

SCHOOLING EXPERIENCE OF SYRIAN CHILD REFUGEES IN TURKEY

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Accepted by the Graduate Faculty, Indiana University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Ozlem Erden

I dedicate my dissertation to those who dream, enlighten others with their vibrant energy, and have nothing but only their luggage as their most valuable property.

Most importantly, I dedicate this dissertation to “inspiration” as it has always been with me to whisper, “Life is beautiful” in any difficult circumstances.

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This dissertation is definitely a symbol of great support from a great mentor and advisor. Therefore, my first sincere thanks are for Prof. David J. Flinders. During his mentorship, he showed respect to my knowledge and offered a platform to discuss research ideas. In every meeting, I broaden my horizon, discover a new potential of myself, and realize how much I love doing research. Whenever I felt overwhelmed by the requirements of the Ph.D. life, and the stress due to living in a foreign country, he kindly reminded me that I am at Indiana University and in the US to pursue my dreams. No matter how much I thank him, it is not enough to show how much I have learned from his guidance and support.

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I have two wonderful siblings. My sister has always been an inspiration for me. Her consultations helped me believe in myself so that I could begin my graduate life and get a Fulbright

scholarship to do my doctoral studies. My brother, with his compassionate and adventurous characteristics, offered me the greatest experiences of my life. He always found a way to try exciting and innovative ideas to enjoy our life with the utmost care and protection that he can offer. My brother and my sister are my first best friends. Thank you for taking care of your little sister.

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I wrote this paragraph of my acknowledgment on July 1st, 2016. The acknowledgment should be the last part of the dissertation to be written, but I decided to make this part the first thing. I decided so because I always believe in the power of dreaming. I still dream that I can make a change. Even it is going to be little or significant change; I still dream that one day the world will listen to the voice of the voiceless and listen to the voices that I silenced in my heart. Therefore, lastly, I want to thank the bad people, who made my life miserable and unbearable. Even though they do not deserve a single piece of appreciation, in every pain they gave me, I gained the strength to try new beginnings. I am absolutely certain that they never imagined that I would be thankful to them, but I will surprise them again by thanking them as I did in the past.

Preface

This dissertation study examines the schooling experiences of Syrian child refugees in a Turkish public school. The study sought to understand how these children develop their agency and identity. By way of introducing the overall process of researching the schooling experience of Syrian child refugees, I will first address my preliminary fieldwork notes. This work provides a significant explanation about how refugee education policy in Turkey has changed rapidly to accommodate Syrian child refugees in educational settings and to provide educational services. In addition to describing changes in refugee education policy, this preliminary fieldwork plays an important role in helping me understand motives of the educational authorities and social actors in school and education centers and finalizing the structure of my conceptual framework.

I began with two agendas for my preliminary fieldwork: 1) gaining research permission from the local authorities to collect data from the public schools and 2) defining the conceptual framework to inform my research. I spent about 2 months in Turkey starting from the mid of June 2015 until the beginning of August 2015. I had meetings and conversations with a wide variety of people from refugee and local communities, including humanitarian actors, school principals, refugee families and their children, journalists, and local authorities such as political leaders, government authorities, and Ministry of National Education (MoNE) directorates. I had applied to four different MoNE directorates, but MoNE directorates in three of the four provinces refused to give me access to schools because of security concerns and political instability in those regions. The fourth MoNE Directorate gave no reason for refusing my application, but I inferred that there is mistrust towards researchers, as it is a common belief in Turkey that researchers may be members of an opposing political group.

Humanitarian actors, school principals, and journalists suggested focusing on a city with no refugee camps because of three reasons. First, the cities with no refugee camps seek assistance

from experts. Second, the majority of the Syrian refugees live outside of camps. Third, Turkish State policy of refugee resettlement focuses on the inclusion of refugee children into public schools. Therefore, directorates in any province are more likely to accept researchers who examine public schools with refugee students. Therefore, I concentrated my efforts on gaining access to public schools in the fourth option where there was no camp. After having five long meetings with the Directorate and MoNE personnel, I was granted access to an elementary school on August 5, 2015.

While I continued to communicate with officials in Turkey, I began my research on defining an appropriate conceptual framework. In July 2015, I attended the International Summer School in Forced Migration at the University of Oxford. The lectures in the summer school helped me understand how different ways of conceptualizing refugee education lead to different emphases regarding the most appropriate responses. Throughout the summer program, I had the opportunity to discuss the weaknesses and strengths of the legal, anthropological and political approaches and investigate the frameworks used by the various countries with the most known refugee studies scholars and researchers. The conversations helped me determine how they explain the refugee crisis and regional responses. As a result of these lectures, I revised my existing understanding of the necessity of the right-based refugee responses in Turkey after examining European responses to the current refugee crisis.

Many EU countries use legal and political frameworks (e.g. the updated version of the 1951 UN Refugee Convention), but they fail to guarantee the entitlements such the principle of non-refoulement, the right to valid travel documents, and the right to grant refugee status to the first country of asylum during the Mediterranean and Syrian Refugee Crisis. However, neighboring countries such Lebanon, Jordan, and Turkey (Turkey out of which is the only signatory country of the 1951 Refugee Convention), even without the tacit legal frameworks, accepted to host around 3 million refugees (USAID, 2015). These countries used the ancient concepts of hospitality, generosity, and territorialization of national

identity based on anthropological approaches towards framing their refugee responses (Chatty, 2014). Although these frameworks have been criticized by the UN authorities as orientalist presumptions, the high quality of the refugee camps, the positive impact of local efforts on refugee integration, and the continuation of government refugee assistance without receiving international aid in Turkey proved the strong possibility of establishing a different refugee assistance mechanism based on the anthropological approaches to protect refugees.

The frameworks originating from anthropological approaches have not been studied and systematized by many researchers. The current efforts in developing countries brought further questions into the mind about alternative methods/approaches of responding to a refugee crisis. Dawn Chatty's (2010) historical analysis of refugee assistance in the region and Dallal Steven's (2015) comparison of European and Middle Eastern models helped me define the key principles of my conceptual framework. I will discuss the Middle Eastern Refugee Protection Model in the following section.

In short, I reached three conclusions after my preliminary fieldwork. First, the educational responses to the Syrian Refugee Crisis in Turkey are always changing due to political uncertainty in the region. Second, Turkey has a different way of conceptualizing the refugee support mechanism based on the frameworks introduced as part of the anthropological approach. Additionally, Turkey's refugee protection model differs from the rights-based refugee assistance protocols used by EU countries. Finally, international guidelines and universal declarations may fail to promote better practices for refugees if the local and regional contexts are not taken into consideration. Thus, there is a new approach to explain the underlying reasons for local responses. Therefore, I keep these outcomes in the forefront as my central themes while structuring my research.

Besides defining the conceptual framework of the study, the outcomes of the fieldwork show that I have to critically examine which aspect of the refugee education I need to research and what kind of method I should use to examine how child refugees experience their new school and consequently the new schooling ideologies. As Amin Awad, Director of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Bureau for the Middle East and North Africa, states, "Protecting and meeting the needs of refugee children is one of the most important investments we can make in the future and stability of the region," (UNHCR, 2014a). Believing that educating children is the key to solving regional problems, I also use the principle of the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC) as a guide for understanding Syrian refugee children's experiences in school. Because CRC indicates that refugee children should be assisted and protected by following the human rights of the child and that their best interests are to be given primary consideration (CRC, 2012). This concept helped me formulate my thoughts on which aspect of refugee children's experience should be the focus of this research. Therefore, I decided to use Critical Qualitative Inquiry to capture the picture of these children's experience. Hopefully, this research explains when and where the system responded, ignored, or addressed refugees' interests and needs.

Reflecting on the historicity of refugee assistance in the region, I understand the necessity of acknowledging the social values and human interactions that inform the refugee resettlement process as well as defining the social structures that regulate how people construct their realities and identities. I am aware that I need an appropriate method for my research interest to unveil the issues of refugee education in Turkey. In this research, I use Carspecken's Critical Qualitative Inquiry (1996) to examine Syrian child refugees' schooling experiences, as will be explained at length in the following sections. Briefly speaking, my main reason for choosing Critical Qualitative Inquiry is that this inquiry methodology unpacks the power dynamics that create behavioral reactions and social inequalities.

Subjectivity is inevitable when researching a complex phenomenon. I pay utmost attention to the concept of objectivity to make sense of how people make their truth claims. However, as discussed by many researchers, there is no single truth, but instead, truth claims that originate from interpersonal communications. The power that manipulates human interactions and relationships has a fluid nature and embodies itself in discourse, truth, and knowledge as Foucault explained in his book *Discipline and Punish* (1979). Therefore, subjectivity and the Foucauldian notion of power are helpful to understand the relationships between the structures that produce behavioral patterns and the power dynamics that support the ever-changing sides of the experienced world. The post-structuralist research approach is not the methodological structure for this study, but due to the changing political structure in the region and the chosen research methodology, looking at the truth claims and their evolution in daily conversations are useful to understand the power dynamics of the refugee assistance in Turkey. Therefore, social interactions and daily conversations of the social actors such teachers, school administrators, local and refugee children, and school staff are examined through paying close attention to the power dynamics as a way to understand how Syrian child refugees experience power and gain lived experiences. Eventually, this provides an explanation to what degree refugee students have control over their experience and claim their identity.

Ozlem Erden

Schooling Experience of Syrian Child Refugees in Turkey

After the Syrian Civil War began, refugee exodus gained unprecedented momentum. Turkey, as one of the major destinations of Syrian refugees, experienced problems regarding the accommodation of a high number of refugees (Dorman, 2014; UNICEF, 2014; USAID, 2015). The scholars widely debated the problems regarding educating refugee (Akkaya, 2013; Arabaci et al. 2013), but the available studies do not focus on experiences of refugee students in the schools.

This dissertation study, therefore, examines the schooling experiences of Syrian child refugees in a Turkish public school with a developing conceptual framework named as Middle East Refugee Protection Model (MRPM). The MRPM originates as a result of the different expectations and motives among the host countries located in Europe and the Middle East.

This study uses Critical Qualitative Research. The data was collected through interviews and classroom observations. I employed the reconstructive data analysis strategies and used NVivo qualitative data analysis software to analyze the data.

The results show that the Syrian refugee students' experiences in the school in Turkey are not dependent on the liability of the legal instruments but social norms and values. The school staff and classroom teachers use a child-centric approach to educate and integrate refugee students through accentuating values such as transparency and honesty, determination and commitment, and approving authority. Syrian refugee students in the public school face challenges due to their language skills, the host communities' social expectations, and the lack of sustainable refugee education policy. As they continue facing challenges, refugee students begin constructing survival skills and these survival skills help them become an independent being and develop a sense of agency.

Based on the interpretation of the results, I have created two models to explain the refugee education strategies in the school, and how refugee students make sense of the school staff's approach in educating them. The first model is the refugee education and protection model. It explains the concepts and principles that school staff uses to regulate their refugee education system. The second model is agency and independence development, which explains the stages that refugee students go through to be an agent and an independent student. This dissertation suggests theoretical, political and practical implications of the use of models and effective strategies for educating refugees.

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Abbreviations

AFAD	Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency [Turkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanlık Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı]
CRC	UN Committee on the Rights of the Child
ECHO	European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operation
INEE	Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies
MEBBIS	Ministry of National Education Information Systems [Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Bilişim Sistemleri]
MoNE	The Ministry of National Education
MPC	Migration Policy Centre (MPC)
UN	United Nation
UNHCR	UN High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
YÖBİS	Foreign National Students Information Systems [Yabancı Öğrenciler Bilgi Sistemi]

Chapter 1: Schooling Experience of Syrian Child Refugees in Turkey

Introduction

The topic of this dissertation study is Syrian refugee students' schooling experiences in Turkish public schools. In this chapter, I used scholarly written articles, government documents and NGO reports about Turkish refugee education policies to present an overview of the Syrian refugee crisis in Turkey and the educational policies for Syrians in Turkey. The general overview of the refugee crisis is important to explain the influence of political actions on the schooling experience of the refugee students as the political actions shape the social discourses and, therefore, the people's reactions to the presence of the refugee community in society. Even though I presented an overview of the protracted Syrian refugee crisis in Turkey, I did not analyze Turkish refugee policies. I investigated Turkey's responses to meet Syrian child refugees' educational needs. I observed how Syrian child refugees interpret the curricular activities or the lack of curricular activities, and how they construct their cultural, social or national identity in their new school environment. Accordingly, my research examined how Syrian refugee students experience their new school culture between the realms of the political and cultural structure.

In the following sections, I discuss the political, social and discursive changes of the Syrian refugee crisis and Syrian child refugees' education to demonstrate the significance of understanding refugee students' experiences to regulate more comprehensive and inclusive curricular activities in schools.

Educational Problems

After the of the Syrian Civil War had started, many Syrians left Syria to seek refuge in the neighboring countries such as Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq (United States Agency for International Development [USAID], 2015). Turkey, as one of the major destinations of Syrian refugees, is now

experiencing problems regarding the accommodation of a high number of refugees in and outside of camps (Dorman, 2014; UNICEF, 2014; USAID, 2015; UNHCR, 2014a). The biggest problem of this refugee crisis is educating non-Turkish speaking Syrian refugee children (Akkaya, 2013; Arabacı et al., 2013). Educational programs are available in camps for refugee children, but in urban areas, many refugee children have limited access to quality education or have trouble studying in public schools because of the language barrier and policy restrictions (Save the Children, 2013, UNHCR, 2014b). Additionally, the cultural and social differences between the Syrian and the host communities have led educational authorities to question what should be done to accommodate these children in public schools. Some educational actions taken to respond to the needs of these children in the school system are, for example, more teachers assigned to refugee-populated regions (Türkeş, 2013) and refugee students accepted to public schools as guests (Johnson, 2013). The Turkish government allows Syrian teachers to teach in camp schools (Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency [AFAD] 2013; Türkeş, 2013). The Higher Education Council of Turkey has allowed Syrian refugee students at high school level to register at the universities near the Syrian border without examination (Global Undertaking Platform for Syrian Students, 2014). However, this application has changed, and refugee students at high school level are required to take an entrance exam. In summary, the available responses do not emphasize on how Syrian refugee children experience schooling in their new environment, but it rather focuses on providing quick solutions to the problems as the government has expected that the Syrian Civil War would soon end.

Presence and Needs of the Refugee Students in Schools. The Ministry of National Education (MoNE) in Turkey has initiated some educational services, assigning teachers to refugee camps, for example, as one of the educational services provided by MoNE. As part of this service, more than a thousand teachers were assigned to respond to the growing educational needs of Syrian refugee students. This attempt, however, was not enough to address refugee children's educational needs

because teachers were not equipped with multicultural teaching techniques or had little experience in teaching non-Turkish speaking students (Türkeş, 2013). Additionally, many educational services were limited to refugee camps. These educational regulations were not expanded to improve the refugee students' educational participation and social adaptation outside the camps. Contrary to the expectation that teachers would pay more attention to the needs of Syrian refugee students, too often they ignore the presence of these children and continue teaching as if non-Turkish speaking refugee children are not in their classes (Emin, 2016).

The gradually increasing number of Syrian refugees and the increasing violence in Syria demonstrate that Syrians' asylum in Turkey is now a protracted situation rather than a temporary stay. Conversely, public perceptions of considering Syrian refugees as guests still dominates the social relations between the refugee and their Turkish host community (Özden, 2013). Therefore, recognizing refugee students as guests in the public schools rather than registered students problematizes the educational responses for the refugee community. As the school communities perceive refugee students as guests, refugee students experience exclusion from classroom activities and academic participation. Teachers either do not have academic expectations or show little effort to teach Turkish to these children to continue their regular instruction (Erden, 2013; Döner, Özkara, & Kahveci, 2013). The expectation is similar to general discourses in the society that refugee students are not going to stay for a long time so that, if they wish, they can learn Turkish by listening and observing their peers and teachers.

In summary, ignoring the presence of the refugees in educational settings has not produced fruitful results regarding bringing adequate attention to the educational and social needs of refugee students. The available information about the problems of refugee children in the school provides a background to understand the schooling experience of Syrian refugee children. However, it fails to

explain how refugee children make sense of their interaction with the members of the society, how they define their needs, and what emerges as a result of the interaction between refugee students and local members of the school community.

Educational Issues Affecting Refugee Education Responses. Few educational types of research have addressed the schooling and language acquisition experience of Syrian refugee children in Turkey; however, the research shares survey results to get the attention to the statistical explanation of the available problems. The academic and archival resources do not also discuss any educational or curricular activity for refugee students at the elementary level. Many government reports only focus on providing statistical information about the number of school-aged children and mapping out how many of them have access to education. The role of schools in refugee student's identity construction, language-learning experiences, the rationale for providing a particular service and the effectiveness of educational responses remain a mystery.

Reports from NGOs and governmental agencies indicate that Syrian refugee children, in general, have behavioral problems because of traumatic war experiences (AFAD, 2013; Emin, 2016). Many of the refugee students experience deep emotions because of missing their loved ones or worrying about their relatives in Syria (Döner, Özkara, & Kahveci, 2013). Aggressive behaviors, unexpected emotional changes, introversion, and violence in refugee camp schools are primary concerns of the educational program staff. There is a widespread discussion in society and the media that traumatic experiences, loss of family members, or anxiety about the family members who remain in Syria decrease Syrian children's concentration on classroom activities (Johnson, 2013; Yıldırım & Tosun, 2012). However, I have not come across any supportive documents or academic evidence that explains trauma-related war experiences or local political problems and impacts on the schooling experience of Syrian children in Turkey. The lack of research on the effects of traumatic experience in refugee education strengthens the

need for examining the schooling and language learning experiences of these children and discussing underlying reasons of these particular experiences.

Arabacı et al. (2013) discuss the local problems in refugee camps among refugee youth and the reasons behind the tensions among refugee youth. According to the result of their research on refugees living in camps in Turkey, refugee students get involved in school fights due to Syrian political tension. This situation often results in property damage and marginalization of other refugee children from their same ethnic and religious background. The local political tensions adopted by the Syrian refugee students are one of the primary concerns of the teachers. Particularly in this politically sensitive area, teachers fear that Syrian refugees' local and ethnic problems will escalate political problems in the region. These tensions not only trouble the peace-building strategies of the schools but also marginalize some refugee children from other refugee children because of their ethnic, national or religious background. Philips (2012) addressed the concerns of Turkish society that continuity of ethnic tensions among Syrian nationals is a concern for the Turkish people as they fear having another ethnic or religious tension in the southern part of Turkey. Therefore, this situation strengthens the idea of excluding Syrians and their children from social environments. However, the situation outside the refugee camps is unknown as to what kind of discourses influence refugee education. The measures for the refugee education in urban setting do not go beyond making predictions about the educational needs and responses to help refugee children continue their education.

Newsletters published by NGOs, newspaper articles and the Ministry of National Education website inform that NGOs and non-profit organizations establish some segregated schools to educate Syrian children (Emin, 2016; Kirişçi, 2014). There is no available information regarding these schools' effectiveness in increasing social adaptation or creating a sense of belonging among Syrian youth. All that is known is that these schools use a revised curriculum adapted from the National Curriculum of

Syria as well as some textbooks to teach Turkish, and the medium of instruction is Arabic (Johnson, 2013; “Interim Ministry of Education”, 2014; UNHCR, 2014c; Evin, 2014). Lack of educational resources plays a significant role in explaining the failure of educational responses. Arabic textbooks are not available, and MoNE monitors the present teaching resources in Arabic. Therefore, the available textbooks and teaching materials include political propaganda of Free Syrian Army.

Secularization and Turkish nationalism embedded in public schools and social structure are the other obstacles for Syrian refugee children. In Turkey, schools follow the principles of secularization and offer mixed-gender education. A few private and vocational schools offer gender-segregated education, but refugee children have restricted access to these private and vocational schools. Contrary to the Turkish education system, most Syrian schools are gender-segregated, and national values are structured based on their religious creed. Due to the above-mentioned ideological differences, refugee children, especially female students with headscarves (hijab), have challenges in Turkish public schools (Sert, 2014). Many Syrian families have difficulty in understanding the highly secular system in a Muslim populated country such as Turkey. As Arabacı et al. (2013) state, refugee students are more likely to experience social bullying at school because of the dominant schooling ideologies and anti-refugee sentiments in the society. Schools as a place of cultural reproduction teach country-specific citizenship values, and the schooling ideologies in Turkey could be an obstacle to refugee children’s integration into a new environment.

Finally, teacher education programs in Turkey do not train teacher candidates based on multicultural education. Erden (2013) mentions in her case study on a Syrian family’s social and educational experiences that teachers in public schools lack adequate pedagogical information to deal with diversity in their classrooms, but the challenges that teachers’ experience in teaching refugees decreases if the teacher has had prior interaction with other refugee students. The lack of pedagogical

knowledge can instigate a notion of helplessness among teachers that hinders them from creating a better teaching/learning environment. The literature on refugee education also demonstrates that the lack of pedagogical knowledge causes teachers to focus on refugee children's trauma and crisis related experience (Dreyden-Peterson, 2011; Rutter, 2006; Taylor & Sidhu, 2012; Windle & Miller, 2011). Therefore, the probability of instilling deficit discourse increases and refugee students consider themselves as a problematic student group.

Overview of Syrian Refugee Crisis and Refugee Education in Turkey

Problems associated with educating Syrian refugee children cannot be solely attributed to unsuccessful educational regulations. This failure is also connected to the lack of Turkey's experiences in accommodating non-Turkish speaking refugee children in schools. Previous sets of refugee groups were either from Balkan countries with Turkish origin or European countries with high education levels (Icduygu & Sirkeci, 1999; Kutalmis, 2003; Sirkeci, 1999; Sert, 2014; Türkeş, 1998). In other words, the former refugees had similar cultural or social backgrounds of the host community; thus, the host community welcomed them because of newcomers' social and academic capital. The current situation of teacher reluctance to improve refugee participation in the classroom and develop material dependent educational responses indicates that the authorities focus on providing resources and shelter rather than responding to the refugee's educational and social needs in a way necessary to ease resettlement and social adaptation.

Throughout the Syrian Crisis, Turkey adopted hospitality for refugees and applied open border policy to host Syrians. Turkish authorities established refugee camps and container cities in the local cities close to the Syrian border. However, the number of Syrian refugees seeking asylum in Turkey now exceeds two million (Ozdogan, Karateke, Ozdogan, & Satar, 2014; USAID, 2015), with more than 70% of the refugees living outside of established camps (AFAD, 2013; Dorman, 2014). This situation has

disrupted not only the social fabric in border towns but also accelerated anti-refugee sentiments among the host communities (Özden, 2013).

Statistical information regarding the number of refugee in and out of camps, the number of school-aged children, place of origin, and place of current residence in Turkey needs to be considered to understand the broader aspect of the Syrian refugee crisis and the Syrian refugee crisis's impact on the refugee-related discourse. This information helps not only to comprehend the necessity of understanding refugee students' experience in public schools but also to envision how these schools encouraged or discouraged anti-refugee sentiments increases after Syrian refugee influx. Furthermore, I briefly explain the discursive changes by discussing their potential impacts on refugee life. The literature on the refugee experience in Turkey is developing; the available literature is limited and less than adequate in explaining the real picture of the refugee situation. Consequently, I occasionally supported my argument with cases from other countries to elaborate how refugee students in Turkey may undergo challenging incidents in schools.

Statistical Information about Syrian Refugees in and out of Camps. Syrian refugees both in and outside camps chose Turkey as a major destination of asylum seeking because of geography. Therefore, Syrian refugees in Turkey mainly come from the conflict zones near the Syria-Turkey border. However, there are also refugees who came from different regions and cities in Syria. As Figure 1 indicates, Turkey received the majority of its refugee population, respectively, from Halep, Idlip, Rakka, Lazkiye, Hama, Hasici, Deyrizor, Damascus, Humus, Suveyda, Dera, Kuneytire, and Tartus (AFAD, 2013). Refugees are placed in camps, but around 10 percent of the refugees remained in refugee camps, whereas the rest of Syrian refugees lives outside camps (European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operation (ECHO), 2017).

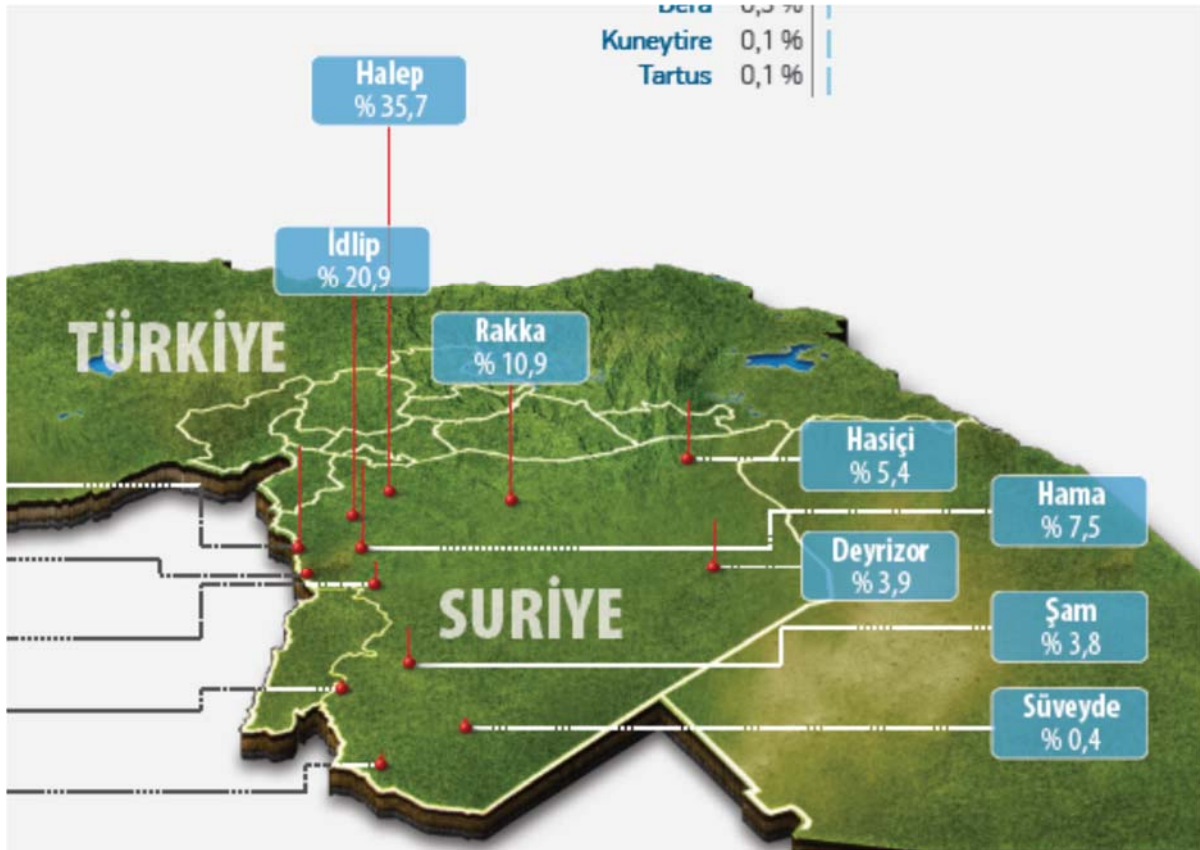


Figure 1. Cities in Syria that Turkey received refugees. (Retrieved from AFAD, 2013)

Figure 2 depicts the 20 camps in 10 Turkish cities located in the southern and southeastern regions of Turkey close to Syria-Turkey border. These cities are Hatay, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Kilis, Kahramanmaraş, Adıyaman, Adana, Osmaniye, Malatya, and Mardin. Şanlıurfa with three camps, Hatay with five camps, and Gaziantep with four camps are the most refugee-populated cities (AFAD, 2013). Refugees both in and outside camps significantly affected urban populations, therefore rapidly increased population density in these cities. For example, Kilis, which is a relatively small town with a population of 124,000, experienced 30 percent population growth during a single year (AFAD, 2013). This situation created problems regarding supplying resources and providing adequate services. Additionally, the unexpected population growth affected the social fabric of these cities by changing the ethnic diversity (Özden, 2013).

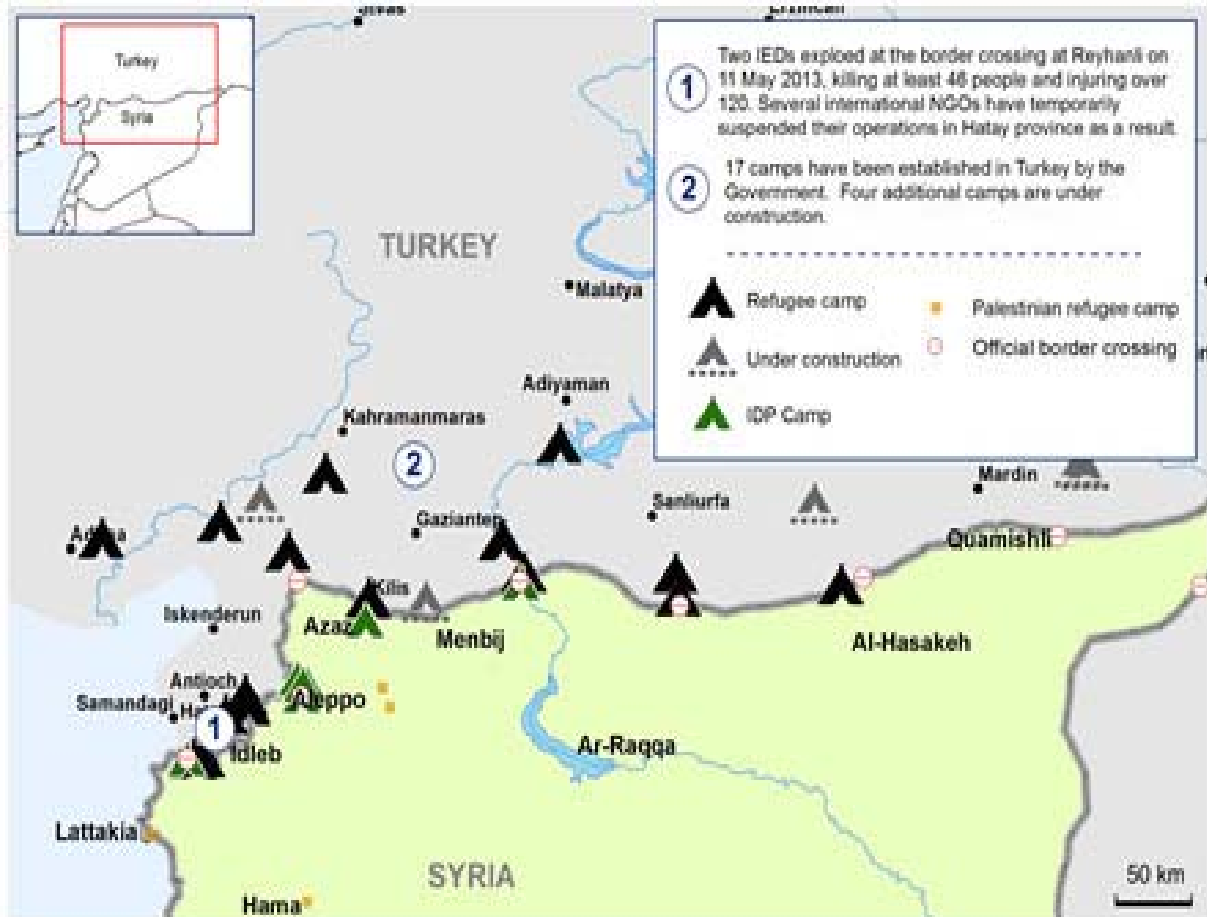


Figure 2. The locations of refugee camps in Turkey (Retrieved November 27, 2015, from http://geo.acaps.org/system/assets/pictures/801/content_turkeyii.jpg?1370260916)

No precise information about the number of refugees outside of camps is available, but the estimated number is between 2-5 million. The actual number of Syrian refugee was unavailable because of the local government’s lack of registration policy, illegal trespassing from borders, and refugees without identity documents. The Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management (2016) currently reports that the number of registered Syrian refugees with the status of temporary protection is 2,521,907 million. UNHCR’s report on Syrian Refugee Response (2017) explains that the total persons of concern in Turkey is 3,049,879.

According to AFAD (2013), more than half of Syrian refugees in camps and an estimated one-quarter of Syrian refugees outside camps entered Turkey with a valid passport by using a border gate whereas a significant number of Syrian refugees entered Turkey from unofficial border points and without valid identity documents. The registration rate for Syrian refugees outside camps is 5 percent, and only 20 percent of these refugees have a residence permit. One-third of refugees have no record (AFAD, 2013). Therefore, the authorities estimate that the ratio of refugees with no records is higher than the ratio of refugees with official registration. Registration is a serious issue in terms of registering children to schools and receiving social benefits from the government. According to the regulations on foreign national students (Ministry of National Education-Secondary Education General Directorate, 2010), students who are stateless, asylum seekers / refugees and those who do not have educational certificates from foreign nationals will be directed to the relevant schools / institutions on the basis of their statements, and if necessary by written or oral examinations. Refugee parents can send their children to any public school or schools for Syrian nationals in the neighborhood, but the school registration in Turkey is done by the address-based registration system (MoNE, 2014). Therefore, refugee parents are restricted to sending their children to a school in their neighborhood.

AFAD (2013) reports also include statistical information on the age range among refugees. The age range concentrates on 19-54, which is around 42 percent in camps and 45 percent of whom live outside camps. The percentage of children is high in and outside of camps. Approximately 53 percent of refugees in camps are children, and their age ranges between 0-18. The percentage outside camps is 49 percent, which still indicates the presence of a significant number of school-aged children in the refugee community.

Few children outside camps go to school. The population of the children who go to school outside the camps outnumbers the children studying in refugee camp schools. However, the attendance

rate among the children living in urban areas is low. The statistics show that 83 percent of children in camps aged between 6 and 11 attend schools in camps, and this percentage is 14 percent for the children of same age group living outside camps (AFAD, 2013). According to the Turkish Prime Minister's speech at the UNESCO 2014 World Conference on Education, the number of refugee children is around 350,000, and only 150,000 have access to education with the remaining unable to enroll in school ("Turkey provides education", 2014). One-third of refugee children living in and outside camps attend schools organized by municipalities, NGOs, and other Syrian refugees. Only 17 percent of refugee children living outside of camps go to official Turkish schools, and others go to temporary schools and education centers. These figures show that access to education is one of the biggest challenges for the refugee children, especially those not residing in camps.

Refugee camp conditions are better in Turkey compared to other countries such as Lebanon, Jordan, and Kuwait (International Crisis Group, 2013). Most of the camps in Turkey have primary and secondary schools, health clinics, supermarkets, playgrounds and even laundry rooms. Syrian refugees have access to hot water and in some cases, televisions and air conditioning. Although Arabacı et al. (2014) mention that Turkish refugee camps do not meet standards established by the UN High Commissioners for Refugees (UNHCR) because of their proximity to national borders, the Brooking Report (Özden, 2013) and International Crisis Group (2013) underscored that refugee camps in Turkey provide "five-star services" and look like well-established towns.

On the other hand, refugees outside camps have trouble because of discursive changes in the host society (Özden, 2013). The social reaction was once humanitarian and welcoming, but the increase in the refugee population shows that there is a limit to hospitality. The changes in public discourses because of different reasons are also seen in other countries such as the UK, the US, Australia, and the Netherlands after receiving refugees and immigrants from different cultures, religions, and nationality

(Arnot & Pinson, 2005; Jansen, Chioncel & Dekkers, 2006, 2006; Hattam & Every, 2010; Rutter, 2006; Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008).

Public Discourses about Syrian Refugee Crisis. Turkish society welcomed Syrian refugees and perceived them as guests when the Syrian Crisis began in the early spring of 2011. The assumption was that the crisis would end, and refugees would soon return to Syria. However, the Syrian refugee crisis continued to progress, and this situation caused a rapid increase in the refugee population in Turkey. In other words, erroneous assumptions posed problems associated with accommodating refugees (Kirisçi, 2014), creating discontent among local people. As mentioned earlier, the unnatural population growth of refugees affected the social fabric of many cities (AFAD, 2013; Özden, 2013). Local people had difficulty in dealing with diversity. Furthermore, the deep-rooted notion of educational and industrial competition in Turkish society also became a predicament for protecting hospitality discourses and was a factor in creating anti-immigrant sentiments (Ergin, 2016; Kirisci, 2014).

International aid could eliminate some financial concerns, but Afacan (2014) and Arabacı et al. (2014) discuss how Turkey does not want to receive international assistance from other countries or international aid organizations. According to Afacan (2014) and Krajeski (2012), there are two reasons for declining international help. First, Turkey wants to create soft power by showing generous services. Second, Turkey blames European countries with external power discourses for fueling the Syrian Crisis, and this shift in blame further reduces international help. On the other hand, Arabacı et al. (2014) associated declining international help with society's perception of international or national aid organizations. According to this study, Turkish people believe organizations try to impose their ideologies in exchange for their services. However, Turkey is changing its attitudes towards international help and planning to ask help from UN commissions towards resolving escalating refugee problems (Liz,

2012) because of the expenses regarding accommodating refugees. Turkey has spent \$7.6 billion on services such as education, health, and accommodation (“Kurtulmus: Suriyeliler İçin”, 2015).

National security is another factor in public discourses. Traditionally, Turkey is very sensitive about protecting its national unity and national borders. Most of the refugee camps are very close to the Syrian border (Afacan, 2014). Therefore, borders close to camps often are exposed to direct attacks or threatened by ISIS or supporters of Basar Al-Assad. As Afacan (2014) mentioned, this situation catalyzes discussions about how Syrian refugees may cause a threat to national security. Furthermore, as noted earlier, Syrian people have their ethnic, religious and political problems. The Turkish community suspects that it is just a matter of time for Syrian refugees to ignite ethnic or sectarian tensions (Philips, 2012). Finally, refugees are vulnerable to human trafficking and discrimination (Bindel, 2013). Therefore, the public fears that exploitation of refugees (particularly women and children) might increase a social deterioration.

A Migration Policy Centre (MPC) report provides information about the refugee crisis and changes in public discourse from a different perspective (Özden, 2013). According to the MPC report, a temporary protection regime that recognizes Syrian refugees as “guests” instead of “refugees” causes problems associated with Syrian refugees. Özden (2013) explains that a discourse of generosity should not be the base for the refugee policy for accommodating Syrians because it causes cultural confusion for the people of Turkey. In other words, the Turkish state and citizens felt offended when Syrian refugees asked for additional services and demanded job opportunities as, despite already limited resources, the country already provided assistance to refugees from funds initially assigned for the citizens of Turkey.

Finally, Afacan (2014), Özden (2013) and Johnson (2013) criticize the Turkish government’s higher education regulation for Syrian refugee students, which allows refugee students to enroll in

seven state universities without an exam and paperwork requirements (Higher Education Council, 2014a). Furthermore, the government had prepared a campaign named the Global Undertaking Platform for Syrian Students (Higher Education Council, 2014) to provide financial support for Syrian refugee students. On the other hand, Turkish students need to take a very competitive university entrance exam and have to rank higher in the exam to receive financial support from the state or Higher Education Council. These policies triggered anti-refugee sentiments among Turkish youth who do not easily receive financial aid from the government.

In conclusion, changes in public discourses have a strong correlation with the Turkish government's erroneous refugee policies. Their wrong estimation of the length of stay and numbers not only affects the quality of life for Turkish society but also causes Syrian refugees to be the target of hostile speech and actions.

Legal Frameworks and Refugee Status Determination

For the clarification of the terms used in this study, I provide information about the national and international legal instruments enacted to regulate refugee protection in the countries where people seek asylum. This study uses the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (The United Nations General Assembly, 1951) as an international framework, and the Law on Foreign and International Protection (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management, 2014) as the national framework to define the concept of refugee-ness and the refugee-related regulations in Turkey.

The 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. The 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, which was grounded in Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of human rights, is the major legal instrument of international refugee protection. It

provides rights to individuals to seek asylum from persecution in other countries. The UN 1951 Convention, however, as a post-Second World War instrument, originally aimed to address the individuals fleeing events occurring before January 1, 1951 and within Europe (The United Nations General Assembly, 1951). Many signatory countries of the Convention removed the geographical limitations with the 1967 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees. However, Turkey as a signatory of the 1951 United Nation Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees still follows the earlier version of the legal instrument (UNHCR, 1967). Therefore, Turkey does not grant refugee status to anyone outside the European zone (Bidinger, 2015). However, Turkey has regulations that ensure protection for refugees such as the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (Ministry of Interior, 2014), the regulations on foreign national students (Ministry of National Education- Secondary Education General Directorate, 2010), and the regulations on Educational and Instructional Services to Syrian Nationals in Our Country Protected by Temporary Protection (Ministry of National Education- Primary Education General Directorate, 2013).

The UN 1951 convention as a status and rights-based instrument defines the definitions and the rights entitled to be a refugee in the convention. According to Article 1 of the 1951 UN Refugee Convention, a refugee is a person who “owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country...” The rights given to the refugees are underpinned by three principles: non-discrimination, non-penalization, and non-refoulement. These principles explain how to apply the provisions of the convention. Briefly explaining each principle, non-discrimination highlights the importance of granting refugee status regardless of race, religion or country of origin. Non-penalization indicates that refugees are subjected to the specific exception, and they should not be penalized for their illegal entry or stay in a country. Finally, non-refoulement provides protection for the refugees

from being expelled or returned to any territory or country in which there are restrictions and life threatening situations.

As the convention is a rights-based instrument, it prepares basic standards for the treatment of refugees without violating the three fundamental principles. The basic standards allow refugees access to the courts, education, social services, employment, and to official documentation including travel documents in passport form. The treaty countries should guarantee these rights to the refugees. Turkey as a member of the 1951 Convention has a responsibility to protect refugees based on the minimum standards set by UNHCR; however, as it cannot grant refugee status, it has to give temporary protection when people from another country cross the border. Syrians in Turkey, as people outside the European zone, have been protected by the Law on Foreigners and International Protection so that they are entitled to temporary asylum and protection before being resettled in a third country (Bidinger, 2015).

The Law on Foreigners and International Protection. According to the Article 1 of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection established by the government of Turkey, “ the purpose of this law is to regulate the principles and procedures with regard to foreigners’ entry into, stay in and exit from Turkey, and the scope and implementation of the protection to be provided for foreigners who seek protection from Turkey, and the establishment, duties, mandate and responsibilities of the Directorate General of Migration Management under the Ministry of Interior” (Ministry of Interior, 2014:16). The law provides comprehensive and detailed definitions as necessary for the implementation of the principles and procedures. Anyone who crosses an international border and seeks asylum in Turkey is the beneficiary of temporary protection.

This study provides the definitions relating to the status and the rights of refugee children and unaccompanied minors as it focuses on refugee children and their schooling experiences. According to the law, a child refers to a person under the age of 18, and unaccompanied minor refers to a child “who

arrives at Turkey without the attendance of an adult who by law or custom is responsible for himself/herself or is left unaccompanied after entry into Turkey, unless he/she is not taken under the active care of a person with him or her” (Ministry of Interior, 2014:19).

The international legal documents also define people protected by temporary protection regime as conditional refugees, but the term conditional refugee is not used in the temporary protection framework of Turkey (Bidinger, 2015), which refers to those who can “reside temporarily in Turkey until they are resettled to third countries in cooperation with UNHCR” (Bidinger, 2015:228). Turkish authorities instead use the terms guests or temporary protection beneficiaries (Ineli-Ciger, 2014).

Temporary Protection Regime. Temporary protection is not a new concept and has been used in many host countries when there is a mass influx of people crossing over international borders (Edward, 2012). The host countries mainly use it when there is an urgent need to give quick responses to the humanitarian crisis in the event of a large influx of people. Temporary protection regimes are the result of the situations where the 1951 Convention does not apply, but it protects the newcomers on the prima facie basis (Bidinger, 2015; Edward, 2012).

According to Article 91 of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection, temporary protection is the implementation of the measures and principles established by the Ministry of Interior (Ineli-Ciger, 2014). As part of the temporary protection regime enacted by the Government of Turkey: Syrian nationals, refugees, and stateless persons from Syria seeking international protection are admitted to Turkey and will not be sent back to Syria against their will. The temporary protection regime applies to all Syrian nationals, stateless persons, and refugees from Syria who are in need of international protection, including those without identification documents.

The rights applicable to Syrian refugees, whether they are residing in or outside of the camps, are also enumerated within the temporary protection regulation. In general, these include access to health, education, social assistance, and the labor market. The implementation of some of these rights, such as access to social assistance and the labor market, will be clearer in the future and is subject to further decisions by the relevant line ministries, including the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Family and Social Policies (Ministry of Interior, 2014).

Regulations for Educating Refugee Children. Two main official documents regulate the educational and instructional services provided to Syrian Nationals such the Regulation on Foreign National Students and the Regulations on the Educational and Instructional Services for the Syrian Protected by the Temporary Protection. The first regulations had existed before the Syrian Refugee Crisis broke out so that the terms used in the documents refer to anyone from a different nationality. However, the second regulation was prepared to standardize the educational and instructional services only for Syrian Nationals so that it does not include information about other nationals.

Before the Law on Temporary Protection Regime, the Secondary Education Directorate of Ministry of National Education established an educational regulation for providing quality education for the school-aged foreign national children. The Regulation on Foreign National Students uses the term “school-aged foreign national students” as an overarching term to define foreign national students. This regulation also defines the educational problems of Syrian refugee children (Ministry of National Education-Secondary Education General Directorate, 2010). The main reasons for initiating an official regulatory document were the lack of motivation among the refugee community to send their children to public schools and the Turkish educational authorities’ hesitations about how to educate non-native Turkish speakers in the schools.

The Regulations on Foreign National Students obliges each Provincial Directorate of National Education to establish a commission to register children in school, designate children's educational level, organize Turkish language training, and supervise the overall education process of educational regulations. This commission works under the responsibility of the Provincial National Education Director or the Provincial National Education Assistant Director. It also includes the Provincial National Security Director- Foreigners Branch, a translator and a language teacher, who can interview the foreign national students in their native languages.

This document enables refugee and foreign national students to register as students from the pre-school to high school level, including special education services and vocational schools, without having a student visa. However, their legal guardians are required to have a residence permit or temporary protection that is valid for at least six months. Once the school-aged children in the family registered to a school, their school registration has no impact on the family's residency. In other words, school registration does not enable the whole family to stay in Turkey.

Under the section of other issues, this document also explains the additional services that benefit refugee children and the rules that apply to refugee children. According to the regulations, refugee or asylum seeker children receive counseling and psychological service if they experience problems with schooling adaptation or lack of motivation because of trauma-related memories. The same school discipline rules apply to all foreign national students. They are required to follow the dress code regulations, register all the available identity information on an online system called e-school or MEBBIS (Ministry of National Education Information Systems [Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Bilişim Sistemleri]), and notify national security and national education offices of any address and status changes. The rules only become invalid if the identity information of the children needs to be protected.

Following the enactment of the Temporary Protection Regime, the Ministry of National Education aimed to standardize the education given to refugee children both in refugee camps and urban areas. Therefore, the Basic Education Directorate of the Ministry of National Education proposed the Regulations on the Training and Educational Services for Syrian Citizens Under Temporary Protection [Ulkemizde Gecici Koruma Altinda Bulunan Suriyeli Vatandaslara Yonelik Egitim ve Ogretim Hizmetleri] (Ministry of National Education- Primary Education Directorate, 2013) to ensure quality education for the refugee students and regulate the educational and instructional services provided to Syrians.

According to this regulation, the aim of the educational and instructional services is to help Syrian children continue their interrupted education through ensuring that they do not lose school years when they go back to Syria or any third countries. In the case of lacking academic staff or teachers, the Ministry of National Education (MoNE) has to hire qualified Arabic-speaking teachers, which could be volunteers from the Syrian community as long as they meet the teaching criteria defined by MoNE. This document also allows Syrian educators to use or develop their teaching material, as the aim of the documents is to make sure that Syrian children continue their education to ensure a smooth transition when they return to school in their home country. However, Syrian citizens with Turkish origin may also study the regular national curriculum. Additionally, this document regulates higher education requirements. Syrian citizens with high school diplomas or those about to graduate are now able to take the Syrian National Coalition for Higher Education baccalaureate examination to enter university (Higher Education Council, 2014a).

Definition of Terms in the Study. Turkey has developed its own term to define who is a refugee (Amnesty International, 2016). According to Amnesty International (2016), Syrian nationals obtain temporary protection status, and other nationals except European countries receive international protection status. Only people fleeing from the events occurring in Europe can obtain refugee status.

The definition of the terms such as refugees, beneficiary of temporary protection, beneficiary of international protection, and child is provided below.

Definition of Refugee in the Local Frameworks: In article 61 of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection, refugee refers to “A person who as a result of events occurring in European countries and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his citizenship and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it, shall be granted refugee status upon completion of the refugee status determination process.” (The Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management, 2014).

According to the Article 91 of the Temporary Protection Regulation, beneficiary of temporary protection is defined as in the following; “Temporary protection shall be granted to foreigners who were forced to leave their countries and are unable to return to the countries they left and arrived at or crossed our borders in masses to seek urgent and temporary protection and whose international protection requests cannot be taken under individual assessment.” (The Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management, 2014). People only obtain temporary protection status if they flee from an event that affected many people in short time. Therefore, according to the Turkish protection regulations, a person can only be the beneficiary of international protection, if s/he applies to international protection as an individual.

Definition of “Child” in Temporary Protection Law: The Law on Foreigners and International Protection (2014) also explains the term child and unaccompanied child. According to the law, a child refers to a person under the age of 18, and unaccompanied minor refers to a child “who arrives at

Turkey without the attendance of an adult who by law or custom is responsible for himself/herself or is left unaccompanied after entry into Turkey, unless he/she is not taken under the active care of a person with him or her” (Ministry of Interior, 2014:19).

Terms of “child refugees” used in this paper are Syrian child refugees, Syrian refugee students, guest students, and foreign national students. They all refer to the school-aged Syrian refugee children under the age of 18. However, the use of terms in this study changes depending on the context of the daily discourse. I use each term to mean any Syrian child coming to Turkey in search of asylum, whether they or their household have received temporary protection status or a residence permit and whether they are considered as a child or unaccompanied child.

This study also requires to explain the terms such as agency and identity because the definitions used in Turkey is originated from the international framework, but the implementation of temporary protection and international protection shows the reflection of local sentiments for refugee protection and portrays refugees as guests (Özden, 2013).

According to the literature, refugee identity is a social and political concept (Hope, 2008; Mosellson, 2006; Najjar, 2007; Zetter, 1991). The idea of refugee is a concept defined by UN (Philips & Cynthia (1997) and a refugee is a white, male and anti-communist person by the UN definition of refugee (Chimni, 1998). Currently, a refugee is a feminine and traumatized person since the end of the Cold War (Pupovac (2006). Philips and Cynthia (1997) explains that refugee determination process plays an important role in defining the identity of refugees. In their study, they examine the UK refugee system and conclude that refugee identity in the UK is determined by the idealized conception of who is a refugee and who deserves to be a refugee, and the discursive struggle of different social and governmental organizations, which combines the complex web of dependencies and the production of refugees. In relation to this explanation, Turkish refugee protection system also generates its way of

defining refugees by calling them as guests, and the discursive struggle of whether or not refugees should be perceived as guests and how they should be integrated into the society (Arabacı et al., 2014, Özden, 2013).

Zetter (1991) explains that the label given to the refugees in selective and materialistic meanings causes the creation of new refugee identities other than defined in the legal frameworks because the refugees negotiate between the host country's perception of refugees and the refugee community's struggle to claim their social space. Refugee communities create some common ideas that plays an important role in defining the symbolic meanings of their struggles and the dynamic of their identity (Zetter, 1991). Some scholars define the common ideas as collective memory, which are the product of the shared memories resulted from the war, conflict, and political instability in refugees' countries (Hope, 2008; Mosselson, 2006; Najjar, 2007). These scholars agree that collective memory and the struggle with the opposite sides in their country or with the local community affect their identity construction.

Hope (2008) and Mosselson (2006) furthers the conversation on the identity of refugee students by highlighting the importance of refugees' experiences. According to Hope's (2008) study on the development of refugee identity in children's literature, refugee students' identities are new hybrid identities, which combines their experiences by strengthening their ethnic and religious affiliation. She argues that refugee students create this form of togetherness and use it to develop a new identity. Mosselson (2006) adds to the argument of collective memory by highlighting the importance of refugee students' coping mechanism developed in response to their refugee situations. She mentions that her study exposes a gap between identity development discourses, and the actual experience of refugees through presenting evidence about how refugees construct hybrid identities by interlinking their existent cultural and national identities with their new experiences and aspirations.

In relation to the above discussions on the identity development of refugees, this study relies on the hybrid identities that refugees construct based on their existing national and cultural identities and lived experiences as refugees in the host country. Therefore, the definition of refugee identity is “the reconstruction of a new hybrid identity in the host country based on reflecting on their new lived experiences and intertwining collective memories with their cultural and national identity claims to draw the boundaries of who they are in their new environment.”

Many scholars criticize that the situation of refugees are represented from a much-polarized point of view that refugees are incapable of giving their own decision about their life due to their trauma background, over-politicization or de-politicization, and incapability (Chatty, 2010; Dreyden-Peterson, 2011; Pupovac, 2006; Stevens, 2015; Malkki, 1992; Monsutti, 2008). Pupovac (2006) explains that refugees being portrayed as being without agency are an exaggeration and a way of legitimizing the decisions being taken away from them. Hannah Arendt’s depiction of the refugees as the rightless and stateless people has influenced many scholars in seeing refugees without beings without agency (Bradley, 2014). Even though some scholars perceive Arendt’s work as the reason for stripping agency from the refugees, Arendt’s (1942) article titled *We Refugees* indicates that refugees are not a group of people without agency or capabilities for giving decisions about their life. Her narration of the sequence of events after seeking refuge provides a clear argument that agency of refugees is constructed in their desires, motivations, struggles to define their identity and social space in the new community, and negations of given identities by the host community and freedom restrictions.

In connection to the above mentioned arguments about how refugees negotiate with the local and international responses, and negate the discourses that restrict their lifestyle, this study defines the refugee agency as “the process of negotiations and negations of the given social, political and financial means and the practice of performing individual capacity to reconstruct their social and political

realities". Refugee agency definition in this study also has association with the refugee identity definition as both of them originate from the argument that refugees are only traumatized and dependent beings.

In addition to the terms such as agency and identity, the literature indicates that trust is another working definition in Turkish refugee protection context. The evidence that supports the argument of trust as a term that functions to regulate the relationship between the local and refugee communities are as in the following: reliance on the historical connections between the people of two nations (Chatty, 2010; 2014), local people's sensitivity about being criticized by the refugee community regarding providing the services (Özden, 2013), Turkish authorities aim to gain soft power in the region through providing generous services (Afacan, 2014), and Turkish authorities' rejection of international aid as the authorities perceive the aid providers as the reasons for escalated problems in the region (Krajeski, 2012). The studies and articles in the literature do not define the concept of trust in Turkish refugee protection context, but based on the evidences mentioned above trust can be defined as "a sensitive and fragile concept that regulates and furthers a new relationship or the historical bonds between the local and refugee communities based on the availability of local financial resources and social support mechanism." Trust, as the regulatory concept of refugee protection, is defined in Chapter 4 while presenting the results of this study to show how the school community defines the trust and whether there is a difference between the general concept of trust in the society and the school as one of the institutions of the society.

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The previous section explains the Turkish government's responses to the Syrian Humanitarian Crisis and the legal frameworks that regulate the social and educational services for the refugee community. Additionally, it also provides the definitions of guests, temporary protection beneficiaries, and unaccompanied child to show that the local authorities use the regional definitions in place of

international definitions. Below, I explain the purpose of this study and introduce the guiding research questions in connection to the educational, cultural, and political problems stated in the earlier sections.

The purpose of this study is to examine the Syrian child refugees' schooling experience and understand how refugee students make sense of the curricular activities in public schools. To research Syrian child refugees' schooling experience, I formulate my research questions based on three inquiries. First, I examine the major conditions in the school that shape the schooling experience of the refugee children including the role of social actors. Second, I explore what the schooling experiences of the Syrian refugee children are and to what degree the social actors play a role in particular schooling experiences. Third, I examine the responses of the refugee students to the social and cultural teachings, curricular activities, and school environment as part of Syrian refugee students' schooling experience.

The research questions of the study are as in the following:

1. What major conditions in the school shape the schooling experiences of Syrian child refugees?
2. What are the schooling experiences of Syrian child refugees in Turkish public schools?
3. How do Syrian child refugees respond to the social and cultural teachings in public schools?

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction: Contextualizing Refugee Children's Schooling Experiences

The literature on refugee studies and educational responses to the emerging refugee crisis has three narratives that dominate the schooling experience of refugee children: 1) the influence of pre-traumatic and post-traumatic experiences; 2) the role of school, social actors and culture; and 3) identity construction and belongingness. Each narrative examines a different aspect of refugee education to explain how child refugees understand and interpret social, cultural, political and educational differences in their new environments. The problem with these narratives is that they portray refugee situations as highly negative. Scholars present the interactions between the locals and refugees from a much-polarised point of view. In other words, either the discourse of victimhood or the notion of refugees as social detractors dominates the current responses to refugee crisis and education. Dreyden-Peterson (2011) and Chatty (2010) criticize the negative representation of refugees and suggest that scholars should consider new perspectives to understand the refugee crisis, and use new approaches to examining the issues of forced migration. The main argument for suggesting a new approach is, first, to broaden the refugee assistance mechanism from rights-based policy in other words positivist approach, which relies on the rights defined in the international and national legal frameworks (Goodwin-Gill, 1983; Grahl-Madsen, 1966), to social constructivism, which refers to the knowledge reconstruction through human interaction (Berger & Luckmann, 1991), based on refugee and local people's agency. Second, scholars want to give credit to local refugee protection organizations in developing countries, in other words, in the countries where the influx of refugees is high and where the geopolitics of knowledge production is possible (Chimni 1998).

The positivist approach considers the international law as the objective regulatory of refugee situations and enforces the use of international law in any condition (Goodwin-Gill & McAdam, 2007;

Grahl-Madsen, 1972). Chimni (1998) criticizes that the positivist approach limits the engagement with politics by creates a language of power or morality so that many refugees cannot be presented rightfully in the international law because the historical, political and geographical realities are not taken into consideration. However, this approach has been adopted by many scholars including the ones from the countries where refugee crisis gets complex without the geopolitics of knowledge production and principles of human rights (Chimni, 1992; Mantāphōn, 1992).

Steven (2015) defines a similar approach the like geopolitics of knowledge production that centers the anthropological perception of refugeeness and assistance. Steven (2015) names that approach as the *Middle Eastern Model for Refugee Protection*. According to her argument, developing countries use the notion of hospitality to create a sustainable social relationship between refugee and local communities and this notion should be the center of refugee resettlement policies. Dreyden-Peterson (2011) also propose an alternative framework named the *livelihood approach*, which refers to the alternative, agency-driven and long-term integration and resettlement strategies, as the protracted nature of many refugee crises in the world shows that the average years of exile is 17 years. The livelihood approach promotes policies and programming to create self-reliant refugee communities through improving refugees' sense of agency.

In the following sections of the chapter, I present the ways in which schools and schooling ideologies shape and affect refugee children's understanding of schooling and construction of their identity in the literature. The key ideas of the dominant narratives of the refugee education literature are used to contrast the recent perspectives about giving importance to refugee communities' agencies with the dominant narratives. The summary of the past research on refugee education helps form a conceptual framework to examine schooling experiences of refugee children in public schools. This

conceptual framework critically analyzes the relationship between education, refugee children's agency and cultural power in and out of schools.

The following section presents the main arguments of each narrative of the literature. The first dominant narrative suggests that refugee children's pre-traumatic experiences before resettlement and post-traumatic experiences after finding refuge in a country adversely influence their schooling experiences, sense of belongingness, and identity construction. Although many research studies verify the negative influence of pre-traumatic and post-traumatic experiences on refugee youth's lives, this approach overlooks the agency of refugee children creating social spaces to protect, maintain and construct their identities in the host community (Arendt, 1942; Dreyden-Peterson, 2011; Chimni, 1998). In addition to the often-ignored refugee autonomy, this approach supports the idea that refugee children are potential victims, and refugee children need rescuers to liberate themselves from the oppressors or the negative conditions. The second narrative of the literature suggests that social actors and culture influences refugee children's schooling experience as these people initiate their very first cultural interpretation. Because of their young age and higher possibility of entering into new social spaces such school, camps, and local neighborhoods, refugee children get exposed to the host community's culture. This narrative of the literature mostly focuses on the impact of parents, teachers, and peers within the new environment that refugee children experience. Depending on the host community's manner and approach to refugees, child refugees might construct negative or positive experiences (Arabaci et al. 2013; Philips and Cynthia, 1997). However, in any case, they acquire the language and cultural skills in their new environment faster than their parents do (Işık-Ercan, 2012; Mullen, 2014). As widely discussed in the literature, the biggest proportion of language acquisition and socialization process occurs in the schools. The final narrative of the literature review concentrates on refugee children's identity construction and argues how and why refugee children have identity conflicts and lack a sense of belongingness (Chatty, 2014; Hope, 2008; Mosellson, 2006; Najjar, 2007; Zetter,

1991). According to the literature, refugee children feel themselves as part of the society when they speak the local language and receive emotional support from their teachers and peers, but they feel excluded when the social actors focus more on their lack of verbal expressions, accents, ethnic or racial background and inadequate academic skills.

Development of a Conceptual Framework

Yet migration is the story of human life... Forced migration is generally big, sudden, violent, dangerous, painful, and compelling. It is documented in the religious text, in folk tales, and in oral narratives of people around the world. It is detailed in ancient myths such as Gilgamesh, in the Old Testament story of Hebrew exodus, in Homer's *Iliad and Odyssey*, in Virgil's tale of Trojan refugees, in the *Aeneid*. It is the tale of Han people in China who colonized non-Han regions to the south and west to create a vast empire. It is the story of the Central Asian Turkic people who migrated to Anatolia and founded the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish State. It describes the Viking colonization of Normandy and then the Norman invasion of Britain in 1066. It is also part of the legacy of the end of imperial and colonial empires and the coming of the age of the twentieth and the early twenty-first centuries have continued to see waves of forced migrants; four million people in five waves of fleeing from Kuwait in the 1990s, another two and a half million of people, if not more, escaping Iraq since 2006 (Chatty, 2010, p.8)

The quotation from Dawn Chatty's book of *Displacement and Dispossession in the Modern Middle East* examines the philosophical and historical nature of forced migration and the nation's resilience to resurrect even after big, sudden and involuntary migratory movements. The message behind the myths, tales, and stories tells us how victims of forced migration became part of the land that they resettled and how they maintained the spirit of their origins through stories and tales. In the current refugee and displacement crisis, the media and the organizations in the field mainly discuss how vulnerable the newcomers are. The media often depicts refugees, and displaced people as needy individuals, who do not have the agency to construct their future (Dreyden-Peterson, 2011). However, the oral histories and family narratives provide evidence that people who migrated to another country because of force, natural disaster, political pressure, exile and many other countless reasons are actual

examples of resilience. They maintain their ethnic, religious, and national identity by passing the unrecorded stories of their migration to their youth.

The Syrian refugee crisis is one of the biggest forced migration movements in the history of refugeedom. Once again, the world witnesses that conflict has always been a chronic disease in the Middle East. Chatty (2010) argues that the flight of people from different backgrounds to the region is not a new phenomenon due to the attacks and the wars throughout the centuries in the region. These ongoing conflicts later result in an opportunistic entry for many nations. Additionally, a new nation-state emerge in the region. Therefore, even though the wars and the hatred speeches between the nations continue to some degree, people in the region get used to hosting people from different backgrounds. The locals have practiced developing a system of pluralism and learned how to tolerate the diversity. The locals, as well as the previous settlers, have welcomed newcomers. The concept of hospitality, therefore, has become a norm.

People in the Middle East has practiced the concept of hospitality for a long time in the region, and this practice has resulted in a sustainable social relationship between refugees and the locals. Dallal Steven's address on *Refugee Protection in the Middle East and North Africa* (2015) address that the communities maintained a form of a relationship through categorizing the newcomers based on their forced migration reasons. Some categories of the newcomers are laji'in (refugees), muhajirin (emigrants), mughtaribin (the alienated exiles), magfiyin (the forgotten) and talbin luju' (asylum seekers). Figure 3 shows how Steven (2015) categorizes the newcomers based on their religion, ethnicity, and the reasons for migration. She explains that the ancient concept of hospitality has still been the most common local response. Local people or the earlier settlers, therefore, organize the current refugee or newcomer protection strategy through anchoring the historical facts as similarly mentioned in Chatty's historical analysis of refugee resettlement strategies. Due to the nature of this

approach, the refugees could have the public sphere, and protect their self-autonomy without needing to ensure the legal rights of refugees (Steven, 2015).

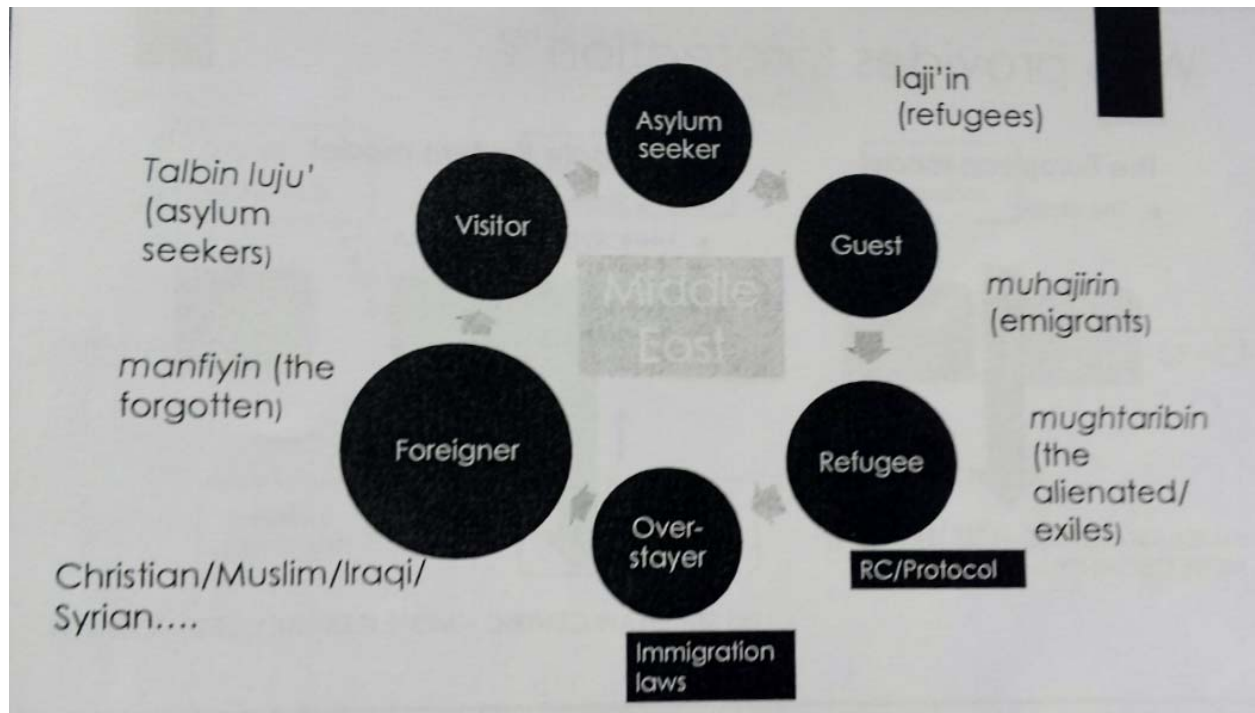


Figure 3. Identity categories for refugee in the Middle East (Retrieved from Dallal Steven’s lecture notes on Refugee Protection in the Middle East and North Africa at the University of Oxford on July 7, 2015)

The discussion on how to frame refugee responses also has a long history in comparison to the discussion on the necessity of adapting anthropological approaches. Chimni (1998) argues that a new approach that legitimizes the geopolitics of knowledge production in the field of refugee studies is necessary as a reaction to the dissimilarities of refugee flow in Europe and the Third World Countries. The main criticism by Chimni (1998) is that the positivist approach formulated by the Western policymakers put emphasis on the separation of legal and political spheres and created the depoliticization discourse, which later extended its humanitarian language with the Western notion of autonomy. Shortly, a definition of the normal refugee became white, male and anti-communist. This

narrow definition excluded many individuals fleeing the Third World because of political reasons (Mantāphōn, 1992). The shortcoming of the positivist approach resulted in a concentration of refugee determination as opposed to being alert to developing the capacity of solutions and informing people how to create appropriate responses to political strategies of states (Chimni, 1998). The intellectual fragmentation among the refugees causes the continuation of conflicts in the states. Chimni (1998) suggests locating the international organizations within the larger social order. In other words, he highlights the necessity of acknowledging the historical and political context before applying top-down legal policies that distinctly produce one type of refugee.

The West have not well understood the victims of forced migration from the Middle East due to lack of understanding of their history, cultural ideals, and expectations (Chatty, 2014). Therefore, Chatty (2014) calls researchers to frame a new approach to study the concept of forced migration, asylum, refugee and hospitality in the Middle East with a different perspective to deconstruct the understanding of the West regarding the incapability of providing assistance in the event of forced migration. Her examination of the Iraqi refugees after the Anglo-American invasion shows that the orientalist assumptions of Middle Eastern refugees appear to be failing. Many people in Iraq who suffer from the war and war-like situations after the invasion remain living in the region rather than seeking refuge from European countries on a massive scale. Additionally, the Iraqi communities resist the ethnic cleansing employed by the military forces and displacement of people from their lands (Chatty, 2010; 2014).

Retention, internment and holding camps are not preferred refugee settlement approaches in the Middle East. Even though the establishment of physical spaces changed due to the influence of hegemonic countries, people in the region still prefer urban resettlement (Chimni, 1998). The ancient notion of hospitality, brotherhood, kinship, and generosity has been used to accommodate newcomers and establish integration with the local community. Chatty (2010; 2014) states that the Ottoman

Empire's legacy for protecting refugees established the foundations of the refugee protection approach. According to her analysis of Iraqi, Caucasian, Chechnya and Turkmen communities, the Ottoman Empire had encouraged the local community to maintain a good relationship with the refugees through reminding them the Islamic principle of brotherhood and Muhajirin (emigrants) and instituted a refugee code to protect refugee from the exploitation. Based on the refugee code, the state gave each refugee family a 17-acre land to build a house and to undertake agricultural activities. The law also banned refugees from selling their lands for 15 years. Chatty (2014) argues that this form of organization was successful in the region as the system used religion as a unifying concept to eliminate the superiority of one ethnic group and the notion of belongingness was tied up to social spaces rather than physical spaces. Her analysis also demonstrated that the Ottoman state also protected non-Muslim Ottoman refugees through encouraging religious tolerance in the communities and allowing self-governance for the different religious groups with synagogues and churches. The concept of social space was systematized through a system called *Millet*, which meant religion and religious communities.

Malkki (1992) studies the people's understanding of rooting and the territorialisation of national identity among refugees and in the field of refugee studies. Agreeing with other scholars such Chatty (2010; 2014), Chimni (1998), Dreyden-Peterson (2011), and Steven (2015), Malkki (1992) states that exile and other forms of displacement are not a new phenomenon. Her analysis of refugeeness and the refugee resettlement process focused on the metaphorical concept of human needs for having roots. She studied the linkages between the people and the place. Her main argument is that as the scholars see identity from an essentialist perspective, they lack seeing the mobility and fluidity of identity after being exposed to different sets of values. According to her, refugees are not "liminal in the categorical order of nation-states" (Malkki, 1992, p. 34) or not in the condition of contemporary homelessness. Her approach differs from the other approaches as it highlights the necessity of physical spaces as opposed to the concept of social space. However, Malkki's explanation captures a commonality with the other

approaches mentioned above because of showing the differences between the urban and camp refugees regarding building a sense agency and maintaining a cosmopolite identity. The refugees who do not live in a restricted environment such as camps are more likely to use their initiatives to continue their lives.

The other approach that explains the influence of external factors on adolescent refugees' decision-making abilities and refugee agency to construct their realities and social spaces is the livelihood approach (Dreyden-Peterson, 2011; Monsutti, 2008). Similar to the previous discussions on the necessity of framing refugee issues based on cultural norms, values, and geopolitical structures, Monsutti (2008) examines how Afghan refugee youth constituted a livelihood strategy. According to his analysis, Afghan boys decided to struggle with the problems happened after the UN repatriation campaign to Afghanistan from the host countries. Afghan youth had returned to their previous lands, but economic factors and the lack of infrastructure to secure a better future encouraged back-and-forth movements between Afghanistan and other neighboring countries among the young generations. In other words, their traditional livelihoods changed over the course of their refuge and new transnational social spaces were created by the Afghan youth as they perceived economic stability as the central pursuits of their livelihood. However, Dreyden-Peterson (2011) argues that economic factors should be less influential for refugee children's livelihood construction even though refugee children are part of the family responsibility. Sometimes refugee children end up contributing to their families through wage labor. However, Winthrop and Kirk's (2008) study on refugee children in Ethiopia, Afghanistan, and Sierra Leone show that refugee children were capable of isolating themselves from the limitations of highly politicized schooling during armed conflict and maintain hope for a better future. As Dreyden-Peterson (2011) state, "refugee children have been socialized to believe that livelihoods are inextricably linked to formal schooling" (p. 88). However, the schooling ratio among the refugee children particularly in urban areas, for example in Turkey, remains low in comparison to the refugee camps where children's

attendance at schools is compulsory (AFAD, 2013). Despite the value placed on schooling, the definition of success is different for the refugee youth and they construct their realities by focusing on the present.

Given the discussions on the necessity of an alternative approach to studying current refugee crisis in developing countries, there are four emerging themes: 1) dissimilarities of European and Middle Eastern notion of refugeeness; 2) multiple definitions for newcomers rather than single refugee definition; 3) providing social space rather than physical space, and 4) placing refugee agencies at the center of establishing livelihood. I use these emerging themes of refugeeness in my conceptual framework while I examine the schooling experience of Syrian refugee children. Therefore, I can observe when Syrian refugee children resist or accept values and norms of present schooling ideologies. I also want to understand how their reactions to the host and home countries' educational and social expectations affect their construction of schooling experience, identity, and sense of belongingness. Finally, I want to examine the influence of social actors on refugee children's construction of schooling experience when refugee children accept or reject the values and norms embedded in the school curriculum, discipline structure, and establish a so-called normal relationship with the other people in the school and environment. While formulating my research questions, I tried to keep them as simple and broad as possible because refugee responses in the region are rapidly changing. In addition to the rapid changes in the nature of the Syrian Crisis, a standard definition that helps to narrow down the issues of Syrian Refugee Crisis does not exist for the Syrian refugees.

Given the explanations above, the available literature focuses on defining the consistent factors of Syrian child refugees' schooling experience by using the dominant narratives in the literature on refugee studies and refugee education. These narratives influence pre-traumatic and post-traumatic experiences; the role of school, social actors and culture; and identity construction and belongingness. Accordingly, the unchanging factors related to the schooling experience of Syrian Refugee children are

the school system and structure, schooling ideologies in the schools, curricular activities, school environments, and social actors such as parents, peers, and teachers. The literature also informs that refugee children experience problems and challenges while they are constructing their identities and establishing a sense of belongingness, but I do not have empirical evidence whether Syrian refugee children's experiences in Turkey create experiences that are more traumatic or prepares them for a better future.

Research Questions and Sub-Research Questions

I now represent the three principles research questions of this study but add sub-questions that draw from the above literature review.

1. What major conditions in the school shape the schooling experiences of Syrian child refugees?
2. What are the schooling experiences of Syrian child refugees in Turkish public schools?
 - a. Does the schooling experience of Syrian child refugees differ from each other? Why?
 - b. How do Syrian child refugees perceive Turkish schooling ideologies in relation to refugee adaptations?
 - c. What shapes the ways in which Syrian child refugees construct their agency and identity?
3. How do Syrian child refugees respond to the social and cultural teachings in public schools?
 - a. What role do curriculum activities play in their response?
 - b. Do Syrian child refugees maintain their national identity in their new school environment? If so, how and what forms?
 - c. To what degree does the school environment provide social spaces for Syrian child refugees?

The comparison of the dominant narratives and alternative approaches defines the school system and structure, schooling ideologies in the schools, curricular activities, school environments, and social actors such as parents, peers, and teachers as unchanging factors that influence the refugee education. The following sections present the results of the previous literature. The amount of this research with positivist approach is more than the research conducted with an alternative perspective; therefore, this chapter explains the influence of trauma-related experience on refugee children's lives and education; the role of school, social actors and culture; and the identity construction and sense of belongingness through the lens of positivist approaches. Briefly explaining the core of positivist approaches, these approaches perceive refugees as victims, detractors or vulnerable groups. As discussed earlier, the alternative approaches place importance on refugee agency and their capabilities to create social spaces.

