AN ANALYSIS OF IMMIGRANT EDUCATION POLICIES IN TURKEY

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_____

Prof. Dr. Yaşar Kondakçı
Director

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

_____

Prof. Dr. Ayşe Ayata
Head of Department

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

_____

Assoc. Prof. Dr.Nilay Yavuz
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mustafa Kemal Bayırbağ (METU, ADM) ——————————
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nilay Yavuz   (METU, ADM) ——————————
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Zafer Savaş Şahin   (Atılım Uni., KAM) ——————————

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Name, Last name: NİLAY SEÇGİN

Signature   :

ABSTRACT

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Seçgin, Nilay

M.S., Department of Political Science and Public Administration

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nilay Yavuz

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Turkey has been an immigration country throughout its history but it has not developed sufficient policies for immigrants, especially for migrant education. The breaking point in terms of immigration policy began in 2011 with the massive Syrian immigration to Turkey. More than 3 million Syrians migrated to Turkey. Unfortunately, as in every period, the biggest victims of this migration movement have been children. These children, who were forced to migrate because of the civil war in their countries, are called as lost generations in the international literature. Therefore, Turkey's immigration and social rights policies should be developed in a sustainable manner according to current and expected future situations. After 2014, Turkey's policies towards immigrants have evolved from emergency response policies towards integration policies. At the center of these integration policies is education policies. The aim of this thesis is to analyze the educational status of immigrant children and youth in Turkey, the problems they encounter in education, and to provide suggestions for new solutions. It examines the migration history and public policy-making processes in Turkey, and Turkey's policies on immigrant education, especially post-2011 period.

Keywords: immigrant education, educational policy making, educational policies on Syrian refugees'

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE'NİN GÖÇMEN EĞİTİM POLİTKASI ANALİZİ

Seçgin, Nilay

Yüksek Lisans, Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Bölümü

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Türkiye, tarihi boyunca göç alan bir ülke olmuştur, ancak özellikle göçmen eğitimi için neredeyse hiçbir politika geliştirmemiştir. Türkiye için göçmen politikası açısından kırılma noktası, 2011 yılında Suriye'den Türkiye'ye gerçekleşen büyük göç hareketi ile başladı. 2011 de başlayan bu göç ile 3 milyondan fazla Suriyeli Türkiye'ye göç etti. Ne yazık ki, her dönemde olduğu gibi, bu göç hareketinin en büyük kurbanları çocuklardır. Ülkelerindeki iç savaş nedeniyle göç etmek zorunda kalan bu çocuklara uluslararası literatürde kayıp nesil denmektedir. Bu nedenle, Türkiye'nin göç ve sosyal hak politikalarını mevcut ve gelecekteki beklenen durumlara göre sürdürülebilir bir şekilde geliştirilmesi gerekmektedir. 2014'ten sonra Türkiye'nin göçmenlere yönelik politikaları, acil müdahale politikalarından entegrasyon politikalarına doğru evrilmiştir. Bu entegrasyon politikalarının merkezinde eğitim politikaları yer almaktadır. Bu çalışmanın amacı, göçmen çocukların ve gençlerin eğitim haklarına erişimini ve Türkiye'de karşılaştıkları sorunları analiz etmek ve yeni çözümler için öneriler sunmaktır. Çalışmada Türkiye'nin göç tarihi ve kamu politikaları yapım süreçleri, özellikle göçmen eğitimi konusundaki politikaları incelenmiş ve bunu yaparken özellikle de 2011 sonrası dönemi analiz edilmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler*: göçmen eğitimi, eğitim politikası yapımı, Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik eğitim politikaları

All the beautiful people whose dreams are unfinished

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and the Research Problem

Education is a basic human need and one of the main determinants of increasing the welfare of individuals and societies. Despite this importance, education is obstructed in cases of war, migration, natural disasters and similar situations. In the case of immigrants, the role of education is much more critical. As a matter of fact, it is accepted by many social scientists that the education of immigrant children plays a central role in ensuring their integration to social life. Immigrant children and youth integrate to the new culture in educational places and processes. Migration and being an immigrant have a direct impact on the socio-economic and cultural conditions of individuals. Therefore, immigrant children do not have equal opportunities with the locals to participate in the education system of the immigrant community and to benefit from the educational opportunities. Besides basic needs, effective education and social policies are necessary for successfully integration of migrant children into society. Going through a quality education is a key factor for an immigrant because it will affect their future and welfare as individual.

Turkey has been a country of immigrants throughout its history due to its geopolitical position. Since it is between Europe and Asia, Turkey had become a transition country for immigrants. For example, massive numbers of Iranians wanting to go to the West after the Iranian Revolution in 1979, used Turkey "as a country of transit''. For this reason, it has been confronted with mass influx as well as individual migration movements from past to present. During the 19th century, there had been a lot of migration movements in the Ottoman Empire and those immigrants remained as heritage in the Republic of Turkey in the 20th century. There had been a steady flow of migrants from the Middle East, the Caucasus and Rumelia to Turkey during the 20th century since the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Several policies had developed for migrants throughout the history of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey.

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However, these policies were limited to settlement and employment areas. A turning point was that, Turkey has faced with the great waves of immigration from Syria since 2011.

Because of the civil war in Syria, millions of Syrians have been forced to leave their countries since 2011. Approximately 3.5 million Syrians migrated to Turkey in a very short time because of the open door policy. However, Turkey accepted those immigrants without developing a comprehensive policy on migration. Especially during the early years of this massive immigration movement, families coming from Syria have had to live on the streets in summer and winter. Access to education has been a major problem for these immigrant children, who even cannot meet their basic needs. Due to the unpredictable prolongation of the Syrian crisis that began in 2011, and the ongoing war and violence, the number of Syrians taking refuge in Turkey has increased day by day. Syrians who were supposed to return to their countries in the first place were considered as temporary migrants, and policies tried to be developed in accordance with this idea. However, as accepted in 2014, Syrians are considered as permanent immigrants in Turkey. In the first years of massive migration flow, Turkey met immigrants' basic needs such as clothing, safety, food. However, after the consideration of these immigrants as permanent, in addition to short-term policies aimed at meeting urgent needs, a long-term policy need was acknowledged to ensure their integration to social life.

For Syrian children in particular, immigrant children in general, the right to access to education in Turkey is a problematic area. Despite receiving immigrants during its history, Turkey's lack of migrant education policies has come to the agenda with Syrian massive migration flow. After 2011, many different policies have been implemented to deal with education problems of migrants. For example, pursuant to the Law no. 6458, it was decided to establish the General Directorate of Migration Management under the Ministry of Interior in 81 provinces and 148 districts and accommodation areas have been established in order to meet the needs of migrants in education, health and social life. Together with the central government, many institutions and organizations such as NGOs, public institutions, AFAD, Kızılay and international institutions are working to help the victims of Syrian civil war. Between 2011 and 2014, Syrian education was limited to children living in refugee camps. Until 2014, no long-term plans have been made for the education of Syrian children

and youth who are considered as guests. Official education policies for Syrian children have started to be implemented with the granting of legally temporary protection status to Syrians. Thanks to the Temporary Protection Regulation enacted in 2014, with the Circular on Education and Teaching Services for Foreigners, Syrian children have been provided with training in the state schools of the Ministry of National Education or in the Temporary Education Centers (TEC) established for the Syrians. Thus, Syrian children can attend public schools or TECs in the city and district where they are located. Prior to this circular, Syrian children continued their educational activities in the TECs led by non-governmental organizations in which education language was Arabic, Syrian curricula is applied and then Syrian immigrant children had the opportunity to receive education in public schools. Until 2016, it was left to Syrians to get education in TECs or public schools, but after 2016, efforts were made to ensure that Syrian children receive education in public schools. Currently, Shutdown of TECs and the transferring the education of Syrian children to public schools is on the policy agenda. However, another agenda is the relocation of Syrians to safe zones.

Turkey's school age population involves over 20 million children and young people. With the migration of Syrians to the country, more than one and a half million people who are in the education age have been added to this population. Therefore, education is one of the most important policy areas that should be developed. Educational policies for immigrants need to consider not only access to education, but also ensuring continuity of the education and evaluation of the outcomes of educational policies for children's social integration and future life.

1.2 Objectives of the Study and the Research Questions

The aim of this study is to analyze immigrant education policies and their effects in Turkey, and to discuss the extent to which existing policies are effective in terms of offering solutions to the problems. By doing that, it also aims to contribute to the literature and policy making by presenting the overall situation regarding the educational process of the immigrant children and youth in Turkey and elaborating on some new policy proposals by identifying the problems and deficiencies in the existing policies.

In accordance with these aims, this thesis attempts to address the following research questions:

- What is the current position of migrant students at primary and higher education levels in Turkish education system?

-What kind of policies have been developed regarding the education of immigrant children in Turkey?

-What kinds of educational policies and practices can contribute to the successful integration of immigrant children, and meet their needs in Turkey?

In answering these questions, policy problems in terms of migrant education will be identified; migrant education policies that were developed between late 1900 and 2019 will be analyzed, and areas of improvement will be explored. In order to do this, the methodology of policy-action research is used in this study. In the policy (action) research process, policies and actions of public institutions, NGOs and international organizations were examined. Thus, information on migrant education was collected systematically and analyzed, and the analyzed data were used for proposing new solutions. For example, the decrees issued since the founding of the republic of Turkey related with immigrants and immigrant education, the relevant provisions and statutory regulations, the Internal Affairs Ministry Archives, many NGO's projects related to immigrants, different literatures which involves articles and books written on issues related to public policy, migration, education and immigrant education policy were analyzed.The methodology of this study also includes the historical and descriptive method as well as the detailed examination of the legislations.

In the light of these, the study aims to fill in the gap in the literature in this area, as there is no such comprehensive study that analyzes the problems of migrants who are at primary school and higher education level in Turkey, and evaluates educational policies developed to overcome these problems. In addition, the relationship between governmental and non-governmental policy actors which affects immigrants' educational status is attempted to be explained and analyzed, which had not been investigated before in such a comprehensive way, to the author's knowledge.

1.3 Outline of the Thesis

In the second chapter of the study, the conceptual framework for immigration, education policy, policy actors, and immigrant education is presented, along with a

review of prior studies on these issues. First, definitions and types of immigrant status, the reasons of migration and its consequences on children are explained. While political pressures, exile, famine and war are the causes of forced migration, the political features of cities and the high availability of jobs have created socio-political reasons. There are types of migration such as permanent and temporary migration in time maintenance; internal and external migration in terms of location. These factors and the length of stay of immigrants in the country determine immigrant status. Immigrant status is a major factor in determining the policies to be implemented for immigrants. Next, the relationship between migration and education and its importance is explained in this chapter. After that, literature review on education policy and immigrant education policy are presented. Immigrant policy is very delicate subject as a study area. As a multi-dimensional area there are many factors affecting it, such as immigrants' psychological, economic conditions, language barrier, discriminations against immigrants etc. There are several studies on immigrant education policy in both international and national literature. Immigrant education policies differ from country to country and immigrant status to status. A brief overview of these policy examples is also provided in this chapter.

In the third chapter of the study, changes and developments in the history of migration and related policies in Turkey is the focus. Turkey's geographical position makes it a country in transition between Asia and Europe. For this reason, it has been confronted with mass influx as well as individual migration movements from past to present. On Turkey's migration history, the effects of the Ottoman Empire tolerance policy had been observed. With the Ottoman "withdrawal'' from the Middle East during the 20th century, massive migration flows from the Caucasus and Rumelia" to Turkey happened. In 1989, approximately 350 thousand Turkish origin who lived in Bulgaria migrated to Turkey as a mass influx. Similarly, Similarly, the massive influx of people fleeing to Turkey with forced migration continued migrations from Iraq, former Yugoslavia and Kosovo. In addition, the USSR's disintegration, erosion by economic and political changes in Eastern Europe makes Turkey an important part of massive irregular migration. Turkey, with effect of the EU, has made arrangements in the field of migration by signing various agreements. This process first started with the 1951 Geneva Convention and then continued with the entry into force of the Law No. 6458 on Foreigners and International Protection in 2013 with the effect of the

2011 Syrian migrant crisis. Finally, in this section, how Syrian crisis affects Turkey in terms of immigration policies is discussed.

In the forth chapter, immigrant education policies in Turkey with a particular focus on those that were developed after the 2011 Syrian mass influx are evaluated and analyzed. For a better understanding of the policy-making and implementation process, the challenges faced by the policy actors and Syrians are also mentioned. The governmental actors involved in educational policy making, along with the NGOs and international actors involved in immigrant education policy in Turkey are described in detail. Also, relationships among these actors and their limitations are elaborated.

The thesis concludes with policy recommendations for immigrant education in Turkey, in the light of the review of the existing policies and problems and considering the current situation as well as future possibilities regarding immigrants in Turkey.

Migrant education policy in Turkey is a cross-cutting policy area and has adversities since it composed of intersection of three areas which are education policy, immigration policy and immigrant education policy. Immigrant education policy is a chaotic and problematic public policy field in Turkey. There are different reasons for this. Firstly, it is a multi-level and multi-actor characteristics. For instance, there are numbers of NGOs which works for policy making without knowing whether immigrants stay in Turkey or not. Secondly, immigrant education policies in Turkey are politically ambiguous situation because of immigrants' current situation, status and unpredictable future in Turkey. Thirdly, it is a multi- sectoral policy area. For example, it has multi-sectoral judicially way positions and without defining those positions it is difficult to develop policy on immigrant education. The fourth features which makes problematic immigrant education policy field in Turkey is legal status vague and citizenship issue. The legal status of Syrians is not 'citizen'. Instead, statuses such as secondary protection and temporary protection are given to them. However, if we look at the citizenship issue in terms of the services they receive, they receive services in many areas just like citizens of Turkey such health, education. Lastly, those immigrants are mobile. I mean, even regulations require opposite, most of the immigrants are also migrate different cities to cities of Turkey, especially unregistered ones. Therefore, immigrant education policy process is problematic are with all its process'.

These characteristics of immigrant education policy in Turkey in terms of institutionalization efforts and citizenship phonemenon and the characteristics of immigrant education policy itself had not been studied as whole before. There are different types of schools in Turkey and cluttered kinds of schools. For example, there are 79 different types of school in Turkey. When we consider that, a more coherent educational policy may arise in terms of immigrant education policy. There is also a dual-citizenship problem for Syrians live in Turkey. Unlike the children of citizens of the Turkish Republic, Syrian children's situation is heterogenous in such a diversified and distributed systems. From the same point of view, this system leads immigrant children to make them citizens even though they are not citizens. Here, my main stress point is citizenship phonemenon in terms of receiving public services, not as legal status. I mean, there is the construction of citizenship through the service. Service is becoming standardized and integration is being discussed for Syrians. I think, Syrian education policy is actually a citizenship policy and target of this policy is clear and its method, policy way is developing. Unlike early studies, when we focus and consider this point of view to approach immigrant education policy in Turkey, it's more likely that something consistent comes out of this point of view. In this study, these problematic areas mentioned above and these two missing points were focused and new recommendations provided after analyze these problematic area.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND THE LITERATURE REVIEW

This section reviews the main concepts and issues as discussed in the literature in order to provide a sound basis for the analysis of immigrant education policy in Turkey. Educational policies vary according to migrant types and status. Therefore, first, different conceptualizations of migration and immigrant status, as well as an overview of the policy process for developing educational policies will be provided. Next, in order to analyze the educational policies related to migration, the difficulties faced by immigrants, and the relationship between migration and education will be explained. In the later sections of the chapter, a review of existing studies on immigrant education and related policies will be provided.

2.1 Migration

There are several factors that affect societies and change their nature. These factors might be internal and external such as natural disaster, war, coup d'état, and economic crises. Migration is one of those factors, which will be the focus of this thesis.

Migration is considered to be a concept that concerns millions of people and many countries around the world. Historically, migrations often arise from famine, civil wars, religious and other forms of violence, genocide and political exile, and it involve very painful processes for humanity (İçduygu,1999). Due to these characteristics, migration has been examined by many disciplines and an analysis has been made from the perspective of each discipline.

Migration is very effective and important issue for societies' social, economic, political and cultural structure because it makes a lot of changes in societies' population. Changes in population causes changes in social, economic, political and cultural structure of societies. It is not an easy matter for people to emigrate from

places where they are born, grew up, lived and maintained.As a multifaceted phenomenon, there are various definitions of migration in the literature. According to one definition, migration is the process in which that individuals and groups within a particular social structure go from one place to another for social, economic, political and cultural reasons (Kızılçelik,1996). Similarly, TDK, Gün, Koçak and Terzi explain migration phenomenon as economic, social or political reasons for individuals or communities to move from one country to another, from one region to another, or from one settlement to another (Gün,2002; Koçak & Terzi, 2012).

Another definition of migration is that it is a geographic displacement event in which people are relocated from one housing unit to another for a full or temporary period of time to spend all or part of their future life (Mutluer,2003; Demir, 1996, p.85-93; Porumbescu,2013). Also, Lee approached the migration phenomenon as a permanent or semi-permanent displacement of the population (Lee,1996). Mangalam and Morgan explains migration phenomenon as a relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity, migrants, from one geographical location to another (Mangalam & Morgan, 1968).

İçduygu and his friends defined migration as the population movement that changed the social structure with the social, economic, cultural and political dimensions of the process of changing the geographic location and mentioned the effects of migration on the social structure (İçduygu,1998)

International Organization for Migration (IOM) defines migration as

> A process of moving, either across an international border, or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, uprooted people, and economic migrants' (IOM, 2004). Similarly, UNESCO also explains migration phenomenon as 'the crossing of the boundary of a political or administrative unit for a certain minimum period of time and it includes the movement of refugees, displaced persons, uprooted people as well as economic migrants. (UNESCO, n.d)

According to Thomas, migration is defined as the movements (involving change of permanent residence) from one country to another which take place through the volition of the individuals or families concerned (Thomas, 1959).

In Marshall (1999)'s Glossary of Sociology, it involves the permanent movement of individuals or groups across symbolic or political boundaries to new settlements and societies.

Peterson expresses that a migration means merely a shift of a certain number of undifferentiated persons from one place to another and also it is a change in the occupational and population structure of both countries or region. (Eisenstadt, 1954). In addition to Peterson, Faist considers migration not only as a spatial displacement movement but also as a flow from one political or social unit to another. In other words, the Faist stated that migration was not only a spatial change that was generally accepted, but also defined migration as a process in which social or political flow was present. (Faist, 2003)

Castles and Miller defines the era after World War II as the 'era of migration' because of expansion of migration all over the world thanks to developed transportation and communication technologies. As a matter of fact, the statistics and records maintained by the United Nations (UN) show that 250 million people, %3 of world population, live outside the borders of the country where they were born. Castles and Miller added that in any other era of history, migration movements have not been as dense as today (Castles S. a., 2008). According to the 2010 World Migration Report published by the IOM, there are more than 214 million migrants worldwide. Moreover, if the number of migrants continues to increase at the current rate, this number is expected to reach 405 million by 2050 (IOM, World Migration Report 2010., 2011).

To sum up, migration, which is defined as a human mobility and takes place from one place to another, is explained as the population movements that change the structure of the individual and the society with its social, economic, cultural and political aspects, which emerge in every scene of human history for a short or long term. It is not unreasonable for individuals or groups to settle in other areas by leaving a certain settlement. Migratory action can have economic, social and political reasons, and war, famine, drought, climate change and natural disaster are the most important and effective reasons on migration (İçduygu & Sirkeci, 1999).

2.1.1. Types of Migration

It is possible to classify migrations in various ways for a better understand the phenomenon of migration. In general, IOM classifies migration types according to size criterion; individual and mass, according to field criterion; internal and external/ international, according to time criterion; temporary and continuous, according to intention/reason criterion; voluntary and forced, and according to the legal situation criterion; regular (legal) and irregular (illegal).

2.1.1.1. Individual Migration and Mass Migration

According to the intensity of migration, migrations can be divided into two groups as mass and individual. If we consider the phenomenon of migration as a demographic process, migratory mobility may occur as a displacement of individuals or groups from one place to another.

Individual migration based on an individual or a family because of political, economic, cultural, religious etc. reasons. Migrants play an active role in the individual migration process. They decide to migrate with their own will and have enough knowledge about the causes and consequences of migration. The migrants themselves choose the place they will migrate and carry out the immigration action with great expectations and desires.

Mass immigration means that societies or people living in a particular region change their places for various reasons. In other words, mass migrations are mostly caused by inter-state social, economic or political reasons, and it concerns all individuals in the societies that are subjected to immigration. In this type of immigration, a group of people with common religious or ethnic characteristics are forced to migrate. In this respect, mass migrations often coincide with the type of forced migration which will be mentioned later. In case a large number of foreigners enter a country continuously, the term e 'collective flow' is used.

2.1.1.2. Internal Migration and External/International Migration

Migration is divided into two as internal migration and external migration according to the distance of the migrated place.

Internal migration is the migration that takes place within the borders of the country and expresses the difference between the place where the population is born and where they live. Also, IOM defines internal migration means as 'A movement of people from one area of a country to another for the purpose or with the effect of establishing a new residence. This migration may be temporary or permanent. Internal migrants move but remain within their country of origin (e.g. rural to urban migration). Migration from rural to urban is the most typical example of internal migration. In other words, internal migration is classified as migration between settlements (provincial center, district center, sub-district and village) and migration between provinces.

External migration refers to population movements from one country to another in order to work and settle for a long time. The biggest difference of external migration from internal migration is the expression of crossing an international border. Therefore, therefore, external migration is defined as international migration. IOM defines international migration as 'Movement of persons who leave their country of origin, or the country of habitual residence, to establish themselves either permanently or temporarily in another country. An international frontier is therefore crossed'. External migrations are mostly carried out in order to work like labor migrations or to meet financial expectations. In addition, reasons such as better living conditions, willingness to make a career, and the use of educational services also push individuals into external migration. As a result of these migration movements, the population of both receiving country and migrants' country are changing. In addition, changes are observed in the internal balances of the receiving countries because of this type of migration.

According to the 2018 World Migration Report published by IOM, it is estimated that the number of international migrants in 2017 is 258 million and this corresponds to 3.3% of the world's population. According to IOM, there are approximately 70 million international refugees in US, 78 million in Europe, 80 million in Asia and 25 million in Africa. The total number of international refugees in Europe and Asia is two third of world international refugee population. Moreover, between 2000 and 2017 numbers of international migrants had grown by an average of %2.3. Domestic migration is much more than an external migration. According to the IOM, more than 740 million people migrate within their own country.

2.1.1.3. Temporary Migration and Permanent Migration

Migration is divided into "temporary" or "permanent" migration according to settlement period.

Temporary migration means that people leave their place for a certain period of time for several reasons such as education, health, vacation. In this type of migration, migrants migrate to return to their destination. There is no plan to settle permanently in the place of migration. In addition, when people migrate to work in a different environment than the environment they are in at certain times of the year, to discover new places or to relax, it is called seasonal migration. As we understand its name seasonal migration is a type of temporary migration. In addition to seasonal migrations, temporary immigration also includes students and soldiers who go to other countries for educational purposes. It is roughly known that these students and soldiers, who are temporarily migrating will remain in a certain time at the places where they have migrated. Temporary migrants always return to their home country and this return brings temporary settlement right, social rights and political rights for the temporary immigrants.

In the case of permanent migrations, migrants migrate by planning to stay permanently where they go. According to Günay, permanent migration means that people permanently abandon their place of origin due to political, social, economic and natural disasters. In fact, permanent migrations occur as a result of temporary migration. In other words, temporary migration turns into permanent migration. Generally, temporary migrants decide to stay permanently in the countries where they come for a certain time on the purpose of temporary education or touristic trip because of the getting accepted from the countries they go to and willingness to live in a higher quality life like guest workers in Germany and Switzerland. In contrast to the temporary migration, social and political rights recognized for permanent migration and permanent migrants can benefit from these rights to a great extent. The most comprehensive of these rights, which are recognized to permanent immigrants, is the right to citizenship.

2.1.1.4. Voluntary Migration and Forced Migration

Migration can be a free-standing phenomenon that migrants carry out at their own will and may be influenced by different forces other than their will. Immigration can be divided into two groups as voluntary migration and forced migration. In other words, the immigration literature distinguishes the migration in the form of voluntary and forced migration by putting the individual's will at the center of the migration process. This migration classification, which can cover almost all types of migration, is related to whether or not the migrants can use the initiative to carry out the migration action at the beginning of the migration process.

Voluntary migration means that migrants' freely displacement movements with their own will to achieve various social opportunities such as better living conditions, job opportunities, security.   For example, migration from rural to urban areas, labor migrations, international migrations with a desire of better life are types of voluntary migration. In the case of voluntary emigration, there are no intrusive and impulsive forces pushing immigrants to immigration, but individual desires and attractive factors in the place of immigration are effective.

2.1.1.5. Brain Drain and Labor Migration

As I mentioned above there are many factors such as political, religious, economic that cause people to migrate. Brain drain and labor migration are most common types of voluntary migration

Brain drain means that a migration movement by qualified and well-trained staffs to countries which provide better job opportunities. Brain drain can contribute to the development of science and technology and generally it is the arrival of qualified people of less developed or developing countries to industrialized countries. For example, during the Second World War, German immigrants' immigration to the US was most clear type of brain drain and Einstein is one of the most well-known examples of this type of immigrant. Brain drain is the labor migration of people with certain qualifications. Brain migration is often a movement from developing countries to developed countries.

Migration movements for employment between countries are defined as labor migration. Especially in the 18th and 19th centuries, labor shortages emerged in

industrialized and developing regions with industrialization and this deficit was eliminated by employing the labor force potential of individuals living in less developed regions. In this way, cheap labor force potential within and between countries has begun to move towards industrially developed regions. This mobility has brought about international labor migrations. As it is seen, labor migration and brain drain is also included in international migration. Brain drain is also a labor migration, but every labor migration is not a brain drain.

To sum up, labor migration and brain drain is a kind of mobility triggered by employment and labor and mobility for an educational and professional purpose. Both of them are often the migrations from rural, less developed or underdeveloped countries to developed and industrialized cities or countries. Therefore, these migrations may be intended to stay permanently or to stay temporary.

Secondly, forced migration can be defined briefly as a forced displacement movement due to the influence of various forces other than the immigrants' own will. Factors such as natural disasters, wars, internal disturbance, state exchanges caused by the implementation of the decisions taken by the state on various social, economic and security issues or the problems raised by conflicts between groups are some reasons for the forced migration movements.

Forced migration can also be divided into two groups. In the first group, migrants who were forced to migrate were able to make a small decision in the act of immigration and immigrants in the second group have no means of decision-making in the act of immigration. The most striking example of both type of forced migration is Nazi Germany. In the first period, Jews who were encouraged to migrate were forced to migrate later and generally life style of first group migrants is less subject to change compared to the second group. Refugees, asylum seekers are also included in the second group.

2.1.1.6. Regular Migration and Irregular Migration

Migration types can also distinct as regular and irregular migration according to compliance or non-compliance with certain laws and rules in case of leaving out of the national boundaries of persons or communities.

IOM defines regular migration as migration that occurs through recognized, legal channels. In other words, regular migration means that it is the case that the migrants migrate in accordance with the legal procedure for the migration process of their country and received country.

IOM also defines irregular migration as a movement that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and receiving countries. Actually, there is no universally clear definition of irregular migration. It basically means that illegal entrance to a country, illegal staying or working at this country. In the case of irregular migration; to enter a country, to reside and work in it, migrant does not have the essential permission or documents required under immigration regulations. Irregular migration and irregular migrant population cannot be detected by the governments. Therefore, irregular migration cannot be registered, controlled or avoided. Therefore, no one knows exactly how many irregular migrants are in the world. In the United States, there are approximately 11 million irregular migrants and almost 8 million of them are employed. In Turkey, only in 2018 more than 225.000 irregular refugee are detected but according to IOM, there are estimated more than 500.000 irregular refugees in Turkey. When we look at last decade, this number is over 1.25 million in Turkey. According to Gallagher and McAuliffe, in 2013 there are estimated 4 million undocumented refugees in Pakistan. Unfortunately, irregular or undocumented migrant population in Europe could not be estimated.

2.1.1.7. Refugee Migration

Refugee immigration is a type of migration carried out by people and small groups that are often in conflict with the political authority or regime in the country and their life and property security is often in danger. Those immigrants migrate to another country usually through illegal means and / or false documents. Refugee migration is a phenomenon that has existed since ancient times. Refugee migrations are often used synonymously with the concept of international forced migration. In other words, international forced migration is a movement of collective displacement due to reasons such as conflict, war, famine, natural disasters, epidemics, ethnic and religious social and political pressures. International forced migration includes the phenomenon of asylum- seekers, refugees and displaced people.

According to Kritz and Keely, the most dramatic form of migration is refugee migration. In the history of humankind, it is very new to recognize the importance of international solidarity and the need for political assistance in this matter. Prior to 1921, almost only private voluntary organizations were interested in refugee problem and only those made some help calls. Refugee migration has occurred in almost every part of the world in history, but in recent decades the volume has occurred in the developing or underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

2.2 Definition of Immigrant and Types of Immigrant Status

Determination of an immigrant status by governments has significant implications for the educational services to which (im)migrants can stake claims (DANIEL & KNUDSEN, 1995; BOHMER & SHUMAN, 2008). Therefore, understanding the definition of migrant is also an important point for studying a country's educational policies on migrants.

An immigrant refers to individuals and family members who migrate to another country or region in order to improve both their financial and social status and to increase the expectations of themselves or their families from the future. Mainly, it can be defined as people who abandon his/her country due to reasons of education and work, not necessarily, because they feared of the persecution in their country.

The following sections describe the types of immigrant status.

2.2.1. Asylum Seekers and Refugees

The asylum phenomenon that is included in international migration discussions refers to migration of people who are persecuted or are in danger because of their religion, language, race, gender, nationality, or political opinion (Mutluer, 2003). Asylum seekers refer to those immigrants who are seeking international protection, but their claim for refugee status has not yet been determined (Phillips, 2011).

Generally, those persecutions and dangers are caused by conflicts in a country and it's around. The first example of these conflicts on the global scale is when settlements and people who did not participate in the war became victims is World War I. Therefore, the term of 'refugee' gained importance especially after World War I. This war threatened all the people involved in the war, depending on the extent of war on both national or international level. For this reason, people who did not have life

security and face multiple threats at the beginning of the war migrated to the regions or countries where there was   no war.

