Turgut Özal’s top secret letter written to Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel in 1993 that clearly displays the building blocks of the internal displacement practiced by state forces. Among various suggestions provided by Özal for the solution of PKK question, the following yields one to conceive the phenomenon of internal displacement in Turkey after 1980s:

Starting with the most troubled zones, villages and hamlets in the mountains of the region should be gradually evacuated. Within this group of PKK (outlawed Kurdistan Workers’ Party) supporters, in number no more than 150,000 to 200,000, being resettled in the Western parts of the country according to a careful plan, logistic support for the PKK will have been cut off and their standard of living will have improved. This group should be given employment priorities. ... With the evacuation of mountain settlements, the terrorist organization (PKK) will have been isolated. Security forces should immediately move in and establish complete control in such areas. To prevent the locals’ return to the region, the building of a large number of dams in appropriate places is an alternative (cited in Jongerden, 2007: 46).

What this piece of letter shows us is first of all, Turkey, in its struggle against the PKK, turned back to the strategy that it had applied sixty years ago in its struggle with Kurdish uprising that is the exile of its Kurdish citizens. Moreover, it attempted to purify the region from local Kurdish people in order to cut off the logistic support

for the PKK. In doing so, TSK burned down villages, evacuated settlements, slaughtered livestock and even enforced embargo on food. Meanwhile, TSK humped itself to provide neither a plan or a program of resettlement nor any assistance to the internally displaced either during or after the flight, so to speak abandoning them to their own fate. Accordingly, it is through this process that the practice of internal displacement came into existence in Turkey after the second half of 1980s. However, entitling the process as that of internal displacement is somewhat problematic for Turkey, particularly in the sight of the state since there is not an official definition for Turkey's question of internal displacement that has been agreed upon or used by authorities. However the definition of internal displacement, as it is defined in the Guiding Principles, has been adopted for the first time in an official document through the Framework Document in 2005 (TESEV, 2008: 84).⁵ Nevertheless, as early as 1998, the underlying causes of the process of evacuations of villages are declared by the report of the Turkish Parliament's Investigation Commission. According to the report of the Turkish Parliament's Investigation Commission, the causes of forced migration are as follows (Bozkurt, 2000: 258): First, villagers had to leave their villages due to the facts that as a result of the ban on the use of pastures and of continuous clashes and military operations animal husbandry and agriculture collapsed; that some of the villages had agreed to be involved in the village guard system and as a result PKK pressure increased in these villages and the state approached hesitantly to and increased the operations and controls in the villages that had not agreed the village guard system. Secondly, PKK had put pressure on the villages that did not provide logistic support to it and evacuated these villages and hamlets. And thirdly, security forces had evacuated the villages that did not agree

⁵ What Francis Deng, United Nations Special Representative, suggested in his Turkey report in 2002 was that the government policies on the subject of internal displacement should be clearer and be generalized and he also called for a road map that would display the plan for solving the problems of return, resettlement and reintegration. Accordingly the Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials and United Nations Permanent Representative met with UN High Commissioner for Refugees, International Migration Organization, United Nations Development Program, World Bank, representatives of European Commission and related official institutions in December, 2003 and January 2004. Following these meetings, In December, 2004, the government formed a commission consisted of representatives from Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, State Planning Organization, Southeastern Anatolia Project and State Statistics Institute. In the end, the Framework Document, named "Precautions Intended for the Question of Internally Displaced Persons and Return to Villages and Rehabilitation Project", was ratified on 17th August, 2005 with a leading decision (TESEV, 2008: 84 – 84)

with village guard system either with a concern of not being able to pacify PKK or that they were sources of PKK's logistic support.

In general, the underlying reasons of evacuations of villages provided within the Commission's report are compatible with the definition yet provided by UN Guiding Principles in 1998 (TESEV, 2008: 73). However despite the fact that in one of the study trips in Diyarbakır that 350 stores and 400 dwellings burned in Lice hold place in the Commission's report (Bozkurt, 2000: 235), the report does not make mention of the fact that the districts such as Lice and even city centers such as Şırnak witnessed conflicts, firing ups and thus forced migration. Therefore, the definition provided by the Commission's report does not take into consideration the statement "places of habitual residence" provided by the Guiding Principles (TESEV, 2008: 73). Moreover, the causes provided in the report do not make mention of persons who had to migrate due to "situations of generalized violence and violations of human rights" as it takes place in the definition of the Guiding Principles, despite the fact that those also played a crucial role in persons' flight. Finally, herein it is crucial to remember that the number of internally displaced persons in Turkey is still a controversial issue since the practice of internal displacement after 1980s in Turkey was carried out without any scheme and even any records kept on the number of persons who were forcedly migrated. Consequently the numbers provided varies a great deal. To begin with the number of internally displaced persons provided by state, it is claimed in Parliament's Report that as of 1997, the number of internally displaced persons is 378.335 from 905 villages and 2.523 hamlets evacuated, whereas the number of internally displaced persons and evacuated villages and hamlets is claimed to be 358.335, 945 and 2.021, respectively within Return to Village and Rehabilitation Project as it is declared by Ministry of Interior in 2006 (TESEV, 2008: 74). However, almost all of the non-governmental organizations, both national and international, claim that the numbers provided by state are considerably low. To give some examples, NRC Global IDP Project estimates the number of internally displaced persons in Turkey as 1 million; United Nations High Commission of Refugees as 2 million and Minority Rights Group International as 3 million and TİHV, TMMOB and Diyarbakır Bar estimate as 3 million, whereas Göç-Der claims the number to be between 3,5 and 4 million. Despite the fact that, it is

not possible to know exactly the number either of the internally displaced persons or of the settlements evacuated, the most available estimation is provided with the study carried by Hacettepe Population Studies Institute that is nominated by State Planning Organization, which estimates the number in between 953.680 and 1.201.000.

The section above was an attempt to explain the theories of forced migration and to provide a brief discussion on the terms of internal displacement, internally displaced persons and the Guiding Principles and a brief history of both the practice and definition of internal displacement in Turkey. What the following section aims at is to provide a theoretical framework for conceptualization of the term social integration.

2.2. Theories of Social Integration

The emergence of integration/differentiation theories can be traced back to the works of Karl Marx, Herbert Spencer and particularly Emile Durkheim in the last half of the nineteenth century. These classic works have been revisited in recent years both in the sociological discourse and policy debate (Gough and Olofsson, 1999: 1). Within the theoretical debates, the sociological themes of Marx, Spencer and Durkheim have been made a current issue by the works of specifically David Lockwood and Nicolas Mouzelis and also by Jürgen Habermas and Anthony Giddens. Moreover, at the policy and politics level the concepts of integration/differentiation are widely used by both scholars working on the issue and organizations such as European Commission and European Union. For the requirements of this study, first the concept of social integration will be examined in relation to sociological discourse and second the term social integration will be defined in relation to studies of migration and specifically internal displacement. Finally, in this part of the study the indicators of social integration will be provided as they are used in examining the condition of internally displaced persons in Turkey.

Gough and Olofsson examine the integration/differentiation theory in four consecutive time periods. To begin with, in Marx's work, the division of labor on the

societal level and within the labor process are key themes. It is also same for his treatment of class struggle and social contradictions, as it is for his theorization of the tension between the forces of production and relations of production (Gough and Olofsson, 1999: 1). Considering Spencer's theory of evolutionary change, it was based on three basic principles of integration, differentiation and definiteness, thus social evolution was thought to be shaped by increasing social differentiation and the new forms of integration (Gough and Olofsson, 1999: 1). Regarding the question of how social integration would be possible in a differentiated social order, Spencer thought that it would be worked out by the invisible forces of society, needless of political intervention (Gough and Olofsson, 1999: 2). Transformed Spencer's suggestions for a theory of social development, Durkheim examined the forms and effects of social differentiation in *Division of Labour*, whereas in his work *Suicide*, he provided a theory of social integration by analyzing the lack of integration, which leads to anomie (Gough and Olofsson, 1999: 1). Thus, integration and disintegration corresponded to order and disorder or anomie in Durkheim's terms (Smelser and others, 2001: 7593). Furthermore, what Durkheim referred to as "mechanical solidarity" was the integration of parts via common values and beliefs, which establish a collective conscience. This conscience makes possible the successful cooperation of persons and groups (Sills and others, 1968: 381). Contrary to mechanical solidarity Durkheim put forth the term "organic solidarity" which denotes to "integration through interdependence" (Sills and others, 1968: 381). At this point, Durkheim referred to division of labor not only as an economic fact, as generally considered of, but also a moral fact. Focusing on the "transformation of a traditional order grounded on status hierarchies to a society with an increasing division of labor" (Gough and Olofsson, 1999: 1), Durkheim pondered on the question of possibility of social integration in a differentiated and individualized social order, and how division of labor, could be the basis for a normative integration since it is also the basis of different interests and conflicts (Gough and Olofsson, 1999: 2). The second phase in integration/differentiation theory was with the work of Talcott Parsons in the postwar period of Western countries and was at the peak during the period within which "the system of norms, taking shape in a civic and political culture within the framework of *stable institutions and a modern state* (or at least a modernizing state, in case of the 'developing countries') was recognized as

the basic form of societal integration (Gough and Olofsson, 1999: 2). The third phase was the post-1968 period during which the integration/differentiation theory was largely absent, except for Lockwood, whose contributions to the theory of integration/differentiation will be explained later in this part. Finally as a fourth phase, Gough and Olofsson argues that there is the re-emergence of themes of integration and differentiation, but within a new historical and social context, different from the previous phases. This new context originates from the turning of conceptual emblems of the 1950s which were industrialism, modernization, democratization, into globalization, the re-emergence of nationalism and ethnicity, the risks of technological and organizational complexity in late 1980s and 1990s (Gough and Olofsson, 1999: 3).

Regarding the requirements of this piece of work, after a quite narrow history of theory of integration/differentiation, before entering into subject of the relation of the concept of social integration with migration studies, it is crucial to go through David Lockwood's theorization of system integration and social integration, but with a particular focus on the latter. It was David Lockwood, who coined the two terms of social integration and system integration with his article 'Social integration and system integration' in 1964, and since then the scene for the debate both on integration and disintegration was set in many ways (Berkel and Møller, 2002: 17).

On a very general basis, what Lockwood did was to build a bridge between normative functionalism and conflict theory. On that society consists of interrelated parts and that social phenomena cannot be reduced to individual behavior, Lockwood agrees with functionalism. However, what Lockwood criticized is the two poles of 'normative functionalism' of Durkheimian/Parsonian approaches and conflict theory of Marxist perspective, or 'action' and 'system' in general terms (Mouzelis, 1993: 572). According to Lockwood the focus of normative functionalism is more on social stability since they claim of existence of "common value elements or a normative consensus between the members of society" (Mortensen, 1999: 17), therefore there is too little focus on social change. Nevertheless, Lockwood also agrees with the fact that people have conflicting interests and quotes John Rex:

If there is an actual conflict of ends, the behavior of actors towards one another may not be determined by shared norms but by the success which each has in compelling the other to act in accordance with his interests. Power then becomes a crucial variable in the study of social systems (cited in Mortensen, 1999: 17).

Despite Lockwood's agreement with conflict theory, he criticized conflict theoreticians for much lodging in the importance of power and stresses upon the role of values, norms and ideologies. This time turning again to normative functionalism, Lockwood states:

Even in situations where power is evident and conflict endemic, it is doubtful whether the phenomena of conflict can be adequately grasped without incorporating into conflict theory many of the concepts and propositions concerning the dynamic properties of value systems (or ideologies) which have been developed, or taken over, by normative functionalism (cited in Mortensen, 1999: 17-18).

Therefore, Lockwood ends up with the claim that conflict theory is concerned with social integration and normative functionalism with system integration and suggests the following explanation as to the social and system integration, which is artificial in his view:

Whereas the problem of social integration focuses attention upon the orderly or conflictful relationships between the *actors*, the problem of system integration focuses on the orderly or conflictful relationship between the *parts*, of a social system (Lockwood, 1964: 245).

To sum up, aiming at integrating a structure-model with an actor-model, Lockwood's main thesis is based on the argument that social conflict or social disintegration are caused by structural antinomies or system disintegrative relations between distinct parts or subsystems of the society. Eventually, Lockwood displays how structural characteristics give collective actors the positions and resources from which the actors can engage in actions aiming to improve their interests. Thus, system contradictions are meshed with social conflicts and the outcome is open-ended (Mortensen, 1999: 19).

The importance of Lockwood's theorization for this study lies in the Mouzelis' claim of it as constructing

... of interrelated conceptual tools that can prepare the grounds for empirical sociological work by dispelling misconceptions, overcoming theoretical dilemmas and raising interesting questions about the constitution, reproduction and transformation of social arrangements (Mouzelis, 1993: 582).

besides its integrative approach between normative functionalism and conflict theory in understanding social integration/differentiation. Furthermore, despite the fact that the discussions on social and system integration here was limited that of Lockwood's for this study, surely there are other theorists dealing with the issue and attaching distinct definitions for the concept (e.g. Habermas, 1973; Giddens, 1984). According to Berkel and Møller, as a result of coexistence of different understandings of the term social integration paves the way for the application of the notion of integration in various contemporary political discussions and empirical work, one of which is the integration of immigrants, crucial to this study.

To move towards from an abstract level to a more concrete one in understanding the concept of social integration, it is acknowledged in almost all resources that there is not a consensus on the exact definition of the term *social integration* even today. Castles states that "there is no single, generally accepted definition, theory or model of immigrant and refugee integration. The concept continues to be controversial and hotly debated" (Castles and others, 2002: 114) despite the fact that research on migration and integration as a sociological discipline began in 1920s and 1930s within Chicago School (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006: 4). Three basic models were created within Chicago School for integration of immigrants into host societies. The first was Wirth's (1928) ecological models of inclusion of immigrants and city development. The second was generational cycles, as proposed by Duncan (1933) and refers to a progressive cycle over three generations and the third was Robert Park's (1950) race relations cycle with a claim that it is in a sequence of contact, competition, accommodation and assimilation the relations between migrants and

non-migrants develop. Since then, social sciences have coined various terms for defining the processes of newcomers. Among these concepts are absorption, race relations cycle, assimilation, acculturation, inclusion, incorporation and integration (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006: 2). Despite the fact that, all these terms are crucial in examining the phenomenon, within the context of this study only the term 'integration' will be used though both the definition and indicators of the term are all mixed up. As to the definition of the term, it is argued that there at least three different ways of understanding the term social integration (UNRISD Briefing Paper No. 1, 1994). For the first group, the term implies equal opportunities and rights for all human beings, thus it is an inclusionary goal. Whereas, for the second group, increasing integration has a negative connotation that can be associated with imposition of uniformity, thus it is conceived as a concept akin to assimilation. And for the rest, "it is simply a way of describing the established patterns of human relations in any given society" (UNRISD Briefing Paper No. 1, 1994) and has neither positive nor negative connotation.

Within this study, the concepts of integration and social integration will be used as an inclusionary goal that demands equal opportunities and rights for the whole society. To begin with, Kuhlman's conception of integration, which he suggests as an ideal one that can be rarely achieved in reality, is said to be a model for the evaluation of refugee integration:

If refugees are able to participate in the host economy *in ways commensurate with their skills* and compatible with their values; if they attain a standard of living which satisfies *culturally determined minimum requirements* (standard of living is taken here as meaning not only income from economic activities, but also access to amenities such as housing, public utilities, health services, and education); if the socio-cultural change they undergo permits them to maintain an identity of their own and adjust psychologically to their new situation; *if standards of living and economic opportunities for members of the host society have not deteriorated due to the influx of refugees; if friction between host population and refugees is not worse than within the host population itself*; and if the refugees do not encounter more discrimination than exists between groups previously settled within the host society: then refugees are truly

integrated (Cited in Castles and others, 2002: 125).

It is obvious that Kuhlman provides a multidimensional understanding of the term integration, which seems functional in assessing the level of integration. However, Kuhlman's definition does not make a particular emphasis on the processive dimension of integration which is much debated on and an inherent part of full integration. To meet the deficit, the definition provided by Bosswick and Heckmann in a sociological context seems significant:

Integration is understood as the process of inclusion of immigrants in the institutions and relationships of the host society. The question of integrating immigrants into a country is framed primarily at the level of the nation state (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006: 1). Integration, in a sociological context, refers to stable, cooperative relations within a clearly defined social system. Integration can also be viewed as a process- that of strengthening relationships within a social system, and of introducing new actors and groups into the system and its institutions. The integration of immigrants is primarily a process: if this process succeeds, the society is said to be integrated (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006: 2) When studying the integration of individuals into existing systems and institutions, the question arises: participation in which institutions is central to migrants' integration? ... Immigrants –both individuals and groups- will not always be received with open arms in the institutions and systems to which they aspire. They will encounter barriers to integration, which this paper [Integration of migrants: Contribution of local and regional authorities, 2006] will conceptualize as prejudice and discrimination, or as the openness of such institutions to immigrants. For such barriers to be overcome, the host society must engage in a mutual process of integration (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006: 9).

Bearing in mind that, the term integration should be “recognized as an umbrella term suggesting a set of possible and overlapping processes and spheres” (cited in Castles, 2002: 126) the provided definitions for integration and social integration is homologous and sometimes even interchangeably used since the indicators of the two terms match up with one another. Speaking out this complicated nature of the two terms, in this piece of study, the concept of social integration will be used in accordance with the theoretical arguments above. Moreover, since the term, social

integration “invites analysis of the concrete networks of relations and institutions which support or undermine the livelihood of people in given times and places” (UNRISD Briefing Paper No. 1 World Summit for Social Development, 1994: 8) the utilization of the term social integration is benign for empirical considerations in this study. Then, to give a definition of social integration: “Social integration can be defined as the inclusion and acceptance of immigrants into the core institutions, relationships and positions of a host society” (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006: 11).

Before entering into the discussion on the definition of social integration used in this study and the indicators of it, it needs a generalization. To put in a nutshell, what should a concept of social integration take into consideration are both structural possibilities and constraints and actions and communication. That is to say, “Integration has to be described as opportunities in terms of structures (availability of and accessibility to resources) as well as in terms of variety of actions and density of communication” (Cars and others, 1999). Moreover, what Cars and others claim for social exclusion, that since it is a result of various changes in social, cultural and economic dimensions thus in need of wide scope of indicators in analysis, applies to social integration as well. In relation to these discussions, what follows are the definition of social integration in this study and the related indicators of social integration.

For the purpose of this study, despite its controversial character, social integration is conceptualized as referring “to the inclusion of individuals in a system, the creation of relationships among individuals and their attitudes towards the society [and] it is the result of the conscious and motivated interaction and cooperation of individuals and groups” as it is defined in 2006 by European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006: 2). As for the indicators of integration, the framework provided by Ager and Strang will be used in this study, namely “Indicators of Integration: final report” (Ager and Strang, 2004) which was commissioned by UK Home Office and undertaken by Queen Margaret University College, Edinburgh. In the context of the framework provided with this study, the concept of refugee integration is divided into ten distinct but interrelated domains under four headings. Under each domain, indicators are suggested through

which progress towards integration might be evaluated. These four headings are “*means and markers*”, “*social connections*”, “*facilitators*” and “*foundation*”. To begin with means and markers, there are four domains under this heading that are “*employment, housing, education and health*”. Referring to the categories of integration indicator adopted by Council of Europe (1997), it is argued in this report that Council of Europe emphasized that these four domains were “important areas of public activity where integration could be assessed” (Ager and Strang, 2004: 3). However, it is argued that success in each of these four domains should not be regarded as an “‘outcome’ of integration” (Ager and Strang, 2004: 3), but rather they should also be seen as ‘means’ to integration as well. Therefore, besides the fact that achievement in these domains attests a progress of integration, it also supports achievement in other domains. Nevertheless, the four domains under the first heading are referred to as the ‘public face’ of integration and they are not sufficient on their own for understanding what integration denotes for people as they experience it. Thus, the second heading is “social connections” consisting of three domains, which are ‘*social bridges*’, ‘*social bonds*’ and ‘*social links*’. To clarify, the domain of social bonds refers to the “connections within a community defined by, for example, ethnic, national or religious identity” (Ager and Strang, 2004: 4) whereas social bridges refer to the relations with members of other communities. Third heading of the framework is facilitators, which includes two domains that are ‘*language and cultural knowledge*’ and ‘*safety and stability*’. These two domains are referred to as ‘key facilitating factors’ (Ager and Strang, 2004: 4) in the process of integration, which initially included the language only. Then due to qualitative interviews, authors widened this domain since not only knowledge of the language, but also a broader understanding of cultural knowledge, including “refugees’ knowledge of national and local procedures, customs and facilities, but also non-refugees’ knowledge of the circumstances and culture of refugees” would be effective in evaluating integration. Final heading is the one of “foundation” that includes the domain of ‘*rights and citizenship*’. This domain was added to the framework due to the reason that ideas of citizenship and nationhood –and thus rights- have a fundamental impact on “what ‘counts’ as integration” (Ager and Strang, 2004: 4).

What is significant about the indicators provided in the framework is that authors do not suggest of a hierarchy among the domains, contrary to the discussions on which aspects of integration, economic, social, political or psychological, should be prioritized (Castles and others, 2002: 176). Moreover, the way domains are presented does not aim to suggest a ‘process’ of integration. Therefore, it is not proposed in the report that any of the domains is more important than any other and that integration should eventuate in a particular order (Ager and Strang, 2004: 4-5). Having provided the practitioners with the four domains and ten indicators with respect to integration, also a distinction for policy and practice-levels indicators is made since the framework aimed at introducing something valuable both at the policy and practice levels. For the policy level, the framework serves for a general understanding of “what integration is, how it can be achieved and how progress can be measured” and for the practice level, its aim is to “help with the planning and delivery of services” (Ager and Strang, 2004: 5), which provides a researcher with the opportunity both to follow the process of integration and propose pathways on the road to integration. Lastly, the claim of the authors that the framework could be used, with modification, to search the experience of asylum seekers, of economic migrants and of other groups opens up the way for the framework to be used for wider communities, including internally displaced persons.

To put together, despite the fact that the study did not aim at providing a definition of the term integration, the term is operationalized as the following:

An individual or group is integrated within a society when they:

- achieve public outcomes within employment, housing, education, health etc. which are equivalent to those achieved within the wider host communities;
- are socially connected with members of a (national, ethnic, cultural, religious or other) community with which they identify, with members of other communities and with relevant services and functions of the state; and
- have sufficient linguistic competence and cultural knowledge, and a sufficient sense of security and stability, to confidently engage in that society in a manner consistent with shared notions of nationhood and citizenship (Ager and Strang, 2004: 5).

Having provided the operationalization of the term integration, it needs to proceed with what both the headings, namely means and markers, social connections, facilitators and foundation and domains of employment, housing, education and health; social bridges, social bonds and social links; language and cultural knowledge and safety and stability and rights and citizenship refers to in detail within the Indicators of Integration Framework:

A. Means and markers: It is argued that they are the key areas for refugees to participate in the life of communities. Since that they are the records of accessing things, which are valuable within the community, they are markers and that they will often have a role in achieving other things relevant to integration, they are means as well. The first domain is employment, which provides a mechanism for income generation and economic advancement and as such is considered as a key factor in encouragement of integration. Moreover, jobs are important in (re) establishment of valued social roles, development of language and broader cultural competence and establishment of social connections. Housing is the second domain and it is argued that it structures refugees' experience of integration. Conditions of housing impact not only a community's sense of security and stability, but also its opportunities for social connections and access to healthcare, education and employment. The third domain is education, which affords significant opportunity for employment, wider social connection and language learning. Within the fourth and the last domain that is health, the issue is the equity of access to health services and responsiveness of services to the specific needs of refugees. Moreover, to be in good health provides refugees with greater social participation and engagement in employment and education activities.

B. Social connection: It takes different social relationship and networks, which help towards integration, in. Bonds are the connections with people with whom one shares its own experiences and values through ethnicity, religion or country of origin. The existence of social bonds helps for a sense of belonging to a particular ethnic, religious or geographical community, which prevents integration to turn into assimilation. Whereas, bridges refer to the connections with other groups. Since the creation of bridges with other communities reinforces social cohesion and

opportunities for broadening cultural understanding and widening economic opportunities, the establishment of social connections with other national, ethnic or religious groups is crucial in integration, particularly for a two-way integration. Finally, considering the fact that engagement with local governmental and also non-governmental services, civic duties and political processes etc. construct another set of social connections, links are the connections that help to access services and be fully involved as a citizen and thus support integration.

C. Facilitators: The heading of facilitators is about the key skills, knowledge or circumstances that would help people with being active, engaged and feeling secure within communities. As to the domain of language and cultural knowledge, such skills enhance social connections with other communities and with state and voluntary agencies. Cultural knowledge, separately, refers to the very practical information used in daily living such as regarding transport, utilities, benefits and etc. as well as customs and expectations. Second domain is safety and stability and it counts for a common concern, shared by refugees and within the broader communities in which they live, about community safety. Moreover, racial harassment and crime obliterates confidence, restrains engagement in social connection and distorts cultural knowledge.

D. Foundation: “refers to the principles that define what you have a right to expect from the state and from other members of your communities and what is expected of you.” The aforementioned principles consist of the rights that are given to individuals, and the expectations and obligations of citizenship as well. What assesses this domain is the extent to which refugees are provided with the basis for full and equal engagement within UK society.

Within the framework of this study, the operationalization and indicators provided above make allowances for a study of multidimensional character, including economic, social and cultural dimensions, of practice of internal displacement in Turkey. Therefore this framework will be the basis of this study for examining the social integration levels of internally displaced women and youngsters in Turkey with modifications that will answer the requirements of position of internally

displaced persons in Turkey and Turkey's particular circumstances, surely adhering to the general structure of the framework.

CHAPTER III

INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT IN TURKEY

Despite the fact that it is possible to come across with the practice of forced migration in history through the mediums of invasion and deportation, it is not unfair to relate the spread of instances of forced migration to struggles of dissolving empires for controlling the ethnic structure of their population. This struggle was valid also for the Ottoman Empire that then inherited to the Turkish Republic. Nevertheless, as far as it is examined, neither the Ottoman Empire nor the Turkish Republic has ever experienced forced migration that much large in persons affected and long in time as such in the example of internal displacement in 1980s and 1990s in Turkey. Thus, the aim of this chapter is to look at Turkey's experience of forced migration first in a historical perspective in relation with nation-building process, second the specific experience of internal displacement in 1980s and 1990s in terms of violation of rights and thirdly, to provide some of the preliminary findings of case studies on that specific experience before moving on to the findings of this research.

3.1. Internal Displacement as a Process: Practice of Forced Migration in Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic

The political scientist Robert Koehl put forward the essential logic of resettlement more than five decades ago

as the attempt to dominate a region by removing from it all those who are believed to be uncontrollable, and filling it instead with a controllable population. Practices of resettlement, he argued, are intended to master a territory (Jongerden, 2007: 1).

According to Koehl, resettlement was a means both of cleansing and exchanging populations and the practices of resettlement were interconnected with the process of transformation of the empires into nation-states (Jongerden, 2007: 1). Therefore the

policies of resettlement are the products of the newly emerging nation-states (Dinç, 2009: 211) which shared the ideal of constructing homogeneous nations within their borders.

What Koehl claimed in 1950s, was in circulation from the very beginning of the Turkish Republic and was actually a legacy of the Ottoman Empire. Particularly during and after the period of decline, the Ottoman Empire resorted to practices of settlement and resettlement among which one can encounter deportation and forced migration. As Koehl argued, the underlying reason for these practices was to master the territory either due to security reasons, economic arrangements or the perceived need of dissolution and thus assimilation of ethnic identities, which took the first place in the Turkish Republic's ideal of constructing the homogeneous Turkish nation. As Yeğen argues the endeavor of centralization occupied an important place in the Ottoman Empire and was also important in Turkey's modernization politics (Yeğen, 1999: 56) and the fact that modernization was perceived as a means of creation of the nation, it seems important to conceive the centralization efforts of the Republic in conjunction with Turkish nationalism in dealing with the settlement issue, predominantly from the perspective of Kurds' (re)settlement for the requirements of this study.

3.1.1. Laws on (Re) Settlement

To go through the settlement policy in the Ottoman period, before 18th century, the settlement affair was maintained by province and *vilayet* administrations. Moreover the *kadı* of the region was also assigned and responsible for settlement issue (Babuş, 2006: 61). Tekeli argues that the empire institutionalized the practice of forced displacement through the system of deportation in 16th century (Tekeli, 1990: 51). Whereas from 18th century onwards, the settlement policy was changed and it was carried out through a commission of which the head was the most authorized administrator in the region. In 19th century, the settlement policy was affected by both the endeavors of centralization and the collapse of the empire due to rebellions and invasions. In 1860, the Commission of "İdare-i Umumiye-i Muhacirin" was established due to a necessity of intensive numbers of migrants coming from

Caucasus. This Commission was the first organization which carried out the application of settlement at a central level (Babuş, 2006: 61). Then the Commission was extended after the 1877-1878 war and directorates of settlement of *muhacirs* were established, under the name of “İskan-ı Muhacirin Müdürlüğü”, in all *vilayets* and under the supervision of the directorate in Istanbul. In 1913 “İskan-i Muhacirin Nizamnamesi” was enacted and relying on this regulation on 9 March 1915 with a law put into action “Aşair ve Muhacirin Müdüriyet-i Umumiyesi” was established to deal with the problem of migration came into existence after 1912-1913 Balkan Wars, continuing the policy of centralization in settlement practices. This directory with its branch offices would conduct the business both of tribes and *muhacirs* (Babuş, 2006: 61 - 62). Furthermore, the enactment of this law was not the first practice that deals with the settlement of tribes. Before that, Sultan Mahmut the Second, decided to give an end to the autonomous structure of the *vilayets* in East Anatolia, dispatched the armed forces and by disciplining most of the heads of tribes and sent them to exile to the sanjaks in the West (Babuş, 2006: 40). This attitude of the state caused rebellions and after the Bedirhan uprising, he was settled in Crete with his neighborhood. That he was sent to exile with his neighborhood is important that in the later acts of settlement, i.e. Law of 1934, it was not allowed for those forcedly migrated to settle with their neighborhoods. This, in a way, can be a good example, among the others, of the fact that the implementations of settlement became heavier, especially in 1930s when the Turkish nationalism peaked. To get a general idea on the way Turkish laws deal with the issue of settlement, it is required to explain these laws briefly.

The first resettlement law, Law No. 885, of Turkish Republic was adopted on May 31, 1926. By this law who could be admitted as an immigrant was defined. In the second article of this law it is stated: “Those who don’t share the Turkish ‘hars’... will not be admitted as immigrants.” Çağaptay states that “during the deliberations on this law, TBMM agreed that Turkish culture, “hars”, would be the basis of future immigration to Turkey” (Çağaptay, 2006: 85). What is more important, by this law,

the Ministry of Interior was authorized to relocate and resettle the nomadic tribes⁶, - whenever it was necessary- thus clearly targeting the Kurdish people mostly (Yüksel, 2005: 16). Another law on the issue of settlement was passed in 1927, after the Ağrı uprising with the law number 1097, namely “Law on the Deportation of Some Individuals from Eastern Zones to Provinces in the West” (*Bazı Eşhasın Şark Menatıkından Garb Vilayetlerine Nakillerine Dair Kanun*). With this law fourteen hundred individuals were relocated from Ağrı province and Eastern martial law area to Western parts of Turkey. While before this law the legislations were primarily focused on the settlement of muhacirs, refugees, and nomads, in this law the settlement of the tribes in East under state control, in order to ensure the loyalty of the tribes, was of first priority (Babuş, 2006: 161). Arguing that this law “legitimizes the deportation of persons from Eastern community of whose mother tongue was Zazaca or Kurdish”, Aygün defines this law as one of contradictory to basic human rights and racist (Aygün, 2009: 83). What followed was the Law No. 1178 that was enacted in 1927 with which the authority was given to the council of ministers to remit the statue of the Law No. 1097 which stipulates the transfer of some individuals from eastern regions to the provinces in the West (Babuş, 2006: 167). However, the law excluded those related with the Sheikh Said uprising and with the events after the uprising. Moreover, the Law No. 1097 would still be in force for the families who made a habit of violence, rebellion and extortion in their regions and those who ran away from the regions they were settled and joined bandit if they do not proclaim penitential within three months. The charges grew out of resettlement would be paid by General Management of Settlement (Babuş, 2006: 169).

Besides these laws, the settlement policy of the Republic was supported with some other applications. With the uprisings in the Kurdish regions at the beginning of 1925, martial law was declared in the region on 25 February 1925 and military operations began. The “insurgent villages”, as it was named, were first burnt and then proclaimed to be “deprived regions” (*mahrumiyet bölgesi*) so as to the forced migrants would not return to these regions (Bozkurt, 2000: 12). Moreover, in 1927

⁶ Yeğen (1996) argues that the term “nomad” was an euphemism for the Kurds in discourse of the Settlement Act.

the law on Inspector Generality (*Umumi Müfettişlik*) was enacted and the Inspector General was authorized to (re)settle people. As a consequence of these practices, the number of Kurds moved to Western parts of Turkey between 1920 and 1932 was 2,774 (Çağaptay, 2006: 86) whereas the number of Kurds moved to the West increased to 25,381 people from 5,074 households in the 1930s (Çağaptay, 2006: 90). Although “the relocation of Kurds did not turn into a mass program” (Çağaptay, 2006: 90) in 1920s, the increase in the number of Kurds who were moved in 1930s seems to be noteworthy in understanding the relation between the increase of Turkish nationalism and policies and practice of settlement.

Herein, it is crucial to examine the Settlement Act 2510, which was passed on 14 June 1934 and composed of 52 articles, thoroughly to understand Turkish nationalism’s logic of settlement, since the law was enacted in a period when Turkishness was more defined on the basis of ethnicity and the Turkish nationalism was crowd shot. The first article of the law stated: “the Ministry of Interior is assigned the powers to **correct** ...the distribution and locale of the population in Turkey in accordance with membership to Turkish culture” (emphasis added) (Cited in Çağaptay, 2006: 88). While the first article displays the way population engineering was used at Turkish nationalism’s disposal (Çağaptay, 2002: 229), the following quotation from Naşit Hakkı Bey, Kütahya MP displays the basic aim and importance of the law for the state:

The Settlement Act, which will give the shape in our ideal to our fatherland, will keep alive uncontaminated, free, prosperous and sound generations; will penetrate the honor and dignity of being Turk to the marrow of those living in these lands, will be one of the most eminent laws of our revolution (Babuş, 2006: 218).⁷

For realizing this ideal, with the law three zones were defined in Turkey. Zone 1 was for “populations who share the Turkish culture”; Zone 2 for “...relocation and resettlement of populations which are to adopt the Turkish culture”; and third Zone

⁷ “Yurdumuza idealimizdeki şekli verecek, kirletilmemiş, hür zengin ve sağlam nesiller yaşatacak; Türk olmanın onur ve değerini bu topraklarda yaşayanların iliklerine kadar işletecek olan “Yerleştirme Kanunu” devrimimizin en seçkin kanunlarından biri olacaktır” (Babuş, 2006: 218).

was closed to resettlement and habitation due to “sanitary, economic, cultural, political, military, and security” reasons (Çağaptay, 2006: 88). Furthermore, the inhabitants of Turkey were categorized into three groups which are first the ones who spoke Turkish and were considered to be of Turkish ethnicity; second group was those who did not speak Turkish but were considered to be of Turkish ethnicity and third the ones who neither speak Turkish nor to be considered of Turkish ethnicity. Accordingly tribal populations of Zone 1 area would be resettled in Zone 2 area, except for the following districts, namely Zone 1 areas:

- a. “Areas in which resettlement is forbidden or limited in accordance with the decision of the Cabinet of Ministers.”
- b. “Those parts of the First, Third, and Fourth Inspectorates that are set aside for the resettlement of Turkish immigrants from foreign countries.”
- c. Certain areas in Diyarbakır, Siirt, Van, Bitlis, Sivas, Erzincan, Erzurum, Malatya, Mardin, Urfa, Bingöl, Ağrı, Iğdır, Tunceli, Gümüşhane, Maraş, and Gaziantep, such as a “twenty kilometer belt on both sides of railway lines, radical sectors centered around urban zones, planes, mining zones and regions, lake Van basin,” border zones, river valleys, as well as Iğdır, Erzincan, Elbistan, and Malatya planes. (cited in Çağaptay, 2006: 89)

Looking at the categorizations above, as well as the law was comprehensive in its character; the Kurds were the main focus of the law. Although the law does not mention on any ethnic identity (Yeğen, 2007: 129), the expressions such as “tribal populations that do not speak Turkish”, “people who do not share the Turkish culture” or “people who are not of Turkish origin and do not share the Turkish culture” were referring to Kurds (Çağaptay, 2006: 89).