Trauma-Related Experiences

The psychological and psychosocial approaches dominate the research on refugee children so that researchers often analyze the refugee children's experience in a new cultural environment based on trauma discourses (Pinson & Arnot, 2007; Matthews, 2008; Rutter, 1998). Rutter (1998) argues that focusing on refugee children's trauma-related experiences is associated with the mainstream understanding of universalizing refugee experiences and standardizing the refugee assistance. According to her critique, once refugee children are labeled as weak, vulnerable, and traumatized, it suppresses all the political and personal rights violations. Many humanitarian agencies benefit from the consequences of trauma discourses, because of people, particularly the host community, blame the new coming refugees in the event of a social or political problem rather than critically examining the adequateness of support services available to refugees.

The dominant trauma discourse indicates that refugee children have trouble adapting in their new schools. Refugee students often demonstrate negative behaviors in the school and cannot establish a healthy relationship with their peers and teachers as their post- and pre-traumatic experiences affect their emotional and psychological stability. Thomas (2010) examines the perceptions of and experiences of British minority and Eastern European refugee youth in British schools. The findings of her study validate that these youths experience stereotypical treatment from their peers and teachers because of the subtle racism in the schools. Even though refugee and migrant students become the target of both institutional and peer bullying, the school and local community associate the bullying issues with the traumatic history of new students. As a result of this perception in the school, refugee children often isolate themselves and become introverted because they do not know how to cope with their new school environment, school bullying, and their emotional stage. Pinson and Arnot (2007) further the discussion on the destructive and oppressive nature of psychological approaches. According to their argument, refugee children's education is surrounded by complex politics and educational policies often violate the basic principles of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) because of the political tension such as "race," nationhood and the education of immigrants and minority ethnic pupils. Pinson and Arnot (2007) conclude their argument by saying that local authorities favor the focus on the trauma experiences of the refugee children as this understanding implies the pathologisation and victimization of young asylum-seekers and legitimizes the immigration and dispersal policies.

The psychological approaches dominate the refugee education policies and approach in Australia. Matthews (2008) states that Australian educational regulations on refugee education overemphasize the pre-displacement trauma experiences of the refugee students while offering educational services. The researcher argues in her article that Australian schools foster inequality and discrimination as the system pathologizes refugee children because of their witnessing violence in their country, language spoken at home, religious affiliation, and migrant status. Matthews (2008) suggests

that refugee education in Australia requires a transition from psychological approach to sociopolitical approach that focuses on the post-traumatic experiences of refugee youth.

The application of the psychological approach in the United States differs from the other countries because it presents refugees as an unrealistic group of people rather than pathologic because the refugee communities pursue education as a key to economic mobility. The schools, therefore, aim to help refugees acquire reasonable and achievable goals for the future (Işık-Ercan, 2012; Sarr & Mosselson, 2010). Sarr and Mosselson (2010) state that the main reason of this understanding drives from the perspective that depicts refugees as highly aggrieved and injured people who have the intention to recover from their traumas through social and economic mobility. Although this perception in the United States draws similarities with the psychological approaches implemented in the UK and Australia, it differs from the other countries because of orienting the educational intervention around the idea of decreasing high economic aspiration among refugee communities.

School, Social Actors, and Culture

The following section explains the role of school, social actors, and culture on refugee students' schooling experiences in different countries.

Role of School. Refugee studies scholars widely discuss the role of the school. School plays an important role in providing constructive social interactions to develop cognizance and skills (Crisp, Talbot, & Cipollone, 2001). Schools can also facilitate macro-level cultural learning (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008). Hope (2008) also mentions that schools have the potential to normalize the refugee situation and therefore the experience of refugee students in the school. However, in many countries refugee children have restricted access to public schools because of refugee students' identity, interrupted education, academic and language skills also because of educational institutions' limited language and academic

support, differentiated learning environment, accreditation, and restricted educational policies (AFAD, 2013; Peterson-Dreyden, 2011). For example, as McDonald (1998) states, the UK educational system does not adequately address the needs of refugee children. The British schools lack providing language support and psychological counseling to refugee students so that many refugee children experience a delay regarding continuing their education. Additionally, refugee students are excluded from the rights of being informed about the educational opportunities as the schools provide minimum support to refugees through pushing refugee students to go to the underachieving schools in poor neighborhoods (Rutter, 2006). Even though refugee children attend school, taking the GCSE exam (a national exam in the UK for academic progression in the post-school phase) become problematic as the refugee children do not meet the criteria set by the UK educational authorities.

In the UK, the refugees have also attracted much negative attention in recent years. Despite the lack of empirical evidence and theoretical work on the issue of educating refugees, Pinson and Arnot (2007) indicates that the school curriculum neglects the impact of human mobility and gives little attention to increasing diversity in the society given the high level of emphasis on contemporary politics of multiculturalism in citizenship education, (Pinson & Arnot, 2007).

Refugee students in the Australian education system do not have access to quality education. The schools, particularly the ones in socio-economically disadvantaged suburbs, result in social inequalities as the refugee-populated schools are in marginal locations, and educational practices for refugee-background students are not culturally appropriate (Windle & Miller, 2013). Windle and Miller (2013) discuss that the school system is the reason for the marginalization of the refugee students because the school policies not only restrict the agency of refugee students but also limit teachers' agency to do more than they could do for improving refugee students' social behaviors and academic success.

Furthermore, government policy in many countries prevents the separate analysis of pre-immigration and post-immigration trauma experiences because of the hegemonic construction of homogeneity. Therefore, this practice precludes the analysis of refugee children's background and the side effect of post-immigration experiences such as poverty, racism, isolation, and uncertain immigration status on children's academic success and social integration (Rutter, 2006; Taylor & Sidhu, 2012). This strategy is helpful for the present UK education because it places little emphasis on out-school factors and masks the underlying reasons for hatred, hostile, anti-immigrant and Islamophobic discourses of interest groups, media, and politicians.

Role of Social Actors. The literature review highlights that refugee students begin developing particular schooling experience based on the nature of their interaction with other people around them due to different value orientations adopted by the refugee and host community (Arnot & Pinson, 2007; Windle & Miller, 2013). The following section presents examples from different countries in an attempt to discuss the role of social actors in refugee students' schooling experiences.

Teacher's Role and Perception. Political powerlessness is a term used by Bauman (2004) and refers to the political imposition of anti-refugee public pedagogy. Bauman (2004) argues that educators today face issues regarding the promotion of equal and just education for refugee students as the mainstream discourse supports the idea of dehumanizing refugees in every possible social setting. Given this situation, Windle and Miller (2013) state that the teachers in Australia complain that the current integration policies restrict their autonomy. Teachers in Australia have concerns about how they can meet the educational needs of the refugees as the homogeneity of the classroom change in a dramatic way. They are also worried about the extension of public representation of refugees in the school settings. Hattam and Every (2010) argue that even though the teachers seem to care about refugee students' educational and psychological needs, their suggestions show that teachers support the public

rhetoric, which dehumanizes the refugees. Teachers become part of the process of marginalization and avoidance of the refugee students through supporting the idea of sending them to schools in poor neighborhoods. Teachers maintain these attitudes as they experience challenges in continuing their educational activities, maintaining class discipline and providing appropriate teaching materials.

The unwillingness of the teachers regarding educating refugee children is another problem in the schools. Rutter (2006) state that British teachers have low motivation to teach refugee children as the refugee students have inadequate language skills to follow classroom activities. Even though teachers spend less time with the refugee students, they blame either refugee student because of their low achievement or the lack of governmental support regarding the provision of language support and services. Hattam and Every (2010) also report unwillingness among the Australian teachers to interact with refugee children, as teachers perceive refugee students as underachievers because of the refugee students' low academic performances on exams.

Teachers are often unfamiliar with the historical and political circumstances that refugee children experienced before coming to the host countries. Matthews (2008) mentions that Australian teachers use the unfamiliarity with the refugee students' lived experiences as an excuse for not establishing a social relationship with the refugee students. The variation of the cultural and educational background of refugee students, therefore, become a critical aspect of the Australian education, as the teachers do not have adequate pedagogical and practical skills to meet the educational needs of the new coming students. Deveci (2012) also state that the British school administrators often ignore the refugee children's emotional, learning and social needs since refugee students do not fit in any racial categories that the teachers have familiarity. Rather than approaching these children with a holistic approach, the tendency is to give priority to English language learning process or pay attention to the emotional well-being of the refugee students since teachers felt sorry for what the children experienced

in their past (Rutter, 2006). The school community gives less attention to other learning needs of the refugee students even though the adequate attention might ease the refugee children's economic, social and cultural integration process (Taylor & Sidhu, 2012; Arnot & Pinson, 2005).

Peers' Role and Integration. The local communities mostly treat refugee children as the children of other minorities and disadvantaged groups, and the locals try to place the refugee students in a category that they know. Therefore, this concept among the local people causes refugees automatically to share the negative educational labels of other immigrant groups without the assessment of the education authorities. Davila's (2010) study on examining the identity construction of Vietnamese-Montagnard refugees in US high schools validates that refugee students experienced similar adaptation problems as the other Asian immigrant groups have in the schools because the school community implements similar strategies and approaches to educating Vietnamese-Montagnard refugees. Davila's (2010) study shows that the school community labels Vietnamese-Montagnard refugees as either a high-achieving or a low-achieving obedient group of students. While the US teacher perceives Vietnamese-Montagnard refugees as a burden in the classroom due to their low academic background and national identity, the peers in the school use the same bullying terms for the Vietnamese-Montagnard refugee students as they used for the earlier Asian immigrants.

As discussed earlier, the UK immigration and asylum policy ignore the individual differences among the refugee groups, and the policy text recognizes refugees as one homogenous group (Rutter, 2006, Taylor & Sidhu, 2012). Therefore, refugee children are devoid of their educational rights and their needs are rarely met through a specifically targeted policy (Arnot & Pinson, 2005). Lack of support creates many challenges for refugee children such as poverty, experience of pre-immigration and post-immigration trauma, violence or threat, interrupted education and language barriers, and to make everything worse, the Local Education Authorities place the refugee children in low-performing schools

and poor neighborhoods, where the neighborhood residents are already polarized because of the various anti-immigrant and racist discourses (Rutter, 2006; Stanley, 2001; Blackwell & Melzak, 2000)& Melzak, 2000). These educational policies and approaches underpin the problems between the refugee and local students: racist bullying in the schools. The schools and educators do not focus on social integration and the idea of creating a safe social space for those who are not familiar with the public culture. Thomas (2012) and Matthews (2008) argue that the disconnectedness between refugee children and local children are the main reason for an increasing number of racist bullying incidents and hostile discourses in the school settings.

The Childline Report (2013) shows that the number of children who experience racist bullying increased sharply in the UK in 2013 compared to 2012. According to the data released by ChildLine (2013), there is 69% of the increase in young refugees experiencing racist bullying. Sixty-six percent of victims report that refugee students experience bullying because of their appearances and differences. The situation of refugee children at the secondary level is more vulnerable than the ones at the elementary level. Refugee students' probability of being bullied is five times higher than the elementary pupils from immigrant backgrounds in the school. Local students in the UK use various bullying terms to bully and humiliate refugee children. For example, "freshies" is for the children who have no color difference but for those who had difficulty with speaking English. Terrorists, bombers and sometimes garbage bag are the terms used specifically for the Muslim refugee children. Islamophobia is also the hot debate for British society because the refugee children are from Arab or Muslim countries. Politicians focus on the religion of the refugee population and use the significant characteristic of them to generate a new version of Islamophobic and hostile discourses. Consequently, the Muslim refugee groups become a suspect community (Webber, 2012). However, the refugee education policies are ignorant of this situation, and it is a failure to acknowledge newly emerging racism in the schools.

Parents' Role and Human Capital. There is a strong correlation between human capital and educational adaptation. Mullen (2014) researches the role of the parents on refugee students' educational success and find that refugee students who have educated parents are more likely to finish high school and continue college or university. However, the percentage drops for the refugee students whose parents have the low educational backgrounds. Even though research studies show that adaptation and educational outcomes have a strong correlation with the human capital, resettlement context also influences the likelihood of educational adaptation and participation among refugee youth. If refugee students live in an environment supported by additional services and motivations such as practical assistance from friends, knowledgeable adults who know the culture of the resettlement place, and a welcoming neighborhood, they can establish a rigorous academic achievement and educational adaptation regardless of their parents' human capital (Işık-Ercan, 2012). In short, any improvements in their life quality have the potential to make them resilient children.

In addition to the lack of human capital in refugee families, many refugee parents give the utmost priority to meeting the financial and physical needs of their families. As a result of this situation, refugee children may not receive adequate support to continue their education. Arabaci et al.'s (2013) research on Syrian children's educational experience in Turkey shows that Syrian parents have a tendency to suspend the educational needs of their children until they find a job and meet the needs of their family such as accommodation, food, and clothing.

Role of Culture. The representation of the refugees in the host community is the determinant of the schooling experience of the refugees (Hattam & Every, 2010). Hattam and Every (2010) argue that public culture in Australia creates a contested refugee identity and portrays refugees as social detractors because of their cultural backgrounds. This mainstream rhetoric influences school environments. Teachers and local students are involved in discriminative behavior rather than showing hospitality.

Mullen (2014) addresses that schooling adaptation of refugee students is not only dependent on the school context, individual efforts, and the social interactions between their teachers and peers, but also the external factors in their surrounding neighborhoods. Any changes that happen because of refugee-related discourses influence refugee students' motivation and readiness and affect the quality of their social interactions in their wider environment. While the positive experiences increase the schooling adaptation, the negative experiences evoke new traumas. The lack of financial stability, discrimination, racism, health issues, inadequate nutrition and limited access to social benefits impair refugee children's learning and personal development. In addition to the aforementioned external factors, the developing literature suggests that there are more challenges for the current refugee groups as the number of protracted refugee crisis began increasing in the early 1990s (Dreyden-Peterson, 2011). The duration of the exile and the geographical location of the resettlement areas cause future anxiety and decrease refugee children's educational participation.

Media plays an active role in creating a negative image of refugees. Stewart and Mulley (2013) and Thomas (2012) study the impact of media discourses and how hostile media against refugees resulted in symbolic welcoming discourses. Rutter (2006) also discusses that media creates different themes against refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants. The labels given to refugees are scroungers or benefit fraudsters since many of the newcomers gain access to housing, health service, and education. After September 11, the London bombings of July 2005, and the changes in immigration and refugee legislation, refugees and asylum seekers are likely to be labeled as terrorists and perceived as a threat to national security (Bujis, Hekma & Duyvendak, 2011; Mepschen, Duyvendak & Tonkens, 2010). Thomas (2012) and White (2010) also state that the hostile media not only escalates the protest against Muslim refugees in society but also plays a subtle role in the transformation of the British students' perception of refugees in the school and their adoption of implicit racism.

Identity Construction and Belongingness

Schinkel (2010) states that society is a discursive construct and has strategic approaches for inclusion and exclusion. He later comments, "The difference between membership of the state and membership of the society is precisely the fact that the latter is non-codified and discursive in nature" (Schinkel, 2010, p. 267). By acknowledging the dynamic nature of the discourse of inclusion, this section presents the identity politics imposed on refugees in different countries and discuss how refugees respond to the inclusion politics to protect and claim their identities.

The current refugee crisis in the world has caused changes in migratory movement and affected the demographic characteristic of refugee populations. The immigration pattern in the Netherlands has also changed after the break out of recent refugee crisis so that the new aspect of integration has ascended. The diverse background of newcomers fuels debates about identity and integration (Jansen et al., 2006; Schinkel, 2010). Dutch society views the integration of refugees particularly from the Middle East impossible because of their religion and non-Western cultural background. The political parties have also supported the public discourse and have created a political rhetoric in the Netherlands by combining anti-refugee and sexuality discourses.

In the UK, the Home Office promotes a model of integration based on the discourse of who deserves to be integrated, and who is the underserved. Because of this application, some refugees are granted refugee status faster than others. Pinson and Arnot (2007) question the Home Office selective application in terms of granting refugee status by asking how the politics of local belongingness influence the local responses and support system for refugee children and to what extent do such politics play a role in shaping the identities as well as the rights of asylum-seekers. Pinson and Arnot (2007) finally concluded that these policies indicate little emphasis on responding to the emerging

refugee crisis, but the higher emphasis on protecting the stereotypical representation of European identity.

The populist party leaders in the Netherlands focus on the cultural and religious difference of new-comers and mention that newcomers' integration is not possible because of their backward characteristics (Bujis, Hekma & Duyvendak, 2011; Mepschen, Duyvendak & Tonkens, 2010). Whereas in Australia, lack of resources available for Australians still dominates the public policy of ignoring the refugee population and portrays refugees as consumers (Christie & Sidhu 2004). Also, a high number of refugees from the Islamic states fuels anti-Islamic discourses in European countries as well as in the UK (Arnot & Pinson, 2005, Rutter, 2006). Similar to the refugee experience in the Netherlands, the UK, and Australia, refugees long duration of stay in Turkey generate two main concerns: identity and citizenship, and resource shortage (Afacan, 2014). Turkish society has begun questioning whether Syrian refugees and Syrian crisis affect national security and threaten the border of Turkey.

As a counter argument to the anti-refugee and integration policy of the host country, refugee communities develop strategies to protect their identities and create a safe social space to pass their cultural norms and values to their youth. The research on immigrant and refugee population shows that the fear of losing cultural identity during their stay is a common reaction. Şahin's (2010) research on the Turkish immigrant in Germany shows that Turkish immigrants have a concern that their youth will not adopt a Turkish identity so that the Turkish community in Germany establishes their educational strategy to teach their cultural traditions and value system. Immigrants from Morocco and Turkey has demanded similar educational regulations from the Dutch government and established their schools to provide culturally and religiously sensitive education to their children (Romeyn, 2014). Segregated school for the sake of protecting cultural identity is also a common practice in several states of the US

(Short & Boyson, 2003). Syrian refugees in Turkey also request segregated school as their schooling ideologies conflict with the secularist and Western structure of the Turkish schools (Sert, 2014).

Freund's (2015) study on the examination of how refugees narrate home exemplified one of the strategies used by the refugees in Canada to maintain their spiritual connections with their home. This study also focuses on the refugees' attempt to re-make home in the host countries. The findings of this study demonstrate that the journey of making a home or seeking home goes beyond the traditional concept of geographic location of the nation and the notion of in-betweenness. Refugees do not feel lost as expected but have the agency to reconstruct their realities through narrating the autobiographical narratives of their family along with the migration routes they followed. Freund (2015) highlights that refugees also adopt the positivist understanding of refugeeness, which portrays refugees as victims and vulnerable, while they are narrating their stories of forced displacement to their youth. The story telling not only helps refugee youth to establish a spiritual connection with their homeland but also helps them overcome the feeling of in-betweenness.

Conclusion: Contribution to the Literature

Political powerlessness as used by Bauman (2004) refers to the lack of refugee's voice in the school though state's political imposition on public education without refugees. Bauman (2004) argues that increasing dehumanization of refugees in all aspect of life is the reasons disrupts the potentiality of implementing just and equal practices in the school because teachers have to combat with the mainstream discourse of refugees. Hannah Arendt (1942) also explains that refugees were indirectly or directly taught to become depoliticized and uncritical in time to be controlled in the places where they are planned to be sent and resettled. Her explanations; however, signals that refugees did not passively accepted depoliticization process and protected their critical thinking by challenging the imposed values on them. In comparison to the arguments made by two thinkers, the difference is that at the beginning

of the 1940s depoliticizing refugees and stripping their agency was a plan, but in the early 2000s refugees have already be known as vulnerable and a group of people potentially disrupts the regular social life.

Given to the change in the perception of refugees in the world, the review of literature is also written in a way to reflect on how these changes made an impact on researching the refugee education related issues. The review of literature is organized in two sections to present the argument of the literature review chapter. The first section focuses on introducing the developing conceptual framework named *Middle Eastern Refugee Protection Model* for researching the refugee-related educational issues through arguing that an alternative approach is needed in the field of refugee studies. Many of the available studies rely on the discourses generated as a result of the dominant narratives such as 1) the influence of pre-traumatic and post-traumatic experiences; 2) the role of school, social actors and culture; and 3) identity construction and belongingness. Therefore, the most developed part of the available literature has its limitations in holistically explaining the schooling experiences of the refugees due to the influence of three main narratives of refugee studies. The second section presents evidence from different countries mainly from the USA, the UK, and Australia to negate that refugees are not only the people in need of direct help, but they are people in need of guidance in easing their decision-making process.

The examples are mainly from these countries because they have the reputation of having good services for the refugees. The reason for relying on the literature conducted in these countries is that the arguments of the Middle Eastern Refugee Protection framework mainly criticizes the refugee-resettlement and status determination processes in these countries. The recent practices in many European Union countries with Syrian Refugee Crisis and European Refugee Crisis show that right-based approaches might not be the best solution to accommodate refugees (Betts & Collier, 2017). As a result,

the main argument of the review of literature is, first, to introduce and discuss the alternative approaches in refugee studies in narrating the refugee experiences more accurately through the help of new discourses and approaches (Betts & Collier, 2017; Chimni, 1998; Dreyden-Peterson, 2011) and, second, to provide the literature written based on positivist and formalist approaches.

Given to the discussion of the necessity of having alternative and new approaches, some scholars provide evidences from developing countries such as Turkey, Lebanon that hosting refugee based on humanistic perspectives, and kinship is not a new concept (Icduygu & Sirkeci, 1999; Kutalmis, 2003; Mackreath, 2014; Sirkeci, 1999; Sert, 2014; Türkeş, 1998). People have practiced refugee assistance procedures based on the availability of local resources without heavily relying on institutional support. However, Dawn Chatty (2010; 2014) discusses that the Ottoman Empire initiated legal frameworks to host refugees and provide resettlement services long before the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (The United Nations General Assembly, 1951) based on the concept of self-reliant refugees. Therefore, as mentioned in many scholars, alternative refugee protection and resettlement models have existed in the history of forced migration. Currently, the reinterpretation of the historical legacy and practices of refugee resettlement are available. For example, Dreyden-Peterson (2011) explains the *livelihood approach*, which places the agency of the refugee at the center of refugee assistance to help refugees gain their confidence and improve their livelihood strategies, as an alternative approach.

In relation to the focus of the literature review, this chapter represents the main discourses that dominate the refugee studies and research practices in the field of forced migration. The first narrative is that refugees are traumatized and should be treated as highly injured and vulnerable group of people in the society, and therefore in the school to help them recover from their negative experiences. This discourse is still the most common narrative in the field of refugee studies (Chimni, 1998; Goodwin-Gill,

1883; Grahl-Madsen, 1966). It is true that most of the refugees experience a great deal of trauma depending on the problem in their country and personal background. However, trauma not only makes the people vulnerable but also makes people survival of a difficult situation.

The second narrative explains the relationship between the refugee students and the other people such as teachers, school staff, classmates, and parents. Similar to the first narrative, the relationship between refugees and the other people mainly explains how the negative treatments, false impressions, and over-expectations of the people around the refugee students cause refugee to continue having unstable psychological conditions (Arnot & Pinson, 2007; Hattam and Every, 2010; Isik-Ercan, 2012; McBrien, 2005; Mullen, 2014 Windle & Miller, 2013). Some scholars present many optimistic responses about the influence of social actors on refugee students' schooling experiences, but these studies mainly include one group of participants such as only refugee students, only teachers, or only parents. There are few studies bring different groups together to explain the nature of schooling experience of refugee students.

Finally, identity and belongingness narrative mention that refugee students have an identity crisis and have difficulty to feel belong to their new environment and their belongingness are tied up to their social space and political situations (Chatty, 2014; Hek, 2005; Hope, 2008; Mosellson, 2006; Najjar, 2007; Zetter, 1991). Depending on the changes in their environment, social circle, and living standards, having an identity crisis and not feeling belong to their new environment are expected scenarios for the refugee students as explained in the literature. Refugee students are also in their adolescence, and even the situations were normal around them they would have some struggles to develop their self through the crisis (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). However, identity as a self, identity as a refugee, and identity as a citizen are different things, and the boundaries between different types of identities should be defined because refugees are expected to fulfil the societal expectations once they get in the society due to the

geopolitics of the regions that they resettled (Mantāphōn, 1992; Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008). In this study, identity is described as national identity and/or personal identity based on the responses to the conditions of their new environment. National identity is the identity of refugees in defining their national and citizenship ties and how they obliged to adopt the national values. The personal identities are the ones that refugee students claim to be in their conversations. However, the way that students define themselves as Syrian, Turkish or any other nationality was their choice and their responses were not subjected to an evaluation based on defining national criteria's.

Given the discussions in the literature, this study aimed to contribute to the field of refugee education by 1) encouraging the use of alternative and geopolitical refugee protection frameworks, 2) holistically examining the refugee experience by including the other social actors, and 3) suggesting useful models for conceptualizing refugee education and understanding refugee students' experiences.

First, this study supports the necessity of using an alternative approach to examine the schooling experiences of refugee students. Therefore, it used Middle Eastern Refugee Protection Model. Earlier, some scholars used theories such as critical feminist theory and critical theory (Erden, 2016; Hoş, 2012) to explain a different aspect of refugee experiences in the school and the society. These theories explain many aspects of social relations, but they are not specific to the forced migration-related issues. This study encourages researchers to use developing concepts in their research as a conceptual framework and hopes that new research frameworks emerge in examining refugee experiences through considering that they are agent beings with a potential to reconstruct their life.

Second, the available literature mainly collects data from one group of people to understand the dynamics of refugee education. Results of these studies are valuable, but it has its limitations to explain the relationship between the social actors. This study collected data from refugee students, local students, and teachers and used the collected data from all participants to explain the refugee students'

experiences. Therefore, it allowed me to compare and contrast what people say and what people actually do in their life while doing their responsibility and interacting with each other. This study contributes to the field by providing an example of including as many different but relevant group of people to understand the experience of the target group.

Finally, power and discourse are still the most influential conditions in forming the nature of the relationship between the refugees and the host community because they help people create consciousness about how to regulate refugee assistance mechanisms and educate refugee students in an ongoing education system. This study examined the refugee students' experiences by using an alternative approach. As this being the case, this study aimed to suggest alternative refugee education model to and refugee experience model that could be used in educational settings to improve the quality of refugee education by respecting the value system of refugee and local communities.

Refugee education is still developing to meet the educational needs of the refugee community and youth. Being fully prepared to educate refugees may not be possible due to the obvious reasons that forced migration is an unintentional and sudden situation, and as seen in many examples, standardizations may not be the solutions for providing better services. However, the consequences of the forced migration could be reduced if the emphasis is given to changing the common perspectives that refugees are dangerous, socially problematic, and vulnerable into a perspective that refugees are survivors with an emergency of reconstructing their life. Therefore, this study, in addition to the contributions explained above, hoped to contribute to the overall process of consciousness raising to become open about understanding refugeeness.

Chapter 3: Method

Introduction: Critical Qualitative Research

This study uses *Critical Qualitative Research* to examine and analyze the schooling experience of Syrian child refugees in a Turkish public school. This methodology, as one form of qualitative inquiry, allows researchers to explain social relationships embedded in a setting by considering the power structure. Researchers have debated naming this genre as *critical ethnography* because of its emphasis on understanding human relations in a particular social setting. However, naming the method Critical Qualitative Research is more appropriate because this method focuses on explaining the influence of different types of power on the relationships rather than looking at the power relations that generate certain behavioral patterns (Carspecken, 1996; Denzin, 2015; Madison, 2005). In other words, routines, social norms, and values are not at the center of the research, but they are rather considered to surround new experiences. Therefore, in relation to the research question, this method unpacks the schooling experience of Syrian refugee children in the school through making meaning of the influence of school routines and people's approaches in establishing certain experiences for the refugee students. Finally, this study examines how these particular experiences contribute to the refugee students' agency, independence, sense of belongingness, and identity as new members of the school community.

Carspecken (1996) states that all criticalists (critical researchers) share a value orientation that favors equality and social justice. This intention drives from the aspiration of the researchers to change social inequalities in society and move members of society towards positive change. Therefore, Carspecken (1996) suggests including individual voices at the center of the research. Madison (2005) also highlights the importance of the positionality of voices, where the participants are the focus of the study, and their voices carry forward from their lived experiences. Due to a shared similar value orientation, this dissertation study aims to contribute to social theory by explaining the social

relationships, power, culture and human relationships that are influential on refugee children's education and social adaptation. Participants' lived experience and meaning making of the treatment and social interactions are the key sources to accessing the real picture of the ongoing structures.

Critically examining a social phenomenon related to refugee communities with a robust yet flexible research method is important because refugees are not subject to standard living conditions in many host communities. Their lives are subject to changes more often than immigrant groups as their access to social services, health care, the labor market and education is restricted due to insufficient policy regulations (Mullen, 2014). Refugees are also different from immigrants because often they do not share the same life intentions such as finding a job, improving life qualities as gaining more employment opportunities (Davila, 2010). Refugees are less likely to have control over their lives, as they are restricted from participating in the social life of the host community. Their concerns are finding a secure place for themselves and their families, healing their traumatic feelings, and protecting their values and norms during the time of their refuge in the host country (AFAD, 2013; Arabaci et al., 2013; Isik-Ercan, 2012; Rah, Shangmin, & Thu Suong Thi, 2009). Furthermore, many refugees do not begin living in the host society as immigrant groups; their immigration patterns are different. Therefore, describing and examining the customs, culture, and social routines in the host and refugee community neither provide a meaningful answer nor explain why Syrian refugee children experience particular schooling and language learning experiences. Studying Syrian refugees' interpretation of social routines and norms in their new environment is useful because they only focus on the social norm and values that directly influence their social life and behaviors. In this study, I examined the schooling experience of refugee children in a neighborhood, where refugee have begun constructing their realities, and consequently their social routines and norms.

As mentioned earlier, the focus of this study is to examine the schooling experiences of Syrian child refugees, and how they make sense of these experiences, and how Syrian refugees respond to these experiences. In other words, the intention is to explain the whole picture of experience construction. Therefore, the refugee children, their teachers, and classmates were interviewed and observed along with collecting refugees' personal stories related to their educational participation, peer and teacher interaction, language learning process, educational development, and social adaptation. Collecting personal stories and gathering these narratives from refugee students and the other sources such as the local community and official documents were appropriate data collection strategies for the nature of Critical Qualitative Research because the method prioritizes a person's narration of a series of events. This strategy has allowed me access to the meaningful and personally structured emotions, ideas, and priorities of the participants as they began constructing realities based on their exposure to the new culture or new groups.

Narratives are the representation of thoughts about a situation or event, and the thoughts, which are consciously or unconsciously situated in the stories, are important connectors to understand the power structures. Critical events in the stories construct a social pattern intertwined with facts grounded in value orientation. The epistemology of Critical Qualitative Research has helped me differentiate what is a fact and what is a value claim while focusing on the interest of this study in explaining the agency, independence, and identity construction of Syrian refugee students in the school. Through reconstructive analysis suggested in Critical Qualitative Research, I have explicated how refugee students began constructing their identity in the new school setting where Turkish schooling ideologies differ from schooling ideologies in Syria. For example, Carspecken and Cordiero's (1995) examine the identity construction of U.S. Mexican students and find that Mexican students negotiate with the current setting and culture to construct their own realities of being, doing, and becoming Mexican. In their analysis, they used Habermas's (1987) theory of communicative action, as social acts include the

different level of meanings in reference to norms, beliefs, and assumptions. Their study shows that the usage of personal pronouns changes in Mexican students' communicative acts when they talk about the past, present, and future. This study has also found similar results in troubling the perceived understanding that refugee student should accept their destiny and accept what is given to them rather than showing agency and claiming social space in the school setting.

Research Setting

After obtaining research permission from the Ministry of National Education (MoNE), I gained access to collect data in public schools in a Central Anatolian Region province (See Appendix A for the research permissions from the local education authorities and Appendix B for the Institutional Review Board Approval). This province with 1,358,980 people (TUIK-Turkish Statistical Institute, 2016) and 16 counties is the third largest province in the Central Anatolian Region. It has commerce and trade centers as well as a big industrial center. The location and available jobs draw urban refugees to this province. According to a Turkish Confederation of Employee Association report, 30,270 Syrian nationals live in this province (Erdoğan & Ünver, 2015).

The Directorate General of Migration Management's 2015 Annual Turkey Migration Report (2015) indicates that throughout Turkey 37 percent of the Syrian population are school-aged children between the ages of 5 and 18. UNICEF's report on Syrian children in Turkey estimates that based on the Ministry of National Education Statistics there are 325,000 Syrian children registered in Turkish schools (UNICEF, 2016). In the Central Anatolian province where the data for this research was collected, the registered number of Syrian students in the school is low in accordance with these national statistics.

In 2015, the county, where the data collection site is located, had 308 Syrian students, and the school had 39 Syrian students. However, according to the statistics obtained from the school

administration and classroom lists, the number of Syrians in the school is 134 (higher than official numbers), showing that schools in the region have more refugee students than the official statistics indicate.

The school is located in one of the oldest neighborhoods in the province. It is very close to the city center and has convenient access to public transportation, making it an excellent place for many refugee families. Some locals had been living in the neighborhood but began moving out because of the influx of Syrian refugees and the upcoming urban transformation project.

The school, like the neighborhood, is one of the oldest and most important in the province. The local students in the school are from lower middle or middle-class families. Refugee students mostly have families with a low-income level. A few of the original refugee families are in a better financial situation as they have resettled in the province earlier and started small businesses.

The school has three buildings. The first building has the administration offices, the grade 3 and 4 classrooms, and the janitor room, whereas the second building has two assistant school principal offices, the grade 1 and 2 classrooms, and storage for teaching materials. The school intentionally separates young students from the older students by placing them in a different building. The third building has a pre-school on the third floor. The school does not have much space for children to play. It has a small school garden and no indoor sports facility. However, the second building has a relatively large space to gather a maximum of 40 students for group activities. The other common area available for school staff and all students is the school cafeteria.

The regular teaching hours are double-shift schooling. The morning shift starts at 7:10 am and ends at 12:15 pm. The afternoon shift starts at 12:25 pm and ends at 5:20 pm. The regular class hour is 40 minutes. On Fridays, afternoon shifts start at a different time because of the Muslim prayer.

Therefore students come to school at 12:45 pm and the school day finishes at 5.50 pm. This change in Friday school hours is a surprise for me because school hours on Friday were the same as any other day of the week when I was an elementary school student.

Participants

The total number of participants in this study was 150. This was the number of people who signed the consent form to participate in the study. Appendix C, D, and E include the consent forms, and Appendix F includes assent forms used to obtain consent from the participants. However, the number of participants who remained in the study was 96 because of the time constraint to interview participants, dropouts, and official request to help the school and Ministry of National Education to visit other schools in the region.

Teachers and School Staff. The total number of teacher and school staff participants in this study was 34. I observed eight classrooms and interviewed 28 classroom teachers and 4 counselors including the eight observed classroom teachers. In addition to the teachers working in the school, I also observed and interviewed two weekend school teachers because they taught the refugee students that I observed during normal school hours. Three assistant school principals and one school teacher were included in the study to understand the administrative aspect of schooling and refugee education. Among the participants who agreed to be part of the study, only one classroom teacher left the study, and I canceled his signed consent. I also could not interview one of the participants due to not scheduling an appropriate time. There were 18 female classroom teachers and school staff and 14 male classroom teachers and school staff.

Refugee Students. The number of the Syrian refugee students in the school was 39 in the 2014-2015 academic years. This figure increased to 139 during 2015-2016. According to the school

administration, in 2015 there were more than 39 refugee students in the school, but I have used official numbers because the school administration did not know the actual number of refugee students there due to registration problems. No official formal document showing the presence of more than 39 refugee students was available.

The school has 849 local students. Table 1 shows the number of female and male local and refugee students in each classroom. This table also shows whether the Syrian students are legal residents (* indicates legal residents), temporary protection beneficiaries, undocumented (the number has no indicators), or have stopped coming to school for some unknown reasons (**dropout or another reason).

For this study, I communicated with all 139 refugee students in the school or during the weekend school. The communications included informal conversations with basic daily conversations, advanced daily conversations, and procedural conversation. Basic daily conversations included exchanging regular teacher-student conversations and teaching some Turkish words to refugee students with low language skills during the school days and at weekend school. The advanced daily conversation included conversations about their school activities, relationships with their teachers and classmates, and problems in the school. Finally, the procedural conversation included all sorts of conversations such as interviewing, daily conversations about their school life, interaction with their teachers and classmates, family life, and their journey to Turkey, if they are willing to share.

The number of refugee student participants in this study was 34 when I began observing their classroom. At the end of the data collection, the total number of refugee student participants was 28 because six refugee students dropped out of school for some reasons. Twenty-five refugee students were interviewed, but seven of those were not observed in the classroom. Three refugee students from

Table 1

The Statistics of Female and Male Local and Refugee Children in the School

(F stands for female students whereas M stands for male students)

*Officially registered. Legal resident/not a refugee.

**Attended few times and stopped coming for a reason

	4 th Grades				3 rd Grades				2 nd Grades				1 st Grades			
	Local		Refugee		Local		Refugee		Local		Refugee		Local		Refugee	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Class A	14	12	2	0	14	13	1*	0	11	14	1	0	9	21	1*	0
Class B	9	20	0	1	10	12	0	1*	10	12	1	1**	9	8	1	5
Class C	14	18	0	1	13	9	1*	1**	14	11	2	0	7	7	2*	1*
Class D	15	14	0	1	14	10	1*	0	13	8	2**	2	15	15	6	1
Class E	18	16	0	2	17	15	0	1	13	14	2	2	8	10	5	3
Class F	17	13	0	1	11	14	1*	1*	11	17	2	0	3	11	5	6
Class G	11	16	0	1	12	13	1	1*	11	12	1	2	11	12	0	2
Class H	12	13	1	1*	13	14	1**	1**	14	17	1	1*	13	17	1*	2
Class I				1	15	13	1	0	7	14	1	3	12	15	2	1
Class J									10	12	1*	2	15	15	1	1*
Class K									8	11	1**	1*	4	8	6	7
Total	Local:122 Refugee: 12				Local: 218 Refugee:17				Local: 264 Refugee: 36				Local: 245 Refugee: 74			
Total local students: 849																
Total refugee students: 139																

the observation classroom were not interviewed because of their low Turkish language skills. A student translator was once used for the interview of a refugee student in an observation classroom.

Local Students. The number of local students, who signed up and whose parents agreed for them to be part of this study was 87. However, only 23 of them were interviewed due to time restraints, and the focus on refugee students and all of the interviewed local students was from the observation classrooms. Twelve local students were selected for an interview after interviewing the refugee students as interviewed, or because observed refugee students mentioned the local student's names during the interview. Eleven local students were randomly selected. These children were asked to answer the interview questions as well as to share their observations about the relationship between the refugee students and the ones whose names were mentioned in refugee students' interviews.

Data Collection Instruments

The data collections instruments are interview protocols for refugee students, teachers, and local students. I used visual data generation strategies such as photographs and drawings to enrich data.

Interview Protocols. In this study, I used a semi-structured and self-developed interview protocols for refugee students, local students, and teachers. The questions in the interview protocols were structured based on the historical development of the Syrian refugee crisis. For each group, the interview protocols addressed the issues of belongingness through asking questions about language usage in the school. Briefly summarizing the themes, the first theme included questions about the transition that each group of participants experienced when the Syrian crisis broke out; the second theme focused on the first impressions about refugees and the social changes after the arrival of Syrian community, and the third theme examined the school life after Syrian students registered at the school.

After reviewing how the social actors experienced the consequences of the Syrian Crisis in the environment, I asked questions about belongingness and language.

Most of the Syrian refugee students speak Turkish or at least understand instructions in Turkish. The ideal situation of dialogic data is a naturalistic conversation; however, it was not possible because of language limitations and cultural differences between the refugee students and me. I conducted interviews without getting help from a trained interpreter, but I used other supporting data collection plans to eliminate problems due to language limitations and cultural differences. The challenges with interviewing school staff and administration were mainly due to hierarchical perceptions. School staff and administration are used to having a hierarchical relationship based on age, status, and years of experience. Therefore, I showed respect to their social values and expectations while conducting interviews in their school.

Appendix G, H, and I include the English and Turkish version of each interview protocol for each participant group, but I only used the Turkish interview protocol for interviewing the participants.

Visual Data Generation. The number of refugee children that I interviewed for this study was small. Their ages ranged from eight to eleven years so that I used some alternative ways to engage in a long conversation with them. Rose (2007) explains that visual data such as photography and pictures are evocative of the sensory, enrich data collected during interviews and written text, and support the topics mentioned in the interviews. Therefore, I used photography and picture drawing to support my interviews and to generate visuals to understand how refugee children make sense of the instructional activities and human interaction in school.

Photography was a useful strategy to collect enriched data. Glesne (2011) explains different strategies to generate visual data such as researcher-created visual data, participant-created and used

visual data, and collaboratively created and/or studied visual data. I mainly used researcher-created and participant-created visual data in this research. I took pictures during the classroom activities such as games and rehearsals for the national days. However, I did not take photos of the children that would reveal their identity. I only took photos of the physical settings, their interaction during classroom activities and the materials that the refugee students produced in the school setting. I asked questions while taking pictures during the game or activity.

During the data collection, also used some of the photos to encourage the students to talk about their experiences in the school and their interaction with teachers and classmates. Glesne (2011) defines the process of invoking comments and memory as photo-elicitation and highlights that the use of photos can help shy or reticent participants to feel comfortable as they have something to avoid long eye contacts. Later I used all the photos in the data analysis to support the codes and themes that emerged during data analysis.

Students also drew pictures about different aspects of their lives and schooling experiences during the interview or as part of the classroom activities. Refugee students' pictures helped me understand the account of what is going on in the ongoing conversation (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). After revising the Turkish National Curriculum for Grade 1, 2, 3 and 4, I realized that the art classes do not have prescribed educational activities. Teachers have the autonomy to decide the theme of the activity. As this is the case, I suggested some activity to the classroom teachers as listed below.

- a) Drawing a picture of their hometown (Either in Syria or Turkey)
- b) Drawing a picture of the first day of the school
- c) Drawing a picture of how a dream school should be
- d) Drawing a picture of what they do with their friends in the school

As Glesne (2011) explains, participants and researcher can collaborate in creating visual data. In this study, Syrian refugees and local students were asked to draw pictures on one or two of the above themes during the interview or as part of their classroom activities. I photographed these pictures and used them to encourage refugee and local students to talk about their schooling experiences. This process is one of the typical examples of visual data generation in collaboration with the participants.

Data Collection Procedures

Carspecken (1996) outlines five stages of the Critical Qualitative Research. These are (1) compiling the primary record, (2) preliminary reconstructive analysis, (3) Dialogical data generation, (4) describing system relations, and (5) system relations as explanations of findings. These stages not only provide guidelines for data collection and compiling data, but also suggest reconstructive data analysis tools to begin meaning reconstruction by using the data collected in the earlier stages. However, I did not use the stages as a blueprint in this study. In other words, I used the first three stages flexibly during the data collection. I returned and addressed earlier stages while collecting data and analyzing the data guidelines. After following the required ways to collect data, I continued with data analysis and examination of the system relations as explanations of findings. The following section explains the data collection procedure and strategies used in this study.

Compiling the Primary Data and Preliminary Reconstructive Analysis. I began compiling data in the first month of data collection to get insights about the school staff, local and refugee students, and school as a data collection site. I gathered information about the value orientations in order to define terms and concepts used by the school staff and local and refugee students as well as the daily routines taken for granted before and after the arrival of the refugee students to the school. I took pictures of the school boards, school facilities, the materials used in the classrooms, and event brochures or invitations. Later I have expanded my observations by walking in the neighborhood of the school and

taking pictures of the surroundings. As I continued collecting visuals and documents, I began describing the school as the data collection site, the neighborhood as the locale, and the school staff interaction with each other and students to situate them as the individuals of the school and the neighborhood.

Additionally, I engaged in short conversations with the school staff in order to know them and to understand their perceptions of the school and the students (local and refugee) and their philosophy of teaching. Passive observation of the interaction amongst the school staff was effective because the way the teachers use school facilities and the relationship amongst them revealed evidence about their perspectives concerning refugee students, politics, and pedagogical choices. I took notes about the phrases the teachers used in their daily conversations, particularly about refugee students and their education. Significant events were also recorded such as teachers' complaints or reflections about refugee students, announcements about refugee education policy and regulations, and teachers' political opinions about Syrian refugees in Turkey and in the public schools.

After 10 school days, it was clear which students were refugees and which students were local based on the school staff's conversation, and I began communicating with the refugee and local students. Once I got familiar with the faces of the refugee children, I observed their behaviors during the recess and collected information about their teachers and classrooms. When I began talking about specific refugee students and their teachers, I asked teachers to invite me to their classroom and begun scheduling observations in the classrooms. This initial observation and first interactions time with the students helped me decide which classrooms to include in the study. At the end of each day, I recorded my fieldwork and observation notes with a voice recorder and wrote details of the events and key points in my dissertation journal. Because I was exposed to so many different things in the school, I preferred to do voice-recording since it saved time (handwriting can be slow and tedious) and was easier to keep

track of phrases, truth claims, and validity claims with the help of recording. In the following weeks, I added meaning reconstruction of the notes that I recorded by using the same method of recording data.

At the end of the second week, I finalized nine classroom observations: six observations in the morning shift and three observations in the afternoon shift. The plan for observing the morning shift classrooms was to visit each classroom on different days of the week, but due to having six classrooms to observe I had to observe two classrooms on Wednesdays. Later, one of the classrooms was canceled as the refugee students left the school, so then each day I observed one classroom minimum one classroom hour and maximum four classroom hours. I observed afternoon classes on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays. I intentionally did not schedule any classroom observation on Mondays and Fridays to be able to meet with the MoNE officials and have flexible time to continue passive observation and document collection in the school.

I took my observation notes on notebooks. I carefully took notes of the classroom activities, refugee students' interaction with their teachers and classmates, the seating arrangements, the use of materials, different teaching strategies for teaching refugee students, extracurricular events, changes in teaching staffs' behavior with the refugee students and local students. These notes helped me understand when and how the difference in teachers' and local and refugee students' behaviors occur as well as the discourse changes during the classroom activities. I took notes in English and Turkish, but I mostly used English to protect the data and hide the things that I was writing about in the classroom. Using English as a data protection strategy helped me protect the data from unwanted attention and curiosity of the participants. After each observation, I took an hour off to voice-record the other details that I was unable to write during the observation. I also audio recorded the observations. The audio-record of the classroom was helpful to transcribe the actual conversations in the classroom.

In summary, the preliminary and compiling data stage helped me answer questions regarding the school as a system and the schooling experience of refugee students as the result of interacting with the people in the education system. I also had a clear understanding of the routines in the school. I collected data to answer the questions of “What is the contextual information that may influence the school practices?”, “How does policy inform educational and instructional practices for refugee children?” and “What are the specific instructional activities, routines, and treatments for refugee children?”

As mentioned earlier, I recorded phrases, truth claims, validity claims, and thoughtful comments to determine interaction patterns, meaning reconstructions, power relations, roles, the sequence of interactions and behaviors, and evidence of embodied meaning. The primary data was continuously analyzed to find answers to the questions of “What kind of social and cultural messages are embedded in school and instructional activities for refugee children?” While creating a network with the participants during the first month of the data collection, I began a form of egocentric network analysis with the purpose of showing how the participants managed their personal and group communications. Therefore, I started mapping the interactions of the refugee children with the other people in their classroom and school to see who their best friends were, which friends or teachers of them supported their learning, how frequently they interacted with the people around them and where the interactions happened.

Dialogical Data Generation. On March 15, 2016, I began interviewing teachers about their experiences with Syrian refugee students. I began interviewing the teachers that I did not schedule an observation in their classroom. Later, I began recording the informal conversations with the observed teachers about the events that happened in the classroom before the actual interview. I interview the teachers that I observed their classroom because scheduling an interview was easy with them due to the

routine weekly observation. The length of the interview was minimum 18 minutes and maximum 1 hour and 17 minutes. The average length of the interviews was about 35 minutes. I completed the last interview on May 22, 2016.

Refugee and local students' interviews began on March 22, 2016. I first interviewed the refugee students and then interviewed the local students that had been mentioned in the initial interviews. Each refugee student had three interviews with me about their schooling experience. The duration of the interviews was between 20 minutes to 67 minutes depending on the activities or conversations I had with the refugee students. If the interview only included conversations, it took about 20 minutes. If their teachers asked me to tutor refugee students, or if I requested from the teachers a longer time with the refugee students to do activities, I had longer interaction than usual meetings with the refugee students.

For one student with no Turkish language skills, a student translator assisted with explaining the procedure of what I was planning to do with the refugee student, and then I asked the translator to go to his classroom. Even though the refugee student had no language skills, I preferred to interview the student because not being able to speak was also their schooling experience, and I intended to see how they communicated with others when lacking language skills.

Interviews with local students happened after interviewing refugee students. The duration of their interviews were 20 to 40 minutes. I interviewed some students three times, but compared to their refugee student peers, most of the local students' interviews were limited to one interview because they had the language skills to answer my questions and partake in an advanced level conversation. However, if there was a strong relationship between the refugee and local student or a problem due to not liking each other, I interviewed these students at least two times to make sure that I understood the reasons for the friendship or the problem.

In this study, although there was no plan to interview the school janitor or cafeteria owner, it did happen informally upon their request to share their experiences with the refugee students. They shared valuable information and helped me obtain teaching materials, school documents, and access to the school facilities.

Lastly, having conversations with the refugee students, teachers, and local students helped me gain more insight about the overall schooling experience for local and refugee children and the teaching experience of the teachers. The ways the participants narrated their experience enabled me to understand the similarities/ differences of schooling experiences among refugee students and their reaction to school routines, activities, and culture.

Data Analysis

In this study, reconstructive data analysis strategies were employed as suggested by Carspecken (1996; 2007; 2008a; 2008b) to analyze the primary, secondary and observational data that was gathered from classroom observations, visual data generation, and dialogical conversations with refugee children, local students, and classroom teachers. Carspecken (2008a) defines reconstructive analysis as “a theoretically guided process of explicating the initially implicit components, structures and/or generative rules of meaning” (p. 740). Reconstructive analysis helped to reveal implicitly constructed meanings and prepared a basis to move the perceived knowledge into an explicit form. While using reconstructive analysis, I paid attention the everyday life of local and refugee students and classroom teachers as well as their acts in the school. As suggested in the theoretical explanation of reconstructive analysis, meaning resides in individual’s actions. Therefore, I recorded how individuals got involved in a position-taking process to express themselves with the use of language, signs, symbols, and bodily gestures, as they are the product of their inter-subjectivity situated in a structure.

I have also considered the importance of interactive settings and taken notes about how the participants form these settings. These settings are best interpreted by the internally juxtaposed subject positions that culture promotes to people such as greeting people in certain ways, being a student in a certain school, and the level of formality in a conversation. I have once taken an insider's position through acquiring the culturally explained norms and values and the setting, and considering where position taking occurs. As Carspecken (2008a; 2008b) suggests, I have had an adequate understanding of how to articulate implicit knowledge discursively. Through analyzing the data, I have familiarized myself with the school as the cultural environment and explained how refugee children construct their experiences and identities with the help of meaningful acts and the world of validity claims. Finally, the process of validity horizon has initiated constructing the precise articulation of every meaningful act and revealed how culture is situated in the claims and how worldviews are instantiated through the social interactions and practices of refugee and local students and teachers.

Data Analysis Procedures

This section introduces, first, the strategies that I used to prepare the data for the data analysis, and second, the data analysis strategies used to code the data and create themes with the code.

I used three strategies to prepare the data. First, I wrote thick descriptions and journalistic notes of events in the sites, settings, and locales: a strategy to prepare me to begin the detailed data analysis. I selected the intended meanings of interactions and communicative actions of refugee and local students and their teachers. I defined the low-level meaning reconstructions and highlighted patterns and anomalies in the event. Following the low-level meaning reconstruction, I recorded the claims to tease foregrounded and backgrounded cultural norms and assumptions that shape speech acts. During this preparation process, I worked on the concepts, roles, and routines embedded in interactive power.

Second, I transcribed the data with a transcription software called Voicedocs. This software allowed me to speak to the application and turn the normal speech into text, thereby quickly transcribing most of the audio file. However, I also relied on audio data summarizing to prepare the data. In this strategy, I listened to the recorded data and made an event summary of the classroom observations, recorded field notes, and interviews. These event summaries also included the transcription of the selected parts. For some of the classroom observations and the recording of the informal conversations, I preferred to upload them on NVivo and code the file on NVivo without transcribing them. Third, I used NVivo features to organize the data with various folders created for classroom observations, local students' interviews, refugee students' interview, teachers' interview, school staff interviews, weekend school, and other supportive events and data. After giving anonymous names to the participants and classrooms, I created sub-folders for each classroom observation and participant. Later, I uploaded all classroom observation notes, event summaries, visuals, and transcribed data, audio recordings of the interviews and classroom observations, and the thick descriptions in appropriate folders. When I finished uploading the data, I classified the data by gender, grade level, and the role in the school for the school staff, as well as students' background as local and refugee, and then these classifications were linked with the relevant data. I also wrote memos to describe refugee students, local students, school administrators and teachers. These folders are labeled according to the description of each participant groups, and the relevant data is linked to the memos. The categorization of data, classification of the sources, and memo links helped me build connections and keep track of the relationships between the people and the data.

After organizing and classifying the data, I began coding the data with the following strategy. Initially, I coded the classroom observation of one of the classrooms. After completing classroom observation codes, I coded the interviews of the classroom teacher. I continued with coding the refugee students' interviews. Finally, I coded the local students' interviews in the same classroom. Figure 4

shows an example of coding strategy for the data. The same coding strategy was applied to the other classroom observations and the participants.

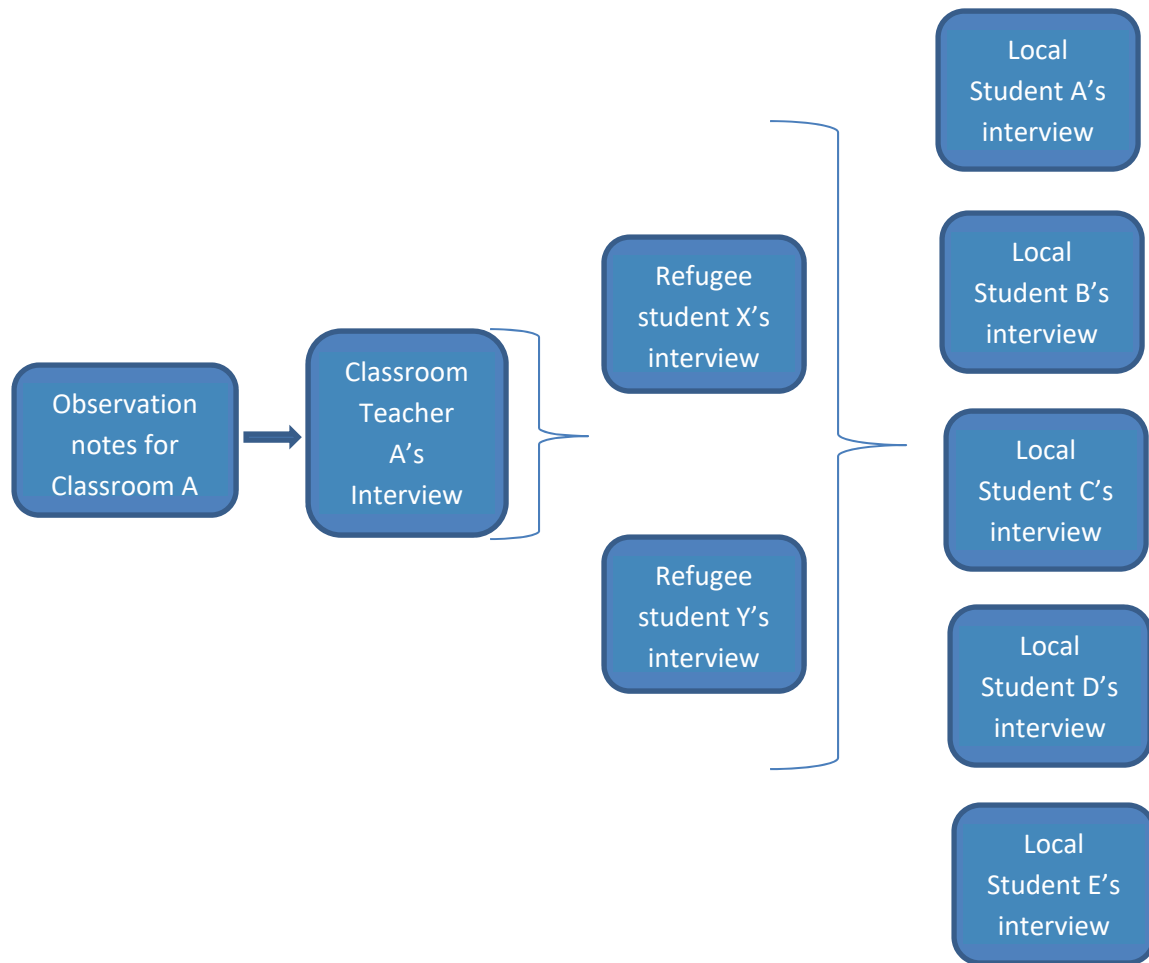


Figure 4. An example coding strategy for the data.

While coding the data, I named the codes based on the participants. If the codes were related to teachers, refugee or local students, the code includes teacher, local, or refugee at the beginning of the code name to make sure that I did not get confused as the number of codes continued to increase. After finalizing the coding process, I grouped the codes to create nodes. Finally, I established the relationship between the themes by comparing and contrasting them with the truth claims, low-level meaning reconstructions, and the patterns and anomalies of the events and communications mentioned in the

thick description. These comparisons between themes and truth claims in the meaningful acts helped me check the consistency between my codes and the culture of the school.

Data Validity

During the data coding, I consulted another researcher studying in the Inquiry Methodology program in the School of Education about the consistency between the codes, themes and the meaningful acts mentioned in the thick descriptions. I continued these consultations until I finished the data coding and grouping them as themes. Apart from discussing my data analysis results with my advisor, I communicated with a professor who has expertise in working with children in conflict situations to check whether the results of this study were consistent. As I began writing the descriptions of themes, I regularly discussed the theme explanations and their relations with the conceptual framework of this study with an academic who has a Ph.D. degree in Political Science and expertise in forced migration and migration theories. Additionally, I shared my data coding strategies and results with a graduate student in the Anthropology Department who is a member of a reading group on forced migration, refugee studies, and humanitarianism. Based on the feedback gathered in these consultations, meetings, and discussions, the codes, themes, and their relationship with the meaningful act in the school were revised, and the data analysis was finalized.

The data of this study was mainly collected in Turkish; some sections of the data have Arabic. I translated the data in Turkish to English as I am a native speaker of Turkish, but a Syrian university student studying in Turkey translated the Arabic part of the data to Turkish and/or English because she knows Arabic, Turkish and English. When I began writing up the results, I asked two native speakers of Turkish studying at Indiana University to check the translation of the quotes used in this study to ensure that the translations of the quotes were consistent and to reflect the same meaning as in the original text.

Chapter 4: Teachers and Staff's Perspectives of Educating Syrian Refugee Students

Introduction

The first research question of this study investigates the major conditions in the school that shape the schooling experiences of Syrian child refugees. The results show that refugee children's schooling experiences are shaped by their social surroundings such as the neighborhood of the school and the degree of relationship with the people in and outside their school. Therefore, this chapter explains the teachers' and school staff's perspectives of educating Syrian refugee students in a Turkish school through analyzing the discursive meanings embedded in the teachers' and school staff's daily conversations and speech acts on educating Syrian child refugees. It also explains how teachers and school staff decide on instructional methods and strategies to educate Syrian refugee children and what motivates the teachers to conceptualize their approach. Overall, the results presented in Chapter 5 prepare a background for understanding what kind of social surroundings are given to the refugee students and how they are treated in the school structure. The analysis provides an understanding of the rationale for why refugee children experience schooling in particular ways and the relationship between the refugee students' schooling experience and the school staff's responses to the presence and attitudes of refugee children in the school.

The primary data for explaining the teachers' and school staff's motivation were collected within one-month of intense observation. The observations were made in various facilities of the school such as teachers' lounge, outdoor play area, school cafeteria, classrooms, and school corridors. The observations were mainly passive observations, and the conversations involved less talking and more listening to the participants. Then, the data collection process continued for another three months along with the process of classroom observations and interviewing the participants to get a better sense of the approaches in treating refugee students in the school. As a result, more enriched data was gathered to

adequately understand the values and strategies for refugee education and protection in the school. I present evidence from the daily conversations and interviews with the participants to explain the system of the response mechanism for educating refugee children.

This chapter presents the results with regard to answering the first research question on what conditions shape the schooling experience of Syrian child refugees in five main sections. The first section describes the orientations of participants and explains how participants' orientations can be presented in four sub-groups based on their perspectives of educating refugee children and their attitudes towards integrating refugee students into school and the larger community. The second section is about making sense of the school system and the human relations in the school. In order to understand teachers' and staff's concerns concerning the Syrian Refugee Crisis in general and to eliminate any associated problems in the schools, the third section draws attention to values as coping mechanisms to explain human interactions in the schools. As a way to explain the ways, which eliminate the problems occurring because of the concerns that teachers and school staff have due to Syrian Refugee Crisis in general, third section echoes on the usage of the accentuated values by the school community as coping mechanisms to explain the expected nature of the human relationship in the school. The fourth section provides detailed explanations about the challenges that school staff and teachers experience in educating refugee children. The fifth section explains the teachers' and school staff's motivation and attitudes. It focuses on how their motivation, as well as the regular routine of the school, leads them to seek help from outside resources to help refugee children, take responsibility beyond their regular teaching requirements, use alternative teaching strategies, and design programs for refugee students. The fifth section also explains how the school staff criticizes the quality of their teaching and to what degree they are open to constructive criticism. Finally, in conclusion, I discuss the relationship between teachers' and school staff's approach, and Syrian child refugees' schooling experience through reflecting on the contradictions in teaching staff's behaviors and conversations.

Teachers' and School Staff's Orientation and Description

This section describes why and how the teacher participants' orientations are formed. As mentioned earlier, teachers and school staff maintain different attitudes towards Syrian refugee students and how they should be educated. The data analysis shows that classroom teachers and counselors can share similar value orientation so that they can be categorized into four main orientations: skepticism, indifferent, caretaking, and supportiveness. Table 2 below presents the number of the teachers and counselors in each orientation. The table also displays the number of teachers both interviewed and observed, those only interviewed, and counselors. Briefly reminding the participants' details, I have had conversations with one school principal, four assistant school principals, and four school counselors during the month of passive observation, and 32 classroom teachers during the remaining three months. I also have had in-depth interviews with four school counselors, three assistant school principals, one school principal, and 23 classroom teachers within four months.

Table 2

Demographics of the Teachers and School Staff based on Their Orientation

Orientations	Counsellor		Teachers observed and interviewed		Teachers interviewed	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Skepticism	1	0	1	1	1	3
Indifferent	1	0	0	2	1	3
Caretaking	2	0	2	0	4	2
Supportive	0	0	2	0	3	3

Orientations are formed to provide a better understanding of teachers' different points of view in an organized way based on the results of the data analysis. They are used to connect the data to

broader cultural patterns, discourses, or orientations. However, they are not used to assign categories for the participants, stereotype teachers, and essentialize a rigid form of teacher profile. Teachers in the school show similar responses and pedagogical decisions when they share a value orientation, but sharing the same value orientation does not mean that these teachers have distinct characteristics in terms of educating and treating their refugee students.

After the data analysis, the codes were grouped together to form explanations of the backgrounded and foregrounded discourses that shape refugee students' schooling experiences. As a result of grouping codes, I obtained meaningful explanations about teachers' and school staff's approaches in educating refugee students. The code groups helped to form the orientations of the participants as follows:

- The motivation of the teachers to educate refugee students.
- The instructional methods teachers used for improving the language and/or academic skills of the refugee children.
- The communication level with the refugee and local parents concerning refugee students' integration and success in the school.
- The degree of communication with the other school staff and school administration.
- Willingness to collaborate to improve the quality of education and harmony in the school.
- Perspectives of refugee education and educational policies.

Table 3 summarizes the responses of the teachers when they have skeptical, indifference, caretaking, or supportive orientation. The following sections provide a detailed explanation for each orientation and describe how teachers and school staff approach to the refugee students when they are inclined to one of the orientations.

Table 3

Teachers' and School Staff's Orientations and the Description of the Orientations Based on Six Key Codes

	Motivation	Alternative Instructional Methods	Communication with both local and refugee parents and students	Communication with school staff and administration	Willingness to collaborate	Perspectives on refugee education and policies
Orientations						
Skepticism	Motivated but indecisive	Use alternative methods to occupy refugee students with something	Only communicate when there is a problem	Frequently argue regulations with the school administration	Show willingness to discuss refugee education policy	Judgmental about the effectiveness of the refugee education policies
Indifferent	No motivation	Never attempt to use alternative methods	Never communicate	Never communicate	Allow outsiders to do teaching for the refugee students	Lack information about the refugee education policy
Caretaking	Highly motivated	Frequently use alternative methods	Communicate mostly for social support and sometimes for academic support	Communicate with the school staff such as building manager and canteen manager to meet the physical needs	Collaborate anytime for anything to help refugee children	Lack information about the refugee education policy but think that policies are effective
Supportiveness	Moderately motivated	Avoid using alternative methods as possible as they can	Communicate for academic and personal development	Communicate with school counselors to better understand children's social, academic and personal needs	Only seek advice to improve teaching, restricts contact with the refugee children	Informed about the policy and regularly provide constructive feedback to the school staff

Teachers with Skeptical Orientation. Teachers with skeptical orientation are, in general, politically motivated to take part in educating refugee children, but they mainly have doubts about how refugee children should be educated. Even though they seem to be actively working on improving the quality of education, they spend most of their time discussing politics and criticizing almost every possible action or intention regarding refugee education and protection.

Teachers with skeptical orientation change their ideas constantly when they hear new updates about the refugee crisis or conflict in the region. The changes in their political discourse sometimes cause a change in their approaches to educating children. When teachers with skeptical orientation feel stressed about the number of refugee children in the school or refugee students' needs, they have the inclination to think that assimilation might be the best schooling ideology that Turkish schools should adopt. When they feel satisfied with the refugee students' progress and behaviors in the school, they criticize that refugee education regulations fail to provide positive reinforcement to motivate refugee children. Finally, when they hear negative comments about refugee students or news about how the crisis in Syria affects Turkey, they may either blame the students' parents for coming to Turkey rather than defending Syria or criticize the government for allowing refugees settle in urban areas rather than camps. There is only one common behavior in their speech acts; they do not blame the refugee students for the problems associated with the inadequacy of the quality of education. They are consciously excluding refugee children from the negative conversations because they do not want children to be involved in serious conversations, as one teacher with a skeptical orientation reports:

There are many problems with these applications. Children do not have useful resources. Some of them learn Arabic somewhere, some of them learn Turkish—but their Turkish skills are so poor. I have rarely seen a child using Turkish in full capacity; many of them speak, write, or read. This is not how we use language. But I do not blame children. They are all innocent. They witnessed violence. Even though they are naughty, and they do not listen what we ask them to do, they are just children and certainly should not be included in these adult conversations. If

we expect them to act like adults, it will be additional torture for these children since we take away their last chance at childhood.

As teachers with skeptical orientation have the opinion to let refugee students be children and excluded from any form of serious conversations including decision-making process, refugee children who are under their responsibility have exceptional social skills but do not perform well academically. These children have high self-esteem and are usually outspoken about their situation as their teachers provide time and space at school for them to behave freely and play as much as they want.

The main concern of teachers with skeptical orientation is to make children feel like children again and help them recover from their traumas. Therefore, they mainly use instructional games, music such as singing, and physical education activities to occupy children's time. They also use conversation activities to improve the refugee students' language skills. Even though teachers with skeptical orientation use parallel instruction or differentiated instruction, it is only for language teaching. These teachers do not have the intention to prepare refugee students to participate in curriculum activities required in the National curriculum because they do not believe that the infrastructure of Turkish schools is enough to educate the refugee students.

Communication between refugees and teachers with skeptical orientation generally happens when there is a problem. These teachers also avoid talking to local parents. They organize mandatory parent conferences during the semester, but they do not organize additional events to bring local and refugee parents together or inform them about their children's progress. Many of them believe that local parents are only interested in their children's needs and progress and have no intention to collaborate with others. They may not communicate with the refugee parents, because most of the refugee parents do not know Turkish or come to school to talk about the other needs of their family.

Therefore, the teachers with skeptical orientation do not often put any effort into communicating with the parents on a regular basis. As explained by one of the teachers with skeptical orientation:

Local and refugee parents have different plans for their children. Refugee parents are trying to survive, and local parents are trying to get rich and want their children to have a well-respected job in the future. They have different motives. There is no point in bringing them together because they will not talk about the same thing. They also do not understand their language. I also do not like parents coming to school. They disrupt the instructional routine. They affect their kids negatively because they keep telling negative things about their teachers. When necessary, we report what is going on here, but if not I cannot play a role in connecting refugee and local parents. It is up to them.

The interaction of the teachers with skeptical orientation with the school administration is the exact opposite of their interaction with parents. These teachers frequently communicate with the school administration and express their ideas about refugee children's education. However, their advice is often not practical and realistic. Teachers with skeptical orientation generally think about idealistic or highly politicized solutions to the problems regarding accommodating refugee children in the school as one of the assistant school principal expresses.

Some of our teachers suggest that we immediately have to open separate classes for refugee children in the school. This is not possible. First, it is against the law. Second, it is not feasible when we consider the number of classrooms, teachers, and the availability of the resources. I tell them "Hocam (teacher), we cannot do this; you know this better than me. Tell me how we can make the current situation better", but they insist that the situation cannot get better if their solutions are not implemented. They make us feel hopeless as well.

The school administrators and teachers feel discouraged when they hear long-term, unfeasible solutions. They seek practical solutions and want to deal with individual cases rather than treat all the refugee students as one homogenous group. However, teachers with skeptical orientation do not appreciate any attempt that focuses on individual cases, and they see these attempts as a waste of time

and resources. Even though they seem to have negative attitudes, they show a willingness to collaborate through discussion of current refugee education policy. According to the teachers with skeptical orientation, their attitudes are constant reminders of how things can be done in a more effective and efficient way. A teacher with a skeptical orientation summarizes how their colleagues perceive them when they highlight their opinions regarding the necessity of discussing politics.

They call me “Gamlı Baykuş” (refers to a person who constantly reminds the bad things or impossibility of a situation). I do not want them to feel that everything is so easy. We cannot ease our consciousness just with simple things. There are so many things to be done. Our education system is not strong, and plus we have Syrian children with no language skills, no school culture, and no education. I cannot solve their problem just by teaching. Something should be done from above (*Above* refers to the Ministry of National Education (MoNE) and its responsibility is to coordinate all aspect of refugee education). Let’s assume we saved one child, what will happen to the rest. Of course, we should save as many as we could, but we should also remind authorities that they need to make new plans.

Teachers with skeptical orientation have a critical perspective on refugee education policies and they constantly discuss the inadequacy of the policies with their colleagues and the school administration. As the teacher with a skeptical orientation mentions in the above quote, they seek fundamental and far-reaching changes. They support the idea of educating the masses and rather than dealing with individual cases as they see every refugee children as traumatized children.

Teachers with indifferent orientation. Teachers with indifferent orientation are not motivated to educate refugee children. They mainly have this attitude while they interact with the local children, who have different needs. Teachers with indifferent orientation often ignore individual differences, monotonously follow the national curriculum, and focus on self-motivated students. Even if there is only a single person paying attention, they do not attempt to change their teaching. Additionally, they do not tolerate noise and are very strict in the classroom.

Teachers with indifferent orientation use outdated, conventional teaching methods such as lecturing and testing for all subjects. For subjects such as physical education, music, and art, which require interaction and creativity, they simply allow students to do whatever they want to do. For example, during art classes, some students draw a picture, some students make paper planes, and some students finish their homework. In this situation, refugee children are lost. They do not have any informed or guided space to express themselves, learn new things, and socialize, as they do not understand anything about the ongoing interaction in the class. They remain silent until another student approaches them.

Teachers with indifferent orientation do not communicate with the parents of refugees or local parents, school administration or school staff. However, they do not have a negative reputation in the school. They complete any tasks for which they are responsible, but they do nothing more than the minimum. They do nothing extra or outside of their basic expectations; they are not outstanding teachers. This carries over into their interactions with the refugee students. They only do what school administration asks them to do such as teaching Turkish, keeping track of attendance, providing food assistance, and reporting any incidents.

Similar to how they communicate with the school staff and administration, the teachers with indifferent orientation are also indifferent with outsiders. For example, instead of mentoring interns and university students, teachers with indifferent orientation simply rely on them to teach Turkish to refugee students. It is as if the only time the teacher with an indifferent orientation thinks about the refugee students. Teachers with indifferent orientation usually take advantage of using the outsiders to teach the refugee students. The school receives interns and university students for student teaching. Teachers with indifferent orientation also do not communicate with the interns to help them improve their teaching skills, but instead, they rely on the interns to reduce their responsibility to the refugee

students. Therefore, outsiders have better communication with the refugee children. My observation notes include numerous records of how teachers with indifferent orientation allow outsiders to teach something to refugee children.

Classroom observation, March 15, 2016: Teacher assigned an intern to take care of the refugee student. She is teaching the alphabet to student A using a first-grade book for reading and writing. The rest of the class solves math problems together with the teacher. The teacher sometimes monitors the intern and tells her to go to the next chapter when she helps the refugee student advance a reading skill. However, the teacher does not make eye contact with the refugee student.

Classroom observation, March 29, 2016: Refugee Student A is sitting alone by herself. She keeps her head down on her desk and avoids communication with the people around her. At that moment one of the interns got close to the teachers regarding his reports. After the teacher checks his report, he told intern "it looks good. Now you can help her (pointed the refugee student A." The refugee student A heard his teacher and took out his reading-writing book from his bag. The intern and refugee student A now study together.

There have also been examples where I, as an observer in the classroom, have been asked to teach Turkish to refugee children while the rest of the students continue their regular classroom activities.

Classroom observation, March 16, 2016: X, don't sleep, take out your book and sit near Ozlem teacher. She is going to teach you reading. (Teacher returns to me). Ozlem Hocam, you do not mind to work together with X, right? It is better for her.

Classroom observation, March 31, 2016: Y, stop making noise, you are distracting your friends. Ozlem Hocam, can you read together with her? Alternatively, you may ask her to tell you a story. Y, I know you like telling stories to your friend, and now you can tell it to your teacher, but quietly. (Returns to the class) Children, let's continue reading about the neighbors of Turkey.

As shown in the above examples, teachers with indifferent orientation often show a willingness to collaborate when they are aware that there is available help to do parallel instruction with the refugee students. Therefore, teachers with indifferent orientation accept more guests than other teachers, as they believe that the outsiders will assist with the refugee students so the teachers can continue their regular lessons.

Teachers with indifferent orientation lack information about refugee education and refugee protection regulations in the school. They mainly do not follow the regulation updates from the Ministry of National Education concerning refugee children. However, they usually do what the school administration asks them to do if there is a change in the regulations.

Teachers with caretaking orientation. Teachers with caretaking orientation are highly motivated to educate refugee children as they think helping refugees is their social duty. Approaching this task empathetically, they often imagine themselves in their refugee student's situation and do their best to make the student feel comfortable in the classroom, in the school and even outside the school. Therefore, their interaction with the refugee students is multidimensional and focuses on developing broad aspects of the refugee students' lives. These teachers are those who have a historical understanding of refugee resettlement. They think that refugee students should feel at home and have a social space in the school as well as in their neighborhood. A teacher with a caretaking orientation defines the underlying reasons for motivating her refugee student to educate and assist refugee children in the following:

We are all human. Anything can happen to us. We have to be aware of this reality. When I talk to X's parents, they say they had everything in Syria, and now they rely on what people give to them. This is very difficult, but it could be eased with the help of the people. It is our duty. We have to share things we have. This increase in the quality of stuff makes us happy. I do anything and everything for X. He must have had many bad experiences. He never speaks about it, so I do not know what really happened to him. When I think about the possible things that he might

have gone through, I feel responsible for making him smile and talk again. That is my goal. Believing that we can get him talk is so motivating.

The motivation of the teachers with caretaking orientation is personal, depending on the characters of the refugee children in their classrooms. The teachers, who is the owner of the above quote, has a refugee student with a trauma that has affected his speech. He only speaks when he reads and avoid verbal communication. Another teacher with a caretaking orientation has a refugee student from Syria who is a Turkoman; therefore, she knows Turkish. However, even though she is in the fourth grade, she has never been to school. Her teachers' motivation is to help the Turkoman student catch up with the other students in the classroom. She was so proud that within 6 months of hard work her refugee student has been able to finish the second-grade curriculum and has successfully completed her assignments.