The increasing size of these forced migrations and the failure to find a solution to this problem among the countries necessitated the emergence of an organization called United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and thus a refugee law under the auspices of the UN. In addition, under international law, all states have general obligations to provide refugees with international protection and find solutions to their problems, and the responsibility is carried out by UNHCR on behalf of the international community.

Before the establishment of UNCHR, 'The League of Nations', which was established in order to overcome the problems caused by the demolition, infrastructure problems and the population affected by the war in the post-World War I, saw the asylum and refugee problem as a dual problem among the countries that received immigration. In 1921, the 'High Commissioner for Refugees' was established in order to find a solution to the problem of asylum seekers. Then the organizations such as 'Nansen International Refugee Office' (1931-1938), 'High Commissioner of the League of Nations for Refugees' (1939-1946) and the 'Committee of Intergovernmental Refugees' (1938-1947) were established to assist the 'League of Nations' (Benhabib, 2006). Although the phenomenon of forced migration, which is a consequence of the conflicts among countries and within the country, has been seen since the beginning of history, it has gained legal legitimacy with the recognition of asylum as a fundamental human right by the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights. According to article 14, paragraph 1 of this declaration, everyone under the persecution has the right to asylum to other countries and have the right to benefit from asylum opportunities (UNICEF Türkiye, 2015).

In 1950, The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has been established to help millions of Europeans who have fled their homes or lost their homes after the World War II. Afterwards, in 1951, 26 representatives of countries gathered in Geneva, Switzerland, taking into account the problems and fundamental human rights of the refugees and signed 'Convention on the Legal Status of Refugees'. With this agreement, the definition of an 'international refugee' was made for the first

time, as well as the rights of the refugees and the obligations of the migrant receiving country.

In the introductory section of the text in which the refugee definition is made, there is an expression of a geographical restriction as 'events occurring in Europe'. That is, only people who are victims of events occurring in Europe are recognized as refugee and asylum seeker by the countries who signed Geneva Convention. Unfortunately, this geographical limitation is still accepted by some countries including Turkey. Turkey has reported that it is only obligated to recognize refugee status within the scope of events occurring in Europe (Çiçekli, 2014). In other words, Turkey is a party to an agreement with geographical restrictions and it means that, in Turkey, designation of 'refugee' status to asylum seekers is not possible for asylum seekers who come from non-European countries.[1]

According to Benhabib (Benhabib, 2006), refugees and asylum seekers are special categories created in line with the actions of the nation-state. As mentioned above, the first international regulation on the refugees, which emerged with the concept of nation-state, was created at the time of the League of Nations and such arrangements continued to be issued during the United Nations. Asylum and refugee concepts differ from conditions to conditions in terms of refugee motives and consequences. Therefore, the categorization of those situations as "refugee" and "asylum-seeker" occurs in human rights theory (Benhabib, 2006).

The term refugee can be defined in different ways because of its dimensions. Since the status of a refugee affects their rights and access to integration policies, those different ways to define them need to be explained. The term refugee in international law refers to persons outside the country of which he is a citizen and who cannot return to or do not want to return to the country of which he / she is a citizen because he/she is, feared by reason of persecution because of his / her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political thought. Another definition of refugee is that people who fled to foreign states by abandoning their countries due to

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[1] The reason to put this restriction is to curb to the possible influx of refugees towards Turkey, since Turkey contained in the important place in terms of migration routes.

political pressure, legal and administrative discrimination of the state they live in are evaluated as long-term refugee status (MERAY, 1968).

The asylum-seeker is defined as the person who wants to be recognized as a refugee in a country within the framework of relevant national or international documents and await the outcome of his application for refugee status (IOM I. O., 2004). Asylum-seekers need to enjoy certain fundamental rights, primarily the principle of 'non-refoulment' and ensure minimum standards for human life (Kaya, & Eren, 2014).

The right to asylum is the right that gives the acceptance of the applicant's application to obtain refugee status. The refugee status is a legal status as a consequence of acceptance of asylum seekers' application, both the right and concepts to asylum and refugee are intertwined (Pehlivan, 2004). Recognition of the right to asylum is a 'refugee' but it is just a publicity. I mean, the person does not become a refugee because he is granted refugee status; he is a refugee since he left his country (Kılıç, 2005). Therefore, asylum seeker and refugee concepts are intertwined.

In Turkey, there was a definition problem in terms of refugees status due to two main reasons. First one is the Geneva Convention and second one is consideration of refugees as 'guests' especially after 2011 massive migration flow which will be mentioned detailed later.

2.2.2. Conditional Refugee Status

In Foreigners and International Protection Law (YUKK) of Turkey, Conditional Refugee status is regulated in Article 62 for those who come from countries outside Europe and demand international protection. Pursuant to Article 62, while fulfilling the requirements of the refugee definition, those coming from outside Europe are defined as conditional refugees. Article 62 states that,

> Due to the events occurring outside the European states; the foreigner who is outside the country of which he is a citizen and who cannot benefit from the protection of this country because of fear of being subject to persecution due to race, religion, domination, membership of a particular social group or political opinions or a stateless person who is found outside of the country or who does not wish to return due to such fear is granted 'conditional refugee' status after the status determination procedures. Conditional refugees are allowed to stay in Turkey until the country placed in a third country.

As the text of the article suggests, "conditional refugee" status provide resettlement to a safe country and temporary residence permit for asylum seekers' who do not gain refugee status because they come from outside Europe.

2.2.3. Subsidiary Protection Status

In YUKK, the status of ''subsidiary protection'' is regulated in Article 63 for people who cannot be qualified as refugees or conditional refugees as an international protection status. According to Article 63,

> If a stateless or foreign person who are not recognized as refugees or conditional refugees is returned to the country of origin or country of residence and will face with ; a) sentence to death or execution of death penalty, b) torture, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, c) not benefiting from the protection of the country of origin or the country of residence because he or she will face a serious threat to him/herself due to non-discriminatory acts of violence in the cases of international or nationwide armed conflict is given subsidiary protection after status determination procedures.

As it is seen, the status of subsidiary protection, which plays a complementary role, is a stipulated status within the scope of the prohibition of refoulment which becomes a mandatory international law rule.[2]

2.2.4. Temporary Protection Status

In addition to the above individual status defined in the framework of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (YUKK), in the event of massive asylum request that is too intense to provide the necessary individual regulation as a result of the state of emergency and violence, these applicant people concerned are collectively recognized as having "temporary protection" status. This status, which is relatively new in terms of other asylum status, is used for people who have to migrate massively as a result of unforeseen and acute circumstances such as internal / external conflict or natural disasters. People subject to temporary protection status have basic asylum law norms, such as non-refoulment and humanitarian needs (IOM, 2009). The biggest difference with the other protection statuses is that it allows for collective asylum

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[2] The principle of non-refoulement, which is the basis of the prohibition of return, means the obligation not to be sent to the country where the rights and freedoms of foreigners are endangered due to race, religion, citizenship, membership of a particular social group or political opinion.

rather than individual evaluation in order to respond to acute emerging population movements. Temporary protection status is a temporary solution that can be applied until a permanent solution is found to the asylum seekers. Countries that face serious influx of refugees use this status more often and those countries can determine their temporary protection status according to their subjective situation (Kaya & Eren, 2015).

As mentioned above, although each country tends to grant temporary protection rights under its own limitations, basic human rights such as health care benefits, work, family reunification and the right to education must be presented in this status.

This status was first acknowledged in Asia in the 1970s. However, it has become part of the international literature in the process of the adoption of about 1 million people by European countries, who left their country as a result of the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the conflicts in Kosovo. The term became relevant to Turkey after the asylum request of about 500,000 Afghan people to Turkey as a result of the internal conflict in Iraq. Also, it became more important after 2011 extreme Syrian migration flow to Turkey.

As it is a relatively new status, to eliminate uncertainties and confusions in terms of asylum law, on 20 July 2001, the Temporary Protection Directive was adopted by the EU (Ay, 2005). According to the Temporary Protection Directive, people who live at serious risk, who are victims of systematic and general human rights violations, escaping from armed conflict and widespread violence will benefit this protection. The countries which have signed this directive give the commitment to present the fundamental rights and responsibilities arising from the law on asylum law, especially the Geneva Convention, to people with temporary protection status. Although people in this status may request asylum at any time, there is no time limitation for evaluation. Moreover, time limitation of this status, extension situations and exceptional situations in terms of time limitation was examined in 2001 directive.

On March 30, 2012, the Ministry of Interior of Turkey issued a directive on ''temporary protection" for Syrians who demanded asylum as a mass group. However, it was only a direction not law. According to the report of the Human Rights Investigation Commission of Turkish Grand National Assembly, temporary protection is an exceptional procedure which is defined as; in the case of a massive

influx of third-country people, who are unable to return to their country ''temporary protection'' is provided for the purpose of providing immediate and temporary protection, in particular for those third country people or people in need of protection. As it is understood from this definition, after 2012 direction, mass migrants who were adopted by Turkey under temporary protection, were regarded as being accepted as refugee guests (Yılmaz, 2014). ''Temporary protection'' status, which was not regulated by a legislation until 2013, is a new regulation introduced by Law No. 6458. According to this law,

> the temporary protection regime is applied to foreigners who are forced to leave the country, who cannot return to the country they left, who massively come to our borders or cross our borders to find emergency and temporary protection. (YUKK, 2013: m.91/1)

Although the status of Temporary Protection was mainly structured as a temporary protection regime on open door and non-repatriation policies, it has become a more integrated asylum status by defining many basic human rights, including the right to health, education and work, by the regulation that came into force in 2013.

2.3 Migration and Integration

Regardless of the types of migration status reviewed above, the migration of people from one place to another due to various reasons requires their integration or adaptation to the new place they settle. As a matter of fact, individuals with different backgrounds thanks to migration try to survive in the same environment together with components such as language, religion, tradition and culture (Aksoy, 2012). Immigrants are influenced by the social and cultural structure of the places they live in (language, clothing style, behavior style, etc.) as well as affecting the social and cultural structure of the environments they live in. Therefore, a cultural space emerges that links people with different experiences and traditions. Societies with different cultures need to spend a certain time together to live in harmony with each other and in the last century; immigration of people with different cultures and languages is the inevitable event of social exchanges and cultural cohesion. Thus, integration policies on migrants have huge importance. It is important to remind immigrants to the importance and function of their individual abilities, the opportunity to survive in new social conditions and to acquire new social status. Giving this opportunity to migrants constitutes the basis for integration policies.

Integration is the adaptation of individuals and groups, who permanently migrated from one place to another, to living conditions in the new place. Integration means a harmony that are meant to mean unification, union and balance. Social integration refers to a situation of cohesion, harmonization and completion between various elements of social structures such as groups, communities, institutions in society After this process of cohesion, the mutual dependence and the harmony between the individuals or groups which constitutes the elements of the social structures emerge. Integration represents the process of living in a harmonious way between social structures, individuals, groups, and the state of cohesion. In addition, some theorists have described integration as a level of engagement between actors that can be understood by specific measurements (KARAKAŞ, 2002; (Robert O. KEOHANE, 1993) because it has multidimensional phenomenon. These political, social, and economical dimensions differ from society to society, therefore, both integration concept and policies should examine in its own conditions.

The aims and benefits of integration are grouped under four headings by Karl Deutsch: maintaining peace, achieve greater multi-purpose capacities, to perform certain specific tasks and to gain a new image and identity (DEUTSCH, 1964). Today, the criteria that determine the integration possibilities can be listed as follows: Geographical proximity (the integration between communities of closest countries is easier), similarity (the convergence of locals and migrants with a lot of common points is easier than the ones with a lot of differences; for example, the similarity in social indicators like religion), the interaction (the intensity of relationships between individuals and societies facilitates integration), the closeness of the mind (the similarity of knowledge and understanding of locals and migrants plays an important role), old migration experiences (old experience contributes to further integration of society) (KURU, n.d). When analyzing the integration between locals and migrants, cultural homogeneity, economic conditions, geographical proximity, identity partnership must be considered.

Another important element is the presence of an elite layer within the local country that supports integration between locals and migrants. In countries with low levels of education, as the political and administrative infrastructure is not developed, the integration becomes more difficult (PFALZTZGRAFF, 1981).

Integration is a two-sided process. A good and efficient integration policy aims to make familiarize both host community to migrant community and migrant community to host community. Also, it aims to provide a society in which both sides live in peace and harmony. If migrant communities are nor successfully integrated to host communities, then some negative consequences occur in those societies such as isolation, ghettoization, breaking out of social reality/ staying out of social reality, social tensions and conflicts. After migration, migrants who do not know the political and social structure, culture, public understanding, the ways of accessing public services, job ethics, the ways and methods of acquiring a profession, developing skills, getting education and finding a job of host country and who deprived of access to resources in this area cannot develop healthy ties with the new society. Therefore, successful and healthy integration process has great benefits and important for immigrant receiving societies in terms of preventing potential tension and conflict, solving existing social conflict and providing opportunities for both the immigrant community and the host community.

As mentioned in above, western countries had faced with massive number of migrants who applied to them. Unfortunately, because of the war, seeking better life conditions or any other reasons that causes to leave their countries for migrants, leads to a lot of difficulties for those migrants in terms of integration such as language barrier, losing identity cards, not proving education level because of losing diplomas etc. Also, suddenly moving another country as a necessity may causes culture shocks to migrants. Therefore, to understand these difficulties that mentioned above is very important for the process of integration policies.

Besides the difficulties that migrants had faced, the term of integration is also a problematic concept in terms of policy making process. The problem of the term of integration has evoked assimilation rather than integration. The assimilation policy is a policy aimed at increasing the similarity of different ethnic and cultural groups both in terms of social, economic and cultural aspects and eventually eliminating differences. Such policies aim to create a homogeneous society. In assimilation policies, migrants are expected to accept behaviors, values and judgments that are unique to the modern city from one side and it is desired to leave behind the habits and traditions inherent in the "backward society" from the other side (Krupat, 1985). The concept of assimilation is used here as equivalent to the concept of integration

and the concept of integration means that a population group is fully integrated with another population group or with the whole population. Krupat divides the problem of integration into two as adaptation and articulation. According to this, integration is the convergence of one of the two societies that differ in quality from one another to the other. Articulation, on the other hand, expresses the synthesis that different parts of the arrived city have formed together. Despite the fact that new culture which refugees faced is the main element in this new composition, the cultural, ideological and economic elements brought by the migrants continue to exist.

Participation, tolerance, integration with immigrants, ecology, societies and intergroup dialogue are indispensable basic elements of the 21st century city (Briggs, 2004). In this sense, the problem of integration with the new culture/arrived country describes an integration of different groups forming a society rather than a necessary transformation. The process of integration with the arrived country is a process in which the immigrants gather meaningful contributions to the new life without the need of abandoning their own values, behaviors and judgments. Also, the problem of integration of immigrants is directly related to arriving country and it requires active participation of organizations and many institutions which are active in social and political areas of arrived country. Social and economic regulations, health and education services, increasing employment opportunities, the foundations of healthy housing areas are the cornerstones for a comprehensive adaptation of the immigrant population. (Kaya, 2007) Especially the fact that immigrants' education plays a vital role in the thin line between exclusion and adaptation in terms of being a part of the city they live in (THIEME, 1996). In other words, as a result of migration, the search for identity such as ethnic identity, religious identity, and female identity is increasing. Migrations between countries bring about problems of adaptation, delay of the development of sense of belonging, political formation, cultural change and harmony. The situation of immigrant workers in Western countries especially in Germany is a good example of the process of assimilation and integration. Besides Germany, as it will be mentioned detailed in next chapters also in Turkey, there are very few steps taken on the issue of migrant workers because they are considered as temporary guests and most of the time, neither side perceived them as part of the community they lived in. After a while, spatial and cultural diversification became more visible. Therefore,

it will be more accurate to talk about the incomplete maturation of indigenous culturally immigrants than a cross-cultural settlement (PENNINX, 2008).

2.3.1. Integration Models

Understanding integration models is significant to examine Turkey's integration policies on migrants. Integration policies for immigrants can be divided into three different models: the assimilationist model, the multicultural liberal model and the integration model (Moreno, 2006). Although, assimilationist approaches claim that their aim is to achieve equality, in reality they express to quest for justifying intellectual and moral aspects of the dominant character of identity and culture. In general, assimilation theories presume that members of minority groups comply with dominant values and give up their own minority group identity (Verkuyten, 2010). Assimilationist perspective is an approach that does not address issues of recognition, acceptance and supporting of differences. The assimilationist approach was the basic background of the policies pursued by the states towards linguistic, religious, ethnic and cultural differences until the 1960s. According to assimilationist perspective, the process of acculturation has been considered in terms of the adoption of the values, norms and behaviors of the new society by renouncing the original cultures of the immigrants. In assimilationist model, immigrants carrying on their language, religion and culture have been seen as a threat to social cohesion (Castles S. , 2007). and this model emphasizes that migrants should be assimilated for the continuation of their social harmony. In sum, the assimilation model, in terms of the theories of democracy, suggests an asymmetry between communities and an approach dominated by a certain vertical hierarchy. In this context, the minority group is located at a lower point of the hierarchy. In this respect, assimilation can be understood as the institutionalized form of the domination of the majority.

Secondly, multicultural liberal model can be explained by examining its different approaches. In general, liberals merge on the basis of defending the survival of different cultures with their differences. However, they differ in their approach to the relations between individual and group rights and the state in this context. In this respect, there are different tendencies among the liberals in the approach to multiculturalism and policies of multicultural model. Classical liberals outlined that multiculturalism regard identity politics as a threat to liberal equality and argue that

the state's emphasis on group rights is unnecessary. Kukathas states that the state should adopt political neutrality instead of ''cultural engineering" or "cultural integration "policies for minority groups (Kukathas, 1992,b). This is only possible through the provision of individual rights, not by group rights. Because the role of a liberal state is to ensure security and to prevent damage to individual rights. State granting special rights to minorities means that the state is out of neutral position against individuals. In contrast, egalitarian liberals or modern liberals, in essence, favorably approach different groups and support multiculturalist policies. In short, we can say that the libertarian policy supports the weak multiculturalist policies and modern multilateralism policies.[3] One of the most important points of the advocates of the multicultural liberal model is that it is not the people's choice to be a minority group (Appiah, 2005). Thus, there is an inequality that people do not choose, which they are exposed to. Due to this disadvantage, individuals belonging to minority groups cannot exercise their rights and freedoms as they wish. For this reason, it is essential for modern multicultural liberals to compensate these inequalities and give their rights to disadvantaged groups.[4] The advocates of multicultural liberal model state that the elimination of the laws that maintain inequalities and perhaps the granting of additional group rights to minority groups. For example, in a country where the majority language is dominant, these groups must be given the right to education in their own language. According to Kymlicka, immigrants are minorities in the multi-ethnic states category and they consent to adaptation.[5]

Integration model, in contrast to assimilation, instead of inductive interventions on specific structural conditions and observed results; suggest a deductive model that includes the characteristics of the sending and receiving states, specific conditions on

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[3] The weak multiculturalist policies recognize cultural differences in the private sphere. In the private sphere, there is no problem for migrants to protect and maintain their own culture. But it is expected to adopt the norms of the dominant society in public spaces such as law, government, education, market. Differences are recognized, but group rights are not guaranteed (Vertovec, 2001: 6). In strong multiculturalism, it is essential to recognize culturally different groups as strong, formal and constitutional (Shachar, 1999: 89).

[4] Not all modern liberals support multiculturalist policies or the granting of group rights to minorities. For example, Brian Barry opposes multiculturalist policies.

[5] Kymlicka sees immigrant groups within ethnic groups. In addition, Kymlicka emphasizes that immigrants migrate voluntarily and wishes to integrate into society and culture, where they are generally guests. It also adds that migrants want to continue to have some important aspects of their culture that they don't want to forget. (Kymlicka, 1995)

ethnic groups, individual migrants and their relations. this model has laid down the minimum requirements of the necessary conditions for integration or the cultural, legal and political articulation of the host community. The aim of integration model is to bring the migrants to equal status in the opportunities of education, work, health and welfare state and to prevent the exclusion of migrants from the dominant society's institutions. In other words, integration model which encourages policies that guarantee equal opportunities and enable citizens of different cultural groups to live in mutual tolerance. According to this model, all components of the society must be able to live in their cultural identity in private territories and at the same time be regarded as free and equal citizens. Cultural minorities are thus able to integrate into the public territory into a unitary national culture and have opportunity to express their cultural identity in their private sphere.

Hartmurt Esser states that each theory of integration now has three distinct but interdependent elements. The first is the social integration of immigrants as individual actors within a system. The second is the emergence of certain social structures among migrants as a result of social differentiation and social inequality. Third, it is about the social integration of the whole society based on specific structural divisions and conflicts. Third, it is about the social integration of the whole society based on specific structural divisions and conflicts (Esser, 2004). This means that the focus is not only on the integration of migrants in the country of immigration, their position in the economic structure and their compliance with the legal system. Since it is seen that the social integration of immigrants with the integration of the system they live in without knowing the language of the society they are in or without adapting with local culture and traditions is also very important. According to Andrew M. Greeley, who argues that effacing of ethnic differences is impossible but integration can be mentioned, expresses that process of integration has basically six different steps (Greely, 1971). Andrew said that there is a transition from the cultural stage of shock, which is the first stage where the immigrant group feels its culture in danger to the second stage is where the consciousness of identity and ethnic pride are intense and migrants know languages and have more skilled jobs. In the third stage, the assimilation of skilled migrants takes place. In the fourth phase, which is the militancy stage, immigrant groups live in the middle or upper class claim that if they need, they will manage the city they live in as they wish. After this stage of the possibility of

ethnic conflict, there comes the fifth stage where the members of the group are professionalized and integrated into the foreign community. These people who are alienated from themselves start integration in the sixth and final stage. Another aspect about stages of integration argued by Field. According to him, process of integration includes three different steps. The first one is the legal measure which is important to understand this study. The immigrant has the same legal rights with residences of host country. Second one is the economic scale and it is about those immigrants having a job to provide a sustainable future for himself and his family, and the opportunities to meet the cost of living in accordance with the standards of the host country where he lives. The final criterion is the cultural and social scale which is about that immigrants have to contribute to the existing cultural and social structure by expressing themselves, establishing social and cultural ties with the country in which they live, without fear of discrimination (FIELDEN, 2008). Integration model is important for the field of this subject since Turkey's educational policies on migrants are made based on it.

Moreover, as an external actor on policy making process for migrants, the European Union published a document about basic principles for integration process to guide the member states of the union (Council of the European Union, 19 November 2004) and according to the document "General Basic Principles for the European Union Immigration Integration Policies". Firstly, integration process is a dynamic, long-lasting process that requires cooperation from both sides (citizens of the country of origin and immigration) and social, cultural, economic and political opportunities should be created for immigration adjustment. Second one is that immigrants should learn to understand the language, customs and traditions of the host country. Another one is that having a job is the key to the integration process and the inclusion of the immigrant into the social system and vocational courses in business should be opened and new employment areas should also be created. Moreover, education is as important as having job and necessary both for increasing the personal qualities of migrants and for understanding and learning about the society in which they live. Especially for young people and children, education is an important socializer in the collective harmony of the individual. Fourthly, immigrants should not have difficulty in accessing public services and for them health, accessing to education services, housing, social security are important public services. Immigrants should be

included in all decision-making processes, including voting in the community they live in. Another one is that educational activities should be held about the existence of different cultures in society and communication channels should be opened between immigrants and residents. Lastly, integration process of immigrants requires joint efforts of global, regional, national and local administrations. They are all complementary. Particularly in the local sense, the integration of immigrants plays an important role in the success of the adopting to new society. The principles outlined above actually give clues to an ideal adaptation process.

In addition to these principles, The Stockholm Program can be briefly reviewed to understand the current institutional framework for European Union integration policies (THE STOCKHOLM PROGRAMME, 2010). It is clearly stated in the program that the integration process can be embodied not only by national, regional or local authorities, but by the efforts of both the host society and immigrants (THE STOCKHOLM PROGRAMME, 2010). A good integration process involves many different variables. It is not as difficult as it is supposed that immigrants become needy, community-living, socially and culturally incompatible individuals. Policies to be prepared for immigrants should be very careful due to unexpected problems. Educational method of migrants, for example, placing migrants' children in the same class as divided local students, spatially separates them instead of integrating them that makes the process of social cohesion difficult (MCHUGH, 2014).

2.4 Migration and Children

Children are a new and important group among immigrants. From the 2000s onwards, the issue of migrant children has been included in the debate on migration. The issue of migrant children has to be taken seriously at the intersection of national child policy and immigration policies since, being a member of a new country, besides many difficulties, also brings about the differences in language, religion, race, ethnicity and culture. For example, while immigrant children are obliged to maintain the cultural values of the family they live in, primarily within the family, on the one hand, the immigrant children face an obligation to establish a balance between the cultural values they have taken in the family and the society in which they live.

On the other hand, according to Gümüş, immigrant children face serious difficulties in adapting both to their parents' expectations and to their peer groups in

the host society (Gümüş, 1997). In the most concrete way, this is manifested in the difference between the language used in daily life and the language used within the immigrant family. Moreover, according to Berry and Sam, the most common problems in migrating children are; behavioral disorder, self-conflict, low self-perception, language problems (BERRY, 195). These are important and significant type of disadvantage for immigrant children especially in the education system (Gümüş, 1997).

In addition to living environment, individual itself also changes as a result of migration (Griswold, 2009). More sensitive policies should be developed especially for refugee children because in addition to those difficulties mentioned about, the vast majority of refugee children, unlike other children, are struggling with the many problems of coming from a war environment, displacement and living in foreign environment. Social injustice, lack of sense of belonging, alienation, exclusion, differences between old and new living conditions of refuge children can lead to developmental disorders and damage in many aspects of the internal world of refugee children. For those children, taking part in the irregular migration process means not being able to benefit from many basic social services such as education and health services (Topçuoğlu, 2012).

Moreover, immigrant children may be exposed to many spatial, psycho-social and economic risks due to their alienation from society and socio-economic impossibilities. As a result of socio-economic impossibilities, today, child labor is not only a problem that threatens only the poor families, but also as a vortex involving immigrant children. That is, increasing numbers of child labor is also a result of forced and irregular migration. Receiving a country without long term life plan lead to economic problems in refugee families. Therefore, generally, children forced to work by their parents. Unfortunately, working children may face various risks including malnutrition, various accidents, violence and street life or crime. Besides those risks affecting the health of children, child labor significantly hinders their participation in education because all of those risks have directly negative impact on those children's development.

To sum up, unfortunately, even its forced or not migration has negative effects on a child's developmental process. For example, right to education which is defined as

a fundamental right in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and is very important in developmental process of a child is interrupted because of migration. These negative effects put immigrant children in disadvantaged position in host society. This disadvantages which the immigrant children face at an early age, often continues in adulthood. It should be considered as the main starting point for the immigrant child's integration to the host community. Understanding this negative relation mentioned above, its reasons and consequences are very important not only to analyze existing policies on education of immigrant children but also to develop new and effective policies on it.

2.5 Migration and Education

The phenomenon of migration has many consequences such as social, psychological, cultural, economic and social. Cultural consequences are generally related to social acceptance and adaptation processes. The time to adaptation of the immigrants to the new social environment varies with individual differences. Especially child migrants are more affected by these processes. Although, children are seen as passive actors of the process, they are most affected by the decision of migration (Giani, 2006). In other words, immigrant children are faced with many challenges to be included in the social structure of the society and the education system they migrate.

As in all societies, children are the most vulnerable and at the highest risk group of the immigrant community. During the migration process, children are at risk of being excluded from education because of different reasons such as language barrier, child labor because of economic impossibilities, post war traumas, participation in crime etc. (Watkins, 2014). Unfortunately, those children who excluded education called as 'lost generation'[6].

Many problems, such as employment, housing, health, education, alienation, and culture shock, which emerge along with migration, are also reflected in the children of migrant families. It is not an easy issue for children to cope with such problems

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[6]Especially after 2011 Syrian Civil War, the term of 'lost generation' gained importance and there are a lot of agencies and policies to overcome this international problem. You can find more information at http://nolostgeneration.org/.

(Güzel, 2013). Receiving states should provide migrants' needs in accordance to their problems emerges along with migration.

Education is very important and key point to solve some of those problems because even learning the language is possible with education. Therefore, education is also required to be provided to immigrants and defined as one of the most basic needs for individual development of immigrants and adaptation to the receiving-country they migrate and to benefit from social, cultural and economic life opportunities (J. Crisp, 2001). Also, as required by international conventions, states are obliged to educate immigrants on their territories in language, history, nationality, as well as to provide education to their citizens.

It is important that immigrant children can have a healthy childhood and participate as healthy individuals in the community at later ages. In order to achieve this, the receiving states protect children's basic rights on the one hand, and on the other hand, they provide access to basic rights for these children and facilitate access to these rights. In addition, they develop policies and practices related to migrant children's social integration. Schools are the most suitable areas to do that. Since, schools for migrant children are not only places where they provide academic development, but also where socialization, integration and security are met. In addition, schools are considered as places where the host community can live together with people from different cultures and interact with immigrants. Not only for the immigrant students, but also for the parents, the school environment is suitable for integration with the host community.

Therefore, while schooling is considered as a basic need in many respects in the related studies, it is stated that the education process affects all children and migrants (Emin M., 2018). Moreover, it is stated that education has an important role in reducing attitudes towards discrimination, prejudice, intolerance and attitude towards immigrants (Baker, 2001).

The relationship between migrant and receiving country is two sided because while migrants are affected by migrated country' they also affect those policies. Moreover, migrants affect not only policy making process but also receiving countries economy. According to Rumbaut, the host country is influenced by the nature of the immigrants both socially and economically (Rumbaut R. , 1997). In this sense, the

impact of immigrant education on the economy of the migrated country is very important. A qualified education for migrants returns to the country as more profit than costs and takes its place in the national economy as a skilled workforce. For this reason, education expenditures for migrants can be considered as an investment for the host country.

As a matter of fact, in countries exposed to international migration, many educational policies have been put in place especially for migrant children to adapt to society. These policies and practices are extremely important for immigrants' integration into the society.   Also, these policies are important for the host country in terms of immigrants' effect on country. Therefore, understanding and evaluating educational policies on immigrants is a significant issue, given the importance of education for immigrants.