Beyond, the increasing nationalism in 1930s asserted itself in the text of the law. The words such as race started to appear in the laws of 1930s as well as in the Settlement Act and the settlement policies were shaped around the notions of race and ethnicity. Article 7 “stipulated that “immigrants who belong to the Turkish race ‘soy’ might settle wherever they wish, so long as they have not applied for material help from the government”. “However, those “immigrants who don’t belong to the Turkish race” had to “settle where the government had asked them to, whether or not they had

requested aid from the government”” (Çağaptay, 2006: 91). Beşikçi argues that the use of the expression of ‘Turkish race’ from the seventh article of the law is important since those defined as not of Turkish race were Kurds in particular (Beşikçi, 1977: 136).

To give some examples from the articles of the Settlement Act, the Article 9 gave the entitlement to the Ministry of Interior to resettle wanderer gypsies and nomads who were not tied with Turkish culture by spreading them, but on condition of uncollectively, to Turkish towns and villages (Beşikçi, 1977: 138). Article 10 declared that real estates of aghas, sheikhs or tribes would be passed to the state and that the Ministry of Interior was entitled to dispersedly settle the tribes, who were not tied to the Turkish culture, but were from Turkish subjects, to 2nd Zone. With Article 11, people, whose mother tongue was not Turkish, were restricted to establish villages, districts or masses of workers and craftsmen collectively (Beşikçi, 1977: 142). In Article 16-E it is declared that married children and grand children are settled separately. According to Beşikçi this leads to the breakup of the traditional Kurdi family through a top to bottom decision (Beşikçi, 1977: 150). However in clause G of Article 16 it is stated that Turkish *muhacirs* and refugees are settled where their relatives live. In the 29th Article, it is not allowed for individuals, who were removed from 1st and 3rd Zones to Zone 2 areas pursuant to the Articles 9, 10 and 11, to leave the regions they were settled even after 10 years without the decision of cabinet (*icra vekilleri heyeti*). Whereas *muhacirs*, refugees or nomads and 1st Zone persons settled by the government were obliged to reside in the regions they were settled at least for 10 years. In Article 39, it is obvious that there is discrimination in pecuniary assistance given to the settled people. In this article it is stated that the land or buildings in the 2nd Zone areas, thus those given to Kurds, are evaluated as debt (Beşikçi, 1977: 121). Furthermore, *muhacirs* or refugees coming from the Balkans or from the Soviet Union, on the condition that they settle on the Kurdish regions, they did not have to pay for the land or houses provided. Yet, if they settle on other regions, then they become indebted to the state for the equipment provided. According to Beşikçi, this is an encouragement for that the Kurdish regions would be congested with different ethnic groups.

To put together, according to Beşikçi, particularly with the Law 1934, the Kemalist government distrained on the lands of *aghas*, sheiks and tribes and distributed the land to the refugees (Beşikçi, 1977, 184) whereas leaving the Kurds without land. The Kurds, who were sent to exile, were left without a job, land etc. thus faced with grueling conditions. Additionally, Beşikçi argued that the 1934 Settlement Act and the practices coming after the act were colonialist interventions and therefore the practice was not settlement, but compulsory settlement, thus deportation (Beşikçi, 1977). Moreover, Beşikçi draws attention to that the proposal of the Settlement Act was made in the course of Kurdish resistance (Beşikçi, 1977: 198). On the other hand, Aygün, taking attention to the “Law on the Administration of Vilayet of Tunceli” (*Tunceli Vilayetinin İdaresi Hakkında Kanun*)⁸, which was enacted after one year of the Settlement Act, argues that the Law No. 2510 was prepared pondering Dersim, since it can be a precaution to the activities in Dersim (Aygün, 2009: 83). Despite the fact that Dersim had always been under close state surveillance it seems so that the target of the Settlement Act was wider.

Although the Kurdish resistance was substantially pacified by 1938, the practices of deportation and settlement of Kurds continued until 1947 (Yüksel, 2005: 23). In 1947, along with the single-party regime came to an end in Turkey, the Law No. 5098 was enacted and the obligation of occupancy for those settled with the Settlement Act was overruled. Thereupon 22,516 persons from 4,128 households returned to East Anatolia (Aygün, 2009: 86). Later on 37 amendments were made on the original Settlement Act and the conditions for return and rights of property are enlarged with these amendments. Whereas, the Law numbered 2510 is still the settlement law that is in force in Turkey. However, before looking at the act of internal displacement practiced in the late 1980s and 1990s, it is worth to mention on the Law. No. 105, which was introduced in addition to Law No. 2510, with the military coup of 1960. Considering this law, fifty five persons, who were said to be *aghas*, sheiks, heads of tribes, were sent to exile to West Anatolia. However, Faik Bucak, who is a lawyer and one of those fifty five persons, claimed that only five of

⁸ With this law, the military commander was at the same time the governor and the Inspector General of the province. Moreover, the authorized person was equipped with extreme jurisdiction, this situation was unique for Dersim region (Aygün, 2009: 93).

those people owned land (Bozkurt, 2000: 63). The law declared that the state would participate in expenses (Beşikçi: 1977: 216) whereas in the single - party era the expenses were afforded by those who were sent to exile themselves.

Finally in the 1980s and 1990s, except for the State of Emergency Law, which entitles the governor of the State of Emergency to evacuate, resettle and unify the villages, hamlets and settlements of any such kind for making the necessary arrangements in terms of security reasons, the practice of internal displacement was not statutory, but more arbitrary. What is more, with the State of Emergency Law, the authority of evacuation of the villages were given to the State of Emergency Regional Governor, however strikingly, none of the regional governors of the period admitted that they used their authority (Bozkurt, 2000: 306). Moreover, even in the 1930s, the golden ages of Turkish nationalism, Turkey has not witnessed that much aggregate masses suffer from internal displacement without any assistance, even humanitarian aid, at the time of forced migration as it faced after the second half of 1980s and 1990s.

In conclusion, as it can be inferred from the text of laws and explanations above, the act of internal displacement was practiced systematically with an aim of dissolving the Kurdish identity in Turkishness, thus of assimilating the Kurds. At this point, what Jongerden argues is striking:

In short, resettlement practices became organized as a practice of assimilation, as part of the process of nation building ... This organization of assimilation is highly unusual and very revealing of the Ottoman/Turkish mindset ... A centrally planned assimilation policy of the kind enacted by the late Ottomans and early republicans is quite possibly unique in human history (Jongerden, 2007: 179).

Moreover, it is clear that the underlying intention of the resettlement policy of the state directed towards Kurds, from the very beginning of the Turkish Republic's establishment, derives from the belief that the Kurds would be 'the future Turks' (Yeğen, 2007: 137). That the state ideology almost always from the establishment of the Republic first thought of and then expected Kurds to be Turks was a direct

consequence of the attempts of constructing a ‘homogeneous nation’. What is more, although Tekeli argues that forced population displacements were not demanded as political means and used large-scale only due to political crisis, wars and uprisings (Tekeli, 1990: 68), the fact that there is a continuous endeavor on legislation of settlement displays the importance of the issue for the state and that the application of forced migration is not unique in just one historical period but instead a permanent practice used in the struggle for establishing “the nation”. What follows is an attempt to relate the act of settlement with the process of nation-building.

3.1.2. Resettlement and Nation-Building

“Internal conflicts are symptomatic of national identity crisis.”
Francis Deng

With the decline of the Imperial states at the turn of the 20th century, new political forms came into existence on the basis of nation-states of which

the population politics modeled on the idea of nationalism, a political concept holding that the borders of political units (state) and cultural units (nation) should coincide and teaching that the power of a state depends on the degree to which its subjects respond to the ideal of the particular cultural identity that is thought to characterize the nation (cited in Jongerden, 2007: 5).

However, the ‘cultural units’ rarely correspond to that of borders of the state as imagined by elites of nation-states. The political elites’ conviction of this coincidence as a necessity led to the pervading of the idea of resettlement or population exchange (Jongerden, 2007: 5) in the wake of molding the population. Considering the settlement and resettlement practices put into practice in the 20th century as a modern phenomenon, Jongerden focuses on the role of modernization in the creation of state-based nations. He argues:

[M]odernization was treated as a guiding principle [I]n the cultural domain, it was held responsible for the production of reform, and contributed to the creation of state-

based nations (such as Turkey). It was in this nationalist cultural context of modernization that resettlement emerged, as a tool of states and proto-states, a technology contributing to the realization of modernity's nationalist content, and with its scope varying from the assimilation of peoples to the physical 'cleansing' and appropriation of land. Its aim is the territorial production of culture (Jongerden, 2007: 7).

Moreover, what Jongerden points out to, in examining the practices of settlement and resettlement in production of Turkish national identity, is not only the destructive feature of management of populations, but also the constructive feature of power in dealing with struggles of populations. He argues that the essential problem and primary action of nation-states was that of production of population, thus "of the social category of 'the people'". (Jongerden, 2007: 3). On producing 'the people' within an ideal of homogeneous culture, what modernization actually aims at is to "destroy in order to create" (Jongerden, 2007: 8).

The narrative on modernization arm in arm with nationalism in production of the space for the sake of a homogeneous nation above is valid also in the case of Turkish modernization in relation with nationalism and nation-building. Once emerged as a linguistic and cultural movement in the 1880s and then became "the constitutive ideology of a secular and modern 'nation-state-society' in the second quarter of the twentieth century" (Yeğen, 2007: 120), Turkish nationalism thought of "'Turkishness' as the only possible ground for political unity on Ottoman territory" (Yeğen, 2007: 122) that was evident in 1924 Constitution which declared that the new Turkish Republic

is a nation state. It is not a multi-national state. The state does not recognize any nation other than the Turks. There are other peoples who come from different races and who should have equal rights within the country. Yet it is not possible to give rights to these people in accordance with their racial [ethnic] status (Cited in Yeğen, 2007: 126).

Nevertheless, what was apparently declared in 1924 Constitution was not a disruption with the past came into play all of a sudden, but instead signaled a permanency of policies of the Young Turk era throughout which the way to create a

new Turkish nation-state “passed through the path of the homogenization of the population” (cited in Rae, 2002: 126). Herein it needs to briefly discuss the policies of the Committee of Union and Progress (hereafter CUP) with respect to construction of ‘the people’ and in relation both with Turkism and practices of (re)settlement. Despite the fact that Kurds, along the Ottoman era, were subjected to exile or practices of (re)settlement; Kurds, in general, were not directly aimed at, but the practices were more turned towards the notables of the insurgent tribes (Dinç, 2009: 212). However, the situation changed at the beginning of the 1910s when the CUP cadre embraced Turkism instead of Ottomanism particularly after the Balkan Wars, which displayed the fact that the strategy of Ottomanism failed to maintain the unity of the Empire (Yeğen, 1999: 88). That the Balkan nations broke with the Empire in 1912 – 1913 Balkan Wars, brought about the consequence that the population on Ottoman territory was for the most part Turk, which consequently shaped the future both of state and of state policies (Dinç, 2009: 212). Moreover, respecting for ethnic diversities was something outdated and even something inessential, a view through which the cadres of CUP followed the policy of assimilation of ethnic minorities by Turkification (Yıldız, 2007: 79). Forced (re)settlement was one of the means of this Turkification project besides universalizing the Turkish language among non-Turks and national economy based on solidarism (Yıldız, 2007: 81). For this time, particularly after 1915, when Russian troops entered into the Ottoman territory, and during the following years, Kurds were subjected to extensive and serial operation of resettlement by CUP (Dündar, 2008: 139). In doing so, CUP aimed both at ‘civilizing’ and ‘assimilating’ the Kurds (Dinç, 2009: 212) via resettling them in the West, dispersedly among the Turks and in the Turkish villages. Therefore, it seems that the practice of resettlement can not be considered apart from endeavors of modernization and thus centralization and their role in constructing a homogeneous nation, that is to say Turkification of other ethnic identities and even the space.

The ongoing endeavors of modernization accelerated after the establishment of the Republic and in the Kemalist era, which took over the “ideal of creating a national community that piqued itself on being Turk” from CUP (Yıldız, 2007: 86), and the settlement practices and regulations emerged as a field of struggle serving for the ideal of modernization interference with nationalism. Thus, it is obvious that one of

the most significant purposes of the settlement policy in Turkey aimed at constructing a nation, which espoused the national culture, bounded to the state (Babuş, 2006: 303) as Naci Kökdemir, who stated that he spent fourteen years to occupation of settlement, depicted:

The intentions comprised by the notion of settlement, which is one of the enormous interior and exterior claims of our fatherland and great reform, do not only include pecuniary favors; the main purpose is of National Culture and population claim(Cited in Babuş, 2006: 117).⁹

That re (settlement) was given this much importance was pretty much related with the population movements and migration waves that the Republic was subjected to in 1920s and 1930s. As a result of the fact that Christian population was sent off from the territory and that Muslim migrants arrived with the breakup of Ottoman Empire, Turkey in 1920s turned to be a territory of Turks in a great deal but also of multiethnic Muslim majority, among which Kurds were the most prominent group (Çağaptay, 2002: 219), that necessitated the Republican elites to ally with the Muslim minorities in early 1920s. This was noted by Atatürk himself in 1920:

The various Muslim elements who live within the limits of the circle that we have drawn as our national boundaries are our genuine brothers, who have mutual respect for each other vis-à-vis race, region, and morals. Consequently, we would not desire to do anything contrary to their wishes. It is certainly clear to us that the Kurds, Turks, Lazes, Circassians, etc., all the Islamic elements within our national boundaries share joint interests and that they have decided to work together. (Cited Çağaptay, 2006: 105)

However, just a few years later, namely in the second half of 1920s the situation had changed and it emerged as a break in this alliance, which resulted in an attempt to “make Turkey into a nation-state for the Turks” (Çağaptay, 2006: 106). This is also declared by Atatürk himself in 1925. He stated:

⁹“Yurdumuzun ve büyük İnkılâbımızın muazzam iç ve dış davalarından birisi olan iskan mefhumunun içine aldığı maksatlar yalnız maddi yardımı ihtiva etmez; asıl gaye Milli Kültür ve nüfus davasıdır.”

Our current state structure changed the character of the common ties persistent for hundreds of years among the individuals of the nation; what will keep together the individuals of our nation is not the religious and sectarian ties but will be the Turkish nationalism.¹⁰ (Cited Heper, 2008: 135)

Therefore, it is obvious that, according to the Kemalist cadre that multiethnic character of the population was something to be corrected since they believed that the Muslim groups, other than the Turks should not have a separate ethnic identity (Çağaptay, 2002: 222). In 1931, Recep Peker, General Secretary of CHP (Republican People's Party) declared:

Within today's political and social community of Turkish nation, our citizens who were indoctrinated with ideas such as Kurdishness, Circassianness, even Lazness and Pomakness are counted on. It is our duty to correct [those amongst them] these wrong considerations (Cited in Çağaptay, 2002: 222).¹¹

The Kemalist cadre had concerned itself and took the task of rectifying these 'fallacies', which lifted its effectiveness much in 1930s particularly with the appearance of Turkish History Thesis, which indicated that an ethnic definition of the Turkish nation would be in circulation that would be hostile to citizens with Muslim ethnic identities, other than Turks; particularly the Kurds. Among the other means, policies of resettlement would play a crucial role in managing out "those wrong considerations" through the Kemalist cadres' persistent belief in that mixing Anatolian Muslims with Turks would result in success of assimilating them in Turkishness. Therefore, one of the most important aims of the resettlement policies followed in Turkey, particularly the Settlement Act numbered 2510 which was enacted in 1934, when Turkish nationalism was at peak, was that of destructing the ethnic identities and constructing a nation that embraced the national culture (Babuş, 2006: 303).

¹⁰ "Şimdiki devlet yapımız ulusun bireyleri arasında yüzyıllarca sürüp giden ortak bağların niteliğini değiştirmiştir; ulusumuzun bireylerini şimdi bir arada tutacak olan, dini ve hizipsel bağlar değil Türk milliyetçiliği olacaktır."

¹¹ "Bugünkü Türk milleti siyasi ve içtimai camiası içinde kendilerine kürtlük, çerkeslik ve hatta lazlık ve pomaklık gibi fikirler telkin edilmiş olan vatandaşlarımızı kendimizden sayarız. [Aralarındaki] bu yanlış telakkileri... düzeltmek vazifemizdir."

Furthermore, ongoing practices of settlement came to an end in late 1940s for about forty years, which resumed in the 1980s as a matter of national security. Castels, adding to the conceptualization of resettlement as a part of a modernization project, points out to the close link between the discussions on forced migration and national concerns with border control and national security (Castels, 2003: 13), which has significant consequences for understanding the plight of internally displaced persons today. First of all, as it can easily be inferred from the arguments above, thus the practice of settlement is engaged with a “crisis of national identity” in states with internal conflict (Cohen and Deng, 1998: 6). That a state is identified with a unique national identity brings about the exclusion or marginalization of others who do not concede that identity. In other words, those who do not concede that unique national identity are perceived as “enemy” due to their association with an insurgent group an opposing tendency, either political or ideological or with an ethnic, cultural, religious or social group that is considered to be inferior threatening (Cohen and Deng, 1998: 6). In Turkey, Kurds were one of those groups perceived to be threatening the national unity. In case of Turkey, Kurdish people were not only subjected to various kinds of assimilative practices, but were also perceived as an internal threat to the national security and most of the time the whole Kurdish people were accused of associating with PKK, which caused them to be perceived as enemies in daily discourse. This perception was also available in discourse of TSK since in 1989, chief of the general staff of the era, commenting on the conflict between TSK and PKK referred to members of PKK and to those assisting them as “enemy” (Yeğen, 1999: 154). Yeğen argues that this particular discourse was not new, but had been relatively circulating ever since 1930s, especially when the state power was threatened (Yeğen, 1999: 154). Second problem arises from the notion of state sovereignty. Despite the fact that the internally displaced persons experience almost the same troubles with refugees, what lacks for internally displaced persons is the international protection since the internally displaced remain within the borders of a state (Deng, F.M., 2003: 5). This brings about the fact that as long as the internally displaced do not cross any internationally recognized border, it is the responsibility of their own government to protect them. However, considering the fact that “internal conflicts are symptomatic of national identity crisis”, precluding

the state sovereignty means to abandon the internally displaced persons to their fate.

Thirdly, what Bookman argues

since ethnic regulation implies the elimination or suppression of ‘other’ ethnicities, instead of easing inter-ethnic animosities and improving inter-ethnic relations, the demographic struggle for power portends the perpetuation of inter-ethnic conflict (Bookman, 1997: 193)

is crucial in perceiving how different ethnic, cultural, religious or social identities are produced and also reproduce itself within and in the course of the obsession of construction of a unique homogeneous, national identity. Yüksel clearly set forth the consequences of Dersim deportation in the formation of a collective identity among the forced migrants of Dersim:

It was not until the process of forced migration, a common ethno-religious collective identity began to develop among the Alevi Kurds of Dersim ... Before their forced migration, their identity was too localized and fragmented along tribal lines. Since their return, however, their identification with a broader Kurdish ethno-national identity has gained much more social and political significance ... It is precisely because of their forced displacement, the Dersimli Kurds have been able to retain a distinctive and contentious collective identity (Yüksel, 2005: 24 – 25).

To sum up, the practice of internal displacement in Turkey has much to do with constructing a homogeneous nation as well as with the perceived threats and concerns of ‘national security’ in relation to Turkish nationalism. Thus, the practice of internal displacement in Turkey seems to be a tradition rather than an exercise for the nonce fixed in a specific time period. Therefore, it is not possible to conceive Turkey’s experience of internal displacement in the late 1980s and 1990s apart from its trails in history of Turkey’s emerging as a nation-state.

3.1.3. Suggestions Provided and Practices Put by Turkish Governments

This section of the study provides some of the implementations put into action by Turkish governments. Despite the fact that there are some other applications such as

Van Action Plan, the ones included in this study are those that are comprehensive and implemented nation-wide. To name, the application and problems of Return to the Villages and Rehabilitation Project, of The Report of the Turkish Parliament's Investigation Commission and of The Law on Compensation for Losses Resulting from Terrorism and the Fight against Terrorism follows.

3.1.3.A. Return to Village and Rehabilitation Project

Return to the Villages and Rehabilitation Project (hereafter RVRP), which was initiated in 1994, intended for the population group of internally displaced persons affected from either disaster, development or conflict induced displacement. (TESEV, 2008: 75) The project initially included 12 provinces and was executed by the General Directorate of Rural Services during 1994-1999. Since 1999 Ministry of Interior has pursuing the project in coordination with Special Provincial Administration (*İl Özel İdaresi*) of the related governorship (*valilik*). Adıyaman and Ağrı provinces were included in the RVRP in 2004 and the number of the provinces included in RVRP has been 14, to name Adıyaman, Ağrı, Batman, Bingöl, Bitlis, Diyarbakır, Elazığ, Hakkari, Mardin, Muş, Siirt, Şırnak, Tunceli and Van.

What is aimed at the project, as it is mentioned by the Ministry of Interior, is to settle the families, who “departed” (Action Report of Ministry of Interior, 2008)¹² from their villages by various reasons of which at the outset comes security and who want to return voluntarily in the neighborhoods of their own villages or in other available lands. Moreover, the project also aims at providing the families with required social and economic infrastructure and sustainable life conditions in these settlements. Additionally the project accounts for the restart and permanency of life in the villages that stood empty for a long time through amendment of practices of agriculture, livestock and crafts in parallel with sustainable development and participatory planning (Action Report of Ministry of Interior, 2007)¹³.

¹² Available at http://isay.icisleri.gov.tr/ortak_icerik/w3.icisleri/2008_faaliyet_raporu.pdf

¹³ Available at http://www.icisleri.gov.tr/_Icisleri/WPX/starteji_1.doc

With reference to 2008 Activity Report of Ministry of Interior, on the basis of the data obtained from the governorships of 14 provinces, “386.360 persons from 62.448 households had to migrate from their villages due to security reasons” (Action Report of Ministry of Interior, 2008). Furthermore in the same report it is stated that from 25.001 households 151.469 internally displaced persons returned to their villages within RVRP. The number of the returnees and households is the same in 2007 Activity Report of Ministry of Interior whereas in 2006 Activity Report it is indicated that between the time period June 2000 and December 2006, from 24.036 households 142.813 persons returned to the villages of the provinces included in RVRP (Action Report of Ministry of Interior, 2006)¹⁴. Although considering these official reports, it seems so that almost half of the internally displaced persons have returned to their own villages, the given numbers are criticized by national and international NGOs due to two reasons (TESEV, 2008: 30). First problem arises from the fact that at least 10 years has passed over the practice of internal displacement and the households have grown and new ones have been formed. Second reason is about the questioning of the term ‘return’ because many people turn temporarily due to the facts of either the inconvenient conditions in the villages or seasonal return for planting and harvesting. (TESEV, 2008: 30)

Despite the fact that the RVRP is an important step taken by government for IDPs’ returns, it can be criticized on various points. First of all, considering Hacettepe Survey, only half the amount of internally displaced persons knew RVRP in 2006 after twelve years the project has implemented which indicates the failure of government in announcing the project. Secondly, obstacles before settlement still persist. Some of the most crucial obstacles waiting for urgent solution are the continuation of village guard system, uncleaned landmines and deficiencies of infrastructure. Besides, a document for the implementation, scope and objectives of RVRP does not exist yet, which in turn brings problems about transparency. (TESEV, 2008: 32) To give an example, in the earlier years of RVRP, there were claims that internally displaced persons had to sign forms and on the forms, they had to tick the option by which they admitted that they had left their villages because of

¹⁴ Available at
www.bumko.gov.tr/PEB/dosyagoster.aspx?DIL=1&BELGEANAH=6892&DOSYAISIM=I-10.pdf

the PKK.¹⁵ Finally, by the Framework Document the government commits consultation with NGOs on return, however until now; the government has not conferred with NGOs on return. Furthermore, despite the fact that fifty five percent of internally displaced persons want to return (Hacettepe Survey, 2006: 108), as the age of internally displaced persons decreases the will to return also decreases. Therefore, it needs more and more urgent solutions for integration to be taken for the ones who are undesirous of return.

3.1.3.B. Report of the Turkish Parliament's Investigation Commission

In 1997, Algan Hacaloglu, Republican People's Party's Member of Parliament (hereafter MP), and nine friends of him gave a proposal for opening a parliament investigation on the problems of "citizens who had to migrate due to evacuation of settlements in East and Southeast Anatolia". (Bozkurt, 2000: 220) The commission took up its duty on 18 June 1997. The study lasted for three months and pursued in Ankara, Diyarbakır, Van and Şırnak, including totally sixteen meetings six of which were held out of Ankara. In these meetings, the members of the commission met with representatives of central administration, local administrator, representatives of non-governmental organization, academicians, "citizens who migrated owing to evacuated settlements of the regions in question" (Bozkurt, 2000: 221) and related mukhtars. In this report, it is stated that the numbers of the evacuated villages, hamlets and internally displaced persons within State of Emergency provinces contiguous land (*mücadele alan*) and other provinces are 905, 2523 and 378.335 respectively. Interestingly, in some parts of the report the number of the internally displaced persons is claimed to be more than 400.000. (Bozkurt, 2000: 268) However, Tunceli province MP Orhan Veli Yıldırım argued that the numbers were inaccurate, stating that some of the villages such as Baylık, Çemçeli and Ulukale, which seemed to be occupied, are actually empty (Bozkurt, 2000: 225)

In the report the reasons of forced migration are as follows: 1)State of Emergency execution and its suppressive applications , 2)practice of ban on high plateaus 3) high

¹⁵ This fact was also mentioned by a lawyer in Diyarbakır in the interview made for this research. He also stated that this practice was given up in 2000s.

risk of safety of life in the rural areas due to the conflict 4) will to draw away from violence and occasion of insecurity 5) head of households' worry concerning the future of their children 6) economic problems of families and enterprises due to the conflict 7) troubles caused by village guard system, special legions (*Özel birlikler*) and special forces (*Özel kuvvetler*) 8) pressures impelled by "armed illegal organizations" to the villages and hamlets that do not give support to them (Bozkurt, 2000: 321) 9) practice of food embargo in many regions and 10) committing of political murders by unknown assailants.

Examining the practice of internal displacement within a multidimensional perspective, the report of the commission can be considered as the most comprehensive legal document on the issue (TESEV, 2008: 126). First of all, the report is important because it approves the fact that the villages were not evacuated within the legal framework, but by security forces in act. In Law No. 2935 of State of Emergency the governor of the State of Emergency region was authorized to evacuate or remove the villages. However, it is stated in the report that governors of the period declared that none of the villages were evacuated with a legal order of the State of Emergency governorship. Moreover, the report attracts attention to violations of internally displaced persons' rights frankly with respect to the Turkish Constitution, Universal Declaration of Human Rights and European Human Rights Convention. Finally the report is worthy for its cooperation with various NGOs and meeting with almost all parties of the problem and giving place for their narratives. To give an example, the following quotation exists in the report is from the mayor of Hozat, Tunceli:

From the families migrated to center of the district [Hozan], 8 families settled in the municipality's wedding room, 4 families in the municipality's guesthouse which was under construction, 4 families in the garage of the health center and 73 families either in the houses of relatives, in empty houses or in the empty **barns and haylofts** (emphasis is added), which were repaired out of necessity and made pertinent to be settled. (Bozkurt, 2000: 317)

As a last word on the report, it provided the government with not also a due diligence of the internally displaced persons, but also comprehensive suggestions, including social and economic propositions as well, considering both the returnees and the ones who do not want to return but to stay in the cities they settled. However, the proposal for the establishment of center-villages is in contradiction with the claim of the report on that return should base upon willingness.

3.1.3.C. The Law on Compensation for Losses Resulting from Terrorism and the Fight against Terrorism

The Compensation Law was ratified by Turkish Grand National Assembly on 17 July 2004 and entered into force on 27 July 2004.¹⁶ On 4 October 2004¹⁷, the implementing regulation was issued by Council of Ministers and an amendment was made on 15 September 2005.¹⁸ Since this law is the most significant step taken by the government considering the problem of internal displacement in Turkey, it needs further and extensive explanation. To begin with, the role of the international agents in the enactment of the Compensation Law can not be denied. In 2002, Francis Deng, United Nations Special Representative, called for a law intended for compensation of the losses of people who were ejected from their homes by security forces and who were affected by the conflicts¹⁹ (TESEV, 2008: 80). Moreover, on 18 September 2002, European Council Parliamentary Assembly called for compensation for material losses suffered by internally displaced persons in Turkey (TOHAV, 2006: 10). Therefore most of the NGOs and lawyers that represent the internally displaced persons considers of the Compensation Law as a step taken for pleasing European Union and European Court of Human Rights (hereafter ECtHR) (TESEV, 2005: 14).

⁵ Law on Compensation for Losses Resultng from Terrorism and the Fight against Terrorism [Terör ve Terörle Mücadelen Doğan Zararların Karşılanması Hakkında Kanun], no.5233, 17 July 2004, *Resmi Gazete*, no.25535, 27July 2004.

¹⁷ Implementing Regulation on Compensation for Losses Resultng from Terrorism and the Fight against Terrorism, Decision no. 2004/7955, 4 October 2004, *Resmi Gazete*, no.25619, 20 October 2004.

¹⁸ Implementing Regulation on the Amendment of the Implementing Regulation on Compensation for Losses Resultng from Terrorism and the Fight against Terrorism, Decision no. 2005/9329, 22 August 2005, *Resmi Gazete*, no.5937, 15 September 2005.

¹⁹ Deng, F. (2002) "Specific Groups and Individuals Mass Exoduses and Displaced Persons" Francis Deng's Report to the United Nations Human Rights Commission. 2002/56, E/CN.4/2003/86/Add.2, 27 November.

This fact was also mentioned in the interviews made with lawyers within this research. Both of the interviewed lawyers, one from Diyarbakır and the other from Istanbul stated that after a meeting held with ECtHR and a committee from Ministry of Foreign Affairs, ECtHR declared that Turkey should urgently deal with the issue due to the reasons that applications in the ECtHR reached thousands and that Turkey can not afford the compensation. Just after this declaration, more than a hundred applications from one of the villages of Diyarbakır were brought to a conclusion with relatively high amounts of reparation. Then ECtHR asked for the lawyers' and NGOs' ideas on the Compensation Law and they argued that it was early to decide on the effectiveness of the law. However, since the government presented the finalized applications to the ECtHR, the Court decided that the Compensation Law was an effective resolution for the internally displaced persons in Turkey. Therefore, the Court decreed *Icyer v. Turkey* trial as a pilot case and sent back all the applications to Turkey. Another striking claim of the lawyers is that the amount of reparations decreased significantly. To give an example from the interviews; the amount of reparation paid for a land measure of about 1000 m² was 60 million YTL before the *Icyer* decree, now decreased to 32 million YTL. Furthermore, the lawyer interviewed in Istanbul stated that the ministry sent circulars to the governors and commissions. It is written on these circulars that "referring to the ECtHR decisions please pay attention while you are deciding on the amount of reparation and consider the standards of ECtHR since the applicant can go to ECtHR again". He said that they saw the circulars however argues that it was not applied and that today there are proposals of 100 YTL, 400 YTL or 900 YTL as reparation, "which is not worth talking on".²⁰ Finally, Turkish governments did not consult on NGOs working on the issue or displaced community leaders in making the law even though the displaced themselves found acceptance as the "best partner for assessment of needs and program delivery" (Kunder, 1998: 20) in international studies.

From the date that the law came into force to December 2008, the total number of the applications is 363.105 of which 155.768 were adjudicated. Of the decreed applications 100.685 were finalized in peaceful solution. Totally 1.121.659.429, 00

²⁰ Interview with the lawyer in İstanbul.

YTL was demanded by the commissions and 769.229.594, 00 YTL was consigned by the government (Action Report of Ministry of Interior, 2008)²¹.

For now, the number of the commissions is one hundred and six in seventy seven provinces. In four provinces, to name Artvin, Kastamonu, Kırklareli and Bartın, there is not a commission because of the fact that there are no applications in these provinces (Action Report of Ministry of Interior, 2008). The commissions in the provinces consist of seven members. The commission's chairman is a deputy governor who was appointed by the government. Five of the members of the commission were civil servants including expert of finance, public works, agriculture and village affairs, health and industry and trade who are all appointed by the governor. And the seventh member of the commission is an independent member of the local bar association. That an independent member holds a place in the commission was the result of a request by Mesut Değer, Republican People's Party's Diyarbakır MP, although he initially proposed that the commissions be composed of three independent members, a lawyer, a construction engineer and a health professional in addition to other six civil servants. However, in the end Government only accepted the proposition of a lawyer to take place in the commission. (Muller and Linzey, 2007: 72) Claiming that the members of the commission are very close to the state, Cevat Aktaş, Bar Association member of Van Compensation Commission stated (Muller and Linzey, 2007: 72):

I cannot influence the decision of the commission in any way. It is not even possible to give a dissenting opinion. The provincial special administration [which is part of the Governor's office] makes the decisions and all we do is sign them. We would like to contribute to the process and for our views to be considered.

When we look at the operation of the Commissions, persons apply to the Commission and the Commission should finalize the application in two years at the latest. The Commission proposes a peace treaty (*sulhname*) and if the applicant approves and the treaty is signed then the compensation must be paid in three

²¹ Available at http://isay.icisleri.gov.tr/ortak_icerik/w3.icisleri/2008_faaliyet_raporu.pdf

months. If the Commission decides that the application is not in the coverage of the Compensation Law, then the applicant has the right to go to the domestic administrative court for remedy. At this point Mulley and Linzey argues:

... In order to grant compensation on appeal, the administrative court must be satisfied that the State is criminally liable for the damage suffered, and that the sum proposed by the commission is insufficient to cover that damage. It is unlikely that assessment commissions will find criminal liability on the part of the State. Therefore, villagers will have to prove such liability in the administrative court, as well as demonstrating the need for a higher level of compensation. In effect, there is little prospect of a successful appeal for those people who are unable to obtain evidence that the State inflicted the damage. The concept of independent judicial review as a review of the original decision to ensure that it is legally and procedurally sound is therefore absent from the compensation process (Mulley and Linzey, 2007: 77).

Furthermore, although the Commissions should act in the way defined by the law, both of the lawyers interviewed for this study stated that they had applications, which were presented to the Commissions four years ago and not yet decreed. Moreover, one of these lawyers claimed that the compensations are paid after a year that the peace treaty had been signed and no interest is paid to the applicants for the delay. It is also claimed in the guide prepared by TOHAV that neither the number of personnel nor the quality of the commissions are sufficient in responding the applications (TOHAV, 2006: 10).

Going into the text of the law, the Compensation Law embraces not only the internally displaced persons but also all victims who suffered from terrorism and fights against terrorism. Thus, by the law, not only the damages of internally displaced persons but also of security officials, village guards and civilians are compensated without considering whoever caused the damage since 1987 (TESEV, 2008: 81) and thus damages eventuated in 1984 – 1987 period are excluded. However, the scope of the law is not compatible with the internationally accepted definition of internally displaced persons since the definition provided in the Guiding Principles includes those who were forcedly migrated in addition to the ones who

had to migrate due to conflicts or to the ban on access to grazing and high pasture, but the latter category is not included in the Compensation Law.

The law redresses the following basic damages; first damages to movable and immovable property, damages to life and body of the person and damage caused by one's inaccessibility to his property. However the law does not provide for any non-pecuniary damages. This is problematic in that ECtHR condemned Turkey for non-pecuniary damages. Thus this leads to a discrimination among internally displaced persons and makes it difficult for victims of internal displacement to trust to the state.