X is an excellent student. I wish everyone in my class were like her. She never complains but has a lot of stress due to being behind her classmates. I remind her of how well she performs and that she will soon catch up and even leave everyone in the class behind. I also tell her friends to be nice to her. Because you know, how these children are and they can be mean. One of my students called X dumb as she struggled to read a passage. I told that student to behave well, you know. Now, everyone in the class supports her progress. When X does something successfully, I feel really happy. My goal is to finish the third-grade curriculum with her. Next year I will have her stay in the fourth grade again with another class. Teacher A's class will be fourth grade next year, and she is like me, as you know, I am sure she will help X as I do. X makes me feel like a real teacher. Moreover, I see how my students become sensitive about someone else's problem. It is very, very rewarding to have her.

The commonality of the teachers with caretaking orientation is the empathetic bonds they form with their refugee students: they care personally about their students' progress and problems. Therefore, when the other students in their classroom hurt refugee students, they usually handle the problem between refugee and local students in their classroom as if they were their parents, and not as

professional educators. They often react emotionally rather than giving objective judgments about which student is responsible for creating the problem. Therefore, teachers with caretaking orientation frequently remind both refugee and local students of the importance of being friends, helping each other, and collaborating. They promote empathy and helpfulness and advise their students to get on well all the time no matter what the circumstances are.

Teachers with caretaking orientation often use alternative instructional methods to educate refugee children such as differentiated instruction, parallel instruction, and peer-teachers. They have a strategy for almost all subjects depending on the nature of the subject. For example, in math class, teachers prepare a separate worksheet with simplified questions for the refugee children. Depending on the subject and the educational background of the refugee students, they change their instructional strategies, but rarely integrate refugee children into the normal instructional activities. They unconsciously keep refugee children away from the regular classroom routine due to over-caring and over-thinking on behalf of the refugee children. Therefore, refugee children in this classroom often have unexpected reactions due to being restricted by their teachers' attention. Teachers with caretaking orientation have difficulty making sense of refugee students' reactions, as they do not understand that they bore students with their attention. A teacher with a caretaking orientation explains how a refugee student reacted when he planned an alternative activity instead of allowing the student to follow along with the general class instruction.

Even I do everything for her; sometimes she does not always appreciate what I do for her. For example, on the day I gave her extra readings during the art class, she first began reading as usual, and then closed the book harshly. I did not understand why she acted like that. I asked what happened; she even became stubborn and shrugged her shoulder to avoid hearing what I was saying to her. I did anything and everything to make her speak again. Then I realize that she wanted to do the same thing with the other children because she was looking at how others were doing the painting. I gave her a color book, but she rather preferred to draw her own

picture on a piece of paper and painted her own picture. She sometimes becomes stubborn particularly when she wants to do something with the other students.

Teachers with caretaking orientation are mainly good at managing alternative instructions and giving emotional support to the children if refugee students in their classroom are trauma cases. However, these teachers are not good at taking care of emotional or existential crises that they create, as they are not aware that their over-attention is the reason for these students' reactions.

The other quality of the teachers with caretaking orientation is that they emphasize communication. They communicate with everyone in the school and outside the school in order to provide a better education and quality of life for their students. They are often the most social and extroverted teachers. They organize school trips, sign up their classes for school events, ask local restaurants to prepare cheap but delicious food for the lunch breaks, and prepare birthday parties. They include every parent in their children's education. They use social media and communication applications such as WhatsApp and Viber to communicate with the parents immediately. They communicate mostly for improving the social aspect of their students' lives, but they also provide academic support and organize parent conferences to inform parents about their children's academic progress. They communicate with the school administration for obtaining permissions about their special events, and they communicate with the school counselors to check whether involving refugee students in the events would create ethical or psychological problems.

Teachers with caretaking orientation, as they are extroverted and social, do not restrict themselves when collaborating with others. They are open to getting advice, seeking financial assistance or emotional support for their instructional and social activities, and learning more about multicultural practices. They are open for almost all kinds of help either someone from the school or outside the

school. A teacher with a caretaking orientation articulates why collaboration and communication can help her refugee students learn about local culture.

I never hesitate to ask help from someone else. As the saying goes, two heads are better than one (“Bir elin nesi var iki elin sesi var”). There are things that I can do and cannot do. With this way, I teach so many valuable things to my students. I teach them that I, as their teacher and as an adult, need help; I teach them that collaboration makes the work better; I teach the importance of coordination and distribution of work; and I teach them what it means to be part of a community. These are great values, and it is part of our job. Therefore, I give importance to collaboration and communication. I also think it is important for X because he learns about these values. He learns so many things about our culture through experience. We can explain with words, but seeing how local people live their life will greatly help him to learn about the local culture.

Teachers with caretaking orientation are involved in almost every part of their refugee students’ life, but they are not entirely informed about refugee education policies and regulations in the school. They have misunderstandings about what the Ministry of National Education provides for refugee children, and they mainly think that all rules and policies are effective and have no problems. For example, some of them are not aware that some of their refugee students are not officially registered at the school. They do not pay attention to why the name of the refugee students is written on the class attendance register by hand. Their ideas about this situation vary. For example, some teachers think that refugee children’s names are not on the list because they registered late to the school. Some of them think that they have the old class attendance register. Finally, some of them believe that refugee children’s registration is incomplete because they wait for their school records from Syria. A teacher with a caretaking orientation explains how she maintain a register of the refugee students’ attendance in her class.

My students’ names are not on the list. The assistant school principal added their names to the school list by hand after they were registered. Since then, their names are still handwritten on the list. I count my student’s attendance and communicate with their parents if they do not tell

me the reason for their absence. Syrian parents also come to school to tell me why their children are not in the school. Of course, I do not completely understand them, but we understand them through body language or Syrian students translate what they want to say to us. At the end of the year, my students will get their school report, so I need to make sure that this time my Syrian students get an official school report.

Teachers with caretaking orientation are also not aware of the fact that most of the refugee children do not get official school reports. Refugee students have to obtain their temporary protection card to register at a Turkish school, but regulations regarding validating their academic progression and diploma are not clear. If they continue in the Turkish Education System, they will not have any problems. However, it is not clear how Syrian youth will justify the validity of their diploma in different countries in the future. It seems like teachers with caretaking orientation are not aware of the current policy problems, but their unawareness actually helps refugee students to be treated like normal students or like students who need extra attention.

Teachers with supportive orientation. Teachers with supportive orientation are moderately motivated to educate refugee children, yet they are the most reluctant to have refugee students in their classrooms when compared to other teachers. Teachers with supportive orientation report that having refugee students in the classroom disrupts ongoing instruction. These teachers are also concerned that refugee students cannot catch up with the other students because their education has been interrupted or they do not have the adequate educational background. However, teachers' attitudes towards refugee student positively change once the students are in the classroom. Among all Syrian students, those taught by these teachers have the least problems and the highest integration capabilities due to strategies utilized by the teachers with supportive orientation to integrate the refugee students into the educational setting.

Teachers with supportive orientation are expert educators, have a strong sense of discipline, and value inclusion, equity, and equality. Their classrooms are mainly the best in the school, and these teachers have an excellent reputation not only in their school but also in the entire neighborhood. Most importantly, teachers with supportive orientation are knowledgeable about multicultural pedagogy and integration strategies. A teacher with a supportive orientation with three Syrian students in her classroom reports that the key to integrating every student in the classroom is to accept that they are different. This teacher also mentions that different students can be gathered together around the same interest.

I am a teacher for a long time. I worked in many different places. I worked in the Black Sea Region, Southeastern Anatolia, Eastern Anatolia, Aegean Region, and others. My years of experience have taught me one important thing: everyone is different, but he or she can share the same life goal if you learn how to motivate him or her. Now, I do the same. I motivate them. I tell them that if one of us is successful, our class will be successful too. Therefore, I encourage everyone to be successful and to be happy with his or her friends' success. My classrooms were always successful or had a good reputation. It is still the same. I do the same with the refugee children. I know they are coming from a different culture, but I do not treat them differently. They get the same homework as the others do. It is okay for them to do as much as they can do. If they make a mistake, I help them correct; they work again. They have the capacity as the other children; they only had an unfortunate life that brought them here.

Due to these teachers' expectation that every student has the capability to progress, refugee students in the classroom of teacher with a supportive orientation, in general, have a lot of academic pressure. Refugee students are not separated from the rest of the classroom during the instructional activities. This approach helps them to have the highest sense of belonging to their setting in comparison to the other Syrian students in the school. The local students in their classroom do not feel indifferent about their Syrian classmates. The local students call refugee students by their name rather than referring to their nationality. Teachers with supportive orientation think that they maintain this

harmony through not using a different instruction for the Syrian students. These teachers rather make themselves available for help and tend to spend more time with any student who needs help.

Teachers with supportive orientation do not use alternative strategies for the refugee children. However, they do adapt their teaching methods in a completely different way to aid in integration: they use more visuals and the board more frequently than before because the visual aids help refugee students keep up with the pace of the classroom. These teachers respect the learning pace of their students and appreciate any progress made by their student. However, they also keep adding new information to what they teach in their previous instruction. At the end of each unit of each subject, they regularly make revisions before moving forward to another unit. Therefore, both refugee and local students have time to review the topics that they had difficulty in learning. However, teachers with supportive orientation admit that refugee student may need extra help because of language limitations. They support the learning process of refugee students with extra attention through using some alternative instructional methods such as games, cultural activities, and inquiry. A teacher with a supportive orientation explains how he helps his students to eliminate problems due to the language barrier.

Sometimes, X and Y do not understand what we talk about in the classroom. I tell all of my students to feel free to ask questions when they do not understand, so X and Y also do the same. When they tell me, or when I realize that they don't get it, I begin reviewing the topics that X and Y find difficult together with all students. For example, during a Turkish lesson, students needed to make a sentence with the word "sur" (meaning castle wall). X did not make a sentence. I asked a couple of students to read their exemplary sentences, and then I asked X to tell me what she understood. She explained what she understood, but it was not entirely correct. I then asked other students to help her understand the meaning of the word. A couple of students read their definition of what the word "sur" means for them. After the others had explained, she was able to make a sentence with that word. I do this practice with the local students as well. However, I spend more time with X and Y with the meaning of the words. This (The word "sur") is a difficult word for a second-grade student, but when they work together, everyone including X and Y learns. In mathematics, I always summarize the math problem and create visualizations as much as possible. My drawing skills are not good, but it works. They

make sense of what we are learning with visuals. Even they do not know the meaning of every single word. However, my students' language skills are excellent.

The Figure 5 and Figure 6 show the teachers with supportive orientation attempt to visualize the math problem about measurement and division for the refugee students in the classroom.

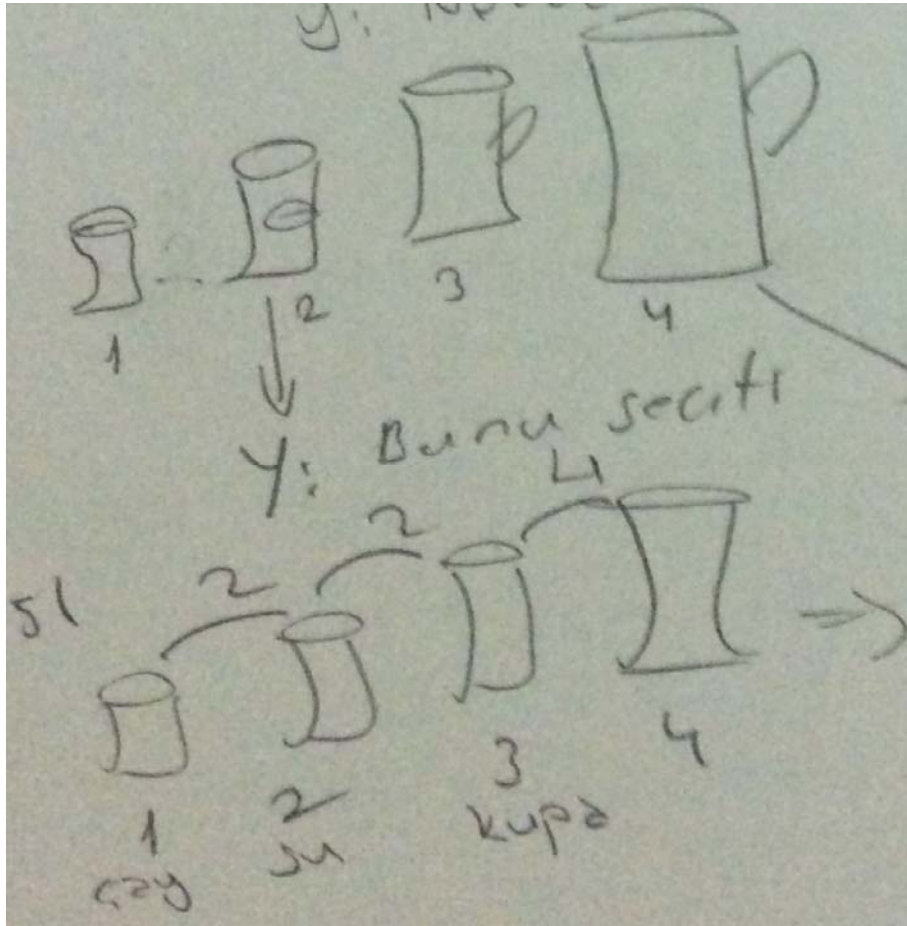


Figure 5. Visualizing measurement problems. Translation of the text in Figure 5: “Bunu seçti=She chose this”; “Çay=tea”; “Su=water” and “Kupa=cup”. (Classroom observation notes, March 2, 2016).

Another teacher with a supportive orientation uses boards specifically for vocabulary practice. Even the activity is for everyone; this teacher allows refugee students to ask more questions about the

meaning of the words or finding new vocabulary by using the letters of the given word. Figure 7 shows how refugee students attempt to eliminate the same letter from the given word and make new words.

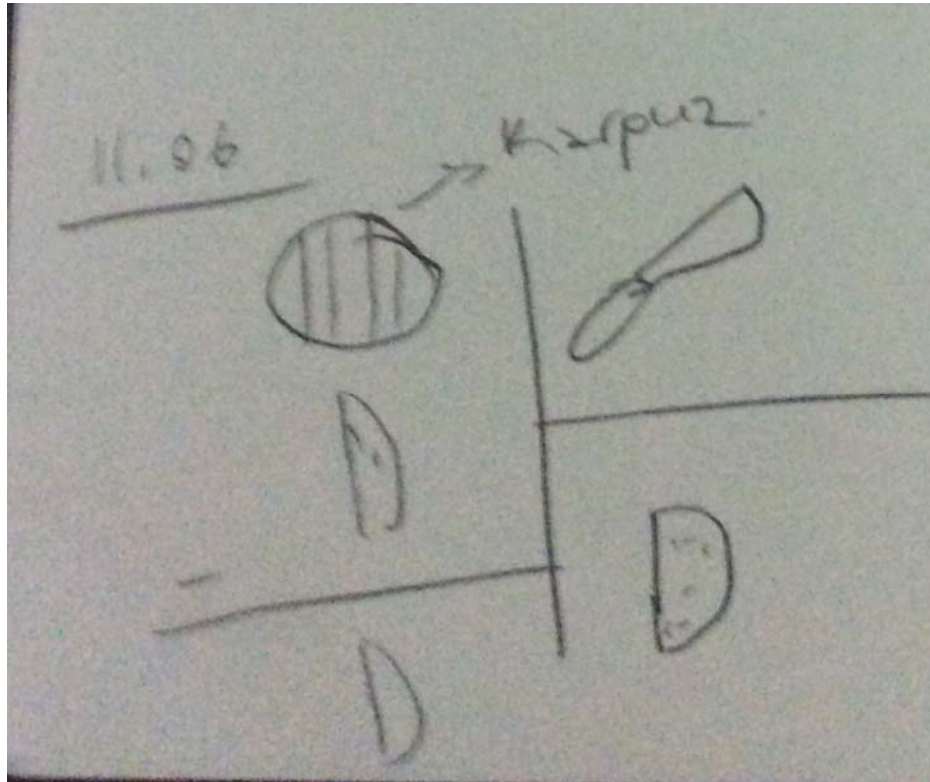


Figure 6. Visualizing division problems. Translation of the text in Figure 6: “Karpuz=Watermelon”. (Classroom observation notes, March 3, 2016).

by using the remaining letters. It is a vocabulary activity, but a teacher uses this activity as a game to get the attention of refugee students.

Teachers with supportive orientation pay attention to the academic and personal development of refugee children more than refugee students’ social and physical needs. They communicate and collaborate with local and refugee parents on improving the quality of their learning and self-actualization, but teachers with supportive orientation do not spend time on social activities or

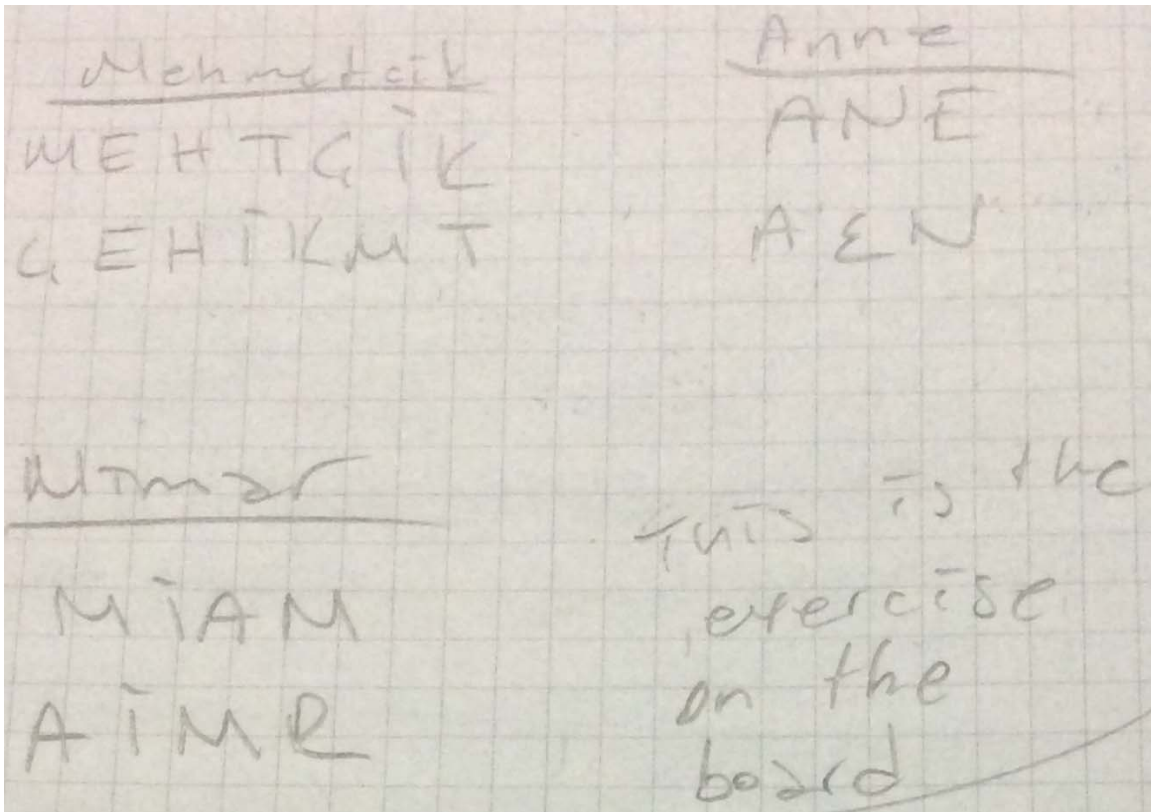


Figure 7. Vocabulary game and its visualization on board (Classroom observation notes, March 21, 2016).

organizing an event to meet the physical needs of their student. However, these teachers sign up for the events such as the national day celebration or school fundraising and observe their students communicating with the others and feeling the sense of community. However, when the classroom signs up for the national day celebration, they first ask their Syrian student whether they would like to participate or not and get permission from their parents. A teacher with a supportive orientation explains the importance of asking parents' permission and checking the children's willingness to eliminate potential cultural problems.

When we celebrate the national days, we ask Syrian students whether they would like to be part of it or not. First, well, we do not want them to feel stress as they are going to be in front of everyone. Second, maybe their parents will not want them to be in the celebration. You know,

some Syrians are still not favoring mix-gender celebrations, or they may not like the idea of hearing their children reading patriotic poems. Therefore, we ask their permission to be sensitive. So far, we received a positive response from the parents. Many of our Syrian refugee children sing our traditional folk songs and national anthem and read poems about Ataturk. We have not told them to learn, but I think they wanted to learn. I believe that they still do not know what being Syrian or Turkish means, but if they want to learn about our culture, we do not stop them. I also discuss this with the school counselors whether it is okay for them to learn these national values, they say if they want, let them decide for themselves. So, I do so.

As this teacher with a supportive orientation mentions, many teachers with supportive orientation get a consultation from the school counselors about different issues. This particular teacher is worried about whether learning national values is a negative thing for Syrian students. The others also get a consultation regarding how to approach these students in the classroom without evoking their trauma experiences particularly when they do a cultural activity or a social studies activity that involves neighboring countries. However, they do not seek advice from any of the school staff about these children's physical needs or family problems, because they think that it is the school counselor's responsibility to address Syrian students' personal and family problems. They work in collaboration with the school counselor to understand the impact of social and personal needs on Syrian students' learning, but they do not personally get involved in psychological support provided by the counseling services. A teacher with a supportive orientation explains the reasons why he intentionally avoids discussing the personal problems of his Syrian students.

I care about my Syrian students. In the beginning, I was reluctant to accept them because, you know, they do not know our language, they have serious psychological problems and so on. I was worried about how they were going to affect my students. However, they are my students now, and I need to educate them as I do with the others. They are part of my class, and I protect them from everything. Hocahanim (a typical address form used for female teachers), as you know, these children are vulnerable and very sensitive. You saw how Y reacts when we talk about neighboring countries. I try not to talk about Syria and her feelings in the classroom because I do not want them to feel so much emotion in front of her friends. I also do not know how to handle this. This is why I asked the school counselor to help me. She knows about child

psychology. She is an expert on it, but I am a teacher. My job is to teach. I am aware of their problems. I show them that I care about them, but I'm not the one to talk about their experience in Syria. If there is a problem in the class, I deal with it because I know everyone here, but what if I hurt them when I want to help. I can't handle the idea of hurting them.

Teachers with supportive orientation stay away from dealing with their refugee students' problems not only because of lacking information about child psychology but also being afraid of hurting them when they attempt to help them. This attitude indicates that they are well-aware of the emotional and psychological stage of their students. Even though they keep reminding everyone around them that they are not aware of Syrian children's situation, they are among those who are informed about refugee education policy. Rather than simply criticizing the problems occurring because of the policy, they provide constructive feedback to the school administration by sharing their experiences of teaching Syrian kids and by communicating with the school counselors. Due to constructive feedback from these teachers, school administration sends a request to the local Ministry of National Education Directorate to open a weekend school to improve Turkish language skills of refugee children. Their application to open a weekend school indicates that teachers are aware of refugee education policy regarding the refugee students' right to have access to education and language support. One of the teacher with a supportive orientation reports how they came up with the idea of having a language immersion program for refugee children.

I went to several workshops about teaching Turkish to foreigners, and I heard people talking about weekend schools and state-funded institutions for language teaching. I did a quick search about these programs and institutions. Then I learned that it is possible to have one in our school if we meet the required number of students and find teachers to teach. I shared this with my colleagues and school administration. They liked the idea, and we made an application. An NGO helped us to have the financial support, but MoNE gave the permission. We now use our school for the weekend schools. In the beginning, I was one of the seven teachers selected to teach in the weekend school, but I do not teach now. It was the first one, but it worked well. Many students that you know speaking Turkish fluently received our language training during weekends.

The number of teachers with supportive orientation in the school is almost equal to the number of teachers in each teacher profile. Similar to the ambiguity in refugee education policy, teachers are also indecisive about whose approach and strategy is the best way to educate and accommodate refugee students in the school. However, the effectiveness of the pedagogy of the teachers with supportive orientation on refugee students' learning and social integration is better than the teachers with skeptical, indifferent, and caretaking orientation. Teachers with supportive orientation approach education as a holistic experience, resulting in academic progress and an increase in the ability of refugee students to integrate and express themselves.

Meaning-Making of Teachers' and School Staff's Approach for Relationship Development

Trust is the very first underlying cause of teachers, school staffs, and school administrations while developing relationships. It changes the degree of the relationship between the school staff and the people, but most importantly, it is the main accentuated value regarding educating refugee children. Trust influences the decisions of the teachers, school staff, and school administration. Therefore, they question (1) whom to integrate or accept in their school community, (2) what to ask for regarding improving their system, and (3) how much to request from the outsiders for improving the quality of the services that they provide for the refugee children.

The first question helps school staff decide who will be with them. The second question helps them gather ideas about how to educate refugee children. Finally, the third question helps them revise their capability of educating refugee students. They hesitate to ask the third question because once they ask the question regarding the quality of their services for educating refugee children, there is nothing that they can hide about what they do in the school. They are vulnerable at this stage because they need to talk transparently about all kinds of events happening in the schools during their attempt to educate refugee children. The information they share is a snapshot of what they as educators,

administrators, students (both local and refugee) experience in the school. Challenges that teachers experience cause some teachers to become skeptical about their instructional skills. A teacher with a skeptical orientation reports:

Hocahanım, teaching is difficult when you do not know what to do. These children (refugee children) challenge us. I am an experienced teacher with maybe over 20 years, but this kid in my classroom put me in absolute misery. I tried to help in the beginning. I gave materials. I tried to talk. I got angry and shouted at her because sometimes it helps. Nothing worked on this kid. Then I gave up. Her mother comes to school every day. She picks her up every day. Sometimes I tell myself, things might have been different if I was feeling as guilty as I feel now. However, it is too late to change something. She accepted her situation; I need to teach other kids. I sometimes think that maybe I do not know much about teaching.

Similar to what this teacher with an indifferent orientation experiences, one of the teachers with skeptical orientation complains how her strategy does not help refugee students become active in the classroom, which eventually leads her to question what she might have had wrong while trying to integrate her refugee students.

My students are a little bit different. They are talkative, but they mainly talk to each other and do not speak with the others in the classroom if they do not have any interest. It does not mean they do not like each other, but these two girls are always together. I believe it is X manipulating Y, but whatever happens, they do not listen what I tell them; they keep sticking to each other. I made them sit in different places, banned them from talking in Arabic temporarily, had group work with other kids, but my efforts were useless. I do not know where I made a mistake. Was I too strict or too soft? I am not sure, but all I know these children like to sit together and ignore others until they, actually X, has an interest.

The common point of these examples is that that teacher does not ask refugee students what they want, but prefers to apply different strategies. The number of examples similar to these cases can be augmentable, but the result is the same—that teachers fail to notice the need for the refugee children as they are focused on finding new ways to educate, integrate, or protect refugee students.

Refugee children also point out that their teachers fail to notice their demands. This issue is discussed in Chapter 5 from the perspectives of refugee children.

Concerns Affecting the Relations in the School. Developing a confidential relationship is an essential asset to begin conversations regarding refugee students' schooling experiences and trust is the key to gathering information about the real situation regarding educating refugees. At the early stage of the participant-researcher interaction, the collected data are either too general or a repetition of what the available resources have already reported. Additionally, the shared information is too negative, because school staff thinks that the outsiders use them as a data resource so that school staff does not want to participate, as the outsiders do not get involved in mutual information sharing. Teachers in the school also think that outsiders ignore their ideas or endeavors in educating refugee students as the outsiders already have prejudices about what is happening in schools.

Therefore, in this section, I explain the concerns of school staff and teachers who give similar responses to outsiders when explaining their role and responsibility in regards to educating refugees and expressing their problems, challenges, and successes while educating refugee and local children together. I support the findings with my concerns and coping mechanism in reaction to the caginess of the people in the school. This explains the why and how of the responses, the accentuated values that could be used to cope with the participants' reluctance to respond openly, and the challenges of educating refugee children.

Political Instability. Due to the escalation of refugee influx, the locals have additional political problems in their provinces. The locals' concern regarding the political instability reflects on the school system and affects the ways school community reacts to the problems. Even though the locals have the reputations with their generosity and hospitality, the number of Syrian people strains the capacity of the local community. Refugee influx causes drastic and rapid social changes in certain parts of the town and

consequently triggers shifts in the school system. As reported by one of the teachers with supportive orientation, they are aware of the political instability, and the uncertainty of the future of Syria and Turkey. As a result, teachers are concerned about how this situation affects their school and curricular activities.

If we say we do not have any anti-refugee sentiments, it will be a fanciful claim. If we also say that all refugees will return to their country, it will also be a fanciful claim. We wish them to go back to Syria; they want to get their life back. However, it was always difficult to estimate the future of this region, and it will be so in the future.

This teacher also mentioned that the political instability and unclear regulations for educating refugee children cause them to become indecisive about what should be done to educate refugee children. Teachers in the school have various opinions about the current political situation. Some believe that Syrian refugees will return to Syria if the war ends. Some teachers believe that Syrians will leave Turkey. Some teachers believe that even if Syrians want to return, they cannot because these teachers think after the war Syria will not be a country with proper living conditions; or the group, who takes control of the country, will not want these people back. A teacher with a skeptical orientation summarizes the situation and explains how not having a consensus about educating refugee children and their future cause disagreements amongst teachers.

I believe in the fact that these people will not go back so that we have to focus on preparing them for fully participating in our system. When I say my opinion, some teachers do not like it even they get angry. I am realistic. I know if the country is dangerous why you should go. You have a life here. I would be staying if I were them. However, according to them, there should be some other things. How can we do some other things? Again, with various teaching methods, we have various opinions. Our students do not have that luxury. We give education to them, and that is all. We think a lot about for Syrian children sometimes. In the end, no one gets a benefit. The only thing that we know it that we do not know what to do, but we want to know what to do. This uncertainty gives harm to our harmony in this school. On top of all the local political problems, we have this problem, and it is not okay.

Due to these different opinions, teachers' mindset on how to educate children varies. If teachers believe these children will return Syria eventually, they think there is no need to integrate them into mainstream schooling. Therefore, they support the idea of having separate institutions such as Syrian Schools or Temporary Education Centers that educate Syrian children in Arabic and with Syrian curriculum. If the teacher believes that Syrian will stay in Turkey, whatever happens, they think an intensive language program is vital to support Syrian students' language learning process. As a result of this intensive program, they believe Syrian youth learn adequate social and language skills for becoming part of the school and larger society. If teachers believe that this war will cause the end of the Syrian state, they think the education should focus on depoliticizing these children to, first, protect social fabric in Turkey, and, second, to eliminate any potential rebellious reaction amongst Syrian youth in the future.

Although all teachers agree that the de-politicization of Syrian children is important, they have varying opinions about different strategies and educational approaches for teaching the refugee students. Teachers with skeptical orientation are the ones who clearly state their idea of de-politicizing Syrian children, as they believe the situation in Syria will not get better and war will result in new small states controlled by different groups. Teachers with supportive orientation are idealists and believe that these children will return to their country and help Syria to become a better nation. Teachers with indifferent orientation and teachers with caretaking orientation do not have a clear justification for Syrians' staying in the Turkey, but they say the refugees will remain because Syrians will get used to their new life. Even though teachers' ideas are different concerning the Syrian students' future in Turkey, they all think that children should have a politics-free environment and they should not be exposed to political ideologies. A teacher with a caretaking orientation explains this unmentioned consensus based on three fundamental rights: childhood, education, and safety.

When my student first arrived at my class, I felt so emotional. I did not want to believe that human beings can be so cruel to get what they want even they know that they hurt the others. X is very special for me. I feel obliged to make him feel happy as a child and enjoy every moment of his childhood with happiness. He deserves this like the other kids. We are educators; we have to make sure that these children learn. Learn with joy. However, we are going through very difficult times. We do not feel safe sometimes. What I think in this complex situation is to help these kids stay away from this circus. They do not need to know politics. There will be a moment for them to learn politics but not when they are ten years old, 11 years old. Maybe when they are 15, they can start learning history, but not now.

The justification on their agreement that the right to be a child, be educated, and be protected varies among the four teacher categorizations, but their reliance on these fundamentals remains the same in all teachers' groups. Teachers with indifferent orientation express their opinions clearly only on the issue of politics-free education for refugee children, as they believe there is no right in incalculating political ideas without knowing how children can benefit from these conversations.

Well, Hocahanim, even we want it or not, they are here with us. We do not know when this situation will be over. All we know is that they are here, and it does not seem like they are going to survive. Therefore, we have to make sure at least they live like a human with something to eat, with dignity, and with protection. Their children should be children, not like their parents' prototype. I do not allow them to talk about their past. There is no point in making the child live the same hell repeatedly. I also do not know how to deal with it. However, everybody likes to feel happy and relaxed. These children also like it. They play with their friends—with Syrian or Turk. They go to school. That is all they need right now. If we suffocate them with so many adult things... they cannot handle this. Even adults cannot do something in this region. I do not think it is fair to teach something political to these children. So many things should be done before talking about what is happening politically in our region.

The political instability, regional tension, and refugee influx affect the schooling system directly and indirectly as highlighted by the teachers and school staff, but there is a tendency to keep the students away from the subject of politics—particularly refugee children away from the politics of refugee resettlement and the future of Syria and Turkey during and after the war. On the one hand,

teachers want to allow children to enjoy their childhood, have education, and feel protected. Yet there is tension because of a lack of clarity and direction on how to educate refugee children; teachers are not aware of the points on which they agree. This situation causes teachers to retain their ideas and decreases the chances of establishing beneficial and collaborative teaching structures. They regularly share their teaching experiences, and they are proud to tell what works for their refugee students, including how they have problems when they try new things—but this remains at a conversational level. Even though teachers may adopt each other’s instructional strategies, the way they implement that teaching strategy may vary considerably.

Unwillingness to Participate. “The current state of the refugee crisis in Turkey is literally “luring people from different institutions and countries” as declared by the school principal. School community uses the phrase “you gecen hani” meaning “a place where passengers frequently stop by and leave” to explain how frequently people visit their school. Therefore, almost everyone in the school is tired of short-term relationships that distract them from what they are doing to educate both local and refugee children. Short-term appearances and research agendas are not only interrupting classroom instruction but also causing a decrease in participants’ willingness to share the truth or provide in-depth information. Many teachers in the school complain about their feelings of being used by outsiders, but teachers with skeptical orientation adopt this viewpoint more than others do. Teachers with skeptical orientation are more outspoken about how they are tired of feeling used and how they gain nothing but a distraction because of the ongoing flow of people, who intend to research about Syrian refugee students in schools. A teacher with a skeptical orientation expresses his thoughts about how he has no faith in researchers giving back to the school.

Hocahanım, you are now telling that you are going to research on Syrian children. May Allah ease your work. Suppose you learned what you wanted to learn, we know that you go back immediately. What are you going to do with this information? God knows. However, I wonder

how we are going to learn something from this information exchange. We also want to know what we can do better with these children, but before we ask what we can do, everyone is running away. If you are one of those, please do not bother me; I have many things to do.

This reaction might have seemed like a rejection, but it is not the actual situation. Teachers with skeptical orientation refuse to be part of something that gives nothing to their community. Classroom teachers, refugee students, and local students are looking for a deeper relationship with the people visiting their school. As long as they are sure that the relationship does not make them feel as if they are being used as an information source, they are ready to cooperate. However, as reported by teachers, researchers do not communicate with them back once they get what they want to learn. This is one of the reasons for why there is only one type of information available to society. As school staff and students get used to these “unwanted visitors” as explained by their words, they either remain silent or keep repeating the same story that they tell to everyone. Mainly they report negative incidents because the media and researchers want to hear these stories as these stories get more attention in the society. Teachers are also of the opinion that researchers are into highlighting the bad or negative things. Therefore, many teachers believe that explaining to visitors what they do in the school with the limited resources available is a waste of time. A teacher with a caretaking orientation explains why they keep repeating what is already known.

We have had refugee children since almost the beginning of the crisis. Even before the crisis, we had children from Afghanistan, Iraq, and Iran. One of our colleagues also had a student from China. We are aware that we do not know much about how to educate these (foreign) children, but at least we are knowledgeable about educating children with little Turkish or no Turkish skills. Eventually, they are all children, and we are teachers. A teacher’s responsibility is to teach, isn’t it? However, no one believes this. You know they do not buy this (referring to her effort to teach something to the refugee students in her classroom). I tried to show what I am doing, but they found excuses that my case was an exception. Now I do not bother to tell more about what I am doing. I do not stop them coming and doing their work. This is also their job, but if they do not see the good or bad even I show, why would I bother myself with trying to convince them

that I care? If they notice and ask what I am doing, I will gladly share information. If not, I answer their questions as they wish to hear.

In the following weeks, some researchers come from a local university to gather information about Syrian child refugees. A teacher with an indifferent orientation also expresses similar opinions as mentioned above in reaction to how researchers come to the school with biases rather than being open to having an actual conversation with the teachers regarding educating Syrian children.

Hocahanım, you heard how they asked the question, “What are the problems with Syrian students?” and “What kind of problems do you experience?” as if we are constantly having problems at school and not having a single day with happiness and smiles on our faces. There is no need to say, “Look, this is what is happening actually beside the problem.” It is not worthwhile to talk once someone comes to the school with a bias that there are only problems. Alternatively, let’s examine the situation from this perspective; they are convinced that there are only problems. Their situation seems like the resistance of a child who refuses to learn. The more you tell them to study, the more they resist learning. You cannot teach a single word to this type of child, and for them, you cannot even make the slightest change in their mind until they are ready to change it.

These examples prove that teachers are the passive resisters. They do not cooperate until they have the desired level confidentiality between the researchers and themselves. However, these examples also indicate another aspect of teachers’ and school staff’s behaviors in developing a relationship. When they interact with outsiders, they rely on their experiences. In other words, they make a guess about the outsiders’ reasons for being in the school, and they give the required answer based on their thought about what the outsiders seek. These teachers try to respond to the researchers based on an informed guess about what they can give to the school and what they cannot. According to a teacher with a supportive orientation, this is a reciprocal solution-oriented strategy, but also an involuntary way of collaborating on a certain issue.

When people come to school, they come with a purpose. They like to get whatever they want to get and then leave. When you know what they want and what they can give back, you do not need to ask for the things they can do. Giving additional emphasis on the things within their capabilities is enough to get their help. For example, we needed a weekend school program to improve language skills of the students. When an NGO (name withheld) came to film refugee students, I kept telling them how there are problems with communication, and I also told them that there is a need to have a weekend school as MoNE allows it to open in certain locations. When they ask why, all you need to say was “financial limitations”. They were seeking a chance to put their NGO name forward; we needed to teach Turkish. It worked well, but later they decided to teach Arabic instead of Turkish as if we asked for that.

In conclusion, teachers are active and collaborative when their voices are heard and respected, but if they feel used or ignored, the information they give does not go beyond repeating the same standard response.

Hierarchy: Power Imposition. Before this fieldwork and data collection, evidence indicates that the rejection rate for researching or communicating with local and refugee students, teachers, and school staff has been high due to locals’ and the authority’s lack of trust of outsiders looking to collect information on this subject. In many circumstances, obtaining research permission takes about four months. However, apart from the trust issue, power and hierarchy play a major role in relationship development. People want to show their power over outsiders as a way to control their actions or make them follow demands without affecting the course of events within the school.

Earlier, unwillingness of people to participate in the study seemed like a regular challenge that every researcher must go through to make himself/herself accepted by the participants, but evidence shows that the dynamics of doing research on refugee children and local children has its particular difficulty because of the sense of protection and security created and maintained by the power imposition. Teachers are aware that refugee children, particularly Syrian students, require more protection than others do because the peace in their lives is a key to ensuring them keep coming to school to receive an education. Protection originated from the power imposition also helps the school

function as a peaceful place for everyone. The teachers and school staff continue to maintain instructional activities as prior to the admission of Syrian students. Therefore, teachers and school staff are more protective about who is getting in touch with Syrian children. They also have additional rules about restricting refugee children's communication with outsiders or even visitors with research permission. As one of the assistant school principals explains:

These children saw so many things that I have never seen in my military service. They are traumatized. They are still in shock. Maybe they grew up a lot faster than their peers did, but they are still children. If we let them speak with outsiders, they may not understand how we try not to evoke their (the refugee students) trauma. They (the outsiders) ask questions about what refugee students saw in Syria, what happened to their family. Then we cannot control these children. They get involved in fights, cry a lot, or stop coming to school. No offense, but we first need to make sure that visitors will not be a constant reminder of their pain... There is also a danger of malicious people circling outside the school like vultures. They want to drag these children into bad things. We also try to stop them. They think that these children can be fooled easily. We are working on proving them wrong, but as you know, there is an absence problem. As we are limited in keeping these children school, we at least try to keep them safe here, in the school, through restricting their communication with others.

School administration and teachers use different forms of power such as authoritative, coercive and contractual power. Restricting children's communication with others is one of the examples of using authoritative power. School principals also have several other discipline strategies to keep refugee children and their emotional breakouts under controls. They also use their authoritative power to make sure that visitors can be stopped regarding communicating with people and having access to particular types of information. One of the assistant school principals' explanations regarding how authoritative power is necessary to control the degree of the relationship between people in the school and visitors.

Whatever happens, we intentionally try to put distance between the visitors and us. As an assistant school principal, I try to have an emotionless face when children are coming in and out the school because there should be something that helps them discipline themselves. We do the same thing when we first have visitors. This is important because if they are hiding something

from us, our attitude may make them feel excluded and eventually cause them to reveal what they are hiding. It could simply prevent them from doing the wrong thing, as they are not certain about our reaction. As you understand, we like to have the control in our hands. If we want, we get close, and if we do not, we keep the person excluded by reminding them of the hierarchy.

The above quote is evidence that the school is extra-cautious about protecting refugee children. The school adopts this approach, first, to ensure stability in the school, and second, to protect all children from possible post-trauma stress or harm from outsiders. School administration mostly uses authoritative power to have control over who is allowed to be in the school and to interact with the people including students. The other type of power used by the school administration is contractual power because of research permission: researchers must be in a contractual relationship. However, the two parties (school and researcher) are not acutely aware of what responsibilities are in the contract. Only the school principal and the other members of the school administration are aware of the responsibilities of outsiders. Therefore, the hierarchy and the authority figures' responses to different situations are unpredictable.

The expectation of the school is not clear, but depending on multiple factors, outsiders are expected to do what the research permission binds them to, including fulfill certain requests. Teachers in the school also have similar contractual relationships. When they allow someone to observe their classroom, they negotiate about how both parties should act. However, this contractual agreement does not bind the people as research permission does. It is more like an agreement between researcher and teachers about how to continue their relationship while the research is taking place. Even though the situation seems like a reciprocal agreement, power imbalances affect the roles and the level of responsibilities. The more a researcher stays in the school results in more interaction with refugee students, their teachers, and the school administration. This natural increase of interaction with the

participants, consequently, results an increase of teaching responsibility, taking care of the personal matters of refugee students that cause them have absenteeism, dealing more with bureaucratic procedures regarding policies for educating and accommodating refugee students, and informing school staff about the changes in refugee education and resettlement policies.

In the case of breaking the terms of contractual power, school administration and teachers use coercive power. However, the coercive actions do not cause rapid finalization of relationship in the school, but result in a slowdown of planned activities or responses to the emerging needs during interaction with the participants. For example, teachers will refuse to allow refugee children to have an interview as planned but choose a time that would conflict with other plans. School administrators become reluctant to share curriculum materials and updated documents that explain relations on refugee education on time. However, once contractual terms are fulfilled, school administration and staff including teachers softly apologize for any inconveniences, and the routines established in earlier situations continue at a regular pace. An example of coercive powers used by teachers with caretaking orientation who refuse to allow me to continue extra reading sessions with a refugee student is provided to clarify the fact that the violation of unofficial contracts results in a suspension of research activities.

Hocahanım, last time when you asked me to come to class, I had a sudden change in my plan. I recalled that I had to read the test results. Actually, I still have time, but reading with X requires more time. You know, these students need more attention than others do as they fall behind others. Maybe some arrangements can be made, but right now, I am not sure how to do so. Until I figure out how to help her and continue my other responsibilities. Can you come on Thursdays every two weeks?

Breaking terms of unofficial contracts can be solved by simply accepting the original contractual terms. Similar to the case above, other cases are solved by following the regulations on the official and unofficial contracts even though the terms are ambiguous for the outsiders. The outsider has a chance

to become a member of the school and have access to all sorts of activities in the school including instructional and administrative activities until the outsiders agree to follow the rules of the school community.

Using Accentuated Values in the School as Mechanisms for Coping with the Challenges. As in all school systems, school administrators, teachers, and students rely on some values in developing relationships. These values are transparency and honesty; determinism and commitment, and respecting authority. These values help people have healthy relationships and cope with challenges in the case of conflict or rapid policy changes that require alterations in regularly scheduled school activities. The following sections explain the usage of these accentuated values in the school as a mechanism to cope with challenges. The following sections also show the connection between the concerns affecting relations in school and accentuated values as a way to deal with the challenges.

Depending on which group is the focus of interaction, the usage of terms changes, but the definition of the conditions remains the same. For example, transparency and honesty have the same definition, which means being open and honest while keeping promises and not having a hidden agenda. However, school staff defines the same concept as being transparent, and students call it honesty. Determinism (term used by adult participants) and commitment (term used by students) mean being determined and committed to responsibilities while being persistence when carrying out those responsibilities. The last value, which is approving authority, is valid and the same for all groups of participants, and it means approval of the authority figure during the decision-making process. However, the concept of approving authority does not necessarily conflict with an individuals' way of living and decision-making process when the surrounding situations are under control, especially when the individual shows expected respect to the person, who is in a higher social, charismatic, or administrative position at the school. This hierarchical relationship is between teachers and students,

experienced and new teachers, school administrators and teachers, experienced refugee students and new refugee students, local students and new refugee students, and popular students (local or refugee) and unpopular students.

Transparency and Honesty. In politically unstable environments, people have trust issues. They feel suspicious about the actions of others around them. Teachers in the school also have trust problems as do people in their neighborhoods. The constant challenges and conflicts in the region affect their behaviors and their ways of developing relationships with others. Even though they are in a highly politicized region, the tendency among teachers is not to involve themselves in political discussions in order not to reveal their true political opinions.

Teachers have different political views and ideology preferences, but they do not share the same ideas about educating and accommodating refugee children even if they share the same political interests and ideological mindset. Teachers with different opinions may support the same teaching and adaptation strategies for refugee students. Therefore, they are grouped based on their pedagogical inclination and behavior manifestation in educating refugee children with particular educational approaches. They discuss educational issues in the school, but they avoid discussing political issues and criticizing particular policy makers and leaders that may potentially uncloak their political preference. However, they are aware of their political opinions so that they want to know the political views of the others as they naturally know who has which political views. A teacher with a supportive orientation describes the strategies they use to learn about each other.

Hocahanım, when a new person is visiting our school, we observe him a lot and then talk to him about who that person is, what they do, what they want from our school and us, and whether they are a good or bad person. It seems like a friendly approach, well actually, it is, but it is also a way to know people. I recommend you to do the same thing. Offer a tea and ask some simple question that potentially makes a person a person. If that person does not hesitate to share, does not cause doubt while speaking, is an earnest being, and likes to work, I do not expect

harm from them. However, I still look for some other evidence to trust them enough to let that person interact with my students. For example, getting on well with the children with appropriate manners is a plus.

School administration and school staff want to know the political opinion of outsiders. A teacher with a caretaking orientation explains the importance of being transparent about political views in order to eliminate future problems and false impressions of people.

In this school, everyone has a different political background. That is why you see different brochures of various unions. Nobody needs to talk about his or her political interests, but we understand individual political opinions union preferences. Does it really affect our collaboration in the school? I will say no because we all want to educate the kids. Especially with refugee kids, we have many problems to deal with... We do not think who is who. However, it is important to know the visitor's political opinion. How can be sure that they share good intentions? There were some cases in the past. Some people came and acted as if they are part of political party A and then B if they realized the political opinion of the teacher. No one wanted to talk to them about Syrian students. We even did not want to learn their real opinions. They were not reliable and trustable.

Being transparent is important not only for teachers but also for students. They always want to know why outsiders ask a question or why certain students are chosen to be interviewed. If they do not appreciate the answer or find it inadequate, they say "Don't lie to me; I do not believe what you say; is it really like you explain it to be; or what if it does not happen as you say?" The tone of their questioning varies, but local and refugee students all want to be sure that the person that they interact with is honest and trustable.

As the trust, transparency, and honesty are vital concepts to have better relationships in the school, this situation gives a sense that people in the school will not be welcoming. They, on the contrary, are very welcoming; in a sense, they are unbiased. They vocalize their experiences with the people as a warning to behave well rather than to refuse people. Everyone in the school tries to ensure

that the visitors or outsiders do not negatively affect the dynamics of their lives and relationships in school.

As mentioned earlier, the relationship with school staff and teachers are hierarchical so that people in the school pay attention for maintaining a balanced relationship with the people below their power level or visitors in the school. Even the expectation is to protect the hierarchical distance; they also seek to have a sincere relationship. Therefore, professionalism does not always work to get in-depth information about refugee education policies and practices. School principal explains that the balance can only be maintained with honesty while educating refugee children, as the regulations are not clear.

Hocahanım, as you know, we do not know much about educating Syrian students. Some of our teachers are good because they worked in eastern Turkey with Kurdish and Arabic students who did not know any Turkish. However, many of them do not know. If we do not know what they want to do, or how they do with Syrian students, we cannot control the school structure. There will be some indiscipline. If we had a clear regulation about these children and their education, everything would be easy, but now we need to know the truth of the successful teachers and also from the ineffective teachers. Particularly, knowing about ineffective teachers is critical because we learn what we should not do. Therefore, we also need to know what they do here so that we learn from others actions in the school. Here we are like a family. We do not have many official habits, but respect to each other.

As indicated in the above quote, there are few official routines in the school, and respect shapes the way people behave to each other. The metaphor of “being like a family” in a traditional sense well explains the situation in the school. If we consider people in higher positions as the parents of the family, the others are children. Children love their parents, yet they are expected to show respect to their elders. As in a family, family members are close to each other and know each other well. As a result, mistakes in the school often do not lead to official sanctions, but they are the equivalent of disappointments because the response of people to the coercive actions involves emotional reactions.

Earlier, the rejection rate to participate in research was higher than the turnout. As the individuals in the school begin trusting the spontaneity of honesty and transparency displayed, the ratio of rejection and participation has a reserve situation. The reason for an increase in the participation ratio is related to two reasons. First, teachers in the school begin knowing the reasons for researchers to be in the school. Second, they observe researchers as they communicate with the local and refugee students. Therefore, the more time spent together with the teaching staff and local and refugee students leads to more opportunities to collect enriched data. Indirectly, this situation allows an outsider to see different dynamics of the refugee education and protection model used in schools, and gather insightful evidence about the implementation of the model and refugee education discourses in the school.

Determination and Commitment. Patience and active listening are required in order for teachers, and refugee and local students to speak openly about their experiences. The data collected during the first month of classroom observation does not include detailed explanations about classroom dynamics. There was passive resistance amongst the teachers during my first interactions. School staff and the administration welcomed me to the school and teachers' lounge. However, establishing a background for conversations to understand teachers' motivations and strategies to educate Syrian children took about a month. In the data, classroom behavior and instructional activities seem normal, with minor problems such as refugee students being warned to focus, local children being reminded that refugee children may need special attention, and various visual aids being used to supplement instruction in the classroom. Even though visits were allowed as part of research permits, teachers were reluctant to completely open up their classrooms. In other words, they are careful when they invite outsiders to come and which lessons may be observed. During the first month, observation notes mostly included records about reading hours, test practicing, or lecture style lessons. In the following months, there was a gradual increase in teachers' willingness to allow classroom observations and extracurricular

activities in their classrooms as a result of patiently waiting for them to feel comfortable with the idea of being part of a research study.

The pattern in the data analysis also shows that ways to break teacher resistance to outside observation and interaction in the classroom is related to what degree their conditions are understood and their stories are heard. Once they are heard, they begin to show their willingness to explain what actually happens in their classroom. As a teacher with a supportive orientation explains in an earlier quote, there are requirements for outsiders to be accepted as part of the school community, such as getting on well with the children, honesty, patience, active listening, appropriate manners, and showing consistency with the preferred political opinion. An outsider should have these qualifications, but the fundamental requirements are determinism and commitment. As teachers and school administrators have trust issues and concerns about regional political instability, being involved in the school community takes time. The school community also has tests that one must pass to persuade the members of the school community that accepting the new person creates no risk to their school structure. A teacher with a skeptical orientation explains the impact of determinism and commitment on changing teacher and staff ideas about accepting new people in the school community.

Diligence and commitment show one's determination to do something. If a person likes to do their work, you can tell that person is loyal and trustable. It, of course, involves stubbornness. How great (Mashallah) Hocahanım! You are stubborn, too. You never stop explaining what you want to do and how you want to do. You are here all day. This is a commitment. Years ago a girl like you came here for research. She was studying something like drama. She was also like you. She worked hard and kept her promises. God willing (Inshallah) you also keep your promises when you observe us and collect your data.

Determination and hard work are appreciated, but they are not enough to persuade the school community to be sincere and willing to share information. People can get accurate information on the condition of offering help to the school community. School staff has an expectation from the outsiders

to be willing to help. For example, whoever offers help to teachers with the refugee students' learning should fulfill his or her promises; otherwise, teachers have trouble with their refugee students. Refugee students resist learning and following the school discipline codes when they feel ignored and left out. A teacher with a caretaking orientation explains his refugee student X's behavior as a reaction to my missing the student's performance:

Teacher with a caretaking orientation: Hocahanım, why did not you come to X's performance in the classroom last Thursday. He prepared a lot for it.

Me: Which performance?

Teacher with a caretaking orientation: The one in which he dressed up like a rooster and sang?

Me: I did not know that he was performing.

Teacher with a caretaking orientation: He told me that he asked you to come.

Me: No, he told me something about roosters and a song.

Teacher with a caretaking orientation: So he did not explain it well. Hocahanım, whatever. He really needs to hear it from you that you did not understand him. After that day, I could not get him to participate in anything. He was heart-broken, I guess. He is also not attending classes. He comes in the first hour and then skips the other ones, and then comes again. I can't find him in the school.

Me: Okay, Hocam. I take care of this as my priority now. I'll find him and explain why I did not come to his show.

In this case, it took about two hours to convince X that there was a misunderstanding, and that was why I did not see his show. The language barrier was another reason for such a long conversation to explain why I did not attend his performance. Once he was fully convinced that I was not ignoring him but missed it due to a misunderstanding, he returned to his normal behavior. There are a considerable number of other similar examples of communication problems leading to misunderstandings because of the language barrier. As the refugees are so young, as with all students at this level, they perceive themselves as the center of attention, but they react differently than their local peers when someone makes a conscious or unconscious mistake in fulfilling their commitment. One of the reasons relates to the degree of trust and relationship. The refugee students develop their relationships slowly due to past trauma experiences and trust issues, and then once a relationship is established, they have higher

expectations than other students do. As a result, in any unexpected incident, their emotional reactions are stronger than their local peers are.

As teachers are aware of this situation, they try to keep their promises small when it comes to dealing with refugee students' demands in and outside the classroom. The teachers are loyal to the promises that they give but are careful to set limits with the refugee children in order to keep the demand and commitment situation under control. A teacher with a supportive orientation explains the times and conditions that she promises to fulfill the refugee students' demands of her.

Sometimes controlling refugee students is difficult. They keep asking to do different things. Sometimes they want to play outside, sometimes they want to read rather than do the math, and sometimes I do not know what they want, but they resist. I do have two strategies if the demand is small like having physical education lesson in the next hour. I say yes but tell them that it is only possible in the fifth hour on the condition of following the classroom activities. Alternatively, I reject their insistence on doing some other things through advising them to take their peer as their role-models. I tell them "Look Ayşe (a random name used during the conversation) does not want to go out because she likes to study Math and I like her as she behaves like this." This keeps them under control for a while. Then I surprise them with some other gifts or surprises when they act like the one that I show as a role model. If they do not follow any of my words, I ignore them. They don't like being ignored more than other students do.

In conclusion, determinism and commitment are mainly used in educating or dealing with refugees to persuade people to be open, to maintain the discipline, to continue classroom activities, and to remind the necessity of patience while one tries to become part of the school community.

Approving Authority. Approving authority is essential in educating and disciplining refugee students during conflict situations such as refugee students' resistance to enter the classroom, fights among refugee students or between refugee and local students, and refugee parents' behaviors that interrupt the refugee students' education. Authority approval is not an expected value in every circumstance, it is particularly used by the school administration or teachers to teach certain aspects of

school cultures to refugee students as refugee students do not have adequate school culture due to their interrupted education, trauma experiences, or simply because of differences between Syrian and Turkish schools.

Teachers expect their refugee students to become independent as they gain more experiences and have more interaction with their classmates and school staff. However, they also want their students to learn different forms of power that they can experience different forms of authority figures. Teachers believe that refugee students get to learn social skills better when they understand what kind of authority figures should be taken into consideration. A teacher with a caretaking orientation explains the possible type of relationship that may cause power issues in refugee students' experiences. She also describes how personal characteristics can be perceived as power and affect the personal and social development of refugee students.

In school, students learn so many things about life such as how to behave, whom to talk to, who they are as well as learning their lessons. They learn who has more power and who has less power when they see a relationship between a teacher and principal. They learn how to behave from their peers. Refugee students had to learn so many social values again. You know, being a good student and a bad student is a different thing in different places. Some children are popular, and their peers do not really favor some of them. They learn many different things about human interaction and charm. Some Syrian students have a natural attractiveness—life is easy for them, but the shy ones are not lucky. I help them, but I try not to interfere when they are making friends. It is a way to teach how to cope with challenges of making a friend.

This teacher explains that refugee students with charismatic power make friends easily amongst their classmates due to their individual characteristics. As she indicates in the quote, some refugee students have charismatic control over their local and refugee classmates, and some do not have this natural charm. However, the observation of refugee student shows that as long as refugee students are aware that approving their charismatic peer helps them to be accepted by the other students in the school, the frequency of having challenges in the school decreases. Similar results are observed when

refugee students approve their teachers and school principal during conflict situations. As long as they follow the discipline codes during conflicts, individual differences are welcomed, or more opportunities are gained in order to negotiate their needs in the school.

Approving authority is also important for outsiders as authority figures seek to understand whether the outsiders' involvement is a threat to their ongoing instructional activities. As long as the outsider follows the suggestions of the school authorities when a problem occurs, they are allowed to do their planned activities in the school. In other words, the concept of authority is not for restricting visitors or refugee students' actions or freedom in the school, but for eliminating further disciplinary problems. Members of the school community are allowed to enjoy their way of living and participate in decision-making processes when the surrounding situations are under control, and when they are respectful to people of higher social, charismatic, or administrative positions in the school.

Teachers' Challenges of Educating Refugee Children

Teachers and school staff have difficulties implementing their ideas about education and protection policies for the refugee students. The main challenges are anti-refugee sentiments, the language barrier, lack of appropriate educational material, and lack of knowledge concerning refugee education policies, refugee students' living conditions, and their emotional state. The number of challenges increases when the experience of each refugee students and their teachers' experiences in the school are taken into consideration. The following sections explain the school communities' challenges, including reflections on educational practices and, consequently, the quality of refugee education in the school.

Anti-Refugee Sentiments in the Local Community. The outdoor play area has three groups of parents, mainly mothers, talking about daily routines and their children's academic achievements

including test results. Many of these parents are classroom representatives of the parent-teacher association. The parents speak three major languages: Turkish, Arabic and Persian. Turkish is the local language, Arabic is the language of the Syrian and Iraqi parents, and Persian is used among the Iranian and Afghan parents. Due to language barriers, parents communicate with the others who speak the same language or are from the same country of origin. Parents have biases about the other parents from different countries. As many of the local parents are uneducated or have few interactions with the international community, they have negative reactions towards the people from other countries. They generally report what they hear from others and the media. Local parents mainly mention that refugee parents and students are aggressive with a tendency towards violence, lack adequate hygiene, and achieve less academically, causing their children to be ranked below what their children's classroom rank should be.

Few of the families actually reported real negative experiences with the refugee and immigrant communities. When these parents share their negative experiences, the degree of the situation varies depending on the educational and socio-economic levels of the local and refugee parents. The less educated the parents are, the more aggressive behaviors they show. The arguments between parents affect their children's attitudes in the school. If the family is against the integration of refugee students in the school, their children also have arguments with their refugee classmates or the other refugee children in other classrooms during break time. Occasionally, some local students, whose parents are less educated or have financial difficulties, get on well with their refugee classmates because the other local children also exclude these local students. Therefore, these local children become friends with the refugee children, who are already excluded or unable to communicate with the other students due to language barriers. These local children often mention that their parents do not like Syrian refugees, as they are beggars in the street, the reason for increased unemployment rates, and a burden to society. When the students are interviewed, they are asked whether they agree with their parents. Their verbal

response shows that they neither agree nor disagree with their parents. However, their body language manifests that they disregard their parents' perspectives of Syrian refugees. The data includes more examples about the local students' perspectives of Syrian students and the degree of their relationships, but the conversation below between one of the local students, who is one of the least favorite students in his classroom, is a better example to exemplify how some local children disregard their parents' thoughts about Syrian refugees in the society.

Me: Do you have a friend who is Syrian?

LS: Yes, I have. X (name of the Syrian student)

Me: Very good. Can we talk about the time that she first came to your classroom?

LS: Teacher told us that she would be in our classroom. He told us that she is Syrian, and he said to be good to her.

Me: Is that because you are friends with her?

LS: I don't know (OC: He said "I don't know" as if he was trying to hide something.)

Me: Do you want to talk about it more? Alternatively, if you want, you can tell me some other things.

LS: X is nice. She is not like others in the classroom. I teach her how to read. We draw pictures together and play together.

Me: What do you play?

LS: My mom told me not to play with Syrians. (He continued to explain more as if he did not hear what I asked him. He also had a sense of guilt in his voice.) But, I play. She is nice. She does not talk much, but she draws good pictures. I have crayons.

Me: Did your mom tell you not to play with her, as she does not speak much?

LS: No, she said they are bad people. They go out into the street and beg for money. She said my uncle also couldn't work because of them.

Me: Is that so? (OC: I asked this to check whether he also thinks the same as his family thinks.)

LS: I don't know. X gives me papers and many pictures. She also takes my crayons and takes them home with her. But she brings them back the next day.

Me: Did you tell your mom that you have a Syrian friend and that you are good friends?

LS: She does not ask. She asks how my day was. I say, "It was good."

Me: So you do not agree with your parents because X is your friend.

LS: X is nice. She is my friend. (He was shrugging his shoulders as if he was saying "I don't know," but his body language also showed that he did not care about his mom's thoughts. He paused and stayed quite.)

Me: I see, let's talk about your drawings (I stopped the conversation about X and his parents' thoughts about Syrians in order not to stress him).

Despite negative comments, many of the local parents are genuinely interested in interacting with refugee and immigrant parents, because local parents who have friendships with refugee and

immigrant parents earn the respect of other parents, as they are perceived as benefactors or friendly people. Therefore, these local parents often serve as a bridge between refugee parents and local parents. However, there is not enough evidence to explain whether the parents approach refugee families to help and as a result earn social respect, or they interact with the refugee families because they know they get a better social reputation in return for helping refugee families.

Whatever the motivation of the parents is, these parents positively contribute to the adaptation of the refugee students in the school and decrease the negative impact of anti-refugee sentiments on the schooling experiences of local and refugee children. A teacher with a caretaking orientation explains that the head of the parent-teacher association, in other words, *sinif annesi* (In Turkish the literal translation is “Classroom Mother” or “Mother of the classroom”) can potentially change the way parents think about Syrian students in the school. There are rare instances where men take the role of *sinif annesi*, but usually, women carry out this responsibility: to help the classroom teacher with fundraising, the purchase of necessary equipment that is not listed in MoNE’s budget for the class, and extra-curricular activity preparation. The following quote from the interview of a teacher with a caretaking orientation interview explains the influence of the head of parent-teacher association on changing the negative refugee-related discourses amongst the local parents.

Hocahanım, our head of the parent-teacher association is very active. She provides all sorts of help and coordinates everyone. She is also the one that helps X and his family. When he first came to our classroom, almost all parents visited me and complained that X would cause our classroom achievement levels to go down in the local exam. I told them that X is not taking the exam as the other students, but they still said the same thing. The head of the parent-teacher association was also aware of what the other parents were thinking. She first talked to the parents about being empathetic and then started an aid campaign to help X and his family. Anytime they had some food or furniture; she asked a parent to take the items to X’s home. Almost all parents with cars saw X’s house. They had a chance to meet with his parents. When parents start feeling okay about Syrians, their children’s attitudes change as well. However, in the beginning, some children were really a problem for me.

The head of the parent-teacher association is helpful in indirectly decreasing the impact of anti-refugee sentiments in classrooms. However, the school is not free of anti-refugee sentiments due to the continuation of some teachers' and local parents' perceptions of Syrians and Syrian refugee children. When local parents think about Syrian as a community, they consider Syrians to be a problem in the community. However, their feelings and attitudes for Syrian refugees change when they individually interact with the members of that community. In other words, local parents and some teachers in the school behave differently when they personally know some Syrians, yet they alienate those personal acquaintances from the rest of the Syrian community by saying "A is different from the others", "B is such a hardworking and kind student", "C's parent are not like others, they care about their children's future." The locals and teachers' alienation does not change even they experience or observe negative or inappropriate behaviors with the Syrian people they know. In these circumstances, their comments are shaped by "they-are-hopeless-and-despair" discourses, and they mainly defend the people they know by saying "A is aggressive, but she had war-related trauma", "B has socially unacceptable behaviors, but they are getting less and less when he learns proper social expectations", "C cannot learn as easily as his peers, but he has so many things to worry about". Therefore, the anti-refugee sentiments in the local community have negative macro reactions against the Syrian community, but also positive micro-level protection for the individuals in the community.

Some parents are against the idea of letting refugee children study in the school without having legal documents. These people also do not support the idea of Syrian and local students studying together even though the refugee families obtain temporary ID cards because of the refugee students' limited academic and language skills. However, parents who are aware of the school's increasing multicultural character are protecting the social fabric of the school by not letting the negatively opinionated people speak about Syrians and the international community. Similar to the local parents whose children are in the classroom of the teacher with a caretaking orientation, the parents whose

children are in the classroom of a teacher with a supportive orientation have also reacted to the presence of refugee students at the school. A teacher with a supportive orientation with two Syrian students in his classroom reported that the head of their parent-teacher association stopped other parents from talking about how Syrian refugee children cause a decrease in test scores.

I haven't come across an extreme situation regarding parents' objecting to the presence of Syrian students. This is because X and Y were adorable and hardworking children. Our head of the parent-teacher association coordinated a small-scale campaign to meet their needs such as food for their home, giving furniture for their home, clothing, and school supplies. For a while, I thought they (the parents) easily accepted these children. However, once the local exam results were announced, some parents came and talked to me about their concerns for the decrease in the school success rate. I was surprised that they waited such a long time to share their ideas with me. Later I realized that the rest of the parents suppressed the negative talks among themselves during their official and personal meetings: a kind of neighborhood pressure. My parents were very open-minded in general. Now, everyone embraces them and feels that X, Y, and their parents are part of the community.

In this particular teacher's classroom, many aspects of his teaching and behaviors can be shown as examples to the rest of the school. He has good-tempered and hardworking refugee students; they are sisters, their parents are educated, and this Syrian family has managed to overcome their war-torn experiences and build a new life in Turkey surrounded by good people. However, some of the refugee students are not as lucky as these sisters are. For example, X is a Syrian student with war and family traumas in the classroom of a teacher with an indifferent orientation. Her life continues to fall to pieces even after coming to Turkey. Her mother and father have difficulty coping with their war-related traumas, and eventually, their marriage ended after the mother left home. Her father remarried another Syrian woman, but X's still reflects his traumatic experiences and still struggles to go over these experiences so that he treats his children badly at home. X has difficulty controlling her behavior in the classroom. She is not able to complete her tasks not because of lacking academic and language skills but because of not being able to focus. Her teacher has successfully taught Turkish to the other two Syrian

children, but X is so much behind her peers because she does not complete any homework given to her. She receives one-to-one tutoring with the counseling services (counseling services also provide tutorial services for the children at risk or underachievers during office hours) as well as counseling support. Nonetheless, there has been no improvement in her behavior, and eventually, the other students in the school stigmatized her. She continues to take her peers' school supplies without permission, gets in fights with both Syrian and Turkish students, and is distractive during classroom activities. In conclusion, X is first, a Syrian student, then a student at the school. However, her other classmates from Syria are protected and favored by the school and the local community.

The school community is aware of X's situation, and almost every week there is a complaint about her behavior. Students and parents are beginning their complaints by saying "we are fed up dealing with X's misbehavior" and ending with "Poor X has difficult things (in her life) so that we can't blame her." To a certain point, complaints about X's behaviors have reached a point so that the school discipline board has to make a decision about sending her to one of the temporary schools for Syrian students as they believe she might get on well with other students who share her nationality. However, quite unexpectedly, her peers are unhappy with the idea of sending her to another school. Her classmates shared this news with their families, and some of the families came to talk with the classroom teacher about giving her another chance. When parents stepped in to help X, they inhibited negative talks about her by emphasizing that she is only a child. Although parents are conscious about how X is a problem for the continuation of the instructional activities as reported by other students and the teacher, they accept X because she is a member of the classroom.

X's case is one of the examples of how anti-refugee sentiments are affecting the ongoing instructional activities and routines at the school. Local parents have a concern about Syrian refugee children being in the school, but they also want to be involved in helping Syrian students as they have

personal relationships with these children. The locals do not act inclusively towards the refugee students until they realize that their actions can negatively influence the children's future. The locals talk negatively about Syrians and are involved in collective actions that influence the quality of refugee education. However, when they realize that their actions harm individuals, they change their discourse and become tolerant to Syrian children's presence in the school. Teachers and school administration do not find these rapid behavioral changes confusing; they consider them as acts to eliminate a "guilty conscience."

Language Barrier. Most of the refugee children know how to read and write in Turkish, but they lack comprehension and speaking skills, so the teachers assume that most of them can understand their instructions. Syrian children utilize various strategies in order to be perceived as knowing the language and understanding conversations. One of these strategies is overly using statements that teachers like and responding in ways such as, "My teacher, can you repeat what you said? I copied the text to my notebook. "Is this correct? Did I do it correctly?" because refugee students are aware that their teachers' responses are either, "Yes, well done!" or "No, pay attention to this section." Additionally, the students also remain silent most of the time in the classroom to avoid getting involved in the ongoing classroom conversation. This situation continues until a real emergency occurs, and then teachers notice the actual degree of the Syrian students' language skills. However, a teacher with a supportive orientation explains that in this circumstance, helping these children is difficult as the teacher spends most of their time teaching some other things other than meeting the real needs of these children.

I have our students, and there of them are fine, but I had a problem with the fourth one, X, because for a long time, maybe 3 months, I thought he knew Turkish. However, it turned out that he did not know Turkish. I needed a translator from Arabic to Turkish because the other Syrian students did not come to school. I needed his help to figure out what was wrong with X, Y, and Z. X was all the time silent but asking some questions about his work so that I never understood that he did not know Turkish. I asked X to translate Y and Z's parents' words for me. X spoke to them in Arabic, but he began feeling stressed and ready to cry when X could not

translate the conversation. I told him to go as if I understood the situation and asked W-a refugee student from the other classroom- to come and translate. Now I do not know what to do with X. I do not know whether he learns something or not. He definitely should have learned some Turkish by now because the others have learned Turkish in the same amount of time, but this has been too much time. Now X is going to be in the third grade. I do not know how he will follow his lessons. I hope he learns Turkish from his friends in his neighborhood during the summer holiday.

Syrian students' with reading skills but without language comprehension skills are an obstacle for the teachers. Teachers think progress has been made once the child learns to read and write, but the Syrian students' academic development does not improve as swiftly as expected. A teacher with a skeptical orientation makes a comparison between Syrian students' reading and writing in Turkish and Turkish people's way of learning how to read Arabic in order to read the Qur'an, as both groups lack comprehension skills.

We have some individuals who read Qur'an fluently. Give them an Arabic text; they have no difficulty sounding out the words. However, if you ask them what the text says, they cannot explain. These children's situation is the same. They read without understanding. I do not see any benefit in reading a language. When you read Qur'an, you feel like praying, but education requires more than that. Ministry of National Education should find a solution for this situation.

Language teaching that focuses solely on reading and writing is not teachers' pedagogical decision, but a situation is originating from the teachers' responsibility to follow the national curriculum. According to the national curriculum's reading objectives, students should be able to recognize letters, know their sounds, and pronounce the words, followed by improving writing skills and reading sentences, passages, and books. When a student understands the language, there is no problem with these objectives. However, problems occur when a child lacks an understanding of the meaning of the words and sentences. Teachers are not trained to teach the Turkish language but to teach reading and writing. When teachers of refugee students with good general language skills are asked the reasons for

their successful language teaching, their answers are not different from those who follow the national curriculum objectives. However, the difference occurs because of the classroom dynamic. Syrian students with advanced language skills have advanced social skills and receive maximum support from their peers and teachers. They are not only involved in classroom activities but also a part of the classroom and school community. Evidence from observation notes shows that interaction and support are necessary to help these children develop advanced language skills. For example, in the classroom of a teacher with a supportive orientation, refugee students receive equal chances to participate in classroom activities. In this classroom, the teacher supports refugee students' learning by asking questions and demonstrating how a math problem about measurement should be solved. During the conversation, the local students also help their refugee classmate when she has difficulty in understanding the teacher's instruction. In another classroom of a teacher with a skeptical orientation, two refugee students support their own learning on ordinal numbers. The teacher gives the instructions and explains what the ordinal numbers are, and then these students help each by asking questions similar to how their teacher explained it to them, as observed in the following:

A: "What do we say if someone comes to the finish line as the winner?"

B: First.

A: After that?

B: Second.

A: Okay, let's go to the board (the students begin raising their hands)

B: One, two, three, four, five, and six... (He counts the number of students who raised their hands for giving the answer)

A: You are the sixth. The others had raised their hand before you did.

B: Teacher is saying "in this case" (he gets excited when he heard the teacher saying in this case).

A: (interrupting teacher's talk) In this case, we do not have the math class, and the class is over.

Other students: No, it means the teacher is thinking. The class is not over.

As the example demonstrates, refugee students improve their communication skills and correct their speaking and comprehension mistakes with the help of their teachers, the other refugee students,

and the local students. However, refugee students have many misunderstandings. The language barrier is the primary cause of miscommunication between refugee students and their teachers, classmates, and others in the school. Most arguments and fights between local and refugee students are caused by misunderstandings. The conversation below between a refugee student, a local student, and their teacher exemplifies that a misunderstanding can also cause a fistfight between local and refugee students.

T: Tell me what happened. Why did you hit each other?

R: My teacher, he (the local classmate) told me not to play, but I said that I wanted to play. Then he said okay, but he made me wait until somebody caught the next ball. I told X to catch, and he did, but they also took him out the game.

L: But my teacher, I told him that they needed someone to catch the ball in the air. The ball touched the ground. If you touch the ball like (He hit the ball to the floor) that it means you are out. They did not believe us.

R: You are lying. We wanted to play, but you did not want us to play.

L: My teacher, I swear I did not want them not to play. But they were out. If they kept playing, the others would do the same.

T: Now, you need to apologize to each other. I will not hear anything like this. Next time we will play together, and I will show you how to play the game. (Teacher turning to refugee student) X, you clearly did not understand what your friend explained. You can only have an extra life if one of your teammates catches the ball in the air like this (showing what it means to catch the ball in the air). If it touches you like this (teacher touching the ball to the ground and touching it to refugee student), this means you are out.

R: Ooooh (a big surprised reaction).

T: Now you become “siblings” (literal translation from the Turkish “Kardeş”) again. (This means that students should say sorry and become friends with no problem. They should forgive each other as they forgive their own brothers and sisters)

Teachers also complain that refugee children misbehave in the classroom when they do not understand classroom instructions. Their boredom, due to not understanding, causes them to do something else other than properly participate. If they are interested in participating yet lack communication skills, they tend to ask too many questions, and as a result, teachers are stressed, and their peers get bored because of a large number of simple questions. This situation leads to classroom

management problems because when local students feel bored or excluded from the conversation, they misbehave. A teacher with a caretaking orientation explains classroom management problems that arise when attempting to meet the needs of both local and refugee children.