2.6 Education Policy Making Concerning Immigrants

In order to analyze and evaluate the education policies for immigrants in Turkey, it is also necessary to understand the meaning of policy and policymaking, and the context for developing education policies, including the main actors involved. Thus, this section aims to provide an overview of policy making in general and education policies in particular.

2.6.1. Public Policy Making

There is no single accepted definition of policy phenomenon. Jenkins defines policy as a set of related decisions taken by a political actor or a group of actors concerning the choosing of objectives and the methods for accomplishing them within specific circumstance where these choices should, in principle, be within the intensity of actors to accomplish (Jenkins., 1997). All policies aim is to solve a public problem which is defined in governmental agenda. Lipson argues that politics is in a sense useful and necessary in understanding community problems and providing them with the right solutions (Lipson, 1989). Therefore, policies emerge as a response of political-administrative system to a social problem. It is more accurate to understand that public policy is a process involving the adoption of a series of decisions in the fields of activity requiring many different areas of expertise such as migration, security, justice, health, education and transportation, and the adoption and

implementation of laws that form the functional form of these decisions. (ÇEVİK, 2012).

The formulation, implementation and evaluation of public policies that are developed to provide solutions to social problems involve a wide range of actors ranging from politicians to international organizations. Policy actors play significant role in policy process. Policy actors could be defined as those who are actively involved in policy process. Some of these actors have the power to make choices for the policy to be   implemented, while others may only affect the choice depending on their status.

There are different types of classification of policy actors because of the extensive numbers of policy actors. Actually, there are two main groups in terms of its classification but these groups named differently by different researchers. For example, Anderson and Fowler classified policy actors as governmental and nongovernmental, Smalwood named them as formal and informal, Simon called them as institutional and noninstitutional actors. Another example is Birkland and Harman's classification. They maned policy actors as official and non- official. All of these groups based on same roots which are the definitions of policy actors by law and their legitimacy. First group, which refers to governmental, formal, institutional and formal policy actors, represents people who works in governmental arena and who have access to resources of government. These people take their power of policy making from law or constitution. In other words, those people have legal authority to contribute policy making thanks to their status in governmental arena (Anderson,2006 & Birkland, 2007). Governmental actors involve mostly people who are elected or appointed officials, high-level bureaucrats, legislatures or institutions like parliament. Second group refers to nongovernmental, informal, noninstitutional or non-official policy actors are from outside of governmental arena. These actors contribute policy making process and they can also affect the process in accordance to their interests. Non-governmental actors involve interest groups, and other public groups such as non-governmental organizations.

There are also international actors which affect policy process. Especially since the end of the 20th century, countries have faced international problems that they cannot solve within themselves such as terror, AIDS, global warming, extreme

immigrant waves. Such problems lead to the co-operation of states. Thus, involvement of international actors in the shaping of national public policies is inevitable.

2.6.2. Education Policy Making

Public policy making is related to how government answer public needs, social problems etc (Adolino, 2001). These needs and problems might be related with any issues about society such as environmental problems, lack of health services. Education is one of the most significant fields of public policy and one of the most discussed topics in the literature in recent years (AScHENBERGER, 2012).

In order to understand what education policy is, it is important to understand what education is. As a basic definition; education is the process of gaining desired behaviors to the individual. In a broad sense, education can be defined as a process that helps the individual to adapt to the values and lifestyles of society. According to Aristotle, education is the way toward preparing man to satisfy his aim by practicing all the faculties to the fullest extent as a member of society. Education is a process and it aims changing the behavior of the individual in the desired direction. UNESCO determines education as '"understood to involve, organized and sustained communication designed to bring about learning' (ISCED, 1997)

Education policy means that determining the goals / objectives that serve individual and social interests in the field of education, thus determining the principles and duties related to this field and revealing the ways to achieve these goals in the most effective way. Moreover, Firestone explains education policy as 'chain of decisions stretching from statehouse to classroom' (Heck, 2008). In other definition, education policy is the collection of laws and rules governing the functioning of education systems, as well as working principles and government policies in the field of education.

Education takes place in many ways through many institutions for many purposes (Godek, 1983). According to Godek, education policy can also refer by what kind of educational facilitates like schools, training centers, are funded and to the mix of funding sources that support the educational programs at all levels. He also argues that educational policy analysis is the scientific examination of educational policy.

Halpin expressed the need for educational policy research to study the scope and character of educational policy and lead to universalizing propensities in educational reform. (Halpin, 1994) The aim of the educational policy analysis is to answer questions about purpose of education, the objectives that are designed to achieve, the methods of achieving them, and the means of measuring their success or failure. (Godek, 1983). Rado expresses that education policy is a public policy field and it flows from the constitutional governance authority and from the political task of using public resources. He also says that the purpose of policy making is change for the sake of problem solving. Rado explains one of the features of educational policy as 'Policy making is essentially an indirect tool; teachers, parents, mayors and so on. works with the changing behavior of others' (Radó, 2010).

As indicated by Harman, public policy in terms of education can be classified into four groups in accordance to its context. Firstly, policies concerned with the basic elements of schools and tertiary establishments which identifies with defining educational program, defining objectives and targets, evaluation, diplomas, registration etc. Second one is concerned with the foundation, structure and administration of the entire education system of parts of it and individual organizations. Third one is policies identified with recruitment, supervision, employment, promotion and compensation of all staff. Last one is identified with provision and distribution of financial resources and the distribution and maintenance of equipment and buildings. (ASCHENBERGER, 2012). Moreover, Yılmaz listed the features of educational policy as '*having national feature, scientific, rational and realistic, continuous, aiming at equal opportunities in education, consistent, being contemporary and being state policy rather than government policy.*' Besides, Heynema argues that educational policies should be based on some principles such as development, morality, discipline planning, being mixed, involving co-operation, increasing quality and being practical (Heyneman, 2003).

According to Bayırbağ (Bayırbağ, 2013) public policies on education are shaped not only by economic crises but also by political crises and are characterized by a set of tensions across levels and branches of government involved in education policy. He argues that a tri-dimensional mechanism determines how post-crisis intervention strategies translate into solid policy programs. These dimensions are listed as the composition of service recipients, the ideational factors and the political bargaining

power of policy implementers. In addition, he stresses the importance of teachers and educators on policy formulation and suggests that they should force policy makers to formulate and adopt new policy alternatives.

According to Yılmaz, the factors that determine the quality of educational policies can be divided into two main groups as national and international factors. Firstly, one of the factors of national education policies is the political structure of the country. Therefore, education policies may vary depending on the education-policy relationship in the country. Another factor is the economic, social and cultural structure of the country. Since, both the objectives and the tools and methods that we consider among the policy elements must be based on the economic, social and cultural conditions of the country. Thus, the objectives and methods included in the national education policy that define the functioning of the national education system must be designed in accordance with the reality of that country. In addition to national circumstances or reality, international political, economic and social changes are another factor that influences the formation of educational policy (Yılmaz B. , 2014). He adds that education policy is defined as a way to achieve the goals set by the ministry to provide education to everyone.

According to Yılmaz, education policy has two main goals. First one is general goals like transmission, creating personality renewal of culture, providing job opportunities, and maintenance. Second one is individual goals like providing learning, ability of research. Then, he says, education policy is a roadmap that needs to be followed to achieve these goals (Yılmaz, 2014, p.30-31). Oktay summarizes the general elements that will affect the structure and change of educational policies in the current century as globalization, multilingual-cultural societies, lifelong education concept and changes in population structures.[7] Turkey's extreme population increase and multicultural social structure after 2011 extreme immigration flow could be given as an example of Oktay's summarization.

Although there is no consensus in the definition of education policy, Ozga emphasizes that education policy analysis includes the state or government since it is not possible to analyze the education policy concept and education policy analysis

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[7] Oktay,A. (2001) cited in (Yılmaz, 2014)

without considering the government (Ozga, 1990). Similarly, Deem and Brehony highlight the importance of the role of government in the educational policy-making process, which includes the formulation, implementation and analysis sections (Deem & Brehony, 2000). However, education policy is a public arena in which not only the government but also numerous groups participate for their interests to impact educational policies.

As mentioned above, education policy is relatively new area and it is too comprehensive it is quite difficult to define it. Education policy is a complex field to study and a complex term to define because of variety of its fragments such as policy making process, policy actors, relationship with NGOs and government. Therefore, it is important to understand these fragments to analyze it.

2.6.3. Immigrant Education Policy Making

From early childhood to post-secondary education, migrants and their children face unique challenges and barriers to education and access to college compared to their birth-age peers. Therefore, receiving countries develop policies to overcome these immigrants' problems in terms of education. According to educational polices are as important as social and employment policies in terms of constructing integrated society (Paper, 2016).

OECD expresses that there are eight basic characteristics that immigrant education policy should have. According to, Francesca Borgonovi who is Senior Analyst of OECD Directorate for Education and Skill, an integrative education policy should 'consider the heterogeneity of immigrant populations**,** develop approaches to promote the overall well-being of immigrants**,** address the unique needs of refugee students, ensure that motivation becomes a key asset for immigrant communities, provide comprehensive language support **,** organize resources to reduce the influence of socio-economic status, build teachers' capacity to deal with diversity and break down barriers to social cohesion and ensure effective service delivery (Borgonovi, 2019).

Taylor and Sidhu argue the need of public polices in terms of education for refugee children and they add that there are lack of research and contributions on policies of immigrant education (Taylor and Sindhu, 2011, p.42). They also mentioned that immigrant children need to be targeted with specific policies because these children

need to educational social and emotional support (Taylor and Sindhu, 2011, p.43-44). Moreover, Rutter criticized the focus on special needs of immigrant children's such as refugees and asylum seekers in terms of education. He believes that policy makers and educational professionals should pay attention to post traumatic experiences of those children to provide more beneficial education services (Rutter, 2006). Arnot and Pinson's research on the school practices and policies in the education of refugee and asylum seeker children explains the importance of holistic focus and empirical grounding for an effective immigrant education policy (Arnot, 2005). According to Hek, an immigrant education policy focuses importance of support teachers because a good welcome and instruction from who have similar linguistic and cultural background with immigrant students would be beneficial for these children (Hek, 2005). Similarly, Essomba expresses the significance of mentoring refugee children by trained educators. According to him, it is very helpful tool for immigrant children because language assistance, understanding and empathy are appreciated by them (Essomba, 2017).

In addition to these researches, there are some researchers claim that resettlement countries should focus on mainly language barrier, stereotyping in school setting, discrimination between students because of cultural misunderstanding (Keddie, 2012), According to Lăzăroiu, developing educational infrastructure in camps, urban and rural areas is important to increase access to formal and non-formal education of immigrant children but without accreditation and validation of qualifications, opportunities for progression in further education or recruitment can be reduced and students cannot be expected to enroll. He also advised government officials need to change systems to make a more useful education policy for young Syrians and pass formal certification (Lăzăroiu, 2015). In addition, as many researches show an effective educational policy should be also required parent participation. Students, especially immigrant students, tend to be better learners when their parents are engaged in schools. However, immigrant students' parents tend to involve in their children's schooling because of different reasons like their economic and social disadvantaged situations. Therefore, immigrant educational policies should provide a guidance and additional support for those disadvantaged parents (Building Bridges in Divided Societies Position Paper, 2016).

2.6.4. Existing Research on Immigrant Education Policies

Since it is a universal issue, education policy making is an area studied all over the world. Researchers approach this topic in different aspects. Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard and Henry explain the reasons of injustice between school-aged children in Australia and what government did to overcome it. They argue that Australian government find a solution to overcome problems in educational system caused by migrants which forms %25 percentage of countries population. In 1970s, *multiculturalism* emerged as a solution to the serious problem of ethnic unrest in economic and social arena. Multiculturalism is needed because in schools, children should not be structured around their linguistic or cultural deficit. Also, thanks to multicultural education applied in schools, children utilize from it also their lives outside the classroom. As mentioned in their book, culture and ethnicity is something good and should preserved, multicultural education which supported with anti-racism policies aims to ensure that student from different backgrounds maintain their cultural heritage (Building Bridges in Divided Societies Position Paper, 2016, p.144).

However, unfortunately, writers mentioned that Australia's multicultural education policy is failure because of some different reasons such as the problems concerning the lack of in-service programmes and poor teacher education. In addition, that said that the formulation of policy is problematic. Multicultural education policy stated in only a general way because there is no compulsory system- wide changes or legislation about it (Building Bridges in Divided Societies Position Paper, 2016,p. 157). In addition, there was a creation of unified national system of higher education in Australia in the late 1980s. Writers argue that these educational policies needed organizational development which based giving every opportunity to workers in order to internalize the nature of organizational changes required by policy shifts. They also stressed that policies cannot be produced by government alone but in policy development process government legislation, other policies and programmes have significant roles (Building Bridges in Divided Societies Position Paper, 2016, p.174).

Grindle and Ben- Peretz are other researchers who studied on educational policy-making process. The study of Grindle and Ben-Peretz focused on the educational policies in Latin America and Israel. Both of the researchers examine the policy making processes in these countries. The study of Grindle examines the relationship

between policy-making process and politics, economy, timing and power. According to researchers, policies are made in the light of the policy cycle steps such as implementation, agenda setting in which several actors including political parties, bureaucracies, local government actors like municipalities. In addition to these official actors, interest groups such as teacher unions and media are also involved in the policy making process. Besides official and unofficial actors, economic and political factors have role and impact on the policymaking process in Latin America (Ben-Peretz, 1995). Similarly, policy making process formed by the steps of agenda-setting, design and implementation phases in Israel policy making system and official and unofficial actors are effective on the process in Israel too. As a common feature of policies in both countries, power and ideologies of government are the most effective factors on policy making.

According to one of the UNCHR's report in July 2014 called *Syrian Refugees in Europe,* countries in Europe have several policies for the education of immigrants, especially for the Syrian refugees who forced left their countries because of Syrian civil war after 2011. It is also mentioned in this report that there is high rate of Syrian students who could not continue their education because of their displacement. European countries have been providing chances for children and youth to carry on their education. For example, German government have extended residence permits for Syrian refugees who were studying in Germany. In Sweden, there is an institute called as The Swedish Institute. 15 Syrian students who are at the Master level had given a year scholarship by this institute for the academic years 2014/15 and 2015/16. Also, these 15 students granted temporary residence permits for the duration of the studies. Another educational policy example for forced immigrants is mentioned in the report is that 42 Syrian university students accepted to finish their studies under the Global Platform for Academic Emergency Assistance by Portugal government to Similarly, these Syrian immigrants in Portuguese also granted temporary residence permit for one year as renewable. As we can see European countries have also gave attention immigrants who are at higher education level (UNCHR, 2014).

The report submitted to European Commission by NESSE experts shows the conditions of refugees in Europe and analyze the current educational policies for immigrant students (NESSE, 2008) 'Segregation' is one of the critical focus of the report. Researchers took attention to affect of segregation on migrant children's

success in schools in Europe. According to report, teacher qualification and expectations from immigrant students, stereotypes, discrimination in society as a barrier to integration are other factors which affect immigrant children's success in schools. The report suggests raising the opportunities of migrant children in education by policies, programmes in the light of negative factors mentioned above. Teacher and student relationship another focus of the report (NESSE, 2008, p.50). According to researchers, e-learning education and theater education policies could be helpful to overcome lack of relationship between teachers and immigrant students because of the language barrier). In addition, importance of organizing educational support structures within schools, learning and homework centers for immigrant students is also explained by giving examples (NESSE, 2008, p.52). As mentioned in the report, integration is one of the key points of educational success of immigrant children. In order to provide integration, support activities also play role. For example, participation of pupils in support activities could be beneficial. Lastly, report stresses the importance of desegregation policies through bussing, housing policies like promoting gentrification on the educational success of immigrant students (NESSE, 2008, p.55-58).

According to Migration Policy Institute's report called *Coordinating Immigrant Integration in Germany*, in Germany education system differs because of its federal system and every state has its own education policies. Thus, regulations on refugee children's education depends on the education policies of the different states and in all of them access to school is possible for refugee children. Also, he mentioned that educational policies differ from status to status of immigrants. For example, tolerated refugee children have some restrictions, they have right of education but its restricted with only 3 months. This is the result of different policies applied on tolerated refugees in different states (BENDEL, 2014). According to Bendel who is the writer of report, in addition, Germany gives huge importance to language classes and sees language as the first step of integration. Immigrant teachers also hired in these courses in order to provide much easier teacher- student relations. She adds that Germany's federal government has doubled its budget for language courses to €559m in 2016, which is enough to send about 300,000 refugees — a quarter of the total — on the 660-hour course that is meant to equip them with the certificates needed to work and a basic understanding of German society (BENDEL, 2014, p. 5-6,12). In her report Bendel

also mentioned about educational policies called various systems (übergangssysteme) which does not give students diplomas but provide qualified knowledge and skills for the job market (BENDEL, 2014, p.12).

On the other hand, in the study carried out in four European countries (England, Netherlands, Germany and France) with the starting point of Turkish students in secondary education, it is revealed that how the immigrant students are shaped by the dominant civilian culture of the society they live in. Accordingly, although the aims of general education are similar in all four countries, there are different aspects in practice. Particularly in the research which emphasizes the culturing of students from the point of giving history lessons, the emphasis of German history is given in the history lessons offered by the Germans to the students instead of world history. Similarly, German textbooks do not state that Germany is an immigrant country, which is interpreted as a sign of the dominance of their political culture. It is important to policies developed in the education of immigrants. Unfortunately, this point of view may cause segregations in schools because students should be educated with the awareness of other cultures. In the educational model, Germany is reflected as the country of the Germans, while France is reflected as the country of the citizenship of the republic. In addition, it is seen that immigration is linked to multiculturalism in the Netherlands and Britain and immigration and multiculturalism are addressed as special civil society issues in the textbooks (SUNIER, 2000, p.305-329). As we can see, it is important to separate integration and assimilation policies in terms of education.

Essomba analyzes *The right to education of children and youngsters from refugee families in Europe* in his article. He took attention the difference between the educational policies on economic immigrants and refugees and asylum seekers which emerged from their migration conditions These conditions like being post traumatic, not bringing the evidence of education level such as diploma and interrupted education process because of the forced migration. Essomba summarizes those conditions under five category as demographic, sociological, psychological, economic and training and legal factors. He clarifies the importance of these 5 categories not only in policy making process but also policy analyze process. Since he believes that these factors also the reasons behind the failure on educational policies on immigrants (SUNIER, 2000, 209-2016).

Similar to Essomba, Schwartz and Gorman mentioned about traumatic experiences refugee children faced has a negative effect on the success of educational policies developed for them. They explain this thesis with their study in Los Angeles area. They studied on primary school aged children in that area and observe that there is a community violence exposure against immigrant children and it has negative effect on academic performance of immigrants. Also, it causes depressive tendencies and disruptive behavior among immigrant students and those students are more likely to be victim of bullying (Schwartz, 2003). In addition to Essomba there are other researchers who argues that trauma has a significant factor on failure in education. According to Dyregrov, the effects of trauma on performance in school seem to be most significant on those classes needing high levels of concentration such as grammar in language classes, mathematics and physics (Dyregrov, 2004). In other words, there seems to be a positive relationship between the brutality of trauma and size of school performance damage (Saltzman, 2001).

Philippa Strum and David Biette expresses the importance of education policies in terms of refugee children by giving examples from Canada and Unites State in their report called *Education and Immigrant Integration in the United States and Canada* published by Migration Policy Institution (Biette, 2005). According to them, policies on education contributes the speed and qualification of integration process of immigrants. Unites States develop the No Children Left Behind Act which applied kindergarten through 12th education to integrate immigrant children to American society through education. This Act gave importance newcomer schools in which immigrant children had to learn firstly English, then they could be educated bilingually. For the bilingual education, teacher training very significant. Also, researchers from United States expresses that the economic conditions of immigrant children should be considered during the policy formulation process (Biette, 2005, p.50). Canada has another policy in terms of education of immigrant children. Canadian Coalition for Immigrant Children and Youth is established provide a national policy for the education and integration of immigrant children. Similar with Unites States, they also gave importance to first teach English to immigrant children. The Coalition program involves the establishment of a network of regional committees which will support contribution and path ways to the development of the national education strategy for immigrants (Biette, 2005, p.25). Differently, in Canada

various school boards develop and implement their own education policies for immigrants to increase the awareness of English as a Second Language (ESL) programs. In addition, besides the immigrant education policies Canadian researchers stresses the importance of complementary social policies like adequate health services, social assistance for success of immigrant children in schools (Biette, 2005, p.33).

Another study on immigrant education policy is *Education policy responses for the inclusion of migrant children in Europe* by Barbara Janta and Emma Harte. They expressed the disadvantages of immigrant children and their effects on children's education. Then, they classify some educational policies of European countries on immigrant children, finally they suggest some solutions to make better current polices (Harte, 2016). Janta and Harte lists challenges faced by immigrant children as educational attainment, command of the local language, social isolation and educational disadvantage and early school leaving. Writers mentioned about are several studies to overcome those challenges and to facilitate inclusion of immigrant children (Harte, 2016, p.12-15). One of them is Nuche's study which organizes a framework for education police of immigrants in three levels which are the system, school and individual. In, system level policies have structural features of education systems such as selection mechanisms, school choice and resource inequalities. The second level involves the school policies which shape school and classroom environments such as school organization, teacher expectations. The policies in the last level focus on individual student characteristics relate to issues such as language proficiency and socio-economic conditions (Harte, 2016,p. 20). According to Janta and Harte a various policy is needed to provide beneficial education policies in terms of immigrants. For example, they classify the educational polices on immigrant students as; strategies for learning together, policies supporting transition from education into the labour market, policies focusing on teachers, teaching and school governance, policies focusing on migrant children and wider policies supporting migrant children (Harte, 2016, p.22-31). These policies involve providing instruction in the host language, creating and sustaining relationships with migrant children's parents, providing more resources to schools with high numbers of immigrants to let them to be flexible to students' needs, confirming access to Early Childhood Education and Care.

Moreover, Rachel Hek studied the *role of education in the settlement of young refugees in UK*. In her study, she summarizes the important factors, which help refugee children to settle through education as home-school liaison, support teachers, learning English, promotion of first language, emotional support, whole-school attitude and good welcome (Hek, 2005). After examining those factors, she specifically stresses the issue of education for refugee children which requires to ensure that satisfactory funding. According to her, adequate funding should be provided for language support teaching. Lastly, she suggests that the attainment of refugee children is adequately monitored to ensure settlement of refugee children and their families in UK. She says that the role of school in the lives of young refugees need to be considered by social work practitioners. UK. Government should arrange individually applicable education packages and act as a liaison point to endorse the best possible outcome for the immigrant children and young people. (Hek R., 2005, p.169).

Yılmaz's study shows that there are important relationships between pre-migration traumatic experiences and post-migration stress factors and psychological well-being of refugees. Also, she stated that refugees had higher mental health problems than other immigrants and reported distressing feelings about post-migration stress. Therefore, she mentioned that it is important to understand the factors that complicate and facilitate the adaptation process of Syrian refugees in Turkey. She says that there is not enough information about the refugees' integration process to the new environment and the ways and resources it uses to adapt. According to her understanding these factors is important to reveal the factors that make the integration process easier and difficult for refugees and to develop appropriate intervention policies. After some interviews with 7 Syrian immigrants live in Ankara, she suggests policies involves that the provision of mechanisms to help immigrants to cope with their psychological problems after meeting basic needs and the knowledge by professionals. According to the results of Yılmaz's study, knowing or learning the language of the host country is an important part of the integration process and language has emerged as one of the most common barriers affect in integration processes during the resettlement processes of the immigrants (YILMAZ, 2018).

There are also some examples about the educational policies on immigrants who seek temporary asylum (Francis, 1991). One of them is Preston's study. He considers

the language as a principal theme for all the asylum seeker education studies and language courses are places that prepare immigrants to host country's culture and life. Also, he believes that those courses are also important on the success of immigrant students in schools after language courses. According to him, unlike primary schools, provision of secondary school by host countries is not extensive. Instead of secondary schools, vocational education is seen as an educational policy of host countries. Vocational schools seen as post-primary instruction for immigrants. He also mentioned that there are only a few examples of provision of secondary schools for asylum seekers and it happens only in the case of individual application. Here, we can understand from what Preston said that, there were no government policies for secondary education for temporary immigrants Therefore, as he stated, lack of education causes difficulties on accessing to employment and other facilities. As a result of it, the location of asylum seekers below the lowest levels of national status-hierarchies. Another critical point of his study is the difference between educational policies on immigrants in accordance to their country of origin and settlement period like in Swaziland (Francis, 1991, p.71). In conclusion of his study, he stresses the need for studies on the delivery of educational assistance to asylum seekers and its effects. According to Preston, such studies should aim to examine and compare the factors that enhance development assistance to different groups of asylum seekers in different categories of settlement. He also adds that such studies should examine attendance, enrolment, achievement and other results of education to different type of immigrant groups (Francis, 1991, p.78).

Besides international studies, there are also studies on education policy in terms of refugees in Turkey, especially after 2011 massive migration flow from Syria to Turkey. Through the literature review, it seen that there is no comprehensive study which includes both primary school level and higher education level. Instead of it, there are a lot of studies which focuses immigrant education policies in different aspects such as policies in refugee camps, problems which Syrian refugee children faced in primary school level etc. Unfortunately, there is only a few studies on polices in terms of immigrants at higher education level. Some of these studies will be examined to serve a better understanding for the policies on immigrants.

First one is Emin's study on the problems Syrian immigrant children faced in public schools. In order to clarify the conditions and problems of Syrian children she

made interviews with Syrian parents, teachers and administrative staff of schools. As a similar with above studies, language barrier is the biggest and most critical problem that causes Syrians' failures in classes and not knowing language has a negative effect on integration process of children. According to Emin because of the language problem, Syrian immigrant children defined as guest or under temporary protection status, can not benefit from the equality in educational opportunities. She also pays attention to relationship between immigrant students and schools b explaining the role of school administrative staff in the process of visa or settlement permission and in the process of receiving institutions which are related with immigrants. Unfortunately, she says that there is no this kind of relationship in Turkey. Prejudice against refugees and lack of teaching skills for migrant students of teachers are other problems which Syrians faced. In conclusion of her study she suggests some policies to cope with problems in terms of process of integration to education of Syrian children in Turkey. According to her, Syrian children needs to an orientation process and to overcome it there should be orientation programs before they begin schools. Both before and after starting education in schools, language courses needed to provide by NGOs, municipalities and schools. The classes aim to train teacher candidates in terms of gaining communication skills with students who came from immigrant background or has different mother tongue than Turkish should be put into schedules of the higher education level students who study on educational sciences. Similar with the Prenston's study, she also suggests that attendance and enrolment of Syrian students should be took consideration (Emin M. N., 2018).

Moreover, Geçer's study named *An Evaluation of The Relationship of Immigration and Education: Education Needs Of The Syrian Refugee Children and Challenges Of Exposed Delays In Schooling Processes* is one of the most comprehensive studies on this topic. In the first part of his study, besides the right to education of Syrian children and their ability to do, the need for education of Syrian children and the need to integration to the new country are involved. Secondly, the studies which aimed to support the access to Syrian children to education processes and the problems underlying the access to education were mentioned. In the last part of this study, difficulties faced by Syrian children in their educational process examined and their solutions are presented with the perspective of school social services. According to him, it is necessary to assess the needs of Syrian children who

are victims of migration and war, their current status and barriers to access to resources and their service mechanisms with their capabilities (capabilities and impossibilities). He stresses that despite many studies to schooling of Syrian immigrant children in Turkey, still in Turkey about 1 million which is 41 per cent of Syrian children of school age could not be included in the educational process. This means that approximately 450,000 Syrian school-age children out of school are at risk from many aspects. He suggests that to re-evaluate the existing educational needs and resources in the provinces where the Syrian population is densely populated. Therefore, according to him, in distribution and service delivery processes, the distribution of the population by regions and cities is required. Thus, he also suggests that especially in provinces where population is dense, classroom needs, classroom capacities, educational materials and technological materials, students' stationery and book requirements should be planned considering the population density. Lastly, he stresses the importance of programs and language courses that can teach Turkish and suggests that these courses should be intensified, culture-sensitive teachers and service personnel who can speak Arabic and Turkish should be employed (Gencer, 2017).

Daoudov believes that local authorities should identify the profile of migrant children within their borders, identify the problems they face and they also should develop solutions. According to him, at the same time, adaptation and cultural education for immigrants should be provided to teachers and students in these public schools. In addition, a system can be developed within the local administrations where immigrant parents are instructors at service points such as information houses (such as teaching local languages, teaching other skills) and allocating quota for migrant children is also mentioned in this chapter. Lastly, Daoudov says that only a small number of children of migrants living irregularly in the city centers have had the chance to go to school. Therefore, the issue of children and education is an issue that requires urgent action (DAOUDOV, 2015).

To sum up, there are many studies on education policy making in all over the world. In Turkey, this topic got attention by researchers especially after 2011 Syrian's massive migration flow to Turkey. Some of the researchers examined the policy making process or some of focused the role of official and unofficial actors and some of them focused policy evaluation process. However, there is no comprehensive study

which analyses Turkey's immigrant educational policy in terms of both primary school level immigrants and higher-education level immigrants. Here, the point I want to emphasis is that in cases where the policy is not clear, we cannot discuss policy making from discussing policy implementation. First, we should ask the question of 'is there a real policy making or is it something pragmatically implemented?' Unfortunately, an area such as immigrant education policy is not very suitable for discussion of the concept of policy making. Especially after 2011, when many immigrants became involved policy process, the policy mechanisms were paralyzed. Therefore, we have not had a chance to see such a study in the literature before.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION AND POLICY DEVELOPMENT IN TURKEY

The phenomenon of migration, which played an important role in shaping the contemporary world has also played an important role in shaping Turkish history. Turkey is one of the most affected countries in terms of migration both in the past and today because Turkey has a location in the heart of the international migration routes and it is positioned as a bridge between Asia, Africa and Europe. This connection of Turkey between lots of immigrant receiving and sending countries makes Turkey extremely impressed by changing migration trends. Thus, during its history, Turkey has been both immigrant receiving and immigrant sending country. These migration movements have shaped social, cultural, economic and political relations in Turkey. This pattern of shaping and remodeling still continues today.