To look at the problems with the text of the law, firstly it needs attention that there are damages excluded in the Compensation Law. These are:

Damages that were previously compensated by the Government with the allocation of land or a house or by other means; that were compensated in accordance with a court judgment; that occurred as a result of economic and social causes other than terrorism, and losses incurred by those who left their homes voluntarily and not for security reasons; [that] result from persons' own activities; [that] suffered by convicted offenders and those convicted of assisting and harbouring terrorists and compensation previously paid in accordance with a judgment or as a result of a friendly settlement envisaged by the ECHR (Muller and Linzey, 2007: 61).

To debate on the excluded damages in the Compensation Law, first of all the fact that it is not possible to apply for the law for the persons convicted of terrorist offences is contradictory with Article 10 of Turkey's Constitution relating equality before the law and Article 14 of the Convention for the Protection Human Rights which relate to prohibition of discrimination (Muller and Linzey, 2007: 65). Moreover, it will be difficult to define which of the damages are caused by themselves and that the claims made on that security forces behaved as if some events were battles, in the period of the State of Emergency, prevents the persons from the right to possession (TESEV, 2005: 16). According to Dursun Özdoğan, the lawyer interviewed in Diyarbakır, another problem was the passive approach of the text of the law. He points out that in the text of the law, it is not made mention of the

forced migration or the firing and destroying of the villages. Instead he says: “It is as if an invisible hand paved the way for the damages and that damage will be compensated by the state somehow”.

To look at the problems with the adoption of legislation, firstly, before an amendment was made on the law, commissions were asking applicants for presenting documents that are not possible to be gathered such as Health Council reports, incident report showing the damages, documents of ownership.²² Strikingly, in some of the commissions the internally displaced people are viewed as opportunists and/or collaborators of PKK in a prejudiced manner (TESEV: 2005, 16). Furthermore, because the regulation of the law does not necessitate surveys, the commissions may act arbitrarily; this can lead to the fact that even in cases of necessity the surveys are not realized. Even if the commission makes a survey, this time the problem arises from the cadastral maps. It's as follows; in some villages where the Land Registry Office had carried out a cadastral survey after the date of application and before the commission's survey, lands, which were used by the villagers for cultivating and harvesting, were recorded as Treasury land or national forest. Thus, the commissions, ignoring the villagers' statements, relied solely on the cadastral records, which all in all resulted a loss of property for the applicants, despite the fact that ECtHR decided that official records cannot be regarded as the only basis in assessing ownership (TOHAV: 2006, 11-12). Moreover, considering the losses the suggested amounts of reparation by the commissions are low and there are inconsistencies in the amounts among different commissions. Another problem stated in the adoption of legislation is that the peace treaties are prepared solely by the commissions without debating with the internally displaced persons or even their counsels. Thus, the treaties are presented to the applicant or their counsels as a *fait accompli* and the amendments are rejected. (TOHAV, 2006: 11). That the applicants admit the suggested amount of compensation compulsorily because of the word that their applications will be concluded earlier is another problematic contention on the adoption of legislation. Yet, Muller and Linzey point out to the fact that some of the applications are rejected without any clear justification. To exemplify:

²² 9329 numbered amendment came into force after issued in Official Gazette on 15 September 2005.

... a family from Bingöl whose house had been burnt down had been forced to migrate to Diyarbakır in 1990. In 1992, they had a child. The commission refused to pay the compensation as the child had been born in Diyarbakır (Muller and Linzey, 2007: 67).

Another problem with the law is that it is not clear whether the damages of the citizens who had migrated abroad will be compensated. At this point TOHAV argues that Assyrians experience particular difficulties. Since most of the Assyrians live abroad today, their lands in the villages are registered on someone else living in the neighborhood villages in cadastral surveys. Moreover, that the lands of Assyrians are not cultivated for a long time and are overgrown, such areas are registered as forest or Treasury land. Finally, since the property owners of the Assyrian villages have long been living in Europe, they are stripped out of their Turkish citizenship and for now they cannot be registered as owners because of the fact that they are foreign nationals (TOHAV, 2006: 12).

TESEV research provides us with information on the internally displaced persons' perception of the law. First, a great number of victims do not know that the law also compensates deaths and injuries. In addition the statement of 'resulting from terrorism' in the law frightens the victims. They get afraid of being labeled as terrorists by the state and this causes that the applicants do not percept the application as a legitimate demand but instead as complaining the state (TESEV, 2005: 14). Yet, the view that village guards are privileged in the adoption of legislation is prevalent among the internally displaced persons (TESEV, 2005: 17).

Another problem with the law arises from the pursuance of the compensation in kind or in cash. TESEV Research Group argues that prioritizing the compensation in kind relates the compensation to return indirectly, although the text of the law does not condition that. This is contradictory with the principle of willingness. However, Dursun Özdoğan stated that it was their fault to apply primarily for compensation in cash than compensation in kind. This is because, the compensation paid for a 100m² house is 10.500 TL and with depreciation of 40%, the compensation decreases to

6.500 TL although the amount determined by The Ministry of Public Works and Settlement for 2008 is 105 TL for m² of a house and 65 TL for m² of a barn. While, he argues, if the compensation was demanded in kind, then the total m² of the house would be determined and the house would be built in accordance with the determination. Moreover, he also stated that considering the law, the nationalization law should be grounded on in determination, however the Ministry of Interior send circular to the commissions and indicates that 32 million TL would be paid for a land measure of about 1000 m². The lawyer argues that it is not accurate to pay the same amount of compensation for the lands with different qualities.

In conclusion despite the fact that it is the most significant step intended for dealing with the damages of the internally displaced persons, it is obvious that it is not just an innocent act of the state, but a necessity originating from the international pressure and ECtHR decrees. Thus, the Compensation Law brought about many problems as mentioned above. First of all, the law is far from providing the internally displaced persons with a durable solution, thus it does not allow the victims to restart before all else their economic lives as it claimed, needless to say not taking into consideration the intangible recovery of internally displaced persons. At this point, Williams suggests for establishment of a covering institution that would function as a control mechanism in the adoption of legislation equally to all internally displaced persons (Williams, 2006: 8). It is clear that establishment of such an institution in Turkey, independent of the state, would be effective in fair adoption of legislation. Moreover, it is clear that both commissions and applicants still need clear guidance on the application to and adoption of legislation. And finally, as Dursun Özdoğan suggests and so does some NGOs, the deadline for application to the law should be extended and the law should be amended so as to compensate the non-pecuniary damages.

To sum up, it is obvious that Turkey has failed to suggest convenient offers or put into action the practices that would produce a solution to the problem of internal displacement in Turkey. What is more, Turkey has aggrieved its internally displaced citizens with its rather top-to-bottom and problematic implementations. Putting aside the discussion on implementations that Turkey provided, the following part aims at

examining the practice of internal displacement in terms of violations of internally displaced persons' rights.

3.2. Internal Displacement as Human Rights Violations

In cases of internal displacement, but particularly in conflict-induced displacement, governments violate even the basic human rights of internally displaced persons, apart from the rights born of the approved status of internally displaced persons. This sub-section of the study aims at going through the violated rights in respect of first Turkish Constitution and second of Universal Declaration of Human Rights and European Human Rights Convention.

3.2.1. Human Rights Violations in Respect of Turkish Constitution

What follows are the violated rights of the internally displaced persons, directly or indirectly, in respect of The Constitution of The Republic of Turkey as it is argued in 1998 report of the Turkish Parliament's Investigation Commission. To begin with the 2nd article of the Constitution, it defines the Turkish Republic as a democratic, secular, social state that respects human rights. Article 10 advocates equality before the law and that the all proceedings of state organs and administrative authorities act in compliance with the principle of equality before the law. The 17th article remarks that everyone has the rights to life and to protect and develop his material and spiritual entity. In the 20th article the right to demand respect for private and family life and privacy of an individual or family life are maintained. Furthermore, this article declares that neither the person nor the private papers, nor belongings of an individual can be searched or seized without any decision by a judge or any written order of an agency authorized by law except for the grounds of national security, public order, prevention of crime commitment, protection of public health and public morals, or protection of the rights and freedoms of others. With article 21 it is written that the domicile of an individual shall not be violated and it shall not be entered or searched or the property there seized unless there exists a decision passed by a judge on the grounds of the stated circumstances for the 20th article above. By the 35th article the rights to own and inherit property is protected and these rights may be

limited only in view of public interest. Article 36 declares the right of litigation and the right to a fair trial before the courts for everyone. Article 40 states that everyone whose constitutional rights and freedoms have been violated has the right to request prompt access to the competent authorities and that state shall compensate the damages caused by any person through unlawful treatment by holders of public office. Article 42 advocates that no one shall be deprived of the right of learning and education. In article 46, if the public interest requires it, the State and public corporations are entitled to expropriate privately owned real estate wholly or in part, in accordance with the principles and procedures defined by law, providing that the compensation is paid in advance. Finally in the 57th article, it is declared that the state shall take measures to satisfy the need for housing in a planned framework that takes into account the characteristics of the cities and environmental conditions. Moreover, the state shall support for community housing projects.

To go through the articles of the Turkish Constitution above, during the practice of internal displacement in Turkey, it is reported in many researches and also in my own interviews that the houses were raided and were totally destroyed. In addition most of the internally displaced persons still have no access to their estates even after almost twenty years has passed over the forced migration. Furthermore, even in times of forced migration, Turkey's internally displaced did not have chance to use their lands due to security reasons or bans on hamlets. One of the most important violations, which has significant social consequences, is the violation of right to education. In all of the researches, reports and also in this research it comes as a striking fact that internal displacement caused unschooling of children either caused by economic constraints, since the families sustain on very low incomes and/or children are obliged to work on the streets, or by discrimination experienced by children at schools. Finally, almost none of the internally displaced persons in Turkey, neither during the displacement nor after the displacement, have got assistance even not on housing. Holtzman and Nezam state that in major situations of displacement in Europe and Central Asia, except for Turkey, displaced persons' household incomes rely significantly on public assistance and international humanitarian agencies or both (Holtzman and Nezam, 2004: 91). However, in Turkey, the internally displaced persons were abandoned to their own fates.

The last point with reference to the violation of rights took place in the Commission's report is that with the extension made to the law of the State of Emergency, Law No. 2935 on 18.7.1997, 286 numbered decree law the governor of the State of Emergency Region is authorized to evacuate, change the place of or unite the villages, hamlets and of any such kind of settlements in his sphere of duties temporarily or permanently to make the necessary arrangements with respect to security (Bozkurt, 2000: 306). However, none of the governors of the State of Emergency Region, met for the report of Parliament's Investigation Commission stated that he exercised his power given with this governmental decree, which is contrary to the decree.

However, in Başak Culture and Art Foundation's report some other rights of internally displaced persons are claimed to be violated in respect of the Turkish Constitution. First is the Article 23 which protects the right to freedom of residence and movement. It is clear in the article that freedom of residence can be restricted by law for the purpose of preventing offenses, promoting social and economic development, materializing sound and steady urbanization and protecting public property. It is striking that the violations of rights protected with this article do not take place in the report of the parliament's investigation commission despite the fact that a huge number of internally displaced people forced to migrate without any official notification and that their rights to freedom of residence were violated. Moreover, since the practice of internal displacement in Turkey after 1980s has no concern with promoting social and/or economic development or urbanization, it seems so that the underlying reason for restriction of freedom of residence was that of preventing offenses. Therefore, it can be argued that the State, itself, viewed its citizens living in a particular region of its territory as potential offenders. Another one is the 41st article that refers to the family as the foundation of the Turkish society and declares that the state shall take the necessary measures to ensure the peace and welfare of the family. However, during the practice of internal displacement it is known that the families are disintegrated since fathers or even children of the families had to go to other cities for work. Article 44 and Article 45 declares that the state shall take the necessary measures to maintain and develop efficient land cultivation and to facilitate farmers and livestock breeders in acquiring machinery,

equipment and other inputs in order to prevent improper use and destruction of agricultural land, meadows and pastures. Nevertheless, a high proportion of the forced migrants were rural originated and making a living through agriculture and stockbreeding, therefore with the evacuation of villages and firing of forests and also of cultivated areas not only their rights protected under the article 44 and 45 were violated, but also the state incur economic loss. The research conducted by Turkish Agriculturalist Foundation (*Türkiye Ziraatçiler Derneği*) in 1994 displays significant data on this loss. With reference to this report, the state lost 12 – 13 trillion liras as a result of evacuation of villages and firing of forests and also of cultivated areas (Bozkurt, 2000: 239). The 125th article declares that recourse to judicial review is available against all actions and acts of administration and the state was obliged to compensate the damages resulting from its actions and acts and the 129th article states that “prosecution of public servants and other public employees for alleged offences shall be subject, except in cases prescribed by law, to the permission of the administrative authority designated by law. However, as it is explained below, taking legal action of the governors of the State of Emergency provinces is closed.

3.2.2. Human Rights Violations in Respect of International Conventions

According to 1998 report of the Turkish Parliament’s Investigation Commission, within the 1984-1999 time period some rights of internally displaced persons that are recognized in international conventions such as Universal Declaration of Human Rights and European Human Rights Convention by Turkish Republic are violated. Below there is an examination of the violated rights in respect of these two texts.

3.2.2.A. Violations in Respect of Universal Declaration of Human Rights

As to the report prepared by the Parliament’s Investigation Commission, the rights declared in the Articles 8, 9, 12, 17 and 25 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights are violated. Article 8 protects the right to “an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law”. However, in the 7th and 8th articles of 425 and 430 numbered decree law of the State of Emergency, it is declared that the governors of

provinces and the region can not be prosecuted for that they exercised authorized power. Therefore, it is not possible for the internally displaced persons to make a claim of the treatments to be contradictory to law. The 9th article states that no one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile. However, in Turkey, particularly in 1990s, when the conflicts between PKK and TSK were at peak, the size of arbitrary arrests increased far too much (Diyarbakır Bar Region Report, 1998). Moreover, it was common that those arrested were judged in State Security Courts (*Devlet Güvenlik Mahkemesi*). To make it clear, with reference to the report prepared by Diyarbakır Bar, the number of judicial documents solely in Diyarbakır was 351 in 1988, 586 in 1989, 846 in 1990, 1055 in 1991, 1594 in 1992, 2364 in 1993, 3402 in 1994, 2812 in 1995 and 2257 in 1996 and the number of accused individuals prosecuted was 2784 in 1984 – 1988, 2307 in 1989, 3842 in 1990, 4488 in 1991, 5664 in 1992, 8274 in 1993, 9046 in 1994, 6717 in 1995 and 5383 in 1996 (Diyarbakır Bar Region Report, 1998: 10 - 11). By the way, during 1980s and 1990s, many individuals, living in the East and Southeast Anatolia regions, were not only arbitrarily arrested but also disappeared under custody. Consequently disappearance under custody occurred as another significant problem of the era since the number of individuals disappeared under custody was inferred as thousands in 1998 (Diyarbakır Bar Region Report, 1998: 8). What is more, the cases of arbitrary arrests and disappearance under custody reached such large numbers that they themselves emerged as a cause for internal displacement, that is to say that some people had to leave their habitual residence owing to arbitrary arrests and/or disappearance under custody. Thenceforth, disappearance under custody is still a crucial problem for Turkey waiting for an urgent solution. Since 1995, the group named “Saturday Mothers” (*Cumartesi Anneleri*) meets for the disappeared individuals; however, Turkey insists on not signing the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance. The 12th article is for subjection to arbitrary interference with one’s privacy, family, home or correspondence and to attacks upon one’s honor and reputation. However, it is known that internally displaced persons were subjected to incursions mainly by soldiers and by police as well. The rights protected with the 17th article are to own property and that no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property. Nevertheless, despite the fact that at least ten years has passed over the practice of forced

migration, internally displaced persons still face with problems in accessing to their properties in the evacuated settlements. Article 25 of the Convention protects the right “to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control”. Considering the fact that most of the internally displaced persons still sustain their lives with an income under the hunger line (Göç-Der Report, 2001) and thus have no chance to access to a standard of living. The internally displaced persons are also deprived of social services since a high percent work in temporary jobs, seasonal sectors or even suffer from unemployment. What is more, the majority of internally displaced persons still live in poorly housing circumstances. To give an example from Istanbul, in Ayazma district where urban renewal project carried out, families which do not accept the suggestions of the urban renewal project since they do not have chance to afford the payments, still live under tents.²³

Furthermore, it is stated in Başak Culture and Art Foundation’s research report that there are other violated rights which are; Article 3 which is about the right to life, liberty and security of person, Article 7 declaring the equality before the law and entitlement without any discrimination to equal protection of the law, Article 13 protecting the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state and the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country and finally Article 26 which states the right to education.

3.2.2.B. Violations in Respect of European Human Rights Convention

With respect to European Human Rights Convention, in the Parliament’s Investigation Commission’s report it is decided that 8th article of the Convention, which protects the right to respect for private and family life, 13th article, which declares the right to an effective remedy and the Articles 1 and 2 of the Convention’s

²³Personal witness in the field research.

1st Protocol, which are about the enjoyment of one's possessions and the right to education are violated.

Başak Culture and Art Foundation's research report adds that the following rights of internally displaced persons are also violated; Article 6 declaring the right to a fair trial, Article 14 prohibition of discrimination and Article 18 limitation on use of restrictions on rights, that is the restrictions permitted in this Convention to the rights and freedoms shall not be applied for any purpose other than those prescribed.

It is apparent that internally displaced persons experienced various kinds of violation of rights and that violated rights of internally displaced persons in Turkey were not limited to only those with respect to settlement but ranges over a wide field. What is more, unfortunately, those internally displaced are still subjected to manifold violations of rights displayed by reports and studies. From now on leaving the debate on violation of rights of the internally displaced persons here, the following part will go through some of the case studies made on the subject of internal displacement in Turkey.

3.3. Case Studies on Internal Displacement

Although it is possible to talk about an increase in the number and variety of studies made in Turkey on the issue of internal displacement, the multidimensional character and the necessity of the issue to fade in makes it essential to lean over the issue and make multifaceted studies. Below, there are some of the important case studies on internal displacement made in Turkey, which have particular influence on this study, namely "Turkey Migration and Internally Displaced Population Survey" by Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies; "Coming to Terms With Forced Migration: Post-Displacement Restitution of Citizenship Rights in Turkey" by Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation; "Socio-economic and Socio-cultural Conditions of Kurdish Citizens of Turkish Republic Before and After Migration, The Problems Stemming from the Migration as a result of Armed Conflicts and Tension Policies and Investigating the Tendency of Disadvantaged Families related to Return Migration and Suggestions on Solutions" by GÖÇ-DER

(Göç Edenler Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Kültür Derneği) and “SESÇIK – Do Not Be Sorry, But Look After Immigration and Its Effects on Children and Youngsters” by Başak Culture & Art Foundation. It is doubtless that the studies on the subject of internal displacement in Turkey are not limited to these examples. Some of other reports, studies or research are as follows: TMMOB (Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects) Human Rights Commission, 2003; Development Centre Training, Research, Implementation, Cunselling, Production and Enterprise Cooperative Research: Forced Migration and Its Effects Diyarbakır, 2006; Migration to the City and Poverty the Example of Diyarbakır, Middle East Technical University Department of Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments, 2002.

3.3.1. Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies (HÜNEE) “Turkey Migration and Internally Displaced Population Survey (TMIDPS)”

As it is mentioned above, Turkish government decided to work in cooperation with United Nations and European Comission on internal displacement in Turkey and with the purpose of gathering data on the number of internally displaced persons and their problems, Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies (HÜNEE) was given the work. With the demand and coordination of Turkish Republic Prime Ministry State Planning Organization HÜNEE planned and conducted the research from December 2004 to June 2006. The research was designed in two parts; qualitative and quantitative. The qualitative research was made in 2005 with 35 female and 35 male, totally 70 individuals, 18 of which were made in the villages returned. The sample, which is said to be nationally representative, consists of approximately 6000 households.

The survey was made in 14 provinces, which are within Return to the Villages and Rehabilitation Project, namely Adıyaman, Ağrı, Batman, Bingöl, Bitlis, Diyarbakır, Elazığ, Hakkari, Mardin, Muş, Siirt, Şırnak, Tunceli, Van and the provinces that have received considerable migration from these 14 provinces. The aim of the project was to collect,

basic information about the persons migrated from these 14 provinces; demographic and socio-economic characteristics of internally displaced persons and detailed information about people who have migrated from their villages or usual residences during the last 20 years due to armed conflicts and security reasons.²⁴

Within the project, the term internally displaced persons was used to refer to any kind of internal displacement regardless of a specific reason. However, to refer to the specific kind of displacement that is caused by armed conflicts violence and security reasons, the term “*yerinden edilmiş kişiler*”, which has no English expression, was used as a sub-group of internally displaced persons.

To begin with, the share of the migration originating from the mentioned 14 provinces in Turkey’s population is 1, 53 percent and the percent of the migrants for the rural areas of these 14 provinces is 1, 19. Thus, it is clear in the report that an important part of the security related migration in Turkey originates from 14 provinces and particularly from the rural areas of these provinces. The estimation of numerical size of the security related migration in Turkey is stated to be between 953.680 and 1.201.200. What is more important, the report clearly puts forward that between the years 1986 – 2005 the 80 percent of the security related migration was rural originated of which 61,3 percent took place between 1991 – 1995, 31, 6 percent between 1986 – 1990, 5 percent between 1996 – 2000 and 2, 1 percent between 2001 – 2005. On looking at the numerical size of the return migrant population, the TMIDPS data show that between 10, 9 and 12, 1 of the migrants from the 14 provinces in the last twenty years due to security reasons returned, which means a rural and urban total of 112.000 – 124.000. These numerical estimations and percentages are important in that first of all, contrary to the claims of the state it is obvious that the size of the population forced to migrate is much more than 357.000, even almost three times larger than declared by official parties. Moreover, that 20 percent of the forced migration originates from non rural regions displays the fact that the experience of internal displacement in Turkey is more than just the

²⁴ Available at
[http://www.hips.hacettepe.edu.tr/english/TGYONA%20Introduction%20\(Sabahat%20Tezcan\).ppt#265,6,Scope of the TMIDPS:](http://www.hips.hacettepe.edu.tr/english/TGYONA%20Introduction%20(Sabahat%20Tezcan).ppt#265,6,Scope%20of%20the%20TMIDPS)

evacuation of villages due to “security reasons”. That the percentages of rural originated migration are high particularly during the time periods of 1986 – 1990 and 1991 – 1995 seems to confirm the fact that most of the village evacuations and forced migration took place in 1986 – 1995. Furthermore, in official statements, it is claimed that one third of the forced migrants returned, however considering that the size of the internally displaced persons are three times larger than the state claimed, then it seems so that the percentage of return is clearly lower than claimed. These are all significant in denial of the state by its own research. Finally, the fact that only half of the internally displaced persons are aware of RVRP and the Compensation Law displays the reluctant effort of the state in dealing with the problem of internal displacement.

Due to the signed protocol State Planning Organization had to hand the report of the research in UNDP in mid June, and then UNDP would declare the findings. However, it was as late as December that the report was shared with the public. Moreover, the report is controversial in many aspects. First of all, there is not much information on the qualitative part of the research neither in the press release nor in the research report. Secondly, it is important to point out to the language of the report. The report was written more with passive sentences and without any subjects used in these sentences (Kurban, 2007). According to the report verbal declaration was made “about migration before the migration” to almost half of the internally displaced persons, but it is not clear who made those verbal declarations. When the authorities of HÜNEE were asked about verbal declarations, they stated that security staff made most of them. According to Kurban, this answer is significant in that the report disproves the argument of the state that villages were evacuated solely by PKK (Kurban, 2006).

3.3.2. Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV) “Confronting Forced Migration: The Restitution of Citizenship in the Aftermath of Internal Displacement in Turkey”

TESEV is founded as a foundation in 1994 with an aim of conducting research, organizing conferences and round table discussions for these to be conveyed in order

to aggregate findings of scientific research and policy decisions. Of three programs, under the Democratization Program of TESEV, besides the other study areas, considerable studies are made on the issue of internal displacement in Turkey. Working with international organizations such as Norwegian Refugee Council and Internal Displacement Monitoring Center, TESEV is one of the most important organizations in causing public awareness on the issue of internal displacement. Of its studies, “Confronting Forced Migration: The Restitution of Citizenship in the Aftermath of Internal Displacement in Turkey,” made a significant and complete contribution to the literature on internal displacement in Turkey. Up to the study of TESEV Internal Displacement Working and Monitoring Group (TESEV Working Group), there was not such a study, which assembles the previous studies, analyses Turkey’s experience of forced migration in relation with the internal displacement at global dimension and betrays the multidimensional character of internal displacement in Turkey. Thus this study fills the gap in the field. The study depends on the analysis of secondary sources and qualitative research conducted in Diyarbakır, Batman, İstanbul and Hakkari. The interviews were made with internally displaced persons, representatives of non-governmental organizations and bars, governor and district executives, mayors and lawyers.

Besides the indepthness of TESEV Research Group’s study, one of the most important features of the study is the emphasis on the fact that Turkey’s problem of internal displacement cannot be handled independent of Kurdish question in Turkey, which has social, economic, cultural and political dimensions. Furthermore, the study is also worthy for its wide-ranging suggestions for the redress of the problems caused by internal displacement in Turkey. The policies proposed are the enhancement of socio-economic projects, compensation of material losses, amendment of community and mental health services, the need for leaving the conflict behind and ensuring the social reconciliation. The study makes specific emphasis on the importance of active participation of non-governmental organizations working on internal displacement and representatives of internally displaced persons in efficiency of the policies to be implemented.

3.3.3. Migrants' Association for Social Solidarity and Culture (GÖÇ-DER - Göç Edenler Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Kültür Derneği) "Socio-economic and Socio-cultural Conditions of Kurdish Citizens of Turkish Republic Before and After Migration, The Problems Stemming from the Migration as a result of Armed Conflicts and Tension Policies and Investigating the Tendency of Disadvantaged Families related to Return Migration and Suggestions on Solutions"

Göç-Der is an association, first founded in İstanbul in 1997 with an aim to lend assistance to victims of forced migration in Turkey and to provide them with legal and social support. Then, some other branch offices were opened as a platform in the cities where Kurdish migration concentrates such as in Diyarbakır, Batman, Van, Mersin and İzmir. In 2002, Göç-Der made a field research on the plight of IDPs in the cities of Diyarbakır, Van, Batman, İstanbul, İzmir and İçel. The questions of the survey was designed with an aim of understanding the event of forced migration, forced migrants, life conditions of the forced migrants before and after the internal displacement and return tendencies of the forced migrants. The sample of the research was 2139 of which 571 were female and 1568 were male and on the household level 17,845 internally displaced persons were reached, most of whom are between the age group of 18-45. The persons who are the subjects of forced migration are defined as citizens of Turkish Republic whose mother tongue is Kurdish and the number of forced migrants is estimated 4 – 4,5 million in the time period of 1989 – 1999 in the report.

This research, conducted by Göç-Der, is one of the first studies made on the subject of internal displacement in Turkey. The report, written by Mehmet Barut, examines the migration movement in periods of ten years beginning from 1970s. It is stated in the report that in between 1970 – 1980 the migration ratio was 2, 5%; in between 1981 – 1990 21, 8% and it was 75, 7% in between 1991 – 2000. Moreover, the most striking result is that the 71, 6% of the migration movement eventuated in between 1990 – 1995.

To look at the findings of the report, the factors causing migration listed in the report are security forces and applications of State of Emergency, enforcement of village guard system, fear of death, evacuation of villages and hamlets and bans on high plateaus respectively. Most of the interviewers in the survey were graduates of primary school and the proportion of those who do not know Turkish was above Turkey's average. More importantly, most of them are sustaining on incomes below the level of hunger. The most critic results of the research are most of the forced migrants suffer from unemployment, feeling of discrimination, insultation and isolation in the new settlement, difference in language and culture and basic humanitarian life conditions such as nutrition, housing and health. Moreover, 61, 3% of the interviewers are aware of center villages and village towns, however only 6% of them would accept to return to village towns in case of impossibility to return to their own villages. This result of the research is important because it shows that the implementation of village towns would not be efficient.

This research is significant in that it makes an emphasis to the ethnic character of the forced migrants and that it examines plight of internally displaced persons both before and after the internal displacement. Moreover, it is one of the earliest and most well rounded researches on the issue made by NGOs. However, just after the report was published the head of Göç-Der, Şefika Gürbüz and the writer, Mehmet Barut were judged in the State Security Court (*Devlet Güvenlik Mahkemesi*) which displays the fierce attitude of the state to inquiries on the issue.

3.3.4. Başak Culture & Art Foundation (SESÇIK – Do Not Be Sorry, but Look After Immigration and Its Effects on Children and Youngsters)

Başak Culture and Art Foundation was founded in İstanbul in 2002 with the purpose of supporting poor children and young adults with immigrant backgrounds. The aims were to organize events to reveal and develop the artistic capacities of children and young adults and make use of art as a means. The foundation does not only provide these groups with art-culture workshops but it also provides consultancy service as well as some technical/skill courses. In December 2004 the foundation conducted a research, funded by European Union DIHAG micro projects, in nine districts in

Istanbul, namely Kadıköy, Üsküdar, Ümraniye, Beykoz, Maltepe, Kartal, Pendik, Sultanbeyli and Tuzla with an aim to find out the psycho-sociological effects of mandatory immigration on children and young adults. Within the research totally 500 hundred families were visited 369 individuals between 12 – 30 age group were interviewed and five profound interviews were conducted.

The importance of this research lies in the fact that it is the only extensive survey that specifically focuses on the plight of internally displaced children and youngsters from a psycho-sociological perspective, thus providing the literature on internal displacement in Turkey with affluent information. Moreover, persons who had to migrate due to the fact that the economic activities almost came to an end in the region because of the conflict between The TSK and the PKK are included in the research as internally displaced persons. Such a wider categorization is important in that most of the national and international studies on internal displacement are in favor of making a distinction between economic migration and forced migration, although the frontiers of these two are so blurred and interfered with each other in the specific case of Turkey.

In addition to the findings of experiences of exclusion and social, psychological and economic problems faced by children and youngsters, the more important result of the research is that there are incontrovertible differences among 12 – 18 and 19 – 30 age groups of internally displaced persons. To make it more clearly, as to the findings of the research, 38.2% of the interviewed children had language/communication problems and 41.7% had cultural adaptation problems whereas 62.5% of young adults had language/communication problems and 72.9% mentioned of cultural conflict. These facts are confirmed also with the results of psychological tests. The result of these tests show that young adults get higher points in BSI (Brief Symptom Inventory) subscales, which helps to determine variety of psychological symptoms, which mean that young adults have more psychological symptoms than children. This is obviously due to the fact that young adults were more affected by the practice of forced migration. Moreover, it is mentioned in the report that this is also caused by the fact that the young adults were obliged to work to help out the family financially and had to quit school, an important factor in

facilitating the socialization and integration, which brought heavy load on the psychology of young adults.

To run an eye over the general findings of the research, it is clear that victims of internal displacement suffer from multidimensional exclusion practices at all levels. To begin with fathers, despite the fact that they are more advantageous in taking part in public sphere due to their familiarity with the Turkish language, they have lost their status in the family due to the fact that they had to rely upon the money that is earned by children, which is perceived as a shame culturally. Mothers, on the other hand, besides the problems they live due to cultural differences with the host population, still suffer from the language problems. This leads to the disappearance of women in the public sphere since they are not able to practice simple daily activities such as going to shopping, hospital or school and they are imprisoned into their neighborhoods. To look at the children and young adults, although the children grow up under very difficult circumstances and listened to the practice of forced migration from the families, thus aware of the lived experiences, they are said to be luckier than young adults. On the other hand, young adults suffer from, besides the psychological problems caused by experiencing the practice of internal displacement, the dreadful conditions in which they live. First of all most of today's young adults were not sent to or had to leave school for that they were obliged to work for making a living in Istanbul. They experience cultural conflicts within their families since the parents hold on their cultural values. This fact is more important in understanding the plight of internally displaced girls. Girls are either imprisoned in the houses or lead a life between home and work that is not consisted with the life style they are exposed in metropolitan Istanbul. Furthermore, that the most common psychological symptom regardless of age and gender is mistrusting others can be considered as a signal of social disintegration in future. Finally, the fact that particularly the internally displaced young men are subjected to discrimination in finding jobs or in any social environment causes them to hold on their identities is striking and needs further examination.

It is for sure that the studies or researches made on the subject of internal displacement in Turkey are not limited to those provided in this section. There are

other studies made by universities, associations, bars or other non-governmental organizations either nation-wide but mostly at the local level. The fact that only those presented above are included in this study is due to the fact that first these studies are the most comprehensive and agreed upon ones and secondly this study has taken advantage of these studies much. Henceforwards, the following two chapters will provide the findings of the field research made for this study.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS AND THE EXPERIENCE OF FORCED MIGRATION IN MEMOIRS OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED WOMEN AND CHILDREN

The millions of displaced people (...) are nothing but refugees of an unacknowledged war. And we are condoning it by looking away. Why? Because we're told that it's being done for the sake of the greater common good. That it's being done in the name of progress, in the name of national interest. Therefore gladly, unquestioningly, almost gratefully, we believe what we're told. We believe that it benefits us to believe.

Arundhati Roy²⁵

It is clear in many studies that forced migrants, or internally displaced persons for the requirements of this study are the most vulnerable groups, among which women and children are high in numbers. To have a general idea of the plight of internally displaced children, youngsters and women interviewed for this study, this chapter aims at giving an overview of the socio-demographic characteristics of the informants and their households. Moreover, in the second part of this chapter the lived experience both of internally displaced women and children will be narrated. As mentioned before, the narratives of the internally displaced informants in this study not only gave detailed information about but also provided the researcher with profound insight on the practice of internal displacement in Turkey. Nevertheless neither the narratives nor the results inferred are argued to be representative of all internally displaced children and women in Turkey. Therefore, the results discoursed in this study does not have a claim of generalizability but rather the results presented in this study are bounded up with the experiences of the internally displaced persons interviewed within this research.

²⁵ Cited in Jongerden, 2007: 93.

4.1. Socio-Demographic Characteristics

The following socio-demographic characteristics, namely birth place and time period of forced migration of the informant, education of, used language by, occupation and income of both the informant and household, are the results of the interviews made for this study relying upon the data gathered through the “pre-interview inquiry form”, which was filled in at the beginning of each interview in order to be able to get overall information about the household. Thus the data, which is analyzed by SPSS 15.0, provided below includes socio-demographic characteristics of both the informants and their households. The following data consists of the information gathered from 37 interviews with internally displaced youngsters and women and totally 274 persons, 137 living in Diyarbakır and 137 living in Istanbul, whereas the data does not include the married and living apart children and the people died. The inquiry form is available at the end of the study in Appendix A and Appendix B.

Before moving to the socio-demographic characteristics, to have a general idea of the study, in Diyarbakır, the interviews made with three internally displaced women within the age group of 31-45, one internally displaced women above the age of 45 and seven internally displaced young women and men both within the age group of 15 – 30. At the household level in Diyarbakır, this study consists of 4 women and 6 men at the age group of 0 – 6, 8 women and 11 men at the age group of 7 – 14, 37 women and 33 men at the age group of 15 – 30, 9 women and 4 men at the age group of 31 – 45 and 11 women and 14 men above the age of 45; totally 69 women and 68 men. One of the internally displaced women living in İstanbul is within the age group of 31 – 45 and three are above the age of 45 and eight internally displaced young women and seven internally displaced men are within the age group of 15 – 30. At the household level in Istanbul, the study consists of 7 women and 2 men at the age group of 0 – 6, 13 women and 10 men at the age group of 7 – 14, 35 women and 37 men at the age group of 15 – 30, 4 women and 7 men at the age group of 31 – 45 and 12 women and 10 men above the age of 45; totally 71 women and 66 men.

On looking at the household size, it is 7.6 in Diyarbakır and 7.5 in Istanbul. When we look at the family type in these households, the results are roughly consistent with

the fact that 35 percent of internally displaced Kurds still live in shared housing with relatives and kin even a decade after internal displacement (Holtzman and Nezam, 2004: 73). In Diyarbakır, in 11 out of 18 dwellings internally displaced persons live as a nuclear family, whereas in 6 dwellings internally displaced persons live as extended families including daughter-in-laws, grandchildren, brother-in-laws, nephews and grandparents. On the other hand, in Istanbul, in 12 out of 19 dwellings, internally displaced persons live as nuclear families. In 5 dwellings internally displaced persons live as extended families including again daughter-in-laws, grandchildren and mother-in-laws. However, what differs in Istanbul from Diyarbakır is the pattern of separated families. In one of the dwellings, one informant, who came to Istanbul due to the reasons of economic difficulties of the family and the wish of the family for their children to live far away from the oppression of the state, lives with his brothers, sister and cousin, in another, a male informant lives alone and one of the informants, who came to Istanbul for economic reasons after obliged to migrate from Lice to Diyarbakır with his family, lives with his friends.