Sometimes they turn the class into a carnival stage. I can't control the students. Refugee children want to do simple things that they are used to doing or feel confident doing. Local children want to do new things, as they get bored from repeating what I've done in the previous days for the refugee children. If I do not respond to their (the refugee students') needs, they feel excluded and react emotionally. For example, they put their heads on the desk and refuse to talk or create noise by tapping their feet, or keep reacting by saying "Ya, of or aman," (vocal reactions with no verbal meaning but an intonation showing the degree of one's emotions).

Teachers try to apply new strategies to eliminate problems due to language barriers, but other problems slow down the ability of the teachers to meet the language needs of the refugee students such as having inadequate access to appropriate language-teaching materials, limited time dedicated to teaching Turkish to the students, and the grammar differences between Arabic and Turkish.

Lack of Appropriate Material and Space Deficiency. Teachers focus on teaching Turkish to refugee students. However, the available materials are designed to teach reading and writing to students who understand and speak Turkish. Regardless of the age or grade level of the refugee students, all of them learn Turkish using the same material. Figure 8 is the cover page of the book used to teach Turkish.

The school has refugee students from grades 1 to 4. There are 66 refugee students in grades 2, 3, and 4, and there are 74 refugee students in grade 1. There are enough free schoolbooks for all students in grade 1, but some refugee students in other grades cannot have the same book due to the lack of resources. If their teachers are interested in providing materials, they can go to the supply room and search for reading books or seek resources outside the school that will help refugee students learn

reading and writing in Turkish. Except for teachers with indifferent orientation, all teacher groups in the school provide state-mandated reading books or alternative reading materials to the refugee students in their classes. Teachers with supportive orientation do not use the reading books provided by MoNE, but they use scaffolding strategies such as directly communicating with the refugee children, explaining the meaning of the words in an ongoing conversation, or using a simplified version of the same information that the other students use in the classroom. A teacher with a supportive orientation explains that there is no need to have specific language teaching materials if teachers believe that refugee students are

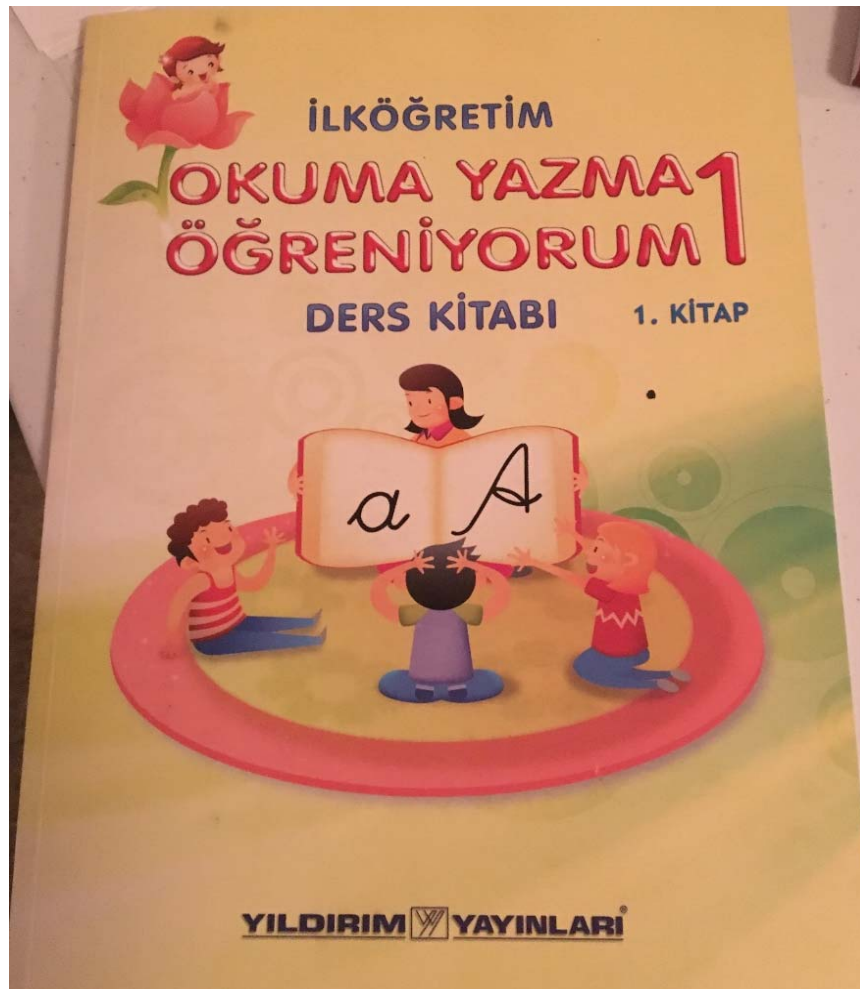


Figure 8. Front cover of the reading book used in the school to teach reading and writing to Syrian refugee students (Fieldnotes, February 26, 2016).

capable of learning languages and academic knowledge simultaneously, as long as the available materials are appropriate to meet the students' educational needs.

Hocahanim, I do not think we need to have specific material to teach Turkish. These students are not coming to class to learn the language. Of course, they need to know the language to learn, but both (language learning and academic progression) can happen simultaneously. I worked in the Eastern part of Turkey. There were Arabic and Kurdish-speaking children in my classroom. Very few of them knew Turkish. I taught Turkish through Mathematics, Social Studies, and other subjects. They learned everything together. I did not use different materials, so I think it answers your question whether I used language-learning books to teach Turkish. No, I did not, and I still do not. I support their learning with worksheets that I prepare or via children's book. These are the books that we used in the first grade. Books are for all learners. Books are books. The language of the books is different, but they are all designed to give information.

Many teachers with supportive orientation mention that they do not rely on reading materials but instead on scaffolding strategies. Their usage of alternative reading materials is at a minimum level, but when there is available material that helps them get quick results to teach the language along with covering the classroom curriculum, they show interest. Among all teachers, teachers with supportive orientation are more open to trying new strategies. Their age varies, but their idealist position leads them to investigate solutions for current educational issues including those regarding the refugee students in the school.

Teachers do not complain about the number of students in their classroom. They think their classes are mid-sized compared to other schools in the neighborhood. On average, there are between 25 and 35 students in each classroom. However, the teachers do complain about their class size because the available space in the classroom is small, and when dealing with refugee children they cannot lead interactive activities with the students. As a result, the refugee students' chances to learn the language

are limited. However, teachers have a tendency to speak negatively when they discuss the refugee students in their classroom. When they are asked to talk about their professional experience, they feel capable of teaching anything, many of them feel confident about what they do in the classroom, and some of them consider themselves as a good example of a caring and nurturing type teacher. In reality, they are unconsciously focused on their incapability of dealing with refugee children. Therefore, the available space in their mind gets smaller and smaller.

Teachers with indifferent orientation experience this space limitation and the feeling that the physical size of classroom gets smaller when they are arranging a space for the refugee children. Therefore, the seating arrangements in their classroom are the least efficient ones for refugee children. Refugee students' seats are away from the other children in the classroom, and on either the back or the front seat. This seating arrangement not only isolates them from their classmates but also results in the exclusion of these students by their classmates. Figure 9 shows two seating arrangement examples in the classroom of a teacher with an indifferent orientation.

Figure 10, 11, and 12 includes three seating arrangements used in the same classroom during classrooms observation by a teacher with a caretaking orientation to maximize the refugee students' learning and interaction with the others. This teacher changes the seat of the students first in the same row and then students move to the next row. However, one of the refugee students in this classroom always changes her seat in the same row as she has behavior problems and refuses to sit in a place far away from the classroom door. She wants to be close to the exits as she is afraid that she cannot leave the classroom whenever she wants if she sits far away from the door.

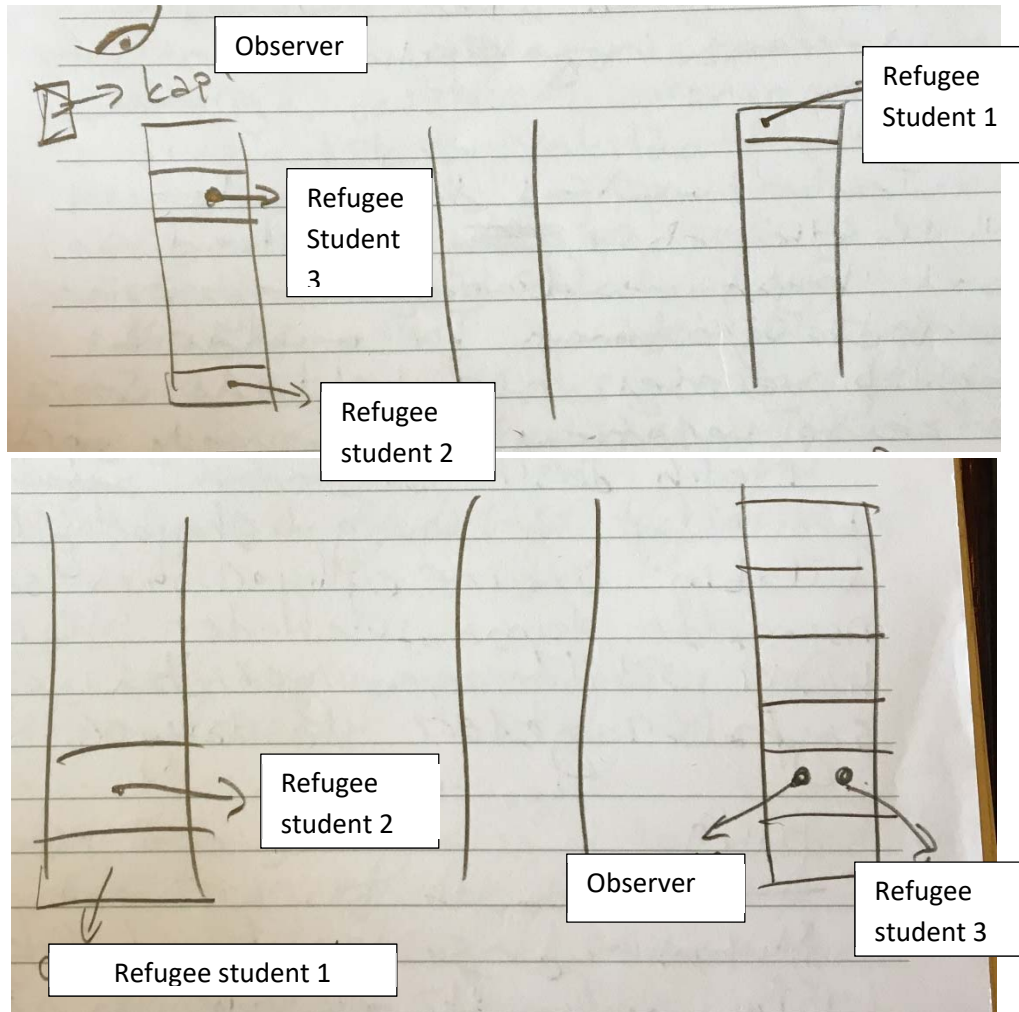


Figure 9. Two examples from the classroom of two teachers with indifferent orientation. Refugee students sit alone and sit far away from the other students. The first classroom observation note is from an afternoon classroom (Classroom observation notes, 29 Mart, 2016) and the second classroom observation note is from a morning classroom (Classroom observation notes, March 23, 2016).

Teachers complain mostly about classroom size, physical conditions, and lack of school facilities such as gym and crafting-space because they think students may interact better if they feel motivated to know each other by being part of interesting activities together. The teacher uses seating arrangements to eliminate interaction problems, but this strategy prevents students from having a deeper relationship with each other.

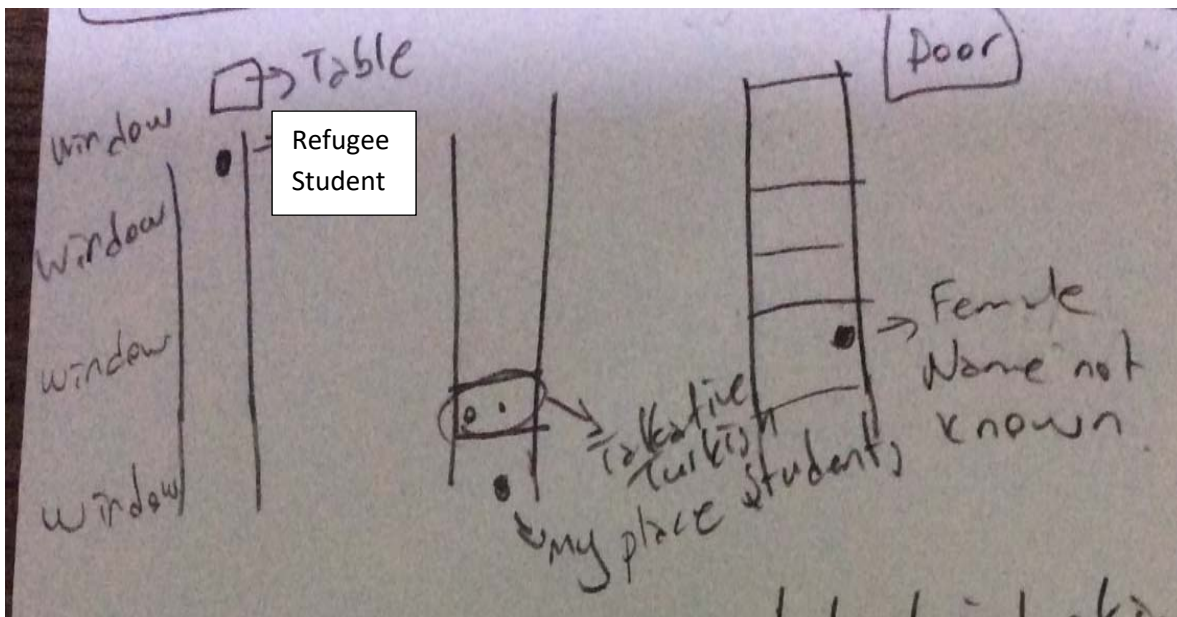


Figure 10. Exemplary seating arrangement used by a teacher with a caretaking orientation in the first week of March (Classroom observation notes, March 9, 2016).

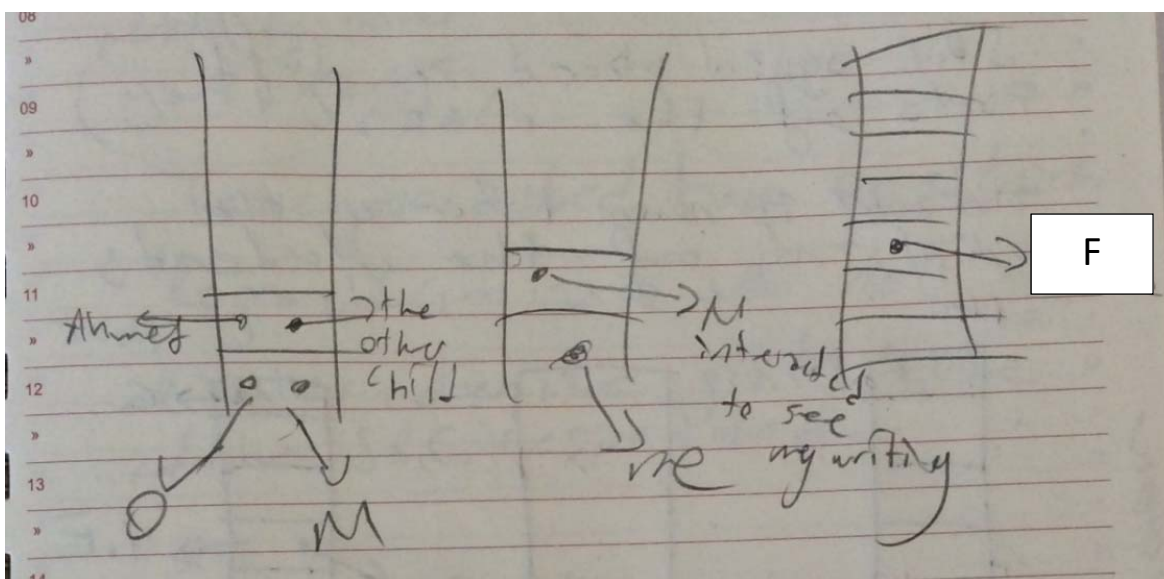


Figure 11. Exemplary seating arrangements used by a teacher with a caretaking orientation at the end of March. Students coded as F still sit in the same place (Classroom observation notes, March 28, 2016)

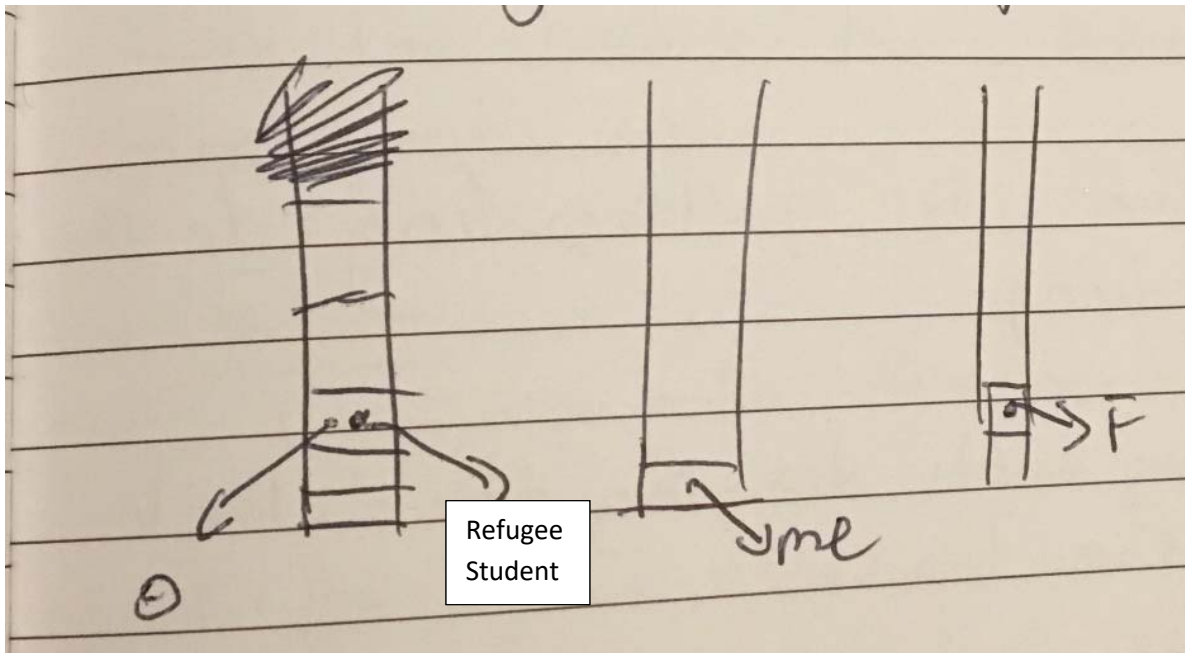


Figure 12. Exemplary seating arrangements used by a teacher with a caretaking orientation in the first week of May. Student coded as F still sit in the same place (Classroom observation notes, May 5, 2016).

Lack of Knowledge of Refugee Education Policies. Teachers do not have the same information about refugee education policy. Their lack of knowledge on the current policies causes them to use different strategies to educate and integrate refugee students. Turkish refugee education policy supports and highlights the integration of the Syrian nationals into mainstream schools. A few of the teachers are aware of this educational agenda and educate children based on their own perspective about what kind of education the refugee students need. If teachers think they are going to leave after the crisis, they tend to stabilize the children’s psychological state. If they believe they are going to stay in Turkey, they educate the refugee students in the same manner as the other students. If they are unsure about the refugee students’ future place of residence, education strategies tend to be inconsistent.

Their dissidence mostly is the result of their political opinion, but it is also partly because of not being informed about the available policies. Teachers with supportive orientation and a few teachers

with skeptical orientation have redundant information about policies and adequately use the policy to meet the needs of their refugee students. Teachers with caretaking orientation and some of the teachers with skeptical orientation have limited information and blend the limited information with their opinion. As a result of information mixed with personal opinion, they lose their discernment about which one is the policy requirement and which one is their personal opinion. The third group does not know anything and follows their instinct to help refugee students. Lack of knowledge, therefore, results in a lack of effective collaboration and reduced dialogue regarding the refugee students' education. For example, teachers have various degrees of information regarding registration. Teachers with caretaking and indifferent orientation do not know about registration requirements. Teachers with skeptical orientation think Syrian students can come to school without showing any documents or identification. Teachers with supportive orientation know that refugee students register to the school with a system called YÖBİS (Foreign National Students Information Systems [Yabancı Öğrenciler Bilgi Sistemi]) and need a paper proving their identity. They also know that if documentation is absent, the refugee students can attend school but their family must register with the Directorate of Migration Management to issue a temporary identity card. Table 4 summarizes teachers' points of view and their preferred strategies used to educate refugee students based on the teachers' knowledge of current refugee education policy.

The first group of teachers is very clear about what should be done to educate refugee children and how to educate them based on their information of the current refugee education policy. They know which services to apply for and seek advice when they have a problem with a refugee student or when they realize that one of their refugee students has a problem and needs special assistance. A teacher with a supportive orientation explains his way of seeking consultation from the counseling service and the school administration before he decides on his pedagogical and instructional strategies.

Table 4

*Summary of teachers' perspectives of educating refugee students and the preferred instructional strategies. *Teachers with skeptical orientation think that refugees will stay in Turkey and their perspectives of educating refugee children are similar to an assimilation approach.*

	Believes about refugee children future after refugee crisis	Degree of knowledge on current refugee education policy	Preferred pedagogy	Instructional strategies
First Group: Teachers with supportive orientation and *few teachers with skeptical orientation	Refugees will leave in Turkey	They are aware of the policy and apply the policy requirements as much as they can	Inclusion and Integration *Assimilation	Using the same instructional strategies as for local students
Second Group: Teachers with caretaking orientation and some *Teachers with skeptical orientation	Refugee students will stay in Turkey	They are partially aware of the policy	Psychological support and reliance on personal development	Using strategies that help refugee students go through their traumatic experiences or increase their self-esteem
Third Group: Teachers with indifferent orientations	They are unsure whether refugee children will stay or leave, but mainly say that Syrians will stay in Turkey	They lack information about the available refugee education policy	Ignoring the presence of the refugee students in the classroom	Using strategies to keep them busy in the classroom rather than teaching consistent knowledge

Hocahanim, they (school administration) said that we need to treat these children as we do the other children in the school. I already know that MoNE supports their integration. Before, they were not supporting us. That means that MoNE also believes that they (the refugee students) are going to stay. Anyway, but they (school administration) also told us that we should not stress children by overly tracking their attendance. It doesn't make sense why we are not tracking their attendance, but the counseling service informs me that this decision is better for the children until they are free from their stress and ready to take responsibility. Now, I take their attendance and even talk to them when they have an unexcused absence. Nowadays, I treat them same as I treat the other children in the classroom. I have always had this idea since they were in my classroom. However, Hocahanim, they needed particular attention in the

beginning due to their language limitations so that I cleaned up after them (explaining that he gave them extra attention).

While the first group adopts the pedagogy of integration, the second group adopts the pedagogy of psychological support to help children have better character development and high self-esteem. The first group accepts refugee students as part of their classroom, but they still perceive these students as Syrians that want to go back their country because they believe that refugee children have the capacity to help Syria build a better future. The second group is aware that there is a policy that regulates what should be done for refugee students, but these teachers cannot set a line between what they think and what they know about the policy. As this group thinks that these children should have care and attention, the teachers in this group give importance to helping refugee students feel better, and reducing the effects of trauma on their lives, and believe in their capacity to help their country in the future. The third group favors the idea that Syrians will stay but the teachers in the third group demonstrate some unclear behaviors about what they think about Syrians' stay in Turkey. A teacher with a caretaking orientation explains her interaction with her refugee student in terms of increasing his skills to express himself.

Hocahanım, X is a brilliant student. He is so smart. He understands most of the things in the classroom. I encourage him to be successful and hardworking because he needs to help his people. When the war in their country is over, they will be the one helping their country be a better place again. I try to ease some of the things for him. I tell my children (she refers to the other students in the classroom) to empathize with him because they might have been experiencing the same situation. He is better off now. He plays with the other children and talks to me more often than before. As you know, this is what MoNE wants us to do. We have to make sure that they feel better again. This is crucial.

The temporary protection regulation provides services for refugees pertaining to health and education. However, no direct mandate exists for addressing refugees mental/emotional condition. In

other words, there are no clear regulations for them to feel better. The second group of teachers interprets the current refugee education policy and the nation's approach to helping refugees based on their understanding of how refugee assistance should be. Many teachers in the school have an idea about how to educate refugee students and are aware of the policy on educating Syrian refugees, but the third group of teachers appears unclear regarding the Syrian student's future and their impact on the Turkish education system. They tend to say, "I do not know" or superficially reflect on the situation by saying that, "Time will tell." In line with their verbal responses, their teaching strategies to educate refugee children are also inconsistent. Often, they provide busy work for the refugee students so they can continue their normal instructional activities with the other students.

Teachers are aware that their knowledge on current refugee education policy varies. Even though they admit that this situation causes problems between their colleagues and prevents them reaching a consensus about how to educate refugee students, they do not necessarily associate this with their lack of policy knowledge, they rather relate it to their political opinions and ideology. However, the observation results show that teachers from different views come up with a common solution once they have information about the policy.

Teachers' Perceptions of Refugee Students' Living Conditions and Emotional State. The neighborhood of the school harbors different refugees. The socio-economic status of the refugees is a spectrum that includes people with financial instability and good financial situations. Even the Syrian people with good financial situations experience a drastic change in their living standards as the profile of the people that they were likely to interact with in the past has changed since they began living in Turkey. One of the reasons is related to the mixed background of the residents in the neighborhood. The few locals that live in the area are of low socioeconomic status, and the rest of the people are either immigrants or have temporary protection status. Housing is poor quality: buildings are old. There are

anti-refugee sentiments among the locals with low socioeconomic status. However, some locals with higher socio-economic status or positive public reputation still live in this neighborhood and own small shops or have offices close by providing some job opportunities for refugees. When these local people can help balance the job market and get involved in refugee assistance, the tension between the refugees and the local community decreases. When teachers are asked to explain the reasons why they have high numbers of refugee students and why refugee families from different backgrounds live in this neighborhood, they explain that refugee people prefer this neighborhood for three reasons: close to their community, easy transportation to the downtown area, and potential upward social movement. A teacher with a caretaking orientation explains the dynamic between these three reasons adopted by the Syrian community as in the following.

Well, Hocahanim, don't assume that all Syrians are suffering from a poor financial situation. Of course, it is not easy to live in a foreign country and not being able to visit your country whenever you want. You live abroad; you probably know what it means to live far away from your home. Right? Well, among the Syrians, some came at the beginning of the war in Syria. They brought most of their savings, and only their real estate is in Syria. We have some people like this. There are also Syrians who have nothing but bread to eat, a place to sleep. Maybe now you wonder why Syrians prefer this area. Look, this is an old neighborhood at the heart of the city. This place was the former center and still has its own advantage. They can go wherever they want to go without spending money on transportation or use only the tram to go. Then, there is cheap housing. This place is part of the urban transformation so that they relatively find big and affordable houses. If they are in good shape, they live alone, but if not they can live together with many families. In some apartments, 20-25 people live together. Beyond this, there are respected locals here. These people are old and have a good network here. If these people like Syrians, they help them. I hear some people have already found jobs for some Syrians, or have assisted them in opening their own businesses.

The description of the surrounding is strongly connected to what is going on in the school. First, the school's reputation recently faced a decline due to the number of refugee students; however, it still is well-respected by the local people. A teacher mentioned that before the arrival of Syrian students, the school used to have students from well-respected families. Currently, they mostly have students from

low socio-economic and poor educational backgrounds. Second, many Syrian children, particularly boys, have high absence rates as they are tempted by small job opportunities such as being an apprentice of a barber or butcher or working in small markets, and they are motivated to support their families. Their motivations also affect other students in the school. If these students have more pocket money than the others have and spend it in the school cafeteria, the other students lose interest in academic subjects and begin having less readiness for school. Some students also begin thinking that Syrian students are lucky because they can come to the school whenever they want. Third, the number of less-educated refugee families is still high in the neighborhood, and they have social values that can conflict with the schooling ideologies of the Turkish education system: some refugee families are still resistant to mixed-gender education and are unaware of the secular structure of Turkish schools. They also may have a tendency to marry their daughters at a very early age. In summary, the presence of the Syrian community reawakens controversies that have decreased in the past—making them current debates in present day Turkey. These problems lead to budget cuts due to an exodus of children from well-respected Turkish families, increased child labor, and increased child marriage.

Teachers and the school administration feel hopeless when it comes to dealing with problems due to cultural differences. They do not want to offend Syrian families. However, teachers and school administrations are puzzled when refugee parents complain that they do not want their children to be educated in a mixed gender classroom. Many teachers understand that mixed education is not favored in Syria, but they have difficulty understanding why refugee families cannot see that they live in a different country with different expectations and cultural norms. A teacher with a supportive orientation expresses her confusion regarding refugee parents' requests about separating girls and boys in some activities.

Some parents do not want their children to be in the mixed classroom. They do not ask this for boys but ask for girls. When I hear such things, I get really shocked, honestly speaking. These are

children; they are brothers and sisters. I explain this every time. Okay, they are from Syria, but this is Turkey. They are in our country; we have different values. I listen to them, but I do not think that I can do what they ask. During the physical education classes, they are all going to play together. If they have health problems, that is a different situation. I can accommodate that.

Teachers are confused but also resistant to accommodate parents' demand that conflict with local and national values. For example, child labor and child marriage are issues that all teachers agree to stop as soon as possible. Teachers are strongly against child labor and child marriage, but they do not know how to eliminate these problems. They are aware that the underlying reason for these challenges is a cultural difference, and they do not want to criticize the Syrian culture and lose their refugee students by discussing these subjects with the parents. A teacher with a skeptical orientation argues the danger of letting male Syrian students work in small shops but still feels unsure whether the education that they receive at the school is enough for them to have a better future.

Children should not work when they are studying. They can when they are in high school, but it is so early for these kids. But they need to support their family. Some of them are the children of a big family. Imagine 10 kids in the same 2-bedroom apartment. That means at least 10 bread every day. They bring a little money, but if you have nothing, you know that a few bucks are big money. Here we give education to them. Many of them are happy to learn Turkish. Parents are also happy because they think their children can find better jobs or help them get support from their kids when they need translators. Believe me Hocahanım; sometimes I feel guilty because when we teach Turkish, these children find jobs so quickly. I wish we could also teach some practical skills to them in the school to make school attractive for refugees. The education that we give to them is not helping them to get food.

Almost all teachers believe in the necessity of teaching practical skills to refugee students. They are aware that outside of the school is not as safe for the refugee students and they want to prevent any problems or harmful situations. Refugee students are also aware of differences in people's behavior toward them both in and outside the school. This awareness helps them develop different behaviors

when it comes to acting in various segments of the host community. For example, a naïve refugee student can be active and aggressive once he leaves the school. His way of communication and choice of language used for people outside the school is markedly different from the language used at school. Teachers also caution their refugee students to have defensive behaviors when communicating with strangers. However, some refugee students, particularly those who have experienced trauma before and/or after arriving in Turkey, have difficulty adjusting their behavior in the classroom setting. Teachers are unaware that they are also influential on refugee students' acting resistant to their instruction. They mostly associate refugee students' active and passive resistance to their prior traumatic experiences. Two quotes from the same teacher with a supportive orientation at different times show the unawareness of this teacher regarding his influence on helping his refugee students have defensive and resistant characteristics.

Quote 1 from an informal conversation on March 25, 2016, in the teachers' lounge.

These children should learn how to protect themselves. That is why I tell them to stay away from strangers and reject them when they ask something immediately. It does not matter what the people say. They are just learning the language. They can easily make a mistake. Therefore, they have to be strong, determined, and say "no." They have to be tough when talking with adults.

Quote 2 from an interview on May 12, 2016, in the classroom.

ST: Hocahanım, these children are becoming rebels every day. In the beginning, they were calm. Whatever I told them to do, they were doing. Now, they mainly say "no." They are like little goats. I can't persuade them to do some other things in the classroom. They are spoiled. I know they had trauma before coming here. Particularly X saw so many bombards and violence. I think psychology is something like this. It was bad before, and they had survival mode. Now they are relaxed, and they attack us as if they are attacking Assad.

I: Hocam, maybe they still do the things that you told them to do.

ST: No way, Hocahanım. Why on earth would I tell them to be like a stubborn goat? They do not listen to me anymore. They still love me. During recess time, they run to me by saying "My teacher, my teacher." We always tell them to protect themselves, not to be a goat (i.e. stubborn).

Teachers who have similar complaints about refugee students' opposition to instruction in the classroom are partially right that traumatic experiences increase the possibility of the children to become resistant and stubborn. However, these children mention in their interviews that they do not listen to other people because their teachers give counsel for them not to do what adults ask. Resistance to instruction is a common behavior among refugee students. As mentioned earlier, their teachers unconsciously help them to exhibit these behaviors. However, refugee students in the classroom of the teachers with indifferent orientation also show resistance, even if they rarely receive counsel to be defensive when communicating with the people outside of school. This situation is mostly related to refugee students' intention to develop a punishment reaction against being ignored, but the next chapter explains the resistance and the strategies to attract attention among the refugee students from refugee and local students' perspectives.

There are other emotional problems experienced by refugee students. However, teachers mainly focus on the emotional problems that affect their classroom instruction. Therefore, Chapter 5 includes more information regarding the impact of the emotional situation on refugee children's agency and identity development.

Teachers' Principles to Assist Refugee Students' Integration

Teachers in the school have a general agreement on the concepts of personal space, respect to personal decisions, and voluntary integration, yet they apply these concepts differently in their individual classrooms. This section explains how teachers define these concepts and apply them in their classroom to facilitate refugee student integration.

Personal Space. Teachers in the school use the term "breathing space" to define personal space. Most of the teachers highlight the importance of providing breathing space for their students to help

them develop their personalities and enjoy their childhoods. Teachers make sure that all students, and particularly refugee students, have enough time and space to do what they want to do. However, there are rules for students while they are enjoying their personal space and time such as not harming others, not vandalizing, and respecting others. In comparison, refugee children have more space that is personal and time than local students because teachers think that due to what refugee students experienced in Syria they need more support and space to recover from their war or violence related memories. Refugee students particularly in the classroom of the teachers with caretaking, indifferent and skeptical orientation leave the class when they are bored or overwhelmed. Sometimes they notify their teacher before they leave the class and sometimes they just leave. However, under all circumstances, teachers ask another student, either local or refugee, to follow the refugee child right after they leave the class. A teacher with a caretaking orientation explains that she allows her refugee students to leave the class whenever they want because she does not want them to dislike school.

Well, Hocahanım, you also noticed, huh? Yes, they leave the classroom frequently. Particularly X, she really needs to leave the classroom. If I don't allow her, she gets headaches and stomach aches. She is different from the other Syrian students. She came here from the war zone 6 months ago. You know what I mean. Everything is new to her. She is a clever girl. She learned Turkish fast. She also told me that she attends weekend school and learns Arabic. These are all good things. But sometimes something happens to her (Teacher lifts her hand and twist her hand in the air. This gesture is generally used in Turkey to refer crazy people or sudden and surprising mood changes). She generally begins acting like this when she finds the topic too difficult. Before, she was just leaving. Now, she asks for permission to leave. Things started to get better as she progressed her language skills... It is okay to let her leave the classroom but if she keeps doing this, she can't learn the school culture and also can't learn to deal with her problems. Therefore, I gradually keep her longer in the classroom.

As mentioned above, refugee students leave the classroom more frequently than local children. The frequency of leaving the classroom increases if the refugee students have had traumatic experiences before or after seeking refuge in Turkey. The frequency of leaving the classroom decreases when the students' language skills improve. Teachers' decision to allow refugee students to leave the

classroom is, therefore, affected by the refugee students' degree of language proficiency and traumatic experiences.

All teachers agree that refugee students should have personal space and time. However, there is a disagreement between teachers with supportive orientation and other orientations about allowing refugee children to leave the classroom when they are bored or overwhelmed. Teachers with supportive orientation believe that allowing them to leave the classroom whenever they want brings more harm to refugee students than restricting their leave of the classroom because in the end, these students lack self-discipline. On the other hand, the other teachers give more emphasis on the students missing part of their childhood due to the war in Syria so that they support the idea of not restricting their leave. These teachers also believe that as long as these students receive help from counseling services, their classmates, and teachers, they eventually will be ready to participate in classroom activities as local students do. A teacher with a supportive orientation summarizes his views on how personal space should be structured by criticizing the other teachers' practice of allowing their refugee students to leave the classroom.

Hocahanım let me explain why I do not let my students leave the classroom whenever they want. First, these students should learn self-control. They are too young maybe, but we do not ask them to do something impossible. It is normal to request them to stay in the classroom during class hours. If there is an emergency such as going to the restroom, they can go. But boredom is not an emergency. Freedom does not mean that you can do anything anytime. Freedom means knowing where the other people's freedom starts. This is what we need to teach them when they are young. Otherwise, they don't learn these kinds of values when they are old. I tell my colleagues to stop doing this unnecessary care. It is not okay for the other students as well. Because they see Syrian students and they want to do the same thing. If they can't do the same, they begin bearing a grudge to Syrian students as they are not allowed to do so many things but Syrians are.

As this teacher with a supportive orientation explains, some local students feel left out or not cared enough when they do not have the same personal space and time as their Syrian classmates do.

These students are aware that Syrian students need special attention and time due to their status, as their teachers constantly remind of how their Syrian classmates require more space that is personal and time, but this does not stop them from thinking about the different personal space and time given to them and to their Syrian classmates. Teachers begin noticing this problem when the Syrian students in their classrooms become proficient in the Turkish language and are able to explain not only what they actually need but also report the problems that they have with their local peers. Therefore, teachers become aware that school culture and discipline are essential concepts for personal space and time as these concepts are also a key to ensuring peace among the students. A teacher with a skeptical orientation explains his practice of allowing refugee students to leave the classroom. He also mentions that this practice has required a change after he noticed that the violation of school culture and discipline causes disharmony among students.

There is no problem in letting Syrians leave the classroom when they need to leave. We know that there is a reason for this situation. I also got advice from the school counselor, and she told me that whenever they require air, it is better to accommodate what they need. As she suggested this, I allow it. It has worked for some time. I continue my lessons without interruption, but Hocahanım; believe it or not, I have never thought the other kids would complain about that. They wanted to leave the classroom as well. I told them that Syrians need it. All my efforts were useless. Then I realized that all of them are hanging on my lips when Syrians want to leave. When I say no they are relieved. When I say yes, they feel upset. I, now, send the Syrian kid outside the class together with another kid. They stop complaining. I need to do this because the other students began excluding Syrians, and Syrians began playing only with the students from their country.

A balance of personal space and time given to local and refugee students is important to ensure harmony in the classroom as well as assure the continuity of healthy relationships between local and refugee students. Refugee students not only learn social skills from their teachers but also learn these social skills and how to behave in the host community from their classmates because they spend most of their school time with their classmates. Therefore, teachers try to maintain harmony among the students to ensure the progression of social and academic learning of Syrian students. Except for

teachers with indifferent orientation, all teachers highlight the importance of the relationship between local and refugee students for the learning of both groups of students. Teachers also mention that a common free time and space should be given to local and refugee students to strengthen the bond of their relationships. Therefore, teachers use mostly national celebrations and memorial days as opportunities to have students work together.

Refugee and local students of different classrooms have worked on several various national holidays and memorial days such as the Memorial Day of the Dardanelle War Martyrs, National Sovereignty and Children’s Day (April 23), and Commemoration of Ataturk, Youth and Sports Day (May 19). Local and refugee students have worked together to perform in these events. Each classroom also prepared the school board about one of the national days to inform other students in the school. Figure 13 shows a picture of school board designed for a national day celebration and Figure 14 shows a picture of a rehearsal for the same national day.



Figure 13. A picture of school board designed for a national day celebration (Field notes, March 19, 2016).



Figure 14. Picture of the rehearsal for the same national day (Field notes, March 15, 2016).

Refugee students sing folk songs and the national anthem about national days and read poems about Atatürk during national day celebrations. Teachers mention that refugee students want to participate in the celebrations, and their local students ask their teacher to include their Syrian friends in the event preparations. Refugee students also mention that they volunteer to take part in the performance preparation of the national day celebrations and Memorial Day. A teacher with a caretaking orientation narrates that one of his refugee students directed a play for the Memorial Day of the Dardanelle War Martyrs, and his classmates objected when he cast a role for himself as someone from the allied power because the local students want him to be in the alliance power.

X is an excellent student. He is very active. As you see in the rehearsal of the play that he is now directing. He has a natural talent to lead and organize. This rehearsal is their first rehearsal, but I am very proud of their work. Hocahanım, you also had a chance to see during this rehearsal to

what degree my children study (live) together as brothers and sisters. When X wanted to be in the enemy group, the other children said no to him. They wanted him in the ally group. This is very, very significant. I was not part of their preparation they did everything by themselves. I did not tell them to give a cast to X as enemy or ally. But they chose it for him.

Refugee children are not forced to learn any national values. They choose which national values they want to learn, or they unconsciously learn these values as it is part of the schooling. The school does not only celebrate national days. Teachers and the school administration also celebrate Women's Day (March 8), Hidirellez and Mother's Day (May 6). For example, during Women's Day, students are encouraged to say words of wisdom to their female teachers. The school administration gives red roses to female teachers as part of the celebration. Some refugee students mimic the school administration's decisions to give flowers to female teachers, and they offer wild flowers picked from the outdoor play area to their teachers. Figure 15 shows the flower given by the school administration and the refugee students to female teachers in the school.



Figure 15. The flower given by the school administration (on the left) and the refugee students to female teachers (on the right) (Field notes, May 8, 2016).

When adequate time and space is given to refugee children, they clearly express their feelings. Additionally, finding evidence that explains behavioral changes throughout their schooling experiences becomes easy. For example, during the Hidirellez celebration, students are asked to make wishes by drawing pictures. Figure 16 includes a picture drawn by a refugee student who wants everyone to sing songs every day and every flower to be in equal sizes. However, she chooses a different color for each flower because she says, “everyone likes different colors.” During her interview on May 6, 2016, she highlights the differences of the relationship with her friends and how she likes to play with her different friends on various occasions because she can do different things with each of her classmates. She likes to be at the center of the attention, but she has never pictured herself bigger than other objects in her previous artworks. This picture symbolizes how she likes to be seen by the others as well as the change in her immigration status. She is the female figure playing the flute. Even though she wants everyone to be equal, she feels superior because she recently has Turkish citizenship. She expresses that she feels different from other Syrians in the school. This event in her life has helped her teacher understand why she has recently changed her behavior from attention-seeking to attention-giving. Previously, she has been seeking attention from her teacher, and after the change in her status, she began helping other Syrians in the school.

Teachers do not have a consensus about what to celebrate in the school, but they do not object to celebrating or doing an activity on a chosen day if they see it has merit for local and refugee students. Teachers agree to celebrate Mother’s Day and Women’s Day. However, Hidirellez is a riddling decision as it is neither a universal event nor a celebration that all local groups agree to be part of Turkish culture. A teacher with a skeptical orientation criticizes that Hidirellez is not a good value to be celebrated in the school, but he has not objected to the idea of celebrating the event when the school focuses on telling students to draw some pictures about their wishes. This teacher and other teachers think that the activity of drawing dreams provides access to the true feelings of refugee students.



Figure 16. A picture drawn by a refugee student, who wishes people to sing songs every day and for every flower to be of equal size (Interview notes, May 9, 2016).

Hocahanım, I don't like this kind of values to be celebrated in the school. This kind of values is filled with superstitions and unexplained religious stories. However, when they said that this activity is to not to say something religious but give them time to have fun and help some of the students eat proper food, I stop objecting. So many things have changed in Turkey, so even you object nothing changes, you know. However, the school administration organized this very well, students ate rice pilaf, and they enjoyed the performances. Their pictures were incredible. After their arrival, we kept asking what they lived through, what happened in Syria, whether they miss Syria, and so and on and on, we had no answer. With these pictures, we now know what they feel. They need to draw more pictures, but we can choose another event, you know.

School staff is ready to provide personal space and time for children to express themselves and enjoy their childhood. There are some disagreements about the definition of personal space and the boundaries of personal space, but the common points of providing personal space are to allow refugee students enough freedom to help them recover from their traumatic experiences, ensure harmony

between refugee and local students, and self-express themselves. The influences of these events on refugee students' agency and identity development are discussed in the next chapter through presenting evidence from the artworks and performances that refugee and local students have created together.

Respect to Personal Decisions. Teachers and the school staff respect refugee students' personal decisions under any circumstances. Each teacher and a member of school staff have different understandings of the founding concepts and principles of the refugee education and protection model, but the teacher does not have different definitions for the principles of respecting personal decisions. According to the school staff and teachers, the definition of respecting decisions is to accommodate adequate circumstances for refugee children to practice their decision-making skills in a safe environment. Teachers value the students' decisions even if they know that those decisions lead to mistakes; they allow them because they believe in second chances and that this is part of the learning process. According to a teacher with a supportive orientation, people outside the school are not as welcoming as the people in school are so that refugee children should begin practicing their agency by learning when to say yes or no to the things that are offered to them.

In the school, we provide a simulation of real life. Children learn social skills and practice these skills at home and in their neighborhood. Our job is to make sure that they know when to say yes and when to say no to people. If they say yes to everything, they are going to be vulnerable. If they say no to everything, they may miss so many opportunities and have difficulty in making social connections. Here, in the classroom, I do not get involved when refugee and local students interact with each other. They decide what to do, they choose how to behave, and they know if they make a mistake there will be a consequence. I do not like punishment, but I ensure that students, including refugee students, get a deductive punishment in response to a violation of school rules and classroom discipline. However, I do not punish them when they discuss with their friends or with me; this is part of their journey of becoming a social being. However, I punish them if they give physical harm to their classmate or school.

Teachers tolerate refugee students' misbehavior if refugee students misbehave to get attention from their teachers, raise their voices regarding their instructional needs, or show their disinterest to the parallel instruction that teachers arrange for their learning. Many teachers consider this misbehavior to be innocent reactions or a sign of the refugee students' way of overcoming their traumatic experiences. Many teachers from different categories express their opinion by saying statements such as, "They are just children," or "That is good. They are now healing". "When he first came he was not talking; I let him speak as much as he could," and "Mashallah, they are emotionally very strong. They can still be strong-minded after all these things." Teachers' admiration for the children's ability to express themselves and use their agency allows refugee students to have more freedom than other students in the classroom. Refugee students, therefore, show a different type of resistance to things that they do not like or find boring. This resistance is mainly observed as misbehaving in the classroom setting. A teacher with an indifferent orientation states that the refugee student in his classroom misbehaves when he does not like the activity done by the assistant teacher or the school counselor.

Normally, he is silent. He does not get involved in any problem, but sometimes I cannot understand what he wants. He begins behaving in a strange way when he wants to express something and never stops behaving strangely until the school counselor or I figure what he wants. I already show a willingness to do whatever he wants, but he begins moving in the classroom without permission, keeps shrugging his shoulders, or never lifts up his head from his desk. However, I understand that sometimes he needs to react like this because he is quiet most of the time. Therefore, it is okay that he sometimes misbehaves like this to be noticed in the classroom, as I do not know how to communicate with him.

Different circumstances help school staff and teachers be aware of when refugee students want to use their agency and decision-making skills. Misbehaving as mentioned above is one of the ways that refugee students signal that they use their decision-making skills and expect respect from their teachers and classmates about their manifestation of the agency. For example, the most common strategy for refugee students in the school is to count what they like to do at home or back in Syria. In these cases,

refugee students give a list of possible activities that help them be engaged with the others in the classroom. The other strategy of the refugee students is to rearrange their seating arrangements. For example, if the teacher assigns them a seat far away from the teachers' desk or their best friends, they begin moving in the classroom, getting close to the classmates that they want to sit with. Alternatively, they go near the teacher's table and follow the classroom activity by leaning over the teachers' table. Figure 17 shows how a group of refugee students has changed their seat three times when they do not like the seating arrangements.

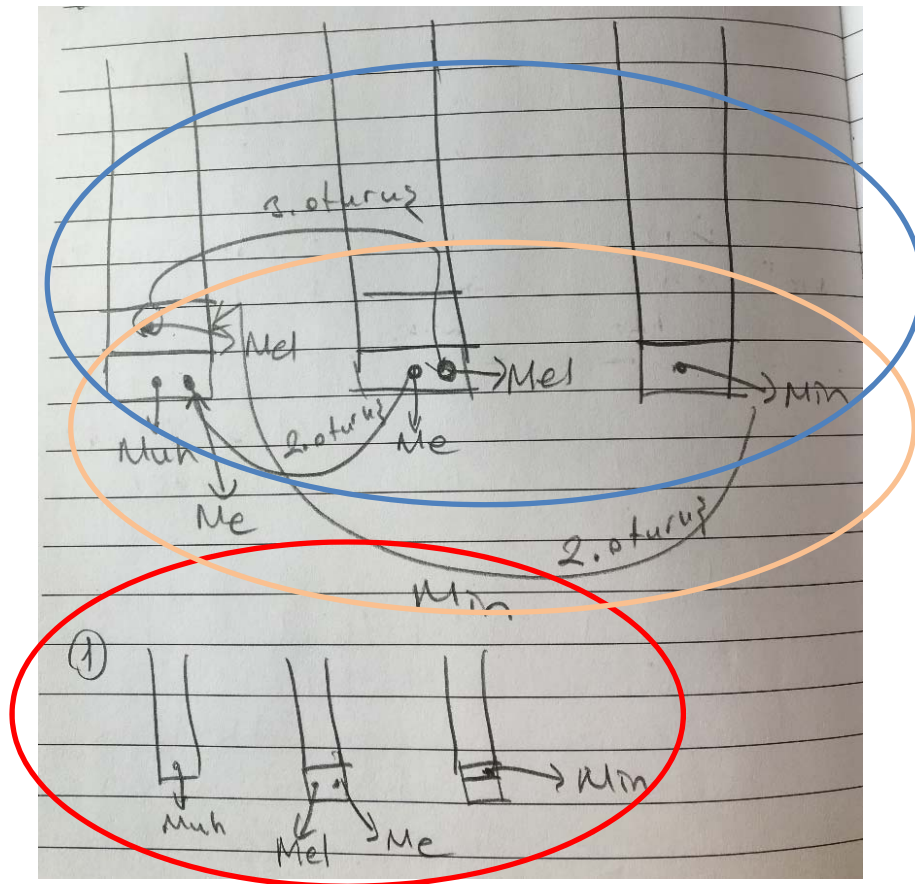


Figure 17. Refugee students' misbehaving in the classroom when they are not happy with their seating arrangements. (The first seating arrangement is indicated with red color. The second seating arrangement is indicated with green color. In this arrangement they made me move to the third row. The third seating arrangement is indicated with blue color. In this seating arrangement, student coded with "Mel" has moved in front of me and the other refugee student "Min" has remained sitting with her friend at the back of the first row.) (Classroom observation notes, 13 May, 2016).

Refugee students are not subjected to attendance checks. Their teachers monitor their attendance, but there is no enforcement for the refugee students if they exceed their absenteeism limit. Teachers are not happy with the results of this policy because they think that it causes students to be misused by the local people and their family such as pushing children to work. Many refugee students mention that working after or before school is their decision but teachers are critical about this situation. They show respect to students' decisions and understand that many Syrian students and their families are in need of financial support, but they are sensitive to any decisions that potentially distract refugee students from the school. However, due to the policy that says that schools do not track the attendance of Syrian nationals, and the teachers' decision to respect refugee students and their families' choices, teachers cannot do anything except give counsel to the students about the importance of going to school and receiving an education. A teacher with a caretaking orientation explains that one of her students is always tired because he works before coming to school. However, this teacher intentionally does not criticize his family for making him work due to the fear of his family's negative reaction and causing his family to decide to not send him to school.

It hurts so bad in my heart when I see him coming to school tired and sleepy, but I know that his family is not really into sending him to school anyway. At the beginning of the school year, I made a deal with his family. On the condition of coming to school every afternoon, I will not oppose his working before noon. He is also happy about learning a skill as his family keeps telling him that school is not going to give him everything. However, he likes music and wants to be in the school to learn songs. I teach him almost anything with music, games, and sometimes just by asking him to participate in our regular instruction. He is the boss of his life. He at least thinks so. Because he earns money and even he is poorer than other students he has his so-called economic independence. If I do not respect his and his family decision, I may lose him, and I do not want that to happen. The policy should be to track their attendance. Otherwise, child labor and other significant problems will increase to the degree that we will not be able to deal with these problems.

This teacher with a caretaking orientation has highlighted that one of the biggest social problems such as child labor. Child marriages have recently increased in Turkish schools due to failing to

monitor Syrian students' attendance. These issues have been discussed in earlier sections about how teachers feel hopeless to eliminate these problems. As part of the principles of showing respect, teachers do not remain silent due to feeling hopeless. They stay silent because they make agreements with the parents regarding the balance of work and school hours for these children. Teachers state that the other reasons for them to remain silent are due to the imbalance of power that parents have. In this case, parents are more powerful in making decisions about their children's school attendance because first, they are the parents and secondly, the national policy states that Syrian children's attendance should not be monitored.

Teachers value the refugee students' decisions while developing an educational program or defining their needs. For example, teachers mention that they have recently completed a weekend school, which only focused on providing intensive language support. Seven teachers from the school have attended workshops about how to teach Turkish to children of different nationalities and have practiced their knowledge in the weekend school. Training teachers to teach Turkish to foreigners and establishing a language in a weekend school is the result of students' demands to learn Turkish. Teachers and school administration have found this offer useful and timely so that they collaborated with an NGO to get permission from the Ministry of National Education to open the weekend school. Refugee students with advanced Turkish language skills have received education in this weekend school. Their teachers and these students are very appreciative of this intensive language program. A teacher with a supportive orientation summarizes the establishment of the weekend school and the benefit of including refugee students in the decision-making process regarding developing an effective alternative education program.

Those who suffer know the pain (in Turkish the original saying is "Derdi çeken bilir." This idiom means that only the people who have suffered can understand what it's like to feel pain. The outsider cannot deeply understand what a person goes through). We can do so many things for these students, but we do not know what it means to be a foreigner in a place. We do not know

what it's like to be surrounded by people who speak a different language. We also do not know and can't understand their actual feelings. However, they know everything. They know what they need. It is better to ask and get their opinion. They (referring to educational scholars) write in the pedagogy books a lot to get students' involved in decision-making; I have never thought that I would first practice this knowledge with different kids. Look at these children (she points to the refugee students playing in the outdoor play area); they speak Turkish like you and me. All we did was to ask, "What do you want us to teach you?" They said Turkish, and this is the result. They participate in classroom activities; they take national tests and meet their social needs. They have become independent. It was and still is important to value their demand about what to learn. They are not spoiled children; they have matured so fast due to the pains they've had. However, ooo ooo oh (an expression before mentioning an exaggerated claim), if you let them so much free, they begin tapping on your head.

Teachers want refugee and local students to use their agency to participate in decision-making processes to establish harmony in the classroom and to choose alternative activities during class time. Although teachers support their students to use their agency, this situation has become a norm after the arrival of Syrian and other foreign national students, because teachers begin feeling professionally inadequate to teach academic information to these children. They also begin feeling hopeless when they encounter so many different trauma cases in a very short time. As a teacher with a caretaking orientation expresses in the following statement, "The presence of Syrian students has made me a different teacher." Teachers begin realizing their capabilities and skills when they encounter a problem. A teacher with a skeptical orientation mentions, "Previously, the knowledge was available. We knew what to do. However, when Syrians arrived, we had to ask them (refugee students some questions to understand what we should do to educate them." As a result, the teacher has not only been respectful or supportive of including students in the decision-making process, but they have become respectful and supportive of students' agency to reduce the frequency of professional problems that they experience.

Voluntary Integration. Teachers have different ideas about the future of Syrian refugees in Turkey. As they do not have an agreement about the future of the Syrian refugees, the teachers have

various ideas about how to support the students' integration. School staff does not force refugee students to accept certain values of the local community. Teachers believe in the necessity of having voluntary integration to ensure harmony between local and refugee students. However, the local community has not accepted voluntary integration as one of the principles of the local refugee education and protection model by default. Their self-righteous initiatives to assist the Syrians by instilling Turkish local values have received a backlash from the refugee community so that locals have decided to favor voluntary integration. Teachers explain the evolution of their integration ideas through different stories. However, in summary, teachers described how their current idea has evolved to voluntary integration as their previous idea of highlighting the importance of cultural values has created a negative reaction among refugee students. Refugee parents and students have interpreted the school staff's emphasis on teaching local values in a systematic manner as a symbol of dehumanizing them and taken the anti-refugee messages of hostile media granted. A teacher with a caretaking orientation shares her interaction with a refugee parent on the issue of how over-emphasis of cultural values has hurt refugee communities' feelings and resulted in resistance among the refugee community to understanding local values.

Hocahanım let me share one of my life-changing experiences with a refugee parent. I learned a lot from that incident. I was always telling my students from Syria to do certain things in order to be like us. For example, I was writing notes to their parents about what to put in these students' lunch box, how to make sure that they are clean, and what students should do at home. I always thought I was doing a favor to these people, as I believed that when they were told what to do, they would understand what we do in our daily lives. One day, one of the Syrian parents visited me with a translator. She was looking upset. The translator told me that she is a clean woman and knows how to clean her children. She also reported to me that the Syrian parent knows that it is important to put different foods in her children's lunch box, but she only can put whatever she cooks at home as she needs to think about their home economy. I was humiliated by what I was doing. I realized doing it once was enough. I wanted to show how I care about them, but it turned out that my efforts made them feel that I think they are dirty people who need to learn cleaning and cooking.

Similar to the experience of this teacher with a caretaking orientation during his early interaction with refugee parents and students, the rest of the school staff have experiences with refugee students and parent regarding their initiative to teach cultural values. The refugee community does not consider these initiatives as help. They rather think that these attempts humiliate and degrade their cultural values. Teachers' interactions with refugee parents help them realize that there is a risk of creating a bigger misunderstanding when they aim to instill cultural and local values. A teacher with a skeptical orientation reports, "As we talk about their lives and attitudes, they speak about our attitudes at home. When we tell them this is how it is done, they only see a privileged person bossing around." A teacher with a supportive orientation highlights that the refugee community is capable of observing local residents' behavior and picks up what is the best for them. A teacher with indifferent orientation says, "If they continue doing what they do, it does not mean they do not understand what we tell them. Maybe it is a simple decision such as choosing what is best for them". As this teacher with an indifferent orientation states, letting Syrian people decide to integrate with their own will is better because supporting them without knowing what they really want to learn is a useless effort. He summarizes his points by saying "Dökme su ile değirmen dönmez." meaning without having the adequate desire, intention, or power, things do not continue functioning with someone else's support and involvement.

Teachers do not have a divergence regarding the importance of voluntary integration because they have all experienced similar reactions from the refugee community. However, their understanding of integration varies as they apply the principles of refugee education and protection model in different order. Teachers' usage of the principles of refugee education and protection model may also result in social exclusion if the given social space does not include teachers' guidance of local and refugee students to play together and become friends. The data shows that teachers of each profile use four different integration strategies. These are acculturation, alienation or social exclusion, social inclusion, and academic integration. Each teacher with a different profile has the inclination to use a different

integration strategy. However, among all the integration strategies, teachers with indifferent orientation fail to achieve full integration of refugee students as well as they do other students who are not considered “normal” students by their teachers. Table 5 summarizes which teacher uses the above-mentioned integration strategies.

Table 5

Adopted integration strategies used by classroom teachers of different profiles

Teachers’ profile	Adopted Integration Strategies for Refugee Students
Teachers with skeptical orientation	Acculturation
Teachers with indifferent orientation	Alienation OR Social Exclusion
Teachers with caretaking orientation	Social Inclusion
Teachers with supportive orientation	Academic Inclusion

Teachers with skeptical orientation favor acculturation. This strategy aims to transfer all the values taught in the school such as Ataturk’s principles, nationalism, one’s love for their country, and citizenship values as soon as possible to ensure the refugee students’ integration. These teachers’ approach is the closest integration strategy to assimilation because the intention is to provide adequate personal space to refugee children for observing the locals and understanding the school culture and ideology. A teacher with a skeptical orientation explains that he prefers acculturation as an integration strategy to eliminate further racist problems and racism among Syrian youth. His understanding of racism is framed around the idea that refugee students may begin developing hatred feelings against Turkish community if they fail to understand modernism, secularism, and Turkish identity.

These children should not be educated separately. They should get education together with us. From the beginning of their registration in my class, I did not separate them from the others. I

explained everything to my Syrian students in detail and with patience. I sometimes warned them, at times gave counsel, at times reprimanded, but I make sure that they understand what the rules in the classroom are. These children should know our values. In their country they did not learn to study in the mixed classroom, they did not learn the importance of science and segregation of religion from the school context. Therefore, we have to make sure that they become familiar with these important values. Otherwise, they may misunderstand us. You know they can see us as unreligious. I let them know these values; then they can decide whether to adopt them or not. Eventually, they are the children of another nation.

Teachers with skeptical orientation respect the decision-making of their Syrian students, however, when they first have students from Syria, they always continue explaining local values and schooling ideologies. Teachers with indifferent orientation, on the other hand, give personal space to refugee students, but their understanding of personal space is close to ignoring the presence of refugee students in the classroom. Refugee students, therefore, become alienated in the classroom and their integration with the rest of the students in the classroom becomes difficult. Refugee students in the classroom of the teachers with indifferent orientation become friends with the local students who are already excluded from the other local students due to their characteristics or limited learning capacity. As a result, refugee students get disengaged from the rest of the students but stay connected to the other unwanted students. This process is called social exclusion. Figure 18 provides an exemplary situation of social exclusion in the classroom of a teacher with an indifferent orientation from the observation notes.

For example, I have invented a game named “hand recognition” to observe how local students react to refugee students’ participation in the classroom of the teachers with indifferent orientation. In this game, children should place their hand under the camera, they need to look up, and on the count of three they change their hand's posture, I take a picture of their hand, and finally, they need to answer my questions such as “Whose hand is this?” “Who do you think lifted his/her thumb?” and “Who do you think clenched his/her hand?” by looking at the photograph. The conversation between the local

students and me shows that local students hesitate to communicate with refugee students because they have socially disengaged with their refugee classmates. They also mimic their classroom teachers' attitudes so that they do not change their routine or get involved in any activity that changes their routines in the classroom. Therefore, local students do not want to integrate refugee students to their games. When refugee students are invited to the games, they are puzzled, and refugee students hesitate to participate due to their classmates' reaction.

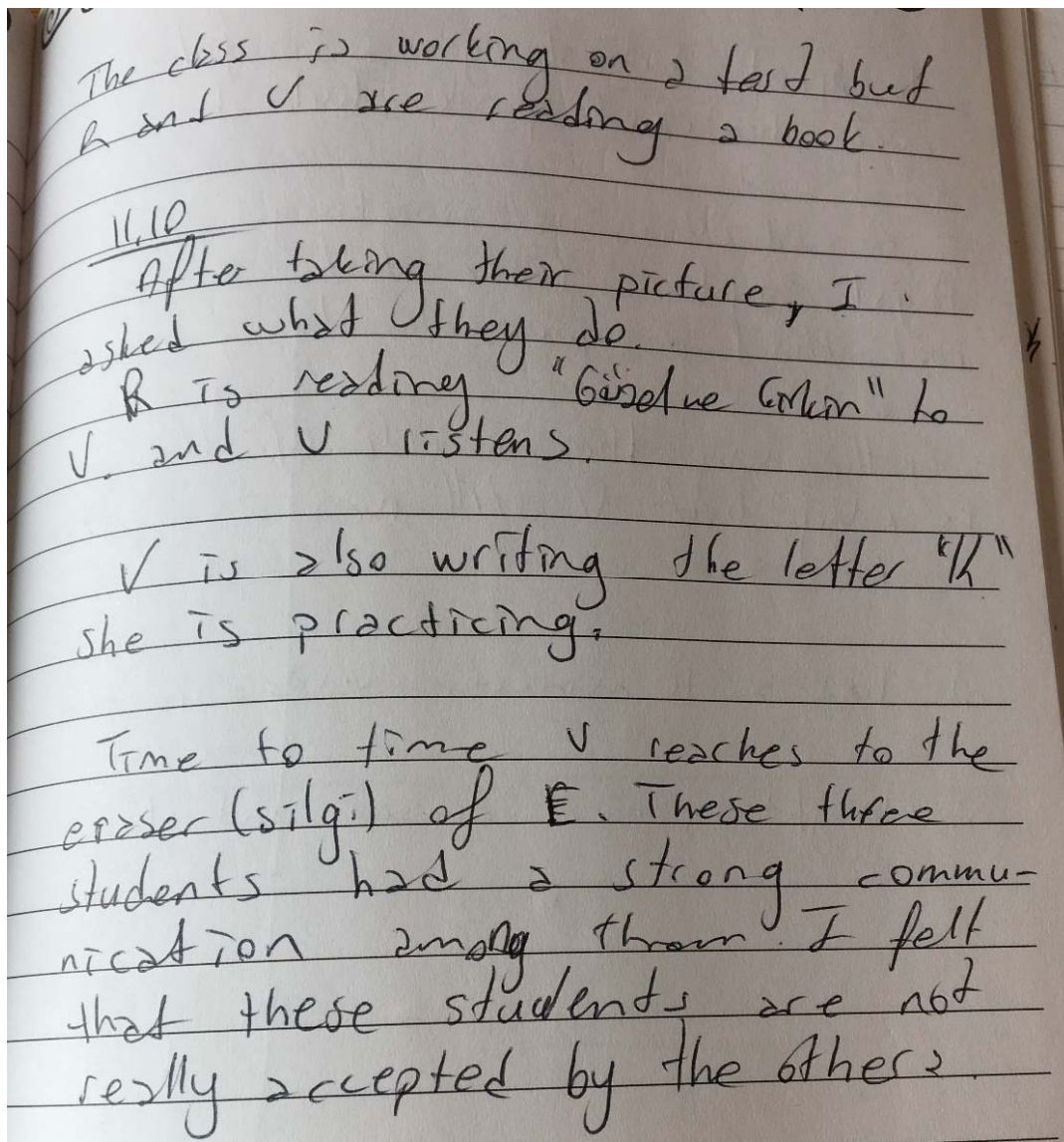


Figure 18. An example of social exclusion that causes refugee and socially excluded students to do different activities than the rest of the class (Classroom observation notes, May 24, 2016).

Me: Did you like the game?
Local students: Yeeees!
Me: Very well. Let's invite her to play with us.
Local students: (silence)
Me: Don't you want to play with her?
Local student A: She does not talk often.
Me: Doesn't she know how to speak Turkish?
Local student B: She knows.
Me: Then, why don't we invite her?
Local student A: We do not play with her often.
Me: Then, this is a good time to play together, isn't it?
Local student C: Do you think she can play with us? Our teacher says she can't do the same things as us.
Me: If you show her how to do, she can do. Can we invite her now?
Local students: Okay.
Me: Come on X. Come and play with us (She comes slowly, timidly. When she gets close to the group, I explain the rules of the game). Did you get it?
Refugee Student X: (She nodded her head meaning yes, and then students began playing again. During the game, local students did not want to put their hands close to her hand, but they changed their attitudes when they realized that she could follow instructions, they started making positive comments on her ability to follow instructions. After playing the game three times, local students abandoned their way of staying away from her or putting their hands away from her hand).

Local students' behaviors are subject to change when they have an increase in the frequency of interaction with refugee students. However, this change is temporary and local students should constantly be reminded of the beauty of interacting with their refugee classmates. The situation is the opposite in the classroom of the teachers with caretaking orientation where refugee students are subjected to social integration strategies, which aim to empower refugee students socially and culturally to be part of the classroom, then their neighborhood, and then the larger community. The local students and their teachers know all the personal, social, academic and cultural problems that their refugee classmates encounter in their daily lives. Therefore, the definition of social inclusion includes humanitarian need analysis of the refugee student and developing strategies to fight against the negative things in refugee students' lives and encourage positive social learning in every possible interaction. However, this type of integration does not focus on the academic need of the refugee

students. A teacher with a caretaking orientation explains that she assigns a student every day to her refugee students for their daily needs to ensure that refugee students always have someone to assist them.

I do not want them to be left out of the classroom, so I assign a student every day to each of my Syrian students. This way helps them become friends and know each other. This strategy also helps me know that at least once each student talks with his or her Syrian classmates. I explain to them what they need to do. I also give responsibility to my Syrian students. Therefore, they do not feel that they are the ones who need help constantly. It is up to the students what to do when they are paired. They can play together during the break, read books, or study something else. However, if I realize they are not getting well, I keep observing them to make sure that they do not hurt each other's feelings.

Assigning peer partners is one of the strategies for inclusion that teachers, particularly teachers with caretaking orientation, use to establish a brotherly bond between local and refugee students. Although creating a healthy and friendly relationship is one of the agendas that teachers adopt to ensure social harmony and protect social fabric in the school, this strategy is not the most favored strategy of the teachers with supportive orientation. Their understanding of integration is academic inclusion, and as they respect their refugee students' decisions from the beginning of having them in their classroom, they begin thinking about their refugee students' academic needs. As this is the case, these teachers aim to improve academic skills of their refugee students as well as their language skills to make them less dependent on outsiders and offer more possibility to refugee students to choose whom they want to become friends. Because teachers believe that refugee students would have done the same for building a friendship in their country if they were not forced to flee. A teacher with a supportive orientation mentions that integration to school begins with skill development. According to this teacher, students learn academic skills but these skills help them to become rational and logical people, and eventually, these skills reflect their decisions about life and social relationships.

Hocahanım, I do not ask my students to be friends every day as you ask me. They can be friends with whom they want. If I need to pair them up for an activity that is different but even that pairing up is just limited to the duration of the activity. However, I also do not allow them to let someone be alone for a long time. If I realize that they are acting like a spoiled kid, I warn them... Well, Hocahanım, we can tell them to be friends and teach social values, but these children have their own characteristics so that our teaching will be influential to some extent. Plus, there is no need to overemphasize on something because they learn good values from their books, our classroom activities, their families, and the games that we play together. All I can teach is the importance of learning, investigating, discussing, and researching and so on. When they learn these skills well, they can use them in any situation. Suppose they have a discussion with their friends, they need to understand they have a disagreement, whether they are right or their friends are good, how to reconcile the situation, and how to continue their normal life. Children solve their problems better without adults' interference or teachings. I explained once to treat their new friends like the same way they treat each other. Then the rest is up to them. I trust them.

Teachers with supportive orientation trust their students as they trust their pedagogical decisions. They respect individual differences, and this understanding reflects on their integration strategies. They do not consider refugee students as trauma cases, but they perceive these children the same as the other students in their classroom. Therefore, refugee students in these classrooms do not have similar behaviors as the other refugee students in the school. Even they are brothers and sisters, their decision for integration and behaviors show differences.

School Staff' Motivations and Attitudes

This section explains the school staff's and teachers' motivations regarding educating refugee children, the reasons that motivate and de-motivate them and their responses when they are motivated and unmotivated.

Readiness for Responsibility. All teachers are unconscious about the necessity for doing additional instructional activities to educate refugee students. They are aware that the presence of refugee students means additional responsibility on top of their other responsibilities in the school. A teacher with a supportive orientation explains that refugee students help them become aware of the

school facilities to assist students with different needs as well as noticing the problems of the education system regarding meeting the needs of diverse students.

When I have X, I began thinking about teaching Turkish to him. I first used the reading and writing book that everyone uses to teach reading and writing in the first grade. Every year, we receive the book, but I did not know where they were storing the remaining books. His coming to my class helped me find out where we keep the extra books. It is amazing we have a collection of books for each grade. However, they are not for students who speak a different language. Alas, these children miss so many valuable things just because of not knowing the language. Anyway! After he learned reading and writing and of course, he was just reading and writing, I slowly began integrating him into the activities. I was thinking that our education system was getting better, but it is designed so straight. I mean for normal students. I had difficulty to find resources for him. There are activities to teach Turkish, but it is for adults. These children get bored from those materials. Honestly, there are things that we can say well done to MoNE because it at least began listening to us, but don't get excited that much because it is still the same MoNE.

As mentioned in the quote, the teacher becomes aware of the capacity of the school facility and education system to meet the needs of refugee children. Teachers show appreciation to MoNE's attempt to introduce new methods and programs for educating refugee students, but they agree that the infrastructure of Turkish Education System is not ready to meet the needs of Syrian refugees. Therefore, when teachers are aware of the insufficiency of programs, they feel discouraged and hopeless. A teacher with a caretaking orientation mentions that he sometimes needs to be appreciated by the others in order to continue seeking alternative ways to educate and prepare refugee children to their new environment.

In truth, Hocahanim, I feel like I am falling to pieces. Thinking about the class, thinking about X, Y and Z, thinking about administration, dealing with parents... Too much!!! I want to leave everything and go. However, when someone says, "Hocam, may God bless you!" things get easier. I say "okay" at least there is someone that realizes how much effort I put on educating kids. Then I continue what I do. Teaching is a difficult job, and it is even more challenging when people do not see your effort. Look!!! With these kids, I tried so many new things. I have challenged myself so many times. I still do, I do not mind. However, it does not kill people to say,

“May God bless you!” when we try to build a connection between these kids and the other children.

Teachers’ readiness for taking responsibility or continuing to volunteer to accept more refugee students is linked to receiving appreciation from outsiders because feeling incapable of educating these children also traumatizes them. In other words, teachers also need support when they deal with their refugee students. Many teachers feel that their professional skills are also being tested by this situation. Particularly the teachers with skeptical and caretaking orientation feel more emotional about not achieving the desired level of academic achievement, and social integration for their refugee students than teachers with indifferent and supportive orientation feel. Teachers with supportive orientation have self-motivation and feel this situation is an opportunity to develop their professional skills as well as satisfy their philanthropic characteristics. Teachers with indifferent orientation, on the other hand, have a passive attitude regarding accepting their incapability to integrate and educate refugee students in their classroom. A teacher with a skeptical orientation summarizes which situations cause them to lose their faith in their professional skills and decrease their readiness for taking responsibility.

I would give anything to see progress with X, but, alas, she is just a constant reminder of how unsuccessful I am and how limited I am as a teacher. Hocahanım, believe or not, I spend most of the time with her. Just to make her speak Turkish. If I was trying to teach a stone to speak Turkish; it would. However, she speaks Arabic like bıdı bıdı bıdı (this “bıdı bıdı bıdı” refers to the situation when a person speaks many things, and his/her speech does not make sense to someone else). Poor little thing, what else she could do and what else I could do? Her family is below zero in every aspect. They do not have money. There is a stepmother at home. She is not loved. I understand that she does not trust adults, but I also begin personalizing this situation. If she continues to behave like that, it will be unfair to avoid other kids. Therefore, I will do whatever she wants. I will pay attention to other kids and let her be stubborn as she is.

Given these situations, teachers are ready to take responsibility in varying degrees. What makes them willing to take additional responsibility is the discourse, which helps the teacher see refugee

students as their children. When they feel overwhelmed, they motivate themselves by autosuggestion that all children deserve to have education and care. A teacher with an indifferent orientation indicates that autosuggestion is a way to remind himself that refugee students are, first, children, and then Syrians. He later continues to justify why he has become ignorant of educational needs but focuses on taking responsibility to give emotional support to his students' families.

Hocahanım, you are coming to my classroom for about three months. I know you do not think that I do good things for Syrian students, but I did before. You are here for three months; I have these children for two years. I talk to their parents when they come; I never avoid them. If you realize, many of them wait for me to talk about their kids. If you don't have any response from me, they don't come and expect, do they? I tell them to take care of their children, motivate them, and even give consolation about their family problems. If this kid has a real family with the entire emotional bond reconditioned, he can find his own way to get an education. He was coming and sleeping in the class. Before I was waking him up, but then I learned that there is no stove in his home, so I decided not to interrupt his sleep in a comfortable and warm place.

The level of readiness to help refugee children get used to their new environment and get the most out of the school has "been tied to a cotton yarn" as one of the teacher with a supportive orientation explained. ("Be linked to a cotton yarn" refers to a situation where there is too much risk involved to see a drastic change in what you are doing. In English, the term might be "walking on thin ice," but I prefer to use the literal translation of the idiom to avoid the change in meaning). Teachers' motivation fluctuates rapidly between the degree of being motivated and unmotivated to do more for the children. The teachers use autosuggestion to motivate themselves when they feel challenged, but as they report, "they also feel neglected and left alone" with the refugee children in their classroom. According to them, NGOs, philanthropists, MoNE officials, and sometimes their own colleagues have exploited their energy and willingness so many times. For example, a teacher with a caretaking orientation mentions that the school administration continues to give her the most problematic refugee students since she has been doing an excellent job with the children with trauma experience. However,

she complains that a teacher with a supportive orientation gets the talented Syrian students with Turkish skills or with a potential to learn Turkish fast to keep the ranking of the school. There is also a significant number of teachers complaining about NGOs or philanthropists because most of them come to school to “gain credits and make news about how good people they are by reporting that there are bad teachers ignoring refugee children” as teacher with an indifferent orientation reports.