The internal migration was experienced in Turkey with the effects of urbanization and industrialization, especially in the history of the last century. Labor migration to both Germany and other European countries, mainly towards to the west and forced migration flows from countries like Iran Syria, Iraq, Bulgaria, Afghanistan are effective migration movements which shaped Turkish social, cultural, economic and political relations. In other words, Turkey is a very dynamic country in terms of international and internal migration movements during its history. Therefore, it is undeniable that the history of Turks, including the arrival of Turks in Anatolia, is a history of migration.

The history and social structure of the Ottoman Empire and young Turkey are formed by migrations which were time to time mandatory, optional or planned and unplanned. Those migration movements had positive and the negative effects on public policies of Turkey. Therefore, understanding Turkey's history concerning migration is important to analyze its policies on immigrants.

On the other hand, Turkey is an attractive settlement geography to come and settle for Turkish origin or Muslim communities in Ottoman period and today so, it had received migrants throughout its history. As underlined by Kirişçi and Karaca, Turkey is more like an international immigrant receiving country especially in last two decades (Kirişci, 2015). The effects of these migration movements have led to Turkey becoming a country of migration. In short, when we consider the history of Turkey in terms of receiving migration, migration policies that are transforming the country could be gathered under 3 main headings as late 19th century period, early Republic period and post-1980 migration period, including three sub-titles. Understanding migration history of Turkey is very important to examine and understand the public policies of Turkey on immigrants. Since, as we will see below, policies change in accordance to types of immigrants and migration.

3.1 Late 19th Century Period

Today's structure and population of Turkey's the most important time period is Ottoman State period. The Ottoman State began with migration and spread through migration. Even after dismemberment of Ottoman State migrations to Turkey from the old Ottoman lands continues today in various ways. In addition, the impact of migration cannot be denied in the period collapse of the Ottoman Empire to the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. In this period, especially the effect of forced migration is significant. The population of the empire increased with the fall of the Ottoman state and the loss of the land and the immigration of Ottoman subjects to migration of Ottoman people who lived the Ottoman lands in the lost lands. In other words, the Muslim population, which could no longer shelter in the lost lands of the shrinking empire, took refuge in Anatolia in large masses. The migrations in this period are called Balkanization migrations. As in the example of Syrian's migration to Turkey's in recent history, Balkan migrations also fall into the category of both forced migration and external migration in terms of their reasons like war and violence. The population growth with Balkan migrations had happened gradually. As a result of this increase in population, the Ottoman state has implemented a great immigration and resettlement policy for its survival. The multicultural Ottoman state tried to ensure the continuation of the empire by distributing its migrants to various regions of the empire. After Crimean War, in 1857, the Ottoman Empire adopted a large liberal immigration policy which is called Settlement Decree. With this decree,

all the immigrants who want to come to the Ottoman lands will be accepted to the Ottoman state under the resettlement policy, if they accept the sultan's verdict. I mean, people who swear allegiance to the Sultana will be able to come to Ottoman state. Within the scope of this decree, many mass and individual immigrants came to the Ottomans. Especially in the second half of the 19th century, wars around the world but especially the wars around the Anatolian geography caused mass migration flows to Ottoman Empire. These mass migrations have already changed and transformed the political, economic and social structure of the multicultural Ottoman state. As I said before, immigrations during the 'immigration and resettlement policy' of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century is also in the category of forced migration (McCarthy, 1995). Ottoman state developed many different policies against these changes in the its demographic structure. The Ottoman immigration policy was institutionalized after the political modernization seen by 'the Imperial Edict of Gülhane'. This migration policy has many social, military, political, demographic and economic goals.

Particularly after the first half of the 19th century, the expansionist policies of Russia and the increase of the loss of lands from the east, west and north of the Ottoman Empire increased the number of immigrants from the Ottoman Empire. The migration of the Crimean Tatars to the Ottoman lands began with the annexation of the Russians to Crimea in 1783. Tatars were forced to migrate to the region with the beginning of occupation of Russians. For example, an estimated 200,000 Crimean Tatars were emigrated to Ottoman during and after the 1828-1829 Ottoman-Russian War. While the Muslim migration from Crimea was small migrations from 1783 onwards, the Crimean Turks' immigration reached a mass dimensions in 1856 because of accusation of Crimea by the Russians of assisting the Ottoman-British-French soldiers during the Crimean War, the number of Crimean immigrants in Ottoman is estimated at 1-1.2 million. The forced migration of the Crimean Tatars following the Crimean War in 1853 was followed by forced migration movements in Circassians, Abaza, Laz and other Muslims in the Caucasus. It is estimated that there were approximately 5-7 million immigrants who came from the Balkans and Caucasus to Ottoman during this period (Ladas, 1932). In addition, with the 1878 Berlin Treaty, with the independence of Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, the Turks living in the Balkans, especially the Circassians and other Muslims, also migrated to Anatolia. The

Principality of Bulgaria was founded by the Berlin Treaty of 1878 because of that thousands of Turks had to emigrate to Edirne and Anatolia.

In this period, the Ottoman state developed policies to support migration. Sultan Abdülmecit established a 'migration institution' to meet the needs of this immigrant population and to regulate the state's resettlement policy. This institution named 'The Commission of Immigrant' was responsible for wide range of services such as immigrants who come to Ottoman, providing basic needs to immigrants, placing them in new places, providing their needs in the place they are settled and ensuring their social cohesion. This institution also is the only example in the world in its period which took care of the migrants need in such a comprehensive way. The adoption of the 1856 Edict of Reform and the 1869 Citizenship Law, which imply that all Ottoman citizens are equal, is a great innovation affecting the immigrants within the Ottoman Empire (MaCharty, 1993). Although the Ottoman state aimed at ensuring territorial integrity through these innovative and egalitarian policies and the continuity of the state, unfortunately, these policies had the opposite effect on Ottoman state. According to Ladas, one of the most important reasons of it is non-existence of an extensive education system in Ottoman Empire. As it is understood from the above, there was a lack of education system applied to both its citizens and immigrants in Ottoman state. Unfortunately, the Commission of the Immigrant concerned only some of the problems of migrants such as housing and social environment. Thus, there is no education policy for the migrants in 19th century in Ottoman state.

3.2 Early Republican Period

Population movements took place in different periods in the history of the Republic of Turkey. After establishment of Turkish Republic, Muslims and mostly Turkish people who live in the geography of the Ottoman Empire remained outside of the Turkey's nation- state boarders. Those people's migration to Turkey considered as first immigrations in Turkey's history. Turkey had been through excambium period in its early republican times because of those people. There were several population exchanges called excambium between Turkish Republic and some Balkan and Caucasian countries. First population exchange had seen between Ottoman and Greece. Greek people living in Anatolia forced to migrate Greece. This forced migration process to Greece and to Greek islands accelerated due to suspicion of

Ottoman Empire and Turkish citizens on Greek people living in Anatolia. The reason behind this suspicion is that Greek and Ottoman States were enemies in Balkan Wars (Poulton, 1993). Therefore, Turkish people and Ottoman state had been approaching to Greek people living in Anatolia with prejudice and skepticism. This period was exchange period just before the republic. Unfortunately, forced migration movement in the name of population exchange is also continued and gained momentum in early Republican period. In 1923, in accordance with the agreement signed in Lausanne with the establishment of the republic, the Turks in Greece and Greeks in Turkey exchanged. The first population exchange between Greece and Turkey happened between 15-22 April 1923. In total, about half million people came from Greece to Turkey and this group from Greece constitutes the first large group of immigrant groups migrated to Turkey. However, this population exchange period was problematic issue between those countries until 1930. As mentioned above, the problem of population exchange, which was one of the unresolved issues with the Treaty of Lausanne, was solved on June 10, 1930, thanks to the friendship established between Atatürk and Venizelos. All Greeks living in Turkey except located in İstanbul and West Thrace and Turks living in Greece were subjected to the population exchange.

Balkan migrations also play an important role in the history of the Turkish Republic. The second largest group in respect of the numbers of immigrants coming to Turkey is Bulgarian immigrants in Republican era. Migrations from Bulgaria to Turkey which had started with 1925 Residence Agreement between Turkey and Bulgaria had continued until the end of the World War II and also late 1970s.

The third important source country concerning immigrants who came to Turkey in Republican era is Yugoslavia. Unlike other countries mentioned above, migration from this country is not due to the force of the government, but because of socio-economic reasons. In the context of the Settlement Act, the status of Yugoslav immigrants was taken into consideration after 1934 (Tekeli, 2008). Yugoslavian immigrants' status is determined in Settlement Act in accordance to 'condition of being Turkish or being devoted to Turkish culture. However, migrants from Yugoslavia who met these conditions were categorized as resettled and free migrants in the context of their access to the conditions of arrival and the assistance they received from the state. The point where I want to emphasize here, as just like in our

day, is that immigrant status at that time is very important for the immigrant's access to services. Because status is a key to unlock access services to needs for immigrants. The information about current immigrant status and rights in Turkey will be given in next chapters would be more explanatory.

The Settlement Law of 1934 was prepared in accordance with country's needs in terms of immigration policy especially after Yugoslavian immigration and remained in force until 2006 on the new Settlement Law (Law no. 5190 on 19 September 2006). Settlement Act determined the refugee status of people may enter into Turkey, could settle in Turkey and can be found in the application and it also emphased that people from Turkish descent and culture would be accepted as migrants and refugees. The Settlement Act 1934 is important in concern with defining the concept of refugee in Turkey for the first time. Although definition will change with the Geneva Convention, there was a first definition of the term of 'refugee'. According to Settlement Act, people who came to Turkey and are not planning to settle in Turkey forever but had to settle temporarily because of a necessity called 'refugee'. According to this law, if the immigrants wishing to settle permanently in Turkey and was accepted called 'immigrant'. Actually this act is very important in respect of management of mass migration waves to Turkey. Although that importance, 1934 Settlement Act does not include systematic regulations. This kind of regulations formed after 1994period. Therefore, the pre-1994 period of Turkish legislation remained a period of ignorance in terms of the management of immigration and asylum. In 1947, with the reorganization of the Settlement Law, the concepts of immigrant and refugee were replaced. The concept of 'refugee' was reinterpreted as the people who migrated due to the events in Europe with the 1951 Geneva Convention and the geographical restriction of the 1976 Protocol. However, as a contradiction, people who came from the Balkans to Turkey are called immigrants regardless of the cause immigrants since the 1950s, with the end of World War II. In fact, considering the Geneva Convention, the Albanian, Turkish and Bosnian communities from Yugoslavia after 1950 should have been called as refugees. However, these people were called immigrants with the idea that they would not return.

In addition, more than 250.000 Albanian people migrated from Makedonia and Kosovo to Turkey because of Albanian Exile which happened between 1953-1957.

According to Albanian demographer Hakif Bajrami, 412.000 Albanian people have migrated to Turkey between 1953-1966. The migration from Yugoslavia to Turkey had continued intensively until the early 1970s.

Another migration flow to Turkey in this era was from Caucasus. After the withdrawal of USSR from Kars and Ardahan provinces as a result of the 1917 Erzincan Truce, migrations from Caucasus to Turkey had started and continued after the establishment of Turkish Republic. After the Gumru Treaty, many migrants from Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia had continued to come to this region. Although Turkish Republic was newly established, it paid attention to the problems of migrants coming from Caucasus.

In early Republican era there were so many migrant flows to Turkey because Republic of Turkey has supported immigration from outside who want to come to Turkey. The most effective reason of it is that Turkish Republic had lost a significant portion of its qualified population in the years it was first founded because of population exchange and migrations mentioned above. Moreover, the purpose of increasing the decreased population of country also plays an important role in this support. Because, the population and especially the educated population decreased significantly by war, population exchange and migration.

3.3 Post - 1980 Period

Mass migrations are more important and effective than individual migrations in shaping Turkey's policy on immigrants. Post- 1980 period had several periods and dynamics in itself. It is important to understand these periods and dynamics shaped by the cultural and social structures of immigrants in order to analyze the educational policies of Turkey for migrants. Unlike immigrants having similar backgrounds and culture who came to Turkey because of the 'exchange' process in early Republican era, various immigrants came to Turkey after 1980 with their lots of differences. Understanding those differences are very significant to analyze education policies developed and applied for immigrants in Turkey. In accordance to immigrants' social and cultural structures, dividing post-1980 immigrant history of Turkey into three sub-titles as late 80s, 90s and 2000s would be helpful to do policy analyze in this thesis.

3.3.1. Immigrants Receiving from Turkic Republics in Late 80s

At the end of the 1980s, the Soviet Union was in the process of collapse. This process has a great impact on the Turkey's population change. In the early 90s, a part of Turkish community living in Soviet Union emigrated to Turkey. Unfortunately, Turkey was caught unawares to these movement of migrations. Turkey's lack of an immigration policy has brought some problems for these people. For example, as part of a major education project, 10,000 students was brought from Turkic States formed after the dissolution of the Soviet Union to Turkey. The Ministry of National Education did not provide adequate education service to those immigrants at secondary and higher education level due to lack of education policy on immigrants. The aim of the project was that these young people to go back to the their newly established countries and to contribute to the development of their countries after receiving a qualified education in Turkey. However, due to the lack of educational policy on migrants and the lack of institutional infrastructure of Ministry of National Education, the information about this project and its consequences could not be obtained. During this period, it is known that people by academic training particularly from Azerbaijan have migrated to Turkey. Of course, we cannot consider everyone who migrated from the Turkic republics at that time as a highly qualified manpower. However, when we look at immigrants from Azerbaijan artists and academics about 600 people are known to migrate to Turkey in this period. Turkey is still an attractive country to migrate from Turkic republics, especially for higher education students.

3.3.2 Other Migrations at Late 80s and Migrations During 90s

Throughout its history Turkey is a very dynamic country concerning internal and external migration. But especially in the last 25 years, Turkey is defined as more foreign immigration receiving country. There are several reasons that trigger this change. Some of these are the invasion of Afghanistan by Soviet Russia, the change of regime in Iran (1970s), Iran-Iraqi War, Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, the occupation of Iraq by United States, the legal turmoil and wars of Saddam Hussein's regime in the Middle East (late 1980s and early 1990s) and finally the dissolution of communist regime in Eastern Europe and Soviet Union. Including the end of the 1980s and early 1990s, a series of events like mentioned in above in countries neighboring Turkey

lead to large scale migrations from those neighbor countries to more stable countries, in this case to Turkey.

It is not right to fit into a single category to all migration movement towards Turkey especially receiving in the last 25 years. Migrations towards Turkey includes groups such as workers, professionals, academics, asylum seekers, refugees and transit migrants. Doubtlessly, the biggest and most influential one among these migration movements is Syrian's mass migration flow to Turkey which started in 2011 and still continues. The number of Syrians in our country exceeds 3 million in last years. However, this is not the first mass asylum flow which Turkey exposed. Even if there is no such a large immigrant population migrated to Turkey, there were 300.000 asylum seekers coming from Bulgaria in 1989 and approximately half million asylum seekers who escaped from Iraq in 1991 performed a mass migration flow to Turkey.

When we look at migration movements to Turkey at the end of 80s, firstly, we can see the second migration flow from Bulgaria to Turkey. The Turks in Bulgaria were considered as a national minority and Bulgaria limited to minorities living areas by using the term of unified Bulgar-socialist nation. In the framework of Bulgarianisation policy, the pressures applied to Turks lead to take refuge of 300.000 Turks and Pomaks lived in Bulgaria to Turkey. Turkey consider 1989 Bulgarian asylum seekers, who lead to the first mass asylum movement in Turkish history, not as refugees but as Turkey's cognates and borders have been opened to these asylum seekers. After that, Turkey provided and applied a lot of public policies for those cognates to make them integrated to Turkish society. Moreover, legislation has been settled quickly to allow these refugees to be granted Turkish citizenship and many arrangements have been made to facilitate the return of these migrants when the conflict in Bulgaria is over. In this context, approximately 240000 Bulgarian Turks received Turkish citizenship. Also, those people moved to their relatives or settled in different regions of Turkey by Turkish government. Here, Turkey has established policies applied to asylum seekers immigrants with its own dynamics without getting help from international organizations, especially the UNHCR.

However, between 1988-1991, Turkey had implemented completely different policies than policies implemented to Bulgarians to Iraqi asylum seekers who escaped

from Saddam Hüseyin's tyranny. Unfortunately, the fact that the immigrants are Kurds has caused that the Turkish state was not only reluctant to provide the policies of integration but also to keep these immigrants within their territories. The Turkish state allowed 50000 Kurdish refugees to enter the country because it could not resist the international pressures. Turkish state considered and accepted those refugees as 'guest'. This concept is very important because it also will have significance on Turkish government's education policies on migrants after 2011. Turkish state denied the kinship between Kurdish asylum seekers and Kurdish people live in Turkey and also stated that it couldn't accept asylum seekers who didn't come from the west by considering the geographical restriction of the Geneva Convention. Iraqi refugees accepted in Turkey as guests and hosted in temporary refugee camps. Unlike policies on Bulgarian refugees, Turkey did not move those Iraqis to their relatives. Instead of that, with the increase of the immigration wave, the Turkish government, which believes that nearly half a million of the Kurdish immigrants would be a threat for internal security, was placed in the safe zone, across the border with the support of the US government. After the creation of safe zone, the vast majority of refugees in temporary asylum camps have migrated to the safe zone. After stayed for a while in safe zone, approximately 460,000 refugees returned to their countries of origin. In addition, approximately 14,000 Iraqi Kurdish refugees remained in Turkey. They were placed on a refugee camp as temporary asylum and then they emigrated to the 3rd countries.

Turkey had faced with another migration flow from Balkans between 1992. Turkey granted 'temporary asylum' to 20.000 Bosnian and 17.746 Kosovan asylum seeker had came to Turkey during 1992-1995 Battle of Bosnia and 1998-1999 Battle of Kosovo. Unlike Iraqi asylum seekers, these immigrants from the Balkans, like the Yugoslav immigrants mentioned above, were admitted to the country and settled in the camps outside the camps or near their relatives.

As a result of occurring new policy needs and improvements because of those immigrations mentioned above, Turkey has witnessed a new period in terms of immigrant policies. The period between 1994- 2001 is another period in history of migration policies of Turkey. After ignorance period, the second period called as transition to international norms period. In this second period, a number of slow but

concrete steps for the integration of immigration and asylum policies and practices in the country to international norms and standards.

3.3.3 Mass Migrations towards Turkey in 2000s

The Arab Spring process that started in 2010 and the Syrian civil war as last extension of the process are very effective on the immigrations to Turkey after 2000. As an indirect result of Arab Spring, the last massive migration movement towards Turkey have started in 2011 and it still continues. Erdoğan expresses that movement as a last and huge migration wave towards Turkey. As a result of the events in Syria, which has the longest land border of the country, a massive forced migration has taken place towards Turkey. However, Turkey have been implementing completely different policies than implemented policies to other massive forced migration examples mentioned above to Syrian refugees migrated to Turkey after 2011. The first mass population movements from Syria to Turkey occurred with the arrival of 252 immigrant on 29 April 2011. After then, Turkey had implemented open gate policy to Syrian refugees. Turkish government said that: 'Boarders are open for Syrians who escape the internal conflict in Syria and their basic needs will be provided'. Turkish government also guaranteed that refoulment principle will implement for those people until Syrian internal conflict ends. The basis of this policy lies in the expectation that Syrian refugees will return to their countries in a short time. This unrealistic expectation also caused not making education policies for refugees on time which will be mentioned later detailed. Unfortunately, internal conflict in Syria has become a civil war. Hence it was gradually increased mass immigration from Syria to Turkey. In the first phase, it was planned to keep the immigrants arriving at the border and refugee camps-like accommodation centers were established for migrants. However, number of Syrian immigrants came to Turkey was much higher than the predictions. Immigration Administration General Directorate of the Interior Ministry announced that the number of Syrians under temporary protection in Turkey as of May 16, 2019 3 million 606 thousand 737 people. Syrians under temporary protection represents the densest group of asylum seekers presence in the country. According to Gueterres, Turkey is the country which hosting biggest refuge population in the world without granting refugee status to any of its asylum applicants. Unfortunately, that much number of immigrants in a few years caused an intensive pressure on policy makers of Turkish state. Therefore, Turkey has being facing the mass immigration pressure

especially in the first years of Syrian migration flow. This pressure has proved that settlement policy is inadequate. In addition to settlement policy, education policies were also inadequate which will be mentioned next chapter.

In contrast to policies on Iraqi Kurd migrants, Turkey opening its boarders to Syrian refugee and granted 'temporary protection' to them. Granting temporary protection status lie behind the idea of that these migrants are expected to be temporary and return to their countries as soon as possible. Another reason of granting temporary protection status to Syrian refugees is the identification of Syrian refugees through religion. Rather than prominent sense of identification towards 1991 Kurdish refugees through race, Syrian refugees come to forefront with their Muslim identity so Turkish government has more moderate approach to them in terms of policy implementation to them. At first, these immigrants are placed in refugee camps. After then, with the increasing number they have migrated to the cities. Turkish government has become a government which could not provide sufficient resources to Syrian refugees in excess of a million. Unlike the other two mass immigrant flow example after 80s in Turkey, Turkish government have cooperated with international organizations for Syrian refugees. Especially in the education policies and projects, cooperation with international organizations have huge impact. When the regulations covering the last twenty years are examined, it is seen that the immigration policy of the country is shaped by the cooperation and sometimes even pressure of supranational and intergovernmental organizations.

The longer the duration of stay means the less likely to return to the country. Syrian refugees' willingness to return to Syria is reduced due to sociological and emotional reasons. Elongation of internal conflict in Syria and the time they spent in Turkey has led to increase in Syrians' stay request. Brookings-USAK institution defined Syrians situation in Turkey as ''ceaseless visit''. At last, in 2014, it was accepted that these migrants were not guests, they were beyond their temporary protection status and they would not return to their countries in the short term. After this realization an acceptance of Syrian situation in Turkey by Turkish government. Similar to Bulgarian immigrants, had been developed for Syrian immigrants, especially in education field. Firstly, when the large wave of immigration in 2011 had not yet reached the enormous scale, the Turkish state charged DDEM for the management of the crisis caused by this great wave of immigration and DDEM

established many refugee camps in the border provinces. However, less than 5% of the refugees in Turkey are known to live in these camps and the remaining population is dispersed in different proportions to all the cities of Turkey. Unfortunately, this dispersement causes uncertainties about population numbers and policy making process is affected by these uncertainties. For example, if there are no records about how many school aged refugee children live in a city, policy makers cannot determine how many classes or Arabic speaking teacher are needed for those children so cannot implement an effective education policy for those children. These uncertainties caused by missing public policies in terms of immigrants. Besides uncertainties, inability to create a substructure for institutional, physical and legal developments for immigration strategy has caused problems in the process of policy making. Although Turkey remains exposed to migratory movements throughout its history, public policy has unfortunately remained missing in respect of immigrants as given its example above. Turkey has evaluated each mass movement of asylum with its own dynamic and understanding these dynamics is very important to make a policy analysis of Turkey concerning immigrants' education especially made in last 10 years. This mass migration flows are crisis situations for Turkey. We should examine policies by keeping in mind this.

Turkey's efforts in the areas related to legislations on migration seems to begin with its transition to country of immigrant. It can be said that the studies carried out in this process aim to save the day instead of being effective in long term. As a result of this, it was seen that such a fragmented immigration legislation is not sufficient to solve the problems and several studies have been carried out in order to make the migration legislation systematic in the EU accession process. Therefore, after 2001, Turkey had entered a new period called as Europeanization period in terms of immigration policies. Turkey have made a lot of regulations in accordance to EU accession negotiations and EU acquis during this period. According to accession negotiations, Turkey's immigration and asylum system and the system's administrative structure of the relevant legislation and institutional infrastructure should be conformed with EU acquis. The goals of Turkey's migration and asylum politics are determined by EU Commission in 2001. After that, Turkey entered this new period mentioned above. EU acquis is not only factor which resulted in changes in Turkey's immigration and asylum policies. 2011 massive Syrian migration flow is

another factor of that. I mean, the irregular migration to the country and the integration with European Union have a strong impact on the transformation of the characteristics and conditions of migration and asylum management in the country after 2001. Some of examples of this transformation, legislation of Law on Work Permits of Foreigners in 2003, National Action Plan for Asylum and Migration on 25 March 2005, Formal Education Institutions Regulation of Ministry of National Education in 2006 and Law on Foreigners and International Protection in 2013. Here, the important legislation is LFIP because it a turning point for Turkey appertaining to make efficient migration policies. Before 2013, it was seen that immigrants entered the country and the necessary procedures of them were left to the duty of the governorships together with the Foreigners Department of the General Directorate of Security attached to the Ministry of Interior. In addition, the responsibility for conducting work on migrants was given to the Directorate of Disaster and Emergency Management under the Prime Ministry. DDEM has begun to take an active role in the process with the arrival of Syrian refugees in Turkey since 2011. First of all, the refugees placed in the refugee camps on the border and then the services of DDEM have became different with the increasing number of immigrants. For example, DDEM has organized courses in many fields such as computer, reading, writing, carpet weaving and has given to certificates to 225 thousand Syrian. Another example is that DDEM has educated more than 80,742 thousand children. In total, 508.846 thousand children were given kindergarten, secondary and high school education.

In 2013, Turkey structured and established DGMM as a fully equipped institution, which is previously non-existent in its history, interested in migration in general. In 2014, DDEM assigned its duty to DGMM. Establishment of DGMM is very important development in terms of Turkey's immigration policy. Turkey's migration policies had gained a momentum thanks to establishment of DGMM. Thanks to establishment of DGMM, Turkish government have developed many public policies for these immigrants in the fields of social, economic and education. In addition to the DGMM and AFAD, there are also other institutions that play a very important role in the process of managing migration crisis in Turkey such as the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of National Education, the Ministry of Development. Besides those

ministries, local governments and non-governmental organizations play also extreme role in the process especially in the educational field.

One of the biggest struggle of policy making process concerning immigrants Turkey faced with arise from Syrian's legal status. As in Iraqi case, Syrians also are not granted as refugees by Turkey because of geographical restriction of Geneva Convention. Not determining those immigrants' legal status caused lack of policy implementations and Turkey defined new status like temporary protection for Syrian immigrants in 2013 LFIP and 2014 Temporary Protection Regulation in the law no 6458 to deal with it. Turkish government aimed to reduce the problems related to migration and to collect legislation under a single legal regulation with law no 6458. According to Temporary Protection Regulation, none-European refugees defined with new concepts which are conditional refugee, subsidiary protection or temporary protection. Those status protects geographical restriction This determination of status removed the barriers so policy implementations gain momentum thanks to 2014 Regulation.

For the first time in its history, Turkish government mentioned about immigrant policies in its development plan so, Turkey has made such a holistic policy gathered under a single roof concerning immigrants for the first time. In 10th Development Plan which applies to 2014-2018 and made in 2013, policy makers mentioned that:

An effective monitoring and follow-up system for migrants from abroad, those in need of international protection, illegal workers and transit immigrants will be established and the integration of those who have international protection status to the country will be supported.

As a result of 10th Development Plan, education policies on immigrants made after 2013 with the acceptance of the idea of Syrians are permanent. It is surely beyond doubt that the wave of mass migration from Syria was a turning point for these policies.

To sum up, Turkey has become an immigration country throughout its history and it has many factors such as settlement policies inherited from the Ottoman Empire, asylum agreements in the early republican period. However, political dissolution and regime changes, especially in relation to the end of the Cold War period since the

1990s, conflicts in some geographies, such as ethnic conflicts, civil war, political instability, human rights violations and country occupations, inter-country conflicts especially after the Arab Spring have accelerated the international forced migrations all over the world. I mean, especially after current developments, Turkey's position in the global migration map has changed and after irregular migration flows towards developed countries especially towards European ones, caused that Turkey have become one of the intense transition corridors mainly EU countries on the East-West and South-North axis. As we see Turkey is not only a country of emigration but also country of immigration. Although this feature, Turkey has not developed an institutionalized migration policy until last two decades. Therefore, last twenty years are very important in terms of migration policies of Turkey. In other words, although Turkey previously have been exposed to migratory movements throughout its history, post-1990 period in terms of intensive immigration has great importance in legal, economic and social policies of Turkey because until this period Turkish government has not developed an effective and institutionalized migration policy. Therefore, while doing policy analysis on immigrants, we should keep in mind Turkish history of immigration and lack of policies in terms of immigrants throughout its history. Post-1990 period is significant as first institutionalized and comprehensive immigrant policies were developed in it.

CHAPTER 4

AN ANALYSIS OF IMMIGRANT EDUCATION POLICIES IN TURKEY

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Turkey has been an immigrant receiving country throughout its history. Unfortunately, Turkish Republic had not implemented any comprehensive educational policies for immigrants until 2011 Syrian massive migration flow to Turkey. Unlike education policies, as mentioned earlier there were some policies for immigrants in terms of settlement, property and working permission. Thus, this thesis focuses on the analysis of the educational policies developed for Syrian immigrants in Turkey.

The most effective reason of this massive flow of immigrants to Turkey was Arab Spring. In the Middle East, "Arab Spring" occurring process in Tunisia, Libya, Syria, with countries like Egypt has also affected and the crisis and internal conflicts have emerged in Syria and significantly affect some countries in the region (Philips, 2012). In this process, hundreds of thousands fled the Syrian regime and took as refugee by countries in the region such as Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey Therefore, Turkey has undergone a very large influx of refugees in the last eight years.

In the first year of refugee flow in 2011, Turkey's refugee policy in this process have been specified and developed within the framework of the '*open door*' policy. Turkish government open the borders for Syrians without any registration and gave those Syrians *temporary protection status* [8] as an urgent action. According to governments data, the population of Syrians in Turkey is 3million 643thousand and 870 in August 2019. The number of Syrian immigrants' population aged between 5-18 is 1million 154 thousand 117 who are at primary school aged and the population aged between 19-24 is 548 thousand 843 who are undergraduate education aged. As we can see the numbers of Syrian children in Turkey is 1million 702 thousand 190

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[8] The definiton of temporary protection status is made in Chapter 2

(Türkiyedeki Suriyeli Sayısı Ağustos 2019) in August 2019 which means there has been a need of very comprehensive education policy. Although it was perceived as temporary migration movement in the early days, this migration movement whose sequence changed with the prolongation of the war in Syria, brought not only 3 million 643 thousand Syrian citizens but also an important migration experience and many problems for our country. Unfortunately, such a huge number of immigrants create a crisis situation for Turkish government in terms of not only educational policies but also policies on health, security, social rights, housing, work. In this context, Turkey's Syrian activities and analysis of public policies that have been implemented after the crisis, has emerged as an important research for the discipline of public administration and policy, because the spread of Syrian refugees across the country has brought many problems such as housing, health, education and integration.