4.1.1. Birth Place and Time Period of Forced Migration

To begin with, birth place and time period of forced migration, except for one of the informants interviewed in Diyarbakır were born in districts of Diyarbakır or villages of these districts. The exception is one informant who was born in Ömerli, Mardin. When we look at the time period of internal displacement, despite the fact that it ranges from 1989 to 1995; it is obvious that internal displacement eventuated mostly during the years 1992 and 1993 when the attacks of TSK was intensive despite the fact that PKK declared a cease fire in 1993. When we look at the informants living in İstanbul, they were born in districts and villages of Siirt, Şırnak, Mardin, Muş and Diyarbakır. However, it needs to point to the fact that while some of the informants came directly to İstanbul, most of them came to İstanbul after they first settled in different cities such as Diyarbakır or Batman. For most of the informants who directly came to İstanbul, the reason was that they had an acquaintance or mostly a relative in İstanbul. The time period of internal displacement of the informants

settled in İstanbul, varies during 1990s, nevertheless most of the informants are forcedly migrated in 1993.

4.1.2. Education

To continue with education levels of both the informants and the people in the households, more than half of the women interviewed in Diyarbakır have never gone to school and are illiterate. One of them dropped out of primary school, one is graduated from primary school and two of them attend to high school; none of the women above the age of 30 has ever gone to school. When we look at men interviewed in Diyarbakır, it is obvious that the education levels of men are higher than of women. This is due to the facts that first of all men interviewed for this study are young since the interviews made only with men in the age group of 15 – 30 and that on general men are more educated than women since the schooling of women mostly was not seen as necessary considering the socio-cultural characteristics of the region. While one of the men interviewed has never gone to school and is illiterate, two of the men are graduates of primary school, two continues to high school, one is a graduate of high school and one is a university student. At the household level, to begin with women, 44.9% of women have never gone to school and are illiterate, 5.8% have never gone to school but literate, 8.7% dropped out of primary school, 11.6% continues to primary school, 10.1% are graduate of primary school, 1.4% dropped out of high school, 7.2% continues to high school, 2.9% are graduate of high school and %7.2 are not at school age. All of the women at the age group of 7 – 14 continue to primary school, except for one at the age of seven has not yet begin to school. Of the men, at the household level, 10.3% has never gone to school and illiterate, 5.9% has never gone to school but literate, 11.8% dropped out of primary school, 4.7% continues to primary school, 17.6% are graduates of primary school, 13.2% continues to high school, 11.8% are graduate of high school, 4.4% continues to university, 1.5% graduated from university and 8.8% are not at the age of school. In the 7 – 14 age group, 90.9% of men at the household level continues to primary school, whereas %9.1 graduated from primary school.

When we analyze the results of İstanbul, five of the women interviewed has never gone to school and are illiterate, two has never gone to school but are literate, one dropped out of primary school, two are graduates of primary school, one dropped out of high school and one continues to university however thinks to defer enrolment due to economic difficulties of the family. Among the women interviewed above the age of thirty, except for one who is literate but did not go to school, none of them went to school and all were illiterate. On the other hand, to look at men interviewed in İstanbul, one dropped out of primary school, four are graduates of primary school, one continues to high school and one to university. At the household level, to begin with women living in İstanbul, 24.3% has never gone to school and are illiterate, 15.7% has never gone to school but are literate, 11.4% dropped out primary school, 20% continues to primary school, 8.6% graduate of primary school, 1.4% dropped out high school, 7.1% continues to high school, 1.4% graduate of high school, 1.4% continues to university and 8.3% are not at school age. All women at the age group of 7 – 14 continue to primary school, except for one, aged 14, dropped out voluntarily after five years in school. Moreover, of the women aged 31 – 45 50% has never gone to school and illiterate and 50% dropped out of primary school. Among the women above the age of 45, 83.3% has never gone to school and are illiterate and 16.7% are literate despite the fact that they did not go to school. Of the men at the household level, 6% has never gone to school and are illiterate, 7.5% has not gone to school but literate, 13.4% dropped out of primary school, 19.4% continues to primary school, 31.3% graduate of primary school, 3% dropped out of high school, 7.5% continues to high school, 1.5% graduate of high school, 4.5% continues to university, 1.5% graduate of university and 4.5% are not at school age. In the 7-14 age group, all men continue to primary school.

Far from being representative, the results stated above, first of all shows that when we talk about internally displaced persons, we face with a group of people who have low levels of education, even high rates of illiterateness considering women. This is important since philistinism leads to marginalization in the economic field and discrimination of internally displaced persons in the city (Adaman and Keyder, 2006: 50). However more important and specific for internally displaced persons is the fact that children of forced migrants had to drop out school either as a result of necessity

to support the family economically through working in the streets or collecting recyclable elements from garbage or as a result of discriminative acts they faced with in schools. Therefore, the fact that those at the school age had to work after internal displacement established a vicious cycle of poverty/discrimination – philistinism – poverty/discrimination for internally displaced children.

4.1.3. Language

Language, in the simplest term, is an important means of transmitting a culture and it seems significant to touch upon the issue of language known in relation particularly with age as a socio-demographic characteristic in this study. Before looking at the results, it needs to mention that the informants were asked which language they and the other members of the household know and according to the given answers the language known was analyzed at three levels, namely knows, more or less knows and does not know. This is because of the fact that some individuals do not know a language fully and this was mentioned in the interviews. Moreover, particularly individuals who speak Zazaca learn Kurdish after forced migration and thus know more or less Kurdish. The following results are the total percents for a language including the ones who more or less knows it since the percentages of knowing a language more or less are rather low compared to that of knowing a language fully.

To have a look at the results, in Diyarbakır, 78.4% of the women interviewed know Turkish, 90.9% knows Kurdish, and 45.5% knows Zazaca. Of the women interviewed at the age group of 15-30 all knows Turkish and Kurdish and 57.1% knows Zazaca; of 31-45 66.7% knows Turkish, 66.7% knows Kurdish and 33.3% knows Zazaca and one woman above the age of 45 knows only Kurdish. Whereas all of the men interviewed knows both Turkish and Kurdish and 85.7% knows Zazaca. Examining the results at the household level for Diyarbakır, of the women at the age group of 7 – 14 all knows Turkish, 87.5% knows Kurdish and 25% knows Zazaca; of those at the age group of 15-30, 97.7% knows Turkish, 97.4% knows Kurdish and 49% knows Zazaca; of women aged 31 – 45, 55.5% knows Turkish, 88.9% knows Kurdish and 55.6% knows Zazaca; finally the percents for knowing Turkish, Kurdish and Zazaca among the women aged more than 45 is 18.2%, 81.8% and 45.5%,

respectively. When we look at men at the household level, all those aged 7 – 14 knows Turkish, 72.7% of them knows Kurdish and 45.5% knows Zazaca; of the age group 15 – 30 all men knows Turkish, 87.8% knows Kurdish and 45.5% knows Zazaca; of men aged 31 – 45, 75% knows Turkish, 50% knows Kurdish, 75% knows Zazaca and finally of the men above the age of 45, 78.5% knows Turkish, 92.8% knows Kurdish and 50% knows Zazaca. Lastly, at the household level, four women and eight men know another language other than Turkish, Kurdish and Zazaca, namely English, German and Russian. English is basically learnt at school, German is known in only one of the families, which had migrated to Germany and Russian is known by a man who worked as a tourist guide.

To examine the results of the interviews in İstanbul, the percents for knowing Turkish, Kurdish and Zazaca among the women interviewed is 83.3%, 100% and 8.3% respectively. Of the women interviewed at the age group of 15-30 all knows both Turkish and Kurdish and only 12.5% knows Zazaca; one woman at the age group of 31 – 45 knows both Turkish and Kurdish but do not know Zazaca and of the three women above the age of 45, only one knows more or less Turkish, all knows Kurdish and none knows Zazaca. Of the men interviewed, all knows both Turkish and Kurdish, whereas the percent of those knowing Zazaca is 42.9%. At the household level, to begin with women, all women at the age of 7 – 14 know both Turkish and Kurdish and none of them knows Zazaca; of women aged 15 – 30 all knows both Turkish and Kurdish and 8.6% knows Zazaca; of those at the age group of 31 – 45, 75% knows Turkish, all knows Kurdish and none knows Zazaca; finally of the women above the age of 45, 33.3% knows Turkish, all knows Kurdish and 8.3% knows Zazaca. When we examine the languages known by men at the household level, among 7 – 14 age group all knows both Turkish and Kurdish, and none knows Zazaca; of the men at the age group of 15 – 30 all knows both Turkish and Kurdish and 10.8% knows Zazaca; for the age group of 31 – 45 the percentages are 100%, 100% and 14.3% respectively for Turkish, Kurdish and Zazaca; finally of the men above the age of 45, 90% knows Turkish, %100 knows Kurdish and 10% knows Zazaca. Lastly, at the household level, five women and nine men know another language, namely Sorani, Russian, English and Arabic.

Looking over the results above, what is well known for immigrant groups, the fact that of the immigrant groups, the first generation speaks, reads and writes the language of ethnic origin; the second generation only speaks and the third only understands without ability to speak, the language of ethnic origin disappears to a great degree by the third generation (Oppenheimer, 2005: 85), seems likely to be true for internally displaced children in Turkey. It is obvious in advance that the younger the member of a household, the more s/he knows Turkish whereas the less s/he knows the language of ethnic origin, namely Kurdish or Zazaca. What follows is some of the examples from the interviews. To begin with Diyarbakır, although most of the children under the age of 10 know Kurdish, it is demanding that in one of the households a four-year child does not know either Kurdish or Zazaca despite the fact that the other members of the family do know Turkish but speak both Kurdish and Zazaca. Moreover, in another household, two children at the age of 5 and 7 do not know any Kurdish and one at the age of 10 knows more or less Kurdish, despite the fact that the father of the household knows little Turkish and the mother of the household does not know Turkish. What is more the situation in Istanbul seems to be more in favor of Kurdish. That is to say, the number of children knowing Kurdish under the age of 10 is higher in Istanbul, except for one who is 8 years old and understands Kurdish but can not speak and for other who is 6 years old and speaking Kurdish with her mother since the mother does not know Turkish.

Despite the fact that these results have generalizability to the whole population of internally displaced persons, it seems crucial to examine the issue of internally displaced children's levels of knowledge of language of ethnic origin, both Kurdish and Zazaca, in time since Zazaca is proclaimed, by UNESCO in 2009, to be one of the insecure languages in Turkey, which means that the future of Zazaca is at risk.²⁶

4.1.4. Income and Occupation

As a last category in socio-demographic characteristics, income and occupation will be analyzed together in this part. Again to begin with Diyarbakır, none of the women

²⁶ Available at <http://bianet.org/bianet/bilim/112702-unesco-turkiyede-15-dil-tehlikede>.

interviewed works and thus has no income. Of men interviewed, who are all at the age group of 15 – 30, 28.6% has no income; 14.3% has income in between 250 – 500 TL; 28.6% in between 501 – 650 and 28.6% has income above 1001 TL. Among the men interviewed, two of them work in private sector; one works in public sector and two works in the marginal sector, namely building. At the household level, either girls or boys, there is not a child working at the age group of 0 – 6. Of the 7 – 14 age group, there is not any girl working, whereas among the boys, there is one who works as an apprentice in a tailor's and his income is uncertain. Among 37 women at the age group of 15-30 in the households, only 3 of them work; one is a seasonal worker, goes to different cities for picking berries with an income of 17 TL on daily basis. The other two women are working in private sector, one looks after an elderly woman and earns 250 TL in a month and the other one works as a cleaner in a private teaching institutions and earns 450 TL in a month. At the age group of 31-45 none of the women works and thus has no income. Of the women above the age of 45, 81.8% has no income, one benefits from old age pension and one works as a seasonal worker with an income of 17 TL on daily basis. Looking at men at the household level, more than half of the men at the age group of 15 – 30 does not work and therefore has no income. Three of them works in private sector, three works in public sector, one has his own business, six works in marginal sector and two of them, studying at the university, get scholarship from municipality and prime ministry. Examining the income levels of men at the age group of 15 – 30, six of them have uncertain income, including the ones getting scholarship, three of them have income in between 250 – 500 TL, three have in between 501 – 650 and three have income above 1001 TL. Among four men at the age group of 31 – 45, two of them work in the marginal sector, one works in the private sector and one has his own business. The man who works as a junkman with his horse cart, has uncertain income, and the other three have income in between 250 – 500, 851 – 1000 and above 1001. Finally, among the men above the age of 45 at the household level, 35.7% has no income, 14.3% has income in between 250 – 500, 7.1% in between 501 – 650 and 7.1% 850 – 1000. Of these men, two works in the private sector, one in the public sector, four in the marginal sector, one is a retiree and one gets old age pension and the other five does not work and has no income.

In İstanbul, the percent of women interviewed without an income drops to 50%, while 33.3% works in private sector and 16.6% in marginal sector. Among the women informants of 15 – 30 age group, 37.5% has no income; income of 37.5% is in between 751 – 850 TL and 25% has income of 851 – 1000 TL; 50% working in the private sector and 12.5% in marginal sector. Of the age group 31 – 45, none of the women has income and of women more than 45, only one woman, have income in between 501 – 650, making stuffed mussels. Of the men informants, 28.6% has no income; 14.3% has income of 250 – 500 TL; 14.3% 751 – 850 and 42.9% has income in between 851 – 1000 TL; four of the male informants work in private sector, one has his own business and two do not work. At the household level, either girls or boys there is not a child working at the age group of 0 – 6. Of the 7 – 14 age group, there are no girls working, whereas among the boys, there is only one boy working as a shoebblack. At the household level, the percent of women who do not work and have any income is 45.7% at the age group of 15 – 30. Of this group of women, 17.1% has uncertain income, 14.3% has income in between 751 – 850, 8.6% in between 851 – 100, 5.7% in between 250 – 500, 5.7% in between 501 – 650 and %2.9 in between 651 – 750. Almost all of the women at this age group work in the private sector, mainly in textile ateliers, except for the one who makes stuffed mussels at home. None of the women at the age group of 31 – 45 works and has income and among 12 women above the age of 45, only one of them has income, making stuffed mussels at home and earning in between 501 – 650 monthly. Of the 15 – 30 age group, 42.9 % of men works in private sector, 14.3% has his own work, 28.6% works in marginal sector and 14.3% has no income. When we examine the men of age group 31 – 45, two of them works in marginal sector, two works in private sector one of whom earns in between 501 – 650 TL and the other in between 851 – 1000 and three of them has no income. Among the men above the age of 45, one works in the marginal sector, namely building and earns more than 1000 TL, two has uncertain income, one is Veteran and one is a retiree and seven of them have no income. To mention in advance, one man from the age group of 31 – 45 and one from the age group of above 45 has been categorized as having no income but working in the marginal sector since two women interviewed, who are the wives of these men, despite the fact that they were making stuffed mussels and their husbands were selling them, when asked about their income mentioned the shared income as of

theirs, therefore the two men have been said to have no income. Moreover, when the informants did not have any idea of the amount of pension and Veteran payment, it is regarded as uncertain income. Therefore, the average numbers provided below do not include the uncertain income and for the total income provided at the household level, the uncertain category was treated as if there is no income.

In line with what Adaman and Keyder (2006: 48) state, that in cities like Diyarbakır, Van and Istanbul, the marginal sector constitutes the most common source of income and the income acquired by these occupations is not only irregular but also insufficient to meet the needs of the families with numerous children, it is obvious in the results provided above that marginal sector is still the largest one among the internally displaced persons, particularly for men. To clarify, what is meant by the phrase working in the marginal sector in this study is working in building and/or as a peddler, selling fruits, vegetables and stuffed mussels in a pushcart, thus earning money within the informal economy. First of all, there are households in Diyarbakır who have no income, but try to maintain their lives by courtesy of neighbors' assistance and food aids, whereas in Istanbul there is not even a household within which nobody works. To have a look at average income at the household level, the results are striking. In Diyarbakır the mean household income is 750, 5 TL, whereas it rises up to 1671, 3 TL in Istanbul. Considering the results provided by Türk-İş for a household with 4 members the hunger line that is 710, 82 and poverty line that is 2.315, 37 as of June 2008²⁷, it is obvious that - and bearing in mind that the household size in this study is 7.6 for Diyarbakır - almost all of the households living in Diyarbakır tries to sustain their lives just above the hunger line and pretty much below the poverty line. Although the mean household income in İstanbul is twice as much of Diyarbakır, it should not be forgotten that the household size is 7.5 in Istanbul and that the households in Istanbul live under the poverty line as well. As a last word on the issue of income of internally displaced households in Turkey, Holtzman and Nezam argues that the plight of internally displaced Kurds in Turkey is a major exception since international humanitarian agencies have been engaged in assistance on a small scale and what is more no public assistance has been aimed at

²⁷ Available at <http://www.turkis.org.tr/source.cms.docs/turkis.org.tr.ce/docs/file/aclikhaziran09.pdf>

internally displaced persons in Turkey despite the fact that the public assistance, either from host governments or from international humanitarian agencies, is an important part of internally displaced persons' household incomes in most situations of internal displacement (Holtzman and Nezam, 2004: 21 and 35).

4.2. Internally Displaced Persons' Experiences of Forced Migration

It is mentioned in many research that besides its almost irreversible socio-cultural consequences both for the forcibly migrated persons and the host societies, "the experience of internal displacement is an extraordinary life experience, often shared collectively, and is capable of causing in any person a wide range of physical and psychological suffering and disability" (Kagee and Del Soto, 2003: 27). Therefore, giving voice to the experiences of internally displaced persons both at the time of and after forced migration is crucial for understanding the phenomenon of internal displacement, how the practice of internal displacement was realized and how it has affected the well-being of internally displaced persons.

The word experience is used here in Ager's terms of "the refugee experience", which denotes to the human consequences – personal, social, economic, cultural and political- of forced migration (Ager, 1999: 2). The importance of the term is that its emphasis is the centrality of refugees themselves in analysis. Therefore, in accordance with Ager's terms the key concerns here are the lived experiences of internally displaced women in person and the impact of forced migration on these women and children.

In examining the refugee experience, the common framework is that which identifies different phases of the forced migration. To name these phases within forced migration, they are pre-flight, flight, temporary settlement and resettlement (or repatriation) (Ager, 1999: 3). Ager argues that refugees share common experiences through these phases. To begin with pre-flight period, internally displaced persons suffer from serious economic hardship due to the disruption of income-generating activities and/or to shortage of food. Also in this phase what is commonly faced with is social disruption, such as restricted mobility and school closure. Furthermore, in

the pre-flight period refugees experience and suffer from physical violence and political oppression. Within the flight period the common experiences are separation from homeland and family, which is likely to prompt major emotional and cognitive turmoil, such as anger, and passage. And then comes the reception phase within which refugees encounter with some form of registration procedure. In the settlement phase, refugees may be settled in refugee camps or they may self-settle in the places where there are close kinship ties. Finally in the resettlement/repatriation phase, refugees face with culture conflict, employment difficulties and intergenerational conflict since children typically acculturate faster and so role reversals take place within families, therefore intergenerational conflict is likely to increase over time. Looking through these phases of forced migration, except for the reception phase, since the internally displaced persons are the citizens of the states within which they were forced to migrate, this framework seems to be applicable in examining the experience of internally displaced persons in Turkey. What is more, it is known that the practice of internal displacement in Turkey led to serious traumatic experiences since the internally displaced persons either lived through or witnessed extreme forms of violence. At this point, violence – impact relation becomes more important in traumatic stress (Aker and others, 2002: 103). So long as the traumatic experience piles up, it leads to increase in reactions and particularly anxiety disturbances accompanied with anger. It is conspicuous that this anger is turned toward state, government and related institutions (Aker and others, 2002: 103). To examine the experience of internally displaced women and children within this framework, but with some modifications in understanding the children's experience, the following section provides the lived experience of these women and children. Moreover, despite the fact that narrating on the issue hurts internally displaced persons, particularly the youngsters who had witnessed the practice of forced migration in person, even after at least ten years has passed, as Herbst argues that oral histories are important and empowering for survivors of torture (Herbst, 1992: 153), it is believed that sharing the experience is worthy.

4.2.1. Women's Experience of Forced Migration and Its Effects

On citing the experience of internally displaced women, to begin with the pre-flight period, the internally displaced Kurdish women interviewed faced with physical violence, political oppression and serious economic hardships as well and these were the common experiences that led to the obligation of migration for the families. Among the women interviewed for this study, almost all had migrated due to reasons of coercion of joining to village guard system and suppression of state either through political oppression or physical violence. The exceptions were, two women living in Diyarbakır. One of them had to migrate because of the suppression of PKK, “of outsiders” in her own words since the members of her family were village guards. The second women living in Diyarbakır, was not forcedly migrate to Diyarbakır, however lost her husband because of a murder by so-called unknown assailants in 1994. This interview was included in the study since murder by unknown assailants was an important element in forced migration in 1990s and since the family won a lawsuit for damages in ECtHR against Turkey. Except for one woman in Istanbul, who wanted me to turn off the tape recorder while she was talking on the days her village was evacuated and consistently repeated the words: “Neither you nor I come to harm”²⁸ and also did the same thing when asked about whether she has ever met with police; again she wanted me to turn off the tape recorder and another informant who had to migrate due to suppression of PKK was reluctant to talk on the issue, but even so made mention of; internally displaced women, when asked about their memoirs of the period of internal displacement, most of them did not hesitate to speak about. To cite from one of the informants:

Before, guerillas were talked about, we did not know what the guerillas were, are they trees, stones, humans, monsters we do not know. Just once they came to the village we looked young girls all studied school they are not ignorant humans such there is doctor in there is lawyer. Really... They were good people, harmless, I mean, they did not harm us. They got close to us in a nice manner. They were making work with us; they were coming to the head of the tandoor wearing our normal clothes, because we did not see any harm from

²⁸ “Sana bir şey olmasın, bana bir şey olmasın”.

them... That I looked, immediately neighboring villages were began to be fired and it was time for us. That is it, I mean. In one day, they came a fire, said to the village empty your houses, take out your stuff, they said, we took out our stuff or so... They threw some tress, dry twigs into the house... For two days it remained like that everywhere burned.²⁹

The quote above exemplifies that some of the villages were fired all of a sudden without any warning or giving people time for them to prepare for the migration. As the same informant likens: “Suddenly, suddenly came, fired, gone. Like wind och.”³⁰ While making the interview above, there was a woman with us who knows the informant and helped us with translation, added:

They fired up the village in one hour. They had thrown dry twigs, and also powder, you know, they had threw powder, lighter, when fire is thrown on it instantly ignites but for firing a normal dry twigs takes ten minutes they, there is something chemical they use they throw and thus ignite ... like granulated sugar.³¹

And the informant says: “It was like a perfume I do not know so.”³² Despite the fact that it is not surprising firing one’s house in front of her eyes will lead to traumatic experiences in one’s life, the following narration exemplifies almost all forms of violence and human rights abuses practiced in Turkey during forced migration. Before quoting, to tell about the situation to some extent, this family, before forcedly migrated lives in one of the villages of Cizre, Şırnak, their house is far from the others in the village. Since their house was distant from the village, when a conflict emerges, the soldiers lean against the house for the reason that they were helping

²⁹ “Daha önce gerillalardan bahsediliyordu gerillaların ne olduğunu bilmiyoduk ağaç mıdırlar taş mıdırlar insan mıdırlar canavar mıdırlar bilmiyoruz. Bir seferine mahsus geldiler köye baktık ki genç kızlar hep okul okumuş böyle cahil insanlar değil doktor var içinde avukat var. Gerçek. İyi insanlardı zararsızdı yani bize bi zararları olmadı. Bize güzel bir tarzda yaklaştılar. Bizle iş yapıyolardı böyle tandırın başına geliyolardı normal bizim kıyafetlerimizi giyerek hiç bi zararlarını görmediğimiz için bi baktık ki hemen bitişik köyler yakılmaya başlandı ve sıra bize geldi. Yani bu kadar. Bir günde bir ateş geldiler köye dediler boşaltın evlerinizi eşyalarınızı çıkarın dediler eşyalarımızı falan çıkardık... Bazı ağaçları çırpıları attılar evin içine... 2 gün öyle kaldı her taraf yandı.

³⁰ “Aniden aniden geldi yaktı gitti. Rüzgar gibi ya”.

³¹ “1 saatte köyün hepsini yakmışlar. Şey yapmışlar çırpı atmışlar bir de bir toz var ya toz atmışlar çakmak ateş atınca üzerine hemen tutuşturuyor yani normal bir çırpı yakmak için de bir 10 dakikanı alır. Bunlar kimyasal bir şey var kullandıkları atıp ta öyle ateşi tutuşturuyorlar. ... Toz şeker gibi bir şey.”

³² “Parfüm gibiydi bilmem yani”.

PKK. The informant says: “The state, all along, was putting pressure on us. They are attacking our men, our houses.”³³

The reason for the attacks to the family was that the father of the family was at the hospital since he underwent torturer and suffering from neck hernia left from torture and heart diseases. However, soldiers did not believe that her husband is ill and since he is permanently out of the house they made arbitrary suppression to the family “as if the father had joined to the party” and searching for the father. Moreover, when the informant gets out of the house, soldiers lean against the house and children and even beat the children. They change their house but nothing proves to be useful and suppression on the family continues, even the house is shot on by soldiers when they are in. But worst of all, an eight month baby of the informant is slaughtered by a kick of soldiers in one of the attacks. The informant says:

I do not accept this process; I do not accept this torture applied to my children. They say terrorist to me. 3, 5, 6, 7 years old children suffer cruelty. I am not a terrorist but after cruelty my children were behaved cruelly to I can be a terrorist.³⁴

It seems so that the rehearsals above form basis to understand the reasons evoking to internal displacement experienced by these women. Thus far what was explained was about the pre-flight phase; to continue with the flight phase, the cases differ: there are families leaving a village one by one or when whole village is fired in a day, all the people had to migrate. However, there is not any case when the internally displaced persons got any aid or assistance during the flight and all of them had to migrate on their own. The families who migrated before their village was burned down had the chance to get their stuff with them, whereas those left behind could only save their own lives. Surely, separation from homeland and one’s own house prompted emotional turmoil in internally displaced persons. An informant from Diyarbakır,

³³ “Devlet eskiden beri bize baskı yapıyordu. Erkeklerimize evimize hücum ediyorlar.”

³⁴ “Ben kabul etmiyorum bu süreci çocuklarıma karşı uygulanan bu işkenceyi kabul etmiyorum bana terörist diyorlar 3, 5, 6, 7 yaşında çocuklar zulüm görüyor, ben terörist değilim ama çocuklarıma yapılan zulümden sonra terörist olabilirim.”

whose husband has died just a year passed after forced migration, says (translator narrates):

He got sick after we migrated from the village because of sorrow in fact ... That is to say, he loved nature so much, he loved animals so much, he torn away from everything, their house was like a palace in the village they came entered into a room like a hutch. Humid, that is, they themselves led a life in a place they use for their own animals. Therefore, he grieved all the time so. His grief caused his death, he got tuberculosis then anyway we lost him.³⁵

Furthermore, the flight phase sometimes turns into a continuous activity of migration. This is particularly true for the internally displaced informants now living in Istanbul. Although there are families who came directly to Istanbul just after the forced migration; there are also some who first settle in other cities particularly in the region and then came to Istanbul. In addition, one specific case from Istanbul displays the fact that the flight phase can continue for some even after forced migration. To clarify, since the daughter of one of the women informants living in Istanbul is “at outside”, meaning that she has joined PKK, the family has been left no choice but to move when their address is obtained by police through mukhtar’s office, especially when the family wants to renew their green card.

To continue with the settlement phase, it would not be an exaggeration to say that almost all of the internally displaced persons have self-settled after they have been forcedly migrated. Neither the state nor any other institution gave assistance to the internally displaced persons for resettlement after they were obliged to live their places of habitual residence. Therefore, the internally displaced persons in Turkey had settled into the houses of their relatives or friends to which they had access in the first place. Consequently crowded houses which were inadequate both physically and psychologically emerged. One informant from Diyarbakır says:

³⁵ “Köyden göç ettikten sonra hastalandı üzüntüden zaten. ... Yani doğayı çok seviyordu hayvanları çok seviyordu her şeyden koptu evleri saray gibiydi köydeyken geldiler kümes gibi bir odaya girdiler. Rutubetli yani kendi hayvanlarının kullandıkları bir yerde kendiler yaşam sürdürdüler. Onun için hep üzülüyordu yani. Üzüntüsü işte ölümüne sebep oldu verem oldu. Sonra zaten kaybettik.”

We came at the expense of saving our lives we lived 14 people in one room and my husband was working as a port one day if there was work there was not for 10 days thus like this we were obliged we came compulsorily we were left no choice but to live forcedly.³⁶

What is more, although some families had the chance to move in to a separate house after some time, there are still internally displaced persons who have to live together with the relatives. One of the informants living in Diyarbakır said that they first settled in house of her husband's aunt, in a room. Since the informant's husband had died one year later after they had to migrate, they have no income and therefore three people, a mother and her two sons, still live in the same room. To give voice to the informant:

The place we live is a sole room, it is earthy. In winters anyhow rain, snow, clay, mud. There is not a bathroom, restroom. There is but, such, at a distance, like the exit of the garden. We can not reach in rain, in snow. Then besides you can not stay inside when it is hot, whence airlessness. Moreover, there are scorpions, mouse swarming in the house ... Sometimes we get into restroom, we use the water in the bucket the mouse comes to our hand, scorpion comes, bug comes.³⁷

Despite the fact that what Ager means by resettlement is the resettlement of refugees in the third countries in his framework of refugee experience, in this part, common experiences within the resettlement phase, which are culture conflict, employment difficulties and intergenerational conflict, and in addition the well-being of internally displaced women, will be examined considering the experiences of internally displaced persons in the newly settled environments, with an exception of intergenerational conflict mostly dealt with in part of children. To begin with culture conflict, it seems so that the basic conflict for internally displaced women

³⁶ “Canımızı kurtarmak pahasına geldik 14 kişi bir odada yaşadık ve eşim hamallık yapıyordu bir gün eğer iş olsaydı 10 gün olmuyordu yani böyle mecburduk zorunlu olarak geldik zorunlu olarak da yaşamak zorunda kaldık”.

³⁷ “Yaşadığımız yer tek bir odadır topraklıdır. Kışın zaten yağmurdur kardır balçuktur çamur. Banyo tuvaleti yok vardı da böyle çok uzak bir yerde bahçenin çıkışı gibi. Yağmurda ulaşamıyoruz, karda. Sonra zaten sıcakta içeride kalamıyorsun havasızlıktan. Bir de şey var akrepler var fareler zaten cirit atıyor evin içinde ... Bazen lavaboya giriyoruz kovaadaki suyu kullanıyoruz fare elimize geliyor, ya akrep geliyor, böcek geliyor.”

interviewed in this study arises from not knowing Turkish, particularly for women in Istanbul since not knowing the language affects all aspects of their life. First of all the fact that women did not know Turkish caused them to stay at home. One of the informants in Istanbul says:

I did not take that disabled child to doctor properly I have just came I did not go out for 2 – 3 years. Because I did not know Turkish I am ashamed so. For instance I go to grocer, somewhere, I do not know.³⁸

The fact that most of the internally displaced Kurdish women did not know Turkish when they came to Istanbul, not only affected them psychologically but also caused them to live problems with state institutions, such as schools or in the public space with doctors, tradesman and neighbors. To give an example from schools, one of the informants does not know any Turkish when she first settled in Istanbul and when she goes to her child's school:

Thus, teacher says what I say to you, you do something else I said I do not understand, for instance Ayşe [the name is changed] sit there, I sit here, I said I do not understand I said the very last I cried there I said teacher I do not understand ... Thus I suffered much from one teacher. The others were good really. One teacher caused suffer much, it was a little tough... [When asked whether the teacher said anything when she spoke Kurdish] It was saying, learn Turkish and then come.³⁹

Surely, not knowing Turkish did not become more of an issue in Diyarbakır, except for the institutions. What the women complain most are the problems they face with particularly in hospitals. They say that the staffs told them "to learn Turkish and then come". An exception in Diyarbakır was the woman who had to migrate as a result of suppression of PKK. Since she speaks Zazaca, she said that she found strange when she first settled in Peyas village where most of the residents spoke Kurdish.

³⁸ "O sakat çocuğu doğru dürüst doktora götürmedim yeni geldim 2 – 3 sene dışarıya çıkmadım. Çünkü bilmiyordum Türkçe utanıyorum yani. Mesela bakkala gidem bir yere gidem bilmiyorum."

³⁹ "Yani öğretmen diyor ben sana ne söylüyorum sen başka iş yapıyon. E dedim anlamıyorum mesela Ayşe orda oturun, burada oturuyorum. Dedim anlamıyorum dedim. En son ağladım orda. Hocam dedim anlamıyorum. ... Yani bir öğretmenden çok çektim. Ötekiler iyiydi gerçekten. Bi öğretmen çok çektirdi o biraz sertti. [Kürtçe konuşunca öğretmenin bir şey deyip demediği sorulduğunda] Diyodu Türkçe öğren öyle gel."

Looking at employment difficulties in resettlement phase, it was mentioned above that except for the young women interviewed in Istanbul, almost none of the internally displaced women work and either in Diyarbakır or Istanbul all of the households live under the poverty line. Therefore, almost all of the internally displaced women complained of poverty.

Finally, in line with the findings of the previous researches on the well-being of internally displaced women, the effects of forced migration on women is self-evident since most of the women complains of various kinds of illness and a feeling of discomfort. To quote from a women living in Diyarbakır:

After we came from there it is as if one side of us is missing well you loose your one arm that pain ... I was very healthy in the village, I was very well, but we came here, due to sorrow, stress we are ill every day lots of illness emanate on us thence we are not fine at all.⁴⁰

Another women living in Istanbul says:

It affects peak parts of my life it conjures up a mental picture of consistently I do not want these to be lived once again these were the things not ought to be but occurred it affects much aspects of life.⁴¹

As a last word, the following quotation seems to summarize the plight of internally displaced Kurdish women interviewed for this study in Istanbul: “We are like just guests here.”⁴²

4.2.2. Children’s Experience of Forced Migration and Its Effects

Ager argues that most common and salient fields of challenge of children who flee their homes are first malnutrition, disease and disability caused by anti-personnel

⁴⁰ “Ordan geldikten sonra bir tarafımız eksik olmuş gibi hani bir kolunu kaybedersin ya o acı ... Köyde çok sağlıklıydım çok iyiydim ama buraya geldik üzüntüden stresten her gün hastayız bir sürü hastalık çıkmış bizde ondan dolayı hiç iyi değiliz.”

⁴¹ “Hayatımın uç kısmını etkiliyor gözlerimin önüne sürekli geliyor ben bunların bir daha yaşanmasını istemiyorum olmaması gereken şeylerdi ama oldu hayatın çok bir yönünü etkiliyor.”

⁴² “Biz burda sadece misafir gibiyiz.”

mines; second separation and loss that has potential threat to social and also emotional development of the child; third disruption of socialization, for example school that may diminish, which will effect a child's capacity to give structure and also meaning to his/her experience and fourth traumatic experience, noting that refugee children are vulnerable to violent and/or threatening experiences which can not be integrated into the basic assumptive world of the child with ease (Ager, 1999: 215). Herein, Agier points out to the importance of persons' giving testimony, who were affected by war and states: "To be able to give testimony of what was happened helps to give a meaning, a posteriori, to what they have experienced, to socialize it for both themselves and others" (Agier, 2008: 75). Considering these, the aim of this part is to give voice to the internally displaced children/youngsters and/or those whose families were internally displaced, which is a crucial but an ignored aspect in studies of internal displacement in Turkey.