Teachers are concerned and skeptical about outsiders, but they continue to seek help from outsiders as they still are in need of finding resources and getting advice from the people. Teachers’ motivation and readiness are a critical part of the refugee education and protection model because many refugee children’s schooling experiences are highly connected to their teachers’ attitudes. Refugee children often report that they do whatever their teachers do and continue doing the same behavior that their teachers have showed them during their first interactions. Refugee children are good at observing their teacher's behavior. These children keep track of their teachers’ emotional and behavioral changes. For example, a REC has reported his teacher’s behavioral and emotional change five times with me to explain how he has also been affected by his teacher’s problem. He fails to explain his emotions clearly due to the language barrier, but he uses words like “first person= shakhs al'awwal (Arabic and Turkish combination or only Arabic as shakhs sounds same the word sahis in Turkish. The meaning of the phrase is the same in both languages)” and “care=ilgi (Turkish)” to explain the emotional connection with his teacher. The impact of teachers’ motivation and attitudes is explained in Chapter 5 where I account for the schooling experience of Syrian child refugees.

In summary, situations like being appreciated and disregarded affect teachers’ motivation and attitudes. When teachers have positive feedback or comments from the outsiders or their colleagues, they tend to show more effort to educate refugee children. At the same time, negative feedback or comments cause teachers to question their skills, feel disregarded, or be exploited so that their

motivation goes down and consequently refugee children get affected as they personalize their teachers' feelings or their teachers stop seeking alternative approaches to educating them. The next section explains the methods used by the teachers to educate refugee students. However, it also includes the methods and programs that they implement in the school due to the official regulations to educate foreigners in Turkish schools and the policies on Syrian refugees in Turkey.

Instructional Strategies and Programs for Educating Refugee Students. The number of instructional strategies used by teachers to educate refugee children and to help them integrate into their classroom setting varies from one teacher type to another. Table 6 summarizes the instructional methods used by the classroom teachers. This table separates the instructional approaches and strategies into two categories: the instructional approaches and strategies observed in the classroom and declared by the teachers during the interview, and the instructional approaches and strategies implemented by the teacher as part of MoNE mandated programs. Instructional approaches and strategies are categorized as mentioned above due to the following reasons. First, I give place to the methods and strategies observed in the classroom. Second, as I have observed each classroom once a week, I have used teachers' interviews to understand what kind of instructional methods and techniques they declare to use in their classroom when their classroom is not observed. Finally, I have observed the role of MoNE mandated or regulated programs on teachers' frequency of using alternative teaching strategies.

Classroom teachers, in general, use various instructional methods and strategies, first, to educate refugee children and, second, to integrate them into the school, and, finally, prepare them to be part of the larger community outside the school. As teachers apply a combination of different approaches and strategies to achieve these goals, refugee students demonstrate various levels of social skills and readiness to learn academic information. In comparison to the four teachers' types, teachers with

Table 6

Instructional strategies used by classroom teachers with different profiles

Teachers' Profile	Observed and declared instructional approaches and strategies	Instructional methods and strategies mandated by MoNE
Teachers with skeptical orientation	Giving separate activity Excluding from the classroom activities Using visuals in the classroom Classroom equipped with visuals Teachers' using smart board Language support for peer learning Using alternative resources Monitoring students' progress Including student in classroom activity when students are interested	Disregarding misbehavior Allowing free time Seating arrangements Including student in classroom activity when students are interested No Grading
Teachers with indifferent orientation	Assigning tutor (counselor or outsiders) Giving separate activity Excluding from the classroom activities Seating arrangements (same seat) Peer teaching	Disregarding misbehavior Allowing free time No Grading
Teachers with caretaking orientation	Parallel Instruction Peer teaching Peer mentoring Monitoring students' progress Allowing free time Using visuals and smart board Giving separate activity Tracking emotional changes Classroom equipped with visuals Seating arrangements Using alternative resources Giving extra assignment Differentiated instruction Allowing individual learning strategies	Disregarding misbehavior Allowing free time Seating arrangements No Grading
Teachers with supportive orientation	Differentiated instruction Reinforcement Inquiry Dialectic Using regular books Using visuals and smart board Allowing individual learning strategies Disregarding misbehavior Using alternative resources	Disregarding misbehavior Allowing free time Seating arrangements Always including student in classroom activity

indifferent orientation have almost no different strategies to educate refugee students in their classroom. They get help from the school counselors or any outsiders to teach Turkish to refugee students, but their intention is not to help them learn the language but to occupy refugee students' time during the regular teaching hours. Teachers with indifferent orientation sometimes bring additional materials to their classroom, but those materials are not level appropriate. Teachers with indifferent orientation sometimes give the same activity materials to refugee students during the regular classroom activities but do not invite refugee students to be involved in the classroom activity as another strategy. These teachers do not admit that they exclude refugee students, as some local students are friends with refugee students. However, as explained earlier, refugee and local students happen to be friends because they are equally isolated from the rest of the class. The excerpt from the interview of a teacher with an indifferent orientation summarizes the findings presented above.

R: Hocam, can you explain what kind of instructional strategies and techniques you use to educate refugee students?

T: (Long pause) Do you mean how I teach them?

R: Yes.

T: I do the same thing that I do for the other students in the classroom. Sometimes, I bring some worksheets for them to study.

R: Can you give an example?

T: For instance, I gave them mathematics test from the first grade and brought some coloring books.

R: Hocam, don't you think these materials are not aged appropriate for them?

T: No Hocahanim. They are so behind the others in the classroom. At least they do not get bored when we do other things.

R: I see. Hocam by the way I want to ask one more thing. I realize that XV (female refugee student) and X (female local student) sit either in the back or front seat of the refugee students, but the others change their place. Why do you make them sit at the same location?

T: They get used to sitting there. They are also friends. That is why I did not separate them.

R: I see. So they like sitting together and keep the other children away from themselves. (I did not ask the question of "Why do you think the other students do not interact with refugee students and the other two local students" because I did not want the teacher to feel that I am judging him.)

T: No, Hocahanim. There is nothing like that. Other children don't play with them. X and XV have always been different and had difficulty in being part of the class. When the refugee student

arrived, they became friends. I told them to sit together. You probably realized that X (female local student) is really doing well with XV (female refugee student). X (female local student) teaches XV (female refugee student) to read and write, and Y (male local student) helps XV (female refugee student) with coloring and games.

R: So, you say when you pair them up they began supporting each other?

T: I should say that they have found each other.

Teachers with indifferent orientation do not get actively involved in the process of increasing refugee students' integration process, but they also do not intervene in the friendship between the local and refugee students by changing their seats. As presented in the earlier sections, the results show that refugee students, similar to local students with low social and academic skills, are subjected to alienation or social exclusion in these classrooms. Teachers' ignorance of the presence of the refugee children aligns with the strategies used in the classroom.

Teachers with skeptical orientation use any potential instructional strategies to increase the integration of the refugee students and make them familiar with the local culture. As a teacher with a skeptical orientation mentions, "Integration of these students is only possible through teaching cultural values". Therefore, these teachers lean toward the idea of acculturation. These teachers, first, begin with language teaching strategies, as they believe language is the most important part of the culture. Their strategy includes using visuals to teach daily vocabulary, placing visuals regarding language teachings such as alphabet charts and short reading phrases on the wall, assigning peers during recess time to help them practice speaking and listening, and using smart boards to help them track the lesson with the help of visuals and graphics. Second, they rely on teaching cultural and national values. The strategies for teaching cultural and national values do not show differences from the ones teaching language, but the content of the visuals and graphs often includes a picture of Ataturk-the founder of the Republic of Turkey- and sayings from Ataturk or information about the history of modern Turkey. These teachers respect refugee students' decision to participate or not participate in the classroom

activities, but they invite refugee children to participate or actively listen to what they say when the class is about national or cultural values. When teachers with skeptical orientation are asked why they keep inviting students to the national events even they know the culture of the students is different than Turkish school culture, they respond that participation in these kinds of activities helps refugee children learn about the culture and eliminate them from having potential hateful feelings about the host community. A teacher with a skeptical orientation shares her experience about her teaching cultural values and the help of the cultural values to accelerate refugee students' adaptation to the classroom.

Hocahanım, let me summarize the situation. National day celebrations are a big part of the school culture. Almost every month, we have something about our culture. If we do not invite these students to these celebrations just by thinking that they are from a different nationality, they will miss a big part of the school life. I tell them to participate because I want them to know our culture and have necessary skills to understand us. They are a small number of people; we are a lot. Obviously, we can't educate everyone to respect them and accept them, but we can teach them what we like, and we don't like. They will learn everything in the school by interacting with me, with their classmates, and with the others in the school, then this will expand to the other settings. That is why I match them with the local students.

Refugee students in the classroom of the teachers with skeptical orientation, therefore, seem more active than the other Syrian students do, because they are in view of other people due to their event participations. When refugee children in other teachers' classrooms see students becoming popular through taking part in national events, they make a request to their classroom teachers to be involved in activities. Particularly, in the classroom of the teachers with caretaking orientation, refugee students can persuade their teachers to do extra-curricular activities by mentioning about the other refugee students' experience in the national events. Teachers with caretaking orientation use these requests as a chance to improve refugee students' language and social skills. They ask the refugee students in their classroom to recite poems, read texts, or sing during the event. This responsibility makes the refugee child repeat the text several times to master pronunciation and communicate with

the people around their surroundings to find someone to practice and improve their self-esteem. A teacher with a caretaking orientation explains how his student happens to learn many songs because of their interest to participate in a national day celebration.

I am sure you know that he sings very well. He is really into it. His speech is a little bit awkward because he listens to so many songs. You know, the modern day songs do not include good Turkish. But it is okay; he knows how to communicate. He also goes to work before school and learns some inappropriate songs and words. When I hear, I tell him not to use them anymore and learn the ones that I suggest instead. He sang in the class during the Dardanelle War Memorial Day. He also learned how to sing the national anthem by listening to it repeatedly. As you said Hocahanım, he likes singing so that I teach so many things to him by saying that he will have more free time to sing after doing some other work. I sometimes tell him to practice with his friends. I do these little things for him as he wishes.

Teachers with caretaking orientation pay attention to help the refugee students discover what they like to do because they want to use the students' interest as a way to teach and integrate them. Another similar example is with a refugee student older than her classmates are. This student has a talent for drawing, and her teacher helped her to participate in a local art competition. She studied in a Syrian school before coming to Turkey, so she knows Arabic. Her teacher asked help from me to translate the invitation to Arabic and let her know that there is a competition about the concept of healthy and nutritious eating. Figure 19 includes the picture of the Turkish announcement and the translation of the announcement into Arabic. She has not been able to participate in the competition due to the personal problems, but her Turkish has improved throughout the preparation time due to her close interaction between the people around her.

Parallel instruction, peer teaching, peer mentoring, and differentiated instruction are the most preferred strategies for the teachers with caretaking orientation. Many teachers mention that they get advice about how to use these strategies from one of the teachers with caretaking orientation.

Depending on the language level of the students, teachers use one of these strategies. For example, if

the student has adequate language skills, but does not have adequate academic background due to interrupted education or having no education, teachers use differentiated instruction. If refugee students are ahead or behind their classmates in terms of academic knowledge, teachers use parallel instruction to help them continue learning within their capacities. Figure 20 presents evidence of

Yemekte denge projesi kapsamında "Yeterli Ve Dengeli Beslenme" konu bir resim yarışması vardır. Yapılan resim;

- "Dengeli bir şekilde her şeyi yiyebilirsin. Tek yapman gereken dengeyi nasıl kuracağını bilmek." mesajını vermeli.
- Resim kağıdı 35x50 cm ebatında olmalı.
- İstediyin boya ile yapabilirsin.
- Başka bir resimden kopya olmamalı.
- 1 Nisan'a kadar süresi vardır.

. " يوجد مسابقة مشروع الغذاء المتوازن تحت اسم " الغذاء المتوازن و الكافي

يجب أن تعلم أنه " تستطيع أن تأكل كل شيء بشكل متوازن ، لكن ما يجب عليك فعله هو أن تعرف كيفية المحافظة على . هذا التوازن

• ينبغي أن تكون ورقة الرسم بحجم ٥٠ × ٣٥ سم (35 × 50 cm) .

• يمكنك أن تلون بالألوان التي تريدها حسب رغبتك .

• لا ينبغي عليك النسخ في الرسم .

• المدة مستمرة إلى غاية الواحد من شهر نيسان

Figure 19. An announcement regarding an art competition in the school (above) and its translation into Arabic for a refugee student (below) (Field notes, March 24, 2016)ⁱ.

differentiated teaching in the classroom of a teacher with a caretaking orientation. She helps the refugee students follow the classroom activities through level-appropriate course materials during a Turkish lesson.

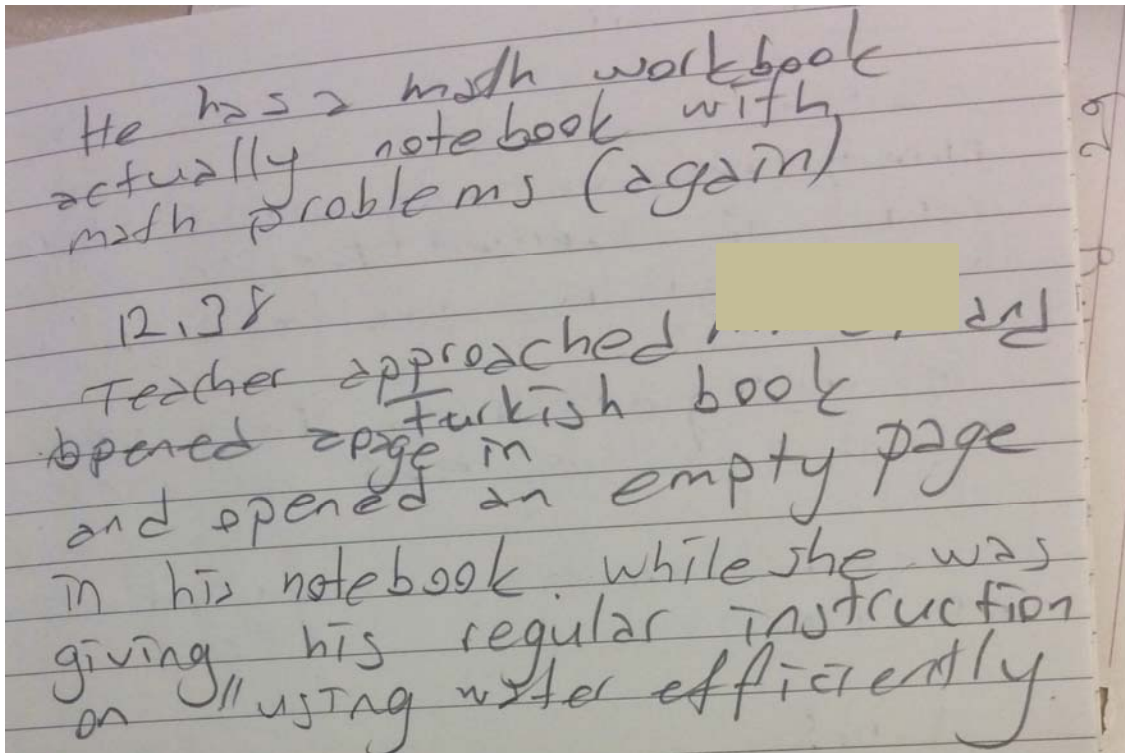


Figure 20. Example of differentiated instruction in the classroom of a teacher with a caretaking orientation (Classroom observation notes, May 9, 2016).

Differentiated instruction is one of the most preferred instructional methods among the teachers because if the refugee students in their classroom catch up to the level of the other students in the classroom, they can participate in the regular classroom activity when they are ready. For example, in the following observation note written on May 23, 2016 and shown in Figure 21, three refugee students are closely observed. Two of the refugee students have reached the desired level to follow the teacher's instruction so that they use the same material as the rest of the class and if necessary, their

teacher uses visuals to support their learning. However, the third refugee student does not have the desired level so that she is subjected to parallel instruction.

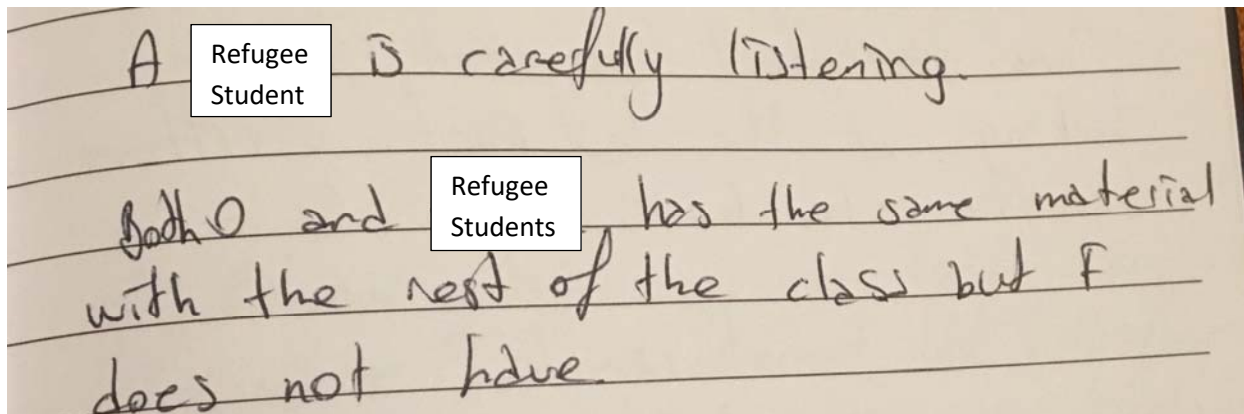


Figure 21. Notes about different instructional strategies (Observation notes, May 23, 2016)

Teachers with supportive orientation use differentiated instruction, but they do not use parallel instruction. Similar to other teachers, they use visuals, charts, maps, and tables to support refugee students' learning, but these materials are not only for refugee students but also for local students. In the classroom, teachers with supportive orientation use the regular course book for teaching refugee children but also use alternative resources to back up their learning. If refugee students are behind the others in reading and writing, teachers with supportive orientation provide alternative resources to them. However, they do not use these alternative resources during the class time. Teachers with supportive orientation give responsibility to the refugee students in studying the material. Later, refugee students meet with their teachers and begin reading the assigned section of the alternative book, or write a short summary or reflection about their understanding of the assigned section. For example, a refugee student in one of the classrooms of the teachers with supportive orientation has been asked to write a reflection about his weekend. He has written about going to an ice-cream shop and supported his writing with drawings. Figure 22 is his drawing about the ice-cream shop.



Figure 22. Refugee student's drawing about his weekend as part of the responsibility that his teacher assigned to encourage the student (Observation notes, May 23, 2016)

The excerpt of a conversation is an example of how his teacher motivates the refugee student to talk and improve his language skills during the recess time through using the picture above.

T: What is the drawing saying to us?

R: There are things for the people because the people who put them there do not want the other people to slide and fall.

T: Very good. Tell me more.

R: Here, the ice-cream seller uncle. He tells people to come and buy ice cream with a loud voice. There are also cucumbers and tomatoes.

T: This is a greengrocer, isn't it?

R: Yes, it is.

T: Why did you draw this?
R: For you.
T: This is very beautiful. Did you see something similar before drawing this place in your picture?
R: No, I did it as you said.
T: Very well done. You used your imagination. Okay. Give me some from what you are eating.
R: Help yourself.
T: What is this?
R: Raisins.
T: Do you like ice cream a lot? You drew the ice cream very big next to the shop. This is very original.
R: Yes, I like ice cream but you know there is a big picture like ice cream. I did that one.
T: I see. This is the shop sign.
R: Yes.
T: You are great. I love it. I love particularly the place where you had a plastic warning for people to avoid them from falling. Is there anything that you want to add?
R: Yes, this uncle (greengrocer) was yelling: "Come on and buy onion chicks. They are delicious."
T: Onion chicks? Tell me what do onion chicks look like?
R: They are green and long.
T: Vegetable like the one we use to make a salad?
R: Yes.
T: I see; he was probably saying "Cucuk sogan" (Spring onion).
R: Yes.
T: "Cucuk" also means fresh, okay. It also means chicks.
R: (he laughs).

In this example teaching strategy, this teacher with a supportive orientation has provided several examples of how to write about his weekend activities before the refugee students has actually written about his experience. However, the student has only a few words on the paper but draws what he has observed during the weekend. His teacher appreciates his work and encourages him to do more. This is a typical example of communication that a teacher with a supportive orientation do to interact with the refugee students and to teach the language. In the classroom, teachers with supportive orientation engage with their refugee students through multicultural activities and asking refugee children to tell each other about their country and culture. For example, a teacher with a supportive orientation explains about landforms during one of the social studies classes. He asks his refugee students to name a few of the landforms in their country. She benefits from this cultural exchange

because the other students in the classroom learn about the similarities and difference in another country. As the activity is not about cultural or political values, it also does not evoke trauma experience of Syrian students. This teacher with a supportive orientation explains that she has always tried to give an example from other countries, and Syrian students ease her effort to familiarize her students with another country.

Previously, I was giving examples from other countries such as the landforms, different traditions, their history to show the similarities and differences between Turkey and other countries. Now, we have students from another country. The other students in the class now know that people may look like us, but they may have different values as they live in a different place. I also ask other students from other provinces to tell me what they have in their region and what they do during the traditional celebration. For example, I have a student from province X from the Black Sea region. Children are amazed to learn about why they have so much forest. I want my students to be informed about others and respect others. I do not talk about the reasons as political and religious that makes them seem different from us, but I choose topics that will not hurt anyone's feelings.

The classrooms of the teachers with supportive orientation are mostly the ones where students experience multicultural teaching. These teachers intentionally give space and time for their students to learn about different cultural practices. However, the other teachers in the school try multicultural strategies when they cannot avoid cross-cultural conversations. For example, if a Syrian student wants to mention something about their culture or a local student ask questions regarding Syria or having Syrian students in the classroom, teachers allow Syrian students to share what they want to share as well as allowing local students to ask their questions.

Teachers also need to follow some strategies and methods as part of MoNE refugee education regulations. According to the MoNE regulations on educating refugee students, teachers should disregard misbehavior if the misbehavior is not completely interrupting the instructional activity, allow free time and space to the refugee students, offer the best seating arrangements for their learning and progression, provide feedback about their learning, and try to include them in the classroom activity to

increase their integration. However, teachers are not supposed to grade student's work. The observation and interview results show that teachers only disregard the misbehavior of the refugee students and allow free time when necessary to their students as suggested by MoNE. However, most of the teachers have their strategy to educate refugee student based on their main approaches such as acculturation, social exclusion, academic inclusion, and social inclusion. For example, teachers with skeptical and caretaking orientation follow the no grading policy. Therefore, refugee students do not take exams, or even if they take the exam, their result will not be considered an official grade. When the semester ends, refugee students have their school report together with the other students, but their teachers mention that they grade students' work based on students' individual progress rather than using the objective evaluation methods. They also highlight that they do some kind of grading to avoid their refugee students from feeling different from the other students or neglected when the other students receive documents. A teacher with a skeptical orientation explains his ideas about grading and mentions that he pays attention to individual progression without comparing his refugee students with the local students.

Hocahanım, we give school reports to each student. It does not matter whether they are Syrian or not. I am not sure whether their grades will be considered valid in the future. However, I don't want them to feel left out. I try to be just with grading so that I evaluate their work based on their effort and individual progress. If I evaluate their work by comparing with others, they have to repeat the grade. They can't carry on for a long time. I don't want to discourage them. They are here because they need to learn the language and understand us. After they master language skills, they can learn any knowledge. They are bright students. But as I said, if they do not deserve I give them the grade they need to get because we discussed it in the teachers' lounge that if we give inflated grades, in the future, they face more serious educational problems. Right now, they can change the type of the school they go or be in a place where they can get more support. But if they realize that they are not really good when they are in high school, then we ruin their chances to go to university.

This teacher with a skeptical orientation highlighted in his interview that their way of grading is a co-decision with the other teachers. As a result of this co-decision, all Syrian students receive a school

report, but how teachers evaluate their students' work show variability. Only teachers with supportive orientation use the standard tests and grading strategies to evaluate refugee students' work. Teachers also agree that they need to give a minimum 40 out of hundred or "Geliştirilmeli=Needs to be improved" to refugee students among "Çok İyi=Very well, İyi=Well, and Geliştirilmeli" if the refugee students perform below the progression criteria set by their teachers. Figure 23 shows some school reports given to refugee students with advanced skills, low-performance and average progression by a teacher with a supportive orientation. School report A belongs to an advanced refugee student in the classroom of a teacher with a skeptical orientation. School report B belongs to a refugee student with average performance in the classroom of a teacher with a supportive orientation. Finally, school report C belongs to low-performing refugee students in the classroom of a teacher with a caretaking orientation.

Seating arrangement strategy is the other requirements of the refugee education similar to no grading policy, but teachers apply their personal seating strategies such as systematically changing students' seat in the class, systematically changing the desk mate of the students, making some students sit on the same desk, or keeping the students' seat close to the teachers table. The main idea behind the seating strategy is to increase the interaction between refugee and local students and increase the participation of the refugee students in the classroom activities. Teachers with indifferent orientation fail to apply an effective seating arrangement because the interaction level between the local and refugee students is at the lowest level in these classrooms. Teachers with skeptical orientation mostly use the idea of keeping the refugee students close to the teachers' desk. Although it is not the best integration strategy, the local students approach the refugee students occasionally when they want to get attention from the teacher. Teachers with supportive and caretaking orientation are the best implementers of the seating arrangements; they change students' seats as well as their desk mates.

Students in this classroom complete the seat rotation in the classroom almost monthly and at least sit together with five or six different students in the classroom.

ÖĞRENCİNİN ADI SOYADI OKULU		SINIFI DERS YILI		SINIF ÖĞRETMENİNİN ÖĞRENCİ HAKKINDAKİ GÖRÜŞÜ	
DERSLER		HAFTELİK DERS SAATI	1. DÖNEM	2. DÖNEM	DAVRANIS PLANI
					1. DÖNEM 2. DÖNEM
			Gelişimsel İyi Çok İyi	Gelişimsel İyi Çok İyi	
TURKÇE	10	COK İYI	COK İYI		X
MATEMATİK	5	COK İYI	COK İYI		X
HAYAT BİLGİSİ	4	COK İYI	COK İYI		X
YABANCI DİL	2	COK İYI	COK İYI		X
GÖRSEL SANATLAR	1	COK İYI	COK İYI		X
MÜZİK	1	COK İYI	COK İYI		X
OYUN VE FİZİKİ ETKİNLİKLER	5	COK İYI	COK İYI		X
SERBEST ETKİNLİKLER	4				
DEVAM-DEVAMSIZLIK DURUMU			1. DÖNEM	2. DÖNEM	
ÖĞRENCİNİN GELMEDİĞİ GÜN TOPLAMI			0	0,0	
ÖĞRENCİNİN GEÇ GELDİĞİ GÜNLER			0	0	
SINIF BAŞARI DURUMU			TAMAMLADI	X	TAMAMLAMADI
SOSYAL ETKİNLİKLER					VELİ
İMZALAR					

School report A from a teacher with a skeptical orientation to an advanced refugee student

ÖĞRENCİNİN ADI SOYADI OKULU		SINIFI DERS YILI		SINIF ÖĞRETMENİNİN ÖĞRENCİ HAKKINDAKİ GÖRÜŞÜ	
DERSLER		HAFTELİK DERS SAATI	1. DÖNEM	2. DÖNEM	DAVRANIS PLANI
					1. DÖNEM 2. DÖNEM
			Gelişimsel İyi Çok İyi	Gelişimsel İyi Çok İyi	
TURKÇE	10	COK İYI	COK İYI		X
MATEMATİK	5	COK İYI	COK İYI		X
HAYAT BİLGİSİ	4	COK İYI	COK İYI		X
YABANCI DİL	2	COK İYI	COK İYI		X
GÖRSEL SANATLAR	1	COK İYI	COK İYI		X
MÜZİK	1	COK İYI	COK İYI		X
OYUN VE FİZİKİ ETKİNLİKLER	5	COK İYI	COK İYI		X
SERBEST ETKİNLİKLER	4				
DEVAM-DEVAMSIZLIK DURUMU			1. DÖNEM	2. DÖNEM	
ÖĞRENCİNİN GELMEDİĞİ GÜN TOPLAMI			0	0,0	
ÖĞRENCİNİN GEÇ GELDİĞİ GÜNLER			0	0	
SINIF BAŞARI DURUMU			TAMAMLADI		TAMAMLAMADI
SOSYAL ETKİNLİKLER					VELİ
İMZALAR					

School report B from a teacher with a supportive orientation to an average refugee student

ÖĞRENCİNİN		BAŞARI DURUMU	
ADI SOYADI	OKULU	1. DÖNEM	2. DÖNEM
[REDACTED]			
SINIFI			
DERS YILI			
DERSLER	HAFTALIK DERS SAATİ	BAŞARI DURUMU	
		1. DÖNEM	2. DÖNEM
TÜRKÇE	2	40	40
MATEMATİK	2	40	40
FEN BİLMELERİ	3	40	45
SOSYAL BİLGİLER	3	45	45
YABANCI DİL	2	45	45
DİN KÜLTÜRÜ VE AHLAK BİLGİSİ	2	45	55
GÖRSEL SANATLAR	1	60	60
MÜZİK	2	60	45
OYUN VE FİZİKİ ETKİNLİKLER	1	45	45
TRAFİK GÜVENLİĞİ (Trafik ve İlk Yardım F6)	2	45	45
İNŞAN HAKLARI VE YERİTİŞLİK VE DEMOKRASİ	2	45	45
DEVAM-DEVAMSIZLIK DURUMU		1. DÖNEM	2. DÖNEM
ÖĞRENCİNİN GELMEDİĞİ GÜN TOPLAMI		0,0	0,0
ÖĞRENCİNİN GEÇ GELDİĞİ GÜNLER		0	0

"Öğretmenler, yeni nesil sizin eseriniz olacaktır." Mustafa Kemal ATATÜRK					
SINIF ÖĞRETMENİNİN ÖĞRENCİ HAKKINDAKİ GÖRÜŞÜ					
DAVRANIŞLAR	DAVRANIŞ PUANI				
	1. DÖNEM		2. DÖNEM		
	Gelişimeli	Çok İyi	Gelişimeli	İyi	Çok İyi
Okul kültürüne uyum	X			X	
Öz bakım	X			X	
Kendini tanıma	X			X	
İletişim ve sosyal etkileşim	X			X	
Ortak değerlere uyma	X			X	
Çözüm odaklı olma	X			X	
Sosyal faaliyetlere katılım	X			X	
Takım çalışması ve sorumluluk	X			X	
Verimli çalışma	X			X	
Çevreye duyarlılık	X			X	
SINIF BAŞARI DURUMU	GEÇTİ				
SOSYAL ETKİNLİKLER	TAMAMLADI	X	TAMAMLAMADI		
İMZALAR	[REDACTED]				VELİ

School report C from a teacher with a caretaking orientation to a low-performing refugee student

Figure 23. School reports A, B, and C given to refugee students with advanced skills, low-performance and average progression by teachers with supportive, skeptical, and caretaking orientation (Field notes, June 10, 2016).

Conclusion: Meaning Making of School Staff Behaviors and Principles for Educating Refugee Students

This chapter presents the results regarding the refugee education and protection model in a public school in Turkey from teachers and staff's perspectives. Educating a refugee child from a different and troubled country is a new concept for many teachers in the school so that teachers have various ideas about how to educate these children. In the school, there are also teachers with experiences in multicultural education practices due to working with Kurdish students, and few refugee and immigrant students from Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, and China. Teachers rely on their prior knowledge or expertise in teaching students with different needs as there are no clear regulations on educating refugee students.

Teachers and school staff use some discourses to motivate themselves in providing educational services to the refugee community, and their refugee students to continue trying to be part of the school system and consequently to the larger community. These discourses are, first, refugee children deserve to be a child and second, refugees can rebuild a new life: helping Syrians is a humanitarian response. These discourses are generated as a result of the common sense of humanity and historical understandings of what humanitarianism is in Turkey.

Teachers dominantly rely on similar foundational concepts such as transparency and honesty, determinism and commitment, and hierarchy when they approach the Syrian community. These concepts have relationship with the common sense of humanity and the historical understandings of humanitarianism adopted among the teachers. Teachers use the concepts in a way that each of them serves a purpose for regulating refugee education and protection in the school. For example, teachers set barriers between them and the Syrians as well as others through utilizing their hierarchical power; they use skepticism to build trust with the outsiders; they make changes and show consistency with their changes with determinism; they follow the principles of the refugee education and protection model that have been established through commitment.

The reason for having a foundational concept before setting the principles is related to the idea of coping with the challenges and recognizing the characteristics of the new-coming group of students before they initiate their educational approach. Teaching and administrative staff in the school not only want to identify the needs of the refugee students but also want to introduce their cultural values to the new coming group of students through highlighting the foundational concepts as accentuated values of the school.

During the introduction of the concepts and the interaction with the Syrian refugee students, teachers experience challenges of educating refugee students. The challenges and problems are

categorized into five categories such as anti-refugee sentiment in the local community, language barriers, access to level-appropriate material and space, lack of knowledge of refugee education policy, and refugee students' living conditions and emotional state. Even the categories come down to five due to the results of the data; there are numerous issues under each category of challenges for the teachers and school administration. These challenges are also valid for the refugee students, but they experience the same issues in a different way so that the next chapter will present results about the challenges from the refugee and local students' perspective.

The principles of the refugee education and protection models such as personal space, respect to decision-making, and voluntary integration are the results of filtering the convenient result of each interaction and meaning-making of different reactions of the local and refugee community in educating students. Teachers and school administration emphasize that they still need time to understand the difference of cultural practices so that they have established the principles by observing the cultural practices of Syrian community but not by getting advice from the members of the Syrian community. In other words, the host community uses authoritative power in regulating how the educational services should be provided to the new-coming group of students. However, school staff is motivated to take responsibility and try some instructional strategies to educate refugee students.

Teachers' preference to use certain instructional strategies is shaped by their understanding of integration. Teachers with skeptical orientation support acculturation, teachers with indifferent orientation use social exclusion or alienation, teachers with caretaking orientation use social inclusion, and teachers with supportive orientation use academic inclusion as a way of ensuring integration. Teachers with inclusive integration strategies are more consistent with their ideas about how to educate refugee students. Refugee students in the classrooms of the teachers with supportive orientation experience democratic decision-making and its consequences, and refugee students in the classroom of

the teachers with caretaking orientation experience a conscious journey that helps them develop empathy. On the other hand, the other refugee students in other classroom either get traumatized by the negligence of their teachers with indifferent orientation and classmates or have schooling experience similar to assimilation in the classroom of teachers with skeptical orientation, which results in having a group of refugee students resistant to receiving cultural values or being assimilated into the local community. Chapter 5 provides information about refugee students' profile in detail.

Lastly, this chapter answers the first research question of this dissertation study, which examines the major things that shape the schooling experience of Syrian child refugees. The simple answer is that the founding concepts and the principles of refugee education and protection models shape the schooling experience of refugee students. This chapter provides a background explanation for understanding the nature of refugee students' schooling experiences as it shows the first step for recognizing the relationship between teachers' and school staff's approach and Syrian refugee children's schooling experience. The next chapter answer the second and third research question regarding what the schooling experiences of refugee students are, to what degree their experience differs from the others' experience and the experiences that shape their identity and agency as well as how they react to social and cultural teachings while developing their identity within the space given to them.

Chapter 5: Meaning Making of the School Culture and Social Norms

Introduction: Syrian Refugee Students' Schooling Experiences

This chapter answers the second and third research questions of the study. Second research question examines what the schooling experiences of Syrian children refugees, and the third question examines how Syrian child refugees react to the social and cultural teaching in the school. Chapter 4 has presented the challenges in refugee education from the perspectives of teachers and school staff, but it has also built a background for understanding the refugee students' experiences. The explanations on the challenges in educating refugee students have established a framework to understand that refugee students schooling experiences are dependent on their surroundings and the interaction between the other people in the school and the local community.

The results show that Syrian refugee students in the public school face challenges due to their language skills, the host communities' social expectations and norms in the school and neighborhood, and the lack of strong refugee education policy. As they continue facing challenges, they begin constructing survival skills and these survival skills help them become an independent being and develop a sense of agency. The agency development and the process of becoming independent vary from one child to another because, as briefly explained in Chapter 4, they are exposed to different treatments from their teachers, classmates, and the others in the school. This situation results in refugee students to manifest different behaviors and to have different profiles.

Given the explanations in Chapter 4, Chapter 5 focuses on how refugee students make sense of their surroundings and interactions while gaining schooling experience. It explains the refugee students' positive and negative schooling experiences through presenting the examples of agency manifestations and the process of becoming independent while developing social and language skills. The data shows

that refugee students' agency increases and their dependency on another person decrease when they become proficient in using language in time. Therefore, the agency and independence development have an inverse relationship. As refugee students get independent, they become less interactive with the people they get used to interact due to refugee students' lack of language skills. However, the decrease in interaction does not mean that refugee students stop communicating or interacting with the people around them. Many refugee students eliminate negative interactions such as always trying to be with the people who give support to them, and paring up with the refugee students, who have better language and communication skills. The results also show that there is a simultaneous relationship between agency development and the process of becoming independent. When refugee student feels competent about their skills and decisions, they begin feeling less dependent on another person's guidance.

In presenting the results about Syrian refugee students' schooling experiences and their meaning-making of the school culture and interaction, this chapter, first, explain refugee students' behavior claims and expected characteristics of each behavior claim. Second, I present the results of the Syrian refugee students' experience in the school to highlight their challenges, problems, and feelings. The third section presents the results regarding how Syrian refugee students behave in the school to claim their space and prove their existence in the school when they get exposed to social and cultural teaching. Finally, the fourth section explains the role of social actors and surroundings in shaping refugee students decision-making process, agency, and identity.

Refugee Students' Behavior Claims and Description

Refugee students adopt different behavior claims in the school due to their personality and social background. Other factors such as refugee students' financial situation, their interaction with the local people, and their teachers' and classmates' behaviors influence how fast refugee students show

their real personality to the other people and practice their agency. The results suggest that refugee students may adopt extrovert, introvert, academically-motivated, or traumatized after resettlement behavior claims based on the codes created during the data analysis. The behavior claims that refugee students adopt explains that refugee students respond to their environment and the social norms of the school community based on their characteristics and the nature of interaction with the people around them. Refugee students' behavior claims are not stereotypical or essential explanations about the personality of the refugee students. They are the claims that refugee students showed during the data collection process. There are evidences that refugee students adopt different behavior claims in different situations and with different people. However, in this study, refugee students mainly change the behavior claims among the four claims mentioned above. Some refugee students show consistency in their behavior claims, but these refugee students, and their teachers and local classmates mentioned in their interview that these refugee students claimed different behavior claims from throughout their schooling experience.

The number of interviewed refugee students is 25, and seven refugee students have only participated as interviewees. Table 7 shows the number of only interviewed refugee students and the interviewed and observed refugee students. In the text, I used acronyms for each behavior claim. REC is for the refugee students with extrovert behavior claim as REC. RIC is for refugee students with introvert behavior claim. RAC is for refugee students with academically-motivated behavior claim. Finally, RTC is for refugee students with traumatized after resettlement behavior claim.

The codes that helped me decide which behavior claims that each refugee student adopt are 1) key characteristics of the refugee students, 2) the level of interaction with the others, 3) dependence on others, 4) emotional stability, 5) awareness of their identity and 6) social adaptation. Refugee students in each behavior claim have different behaviors, feelings, and reactions to the social and cultural

Table 7

Profiles of Refugee Students and the Number of Only Interviewed, and the Interviewed and Observed Refugee Students in Each Profile (N=25)

Profiles	n	
	Observed and Interviewed	Only Interviewed
Refugee Students with Extrovert Behavior Claim (REC)	4	4
Refugee Students with Introvert Behavior Claim (RIC)	5	-
Refugee students with Academically-Motivated Behavior Claim (RAC)	5	2
Refugee students with Traumatized After Resettlement Behavior Claim (RTC)	2	3

teachings. However, in their interview, refugee students have mentioned that they have not acted as they want when they have first arrived in their school because they have been unfamiliar with the school and the people in the school. When they understand the school as a system, they begin manifesting their personality.

Refugee students' way of explaining their personality manifestation, which refers to a set of behaviors that reflects the core characteristics of the refugee students' personality, have a similarity with the teachers' explanations about how refugee students have changed their behaviors in the school during their stay. Teachers have mentioned that refugee students have been different when they have first come to their classroom. According to teachers' explanations, some refugee students have become more active, successful, academically-integrated, and socially-integrated; or they have become more reserved, stubborn, ignorant, and resilient. Local students also mention similar explanations about how refugee students have begun acting differently in the classroom and during the recess time. Local

students share in their interviews that refugee students have been friends, first, with the other Syrian friends, but later they become friends with their local friends from their neighborhood or with their local classmates. However, the common point of these explanations shows that each refugee student shows consistency in their final behavior claims.

Refugee students, teachers and local classmates' explanations about the refugee students' behavioral changes and the determination to demonstrate the same behaviors have required asking refugee students why they begin acting differently than their first arrival. During their interview, refugee students' have given information about their schooling experience and their interaction with the others. They have mentioned how they have spent their time in Turkey after coming from Syria, how they have registered to the school, how they have felt before, during and after registration, and how they now make sense of their classmates, teachers' and school staff's behaviors in comparison to their first perception of the people in the school. Refugee students' narratives play an important role in explaining the reasons for the behavioral changes.

The following section explains the four behavior claims of refugee students through providing examples from the classroom observations, and interviews with refugee students, local students, and their teachers.

Refugee Students with Extrovert Behavior Claim (REC). Refugee students with extrovert behavior claims are mainly outspoken, social, and curious about exploring and understanding social norms and rules. When these students need to talk about their needs, they can clearly mention their needs and problems in any context. They hardly feel discouraged even they receive negative reactions from the people that they share their needs. One of the refugee students with extravert behavior claim explains that he is outspoken about his needs and problems because his teacher has asked him to express his needs.

I: You speak very well. Where did you learn Turkish?
Extrovert Refugee Student (REC): I talk with my friends. I play with my neighbors. This teacher (he points a teacher in the teachers' lounge) is my neighbor, too and he gave me books.
I: Very well, you did great. So tell me why you are so talkative.
REC: I like talking.
I: But your teacher said you were not talking before.
REC: I did not know how to talk with them.
I: How you know that you can talk with them now?
REC: Well, I know because other students talk too. My teacher also said I could talk, as I want. I am also his student.
I: So your teacher said, and you begin talking? Why didn't you talk before? Were you waiting for him to tell you to talk?
REC: No. I didn't talk because I did not know whether it was okay. My teacher said that it is okay to ask if I need something. I told him I need books, pencils, and notebooks.
I: So you begin asking to get things you mentioned after your teacher said it is okay. Didn't you want to ask for pencils, books, and notebooks before?
REC: I did.
I: Then why you waited for him to tell?
REC: I did not know that I can ask. Now, I know my teacher gives them to me. However, he said after having them I should study and should not ask for more pencils and notebooks.
I: should you give them back if you don't study.
REC: No. I don't give them. They are mine now.

REC are generally good observers. They observe their surroundings and make inferences. For example, as the REC has mentioned in the above quote that the other students talk and he is a student in the classroom so that he can talk. However, these students also need to get encouragement from their teachers to express their needs. For REC who do not have the encouragement from their teacher, they do not easily become outspoken like the other REC encouraged by their teachers. They mention that their teachers have told them several times to stop talking in the classroom. An REC mention that he does not stop talking if he needs to be part of the classroom and if his teacher does not allow him to talk. He talks with the other students in the classroom.

My teacher sometimes gets angry when I talk. He does not like me talking when he is talking. But I want to do something. I want to say what I know. He sometimes says that it is not the time to talk about it in the classroom. But when I talk I say something about the lesson. I say, and he doesn't understand me. I keep talking, and he gives me milk, but I don't want milk. I want to say

about the lesson. Then, I talk with my friends. They listen. My teacher says "enough with talking."

REC always want to be the center of the attention, and they do not like being excluded from the ongoing conversation in the classroom. If they do not get enough space from their teachers to participate in the classroom activity, they create different situations so that they do not get bored. Many REC have better language skills, but they often cannot explain their needs. As the REC has mentioned, refugee students ask for a particular role in the classroom activity, but their teachers do something else as they cannot understand what refugee students ask to do.

Many REC have active communication with the other people in the school, but they are not dependent on their teachers' or their peers' support to do their regular activities in the school. They have a better sense of the school culture and people's expectations than the other refugee students. These students have critical perspectives as well. They also take the role to help the other students who need help in the classroom. A female REC mentions that she helps the other students because people have helped her to learn the language and study her subjects.

People are nice here. They helped me a lot. They gave me books, notebooks, and my teacher also gave this coat. We (she means Syrians) have problems. People die. I watch television. That is so bad. However, Turkey helped us. New Syrian children come to school. I translate Syrian language (Syrian children do not say Arabic; they say Syrian language in Turkish "Suriyece" when they speak) for the teacher. I give my extra books. Now I know reading. They can learn reading from my book. They don't have I know because I did not have. There are no books in Syria. They can't bring when they are coming to Turkey.

REC have a better understanding of their situation and take responsibility to help the other refugee children in the school. They have a critical mindset and empathetic approach so that they can apply the things that have empowered them in the school. REC have two different ways of helping the other students based on their personality such as REC protecting the new-comers, and REC helping

during the crisis or when a problem occurs. The first type of REC takes one of the new-coming refugee students under the protection so that they always do things as pairs. REC become the role model for the new coming refugee student. REC show and expect the new refugee student do what they demonstrate during their interaction. The following conversation with the one of the REC and the new refugee student exemplify how the REC begin helping new refugee students and contribute to the refugee education process.

I: I always see you together. Why do you always hang out together?

REC: I help her.

New refugee student (NRS): (She happily nods her head to confirm that REC helps her)

I: Well done. Your teacher must be very happy to see that you help her as he asked you to do.

REC: He did not ask. I help her.

I: Really? Tell me why do you help her? Did she ask for your help?

REC: No, she didn't. She came to the school this year. She did not know Turkish. She only speaks Syrian language. I taught her to speak. I taught her how to play the games. I also tell her which person in the classroom is good and bad.

I: Do you understand us? (I ask NRS whether she understands us)

NRS: A little. (Then she speaks in Arabic with REC and ask for more clarification about what we have talked about). She helps me. I love her. (Then she hugs the REC)

I: Well done for both of you. (I turn to REC) how did you decide to help her?

REC: My teacher helped me. My friends also helped me. I did the same. I need to help to be a good student. The teacher always said, "You are good students" to my friends when they played with me. Some children did not play with me, the teacher did not say that they were good students, but I play with them. Helping is good.

REC, who help the new refugee student, have critical thinking skills and decide what is good and bad based on their lived experience in the school. REC, who help new refugee students during the crisis or problem, also have similar critical thinking skills, but they prefer to help refugee student because their lived experiences include elements about teachers' allowing them to use conflict resolution skills. The following quote is from a conversation between me and an REC about his involvement to solve a problem between the new-coming refugee and the local students. The REC explains that he has waited to get involved to solve the problem because he wants the other refugee student to solve the issue by himself.

I: How was your Physical Education class? Do you like it?
REC: Yes, I like it. We play soccer, but we can't do Physical Education every day. Our teacher does not allow us.
I: Hmm. Maybe he thinks you should also do some other things.
REC: I don't know.
I: You are really good friends with X (NRS). I see that you help him in Mathematics class.
REC: Yes, we are good friends. I help him because sometimes he does not understand. I tell him to ask the teacher, and then I explain him again.
I: This is very good. I will ask you something. When you were playing soccer, I saw that X (NRS) and Y (Local student) had an issue. What was it?
REC: Y made foul, and X saw the foul.
I: Who was right? X or Y?
REC: X.
I: Why?
REC: Because Y touched the ball with his hand.
I: Now, I see. He was trying to explain how he made foul to the others.
REC: Yes.
I: You could have easily translated what he was saying.
REC: No. There is no need.
I: But why?
REC: Because he can. We play together. The others listen to him.
I: Then, what did you tell the others when he finished explaining?
REC: I told them what he was trying to tell about the foul.
I: So you helped him.
REC: Yes, but the others and he asked for help, and then I helped. He already explained, and he did not need me.

Many REC get involved in helping new refugee students in the school. These children have better skills to manage their emotional and trauma-related problems so that they are good at helping new-coming students to control their emotional problems. Many of them have experienced and witnessed a form of violence. Their outspoken characteristics help them go through their traumas. They also believe that talking helps them deal with their emotional problems. However, they do not want other people to talk about their problems. An REC explains that he does not like other people talking about his problems or asking about what happened in Syria, but he sometimes wants to share his experience to feel okay.

REC: Öğretmenim (A form of address used by students in Turkish school.) My school in Syria was bombed by Assad. Many people died.

I: You don't need to talk about it, my dear.

REC: I want to speak. You didn't ask, but I want to speak. My teacher asked before, but I did not tell him what happened in Syria. I didn't want. I don't like people talking about it.

I: I see. Okay, tell me what you want to share. I will listen, but you can stop anytime you want. Deal?

REC: Deal. Öğretmenim, Assad bombed our school and homes. People were dying. It was big so big (he is touching on his chest to show how his feelings are intense as if he wants to show his feelings are so big for his heart). I could not talk about it. People were crying, running. I was not in the school, but my teacher and my friends were in the school. The school was not there anymore. It became dust. I ran home, and it was noisy like boom. My father never came after the bombing. Then, my uncle took us here.

I: I am sorry to hear it. Is there anything that I can help?

REC: No, thank you. This is it. I sometimes talk about it. (He pauses and looks outside the window as if he is thinking something) Don't talk about it? Deal?

I: Deal.

All refugee children in the school regularly see the school counselor. The school counselors approach refugee students as either their teachers ask help, or the school counselors schedule a visit to monitor refugee students in the school. However, REC do not speak during the scheduled hours; they choose when to talk and whom to talk. This behavior always causes them to be perceived as stubborn children, but they refuse to talk about their trauma-related problems until they feel ready.

REC are aware of their identity as Syrians. They are also knowledgeable about their family and ethnic background. They clearly express their ethnic origin to establish connections or draw the boundaries of what they can do and what they cannot do in the school. School staff has expressed their astonishment about how these refugee children are knowledgeable about politics and their ethnic background, but later they have accepted their behaviors. An REC shares her concerns that she does not like being called as Arab or Syrian since she is a Turkoman.

REC: Öğretmenim, I am not Syrian, I am a Turkoman. You don't need to talk with me.

I: I know, but you come from Syria. I don't know Syria. I hope you don't mind talking about Syria and giving information about Syria.

REC: Then it is okay. I thought you think I am Arab. I told my teacher that I am not Arab. I always speak Turkish at home, but I also know Arabic. I learned Arabic in Syria. She said that my Turkish

is good. The other children also called me Syrian. I told them "No, I am not Syrian" Now, they don't call me like that.

I: I see; you don't need to get angry. They did not know that is why they called you Syrian. But I had something in my mind now. Why do you get angry when they call you Syrian? Is it a bad thing to be a Syrian?

REC: Öğretmenim, no. It is not bad. But my father told me that this is also our home. He said we came to our other home.

Similar to the REC's reaction above, one of the REC from another religion (I do not want to share the name of religion in the study because only three refugee students are from different religions and each of them is different) expresses that he prefers not to participate some classes because they do not practice the same things at home. Therefore, he has asked his teacher to leave the classroom or do some other things when he feels the subject of the topic is irrelevant for him.

Öğretmenim, we do have different things. My mom says "we are different and should not do what the locals do." My mom talked to my teacher, and he said okay. He is telling me now maybe you can go for a walk or draw a picture, and I understand that I need to leave the classroom. My friends do not know why I leave, but my teacher said they don't need to know. I am different from others. We were also different than the others before coming here.

Most of the REC express similar comments about their national, religious, and ethnic identity. They believe that their national, religious, and ethnic background makes them different. However, they are also the ones who show the highest degree of social adaptation to their new social setting. They accept the cultural differences of the host community and do not challenge the cultural norms of the host community. When they speak, they use expressions such as "You do like this, but we do like this," "This is not how we were doing in Syria" and "I know you have different habits and foods." REC try to learn the cultural practices, but at the same time, they protect their own cultural practices. REC have the highest activity participation in the school, but if their involvement violates their cultural, ethnic, or religious norms, they tend to say no. Their families are influential in teaching these values and

awareness, but the school allows them to continue their practices if REC and their families do not trouble the cultural practices in the school.

Refugee Students with Introvert Behavior Claims (RIC). Refugee Students with Introvert Behavior Claims (RIC) are generally shy and have reserved characteristics. They do not get in direct communication with their teachers and classmates even they want to interact with them. They always wait for someone to start the conversation or signal their intention to talk with another person through pointing the people, staying close to the people, or quietly uttering some words about their intention. RIC are the difficult refugee students for the school community because they do not speak about their needs. They only signal or show cues. The following communication between the RIC and his teacher shows the difficult moments that teacher experience in an attempt to understand what this refugee student wants to do in the classroom.

Teacher (T): X, why do you behave like this? I ask what you want to do. Tell me what you want, and you do that thing.

Introvert Refugee Student (RIC): (He quietly looks at his teacher's face without any sign of emotion or comprehension)

T: Do you need some time alone?

RIC: (He opens his bag and take out a storybook)

T: Aha, I see. You want to read this book. All right. You first read this and then we do writing.

RIC: (He leans over his storybook to signal he does not like what his teacher has just said)

T: but X don't do like this. I am asking what you want to do. I know you speak. Just say something and make my life little easier.

RIC: I will read. (With a reticent voice)

T: What?

RIC: I will read. (A little louder but still quiet)

T: Thanks God. Okay, you read as much as you want. We talk about the other things later (She turns to me). Hocahanim, can you sit with X while he is reading? He can read aloud, and then you listen.

RIC never react apparently and show their feelings. If RIC do not want to communicate or do to a task, they show passive resistance. Their passive resistance includes ignoring people's words, staring at one point or people's face, leaning their head on their desk as if they are sleeping or being bored, and leaving the place without saying anything. As RIC display passive resistance to react during their interaction with the others, they are not talkative. During observation hours and interview process, they have used sentences with maximum three or four words. ⁱⁱ Therefore, when communicating with RIC, using yes or no questions help to get accurate information about their experience. The following excerpt from one of the interviews with a RIC demonstrates a typical passive resistance of RIC and their way of communicating with simple answers or gestures.

I: Okay, X let's talk about what games you like?

RIC: (He stares at my face.)

I: Don't you like playing games?

RIC: (He nods his head meaning he likes games)

I: Can you name some of them to me?

RIC: Soccer.

I: Great. What else?

RIC: Square picking (This is an online game where two players put line one by one to form a square. The player, who has more squares when they finish the putting lines, wins the game.)

I: Is there any other?

RIC: SOS (This game has the similar game structure with tic-tac-toe, but players play on a bigger board rather than 3 by 3 grid board).

I: I saw that you play excellent soccer. Let's talk about it.

RIC: (he smiles as a response to my question)

I: I know you are good. Bravo. But you left the game when Y (A local student begin playing with your team)

RIC: (He stood up and began walking to the door)

I: Where are you going? Don't you want to talk about it?

RIC: (He nods his head meaning no)

I: Okay, then. What about playing SOS and talking about something else.

RIC: Okay. (He slowly walks back to his chair and cautiously sits as if he wants to make sure that I will not talk about Y again.)

RIC have a tendency to interact with the people when they feel emotional in a way that they cannot hide the emotion from the others. In such case, they get close to the people or the place where people do something they like. The emotional moments are the times when they form longer sentences or start the conversation. A RIC attempts to communicate with his teachers to share his happiness when he has broken his previous reading record and got a reading medal.

RIC: Öğretmenim, thank you.

T: You are welcome, but this is your success. I thank you because of your hard work.

RIC: This is beautiful.

T: It is. I hope you get more.

RIC: My sister has three.

T: You have just got one, but you will get more in the future.

RIC: (He gets shy, and his face turn red. He comes close to his teacher, he leans his head on his teacher's arm for a short time. Then he quickly walks back to his desk)

RIC are very dependent on their teachers and classmates. They try not to use their decision-making skills and they do not vocalize or rarely vocalize their needs until someone approaches them and asks them to do some activities. Among the choices given to them, RIC choose the one they want to do. Therefore, understanding what they need and how to approach these children is difficult. However, if someone spends time with them, that person begins understanding that they mostly communicate through their gestures and mimics.

When RIC are completely alone or isolate themselves from the local students and teachers, they are active, cheerful, and energetic students like the REC. In these circumstances, RIC talk with their classmates and teachers to participate in the classroom activities, and to initiate conversations with the people. Therefore, the teachers of RIC in the weekend school and the public school have different views about the RIC. The weekend school includes only Syrian students. The teachers of the weekend school think that RIC are happy, active, cheerful, and energetic students with high motivation to learn and study. On the other hand, the public school teachers think that RIC are emotionless, stubborn, reticent,

and lazy with no motivation to learn and study. The observation results point the same situation with RIC. The other refugee students show consistency in their behaviors in different facilities of the school, but RIC change the way they behave in various settings. A RIC mentions that she does not talk in the school because she does not like how her teacher and classmates treat her in the classroom.

I: X, come here. Let's have a conversation with you. I do not have somebody to talk.
RIC: Okay. (She happily begin running towards me.)
I: You are happy today. What happened? Tell me.
RIC: Nothing.
I: Are you sure? Don't you want to tell me?
RIC: Really? Nothing different happened.
I: I like seeing you happy. But yesterday, you were not talking in the classroom like you do today. Why?
RIC: (She shrugged her shoulder as if she does not care about talking in the classroom). I don't because I don't like.
I: You don't like what? Your classmates, teachers, school?
RIC: You know. They (she refers to her teacher and classmates) are weird. They want to do something with me, but they all do everything. I want to do; they say, "I do for you, I do for you." Then I don't talk. This teacher is nice. He tells me "You can read" and "Well-done." Other teacher does not tell.
I: Tell them that you can do.
RIC: (She shrugged her shoulder in the same way) No need. Some children also say you are Syrian. They don't take me in their games.
RIC: That is not okay. Did you tell them anything when they said something like this?
I: No.
RIC: Why?
I: Because I don't want. I play with Y, Z, and W (She gave the name of some local students in her classroom). They are good.
I: Okay, then. It is up to you. But maybe you can show them what games you know. Maybe you don't know (I try to be sarcastic to make her smile).
RIC: I know (She stomped her right foot)
I: Show me, then.

This RIC highlighted some issues about her teacher's and local students' behaviors such as exclusion and over-caring. The following section on Syrian refugee students' schooling experience presents results regarding these issues in detail, but the important point is that local students and teachers' behaviors influence how refugee students react in the classroom and outside the classroom.

RIC decide on how they want to behave in a different school setting, and they form their emotional and behavioral responses based on their possibility of equal participation, the respect shown to their capabilities, and the moments of having equal opportunity with the other children.

RIC are aware of their identity as Syrian, but they do not think to be Syrian is something different than being girl or boy, poor or wealthy, and hardworking or lazy. They use these terms to define the social group they are affiliated. However, the way they use these binary terms set up the very foundation of discriminative practices in the classroom setting because RIC and the local students with discriminative mentality do not have harmony.

Refugee Students with Academically-motivated Behavior Claim (RAC). Refugee students with academically-motivated behavior claim (RAC) have a strong sense of discipline and commitment to academic progression. Their first priority is their achievements in the classroom. They are ambitious, competitive, and socially-responsible. They interact with their classmates, but they do not often play with their classmates during the recess time. They spend most of their time in the classroom by copying the board to their notebook, asking questions to their friends about assignments, asking their classmates or other teachers to give feedback on their reading skills.

A teacher with a caretaking orientation mention that RAC are "miniature adults" as they show very-disciplined characteristics in the school setting. A RAC mention in her interview that she wants to learn more and do not want to play outdoor games as outdoor games make her tired. However, she feels embarrassed when she plays the other games because she thinks some games are for little children.

I: How are you today?

RAC: I am fine, Öğretmenim? How are you?

I: I do great. Thank you. Do you know why we are here today?

RAC: You are going to ask a question about my school, class, teacher, and the classmates.

I: Well-done.

RAC: I read the paper you gave us.

I: You like reading?

RAC: Yes. I do. I read books every day. One book for each day.

I: Reading is my favorite activity, too. But playing outside is fun, too.

RAC: Öğretmenim, I play with my friends during physical education hours, but I don't want to play during recess time because I feel tired. I stay in the classroom and play games in the classroom.

I: What kind of games?

RAC: Word finding, hangman, country finding, and name-cityⁱⁱⁱ (a game like mad libs. The game board of each player has categories such as name, city, item, animal, and plant. In this game, players try to find words for each category.)

I: I like these games, too. Why do you like these games?

RAC: My teacher says that these games help us learn more words. That is why I like them.

Öğretmenim, I also like the spin game^{iv}. (She felt little bit embarrassed)

I: What is this for? (She blushes so that I show my surprise by saying this statement). You don't need to feel shy.

RAC: But it is for little children.

I: No, it is a game to test your reflexes. Do you know what reflex is? (She nods her head meaning no). Okay, let me explain it. Reflex is your body's reaction to sudden changes. For example, if you mistakenly drop your pen, you try to catch. It is a reflex.

RAC thinks that they should not do some activities because some activities are for little children.

During the second interviews with the refugee students, I have asked a follow-up question to understand whether this is a common belief among refugee students. The results show that most of the RAC have mentioned similar statements that they do not do some activities because they are grown-up due to what their families have experienced in Syria and Turkey. RAC have mature characteristics because they learn from their families about how they need to think and behave. A RAC explains that he does not play outside often because his mother tells him that he is now a big boy and he should not waste his time by chasing the soccer ball.

I: It is Physical Education time. If you want, you go out and play soccer with your friends. We can do the talk later.

RAC: No, Öğretmenim. I don't need to play soccer. I don't need it.

I: We do not play games because we need them. We do it for entertaining us.

RAC: I am a big boy now Öğretmenim. I sometimes play, but I need to study.

I: Where did you get this idea that you are a big boy?

RAC: My mom says so.

I: Tell me what your mom says exactly.

RAC: She says don't chase after the ball. Chasing ball is useless. We need to work hard because we don't have house and money.

I: I understand your mother, but soccer is not useless. It keeps you healthy.

RAC: Öğretmenim, if I play soccer all the time, I will not be a big boy.

I: Do you think in the school, everybody plays soccer all the time?

RAC: No.

I: Then, maybe you should think about playing when your teacher gives time to play. Now, tell me honestly. Do you really want to play soccer or do you stay with me because you are told to do so?

RAC: Öğretmenim, I want to play (He blushes as the same way the other RAC did.)

I: You should play if you want. You are a good student, and you need motivation. Go and have some fun. When you finish playing, write how it made you feel. This is your assignment (He left the room immediately after he got the confirmation that playing soccer is okay).

RAC are not dependent on their classmates or their teachers to meet their needs. However, they ask questions to improve their academic learning and social understandings. They have the agency to choose and do some activities, but they listen to adults and mimic their behaviors or apply what the adults have told them as cultural and social teachings.

RAC have good relationships with their classmates, teachers, and the other people in the school, but they always keep a distance between the people and themselves. A teacher with a skeptical orientation names RAC as "Pasha (for boys), Hanım (for girls)" to explain how RAC have distant yet loyal behavior with the people. Their behaviors when interacting with the people also reflect on their social adaptation. RAC do not rush to learn the entire social changes around them; they process each teaching slowly until they can apply the lessons in their life. They use questioning to fully understand the social norm and teachings.

RAC do not have violence related trauma experience before and during their journey to Turkey. They experience mostly financial problems, as their social status has changed due to their families' financial loss. They are aware that their families' purchasing power is not as it has been in Syria. This situation affects RAC's emotions. When they talk about their life in Syria, they mostly talk about their

homes, items, and their father's work. This RAC shares that she does not like her home and sharing her room with her sister and little brother because she thinks that the other students do not share their rooms with their siblings.

RAC: Öğretmenim, we had a big house in Syria. Our house is small now. My sister sleeps with me in the same room. I have a little brother, too. I don't like sharing my room. I want my pink room.

T: The most important thing is the family, X. Don't worry your father and mother will work hard and help you get your room. But it is an excellent characteristic to be thankful for what you have, isn't it?

RAC: Öğretmenim, my mother, does not work.

T: Maybe, she wants to take care of your little brother until he becomes big like you.

RAC: No, she can't work. She told me. She said we can't have what we had in Syria right now. Everyone has his or her room here. If we were in Syria, I would have too.

T: Not everyone has his or her room. Let's ask. Who has a separate room? (Only a few students raise their hand). See. They are like you. You are all good students. Don't be upset okay.

RAC: Okay Öğretmenim, I don't get upset (her voice trembles as if she is going to cry and she feels emotional).

RAC accept that they are from Syria, but they disassociate themselves from the Syrian community because they do not want people to think that they need help, support, and they are troublemakers. In the school, RAC spend their time with their local classmates and sometimes include their siblings and relatives in the school in their games. However, similar to their way of defining their social boundaries, they do the same with their siblings and relatives in the school. Even though they disassociate themselves from the Syrian community; RAC embrace their identity as Syrians. When their teachers ask them to do some activities in the classroom, they try to include cultural elements in the activities. For example, if they introduce a game to their classroom, they explain how they play the game in Syria and how they learn different rules about the same game in Turkey. RAC know how to balance Syrian and Turkish elements in their conversation. For example, if they need to talk about a custom in Syria, they begin their sentence with "in Syria, people...; or Syrian people..." RAC do the same strategy for talking about Turkey as well. If they need to use "we" to refer the people of Syria, they do not name their country. However, they are not afraid, embarrassed, or unaware of their Syrian identity.

Refugee Students with Traumatized After Resettlement Behavior Claim (RTC). Refugee

students with traumatized after resettlement behavior claim (RTC) do not have distinct characteristics as a group; they mostly show their personality as the other local students in the classroom. However, the commonality of RTC is that they question their identity and presence in the school when they hear comments about their cultural and ethnic background from other people. A RTC shares his confusion in the following conversation when he has heard two teachers talking about the necessity of sending Syrian students to another school, the teachers have involved him in the conversation as he has been passing by near the conversation place.

I: Let's talk about how other people treat you in the school? Are you happy here?

RTC: I am happy, Öğretmenim.

I: What makes you happy?

RTC: playing with my friends, doing Physical education, and singing.

I: I also like singing. When we finish, we sing together, okay?

RTC: Okay.

I: X, there are also things that make people not happy. Have you ever felt unhappy in the school?

RTC: Yes, Öğretmenim.

I: Do you want to share?

RTC: Öğretmenim, you know the teacher A and B. Well, they teach my friends in this building. (He points the direction of the other school building with his finger.) This teacher A was talking with the teacher B with this hair color^v. He said I should go to the Syrian school.

I: Why?

RTC: They said I am Syrian, too. It will be better for me.

I: What do you think?

RTC: Öğretmenim, I don't want to go. I don't know Syrian school. I only know this school.

I: Don't worry. They can't send you.

RTC: Öğretmenim, why do they want to send me to another school?

I: Well, they think you can learn more things in Arabic. People speak Arabic in Syrian schools.

RTC: Öğretmenim, I can't speak Syrian language.

I: I know, you don't need to go. As I said, you want to stay here and what you want is the most important thing. Next time, if something happens like this, tell it to your teacher, okay? (He nods his head meaning okay)

RTC: But, teachers all talk about it.

I: They want to find good things for the students. I will speak to them, but as I said if you feel unhappy about what people say, tell it either to your teacher or to me. Deal?

RTC do not have fear or trauma experience originated from their life in Syria as their families had arrived Turkey when the conflict started or a year after the civil war. Many RTC were 2 or 3 years old at their arrival, and they have no significant experience in Syrian context or memory about Syria. RTC, therefore, begin having fears, concerns, and emotional reactions due to hearing the conversations in the school about Syrian students and Syrian war. As the RTC mentions above, many RTC feel afraid that they are going to be exposed to some sanctions such as being sent to another school, or people discriminate them because they are Syrian. This situation makes RTC the most vulnerable group of refugee students to the discourses around them because they do not have an idea of being a refugee. As a result, due to getting exposed to Syrian culture at home and in their refugee community, and Turkish culture and refugee discourses in the school, RTC have difficulty in transitioning from one culture to another. They do not fit in the identity forms in either community.

RTC do not like interacting with the adults to avoid hearing about Syria and being called as Syrians. The only adults that they interact are their teachers and the school counselors. They spend their times with their local classmates and the other refugee students. RTC do not differentiate their classmates as Syrian or local. They generally become friends with the other students based on the quality of time they spend together. Therefore, they do not depend on another person to express themselves. They continue their education as the other local students.

The emotional problems of RTC are mostly related to their family problems. Some RTC have divorced parents, step mothers, or single parents. This situation makes them an aggressive student in the school. RTC, as expectedly, have emotional stability compared to the other groups of refugee student with war-related trauma experiences. However, some RTC often get irritated when they are called Syrian. Therefore, RTC sometimes demonstrate aggressive behaviors when they cannot tolerate being distinctively called Syrian. The following conversation between a RTC and a classroom teacher in

the school garden provides an example situation of RTC's aggressive reaction when they are called as Syrian.

T: Hey, Syrian. Come here; I will tell you something.

RTC: Who, me?

T: Yes, you.

RTC: My name is X. Why do you call me Syrian?

T: Aren't you Syrian?

RTC: No, I am not (He yells at teacher and rejects what he has said to him)

T: My son, what is the big deal? I did not know your name that is why I said so? (Teacher backs up when he realizes that the RTC is getting aggressive)

RTC: (Even more aggressively) I don't like it. My name is X. (He stomps the floor and runs away).

In general, the sense of identity among RTC is not strong. RTC know that they are Syrian, but they learn more about Turkish culture. These children also have limited Arabic language skills. They speak Turkish as their local classmates. Some of them even do not know how to respond to basic conversations in Arabic, but all RTC understand Arabic as their families speak Arabic at home. RTC speak in Turkish with their siblings at home if their siblings are also young and did not go to school in Syria. The following conversation shows that RTC's limited Arabic knowledge and the language preference at home.

I: Do you know Arabic or Syrian language?

RTC: Yes, Öğretmenim. I know.

I: Kayf halik?^{vi}

RTC: I am good.

I: Can you say it in Arabic?

RTC: Öğretmenim, I don't remember. My mother told me, but I don't remember?

I: Do you have siblings?

RTC: Yes, I do.

I: How many?

RTC: Three.

I: Are you the youngest or the oldest?

RTC: I have an elder sister; she is also here. She is the fourth grade.

I: Are you speaking in Turkish or Arabic with her?

RTC: Turkish, Öğretmenim.

I: So, you only know Turkish.

RTC: Yes, Öğretmenim.

I: How do you speak with your parents?

RTC: I speak like I do with you Öğretmenim, but my mom sometimes speaks Arabic to me.

I: She knows Turkish, then.

RTC: Yes, Öğretmenim.

RTC have good social adaptation to their environment as they have better Turkish skills than the other refugee students, but they show better adaptation to their setting mostly because of knowing more about the local culture. They feel that they belong to the host community more than they feel belong to the Syrian community. Their family also have a similar preference that they live in the neighborhoods with local people. RTC's cultural adaptation is also dependent on the discourses around them. If they are exposed to discriminative discourses or anti-refugee sentiments, they begin giving emotional reactions and challenging people who impose them an identity. RTC want to continue interacting with the people without a social pressure, and they have a low tolerance to social pressures.

Experience of Syrian Child Refugees in the School

Refugee students' problems and experiences have similarities with each other. As the observation and interview data suggest, refugee students' experience and problems in the school can be categorized in smaller sub-themes, but this approach narrows our perspectives of understanding the true nature of their experiences as individuals. This section, therefore, provides detailed examples under three broad themes to reflect that each refugee student experiences the school in their own way. The examples given in this section provide a background to visualize how each academic and language problem differ for each refugee student.

Financial Problems and Their Influence on the Schooling Experience. Most of the refugee students in the school do not have access to school materials such as books, notebooks, pencils, and other stationery materials. Ministry of National Education and the local people take responsibility to

meet the material needs of the refugee students, but the schools often fail to meet these requirements because of not having adequate financial resources for supplying the educational materials to refugee students. Refugee students in the school often complain about not having materials. Even though their teachers have provided their material needs several times through using the money collected with the help of parents, teachers have stopped giving the material help. Teachers justify their decision about stopping the material help for three reasons. First, this practice is not sustainable. Second, it causes restraints on the school budget because the school does not have a budget for providing stationery to the students. Third, this practice makes refugee students get used to asking for more and normalizing this support mechanism. A RAC explains that she has had difficulty when her teacher stopped giving notebooks and pencils to her. This refugee student also resonates what her teacher said regarding the importance of learning to refuse the outright aid to protect their dignity and social respect.

My teacher was giving my pens and notebooks. He also gave me two color books and story books. One day, he said to me: X, no more pens, and notebooks for you. I will only give books. I begin writing small. I can write more sentences. But it is difficult. I break my pencil tip a lot because writing small is difficult... My teacher said there is no money. He said he is also not buying books to the other students. I should not accept everything from people. My teacher says well done when I only get from him but not from others.

Syrian refugee students' ways of accepting financial or material support, therefore, are shaped by their teachers' precepts. However, the lack of resistance and their understanding of their teachers' explanations show that Syrian refugee student has already reached a level of meaning-making about the social norms of their surroundings. Therefore, they have agreed on their teachers' opinion. Some refugee students in the school do not agree with their teachers about imposing social norms about how a person should behave when they do not have a good financial situation. These students think they are already disadvantaged and should at least keep getting material support to feel good in the classroom. These students generally misbehave in the classroom, when their teachers turn down their request. An

REC explains to her teacher that she took her classmate's notebook because her classmate had the same notebook that she asked from her teacher.

T: My child, why did you take your friends' notebook? You are now giving it back to her.

REC: But Öğretmenim, I do not have a notebook. You did not give me.

T: I told you no more notebooks. You already finished five from the beginning of the year. Your friends are using their second notebook. We do not have money to get notebooks.

REC: But Öğretmenim, this is the same one that I saw in the cupboard.

T: My child, it is not a graph notebook. It does not have lines; you can't use it.

REC: It is the same. Look! It has the same flower.

T: The cover is the same (He walks to the cupboard and take the notebook that she talks about). Look. It does not have lines.

REC: Okay, you can give it to her. I take this one.

T: I am not giving you an option.

REC: (Stay quiet for a while. Later, stands up and walks out the classroom with the notebook).

The notebook problem between teacher, local student, and teacher got resolved when the local student has told that the REC can take her notebook. Financial problems, as seen in the above quote, trigger misbehaviors in the school because refugee students feel jealous, unhappy, excluded, or incapable when their financial needs are not met. Therefore, the financial aid helps them adapt to their new settings as refugee students do not have to deal with the feelings of jealousy, unhappiness, exclusion, and incapability.

Refugee students' financial problems also make them vulnerable to child labor and child marriages. In the school, there are times that teachers talk about Syrian female students getting married due to financial reasons, but I have not recorded a child marriage in the school. Refugee students' vulnerability is related to the regulations about Syrian nationals having limited access to a work permit. As Syrian refugees do not have work permit due to having temporary protection status, Syrian parents earn less and need more labor power from the members of the household. Sometimes, Syrian families should give decisions about which of their children should go to school and which of them should work. For example, a RIC is among the refugee students who is chosen by his family to go

to the school while the rest of his male siblings are working in different places. His family wants to make sure that their family has a Turkish-speaking member to help them in the hospital, making job applications, and translating what their neighbors say. During his interview, he explains that his family has chosen him to go to the school.

I: How many siblings do you have, X?

RIC: Four.

I: Can you tell me their age?

RIC: A (His younger sister) seven, B (His older sister) 11, C (His older brother) 13.

I: Very good. Which school are they going? I know that your little sister is here.

RIC: They don't go to school. My sister sometimes goes to learn Turkish, but my brother does not go.

I: Why?

RIC: They work.

I: Where they work?

RIC: I don't know. My brother goes with my father.

I: Isn't he so small to work?

RIC: (He shrugged his shoulder) Father says he can work, but I should go to school. He did not learn Turkish in the school. I learned. I go to school. He says I am clever.

I: Yes, you are very clever, but I think your siblings are also clever because they are your brother and sisters. They should go to schools.

RIC: But, he needs to work. I want to work, but I translate. When A learn Turkish, I will work.