Even if these immigrants left their country for better living conditions, differences in language, religion, race, culture, tradition and socio-economic status in the migrated countries adversely affect the adaptation process and living conditions of immigrants. The effect of migration, which has complex effects and traces on human being can be more damaging for children who are vulnerable and at risk than adults. Furthermore, Syrian children who have been detached from their culture, backgrounds and living spaces in migration processes may have the traumatic effects of displacement and exposure to the war environment.

Another of the most important critical risks affecting Syrian children is not being able to get involved in schooling or not being able to adapt to the Turkish education system and schools (at language, curriculum, culture, etc.) after being included in the education process and breaking away from education processes abandonment. Having traumatic effects also has significant negative effects on those children's schooling process. Behind the problem of non-enrollment and drop-out of Syrian children, families who experience socio-economic disability as well as gender and health such as disability, etc. factors force their children to work to support the family economy, school environment and culture. As it is seen, there are many reasons which affect Syrian children's integration process. Because of these reasons, majority of Syrian children, who theoretically could have gone to public schools in Turkey, seems unable to attend practice. This can lead to the emergence of missing generations in terms of children, and many risks such as child labor, drifting into crime, ganging, child

marriage at the points of integration into society. Thus, in Turkey, nearly one million Syrian children in school age cannot make sufficient use of educational processes, which prepare individuals for life and develop them in concern with social, spiritual, cultural, cognitive and physiological terms, and aims to create a complete wellbeing, accelerate social acceptance and processes, to integrate children with society.

Schooling and involvement in education are vital to Syrian children. In this chapter of the study, first, the main actors involved in education policy process for immigrants in Turkey will be presented. Next, the policies developed by Turkish government to provide Syrian children's educational needs will be examined.

4.1 Actors involved in Immigrant Education Policy Process in Turkey

Coordination between policy makers and implementers is significant for not only for budgeting but also for controlling on policy process. Healthy coordination between policy actors means the duties and distribution of tasks define clearly which is important for effective policy implementation. International and local organizations, NGOs, regional and local networks, various associations and foundations, international organizations and state bodies work in bilateral cooperation form part of migration policies.

After realizing that refugees will not return their countries for a long time, Turkish government started to develop organized frameworks for its policies on education of refugees and asylum seekers. When 'what is the problem' question answered clearly, then policies were made effectively by Turkish government. Since it is very problematic policy area, Turkish government cooperates both domestic and international organizations, which are reviewed below.

4.1.1. Central and Local Administrations in the Context of Syrian Immigrants

After the Syrian crisis, various studies and cooperations have been made in the field of migration and asylum in Turkish public administration. In order to control the crisis, 'Coordination Committee" was established with the meeting of ministers and government representatives and then the governorships were brought together in the border provinces affected by the Syrian crisis to ensure cooperation and coordination (Kirişci, Misafirliğin Ötesine Geçerken Türkiye'nin Suriyeli Mülteciler Sınavı (Çev. Sema Karaca), 2014). For example, in concerning with educational policies, MoNE,

Ministry of Family and Social Policies and Ministry of Interior developed policies in coordination. Moreover, the Directorate General of Migration Management under the Ministry of Interior was established. The establishment of this institution is aimed at making and implementing countrywide educational policies regarding migration, especially after 2014. In the Law on Foreigners and International Protection, the Directorate General of Migration Management is held responsible for the cooperation and coordination with NGOs and UNHCR. Together with the new law, an immigration advisory board is planned to work to bring academics, NGOs and experts together. Looking ahead to 2013, when the Law on Foreigners and International Law is not yet in place, it is seen that there is no necessary legal legislation in the field of migration and therefore collective work and permanent solutions are not produced. It is main reason of lack of educational polices on immigrants. Even if it has been five years, newly established immigration administration is an important opportunity to establish a long-term and permanent migration policy with the plans and projects it has implemented. Turkey. Turkey should take lessons from the Syrian refugee crisis which could not managed well enough and should organize necessary policy actors to have a better and well based immigration policies.

The contribution of the General Directorate of Migration Management in terms of accessing numerical data on migration and migrants cannot be denied. However, it is stated that the records of many unclear or unregistered migrants in the process prior to the establishment of the directorate were arranged with the new directorate and the expert staff within it. Although this priority, still there are unregistered immigrants especially in urban cities which is a barrier for unregistered children to access to education.

After the law in 2014, various groups were established in line with international standards for the rights of migrants. One of them is named *Immigration Policy Committee.* The Committee, under the chairmanship of the Ministry of Interior, consist of Ministry of Family and Social Policies, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Interior, Labor and Social Security, Health, Transport and Maritime Affairs and Communications, the Chairman of the Turks Abroad and Related Communities and the Director General of Migration Management. As we can see, there are a lot of policy actors which are effective in policy process. When we consider socio-economic conditions of immigrant children, child labor, transportation to schools, we can

conclude that all of those actors play role on educational policies of immigrants. The Migration Policy Committee may invite non-governmental organizations, international and local institutions and organizations to the meeting, in addition to the members specified. As it is seen, there are many policy actors even in one organization. I think, this committee is very important in terms of coordination[9] problem. Coordination is very important to both formulate and implement policies. In this committee, many different actors gather and accelerate the decision-making process and make the distribution of tasks clearly. Moreover, in the central administration, there are also private institutions working under the General Directorate of Migration such as Migration Advisory Board, International Protection and Evaluation Agency. These private institutions include academics, representatives of public institutions and representatives of global institutions.

From the first moment of the start of Syrians' migration to Turkey, a deputy undersecretary at the Ministry of Education, has been appointed to coordinate the training of Syrian children. However, no institutional structure has been established in the MoNE central organization and provincial organization regarding the education of children. Therefore, municipalities took the responsibility in local in terms of immigrant policy implementation. For example, Community centers are established by the municipalities, Red Crescent or NGOs to inform urban refugees, to provide training and courses to refugees, to deal with their problems and to conduct harmonized activities. For example, in the Multi-Purpose Community Centers established by Sultanbeyli Municipality, there are many activities such as language, education, health, information, working life (finding a job and opening a business), vocational training and hobby courses. Women refugees are particularly interested in these centers and participate in many activities with their children (Erdoğan, 2017, p.96). It is very important that which institutions the municipalities cooperate with is in terms of process management of educational policies. In this regard, it is observed that municipalities frequently consult with institutions such as Governorate, District Governorate, Provincial Directorate of Migration Management, Provincial Directorate of National Education. Also, the district municipalities in project-based

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[9] When duty of managing migration crises especially in refugee camps to AFAD, there was Prime Ministry which does not exist no longer in Turkey.

cooperation with NGOs such as UNHCR, SGDD-ASAM. Unfortunately, the cooperation of district municipalities with each other on refugees remains extremely limited. It is clearly seen that the greater need is experienced in relations with the metropolitan municipality. The lack of a special unit for the metropolitan municipality creates serious problems in terms of data sharing and healthy process management. There are also good examples of coordination between institutions. As a successful example in this respect, it is possible to see this central as a model, which was created by Sultanbeyli Municipality through an NGO and supported by external resources. In the new building of the 'Association for Refugees and Asylum Seekers Solidarity', almost all public services such as registration, education, health, vocational courses, job search needs and general information are provided in one place. This "model" structure created by the Governorship of Istanbul and the Provincial Directorate of Migration Administration includes the Sultanbeyli District Governorate and the Department of Religious Affairs with the Sultanbeyli Municipality (Erdoğan, 2017, p.105). In order to solve the fundamental language problem, municipalities provide language education for adults on the one hand and access to education of Syrian children of school age in Turkish public schools.

In addition, it is aimed to reveal the areas in which the institutions operating at the provincial level are responsible with the migration policies at the local level. These policies are carried out by the provincial organization of the General Directorate of Migration Management (Örselli, 2016). Provincial and district immigration administrations within the provincial organization are responsible for temporary protection, international protection, regular and irregular migration, accommodation, placement in asylum centers and the necessary paperwork procedures. Here, paperwork and accommodation parts have significance to access to education. As we can see, many actors play direct or indirect role on immigrant education policies. In addition, it is carried out jointly by the Migration Authority and Provincial Directorates of Disaster Emergency (AFAD) under the responsibility of governors within the provincial organization. Although the duties of both departments are different, there is some degree of coordination between them. The Directorate of Migration Management serving at the local level, while dealing with the registration of migrants, obtaining residence permits, making statistical which are important to access to education, Disaster and Emergency Departments are involved in the

management of accommodation centers, container cities and tent cities established in the provinces and provide various services such as food, clothing and shelter which are also important to continuity of immigrants to schools. Also, AFAD has organized courses in many areas such as computer and literacy education, carpet weaving and has given certificates to 225 thousand Syrians. In addition, only AFAD provided education to 80,742 thousand children. A total of 508,846 thousand children were given kindergarten, secondary and high school education thanks to AFAD. Additionally, the management of the camps was given to AFAD of the Prime Ministry. Although there is not much refugee camps left, AFAD's the responsibility of the camps still continues today. As mentioned above, in the first years of flow, AFAD cooperated with MoNE to provide education for refugee children. AFAD has been involved in a number of policy implementation phases from the construction of educational buildings to the supply of stationery.

Another organization that provides assistance to migrants under the coordination of AFAD is the Turkish Red Crescent. The Turkish Red Crescent closely monitors the immigration victimization experienced since 2011 and provides in-kind and cash assistance in food and housing issues. In addition, it is engaged in meeting the social needs of Syrian migrants, providing psychological support and providing assistance to Syrian citizens. Here, housing and psychological support are elements of immigrants' success in schools.

Apart from the state actors, different institutions and organizations have supported this process in order to manage the Syrian migrant crisis. International organizations, particularly the United Nations High Commissioner, and non-governmental organizations support asylum seekers through their activities. Non-governmental organizations have an important responsibility especially in the governance of migration but it is beneficial to improve cooperation and work between national, public and international actors.

4.1.2. Non-Governmental Organizations in the Context of Migrant Policies

According to Romola Sanyal, nonstate actors have significant role in policy implementations and planning (Sanyal, 2016). In 2011, the influx of refugees in Turkey has suffered due to internal turmoil which started in Syria, the process has led to mobility for NGOs. Before the year 2011, the number of foreign NGOs in quite a

while limited by the borders of Turkey, who have migrated by the end of this mobility was observed increase in the number of NGOs. Local, national and Syrian NGOs have been established because the assistance provided for Syrians cannot meet the needs sufficiently. These NGOs organize congresses, workshops and symposiums in order to inform both the authorities and the public about the current situation. It was also the removal of the obstacles of foreign formation NGOs and local NGOs to become partners in this increase. NGOs are one of the important institutions in services for Syrian refugees in Turkey and NGOs differ in terms of state relations, professionalism, service areas, coordination and relations between international institutions and organizations. For example, some NGOs operate in the region, while some of them operate beyond the borders of the region. Facilitating NGOs' access to the necessary information about migrants is crucial for the development of cooperation with civil society in crises and future problems of immigrant education policies.

In the first years of flow, it is seen that the state is mainly concerned with the situation of the Syrians living in the camps and NGOs are acting for the migrants living outside the camps. NGOs, perceived by immigrants as an organ of the state, mainly provide financial assistance with limited resources. Some of the non-governmental organizations that support and support migrants and asylum seekers in our country are as follows: MAZLUMDER, ASAM, Amnesty International, Refugee Rights Center (Mülteci Hakları Merkezi), Turkey Red Crescent, TIHV. Assistance provided to immigrants differs from NGO to NGO. These assistances could be listed as education-teaching aid, health care, housing assistance, cash aid, counseling and guidance assistance for asylum seekers, integration assistance for asylum seekers and legal aid. There are some examples providing by NGOs to Syrian immigrants in terms of education.

In a report published by MAZLUMDER in 2013, the research conducted over a period of approximately three months identified the status of Syrians living in Istanbul and aimed to cooperate between public institutions and non-governmental organizations. Within the framework of the cooperation to be made, it has been stated that the conditions in Istanbul, where immigrants live intensively, can be improved and better living conditions for migrants can be provided and access to education can be facilitated (Yılmaz H. , 2013).

Kilis Community center is the second example. With the support of MoNE, vocational trainings are provided in Kilis Community Center. There are also other community centers which have same duty such as 4 centers in Kilis, 2 in Antep and 5 in Urfa. The number of children receiving education in these 78 centers is around 9 thousand in 2017. Also, psychological support and Turkish lessons are offered in these centers where children are between 3 and 15 years old (Kutlu, 2017). The importance of these community centers is that they are good examples of coordination between implementers like central administration and NGOs.

The Human Rights Association mainly provides counseling and psychological services to refugees and sends humanitarian trucks to the provinces on the Syrian border. As mentioned earlier, one of the barriers of success in schools is Syrian children's post-traumatic stress disorder. Therefore, this NGOs aids has importance for benefit of educational policies.

In addition to NGOs mentioned above, The Center for Asylum and Migration Research (IGAM) started the project in 2017-2019 titled Media and Civil Society Cooperation Project for Refugee Rights in order to raise awareness, correct misinformation and build up cooperation between the media and civil society in the public and press. For example, after 2016 a misinformation spread all over the country which was that Syrian high education students granted 1200 Lira scholarship by government. This misinformation took really high attention and not welcomed by Turkish society. Syrian students in universities faced with prejudices and excluded. In terms of correcting this kind of misinformation which has a huge impact on society is very important for immigrants both academic and social life. In addition, with the project, media and civil society employees come together to provide trainings and printed materials are distributed. Within the scope of the project, content and discourse analyzes were conducted on news and materials in 5 local and 8 national newspapers and 7 national television channels for 18 months (IGAM, n.d).

We can say that non-governmental organizations are very important to make balance government and refugees and to do effective policies NGOs should to be able to interact both international and domestic areas. To understand complex interactions between different implementers, we should examine the relationship between implementers ant its legal basis. The fact that NGOs' work is not adequately covered

in the legislation has led NGOs to carry out their work by deriving inferences from the general regulations. Another challenge for NGOs is the lack of well-equipped employees in their organizations. Unfortunately, some institutions dealing with refugees are reluctant to work with NGOs. However, the lack of initiative by the municipalities in the areas where Syrian migrants are located causes weaknesses in coordination and coordination in the relations with NGOs. With the increasing number of NGOs whose activities activities are increasing, the lack of communication between the actors emerges and the competition field is expanding. The low capacity of local NGOS against INGOs is a problematic area. NGOS's capacity is too small to compete with INGOs' resources or because of their low capacity they are insufficient or unwilling to work with INGOs (Mackreath. H., 2017, p.2). For example, an NGO employee working for KAMER, a women's rights organization based in the Southeast, said: a large number of funding organizations offer us funding but we do not accept it; we are selective because of our capacity and interest.'' Another example from other side, Paulo Lubrano, an INGO employee, stresses the perception that local NGOs do not significantly increase their capacities. According to him,'' they don't expand, change their structures in any way, or hire extra staff and in fact, this only means that existing staff work twice as hard." This statement shows a rupture between the perceptions of the international humanitarian community and local NGOs (Mackreath. H., 2017, p.3). Although many international NGOs have entered the country in order to help Syrians, they have been also contributing to the efforts of NGOs to find financial support and improve their capacities.

There is also an NGO model that can adapt its work to the situation by increasing or changing its activities to deal with Syrians such as MazlumDer, Halkların Köprüsü, IMPR. In some cases, these adaptations are quite prominent because associations working with other refugee groups or migrants have included Syrians in existing programs or opened new centers in Syrian-populated areas. In some cases, groups focusing primarily on research or reporting have also started humanitarian projects. Serhat Tok, a member of the Gaziantep-based Center for International Middle East Peace Research (IMPR), explained how Syrians have changed their work with the arrival of the masses. He said that: 'when we saw the lack of humanitarian aid, we established a charity to provide humanitarian aid and entered the field. Since 2013, Turkey and cross-border country we helped 43 thousand Syrians. We have social

centers, we are working on information sharing and the development of intercultural relationships, and our women and children centers are more visible'' (Mackreath. H., 2017, p.31).

The education problems of immigrants that NGOs are also trying to solve are enormous. Social networks, roof organizations, platforms, partnerships and coordinated actions make a significant difference in the field. For example, NGOs open language classes, provide basic needs of immigrants, stationery materials for children etc. Trying to solve such enormous problem requires cooperation between institutions and other NGOS. Unfortunately, in some cases, disagreements between NGOs with clear ideologies and agendas are becoming very sharp and manifest as a 'rights-based discourse against 'philanthropy'. The issue of lack of cooperation between NGOs is frequently raised by NGO staff. It is a critical problem in terms of providing services to immigrants. For example, Kemal Vural Tarlan who is employee of the Gaziantep- Kırkayak Culture Association, mentioned that "There are 200 organizations in Antep and there is no coordination between them. He also said that ''In August 2015 these 200 organizations came together. Did we get anything? No." In addition to Tarlan, an official from ASAM said that "Cooperation is not enough. There are coordination meetings, but competition between the organizations creates problems. This is sectoralization. There is also a problem with information sharing; whoever was involved first comes to the fore and does not cooperate with others" (Mackreath. H., 2017, p.33-34). However, on the other hand, the divergence between the two discourses within and between CSOs is blurred, as many NGOs react reactively to the mass arrivals of Syrians or expand their existing responsibilities in a new and often unpredictable way.

Another negative situation related to NGOs is about raising awareness. As mentioned any of the immigrants spread to the four corners of Turkey is aware of the rights given to them and do not have access to education services accordingly. Although a small number of NGOs try to solve this problem, they seem to be incomplete. However, other NGOs cannot support the studies because their studies are not known sufficiently.

In addition to local and international NGOs, there are organizations established by Syrian people. For example, the Assistance Coordination Unit (ACU) form groups with Syrian young people and provide educational courses to them

4.1.3. International Organizations on Migrant Policies

INGOs are also effective on educational policies on immigrants. INGOs have risen interest in Turkey after the massive influx of Syrian to Turkey and drowning incidents in the Mediterranean in the summer of 2015 has increased especially after the public announcement about drownings. There are different aspects of INGOs in Turkey and Turkey collaborate those INGOs in different way such as budgeting, agenda setting process. Some policy actors believe that they are beneficial for policy process but some of them believe the opposite. According to first group, INGOs contribute to improvement of NGOs in Turkey and also projects carried out with INGOs relieve the responsibilities on government and local NGOs. However, second group believe that, when INGOs left the country there will be a huge crack in NGO sector in Turkey (Mackreath. H., 2017, p.41). Here, the important point is focusing negative aspect and try to find a solution to avoid that crack.

UNICEF is one of the most important institution on migration policy process. There are many projects funded or carried out by UNICEF. For example, UNICEF has some policies to help Turkey on education problems of Syrian immigrants in Turkey. Building some prefabricated classes in both camps and out of camps, creating some temporary education areas by reconstructing the existing school buildings are some examples of it. Also, UNICEF works with municipalities and governors to provide clear and hygienic conditions in these reconstructed schools. UNICEF encourages the refugee children to get education by giving them books, school bags, stationary stuffs etc. Also, it supplies vocational education for the refugee children who are at teen ages. When government faced with disabilities to provide wages to teachers who works in camps, UNICEF makes researches and develops policies on these issues such as daily wage payments for teachers or giving them to some coupons which are usable in market. Additionally, to overcome the equivalence problem of Syrians, UNICEF helps Turkish government to prepare education certificates. After preparation of certificates, UNICEF also give additional classes to Syrians to get higher education (UNICEF, 2015). Moreover, MoNE and UNICEF has signed a

memorandum of understanding to support education to Syrian immigrants. This memorandum is probably one of the most successful partnership made between Turkey and an international organization. UNICEF not only help Turkish government but also has improved its policy implementation methods in concerning with integration by education. In this project, the roles of instruments changed. Turkey was implementer and UNICEF made selection of proper instruments and agenda setting instead of government (N.a, 2015).

Another important international policy actor on education policies of immigrants is European Union. Turkey develops immigrant educational policies in accordance with the EU requirements since, it has a candidate status for EU. Thus, EU is effective on policy formulation process. EU has implemented *Supporting the Integration of Syrian Children in Turkish Education System* project and the main focus of this project was stated as education. The overall objective of the project is to promote access to education for the Syrian population under temporary protection located in Turkey and the specific objective of the project is to support the efforts of the Ministry of National Education to integrate Syrians under temporary protection into the Turkish education system. This project implemented in İstanbul, Hatay, Kayseri, Osmaniye, Kilis, Şanlıurfa, Ankara, Batman, Konya, Kocaeli, Mersin, Mardin, Malatya, Bursa, İzmir, Antalya, Siirt, Diyarbakır, Gaziantep, Adana, Kahramanmaraş, Adıyaman, Sakary thus, it is very comprehensive. Moreover, EU has implemented Financial Assistance Program for Refugees Project which costs 50 million Euro. The aim of this project is to promote social and economic cohesion to ensure that Syrian refugees and host communities have better access to vocational and technical education (N.a., 2019). Also, as mentioned earlier, there are funding agreements between EU countries and Turkey to provide better education conditions to immigrant children. Here, EU and member countries of it is vital on policy implementation process. For example, Germany supports Turkey to deal with integration of refugees. In order to do that Germany supports Turkey financially. More than 300 billion Euro were paid to Turkey by Germany. However, Germany has also an interest in here. It financially supports Turkey because immigrants staying in Turkey, where basic needs are met means that Syrians in refugee application does not go to Europe. EU, Syrian refugees and the host community of professional and technical training to better provide access to economic and social cohesion of the support order the EU to Turkey 'under the Best

Financial Assistance Program for Refugees has passed the 50 million Euro project life. Similarly, Ministry of Education with the German Development Bank (KFW) signed a protocol for the approximately 19 million Euro project in order to contribute to the training of Syrian students in Turkey (N.a., Suriyeli öğrencilerin eğitimine tam destek, 2017).

UNCHR has also interested in education of immigrants. Within the scope of the EU-Turkey joint project carried out by UNHCR over 120 Syrian university students has graduated. This project is significant because there are just a few projects carried out for refugees at higher education level. Getting higher education degree is important for refugees because having a degree in higher education will have an impact on their social and economic status in the future and will reduce the risk of social and economic alienation.

To sum up, developing educational policy is really complex process because there are numerous policy actors in all process of policy. There are governmental, nongovernmental and international actors which are effective from policy agenda setting to policy evaluation process. The important point is coordination and collaboration between these actors because effective and beneficial education policies could be provided thanks to well-organized institutions

4.2 The Education Policies Developed for Primary and Secondary Level Immigrant Children in Turkey

Syrians who have been migrating to Turkey since 2011, came to Turkey because of the civil war in their country in order to shelter as an emergency measure, and Turkey has taken the necessary emergency measures for Syrians. In the first years of migration flow, Turkey foreseen the migration movement as a temporary situation and the government assumed it would be short-term in the first place. Therefore, Syrian immigrants were called "guest" by the authorities and shelter, food and necessities such as sanitary conditions were provided to Syrians. These aids had been provided for a direct solution regardless of the legal status or rights and responsibilities of the migrants arriving. In this process, immigrants settled in refugee camps close to border and education was also provided in there, as the details will be mentioned later. The educational services offered to Syrian children in our country since 2011 have witnessed many changes from the first day to the present day.

Until 2016, about 269.000 of Syrians were living in the camps of 25 tents and containers established by AFAD in 10 provinces and the remaining 2 million 313 thousand were living outside the camps. In other words, about 85 percent of Syrians were distributed systematically outside the camps in different provinces of the country (GİGM, Geçici Koruma, 2016). However, later this numbers have changed. For example, Syrian population in Turkey have increased and the percentage of Syrians living in camps have decreased. Currently, about 99 percent of Syrians live in outside of the camps and they have spreaded all over the Turkey that forced Turkey to reexamine its policies associated with the training of Syrians.

The first policies concerning education were based on the assumption that Syrians will return in the first place. For this reason, short-term policies have been established and the plans have been prepared mostly for Syrian children in camps. In other words, the policies pursued for the education of Syrian children were initially developed on the assumption that the Syrians would return and these short-term policies were prepared only for Syrian children in the camps. In the first years of Syrian migration, thousands of Syrian immigrant children educated in camps. In 2012, instead of teaching Turkish to Syrians, MoNE supported their education with Arabic curriculum (Dinçer, 2012). It was aimed that the Syrians did not have any problems when they returned. However, some of those children who continued their education in Arabic, could not learn Turkish in those camps. Turkish education is now available in refugee camps therefore, these children have some difficulties to adapt to Turkish education. For example, there are two brothers who come to Turkey as asylum seekers and they started to live in İstanbul. They registered to a public school but they cannot speak Turkish, then two brothers were registered to an Arabic school in Istanbul (Girit). There is a mismatch between Turkish governments ultimate output and expected output. There are some Syrian refugees who lived in refugee camps and got education in Arabic when they came to Turkey firstly. However, when they left the camps and started to live out of camps because their parents found a job or some other reasons, these children could not be able to adapt education out of camps because they did not know Turkish.

Although history of Turkey is full of migration movements, Turkey's inexperience on immigrant education policy resulted in this ineffective policy. Another problem is that Syrian children take Arabic education but they will try to get job in Turkey, they

have to learn Turkish to be able to get job in future. Turkish government cannot control the population of Syrian refugees therefore, it cannot manage or make useful public policies in terms of integration. Unfortunately, these Syrian children lived camps lost time to learn Turkish because of *this Arabic curriculum policy.*

There are a lot of policy weaknesses in camps because of the inexperience of Turkey in concerning policy making on immigrant education. In the camps, there are several problems which Syrian children had faced. For example, in the first years, authorities had problems on deciding to which book will be read in refugee camps. Also, as mentioned above curriculum problems is also problematic because even deciding to teach Arabic curriculum had took long time. Another problematic area is trainers. When authorities made camps visits, it is appraised that there are some differences between the camps. For example, Syrian teachers who work in camps could not receive any payments. We can also see that instead of Turkish teachers, Syrians got hired because of the language barrier. In addition, there are also some differences on how the trainings are managed.

Besides the problematic education policies on children living in camps, there is no educational policy for immigrant Syrians live outside of the camps. These two facts contribute to the *'lost generation'* phenomenon in the world literature and the risk of unpredictable problems in the future for children of Syrian families who have remained uneducated for a long time because of these facts.

As mentioned above, in the first years of migration, if they did not live in refugee camps, Syrian children would not be able to get education. Therefore, besides the provision of education in refugee camps, the education of Syrian immigrant children who live outside the camps is an important social problem of Turkey. Within this framework, MoNE tried to find solutions to the education problem of Syrians through circulars and various activities published on 26 April 2013 and 26 September 2013.

The first circular entitled as '*Measures for Syrian Citizens Hosted Outside the Camps*' is the first official document prepared by the Ministry of National Education. However, it is seen that this Circular is intended for the identification and provision of places that provide or can provide education to Syrian children living outside the camps rather than a solution-oriented policy (MEB., 2013). In this circular, the Ministry requested from the Governorate to examine the places opened by NGOs and

local administrations for the education and social activity needs of Syrian children in the provinces to determine whether they are physically sufficient and safe and to eliminate the deficiencies.

Even if it is not solution-oriented, this article in April 2013 policy is important in terms of being the first education policy made for Syrian immigrant children in Turkey. 5 months later, in a letter dated September 26, 2013, the MoNE published a circular, named *'Education and Training Services for Syrian Citizens under Temporary Protection in Turkey'* on the implementation of the educational processes of Syrian children, which was more comprehensive than former one (MEB, 2013). According to this circular, it is emphasized that Syrian children should continue their education, that those who have to take a break should be compensated for their education and that they should not lose their year when they go to their country or a third country. This one was more comprehensive because it developed policies for both Syrian children living in camps and outside of camps.

These policies could be listed under following subjects. First one is about providing education to the Syrian children in camps who had to interrupt their education. The education provided in accommodation facilities is not designed as a normal education program, instead of that it focused on providing psycho-social support and adaptation to children. Secondly, in need teachers who speak Arabic, Arabic speaking people could be hired as teacher even if they are not teacher. Another regulation is about appointment of teachers or people, who are willing to provide education to children, among the Syrian citizens who are eligible to provide education. However, there is a condition that those Syrians will not charge fees by the Ministry of National Education. MoNE expected from Syrian citizens to be volunteers to educate Syrian children. It may be that this policy occurred as a result of Turkey's inexperience in managing immigrant education. The fourth one is a kind of solution to Arabic curriculum. According to it, the content of the training which is under the control of the MoNE, will prepared by the Syrian National Coalition of Higher Education Commission, also upon request of Syrians have Turkish origin in Turkey could be educated in accordance with Turkish curriculum.

In addition to these policies, opening Turkish language courses and vocational training courses for Syrians who want to learn Turkish in line with facilities were

made possible with 2013 circular. Lastly, within the scope of 2010 circular named '*Foreign Students*' Syrians who have resident permit and lives outside the camps were able to register to Turkish schools. The coordination of education services to be carried out is under the responsibility of MoNE thanks to 2013 regulation.[10] However, it is understood from this circular that the education of those who constitute the majority of children and who do not have temporary residence permit among immigrants live outside the camps is left to local governments, voluntary national and international organizations which mentioned later.

The year 2014, as far as education is concerned, is the turning point of the beginning of an effort to make long-term decisions about the services offered to the Syrians. The understanding of the prolongation of conflicts and the lack of peace in the short term clarifies the educational needs and demands, while also highlighting the need for comprehensive policy by considering integration. On the other side, the rapidly growing non-camped Syrian population has become visible in this period and has come to the forefront of service development for those people whose problems are difficult to reach. Therefore, legal regulations to make possible registration of refugee children to Turkish schools was made. In other words, after 2014, Turkish government had realized that unlike it was foreseen, Syrian civil war will not end in near future and that education is a long-term target and their policies should develop in accordance with it. Therefore, the government have started to enhance systematic frameworks for its policies on education of immigrants.

Here, the significant point is that after realizing the situation, decision making process become much easier, since determination of problem and so answer of the question of 'what is the problem' became clearer. As the first step of policy making is definition of the problem, when the problem is identified clearly then policies are also made effectively.