From the beginning, it needs to mention in advance that this study counts in both the children witnessed their village burned down, houses evacuated or their families politically oppressed and/or subjected to violence and those who did not witness the dirty war him/herself but became aware of it, however predominated by those experienced the forced migration in the flesh. Nevertheless, it seems that these two distinct groups should be studied apart since the effects of forced migration are apparent in memoirs of those who witnessed the internal displacement.

To begin with the category of malnutrition, disease and disability due to anti-personnel mines, within the context of this study, cases of malnutrition was not pointed out in the interviews but mentioned of in relation with economic difficulties after displacement. That is to say, for instance one of the male informants in Diyarbakır had to work as a scavenger to feed on the family adding that they had their garden in the village and food supply enough for them. Another informant said that their living conditions were better in the village and they were living on their name, however after they have settled in Diyarbakır, he said:

I never forget in the morning we used to go to stale bread we used to bring from baker's morning thus we used to get up

like 4 – 5 we used to buy the bread left from the evening for it to be cheap.⁴³

And a female informant living in a tent like a shed in Istanbul said:

You are poor, you are Kurds they said. When we first came here anyhow we had only a brother named Murat [the name is changed], photographer ... When we first came, he helped. My sister died of hunger. ... There is not milk there that time; there was not how much penny, my sister in front of my eyes... Thus suffer we undergo only God knows and we know.⁴⁴

Another example is from an informant living in Diyarbakır, she says:

Thus because we came here were we comfortable no we lived through very much pain, there were days there was not food as well, we could not eat, we were going to bed hungry, because I was a bit older than them I did not ? too much but my siblings were crying so wanting bread, wanting water, there was not even water in the house we went, it was a flat like a building we were buying water for ourselves taking something from neighbors, from here and there, we tried to make a living for a week.⁴⁵

On disease, there is not a case through which a kind of particular disease was reported after displacement, except for psychological discomfort or some injuries resulting from torture; but as it will be clear below the practice of internal displacement affected the children psychologically pretty much and still continues to do so. To give an example from one of the male informants living in Istanbul:

⁴³ “Hiç unutmam biz bayat ekmeğe giderdik fırınlardan getirirdik sabah öyle 4 – 5 gibi kalkardık akşamdan kalan ekmekleri ucuz olsun diye alırdık”.

⁴⁴ “Fakirsiniz siz Kürtsünüz dediler. Biz zaten ilk buraya geldiğimizde bir tek X diye bir ağabeyimiz vardı fotoğrafçı ... İlk geldiğimizde zaten o yardım etti. Kız kardeşim açlıktan öldü. ... Orda süt yoktu o zaman, kaç kuruş parası yoktu. Kız kardeşimin gözümün önüne. Yani bizim çektiğimiz çileyi bir Allah bilir bi biz.”

⁴⁵ “Yani buraya geldik diye rahat mıydık hayır çok fazla acılar yaşadık, işte gün geldi ki yemek de yoktu yiyemiyorduk, aç yatıyorduk, ee ben biraz onlardan büyük olduğum için fazla şey yapmıyordum ama kardeşlerim ağlıyordu yani ekmek istiyordu, su istiyordu, su bile yoktu gittiğimiz evde, inşaat gibi bir daireydi su alıyorduk kendimize komşulardan sağdan soldan bir şeyler alarak bir hafta boyunca geçinmeye çalıştık.”

So I was a child we could not understand accurately of course but I mean let's say the very natural, suppression stuff, toward our demands repression too really I mean what I have lived on me personally until I was twenty left very profound things thus for instance when the village guards came we were children but they took us too I mean as alive shields for anything not to happen on the way they took us down to their villages at that time thus those beatings, insultations there in front of my eyes they killed one or two individuals you know insultations I was influenced very much also psychologically I was influenced much of child age thus I could not give a meaning ... Anyway the time they took us in fact I after a month I went to Diyarbakır I got sick, one month or so I stayed in hospital, for 13 – 14 days I was in a coma as a result of well that beating.⁴⁶

About the landmines, none of the children/youngsters interviewed for this study had ever mentioned a case of injury caused by landmines, however with reference to the report prepared by Human Rights Association, covering the time period of 1990 – 2002, at least 244 of the 975 persons died of and 214 of 1150 persons injured by landmines or unowned military supplies were children.⁴⁷

As a second category, the experience of internally displaced children is linked to separation from either family or habitual residence. It is not difficult to guess that leaving a place where one was used to live would pretty much affect a person, particularly when it is combined with violence and/or threatening experiences. There the quotations above are examples of lived experience of separation and loss, which fairly display the plight of internally displaced children and the effects of forced migration on them. To lend an ear to an informant living in Istanbul:

I was three years old I asked mom, mom am I dreaming or is it real we, well, when we leave the village, the village was

⁴⁶ “Öyle ben çocuktum tam anlamıyorduk tabii ama ,ama yani bu diyelim en doğal baskı şey istemlerimize karşı olan baskılar da gerçekten yani yaşadıklarım bende şahsen 20 yaşıma kadar çok derin şeyler bıraktı yani mesela korucular geldiğinde biz çocuktuk ama bizi de aldılar hani yolda bişey olmasın diye canlı kalkan olarak bizi taa köylerine kadar götürdüler o esnada işte o dayaklardır hakaretlerdir işte gözümüzün önünde bir iki kişiyi öldürdüler işte hakaretlerdir çok şey çok etkilendim psikolojikman da çok etklendim çocuk yaşta yani anlam veremiyordum ... Zaten bizi aldıkların da hatta ben Diyarbakır’a gittikten 1 ay sonra hastalandım bir ay falan ben hastanede kaldım 13-14 gün ben koma da kaldım hani o dayak sonucu.”

⁴⁷ Available at http://ihd.org.tr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=584:d-karaimayinlari-tke-raporu&catid=67:genel-merkez&Itemid=213.

being burned down and the people without ever taking anything desperately were trying to rescue their lives in our balkoon like our clothes were hanging in that way we migrated thus we tried to rescue our lives ... We had migrated well on naked foot and we had run, gone to county ... It is a very difficult situation, even at present one sometimes in lieu of living one's own hometown thus I do not know now too how to express but it was better to be at our own hometown.⁴⁸

Another informant living in Diyarbakır says:

... then coming to Diyarbakır I saw the environment really seeing that poverty I mean I regretted greatly if only we would be in Lice for we were droning anyway for we had not come to Diyarbakır and that we miss Lice all the time we understood in Diyarbakır really because my childhood was there born and grown up there and so for aught I know you have an environment there you have friends you come to Diyarbakır you go among people you do not know childish mind you know moreover people they had discrete glances at you so for aught I know as if we were strangers as if it was written on the forehead so they had such glances and it was affecting us much really we again and again thus decided not to go out you know stayed at home you know besides there was fear also ...⁴⁹

Another internally displaced young woman, who lost her father because of murder by unknown assailants in Silvan, says:

Thus about that time period they are shooting man even walking in the middle of road. Innocent, guiltless so this is even enough in my opinion what else matter to tell besides

⁴⁸ “3 yaşındaydım anne ben hayal mi görüyorum yoksa gerçek mi diye soruyorum biz hani köyü terk ettiğimizde köy yakılıyordu ve insanlar hiçbir şey almadan can havliyle canını kurtarmaya çalışıyorlardı bizim balkonda böyle elbiselerimiz asılıydı o şekilde biz göç ettik ... Yani canımızı kurtarmaya çalıştık ... Biz hani çıplak ayakla ve koşmuştuk ilçeye gitmiştik ... Çok zor bir durum şu anda bile insan bazen kendi memleketinde yaşamak varken kendi şu anda da yani bilmiyorum nasıl ifade etceğimi bilmiyorum ama kendi memleketimizde olmak daha güzeldi.”

⁴⁹ “...Sonra Diyarbakır a gelirken ortamı gördüm gerçekten o yoksulluğu görünce yani bin pişman oldum keşke lice de olsaydık Diyarbakır a gelmeseydik diye hep söyleniyoduk zaten ve hep liceyi özlediğimizi gerçekten diyarbakıra geldiğimizde anladık çünkü çocukluğum orada doğup büyüme orada oldu ve yani ne bileyim senin bir çevren var orada bi arkadaşların var diyarbakıra geliyosun hiç tanımadığın insanların arasına giriyosun çocuk aklıylan yani bide insanlar sana böyle farklı farklı bakışlarını vardı yani ne bileyim sanki biz yabancıymışız gibi böyle alında yazılıyomuş gibi böyle bi bakışları vardı ve bizi gerçekten çok etkiliyodu biz defalarca böyle sokağa çıkmamaya böyle karar verdik işte evde oturduk işte bide korku da vardı ...”

plus much is told villages are burnt down without a reason thus and so I mean ... Plus not only in old times there is not much peaceful life also at the present the same things are experienced thus we see I know thence ... It happened when he was going to work anyway he had a café I have said going to the café it was not far too much to us it was two streets over there that I remember in the morning leaving for work in the middle of the road they are hiding watching for him and afterwards they shoot. ... [Is it known who, I mean, is there a reason?] Who it was is already apparent I mean for instance after hearing the shot we got out, the state had come before us upon thus how it knows and comes task force were there before us despite the fact that it was two streets over from now on it is evident who did it.⁵⁰

Furthermore, the male informant from Diyarbakır, who stayed in a coma, added:

Afterwards the same village guards, who made the incursion, thus after we went to Diyarbakır they kidnapped and executed my oldest brother with JİTEM ... It had enormous psychological effect.⁵¹

Then as soon as he finished his sentence, he was depressed by remembering those days and he stopped speaking. When he was asked to finish the interview, he did not prefer to terminate the interview but wanted me to outdistance that part. What is more important, the damaged condition of this informant is not an exception and in many other talks, with the internally displaced youngsters who had witnessed the forced migration, the interview had to be interrupted due to the reason that the informants felt badly about talking on their experiences of internal displacement or even cried.

⁵⁰ “Yani o dönemle ilgili yol ortasında birle yürürken adam vuruyorlar. Günahsız, suçsuz yani bu bile yeter bence daha ne anlatılsın ki bi de artı çok şey anlatılıyor boş yere köyler yakılıyor öyle yani ... Artı sadece eskiden değil şuan da pek rahat bir yaşam yok yine aynı şeyler yaşanıyor yani görüyoruz oradan biliyorum ... İşe giderken oldu zaten kiraathanesi var demiştim kahveye giderken çok uzak değildi bize iki sokak ötedeydi onu hatırlıyorum. Sabah işe çıkarken yol ortasında gizleniyorlar yolunu gözlüyorlar daha sonrada vuruyorlar. [Yani kim olduğu belli mi hani ortada bir sebep var mı?] Kim olduğu zaten belli de hani mesela bi silah seslerini duyduktan sonra biz çıktık bizden önce devlet gelmişti üzerine yani nerden biliyor da geliyor özel timler üstünde duruyordu bizden önce iki sokak ötede olmasına rağmen artık kimin yaptığı bellidir”

⁵¹ “Ondan sonra aynı baskını yapan korucular yani Diyarbakır’a gittikten sonra en büyük abimi jitemcilerle beraber kaçırıp infaz ettiler ... Onun çok büyük psikolojik etkisi oldu.”

Lastly, maybe more dramatic than any other example and reflecting what separation from homeland means for a fourteen years old young woman is the letter below written by a sister of one of the informants living in Diyarbakır:

I am fourteen years old I want to return to the old days for instance school days how nice days were the school days affectionately, joyfully wok up and got out of bed wore our clothes we would go to school in our village there was only primary school but we were anyway happy I had joy of reading at any cost I wanted to study in the morning I used to get up and go to school affectionately, joyfully regardless of the cold winter days we used to queue up, recite our oath we would move in I would love my teacher, it also would like us and sometimes beat us anyway we liked it, it taught us what was right what was wrong, benignity, helping one another, respect to elderly, love to young, I owe everything to it my school days would pass so nice on 23rd of April we used to play games, sweep ... Even in holidays, I always used to think of school, I used to look forward to opening of the school in the 3rd class I dropped out of school, we came to the city leaving that beautiful school and village behind we came to the city, which absorbs one on feet my father did not let me to go to school for me the hurts started at that time I was crying for days since I did not go to school my tears did not stop fairly I was getting bored feeling suffocated I wanted to go out, they did not let me they said this is not the village I wanted to wander this is the city, it absorbs the persons they said at school I always learned good things, as for in the city all the time I learned bad things I learned what suffering, crying I learned the battle for surviving in life I did not know what sorrow was, my bearning eyes did not know what crying was I want to return to the old days I want my days in school I want my childhood days give me those days back give my friends back give my school back I am fourteen years old as if am I at an age of suffering they are making me experience these pains my old days do not get back but let me see for once in my dreams.⁵²

⁵² “14 yaşındayım eskiye gitmek istiyorum mesela okul günlerine ne güzel günlerdi okul günleri sevgiyle neşeyle uykudan kalkar elbiselerimizi giyer okula giderdik bizim köyde sadece ilkokul vardı ama gene de mutluyduk okuma sevinci vardı bende ne pahasına olursa olsun okumak istiyordum sabahleyin kalkar okula giderdim sevgiyle neşeyle soğuk kış günlerine aldırmadan sıraya girer andımızı okur içeri girerdik öğretmenimi çok severdim o da bizleri severdi bazen de döverdi gene de onu severdik bize doğruyu yanlış sevgiyi iyi kalpliliği yardımlaşmayı büyüğe saygıyı küçüğe sevgiyi o öğretti herşeyimi ona borçluyum okul günlerim çok güzel geçerdi 23 nisanda oynar çoşardık ... Tatilde bile hep okulu düşünürdüm okulun açılmasını dört gözle beklerdim 3. sınıfta okulu bıraktım şehre geldik o güzel okulu ve köyü bırakıp insanı ayakta yutan şehre geldik babam okula gitmeme izin vermedi benim için acılar o zaman başlamıştı okula gitmediğim için günlerce ağlıyordum göz

Surely, these are some of the chosen examples from the interviews for that they give hints on what a child feels when leaving the habitual place of residence. Nevertheless, the experiences of the child eyewitnesses are not limited to the examples provided above. There are many cases when a child sees a relative, an acquaintance is put to torture or even shot, which called for many traumatic experiences as it will be explained below. Moreover, it needs to clarify that those who did not witness were luckier than the eyewitnesses of the forced migration since they did not see the conflicts.

The third category is disruption of socialization. Despite the fact that both school and religious worship is claimed to diminish a child's capacity to give structure and meaning to his/her experience (Ager, 1999: 215), whereas in this study only the school dimension will be explained. Almost all of the internally displaced children interviewed in this study had to leave the school due to economic difficulties mostly. Either girls or boys had to work in the streets, selling bottled water and napkins or went to different cities as seasonal workers. However, at this point it needs to offer up a gender dimension. Considering internally displaced young women, it is also common for them to be obliged to leave the school since they had to look after their sick mothers or younger siblings. What is more, also a few of the informants left the school since they were discriminated either by teachers or by schoolmates. For instance, what one of the male informants says about his school seems to display the discrimination at both levels:

There we were always discussing with friends you know you are terrorists you are from South, you want to split the state thus what is your problem you faced with such things you were stranding much you did not even know what to say. Think of it thus consistently 5 – 6 persons gathering around you consistently trying to humiliate you saying that you are terrorists, you are *kıro* you do not understand anything you

yaşlarım dinmek bilmiyordu adeta sıkılıyordum bunalıyordum dışarı çıkmak istedim bırakmadılar burası köy değil dediler gezmek istedim burası şehir insanı yutar dediler okulda iyi şeyleri öğrendim şehirde ise hep kötü şeyleri öğrendim acı çekmeyi öğrendim ağlamayı öğrendim hayatta kalabilme mücadelesini öğrendim ben ki acı nedir bilmezdim gülen gözlerim ağlamak nedir bilmezdi eski günlerime dönmek istiyorum okul günlerimi istiyorum çocukluk günlerimi istiyorum o günleri bana geri verin arkadaşlarımı geri verin okulumu geri verin 14 yaşındayım acı çekecek yaşta mıyım ki bana bu acıları yaşatıyorlar eski günlerim geri dönmez ama bir kerecik rüya aleminde göreyim.”

came from mountain. One does not know what to do ... My brother did not allow me to leave I run off I mean compulsorily because every day you are under compulsion. There was serious discrimination there. I got in, I was resorting to the headmaster he said sonny is it a lie you are *kıro* you had come from mountain.⁵³

In addition not knowing the Turkish language was another problem for these children, especially for those who began to school without knowing any Turkish. Since they did not know Turkish they had difficulties in understanding the lessons, which lead them to be ashamed of. What is more, some of the informants, especially those in Istanbul, reported that their teachers were getting angry with or even beat them when they spoke Kurdish even if among themselves. One informant also said that the teachers told the students to tell them when someone spoke Kurdish and once someone talked, all the class run the gauntlet. Furthermore, one of the informants living in Diyarbakır said that he dropped out the school when he was in Izmir since he was subjected to exclusion because he was a Kurd.

The fourth and last category of internally displaced children's common experience is the traumatic one. Within this part of the study, some examples on what internally displaced children witnessed and their subsequent effects will be provided from the interviews. To have an overall view on this subject, most of the informants, who lived the forced migration in person, stated that they had not hold an opinion on the reason of the conflicts, incursions or suppression they faced with. However, almost all of the interviewed internally displaced children remembered in detail the period forced migration practiced: continuous conflicts, tortures, incursions of either TSK or PKK, the day their houses were evacuated, their villages were burnt down. Moreover, fear was the most common feeling among the internally displaced children, which affected their life also afterwards. Nevertheless a few informants stated that they were not afraid, even one of the informants stated that they had

⁵³ "Orda hep arkadaşlarla tartışıyoduk işte siz teröristsiniz siz güneylisiniz siz devleti bölmek istiyosunuz yani sizin derdiniz nedir bu tür şeylerle karşılaşıyodun çok zor durumda kalıyodun ne diyeceğinin bilemiyodun. Düşün yani sürekli etrafında 5-6 kişi toplanıyo sürekli seni rezil etmeye çalışıyo diyo ki siz teröristsiniz kırosunuz bi şeyden anlamıyosunuz siz dağdan gelmişsiniz. İnsan ne yapacağını bilemiyor. ... Abim izin vermedi çıkmama ben kaçtım yani mecburen kaçtım çünkü her gün baskı altındasın. Ciddi bi ayrımcılık vardı orda. Girdim müdüre başvuruyodum dedi "oğlum yalan mı sen kırosun sen dağdan gelmişsin."

normalized the conflicts and the shoots like “watching a film” since they were get used to it. To begin with, below there is a narration from a 5 years old girl at the time of displacement, now living in Diyarbakır; remembers and depicts the day their house was burnt with any detail:

What I remember I was so little those days as I far as I remember my mother woke up early in the morning, we had a breakfast ... then I went to the fountain to bring water. When I was at the fountain I heard of sounds of helicopters, surely we already knew that the villages are burnt down. I said all right it is our turn ... when I looked at helicopters 2 – 3 helicopters in the middle of the village bringing soldiers down. In the meantime everybody is shouting, everybody clamouring, everybody thrown itself on the ground somehow, starting fire here and there, beating the elderly, you know like insulting the girls. Surely since I was a kid when I looked I could not understand anything thus when I arrived my mother was crying, my sister was crying, thrown themselves on the ground. ... They were burning all the houses across from us; they broke the glasses of the schools. Animals thus animals were in the shed like that I mean they burnt. Many bad thing were lived through on those days ... our stuff was thrown and fired, I mean the stuff we got out also fired anyhow. ... Indeed we lived very cruel things I mean. That we were undeserving of, thus we lived a life that we did not deserve. After that two days passed over anyhow first they burnt the houses and then gathered us in front of the school. ... Very tough things, a smallish child at its mother’s lap, house burn burn when they burned the house was thus before the milk still child, the child from the woman’s hands hauled and threw inside. Thus that child went, died that child. Any of us saw the child, burned amongst the fires. These kind of things are not forgotten, thus now it is not whatever the state does, nothing is forgotten, our enmity is big, our sorrow is big I mean.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ “Hatırladığım işte ben çok küçüktüm o zamanlar hatırladığım kadarıyla annem sabah erkenden kalktı kahvaltı yaptık, inekleri sağdık, gönderdik işte, ee erkek kardeşim gitti onların yanına, öyle işte gittiler, ondan sonra ben çeşmeye gittim su almaya. Ee, çeşmedeyken helikopter sesleri duydum, tabi o anda zaten köylerin yakıldığını biliyorduk. Tamam dedim yani sıra galiba bize geldi ... baktığımda helikopterler, 2-3 tane helikopter köyün ortasında işte askerleri indiriyor. O arada herkes bağıyor, herkes çağırıyor, herkes kendini yere atmış bir şekilde, ateş açıyorlar sağa sola, yaşlılara vuruyorlar işte kızlara hareketler falan uyguluyorlar. Tabi o zamanlar küçük olduğum için baktığımda hiç bir şey anlayamadım yani geldiğimde annem ağlıyordu, kız kardeşim ağlıyordu, kendlerini yere atmıştılar ... Karşımızdaki bütün evleri yakıyordular, okulların camlarını kırdılar. Hayvanları işte hayvanlar ahırdaydılar o şekilde yani yaktılar. Çok kötü şeyler yaşandı o dönem yani hatırladığım yani bunları işte bütün eşyalarımız fırlatıldı yakıldı yani, çıkarttığımız eşyalarımızı da yaktılar zaten. ... Hakkaten çok acımasız şeyler yani yaşadık. Hak etmediğimiz, yani hak etmediğimiz bir hayat yani resmen

An internally displaced woman, now living in Istanbul, states:

You know, how to say, really what you live in childhood really when they are things that affect you when they are severe things it is not possible for you to forget ... they were so severe things... If I tell in a psychology of a child it is really so severe thus so severe ... Thus I wish I could tell this not only to you but also to everybody more explicitly then everybody would know some truths. I remember though repeatedly assaults were made by soldiers again and again the village burnt down our village burnt down again and again however the last time it was fired thus it was completely hell really ... Everybody escaped it was midnight, not the daytime as well.⁵⁵

A male informant from Diyarbakır, when he was asked about what he felt when he saw that soldiers burnt his house, he says:

All the time it is fear, they will shoot us again always fear I can say that this pass through whole people's mind there military that color when you see that uniform a fear shudders one's inside ... your tears drops unwittingly that because that childish idea that grows out like a giant in your brain.⁵⁶

Another male informant from Diyarbakır says:

You know for instance sometimes it was not something that a child can see, things a child can see for instance psychologically I mean I everything for example that period I

yaşadık. Ondan sonra 2 gün geçti üzerinden zaten önce evleri yaktılar ondan sonra okulun önünde bizi topladılar ... Çok zorlu yani şeyler, küçücük bir çocuk annesinin kucağında evi yak, yak, yaktıkları zaman işte sütün önündeydi daha çocuk, çocuğu kadının elinden yani tutup çekip içeriye fırlattı. Yani o çocuk gitti, öldü o çocuk. Çocuğu hiç birimiz göremedik, yandı ateşler arasında. Bu tür şeyler unutulmuyor yani şu anda devlet ne yapsa değil, hiç bir şey unutulmuyor; kinimiz büyük, acımız büyüktür yani.”

⁵⁵ “Hani ne diyorlar gerçekten küçüklükte yaşadığın gerçekten seni etkileyen şeyler olduğu zaman ağır şeyler olduğu zaman unutmam mümkün olmuyor ... çok ağır şeylerdi ... bir çocuk psikolojisiyle anlattıysam ya çok ağır bir şey gerçekten yani çok ağır bir şey” “yani keşke ben bunu tek size değil de hani daha açık bir şekilde herese anlatabilseydim de herkes bazı gerçekleri bilseydi. Hatırlıyorum gerçi defalarca askerler tarafından baskın yapılıyordu defalarca köy yakıldı köyümüz defalarca yakıldı ama o en son yakıldığı zaman yani tamamen bir cehennemdi gerçekten yani cehennem desem yeridir. ... Herkes kaçtı gece yarısıydı ama gündüz de değildi.”

⁵⁶ “Hep korku yine bizi vuracaklar hep korku diyebilirimki ordaki bütün insanların bu beyninden geçer askeri o rengi o üniformayı gördükten sonra içinde bir korku ürperir ... gözyaşın istemeden dökülür o çünkü o çocuksu düşünce o beyninde dev gibi büyüyordur.”

remember so much things ... what I see only they arranged us in a row in front of a wall and they burnt under our very eyes ... our own house that we lived for years, that we toiled insomuch...⁵⁷

It is beyond doubt that these traumatic experiences would have effects on the victims both psychologically and also towards the responsables of their sorrow, something which was apparent in the interviews. First of all, despite the fact that recalling the memoirs caused most of the informants to feel considerably unwell, which as a matter of course led the researcher to query the study being made, it was also a kind of relief for the informants to talk about on their experiences since for the most this was the first time they had that chance and thanked for listening. Most of the informants said that their lives were affected by what they had lived through when they were just children and emphasized that those were the things that they did not deserve. To begin with, it seems so that the forced migration caused a sort of unsociability and distrust in internally displaced children, which affected their subsequent relations. One of the informants now living in Istanbul, explains:

Thus, we were not accepted there [in Diyarbakır] also strangers these are country children like. Again there also, not that much we were insulted as of identity in Izmir as of class for instance we were insulted, there we lived similar problems, unavoidably thus again on our psychologies making so much effect, for example we could not dialogue anybody, we could not find friends, I mean I can say that except for my relatives I have no friends in Diyarbakır, along the childhood period neither we could play with anyone except for relatives, we were stressed to communicate even with people that we live in the same street.⁵⁸

And a female informant from Diyarbakır says:

⁵⁷ “Hani bu mesela bazen bir çocuğun görebileceği şeyler değildi. Bir çocuğun mesela görebileceği psikolojik anlamda ben her şeyi mesela o dönem çok şeyler hatırlıyorum ... gördüğüm şeyler sadece bizi böyle bir duvarın önüne dizdiler ve gözümüzün önünde yaktılar ... Kendi evimizi. Yıllarca oturduğumuz evi, o kadar emek sarf ettiğimiz...”

⁵⁸ “Yani orda da kabullenilmedik yabancı bunlar köylü çocuğu benzeri. Yine orda da batı illerindeki kadar kimlik olarak aşağılanmasak da sınıf olarak mesela aşağılanıyorduk, orda da benzeri sorunlar yaşanıyor, ister istemez yani yine psikolojimiz üzerinde çok etki yapıyordu, mesela kimseyle diyaloga geçemiyorduk, arkadaş bulamıyorduk yani, yani ben diyebilirim ki benim akrabalarım dışında diyarbakırda bir arkadaşım yok, o çocukluk süresi içerisinde ne kimseyle oyun oynayabildik akrabalar dışında, aynı sokakta kaldığımız insanlarla bile iletişim kurmakta zorlanıyorduk.”

I am at home; I did not gain much friends. I mean, frankly, because I do not trust, thus I had no friends to date only with daughters of my aunt plying between, that how far you know ... Because there is always fear inside of me, for that they will approach wrong you know consistently it is something coming from childhood. Thus I can not trust I can not give my trust to many people. Therefore I had no friends to date I came here [Kardelen Women's House] I had friends here.⁵⁹

To look at the effects other than the psychological ones, namely those towards the practitioners of internal displacement, a female informant from Istanbul after talking on firings, beatings etc. practiced by soldiers, she says:

Even my aunt's sons had gone [joined to PKK] I mean you can not say do not go eventually at a certain age, says I do not want it to continue like this at that age, when I was at the village, certainly if I were at this age I would also go certainly, now at the present I think you suffer such cruelty that really most people joined to PKK in time of migration. Think of it your father your brother is beaten before your very eyes and you can not do anything albeit they say state saying so these are not like that in the event what has it done a 12 years old child what can it explain ... you are beating.⁶⁰

Again from Istanbul, a male informant after talking about one of his relatives subjected to torture and that his family looked after him for 6 months, then recovered a bit, he said:

That man eventually joined to PKK after this, joined to PKK and said I can not stay here, I will be damned if I live with this state.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Evdeyim, fazla arkadaş edinmedim. Yani açıkçası güvenmediğim için yani hiç arkadaşım olmadı bugüne kadar bir tek teyzemin kızlarıyla gidip gel, o da nereye kadar yani ... Çünkü hep içimde bir korku var, hep yanlış yaklaşacaklar diye işte sürekli küçüklükten gelen bir şey bu. Yani güvenemiyorum çok fazla kişiye güvenimi veremiyorum ... O yüzden hiç arkadaşım olmadı bugüne kadar buraya geldim burda arkadaşlarım oldu.”

⁶⁰ “Benim teyzemin bile oğulları gitti yani gitme diyemiyorsun ki sonuçta belli bir yaşta gelmiş bu artık böyle devam etmesini istemiyorum diyor o yaşta ben köydeyken kesin bu yaşta olsam ben de giderdim kesin ben düşünüyorum şu an şimdi o derece zulüm görüyorsun ki gerçekten çoğu kişi o göçme zamanı dağa çıktı. Düşün baban abin gözünün önünde dövülüyor ve sen bişey yapamıyorsun her ne kadar devlet diyorlar şöyle diyor bunlar öyle değil sonuçta ne yapmış ki 12 yaşında çocuk ne anlatabilir ... dövüyorsun.”

⁶¹ “O adam en son dağa çıktı bu şeyden sonra dağa çıktı dedi ben burada duramam bu devletle yaşasam adam değilim.”

There were more moderate examples also. In Diyarbakır, when he was asked how he was affected within the practice of internal displacement, he answered:

Thus, affected so much let's say affected so much ... Thus affected as of political opinion I mean we see many persons went to death, now I can be adherent of neither the state nor them.⁶²

And only one female informant, who thought that the practice of forced migration had also beneficial aspects, says:

In my opinion it affected it changed many things besides that it brought manifold good things, maybe if we stayed there we would not go to school ... on the one hand it affected my life very very much affirmatively ... but on the other hand, but still I wish one had lived with one's own culture because people there do not find each other strange here as I said sometimes I feel like a stranger ... From those points it has more affirmative aspects.⁶³

To conclude, this chapter attempted to provide first the basic socio-demographic characteristics of the informants and the households and second the experiences of internally displaced women and children on forced migration and effects of those experiences on the informants. The following chapter aims to associate the experiences of informants with the social integration framework provided in Chapter II.

⁶² Yani baya da etkilemiş öyle diyelim baya da etkilemiş ... Yani siyasi düşünce olarak da baya da etkilemiş yani çoğu insanları gördük mesela ölümlere gittiler şimdi ne devlet yanlısı olabilirim ne de onların yanlısı.”

⁶³ “Bence etkiledi bir çok şeyi değiştirdi getirdiği bir çok yararlı şey olduğu gibi belki orda kalsaydık okula gidemeyecektik ... bir yandan benim geleceğimi bu yanlardan çok çok çok olumlu etkilemiş ... ama öte yandan insanın gene de kültürüyle yaşaması vardı çünkü orda insanlar birbirini yadırgamıyor burda dediğim gibi ben bazen kendimi çok yabancı hissedebiliyorum ... o yönlerden yararlı yönleri daha fazla”

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL (DIS) INTEGRATION OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED WOMEN AND YOUNGSTERS

After the second half of 1980s and during 1990s, Turkey experienced the reality of internal displacement or in other words of forced migration, the term which the Turkish public opinion is more familiar with. It was particularly the East and Southeast Anatolia regions of Turkey, in which Kurds are the majority that had their share of the practice of internal displacement. Thus far, within this study, Turkey's experience of internal displacement has been examined with respect mainly to its historical background; to its role in nation-building and to the violations of rights it has given way to. In addition, theoretical frameworks on the concepts of forced migration and social integration and basic socio-demographic characteristics of internally displaced persons and their experiences of the practice of internal displacement have been provided. Moreover, that the internally displaced women and children are the most vulnerable groups among the internally displaced persons, the fact on which this study bases upon, has been argued, previously, in many points of this study. Herewith what is left is to relate those theoretical arguments with that of experiences of internally displaced women and children, which is the particular subject of this chapter. Furthermore, since the main aim of this study is to dig out whether the spatial distinction has a significant effect in integration levels of internally displaced persons, the comparison of social integration levels of internally displaced women and youngsters will be made considering the place lived in, namely Diyarbakır and Istanbul.

5.1. Internally Displaced Women and Youngsters and Domains of Social Integration

The framework, named Indicators of Integration⁶⁴, provided in the second chapter of this study, will be the basis for analyzing the social integration levels of internally displaced women and youngsters in this piece of work. However, since the framework was prepared for encouraging a coherent understanding and approach to refugee integration work across the UK, it is inevitable that the framework needed to be modified considering that conditions of internally displaced persons are distinct than that of refugees and that there are structural discrepancies between the UK and Turkey. Therefore, holding on to the headings and the domains provided under those headings, the indicators were replaced with the ones that would meet the needs in understanding the experience of internal displacement in Turkey. Thus, this study sticks to the general definitions of all headings and the domains, however makes some modifications with the indicators under the domains and takes advantage of indicators both at the policy and practice-levels in order to be able to understand both what social integration connotes for this specific group of citizens, that is to say internally displaced persons, and to be able to put forward some suggestions.

To begin with the domain of employment under the heading of means and markers, it will be operationalized as the proportion of the informants working, their income levels, the sectors through which they obtain income, the channels whereby which they get a job and the reported satisfaction with employment, employers or colleagues. Secondly, as to the domain of housing, the mean household size and the characteristics of the regions in which the informants live will be the basic indicators, adding reported satisfaction with housing conditions for internally displaced women since they mentioned of it. Third domain is education and it will include the education levels of informants, proportion of children at school age in the household and their attendance to school and reported satisfaction with and experience of school, teachers and/or managers and schoolmates. And health, the last domain under means and markers, will consist of proportion of informants with social security or

⁶⁴ Available at <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs04/dpr28.pdf>.

green card, preference for the sort of health institution and reported satisfaction with and experience of health services. The second heading of the framework is social connections with the domains of social bonds, social bridges and social links. For this study, social bonds accounts for proportion of informants actively engaged with the community organizations pertaining to the internally displaced persons and contacts with relatives and/or friends of own ethnic origin. Social bridges, on the other hand, refers to participation rates of internally displaced persons in organizations other than their own, the proportion of internally displaced persons who report actively mixing with people from different ethnic backgrounds in everyday situations, perceived friendliness of local people and reported public attitudes to internally displaced persons and ideas on marriage with ethnic groups other than one's own. And the last domain of the heading of social connections, social links, in this study, refers to utilization of and relations with municipalities and civilian authorities and reported satisfaction with these institutions. Thirdly, the heading of facilitators consists of the domains of language and cultural knowledge and safety and stability. To begin with the domain of language and cultural knowledge, it includes proportion of internally displaced persons knowing Turkish language, reporting regular access to Turkish language media and that practical information for daily living. As for the domain of safety and stability, proportion of internally displaced reporting satisfaction with local area as a place to live, level of fear and/or insecurity and reported discriminative acts by police. Finally, the heading of foundations includes one domain, namely rights and citizenship within which the proportion of internally displaced persons' ownership of identity card, access to and utilization of legal benefits and applying for compensation either to Turkish Courts or European Court of Human Rights.

In addition to the domains provided above, internally displaced women's ideas on return and their expectations on future and internally displaced youngsters' relations with the family and their expectations on future were also asked. What follows is, first the women's life after forced migration and the plight of internally displaced women in their "newly" settlements and second children's life after forced migration and the plight of internally displaced children after forced migration, surely in relation to the domains of social integration provided above.

5.2. Internally Displaced Women, Internal Displacement and Life After Internal Displacement

Forced migration, experienced in Turkey after the second half of 1980s and during 1990s, without a doubt, led to deep rooted changes both in lives of internally displaced persons and of residents of the indwells down which internally displaced persons have settled. Among those internally displaced, women are one of the most vulnerable groups. Moreover, it is evident in many studies of internal displacement that among the internally displaced Kurds, pathologies differ in terms of gender, or in other words, internally displaced women experience the process of forced migration far more severe and that the integration of women compared to men is lower a great deal (interview with Zübeyit Gün, 2009).⁶⁵ This is due to many facts among which the fact that most of the internally displaced women are uneducated and do not know Turkish plays a crucial role. Moreover, due to the fact that internally displaced women had actively took place in production and/or relatively had more freedom in their previous settlements was destroyed with the practice of internal displacement and women, in the ‘new’ settlements, not only turned into consumers and but are also imprisoned in houses or at most in neighborhoods they are living in. In light of these discussions, below, there exists an attempt to understand internally displaced women’s social integration levels in their ‘new’ settlements, namely in the metropolises of Diyarbakır and Istanbul.