The limited work opportunities cause many Syrian families have financial problems and create pressure on Syrian refugee students in the school. Refugee families often direct their children to work and support their family. Many Syrian refugee students, particularly boys, work in the morning if they come to the school in the afternoon shift or after when they finish their school in the morning. Therefore, they cannot complete their assignments, feel sleepy in the classroom, and come to the school late or leave the school early. An REC who works in a barbershop before coming to the school summarizes his typical day as in the following and explain why he comes to school late.

I: Your teacher told me that you are working in a barbershop. If I come to your workplace, do you cut my hair?

REC: I can't cut Öğretmenim because men come to the barber.

I: So, you work in a place only for men. Tell me what you learn from there.

REC: Öğretmenim, I go there in the morning. My father comes with me, too. Then he goes to his work. I broom the floor. I serve tea to the customers. I watch my master when he cuts hair. I give him scissors, towels, combs, razors, and foam. When I finish the work, I eat with him and come to school.

I: X, I think you are getting a little bit tired of the job. Am I right?

REC: Yes, Öğretmenim. I stand up all the time. I do so many things.

I: Is that because you come to school late and sometimes sleep in the classroom?

REC: Öğretmenim, sorry.

I: Don't be sorry? I just asked you know I don't get angry, but I want to know that you and your friends are doing well. Do you like your taskmaster?

REC: Yes, Öğretmenim. He says I am a hardworking boy. I am going to marry with his daughter when I am tall like you and when ...^{vii} (He used an inappropriate phrase actually a slang, but the slang that he used means when he grows up and become mature).

I: What!?! (I got surprised by his way of explaining about his growing up so that I reacted without thinking. Later, I mention that his word preference was inappropriate.) Maybe it is too early to think about these things and try to use the word you learn from books and the school.

REC: (He gets embarrassed).

I: Say my regards to your taskmaster and tell him that my teacher wants me to come to school on time. I write a letter, and you give it to him. Deal?

REC: Deal.

The typical day of a refugee child worker is very tiring. They work hard, and they need to come to school before or after their work. The transition from the workplace to school space is a very confusing situation for refugee child workers. These children are fluent in speaking the Turkish language, but they mostly speak with the jargon or slang used in their workplace. Therefore, their language skill does not help them in the classroom setting. Even, their language may cause some problems in the school as they tend to use slang more often than the other children in the school. The following conversation between the refugee student with introvert behavior claim who is a child worker and his teacher justify that even these students have better speaking and communication skills in Turkish, they cannot accomplish simple tasks of writing as the refugee students, who are not working because they feel exhausted after work and do not have extra time to study at home.

T: X, come here (Teacher calls him to come to the teachers' desk). Where is your assignment?

RIC: I could not do Öğretmenim.

T: My son, why don't you write as you speak? You speak well. Okay, okay. Don't get shy.

RIC: Okay, Öğretmenim.

T: I know. You know a lot better. Look! This question asks what we should do to protect ourselves from the microbes.

RIC: We wash our hands, do sneeze in a handkerchief or to our sleeves, but not in our hands if we do not have a handkerchief.

T: Great, perfect. Write these things on your notebook.

RIC: Okay.

(After 10 minutes, teacher check RIC's writing)

T: X, what is this, my son?

RIC: I wrote Öğretmenim.

T: These are wrong. Okay, why don't we begin studying reading and writing again? This time you practice in the classroom. You probably did not do your homework properly at home. (He raises his tone little bit to show that he is not happy about RIC work after the school). You are talking, but you are not studying. My son if you get tired stop working. This work is taking so much of your time. Look you can't write. I am giving more time to you. Isn't it unfair if you waste my efforts, ha?

RIC: Öğretmenim, I like the work. I learn better things there.

T: You learn things in the school.

RIC: Öğretmenim, the school, does not give money.

T: When you finish your school and grow up, you earn more than what you get there. That is why you study. (He looks at me) You earn a lot, don't you, Ozlem Öğretmenim?

I: Yes, I do.

T: See. You need to come to school and learn things here.

The point that the RIC has made while having a conversation with his teacher is questioning the necessity of the school. Refugee child workers mainly mention having different experiences and perspective about the school. If the refugee child workers receive money based on his performance, they share the same belief with their families regarding having vocational skills are more important than coming to the school. However, some refugee children have positive feelings about schooling as they are not happy in their workplace. A RTC share his ideas that working is not a good situation for him as he gets exposed to the inappropriate conversation and his employer does not give the money to him on a regular basis.

I: Which one do you like the most? Your work or the school?

RTC: The school, Öğretmenim.

I: Why?

RTC: Because teachers are nice here. They do not say bad things when I make mistakes.

I: So, do your boss say bad things? Is this what you are saying?

RTC: Yes, Öğretmenim. He says...^{viii}

I: Okay, okay. These are enough. I got what you are saying. Next time, if you want to explain that your boss is talking in a bad way, just say he uses unmentionable words.

RTC: Okay, Öğretmenim. He says unmentionable words.

I: Well-done. How much do you make?

RTC: Öğretmenim, he sometimes does not give money. He says I am teaching you and that is more valuable than money.

I: If you do not get money, and if he does not treat you well, you should not go there. Tell your father that you do not want to go there and tell the unmentionable words that he is teaching you at work.

RTC: Öğretmenim, the school is good. I play here. I have friends. I play with them.

I: I got you. From now, just come to school. We figure out something for you.

Refugee children in the school experience different problems due to their financial problems.

Some refugee students think that education helps them integrate into the society. Some refugee students do not believe that education can improve their life. When they become part of any of these discourses, refugee students begin constructing their own reality for giving value to the school.

Social and Identity Problems and Their Influence on the Schooling Experience. Refugee students experience social adaptation in most part of their school life. The reasons for them experiencing social adaptation problems is that refugee students not only need to understand how the school functions, but also need to understand the expectation of the school and the local community. Results show that cultural adaptation of the young refugee students is better than the older refugee students. Refugee students' adaptation even gets better if they begin going to school in Turkey. Refugee students with smaller age also have less trauma experience so that they also visit the school counselor less than the refugee students with trauma experience do. Teachers also mention the similar situation in their interviews that they have fewer problems with the refugee students with no trauma experience, smaller age, and no prior schooling experience in either Syria or another institution.

The observation results show that refugee and local students have a medium level harmony in the school if they know each other outside the school such as being neighbors, studying in the classroom

of their siblings, knowing a common person or people who inform them about what kind of activities refugee and local students do in their daily life. The level of harmony between refugee and local students increases when they study in the same classroom. However, the harmony between the refugee and local students is problematic. The local students often utter anti-refugee sentiments against their refugee peers. Refugee students perform aggressive behaviors against their local peers. School administration, counseling service, and classroom teachers receive complaints from refugee and local students about verbal or physical attacks. The number of physical attacks on each other is a few; however, students of both communities often complaint about being verbally attacked to their classroom teacher. The following conversation provides an example of a fight between a refugee and a local student. One of the classroom teachers has been dealing how to resolve the situation.

T: (Teacher enters the teacher's lounges by giving a pep talk to the local and refugee student) Son, why do you behave like this? What are the things that you can't share? (Refugee and local student try to speak as loud as they can to explain what happened to them and defend themselves). Speak one by one. You made me have a headache. You tell me what happened.

R: Öğretmenim, we play soccer, he took our football and did not give us back.

L: Öğretmenim, I want to play, too.

R: Don't lie. You took the ball and ran away. You did not tell that you want to play.

L: I asked the other boy.

R: You lie. You did not. You were watching us and came and took our ball.

L: You are Syrian. You should not play with us.

T: Wait. You can't say that. This is too serious.

L: But Öğretmenim, he plays, and I don't play.

T: What is it to you? You are not even in the same classroom. Why do you ruin someone else's game? Now, you are going out this room as if nothing happened. Did you understand? (He turns to local students) If I hear anything like this with these kids or anyone, you parents will come to the school. Did you get it?

L: Yes, Öğretmenim.

R: Yes, Öğretmenim.

T: You stay a little bit (Teacher stops the refugee student). Look, son! Didn't know we tell you all that you will come to us if someone says or does bad to you rather than picking a fight? Yes, we did.

R: But, Öğretmenim.

T: Don't interrupt. There is no point of picking a fight if you get hurt (Teacher has used a proverb to tell refugee student to stay out of the fight, and he hasn't understood the meaning.

Therefore, refugee student has made a perplexed look. Teacher simplifies his language and tries to explain again). Whatever happens, no fight? Did you understand me?

R: Yes, Öğretmenim.

T: Go to your classroom and tell your teacher that you have talked to me.

R: Okay, Öğretmenim.

Local students in the school report that they feel jealous of the refugee students because refugee students can do whatever they want in the school. If local students also are exposed to anti-refugee sentiments at home or in their neighborhood, their jealousy transforms into a manifestation of hatred. As the local students mention in their interview, refugee students are free to leave the classroom or come to the school whenever they want to come. Teachers and school administration allow refugee students to behave in this way because the refugee education regulations enforce the school not to restrict the refugee students with the regular school discipline rules as they have experienced a form of trauma. Refugee children, therefore, lack classroom culture and discipline so that they walk in the classroom during classroom instruction, leave the class without permission, or stand up frequently to sharpen their pen or to use the waste basket. However, this regulation and excessive freedom to move in the classroom negatively affect the harmony between the local and refugee students because local students do not have, as expectedly, enough maturity to understand the intention of this regulation due to their age. Teachers with supportive and caretaking orientation have better strategies to avoid jealousy among the local students and create harmony between refugee and local students. Teachers with caretaking orientation often try to create an empathy for the refugee students among the local students by explaining the difficulties that refugee students experience, while the teachers with supportive orientation treat their refugee students in the same way of treating their local students to maintain the classroom discipline so that refugee and local students in the classroom of the teachers with supportive orientation do not feel that they are different. Refugee and local students, particularly, in these classrooms have better communication.

A few exception of better social harmony in the classroom of teachers with indifferent and

skeptical orientation is available between some local and the refugee students because the ignored and neglected students by their teachers often begin a friendship. In such cases, these local and refugee students defend each other in the event of a verbal or physical attack. In some classrooms, the neglect of the teachers affects all the students in the classroom. Local and refugee students perform an ally in these classrooms when they need to persuade the teacher to do an activity or to get free time in the classroom. For example, if students want to have Physical Education in the next hour or play a game in the classroom, the local students ask refugee students to request it from their teacher because the local students are aware that teachers have an oversensitivity to refugee students' situation. In a classroom of a teacher with an indifferent orientation, refugee and local students ally up to persuade the teacher to play "I spy"^{ix} game.

Local student A: Öğretmenim, X (The refugee student) want to say something to you.

T: Doesn't X have a mouth to say?

Local student B: Öğretmenim, but you know she is shy.

T: Okay, tell me what it is.

R: Öğretmenim, there was a game. A (The local student) went out and then asked, "What does s/he have?"

T: So?

R: Can we play it?

T: This is not the time for it. (All students begin saying something to express their disappointment). You are doing this all the time. (Teacher looks at me and says) Hocahanım, these children are always doing this. When I let them alone during the break, they fight like cats and dogs. When it comes to asking to do something, they all speak the same thing. This little witch (Teacher refers to the refugee student) is the leader of the gang. She knows that I don't say no to her, and she leads the class. (He speaks to the classroom, again). Okay. (Everyone cheers up). You, little witch! This is your turn. Go out, and we choose the person that you need to find.

R: (She grins as if she celebrates a success) Okay, Öğretmenim.

The more refugee students play together; the fewer adaptation problems occur in the classroom. When refugee and local students concentrate on the same task or the activity, it also reduces the anti-refugee sentiments that refugee students hear from their local classmates. However, refugee students sometimes have difficulty in understanding the local students' immediate change of discourse.

Local teachers and students treat refugee students very well when they situate themselves in a hospitality concept. However, the locals change their way of talking about refugee students when they talk about national values and history. Refugee students, in these situations, feel surprised and emotionally react as they are not sure which social reaction of their teacher and local classmates is real. Most of the refugee students chose to rely on the way that the local students and teachers treat them in a hospitable manner. However, a few number of refugee students have negative thoughts about Turkish people and culture as they choose to rely on believing the nationalistic views of the local students and teachers. In comparison to the refugee students perceiving locals as hospitable people and the refugee students perceiving locals as discriminative, their perceptions differ because of their first impression about the local people and local culture. If the refugee students have positive impressions of the local culture and people when they are registered to the school, they perceive the locals as nice and hospitable people. The following conversation with an REC provides an example of how a refugee student ignores the anti-refugee sentiments of the local students and teachers due to their first impressions.

I: Do you like your school?

REC: Yes, Öğretmenim.

I: Why do you like the school?

REC: Because I play here. I have friends. I like studying. Öğretmenim, I will become a teacher when I grow up.

I: How beautiful. Maybe we can work in the same school in the future. Do you want it?

REC: Öğretmenim, I don't think so.

I: Why?

REC: You are going to get old, and you die when you are old.

I: I am not that old, believe me, we can work together. But I wonder why you want to become a teacher.

REC: Öğretmenim, you do good things. My teacher helps me a lot.

I: How did he help you?

REC: I came to school for registration. He talked to me and took me to the class. He gave me books, notebooks, pencils, and eraser.

I: Is he the first person that you saw in the school?

REC: Yes, Öğretmenim.

I: Were you alone or with your parents?

REC: My mother came with me.

I: Does she speak Turkish?

REC: No, Öğretmenim. But one of the Syrian child, X (She speaks fluent Turkish and Arabic), came and became our translator.

I: I know her. I am going ask you another question. Sometimes I hear some of your classmates say something not nice to you. I also hear your teacher say similar things. Do you know what I am talking about?

REC: Öğretmenim, my teacher says that Syrian people make a problem. Also, A and B (His local classmates) tease me all the time. They say bad words. My teacher warns them and gets angry when they say bad things. But my other friends are good.

I: Your teacher should not say that Syrian people make problems.

REC: Öğretmenim, No. There are bad Syrian people. Some Syrian students are naughty. X (the other refugee student in the classroom) for example, steals some people's notebooks.

I: But, we don't say they are bad people to their face.

REC: Öğretmenim, you don't know. Some Syrian students make fights.

I: Yes, but your teacher says bad things, too.

REC: He also does good things. He is not getting angry with me. He is getting angry to naughty students.

I: Okay, I am convinced, but you are not going to say bad things to anyone, okay?

REC: I don't say, Öğretmenim.

I: Well-done.

As mentioned above, some refugee students rely on their positive impressions while making sense of the local students' and teachers' behaviors. On the other hand, some refugee students experience negative incidents with the local people during their school registration, or before coming to the school, they tend to see the negative side of the local culture and people. The following conversation excerpted from a RTC's interview explains the importance of the first impression on refugee students' social adaptation and perception of the local people.

I: Let's have some conversation with you. Is there anything that you want to talk about?

RTC: No, Öğretmenim.

I: May I ask some questions, then? You know, I am also new here, and sometimes I have problems. Maybe you can help me understand?

RTC: Okay, Öğretmenim.

I: You know, I am new here, and I want to talk with the students in the classroom, but they don't talk with me. What should I do?

RTC: Öğretmenim, they don't talk, and I don't talk with them. Don't talk with them.

I: But, I want to talk.

RTC: Don't talk. Your teacher, for example, talk with me. It makes me happy. I think talking with the other people will make me happy.

I: My teacher is good, but children are not.

RTC: Why?

I: Last year, they made fun of me. They did like this to me (He hit my arm).

RTC: Ah! (I said "ah!" as if it hurt)

I: Öğretmenim, sorry.

RTC: No worries, I know you did not mean to hurt. Is it okay? Did it hurt when they did like that to you? (I hit my arm in the same way he did to me)

I: Yes, Öğretmenim. You need to tell me who these children are.

RTC: They are in teacher A's classroom.

I: Wait, aren't they in your classroom?

RTC: No, Öğretmenim.

I: Then, we can talk with your classmates. They can be good children.

RTC: They are all the same.

I: I don't think so. What about playing a game together when we go to your classroom. If they do not play fairly, we don't talk them as we do.

RTC: I don't want.

I: Okay, then I play with them then you watch us. If you like, you join us. There is always room for you.

RTC: (He shrugged his shoulder meaning no)

I: Can I ask on more thing?

RTC: Yes.

I: When did this happen? You said last year but when was it exactly? Do you remember?

RTC: After I came to the school.

I: Was it like the first week or the month of the school?

RTC: Yes.

I: After that, did someone do any bad things to you?

RTC: No.

I: See, we have another reason to talk with your classmates. They are not the same children. Your teacher is nice. Only one bad thing happened, and you did not have any other bad thing.

RTC: I don't want (He begin angrily scribbling something on the paper in front of them).

I: Okay, I got bored, too (I stopped the conversation as he began feeling stress). Let's play tic-tac-toe (He changed his mode and began playing tic-tac-toe with me.)

The local people's view about the Arab culture affects refugee students. When teachers and students say that Syrian people make the problem or change the social fabric, these teachers refer to their internalized perception of perceiving Arab culture as a backward culture. Some refugee students try to separate themselves from the misbehaving refugee students to increase their acceptance in the school community. They are aware that some local students and teachers have negative thoughts about Syrian community, but they are not aware that some local students and teachers have a belittling view about their identity. Therefore, refugee students only disassociate themselves from the Syrian refugee

community in the school by resonating their teachers' way of introducing them. These refugee students say "I am not like others" in a way that they behave well and follow the social rules in the school. However, refugee students maintain this belief until they clearly witness an attack on the Syrian identity. They begin defending their identity when the attack on their identity is obvious. As a reaction to the attack on their identity, refugee students try some strategies to increase their visibility and acceptance in the school. They begin educating their refugee peers in their classroom and the school to eliminate hearing negative thoughts about their identity. For example, in a classroom of a teacher with a skeptical orientation, a RAC consult his REC refugee classmate about how to behave when a teacher makes negative comments about their identity.

T: X (REC), I told you thousand times to be quite and speak quietly. Are all Syrians like you? Sit quietly. I do not want to hear you again.

REC: Okay (He gets quiet).

RAC: You always do this. Look, you made him angry again.

REC: I wanted to say the answer.

RAC: Don't do it. You need to raise your hand. We don't deserve to hear it.

REC: (Says something in Arabic)

RAC: I tell you to the teacher that you say bad words.

REC: Don't.

RAC: Then, don't speak without getting permission. He blames all of us.

REC: No, he got angry with me.

RAC: He said Syrian. I am Syrian, and you are Syrian.

T: Are you still talking? What have I told you, ha?

RAC: Öğretmenim, I tell him to speak after you allow him to speak.

T: Well-done. You are not like him.

RAC: Öğretmenim, we are good (He says this sentence in an emotional way).

T: (Teacher calms down) Okay, I got what you say. We talk about this after class.

RAC: Okay, Öğretmenim.

T: Okay. Now, go and get some fresh air if you like (RAC leaves the classroom).

In this situation, the teacher and the RAC have had a conversation after the class. Teachers pay attention to the emotional reaction of the refugee students, but their way of paying attention do not eliminate refugee students to feel hurt when teachers make negative comments about Syrian culture. Refugee students know that they are Syrian, but many of them do not have an understanding of the

politics of being Syrian. However, they use being Syrian and being Turk so frequently like some local students when they are exposed to anti-refugee sentiments and judgmental comments about their culture and identity.

Academic and Language Problems and Their Influence on the Schooling Experience

Turkish language skill development of the refugee students is assessed based on reading, writing, listening, and speaking. Most of the refugee students with academically-motivated behavior claims are good at using four language skills in and outside the classroom. Refugee students with traumatized after resettlement behavior claim use language actively in and outside the classroom as well. They are mainly good at using the language as the RAC, but their constant trauma experiences cause them to have communication problems with the others. Many REC speak and understand Turkish very well, but they do not have adequate reading and writing skills. Introverts have skills in using little bit of each language skills, but they still need to receive language instruction to improve their skills. Among RIC, some refugee students only speak in Arabic and do not have the other three language skills in Arabic as well. Table 8 summarizes the refugee students' language skills and degree of using the Turkish language skills based on the Turkish grading system: "Çok İyi=Very well, İyi=Well, and Geliştirilmeli=Needs to be improved.

Refugee students' language problems are related to their academic problems. They improve their academic performance because their language skills improve over the time or through interacting with the local students, local community, and getting extra attention from the school community to improve language skills. However, refugee students' language skills such as reading, writing, listening, and speaking skills do not improve synchronously. Refugee students always have gaps between four major language skills. They often have better speaking skills. After developing their speaking skills,

Table 8

Refugee Students' Language Skills and Degree of Using the Language Skills

Profile	Responses			
	Speaking	Listening	Writing	Reading
REC	Very well	Well	Needs to be improved	Needs to be improved
RIC	Needs to be improved	Needs to be improved	Needs to be improved	Needs to be improved
RAC	Almost very well or well	Almost very well or well	Almost very well or well	Almost very well or well
RTC	Well	Well	Almost very well or well	Almost very well or well

refugee students respectively develop reading skills, writing skills, and then listening skills. This particular way of language skills development process makes refugee students have difficulty in following up the classroom activities. Most of the refugee students cannot follow the text when other students are reading aloud. They cannot follow-up the conversation in the classroom about the assignments, course content, and activity instructions. As a result, refugee students fail to complete classroom activities that involve multi-tasking such as reading, writing and commenting on others' responses. As refugee students speak to meet their daily needs, teachers often believe that refugee students understand their instruction in and outside the classroom. However, refugee students often fail to understand the conversation. A RAC complains that his teacher asks him to do the mathematics assignments on ordinal numbers, but his teacher gets upset when he does the assignment. However, the ordinal numbers were the topic in the curriculum almost a month ago.

I: Can you tell me what happened between you and your teacher?

RAC: Öğretmenim, I did the homework. He said I should do something else. I told what he asked me to do. I did this page before. They are all correct. He said this is wrong. I did them correctly.

I: Let me see. Yes, they are all correct. But I think he meant you did the wrong assignment. He did not say that you solved the questions incorrectly.

RAC: No, I am sure. He said I did it incorrectly.

I: Okay, but why did you do the same homework again?

RAC: He asked.

I: Why do you think the rest of the class except the two students, who did not do their homework, did the same thing?

RAC: I don't know.

I: Maybe you heard something else, and you thought he asked you to do this.

RAC: But Öğretmenim, I did the homework.

I: Thank you. You are a very good student. I know, and your teacher knows, too. But sometimes you have to ask again if you do not understand. What about asking a friend of yours to confirm that you write the correct assignment on your assignment notepad?

RAC: Öğretmenim, I will.

I: Or ask your teacher before you leave. Now tell me what I have said to you.

RAC: Write the assignments from my friends' homework.

I: No, I did not say that. Do you know assignment notepad?

RAC: Yes.

I: Look at their assignment notepad to know the exact assignment.

RAC: So I will write from their notepad and learn which page to study.

I: Exactly. You are really great.

Refugee students need more clarification to be able to follow the course instruction and work on the correct assignments given to them. Otherwise, they end up doing wrong assignments and tasks. Refugee students get discouraged when they consistently do the wrong task, and if their teachers do not give enough attention or time to correct their misunderstandings, this situation affects their classroom participation. A RTC explains that she stops doing the assignment because she is so much focused on her mistakes and her teacher telling her that she is doing wrong.

I: X, is there anything that makes you feel not happy in the school?

RTC: Yes, Öğretmenim.

I: Okay, do you want to tell me what they are?

RTC: Homework, Öğretmenim.

I: I think you don't like because it takes time.

RTC: No, Öğretmenim. I don't like it because I can't do it as my teachers ask. I read and read, but I don't understand. But I do something. Now, I don't do if I don't understand and my teacher does not say that I do well.

I: Wait, I think I did not understand you. So you are not doing homework, and your teacher does not tell you anything.

RTC: Yes, Öğretmenim.

I: But before he was telling you that you were doing it wrong.

RTC: Yes, Öğretmenim.

I: I think, him saying that you are doing wrong was to help you learn better. Am I wrong?

RTC: Öğretmenim, I don't like it. When he says I am doing it wrong, A, B, and C laugh at me. Then, I decided not to do it.

I: I see. What would make you begin doing your homework again?

RTC: Öğretmenim, I don't know.

I: Think about the things you don't like. Maybe it helps.

RTC: Öğretmenim, if my teachers say that I do well, I do my homework again. Öğretmenim, A, B, and C should not laugh at me. They are bad.

I: Will this make you feel happy?

RTC: Yes, it will.

I: Okay, I think we can fix this. But first, you have to begin doing your homework.

RTC: (He happily rejoices) Okay, Öğretmenim.

The other situation that challenges refugee students in the school is that teachers and school staff use idioms and proverbs when they communicate with the refugee students. Refugee students often get perplexed by what their teachers want to say. Refugee students, therefore, have the strategy of saying, "yes" or nodding their head as if they understand the idioms and proverbs in the conversations. As a result of this lack of communication, teachers assume refugee students do well in the school, and refugee students keep failing or showing no progress in their academic and language skills.

In the school, refugee students want to receive positive feedback to continue their learning. They have an emotionally fragile stage so that refugee students turn in upon themselves if they receive negative feedback more than they tolerate. The level of tolerating the negative feedback is different for each student. The results show that if they are dependent on the people around them, they have a low tolerance to being criticized. Many refugee students mention that they cannot tolerate being criticized because criticism hurts their feelings and make them feel that the person who criticizes them does not like them.

Refugee students with low academic and language skills have short attention span. They can easily get distracted by the things around them. These refugee students often change the task that they are working on, if they realize that there is an easy task that they can complete and get appreciation from the people around them, they immediately change the task because of the desire to get appreciation. These refugee students attempt to do several different things in a forty-minute lesson. For example, a RIC in the classroom of a teacher with a caretaking orientation typically changes the task that he is working on three times. He begins reading a storybook. Then he quickly changes the task to drawing as if he gets instruction from a person. Later, he begins writing some sentences on his notebook or on the drawing. These moments are very important because the materials and the medium that they use show how refugee students try to express themselves. They begin giving messages about their emotional situation, their reactions to appreciations and problems, and things they like and things they do not like to the people during the task changes. For example, Figure 24 and Figure 25 are an example work of a RAC drawn in a task change. She has begun drawing the early sketch of her picture in a typical task change in the classroom. Even though she has academically motivated behavior claim, she occasionally uses task changes to talk about her emotions or to signal the emotional problems that she experiences. When I observed her classroom on May 10, 2016, she was doing her early sketches. She probably completed her picture after I left her classroom, but she brought the completed picture in her second interview on May 10, 2016. She has later given me the completed picture as a gift and explained that she has expressed how her life has changed after coming to Turkey. Her picture has two sides. As she explained, one side of the picture has no color and having no color represents her time in Syria. The other side of the picture with color represents her life in Turkey.

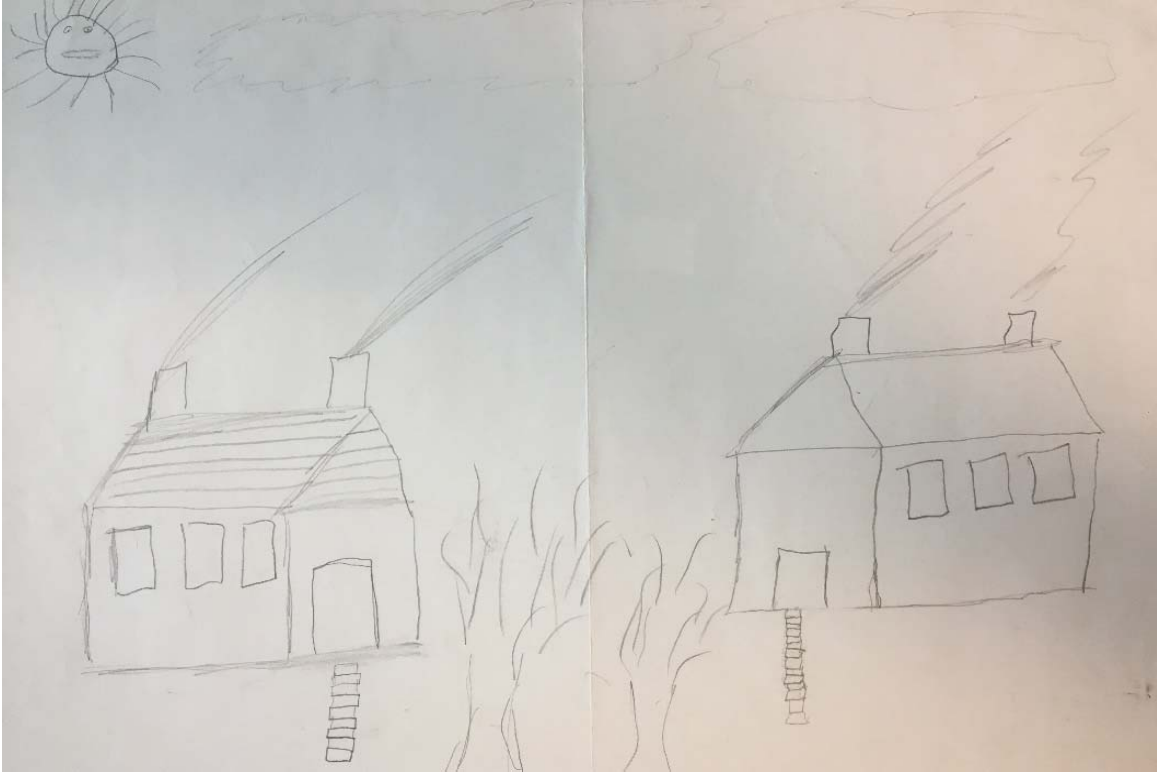


Figure 24. A refugee student's expression of her time in Syria (Interview notes, May 10, 2016).



Figure 25. A refugee student's expression of her time in Turkey (Interview notes, May 10, 2016).

The following conversation excerpted from the second interview with a refugee student with academically motivated behavior claim provides detail about her feelings and metaphors used in the pictures.

RAC: Öğretmenim, this is for you.

I: What is this?

RAC: I drew it (She showed the picture in Figure 24 that she drew before coming to the interview).

I: Oh, this is so beautiful, I liked it. Thank you. I will have it with me all the time. What is this picture about?

RAC: Öğretmenim, this is spring, everyone is happy. When I came here, it was spring.

I: Did you come last year?

RAC: Yes, Öğretmenim. (She turn the page over and show me the other side of the picture shown in Figure 25.) It was cold there. But here was warm. Now, it rains, but it is still warm.

I: I noticed that the sun on the picture has a face.

RAC: Öğretmenim, the sun is surprised because it is hot here. And here, the sun feels cold.

I: Was your house like this in Syria?

RAC: Yes, it was cold.

I: But this house is warm?

RAC: It is sometimes cold, but it is warm.

I: Well-done X. please show me if you draw pictures like this. I hope to see them and talk about them.

Refugee students express their feelings by drawing pictures. They often give pictures as gifts to their teacher and the people around them and talk about their pictures. When refugee students explain the figures and symbols in their picture, they tend to make connections with their life in Syria as mentioned in the above conversation. Refugee students, therefore, feel more active in art classes or in the times where they can draw pictures or make sketches. They also speak in both Arabic and Turkish when they draw pictures and do the coloring.

In verbal communications, refugee students tend to avoid listening what the teachers and local students say when understanding the conversation is an exhausting process for them. I quote a conversation with an REC to show that refugee students react physically when the other people detect that they do not understand the conversation or instruction.

I: X, do you remember what I told you to do for today?
REC: Öğretmenim, I went home and read this book.
I: Well-done to you. But I asked for something else. You were supposed to write this text and answer these questions.
REC: Öğretmenim, what are you doing today with this book?
I: X, I think we have some problems here. I am not talking about this book. This is also not my book. It is your book. Remember. Isn't it the book that I gave you last week?
REC: Öğretmenim, this is a good book.
I: Okay. Let's start from the beginning. Do you understand me?
REC: Yes.
I: Okay, then tell me what I said to you.
REC: Read this book.
I: Are you sure?
REC: Yes.
I: No, Sweetheart. I told you to write. Show me what writing is.
REC: She reads.
I: No, this is reading. This is writing (I show the writing by writing her name in her notebook). Are you listening to me?
REC: Öğretmenim, I have a headache.
I: Yesterday, you also said you have a headache. Do you feel stress? (I used a gesture to help her understand what stress means)
REC: Yes, I feel like that (She mimicked my hand gesture for explaining stress)
I: Okay, let's rest and do picture coloring. But I want you to promise me that next time you are going to ask me if you do not understand me.
REC: I don't understand.
I: Good, we are making progress. Forget about what I said. We will work together until you clearly understand me.

Being academically and linguistically challenged is a difficult situation for refugee students to handle. When they feel overwhelmed, they begin showing physical symptoms such as vomiting, headache, stomachache, and dizziness. Refugee students often misbehave in the classroom to tolerate the stress of not being active in the classroom. They leave the classroom without asking permission; they begin talking in Arabic or Turkish by themselves or with the nearest students sitting next to them, and asking attention from the teacher through interrupting the classroom activity. Teachers and school counselors work together to decrease the physical symptoms of stress, but as refugee students lack understanding the instruction of the students, they often feel teachers are making pressure on them to

perform like the other students. The following conversation provides an example of how a RIC reacted when her teacher (teacher with a caretaking orientation) ask her to read the text aloud.

I: Hocam, what is this situation?

T: She vomited again.

I: Oh, how it happens? Are you sick, sweetheart?

RIC: Öğretmenim, No.

T: Hocam, I ask her whether she wants to read aloud. She read couple sentences and were stuck in pronouncing some words, and then she vomited.

I: Was it difficult to read?

RIC: Yes, Öğretmenim.

I: Do you remember what we have told you? We told that if you do not want to do something you would say no. Why didn't you say no?

RIC: My teacher asks me to read.

I: Did you want to read?

RIC: No.

I: Then you should say no.

T: X, my daughter, I ask you whether you wanted to read. You immediately read after I asked you. Ah, my daughter, why don't you tell me that you do not want to read.

RIC: Öğretmenim, ... (She made a sound as if she is going to vomit again).

T: Oh no! I am not angry with you. I care about you that is why I said so.

I: Hocam, if you allow me, I take care of the situation with the school counselor. When she feels okay, we help her eat something.

T: Thank you, hocam.

The physical symptoms occur under extreme stress conditions. Refugee students with trauma experience, high level of anxiety, and with domestic violence often react physically to the difficult academic task or comprehensive instruction. The definition of comprehension is different for each refugee students with physical reaction condition. They may feel stress when they need to be at the center of the attention or not at the center of the attention, read something aloud, solve a math problem on the board, make mistakes in their assignments, and have difficulty in explaining their needs.

The Arabic language is also influential in shaping refugee students' academic experience in the school. Refugee children who have schooling experience in Syria or a place where the medium of instruction is Arabic have difficulty in understanding the grammar and writing rules in Turkish. For

example, when a notebook or book is given to them, they tend to open the book from right to left and write by using the right side of the notebook. There are a few students trying to read the Turkish text from right to left, but when they fail to make the meaningful sound, they begin reading from left to write. In Arabic, for example, numbers are written in the same order with the numbers in Latin alphabet. However, when refugee students learn that Arabic is from right to left, they also use the same structure for the number. This situation causes refugee students to make a mistake in solving Math problems because they fluctuate between two writing rules.

The students, who fail to understand the writing rules of Turkish and Arabic, often experience labeling process such slow-learner, lazy, and not hardworking. However, these students cannot apply the grammar rules of these languages as the instructions that they receive in both languages are not enough for them to process their knowledge. They mainly mixed all the language skills that they know to express themselves. They sometimes use the notebooks from left to right and sometimes use it from right to left. They mix Arabic and Turkish letters and numbers in their writing. Therefore, teachers do not understand the refugee students who mix two languages together and these differences. Teachers think that refugee students have learning problems based on the label in their mind and understandings of what a refugee student can do. As a result, refugee students with good intellectual standing, spend their time in the school with frustration as they are not being understood by their teachers and their peers when they respond to a question in the classroom. The following conversation is an example of an REC students, who has been labeled as slow-learner, but she has turned out to be a gifted child in Mathematics.

I: What is your favorite subject?

RTC: Mathematics Öğretmenim.

I: Great. Let's work on Mathematics. Here are some questions for you.

RTC: (After 3 minutes). I finished Öğretmenim.

I: Really? Let me see. Hmm, X. I think we need to work your math skills a little bit. There are some mistakes, but we can fix it quickly. Let's work on some of the together. What is 38 minus 12?

RTC: 26.

I: But you wrote 27.

RTC: No, I wrote 26.

I: Look these are the numbers. (I wrote the numbers from 1 to 10)

RTC: No, these are the numbers (She wrote numbers from 1 to 10 mixed with Arabic and Turkish numbers)

I: Wait a minute this one looks like seven, but it is six. This one looks like zero, but it is five. What is this one that looks like the number 3?

RTC: Four Öğretmenim.

I: Okay, give me a minute (I evaluate her answers based on her number chart) X, these are all correct based on your writing. Give me a minute. (I saw her teacher in the teachers' lounge and ask him to check whether she uses these numbers in her assignments and writings consistently. Teacher confirms that she always uses the mixture of numbers in two languages and got surprised. He came with me to ask some questions)

T: X, what are you doing there?

RTC: I am playing.

T: Show me what you are playing with?

RTC: With numbers Öğretmenim.

T: What are these things that you wrote?

RTC: I saw it from my brother's book and then begin doing the same thing with different numbers?

T: Do you read?

RTC: Öğretmenim my brother reads when I need.

T: I see; look at this square root you cannot get zero. It should be five (She wrote 25 but the number two is in Turkish, and the number 5 is in Arabic. The answer is 5 but written in Arabic)

I: This is correct hocam. She does the same thing with the other numbers. Tell her to write 36.

T: Okay, write 36 for us. (She writes) This is 37.

I: Hocam, it is 36. Believe me. (I turn X). Okay, you go and play with your friends. We will talk about something else. I will see you next week. Okay? (She leaves)

This situation in the school has made teachers aware of the possibility that refugee children mix the languages to write and some refugee students are not as lazy, or slow-learners as they expect. However, refugee children with special needs cannot get adequate attention because the available test to measure their IQ or get a diagnosis is in Turkish. Teachers, school counselors, and school administration rely on their available means to help refugee students with special needs. Refugee children cannot get a diagnosis so that they cannot benefit from the special education facilities and support.

The schools in Turkey begin developing their technological infrastructure, and many teachers use online learning sites to support the students' learning. This school has also received smart board as part of a nation-wide technology project, and teachers actively use a website suggested by MoNE. As the school gets equipped with technology, teachers have an expectation that students use internet and software to improve their learning. However, refugee students do not have access to the technology such as internet, tablets, laptops or computer except their parents' smartphones. Refugee students do not effort to get tablets or any type of computer as many of these students' families have other financial priorities. Refugee students, therefore, cannot do online assignments or come prepared to the class if the course preparation is based on the online learning site. As this being the case, even though refugee students show extra effort to catch up the achievement level of their peers, they still get the lowest grades among their classmates, particularly in national exams. A RAC student complaints about how he always gets the lowest score from the exams even though he actively listens the lessons and studies hard. The following is the conversation between the RAC student and his teacher during the grade announcements in the classroom.

T: X, 12 correct answers, 8 incorrect answers.

RAC: Yaa! (An exclamation to show his feelings that the score is not what he was expecting.)

T: What happened, son?

RAC: Öğretmenim, this is so bad.

T: I know, it is bad. Next time you study more.

RAC: Öğretmenim, I always study. I do my homework. I also solved the test book you gave me.

T: I know you study. One day, you will get higher results. Be patient and keep studying.

RAC: Öğretmenim, A (A local student) is not listening lessons, but he has tablet and he gets higher results. I can't. I don't understand why.

T: You can talk about yourself, but you cannot talk about your friends' results. We will talk with him as well about his lazy behaviors, but it is none of your business. Did you understand me?

RAC: No. I don't.

T: Okay. Sit down and think about what you don't understand. I will come back to you after sharing the results of all.

RAC: Of! (He shows his dissatisfaction with his teachers' response by saying "of!")

As mentioned earlier, language problems are the underlying reasons for many academic problems, and language problems occur because of insufficient teaching materials, teachers' ignorance or lack of time, cultural background, and interaction with the locals. This situation causes refugee students to slow down their language learning process. Many refugee students have had to learn Turkish because they have been alone when they have first arrived school. They have experienced challenges and problems due to not knowing the language. Therefore, when a new refugee student arrives the school, many refugee students have a tendency to assist the new refugee student to orient them to their new environment. When the former refugee students pair up with the new refugee students, both of them experience a slowdown in their learning. They do not frequently speak the local language and interact with their local classmates. The communication between an REC, a new refugee student and me provides an exemplary situation of how refugee students decrease their likeliness to learn the local language.

I: Excellent. I feel really happy when you help each other. I will ask you a question (I ask this to REC). How did you learn Turkish?

REC: I talk with my friends, with my teacher, and listen to others.

I: How long did it take for you to speak?

REC: I don't know, but I began speaking maybe in 4 months.

I: How long are you in the school? (I ask to NRS)

NRS: (She showed 6 with her fingers)

I: Six years? (I know that she meant 6 months, but I wanted to check her comprehension skills)

NRS: (She nodded her head meaning no)

REC: She came last semester. Six months.

I: Hmm?! I think you have to let her alone with the other students. Look! You learned the language in four months, but she still can't speak. (I turned to NRS) Maybe you can speak Turkish with me or with each other so that she can tell what she wants to do without needing you. (I turned to REC) What do you think?

REC and NRS: (They nodded their head meaning okay.)

The number of academic and language problems of the refugee students in the school increases, when each problem is analyzed as individual cases. However, this section gathers the similar academic

and language problems to reflect on the overarching explanation of the language and academic problems of refugee students in a Turkish public school.

Responding to the Social and Cultural Teaching

Refugee students observe the structures and situations that cause them to have problems. They try to make sense of the social and cultural norms in their environment. As they begin making sense of their new surroundings, they define their problems based on what they have and what they do not have. The have, and have-not situation is mostly dependent on the people, material, and emotional support available for them. Refugee students of then mention that they define their financial, social, and academic haves and have-nots when they interact with the people in their new environment. Refugee students, first, focus on meeting their financial need to have the same materials with the other students in the school. They ask for books, color pencils, and books from their teachers. They also want to eat similar food with the other students in the school. The school arranges some food distribution for all students with the local restaurants or with the help of volunteers to make sure that the school helps the refugee students get refugee students' desire to eat the same food is satisfied.

Once refugee students reach a form of satisfaction with the material they have, they begin the second stage of identifying social norms and values that cause difficulties such as misunderstandings with their peers, bullying, and social isolation. Refugee students also identify the values that help them increase their social adaptation such as appreciating the host community's social and national values, being humble and rejecting funding, protecting their national identity, demonstrating self-awareness and self-esteem, and approving authority figures. When refugee students understand how the school as a system works, depending on their interest in education, they begin defining their academic needs. They give priority to language learning and later use their language skills to improve their academic achievements.

Developing Independence. The results show that refugee students go through some developmental stages when they begin making sense of the cultural and social teaching in the school. Refugee students with longer duration of stay and schooling experience in Turkey explain that they act differently than how they have acted in their first time in the school. As these refugee students report, they have had a passive position in the school, and they have always had someone around them to express themselves or to get emotional support. Teachers and the local students report that refugee students have been more obedient in their first time in the school, but later refugee students have decreased to ask help from their teacher and classmates as refugee students learn the language and the social expectations of the local community. The data comparison of the refugee students shows that refugee students with less experience in the school and local community need someone to assist them. The degree of needing assistance is low among the group of refugee students who have spent two or more years in the school context. A RAC with 2.5 years of experience explains how she has had trouble in her first time of the school and how she has changed over the time that she has spent in the school.

I: X, you are so lucky. You are going to the school and play games. I remember my first time in the school. Do you also remember?

RAC: Yes, Öğretmenim.

I: Before I talk, I want to hear from you about your first time in the school. How was it?

RAC: Öğretmenim, my mom brought me to the school with our neighbor. The first day, they did not take me school. I cried a lot. Then, my mom and I came again. They took me. I got happy.

I: I was happy too. When I began going to the school.

RAC: Öğretmenim, how did you learn Turkish?

I: What do you mean?

RAC: I mean, speaking Turkish.

I: I got it. I knew it when I came to the school.

RAC: But you are not from here. You come from somewhere else.

I: I was here. I went to school here. Then I moved to another country.

RAC: Like us.

I: Yes. Something like that. When I went there, I learned their language. I guess you learned Turkish here.

RAC: Yes, Öğretmenim.

I: Okay. I will confess something. I could not understand anyone around me when I first went to school in America.

RAC: (She giggled) can I give you a secret?

I: Sure. I love secrets. I promise I will not say it to anyone.

RAC: I did not understand them, too.

I: (I giggled as she giggled as a response to what I said). Okay, tell me what you did, then?

RAC: Nothing. My teacher was doing everything. He was giving me books and notebooks and teaching me how to read. There were also my classmates, A, B, C, and D and there was also E (she named some local students). They played with me. I saw that teacher was talking to them.

I: (I giggled again to maintain the friendly connection between the RAC and me). How similar experiences we have. Now, I will give you a secret. I had a friend, and I was following her wherever she was going.

RAC: (she giggles) Öğretmenim, I did the same.

I: Are you still following them?

RAC: No.

I: Really? Why?

RAC: Öğretmenim, A, and D are not allowing me to be the first player in the game so I don't play with them anymore. But I play with F instead of them.

I: Is F is the boy whom you draw dolphin together?

RAC: Yes, Öğretmenim. I sometimes help him draw a rabbit, too.

I: Great.

Refugee students gradually become independent when they continue interacting with their classmates and learning the local language. Refugee students also begin reflecting their personality as they have more experiences in the school community. Refugee students begin becoming friends with the classmates that they prefer rather than the ones that their teacher has asked them to help when refugee students first come to the classroom. Each refugee student applies his or her personality to a situation based on his or her characteristics. However, the typical reactions are being stubborn, rejecting or ignoring the instruction, or showing their sensitive feelings such as sadness and disappointments. Some refugee students challenge their teachers with their charismatic power. They question and criticize their teachers' instruction in and outside the classroom. For example, A RIC student challenges his teachers' instruction as her teacher keep telling her to stop scribbling her notebook, but she not only does not stop her action but also gives a stern and decisive look to her teacher while she is saying "I like it." There are also positive examples of refugee students' showing their personality in the classroom. For example, an REC student offers his help to his teacher when the REC realizes that one of his local classmates needs help to go to the restroom. After the refugee and the local student has left the school,

the teacher mentions that this REC student has become a carefree person. During the interview with this REC, he explains that he has always been a carefree boy, but he has not been capable of expressing his personality.

I: Your offer to help your classmate was a very praiseworthy behavior. You should be proud of yourself.

REC: Thank you, Öğretmenim.

I: Your teacher says that you have become a carefree person as you spend time in the school.

REC: Öğretmenim, I like helping.

I: This is a really good characteristic. When did you become this carefree and good-hearted boy?

REC: I didn't understand, Öğretmenim.

I: Okay, remember your teacher said that you became a carefree person. I ask you when you decided to become such a nice boy.

REC: Öğretmenim, I always help people. My father says you grow bigger when you give.

I: X, these are really beautiful words. Can I meet with your father?

REC: Öğretmenim, he works.

I: Doesn't he have some time to talk?

REC: Öğretmenim, I don't know.

I: Okay, it is not a problem. Tell me how you help your classmates.

REC: We play soccer, sometimes one of our friends get hurt. We make human ambulance and carry him to the teacher's lounge.

I: Human ambulance. I never see a human ambulance.

REC: Öğretmenim, you do your arms like this (he crossed his arms) and then the other person does the same. Then we hold each other's hand and then carry the injured friend like this.

I: This is a great idea.

REC: I also help my friends to remember their homework.

I: Wow, did you teacher tell you to do that?

REC: No, Öğretmenim. I do by myself. Believe me (He did not like the idea of hearing similar questions).

I: I do believe you. Sorry, I just ask a question. If you don't like my question, maybe you can help me change my questions.

REC: Okay, Öğretmenim. I help (He was in a state of pride when he said he could help me).

I: For example, can I say that you begin helping people more when you begin speaking Turkish?

REC: Sure. You can ask like that. When I speak them, helping becomes easy.

I: Hmm. I understand. So it happened like you helped me. You helped me to ask my question beautifully, and then I became better at asking questions. Someone taught you Turkish, then helping people become easy.

REC: Exactly, Öğretmenim.

I: I need to think about it.

REC: If you need help, I am here.

I: Thank you, X. I need to think about this alone for a while.

The observation results show that refugee students reach a level of critical thinking once they do not need an assistance of the teacher and their classmates. At this stage, refugee students begin arguing with their classmates and teacher because of the comments and reactions about the refugee student or Syrian community. Refugee students criticize the local teachers and students' behavior and often offer suggestions about how teachers and local students should approach to refugee students. A RTC explain his ideas about how they need to be part of the classroom activity without separating them from their classmates.

I: X, wait. Why are you so angry? Let's have a talk.

REC: Öğretmenim, I tell my teacher that I want to be in the group activity. He says okay, but he does not put me in a group.

I: Okay, I did not quite get it. Just relax and tell me.

REC: He always does this. I want to do the things as the other students do. I can do it.

I: I know; you can do it. What is the thing that you want to do with your friends?

REC: Teachers told everyone to do something for the upcoming event, but he gave me the reading book.

I: Maybe he wants you to improve your reading.

REC: Yaaa! (Very angrily). You also say like my teacher.

I: Look. I don't know what your teacher says. I made a guess. Now, calm down a little bit, and we talk to your teacher. Tell me what do you want to do?

REC: I am going to be a roaster.

I: Hmm, maybe he did not let you do this because this event is not suitable for funny shows. It is for people, who lost their life in the past. What about telling him that you want to do something in the classroom before an event so that he will be convinced?

REC: When?

I: On Thursday. I come and watch you in the classroom. How does this sound?

REC: Yuppie (An expression to express joy).

I: I talk to your teacher, don't worry. He lets you know when the best hour to do it on Thursday is. But be aware that it may be on another day.

REC: I hope he does not tell another day. Öğretmenim, he is not clever, you know. I tell him that I can do this, Y (Another refugee student) can do this. He keeps giving the same book. We know that book.

I: You have talked a lot today (It was a kind of warning about his bold way of speaking about his teacher). Come on. Go back to your classroom.

REC: I always talk a lot (He cheekily laughed).

Refugee students develop skills to differentiate the intention of the teachers and their local friends when their teachers and classmates approach them. If refugee students believe that their

teachers want to improve their academic and language skills, they accept their teachers' way of helping them. However, if refugee students realize that their teachers only give them some materials to keep them busy in the classroom, they react against their teachers' idea of separating them from the classroom activity. Their skills to differentiate help them become independent because once they learn reading people's intention, refugee students begin realizing that they need to learn how to survive in the school to claim their presence. A RTC explains that she stopped asking people's help and began getting help just by asking questions. According to her, her teacher and classmates do not like her when she always stays close to her classmates and teachers.

I: Today, we are going to talk about your friends and your teacher. Before I ask my questions, do you want to ask a question about the things we talked in our previous meeting?

RTC: No, Öğretmenim.

I: Do you need water or something?

RTC: I don't, Öğretmenim.

I: How your friends treat you in the classroom? Do you like the way they treat you?

RTC: Öğretmenim, now I like, but they did not like me before.

I: Why do you like now?

RTC: Some girls were telling me that I was always following them and doing the same things.

I: So, was this true that you were following them or they were just bad girls?

RTC: I was doing as they were doing Öğretmenim.

I: Why?

RTC: My teacher said so. I was also trying to go out with my teacher, but he said it is enough. I should not be following him.

I: Hmm, interesting. What do you think about your friends' behaviors? Do you think it is okay?

RTC: Öğretmenim, I don't follow them. I know they don't like it. These girls sometimes tell me to do something and go somewhere to play another thing. I know they don't want me.

I: Don't you have any other friends?

RTC: No, I have. I have A. I have B. I have C (She named some local students).

I: Yes, I know. I see that you talk to them and play hopscotch and *the high above the ground* =*yerden yuksek* (the translation of the game is *the high above the ground*. It is a game that more than three player play. One person monitors people whether they are high above the ground or not. If one of the players is not above the ground, the monitoring player chases him or her. If the monitoring player catches the player on the ground, they change the roles. If not, the game continues)

RTC: I like *the high above the ground*=*yerden yuksek*.

I: Me, too. Do your current friends also behave like the ones that you mentioned?

RTC: No, Öğretmenim. I play with the other students when they ask me. Sometimes I tell them if they say no, I ask my other friends. My teacher said everyone might like something different and some people like the same thing. He said that I should tell people to play if they want to play.

I: I understand. Are you happy now?

RTC: Yes, I am.

I: Happier than before?

RTC: Happier than before.

Refugee students develop a form of self-awareness about what they can do and what they cannot do in the school based on their personal interpretation of the school as a system. Refugee students understand how the school function as a social place; they become independent and develop a decision-making skill. The next section explains the survival and existential strategies that refugee students use in the school when they begin gaining their independence and creating a safe social space to practice their agency.

Developing Survival and Existential Skills as Strategies to Claim Presence in the School

Refugee students develop strategies to continue their school eliminating or without having social and academic problems. They use these strategies to survive in the school like the other students in the school. These strategies originate from the social and national values in the school, but refugee students only use the social values as being a hardworking, disciplined, friendly, honest, and determined student rather than adopting values specific to Turkish nationals such as knowing six principles of Ataturk, knowing Ataturk's life, memorizing national anthem, and reciting national poems. The school community does not give as many credits as refugee students expect to get when refugee students know these values. However, the school community considers these attempts of refugee students' as respect to the Turkish nation, appreciation to Turkish community, and positive comments about Turkish people. Refugee students learn which social and national values the school community wants them to learn by observing and trial-and-error. All refugee students mention in their interviews that they have tried to learn the skills and values that the school community appreciates. Refugee students also highlight that their teachers and classmates sometimes like what they do and sometimes do not like.

Teachers also state similar explanations that they appreciate refugee students when they behave appropriately than they know national values related to the Turkish history.

According to the results, refugee students' survival skills are choosing a role model, showing determination, strengthening their talents, calmly expressing their needs and problems, and intentionally misbehaving or opposing to their teachers. Refugee students state that they learn the most of their survival skills by observing their local peers and the refugee students with more schooling experiences. Many refugee students also mention that they have a peer guide or a teacher helping them to learn the appropriate behaviors in the school. If refugee students receive a warning about the behaviors that they learn from their peers, they use several phrases to justify their behaviors such as "The local student also speak like this", "The local student A got a say even without raising his/her hand", and "Why don't you (the teacher) say something to him or her, she did the same thing". As expectedly, refugee students sometimes choose their role model among the students with a negative reputation in the school because they think that these students get more attention from their teachers. In such cases, refugee students demonstrate misbehaviors.

Refugee students' first strategy is to find a role model in the classroom and mimic some local students' behaviors during the instructional activities. The classroom observations show that refugee students generally raise their hand when their role models raise their hand. Refugee students repeat whatever the role model students say. In other words, refugee students do exactly what the role model students do. Therefore, refugee students' behavior has similarities with the role model. For example, a REC explains that he bought the same pen that teacher's favorite student has so that he can write as beautiful as the teacher's favorite student writes. Another RIC refugee student observes the routines in the classroom, and try to do the same actions of the local students. During the reading hour, this refugee student often glosses over the pages of the book in a fast way and leans over her back when she

finishes the book with a smile on her face as if she has literally finished the book. When refugee students, particularly the ones with low Turkish skills, do not have an idea about the instructional activity and what the other students are doing, they stand up and check the favorite or successful students' desk. After checking the materials that the favorite students put on the desk, they place the same course material or the similar ones.

Refugee students are aware that teachers like determination. Therefore, they devote their whole energy and motivation to achieve success. Refugee students show their determination through attempting to participate in the classroom activities, repeating the teacher's words, getting responsibility in social events, and having the desire to perform a talent in the classroom. Teachers show positive reactions to refugee students' attempt for active participation, but sometimes refugee students interrupt the flow of the instructional activities. The following conversation between a teacher with a caretaking orientation and RTC is an example of how the RTC disrupts the classroom activity by repeating teachers' words.

T: I have 12 pencils. If I give an equal number of a pencil to three people, how many pencils each person gets?

RTC: How many pencils?

T: Yes, How many? (Teachers waits for about 2 minutes. Then a local student raises his hand and says Öğretmenim to get the teacher's attention)

RTC: (He immediately raised his hand and began saying Öğretmenim) Öğretmenim, Öğretmenim, Öğretmenim...

T: Let me see. You haven't done anything yet. Why do you raise your hand?

RTC: But, Öğretmenim!

T: (Teachers turned his back and walked to the board). Okay, we are going to solve this problem together. How many pencils have we?

Everybody: 12

RTC: (After everyone said 12) 12.

T: How many people we have?

Everybody: three people

RTC: three people.

T: What do we do to give equal pencils to everyone?

Everybody: Division.

RTC: Division.

T: 12 divided by 3...

RTC: 12 divided by 3...
T: Equals to...
RTC: Equals to...
T: What?!
RTC: What?!
T: Why are you repeating me like a parrot?
RTC: Öğretmenim, 12 divided by 3.
T: If you know the answer, tell it and let everyone hear it.
RTC: Öğretmenim, I don't know.
T: Then, listen carefully.
RTC: Okay.
T: 12 divided by 3 equals to (RTC silently repeats the teacher) four.
RTC: four (She rejoices)
T: May Allah protect my mind!

As one of the teachers with caretaking orientation mentions, talents are like "the secret adaptation weapon" of the refugee students. Refugee students often use their skills to express themselves. Refugee students with a talent for drawing, performing, sports, writing, and singing have higher chances of having an easy acceptance from the school community. Therefore, refugee students seek opportunities to show their talents to the people around them. When they need to get attention or ask their teachers to help them do a task, they often use their talents as a way to show their seriousness for demanding certain things. Sometimes, refugee students use their talent to thank their teachers and friends. Figure 26 is one of the pictures drawn by a 12-year-old refugee student to show her appreciation for persuading the school administration to let her study with the first graders together with her siblings and relatives until she masters the Turkish language. This refugee student brought the picture to the school on March 2, 2016 and she allowed me to have the picture after she showed the picture to her classroom teacher and the other people who helped her in the school. This picture also plays a critical role in her acceptance to the school community because she has received more attention than she has asked due to unintentionally applying one of the national values such as showing appreciation to the Turkish hospitality through placing national symbols in her picture. She explains that

she wants to thank the Turkish community for helping the Syrian community and accepting Syrian refugees.

The school community has more students than the capacity of the school so that teachers and the school administration have more problems due to a large number of the students. The rapid increase in the number of the refugee students also creates other refugee student-related problems, which are mentioned in Chapter 4. As the number of the problems and the students are more than the expectations of the school community, the school administration and teachers are intolerant to dealing with aggressive behaviors. Refugee students, therefore, try to behave in a calm way when they need to express their needs and complain about a situation. Refugee students use this strategy when they are the ones who create the problem. A teacher with a supportive orientation explains this behavior of the refugee students "As innocent as a cat who's just swallowed the family parrot". Refugee students behave as if they never cause harm or problem under any circumstances. Refugee students quietly



Figure 26. A picture drawn by a 12-year-old refugee student to show her appreciation (Field notes taken March 2, 2016)

repeat, “Öğretmenim, I did not do anything”, “I did not know that”, or “I am sorry, I won't do it again” at a moment of problem.

Intentional misbehaviors or opposition to their teachers is the least preferred survival strategy for the refugee students. However, the details of their stories related to misbehaving, as the most effective survival strategy, indicate that refugee students use them to manipulate or persuade their teachers to treat them well. Refugee students express their sadness after opposing to their teacher make them feel demotivated to do good things in the school. An REC explains his sadness after he told his teacher that he does not want to come to the school if his teacher keeps telling the other students that he needs help.

I: I am sorry about what happened yesterday. I understand you that you don't want your teacher to keep telling the things you don't want to hear. Can you tell me what you do not like to hear? I don't want to make the same mistake.

REC: Öğretmenim, my teacher, always tell my friends that I need help. I don't like people giving me food. We have food at home. I don't want my friends asking “Are you hungry?”

I: I see. I am sorry to hear that. I believe they want to share something with you. Look, we are not in need of food, but we share food to show our generosity. You sometimes give some crackers from your cracker bag. Right?

REC: Öğretmenim, I don't like it. That is all (He angrily react).

I: Okay, don't get mad. We are talking now. If you don't like something, tell people to stop. There is no need to say that you don't want to come to school anymore.

REC: But, I don't want to see them when they behave like that. I hate school when it happens.

I: Young man, aren't you thinking that you say so because you are angry?

REC: If they do, I go.

I: Okay X, what about this? We slowly and silently count to ten, and then we give a big breath out like this. Are you going to do it with me?

REC: Okay. (He followed my instructions)

I: Okay, now stand up and shake your hand as I do (I shook my hand awkwardly, and he laughed as it looked silly). Good job. Now, we begin our conversation again but with a smiley and calm face. When we feel not good, show your thumb down, and I stop.

REC: Okay.

I: Explain me why you don't want to come to the school when your friends or teacher ask you whether you are hungry or not.

REC: (Exhales deeply). Öğretmenim, we have food at home. I don't know. I feel bad. I want to run away and hide. We are good now. My father has a job. I never took food from the people.

I: So it brings you negative feeling about the school.

REC: Yes, Öğretmenim.

I: Thank you. You are a nice boy. Now, do you know what we are going to do? (I winked at him to signal that we are going to do a fun thing).

REC: We are going to shake our arms up in the air like this (He giggles).

Refugee students appreciate the help they receive, but they do not like the type of support like the one mentioned above if the support makes them feel negative feelings about their self and the school. Refugee students want to show that they are empowered and capable of continuing their life as their local peers. They have a strong desire to feel normal.

Each survival strategy helps refugee students become capable of giving decisions about their life in the school. Once refugee students reach a level of solid and determined characteristics, teachers and local students do not consider refugee students as outsiders, and they respect refugee students' presence and comments in their classroom. Therefore, their survival skills are the building blocks of their existential claims.

Refugee students' agency development is not only dependent on their lived experiences. Social norms and values also shape their agency and identity. Social norms are the products of collective mindset of a community and the historical dynamic in a region. Therefore, refugee students, who could make sense of the social order start functioning in the system as students and community members. Their agency, consequently, becomes a product of their meaning-making of social orders. As long as refugee students understand the collective and historical dynamic in the school setting, they start making a choice about their education through examining the opportunities presented to them.

The Role of Social Actors and Surroundings in Agency and Independence Development

The final point of the schooling experience of the students is developing a sense of agency and independence based on their personality. However, refugee student does not form their schooling

experience by themselves. They interact with the people around them in a social setting with values and norms. Therefore, refugee students mention names of the people and the facilities while narrating their schooling experiences and how they have become the person that they describe. This section explains the role of social actors such as teachers, local students, and other refugee students as well as the role of the classroom and school atmosphere on refugee students' schooling experiences in relation to agency and independence development.

The Role of Teachers: Guiding the Learning Process. Chapter 4 has explained different teacher profiles to show how teachers use different approaches and perspective for educating refugee students. Many refugee students mention that they have a strong relationship with their teachers and have positive feelings about how their teachers treat them. A few number of refugee students report that they dislike their teachers' behavior and do not want their teachers to teach them in the future. Refugee students get influenced by their teachers even they accept them as their guide in the school or not, but they create their behaviors as a result of the relationship that they have with their teachers. Therefore, refugee students' agency manifestation and the struggle to become an independent being constantly get feedback from their interaction with their teacher. For example, refugee students who like to interact with their teachers consider their teachers as the source of cultural information. They get advice from their teachers to correct their behaviors or how to protect themselves from the risk of misunderstanding local and school culture. A RIC mentions that he respects his teacher because his teacher not only teaches him but also protects him outside the class. As the RIC says, his teacher provides information about how to protect himself if a problem occurs.

RIC: My teacher says that I need to go to him if someone tries to fight with me. I should not give them a response when say bad words, to me.

I: Very good. What else he says to you?

RIC: He says not to talk to strangers. Don't eat outside and don't carry too many valuable things or money.

I: I like them. Thank you for sharing. Did he tell you what the people around you like and dislike?

RIC: No, Öğretmenim.

I: Are you sure? For example, maybe he mentioned in the past that your classmates like to play certain games to help you make friends.

RIC: No, Öğretmenim. But he told my friends to play with me.

I: Great. I assume you never had any problems with your friends.

RIC: (He lowered his head to indicate that he had problems).

I: So you had problems. Tell me why did you have problems?

RIC: I made mistakes.

I: What kind of mistakes?

RIC: I thought I should have continued playing, but I should not have played after I had lost my game life.

I: Then.

RIC: My friends yelled at me.

I: Oh, sorry for that. Did not your teacher tell you about how to play the games in the Physical Education class?

RIC: No. The girls play hide-and-seek and the high above the ground. The boys play football.

I: How did you solve the problem when your friends yelled at you?

RIC: I don't know. I played with them and learned the game.

I: So, you did not tell what happened to your teacher?

RIC: No, I did not tell.

Teachers mainly make sure that refugee students have a person to share what they experience in the school. The degree of this relationship vary from one teacher to another, but this protection is very meaningful for refugee students throughout their schooling. Refugee students ask advice to protect himself or herself in the event of danger or conflict. Teachers also provide this protective information before the conflict between the local and refugee students. However, teachers fail to provide precautions advice to avoid conflict. Refugee students learn how to behave among the local students by their own efforts.

Teachers use precautions discourse with the local students. They frequently remind the local students that the local students should respect, protect, and love their refugee friends. Teachers give these instructions to the local students as advice; however, teachers often address an extreme way of briefing to their local students about treating refugee students with respect and care otherwise the local students face consequences of their negative actions against refugee students. All refugee students

mention that their teachers have advised the local students to become friends with them and treat well. Many refugee students share that their teachers continue reminding to live in harmony in the classroom. A few refugee students, particularly the ones in the classroom of a teacher with an indifferent orientation, state that their teachers only express the importance of living in harmony in the classroom when they first came to their classroom.

Teachers become a medium for refugee students to observe and understand the social rules in the school. Refugee students, therefore, often mention that their teachers explain who the school administrators are and what facilities the school have for the students' use. However, the communication with the students does not involve giving instructions about how to apply the social rules. Refugee students practice their new social knowledge with the other social actors such as local students and experienced refugee students.

Some refugee students talk about different school staff rather than their classroom teacher as a source of information for learning about the school culture. Among the ones with an alternative adult guide, refugee students state that the school counselor helps them in making sense of the school culture. Refugee students with a close relationship with the school counselor have a better understanding of the school as a social setting and better capabilities to use the survival skills in the most effective way because the school counselors address the problems of the refugee students in a holistic way in their meetings. A RTC explains that she likes to talk with the school counselor as she helps her feel happy, and she draws pictures for the school counselor in return to the counselor's help.

I: Do you like your teacher X? I always see you trying to talk to her.

RTC: Yes, I do like her.

I: What do you do with her when you go to her office?

RTC: We talk about my school day, my friends, and my family. She is funny. She makes many jokes.

I: What kind of jokes?

RTC: For example, we make our fears candies and eat them.

I: What kind of fears are the best ones to turn into candies?

RTC: Not being able to play with my friends.

I: Did you eat the not-being-able-to-play-with-your-friend candies?

RTC: Yes, I did.

I: Could you play with your friends after that?

RTC: Yes, I did.

Refugee students learn the basic social, language and academic skills from their teachers. Some refugee students have the privileges of learning more academic knowledge than their friends because their teachers have a balanced approach to prepare their refugee students to their future social and school setting. However, teachers play the key role to facilitate the first initiatives for the refugee students to begin building social experiences.

The Role of Local and Refugee Classmates: Keys to Meaning-Making School Culture and Social Behaviors. As mentioned earlier, refugee students perceive some of their local classmates as their role model because their teachers treat some local students as their favorite students due to these local students' success and personality. Therefore, refugee students' have a tendency to mimic these local students' behaviors. Local students play an important role in refugee students' social adaptation because refugee students spend most of their time alone with their local classmates. Even though teachers explain the social norms and values to the refugee students, refugee students feel welcomed or unwelcomed due to their local classmate's behaviors. Most of the refugee students express that they feel happy even their teachers treat them negatively in the classroom because they have harmony with their local classmates. A RIC states that she does not like her teacher; she does not want to change her class because of her friends in the classroom.

I: X, I have noticed something in the classroom. You have really good friends. But you said that your teacher is not nice. Am I right?

RIC: Yes.

I: Why isn't he nice? Did you do something?

RIC: He yells at. He is not nice.

I: I see. Is he yelling at everyone?

RIC: Yes.

I: Okay, then, let's change your classroom. We take you to another classroom with a nice teacher.

RIC: My friends?

I: They cannot come. There is no room for everyone.

RIC: Then, I don't want.

I: Why?

RIC: I don't know.

I: Then, you have to stay with your teacher.

RIC: (There is a long pause) Maybe we can ask the weekend school teacher to come to our classroom.

I: No, it does not work. All teachers should have a class.

RIC: Then, I stay.

Teachers may restrict refugee students' behavior with their authority, but refugee students can still express themselves with the help of their local classmates. Refugee students feel empowered if they feel the support of their classmates when opposing and disagreeing their teachers. As mentioned earlier, they ally up to persuade teachers to do an alternative activity, but refugee and local students also ally up to defend their rights against their teachers. This form of local and refugee students' reactions generally ends without any positive gain but a punishment or reprimand for all. However, local and refugee students do not stop opposing their teachers in the case of teachers' unfair treatment even all of them are punished. A RAC explains that local classmates sometimes treat refugee students in a bad way, but they do not let their teachers do unfair treatments if they are right in a situation. The following conversation is from one of the interviews with the RAC about how his local friends defended him when their teachers scolded the RAC because of interrupting the class.

I: You friends like you a lot. I am very impressed when your friends defended you when your teacher did not understand that you were talking about the lesson.

RAC: Öğretmenim, I did not understand the lesson. I was not talking some other things. It was about mathematics.

I: I know. I heard what you were talking about. Does your teacher always scold you?

RAC: When I speak, yes.

I: Even you speak about the lesson.

RAC: Yes, Öğretmenim. I was speaking about the math question.

I: Why do you think he scolds you?

RAC: He says, asks me if you have any question.

I: Maybe, next time you do as he says.

RAC: But, he sometimes does not allow me to speak.

I: Your friends were courageous. Do they always protect you like that?

RAC: Öğretmenim, they don't. When I play with them, they sometimes do not let me play. They say I do not give a pass to them. Do you know A (A local student)? He says Syrians are not allowed to play.

I: Isn't he the one who defended you today?

RAC: Yes, Öğretmenim.

I: But he does not allow you to play soccer, why does he defend you?

RAC: He defends me when I ask a question. The teacher also scolds him when he speaks. He feels angry when teacher scolds someone.

I: Okay, I understood. Do you want me to talk to him about allowing you play?

RAC: Öğretmenim, he is too naughty. He does not speak anyone. My teachers tell him "Are you efe?"^x (Efe is an expression to refer to the people who do not care about how the other people treat them when they think they do the right thing).

I: Hmm. Okay then.

As mentioned earlier, refugee students mainly choose a role model among the hardworking and disciplined local students; but some of the refugee students choose their role models from the misbehaving local students. Even though the interaction between the misbehaving local students and the refugee students cause harm to refugee students; they remain to be friends because the misbehaving local students protect themselves from the other students' bully-like behaviors with their high defense instincts. Refugee students mention that the misbehaving local students help them protect themselves in the fight or problem situation. The observation results show that the refugee students with a misbehaving local student role model are not exposed to other students' discrimination, but receive discrimination from their role model in the form of teasing or show of strength.

Overall, local students provide a platform for the refugee children to practice their social and cultural learning in the school. As a result, refugee student learns what work and does not work in the school by mimicking the behaviors of the local students or listening to their advice to continue making sense of the school as a system of culture.

The Role of Classroom Atmosphere: A Safe Harbor or a Venue to Learn Surviving. The results suggest that the classroom and school atmosphere refers to the nature of the engagement among the local students, refugee students, and teachers, the materials in the defined social space, and the availability of the space and resources for each individual's use. Refugee students mention that they feel more comfortable in a classroom setting with larger space and better equipped with educational materials than in a classroom setting with less available space to move and interact with each other. Physical conditions of the classroom motivate refugee students and help them feel less stress. A RIC states that she feels overwhelmed in the classroom when everyone begins speaking. She also mentions that she feels limited and restricted when her classmates begin moving around and touching her during their movement in the classroom. Another refugee student with RAC condition states that he is having headaches because his class is crowded and he gets exposed so many conversations that he cannot understand therefore his body reacts to the stress due to the language barrier and the crowdedness.

The quality of the classroom atmosphere has variations from one classroom to another classroom and affects each refugee student in a different way. Refugee students in the same classroom express different opinions about their classroom atmosphere. For example, in the classroom of a teacher with a supportive orientation, a RAC and REC mention that they feel happy and supported in the classroom whereas a RIC expresses that there is no room for him to interact with the local students as he feels isolated and neglected. Refugee students refer to the possibility of interacting with their teacher and classmates when they talk about the quality of the classroom atmosphere. Many refugee students indicate that they feel happy if they communicate and interact well with their classmates. However, refugee students, particularly with RIC and some RTC profile, point that they want to be a classroom with fewer people because they believe they will have more friends as the local students will not have too many students to interact.

The observation results provide a similar explanation as for the refugee students mention in their interviews that refugee students have more local friends in a classroom with the bigger refugee and local student ratio. For example, the harmony between the second grade local and refugee students in class J is better than class A (See page 53 in Chapter 3) because the refugee and local student ratio are 7:22 in class J and 1:25. When the number of refugee student increases in a classroom, the local student stops treating them as a different group of children. Local students in the classroom with a high number of Syrian students have a tendency to assess each refugee student based on their personality; however, the local students with a few number of refugee student approach their Syrian classmates as Syrian nationals.

Refugee students conceptualize classroom and school atmosphere in a different way. Many refugee students perceive their classroom atmosphere as a family setting, where the members of a family have a good and bad moment, and consider their school as the neighborhood where different families interact with each other. However, some refugee students express that the neutral or negative feelings about their classroom. As a result, these refugee students perceives their school as either a place where it restricts their behaviors or a place where they experience challenges. For example, the previous section on the problems of the refugee students shows that refugee students working before and after the school express similar opinions about the school. Briefly reminding, if refugee student feels welcomed in their workplace and receive financial benefits from their employee, they believe school is not necessary for them to have a better life. If the refugee students work experience is negative and receive discriminative responses from their employee and other workers, they believe that a school is a safe place.

Finally, the classroom atmosphere is a source of motivation or discouragement for many refugee students. Refugee student does not give higher priority to the collective welcoming

environment, but they state that they interact with their local classmates better if the other student does not feel threatened by their presence. The local students also share a similar feeling about the classroom atmosphere. The local students do not feel peer pressure from their other local classmates if the classroom atmosphere provides appropriate safe space for each group of students. As a result, refugee students claim social space, practice their agency, and gradually gain independence.

Conclusion: Understanding the Importance of Refugee Students' Schooling Experiences

Examining the schooling experiences of refugee students shows that refugee students have positive and negative experiences in the school. Each experience helps them understand the school as a system and become a member of the school community. Each experience also troubles their understanding of living in a different country and question their presence in the school because their schooling experiences, particularly the negative ones, cause them become aware of their national identity. This awareness leads them to begin identifying their priorities in the school such as being able to express their needs to the people around them, improving language skills, communicating with the locals, and creating social and safe space.

Refugee students develop survival and existential strategies to meet their own priorities. These survival and existential strategies prepare them to deal with the situations and orient them to appropriately behave in the school based on the school culture and the expectations of the school community. The results show that refugee students begin building up their own realities when their interaction with the people around them continues.

As refugee students' awareness of the problems regarding their presence and education increases, they begin manifesting their personality and decision-making skills. As long as refugee students continue interacting with the locals, they gradually become independent and determined

about claiming space. Refugee students mainly have an appreciation for the host community, but anti-refugee sentiments and negative experiences accelerate refugee students' agency and independence development as well because as they begin drawing clear lines between the locals and themselves, they reduce their dependence on the local community as a reaction to the locals' negative behaviors and perspectives.

Overall, refugee students' schooling experiences have a linear but a progressive movement, which eventually helps refugee students to achieve agency and determination. During the progressive movement refugee, students do not actually form a national identity due to their age, but they begin questioning the situation that makes them feel different. Therefore, understanding the perspective and determination development of these students becomes an important issue. The next chapter presents the interpretation of the results based on the literature review. Chapter 6 provides discussions related to the relationship between the developmental process of agency and independence manifestation because of refugee students' personal interpretation of schooling experiences.

Chapter 6: Discussions

Introduction: Emerging Refugee Education Model and the Syrian Refugee Student's Agency and Independence Development Process

Chapter 6 discusses the results of this dissertation study based on the conceptual framework and the literature review. It explains the overlapping ideas that originate from the conceptual framework. Most importantly, it highlights in which circumstances the results suggest different explanations for regulating the refugee education in a public school and the experiences of refugee students.