After the policy formulation process to overcome this problem, for the first time, a comprehensive legislation for immigrants living in Turkey was prepared and *Law on Foreigners and International Protection Law* (No. 6458) (YUKK, 2013) entered into force in April 2014. After that, the legal status and the legal framework of the

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[10] As mentioned before is was carried out by AFAD.

Syrians under this Law have been established within the scope of the *Temporary Protection Regulation*, which came into force in October 2014. Thanks to this regulation, health, education and social and rights were given to the Syrian immigrants who live in camps and outside of camps. Under this regulation a circular numbered 2014/21 and entitled '*Education and Training for Foreigners'* was developed for the education of Syrian refugees entitled to temporary protection status. Thus, it is ensured that Syrian children inside and outside the camps have access to education and that educational opportunities are provided to them. In other words, the educational services provided to Syrian children were secured to a certain standard and Turkey provide immigrant children a registration possibility without residence document (Human Rights Watch, 2015). For example, the training activities outside the camp started with a Syrian teacher who came to Nizip for the first time, when Mehmet Görmez, the President of Religious Affairs (TDV) of the period stated the children's need for education. Görmez asked the Nizip Mufti's Office to reserve a place for the education of Syrian children. Shortly after, TDV realized the importance of the education problem of Syrian children and started to support the education of Syrian children with the project called '*I am aware, I stand by you*". The training activities which started in two Quran courses in Nizip soon followed with the initiation of formal education process for Syrian children in the school buildings of Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Nizip and Kilis with the initiatives of TDV (Taştan, 2017).

Here, it is seen that Turkey accepted refugee children in public schools rather than providing them education only in camps. It is a long-term and much more effective solution for the sake of immigrants under temporary protection status. According to the 2014/21 regulation, foreign students' education services in Turkey are carried out by the Ministry and the Provincial Commissions (Jalbout M. , 2015). There are also other actors who play role in Syrians educational policy process such as the Provincial Directorates of National Education. There are also other actors in coordination with PDoNE such as Provincial Directorates of Migration, Provincial Security Directorate, Provincial Directorate of AFAD, Provincial Mufti Office, Provincial Directorate of Family and Social Policies, Provincial Directorate of Health (MoNE M. T., 2014).

Moreover, with the 2014/2 regulation, *Temporary Education Centers* (TEC) were established with the consent of the governor to carry out activities under the national education directorates in the works affected by the mass influx. The aim of the

education given in these centers is to prevent the foreign students who have flowed to our country to continue their education which they have to leave in their country (Jalbout M. , 2015, p.8). In the case of returning to their country or willing to go any kind of educational institution affiliated to the Ministry of National Education in Turkey and continue their education in Turkey, they will be able to prevent the loss of the year thanks to this regulation. Moreover, according to this regulation, students who meet the requirements for admission are placed according to their diplomas or educational documents and are directed to the school where they will study and benefit from the education and training service.

However, all Syrian children were not be able to bring their educational documents or diplomas because some of them left their country immediately or some of them houses were destroyed because of war. This regulation also involves an article about those children. According to it, foreign students including those who do not have a residence permit, who cannot obtain a foreign identification number, who are registered by giving a foreign identification document and who are not deported, who do not have a certificate of education directed to the level of the class they study in their country based on their declarations or if it is necessary, through written or oral examination. It is really important because this regulation remove the obstacles of access to education. In addition, Foreign Students Information Operation System (YÖBİS) was established and through the YÖBİS system, which conducts transactions in many languages, the attendance, course grade information of the students, were entered and the report card, certification, and also diploma yield are made through the system (MoNE M. T., 2014, p. 5-7).

As Lăzăroiu, Emin and NESSE explain, language barrier is very important problem on education of immigrants (NESSE, 2008). To overcome this problem Turkish is taught in the Temporary Education Centers and all kinds and degrees of education affiliated to the Ministry of National Education in accordance with the 2014/21 regulation. Teachers who took Turkish and Turkish language and literature classes, primary education teachers and foreign language teachers can be assigned for these Turkish lessons. Moreover, as mentioned above, vocational skills are gained through non-formal education institutions and social and cultural content courses for immigrant children are organized with this regulation. Another educational policy is that reinforcement courses opened by the school directorates in order to ensure the

integration of the students coming from abroad to Turkey. As mentioned above, Syrian people who are willing to provide education to children were not charged fees. This 2014 regulation also includes a policy to cope with this problem. In this circular, it is stated that the Ethics Agreement should be signed with the Syrian teachers who will work as teachers on voluntary basis in the TECs and that they should act in accordance with this agreement. Also, these Syrian teachers and immigrant students have economic difficulties were provided with financial, moral and professional support in line with the agreements made in cooperation with stakeholders like EU (MoNE, Yabancılara Yönelik Eğitim-Öğretim Hizmetleri, 2014). For example, $ 20 million grant agreement to be used in education and health services of Syrian refugees in Turkey has been signed with Kuwait (MoNE, Suriyeli sığınmacılar için 20 milyon dolarlık hibe anlaşması, 2016). In short, with the 2014 circular issued, Syrian children were provided with educational services in schools affiliated to MoNE or in Temporary Education Centers for Syrians. Moreover, Syrians in Turkey has earned the right to legal registration for not only Temporary Training Centers, but also state schools in Turkey. Thus, it was decided that rather than residence permit, "foreign identification document is sufficient for for Syrian children who wish to enroll in public schools.

In September 2015, Ministry of Education issued the 2015-2019 Strategic Plan which has also dealt with the issue of education of asylum seekers in Turkey, and it is the first strategic plan of Turkey in which there are plans for the education of refugees. In this context, it is mentioned that the students made efforts to ensure the harmonization of the education system. According to 2015-2019 Strategic Plan, as long as they are in Turkey, efforts will be made to ensure the integration of these foreigners under temporary protection or stateless people live in Turkey (MoNE, MEB Stratejik Plan (2015-2019), 2015). Similarly, the strategic plan states that cooperation with international organizations will be established in order to overcome the barriers to the education of Syrian immigrants.

As it is seen, Turkish government realized the importance of cooperation between implementers and it mentioned about it on strategic plan. It was also emphasized that the problems experienced in the equivalence procedures of asylum seekers will be tried to be solved in near future. Moreover, works will be carried out in cooperation with international organizations in order to eliminate the problems experienced in the

equivalence procedures of refugees, foreigners under temporary protection or stateless persons in Turkey and to eliminate the general problems related to education in this field (MoNE, MEB Stratejik Plan (2015-2019), 2015).

Education Panel for Syrian children live in Turkey was held in 2016 and new policies announced in here. As it was explained in this panel, in order to avoid aggrieving of Syrian immigrant children and to ensure integration, Turkish curriculum will be introduced for Syrian children who are pre-school and first-year of primary school students in temporary education centers in the new school year. In this context, Deputy Undersecretary of the Ministry of National Education Yusuf Büyük said that during the meeting with MoNE, it was stated that TECs will be closed down (MoNE, Türkiye´deki Suriyeli Çocukların Eğitimi Paneli, 2016). However, in the letter of the Ministry dated July 19, 2017, in the 2017-2018 academic year, as in the previous year, the absence of enrollment in the TECs in kindergarten, 1st and 5th grades, the enrollment of students who completed the 8th grade and passed to the 9th grade, and for the first time in 9th grade and those who will start the class are asked to be enrolled in public schools or TECs depending on the language level (MoNE, Yabancı uyruklu öğrenciler, 2017). In this case, the TECs continue their activities without providing 1st and 5th grade education in kindergarten and Syrian children also have the opportunity to attend public schools.

TECs are alternative education places for immigrants. There might be no need for them in near future due to nonexistence of language barrier. However, TECs may need to stay as alternative education places to support immigrant children in terms of different fields like art courses, vocational classes which led to integration of them. Moreover, in the 2016-2017 academic year, arrangements were made for the registration of Syrian students under temporary protection to vocational high schools and vocational training centers (MoNE, Suriyeli öğrenciler meslek lisesine gidebilecek, 2016). It is also vital for both Turkey's economy and future of immigrants.

In 2016, important steps were taken to increase enrollment rates of immigrants through permanent policies and to facilitate the integration of schooled children. One of these steps is the Department of Migration and Emergency Education established by the *Ministry of National Education General Directorate of Lifelong Learning* in

2016. This Department developed new policies. For example, in-service training called *trainer training* provided to raise awareness of teachers, school administrators and other staff (Jalbout, 2015). Therefore, Syrian children are not subject to accusation, exclusion and discrimination in schools. It is a big step to support integration of immigrants. Providing healthy environment in schools possible with well-educated teachers. Another example is providing support of school guidance and psychological counseling services to ensure immigrants adaptation to educational environments (MoNE, Sınıfında yabancı öğrenci bulunan öğretmenlere eğitim, 2016 and Suriyeli Öğretmenlerin Eğitici Eğitimi, 2017).

Moreover, several projects have been developed in concern with the education policies. For example, the Project of Supporting the Integration of Syrian Children into Turkish Education System, which is shortly named PICTES which was launched on October 3, 2016. This project has 2 years application process and signed between the European Union Delegation to Turkey and MoNE in the framework of the Facility for Refugees in Turkey (FRIT). Within the scope of the project, the EU has committed to spend 300 million Euros for the integration of Syrian children into the Turkish education system. Also, within the scope of the project, which includes 23 provinces with a large number of Syrians, it is planned to provide language teaching, teacher and ancillary services personnel and to conduct guidance and monitoring and evaluation activities (MoNE, Hayat Boyu Öğrenme Genel Müdürlüğü. (2017a). İçerik, 2017). PICTES involves policies contributing not only staff employment like teachers but also course materials. PICTES shows that there are also international actors in educational policy development and they have huge influence on it.

After policy formulation and developments during 2012-2016, policy implementation process gain speed in 2017 which was full of activities and projects related with immigrant education. Another project was named as '*A Hope, A Horizon*'. Although the main focus of project was immigrant women, there are also activities include children. With the project started in the pilot regions in Istanbul, a total of one thousand women and children would be given Turkish education first and then Syrian women would be included in the business life with vocational training (MoNE, Bir Umut, Bir Ufuk Projesi, 2017). In addition, '*Qualified Educational Assistance to the Program Dissemination of children Syrians and Other Refugees in Turkey Program*' funded by The European Commission Humanitarian Aid and the Civil Protection

Office was developed in the cooperation with Ministry of Education, Family and Social Policy Ministry, the Turkish Red Crescent and UNICEF in 2017 (IFRC, 2015). According to National Deputy Minister of Education Orhan Erdem, the aim of the Ministry of Education by doing this project is to build a beautiful future for Syrian children who defined as "lost generation". He also expressed that from 833 thousand Syrian children who were of school age in Turkey, 500 thousand of them have provision of access to education. As an outcome of this project, Syrian immigrant children also included in 'Conditional Education Aid (ŞEY)'[11]. Actually, since 2003, Turkey is being implemented across the Conditional Education Aid Program to needy families have been providing financial aid training each month in the condition send their children regularly to school. However, when the studies on Syrian children's reasons for not being able to enroll are examined, it is seen that families whose economic conditions are ineffective cannot go to school because their children have to work (Culbertson, 2015). Therefore, Syrians under temporary protection have been included in the Conditional Education Assistance Program since 2017 and 40Lira for girls attending primary education, 35 Lira for boys, 60 Lira for girls attending secondary education and 50 Lira for boys are paid monthly to also immigrant families thanks to this policy.

There is also another project including a mobile application game called *"Bil Bakalım[12]",* which was prepared by Ministry of National Education General Directorate of Innovation and Educational Technologies in order to facilitate Syrian children who are under temporary protection status to learn Turkish and integrate them to Turkish society. This policy is really important because for the first time Turkish government made an education policy through an application. Before that, technologic materials were used in schools and temporary education centers. However, technology is used as a material in this policy. 'Bil Bakalım' mobile application was developed primarily for Syrian children under the temporary protection of 7-9 years of age in primary school age. In the mobile game, there are concepts and words that Syrian children under temporary protection will encounter frequently in daily life and it consists of large numbers of main and sub-concepts such

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[11] In Turkish 'Şartlı Eğitim Yardımı'
[12] In English it is called 'Guess What'

as home, school, clothes, animals, vegetables etc. The main target of the game is teaching Turkish (MoNE, Suriyeli çocuklar için mobil oyun, 2017).

In 2018, after the 2023 Education Vision was announced by the Ministry of National Education, new projects were added to strengthen the vocational education. Therefore, 2018 is also a dynamic year in terms of educational policy implementations. In this context, Ministry of National Education launched *the Social and Economic Integration Through Vocational and Technical Education Project* in cooperation with the European Union and KFW in order to support the social and economic integration areas for Syrians under temporary protection in Turkey. According to Minister of National Education Ziya Selçuk, MoNE implementing many projects to increase the number of Syrian immigrants enrolled in Turkish schools and this project is just one of them. Thanks to the project, MoNE strengted the infrastructure of schools and children under temporary protection are prepared for life through vocational and technical education (MoNE, MESLEKİ VE TEKNİK EĞİTİM YOLUYLA SOSYAL VE EKONOMİK UYUM PROJESİ BAŞLATILDI, 2018). It is expected that this project will be concluded in 2 years. Within the scope of the project, priority was given to the provinces where more than 100 thousand Syrian immigrants live and the provinces of Istanbul, Bursa, Mersin, Adana, Hatay, Kilis, Gaziantep and Sanliurfa were identified as pilot provinces. In the project, which includes three studies, the biggest budget is the improvement of the infrastructure and laboratories of selected vocational and technical education schools in pilot provinces. In this context, 80 percent of the project budget, 8 schools, workshops, laboratories, other equipment and infrastructure of 50 schools will be devoted to the improvement and strengthening. In addition, 10 thousand Syrian students under temporary protection with limited opportunities will be provided with transportation, educational materials, supply materials, work clothes and lunch support. In accordance with the project plan, approximately 5 percent of the project budget will be used to raise awareness and awareness of vocational and technical education (MoNE, MESLEKİ VE TEKNİK EĞİTİM YOLUYLA SOSYAL VE EKONOMİK UYUM PROJESİ BAŞLATILDI, 2018).

In 2019, The Ministry of National Education will organize two-month intensive free kindergarten training for children who have never received pre-school education in July and August and Syrian children also included in this project. In this context,

summer education will be given to Turkish and Syrian children in 26 densely populated provinces. The stationery costs and lunches of the children who will attend the trainings in these provinces will be covered by the European Union (EU) funds. In other provinces, the Ministry will provide stationery for students who will attend kindergarten education. In this context, the equipment needs of the schools for kindergarten education will be met by MoNE (MoNE, 2019).

To sum up, after 2011 massive migration flow, Turkey had to develop new policies concerning immigrant education. Unfortunately, education policies for immigrants made until 2014 were temporary policies. A lot of fundamental and long -term policies were developed between 2014 and 2016. Until 2016, many educational policies which are fundamental and permanent formulated and implemented. Since 2016, as the implementation of those policies, many projects and activities such as PICTES, Bil Bakalım accelerated.

4.3 The Education Policies Developed for High School and Undergraduate School Level Immigrant Children in Turkey

The situation of accessing higher education is complicated in Turkey since all the students who graduate from high school in Turkey need to take a couple exams to get higher education. This exam system makes the process of accessing higher education for refugees difficult. Unfortunately, young Syrian people who are at in post-secondary school level in Turkey have very little opportunity to enroll in higher education. Turkish government has some regulations to overcome these difficulties. Turkey is one of the signatory countries of the Lisbon Recognition Convention which formed the legal basis for mutual recognition of qualifications in the European Higher Education Area (EHEA). Therefore, as it made for primary, second education level immigrants, Turkey provides opportunities for immigrants who are at higher education level live in Turkey. The provision to higher education is really important because education is one of the key factors of integration of immigrants who plan to stay for a long time in host country. Higher education diploma has significant advantages on an immigrant life in host country. For example, it makes possible to find a qualified job so define social status of immigrant.

There are different types of higher education institutes like public universities, non-profit private universities and non-profit higher vocational schools in Turkey and

provision of higher education for both Turkish citizens and immigrants with different status is under the control of Council of Higher Education (CoHE). According to 1983 Law (No: 2922), for the international students, all of the higher education institutions make their own acceptance conditions (Law No:2922, 1983). In consent with CoHE, higher education institutions have the right to determine their own specific procedures for admitting international students as long as they announce their admission requirements and principles by issuing their own "Admission Regulation" (CoHE, Principles for Admission of International Students, 2018).

International students who have completed their secondary education at a Turkish high school or a foreign student equivalent to a Turkish high school may apply directly to the Turkish universities of their choice. As regards admission criteria, Foreign Student Examination (YÖS)[13] is required to be admitted in some universities. Students must be successful in the exam in order to be eligible for admission to their preferred higher education institutes. Other universities do not require YÖS but may require a different type of admission criteria such as sufficient scores from international standard exams like ACT (National University Admissions Exam) or IB (International Baccalaureate). Moreover, students may also take the exam called *High School Proficiency and Equivalence Test* opened in the TECs. Students also had to demonstrate language proficiency in the language of education for the relevant undergraduate program. For example, a Turkish certificate in B2 was requested from the owners of Istanbul University for the undergraduate programs of the design, in Turkish and as it depends on applied department, minimum 90 point from TOEFL. For some universities, Turkish C1 level language certificate is also required and this certificate can be obtained in the first year of the university. That is, in the case of that if students are not capable of required language level, some higher education institutions may require at least one year language preparatory class. Moreover, Syrians are registered as international students and, unlike Turkish students, have to apply to universities in person. As mentioned above, each university itself determines the number of international students it will accept but this number should not exceed the number of Turkish students in Turkey, according to the legislation. For

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[13] The exam mainly includes questions of basic learning skills, mathematics and geometry skills.

registration, a valid high school diploma and transcript is required, as well as an equivalence certificate from the CoHE and MoNE.

Even if universities have flexible authority to set their own criteria and policies for autonomous and international student admissions, maximum quotas and general admissions principles for international students are approved centrally by CoHE. Similar to the first policies implemented for primary school level refugees, first policies applied for higher education level immigrant students also a problematic area. To overcome the difficulties Syrian students faced in the process of admission to universities, Turkey offers flexible ways to Syrian immigrants. For example, Turkey is supporting legislation to create systems and applications of autonomous universities by allowing the application in accordance with national and international legislation. Although the initial application procedures were completely different, this facilitated procedure made it possible for Syrian students to enter the universities. As a consequence, the number of Syrian students enrolled in Turkish universities in the last few years was high. Syrians under temporary protection or refugees can apply directly to the university of their choice as long as they are sufficient for the university's criteria for admission, which is equally set up for all international students. As previously stated, these criteria may also vary between universities for each immigrant student. According to law, there is no difference in how these pupils are treated due to their status (whether or not refugees) or their country of origin. Differences exist only in terms of different admission criteria between universities, which are identified in a wider context for all international students.

Another convenience provided is scholarships given to immigrant students at university level. In 2013, The Presidency for Turks Abroad and Other Related Communities (YTB) provide a full scholarship to the Syrian enrolled in private or public universities in Turkey to overcome this problem (UNICEF, 2019a). The program has funded more than 2,000 students since 2013. There are also international actors which provides scholarship to immigrants. Since 2011, the total number of scholarships granted to Syrian university students is 4001 and %85 of these scholarships are funded by the EU (HUGO, 2017). It also paid tuition fees for Syrian immigrant students who have been allowed to attend public universities as free of charge in accordance with the waiver of the Council of Ministers. Approximately 20% of Syrian students receive scholarships and the scholarships of 1200 TL are given by

YTB during the education period. In addition, within partnership of universities, YTB made available Turkish language courses to support the language skills of Syrian immigrants. Thus, these immigrants are eligible to study in Turkish universities. This scholarship financed by AFAD and UNICEF has served over 4,000 Syrians so far. There are also other smaller scholarship programs include for Syrians who are at post-secondary education level. For example, UNHCR's Albert Einstein German Academic Refugee Initiative (DAFI) program and other privately funded initiatives.

As mentioned before, educational policies in the first years of the mass flow of Syrians were not sufficient. The first regulation is about the possibility of taking private lessons at universities for Syrian university students. For example, in 2012, there was a new regulation with the sign of general secretary of CoHE Süleyman Necati Akçeşme for the 2012-2013 academic year. Within this regulation CoHE allowed Syrian students without a certificate or diploma to enroll in seven selected Turkish universities which are close to boarder as "*special students''* (CoHE, General Assembly Decision, 2012). This status designed for missing documents such as transcripts. According to this regulation of CoHE, it is stated that if the documents indicating the status of the students are to be examined to accepting refugees with 'special' student status, if the documents are not available, only the statements of the students will be taken into account for accepting them. These universities are Gaziantep University, Kilis 7 Aralık University, Harran University (Şanlıurfa), Mustafa Kemal University (Hatay), Osmaniye Korkut Ata University, Çukurova University (Adana) and Mersin University. However, special student status does not offer a diploma at the end of studies. With this policy, refugee students are expected to maintain and acquire skills in the education system, to participate in courses and not to interrupt their education during the crisis and relocation period.

Secondly, in 2013 September, head of CoHE represented a new regulation by saying 'Syrian citizens who have been hosted in our country due to the events in Syria and placed in higher education institutions are declared that they will not pay tuition fees for those who continue their education in the first and open education programs and during the program period' so, unlike Turkish students, refugees does not have to pay to get higher education. Moreover, in 2013, a new regulation called '*Regulation on Principles of Transfers Between Associate and Undergraduate Degree Programs of Higher Education Institutions, Double Major, Minor, and Credit Transfers*

Between Institutions' for the students who to interrupt their education due to violence and humanitarian crises in countries determined by CoHE. With this circular these students who applied for all associate degree, bachelor and master degrees enrolled universities in Turkey (CoHE, n,d). As an example, CoHE allowed the transfer of students had diplomas or certificates who had completed their higher education in Syria and Egypt before the 2013-14 school year (CoHE, 2013). In other words, in 2013, there was another regulation related with providing transition to higher education institutions founded in Turkey from Syria and Egypt. It means that Syrians and Egyptians who were studying at universities before or during war, can register to same departments in Turkish universities (CoHE, the anouncement of Right to "Transition to Higher Education Institutions Found in Turkey from Syria and Egypt , 2013).

In 2014, time period of regulation which provides 'special student' status to immigrant children were expanded and the limitation on universities is cancelled. According to it, in 2014- 2015 academic year, Syrian students without a certificate or diploma to enroll in all universities in Turkey. In addition, in the case of providing documents or certificates later, special students status had been changed into regular degree status. Another policy developed in 2014 is related with scholarship. In 2014, a scholarship program called *Turkey Scholarship* was launched under the government scholarship program. This program had been provided full scholarships for 5,000 Syrian specifically for a five-year   period.

In 2016, to digitalize the equivalency applications, "*Equivalence Information Management System*" has established. Thanks to this system, all references to the recognition and equivalence of diplomas for universities are offered through Turkey's e-government portal, monitored and verified (Açıkgöz Ö. , 2019). After digitalization process, it was realized that the number of diplomas and certificates which equivalenced are triple of expected numbers. Therefore, CoHE developed a policy in order to centralize the equivalency system. In 2017, '*Recognition and Equivalence Application Processes for Those from Countries with War, Invasion and Annexation'* decision was published (CoHE, 2017). Moreover, within this decision, boarders for equivalence and recognition of qualification were broaden. According to decision, students from not only Syria and Egypt but also from Libya, Yemen, Palestine, Somalia, South Sudan and Crimea are able to get recognition for their education level.

Thanks to 2017 decision, immigrants who are not able to submit diplomas or transcripts, have missing documents or have diplomas or transcripts but are not able to confirm them because of a lack of official reply or communication from the related institutions of those countries mentioned above facilitated with recognition or equivalence. Thanks to this regulation, in 2017/18 academic year, 20,700 Syrian students enrolled in Turkish universities. This number corresponds to 3-4% of Syrians in university age. (The rate of students attending university in Syria before the war was about 20%.). Also, the number of Syrians enrolled in associate degree programs increased from 7% in 2016/17 to 9% in 2017/18 (Hohberger, 2017).

In addition, in 2018 regulation, new scholarship for refugee students were provided (CoHE, YÜKSEKÖĞRETİM KURUMLARINDAKİ LİSANS PROGRAMLARINA KAYITLI ÖĞRENCİLERE VERİLECEK BURSLARA İLİŞKİN USUL VE ESASLAR, 2019). Besides governmental scholarships, there are also scholarships funded by international organizations such as UNICEF, SPARKS, KAS.

To sum up, in the first year of massive migration, there are some opportunities concerning the provision of higher education to immigrants who came from Syria and Egypt. After 2014, the regulation was expanded and provision of higher education to immigrants supplied for all migrant students regardless their country of origin. Even if these students do not have certificate, as long as they fulfill the language requirements, they are able to continue their education at universities in Turkey with statements.

4.4 The Problems on Immigrant Education Policy Process in Turkey

Although throughout its history Turkey is an immigrant receiving country, Turkey is a backward country in terms of educational policies. Especially after massive migration flow in 2011, both the Turkish government and immigrants received Turkey has been confronting many problems concerning education. Until 2014, there is no policy on the education of migrants except the law numbered 2922 published in 1983. After 2014, although there are legal texts on the education of migrants, conditions for access to education of immigrant, asylum seeker and refugee children are problematic areas.

Despite the developed education policies for immigrants in Turkey, still there are thousands of children who cannot access education. According to a lot of researches, Syrian children of the majority, which theoretically could have gone to public schools in Turkey, in practice they are not going to schools. Considering this situation, it is seen that there is much work to be done in this field. Therefore, it is important to determine what the main problem areas are related to the subject in terms of guiding the future studies.

4.4.1. The Problem of Access and Participation to Education

The main problem with Syrian asylum seekers is the lack of data. There is a serious lack of data, especially regarding Syrians outside the camps. Therefore, it is not known to what extent immigrant children have access to or are deprived of education. This lack of basic data makes it difficult to coordinate and plan the education services provided / to be made for immigrant children. Another reason that prevents access to education is the lack of service in the majority of temporary training centers outside the camps. As a matter of fact, in the first year of flow, temporary education centers outside the camps have been established in certain regions but unfortunately, they were a few in numbers. For this reason, Syrian children living in places away from the TECs have problems accessing the school and this situation affects the access rates negatively.

One of the main obstacles to access to education is the distinction between male and female students. Both in and out of the camps, especially Syrian families who have poor socio-economic status and live under difficult conditions, marry their daughters at an early age. This makes girls deprived of their right to education. Child labor is also another problem that immigrant children faced in terms of access to education. Due to economic conditions of immigrant families, especially male children forced to work by their parents.

In addition, in some districts to register to public schools, Syrian families with temporary protection status are requested to submit documents that are not possible; for example, a residence permit, lease contract or electricity bill from the elected neighborhood representative (muhtar). As a result, the difficulties mentioned in the formal registration process constitute an obstacle for children to go to school. Also, Syrian children and their families seem to have limited access to information that they

have the right to enroll in schools. At this point, Directorate General of Migration Management[14] distributes various brochures (GİGM, Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü, "Suriyeliler İçin Bilgilendirme Broşürü", 2017). However, there is no second example of it. It is seen that the delivery of these materials to the addressees of the subject matter is important but does not provide a detailed framework on educational rights.

Moreover, disproportionate displacement of migrants in cities such as Hatay, Gaziantep (Erdogan, 2014) and the high immigrant population in some cities also impede access to education. Traumatic effects of war on children also has negative effect on enrolment and participation. Children deal with post-traumatic stress disorder tent to self-harm and politically radicalized (European Union, 2015).

Another problem is the lack of contingency in higher education. Currently, 82% of Syrian university students are enrolled in undergraduate programs and the number of applications to these programs has exceeded the available capacity (Hohberger, 2017).

4.4.2. Problems Related with Staff

Due to the small number of Arabic-speaking teachers, people who speak Arabic from a wide range of professional fields are teaching. For example, in one of the TECs in Ankara, Syrian elementary school students can enter the courses given by doctors, engineers, lawyers. These people who do not have a pedagogical formation are not competent in how to communicate with children professionally and in educational techniques. In other words, the teachers in these fields do not demand to give Turkish lessons to the Syrians because they do not know Arabic and they are not experts on Turkish education with foreigners. Thus, there is not enough numbers of teachers and it is a very problematic situation for the refugees because it delays integration.

Moreover, in the education system in Turkey, no training is given to teachers in concern with immigrants, as war victims, have been exposed to traumatic events and deal with psychological damage. Teachers do not have knowledge and experience on how to treat these children. This situation of teachers directly affects children who are receiving education, especially children of primary school age. It causes students to

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[14] Directorate General of Migration Management mentioned as GİGM, which is its Turkish abridgment, earlier.

fall back and get away from school in terms of integration to the social life offered by the school. Unfortunately, this factor is not considered in the long-term education policies for refugees, still there is no development on policies to deal with this problem.

The attitudes of the staff assigned to the education system regarding the right of Syrian students to attend schools also a problematic area. Some of the school officials, including teachers, consider the access of Syrians to education in the context of the right to education. However, a significant portion of the school staff consider that Turkish government offered to Syrians 'grace' by developing policies in concern with access to education. According to the report of Istanbul Bilgi University Children's Studies Unit, during an interview with the school administrators, it is better that even the Syrian children do not participate actively in the education, they are in a warm and safe environment and it is better than being in streets. Therefore, it was stated that the provision of this opportunity giving to them was a great blessing for immigrant children (N.a, Suriyeli Mülteci Çocukların Türkiye Devlet Okullarındaki Durumu: Politika ve Uygulama Önerileri , 2015). Parallel to this view, the situation is related to the grading the school report cards of the Syrian students. An administrator with the fear of dissatisfaction of Turkish parents with the high note-taking Syrian students in one school states that that while he gave all Syrian students a lower grade than the basic courses and he gave a higher grade than the elective courses in order to ensure equality. In the focus groups with Syrian students at the same school, it was seen that the students were very uncomfortable with getting report cards with low grades instead of the grades they deserved (N.a, Suriyeli Mülteci Çocukların Türkiye Devlet Okullarındaki Durumu: Politika ve Uygulama Önerileri, 2016, p.6-7).