5.2.1. ‘Public Face’ of Social Integration: Employment, Housing, Education, Health

Before moving on in detail, it needs to be remembered that one of the themes of the Indicators of Integration Framework is means and markers, which denote more to the material sources, namely employment, housing, education and health. Thus, the aim of this part is to examine the social integration levels of internally displaced women in relation to their access to or destitution from these material sources.

⁶⁵ Available at http://multeci.net/modules.php?name=Kose_Yazilari&op=printpage&artid=33

To begin with the domain of employment, as to the definition given for the category of women in this study, that is the internally displaced women above the age of 30; it is striking that except for one, who lives in Istanbul and makes stuffed mussels at home for her husband to sell, none of the female informants, either in Diyarbakır or Istanbul above the age of 30 works. What is more, when it is checked out with the household level, the situation does not change and there is not even one woman working in the households except for the one mentioned above, who is within the marginal sector and earns in between 501 – 650 TL monthly. Bearing in mind that over 80 percent of the internally displaced Kurds in Turkey reported that farming was a primary occupation prior to displacement (Holtzman and Nezam, 2004: 47) and that women were used to take part actively in farming, it is obvious that the results display an imprisonment at home for the women at this age group. Furthermore, considering that employment provides opportunities of development of language, broader cultural competence and establishment of social connections, the plight of this category of internally displaced women would be clearer. Since there is not any employment at all, the other indicators of the domain of employment such as the sectors through which they obtain income, the channels whereby which they get a job and the reported satisfaction with employment, employers or colleagues become ineffective. Nevertheless, the woman making stuffed mussels complains about the “municipalities” in her own words, since through raids their supplies were seized and trays were broken. Furthermore, she also says that in one of the raids a municipal police had said to them: “do not make these stuffed mussels, go where you are [meaning where you are from]”⁶⁶.

As to the housing, firstly, the mean household size is 7.6 and 7.5 respectively for Diyarbakır and Istanbul, thus there is not a significant difference considering the mean household size. Considering the fact that in the first years of internal displacement the household sizes of some of the internally displaced persons were said to be more than 15, or even 25 – 30, which according to Melek Çakmak, from Southeastern Anatolia Project Regional Development Administration, lead to “men share the same room with his two wives and his children, to the fact that changes

⁶⁶ “Bu midyeyi yapmayın, nerdeyseniz oraya gidin.”

came into existence in sexual habits and that this created negative psychological affects on women and children” (İlkkaracan and İlkkaracan, 2003: 310), the situation seems to have been improved. However, when compared with the mean household size of Turkey in general that is 4.1 and 3.9 at urban (TNSA, 2003), it is obvious that the household size of the informants interviewed for this study is still higher, despite the fact that the majority of the informants live as nuclear families as mentioned in the previous chapter. This is not separately examined in this study; however the fact that the mean household size of internally displaced persons is higher than that of Turkey can be first related to economic difficulties and then maybe to the custom of Kurdish families to live as extended families. Considering women’s satisfaction with housing conditions what Adaman and Keyder argues seems to play a crucial role: that internally displaced persons are one of the residents, besides children working in the streets and appertains of underground economy, of the abandoned districts in metropolises such as Diyarbakır and Istanbul and the typical characteristic of these districts is the squalidity of the buildings (Adaman and Keyder, 2006: 22). During the fieldwork, it was not possible to make observations on the housing conditions of women living in Diyarbakır since most of the interviews were made at non-governmental organizations. However, only one interview in Diyarbakır made through a visit to the house and that was a woman who lost her husband because of a murder by an unknown assault and thus won a case in ECtHR and obtained a compensation of 150.000 TL. Then, the family moves from Suriçi, which is one of the districts that get pretty much migration during 1990s, to Diclekent, which is a newly established district hosting the prosperous habitants of Diyarbakır. As soon as one enters in the house, it was first the conspicuous consumption that greets one’s eye, which was a surprise for the researcher and made her think about the consuming habits of the other families that gained compensation from ECtHR. Considering Istanbul, interviews with women were made in Atışalanı, Tarlabası, Fikirtepe and Gazi district, of which the conditions of Tarlabası were the worst. At this point besides making distinctions among the cities, what the informants said necessitates to make distinctions among the districts within the cities as well, an issue that will be dealt in detail later under the domain of social bridges. Nevertheless to speak of, the women living at Atışalanı and Fikirtepe have never uttered any complaint about the characteristics of the region they are living in and in Diyarbakır the woman living at

Huzurevleri only wished a comfortable and a clean house in future and said: “Very good, we get on well with my neighbors, with my neighbors, well, there is no problem... Here, all my neighbors are Zaza”⁶⁷ and the woman settled in Diclekent saying that they chose Diclekent for that the houses are larger there, complained on the neighbor relations and said “neighbor is pleasant there [Suriçi], here there is not ... nobody sees each other, how to love”⁶⁸. Another example is one of the women living in Suriçi; she talks about her house (translator narrates):

It is just a room, it is earthy it does not have a kitchen, a bathroom, a restroom. ... There is a bathroom at the exit of the door, without a door, she hang on tin like. Then there is not a bath there is a place like a shed one can not dare to take off the clothes there there are such field mice.⁶⁹

When we examine the domain of education, it is obvious that among all age groups of internally displaced persons, the women above 45 have the least educational level; nevertheless the age group of 31 – 45 is also similar. To begin with, of the female informants living in Diyarbakır, none has ever gone to school and thus all were illiterate, which is a fact valid also for the household level. However, considering Istanbul, it needs a distinction between the age group of 31 – 45 and of 45 above at the household level; that is 50% of the women aged in between 31 – 45 dropped out of primary school, whereas the percent increases to 83.3% at the age group above 45. Of the female informants, living in Istanbul, except for one who said she is literate but a little, none of the women above the age 30 has ever gone to school and thus all are illiterate. Therefore, the data does not allow for an examination of the women’s experiences of schooling, but considering the fact that both in Diyarbakır and Istanbul all children at the age group of 7-14 attend to school gives us the opportunity to examine the women’s experiences of schools via their children. Both in Diyarbakır and Istanbul, most of the women said that they did not have many problems with the school, managers or teachers. Moreover, one informant living in

⁶⁷ “Çok iyi. Komşularla aram çok iyi. Komşularımın hani hiçbir sorun yok. ... Burada komşularımın hepsi Zazadır.”

⁶⁸ “Komşu orda güzeldir burada yoktur ha... Kimse kimseyi görmüyor ki sevsin”.

⁶⁹ “Tek bir odadır topraklıdır mutfağı yok banyosu yok tuvaleti yok. ... kapının çıkışında bir tuvalet var kapısı yok teneke filan takmış. Ondan sonra banyo yok ahır gibi bir yer var insane orda cesaret etmez soyunmaya böyle tarla fareleri var.”

Diyarbakır told that a few of the teachers had assisted them since their economic situation was not well and one from Istanbul declared that she does not go to her children's school for the reason that the school would want money. However, there are also women who had problems. To begin with an informant from Istanbul, who did not know any Turkish when she had come to Istanbul, declared:

One day it [the teacher] said "at nights teach your children the lessons and they do". I said neither the man nor do I [Both are illiterate]. He [the son] says mom, I have done with. I do not know whether he has done or not. The teacher says let me talk Turkish and you answer in Kurdish. I said teacher, I said I do not know if I knew I will answer you in Turkish, I said you speak Kurdish!⁷⁰

It has been pointed out that education is important since it affords significant opportunity for employment, wider social connection and language learning. However, considering the situation of women mentioned above, it is obvious that the high percents of illiterateness close up all these opportunities for internally displaced women. But what is more important, this vicious circle seems to be broken by the young second and third generations.

Finally, the last domain is of health. In Diyarbakır and also in Istanbul, of the informants all but one has green cards and thus has access to health services through it. The reason for the women, in Diyarbakır, not to have a green card is that her husband has tax liability for a car to the state. When she is asked of what she does in case of an illness, for example when the children get ill, she answers: "I take the green card of one of the neighbors and I take to the health care center, no where else. Thus they do say nothing for health care center, but it is forbidden to state [hospital]⁷¹. And the woman, without a green card, in Istanbul says that they go to private hospitals. However, it is important to point out to the fact that the woman, living in Gazi district of Istanbul, said that they went to a specific private hospital

⁷⁰ "Bir gün dedi 'çocuklara akşam ders gösterin o yapsın'. Dedim ne bizim var ne adamın. Anne diyor ben dersimi yaptım. Yapmış yapmamış bilmiyorum dedim. Öğretmen diyor ben Türkçe konuşayım sen Kürtçe cevap ver. Hocam dedim bilmiyorum bilseydim Türkçe vereceğim sana. Hay dedim sen Kürtçe konuş."

⁷¹ "Komşulardan birisinden yeşil kartını alıyorum sağlık ocağına götürüyorum başka bir yere değil. Yani sağlık ocağında bir şey demiyorlar, yani devlete mevlete gitsem yasaktır."

whose owners were Kurds and that they also spoke Kurdish and her son added “intensively, there Kurd lovers go thus”⁷². Another woman in Istanbul said that, at first, before she learned Turkish; she had problems in the hospitals and therefore had been going with someone who knows Turkish. Moreover, what the interviews show is that the sort of health institution chosen for consultation or treatment, is not only related with the structural circumstances as it is with the woman in Diyarbakır without a green card but also with the economic well-being. To exemplify, one of the informants, living in Istanbul says:

All at home [to give birth], only I had once bleeding. That, this is cesarean for a week I had bleeding at home I did not have a green card at that time. I said I do not go I said. Because I said, I go; I will go to lots of expenses.⁷³

And another informant again in Istanbul says: “We go both...When there is an illness, to health care center, it is preferred because it is closer, to go to public hospital it needs to have lots of money, and it needs to rent a car.”⁷⁴ As a last word, both in Diyarbakır and in Istanbul, informants said that they all gave birth at home, except for unexpected situations such as bleeding. It is obvious that especially in the first years of displacement women had experienced various problems, which seem to become lighter for now, with respect to health services and that it is hard to speak of equity of access to health services for internally displaced women.

5.2.2. Social Connections: Social Bonds, Social Bridges, Social Links

The theme of social connections includes the domains of social bonds, social bridges and social links. To begin with, social bonds, it refers to the connections with people with whom one shares its own experiences and values through ethnicity, religion or country of origin. To begin with the engagement of internally displaced women with the community organizations, it is obvious that DTP is almost the only organization

⁷² “Yoğun Kürtseverlerin gittiği yerlerdir yani”.

⁷³ “Hepsini evde yaptım sadece bir kanamam oldu. O, bu sezeyandır bir hafta kanamam evde oldu yeşil kartım o zaman yoktu bunlarda. Dedim gitmiyorum dedim. Çünkü gideyim bir sürü masrafa girecem dedim.”

⁷⁴ “İkisine de gidiliyor... Bir hastalık olduğu zaman sağlık ocağına tercih edilir yakın olduğundan kaynaklı devlet hastanesine gitmek için bir sürü parası olması lazım araç tutması lazım”.

that women, living in Diyarbakır and Istanbul, are in relation with and actively involved in. Moreover, as to the women interviewed, İHD (Human Rights Association), which basically fights against any kind of discrimination since 1986, is another organization drawing the attention, particularly on the issue of application for compensation law. Considering the contacts with relatives, visiting of relatives is the only activity by which internally displaced women get out of their neighborhood, besides going for a wedding or condolence. Furthermore, two women, when asked of their relations with the tribe after forced migration, they said that the tribes do not exist more, that they are dispersed and thus the relations broke down. This is consistent with how Erder defines the internally displaced persons, that is as “villagers without villages”⁷⁵ since these persons are left alone also in terms of their community relations (Erder, 2007: 98).

As to social bridges, it is granted that internally displaced women do not get out of their neighborhoods except for relative visits and necessary conditions; therefore it is the most important thing to examine their relations with the local people in the neighborhoods. First of all, it is important to remember that political, social, economic and cultural processes of exclusion become spatially visible in some geography of metropolises (Adaman and Keyder, 2006: 26). At this point, Suriçi and Tarlaşa are good examples, despite the fact that the ethnic origin of the excluded changes. An informant from Suriçi said that she had problems with her Roman neighbors and added “nobody gets on well with them much.”⁷⁶ However, it seems that the situation in Tarlaşa is graver. The daughter of an informant living in Tarlaşa after explaining that they were quarreling with their Turkish neighbors says: “While they are fighting with my brother, well, we are Turks, you are of a sort, where do you came from, they cursed harshly, why don’t you hang up flag ... Consistently, I mean, they look for fight.”⁷⁷ Moreover, the woman living in Huzurevleri in Diyarbakır said that she had no problems with the neighbors since “they were all Zaza.”⁷⁸ And finally, another woman living in Fikirtepe, Istanbul,

⁷⁵ “Köysüz köylüler.”

⁷⁶ “Fazla onlarla kimsenin arası iyi olmuyor.”

⁷⁷ “Kardeşimle kavga ederken işte biz Türk’üz, siz böylesiniz siz nerden gelmişsiniz yani çok ağır küfürler etmişler ... Sürekli yani şöyle yani böyle şey ararlar yani kavga olsun ararlar.”

⁷⁸ “Hepsi Zazadır.”

which is not a district where Kurds are high in numbers, said that at first she got ashamed of not knowing Turkish and also frightened, but now she had no problems with her neighbors.

The last domain is that of social links with the indicators of utilization of and relations with local services and reported satisfaction with these services. Firstly, it seems important to mention the fact that when the women asked whether they had ever been to municipality, district governorship or governorship, most of the women replied back “for aid?” which beforehand displays the women’s perception of those services. This fact was confirmed with the interviews since it was very apparent in the interviews that internally displaced women’s relations with the institutions of district governorship, governorship and local governments are very limited and bounded by food aid, coal aid and renewal of visa for green card. Only one of the women, living in Istanbul, declared that she had been to all for that her daughter was ill. One of them said that she had applied to the municipality since their tray of stuffed mussels was broken in the raids, but there is no result. And another woman from Diyarbakır said:

Honestly, I am going but nothing comes up, for instance I said I do not have wage I have two children ... I went to population [population directorate], governorship, no one remedies our trouble. Only the foundation [Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund] give us provisions in a month, the school does not give the money.⁷⁹

It is obvious that internally displaced women make contact with local governments or other institutions at the local level mostly on the basis of kinds of aids and that those worse-off apply more to the institutions. Furthermore, it seems that they are not satisfied or have problems with the services, except for one woman living in Diyarbakır who said that she got on well with the municipality since they are Kurdish. As a last word, not in the interviews, but by observation and through informal talks, it was apparent that most of the internally displaced persons apply to

⁷⁹ “Valla gidiyorum ama hiç bir şey çıkmıyor mesela dedim maşım yok 2 tane çocuğum var. Nüfusa, valiliğe gittim hiç kimse derdimize derman etmiyor. Sadece vakıf ayda 1 erzak veriyor bize. Okul parayı vermiyor.”

DTP when they have a problem. In an interview in Istanbul, a chairman of DTP claimed that the people were discriminated in the institutions and it was the reason for those people to apply to DTP when they have problems.

5.2.3. Facilitators: Language and Cultural Knowledge and Safety and Stability

To begin with internally displaced women's language and cultural knowledge in the new settlement, it is obvious in the results provided in Chapter IV of this study that the more the ages of internally displaced women increase, the less they know Turkish. This result is valid both for Diyarbakır and Istanbul. However, it is important to point out to the fact that among the women at age group of 31-45; the proportion of women knowing Turkish is 55.5%, whereas it rises up to 75% in Istanbul and among the women at the age group of above 45 the percents for knowing Turkish is 18.2% in Diyarbakır and with a slight increase it is 33.3% in Istanbul at the household level. Considering that except for one, none of the women above the age of 30 works either in Diyarbakır or in Istanbul as it is mentioned above in the domain of employment, the fact that the percent of internally displaced women living in Istanbul above the age of 30, who know Turkish, is higher than that of Diyarbakır make one think that these women had to learn Turkish for maintaining their lives, besides the fact that half of them dropped out of primary school. After depicting how she had difficulty at market, school or hospital since she did not know Turkish, what one of the informants says on the issue confirms that:

I went to neighbors I thought it is the best I shuttle among neighbors, I learn a little, I said one knows, it is good, I went to neighbors for example I went to hospital, for example I went to school, consistently I went, I talked to teachers, I talked thus I want to go, to speak, to know.⁸⁰

Moreover, not only for this group of internally displaced women but also within all age groups of internally displaced women living in Istanbul, the percent of those

⁸⁰ "Komşulara gittimen iyisi dedim komşulara gideyim geleyim biraz öğreneym dedim insan bilsin iyidir komşulara gittim mesela hastaneye gittim mesela okula gittim sürekli gittim öğretmenlerle konuştum konuştum yani istiyorum gideyim geleyim konuşayım bileyim."

knowing Turkish is higher when compared that of Diyarbakır. Besides the fact that the compulsory relations such as with doctors, teachers and salesman or maybe the Turkish neighbors played a role in that, it is also important to remember that the percent of working women living in Istanbul is higher than that of Diyarbakır, and it can be argued that workplace had a role as well.

As to the issue of internally displaced women's regular access to Turkish language media, since almost all of the women interviewed either in Diyarbakır or in Istanbul are illiterate they all reported that they do not read newspaper. Looking at the television habits, it is apparent that it predominantly changes in terms of the language known. That is to say, for women who know only Kurdish, it is not a preference but a necessity to follow the channels broadcasting in Kurdish. Among the 14 channels broadcasting in Kurdish via satellites⁸¹, the mostly watched one is Roj TV and the others are Med TV (despite the fact that Roj TV has been established in lieu of Med TV⁸², she said so) and Gün TV. The other channels, which the informants watch varies: Flash TV, Show TV, ATV, Fox TV, Kanal D and Kanal1. Moreover, the favorite programs are soap operas, such as 'Sıla', a soap opera in which the story pass in Mardin, and woman's programmes such as 'Kadının Sesi' and the one performed by Seda Sayan. While one of the informants said that she watched a programme which aims at reaching lost people, because her brother was lost for 7 – 8 years, another complained about the programme 'Tek Türkiye', which is about PKK and the life in a village, saying that it was a film that is for weaning the Kurds from Turkish community and added that it does not bother them since they do not believe what is screened on.

Looking at cultural knowledge, it is clear that the issue is more about either knowing the Turkish language or being illiterate, since these were the basic determinants of internally displaced women's relation with the city. Bearing in mind that a considerably high percent of the internally displaced persons were from rural background, it is not surprising that they were uninformed of the very practical information used in daily living in the cities. For instance, a woman from Diyarbakır

⁸¹ Available at <http://www.tr-security.com/kurtce-kanal-listesi-2009/>.

⁸² Available at <http://www.tr-security.com/kurtce-kanal-listesi-2009/>.

says: “We, because I do not know how to read and write, you get on to the bus, you say where this bus goes to. You do not know where it goes I mean this kind of problems, one lives.”⁸³ Another woman living in Istanbul, when she is asked for why she did not give birth in hospital, says: “I did not have a green card at that time. Now anybody knows anybody has it. Then I did not know there is green card or not, I did not know at all.”⁸⁴ And when she is asked whether she goes anywhere in Istanbul, she depicts:

No. I did not go. The grave of my daughter is at Bakkalköy now. Bakkalköy, maybe you know, I do not know. Our man [her husband] took us 2 or 3 times at first year, now I do not know ... I want, for example, at feasts somewhere I want to go. I take this child, it's no go.⁸⁵

Referring to the issue of safety and stability, to begin with the indicator of proportion of internally displaced persons, in Turkey's conditions it is not possible to give an exact number of the internally displaced persons living in areas with high reported crime rates, since the internal displacement was not practiced as an act of organized resettlement, that is to say that it was sudden, unplanned without any assistance to and/or recording of internally displaced persons. However, most of the studies display that internally displaced persons, mostly live in the blighted areas (Adaman and Keyder, 2006: 22) where it is possible to talk about high rates of drug use and sale, prostitution and gang like groups, which decreases one's satisfaction with the area and leads to a feeling of fear and /or security. Therefore, these indicators are examined relationally. First and foremost, it is possible to say that for most internally displaced women other than those satisfied with the places they live in, the issue is about the “evil of the city” in contrast to “purity of the village”. What an informant living in one of the districts of Suriçi, which is an administrative district in

⁸³ “Biz okuma yazma yani bilmediğim için arabaya biniyorsun. Bu araba nereye gidiyor diyorsun. Bilmiyorsun nereye gidiyor yani böyle sorunları insan yaşıyor.”

⁸⁴ Yeşil kartım yoktu, o zaman yoktu. Şimdi mesela herkes biliyor, herkes çıkartıyor. O zaman ben bilmiyordum yeşil kart çıkıyor, çıkmıyor ben hiç bilmiyordum.”

⁸⁵ “Yok. Gitmedim. Benim kızımın mezarı şimdi Bakkalköydedir. Bakkalköyü belki siz biliyor ben bilmiyorum. Bizim adam 2–3 sefer ilk sene bizi götürdü şimdi bilmiyorum. Gidiyim hangi mezardır belki üstünde birisi yatıyodur. Çünkü yapamadım..500 milyon istedi.O diyor yoktur yapamadım. İstiyorum gideyim mesela bayramda bir yerde istiyorum gideyim. Bu çocuğu götürüyorum olmuyor.”

Diyarbakır hosting a great deal of internally displaced persons, says seems to exemplify that:

In village we did not have fear, we knew that our children were in safe hands, in safe places because they do not get out of the village however here, when something happens, because now here there is drug addiction, first it was the youth who used, the elders, now children at primary school even use, it even gets into schools, thus, therefore we are anxious.⁸⁶

Moreover, the facts that one of the informants in Istanbul did not want what she said about the forced migration and her encounter with police to be recorded and that some internally displaced women, with whom an acquaintance of them made the contact, did not accept the interview request by saying “we already have troubles” clearly display the fact that some still feel insecure in Istanbul. With respect to discriminative police acts, most of the women interviewed said that they have never met a police. One informant, however, said that since she has migrated to Istanbul she faces with police raids since her children have joined the PKK and therefore is continuously obliged to move.

5.2.4. Foundation: Rights and Citizenship

It was mentioned before that, the fourth theme of social integration is foundation and the domain is of rights and citizenship. The indicators are the proportion of internally displaced persons’ ownership of identity card and access to and utilization of legal benefits, particularly applying for compensation either to Turkish Courts or European Court of Human Rights. To begin with, all of the informants and persons in the household, living either in Istanbul or in Diyarbakır, have identity cards. However, it is important to remember that marriage or children’s schooling play an important role, surely not for all informants, on deciding to have an identity card. While a woman from Diyarbakır said that she had her identity card just before she got married, another woman told that she had it just before her elder son started to

⁸⁶ “Köyde korkumuz yoktu çocuklarımızı biliyorduk emin ellerdedir emin yerdedirler çünkü köyün dışına çıkmıyorlar ama burada bir şey olduğu zaman çünkü şuanda burada uyuşturucu şeyi var bi bağımlılığı var önce gençler kullanılıyordu büyükler şu anda ilkokul çocukları bile kullanıyor okullara bile giriyor yani ondan dolayı kaygılıyız.”

school. An informant from Istanbul, when she is asked the time they had their identity cards she explains that she had but did not renew her identity card after she got married and did not apply for her children either, despite the fact that she had been living in Istanbul for about ten years. In the end, she applied for an identity card when her elder son was to start to school and the school did not accept the enrollment. She also added that since her daughter, died at the age of 11, did not have an identity card, she could not make a grave for her. Moreover, what is apparent from the interviews is that the real age of women, men or children are different than that of recorded on the identity card. This is due to the fact that application for identity cards is made later than the time of birth.

As to the applications for compensation, first of all, it needs to point out to the fact that women, do not have much knowledge on the issue. The women's information on the issue, either of those living in Diyarbakır or of in Istanbul, is limited to the fact that there is such kind of an opportunity, without knowing any other detail. To begin with an informant from Diyarbakır, whose father and relatives were village guards, she said that her father had applied and obtained the compensation for the losses. However another woman said that they had applied to the Compensation Law via İHD (Human Rights Association), but it was not concluded yet. She added that if it does not turn out positive, then the case would go to ECtHR. Moreover one of the women said "the money they give does not recoupe the money of our chickens."⁸⁷ And the other informant from Diyarbakır was the woman who obtained an amount of 150, 000 TL compensation with respect to her husband's murder by unknown assailants. Looking at the women in Istanbul, two of them said that they have heard about the compensation; however they did not apply for yet. For one, the reason was her child since he was ill; she explained that she could not go anywhere. The other informant, after saying that she did not have an application added that before she had lodged a complaint since her child was killed and it did not end up yet. Thus, it seems that the reason for her not to apply seems to be related with a kind of mistrust in the legal system. The other informants in Istanbul reported that they had both applied for the compensation via lawyers but could not get the payment yet, despite

⁸⁷ "Verdikleri para tavuklarımızın parasını bile çıkarmıyor."

the fact that it has been almost 3 years. Moreover one of them stated that at first the payment was 30,000 TL, however then it fell to 20,000 TL, which is not paid yet. What the informants told on the issue seems to confirm the unlawfulness of the application of Compensation Law as it is argued in Chapter III of this study, before anything else, for instance, that the legal duration for the termination of applications was two years at most.

Furthermore, despite the fact that it is beyond the content of this study, two women's experience at the courts display another example of utilization of legal benefits. Despite the fact that none of the trials was related with the specific position of women, as being internally displaced persons, it seems important, for further studies, to look at internally displaced persons' experience of violation of legal benefits at the courts that seems to display the mistrust to the institutions among internally displaced persons. In both of the cases the problem is about the fact that the women do not know Turkish enough for expressing themselves. In that case, it is declared that the inquiry is made via an interpreter with respect to the 270th article of the code of civil procedure and that the expenses are compensated by the state treasury with respect to the 324th article of the code of criminal procedure. However, in one of the cases, the court does not accept the demand for a lawyer and called a servant for the interpretation. And in the other case, the court called for a lawyer for interpreting, but the informant says: "One Turk, lawyer probably ... If I had spoken my language I would not have difficulty, it may even be that, he may have explained differently what I said."⁸⁸

5.3. Women's Ideas on Return

This section of the study is about internally displaced women's ideas on return. Despite the fact that the notion of 'return' is controversial as it is mentioned in Chapter III, herein the term 'return' refers to going back to and settlement at the previous habitual place of residence. When women asked whether they wanted to return, most of them said that they would prefer to live there, however the most common obstacle before return, mentioned is that of badly circumstances and village

⁸⁸ "Bir tane Türk, avukat mı ne ... Dilimi konuşmuş olsaydım zorluk çekmezdim belki ona söyledğim şeyi başka türlü anlatmış olabilir."

guard system in the previous settlements. To lend an ear to a woman from Istanbul, she says:

Only peace, we can not go unless peace comes into existence in the event of suppression and like I can not go we can not go because if we go we experience suppression we want too much but I can not go. ...[When she is asked where she wanted her children to live] For the future of children only one thing, let it be their hometown, it is better, I mean we are just like guests here, nothing to do, that is it.⁸⁹

Another informant again living in Istanbul adds:

There is nothing normal, the houses were burnt down, neither justice nor law exists what will I do there? Our house was all fired ... In our village there was waterfall, there was water, everything but livelihood is difficult. [When she is asked where she would prefer to live if the current circumstances existed in the village] If the life here had been there, we already would not come ... [For her children] since there is no harm there, I would prefer that they live there.⁹⁰

And another woman from Istanbul says:

Despite these suppressions, well, we tolerate hardly ourselves, both monetary and intangible we are slogged away, besides we are two oldies since we came to Istanbul we can not take comfort, Istanbul, is not our choice but we are slogged away what will we do, we are bound, village guards also do not let us to return therefore we have nothing to do.⁹¹

⁸⁹ “Ancak barış, biz barış olmadan gidemeyiz baskı maskı olursa gidemem biz gidemiyoruz çünkü oraya gidersek baskı yaşıyoruz çok istiyoruz ama gidemiyorum. [Çocukları için sorulduğunda] ya çocukların geleceği için tek şey yani memleketi olsun daha iyidir yani biz burada sadece misafir gibiyiz yapacağımız bir şey yok odur yani.”

⁹⁰ Normal bişey yok evler yıkılmıştır ne adalet vardır ne kanun vardır ne elinde ne yapıcım orda orda ne yapıcım bizim ev hep yıkıldı hep ... Bizim köyde şelale su vardı herşey vardır ama geçim zor [Burdaki şartlar orda olsa burda mı orada mı yaşamayı tercih edeceği sorulduğunda] Burdaki yaşam orda olmuş olsaydı zaten gelmezdik [Çocukları için sorulduğunda] Orda kötülük olmadığı orda yaşamalarını daha çok isterdim.

⁹¹ “Bu baskılara rağmen hani biz kendimizi zor dayandırıyoruz hem maddi ve hem manevi yönden zorlanıyoruz napacaz mecburuz korucular da bırakmıyor geri gidem o yüzden yapacağımız bir şey yok.”

Moreover, that employment opportunities and lack of schools in the previous settlements are other the obstacles before return. However, there were also women who do not want to return, one due to the fact that she is used to her new environment and the other one due to the fact that she lost her husband and had nothing left in the village, even a house. Therefore, it is obvious that even if the internally displaced women want to return to their previous settlements, it is more the conditions that restrain them from returning.

5.4. Women's Expectations on Future

When we look at internally displaced women's expectations on future, first of all it is obvious that the expectations of women can be grouped together around the issues of peace and Kurdish language be allowed, housing condition and children's future regardless of it is asked or not. First of all, it seems that the wish for means of recognition of ethnic identity is more dominant in the answers of women who are more actively involved in Kurdish movement either through DTP or other non-governmental organizations. To begin with a women living in Diyarbakır, who goes both to Beyaz Kelebek Çamaşirevi (White Butterfly Laundry, which is a municipality service in Diyarbakır) and Özgür Yurttaş Derneği (Free Citizen Association) says:

The establishment of Kurdistan, to the identity of Kurdish society, then having its mother tongue and anybody to his/her own village, everybody reap his/her own, maintaining one's own daily life... If this happens it will be good, if peace comes into existence, if operations are ceased, if the weapons become silent it will be happy, otherwise, failing our discomfort continues further.⁹²

And another woman, who was used to take part in DTP, from Istanbul says: "I want Kurdistan to be established, that this war ends as soon as possible, that the ones on the mountains come down..."⁹³ and she adds "all of my children get married, have

⁹² "Kürdistanın kuruluşu kürt halkının kimliğine ondan sonra ana diline sahip olması ve herkes köyüne herkes kendi ekinlerini biçmesi kendi günlük yaşamını sürdürmesini istiyorlar ... Böyle olursa güzel olur eğer barış olursa operasyonlar durdurulursa silahlar susarsa mutlu olur yoksa olmazsa bizim bu huzursuzluğumuz daha da devam eder."

⁹³ "Kürdistanın kurulmasını istiyorum bu savaşın bir an önce durmasını dağdakilerin inmesini..."

offspring, everybody has a house...”.⁹⁴ A woman from Diyarbakır says: “I want peace, for instance, just as you go somewhere they ask where you are from, when you say Diyarbakır they depart from, I want it not to be this way.”⁹⁵

As to Kurdish, a woman who occasionally goes to DTP and is from Istanbul says:

We want our language, we want our life facility we had in the village, let us speak our language, that I want, I do not want anything else, when I go to bazaar, I have difficulty in shopping, in hospital, in everywhere. Thus wheresoever I go I want to speak my language, either court or somewhere, when I go, I want to speak my language I want nothing else.⁹⁶

Moreover, a woman, living in Istanbul, and who had never been in relation with DTP or any other non-governmental organization declares:

What I want, for instance I wish this child would not die after 15 years; I want in the world, everybody, let peace be, everyone live free, nobody dies. It does not matter who it is, not even one human dies, not even one. I want for children, for example, do not let my child die for nothing. I want my children not to go wrong.⁹⁷

And finally, it seems that economic conditions affect women’s expectations as well. Two women living in Diyarbakır, economically the worse-off among the informants, both expected a clean and comfortable house and that their children have occupations. Therefore, it seems that it is not possible to say that expectations on future change in terms of spatial diversity, but more of being politically activeness and economic conditions.

⁹⁴ “Çocuklarım hepsi evlenmiş çoluk çocuk sahibi olmuş herkesin bir evi olması...”

⁹⁵ “Barış istiyorum mesela nasıl ki bir yere gittin nerelsin diye sorarlar Diyarbakırlı deyince yanımızdan kalkarlar bunun böyle olmamasını istiyorum.”

⁹⁶ “Dilimizi istiyoruz işte köyde olan yaşam rahatlığımızı istiyoruz. Dilimizi konuşalım onu ben istiyorum başka şey istemiyorum. Pazara gittiğim zaman alışverişte zorluk çekiyorum hastanede zorluk çekiyorum, her tarafta zorluk çekiyorum. Yani nereye gitsem dilini konuşmak istiyorum mahkeme olsun bir yer olsun gidip de dilimi konuşmak istiyorum başka bişey istemiyorum.”

⁹⁷ Ne istiyorum. Mesela bu çocuk 15 yıl sonra ölmesin bu çocuğum. İstiyorum dünyada mesela herkes barış olsun, herkes özgür yaşasın, hiç bi insan ölmesin. Kim olursa olsun hiç bi insan ölmesin hiç bi insan. Çocuklar için istiyorum mesela çocuğum ölmesin boşu boşuna. Çocuğum kötü yola düşmesin istiyorum.”

To conclude it is obvious that the foremost obstacle before internally displaced women and their social integration is that of language, which in every aspect affects both their personal relations and relations with any institution, let it be hospitals, schools or civilian authorities. However, it seems that internally displaced women living in Diyarbakır are more advantageous than those living in Istanbul since Kurdish is more widely used in the public sphere without hesitation. Nevertheless, it is still a living in limbo situation for both, because of the fact that they are unable to start a new life or return to the previous one (Holtzman and Nezam: 2004: 57), but particularly for those living in Istanbul since they are subjected to more discrimination and unfriendliness.

5.5. Internally Displaced Children, Internal Displacement and Life After Internal Displacement

As it was mentioned before in this study, internally displaced children constitutes another group which is affected most by the practice of internal displacement, along with internally displaced women. Despite the fact this is the situation, relatively little is known about the psychosocial long-term effects of enduring civil wars on children (Machel, 1996: 40). Although internally displaced children not only live through traumatic experiences during conflict and wars but also they experience disruption of socialization, conflictual relationship with the family members and adaptation difficulties to the new settlements “children are rarely mentioned in reconstruction plans or peace agreements, yet children must be at the centre of rebuilding” (Machel, 1996: 55). What is more, studies on internally displaced children in Turkey mostly focus on the issue from a psychological perspective. In addition, it is important to remember that effects of internal displacement on internally displaced children vary among the age groups. That is to say that those who were youths in early years of displacement constitute the group of people who were in their twenties and thirties after 10 – 15 years of displacement and were the ones among the displaced definitely caught between the two worlds (Holtzman and Nezam, 2004: 98). This section of the study is an attempt to include basically those caught between the two worlds in and place them at the center of rebuilding by giving voice to their experience of social integration.