The main narratives on refugee education and “refugeeness” as explained in Chapter 2 are the basis for discussing the results. Briefly, Chapter 2 highlights three main narratives of the literature on refugee studies and refugee education: 1) the influence of pre-traumatic and post-traumatic experiences; 2) the role of school, social actors and culture; and 3) refugee students' identity construction and sense of belongingness. The results of this dissertation indicate similar and different explanations with the literature review mentioned in Chapter 2 regarding the influence of the main narratives on refugee students' schooling experiences, but this study contributes to the literature by troubling the understanding that refugee students are vulnerable and have limited use of their agency in their new environment (Thomas, 2010).

Based on the interpretation of the results, I have created two models to explain refugee education strategies in the school, and how refugee students make sense of the school staff's approach in educating them. Therefore, this chapter presents the discussion in two main sections, which explain the two models. Each section gathers the interpretation of the results by comparing and contrasting the model with various refugee education practices and discourses in other countries.

The first model is the refugee protection and the education model of the school. In this model, the school relies on the local concepts and discourses to regulate their refugee-related services and practices in the school. As a result, the school staff defines the principles of their way of educating and protecting refugee students. The model used in the school show similarities with the local sentiments of how to protect the social fabric and provide social space for the refugees.

The second model is the agency and independence development of the refugee students. This model explains how refugee students develop agency and become independent in the school by interpreting the local students and teachers' ways of treating them. By explaining refugee students' experience in the school, the experience of the refugee students in the Turkish school is compared with the experience of refugee students in different countries. The results of this study show that refugee students, particularly those that are between the age of 8 and 14, begin developing a sense of agency and independence as they interact with their local classmates and teachers. With time, refugee students' agency and independence development slowly helps refugee students define their key values of their very first national and cultural identity through meaning-making the social, cultural and political perspectives of the school community.

Principles of the Refugee Protection and Education Model

The approach used in the school to educate refugee children and the basic principles of the Middle Eastern Refugee Protection Model adopted by the locals in Turkey have strong connections. The data show that teachers and school staff construct their own refugee protection and education model to continue their instructional activities. This study shows that refugee students' meaning-making process plays the biggest role in the construction of their particular schooling experiences because the social surroundings such as their school and the neighborhood of the school in which refugee students try to fit and claim a social space are the formations of the collective mindset of the locals. These

surroundings, in other words, are the reflections of how the locals think, act, and solidify their norms and values as institutions or institutional teachings. The result shows that the locals have strategies to provide a social space and education for refugees based on their historical, social, religious, and cultural understandings.

The developing conceptual frameworks suggested by Dreyden-Peterson (2011), Chatty (2010) and Steven (2015) indicate similar concepts to provide social and educational services to refugees in their new environment. According to these scholars' explanations, host communities who follow such a refugee protection model intend to empower the refugee community to ease the refugees' adaptation process. As a brief reminder, the developing conceptual framework used for this research is the Middle East Refugee Protection Model (Chatty, 2010; Stevens, 2015) or livelihood approach (Dryden-Peterson, 2011). These frameworks perceive refugees as agents for building their livelihood by using the support hospitably given by the host community. According to this model, there are three principles: first, the host community should welcome refugees; second, refugee should have social space to create their livelihood, and all the necessary accommodation should be provided by the locals; and third, the local support should be voluntary under any circumstances. In other words, the integration between the local and refugee community is not regulated by laws or temporary regulations but governed by the characteristics, beliefs, and the readiness of the local community.

According to the conceptual framework, the host community relies on cultural and religious similarities to assist the refugees in the neighborhood and uses the myths and historical teachings about how their ancestors had helped former refugees and asylum seekers (Chatty, 2010; 2014). Differences in assisting refugees exist in different regions, but the locals who adapt such a refugee protection model always have a shared belief that refugees are not victims or a needy group of individuals, but the survivors of a difficult circumstance with the capacity to make change in their life. The locals also feel

obliged to show hospitality as they are strongly connected to their traditional values and show respect for the teachings that they learned from their ancestors (Chatty, 2010; Stevens, 2015; Peterson-Dreyden, 2011).

As mentioned in the conceptual framework, the locals have the intention to empower refugees and give them a social space to help refugees continue their social activity. However, this study has found that the intention of the local community does not solely originate from the idea of protecting refugees. Locals who assist the refugee community also have the intention to protect their social fabric and identity. Therefore, the interaction between locals and refugees include an exchange of ideas to know how to continue their life without disrupting the other community's social routines. In this attempt, locals and refugees do not have a third party to help them initiate these interactions and the exchanges of ideas about their culture, identity, and politics. Teachers in the school often mention that they do not want outsiders, particularly the ones who are not knowledgeable about their practices, to get involved in their way of interacting with refugees. This study does not have adequate input from refugee adults with school-aged children, but the limited number of interaction with the refugee parents shows that they are reluctant to allow outsiders to get involved in making connections with locals and the school staff. However, the local and refugee community change their approach to the outsiders once they believe that the outsider is ready to understand their practices and provide effective feedback to improve their practices.

The data suggests that negative incidents are sometimes inevitable for the refugee and local community. In such circumstances, the members of the local and refugee community follow their social, ethnic, and religious creeds to motivate themselves to continue their interactions and disassociate themselves from the negativity. If the local and refugee community cannot resolve the issues, including anti-refugee sentiment, by using the common grounds of social, ethnic, and religious creeds of both

communities, the locals use their authoritative power and apply their own social, ethnic, and religious teachings to end the problems.

As mentioned in the conceptual framework, the people of the refugee and local community use their historical, religious, and geographical closeness to further good connections. However, these connections are not the first concepts relied on. The people of the both communities use these connections to eliminate negative thinking and discriminative practices. For example, if the interaction between the local and the refugee children gets out of control, teachers say, "you are brothers and sisters," or "we are the people of the same country before." Apart from intervening in the negative incidents at school, teachers rely on values and norms that can be accepted by anyone from any religious, political, and social groups such as child-centric or integrationist values.

The local and refugee community find comfort in relying on positive practices to protect their existence and lifestyle; because, similar to what is mentioned in the conceptual framework, legal protection is either too weak or slow to end the potential problems between the communities. As a result, the refugee and local community do their best to minimize problems and conflict.

Teachers in the school highlight the importance of trust, security, protection and power in creating a safe space for the refugee students and maintaining the school culture. These concepts are the founding concepts of their refugee education and protection model. The founding concepts draw the boundaries of the human relationships and help teachers understand the needs and expectations of the refugee students and their parents, and help refugee parents and students understand the expectations of the school staff and others in the host community.

The local and the school community also discuss the necessity of personal space—something teachers refer to as breathing space, respect for decision-making, and voluntary integration. These are

the principles of the refugee protection and education model, and these principles help school staff decide who should be involved in the process of educating refugee students. The school staff's attempt to set up some principles shows that the school staff treats refugee students hospitably, such as providing space for refugee students to continue their cultural practices and respecting their decisions. However, the school community also is concerned that the local students' social space and the mainstream understandings of being a local with the taken granted norms and values should be protected so that the principles are structured based on the founding concept of security, protection, a show of power, and trust. Therefore, the power dynamic is unbalanced because only the locals have rights to decide on setting principles based on the concerns of the local community. The locals' notion of protecting their social fabric is also the reason for establishing a set of founding concepts to define the principles.

The priority of such a refugee protection and education model is to protect the social fabric and then allow others to decide what they want to do within the given space. Founding concepts and principles are connected to each other, but the relationship between the concepts and principles are like the pieces of a puzzle. Each person gives importance to each concept and principle in a different order. In other words, the concepts and principles can independently function, but each of them affects the other concepts and principles to form the refugee protection and education model. Figure 27 shows the relation between the principles and the concepts of the refugee protection and education model.

The founding concepts create the bigger piece of the refugee education and protection model. Trust is the most important component of the founding concepts. Trust influences the decisions of the school staff about whom to integrate or accept in their school culture, what to ask for regarding improving their system, and how much to request from the people for improving the quality of their educational activities for refugee students. Each question has its particular importance because the

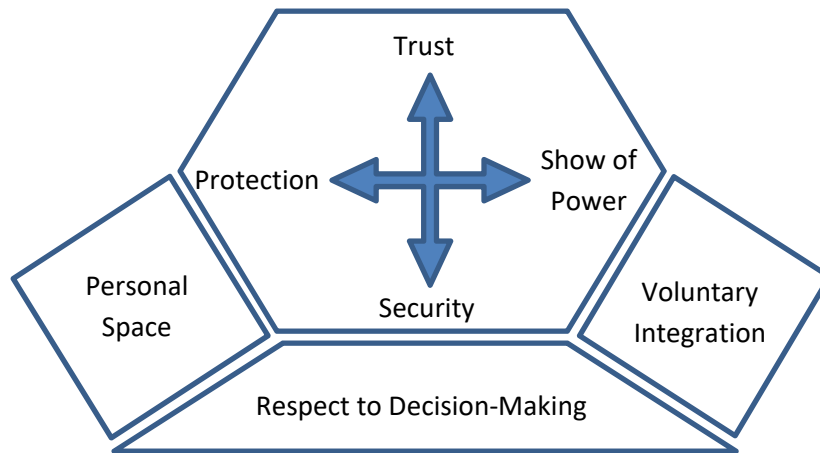


Figure 27. The relation between the principles and the concepts of the refugee education and protection model

questions reflect the willingness of the school in accommodating and educating refugees in the school. However, among all three questions, the third one has particular importance because the third question shows that the school staff has sensitivity in showing their problems to the others, particularly the ones outside the school community.

Teachers and the school administration are open to getting feedback from outsiders and attempt to learn new knowledge on refugee education, which they can apply in their classroom and the school. Teachers develop new methods to educate refugee children through self-interpreting the educational programs and regulations prepared by the Ministry of National Education. However, the school staff's willingness to accept help does not necessarily mean that they share all of their problems concerning refugee students with outsiders. School staff, particularly classroom teachers, maintain an entirely different attitude about sharing their experiences concerning refugee students and learning new methods and techniques to educate refugee children until they establish trust.

Even though trust is the most important concept in the school community, interpersonal relationships do not necessarily begin with trust. Concerns about protection and security or show of power in between people in different hierarchal positions may initiate constituting a relationship, and trust furthers the relationship. Teachers do not overwhelm the refugee students in their classroom by trying to instill their ideas about refugees or their social integration. Regardless of what they believe with regard to the future of the Syrian community in Turkey, they treat the refugee students with the same principles by providing personal space, respecting to decision-making, and supporting voluntary integration.

Implementation of the Refugee Education and Protection Model. Teachers' attitudes towards Syrian students influence their preference of choosing which principle should be focused on during the first initiation. Therefore, each teacher profile has a different way to approach the refugee students in their classroom. Metaphorically speaking, each teacher completes the puzzle by using various combinations of the founding concepts and principles of the refugee education and protection model. Table 9 shows teachers of four different profiles' tendency to initiate their refugee education and protection model.

Table 9 shows how teachers begin initiating their strategies for actualizing the aim of the refugee education and protection model. Teachers' preference of choosing particular concepts and principles are related to their political opinions and their ideas about the future of the Syrian community. As previously discussed, different teacher profiles have varying opinions about the Syrian community's future in Turkey. Teachers with skeptical orientation believe that Syrians will not return their home country. Therefore, the teachers with skeptical orientation support the idea of immediately integrating Syrians into the local community. Indifferent and teachers with caretaking orientation also believe that Syrians will stay in Turkey, but they do not have clear justification for their belief regarding

Table 9

Preference of Choosing Which Principles of Refugee Education and Protection Model to Apply

Teachers' profile	Preference of Choosing Which Principles of Refugee Education and Protection Model to Apply				
Teachers with skeptical orientation	1. Trust	Integration	Personal space	Respect to decision making	
	2. Security				
	3. Protection				
	4. Show of power				
Teachers with indifferent orientation	1. Security	Personal space	Integration	Respect to decision making	
	2. Protection				
	3. Show of power				
	4. Trust				
Teachers with caretaking orientation	1. Protection	Integration	Personal space	Respect to decision making	
	2. Trust				
	3. Security				
	4. Show of power				
Teachers with supportive orientation	1. Show of power	Respect to decision making	Integration	Personal space	
	2. Trust				
	3. Security				
	4. Protection				

Syrians' future in Turkey. Teachers with supportive orientation think that Syrians will return to their country when the war is over, as they idealistically believe that Syrian youth will help their citizens build up a new country.

Use of the Refugee Education and Protection Model by the Teachers with Skeptical

Orientation. Trust is the most important concept for the teachers with skeptical orientation because they begin sharing their political opinions during their first initiation with outsiders, Syrian and local parents, and Syrian and local students. When teachers with skeptical orientation build a trust relationship, they become more open about sharing their ideas and the strategies they use in their classroom to educate refugee children and to ensure refugee students integration in the classroom. For

example, as reported in Chapter 4, a teacher with a skeptical orientation does not trust the outsiders, as they believe that the outsiders will not provide any benefits to their teaching practices and refugee students. Teachers with skeptical orientation believe that trust only occurs if the people are willing to contribute to the refugee education process and open to know and introduce themselves to the school community. Matthews (2008) associates the relationship development between the teachers and refugee students with the issue of teachers' unfamiliarity of the refugee students' lived experiences. In Matthew's study, Australian teachers' lacking attempts to know and understand the refugee students' experience causes teachers to have a distant or ignorant relationship with their refugee students.

Following the concept of trust, teachers with skeptical orientation give priority to the issue of security and protection because they want to eliminate information leaks from one person to another. Teachers with skeptical orientation want to have the confidentiality to continue their relationships; therefore, they closely monitor the other person's behaviors. However, they do not put the protection of the information and local and refugee students at risk. Therefore, teachers with skeptical orientation unexpectedly use a show of power in their relationship. For example, teachers with skeptical orientation favor the child-centric approach as their colleagues do in the school. However, they are more protective of refugee students in the school in terms of eliminating refugee students to be involved in political conversations. Therefore, they do not want children to be involved in serious conversations. According to their perspectives, refugee students should be protected from political discussions. Teachers with skeptical orientation, therefore, use an unexpected show of power when refugee students in the school react to the flag activity in the curriculum due to different groups of refugee students' Syrian flag preference with two or three stars. Teachers with skeptical orientation found excuses to temporarily stop outsiders coming to their classrooms and try to distract refugee students with other activities such as playing in the outside play area more frequently than before. The precautions taken by the teachers with skeptical orientation against the emergence of political tension among Syrian students is similar to

what Philips (2012) mentions in his research on Turkish citizens' fear of the continuity of local problems among Syrian refugees in Turkey. Philips (2012) explains that Turkish society has a concern about the continuity of the Syrian politics among Syrian nationals so that he assumes that Turkish citizens may exclude Syrians from social environments. However, social exclusion is not a practice adopted by the school teachers. Syrian refugee students have the options to go to Syrian schools or temporary education centers, but the main preference of the Turkish educational authorities is the mainstreaming the Syrian refugee students in public schools.

Teachers with skeptical orientation prefer integration, as they believe that Syrian refugees will stay in Turkey. Teachers with skeptical orientation want their refugee students to begin integrating into the school and local community. When teachers with skeptical orientation are sure that refugee students are ready to integrate, they slowly gain personal space. Later, refugee students gain their teachers respect when refugee students use their agency. As mentioned in Chapter 4, teachers with skeptical orientation favor assimilation so that they give importance to introducing the local culture and national values. The refugee students, who adopt Turkish national values such as defending the country under any circumstances, receive more attention from the teachers with skeptical orientation. The teachers with skeptical orientation have similar understandings of integration with the British teachers due to the influence of refugee integration policy. Pinson and Arnot (2007) explain that the UK policy promotes a model of integration based on the concept of "who deserves to be integrated." Teachers with skeptical orientation in the Turkish school also define the most deserving group of refugee students to be the ones who adopt Turkish national values as Syrian values, and they give social space to these refugee students as a reward for adopting Turkish national values as Syrian national values.

Use of the Refugee Education and Protection Model by Teachers with Indifferent Orientation.

Teachers with indifferent orientation focus on security and protection, but these teachers' drive for

safety and protection are not in order to protect refugee students, but because of their urge to protect their classroom structure and continue their curricular activities as usual. Teachers with indifferent orientation are mainly unresponsive to the refugee students' needs and academic progression. They respond to refugee students when refugee students misbehave in the classroom, because the teachers with indifferent orientation cannot continue their teaching as usual if any student (local or refugee) interrupts classroom activities.

The teachers with indifferent orientation use a show of power to put distance between refugee children, outsiders and themselves. This distance causes a negative influence on local students, because the local students mimic their teachers' behavior and put distance between refugee students, outsiders and themselves. Trust is a fragile concept in the classroom of a teacher with an indifferent orientation because the local students and the classroom teacher have many biases and negative feelings attached to the presence of refugee children. This causes the local and refugee students' relationships to be distant; so that the initial reason refugee students have personal space is due to the negligence of their teachers and classmates. Chapter 4 and 5 illustrate a variety of activities done by the refugee students when refugee students are ignored and given excess freedom to do what they want. For example, refugee students in the classroom of the teachers with indifferent orientation often do not share their desk with another student. This form of isolation from the other local students allows refugee students in the classroom of teachers with indifferent orientation to have a personalized social space. Refugee students are free to draw pictures, move about the classroom, exit the classroom, and do other curricular activities without making noise or disturbing the other students.

Refugee students do not receive one-on-one interaction from their teachers with indifferent orientation, resulting in interns, researchers, and the school counselor often teach the refugee students. This behavior of the teachers with indifferent orientation is similar to teachers in the British schools who

also ignore their refugee students in the classroom. Deveci (2012) explains that British teachers ignore the refugee students and their needs because the teachers are unfamiliar with the refugee students' culture as well as how to approach these students in the school. Similar to the pedagogical decisions of the Turkish teachers with indifferent orientation, British teachers mostly focus on teaching English as they believe that teaching English helps the refugee students continue with their regular classroom activities.

Talents are the key factors of integration for the refugee students in the classroom of teachers with indifferent orientation. Refugee students slowly begin integrating as their teacher with an indifferent orientation and the local classmates begin realizing that refugee students have significant skills that may help them be accepted in the classroom. For example, refugee students in the classroom of the teachers with indifferent orientation often try to impress their peers and teacher by showing their artistic skills, such as drawing, since they cannot yet verbally communicate. As a result of refugee students' talent or patience to be accepted, the teacher with an indifferent orientation and the local classmates begin respecting the refugee students once refugee students have better communication skills.

Use of the Refugee Education and Protection Model by the Teachers with Caretaking orientation. The first concern of the teachers with caretaking orientation is to protect refugee students from unwanted attention. The teachers with caretaking orientation hover around their refugee students to provide maximum care and attention. Therefore, the people that the teacher with a caretaking orientation talks to about helping the refugee student should earn the trust of the teachers with caretaking orientation. The concept of trust for the teachers with caretaking orientation is not like that of the teachers with skeptical orientation. The teachers with caretaking orientation mostly want to trust that the other people involved in the refugee education process are as capable and caring as they are.

Safety of the refugee students in the school is a weak concern for the teachers with caretaking orientation because the school administration takes all the necessary precautions to protect their refugee students. Teachers with caretaking orientation mainly have security concerns outside the school. For example, a teacher with a caretaking orientation explains that she is concerned about the politics outside the school and how the politics can affect their refugee students' safety in the public arena. Teachers also shared some negative incidents that their refugee students experienced, including fights with the children in the neighborhood, exclusion of the refugee children from the public playgrounds, and verbal insults. The teachers with caretaking orientation rarely use a show of power, but any action that causes the loss of their confidence can risk the entire relationship between them and their refugee students because they feel disappointed if someone misuses their trust.

The teachers with caretaking orientation focus on refugee children's integration once they are sure that founding concepts are fully applied. Their preference of choosing principles of the refugee education and protection model is the same as teachers with skeptical orientation, but their understanding of each principle differs. Teachers with caretaking orientation take a major role in helping refugee students integrate into their classrooms without asking them to understand the social structure. They want the local students to understand who the refugee students are or what refugee students want. During their integration, the teachers with caretaking orientation give personal space to refugee children. However, surprisingly, these teachers often forget how to respond to their refugee students' agency. For example, teachers with caretaking orientation overthink about the refugee students' needs so that they unconsciously interrupt refugee children's decision-making process. Therefore, as mentioned in Chapter 4, the over-care and over-thinking of the teachers with caretaking orientation on behalf of refugee students due to their fear of their refugee students' probability of experiencing anti-refugee sentiments can actually slow down refugee students' agency and independence development, as explained in Chapter 5.

The over-caring attitude of the teachers with caretaking orientation is related to trauma-related discourses shared by teachers' attitude in other countries. For example, similar to teachers in the United States as shown in Sarr and Mosselson's (2010) research, teachers with caretaking orientation have a tendency to consider refugee students as highly injured while in the school but as aggrieved students before they begin attending school. Even though teachers with caretaking orientation believe that refugee students are like the other students in their classroom, they occasionally apply their ideas about how refugee students might have been deeply traumatized by their prior and current social status and lifestyle.

Use of the Refugee Education and Protection Model by Teachers with Supportive Orientation.

Teachers with supportive orientation are natural controllers of their classroom and the interaction in their classroom when starting a new relationship with their refugee students and outsiders. They draw imaginary lines for everyone so that there is no room for disrespect or misunderstanding. The teachers with supportive orientation clearly define the boundaries of where the sincerity and formality starts and ends. Refugee students in the classroom of the teachers with supportive orientation also manifest high self-esteem and mature personalities. For example, teachers with supportive orientation do not pathologize refugee students or see them as victims. These teachers acknowledge, as mentioned in the quote of a teacher with a supportive orientation, "I know they (refugee students) are coming from a different culture." They apply different multicultural classroom activities such as talking about games and food in other cultures but do not treat refugee students different from other students due to their trauma background. For example, teachers with supportive orientation accept that refugee students need counseling support, but they provide privacy to their refugee students by letting counselors work with the refugee students on a regular basis in the counseling office. As a result, the teachers with supportive orientation are the ideal teacher type mentioned in other studies on refugee students' experience. Hattam and Every (2010) emphasize the importance of having teachers in the Australian

schools like the teachers with supportive orientation in the Turkish school in their suggestions to eliminate the reflection of negative public rhetoric on refugee education.

After a show of power originating from the charismatic way of setting limits of the relationship, the teachers with supportive orientation put faith in all students, including refugee students, as they believe in the potential goodness of human beings. As a result of their complete trust, the teachers with supportive orientation define the rules for being safe and secure in and outside the classroom through brainstorming with their students. Teachers with supportive orientation monitor these rules together with their students to ensure that everyone is protected.

Respect to decision-making is another priority in the supportive teachers' classroom. Each refugee and local student knows the limits of their teachers and their classmates. Refugee students in the classroom of the teachers with supportive orientation have complete freedom to decide whether to continue their cultural activities or participate in local cultural events. Refugee students in other teacher profile classrooms also have the freedom to decide, but sometimes teachers with skeptical and caretaking orientation ask their refugee students to participate in the classroom activities when they see a merit for the refugee students. If refugee students in the classroom of the teachers with supportive orientation choose not to integrate in cultural activities, but to continue learning academic skills, teachers with supportive orientation do not force them to be part of social activities. Therefore, refugee students have some control over the degree of their integration. For example, refugee students in the classroom of the teachers with supportive orientation have the highest sense of belonging to their classroom because their teachers believe in their capabilities to progress and achieve. Teachers with supportive orientation often highlight their faith in the capacity of their refugee students regarding achieving success as in the following quote from Chapter 4.

They get the same homework as the others do. It is okay for them to do as much as they can do. If they make a mistake, I help them correct; they work again. They have the same capacity as the other children; they only had an unfortunate life that brought them here.

In the classroom of the teachers with supportive orientation, teachers' approaches to students with a sense of equality and faith also support harmony in the classroom. This level of harmony is the most desired integration model as explained in the conceptual framework. Chatty (2014) highlights that anthropological approaches often create harmony between locals and refugee communities as each the refugee community enjoys practicing their agency within their own capabilities. The existence of such refugee integration in the Turkish school show that refugee students regardless of their different individual trauma experiences can overcome their problems, integrate into their new environment, and show academic progression with a teacher who has experience in teaching students with diverse backgrounds, openness to include individual differences in the classroom activities, and faith in students' decision.

As refugee students in the classroom of the teachers with supportive orientation keep integrating, they create the boundaries of their personal space. In a nutshell, teachers with supportive orientation guide their refugee and local students by being a role model when teachers with supportive orientation introduce the founding concepts, their personality, and professional preferences. Refugee and local students imitate their teacher's behaviors, and this process helps teachers with supportive orientation achieve the goal of the refugee education and protection model in the school.

The Influence of Teachers' Orientations and the Use of the Refugee Education Model on Refugee Students. Refugee students have different behavior claims due to their family background, personality, and the level of pre-trauma and post-trauma experiences. The data suggest that refugee students have four behavior claims: extrovert, introvert, academically-motivated, and traumatized after

resettlement. Even though refugee students' teachers influence their meaning making process, the data does not suggest a pattern between teachers' profiles and refugee students' profiles. For example, refugee students with academically-motivated behavior claims and teachers with supportive orientation have similar characteristics regarding how they define their social space, value education, and take responsibility with a sense of discipline. The similarities exist between teachers with indifferent orientation and refugee students with introvert behavior claim; teachers with skeptical orientation and refugee students with extrovert behavior claim; and teachers with caretaking orientation and refugee students with extrovert and traumatized after resettlement behavior claim when their behaviors and perceptions are compared. However, teachers and refugee students with behavior claims are not necessarily in the same classroom settings. Due to the random classroom placement of the refugee students and teachers' not having a say about which refugee students to accept, classroom teachers have refugee students with different behavior claims in their classroom. As a result, refugee students have a different timeline for manifesting their agency and independence in the school due to their teachers' understanding of how refugee education should be provided.

Refugee students' not having a choice to be paired up with a teacher with similar characteristics, and teachers' not having a choice to choose refugee students with strong social adaptation capabilities is an advantage for most of the refugee students. The random distribution of the refugee students eliminates the exclusion of refugee students with certain characteristics such as the ones with trauma experience, interrupted education, and introvert personalities. According to Matthews' (2008) study on psychological approaches in Australian schools shows that in those schools there is an overemphasis on the pre-displacement of refugee students with trauma experiences in providing social services. For example, the data of this study shows that refugee students with academically-integrated behavior claims have better integration in their new environment and academically perform well in the classroom of teachers with supportive orientation. However, when the refugee students with introvert behavior

claims are assigned to the classroom of the teachers with indifferent orientation, they experience a very slow integration process and have achievement gaps in comparison to their local classmates' achievement level. The data does not suggest a clear explanation about the encouragement of teachers with caretaking and skeptical orientation on the achievement and integration level of the refugee students. Therefore, the random classroom assignment of the refugee students is somewhat a just placement strategy as it provides equal chances for each refugee student to be in a good classroom setting under the guidance of a good teacher.

Matthews (2008) suggests that refugee education in Australia requires a transition from a psychological approach to a sociopolitical approach that focuses on post-traumatic experiences of refugee youth. In this study, Turkish refugee education models have more emphasis on sociopolitical practices; however, as indicated earlier in the refugee education and protection model of the school, the locals do not have the intention of dealing with the post-traumatic experience of the refugee students because the locals do not perceive refugee students as pathological or damaged individuals. In the school, the dominant discourse protects refugee students with a child-centric approach. Teachers mostly highlight that refugee students are, first and foremost, children who should enjoy their childhood no matter what the circumstances. This understanding is the reason for school staff's intention to provide space for the refugee students. The school staff allows refugee students to have more freedom than the local students in order to help the refugee students experience their stages of childhood. Second, the school staff approaches refugee students as individual cases once they begin working with refugee students by distancing their refugee students from the mainstream anti-refugee sentiments outside the school and mentioned in the media. In comparison to Australian sociopolitical refugee education practices, Turkish refugee education practices offer a different sociopolitical refugee education approach as the locals and the school staff perceive refugees as people with difficult experiences but with a capacity to continue their life by treating each refugee individually.

The difference in the sociopolitical approaches in refugee education is a very natural situation because the educational responses are similar to the locals' way of perceiving the refugee community. For example, refugees in the United States are not a pathologic group of people, but a group of people with high expectations and pursuits of participating in economic mobility (Işık-Ercan, 2012; Sarr & Mosselson, 2010). As a result, refugee education in the US focuses on setting reasonable goals for the refugee students in the school. In the Turkish context, the school does not make changes in the curriculum to teach certain values and understandings to the refugee students. Refugee students are free to practice their culture, but the school reminds Syrian refugee students of their cultural identity during the classroom activities. This practice is a non-assimilative education policy, but it also points to the continuation of the Turkish government's earlier assumption that Syrian refugees would soon leave. The practice of reminding the Syrians of their national identity but not the other students from different nationality in the school is an indicator that the locals and the school staff has adopted this political approach and they prepare refugee students' mindset for possible repatriation scenarios.

The schools are not politics-free environments, and as Halleli and Arnot (2007) mention in their study, refugee education is the product of complex politics and educational practices. This explanation is also applicable to the Turkish education setting so that the refugee protection and education model reflect the politics of the refugee and local community. The Turkish refugee education and protection model in the school does not violate the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), as the school staff pay attention to the needs of the refugee students. This model does not pathologize refugee students in the school with the discourse of victimhood, and implements a child-centric approach in dealing with the trauma experience of the refugee students. However, refugee students should be at the school to benefit from an education with an inclination to respect children's right. The school in Turkey fails to promote encapsulating refugee education programs, as the school still has the idea that the refugees will return to Syria. The findings of this study have similar explanations with the

other studies conducted in other countries with regard to how politics shape the educational structure and responses for refugee communities (Bujis, Hekma & Duyvendak, 2011; Halleli & Arnot, 2007; Işık-Ercan, 2012; Sarr & Mosselson, 2010; Matthews, 2008; Mepschen, Duyvendak & Tonkens, 2010; Sahin, 2010; Thomas, 2010). However, these practices may create hospitable or hostile environments for the refugees depending on the nature of the immigration politics.

The collected data indicates that schools, as social institutions, adopt an approach similar to the Middle Eastern Refugee Protection Model to educate refugee students. The locals rely on historical understandings of helping newcomers when regulating resettlement. As the literature suggests, the concept of refugee protection and education models differs from the European countries in the Middle East, where the model basically relies on the notion of sisterhood/brotherhood, religious, historical or cultural connections, language similarity, or kinship (Chatty, 2010; 2014; Esther, 2005; Mackreath, 2014). The Middle Eastern Refugee Protection Model provides a basis for explaining the concepts that shape refugee assistance in the local neighborhood and the refugee education in Turkish schools. Therefore, the refugee protection and education model in Turkish schools is an example of legitimate knowledge production in different geopolitics as it shows dissimilarities between the Western and developing or Third World countries. Chimni (1998) also highlight that the locals have tendency to create geopolitical knowledge, which refers to the geographically and politically sensitive knowledge and practices, in refugee assistance programs.

Refugees are not presented from a polarized perspective in the refugee education and protection model of the school. Most importantly, this model allows the locals and refugees to understand the refugee crisis and how the crisis influences their life from their perspectives. As seen in the results, the refugee assistance, therefore, is not a right-based mechanism, but a social constructivism based on the personal interpretation of local and refugee community interaction,

refugee agency, and local people's sensitivity. Even though this model is a product of social constructivism, the refugee education and protection model require cultural and political knowledge exchange between locals and refugees to give an equal voice in defining the principles of the model. The locals are still the major decision makers who set the principles of the model through meaning-making of the cultural practices that refugees perform in the given social space, whereas the refugees are the source of knowledge for the locals to deconstruct, construct, and reconstruct their refugee assistance mechanisms.

Agency and Independence Development Model

The results presented in Chapter 5 shows that refugee students' reaction to the social and cultural teachings in the school and the classroom shape their schooling experience. Later, refugee students begin developing survival and existential strategies when they begin their own meaning-making of their schooling experiences and cultural practices in the school. Finally, refugee students begin practicing their agency and become independent beings.

Refugee students' way of building up schooling experiences is not separated from their surroundings as mentioned in the literature. Refugee students reflect and react to the cultural and educational practices of the schools (Crisp, Talbot, & Cipollone, 2001; Thomas, 2010). Rutter (1998) mentions in her study with the refugee students in the UK that the adopted values and policies of the countries in an attempt to standardize their refugee assistance programs shape the refugee experiences. Refugee students in Turkey also experience a similar influence of the adopted policies and values in refugee assistance strategies on their schooling experiences.

The refugee education and protection model in the school in Turkey does not restrict refugee students: refugee students are able to find a platform to express their personality and needs as well as

define the boundaries of their social space. If this school in Turkey had adopted a positivist or post-trauma approach, refugee students' schooling experience would be different, and similar to the experiences of refugee students in other countries.

Refugee students' experiences in the school are not a one-directional cause and effect equation. Their experiences are the products of the continuous interaction of culture, politics, and social space for the host and refugee community. Their schooling experiences are developmental and progressive, but as their schooling experiences are informed by outside conditions, the direction of their experiences changes and evolves throughout their time in the host community and due to their personality and life choices. The results suggest that refugee students in the school experience problems, become aware of their social setting and expectations, and define their survival and existential strategies during the meaning-making process.

Given the developmental and progressive nature of their experiences, refugee students' experiences can be explained in three stages: problem, awareness, and resolution. In the problem stage, refugee students begin noticing the problems and challenges in their environment. Each refugee student has experienced problems in learning the language, adapting to their new school and environment, dealing with the changes in their families' financial status, and overcoming their trauma experiences with varying degree. In the awareness stage, refugee students discover key social values and expectations in their new environments and use their new social values to compare and contrast their cultural and national identity as the member of the refugee community living in a host community. In the resolution stage, refugee students finalize the meaning-making of the values and norms and decide how to position themselves in the school in a way that they protect themselves, eliminate further problems, claim their social space, and define their identity.

The literature does not mention the refugee students' meaning-making of their schooling experience and the construction of agency and independence in the school context. Pinson, Arnot, and Candappa (2010), for example, discuss the influence of citizenship materials on refugee students' construction of citizenship and sense of belonging, but their argument is related to how the politics of compassion and belonging outside the school enforces refugee students to belong to a community with obtaining a passport or citizenship. Their study explains the influence of greater politics on the refugee students' meaning reconstruction outside the schooling context.

The patterns and relationships emerging after the interpretation of the results of this study show that the school is the place for the refugee students' meaning-making the construction of their schooling experiences, surrounding politics, and cultural practices. For example, similar to the concerns of belongingness of the refugees in the UK, refugee students in the public school in Turkey have future anxieties about their future because the politics of refugee integration in Turkey are built on wrong assumptions such as the duration of the refugees stay, which causes refugee students to not have official registration in school. However, different from teachers of refugee students in the UK, teachers of refugee students in Turkey also have anxiety about the future of their refugee students. This leads to an inclusion of refugee students in the discussion process, and Turkish teachers sharing their ideas about educational policy with their refugee students. Refugee students in the UK are not included in the discussions about their future after school (McDonald, 1998). In other words, refugee students in Turkey have the opportunity to practice their agency at various levels depending on the classroom atmosphere and the support that they receive from their teachers and their peers. As long as refugee students gain a form of agency, they become less dependent on the people around them. The following section explains the relationship between the agency and independence, and behavior manifestation of the refugee students with a model.

The Agency and Independence Development Model (AIDM) presented in Figure 28 explains how refugee students begin developing a sense of agency after their enrollment in public school, where refugee students interact on a daily basis with local students and school staff. The agency development and independence development model was created after interpreting the results of this research based on the conceptual framework and the literature review. The similarities and differences of the explanations in the literature review regarding refugee students' experience help build the connections between the themes that emerged in the data analysis.

The main argument of the Agency and Independence Development Model is that refugee students progressively develop a sense of agency while they establish new language and social skills. The AIDM illustrates the relationship between refugee students' agency manifestation, the role and influences of social actors and social surroundings, and their journey of gaining independence and becoming critical thinkers. This model encapsulates the refugee students' language learning difficulties and adaptation problems. The AIDM explains the key steps of the refugee students' journey in the school and shows how refugee students become active members of the school as a result of developing a new language, academic and cultural skills, and manifesting personal characteristics. However, it also highlights how refugee children establish strategies to cope with the new school culture while they are claiming their identities as Syrian-born refugee students and new members of the local community.

The Agency and Independence Development Model includes three sections: (1) *agency manifestation*; (2) *the roles and influences of social actor and social surroundings*; and (3) *the path to independence*. The first section explains how refugee students become active members of the school by the meaning-making of social and cultural norms as they develop a new language, academic, and cultural skills, and manifest their personality and characteristics. As the refugee students make decisions based on their schooling experiences, they move into (1) agency manifestation. Refugee students

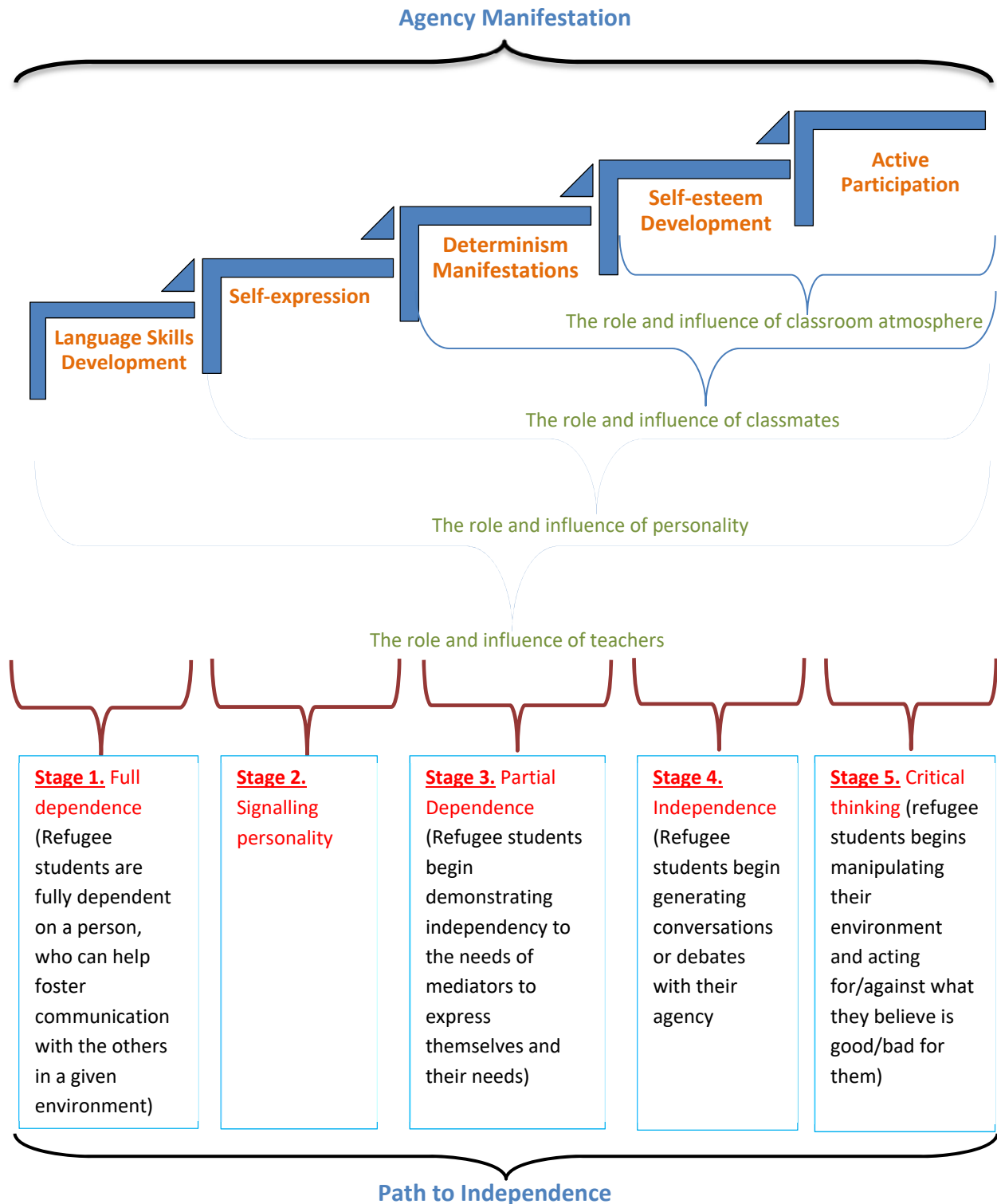


Figure 28. Agency and Independence Development Model. This model illustrates the relationship between refugee students’ agency manifestation, the role and influences of social actors and social surroundings, and their journey of gaining independence and becoming critical thinkers.

develop their agency in the school in five steps. These steps are respectively: (A) language skills development; (B) self-expression; (C) determinism manifestation; (D) self-esteem development; and (E) active participation.

I provide the definition of each step to find a common ground to explain the meaning of the steps. Agency manifestation is used to refer to agency development of the refugee student. It means the awareness of the individual or the people around the individual on the use and/or activation of agency. Even though the section could be named as agency development, agency manifestation is preferred because people around the refugee children and also the refugee children notice or active their capability of making decisions. Language development refers to refugee students' reading, writing, speaking, and listening skills means the increase of communication between the individual and the people around the individual. At this stage, people around refugee students think that language development is mostly related to speaking skills. Therefore, the priority of language development is given to speaking skills because refugee children increase expressing their needs verbally as desired by the people in the school community. Self-expression refers to all means of communications used by refugee students to express their needs and emotions. Determinism manifestation refers to the moments when the individuals practice their decisions in the school though different responses based on their personality. Self-esteem refers to the individuals' becoming confident about their responses and developing personal skills to deal with their personal and social issues. Active participation refers to refugee students' way of deciding how to become part of their classroom or the school community.

The terms used in the model has their own definition created based on the responses of the participants and the result of this study. As mentioned earlier in the method chapter, this study used low-level and high-level meaning reconstruction to understand the claims made by the participants in their speech acts. These findings of the low-level and high-level meaning reconstructions were used to

define the terms used in the model. All the steps named and defined in this model were discussed with the people whose expertise is in data analysis and refugee studies to make sure that the terms reflect the progressive and developments phase of the refugee children. However, these definitions are not meant to reflect on the psychological stage of the refugee children because understanding the psychological motives of the refugee children in giving social responses requires additional expertise and the collection of another set of data to examine the psychological conditions of the participants. Therefore, these stages and meanings were defined based on the interpretation of the speech acts and the claims made by the participants.

The second section (2) explains *the roles and influences of the social actors and surroundings*: (A) teachers; (B) personality; (C) classmates; and (D) classroom atmosphere on refugee students' decision-making process and attitudes in the school. This section clarifies what helps refugee students become aware of their capabilities and under which circumstances they slowdown or accelerate in realizing their capabilities. This section also deliberates on refugee students' behaviors as well as the changes in their behaviors in the school and classroom as a way of understanding their transformation resulting in the students developing a sense of agency in their actions.

The final section is (3) *the path to independence*, which highlights how refugee students become independent social beings after meaning-making of their overall schooling experiences and their self as individuals living in a community. The discussion of the findings is conceptualized by considering the agency development of the students and the help of social and language skills in performing decision-making skills. The results regarding the schooling experiences of refugee students show that refugee students become an independent member of the school community with their new knowledge and understandings of the local community as they spend time in the community. The journey of refugee students to become fully independent members of the school community has five stages. The stages are

respectively (A) full dependency; (B) signaling personality; (C) partial dependency; (D) independence; and (E) critical thinking. Each stage is a building block for refugee students to become critical of their surroundings, people in their new environment, and the educational services that are provided for them.

The terms used in the third section of the model are explained in detail in the next section of this chapter but the definitions are provided to explain the meaning of each term in a nutshell. Full dependency is the stage where the refugee students are dependent on the help of the people around them due to lacking language and social skills to communicate. Signaling personality refers to the moments where refugee students signal the core characteristics of their personality other than the ones that people around them interprets. This stage is important because it also provides evidences that the behavior claims are not certain categories but reconstructed meanings of the people around the refugee students, which are subjected to change when the people notices new information about the personality of the refugee student. Partial dependency refers to the condition of the refugee students when they occasionally begin practicing their capacities and decisions without needing the assistance and support of others. Independence refers to the stages that refugee students begin doing the tasks and plans as they want without relying another person. They interact with the people around them to complete the social and instructional tasks but this form of communication is like exchanging opinions rather than seeking guidance. Finally, critical thinking stage is the process of becoming consciously aware of the refugee protection and education model of the school and how people in the school approach to refugee students. At this stage, refugee students criticize and provide feedback about what should be done to educate them and how the help should be provided. In other words, refugee students at critical thinking stage develop a collective mindset and deal with the issues in the school regarding refugee education as a whole rather than considering the problem as individual problems.

Agency Manifestation. Refugee students go through the following developmental stages such as language development, self-expression, determinism, self-esteem development, and active participation to gain agency over their education. The developmental stages of the agency manifestation are defined based on establishing connections in between the themes of the data analysis. The following sections explain the connection between the themes by explaining the role of each stage in refugee students' agency development.

Language skills development. Gaining agency is a challenge for the refugee students due to a lack of language skills. Therefore, developing language skills is the students' first stage of agency manifestation. As the language-related skills such as speaking, listening, reading, and writing develop, refugee students get closer to being completely accepted by their peers and teachers. When they first start school, the students from Syria do not receive negative reactions from the school community because they are often quiet in the classroom and accept assistance from others without questioning. As their language skills develop, they can better express their needs and personalities, and this development can lead to problems for the refugee students.

When refugee students first begin gaining language skills, they experience misunderstanding, labeling, and exclusion. For example, refugee students with extrovert behavior claims often misunderstand their local classmates because although they speak some Turkish, they lack comprehension. The false assumption of the teachers and local classmates that the refugee students have a total understanding of Turkish can cause refugee students to be excluded from games or to receive warnings from their teachers. If REC continue to manifest misbehaviors due to a lack of language comprehension, they eventually receive labels such as naughty, lazy or hyperactive. The result of the misunderstandings is very similar to the use of negative terms for refugee students in Britain. Thomas (2010) explains that British students use negative terms such as “freshies” or “garbage bag” to bully

their refugee classmates. She explains that the bullying terms are the results of racism, but in the Turkish school, these terms are given to students who misbehave. The negative terms used for labeling refugee students in the school decrease once the refugee students' language skill improve, because the local and refugee students no longer misunderstand each other.

As shown explained in Chapter 5, refugee children become more independent, interactive and have more agency as they develop adequate language skills over time. Chapter 5 explains four different behavior claims among refugee students: extrovert; introvert; academic-integration; and traumatized after resettlement. Refugee students with different behavior claims have similar group characteristics, but even in their group, they have a different level of language progression due to being in different teachers' classrooms and having different personality. Table 8 in Chapter 5 also shows the various degrees of Turkish languages skills used by the refugee students with different profiles. As seen in the table, RAC have better language skills than the rest of the group, but this situation does not change the fact that all refugee students in the school have gaps between four major language skills. None of the refugee students has all the language skills at the "very-well" level.

Individual differences are one of the factors that influence language learning and the degree of language skills among refugee students, but the most influential factor is the lack of materials and systematic focus on teaching language to refugee students. Each refugee student has a different level of language skills because they all are exposed to different language teaching strategies, and personalized language and academic teaching plans in their different classrooms. Refugee students in the different classrooms also use different course books and language learning materials along with the teachers' teaching strategies.

The list of classroom teachers' teaching strategies in Table 4 in Chapter 4 shows that this public school in Turkey does not have a priority to teach the refugee students the Turkish language, but

teachers do have their own individual plans for the refugee students. The educational authorities allow the school to open a weekend school to improve the Turkish language skills of the refugee students, but attendance is optional. Given these circumstances, the aim of the Turkish refugee education policy in mainstreaming refugee students in public schools is not as clear as in some other countries. For example, schools in Australia, Britain, and the USA provide restricted access to public schools for the refugee students because these school systems have the idea of controlling the mindset of the refugee students based on their refugee education policy (Rutter, 2006; Peterson-Dreyden, 2011; Windle & Miller, 2013). Therefore, the public education system in other countries lacks providing academic and language skills. The Turkish refugee education policy, on the one hand, channels refugee students to study at public schools, allows the school open weekend school, and receives help from the outsiders to improve refugee education, and trains volunteer teachers to be informed about teaching Turkish to Arabic speaking students. On the other hand, the school and educational authorities do not standardize any aspect of the schooling for the refugee students.

Turkish educational authorities' way of allowing flexibility to refugee students in the school to attend language-learning programs seems like a good student-oriented educational understanding, but this understanding also shows that Turkish education authorities still have internalized the discourse of perceiving refugee students as guests in the school context. Even though refugee students in the school do not feel stress about their academic progression and they adapt to their new environment based on their personality, the lack of uniform language teaching strategy causes refugee students to lag behind their local classmates.

Self-Expression. The problem stage of the refugee students in the school continues during the process of developing self-expression. Due to their limited or newly acquired language skills, refugee students experience challenges about how to express themselves in their new environment. This section

discusses the challenges of self-expression for the refugee students by comparing it with the other countries' school practices.

Turkish school and refugee education policy have a similar approach with the principles of the Middle Eastern Refugee Protection model regarding focusing on providing alternatives but not enforcing any restrictions. The absence of restrictions on refugee students such as not monitoring their attendance or applying all discipline rules in and outside the classroom allow refugee students to learn language by revealing their personality. Once the refugee student develops adequate language skills, they begin self-expressing themselves. Many teachers mention in their interview that some refugee students in their classroom were quiet and calm but changed after spending some time in the school. Teachers in the school associate the increase of self-expression with language skill development because many of them stated that they noticed the struggle of the refugee students to participate in classroom activities and communicate in the classroom.

Lawrence, Kaplan, and Dodds (2005) explain that respect and the right of refugee children to express themselves are the driving force for enabling children to discover their rights within the system. They also highlight that refugee children, therefore, should be taught to be involved in the construction of knowledge. Refugee students in the Turkish school drive to express their opinions and needs. This originates from the desire to participate in the knowledge construction about their identity, culture, and culture. Refugee students in this study express that they want to be recognized and heard. Some refugee students mention that their teachers ignore them; particularly the students of the teachers with caretaking orientation express that their teachers do not hear them due to the teachers' over-caring and over-thinking about their needs. However, refugee students want to propose their ideas about how they learn and what their interests are. Different from Lawrence, Kaplan, and Dodds's (2005) results, respect is not the drive for the refugee students in Turkish schools because refugee students receive respect and

social space from their teachers due to the refugee education and protection model already in place in the school. Challenge and conflict are the driving factors for the refugee student in the school. They argue with their teachers by challenging them with their lack of knowledge of Syrian refugee culture and needs. Refugee students often challenge their teachers by showing various behaviors such as passive resistance, verbal arguments, misbehaving, and bringing examples from other classrooms to inform their teachers about what kind of accommodation helps them learn better.

In other countries, teachers and the school administrators do not welcome refugee students' reactions to school norms and teachers' behavior, and the administration also consider refugee students' reactions as problematic and to be the result of the pre- and post-trauma experiences (Windle & Miller, 2013; Rutter, 2006; Taylor & Sidhu, 2012). Taylor & Sidhu (2012) explain that schools in the UK strategically rely on the discourse of trauma and refugee students' potentiality to misbehave in order to suppress the Islamophobic and racist aspect of their refugee education policies. As a result of the attempt to cover up the Islamophobic inclination of the schools, refugee students cannot perform their agency and self-express. The school system creates a rhetoric based on the understanding that every refugee student is the same and that refugee students are expected to demonstrate expected behaviors.

In the Turkish school, refugee students are not perceived as a homogenous group in practice; however, in rhetoric, particularly the moments when the school administration and teachers speak about the refugee students, the school staff perceives the refugee students as a single group. In practice, teachers and the school administration are aware that certain groups of refugee and immigrant students have different cultural practices and each group requires a different form of attention due to the differences in their cultural practices. Teachers highlight, in their interview, that they define their strategies as a response to their refugee students' reaction or after refugee students sharing their

interest. For example, refugee students in the same class receive different instruction from their teachers. When their teacher with a skeptical orientation is asked to explain the reason why different instructions are given and students are treated differently, the teacher replies using the following comments "X does not like being directly taught," "Y prefers more visual materials than others," and "I give the same material but change the instruction based on their capacity and readiness." Therefore, refugee students in the classroom receive different warnings or discipline punishment when they misbehave. For example, arguing with the teacher may be a form of self-expression for a refugee student with an introvert behavior claim as the teacher perceives it as a personal development, but the same behavior may be a bratty behavior for a refugee student with extrovert behavior claim because the school staff have other expectations from the REC such as academic success and better harmony with their friends.

Determinism manifestation. During the determinism manifestation, refugee students in the school gradually switch from the problem stage to the awareness stage. They build a connection between their way of self-expressions and the social and cultural practices in the school.

Refugee students, first, do not respond to people's reaction when the others misunderstand them, but later they respond to the people and provide an explanation about their misbehaviors. Refugee students explain the reason of their misbehaviors to justify their behaviors. As mentioned above, they use passive resistance, verbal arguments, misbehavior, and examples brought from other classrooms to justify their actions in the school. However, their way to express themselves by seeking help makes the people think that they misbehave since the self-expression also includes unacceptable behaviors.

Refugee student' insistence on justifying the reasons for their misbehavior or disproving other people's perception of their behavior shows that refugee students begin developing an awareness of the

cultural expectations in the school. They adapt their new social learning based on their personality and create a personal strategy to express themselves. This strategy development is the moment that they define their boundaries of determinism and the situation that triggers their determinism. For example, teachers use phrases such as, "He is stubborn as a goat", "There is no way to make her do something that she does not like", "He knows what to do", or "She is better when she decides what she wants to study," for the refugee students who have gained a level of determinism.

Teachers in the Turkish school perceive the determinism as a positive improvement and a form of self-protection for the refugee students. Teachers respect their refugee students and are proud of the moment when they challenge the teachers and try to persuade the teachers to do what the students want. Refugee students in other countries do not receive a similar reaction from their teachers. For example, teachers in the US expect the Vietnamese-Montagnard refugees to be passive and obedient (Davila, 2010). The refugee education policy in the UK enforces the schools to perceive refugees as a homogenous group of students. Therefore, refugee students do not have a room for their personal differences (Rutter, 2006, Taylor & Sidhu, 2012).

In Chapter 5, the quote where a REC criticizes his teacher for not allowing him to do what he wants due to the differentiated instruction to improve his reading is a typical example of refugee students' misbehaving strategy to change the teacher's educational practices (p. 54-55). This REC knows what he wants to do and he is determined to change his teacher's priority for him. This example also includes signs of self-esteem because the REC is aware of what he is doing and gives a response to others with determination and a sense of pride.

Self-esteem development. In relation to the determinism to demonstrate their personal differences, refugee students improve their self-esteem because when they get involved in misunderstandings, they hear people accepting their mistakes and apologizing for them because of

misunderstanding their behaviors. Refugee students accept these moments as a success, and they feel confident about their actions with each apology or each time they are clearly understood by others. In other words, this is the beginning of their full awareness development of the school practices, norms, and values.

Lawrence, Kaplan, and Dodds (2005) emphasize the right of the refugee children to speak about their experiences, and they aim to enable the refugee children with a computer-assisted program outside of the school context. The result of this study shows that the implementation of the program enhances refugee children's agency. However, the authors do not discuss how the school reacts to the enhanced agency and self-esteem of the refugee students. Refugee students in the Turkish school mention in their interview that they do not feel different from the local students in the classroom. The observation results also show that refugee students feel confident about their behaviors in the school and do not fear to face the consequences of their behaviors in the school. Teachers in the school also emphasize that refugee students often have more self-esteem than the local children because they are not subjected to the schooling ideology of the school, but only the behavioral norms and expectations.

In Chapter 5, the examples of the refugee students regarding their arrival at school provide information about the self-esteem development. For example, during one of the interviews with the RAC, she talks about her first experiences in the school without showing any negative feelings (p.51-52). She is well aware that she is from another country and learned Turkish to study. She also highlights that she was dependent on people and she began making her own decisions after learning the language and knowing people around her. She was confident in saying that she can make choices and she has a sense of normalization in her voice during the interview. The response of the other refugee children regardless of having negative or positive experience in their first arrival to the school do not feel that making decisions and being determined about what they want to do are unusual practices for them.

The refugee students who become confident about their presence in the school are ready for active participation. Their enhanced self-esteem stops refugee students from thinking that people around them react to their behaviors because of their nationality, culture, or status as a refugee student. They rather think that they have reactions from their teachers because of their actions at that moment.

Active participation. Active participation of the refugee students is the resolution stage of the agency development. Refugee students claim their social space in the classroom, define the people, who should be in their networks, and critically participate in classroom conversations. As mentioned earlier, refugee students, who reach this stage embrace their national identity but distance themselves from the general complaints about Syrian students in and outside the school. Refugee students no longer struggle to fit in the activities in their classroom and school because they have their strategies to fit into their new environment and interact with the people without altering the identity that they develop based on their meaning making of the schooling experiences.

As reported in Chapter 5, the refugee students' personality and behavior claim shape their attempts to participate in classroom activities and discussions. Among the four refugee students' profiles, RAC are better at participating in the classroom activities than the other refugee students. Respectively, REC, RTC, and RIC follow RAC. REC have better skills in participating in the classroom discussions and leading the classroom discussions than RAC because RAC give priority to becoming as successful as their local classmates. RTC often do not want to participate in classroom discussions regarding altering the activities based on their need because their identity is an eclectic identity due to not being fluent in Arabic and not being fully informed about the norms and values of Syrian school culture. As mentioned earlier, RTC do not like to be called Syrian because they do not have lived experience in Syria.

The preference of active participation among the refugee students is similar to the behaviors of refugee students in other countries. All refugee students develop their identity, agency, and in/dependence by meaning-making the school practices and policies of the country in which they reside. However, the main difference between the refugees in the Turkish school and student refugees in other countries is that refugee students in the Turkish school are not forced to accept one form of identity because they are not perceived as a homogenous group of students. For example, the Vietnamese-Montagnard refugee students eventually accept being a part of the passive and obedient group of students as the US school uses the Asian-America students' behaviors as a role model for these refugee students (Davila, 2010). The Australian school imposes the idea that the refugee students are vulnerable and problematic so that refugee students in the school system act in a manner of actualizing the expectation of the school system (Hattam & Every, 2010; Windle & Miller, 2013). The school in Turkey wants refugee students to be independent and self-reliant so that each refugee student act in a manner of becoming a self-reliant and active member of the school community.

Roles and Influences of the Social Actors and Surroundings. This section explains the roles and influences of the social actors and surroundings such as teachers, personality, classmates, and classroom atmosphere on the agency and independence development of the refugee students and their attitudes in the school. The organization of this section starts with the explanations of the reasons why refugee students complete the stages of agency and independence at a different pace. Following the explanation of the different pace of refugee students' agency and independence, I discuss the role of social actor and social surroundings and how the people and the surroundings connect with the agency and independence development process.

The results of this study demonstrate that refugee students become aware of their capabilities when they begin interacting with others and becoming aware of the social norms and values. Therefore,

this section discusses what situation and interactions help refugee students become aware of their capabilities, and slowdown in realizing their capabilities. The other research on refugee students' schooling experiences highlights that the social surroundings and the people in refugee students' new environment influences the refugee students' lived experiences. As a result, refugee students deconstruct, construct, and reconstruct their perceptions, identity, and value orientation (Dreyden-Peterson, 2011; Lee & Brotman, 2011; Pinson, Arnot, & Candappa, 2010). The results of this study also confirm the literature review with regard to the influence of the people and the surroundings. However, this section aims to discuss the findings of this study to show whether the value-orientation of the other countries and Turkish public school generate more positive or negative experiences for the Syrian child refugees in the school.

Refugee students change their behaviors as they interact with the people in the classroom and school. They also mention several times how they change their behaviors as they learn the expectations of the local community. Therefore, it is important to discuss whether the change is the result of their personal decision or social pressure. I discuss the changes in their behaviors in the school and classroom as a way of understanding which changes in their decisions and actions include a sense of agency.

The role and influence of teachers. Chapter 4 explains the different teacher's profile and Chapter 5 explains the different refugee students' behaviors and experiences in different teachers' classrooms. The results show that refugee students demonstrate their personal preferences and share their decision in the classroom regardless of which type of teacher teaches them. However, refugee students' experience difficulties and easiness in gaining their independence and agency due to their teachers' pedagogical approach and perceptions of the Syrian community and students.

Each refugee student had their first interaction with their classroom through the facilitation of their teacher. Their teacher introduced them to the classroom and introduced local students to their

new classmates. Therefore, refugee students are dependent on the facilitation of their teacher in building a relationship with the other students in the classroom. In Chapter 4, the observation results show that teachers use seating arrangements as a strategy to either integrate refugee students in the classroom or isolate them from the other students. The seating arrangements create an impression for the local students and sends a message to the local students about how to treat their refugee classmates. If teachers place the refugee students in the front rows or close to their table with another local student, the local students develop a positive perception of their new refugee classmates and feel curiosity about the new student. If teachers place the refugee students in the back row or a random seat without the company of a local friend, the local students tend to ignore the presence of the refugee students.

During the interview process, refugee students, their teachers, and the local students mention the desk location of the refugee students. The local students, who saw the refugee student seated in the back, reported that they did not want to play with their refugee classmates, but the local students, who saw their refugee friends seated at a front desk with a local student, said that they wanted to communicate with the local student and wanted to share a desk with their refugee classmates.

Hek's (2005) study examines the role of education for refugee students living in the UK, and underlines the importance of having proactive teachers in the school setting to promote better assistance for the refugees during the education process. Şeker and Sirkeci (2015) show that teachers in Eastern Turkey have strategies to prevent cultural miscommunication and help refugee students overcome their fear of peer exclusion. The results of this study also have similarities with the literature on the importance influence of teachers on refugee students' experiences in school. Teachers' pedagogical choices help refugee students eliminate social fears related to adaptation, peer discrimination, and academic incapability. As a result, the self-esteem of refugee students is increased,

and the refugee students are able to practice their agency as their social environment (conditions and interactions with the people) allows them to practice their decision-making skills.

The role and influence of personality. Refugee students have different personalities. In this study, they are grouped into four categories: as refugee students with extrovert behavior claims (REC); refugee students with introvert behavior claims (RIC); refugee students with traumatized after resettlement behavior claim (RTC); and refugee students with academically-motivated behavior claims (RAC), but the refugee students within the same category also have different personalities. Therefore, this situation requires teachers and the school staff to apply individualized approaches for each refugee student. The infrastructure and the resource capacity of the school are not enough, so that often the school fails to provide level and age appropriate language and course materials for the refugee students. Most teachers (except the teachers with indifferent orientation) provide individualized support to their refugee students in the classroom. For example, a teacher with a skeptical orientation mentions that he does not use the same teaching strategy for each of his refugee students because one of them is introverted and requires careful attention whereas the other one is REC so over-caring does not help him to academically adapt to his classroom because special attention leads the student to behave as a spoiled child.

Refugee students' personalities help them accelerate or slowdown their integration process. Refugee students with reserved characteristics, as expected, have a slower integration process than the refugee students, who are outgoing. RAC and RTC can be compared with each other because they have similar language skill development. When RAC and RTC are compared, RAC do better in the school because they do not have ongoing trauma experience or they are able to overcome their trauma. However, RTC begin developing post-traumatic experiences due to the reactions and perceptions of the

school community. In other words, refugee students perform better in school and develop strong relationships with the people around them once they receive treatment based on their personality.

Although refugee students signal their personality from the moment they register for school; language skill development helps refugee student verbally and behaviorally express themselves. Therefore, language skill development plays an important role in refugee students' self-expression. However, Bircan and Sunata (2015) argue that focusing only on literacy limits progress in refugee education in Turkey because it detracts from content learning. I also agree with the results of the other research that refugee education is more comprehensive than teaching language skills (Bircan & sonata, 2015; Matthews, 2008; Dreyden-Peterson, 2011); however, the results of the study show that language development is the key for refugee students, local students, and teachers because verbal communication is necessary for starting a conversation to know each other and understand the needs and expectations of each party. Many refugee students in this study mention that they feel more comfortable and less limited with the development of their language skills because they are able to share their feelings, emotions, and needs.

Literacy skills such as reading and writing encourage refugee students to participate in classroom activities and feel successful. The results show that refugee students who read and write participate or show an intention to participate in classroom activities more than the refugee students who lack literacy skills. This study also shows that positive feelings about their presence in the school and classroom participation is related to their language skill improvement and skills.

Teachers' challenges in teaching in the regular classroom environment supports the argument on the necessity of literacy and language skills to decrease teachers stress levels and increase enrollment rate of refugee students (Kirk & Cassity, 2007). Based on case analysis of Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) (INEE, 2004) minimum standards, Kirk and Cassity (2007)

find that teachers in Australia have difficulty developing expectations for their refugee students when they do not have adequate language skills to participate in the classroom and school environment (INEE, 2004). Refugee students have a tendency to drop out school when they have inadequate languages skills and when the school system does not provide language support (Rutter, 2006). Refugee students, therefore, experience challenges and develop negative feelings about school when lacking literacy and communication skills. In the Turkish school, refugee students with language skills have a higher motivation to come to school and have better attendance rates than refugee students with poor language skills. Among the refugee students in the Turkish school, there are dropouts and the reasons for their dropout are not clear. The main reason for dropping out of school may not a lack of language skills, but may be related to feeling incapable or not being able to express their actual educational needs.

INEE (2004) proposes setting standards for refugee education to increase the students' literacy and language development. However, standardization has a potential risk of ignoring the agency and characteristics of the refugee students due to a formulation of universal, national or international standards. Even though INEE (2004) suggests that people following a standard approach to refugee education should make adaptations during the implementation process, the INEE standards do not take into consideration localized attempts to improve the self-esteem and self-expression of the refugee students as valuable practices. In the Turkish school, the authorities do not have any standards for educating refugee students. The school only relies on their refugee education and protection model that is interpreted differently by each teacher and school staff. This situation allows refugee students to develop agency and gain independence because the school administration and teachers do not expect them to behave in certain ways. The expectation of the school community is for the refugee students to make decisions, become independent, and show academic progress. How to fulfill these expectations is dependent on refugee students' characteristics and personality?

The role and influence of classmates. In Chapter 4, some teachers mention that they ask the local students to play and mentor their refugee classmates in order to include them in the school community, and to help them to learn the Turkish language. In this way, teachers play a role in increasing the interaction between the local and refugee students. In the classrooms where teachers support building relationship between local and refugee students, refugee students have better schooling experiences. The relationship between the refugee and the local student is further facilitated if the teacher frequently reminds the importance of living in harmony and becoming sister and brother to each other.

Even though the local students' interaction with the refugee students may seem driven by their teachers, the local students mainly have positive feelings towards their refugee classmates and are self-motivated to interact and assist their refugee student peers. During the interviews, most of the local students express that they have good friendships with their refugee peers—helping them learn about the school and the facilities and helping them with their homework and language skills. Refugee students also confirm that their local friends help them do better in the school and play with them during recess and physical education classes. The local students teach their refugee classmates how to use the computer and the educational software suggested by MoNE. Once the local students finish explaining the use of the internet, computer, and the software to their refugee classmates, they all play online games such as tic-tac-toes, square-hunt, and chess or they play football, hide and seek, tag, and high from the ground.

Hek (2005) states in her study with the refugee students in the UK that refugee students felt more empowered and adapted to their new environment when they have support from their friends. In the absence of friendship, many refugee students suffer from mental and psychological problems. In the Turkish school, refugee students who have fewer friends feel lonely and misunderstood. For example, a

REC student had been excluded from the friendship circle due to his "killjoy" characteristic. The local and the other refugee students in the classroom excluded him from play for about a week. Even he is a refugee student with extrovert behavior claim, he had difficulty expressing himself during his exclusion, and the sign of agency in his behaviors began to disappear. When he was asked to explain why he was not talking in the classroom, he mentioned that he was afraid that nobody would support his ideas.

The local students play an important role in refugee students' schooling experiences as they behave as either the confirmatory agency, which decides on whether the refugee students' action is right or wrong; or responsible people, who need to introduce the implementation of the social expectations in the school. With the help of their classmates, as discussed in Chapter 5, refugee students begin meaning-making of the norms, rules, and values in the school. After gaining an adequate or full understanding of the school culture, refugee students do not need their local classmates' confirmation of guidance in the school because they learn the implementation of the rules as well as the strategies to avoid being subjected to the school norms such as avoiding discipline punishment by using their status as refugees.

The role and influence classroom atmosphere. The school in this study is considered as the place for the macro-level learning of broader social and cultural structures as suggested by (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008). Refugee students in the Turkish school gain their first information about the local culture by observing the behaviors of their teachers and local classmates. As a result of their continuous interaction and meaning-making process, they get informed about the local community's expectations and the social norms. Crisp, Talbot, and Cipollone (2001) mention that school plays an important role in providing a platform for refugee student to learn social interactions and develop cognizance and skills.

The adopted values of the Turkish school shape the classroom atmosphere. The school expects refugee students to understand the social values and practice their new learning in the classroom with their teacher and classmates. Refugee students are not required to apply this knowledge to their lives. However, refugee students begin applying these new social and cultural learning into their lives because of their daily exposure to the values embedded in the classroom atmosphere. This situation related to the discussion on how schools play a role in providing macro-level learning. Regardless of the cultural background of the students, the schools' major role in the world is to provide the necessary information about the societal expectations and required skills to serve in society (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008).

Refugee students in the Turkish school find acceptance and social space due to the refugee education and protection model adopted in the school. Some refugee students experience exclusion and restricted space due to the different interpretations of the refugee education and protection model. Because of the different interpretations of the refugee education and protection model, each refugee student has a different experience in the school because teachers and the school staff interpret the principles and the concepts of the refugee education and protection model based on their pedagogical preferences. The differences in the implementation of the refugee education and protection model constitute the classroom atmosphere. Therefore, refugee students have positive and negative schooling experiences in relation to the nature of model implementation by the people around them. Hek (2005) also mentions similar results regarding the role of mainstream refugee-related ideas in the school that the whole school conversation is influential in building positive or negative experiences. According to Hek's (2005) study, refugee students in the UK appreciate their school's positive approach even if the nature of the discussions in the school do not benefit them directly, but these refugee students develop positive self-esteem because they feel valued.

Classroom atmosphere influences the self-esteem development and the active participation of the refugee students. If refugee students have a welcoming classroom atmosphere, where refugee students can express themselves without a fear of exclusion or judgment, they become aware of their capabilities and then develop self-esteem. These refugee students also actively participate in classroom activities and discussions as they have self-confidence and respect for their lived experience and the ability to survive in a school setting other than their country of origin. In the case of being placed in an unwelcoming classroom, refugee students have slower self-esteem development and less active participation. In some classrooms, particularly the classroom of teachers with indifferent orientation, RIC and refugee students with no language skills do not develop positive self-esteem and active participation levels. These students sometimes show determinism to do some activities in the classroom, but they react with emotion rather than informed decisions. However, when these students transfer into a different classroom with a welcoming classroom atmosphere, they slowly begin developing self-esteem and show willingness for active participation. For example, a RIC was transferred into the classroom of a teacher with a supportive orientation from the classroom of a teacher with an indifferent orientation in the middle of the semester. This RIC still continued to behave reserved and was quiet in the classroom, but he became motivated and gained his self-respect in a short amount of time. He was smiling a lot more than he was smiling in his previous classroom. He did not feel upset or incapable when he received feedback or correction from his teacher and classmates.

Refugee students in the Turkish school mainly experience two versions of the classroom atmosphere. The first version of the classroom atmosphere is structured together with the needs of the refugee students. In these classroom settings, refugee students observe a great deal of change as they experience how the people in their classroom and the instructional activities change based on their reactions. The second classroom atmosphere is the one structured before their arrival because the classroom activities and atmosphere are already altered based on the needs of the previous refugee

students. The routines and activities in the classroom were adapted for their needs by the teachers based on their perceptions of the refugee students and their needs. Refugee students consider that the classroom setting and interaction has always been the same and small changes were made in the classroom after their arrival. Therefore, when refugee students first come to the classroom, they have the opportunity to observe how the teacher and the local students were living together in the classroom.

Even though, there are two versions of classroom atmosphere, the change is inevitable after the arrival of new refugee students. The classroom atmosphere evolves based on new pedagogical preference of the teacher, local students' interaction with new refugee students, and new refugee students' profile and personality. The earlier refugee students in these classrooms have the opportunity to observe how their teachers and classmates rearrange the classroom setting for their needs and based on their presence in the classroom. Therefore, the refugee students' experience how the classroom atmosphere is co-constructed for the refugee students.

The local students provide the best explanations about the change in their classroom in comparison to their refugee classmates because they have enough experience to explain the nature of the change in the classroom atmosphere. For example, some local student with low academic achievements mention that they learn better because their teachers spend more time on the course subjects. Some local students mention that their classroom becomes a fun place because their teacher has become more patient and insightful even when they make mistakes. However, in some classrooms, the local students complain that their classroom is now a stressful place because the refugee students made their teacher angrier and they have less time for the extracurricular activities due to their teachers' focus on the educational needs of their refugee classmates.

Some refugee students experience only the second version of the classroom atmosphere as the classroom already has refugee students before they enter the classroom. For example, refugee students, who experience the co-constructed classroom atmosphere, have less challenging experiences than the refugee students, who experience the already constructed classroom atmosphere. The arrival of the new refugee students causes new arrangements in the classroom due to their personalities, but these refugee students receive treatment based on the earlier experience of their teachers and local classmates with the other refugee students. Given this situation, they are more disadvantaged than their refugee classmates who are the first refugee students in the classroom, because the first group was active in restructuring the classroom atmosphere. However, the refugee student who came to the class after their refugee classmate experience biases or practices developed for the first group of refugee students in the classroom. Therefore, these refugee students have lower self-esteem development, but they are more critical than the other refugee students as they get involved in arguments with their teachers and local classmates about their needs and personalities. The second groups of refugee students in the classroom often have strong opinions about the classroom practices and what is good and bad for them. The critical thinking skill development will be discussed in the following section on "Path to Independence."

Some refugee students have the opportunity to practice their learning in the society as they work outside of the school. For example, when these refugee students share their general understandings of the local culture in their interviews, they begin sharing how the people in the school treat them and then continue with sharing their general statement about the local culture after explaining their experience in the school. Refugee students working before or after school understand about the relationship between the teachings of the school and the norms in the society because they can practice their new knowledge and social skills in their workplace. The outside place also provides instant feedback about what and how the norm and teachings work outside the school.

Chapter 5 explains that refugee students who work outside of the school environment express themselves better than other refugee students in the school even though they have negative and positive experiences in their workplace. Refugee students with negative experiences in their workplace are more active in the classroom and have more critical skills about the importance of the school than their local and non-working refugee classmates. They perceive school as a place that protects them from the negative experiences. However, the refugee children with positive experiences in their workplace do not value education and perceive school as a place to socialize.

Overall, classroom atmosphere as the pervading mood of the classroom is the product of the interactions between local students, refugee students, and teachers. It not only affects the schooling experience of the refugee students but also reconstructs the perceptions of the local students and teachers about how school activities and routines should be. The reactions and responses of each group, therefore, are important in understanding the factors that increase/decrease the development of self-esteem and active participation.

Path to Independence. Dependency is generally seen as something negative and to be avoided in an emergency context (Harvey & Lind, 2005). Harvey and Lind (2005) state that aid agencies have the fear to create dependency by providing food, shelter, education, and other services periodically. As a result of the humanitarian workers' concerns about creating dependency among the refugee groups influences the assistance and who, when, and where people receive help. In such refugee assistance processes, dependency is inevitable because as Mallki (2015) discussed in her book, *the Need to Help: The domestic art of International humanitarianism*, humanitarian workers cannot avoid their personal bias and needs to provide help as they seek to be part of something greater than themselves. However, the crisis is not simply an emergency context where people satisfy their ideal goals of committing

themselves to humanity, but also a place for so many victims and survivors' reality of facing difficulties and building a new livelihood.

The following sections explain the experiences of the refugee students during their independence development. The interpretation of the results of this study shows that refugee students slowly evolve their dependence on their teachers' and local classmates into independence through meaning-making their schooling experiences.

Full-Dependence. In the Turkish public school, the dependency of the refugee students on other people such as their refugee classmates, local classmates, or teachers does not create a positive perception in the mindset of the school staff. The school staff favors independence and want refugee students to function in the system without needing the assistance of any other person. Therefore, refugee students' teachers in the school always remind the refugee students that they should learn how to be independent and not to rely on any other person. For example, classroom teachers warn refugee students if they pair up with a local and refugee student longer because teachers believe that being friends with limited number of classmates for a long time creates dependency in the friendship.

Refugee students develop different forms of dependent relationships such as depending on other refugee students, depending on local students, and depending on their classroom teacher. When refugee students are dependent on their refugee friends, they mainly pair up with the refugee students based on language skills, kinship, and the years that the refugee student spent in the school. The dependent relationship with the local students often occurs as choosing role models among the local students or per-teacher process. Finally, the dependence of the refugee students on their teachers is related to the intentions such having a desire to part of the classroom and to participate in the classroom activities.