4.4.3. Language Problem

The primary problem of Syrian children enrolled in schools in Turkey's is the language barrier. Except Syrians with Turkmen origin, immigrants coming from Syria do not speak Turkish. Thus, there is a problem of teachers and teaching materials which provide Turkish education for Syrian children and adults both inside and outside the camps. The circular states that Turkish, Turkish language and literature teachers, classroom teachers and foreign language teachers should be assigned to teach Turkish. However, teachers in these fields do not want to teach Syrians Turkish

because they do not know Arabic and are not experts in teaching Turkish to foreigners. Lack of the number of administrative staffs, teachers, guidance specialists, doctors who speak Arabic both inside and outside the camps cause some communication problems (N.a, Suriyeli Mülteci Çocukların Türkiye Devlet Okullarındaki Durumu: Politika ve Uygulama Önerileri, 2015, p.6-7). In addition, except the municipal camps, there are no schools where children whose mother tongue is Kurdish can receive education in their mother tongue. Syrian children enrolled in public schools face language barriers from the moment they start school and have to cope somehow.

4.4.4. Curriculum, Teaching Materials and Physical Infrastructure Problem

Lack of educators[15] and teaching materials in Turkish education negatively affects both accessibility and quality of education. Circulation is another problematic area. In the research conducted by the Science Education Culture Research Center (BEKAM), it was stated that teams of academics and teachers examined the Syrian curriculum. According to them, curriculum contains incorrect information about the Ottoman Empire and Turkish history.

In addition, there are deficiencies in schools, where there are Syrian students, educational materials and especially technological materials such as projection equipment, visual equipment. Stationery and book requirements of the students are provided by various institutions and organizations. However, it is stated that these materials are not distributed in a fair manner. Moreover, since there is not enough organization in the material distribution, the same materials can be sent to the same places again and again.

There are also physical infrastructure problems related to temporary training centers established inside and outside the camps. In the camps, educations are conducted under difficult conditions in tents and the number of students exceeds the capacity of tents. Outside the camps, some of the schools are allocated to Syrian students and teachers in the afternoon.

Moreover, there are problems in the allocation of appropriate buildings for TECs. As stated in the government plan, the goal of transforming all schools with dual

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[15] It is mentioned in 'Staff' section so, it was not mentioned again in this section. For detailed information about lack of teachers please check Staff section.

education into single education raises the building problem for TECs allocated for Syrian students in the afternoon. For this purpose, MoNE stated that some of the EU aid fund will be used for building construction.

There is little or no playground for Syrian students, especially in refugee camps. The absence of these areas causes children to release their energy in a different way like violence.

4.4.5. Social Responses and Local Attitude Against Immigrants

In addition to policies' problematic area on education system of Syrian students, the attitudes of the social and local environment towards these students and their families are an important factor on the success in schools. The families' views and reactions to Syrian refugees are reflected directly on their children. The attitudes of the children who have heard the thoughts expressed by their environment change towards the Syrian students in their schools and it has negative effects on the Syrian students' school life and social cohesion. The importance of this situation is more important for children who have difficulties in integration to the social environment created by the school and who are in the process of getting away from school and education. Situations such as grouping, hate speech, discrimination and exclusion in schools lead to the cooling of the child's education life as well as major problems in social cohesion.

Apart from education, the attitude of the people and the region they live in is not independent of this issue. The local attitude towards Syrians in the neighborhood, city or region where they live is of great importance in the immediate and long-term psychology of the child. Although there are some examples that may have positive effects on children in terms of local attitudes in this regard, the practice that is commonly seen shows the opposite. As it is seen through the media, a small number of the society consciously and unconsciously use hate speech intensively and physical and psychological attacks against Syrians can be seen in different parts of the country (Sözcü, 2016). As we can see, the social reactions and the attitude of the local to the Syrians settled in the region and their long-term integration have gained an important place in the practice of the right to education.

As the age of starting school is delayed, the language barrier is growing and older Syrian children had to be enrolled in junior classes because they are illiterate in Turkish. This creates a wide range of challenges for Syrian children, other children in the classroom and teachers. Syrian children enrolled at older ages seem to have a higher risk of discrimination and exclusion. The bad attitudes of younger classmates have also negative effect on immigrant children's desire to continue education.

Some Syrian families do not register their children with concerns about that their children will be exposed to bullying at school and will have difficulty to fuse with Turkish classmates. Since, negative situations such as prejudice, exclusion, discrimination and violence in peer relations can remove Syrian children from educational environments.

According to Human Right Watch report, in addition to these negativities that create unequal opportunities in the educational processes of Syrian children, some public schools reject or do not reasonably meet the needs of Syrian children. Despite the fact that Turkey has changed to provide the legal framework of Syrian children to go to public school (as mentioned earlier to register the requested documents are not necessary), still some state schools in Turkey requires documents. In addition, some school-age children have continued non-formal education programs provided by mosques, informal temporary education centers or non-governmental organizations. However, there is no evidence about how many children benefit from such organizations (HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, 2015).

4.4.6. Socio- Economic and Psychological Problems

Reference to guidance and counseling services in schools in Turkey are generally identified by the student or the teacher's request. However, in the case of Syrian students who have suffered deep traumas due to the war, this demand process often fails and the guidance counselor cannot support for various reasons. In addition to the language barrier, the lack of equipped or willing teachers and the lack of time due to the intensity of guidance counselors are among the obstacles in this regard. Therefore, Syrian students cannot benefit from psychosocial support mechanisms within the education system. In the case of psychological support at school, the implementation of a special psychosocial support process only for Syrian children carries the risk of causing Syrian children to perceive themselves as problematic. It may be more

appropriate to provide such psychosocial support from outside the school by a relevant NGO or university. However, since there is no institution to provide this, Syrians cannot benefit from psychosocial support outside the school.

The economy, which is the primary problem of the Syrian refugees, is also one of the most serious factors directly affecting the education field. Most of the families are not able to make a new life, they cannot even afford to live economically. In particular, before the Regulation on the Work Permits for Foreigners with Temporary Protection, which entered into force in 2016 with regard to the work permit of Syrians (2016/8375), the economic conditions were primary than education Economic difficulties also cause the increase in the numbers of child labor. Even if education in public schools is free, it is even more difficult for a student to buy school supplies during the year or to be asked for money by the school due to activities during the year (HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, 2015, p.27). If people who cannot reach even a minimum economy for living are unlikely to meet these fees. Although the importance of the economy in terms of access to education is more prominent, the effects directly reflected on the result in access to the right are clearly seen with the examples mentioned above. Those who cannot even reach a minimum economy to live are likely to meet these fees. In addition to the importance of the economy in terms of access to education which is prominent, the effects directly reflected on the result in access to the right are clearly seen with the examples mentioned above.

4.4.7. Lack of Coordination

Lack of coordination between public institutions and non-governmental organizations can cause serious problems in the formulation and efficiency of policies. For example, there are inadequate infrastructure and physical problems in the allocation of appropriate buildings for TECs.

In addition, there are deficiencies between central and local governments in terms of service delivery and coordination. The reason behind it is that there is a serious uncertainty with regard in particular to the basis upon which institution of local government take responsibility on refugees It is known that the main legal resources in this regard are the Municipal Law No. 5393 and the Law on Foreigners and International Protection No. 6458. In addition, it is seen that immigrants are mentioned especially in structures such as City Councils and voluntary services. Law

No. 5393 has left an "open door for services to be provided to refugees but has not assigned a mandatory duty. It is the main reason of lack of coordination in the implementation of refugee policies in local government. The Law on Foreigners and International Protection No. 6458, which is innovative in many respects, has a very limited mandate for local governments, as subject experts and most of the international institutions have accepted. In other words, only "suggestions and contributions" are expected from local administrations in order to benefit from the planning of the integration activities to be carried out by the DGMA. (GİGM). Moreover, while public institutions and non-governmental organizations are explicitly mentioned (m.96 / 3) among the actors to be cooperated in providing social and cultural services to immigrants, local governments are not envisaged in the implementation part. In addition to this uncertainty in law, municipalities are unwilling to made educational polices on immigrants because administrator think that if immigrants get education, they will stay forever in Turkey (Erdoğan, 2017, p.92). However, although it is an international problem, the most important part of funds used for educational policy of Syrian refugees are afforded by Turkey.

4.4.8. Funding

As it mentioned earlier, there are almost 2 million Syrian immigrant children in Turkey which means they need hundreds of school building, teaching materials, cleaning materials for schools etc. When we think about economic burden of the educational need of Syrian, it is impossible to afford them by only one institution. The huge part of Syrian students' costs covered by the MoNE. Syrian students attending public schools have the same rights as Turkish students. In public schools, textbooks are provided free of charge to each student.

Since Turkey cannot afford the educational needs of approximately 2 million Syrians, it has in a cooperation with both international and local organizations. However, there are also some problems to get financial aids from some of these organizations. For example, an agreement signed between the European Union and Turkey to transfer the financial assistance of 3 billion euros size project and "Financial Aid for Refugees in Turkey Opportunity" (FRIT: Facility for Refugees in Turkey) was established. However, it is known that there are difficulties in transferring these resources. At the first stage, only 300 million Euros could be transferred through

FRIT. In addition to that, for services performed in the United Nations standards, Turkey has used resources of around US $ 25 billion. According to the 2017 Global Humanitarian Assistance Report, approximately 0.75% of 2016 national income was used to aid immigrants. Although it has increased in the last years due to educational projects, aid provided by international organizations was limited to only US $ 526 thousand in 2016 (AFAD, n.d.).

Moreover, although the salaries of the Syrian teachers working in the TECs are paid by UNICEF, some NGOs pay additional fees to these teachers due to insufficient salaries. However, when we think about limited budget of NGOs, it is clear that these NGOs will have problems on paying additional salaries to Syrian teachers.

Turkey cooperated with many actors to overcome problems on funding. Thus, policy implementers and funding are connected to each other. Policy actors and their cooperation project with Turkish government in terms of the educational policy making for refugees under temporary protection status are good examples of policies developed to deal with funding problem.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Migration can cause serious problems in social and cultural aspects of children. In particular, children who are subjected to forced migration due to war, are exposed to psychological traumas. To put it in more detail, the children's longing for their homeland, the differences between the old and new life, the physical and social deprivation of the new spaces they live and interact with, the social pressures such as discrimination, exclusion and marginalization as a result of the cultural mismatch cause traumatic and severe consequences for immigrant children. Being forced to migrate in the educational age carries a great risk for the future of children and young people. Children whose education is interrupted are almost vulnerable in the face of the traumatic processes they experience during these periods. The deprivation of immigrant children, especially Syrians, in need of protection, psychosocial support and healthy living conditions during these periods is remarkable in terms of their education.

This study aimed to analyze the education policies for immigrant children held in Turkey, to identify the problems encountered in the policy process and intended to develop the policy recommendations regarding the solution of these problems. In this context, migration, education and policy making literature, the policies for Turkey's history of mass migration history is explained and policies developed on immigrant education in Turkey were analyzed. Based on these analyses, it is possible to identify some areas of improvement for immigrant education policies in Turkey. It is important to analyze those policies and policy recommendations which will made below by considering that here are always inconsistencies in the application of education policies in Turkey. I mean, there are a number of trainings and orientations that change with the minister of education almost every 3 years such as the examination system but there are also constant mechanisms such as the citizen-raising project in the

curriculum. Considering that circumstance of Turkey's educational policy, one cannot say there is no policy on immigrants' education in Turkey. Turkey has a migranteducation policy consists of three stages. orientations formed by non-defacto decisions constitute the first stage. The policy in this stage was distributing settlement so that it is not crowded. The high number of Syrians constitutes the second period which is paralysis period. The third stage emerged in 2014, after the coup, new institutions started to be established, especially in 2016-2017 institution building period is important in this stage. In terms of policy construction, the years 2018-2019 are better, because there had been policy learning through practices. At present, policy is being built through experience. I mean, the experiences continue through a policy learning policy making process. In addition, in this study, a huge importance is given 'citizenship' phonemenon throughout this study. The concept of citizenship for the Syrians in Turkey can be described as defacto recognition because citizenship is not a legally defined for Syrians in Turkey. However, when we look at the services received in terms of education, definition of citizenship is seen because Syrians received education service just like Turkish citizens and participate in everyday life to become a defacto citizen.[16] In terms od receiving public services like education, Syrians in Turkey are citizens subject to a separate categorization as status. While Turkeyseen as a transit country by the Syrians, we can not talk about citizenship but Syrians stayed in Turkey after 2015 consider Turkey is not transit country. Therefore, citizenship mentioned in this study to analyze more clearly the processes of immigrant education policies of Turkey.

Education of immigrants is one of the major policy areas that we need to progress with concrete and decisive steps to allow a lost generation in Turkey. At this point, the correct identification of the problems and determination of appropriate policies in this direction will make the steps to be taken sustainable for the benefit of both immigrants and the host society. There are many reasons for Syrian children's failure to enroll and leave schools. Some of these are factors such as poverty, families with socio-economic disabilities, forcing their children to work to support the family

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[16] Here, it is important to understand that citizenship on paper is not meant.

economy, disruption of traditional gender roles and health (physical, social, mental well-being) characteristics. In addition, there are many reasons such as inability to adapt to school climate, environment and culture for reasons such as language, curriculum, cultural differences. If these problems are not solved, the problem of immigrant education will become more complex and chaotic.

Language barrier is the main problem of immigrants in Turkey. Even if there are language courses organized by NGOs and TECs, immigrant children still have language problems while they start schooling. Also as mentioned before, government plans to close down TECs. I think, TECs plays important role on educations of Syrians. The reason behind closing TECs is that government believes that primary school aged children have learned Turkish during their residential in Turkey. However, TECs are still needed. Instead of closing them, they should be turned into alternative education places for not only immigrant children but also adults in the need of language course. That is, numbers of TECs all over the Turkey is high, these building should be benefited. In addition, primary school aged immigrants who born and grow up in Turkey have faced to nor speaking their native language properly. As it exists in some developed countries like Germany, Arabic of which language is used as mother tongue by immigrants should be provided for these children. Since public schools do not have enough classes and schedule for this, those TECs should be used for this aim.

Unfortunately, no education policy has been developed for adults other than the language course or some vocational courses offered by NGOs. Turkish education for middle-aged immigrants who are illiterate is very important. In addition to Turkish literacy courses, vocational courses should be given to adults as well as young people and children. In particular, for literacy courses for adults, NGOs alone are not sufficient and District National Education Directorates need to take action.

In addition, equivalence system for students educated in TECs should be provided, since Yusuf Büyük mentioned that TECS will be close down in near future. Exams or equivalence system is also needed to determination of language and academic achievement of immigrant students wishing to transfer to public schools in Turkey.

Syrian children are educated in different institutions and policies have been developed to pave the way for this. These institutions are public schools, refugee

schools in camps, community schools established by Syrians (these are private schools so there is very little demand for these schools), UNICEF schools (outside of camp) and institutions for education through religious groups. Although alternative educational institutions are an advantage for children, there are problems of equivalence and curriculum among these educational institutions. Correlation between these institutions should be ensured and common courses and similar curricula should be developed so that children do not have problems if they move from one educational institution to another, even if it is not uniform education.

In-service training of immigrant teachers should include academicians as well as NGO experts with high field experience and pediatrics working in the region. Also, providing psychosocial intervention trainings for volunteers and experts working with migrant children and migrants and non-contact of volunteers or specialists who have not undergone this training with immigrants should be ensured. Providing these trainings is very important for eliminating the prejudice against children, for the educators and students to communicate more healthily and to be aware of the psychological situation of children in education. If these conditions are met, immigrant children will be more successful in their education.

In order to integrate immigrant children and their classmates to each other and remove prejudices between them, activity clubs related with scout groups, team sports, culture should be opened in schools and children should spend time together.

Individual orientation programs should be organized for Syrian children and school staff. This will be beneficial to prevent reciprocal prejudices.

Access to TECs and schools should be provided for distant children.

Policy actors, especially NGOs, have difficulties to make efficient policy because of lack of information about problems. Unfortunately, even there is a gap between the official and estimated numbers of immigrants in Turkey. Not knowing 'what problem is' prevents bringing logical solutions to the problem. Therefore, identifying and supporting unaccompanied, high-risk migrant and disabled migrant children is very crucial for problem definition, so it should be made. Also, a new study on immigrants in Turkey should be carried out, including those who previously, registered for a registration of reliable and detailed. In order to this, providing information to the

relevant personnel of the Provincial and District National Education Directorates on how the registration process should proceed and monitoring the effectiveness of the process and making necessary interventions is needed. Then, the results of information should be publicized to develop efficient policies. For example, MoNE should regularly share the data on the educational status of Syrians with the public in order to make a problem definition of the education of Syrians and to make analysis by independent researchers and institutions. In addition, the needs of migrants for schooling should be determined by the state, classification should be made according to cities and needs should be met in the need maps which determined by municipalities, NGOs and central government in the troubled regions.

Besides informing policy actors, conducting informative meetings with parents in cooperation with Provincial National Education Directorates and NGOs should be organized and preparing informative brochures and distributing immigrant families to homes would be more beneficial to access to education of immigrants. In order to that, distribution of written and visual materials in Arabic or which language is immigrant's mother tongue and Turkish in which migrants' rights and responsibilities are written.

NGOs and local government officials, such as district national education authorities, should go home of immigrant families and determine the educational needs of children.

In this study, it was observed that many policies were made to remove the barriers to access to education. However, no policy has been developed to control the attendance of children in education. A mechanism should be developed in cooperation with guidance teachers, school principals and the Ministry of National Education for the control and promotion of the school attendance of immigrant children.

Moreover, school social service works for the solution of the problems experienced by the students due to their developmental period, family and living conditions, to provide the necessary needs and psychosocial services and thanks to school social service it is ensured that the educational activities are carried out successfully. School social services would be very helpful for immigrant students and it should be provided for migrant children. In this study, it was observed that no steps were taken and no policy was determined for schools and family communication. However, while the school social service is provided, the education team, teachers,

administrators, psychological counselors, psychologists, school-related institutions, students and student families work together. The lack of such a mechanism leads to huge losses in immigrant children's school life in Turkey. Therefore, school social service should be provided immediately for immigration children. In order to do that, cooperation with school staffs and Provincial Directorate of National Education Special Education and Guidance Services Unit should be supported. Moreover, it should be ensured that schools and interpreters are in contact for crises or emergencies situations.

It is necessary to revise the curriculum of the National Education and to create a multicultural and pluralist education system and curriculum by academics and experts as in Australia and to revise the textbooks. In addition, also Postgraduate studies on the education and social cohesion of migrants should be encouraged and the number of postgraduate programs related to migration policy should be increased by CoHE.

Policies on access to education for higher education students are effective and good. However, there is no integration policy for students at this level of education. CoHE should inform the universities about this issue and develop projects that integrate migrant children to social life and education. For example, an informative letter can be sent to the dean's office and the student clubs at the university, which contains problems and solutions that migrant youth face.

Also, the relationship between policy actor is very important for an effective policy development process. Especially in agenda setting, formulation, implementation processes, immigrants should also be included. Turkish government, domestic and international NGOs treat immigrants as objectives of policies. However, all of policy actors should realize that immigrants are subject of policies. When we think, language, so education is key point to interact and integrate to host society, policy makers in governmental and non-governmental area, should organize representation boards for immigrant live in Turkey. Moreover, as mentioned above, there are some tensions between policy actors. In order to eliminate misunderstood between policy implementers, conferences, panels and forum should be organized to understand approaches of each other. Another point I want to emphasis it that since the definition of the duties of local governments is not clearly defined in the law, policy making is left to the initiative of municipalities and local government units. It

also affects the relation between local governments and non-governmental organizations. To solve this problem, definition of duties should define clearly and distribution of tasks should be determined distinctly.

It is necessary to make city councils more functional and to represent migrants in city councils. I mean, rather than being a bridge between refugees and municipalities, city councils should be representative areas for immigrants.

The assignment of competent NGOs is crucial to an effective policy. Therefore, it is important to establish an accreditation system that will set the required standards for NGOs wishing to work in the field.

There is no mechanism in which school administrators will have more information about the work produced in different schools and they will communicate regularly with different school administrators. It is necessary to exchange information and to establish this mechanism through the meetings to be organized on developing cooperation between schools.

International actors need to take more responsibility than just being involved in the implementation of policies and projects. Thus, mechanisms in which international actors will advise and contribute not only to the implementation of policies and projects, but also to policy making.

There is no specific item in the budget items of the Ministry of National Education in the education of immigrants and it is processed from the general budget. This causes the issue to become more generalized and not to fall over. Within the Ministry of National Education, the budget items should be reorganized, functional and sustainable departments should be re-established on the education of immigrants. I mean, production and operation of the policies that envisage the programs of teachers on education are the methods can contribute to the solution of the immigrant's education problem.

It is necessary to prepare a detailed report about the projects and financial difficulties and to announce them in the international platforms through the media in order to fund the projects and find international partners.

Unfortunately, as it is seen in this study, there is no special education policy has been developed for children with disabilities. Special books and materials should be

prepared for visually impaired migrant children. In addition, the Syrian teachers in the TECs that will be closed should also be provided with educational inclinations to be provided to these students and cooperation with the institutions working for the disabled. In addition, special education teachers should be assigned to disabled immigrant students and they should be given training on how to treat these immigrant children with post-traumatic stress disorder.

Unfortunately, the creation of safe zones and placing majority of Syrians live in Turkey is on the agenda of Turkey. People who have immigrated to Turkey again before, will have to migrate to this safe zone. Before relocating those people to safe zone, should educational opportunities in this region should be provided. Syrians who are at higher education level in universities in Turkey will be able to continue their education but at the level of primary and secondary education of children are at greatest risk. Questions like 'which language will be used in education of children in this safe zone, will the education of these children start from the beginning if they receive Arabic education, is Turkish education they receive in Turkey will get lost for them, how will determined course curriculum' are really crucial. The answers also important as much as questions. Since the conditions in safe zone are not known, it is very problematic for policy actors but a comprehensive and long-term education policy is required for the sake of immigrant children who will be forced to migrate safe zone. Children who have just get integrated or about to get integrated to Turkey, will migrate to safe zone because of international policies and it will be very harmful for their psychology and integration process to new place. Therefore, these negative conditions that children will be in it, should also be considered in educational policy making process of children who will live in safe zone area.

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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY/ TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Eğitim, temel bir insan gereksinimi ve bireylerin ve toplumların refahını arttırmanın temel belirleyicilerinden biridir. Bu öneme rağmen, savaş, göç, doğal afetler ve benzeri konularda eğitimin engellendiğini görmekteyiz. Söz konusu göçmenler olduğunda bu durum daha da güçlenmektedir. Nitekim, sosyal bilimciler tarafından, göçmen çocukların eğitiminin, bu çocukların sosyal hayata entegrasyonlarının kurulmasının merkezinde rol oynadığı kabul edilmektedir. Göçmen çocuklar ve gençler, eğitim kültürü ve süreçleri sayesinde göç ettikleri yeni kültüre entegre olurlar. Göç ve göçmen olmak, kişisellerin sosyo-ekonomik ve kültürel koşullarını doğrudan etkilemektedir. Göçmen çocuklar okullarda, göç ettikleri toplumu öğreniyor ve malesef göçmen çocuklar eğitim fırsatlarından yararlanma konusunda yerel halkla eşit değil. Temel planlamaların yanı sıra, göçmenlerin topluma başarılı bir şekilde entegrasyonu için etkili eğitim ve sosyal politikalar da bu eşitliğin giderilmesi açısından önemlidir. Kaliteli bir eğitimden geçmek, bir göçmen için kilit bir faktördür çünkü ulaşılan ülkede alacakları eğitim göçmenlerim geleceklerini ve refahlarını etkileyecektir.

Türkiye, jeopolitik konumu sayesinde tarihi boyunca göç alan bir ülkesi olmuştur. Avrupa ile Asya arasında olması sebebi ile Türkiye göçmenler için bir geçiş ülkesi haline gelmiştir. Örneğin, 1979'da İran Devrimi'den sonra Batı'ya gitmek isteyen çok sayıda İranlı, Türkiye'yi "transit ülke" olarak kullandı. Fakat bu göçmenler Türkiye'ye geçmişte gelen göçmen hareketlerinden farklı olarak, Türkiye'yi kitlesel akın ile karşı karşıya bıraktı. 19. yüzyıl boyunca Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda kaybedilen topraklardan Anadolu'ya çok fazla göç hareketi yaşanmış ve bu göçmenler 20. yüzyılda Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'e miras kalmıştır. Örneğin; Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun çöküşünden bu yana 20. yüzyılda Türkiye'ye Kafkaslar ve Rumeliler kitlesel bir şekilde göç etmiştir. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Türkiye tarihi boyunca göçmenler için çeşitli politikalar geliştirildi, ancak bu politikalar

göçmenlerin yerleşimi ve çalışma izinleri alanlarında kısıtlı kaldı. Türkiye tarihiin en büyük kitlesel göç akını ile 2011'den bu yana Suriye'den gelen büyük göç dalgaları sonucunda karşı karşıya kaldı.

Suriye'deki iç savaş nedeniyle, milyonlarca Suriyeli 2011'den bu yana ülkelerinden ayrılmak zorunda kaldı. Açık kapı politikası nedeniyle yaklaşık 3.5 milyon Suriyeli çok kısa bir sürede Türkiye'ye göç etti. Ancak, Türkiye göçmenlerle ilgili kapsamlı bir politika geliştirmeden bu göçmenleri ülkeye kabul etti. Özellikle bu büyük göç hareketinin ilk yıllarında Suriye'den gelen aileler yaz ve kış aylarında sokaklarda yaşamak zorunda kaldı. Bu süreçte ğitime erişim, temel ihtiyaçlarını bile bulamayan göçmen çocuklar için büyük bir problem olmuştur. 2011'de başlayan Suriye krizinin öngörülemeyen süresinin uzaması ve devam eden savaş ve şiddet nedeniyle, Türkiye'ye sığınan Suriyelilerin sayısı gün geçtikçe artmaktadır. İlk başta ülkelerine dönmeleri beklenen Suriyeliler geçici göçmen olarak kabul edildi ve politikalar bu düşünceye göre geliştirilmeye çalışıldı. Ancak, 2014 yılında kabul edildiği gibi, Suriyeliler Türkiye'de daimi göçmen olarak görülmektedir. Türkiye, büyük göç akımının ilk yıllarında, göçmenlerin giyim, güvenlik, yiyecek gibi temel ihtiyaçlarını karşıladı. Ancak, bu göçmenlerin kalıcı olarak değerlendirilmesinden sonra, acil ihtiyaçların karşılanmasına yönelik kısa vadeli politikaların yanı sıra, sosyal hayata entegrasyonlarını sağlamak için uzun vadeli bir politika ihtiyacının varlığı kabul edildi.

Özellikle Suriyeli çocuklar için, genel olarak göçmen çocuklar için, Türkiye'de eğitime erişim hakkı sorunlu bir alandır. Geçmişten beri göç almasına rağmen, Türkiye'nin göçmen eğitimi politikalarının eksikliği, Suriye'nin yoğun göç akışıyla gündeme geldi. 2011'den sonra, göçmenlerin eğitim sorunları ile ilgilenmek için birçok farklı politika uygulanmıştır. Örneğin, Kanun uyarınca. 6458 yılında İçişleri Bakanlığı bünyesinde Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü'nün 81 ilde kurulmasına karar verildi ve göçmenlerin eğitim, sağlık ve sosyal yaşamdaki ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak için 148 ilçe ve konaklama alanı kuruldu. Merkezi hükümetle birlikte, STK'lar, kamu kurumları, AFAD, Kızılay ve uluslararası kuruluşlar gibi birçok kurum ve kuruluş Suriye iç savaşının mağdurlarına yardım etmek için halen çalışmaktadırlar. 2011-2014 yılları arasında eğitim, mülteci kamplarında yaşayan çocuklarla sınırlıydı. Malesef 2014 yılına kadar, misafir olarak kabul edilen Suriyeli çocukların ve gençlerin eğitimi için uzun vadeli planlar yapılmamıştır. Suriyelilere yasal olarak

geçici koruma statüsü verilmesiyle Suriyeli çocuklara yönelik resmi eğitim politikaları uygulanmaya başlanmıştır. 2014 yılında yürürlüğe giren Geçici Koruma Yönetmeliği sayesinde, Yabancılar İçin Eğitim ve Öğretim Hizmetleri Genelgesi ile Suriyeli Çocuklara Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı devlet okullarında veya eğitim faaliyetleri için kurulan Geçici Eğitim Merkezleri'nde (GEM) eğitim verilmiştir. Bu nedenle, Suriyeli çocuklar bulundukları şehir ve bölgedeki devlet okullarına veya GEM'lere katılabilmektedir. Bu genelge öncesinde Suriyeli çocuklar, eğitim dilinin Arapça olduğu ve sivil toplum kuruluşları tarafından yönetilen GEM'lerde eğitim faaliyetlerine devam etmiş, eğitim boyunca Suriye müfredatı uygulanmış ve daha sonra Suriyeli göçmen çocuklara devlet okullarında eğitim alma imkânı tanınmıştır. 2016 yılına kadar, GEMlerde veya devlet okullarında eğitim alıp almamak Suriyelilere bırakıldı, ancak 2016'dan sonra Suriyeli çocukların devlet okullarında eğitim almalarını sağlamak için birçok çaba sarf edildi. Şu anda, GEM'lerin kapatılması ve Suriyeli çocukların eğitiminin tamamen devlet okullarına aktarılması politika Türkiye'nin gündemindedir. Ancak, bir başka gündem, Suriyelilerin güvenli bölgelere taşınmasıdır. Türkiye'nin okul çağındaki nüfusu 20 milyondan fazla çocuk ve genci oluşturmaktadır. Suriyelilerin ülkeye göç etmesiyle birlikte eğitim çağında bulunan bir buçuk milyondan fazla Suriyeli de bu nüfusa eklendi. Bu nedenle eğitim, geliştirilmesi gereken en önemli politika alanlarından biri haline geldi. Göçmenler için eğitim politikaları sadece eğitime erişimi değil, aynı zamanda eğitimin sürekliliğini ve çocukların sosyal entegrasyonu ve gelecekteki yaşamları için eğitim politikalarının sonuçlarının değerlendirilmesini sağlamalıdır.