5.5.1. 'Public Face' of Social Integration: Employment, Housing, Education, Health

To begin with the 'public face' of social integration, in other words, the means and markers of social integration, it includes the domains of employment, housing, education and health. To begin with employment, considering internally displaced young women, none of them living in Diyarbakır works and therefore has no income; whereas in Istanbul the percent of young women working rises up to 62.5%. Most of them work in private sector, to clarify in textile ateliers. One of the informants explains the reason:

There is not another job anyway, you are not literate or you work in a store, in the stores wages, our, are very low for instance let me say for my own, I do not work. For me to work, they say subsistence wage nobody under normal conditions two persons work and you can not feed a family with subsistence wage certainly thus textile is more advantageous but since it does not have insurance surely much it is a loss.⁹⁸

Looking at the income levels of female informants, %37.5 of young women has income in between 751 – 850 TL and %25 has an income of 851 – 1000 TL and at male informants, except for two men in both cities, the rest of them work. The sectors vary, but there is not a significant difference among the cities. As to the income levels of male informants, of those living in Diyarbakır, one earns in between 250 – 500 TL, two in between 501 – 650 and two earns more than 1001 TL and of the male informants living in Istanbul, one earns in between 250 – 500 TL, one 751 – 850 TL and three earns in between 851 – 1000 TL. The males living in Istanbul mostly work in textile ateliers at first and then some move to building, which may be due to the fact that the wages are more in building sector. Moreover, most of the informants reported that they found the job through an acquaintance at first and then through the network of friends. Looking at satisfaction with employment, employers or colleagues, it seems that youngsters experience various problems. As to the

⁹⁸ “Başka iş yok ki zaten okumamışsın ve ya mağazada çalışırsın mağazalarda maaşlar bizim çok düşük mesela ben kendi adıma söyliyeyim ben çalışmam. Çalışmam için ya askeri ücreti diyorlar hiç kimse kendi normal şartlarda 2 kişi çalışıyor ve aileyi askeri ücretle geçindiremezsin kesinlikle şeydir yani onun için tekstil daha avantajlı ama sigortası olmadığı için tabi fazla bi o da bi kayıp.”

employment most of the young women, working in textile ateliers complained of lack of insurance. Moreover, two female informants in Istanbul declared that they had problems with their colleagues about Kurdish identity at work. To begin with, one of them says:

For Kurdishness I experienced much ... A few soldiers had died martyr, this, there was a friend, Turk, it, normally a person with whom I get along but I looked, in the news well by terrorists well four of our soldiers died a martyr it was said. I looked, it started stood up God damn you, started to curse I was offended with. I said look my brother was also soldier at that time. I said look my brother is in the army now I mean why do you curse? do not do that say let peace emerge auspiciously thus the one there is also my brother, the one there is also my brother truly one of my brothers is there one is in the army thus you at the moment cursing well do you think that you like your state no, no well what did you do for this state nothing you are just talking. No, how can you say such a thing like that these Kurds are like that so you see insultation you see I can not use this kind of that will hurt you this kind of that will hurt your pride words it used this made me feel offended ...⁹⁹

And the other tells her story:

I experienced problems in my business life. Kurds were insulted ... I mean a small clinic; I worked at a small clinic. I worked at a big hospital, at the big hospital also to Kurds unfortunately likewise I mean Kurds are enemies, Kurds are considered of persons who want to dismantle the country. At that small clinic I worked, that kind of an event occurred, our health staff there was a girl whom he liked and was a Kurd. Me, well we are sitting, he said me to teach him Kurdish I said all right let me teach you Kurdish and so forth then he said why I learn that dirty language so and so I directly said

⁹⁹ Birkaç tane asker şehit düşmüştü bu bir tane arkadaş vardı türktü o normalde çok iyi anlaştığım bir insan ama bir baktım haberlerde işte teröristler tarafından işte 4 tane askerimizin şehit düştüğü denildi. Bİ baktım başladı ayağı kalktı Allah belanızı versin bela okumaya başladı ee bu da benim zoruma gitti. Ya dedim bak benim abim de o zaman askerdeydi. Bak dedim benim abim şuan da askerde yani ben niye bela okuyorsun ya okuma de ki hani hayırlı bir şekilde barış çıksın yani ordaki de benim kardeşim gerçekten bir tane kardeşim orda bi tanesi de askerde yani sen şuan da beddua yani sen şuan da beddua okuyarak hani devletini sevdiğini mi zannediyorsun hayır hayır yani sen bu devlet için ne yaptın hiçbir şey yapmadın sadece konuşuyorsun. Hayır, nasıl öyle bir şey dersiniz işte bu Kürtler zaten öyle işte hakaret kelime işte sarf edemem böyle seni incitecek böyle gururunu zedeleyecek kelimeler sarf etti. Bu da benim çok zoruma gitti.”

you, I said can not say dirty language all in all this is people's language and you have to respect, I said. If I am respecting your language at the moment if I am speaking your language I can not insult this language, if I do not, you can not either, all in all this is a language of a nation, a society I mean, you have to respect. It is possible that you do not like, but you can not insult.¹⁰⁰

For men, living either in Diyarbakır or in Istanbul, the bases for complaint were violence against children by employers and discriminative acts of local people to seasonal workers, mainly, which will be explained below in detail under the domain of social bridges. One of the male informants living in Diyarbakır, says:

In [19]95, I worked at a carpenter's shop, violence of the work, a little I was exposed to, I am telling this sincerely ... Yes, violence we were exposed to within the work, violence I mean almost everywhere in Diyarbakır to the children.¹⁰¹

Another male informant from Istanbul talks for the textile ateliers:

The reason, how to explain, well we work all right let's say 3, 5 pantalons are accumulated here, he comes, bub what is this remove these quickly and lets fly at me, we could not say anything in the evening we came to home, to my father, they are beating us, shut up, they know something then they are doing so well at that time, well it is inexperience, there is ignorance, then there is such a system, it was the logic don't spare the rod. It was like this all the time ... Always the bosses were tyrannizing us, beating. Thus sometimes they were beating with bats.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ "İş hayatımda sorun yaşadım. Kürtlere hakaret edildi. ... Yani küçük bir klinik, özel bir klinikte çalıştım. Büyük bir hastanede çalıştım, büyük hastanede de kürtlere ne yazık ki aynı şekilde yani kürtler düşman, Kürtler bu ülkeyi parçalamaya çalışan kişiler olarak görülüyor. O benim çalıştım küçük klinikte şöyle bir olay olmuştu, e bizim bir tane sağlık memurumuz sevdiği bir kız vardı ve Kürttü. Ben de böyle hani oturuyoruz, bna Kürtçe öğret falan dedi, ben de tamam sana Kürtçe öğreteyim falan dedim ben de sonra ne öğreneceğim ben o pis dili dedi bu şekilde bilmem ne ben de direk şey dedim siz dedim pis dil diyemezsiniz sonuçta bu insanların dili ve saygı duymak zorundasın dedim. Ben nasıl senin diline saygı duyuyorsam şu anda senin dilini konuşuyorsam ben bu dile hakaret edemem, etmiyorsam da sen de edemezsin sonuçta bu bir ulusun, milletin yani, dili, saygı duymak zorundasın. Sevmiyor olabilirsin ama hakaret edemezsin."

¹⁰¹ "95 de marangozda çalıştım işin biraz şiddeti ile maruz kaldım bunu içten söylüyorum. Evet şiddet maruz kalıyorduk çocuklara iş içerisinde şiddet yani bu gün Diyarbakır'ın hemen hemen her yerinde çocuklara yani Diyarbakır'ın."

¹⁰² "Sebebi nasıl anlatım hani biz çalışıyoruz tamam mı böyle diyelim burada 3 5 tane pantolan üstte birikmiş geliyor ulen oğlum bu nedir lan diyor çabuk kaldırın bunları diyor bi tokat yapıştırıyordu .biz sesimizi edemiyorduk akşam olunca evimize geliyorduk babama bizi dövüyorlar kesin sesinizi onların

Considering the domain of housing, the indicators are the mean household size and the characteristics of the regions in which the informants live will be the basic indicators. As to the mean household size, as it was mentioned before in this study, it is 7.6 for Diyarbakır and 7.5 for Istanbul which connotes that it is above the Turkish mean household size. Considering that it would not make any sense to analyze the mean household size separately for internally displaced women and children, it is evaluated at the household level both for Diyarbakır and Istanbul. Looking at the characteristics of the regions lived in, internally displaced youngsters did not mention of considerable dissatisfaction, except for those living in Suriçi, Tarlabası, Gazi and Ayazma districts, Ayazma being the worst in terms of its conditions. The common basis for dissatisfaction of Suriçi, Tarlabası and Gazi districts was that drug and pills were sold widely in these regions. For this reason, most of the informants stated that they would not want to live in these districts and neither their children. The discomfort with the region and anxiety for staying at the region in future was apparent. However, the issue about Ayazma was totally different. Ayazma is a district within the borders of Küçükçekmece municipality and is included in urban transformation project, which aggrieved the inhabitants.¹⁰³ What one of the informants, still living in a tent with five family members in Ayazma since 1994, depicted about the region is striking:

It is about fourteen years we are here; nobody knows that we are here. Since this Olimpiyat Stadium has been made, it [Ayazma district] found favor in people's eyes. Since famous [teams] like Liverpool came here and hold match here ... Until the match finishes, they are cutting off our electricity, for us not to appear, I mean they despise us since we are coming from village, since we do not know how to speak.¹⁰⁴

It is obvious that along with the unjust treatment internally displaced persons experienced through the practice of internal displacement that they had to settle in

bi bildikleri var ki size öyle ediyor hani o zaman hani cahillik var daha bir şey bilmemezlik var sey ozaman ee şöyle bi sistem var eti sesin kemiği benim mantığı vardı.O zaman hep böyleydi ... Hep patronlar bize zulüm yapıyordu döviyolardı.yani zaman zaman sopalarla dövüyolardı.”

¹⁰³ For further information: <http://ayazmadayanismasi.wordpress.com/>.

¹⁰⁴ Biz 14 yıla yakın burdayız kimse bilmiyo bizim burada olduğumuzu.Bu olimpiyat stadı yapıldı yapılabı,yani milletin gözüne girdi.Şimdi Liverpool gibi ünlü şeyler burada gelip maç yaptılar diye.Maç bitene kadar bizim elektriği üzerimize kapatıyolardı biz gözükmeylem yani, bizi hor görüyolar ya,biz köylüyüz ,konuşmasını bilmiyoz diye.

blighted and/or slum areas or that the areas they settled has been included in urban transformation projects engendered further grievance of internally displaced persons.

As to the domain of education to begin with the education levels of informants, except for two young women in Diyarbakır one continuing to high school and one to university, the education levels of young women for both cities is under the level of high school. As to the internally displaced young men, except for an illiterate informant in Diyarbakır and one informant dropped out of primary school in Istanbul, all other male informants are either graduates of primary school at least or continuing to school. Then what these results display is that the education levels of males are higher than those of female informants and this is most likely to be explained by the fact that when the resources are scarce, it is the men who is preferred to continue to education. Moreover it is possible that the schooling of women was perceived to be something blameworthy. What one of the female informants from Diyarbakır says display that this perception is still circulating to some extent:

I strived for 5 years, for my father to send me here [Kardelen Woman House], my father did not let me, it is impossible, you are a girl, it is shame kind of expressions I did not put much leverage on, in the end this year. I said, I will study, he asked is not it possible that you do not study, I said no, I can not go to hospital, my mother goes to hospital, falls down there, faints, doctor calls, says come and take her, I even do not know how to get on a bus ... I did not want anything from you, what I want is only to study, my father cried, cried he was affected so much and said all right my girl.¹⁰⁵

However, it is crucial to remember that the basic underlying factor for unschooling either of girls or boys was internal displacement since the children had to work for supporting the family. At this point, when we consider the importance of education in socialization, besides the neighborhoods, it is obvious that one of the direct results

¹⁰⁵ “5 yıl boyunca uğraştım babam beni göndersin diye, babam izin vermiyordu işte olmaz kızım sen kızsın ayıptır gitme gibi sözlerle ben fazla baskı yapmadım. En son işte bu yıl. Dedim ki baba ben okuycam kızım dedi okumasan olmaz mı olmaz dedim baba ben bir hastaneye gidemiyorum annem hastaneye gidiyor orda düşüyor, bayılıyor doktor telefon açıyor gelin alın diyor ben daha bir arabaya bile binmesini bilmiyorum ... Senden hiç bir şey istemedim yalnızca istediğim okumak senden valla babam ağladı, ağladı yani çok duygulandı tamam kızım dedi,

of forced migration for children is the fact that one of their socialization areas has been cut off. What is more, those who continued to school, they had to struggle with discriminative attitudes, which came into existence in relation with “coming from village” in Diyarbakır and with “Kurdishness” in Istanbul. That is to say that either girls or boys living in Diyarbakır said that they were humiliated by their schoolmates for their style of clothing or speaking, however the basis of humiliation for children had to migrate to Istanbul was that of “either being a Kurd or speaking Kurdish”. Moreover, none of the internally displaced children living in Diyarbakır declared that they had problems with the teachers, whereas the most living in Istanbul indicated that the teachers got angry and even punished them because they spoke Kurdish. The narration below from a male informant living in Istanbul is a good one for understanding the issue:

Problems at school was like, thus we at school were speaking Kurdish we had a teacher, it did not allow us for speaking Kurdish, I remember it very well, thus anyway I used to say we, except for Kurdish there is not any language with which we can express ourselves all in all Kurdish is our mother tongue I mean we also learn Turkish but it is a compulsory learning. It is not a voluntary learning. You see you are not going to speak, you are not going to do even we were experiencing such problems we were going to discipline, we were being beaten therefore. Even that was impelling us to bunching I mean. Thus, you see, absolutely your entourage will be those knowing Kurdish; you see relatives and so forth.¹⁰⁶

For the domain of health, it consists of proportion of informants with social security or green card, preference for the sort of health institution and reported satisfaction with and experience of health services. To begin with young women, the results show that all living in Diyarbakır and most of the women living in Istanbul have green cards and have access to health services through it. What this clearly reveals is the

¹⁰⁶ “Okulda sorun şöyleydi yani biz okulda Kürtçe konuşuyorduk bizim bi öğretmenimiz vardı Kürtçe konuşmamıza izin vermiyordu ben onu çok iyi hatırlıyorum yani zaten derdim biz Kürtçe dışında kendimizi ifade edebileceğimiz bi dil yok yani sonuçta Kürtçe bizim ana dilimiz yani Türkçeyi de öğreniyoruz ama zorunlu bir öğrenmedir yani. Gönüllü bi öğrenme değil yani. İşte konuşmayacaksınız etmeyeceksiniz hatta o yönlü sorunlar yaşıyorduk disipline gidiyorduk dayak yiyorduk ondan dolayı. Hatta o bizi gruplaşmaya kadar sevk ediyordu yani. Yani işte illa arkadaş çevren Kürtçe bilen olacak, işte akrabaların falan.”

fact that almost none of the young women has provided with social security by the employers since the percent of young women who work is 62.5% in Istanbul. As to the preference of the health institution, women in Diyarbakır, it seems that both the health care centers and state hospitals are utilized in case of an illness, whereas most of the young women living in Istanbul said that they go to state hospitals. Yet more, one informant reported that to be able to give birth at hospital, she applied for private health insurance. Also one informant from Diyarbakır had said that she gave birth at hospital. It is important in that, while internally displaced women give birth at home even after forced migration, it seems to change for internally displaced young women. When we look at male informants, both in Diyarbakır and in Istanbul, they have either green card or social security, without a significant difference among the cities. However, it needs to point out that two of the male informants, living in Istanbul, depicted that the green cards of families, who have children joined the PKK or actively involved in political affairs, were cancelled. When we look at youngsters' satisfaction with and experience of health services, it differs significantly among the cities, except for the common complaint of waiting for one's turn for a long time. The youngsters in Diyarbakır firstly said that beforehand they had problems within the health institutions due to the fact that their mothers or relatives were humiliated or even not treated since they spoke Kurdish, where as for now it has changed. One of the female informants in Diyarbakır says:

It is not like as it was before, of course, in the course of events, the environment has changed. From doctors of Diyarbakır to its teachers, how should I know, well, to anything, it is Kurd well all in all they are people of your language, of your race I mean then why do we have problems.¹⁰⁷

Nevertheless, the youngsters living in Istanbul, but mostly the young women since they accompany their mothers or close relatives in the hospitals, said that they still have problems in health services due to the fact that elderly women are rebuked when they do not speak Turkish. Moreover, what one of the male informants living in Gazi

¹⁰⁷ “Önceleri gibi değil tabi ki hani sonuçta ortam değişti Diyarbakır’ın doktorundan tut öğretmenine kadar ne bileyim yani her şeyine kadar artık Kürt yani sonuçta senin dilinden senin ırkından olan insanlar yani niye sorun yaşayalım ki.”

district said, seems to give signs of a distinction in utilization and preferences of accessing to health services: “We have patriotic doctors in Gazi ... Since they are patriotic, for our acquaintances we go there.”¹⁰⁸

5.5.2. Social Connections: Social Bonds, Social Bridges, Social Links

To begin with social bonds, as to the participation of internally displaced youngsters to community organizations, those living in Diyarbakır seem to make use of the non-governmental organizations’ activism in the region and also of the services provided by municipalities since both the number of internally displaced persons and the variety of activities that they are involved were considerably higher when compared to those of Istanbul. Therefore, it seems that the municipalities and non-governmental organizations in Diyarbakır are successful in including the internally displaced youngsters through trainings of production of carpet, scarf, and literacy courses. Considering Istanbul, except for one informant who had been to Amargi (a non-governmental organization) for some time, none of the female informants was in relation with an organization, whereas some of the male informants stated that they sometimes visit MKM (Mesopotamia Culture Center)¹⁰⁹. What is more, most of the informants, who are more or less attached to DTP, stated that they feel good in there, as one of the informants living in Istanbul says:

At that time, I was not a member only I was getting about; at least, I was thinking these people are advocating our culture, our ideas, and our language. We were going with friends from the same neighborhood; I did not have even a political belief, only I was getting about sometimes.¹¹⁰

Moreover, some informants also complained about Kurds on the basis of drug use, which is again common particularly for the interviews made in Suriçi and Gazi districts. For instance, one of the informants whose family firstly settled in Şakırpaşa,

¹⁰⁸ Gazi de tanıdığımız yurtsever doktorlar var ... Yurtseverler olduğu için tanıdıklarımız için oraya gidiyoruz.”

¹⁰⁹ For further information about MKM: <http://www.mkmbakur.com/>

¹¹⁰ “O zaman partinin herhangi bir üyesi de değildim sadece gidip geliyordum, en azından diyordum bu insanlar bizim kültürümüzü bizim düşünceleri savunuyorlar, kültürümüzü savunuyor dilimizi savunuyor. Aynı mahalleden arkadaşlarla gelip gidiyorduk öyle partide herhangi, öyle bir siyasi bilincim de yoktu, sadece partiye gidip geliyordum ara sıra.”

Adana where the Kurdish citizens are high in numbers, and now living in Gazi, Istanbul says:

The metropolis life, we are not used to ... We had adaptation problems much ... I went to the park, children, little children, I am trying to establish relationship with people at my age, I looked at people I was frightened ... Şakirpaşa, all are Kurds... Then bitsy child sniffing bally, its hands, arms are all bladed ... Such, because of this adaptation problem I joined the guerilla, I could not bear with it, you know I could not bear.¹¹¹

Considering nowadays, as to the friends, most of the informants stated that they had friends of Turkish, Kurdish origin or from any hometown, which is also an indicator for social bridges. For social bridges, it is mentioned that almost all of the informants, either in Diyarbakır or in Istanbul declared that they had difficulties in school and also in the neighborhoods they have settled in the first years of internal displacement. Owing to the fact that schools and neighborhoods are primary means of a child's socialization, it has been argued that in the early years of internal displacement internally displaced children experienced disruption of socialization and also suffered from loneliness, since those in Diyarbakır declared that they were humiliated for their clothing or accent by the local people, whereas those in Istanbul stated that they were discriminated because of their Kurdish identity. For now the situation seems to have changed for better with exceptions. While most of the informants stated that they keep Turks separate from the state or the military, some still experience problems with the public attitude. One of the informants living in Istanbul says:

But people thus people here unfortunately since they do not know what happened very easily can judge people, easily they can adjudge, they can decide; persons' lives or why

¹¹¹ Metropol hayatı alışmamışız ...Uyum sorunu çok yaşadık ... Ben parka gittim parkta öyle çocuklar ufak çocuklar benim yaşımda insanlarla ilişki kurmaya çalışıyorum bir insanlara baktım öyle olunca ürktüm ... Şakirpaşa hepsi de Kürt ... Sonraki süreçlerde ufacak çocuk bali çekiyor. Elleri kolları hep jilet yani ... Mesela bu uyum sorunundan dolayı ben gerillaya katıldım. Yani dayanamadım biliyor musun ben dayanamadım.

those people came here because they did not live those events, those traumas...¹¹²

What is more, it was mostly the internally displaced youngsters who worked as seasonal workers and complained about the public attitude towards them. A male informant living in Istanbul summarizes what most of the seasonal workers face with: “Always insultation since we are Kurds, all the time insultation, disdain, being looked down upon is experienced wherever we go. We went to 5 – 6 cities; quite few villages we went to, wherever we go same problems were experienced”¹¹³ and he says that what he lived lead to a development of nationalism and defense against the attacks, which is important in that the more the number of the internally displaced persons with similar feeling would break down the social bridges.

Considering internally displaced youngsters’ preferences for marriage with ethnic groups other than his/her own neither the internally displaced youngsters in Diyarbakır nor those in Istanbul asserted that it would be a problem for him/her, except for one female informant living in Diyarbakır, she says:

No, with Turks I can not never marry, I always say that ... We can not marry Turks because Turks are distinct, so are we, I mean because they are separate in origin, we are surely Kurds, they are Turks, already we can not get along well if I marry them that is not nice at all I mean I am not an ignorant person.¹¹⁴

However the common condition for youngsters is that the spouse should respect the ideas of the informant and the Kurdish language. Moreover, as to children, most of the informants stated that if they had the chance they would like to bring up their child in an environment where people know Kurdish. At this point, particularly for those living in Tarlabası the dissatisfaction with the neighborhood was so apparent

¹¹² “Ama insanlar yani buradaki insanlar ne yazık ki hani olayları bilmediğinden dolayı çok rahatlıkla yadırgayabiliyorlar, çok rahatlıkla hüküm verebiliyorlar karar verebiliyorlar insanların hayatıyla ya da o insanların niçin buraya geldiğine dair çünkü onlar o olayları yaşamadı o travmaları yaşamadılar ...”

¹¹³ “Hep aşağılanma kürt olduğumuza dolayı hep böyle aşağılanma küçümsenme horlama küçük görme her yerde gittiğimiz her yerde yaşıyor.5-6 ile gittik aşağı yukarı birçok köye gittik gittiğimiz her yerde aynı sorunla yaşıyordu.”

¹¹⁴ “Yok Türklerle ben asla evlenemem demişim her zaman diyordum ... Biz Türklerle evlenemeyiz çünkü Türkler ayrıdır biz ayrıyız yani çünkü ayrı köklerinden biz yani tabi ki biz kürtüz onlar türktürler yani şimdiden anlaşıyoruz kalkıp da bir de onlarla evlilik yapsam hiç hoş şey değildir yani cahil bir insan değilim yani”.

that informants living in Tarlabası emphasized that they would not like bring the child there, since it was dangerous.

Social links, in this study, refers to utilization of and relations with municipalities and civilian authorities and reported satisfaction with these services. To begin with, except for those who are left without any communal support or are economically worse-off, most of the internally displaced youngsters stated that they do not have any attachment with either the municipalities or civilian authorities unless they are obliged to, for instance renewing the green cards. Moreover, some of the internally displaced young women stated that it was not women's job, but more of men, of either fathers or brothers. As to the male informants living in Istanbul, a few said that since they were fugitive soldiers, they can not go to the state institutions. Despite the fact that the internally displaced youngsters' attachment with those institutions was limited, it needs to mention that the attitude towards or satisfaction with services varies considerably among cities. That is to say that in Diyarbakır, most of the young informants mentioned their satisfaction particularly with municipalities that are on duty in the last two elections, whereas in Istanbul, the internally displaced youngsters' dissatisfaction was apparent. To exemplify, one of the informants living in Diyarbakır says:

For instance, well, before I mean, they would not answer our purpose, now, I mean one knows, if you go they answer our purpose well we are pleased with them, there is not any problem. ... They won, may god be pleased, I mean it is fine.”¹¹⁵

Another informant states her satisfaction with the municipality:

For instance Diyarbakır has many advantages; it is one of the places to which importance is attached accordingly for example when you want to something, instantly you can find

¹¹⁵“Mesela hani eskiden olduğu zaman hani insanın işini görmüyorlardı şuan olsa yani insan biliyor yani gitsen işimizi görüyorlar yani memnunuz onlardan sorun yok ... Bunlar kazandı Allah razı olsun yani iyidir.

support in the back. Our mayors are super in every sense they give support to us, I like them much.¹¹⁶

However the apparent satisfaction with municipalities in Diyarbakır turns into aversion and mistrust for the municipalities in Istanbul as the following example clearly displays. A female informant living in Istanbul says and speaks also of the mukhtar:

No way, in no case I neither appeal for aid from them nor want anything, they also do not accept us anyway. ... Honestly, the mukhtar, we do not like, since he is a Roman, I do not like ... If he was a Kurd it would be better for us, for instance I mean some since they do not know Turkish, to answer it would be better if he was a Kurd.¹¹⁷

What is more, it was also common for internally displaced youngsters to speak of personnel or the mukhtar accepting bribes.

5.5.3. Facilitators: Language and Cultural Knowledge and Safety and Stability

The theme of facilitators includes the domains of language and cultural knowledge and safety and stability. To begin with the domain of language and cultural knowledge, it includes proportion of internally displaced children knowing Turkish language and practical information for daily living. As for the domain of safety and stability, proportion of internally displaced reporting satisfaction with local area as a place to live, level of fear and/or insecurity and reported discriminative acts by police.

As to the language, all female and also male informants and those in the household, with a slight decrease, at the age group of 15 – 30 know both Turkish and Kurdish without distinction among the cities; therefore it is certain that the internally

¹¹⁶ “Mesela Diyarbakır’ın avantajları çok fazla, Türkiye’de de en önem verilen yerlerden biri o kısım dolayısıyla mesela bir şey yapmak istediğimizde hemen arkanızda destek bulabiliyorsunuz. Belediye başkanlarımız süper her anlamda bize destek veriyorlar. Onları çok seviyorum.”

¹¹⁷ “Hayatta hiçbir zaman onlardan ne yardım isterim ne hiçbir şey isterim onlar da bizi bizi kabul etmiyorlar zaten ... Valla muhtar biz sevmiyoruz çingene olduğu için sevmiyorum ... Bir kürt olsaydı daha iyiydi bizim için hem mesela yani bazıları Türkçesi olmadığı için cevabını vermek için kürt olsaydı daha iyiydi.”

displaced youngsters do not have problems as to the language, as it is for internally displaced women informants. Moreover, the fact that youngsters have done with the Turkish language has loaded them with the charge of helping the mothers or relatives for practices in daily life, for instance communicating at the hospitals. However, that is not to say that this was always the case. For those who came to Istanbul without knowing Turkish, the language was a problem in the first years of the internal displacement both in personal relations and in the institutions. One of the female informants living in Istanbul states:

Sure, it had been 2, 3, 4 years I mean it was the fifth year, I did not get used to here straight, all the time I was crying why am I here we did not know Turkish either, it was difficult when someone talked like a mute I was looking at them I was understanding but I could not translate all were Turks anyway.¹¹⁸

Moreover, as to the institutions it was mostly in schools that language asserted itself as a trouble for internally displaced children as it is mentioned before.

For the domain of safety and stability, it needs to assert from the beginning that satisfaction with local area as a place to live considerably differs not among the cities but mostly within the cities. That is to say that, except for the young informants living in Suriçi district of Diyarbakır and Tarlabası and Gazi districts of Istanbul the informants do not speak of a kind of dissatisfaction with the local area when compared to a considerable amount of dissatisfaction with the mentioned districts. What is more distrust to the people or to the city in other districts then changes its shape and becomes a problem of drug addiction and selling and prostitution at the districts of Suriçi, Tarlabası and Gazi which displays the mistrust in the state as well. What a male informant living in Suriçi is a good example of how state is identified with drug addiction, drug selling and prostitution, which displays the mistrust in state exhaustively. He says:

¹¹⁸ “E tabi zaten 2 sene 3 sene 4sene yani 5.seneye girdi doğru dürüst buraya alışmamışım her zaman ağlıyordum yani ben niye yani buradayım biz türkçede bilmiyorduk yani zor geliyordu birisi konuştuğu zaman öyle dilsiz gibi onlara bakıyordum anlıyordum ama çeviremiyordum zaten hepsi de türkler.”

What is wanted is the youth using drug and engaging with all kind of illicit activities, the youth who does not know its own language and identity... What is wanted is the youth that does not keep its own identity...Most of our youngsters sell drug in every street of Diyarbakır. They are only 12-13 years old but they sell drug. They sell narcotic pills...For example there are many prostitution places. Hotels. The system tells us that the youth imitates these. We organized a petition to [Diyarbakır] governor. We declared that we do not want these here; in Diyarbakır Suriçi...For example they let 200 prostitutes enter Diyarbakır only to make youngsters imitate them so to prevent them from retaining their own identity. I really feel sorry for these youngsters when I see Suriçi region.¹¹⁹

The accusation of state was apparent for the Gazi district also; a male informant declared that the Gazi district was not anymore as it was in the past and state intrigues existed therein. He also added that it was the state that encouraged the youth for marijuana, pills and so on. As a last word, despite the fact that young women living in these districts had also similar complaint, neither of them had accused or even alluded to the state while talking on the issue.

The last category is of discriminative police acts. To begin with, it was more male informants and particularly those living in Istanbul who was subjected to discriminative police acts. Moreover, those living in Tarlabası complained about identity checks that police make any time. The males explained that police acts towards them range from insults to even physical violence. Lending an ear to a male informant from Istanbul, he says:

¹¹⁹ “Bu da sistemin hani, gençlik gitsin uyuşturucu kullansın, gençlik gitsin her türlü pislği yapsın. Ama kendi dilini, kendi kimliğini tanımasın. ... Gençler hep uyuşturucu, fuhuştur, hırsızlıktır hep bununla gençlik diyor kendini tanımasın. Kendi kimliğini, şeyini korumasın, biz bunları gördük. ... Birçok gencimiz de mesela şimdi bakıyorsun Diyarbakır’ın her bir sokağında her bir sokağında uyuşturucu satılıyor. Daha böyle kıyamıyorsun yüzüne bakmaya daha 12 – 13 yaşlarında daha kıyamıyorsun yüzüne bakmaya kıyamıyorsun bakın uyuşturucu satıyor. Hap satıyor. ... Mesela düşün şu anda bakıyorsun Suriçi’ne fuhuş yapan bir sürü yerler var. Oteller. Sitem diyor ki gençlik bunlara özeniyor. Biz bunları valiliğe sunduk, imza falan topladık. Dedik ki bunları burada istemiyoruz. Diyarbakır Suriçi’nde ... Onlar mesela Diyarbakır’a 200 tane hayat kadını bıraktılar. Sırf gençlik ona özensin diye. Gençlik kendi kimliğini tanımasın diye. Ha buydu yani, bugün de bakıyorum, bakıyorsun Suriçi bölgesine gerçekten yazık o gençlere.”

At the first times that I was just leaving the party [building] the police took us to the car and by using both advising and threatening tone of voice told us “you are young, just live your life, you do not have anything to do with politics and the party as youngsters. Just go and hang out with girls or do something like this. Just use drug and weed but do not be the member of this party. At that time we were encountering with police in this way. But after being released from prison, the way the police behave us has changed. They have stopped advising us. After imprisonment you are stigmatized. There is no more conversation to dissuade you. Instead, we are subjected to direct insult and violence.¹²⁰

Internally displaced young women, on the other hand, seems to face with police either when it is needed or when the police lean against the house. Moreover, most of the young women stated that they did not have a problem with police. Below there is a quotation from a young woman living in Istanbul, which seems to be an exception for internally displaced young women:

Of course I met. When I say many many times I mean that our house was raided 3-4 times by [the police]. In each time they [the police] came at nights. Of course we always argued.... They messed up our house. They were searching our house to find something. After being searched, the house looked like how a place looks after a battle.... They were shouting. But at the last time that they came they did not shout because a new law was made. I mean that according to this law if a member of the family reports, an inquiry can be demanded. Because of this they were talking to us in a quiet and relaxed way. They asked my big brother, they searched the house. They told my father unless my father looks after my brother, their attitude towards him will change... This happened last year.¹²¹

¹²⁰ Polisle daha çok ben, ilk partiye gittiğim zamanlar mesela partiden çıktığımızda polis genelde bizi alırdı, arabaya alırdı, nasihat tarzında, tehdit ve nasihat karışık mesela, şey derdi gençsiniz hayatınızı yaşayın, ne işiniz var siyasetle, bu partiyle ne işiniz var, gidin işte gençsiniz gidin kızlarla dolaşın bilmem ne yapın benzeri işte, gidin hap için esrar için ama gitmeyin bu partiye yaşam var bilmem benzeri, polisle o zaman öyle muhatap oluyorduk, işte cezaevine girip çıktıktan sonra daha farklı muhatap oluyorduk bu sefer, yani artık bize o şekil söylemiyor direk hakaret, çünkü o zaman yeniydi mesela seni ordan caydırmak için öyle şeyler kullanıyordu, ama girip çıktıktan sonra artık tescilleniyorsun, artık seni caydırma konuşma yok, direk hakaret ve şiddet kullanma var.

¹²¹ “Yok tabi ki karşılaştım yani defalarca defalarca derken 3 4 defa bizim eve baskın yapıldı. Her seferinde zaten gece geliyorlardı. Tabi sürekli tartışma oluyordu ... Ya davranışları nasıl davransınlar ki geliyorlar evi darma dağınık ediyorlar zaten arıyorlar bir şeyler bulmak adına artık arıyorlar ama ne şekilde arıyorlar. Yani sen o eve git sanki savaştan çıkmış ev yani o derecede yapıyorlar ... Bağırıyorlar çağırıyorlar en son geldiklerinde bağırıyorlardı çünkü yeni yasa çıkmıştı. Hani aile halkı birisinin bi ferdi gibi nasıl söyleyeyim şikayet ettiği zaman şey yapılabiliyormuş sanırım

5.5.4. Foundation: Rights and Citizenship

The heading of foundation includes one domain, namely rights and citizenship within which the proportion of internally displaced persons' ownership of identity card, access to and utilization of legal benefits, particularly applying for compensation either to Turkish Courts or European Court of Human Rights. Speaking of ownership of identity card, all of the informants and most of the members of households had identity cards. However, it was common that the time identity cards were taken out differed due to various reasons. First of all, for a majority of internally displaced persons the identity cards were not taken out just as one was born, but later let it be 4 – 5 years or even 14 years, as one of the informants stated. For example, for some families it was not until the year that a child would begin to school that the identity card was taken out. However, what is more important about identity cards is related with military service. Some of the internally displaced men, living in Istanbul, stated that they could not renew their identity cards since it will cause them to be noticed as a fugitive soldier. Moreover, since that they are fugitive soldiers appear on GBT (General Information Browsing) at the cities in the Southeast Anatolia region of Turkey, but not on GBT in Istanbul, they stated that they can not go to the region or even to the state institutions. Moreover, one of the informants said that he was married and had a child but could not take out an identity card for his child since his marriage was not approved officially due to the fact that otherwise he would have to join the army. What is more, some stated that they used or are sometimes using fake identity cards. It is apparent that the underlying fact is the internally displaced young men's unwillingness to join the army. One of the informants says: "Me, you know, certain, I can not do military service, with whom I should fight"¹²². Moreover, it is stated that lived experience of forced migration and abuses by soldiers, the effects of which is apparent on internally displaced youngsters, affected male informants' attitudes towards joining the army. Therefore, it can be argued that the number of internally displaced young men who are not registered can be more than expected,

soruşturma açılabilirmiş. Onun için gayet hani sakin güzel konuşuyorlardı en sonunda, diğerleri öyle değil yani ... Abimi sordular evi aradılar babamı kenara çektiler oğlun yanlış yoldadır oğluna sahip çık yoksa ayağımı kaydırırız gibi konuşmaları olmuştu böyle ... Bu geçen yıl"

¹²² "Ben biliyorsunuz malum askerlik yapma durumumuz yok ben gidip kimle savaşıyım."

particularly among the group of internally displaced young men lived through the abuses.

As to the applications for compensation, despite the fact that the internally displaced youngsters do not know much detail on the issue, most of them said that the application has not been arrived at a conclusion yet and therefore a few declared that they lost confidence in the process. Moreover, because of the fact that only one person from the household can apply for the compensation according to the law, most of the time it is not possible for youngsters to get compensation for its own sake. However, an informal talk with Sezgin Tanrikulu, who is a lawyer pursuing lawsuits on the issue for years, enunciated that it was possible for internally displaced youngsters to bring a suit against the state, for instance since their education was left half finished.

5.6. Children and Relations with the Family After Internal Displacement

It is known that in cases of internal displacement family and society structures are shattered¹²³ and it is foreseeable that this disruption will have effects on internally displaced children and lead to conflicts with the family. Despite the fact that there are informants who declared that they did not have any problem with the family, in case of Turkey, it was common for the informants to have problems and conflicts with the family. However, it seems that this subject necessitates a gender distinction rather than a spatial one since the roots of the conflict that internally displaced young women experienced differs from that of internally displaced young men. To begin with women, the conflict with the family mostly appeared as of women's clothing or of spending time outside home. One of the female informants from Diyarbakır, when she was asked whether she had any problems with the family after the forced migration, answers:

Of course, I mean to my family you see conformity I could not, I mean, here that we do not get dressed as we do in the village I mean it was a problem ... here for instance your friend says come let's wander around, I was going, in the evening I was coming it became a problem at home why you

¹²³ Available at <http://www.undp.org.tr/pressRelDocuments/CocuklarD5.doc>.

are going I mean you are a girl here I mean this place is not like the village and so on they were saying therefore my father was saying I do not have a son or so to my daughters, who, can not protect, they give [marry] us at a young age, me and my sister, she is even younger than me.¹²⁴

And another informant from Diyarbakır explains how the family constrained her life after internal displacement:

Many appeared, I mean in the village I was freewheel to where I go, with whom I wander thus we were children everything was free of course. After coming to Diyarbakır, all our life was constrained. We could not go out, we could not do anything, when we go they were getting angry, they were shouting, they were loosing off, everything was constrained I mean we could not live our childhood they did not let us to live, in no circumstances they did allow.¹²⁵

Moreover, another informant mentioned of the fear that the family felt about when she went out and added that this affected her pretty much and she could not accommodate herself still. Another one clearly pointed out to the fact that it was related with forced migration and said that because they had lived in the village they did not have city culture and since there are lots of people in the city that the family does not know they can not trust on here, however she adjusted herself to the city culture. As to the informants from Istanbul, one defined the situation as of “brain conflict” and accused her family for being feudal since they wanted her to wear head scarf. Another one related the problems she had with the family to the fact that she was more educated than her parents.

¹²⁴ “Tabi oldu yani aileme hani uyum şey yapamıyordum hani burada nasıl köy nasıl köyde giyinimimiz gibi burada giyinmiyorduk ya yani sorun oluyordu bayağı oluyordu hani çok oluyordu ... Burada yok mesela arkadaşım diyor gel buraya gidelim gel buraya gidip gezelim bende gidiyordum akşam geliyordum eve sorun oluyordu ne gidiyorsun yani kızsın burada hani burası köy gibi değil falan diyorlardı o yüzden yani bizi küçük yaşta yani babam diyordu benim oğlum falan yok kızlarıma kim sahip çıkamaz bizi küçük yaşta verdiler benle bi tane kız kardeşim daha o benden daha da küçük.”

¹²⁵ “Çok çıktı. Yani köydeyken çok serbesttim nereye gitsem napsam kiminle gezsem yani çocuktuk ya herşeyimiz özgürdü tabi ki Diyarbakıra geldikten sonra bütün hayatımız kısıtlandı. Sokağa çıkamıyorduk, hiç bir şey yapamıyorduk, gittiğimiz zamanlar kızıyordular, bağıryordular, çağırıyordular, herşeyimiz kısıtlandı yani çocukluğumuzu yaşayamadık. İzin vermediler yaşamamıza yani, hiç bir şekilde izin vermediler.”

To look at the male informants, the situation was a little bit different and the themes by which they had problems with the family changed considerably. First of all one of the informants from Diyarbakır, argued that it was the weakness of the family that when he was at primary school, he had friends who went astrayed adding that he could also, but managed to separate himself from them. He said that the family was indifferent at that point. The importance of family's attention to the child in the city came into the scene in another interview. He, who had a group of gang like friends spending all of his time in cafés and none with the family, explained that he did not get along well with his parents, her brother, whom he love most, did not trust on him and that when his mother comes to school he felt ashamed. Moreover, either in Diyarbakır or in Istanbul, for the male informants who were actively involved in DTP it was common that the problem with the family arises herein. To give an example;

I had problems after the school ended, you see, it was HADEP at the time, the party, I went round with them, my family did not want me to, saying that they did not want to it was owing to that frustration, that violence they experienced, so they did not want, so I had arguments with them, you see I said I am here because I love this thing, my mother I never forget was saying my son you see you will go to prison thus I was saying mom, it is a love, like falling into love with something.¹²⁶

Another informant, from Istanbul, experiencing similar conflicts with the family said that for being able to carry the party work out at ease far from the family he decided to go to university in Izmir. Therefore, the suppression of the family on politically active youngsters is apparent through the examples, however it is, on the other hand, understandable and displays the fact that fear among the internally displaced persons still exists.

¹²⁶ “Okul bittikten sonra sorun yaşadım işte HADEP di o zaman parti onlara takıldım ailem istemiyordu işte takılayımm onlara yani ailem istemiyordu derken geçmişte gördükleri o eziklik o şiddeten dolayı şüphesi ondan dolayı istemiyordu ondan dolayı tartışmam oluyordu işte diyordum ki ya ben bu şeyi sevdiğim için buradayım annem hiç unutmam oğlum diyordu işte cezaevine gireceksiniz yani diyordum ki anne bi sevgi yani bir şeye aşık olmak gibi”.

5.7. Youngsters' Expectations on Future

When we look at the internally displaced youngsters' expectations on future, it seems that it is not possible to make a distinction in terms of the city lived. Instead, the prominent themes are more related with gender roles, education and political activity. To begin with the gender roles, for the women who has a patient in the household or whose siblings are continuing to school, the expectation of future is limited to the well-being of the patient and graduation and obtaining a job for the siblings. Moreover, it is clear that they take it as a "responsibility", as one of the informants explains:

Actually at the moment I do not such an ideal, any, I mean I can not thus even as a dream I can not, because I know that I have responsibilities. I think, my siblings get educated, really I want and for them to get educated I can not put such an ideal before myself. I will do that, I can not say that this will happen me at the moment, I do not have even a dream only that I want is that they get educated and that they succeed.¹²⁷

For some of the male informants on the other hand, the expectation on future seems to be shaped by the economic difficulties in relation with family, since some said that they had to feed the family so they could not think of a future for their own. As to education, for the young women and also for men, who have relatively high levels of education; what is expected is the continuation of education and then achieving a regular occupation. However it was more young women, living either in Diyarbakır and Istanbul, who states that they wished they had educated. In terms of political activity, among the youngsters who are involved in politics, to name actively related with DTP, both the used language and hopes were very distinct than those who are not involved in. First of all, their expectations are more communal than individual and dreaming something for themselves is perceived like as 'disloyalty' to their people. One of the male informants living in Diyarbakır says:

¹²⁷ "Aslında şuan da hiç öyle bi idealim yok hiç yani şey kuramıyorum yani hayal olarak bile kuramıyorum çünkü ben sorumluluklarımın olduğunu biliyorum. Düşünüyorum benim kardeşlerimin okumasını gerçekten istiyorum ve onların okuması için öyle bir ideal koyamıyorum önüme. Hadi şunu yapayım bu olacak diyemiyorum ben şuan hiç bi hayalim bile yok sadece onların okumasını istiyorum ve başarılı olmasını istiyorum sadece."

Well I hope that one day we can have a future that our own identity is recognized. This is our only wish ... We want to have our own people, we want our Kurdish identity. We can call this peace ... We want a good life, brotherly relations together with recognition of Kurdish identity.... I do not have personal plans for the future because this is my people and these are my comrades. I do not want to live in luxury villas or get married with children if my people keep coping with all these.¹²⁸

Another female informant, living in Istanbul and who has been recently visiting DTP says:

I am planning to join PKK, clearly I am saying, I attend acts I am giving out, police comes I say to it also it is enough really it is enough no matter what happens but I want to live in my land where I was born, I want to be educated in my own language.¹²⁹

Moreover, as to the ideas on return, besides internally displaced children who did not want to return to their previous settlement, majority declared that they would prefer to live in their settlements before internal displacement had come into existence. Those who want to stay were the younger informants as compared to those dreaming of return. According to the informants the basic constraints before return were that the houses were unavailable, the opportunities in the region are limited, that military operations continues and that the military service was a big obstacle, as mentioned above, surely for internally displaced young men living in Istanbul and who do not want to do the military service. Finally, there are a few informants who stated that if they had chances they would prefer to live abroad since human beings are more valued there in terms of human rights and democracy.

¹²⁸ “Yani inşallah bir gün biz de kendi kimliğimizle rahat bir geleceğe ulaşırız. Tek şeyimiz, görüşümüz budur... Kendi halkımız olsun istiyoruz, Kürt kimliğimiz olsun. Artık buna barış diyelim. ... İleriye dönük bir güzellik kendimle ilgili yaşam istemiyorum yani çünkü niye hani bu benim halkım, benim yoldaşlarım, olmuyorsa benim ileriye dönük böyle lüks villalarda yaşayım, evli böyle çocuk çocuğum olsun ha benim halkım yine bu şeyleri görüyorsa, bunları hiç istemiyorum.”

¹²⁹ “PKKya katılmayı düşünüyorum açıkça söylüyorum eylemlere katılırım açık açık söylüyorum polis de gelsin ona da söyleyim artık yeter tani gerçekten artık yeter ne olacaksa olsun ama ben kendi doğduğum toprağımda yaşamak kendi dilimde eğitim görmek istiyorum.”

To sum up, this chapter aimed at examining internally displaced women's and youngsters' social integration levels with reference to the framework provided in the second chapter of this study. The following chapter is conclusion and in addition to an overview of the chapters in this study, some policy recommendations and suggestions on further research are included.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This study aimed at understanding Turkey's experience of internal displacement that practiced in the second half of the 1980s and during 1990s through the true life experiences of internally displaced women and children. This purpose of the thesis necessitated looking through the history of internal displacement in Turkey, memoirs of the internally displaced women and children and questioning to what extent internally displaced women and children are socially integrated with the 'host' populations.

The phenomenon of forced migration of Kurds in history of Turkey can not be considered independently of Kurdish question in Turkey, which is an extant inheritance from the Ottoman Empire and multidimensional in its essence. It is apparent that the ruling elites of either the Ottoman Empire or that of Turkish Republic fell back upon the practice of forced migration in dealing with the issue of Kurdish unrest, which seems to denote to a 'tradition' rather than a practice for once. However, it is crucial to point out to the fact that the more the Kurdish discontent has increased in volume and turned into a mass movement over time, the more the ruling elites has increased the severity of its pursuit in dealing with the Kurdish question. As it is explained in depth in this study, the ruling elites' practices in resettling Kurds and the other ethnic groups differed in accordance with the settlement laws, bearing in mind that the laws worked against Kurdish citizens. Moreover, the number of Kurdish citizens resettled also varied in due course, particularly in 1930s as compared to 1920s when Turkish nationalism was at peak in addition to the increasing Kurdish discontent. To clarify, while the number of Kurdish forced migrants for the 1930s was predicated as ten thousands, it accrued so that the number of internally displaced Kurds is predicated as, at the best, approximately one and a half million today. Therefore, it is obvious that what was once a schemed act pursuant to laws and practiced as a means of creating a homogeneous nation and

concerning both the Kurds and the other ethnic groups, was then turned into, so to speak, an arbitrary behavior directed to a particular ethnic group, which is for sure Kurds and consequently had long-term psychological, social, economic and political effects.

It is not difficult to predict that the harsh character of forced migration in 1980s and 1990s would gash in the well-being of both the internally displaced persons and in the society as well. In terms of internally displaced persons as it was mentioned in the fourth chapter, on very general terms it evoked a disengagement from the traditional manner of life particularly for women, whereas it led to a living in limbo position for the internally displaced children and for women as well. That witnessing one's house burnt down or members of the family or acquaintances put to torture, being subjected to violent acts and leaving the familiar lifetime behind has had irreversible effects on the internally displaced persons experienced these. All of these experiences left internally displaced women with longing to the former life and the naivety of that life compared to the perversity of the city life; having continuous health problems and imprisonment in the houses or in the lived environment. As to the internally displaced children, during the interviews ongoing traumatic effects of the practice of forced migration on children were so apparent since most of the youngsters got down in the dumps, were petrified with astonishment and even shed tears while talking particularly on the day their village was evacuated or burned and/or instances of violent acts or even killings. What is more, feelings of distrust and anger, enmity and even hatred to the practitioners of forced migration were common among most of the internally displaced youngsters. At this point, it can be argued that what was once an attempt to "cut off the enemies' logistic support of the PKK", as Turgut Özal argued, has seems to create "those enemies" on its own. As a last word to the experiences of those internally displaced, not much for the internally displaced women, but rather for children who witnessed the forced migration, the demand and need of sharing their experience of internal displacement was quite obvious, displaying the necessity of first making those experiences visible and then need of multidimensional researches on the effects of internal displacement.

That the practice of internal displacement in the second half of the 1980s and during 1990s came into existence almost always all of a sudden, without any resettlement framework or a scheme not only aggrieved the citizens but also lead to population explosions in the cities, particularly in Diyarbakır and Istanbul after which Kurdish question was not anymore an issue out there asserting itself only in East and Southeast regions of Turkey but has been a question of social integration among the internally displaced persons and the 'host' populations. Considering the definition of the term social integration as a two-way process rather than an endpoint to be arrived at, it is not possible to speak of a complete social integration, however it is crucial to define both the opportunities available and responsibilities to be taken. As it was mentioned before, the main aim of this study to examine whether there is a significant difference in experiencing the consequences of forced migration and levels of social integration between the internally displaced women and youngsters living in Diyarbakır, in which Kurdish citizens are majority, and those living in Istanbul, in which Kurds are not intensive as much as in Diyarbakır. Consequently despite the fact that it is not possible to speak of a full social integration, herein it needs to provide basic similarities and differences as to internally displaced women's and youngsters' social integration levels, living in Diyarbakır and Istanbul. To begin with the similarities, the mean household size within which the internally displaced persons either in Diyarbakır or in Istanbul live is larger than that of Turkey's average. Moreover, the basic source of income for most of the households is the marginal sector in both cities, which refers to an irregular income and insufficient to afford the requirements of large households. As for women, in both cities almost all of the internally displaced women above the age of 30 are illiterate and do not have any income. Therefore, it is possible to argue that this particular age group is the most vulnerable among the internally displaced women. Moreover, despite the fact that the situation seems to have changed particularly for Diyarbakır, the fact that most of the internally displaced women do not know Turkish, is the most prominent obstacle before these women's social integration and access to basic rights such as health services. Considering the fact that most of the internally displaced persons live in blighted areas in the cities and their satisfaction with the area they live in, it is obvious that both in Diyarbakır and in Istanbul, the plight of internally displaced persons living in blighted areas such as Suriçi and Tarla başı is worse off and the

common complaints are drug use and prostitution which necessitates to distinguish among the districts while working on integration levels of internally displaced persons since a matter of spatial exclusion goes hand in hand with the people living in these areas. Considering internally displaced youngsters, what is most important, as it was mentioned many times throughout this study, is that the practice of forced migration lead to disruption of these youngsters' schooling since most of the internally displaced children had to work to support the family economically. As a result, it caused a break down in socialization of internally displaced youngsters and leave most of them no choice but to work as unskilled workers either in textile ateliers or in marginal sector. However, this vicious cycle seems to have broken for younger generations since in both cities all of the children at school age continue to education. This consequence can be explained by uneducated families' belief in the importance of education and by educational aids provided to the families. As for most of the internally displaced youngsters living either in Diyarbakır or in Istanbul, the common matter is that of having problems with the family after the internal displacement along which a gender dimension is needed to be asserted. While internally displaced young women state that they have problems with the family due to their clothing or spending time out of home, most of the internally displaced young men say that the basic disagreement with the family arises from the fact that they are politically active in DTP, which clearly shows the ongoing fear of the families in engaging with political affairs. Furthermore, in both cities among the internally displaced youngsters, the fierce of the used language of those actively involved in DTP is apparent, which is more towards the state and its institutions or the practitioners of internal displacement rather than directed towards the Turkish ethnic identity, which is beneficial for establishment of social bridges. Looking at the dissimilarities, it is obvious that the results refer to a spatial disintegration among Diyarbakır and Istanbul and even Eastern and Western parts of Turkey. To begin with, it is clear in the results provided in the previous chapters that internally displaced households in Diyarbakır and Istanbul differ in their income levels. For those in Diyarbakır, most of the households sustain their lives just above the hunger line, whereas those in Istanbul are better off in terms of income. Moreover, in Diyarbakır, there are households which rely on food aids or sustain their lives through the neighbors' help, whereas in Istanbul, there is not any household in which

none of the family members works. Besides other factors, this is to some extent related with the fact that younger women living in Istanbul participate in economic activity whereas none of the female informants living in Diyarbakır works. This is also valid for internally displaced women at the age group of 15-30 at the household level. In Istanbul, the percent of internally displaced young women working within the age group of 15-30 is 62.5%, whereas it drops to %8 in Diyarbakır. Despite the fact that the working conditions of young women in Istanbul is poorly, that women participate in economic activity is important since jobs are important in development of broader cultural competence and establishment of social connections. Continuing with internally displaced women, it needs to mention from the beginning that language is still the basic obstacle before internally displaced women's social integration, particularly those living in Istanbul in many aspects, whereas it appears as a problem for women living in Diyarbakır in relations with state institutions. That is to say that, women in Diyarbakır enjoy the opportunities of municipalities providing services in Kurdish or the personnel speaking Kurdish at hospitals or schools, women in Istanbul still experience problems when they go to hospital or municipality. It was clear in the interviews that this lead internally displaced women to mention of dissatisfaction with municipalities and preferring hospitals where Kurds or 'patriotics' in their own words work or are the owner of the hospital. Moreover, for women living in Istanbul, not knowing Turkish also limits their relations within the neighborhoods. What is more important, a kind of discomfort and sometimes even mistrust among the internally displaced persons living in Istanbul was apparent during the interviews, which can be easily attached to their feeling of insecurity in Istanbul, which appeared most of the time as willingness to depict the lived experience in Diyarbakır. Therefore, it can be argued that citizens from a particular ethnic group, that is Kurdish citizens of Turkey, do not feel as secure in Western parts of Turkey where Kurds are not the majority as they feel where Kurds are the majority. That is to say that the internally displaced persons' discontent in Istanbul has nothing to do with their specific condition of being an internally displaced person, but of having a Kurdish identity, which is apparent through the fact that the discourse of "discrimination owing to class" in Diyarbakır, as internally displaced youngsters' own words, gives way to the discourse of "discrimination owing to Kurdishness" in Istanbul, which aggravates internally

displaced Kurds' belonging to the city. This fact was also obvious in the narrations of both the internally displaced women and youngsters in various aspects. Most of the internally displaced youngsters in Istanbul depicted that they had experienced discriminative acts at school or by police since they were Kurds or were speaking Kurdish. The issue of social links is differentiated also among the internally displaced youngsters. That is to say that on the basis of social links to the institutions, another obstacle before social integration seems to be related with local governments. In other words, in many aspects, the role of local government in social integration at Diyarbakır and youngsters' satisfaction with the services is apparent; whereas in Istanbul, either the state institutions or municipalities are enunciation of facing with discrimination for most of the internally displaced persons living in Istanbul. At this point, it is important to make mention of the issue of internally displaced persons' distrust in state, state institutions at the local and even laws is apparent for most part and both for women and internally displaced youngsters. Moreover, the belief among the internally displaced youngsters that drug selling and prostitution become widespread by favor of state is another indicator of mistrust.

As for the policy suggestions, before anything else, since the practice of internal displacement can not be considered independent of the Kurdish question in Turkey, the solution of the matter should be multidimensional in line with the multifaceted character of the Kurdish question. In other words, relieving the distress caused by internal displacement should include not only the arrangements pertaining to the specific plight of the internally displaced persons but also to those of political, social and cultural rights as well for a full-fledged reconciliation. First of all, taking into account that a considerable amount of the internally displaced persons wants to return to their habitual residences, the need for removal of the constraints before return is obvious: abolishment of the village guard system, amendment of infrastructure in the zones affected by internal displacement and enhancement of job opportunities in the region. Moreover, it is urgently needed that stockbreeding and farming is vitalized both for opening up a work area for the internally displaced persons since they are used to it and for the well-being of Turkish economics. Bearing in mind that the most prominent constraint before the women's integration is the language, multilingual services should be facilitated, particularly at hospitals and

in state institutions, may be via employing interpreters. As for young women, living in Diyarbakır, non-formal education practices should be implemented for the demanding groups. Moreover, their participation in the economic sphere should be enlarged with short-term vocational trainings as needed, taking account of their opinions. Both for Diyarbakır and Istanbul and particularly for Suriçi, Tarlabası and Gazi districts, inhabitants' complains of increasing drug addiction and prostitution should be taken on board and measures should be adopted urgently. In case of extension of time limit for applying to the Compensation Law, it should be announced nation-wide, since according to the HÜNEE report, in 2006, almost half of the internally displaced persons were unaware of the law. Furthermore divergences of implementations among the compensation commissions should be prevented may be through an upper institution. Particularly, for those who do not want to return, vocational trainings can be means for their participation in economic activity, besides grants and loans provided by state and/or international agencies. In addition, consultancy and social care centers for youngsters should be established in coordination with the non-governmental organizations working with internally displaced persons in order for them to handle the traumatic effects of forced migration and considering that women are imprisoned in their neighborhoods, measures should be taken for facilitating their life in cities which will yield them to adopt the 'new' settlement. Moreover, taking into consideration that social integration is a two-way process necessitating the participation of also 'host' populations, integrative efforts should be urgently made beginning by letting the internally displaced persons to tell their true life experiences on the practice of internal displacement publicly. In addition, the validity of efforts on reinforcement of internally displaced persons is obvious, however inadequate unless attempts towards altering 'host' populations' mentality and perception of internally displaced persons have been made. As a final word, the state should address the root causes of the conflict, accept its responsibility, and should pave the way for coming to terms with Turkey's experience of forced migration in which the role of establishing independent truth commissions would play an invaluable role.

Finally, for further research, it is clear that there is the need for farther studies on internal displacement in Turkey among which the ones on internally displaced

children should take its own rights since there is almost none. At this point, it is important to differentiate among the internally displaced children who witnessed the practice of forced migration and those who did not. Moreover, to my knowledge, there is not any study that specifically focuses on the plight of internally displaced men whose traditional roles as of breadwinners were shattered which may have staggering effects both on internally displaced men themselves and also on the families. As a last word, relations between Kurds and Romans, who has to share the blighted areas in the cities, seems to construct another conflictual area within which Romans stands for a category of other's other.

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Appendix A: Pre-Interview Inquiry Form for Women

Önbilgi Formu

1. Doğum yeri ve yılı:
2. Kaç yıldır bu ilde/bu mahallede yaşıyor?
3. Şu anda kimlerle birlikte yaşıyor? (Hanede sürekli yaşayan herkes için aşağıdaki bilgiler alınacaktır.)

	Yaşıyor mu?	Yaşı	Eğitimi	Yaptığı İş - Gelir	Medeni Durumu	Bildiği/Konuştugu Diller
Kendisi						
Eşi						
Çocuk						
Çocuk						
Çocuk						
Çocuk						
Çocuk						
Diğer						

Appendix B: Pre-Interview Inquiry Form for Children

Ön bilgi Formu

1. Doğum yeri ve yılı:
2. Kaç yıldır bu ilde/bu mahallede yaşıyor?
3. Şu anda kimlerle birlikte yaşıyor? (Hanede sürekli yaşayan herkes için aşağıdaki bilgiler alınacaktır.)

	Yaşıyor mu?	Yaşı	Eğitimi	Yaptığı İş - Gelir	Medeni Durum	Bildiği/Konuştuğu Diller
Kendisi K/E						
Annesi						
Babası						
Kardeşi K/E						
Kardeşi						
Kardeşi						
Kardeşi						
Diğer						

Appendix C: Questionnaire for Internally Displaced Women

➤ KİŞİSEL BİLGİLER

(Önbilgi formu doldurulurken eksik kalan haneye ait veya herhangi bir kişisel bilgi bu başlık altında sorulacaktır.)

➤ GÖÇ ÖNCESİ DURUM, GÖÇ HİKAYESİ VE GÖÇ SÜRECİ

1. Doğduğunuz yer dışında nerelerde yaşadınız?

- Doğduğu gündən itibaren yaşadığı yerler, yer deęiştirme sebepleri
- Şu anda yaşadığı yerle ilgili bilgiler (ne kadar süredir burada yaşıyor; göç etme zamanı ve sebebi; göçün sebebine dair düşünceleri, algısı; kimlerle göç edildiđi, kararın nasıl, kimler tarafından verildiđi; göç etme konusunda herhangi bir bilgilendirme yapıp yapılmadığı; şu anda yaşadığı yeri tercih etme sebebi)
- Göç süreci (göç etme ‘kararı’ alındıktan sonra yaşanan sıkıntılar; geride kalanlar; şu an yaşadığı yere nasıl ulaştı; göç öncesi ‘şehir’ algısı, yerleşme sonrasında algısı, kendini Diyarbakırlı hissetme, bir Diyarbakırlının yaptıkları, kendisinin bunları ne kadar yaptığı)
- Göç etmeden önceki geçim kaynakları (tarım, hayvancılık, arazi, tarla, hayvan vb. sahipliđi, göç edince bunlara ne oldu)

➤ GÖÇ SONRASI YAŞAM

1. Göç sonrası ilk durum

- Göç sonrası yerleştiđi yere ait ilk duygular (korku, acı, huzursuzluk, mutluluk, heyecan vb.)
- Kente ilk geldiđinde en çok zorlandıđı ve en çok hoşuna giden neler oldu? (bir anı veya örnek)
- Yerleşilen yerde yaşanan sorunlar (göç sonrası yer deęişikliği varsa sebebi; her bir yer için yaşanan sorunlar, örneğın ev bulma, kiralama, dil, daha önce orada yaşayanlarla sorunlar vb., sorunlarla baş etme yolları; mahalledeki sorunları çözüm yolları; sorunların sebebine dair algısı)
- Göç sürecinde veya sonrasında yasal bir başvuru var mı? (AİHM, Tazminat Yasası gibi, bunlardan haberdar mı?)

2. Geçim

- Şu an itibariyle hanenin geçim kaynakları (önbilgi formunda belirtilen çalışan kişilerin iş bulma süreçleri; iş bulma nasıl oldu; tanıdık, ilan vb., iş bulmada sorun yaşandı mı?)

Varsa başka geçim kaynakları (ev temelli geçim kaynakları, kira geliri vb.)

3. Kurumlarla ilişkiler

- Nüfus cüzdanı sahipliği (ne zaman ne sebeple çıkarılmış, hanede herkes sahip mi?)
- Sağlık güvencesi sahipliği (var mı; ne kadar süredir; hanede birisi hastalandığında ne yapılıyor, hastane, poliklinik, sağlık ocağı kullanımı ve sebebi; her bir çocuk için doğumlar nerede gerçekleşmiş; hastane, poliklinik, sağlık ocağı hastalık, doğum vb. olduğunda gitmiyorsa sebebi, gidiyorsa çalışanlarla, doktorla sorun yaşıyor mu, ne gibi sorunlar, sorunların sebebine dair algısı)
- Okulla ilişkiler [!hanede okula devam eden biri varsa!] (okula gitme, öğretmenle, müdürle vb. görüşme, ne sıklıkta, ne sebeplerle, sorun yaşandı mı, sebepler ve bu sebeplere dair algısı)
- Diğer kurumlarla ilişkiler (Büyükşehir ve ilçe belediyeleri, muhtarlık, SYDV, kaymakamlık, polis, asker; bunlardan herhangi birisiyle bugüne kadar hiç ilişki kuruldu mu, ne sebeple, karşılaşılan sorunlar, ilişki kurma biçimine dair bir örnek veya bir anı)

4. Göç sonrası günlük yaşam pratikleri

- Göç öncesi ve sonrası yaşam karşılaştırması (benzerlikler, farklılıklar, hoşlanılan, sevilmeyen durumlar, kendisindeki değişiklikler, düğün, cenaze, eğlence vb. alışkanlıkları devam ettirebiliyor mu, bu noktada ihtiyaçları)
- Göç sonrası aile içi ilişkiler (eşiyle, çocuğuyla, hanedekilerle, büyük ailede ve aşiretle ilişkilerde değişiklikler, sorunlar, sebeplerine dair algı)
- Göç öncesi ve sonrası bir gününün karşılaştırması (neler yapılırdı, şimdi neler yapıyor, burada olmaktan dolayı sevindiği/ üzüldüğü durumlar)
- Komşuluk ilişkileri (görüşülen komşular var mı, nereden tanıyor, birlikte neler yapıyor)
- Kurs, dernek, vakıf, parti vb. ilişkiler (devam edilen bir kurs, eğitim, program var mı, ilişkide olduğu bir parti, aktif görev aldığı bir organizasyon, varsa bunlara dair ihtiyaçları)

➤ **BOŞ ZAMAN ETKİNLİKLERİ**

- Bir gününü nasıl geçiriyor? (mahalle dışına da çıkıyor mu, sebepleri, mahalle dışında tanıdıkları kimler, hafta sonu neler yapıyor, yaşanılan yer dışında bir yere gezmek, alışveriş, akraba ziyareti vb. amaçla gitme, ailece bir şeyler yapıyorlar mı, birlikte ne yapılıyor)
- TV izleme/gazete okuma (TV izleme, hangi kanallar, programlar, en beğenilen sanatçı, dizi, program; hangi gazeteler)

➤ **GERİ DÖNÜŞ**

- Geri dönüş (hiç düşünüldü mü, istek, neden, ne zaman, hangi şartlarda dönüş, dönüş için ihtiyaçları, burada kalma isteğinin sebepleri, çocuğunun/torunun burada yaşamasını ister miydi?)

➤ **GELECEKLE İLGİLİ DÜŞÜNCELER**

- Gelecekle ilgili duygu ve düşünceler (neler hayal ediyor, neler planlıyor, 10 yıl sonra nerede, nasıl bir hayat yaşamak istiyor)

➤ **GÖZLEMLER**

Appendix D: Questionnaire for Internally Displaced Children

➤ KİŞİSEL BİLGİLER

(Önbilgi formu doldurulurken eksik kalan haneye ait veya herhangi bir kişisel bilgi bu başlık altında sorulacaktır.)

➤ AİLEYE AİT BİLGİLER

- Anne – baba (doğum yeri, ne kadar süredir burada yaşıyor, şu anda yaşadığı yere nasıl, ne sebeple gelinmiş)
- Göç süreci (kendisinin göçe dair hatırladıkları-göç sürecini hatırlıyorsa-, duydukları, anlatılanlar)
- Göç sonrası (göç öncesi yaşanan mekana dair duyguları ve düşünceleri, benzerlikler, farklılıklar-görmüşse-, şu an yaşanan mekana dair duyguları ve düşünceleri; göç öncesi ‘şehir’ algısı, yerleştikten sonraki algısı)

➤ İŞ/OKUL YAŞAMI

1. Okula devam ediyorsa (okul yaşamı, arkadaş, öğretmen, müdür yardımcısı, müdür ile ilişkiler, karşılaşılan sorunlar, sorunlara dair örnek, sorunların sebebine dair algısı, okul yaşamı boyunca en mutlu eden/en çok üzen anı; okula devam ederken çalışma durumu)
2. Çalışıyorsa (ilk işinden itibaren iş yaşamı, ne kadar süredir çalışıyor, çalışmaya başlama sebebi, iş arama-bulma süreci, yaşanan sorunlar-varsa-, sorunların sebebine dair algısı, iş yaşamı boyunca en mutlu eden/en çok üzen anı, okulu bırakma sebebi-okumuyorsa-, karar süreci, gelir nasıl, neler için harcıyor)
3. Okumuyor veya çalışmıyorsa (ev içinde herhangi bir gelir getirici işle uğraşma; okula gitmeme sebebi, çalışmama sebebi, imkanı olsa okula devam etme/çalışma isteği, ihtiyaç duyuyor mu?)

➤ AİLE İLE İLİŞKİLER

- Aile ile anlaşma, anlaşıl(ma)dığını düşünme, birlikte zaman geçirme, birlikte yapılanlar

- Aile ile sorunlar (ne gibi sorunlar yaşanıyor, bir örnek, kullanılan dil ile ilgili sorun, sorunların çözümü, nasıl, ailede değişmesini istediği durumlar, şöyle olsaydı/olmasaydı dedikleri)

➤ **AKRAN GRUBU VE BOŞ ZAMAN ETKİNLİKLERİ**

1. Akran grubu

- Mahalle arkadaşları (birlikte yapılanlar, gidilen yerler, mahalle dışına çıkılıyor mu, yaşanan sorunlar, ne gibi, bir örnek, çözüm yolları, sorunların sebebine dair algısı)
- Mahalle dışı/okul arkadaşları (var mı, zamanını daha çok hangi grupla geçiriyor, sebep, birlikte yapılanlar, gidilen yerler, yaşanan sorunlar, ne gibi, bir örnek, çözüm yolları, sorunların sebebine dair algısı)
- Kurs, dernek, vakıf, parti vb. ile ilişkiler (neler yapıyor, nasıl bulmuş, nasıl gidip gelmeye başlamış, memnun mu, eksiklikler, en çok hoşlandığı/hoşlanmadığı durumlar)
- Bunların dışında genel olarak okulda, ailede, mahallede, çevresinde karşılaştığı sorunlar, kendini kötü/iyi hissettiği durumlar; ne gibi sorunlar, durumlar?

2. Boş zaman etkinlikleri

- Bir günü nasıl geçiriyor? (neler yapıyor, hafta sonlarında neler yapıyor, aileyle mi, arkadaşlarıyla mı geçiriyor vaktini, gezmeye, alışverişe, sinemaya, maça vb. gitme, nerelerde yapıyor bunlar-kullanılan bir belediye imkanı, gençlik merkezi vb. var mı-, yazın neler yapıyor, başka bir yere gidiyor mu, çalışıyor mu vb., akşamları neler yapıyor)
- Televizyon izleme/gazete okuma (hangi kanallar, programlar, bu kanallarda, programlarda neler hoşuna gidiyor, en sevdiği, beğendiği sanatçı, sebep)

➤ **KURUMLARLA İLİŞKİLER**

- Nüfus cüzdanı sahipliği (ne zaman ne sebeple çıkarılmış, hanede herkes sahip mi?)
- Sağlık güvencesi sahipliği (var mı, ne kadar süredir, hanede birisi hastalandığında ne yapıyor, hastane, poliklinik, sağlık ocağı kullanımı ve sebebi, her bir çocuk için doğumlar nerede gerçekleşmiş; hastane, poliklinik, sağlık ocağı hastalık, doğum vb. olduğunda gitmiyorsa sebebi, gidiyorsa

çalışanlarla, doktorla sorun yaşıyor mu, ne gibi sorunlar, sorunların sebebine dair algısı)

- Okulla ilişkiler [!hanede okula devam eden biri varsa!] (okula gitme, öğretmenle, müdürle vb. görüşme, ne sıklıkta, ne sebeplerle, sorun yaşandı mı, ne sebeple)
- Diğer kurumlarla ilişkiler (Büyükşehir ve ilçe belediyeleri, muhtarlık, SYDV, kaymakamlık, polis, asker; bunlardan herhangi birisiyle bugüne kadar bir ilişkisi olmuş mu, karşılaşmış mı, ne sebeple, sorun yaşanmış mı, ilişki kurma biçimine dair bir örnek veya bir anı)

➤ GELECEKLE İLGİLİ DÜŞÜNCELER

- Gelecekle ilgili duygu ve düşünceler (nasıl bir gelecek hayali, planlar, beklentiler)
- Evlilik ile ilgili düşünceler (nasıl bir eş, çocuğunu nasıl yetiştirmek ister vb.)
- 10 – 15 yıl sonra (kendini nerede, nasıl hayal ediyor, bunları gerçekleştirmek için ihtiyaç, destek vb., nasıl bir yardım, destek beklendiği)

➤ GÖZLEMLER