Bu çalışmanın amacı, göçmen eğitim politikalarını ve Türkiye'deki etkilerini analiz etmek ve mevcut politikaların sorunlara çözüm önerme açısından ne kadar etkili olduğunu tartışmaktır. Bunu yaparak, Türkiye'deki göçmen çocukların ve gençlerin eğitim sürecine ilişkin genel durumu sunuarak ve mevcut politikalardaki sorunları ve eksiklikleri belirleyerek ve son olarak bazı yeni politika önerileri üzerinde çalışarak literatüre ve politika yapımına katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Bu amaçlara uygun olarak, bu tez aşağıdaki araştırma sorularını ele almaya çalışır:

- Türk eğitim sistemindeki göçmen öğrencilerin ilköğretim ve yükseköğretim seviyelerindeki mevcut durumu nedir?

- Türkiye'deki göçmen çocukların eğitimi ile ilgili ne tür politikalar geliştirilmiştir?

- Göçmen çocukların başarılı bir şekilde entegrasyonuna ne tür eğitim politikaları ve uygulamaları katılabilir ve onların ihtiyaçlarını karşılayabilir?

Bu soruları cevaplarken, göçmen eğitimi açısından politika sorunları tanımlanacak; 1900 ile 2019 yılları arasında geliştirilen göçmen eğitim politikaları analiz edilecek ve iyileştirme alanları incelenecektir. Bunu yapmak için, politika araştırması araştırma metodolojisi bu çalışmada kullanılmıştır. Politika (eylem) araştırma sürecinde kamu kurumları, STK'lar ve uluslararası kuruluşların politikaları ve eylemleri incelenmiştir. Böylece, göçmen eğitimi ile ilgili bilgiler sistematik bir şekilde toplanmış ve analiz edilmiştir ve analiz edilen veriler yeni çözümler önermek için kullanılmıştır. Bu çalışmanın metodolojisi aynı zamanda tarihsel ve tanımlayıcı yöntemi ve mevzuatın detaylı incelemesini içerir.

Bunlar ışığında çalışma, bu alandaki literatürde bulunan boşluğu doldurmayı amaçlamaktadır, çünkü Türkiye'deki ilköğretim ve yükseköğretim seviyesindeki göçmenlerin sorunlarını analiz eden ve eğitim politikalarını değerlendiren kapsamlı bir çalışma yoktur dolayısıyla bu çalışma bu sorunların üstesinden gelmek için geliştirilmiştir. Ayrıca, göçmenlerin eğitim durumunu etkileyen hükümet ve hükümet dışı politika aktörleri arasındaki ilişki daha önce bu kadar kapsamlı bir şekilde araştırılmamış, fakat bu çalışma ile açıklanmaya ve analiz edilmeye çalışılmıştır.

Çalışmanın ikinci bölümünde, bu konulardaki önceki çalışmaların gözden geçirilmesiyle birlikte göç, eğitim politikası, politika aktörleri ve göçmenlik eğitimi için kavramsal çerçeve sunulmaktadır. İlk olarak, göçmen statüsünün tanımları ve türleri, göçün nedenleri ve çocuklar üzerindeki sonuçları açıklanmaktadır. Siyasi baskılar, sürgün, kıtlık ve savaş zorla göçün nedenleri olsa da, şehirlerin politik özellikleri ve yüksek oranda iş imkanı bulundurması sosyo-politik nedenler yarattı. Zaman bakımında kalıcı ve geçici göç gibi göç türleri vardır; konum açısından ise iç ve dış göç kavramları karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bu faktörler ve ülkedeki göçmenlerin kalış süreleri göçmen statüsünü belirlemektedir. Göçmenlik statüsü, göçmenler için uygulanacak politikaların belirlenmesinde önemli bir faktördür. Daha sonra, bu bölümde göç ve eğitim arasındaki ilişki ve bu ilişkinin önemi anlatılmaktadır. Bundan sonraki aşamada ise, bu tezle birlikte eğitim politikası ve göçmen eğitimi politikası

ile ilgili literatür taraması sunulmuştur. Göçmen politikası, çalışma alanı olarak çok hassas bir konudur. Çok boyutlu bir alan olarak, göçmenlerin psikolojik, ekonomik koşulları, dil engeli, göçmenlere karşı ayrımcılık vs. gibi onu etkileyen birçok faktörü içinde barındırmaktadır. Hem uluslararası hem de ulusal literatürde göçmen eğitimi politikası üzerine birçok çalışma yapılmıştır. Ancak göçmen eğitim politikaları ülkeden ülkeye ve göçmen statüsünden statüye farklılık göstermektedir. Bu politika örneklerine kısa bir genel bakış da bu bölümde verilmektedir.

Çalışmanın üçüncü bölümünde, Türkiye'deki göç tarihindeki değişiklikler ve gelişmeler ile ilgili politikalara odaklanılmaktadır. Türkiye'nin coğrafi konumu onu Asya ve Avrupa arasında geçiş yapan bir ülke yapıyor. Bu sebeple,Türkiye geçmişten günümüze bireysel göç hareketlerinin yanı sıra kitlesel akışlarla da karşı karşıya kalmıştır. Türkiye'nin göç tarihinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun hoşgörü politikasının etkileri görülmektedir. 20. yüzyıl boyunca Osmanlı'nın Orta Doğu'dan "çekilmesi" ile birlikte, Kafkaslar ve Rumeliler'den Türkiye'ye devasa göçler yaşandı. 1989'da Bulgaristan'da yaşayan yaklaşık 350 bin Türk kökenli kişi kitlesel bir şekilde Türkiye'ye göç etti. Benzer şekilde zorunlu göçle Türkiye'ye kaçan insanların kitlesel akışı Irak, eski Yugoslavya ve Kosova'dan devam etti. Ayrıca, SSCB'nin dağılması, Doğu Avrupa'daki ekonomik ve politik değişikliklerde erozyon, Türkiye'yi büyük düzensiz göçün önemli bir parçası haline getirmektedir. Türkiye, AB'nin etkisiyle göç alanında çeşitli anlaşmalar imzalayarak düzenlemeler yapmıştır. Bu süreç ilk olarak 1951 Cenevre Sözleşmesi ile başlamış ve daha sonra 2011 Suriye göçmen krizinin etkisiyle 6458 sayılı Yabancılar ve Uluslararası Koruma Kanunu'nun yürürlüğe girmesine kadar devam etmiştir. Son olarak, bu bölümde, Suriye krizinin Türkiye'yi göç politikaları açısından nasıl etkilediği tartışılmaktadır.

Dördüncü bölümde, 2011 Suriye kitle akışından sonra geliştirilen politikalara özel olarak odaklanan Türkiye'deki göçmen eğitim politikaları değerlendirilmiş ve analiz edilmiştir. Politika oluşturma ve uygulama sürecinin daha iyi anlaşılması için politika aktörleri ve Suriyelilerin karşılaştıkları zorluklardan da bahsedilmektedir. Eğitim politikası oluşturma sürecine dahil olan devlet aktörleri, STK'lar ve Türkiye'deki göçmenlik eğitimi politikasına dahil olan uluslararası aktörler ayrıntılı olarak açıklanmaktadır. Ayrıca, bu aktörler arasındaki ilişkiler ve kısıtlamaları da detaylandırılmıştır.

Tez, Türkiye'deki mevcut göçmenlere yönelik politika önerileriyle, mevcut politika ve sorunların gözden geçirilmesi ışığında ve mevcut durumun yanı sıra Türkiye'deki göçmenlerle ilgili gelecekteki olanakları göz önünde bulundurarak yapılan önerilerle sona ermektedir.

Türkiye'de neredeyse her 3 yılda bir eğitim bakanı ile değişen bir dizi eğitim sistemi ve oryantasyon değişiklikleri var örneğin; sınav sistemi. Bu dinamizmin yanında müfredatta vatandaş yetiştirme projesi gibi sabit mekanizmalar da var. Türkiye'nin eğitim politikasının durumu göz önüne alındığında, Türkiye'deki göçmenlerin eğitimi konusunda bir politika olmadığı söylenemez. Türkiye'nin göçmen eğitimi politikası üç aşamadan olmaktadır. Kusursuz olmayan kararların oluşturduğu yönelimler ilk aşamayı oluşturur. Bu aşamada politika, bölgelerde göçmen popülasyonunun yoğun olmamasını sağlayacak şekilde yerleşimi dağıtmaktı. Suriyelilerin sayısının çok yüksek ssayılara ulaşması ise felç dönemi olan ikinci dönemi oluşturur. Üçüncü aşama 2014 yılından sonraki dönemi kapsamaktadır. 2016 darbe girişiminin ardından ülkede yeni kurumlar kurulmaya başlandı, özellikle 2016-2017 döneminde hızlanan kurum inşa süreci bu aşamada önemlidir. Politika inşası bakımından, 2018-2019 yılları daha iyidir, çünkü geçmiş uygulamalar yoluyla politikalar öğrenildi. Şu anda, türkiye'de politika tecrübe yoluyla oluşturulmaktadır. Demek istediğim, deneyimler, politika öğrenme politikası oluşturma sürecinde devam etmektedir. Ayrıca bu çalışma boyunca 'vatandaşlık' kavramının mobilitiesine büyük önem verilmektedir. Türkiye'deki Suriyeliler için vatandaşlık kavramı 'kusurlu tanıma' olarak tanımlanabilir, çünkü vatandaşlık Türkiye'deki Suriyeliler için yasal olarak tanımlanmamıştır. Bunula birlikte, eğitim açısından alınan hizmetlere baktığımızda, vatandaşlığın tanımı, Suriyelilerin tıpkı Türk vatandaşları gibi eğitim hizmeti almaları ve günlük hayatlarına defacto vatandaş olarak katılmaları nedeniyle uygulamada açıkça görülmektedir. Bu bağlamda eğitim gibi kamu hizmetlerini alma anlamında, Türkiye'deki Suriyeliler statü olarak ayrı categorize edilmiş defacto vatandaşlardır demek hiç de yanlış olmaz. Türkiye, Suriyeliler tarafından transit ülke olarak görülse de, vatandaşlık hakkında konuşamayız, ancak Suriyeliler, 2015'ten sonra Türkiye'de kaldılar, Türkiye'nin transit ülke olmadığını düşünüyorlar. Bu nedenle, bu çalışmada, Türkiyeli göçmen politikalarının süreçlerini daha net bir şekilde analiz etmek için belirtilen vatandaşlık kavramını anlamak önemlidir.

Göçmenlerin eğitimi, Türkiye'de kayıp neslinin oluşmasını engellemek için somut ve kararlı adımlarla ilerlememiz gereken ana politika alanlarından biridir. Bu noktada sorunların doğru belirlenmesi ve bu doğrultuda uygun politikaların belirlenmesi, hem göçmenlerin hem de ev sahibi toplumun yararına sürdürülebilirlik için atılacak adımları sağlayacaktır. Suriyeli çocukların okullara kayıt yaptırmamaları ve okuldan ayrılmalarının birçok nedeni vardır. Bunlardan bazıları yoksulluk, sosyo-ekonomik dezavantajlı aile yaoıları, çocuklarını aile ekonomisini desteklemek için çalışmaya zorlayan ebeveynler, geleneksel cinsiyet rolleri ve sağlık (fiziksel, sosyal, zihinsel refah) gibi faktörlerdir. Ayrıca okula başlamama veya devam edememenin dil, müfredat, kültürel farklılıklar gibi nedenlerle okul iklimi, çevre ve kültüre uyum sağlayamama gibi birçok nedeni vardır. Bu sorunlar çözülmezse, göçmen eğitimi sorunu daha karmaşık ve kaotik bir hale gelecektir.

Dil engeli, Türkiye'deki göçmenlerin temel sorunudur. STK'lar ve GEMler tarafından düzenlenen dil kursları olsa bile, malesef hala göçmen çocuklar okula başlarken dil engeli ile karşı karşıyadır. Daha önce de belirtildiği gibi, hükümet tarafından GEM'lerin kapatılması gündeme alınmıştır. Bence, GEM'lerin Suriyelilerin eğitimleri üzerindeki rolü yansıdanmaz. Ancak GEM'lerin kapatılmasının nedeni, hükümetin, ilkokul çağındaki çocukların Türkiye'deki yerleşim süreleri sırasında Türkçe öğrendiğine inanmasıdır. Bununla birlikte, önemi de düşünüldüğünde GEM'ler hala gereklidir ve kapatılmak yerine, yalnızca göçmen çocuklar için değil, aynı zamanda dil kursuna ihtiyaç duyan yetişkinler için de alternatif eğitim alanlarına dönüştürülmeleri gerekir. Türkiye'nin dört bir yanındaki GEMlerin sayıları oldukça yüksektir ve bu binalardan yararlanılması hem devlet bütçesi hem de bu konuda politika üreten insanların çalışmaları açısından son derece gerekli ve önemlidir.

Türkiye'de doğup büyüyen ilkokul çağındaki göçmenler ana dillerini düzgün bir şekilde konuşamama gibi bir sorunla karşı karşıyadırlar. Almanya gibi bazı gelişmiş ülkelerde olduğu gibi, Türkiye'deki göçmenler tarafından ana dil olarak kullanılan Arapça dili eğitimi bu çocuklar için sağlanmalıdır. Devlet okulları bunun için yeterli sınıfa ve programa sahip olmadığından, GEMler bu amaç için kullanılmalıdır.

Ne yazık ki, Türkiye'de dil kursu ya da STK'lar tarafından sunulan bazı meslek kursları dışında göçmen yetişkinler için bir eğitim politikası geliştirilmemiştir. Okuma yazma bilmeyen orta yaşlı göçmenler için Türkçe eğitimi çok önemlidir. Türkçe

okuryazarlık kurslarına ek olarak, yetişkinlere, gençlere ve çocuklara yönelik mesleki kursların verilmesi büyük önem arz etmektedir. Özellikle, yetişkinler için okuma yazma kursları verilmesi hususunda yalnızca STK'lar yeterli değildir ve İlçe Milli Eğitim Müdürlüklerinin harekete geçmesi gerekmektedir.

Ayrıca, GEM'lerde eğitim almış öğrenciler için denklik sistemi sağlanmalıdır. Başka bir deyişle Türkiye'de devlet okullarına geçmek isteyen göçmen öğrencilerin dil ve akademik başarılarını belirlemek için sınavlara veya denklik sistemine ihtiyaç vardır.

Yukarıda behsedildiği üzere, bunun önünü açmak için geliştirilen politikalar sayesinde Türkiye'deki Suriyeli çocuklar birçok farklı kurumda eğitim görüyormektedir. Bu kurumları devlet okulları, mülteci kamplarındaki okullar, Suriyeliler tarafından kurulan topluluk okulları (bu okullar özel okullardır, bu nedenle maddi yükü düşünüldüğünde bu okullar için çok az talep vardır), UNICEF okulları (kamp dışındaki) ve dini gruplar aracılığıyla açılan eğitim kurumları olarak sıralayabiliriz. Alternatif eğitim kurumları çocuklar için bir avantaj olsa da, bu eğitim kurumları arasında denklik ve müfredat sorunları vardır. Bu sebeple, bu kurumlar arasındaki korelasyon sağlanmalı ve ortak eğitim kursları ve benzer müfredatlar geliştirilmeli, böylece eğitim alan göçmenler bir eğitim kurumundan diğerine nakil olduğunda, eğitim sistemi tek tip bir eğitim sağlamasa da denklik veya müfredat farklılığından kaynaklanan bir sorun yaşamazlar.

Göçmen öğretmenlerin hizmet içi eğitimi, akademisyenlerin yanı sıra bölgede çalışan yüksek saha tecrübesine ve pediatrik eğitimi almış STK uzmanlarını da içermelidir. Ayrıca, göçmen çocuklarla ve göçmenlerle çalışan gönüllüler ve uzmanlar için psikososyal müdahale eğitimleri verilmesi ve gönüllüler veya bu eğitimi almamış uzmanların göçmenlerle temas etmemesi sağlanmalıdır. Bu eğitimleri vermek; çocuklara yönelik önyargıları ortadan kaldırmak, eğitimciler ve öğrencilerin daha sağlıklı iletişim kurmaları ve çocukların eğitimdeki psikolojik durumlarının farkında olmaları için çok önemlidir. Bu koşulların yerine getirilmesiyle, göçmen çocukların eğitimlerinde daha başarılı olması sağlanacaktır.

Göçmen çocukları ve sınıf arkadaşlarını birbirine entegre etmek ve aralarındaki önyargıları gidermek için, izci gruplarıyla etkinlikler düzenlenmeli, okullarda öğrenci kulüpleri açılmalı ve bu kulüplerde takım sporları, kültür çalışmaları düzenlenerek

çocukların birlikte zaman geçirmesi sağlanmalıdır. Ayrıca Suriyeli çocuklar ve okul personelleri için bireysel oryantasyon programları düzenlenmelidir. Tüm bunların yapılması karşılıklı önyargıları önlemek için bu yararlı olacaktır.

Uzakta yaşayan çocuklar için GEM'lere ve okullara erişim sağlanmalıdır.

Türkiyede göçmen eğitimi politika aktörleri, özellikle STK'lar, sorunlarla ilgili bilgi eksikliği nedeniyle etkili politika yapmakta zorlanmaktadır. Ne yazık ki, Türkiye'deki resmi ve tahmini göçmen sayıları arasında bir boşluk bulunmaktadır. "sorunun ne" olduğunu bilmemek, soruna mantıklı çözümler getirmeyi önler. Bu nedenle, refakatsiz, yüksek sosyal risk grubunda bulunan göçmen ve engelli göçmen çocukları tanımlamak, belirlemek ve desteklemek, sorun tanımlaması için çok önemlidir ve acilen yapılması gerekmektedir. Ayrıca, daha önce güvenilir ve detaylı bir kayıt yaptırmış olanlar da dahil olmak üzere, Türkiye'deki göçmenlerin sayılarının ve niteliklerinin belirlenmesi için yeni bir çalışma yapılmalıdır. Bunu yapabilmek için, İl ve İlçe Milli Eğitim Müdürlüklerinin ilgili personeline, kayıt sürecinin nasıl devam etmesi gerektiği ve sürecin etkinliğinin izlenmesi ve gerekli müdahalelerin yapılması konusunda bilgi verilmesi gerekmektedir. Daha sonra, etkili politikalar geliştirmek için bilgilerin sonuçlarının duyurulması da büyük önem arz etmektedir. Örneğin, MEB, Suriyelilerin eğitimi hususunda bir problem tanımını yapmak ve konunun bağımsız araştırmacılar ve kurumlar tarafından analiz edilebilmesi için Suriyelilerin eğitim durumu hakkındaki verileri düzenli olarak kamuoyu ile paylaşmalıdır. Ayrıca, göçmenlerin okula yönelik ihtiyaçları devlet tarafından belirlenmeli, şehirlere göre sınıflandırma yapılmalı ve sorunlu bölgelerde belediyeler, STK'lar ve merkezi hükümet tarafından belirlenen ihtiyaç haritalarındaki ihtiyaçlar karşılanmalıdır.

Politika aktörlerini bilgilendirmenin yanı sıra, İl Milli Eğitim Müdürlükleri ve STK'lar ile işbirliği içinde ebeveynlerle bilgilendirici toplantılar yapılması, göçmen aileleri bilgilendirici broşürler hazırlanması ve göçmen ailelerin evlere dağıtılması göçmenlerin eğitimine erişiminin sağlanması konusunda daha yararlı olacaktır. Bunun için göçmenlerin hak ve sorumluluklarının yazılı olduğu yazılı ve görsel materyallerin Türkçe ve Arapça ya da hangi dil göçmenin ana dili ise o dilde hazırlanması büyük önem taşımaktadır.

STK'lar ve bölge milli eğitim yetkilileri gibi yerel yönetim yetkilileri, göçmen ailelerin evine gitmeli ve çocukların eğitim ihtiyaçlarını belirlemelidir.

Bu çalışmada, eğitime erişimin önündeki engelleri kaldırmak için birçok politika yapıldığı görülmüş ve bu politikalar analiz edilmiştir. Ancak, çocukların eğitime katılımını kontrol etmek için bir politika geliştirilmediği de görülmüştür. Göçmen çocukların okula devamının kontrolü ve tanıtımı için rehber öğretmenler, okul müdürleri ve Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı ile işbirliği içinde bir mekanizma geliştirilmesi bu alanda eksik olan politikaların geliştirilmesi için faydalı olacaktır.

Ayrıca, okullarda sağlanan psikolojik danışmanlık ve rehberlik hizmeti öğrencilerin gelişim dönemleri, aileleri ve yaşam koşulları nedeniyle yaşadıkları sorunların çözümünde, ihtiyaç duyulan ihtiyaçların ve psikososyal hizmetlerin sağlanması için çalışmakta ve okul sosyal hizmeti sayesinde eğitim faaliyetlerinin sürdürülmesi sağlanmaktadır. Okul sosyal hizmetleri göçmen öğrencilerin hem eğitimdeki hem de sosyal başarıları için büyük önem arz etmektedir ve bu hizmetin sağlanması başarının anahtarlarından birisirdir. Bu çalışmada malesef okul personelleri ve aile arasındaki iletişimin sağlanması için hiçbir adım atılmadığı ve politika belirlenemediği görülmüştür. Ancak, okullarda sosyal hizmet sağlanırken, okul personelleri, öğretmenler, yöneticiler, psikolojik danışmanlar, psikologlar, okullarla ilgili kurumlar, öğrenciler ve öğrenci aileleri birlikte çalışmalıdır. Fakat Türkiye'de böyle bir mekanizmanın olmayışı, Türkiye'deki göçmen çocukların okul hayatında büyük kayıplara yol açmaktadır. Bu nedenle, göçmen çocukların okullarda rehberlik ve psikolojik danışmanlar aracılığıyla sosyal hizmet alması sağlanmalıdır. Bunun için okul personeli ve İl Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü Özel Eğitim ve Rehberlik Hizmetleri Birimi ile işbirliğinin desteklenmesi gerekmektedir. Ayrıca, okulların ve tercümanların kriz veya acil durumlar için temas halinde olmaları sağlanmalıdır.

Milli Eğitim müfredatını gözden geçirmek ve çok kültürlü ve çoğulcu bir eğitim sistemi oluşturmak ve Avustralya'daki akademisyenler ve uzmanlar tarafından müfredat oluşturmak ve ders kitaplarını gözden geçirmek göçmen eğitim politikalarının başarısı için gereklidir. Ayrıca, göçmenlerin eğitimi ve sosyal uyumu konusundaki lisansüstü çalışmalar teşvik edilmeli ve göç politikasına ilişkin lisansüstü programların sayısı YÖK tarafından artırılmalıdır.

Türkiye'nin yükseköğretim seviyesindeki göçmen öğrencilerin için eğitime erişim politikaları etkili ve başarılıdır. Bununla birlikte, bu eğitim seviyesindeki öğrenciler için entegrasyon politikası bulunmamaktadır. YÖK üniversiteleri bu konuda bilgilendirmeli ve üniversitelerle işbirliği yaparak göçmen çocukları sosyal hayata ve eğitime entegre eden projeler geliştirmelidir. Örneğin, dekanın ofisine ve üniversitedeki öğrenci kulüplerine, göçmen gençlerin karşılaştığı sorunlar ve çözümleri içeren bilgilendirici bir mektup gönderilebilir.

Ayrıca, politika yapıcılar arasındaki ilişki etkili bir politika geliştirme süreci için çok önemlidir. Politika yapım sürecinin özellikle gündem belirleme, formülasyon, uygulama süreçleri basamaklarına göçmenler de dahil edilmelidir. Bu önerinin yapılmasının sebebi Türk hükümeti, yerel ve uluslararası STK'ların göçmenleri politikaların amacı olarak görmesidir. Halbuki göçmenler politika yapım sürecine dahil edilerek amaçtan ziyade politka aktörü yani araç olmalıdır. Bununla birlikte, tüm politika aktörleri, göçmenlerin sadece politikaların amacı değil aynı zamanda politikalara konu olduğunu anlamalıdır. Ayrıca dil, yani eğitimin toplumla etkileşimde bulunmak ve ev sahibi toplumla bütünleşmek için kilit nokta olduğunu düşündüğümüzde, devlet ve sivil toplum alanındaki politika yapıcılar, Türkiye'de yaşayan göçmenler için temsil kurulları düzenlemelidir. Ayrıca, yukarıda belirtildiği gibi, politika aktörleri arasında bazı gerilimler bulunmaktadır. Politika uygulayıcıları arasındaki yanlış anlaşılmayı ortadan kaldırmak ve birbirlerinin yaklaşımlarını anlamak için konferanslar, paneller ve forumlar düzenlenmelidir. Vurgulamak istediğim bir başka önemli konu ise yerel yönetimlerin görev tanımlarının yasada açıkça tanımlanmadığı, politika yapımının belediyelerin ve yerel yönetim birimlerinin girişimlerine ve insiyatiflerine bırakılmış olmasıdır. Bu durum yerel yönetimler ile sivil toplum kuruluşları arasındaki ilişkiyi de etkilemektedir. Bu sorunu çözmek için, görevlerin tanımı açıkça yapılmalı ve görevlerin dağılımı belirgin bir şekilde belirlenmelidir.

Şehir meclislerini daha işlevsel hale getirmek ve şehir meclislerinde göçmenlerin temsil edilmesi gereklidir. Belediye meclisleri mülteciler ve belediyeler arasında bir köprü olmak yerine, göçmenleri temsil eden alanlar olmalıdır.

Yetkili STK'ların yetkinlikleri ile ilgili projelere atanması etkili bir politika için çok önemlidir. Bu nedenle, sahada çalışmak isteyen STK'lar için gerekli standartları belirleyen bir akreditasyon sistemi oluşturmak çok önemlidir.

Türkiye'de okul yöneticilerinin farklı okullarda yürütülen çalışmalar hakkında daha fazla bilgi sahibi olacağı ve düzenli olarak farklı okul yöneticileriyle iletişim kurabilecekleri bir mekanizma yoktur. Okullar arasında işbirliğinin geliştirilmesi konusunda yapılacak toplantılarla bilgi alışverişinde bulunmak ve bu mekanizmayı oluşturmak gerekir.

Uluslararası aktörlerin, sadece politika ve projelerin uygulanmasında yer almaktan ziyade daha fazla sorumluluk alması gerekir. Bu nedenle, uluslararası aktörlerin sadece politika ve projelerin uygulanmasına değil aynı zamanda politika yapımına tavsiyelerde bulunacak ve katkıda bulunacakları mekanizmaların oluşturulması gereklidir.

Göçmenlerin eğitimi için Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı'nın bütçe kalemlerinde belirli bir madde bulunmamaktadır ve göçmen eğitimi politikası süreçlerindeki giderler genel bütçeden işlenmektedir. Bu, konunun daha genelleşmesine ve gündeme daha az düşmesine neden olur. Dolayısıyla, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı bünyesinde bütçe kalemleri yeniden düzenlenmeli, göçmenlerin eğitimi konusunda fonksiyonel ve sürdürülebilir bölümler yeniden kurulmalıdır. Demek istediğim, öğretmenlerin eğitim programlarını öngören politikaların üretimi ve işletilmesi, MEB bünyesinde yeni bölümler kurulması göçmenlerin eğitim sorununun çözümüne katkı sağlayabilecek yöntemlerdendir.

Projeler ve finansal zorluklar hakkında ayrıntılı bir rapor hazırlamak ve projeleri finanse etmek ve uluslararası ortaklar bulmak için medyayı uluslararası platformlarda duyurmak gerekir.

Ne yazık ki, bu çalışmada görüldüğü gibi, Türkiye'de engelli çocuklar için özel bir eğitim politikası geliştirilmemiştir. Görme engelli göçmen çocuklar için özel kitaplar ve materyaller hazırlanmalıdır. Ek olarak, kapanacak GEMlerde bulunan Suriyeli öğretmenlere, engelli öğrencilere sağlanacak eğitimde kullanılacak metodlar ve öğrenciye eğilimleri ile ilgili eğitimler verilmelidir ve bu öğretmenler okullara sosyal hizmet sağlamak için yönlendirilmelidir. Ayrıca okullar ile engelliler için

çalışan kurumlar arasında işbirliği sağlanmalıdır. Engelli göçmen öğrencilere özel eğitim öğretmenleri atanmalı ve bu göçmen çocukların travma sonrası stres bozukluğu yaşadığı ve nasıl tedavi edilecekleri konusunda eğitilmeleri gerekmektedir.

Maalesef, güvenli bölgelerin oluşturulması ve Türkiye'de yaşayan Suriyelilerin çoğunluğunun bu bölgeye göç ettirilmesi Türkiye'nin gündem maddelerinden biridir. Bu politikanın uygulanması durumunda daha önce savaştan kaçarak Türkiye'ye göç etmiş olan bu insanların tekrar bu güvenli bölgeye göç etmesi gerekecektir. Buradaki önemli noktalardan birisi, bu insanları güvenli bölgeye yerleştirmeden önce, bu bölgedeki eğitim olanaklarının sağlanmasıdır. Türkiye'deki üniversitelerde yüksek öğretim seviyesinde olan Suriyeliler eğitimlerini sürdürebileceklerdir ancak ilk ve orta öğretim düzeyindeki çocuklar büyük risk altındadırlar. 'Güvenli bölgedeki çocukların eğitiminde hangi dilin kullanılacağı' gibi sorular, bu çocuklar Arapça eğitim alırlarsa 'eğitimleri baştan mı başlayacak, Türkiye'de aldıkları Türkçe eğitimleri onlar için kayıp mı olacak, bu bölgede kurulacak olan eğitim merkezlerindeki müfredat ne olacak?' soruları gerçekten büyük önem taşımaktadır. Cevaplar da sorular kadar önemlidir. Güvenli bölgedeki koşullar bilinmediğinden, politika aktörleri için bu bölgede eğitim politikası geliştirmek çok sorunlu bir alandır, ancak güvenli bölgeye göç etmek zorunda kalacak olan göçmen çocukların iyiliği için kapsamlı ve uzun vadeli bir eğitim politikası gerekmektedir. İyi düşünülmesi gereken bir diğer nokta ise henüz Türkiye'ye yeni uyum sağlamış veya Türkiye'ye yeni göç etmiş çocuklar, uluslararası politikalar nedeniyle güvenli bölgeye göç ettirilecekler ve bu durum psikolojilerine ve içinde bulundukları uyum sürecine büyük zarar verecektir. Bu nedenle, çocukların içinde olacağı bu olumsuz koşullar, güvenli bölgede yaşayacak çocukların eğitim politikası oluşturma sürecinde de dikkate alınmalıdır.