When a refugee student pairs up with another refugee student, his or her teacher ignores this form of dependent friendship because the teacher perceives this friendship as an easy transition for the new refugee students. However, as explained in Chapter 5, this friendship eventually creates a form of passive and dominant roles for each refugee student, causes the passive refugee student to be used by the dominant refugee students, and slows down the language learning of the dominant refugee student. Teachers in the school interrupt this friendship when they notice the dominant and passive roles in the friendship because they do not want refugee students to be stressed by a feeling of responsibility for another refugee student and be isolated from the local classmates due to the needs of the dominant refugee students.

McBrien's (2005) review of the literature on refugee students' schooling needs in the US explains how refugee students become pacified by the local classmates or the local students' ways of perceiving life, but he does not explain the impact of the refugee students' on each other. He mentions that refugee students have the collective understanding of being successful and proving their capabilities. However, the explanations in his study are not clear whether the refugee students motivate themselves to study hard or want to disprove the negative perception of the local community about the refugee students being unsuccessful. With this regard, the results of this dissertation study signal another aspect of refugee students' schooling experiences by highlighting the negative influence of refugee students on each other due to dependent relationships.

The second form of dependent relationship is between the local and the refugee students. The results show that refugee students, first, choose a role model among the local students and then they mimic the role model's behaviors in the classroom. Refugee students often choose their role models among the teacher's favorite students or the hardworking students, but sometimes they choose the misbehaving local students as their role models. The example of the misbehaving local and refugee

student relationship mentioned in Chapter 5 is a typical example of choosing a negative role model. In this relationship, the misbehaving local student continues treating the refugee student in a bad manner like bullying but provides protection from the other students' discrimination. However, unlike the choosing of positive role models, this relationship harms the refugee students because they gain a bad reputation in the school. Refugee students with bad role models cannot gain their independence as fast as the other refugee students with good role models because the misbehaving local students want to maintain the power and do not let the refugee students behave independently.

Thomas's (2010) study explains that refugee students experience bullying in the British school, but the local students bully their refugee classmates because of societal anti-refugee sentiments. Thomas (2010) does not mention any bullying example that refugee students voluntarily or strategically accept. However, the results of this study show that some refugee students accept the bullying at the beginning of their schooling experience if bullying provides indirect or direct benefits such as protection in the school and maintaining power over the other students in the school.

The final dependent relationship is between the refugee students and their classroom teacher. Some refugee students always follow their teachers until they feel secure and protected in the school. These refugee students try to have seats close to their teachers' desk and wait in front of the door of teachers' lounge during recess. During informal conversation with teachers in the teachers' lounge, some classroom teachers make jokes to the other classroom teachers, "Mine arrived, where is yours?" when they see their dependent refugee students. The literature highlights the importance of teachers' support in helping refugee students adapt to their new environment (Hek, 2005; McBrien, 2005; Hattam & Every, 2010); however, the available studies do not mention a form of dependent relationship that refugee students follow their teacher. The literature on the influence of the humanitarian assistance mention the aid agencies' fear of creating refugee dependence by providing food, shelter, and education

(Harvey & Lind, 2005), but the explanations do not provide evidence regarding how the dependent relationship develop among the refugee students.

Signaling personality. Refugee students begin signaling their personality before they begin developing adequate language skills to express themselves. Therefore, refugee students' self-expression development and personality manifestation do not occur simultaneously. Refugee students' first show their personality and then begin self-expressing their needs and identity.

As explained earlier, refugee students gradually introduce themselves to the people around them with their limited language skills. For example, RIC are the least speaking group of refugee students in the school due to their reserved characteristics. These students use few words to say what they like or not, but mostly depend on the materials around them to show their interests in particular subjects or topics. In other words, refugee students' teachers had an idea about their personality even before the refugee student was able to communicate verbally. For example, RAC' teachers call their refugee students as Pasha or Hanim due to their staid and earnest personalities. REC' teachers mention that REC are active, energetic, and critical. RTC' teachers highlight the sensitivity of their refugee students. RIC' teachers state that RIC are always quiet and reserved.

However, teachers also mention that some of their refugee students had slight behavioral changes after gaining language skills as the refugee students were now were able to express themselves better. Even though they associate the personality manifestation with the language development, observation and interviews with refugee students show that refugee students do not change their personality, but they change their behavior. For example, some REC students stay quiet in the classroom, but they are very active and happy during recess and in weekend school. These refugee students make strategic decisions about staying quiet when they do not feel accepted or feel that their teachers are restricting their agency. For example, a RIC student changes his reserved and quiet

behavior and begins reacting when his teacher with a caretaking orientation does not allow him to choose his own activities.

All in all, signaling personality is not the same thing as self-expression. Signaling personality is a passive behavior manifestation and occurs naturally without needing specific skills. Refugee students' personality does not change throughout the time that they spend in school, but the way they react changes due to interacting with people and the nature of the treatment they receive from their teacher and classmates.

The literature mainly discusses the impact of the new social setting or the influence of refugee students' trauma on their behaviors. Studies have less emphasis on the personality of the refugee students. Worthley (1987) researched the learning strategies of refugee students by investigating the impact of learning style on refugee students' learning strategies. This quantitative study also includes interviews to understand the learning style of refugee students. The definition of learning style shows that Worthley (1987) perceives the learning style as concepts related to personality. In this sense, this study includes some supportive explanations for troubling the notion of perceiving refugee students as completely dependent beings, because this study proves that refugee students do not gain a new personality but instead resurrect their personality with the support around them.

Partial Dependence. At this stage, refugee students reduce their dependence on other people because they have the adequate language skills to express themselves, gain confidence to show their personality, and have the social space to practice their developing agency. Refugee students slowly begin questioning their dependent relationships because refugee students begin realizing the limitations of their dependent friendships with their classmates and interactions with their teacher. When they begin questioning, they become involved in arguments with their classroom teachers, refugee classmates, and local classmates. However, these arguments are often small and ineffective, as refugee

students do not have the confidence to explain clearly what they want or why they misbehave and react. The arguments and misbehaviors, in other words, are the refugee students' early expressions of needing less help than they needed before.

Refugee students practice their independence with their refugee classmates if they have other refugee students in their classroom. Refugee students studying with other refugee students in the same classroom do not want to do the same instructional activities such as reading and writing practices. They want to participate in the classroom activities with their local classmates. These students have the awareness that local students are better at explaining the social rules and norms as well as helping them to gain space that is more social. Therefore, refugee students distance themselves from other refugee students.

Refugee students want to spend time with the local students in order to develop their language skills and feel a sense of belonging to their new environment, but the main reason is related to their identity crisis. Each refugee student at this stage has a form of an identity crisis due to the reactions of the school community, media, and not fully understanding the school culture. Refugee students question who they are, what they want to do, what they can do and cannot do, and how they are. However, refugee students at the partial development stage cannot come up with suggestions about how to define their identity. Therefore, they avoid spending their time with other refugee students, who have similar problems, so as not to intensify their existential crisis and decrease their probability of not being accepted in the school. For example, the discussion between the REC and RAC during the classroom observation is one of the examples of a RAC distancing himself from the other refugee students to reduce the probability of not being accepted by his teacher and local classmates (P. 36-37). The same RAC student mentioned several times in his interview that he began playing with his local classmates more because the other Syrian students were speaking the Syrian language (Arabic) and

causing him to be scolded by his teacher as the other refugee student was interrupting his learning in the classroom.

Bash and Zezlina-Philips (2006) argue in their article about the relationship with identity construction and the schooling experiences of refugee students that refugee children's experiences in the school are not only a process of correcting the refugee students' way of socialization, but a post-Einsteinian approach, which combines the experience of time, space, place, and boundaries. Refugee students in the Turkish public school process all aspects of their schooling experience to deal with their identity crisis. As Bash and Zezlina-Philips (2006) mention, identity definition of refugee students is not a linear process but a continuous combination of time, space, place, and boundaries.

Refugee students at the partial independence stage are sensitive about hearing negative comments about the other refugee students and being associated with the misbehaving refugee students. For example, in Chapter 5, one of the REC from Syria shows an emotional reaction when people around her told her that she is Syrian. She does not deny the fact that she is coming from Syria, but she relies on her Turkoman identity to enlarge her social space. A RTC explained that he does not want to spend time with his Syrian classmates because they are different. He believes that his being Syrian is different from the other refugee students being Syrian. This RTC also explains that the other refugee students react differently to emotional situations and he cannot understand why they behave in a different way. He refers to trauma experiences and misbehaviors of the other refugee students.

Many refugee students are partially dependent on their local classmates and classroom teacher due to avoiding interaction with other refugee classmates. They rely on their local friends to start a conversation or provide a platform to show their talents and achievements. Refugee students enjoy the moments when they receive positive reinforcement from their teacher and local classmates when they show positive progress. They also show moderate reactions when their teachers and local classmates

disapprove of their behavior and object to their ideas. However, refugee students do not completely practice their agency when they receive appreciation or disapproval.

Refugee students at the partial dependence stage passively accept the appraisals and protest the disapproval. For example, RIC are mainly in the partial independence stage. One of the RIC creates difficult times for his teacher with a caretaking orientation due to his passive resistance about what he wants to do as a typical reaction of determinism development. The example in Chapter 5 regarding the profile of the RIC students shows that the RIC performs passive reactions in practicing agency and attempting to become independent (p.12). However, as this RIC student, the other refugee students are still in need of guidance about their learning and given decisions about what activities are good for them.

Independence. At this stage, refugee students are not dependent on other people around them anymore. They participate in the activities within their capacity and ask questions to others in order to learn and develop their skills rather than depending on another person for guidance. Most importantly, they do not choose to be with a specific group of people based on their needs; they choose to be with the people with whom they get on well. Refugee students' tendency to be friends with the classmates who can help them learn the school culture and learn the language transforms into a relationship where refugee students take responsibility to contribute to their community. For example, a RIC mentions that his teacher told the other students in the classroom to play with their refugee classmates and reminded refugee students to report any problems that happen to them and their local classmates. This refugee student reported several problems at the beginning of the semester to get his teacher to help resolve the issues. However, later he stopped asking help from his teachers and took responsibility for his own action when he experienced problems when playing.

Refugee students become independent because they do not need language help or guidance to understand the social norms and values of the school. They can begin conversations with their agency. They take leadership roles and contribute to establishing games, improving the quality of learning activities in the classroom, and suggest ideas for the free time activities. For example, the human ambulance idea created by a REC in Chapter 5 to help his injured classmates during games is an example of how refugee students with independent behaviors begin contributing to the quality of games in his classroom. Refugee students, like the REC in the above example, have the confidence to use their values taught by their parents to make a change in their new social setting.

At the independence stage, the process of questioning the social norms and values in the school is temporarily interrupted. Refugee students enjoy practicing their agency, accept the accommodations around their settings without trying to make alterations, and finalize their networks such as making friends with their classmates and developing a better teacher-student relationship in the school. Refugee students who have reached this level of independence can study alone, do not need another person's encouragement to respond to teachers' interaction, and make their own decisions about when they need privacy or when they want to interact with the other students in the classroom without fear of losing their chance to play during recess. For example, a RAC student in one of the classrooms of teachers with supportive orientation wants to spend her recess time in the classroom but not to participate in the games during the physical education class. However, she occasionally changes her mind and establishes a game with a couple of her local classmates.

Teachers in the school are pleased to have independent refugee students because they are self-motivated, happy, show better adaptation to their environment, express their needs without problematizing the situation, and actively participate in classroom activities without interrupting the

classroom routines. Teachers believe that being independent is the final step of the refugee students' adaptation process as they observe more positive behaviors from the independent refugee students.

Teachers realize that refugee student journeys to become independent are not final stage when they begin experiencing a crisis with their refugee students. The crisis in the classroom occurs when refugee students begin realizing once again that they are different, even though they feel part of their new environment. This reaction is related to refugee students' psychobiological transition, which refers to the early stages of their adolescence, and can be attributed to several negative incidents that they experience in school. As a result of the new experiences and early adolescence feelings, refugee students begin troubling the concepts of being good students, good friends, and good community members.

Gateley (2015) defines human agency as a concept for formulating strategic choices and controlling decisions that affect our life outcomes. This concept, in nature, has self-reflective moments because one should reassess the decisions in a way that control over his/ her life outcomes becomes possible. Refugee students in the Turkish school at the independence stage still have the agency to decide what they want to do, but their agency lacks self-reflection. They ignore the reactions of the people around them when they perform an action. They are not aware that the expectation of the people around them changes when they realize that they achieve full adaptation to their new environment. In other words, refugee students understand that freedom and not being dependent on the people are not indefinite stages without hindrance and restrictions. Independent refugee students have the same responsibility to the school community like the local students in the school because they do not have excuses for their misbehaviors originated from their cultural differences, the unfamiliarity of the school system, and not having the language skills.

When independent refugee students begin noticing the restrictions because of their independence development and increased familiarity with the school culture, they begin criticizing the system and its treatment of them, not only because of not adapting or because of manipulating their environment but also because of reaching an ideal equal and just treatment. The following section discusses the transformation of the refugee students from independent beings to critical beings.

Critical thinking. At the critical thinking stage, refugee students seek to have just and fair treatment from the people around them by considering their sensitivity, social condition, and cultural differences. Refugee students with critical thinking skills do not discuss their material needs, but mostly talk about emotional needs and discuss the negative aspect of the humanitarian discourse adopted by their teacher and classmates.

The example in Chapter 5 regarding how a REC does not want to receive help is an example of the critical thinking stage. In this event, the refugee student was upset because he thought his friend, who wanted to give food to him, was thinking that he is a poor and needy person. Many refugee students at this stage judge the behaviors of the people around them and provide feedback to the people around them about how they should be treated. Refugee students in the critical thinking stage also self-criticize their reactions and behaviors because they are fully aware of the expectation of the school community. However, their awareness of the expectations of the school community does not stop them from reacting to a situation that they do not like because they now have confidence with the necessity of their actions. As in this example, a REC said that he was not going to come to school if his teachers continue telling other students to help him. He was upset because of what he said his teacher, but he does not regret saying it.

Refugee students may give different decisions about their identity in their critical thinking stage. Some of them want to remain as Syrian and want to be known as Syrian while some refugee students

avoid their refugee classmates and behave as if they are neither Syrian nor Turkish. Some of them prefer to be known as Turkish. For example, in Chapter 4 one of the REC wants to be with her local friends and help her refugee classmates because she chooses a Turkish identity. After claiming her identity, this refugee student stopped asking attention from her teacher and assigned herself a role to help other refugee students because she believed that helping Syrian refugee student is her responsibility as a local student.

Similar to what she experiences at her critical thinking stage, other refugee students define roles for themselves based on their claimed identity. Refugee students, who define themselves as Syrians, become the advocate of the refugee students in the school, whereas the ones, who disassociate themselves from the refugee and the local community, prefer to create their own understandings of what is good and bad based on their lived experiences in and outside the school. However, whatever the decision of the refugee students is about their identity, they need support from the school community as their conscious decisions based on their lived experience creates different psychological reactions such as too much self-criticism and self-questioning.

Bash and Zezlina-Philips (2006) explain that self-questioning and identity crisis intensify as refugee students enter adolescence. Adolescence, as a psychobiological phase, is difficult for many young people and this process with emotional upheavals is even more difficult for refugee students as they need to familiarize themselves with the local expectations. For example, Bash and Zezlina-Philips (2006) mention that refugee students in the UK have trouble in understanding the concept of being independent after the age of 16. In the Turkish public school, refugee students also question how to situate their identity in a nationalistic and secular school setting as they get close to their adolescence.

Refugee children at their critical thinking stage receive individualized help from the school counselors to solve their existential problems. Only the refugee students in the classroom of the

teachers with indifferent orientation are unable to benefit from counseling services, as teachers with indifferent orientation do not spend extra time on their refugee students' needs and learning. Refugee students' contribution to the school community becomes effective when they receive counseling support. As a result, they are able to solve their personal and existential problems and to use their critical skill effectively. For example, REC provide feedback about the emotional reactions of the refugee students when they have effective skills. RAC explain the effective learning methods and accommodation arrangements because they are an academically and socially well-adapted group of refugee students. RTC provide a better explanation about the cultural difference of the local and refugee community due to their rejection of the values of both communities. Among all the refugee student profiles, RIC still need support to obtain critical thinking skills. RIC may actively participate in classroom activities, but they do not get involved in the process of contributing to the school community.

Conclusion: Theoretical Implications

The refugee education and protection model of the school have humanitarian, child-centric and culturally-sensitive foundational concepts and principles to educate and accommodate refugee students in the school. Therefore, the model prepares an adequate social space for refugee students to develop agency and independence. However, this model may create negative outcomes and social space as the model can create more outcomes that are negative if the founding concepts and principles are chosen based on the concepts that perceive refugees as dependent on aid, victims, or social detractors.

Educational authorities, educators, and teachers should use the refugee education and protection model in a flexible way because this model is a framework created based on the local understandings of refugee assistance, integration strategies, and value protection. Before establishing the foundation and principles of the refugee education model, the motivation of the local people should

be examined in detail. Authorities, NGOs, and researchers should have an in-depth understanding of the conditions and sensitivity of the local people.

Local understanding of refugee assistance informs the locals about how to create a livelihood for the refugees based on their social and cultural values. Hospitality, as one of the significant characteristics of the Turkish community, eases the integration process and helps refugees establish a new life. This cultural value indirectly helps the locals reduce their financial and social responsibility as the refugees receive adequate emotional and financial support to rebuild their life. Therefore, the school community also creates a platform for the refugee students to be independent and agent being.

Given the existing local values in regulating the relationship between the local and refugee community, the authorities should eliminate making strict policy imposition on the school community to educate children in a certain way. However, the influence of political discourse is undeniable in the school community in establishing a child-centric and welcoming approach to educate Syrian child refugees as well as the local understanding of accommodating refugees. As mentioned earlier, Turkish refugee assistance policy portrays refugees as guests from the beginning of the Syrian refugee movement (Özden, 2013). Even though the authorities' perception of refugees as guests slowed down the process of providing educational services to the refugee community, this political discourse eases the acceptance of the Syrian refugee community in Turkey and in the public schools. However, as the number of Syrian refugees continues to increase in Turkey, the refugee community experiences anti-refugee sentiment in society, but the school community in this study maintains a welcoming discourse. to educate refugee students, mainly because the welcoming approach is effective in eliminating obstacles in providing education to the refugee students.

In parallel to the political discourse of perceiving refugees as guests, the Ministry of National Education enacted regulations and laws for the education of Syrian child refugees (Ministry of National

Education- Primary Education General Directorate, 2013). According to these regulations and laws, refugee students now have rights to go to public schools or educational institutions such as temporary education centers and Syrian schools. Based on these regulations, the Ministry of National Education required schools not to place excessive demands on the refugee students such as enforcing attendance, setting high educational expectations, and emphasizing national values in the school curriculum.

Refugee education and the protection of the school is inspired by early political initiatives to host the refugees, but the school community is not completely dependent on the political discourse to establish their pedagogical approach. The school community does not only get feedback from the educational and political authorities but also asks assistance from outsiders to revise and improve their teachings. Teaching staff and the school administration are careful about from whom to get advice. They screen the political and pedagogical inclination of outsiders before showing how they implement their model. Teachers and school administration who implement a model based on local and social values should be open to feedback and changes as feedback plays an important role in providing an effective approach to refugee education.

In a child-centric refugee education approach, refugee students recover from their trauma experiences faster than the positivistic approach, which perceives refugees as traumatic group of students, because the emphasis is not on the refugee students' trauma background, but instead focuses on normalizing the life of the refugee students by highlighting the fact that they are still children and refugee students should enjoy their childhood the same as their local classmates. However, this approach sometimes underestimates the degree and the variety of trauma that refugee students go through in their life. Therefore, in child-centric refugee education approaches, refugee students should have access to counseling services outside their classroom setting. For example, teachers with supportive orientation provide this accommodation for their refugee students better than the other

teachers in the school. Teachers with supportive orientation focus on refugee students' educational and social needs in the classroom while the counselor and the teachers with supportive orientation work together help refugee student recover from trauma experiences and prepare them for life outside the school.

The refugee education and protection model suggested is not a good fit for teachers with indifferent orientation because the model does not regulate the teachers' pedagogical decision due to its flexibility. Before implementing this model, teachers with indifferent orientation should be motivated and trained pedagogically to make changes in their education approach. For example, the school administration sent seven teachers to a workshop on how to teach the Turkish language to foreigners. These teachers were among the teachers with indifferent orientation. After receiving the workshop training, teachers with indifferent orientation changed their instructional style so that they began treating their refugee students as teachers with skeptical or caretaking orientation.

Teachers with supportive orientation make the best use of the model since they meet the academic, social, and emotional need of the school by making the best use of the school facilities and separating the teaching and caregiver role. However, teachers with skeptical and caretaking orientation are *loco parents*. These teachers use their status as a teacher to take the caregiver responsibility of their refugee students. As seen in the results, refugee students benefit from the *loco parentis* approach of their teachers. Refugee students show better adaptation to their environment and begin feeling part of the community when teachers have the caregiver role. However, refugee students in these teachers' classroom show slow progress in gaining their agency and becoming independent because their teachers always monitor their actions and restrict them with their pedagogical decisions and over-caring behaviors.

The agency and independence development model explain the process refugee students' self-awareness and decision-making skill development based on meaning-making of their schooling experiences. Each refugee student's agency and independence development occurs in a different time based on their personality and the characteristics of their refugee student profile because they begin experiencing different forms of psychological and emotional experiences due to the nature of the relationship with their teachers and classmates. Therefore, the educators should not expect every refugee student to be determined and independent at the same time. The stages of agency and independence development are for increasing awareness of the educators about the potentiality of the refugee students in becoming self-aware of their identity and intellectual capacity. Once teachers are aware that refugee students experience a different stage of agency and independence development, they can make changes in their instructional decisions and social support for the refugee students.

Refugee students studying in a school that adopts a welcoming approach valuing cultural practices of local and refugee communities demonstrate self-aware behaviors. Their self-awareness triggers the critical thinking in their consciousness. Therefore, their conscious thinking causes different psychological and emotional reactions such as identity and existential crises. Refugee students not only question the unfair treatment of the school community and the curricular accommodation of their teachers but also self-criticize their existence in the society. Therefore, educators who apply child-centric refugee education approaches in their classroom should pay attention to the individual differences of the refugee students and their social, emotional, and cultural background. On the condition of not paying attention to the existential questioning of refugee students, refugee students face difficulty in building connections with their community and the local community.

In conclusion, refugee education and protection models inform teachers and educational authorities about which educational strategies improve the educational experiences of refugee

students. This model shows that schools do not need standards to regulate their educational services for refugee students, but need the flexibility to exercise their continuous learning and knowledge on how to educate refugee students. Attempts to standardize refugee education in the school causes teachers to react negatively to the standards as they feel that their years of experience in the teaching profession are challenged and devalued by the standards. Teachers resist receiving new ideas and suggestions if they receive prescribed suggestions because they think that the standardized measures attack their autonomy as an experienced teacher. The framework suggested in the model respects the teachers' autonomy so that teachers may feel empowered as they feel valued and observe improvement in their refugee students' academic performance.

Agency and independence development models inform teachers about the stages and outcomes of refugee students' experiences in relation to the refugee education and protection model in the school. This model explains that refugee students develop self-awareness and critical thinking skills when they receive welcoming treatment in a school that respects their individual and cultural differences.

The current educational approaches and theories regarding educating refugees require a revision because alternative models as suggested in this chapter offer effective strategies for integrating refugee students into the host society and eliminating discourses that dehumanize the refugee students in the school. Recent studies, therefore, should focus on searching for alternative perspectives that consider the positive aspects of local and refugee communities' culture as the foundation of the refugee assistance and education strategies.

Chapter 7: Implications

Introduction: New Visions for Educating Refugee Students and Improving Multicultural Practices in the School System

Educating refugees requires new approaches to meet the educational and emotional needs of refugee students. Current refugee education approaches restrict refugee students' agency and create a different form of traumas for refugee students as the basic premises of the current approaches perceive refugee students as traumatized, dependent, and a problematic group of students. This study shows that refugee students in Turkish public school develop self-esteem, recover from their trauma experiences, and integrate into their new environment with a child-centric refugee education and protection model in the school. When refugee students experience welcoming attitudes from the people around them, the results show that refugee students become independent and agent, and they participate in contributing to finding sustainable measures for their education.

Given the results and the discussion of the results, the following section suggests implications for furthering research and educational practices to increase the effectiveness of child-centric refugee education approaches and refugee education policies during emergency education. In emergency education, being fully prepared for educating students from different countries and cultures is not possible. However, better practices and measures are possible if the preferred emergency education models and approaches rely on welcoming discourses and respect the individual and cultural differences of refugee students. This chapter, therefore, suggests new visions for educating refugee students by considering the effective results of the school practices in the Turkish public school and formulating important research questions for improving multicultural practices in the school systems.

Implications for Future Research

The positivist approach in Western countries for accommodating and educating refugees results in shortcomings due to a concentration of refugee determination as opposed to developing the capacity of solutions and informing people how to create appropriate responses to the political strategies of states (Chimni, 1998). Similar to Chimni (1998), Betts and Collier (2017) suggest a transformation of refugee policy after observing the differences in legislative and humanitarian language for the Syrian Refugee Crisis in the Western world and developing countries. Betts and Collier's (2017) suggestion to accommodate refugees in the neighboring countries by providing financial aid is a reaction to eliminate the indefinite dependency of refugee communities to the aid coming from the Western world. This suggestion proves that the strategy followed by the developing countries including Turkey is effective in providing sustainable and long-term solutions to the refugee crisis. However, this suggestion raises an important question: Why would Western countries change their humanitarian discourse from top-down legal policies to a traditional approach, which locates international aid within the larger local order? This study shows that developing countries' attempt to acknowledge the historical and political context before applying top-down legal policies influences the current theories on refugee education and protection. The implications of this study suggests future research studies to focus on the discourse changes in refugee education studies. Following the discourse analysis, the educational scholars may provide clear explanation about the alternative refugee education models by considering to examine how the current discourse change influences refugee education and the educational practices and responses for educating refugee students in the public schools and alternative schooling.

Theoretical implications in chapter 6 highlight that classroom teachers consider using the refugee education and protection model flexibly to have room for making changes for unexpected

situations while educating and accommodating refugee students in the school. However, teachers also need guidance to create their own framework. In this study, teachers and school administrators in the school rely on local understandings of refugee assistance based on social, historical and political values and norms. However, teachers and school staff lack pedagogical support to choose their instructional strategies. Therefore, examining how much structure teachers need to give informed pedagogical decision is an important research question.

The results of this study show that teachers exhibit different profiles such as teachers with skeptical orientation, teachers with supportive orientation, teachers with caretaking orientation, and teachers with indifferent orientation. These teachers have different instructional strategies and use the principles and founding concepts of the school's refugee education and protection model based on their priorities in educating refugee students. Evidence in the data shows that teachers have difference profiles and pedagogical decisions because of their years of experiences, political opinions, and previous teaching experience of different ethnic groups in a different part of Turkey. However, some teachers in the school have changed their behaviors after they receive refugee students in their classrooms. Examining the teachers' reasons for changing their attitudes and understanding their motivations in changing their attitudes about refugee students and refugee education is as important as knowing that teachers have different pedagogical preferences. Educational authorities can benefit from knowing the variations within teachers' profile when they design the teacher's education programs and in-service training.

Role and Influence of Social Actors. The agency and independence development model shows that the support received by refugee students receive from their classroom teachers, local and refugee classmates, personality, and classroom environment are influential on their agency and independence development. In relation to the interaction between refugee and local students, teachers and refugee

students, and amongst refugee students researching the effects of interaction between social actors on the development of agency and independence of refugee students has a particular importance for further research. To examine the role and influence of social actors, researchers consider asking the following research questions: When do the peer and teacher interactions affect the refugee students' agency and independence? How do these interactions influence decision-making skills of refugee students? Examining the intersectionality of ethnicity, cultural relations, kinship, and gender has potential to show the ground differences and similarities between the social actors and the nature of local organizations such as NGOs, religious and secular organizations, and school community.

When analyzing the refugee students' interviews, refugee students mentioned that they learned some values from their family members. For example, in chapter 5, a refugee student explained that his father always told him to help people so that this refugee student took responsibility to help his classmates during the games and classroom activities. This result shows that family values and teachings play an important role in shaping refugee students' schooling experience. This dissertation study examined the schooling experiences of the refugee students in the school. Even the findings signaled the role of social surroundings and family in shaping the refugee students' schooling experiences, further research on examining the role of the family in refugee students' personal growth, identity, strategic decisions to integrate into their new environment provide valuable insights about how refugee students become a social being.

Identity Development, Agency and Ascribed Identity. Refugee students in the school have different profiles like the teachers in the school. Each refugee student within different profiles also has individual characteristics due to their personality, but they develop a very similar identity based on the profile that they are assigned in this study. Each refugee student claims an identity in the school. Some refugee students embrace Syrian identity; some refugee students strategically choose a Syrian and local

identity, and some refugee students reject Syrian values. The variations of claiming different identities are important to consider because the refugee education and protection model of the school does not use assimilation as an integration strategy. The school has a national identity discourse for the local students, but refugee students are not required to learn and practice the national identity values. Therefore, researchers consider asking how we can examine the potential identities that refugee students are trying to claim and the reasons among refugee students for affiliating themselves with potential identities.

As shown in the results, some refugee students adopt and adapt identities. In other words, they have a fluid identity in which refugee students change their identity claims based on their needs and circumstances. Do these refugee students have an ascribed identity even though they change their identity based on their needs and circumstances? Alternatively, do they change their identity or seek identity because of the natural phases of their developmental age? Both research questions are important to ask to understand the similarities and differences of identity development phases of refugee children to deconstruct, construct, and reconstruct the discourses regarding defining refugees and their needs in the social, educational, and political settings as well as rebuilding theories and explanations about their socio-psychological motivations and mindset.

Future research on the concept of identity, particularly national identity development, among the refugee students may provide a clear explanation of the mental and emotional process that refugee students go through in the school. In this Turkish school, the integration strategy is an exceptional integration strategy because the school does not use assimilation and remind students that they are Syrians, or teach Syrian refugee students to be proud of their Syrian identity. Despite the non-assimilative integration approach of the school, refugee students claim a various national identity, and some of them adopt Turkish national identity. The other important issue that has merit to investigate

with regard to national identity construction among refugee students is to understand how the non-assimilative but Syrian's national identity supportive approach should be incorporated into one approach so that refugee students do not experience identity crisis and post-trauma.

Refugee students in the school, as expected, have negative and positive schooling experiences, but one of the most interesting findings of this study is the situation where some refugee students voluntarily accept the bullying-type of relationship. These refugee students do not complain about the fact that they are being bullied even though they have the opportunity to complain and find protection from their other local and refugee classmates as well as their teacher. As part of the discussion regarding identity and agency, the concept of bullying amongst the refugee and local students is a complex phenomenon as the refugee, and local students perceive bullying as a vehicle for agency and independence. In the relationship between the bullied and bullying students, the bullying student only bullies the refugee and local students, who show submission to his or her power and does not let any other student in the school humiliate or negatively treat the bullied student. In other words, bullying occurs in between refugee and local students as a form of social protection. The roles in this form of social protections only shape-shift to empowerment and power claims, once the bullied student gains enough power to act against the bullying. Understanding the motivations of the refugee students, who perceive bullying as an empowerment and social learning process, is important to explain the reasons for being subordinate to unbalanced friendship.

Local and refugee students define bullying as groups of students attacking one student due to nationality, religion, physical appearance and financial status and situations that make them feel ashamed due to the attacks on their family honor and values. The definition has similarities with the definition of bullying in other countries, but the number in the bullying relationship is an important

factor. Students only consider the situations as bullying if only many students for the same reason systematically bully one student.

As mentioned earlier, some refugee students in the school submit to bullying for a while and begin occasionally showing resistance and reactions to the bullying student to practice power and will. Given to this situation, the bullying shape-shifts based on the reactions of the bullied student. If the refugee student reacts to the bullying with big arguments, fistfights, discussions, or insubordination, they gain power and the other students, as well as the teachers, respect the bullied student. Therefore, the local and refugee students do not consider fights, arguments, and discussions as bullying since they perceive these situations as empowerment or power claiming process in the rise of conflict. Given the concepts of bullying in the school, researching how bullying affects the agency, in which circumstances refugee students feel empowered or disempowered, and how the refugee students' psychosocial mechanism work in shaping the identity and agency of the bullied and bullying refugee students explains the underlying reasons for bullying and accepting/rejecting bullying.

The data for this study was collected from refugee students, local students, classroom teachers, school counselors, and school administrators. I conducted observations in the classrooms during the regular class hours so that I gathered data about the interactions of refugee and local students, and teachers with each other. The variety of data provided extensive explanations about the schooling experience of the refugee students in the school, but conducting research where all social actors come together provides more in-depth understandings about the interaction between the social actors and their behaviors and attitudes towards each other. Focus group interviews may also provide information about the effectiveness of the refugee education, the moments that supports the agency and independence development, and the use of refugee education approaches and instructional strategies. Focus group interviews with refugee students and their teacher, and refugee students and local

students could be assigned to complete a task outside the classroom setting and therefore the information gathered from the focus group could enrich the data in terms of controlling the consistency of behaviors and the way the social actors speak about the presence of refugee students in the school and the refugee students' satisfaction with the education they receive. However, focus group interviews may pose ethical challenges as the participants may engage in personal conversations during the interview process.

In conclusion, this study asks further questions to trouble the positivist refugee education approaches. What does it mean to be prepared for emergency education? How can emergency education be structured so that the system can also update and learn from the accumulated experiences of the educators, administrators, local and refugee students, and local and refugee parents? Additional theory-driven and practice-oriented research is necessary to answer the above research questions. Understanding how refugee education and protection models offer better education for the refugee and local students and create harmony in the school. Agency and independence development model is the result of the refugee education and protection model applied in the school. Refugee education and protection models with different founding concepts and principles could lead refugee students to develop different aspects of their personality, as refugee students would have had different experiences in school. Therefore, examining whether or not refugee students develop agency and independence regardless of which refugee education and protection values are adopted by the school is an important research question. This research question also formulates another question: if refugee students develop different psychosocial characteristics and skills due to differences of the meaning-making process of their schooling experience, what are some other potential refugee education and protection models that create different outcomes?

Implications for Practice

This section suggests implications for practice in three sections: 1) implications for refugee education policy development: 2) implications for educating and approaching refugee students: and 3) implications for training teachers. Each section underlines the necessary educational and policy measures to regulate and improve refugee education practices in schools based on the results and discussion of the results.

Implications for Refugee Education Policy Development. The results show that refugee education policy has legal, educational, and social aspects. The school administration has to register refugee students. Based on the law and regulations regarding educating refugees, school staff has to establish pedagogical approaches that eliminate educational problems, and all the political and educational measures need to be culturally sensitive to eliminate cultural conflict in the school. Therefore, educational authorities and schools consult regional education advisors whose specialty and expertise is in multicultural, refugee, and immigration education. In this study, the results show that the school administration and teachers tend to receive feedback about their decisions to educate refugee students. People in the school often get consultations from the school counselor, regional advisors in the Ministry of National Education, and researchers collecting data in the school. The school staff's openness to receive feedback also highlights the importance of hiring or allowing outsiders to improve refugee education practices.

The weekend school established to support language learning is an example of making new accommodations in the school to provide better educational services for refugee students. The school established a partnership with local NGOs, and the Ministry of National Education received consultation from UNICEF in order to find Syrian teachers. Operational partnership with the local NGOs as happened during the establishment of the weekend school improved the quality of education. The weekend school had some issues regarding how to ensure the accreditation of Syrian teachers. In eliminating the Syrian

teachers' readiness to teach in weekend school, the university's school of education and teacher training programs could prepare alternative programs.

Operational partnership and international institutions' consultation generate culturally sensitive refugee education policies. However, teachers in the school complain that international organizations created some language-related problems in the school as some of the refugee students received education in English in the educational institutions established by the international organizations. Therefore, decreasing international institutions' direct consultation avoids top-down and culturally insensitive refugee education policy suggestions, but asking their feedback about the effectiveness of the operational partnership with the local NGOs generates effective refugee education strategies.

Understanding the complexity of refugee education in emergency situations is useful in planning educational policies in order to provide not only effective services to adult refugees about how to educate their children in a new system but also guidelines about where to resettle and how to interact with the local community. Therefore, government institutions and local NGOs with support from the host country government or formal authorities could be effective in reshaping the perceptions of the refugee community about the importance of education to improve the quality of their life. In regulating all these political and perception management measures, the refugee community is a resource to understand how educational services should be provided to refugee students. The local and educational authorities should consider using the feedback from the refugee community regarding the educational services to establish some guidelines about how to regulate refugee education in public schools. The greatest benefit of using the cultural, historical, and lived experiences of the refugee community is related to generating cost-effective measures because the host community and institutions could save human and financial resources by eliminating the establishment of unnecessary or ineffective solutions for the refugee community.

This study shows that the school community takes into consideration the cultural, educational, and historical knowledge of the refugee community regarding educating refugee students and revising curricular activities. School staff and the school community respect the refugee students and their parents because the school community and staff perceive the refugee community as survivors of difficult circumstances not the victims of forced migration. This perception generates positive outcomes in the school such as allowing social space to refugee students, respecting their culture, and valuing their national identity. Much of this process is unconscious on the part of the teachers and school staff; therefore, it would be effective if local educational authorities encouraged awareness amongst the school staff to further this understanding of the benefits of cooperative communication between the host and refugee communities to improve the educational circumstances of refugee students in schools.

This study suggests collaboration between the local community, the refugee community, NGOs, local governments, and the government of the host country. However, the government institutions and the local NGOs should not standardize educational regulations for the schools. Schools operate in an effective way when they have the flexibility to decide on their pedagogical approaches. As the results of this study show, the school uses the guidelines of the refugee education policy of the Ministry of National Education such as not stressing refugee students with attendance and acknowledging that refugee students have trauma experiences. However, the school has the freedom to make changes in their approach when the school staff experience unexpected educational issues. As a result of the flexibility, the school revises the curriculum and the relationships between the actors. The example in chapter 5 regarding eliminating the problems of the flag activity when refugee students began discussing whether the Syrian flag has two or three stars demonstrates the benefits of teachers having autonomy to revise the curriculum during some certain situations. Therefore, refugee education policy should emphasize the use of conflict-sensitive analyses to assess the content and structures of refugee education and the national curriculum.

Finally, it is important to include peace education values in the refugee education and protection model of the school as one of the core components of child-centric refugee education, as refugee education is a continuous attempt to create harmony between the children of local and refugee community (Dreyden-Peterson, 2011). This approach in refugee education policy also respects the concerns of the host country regarding political stability in and outside the school and supports the refugee community to have realistic solutions to improve their life quality through education. The school in Turkey uses some principles of peace education to generate harmony between refugee and local students such as supporting independence, helping students developing self-esteem and self-awareness, and finding common ground to resolve intercultural conflict as suggested by Johnson and Johnson (2005) in their article on the essential components of peace education. However, the strategies developed by the school and teachers are not informed and planned decisions. The school staff makes decisions to protect harmony and sense of community in the school only when problems arise. However, these measures can be taken before the problem between the local and refugee students occur. Therefore, having a school curriculum with peace education components and teachers with background information about peace education strategies are important assets in order to take measures in the schools before conflict occurs between local and refugee students.

Implications for Educating and Approaching Refugee Students. The most important part of the social and cultural adaptation of refugee students is the degree of local people's readiness to accept the new groups of people. Refugee students are not voluntarily studying in a country other than their own. Syrian refugee students come to Turkey with their families to seek refuge because they fear persecution and the political instability in their region. Refugee resettlement in a country like Turkey does not need large designated resettlement areas for the Syrian refugees because people in the region have difficulty to welcome a large number of refugees. When the number is small, the locals and refugees are better at solving their social, cultural, and political problems and assisting the new coming community with

humanitarian motivation. The locals often perceive the problems as cultural misunderstandings of the new coming community and tolerate inappropriate behavior if they see a level of progress in the refugees' social adaptation. The schools may have strategies to assist and educate refugee students, but the school staff must keep in mind that refugee students are individuals and they have different experiences due to their personality, family background, and reasons for seeking refuge in Turkey with or without their family members.

Temporary education centers and Syrian schools help refugee students have an educational environment similar to what they experienced in Syria. These initiatives of the Turkish education authorities meet the Syrian parents' demands for a separate education system based on Syrian values and schooling ideologies, but these schools eliminate the possibility of Syrian youth culturally integrating. Refugee children protect their identity in these schools, but they do not have the opportunity to integrate into the host community. Given this situation, Turkish educational authorities should make a clear decision about how to approach refugee youth in society. If the intention is to integrate, the authorities should inform the local and refugee community regarding what they mean by integration.

Turkish educational authorities' current refugee education policy does not intend to assimilate Syrian refugee students. It rather aims to allow social space for refugee students to protect their identity. The authorities fall behind in terms of creating effective policies for integrating refugee students in the school and the local society. The results show that the school has an agenda for integrating students. According to the school staff, integration is a process of educating refugee students about local values and expectations and allowing them to build their eclectic social identity so that they can survive in the local and refugee community. Educational authorities and school staff's approach to allowing refugee students the freedom to construct their identity as well as not enforcing

Turkish national identity values is an attention-grabbing issue because the National Curriculum of Turkey has clear objectives in terms of teaching one type of national values to the students regardless of their national, religious, and ethnic background. Syrian refugee students are exempt from learning the local, national values. This situation requires policy analysis, but the outcomes of this culturally sensitive approach have been effective in eliminating cultural-conflicts. Therefore, authorities should consider revising the values in the National Curriculum to provide similar culturally- and ethnically- sensitive platforms to students of other ethnicity, culture, religions, and nations.

Providing separate educational institutions and allowing Syrian school administrations in the separate institutions shows that Turkish educational authorities respect Syrian educational values and Syrian communities' demands, and do not have intention to assimilate Syrian refugee students. These practices, as seen in the results, are useful for eliminating cultural tensions between the local and refugee community, helping refugee students learn their mother tongue, receive education in their language, and continue receiving academic skills without having interrupted education. However, these institutions neither provide long-term solutions nor create fair and just educational opportunities for the refugee students. As long as these institutions exist in the education system, these institutions prepare a background for the systematic exclusion of the Syrian youth from the local education system because the education they receive in the school does not help them get the adequate skills to be ready for higher education and national examinations. Therefore, integration of refugee students into the national education system through registering them to public schools and mainstreaming them by providing language education supports with weekend schools is beneficial, long-term, and fair.

Integration or mainstreaming refugee students into public school is more challenging than providing separate school and parallel instruction, but it helps refugee students to observe the educational expectations of the local students and learn how to be part of real educational paths that

they need to follow in order to continue their education. In this approach, refugee students may choose to integrate into their new environment or choose to develop different adaptation strategies through developing Syrian national identity or Turkish-Syrian national identity as migrants and immigrants have done in the US, i.e. Mexican-American, African-American, Arab-American, etc.

The other benefit of integration is related to finding practical solutions to cultural tensions between local and refugee communities. Temporary education centers, Syrian schools and public schools without refugee students have misunderstandings about the practices of each other. People in each school depend on media-driven perceptions and incidents between the local and refugee communities to generate their discourse and find solutions to eliminate anti-refugee sentiments. However, the solutions are far away from the real issues and do not include culturally sensitive strategies. However, in the public school where I collected the data, people from both the communities have better understandings about the expectations of each community and develop better strategies that focus on establishing deliberative conversations.

As mentioned in chapter 6, the power dynamics between the local and refugee community favor the local community's values as the refugee education and protection model originates from local understandings of creating a livelihood for the refugee community. However, every attempt to create a deliberative conversation furthers the cultural awareness of each community and helps create effective and culturally sensitive educational practices. Better integration and the mainstreaming of refugee students is also beneficial for the Turkish educational authorities as they learn how to implement multicultural practices. The presence of the Syrian refugee students in the public schools helps the Turkish education system improve their language teaching strategies and question the stereotypical and discriminative practices in the national curriculum.

Refugee students lack information about the Turkish education system. The students are not aware of the required criteria for transitioning from elementary education to secondary education. Therefore, they need a more informed general overview of the education system, examinations for secondary level schools and university entrance. Distance education, vocational training, and Open University as well as additional opportunities for Syrian refugee students as mentioned in the section on the law on educating Syrian refugees are also needed for the students. The Ministry of National Education should consider preparing workshop and sessions to familiarize refugee students with the education system and the educational expectations so that they begin setting their future goals. Otherwise, as mentioned in chapter 5, refugee students' families could motivate their children to do vocational training so as to focus on the notion of short-term improvements for their financial situation.

Implications for Teachers Training

Teachers have different profiles and different educational backgrounds. Teachers' having variety of skills is helpful for their colleagues to learn what kind of practices and techniques are successful in educating refugee students. Teachers make decisions about which strategy and technique to use through observing their colleagues, but teachers mostly prefer to exchange their ideas about how to approach their students in the teacher's lounges. They informally discuss pedagogical ideas about creating a better learning environment, maintaining harmony among local and refugee students, and offering fair and just learning opportunities. However, the learning among the teachers happens when the teachers have a good relationship with each other. Even if the teachers have a good relationship with each other or not; teachers need pedagogical support to improve their teaching and integration strategies to educate refugee students.

As the data suggests, some teachers have experience working with students from different language and cultural backgrounds, some teachers only have experience working homogenous schools.

Therefore, their knowledge about multicultural educational practices varies. Suggesting a teacher training program for the classroom teachers to improve their understanding of multicultural education practices is an easy solution, but interactions with the teachers show that they first need to have exposure to the pluralistic background of their community to increase their awareness on multiculturalism. Informing teachers about diversity in their community is an important step as the teachers have strong perceptions about how diversity can be a threat to national sovereignty and unity. Many teachers have the fear that refugee community may claim more rights from their country, as did other ethnic groups in the past. Therefore, these teachers need to be informed that the reactions between different groups of the society are not related to asking for more privileges, but because of the unmentioned fear of both communities in protecting their identity and rights. The existence of the refugee students has troubled many teachers' previous perception about minorities and ethnic groups.

Considering the fact that the presence of refugee students in the school troubled the teachers' perception of the necessity for multicultural teaching, the Ministry of National Education could benefit from offering in-service training to raise awareness of the different educational needs of the different groups in the society. Multicultural education approaches need to be part of the teacher training programs in the universities so that teachers are equipped to teach in emergency settings such as forced migration, natural disasters, and political instability to be able to revise teaching strategies to accommodate diversity in the classroom. If student teachers take elective or must course to teach in an emergency setting such as forced migration, natural disasters, and political instability, the Turkish education system could reduce the need for revising teaching strategies in diverse classroom settings and teaching academic skills to the group of students with different language background. Incorporating multicultural values in in-service and teacher education programs also help teachers to adequately measure the learning outcomes of the refugee students as they have knowledge in the multicultural assessment of the evaluation standards.

Conclusions: Challenging but Sustainable Refugee Education Approaches

In this study, the Middle East Refugee Protection Model was used to conceptually explain the refugee assistance regulations in Turkey, one of the major destinations of Syrian refugees, because Turkey's refugee assistance model differed from the approach used in the West. Turkey, along with many Western countries, is a signature of the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. However, many Western countries have refused to host Syrian refugees as happened in the European Migration Crisis (Betts & Collier, 2017), even though these countries remind others like Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey of the importance of providing humanitarian assistance to Syrian refugees.

Western countries' reluctance to host Syrian refugees even though Syrian refugees reach the European zone as the first country of entrance has showed that legal sanctions of the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees might be violated or ignored when the host countries have a well-founded fear of national security issues, financial problems, and social conflict. This situation also showed that the main priority of many refugee-hosting countries, which depend on standardized legal systems, is not to protect the refugees from the well-founded fear of being persecuted, as mentioned in the protocol, but to protect the well-founded fear of politicians in an attempt to ensure the legitimacy of their political interests. As a result, many European countries have negotiated with the Turkish government the terms of re-sending Syrian refugees to Turkey on the condition of those European countries providing financial assistance to the Turkish government. This situation is not only a violation of protocol principles but also a shame on humanity as the refugees' lives are used as a bargaining chip between the countries.

In comparison to the model used in the West, the refugee protection models in Turkey, Jordan, and Lebanon have differences (Chatty, 2010). This model uses historical, cultural, and religious ties to help refugees from Syria rather than relying on legal regulations. In contrast to the refugee models used in the Turkey and Europe, the model in Lebanon and Jordan uses historical, cultural, and religious ties to

help refugees from Syria instead of relying on legal regulations (Chatty, 2010). Turkey currently has legal regulations to coordinate refugee services, but many of these regulations such as Ministry of National Education Regulations on Educating Syrian Refugees (Ministry of National Education- Primary Education General Directorate, 2013) were enacted after accepting Syrian refugees into the country. In terms of meeting the needs of the Syrian refugee community, Turkey still needs to make a lot of changes in its system such as ensuring the registration of Syrian refugee students in the school system, but the Turkish refugee protection model showed that alternative refugee assistance approaches are possible in hosting refugees and providing culturally-sensitive educational services. This study, therefore, examined how the alternative refugee protection approach of a host country affects the refugee education and the schooling experience of Syrian refugee students.

Refugee education is one of the most challenging issues of refugee assistance, which requires authorities to prepare comprehensive measures. Educational services for the refugee community includes the legal, social, and political background so that refugee students often experience politicized or highly standardized educational services. Refugee students not only experience a problem regarding their refugee background, but they also experience the local and national educational problems in the school system. For example, this study suggests that refugee students need to be informed about the examination and assessment system in Turkey as well as obtaining certificates such as a diploma or official grade report that justify their academic progression. Many refugee students lack having information about the examination system in Turkey, and this situation causes refugee students to fall behind of their local classmates and feel stress about their future as they continue going to the school.

Educational services are the most common refugee assistance strategy that NGOs and politicians use as an opportunity to actualize their short and long-term political agendas (Bujis, Hekma & Duyvendak, 2011; Mepschen, Duyvendak & Tonkens, 2010; Sahin, 2010; Thomas, 2010). The NGOs and

politicians' involvement without coordinating local governments often results in the refugee community suffering from inconsistent, unorganized and unsustainable education services. Local government also needs the involvement of NGOs and politicians into their educational service establishment process, first to be informed about the needs of the refugee community by using the resources of the NGOs and politicians, and second to eliminate the problems regarding the interest conflicts among different social and political power groups. In Turkey, weekend schools are the results of NGO initiatives to provide language support to refugee students in both Turkish and Arabic. The weekend schools, with strong collaboration between government, politicians, and NGOs, create effective results because of their cooperative nature: MoNE provides the school facilities and Turkish language teachers; NGOs find teachers who speak Arabic or are Syrian teachers; and politicians help these institutions by informing the local people about the importance of helping the refugee community. The school where I collected the data is one good example of power group collaboration. However, in the same region, refugee students in other weekend schools suffer from miscommunication between the local educational authorities, NGOs, and politicians so that refugee students mainly experience challenges in the schools.

Even though local governments have some successful refugee assistance systems that help refugee communities build livelihoods, refugee communities continue surviving under socially, culturally, and politically challenging circumstances. Therefore, refugee communities do not often receive quality education, health and social services as the discourse of dependence continues to generate negative perceptions of refugees. Once refugees are perceived as the group of people, who are financial, culturally, and socially dependent on the host country, the local communities react negatively towards the refugees. The local communities believe that refugees do not pay taxes, receive money from the governments, and use national social services such as free health and education. However, this study shows that negative discourse generation of refugees in the society is the result of the highly standardized refugee assistance programs that attract the negative attention of the local people due to

projecting refugees as a dependent group of people. Socially and culturally sensitive refugee assistance models supported by legal frameworks works are better in terms of eliminating the degree of negative perceptions in the local community and gradually contribute to social harmony between the local and refugee community as the measures of the refugee assistance model supported by legal frameworks respects the cultural, religious, and historical background of the bath communities.

The results of this study suggested two models relating to educating Syrian refugees. The first model is the one created by the school in Turkey, where the data of this study is collected, by appropriating the principles of the Middle East Refugee Protection conceptual framework. This model is named the Refugee Protection and Education Model. The second model is the result of the model used in the school, which explains the key developments of the refugee students in the school. Refugee students have negative and positive schooling experience depending on their personality, trauma background, and prior schooling experience, but each refugee student develops their agency and becomes an independent student in the school as they are informed about the social expectations of the school and local community. Therefore, the name of the second model is Agency and Independence Development Model.

The first model shows that refugee students' education does not only happen in the schools or educational institutions, but it has a greater connection with the local people's acceptance of refugees in their community. The implementation of the refugee education model based on Middle East Refugee Protection frameworks has its difficulties, as it requires authorities to create bridges between the local and refugee community. This model needs an understanding of what locals want and can do in terms of helping and accepting refugees as well as understanding the needs and sensitivity of the refugee community with regard to how the refugees want to continue their lives. Building connections between the communities are difficult, but the results are long-lasting and effective as the communities are the

agent of their decisions and they are not obliged to follow strict legal procedures. Their interactions could, therefore, inform the legal procedures and regulations, and those regulations could shape the pedagogical approach of the school system as happened in the school where I collected the data. This model explains how a school in Turkey establishes its own refugee education and protection model by using the mainstream refugee assistance model of the local people and governments. The results show that any form of model accepted or appropriated by the school causes refugee students to experience schooling in a particular way. In this study, refugee students develop their agency and become independent students in the school because the school provided adequate social space for them and allowed them to integrate into society on their own will.

Following the refugee education and protection model, the second model named the agency and independence development model explains the key stages of the schooling experiences of the refugee students in a Turkish public school. This model shows that refugee students are capable of making decisions about their lives and educational choices regardless of their refugee background, but their agency and independence development is dependent on several conditions such as the nature of their interaction with the other social actors, language skills and development, and the atmosphere of the classroom in which they are assigned. When teachers use appropriated pedagogical strategies, refugee students begin the meaning-making of their interaction with the people in their new environment. The most important part of this model is that this is not a model that could be applied in a certain amount of time to ensure that refugee children become agent and independent. This model aims to provide some practical information about the stages that refugee students potentially experience as they mount up cultural, social and academic information. As mentioned in Chapter 5, refugee students have different personality and characteristics and therefore the amount of time that each refugee student from each different group spends for transiting from one stage to another differs.

These two models are complex and difficult to implement because the challenges that the school experiences are similar to what the local community experiences such as cultural conflict, ensuring the unity in the society, future resettlement, available job distribution in the future, and democratic participation. In other words, macro social problems reflect into the school as micro social problems. The school community has concerns about how to integrate refugee students into their school community in an attempt to depoliticize refugee students and decrease the anti-refugee sentiments in local students' mind. As with the local community, the school community's concerns concentrate on national security, the future of Syrian nationals in school, and how the presence of Syrian refugees affect the social fabric.

Finally, implementing the models created in this study is challenging because it requires governments to be aware of the potential problems that may occur in between the refugee and local community regarding educating refugee students. Allowing the refugee and local community to resolve their educational issues on their own provides sustainable solutions, but the local government should consider framing the legal consequences of negative actions that harm the social harmony during deliberative conversations or in the event of the disruption of social order. During the deliberative conversations in the school, political and cultural instability may occur as a result of cultural differences. In this sense, the local governments and educational authorities should allow time for the refugee and local community to understand each other's actions before interfering with their legal and institutional power.

Using child-centric approaches that do not demonize the refugee students as social detractors and a group of traumatic children could reduce problems relating to the refugee students' education. The potential benefit of this approach for the Syrian community is that child-centric approaches do not aim to assimilate refugee students, but aim to integrate them into the school and later to the society by

informing them about the local expectations. During the integration process, values and strategies of the local and refugee community may conflict with each other, but transparency and flexibility during refugee and local community interaction could easily eliminate the problems.

ⁱ The translation of the text is in the following:

As part of the balanced diet project, there is a drawing competition on the topic of Adequate and Balanced Diet. The pictures should

- Give a message that “you can eat everything you want. The only thing that you need to know is to know what you eat and how you balance your diet”
- Be drawn on a 35 by 50 cm paper
- Be colored with any kind of color
- Not be a copy from another picture
- Be submitted by April 1.

ⁱⁱ During the translation from English to Turkish, the number of the words in the sentences changes due to the different grammar structure of Turkish and English. Therefore, the original transcription is provided in the brackets when necessary.

ⁱⁱⁱ Isim-sehir is translated literally as name-city because mad-libs is not the same game but has the similar game structure.

^{iv} Spin game is used instead of deve-cuce oyunu.

^v The RTC has mentioned the name of the color, but I omitted that information to protect teacher's identity.

^{vi} Transliteration of "how are you?" In Arabic.

^{vii} He used a slang term, which refers to puberty of boys. The term is so inappropriate so that I did not add the translation.

^{viii} In this conversation, the slang and curse words are not translated as they are inappropriate.

^{ix} This game's name is "Nesi var?" In Turkish.

^x "Are you efe?" (In Turkish "Efe misin?") is an express. Efe means irregular soldier from the Aegean region. This expression is used when someone acts rebellious for a reason.

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Appendices

APPENDIX A: Permission from the Local Education Authorities



T.C.
KAYMAKAMLIĞI
İlçe Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü

Sayı : 90264873/199/7945212
Konu: Tez Çalışması

11/08/2015

KAYMAKAMLIK MAKAMINA

Indiana üniversitesi Eğitim Programları ve Öğretimi Anabilim Dalı Eğitim Programları Çalışmaları Doktora programı öğrencisi Özlem ERDEN'in "Yabancı Uyruklu Öğrencilerin Devlet Okullarında Okul Uyumu" konulu tez çalışmasını David J.Flinders danışmanlığında yürütmek, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığına bağlı okullarda tez konusu ile ilgili nitel bir çalışma yapmak isteği ile ilgili 05.08.2015 tarihli dilekçesi, çalışmaya ait bilgiler İngilizce ve Türkçe öğrenci belgesi ve danışman mektubu ilişikte sunulmuştur.

Doktora programı öğrencisi Özlem ERDEN'in tez çalışmasını İlçemiz İlkokulunda yapması Müdürlüğümüzce uygun görülmüştür.

Makamınızca da uygun görüldüğü takdirde; olurlarınıza arz ederim.

İlçe Milli Eğitim Müdür V.

OLUR
11/08/2015
Kaymakam

EKLER: 1- Dilekçe (1 Adet)
2- Tez Araştırma Önerisi Özeti ve Ekleri(18 Sayfa)

Bu evrak güvenli elektronik imza ile mezarımızdır. <http://evraksorgu.meb.gov.tr> adresinden2aa7-ace0-380f-9bbd-52e6 kodu ile teyit edilebilir.

Appendix B: Institutional Review Board Approval



INDIANA UNIVERSITY
OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT FOR RESEARCH
Office of Research Compliance

To: David Flinders
EDUCATION

Ozlem Erden
EDUCATION

From:

Chair - IRB-01
Human Subjects Office
Office of Research Compliance – Indiana University

Date: March 11, 2016

RE: NOTICE OF APPROVAL - NEW STUDY

Protocol Title: SCHOOLING EXPERIENCE OF SYRIAN CHILD REFUGEES

Study #: 1512043218

Funding Agency/Sponsor: None

Status: Approved | Active - Open to Enrollment

Study Approval Date: March 11, 2016

Study Expiration Date: March 03, 2017

The Indiana University Institutional Review Board (IRB) IRB00000220 | IRB-01 recently took action on the above-referenced protocol. The IRB has subsequently verified that the investigator's response to the review satisfies the conditions for approval. In compliance with (as applicable) 21 C.F.R. § 56.109 (e) and 46 C.F.R. § 46.109 (d), this letter serves as written notification of the IRB's determination.

The study is approved, with the following determinations, as applicable:

- . Minimal Risk
- . Plan for soliciting the assent of the children and/or the parent/guardian permission is appropriate.
- . Child Category 1: not greater than minimal risk to the child-subject.

Approval of this study is based on your agreement to abide by the policies and procedures of the Indiana University Human Research Protection Program and does not replace any other approvals that may be required. Relevant policies and procedures governing Human Subject Research can be found at: http://researchadmin.iu.edu/HumanSubjects/hs_policies.html.

As a reminder, IRB approval is required prior to implementing any changes or amendments in the protocol, regardless of how minor, except to eliminate immediate hazards to subjects. No changes to the informed consent document may be made without prior IRB approval.

If you submitted and/or are required to provide participants with an informed consent document, a copy of the most recently approved stamped document is enclosed and **must be used to enroll participants**.

The study expiration date is noted above. Failure to receive notification from the Human Subjects Office will not relieve you of your responsibility to ensure compliance with Federal Regulations regarding annual review [as applicable, 21 C.F.R. § 56.109(f) and 45 C.F.R. § 46.109(e)].

You should retain a copy of this letter and all associated approved study documents for your records. Please refer to the assigned study number and exact study title in future correspondence with our office. Additional information is available on our website at <http://researchadmin.iu.edu/HumanSubjects/>.

If your source of funding changes, you must submit an amendment to update your study documents immediately via an amendment.

If you have any questions or require further information, please contact the Human Subjects Office via email at irb@iu.edu or via phone at (317)274-8289 (Indianapolis) or (812) 856-4242 (Bloomington).

You are invited, as part of ORA's ongoing program of quality improvement, to **participate in a short survey** to assess your experience and satisfaction with the IRB related to this approval. We estimate it will take you approximately **5 minutes to complete the survey**. The survey is housed on a Microsoft SharePoint secure site which requires CAS authentication. This survey is being administered by REEP; please contact us at reep@iu.edu if you have any questions or require additional information. Simply click on the link below, or cut and paste the entire URL into your browser to access the survey: https://www.sharepoint.iu.edu/sites/iu-ora/survey/Lists/Compliance/IRB_Survey/NewForm.aspx.

\enclosures

Appendix C: Consent Forms for Teachers in English and Turkish

INDIANA UNIVERSITY INFORMED CONSENT FOR TEACHERS

SCHOOLING EXPERIENCE OF FOREIGN NATIONAL STUDENTS

You are invited to participate in a research study of schooling experience of foreign national students, which is being conducted by Ozlem Erden, who is a PhD candidate at Indiana University, Bloomington. **The purpose of the study is to learn about the school experiences of students in this region and improve the teaching and curriculum that the schools provide.** You were selected as a possible subject because you are the classroom teacher of the local and foreign national students and/or had prior experience in teaching foreign national students. Please read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

STUDY PURPOSE

The purpose of the study is to learn about the school experiences of students in this region and improve the teaching and curriculum that the schools provide.

NUMBER OF PEOPLE TAKING PART IN THE STUDY

If you agree to participate, you will be one of 200 people. This study includes 100 local and foreign national students, 50 parents and 50 teachers.

PROCEDURES FOR THE STUDY

If you agree to be in the study, you will do the following things:

- Your classroom will be observed while you are teaching art, physical education, and music classes. You also have all the rights to define the subject of the classes that is going to be observed. I will not make changes in your teaching and instruction plan.
- The number of observation for each subject is three. In total, I will make 9 observations.
- During this observation, I will examine the interaction among the students and the students' interaction with you. I will be video and audio recording during the observations with a camera located in the class where it only captures the students whose parents consented their children to participate and who consented to participate.
- You will kindly be suggested to do some classroom activities such as asking students to draw picture of their first school day, the best moments in the school, a typical day in the school, a favorite leisure time activity, and cultural object examination as part of "local good week" as suggested in the National Curriculum. I will record the conversations among the students without intervening their conversation. I will also take pictures of what they draw in the classroom.
- The classes that you determine will be recorded and only be used for the data purposes.
- You will be interviewed about the schooling experiences of your students as well as your teaching experience after the arrival of new foreign national students between April 1, but this may happen earlier than this date depending on the response rate from the parents and the students that I invited to the study, and ends on June 15, 2016.
- Your interview will be audio-recorded or video-recorded.
- There is also a data validation process. During this process I will not ask you additional questions. We will have conversations about your responses to the same questions to understand whether I understood what you shared with me correctly.

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- The expected time for the interview is around 30-60 minutes. The data validation will also take about 30-60 minutes.
- I will kindly ask you to actively and passively participate to the activities and procedures that I explained above.
- The local and foreign national students in your classroom whose parent consented and who gave consent will be interviewed outside the class such teachers' room or school library on three occasions between April 10 to June 15 when there is you, another school teacher, and school counsellor present in the room. However, this interview is private and you are not allowed to hear or participate in the conversation.

RISKS OF TAKING PART IN THE STUDY

While on the study, the discomforts or risks are:

- There may be loss of confidentiality.
- You may feel emotional or sentimental about some of the questions.

There also may be other risks that we cannot predict. If any unexpected risks or discomforts occur, I will advise psychological and social such as counseling, social support services, or medical services. If you feel overwhelmed with the questions, I will terminate the interview process.

BENEFITS OF TAKING PART IN THE STUDY

The benefits to participation that are reasonable to expect are;

- You will learn more about your children's/students' experiences in the school.
- Teacher-student-parent interaction will increase.
- Your students will participate in extra-curricular activities.

There are also direct or indirect benefits that may reasonably be expected from the research.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Efforts will be made to keep your personal information confidential. We cannot guarantee absolute confidentiality. Your personal information may be disclosed if required by law. Your identity will be held in confidence in reports in which the study may be published "and databases in which results may be stored." If audio or video recordings will be made, they will be used for education purposes. The data will be destroyed when the data storage duration suggested by the Institutional Review Board is completed.

Organizations that may inspect and/or copy your research records for quality assurance and data analysis include groups such as the study investigator and his/her research associates, the Indiana University Institutional Review Board or its designees.

PAYMENT

You (will/will not) receive payment for taking part in this study.

CONTACTS FOR QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS

For questions about the study, contact the researcher, Ozlem Erden, at +1 812 369 5996 or +90 536 971 1703 or using the email ozerden@iemail.iu.edu and ozlemerden@vmail.com. If you cannot reach the researcher during regular business hours (9 a.m. to 5 p.m.) please call the school principal or the classroom teacher.

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In the event of an emergency, you may contact Ozlem Erden at +90 536 971 1703.

For questions about your rights as a research participant, to discuss problems, complaints, or concerns about a research study, or to obtain information or offer input, contact the IU Human Subjects Office at 317-278-3458 [for Indianapolis] or 812-856-4242 [for Bloomington] or 800-696-2949.

VOLUNTARY NATURE OF THIS STUDY

Taking part in this study is voluntary. You may choose not to take part or may leave the study at any time. Leaving the study will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits to which you are entitled. Your decision whether or not to participate in this study will not affect your current or future relations with the school and school staff.

SUBJECT'S CONSENT

In consideration of all of the above, I give my consent to participate in this research study.

I will be given a copy of this informed consent document to keep for my records. I agree to take part in this study.

Subject's Printed Name: _____

Subject's Signature: _____ Date: _____
(must be dated by the subject)

Printed Name of Person Obtaining Consent:

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent: _____ Date: _____

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İNDIANA ÜNİVERSİTESİ BİLGİLENDİRİLMİŞ KATILIMCI ONAY FORMU

Öğretmenler İçin

Sizi İndiana Üniversitesi'nde doktora öğrenimi görmekte olan Özlem Erden tarafından yürütülen "Yabancı uyruklu öğrencilerin okul uyumu" konulu araştırmaya davet ediyoruz. Bu araştırmanın amacı Türkiye'de Milli Eğitim Bakanlığına bağlı olan okullarda eğitimine devam eden öğrencilerin okul uyum sürecini araştırmaktır. Bu çalışmaya olası katılımcı olarak seçildiniz çünkü siz yabancı uyruklu öğrencilerin olduğu bir okulda öğretmensiniz ve/veya sınıfınızda yabancı uyruklu öğrenciler vardır. Lütfen formu çalışmaya katılmaya karar vermeden önce dikkatlice okuyunuz. Bu formu okuyup onaylamanız, araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz anlamına gelecektir. Çalışmaya katılmama veya katıldıktan sonra herhangi bir anda çalışmayı bırakma hakkına da sahiptir.

ÇALIŞMANIN AMACI

Bu araştırmanın amacı Türkiye'de Milli Eğitim Bakanlığına bağlı olan okullarda eğitimine devam eden öğrencilerin okul uyum sürecini araştırmaktır. Çalışmanın amacına ulaşması için sizden beklenen, bütün soruları eksiksiz, kimsenin baskısı veya telkini altında olmadan, size en uygun gelen cevapları içtenlikle verecek şekilde cevaplamanızdır.

ÇALIŞMAYA KATILACAK KİŞİ SAYISI

Araştırmaya sizin dışınızda tahminen 100 öğrenci, 50 veli ve 50 öğretmen katılacaktır. Bu çalışmaya katılmak tamamen **gönüllülük** esasına dayanmaktadır.

ÇALIŞMANIN YÖNTEMLERİ

Siz bu çalışmaya katıldığınızda, sizden aşağıda belirtildiği şekilde çalışmaya destek vermeniz istenecektir.

- Sınıfınız Müzik, Beden Eğitimi, ve Resim derslerinde sınıf aktiviteleri ve etkileşimleri gözlemlenecektir. Bu gözlemler sizin tarafınızdan belirlenen herhangi bir derste de gerçekleşebilir.
- Her ders için üç gözlem planlandı. Daha önce de bahsettiğim gibi, bu dersler Müzik, Resim ve Beden Eğitimi dersleridir. Toplam 9 gözlem planlanmıştır. Her gözlem yaklaşık olarak 45 dakika sürecektir. Bu gözlemler siz bu belgeyi imzaldıktan sonraki günlerde gerçekleşecektir. Bu gözlemlerin video ve ses kaydı sınıfın içerisine sadece ailesi ve kendisi katılmak isteyen öğrencilerin alacak şekilde yapılacaktır.
- Okuldaki ilk günüm, okuldaki en güzel zamanım, okuldaki bir günüm, en sevdiğim okul aktivitem konulu ders etkinliklerini ve kültürel nesne incelenmesi kültürel nesne getirerek Yerli Malı Haftası gibi etkinliklerin parçası olarak yapması beklenebilir. Bu aktivitelerin hiçbiri normal eğitim ve öğretim sürecini etkilemeyecektir. Aksine hepsi müfredatın bir parçası olarak öğrencilere sunulacaktır. Üretilen materyallerin fotoğrafları çekilecektir.
- Sizin belirlediğiniz sınıflarda yapılan gözlem, ses ve video kayıtları sadece veri amaçlı kullanılacaktır.
- Ders gözlemleri sadece veri amaçlı olmak üzere video ve ses olmak üzere iki türlü kayıt altına alınabilir. Toplanan veriler sadece araştırma kapsamında kullanılacaktır.
- Bu aktiviteler haricinde öğrencinizin okul deneyimi hakkında yaklaşık olarak 30 ya da 45 dakika sürecek üç görüşme yapılacaktır. Görüşmelerin ses kaydı veri olarak kullanılacaktır. Görüşmeler 10 Nisan'da başlayacaktır ve Haziran 15'de sonlandırılacaktır.

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- Öğrencilerinizin okul deneyimi ve sizin öğretim deneyiminiz hakkında sizinle 1 Nisan, (fakat bu görüşmeler belirlenen tarihten önce de velilerden ve diğer katılımcılardan gelecek rıza formlarına göre erken gerçekleştirilebilir), ve 15 Haziran tarihleri arasında görüşme yapılacaktır.
- Görüşmeler ses ya da video kaydına alınacaktır.
- Bu görüşmeler haricinde veri geçerliliği yapılacaktır. Bu süreç boyunca size ek sorular sormayacağım. Sadece verdiğiniz cevapları doğru algılayıp algılamadığımı anlamak için sizin görüşlerinize danışacağım.
- Yapılan bu görüşme yaklaşık olarak 30-60 dakika sürecektir. Veri geçerliliği de yaklaşık olarak 30-60 dakika sürecektir.
- Sizden yukarıda açıkladığım etkinlikler ve araştırma procedürlerine aktif ve/veya katılmanızı rica ediyorum.
- Velileri ve kendileri rıza gösteren yerel ve yabancı uyruklu öğrencileriniz 10 Nisan ve 15 Haziran tarihleri arasında öğretmenler odası ya da okul kütüphanesinde görüşme alanında siz ya da başka bir gözlemci varken 3 defa görüşmeye alınacaktır. Ancak, görüşmelerin içeriği gizli tutulacaktır. Görüşmeler öğrenci özeliğini gizli tutma kuralı nedeniyle size kapalı yapılacaktır.

ÇALIŞMA KAPSAMINDAKİ RİSKLER

Çalışma esnasında doğrudan ve dolaylı olarak risk ve faydalar edinebilirsiniz.

- Risk kapsamında kimlik bilgilerinizin öğrenilebilir.
- Sorulan sorulara duygusal tepkiler verilebilir.

Çalışma esnasında öngörülemeyen risklerde olabilir. Eğer beklenmeyen risk ve huzursuzluklar olduğunu hissederseniz ve soruları cevaplamak istemezseniz, görüşme sonlandırılacaktır. Bu gibi durumlarda araştırmacı okul içerisinde gerekli sosyal ve psikolojik destek sağlama konusunda yardımcı olacaktır.

ÇALIŞMAYA KATILMANIN FAYDALARI

Bu çalışmada size yönelik olası faydalar aşağıda belirtildiği gibidir.

- Yerli ve yabancı uyruklu öğrencilerin okul deneyimi ile ilgili bilgi edineceksiniz.
- Öğretmen-öğrenci- veli etkileşimi artacaktır.
- Öğrencileriniz ek okul etkinliklerine katılacaktır.

Aynı zamanda doğrudan ve dolaylı olarak faydalar bu çalışmadan beklenilebilir.

Araştırma raporu okul ve Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı ile basılı olarak paylaşılacaktır. Eğer çalışma hakkında ilerleyen zamanlarda daha ayrıntılı bilgi edinmek isterseniz, okula ve bakanlığa sunulan tez kopyasını isteyebilirsiniz.

MASRAFLAR

Bu çalışma süresince katılımcılara ödeme yapılmayacaktır.

GİZLİLİK

Bilgileriniz gizli tutmak için tüm uğraşlar verilecektir, ancak bu konuda kesin garanti veremiyoruz. Çocuğunuza ve size ait bilgiler kanunlar gereği biliniyor, alınmış veya verilebilir. Kimlik bilgileriniz

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raporların hepsinde gizli tutulacaktır ve veriler saklanacaktır. Bütün veriler eğitim amaçlı kullanılacak ve hepsi Etik kurul tarafından önerilen veri saklama süresi dolunca imha edilecektir.

Kurumlar İndiana Üniversitesi, Etik kurul, araştırmacının tez komitesi, araştırmacının veri güvenilirliğini yapacak kişiler toplanan verileri veri kalitesi ve veri analizi için denetleyebilir.

SORULAR VE SORUNLAR İÇİN İLETİŞİM BİLGİLERİ

Eğer araştırmacının amacı ile ilgili verilen bu bilgiler dışında şimdi veya sonra daha fazla bilgiye ihtiyaç duyarsanız araştırmacıya şimdi sorabilir veya ozerden@indiana.edu ya da ozlemerden@ymail.com e-posta adreslerinden ve +905369711703 ya da +18123695996 telefon numaralarından ulaşabilirsiniz. Araştırma tamamlandığında genel ve size özel sonuçların sizinle paylaşılmasını istiyorsanız lütfen araştırmacıya iletiniz.

Araştırmaya katılan birisi olarak haklarınız hakkında sorularınız varsa, ya da çalışma hakkında şikayet, problem ya da endişeleriniz varsa, İndiana Üniversitesi Human Subject Office'i ile iletişime 812-856-4242 [Bloomington-USA] or 800-696-2949 numaralarını kullanarak iletişime geçebilirsiniz.

ÇALIŞMANIN GÖNÜLLÜ YAPISI

Bu çalışma gönüllü bir çalışmadır. Siz ve çocuğunuz katılmamayı ya da katıldıktan sonra herhangi bir süre içinde seçebilir. Çalışmayı yarıda bırakmak tarafınıza ve çocuğunuza hiç bir sorumluluk yüklememektedir ve hiç bir yaptırım oluşturmamaktadır. Katılıp katılmama kararınız sizin ya da çocuğunuzun şimdiki ve gelecekteki hiçbir okul ilişkisini etkilemeyecektir.

KATILIMCININ RIZASI

“Yukarıda yer alan ve araştırmadan önce katılımcıya verilmesi gereken bilgileri okudum ve katılmam istenen çalışmanın kapsamını ve amacını, gönüllü olarak üzerime düşen sorumlulukları anladım. Çalışma hakkında yazılı ve sözlü açıklama yukarıda adı belirtilen araştırmacı tarafından yapıldı. Bana, çalışmanın muhtemel riskleri ve faydaları sözlü olarak da anlatıldı. Kişisel bilgilerimin özenle korunacağı konusunda yeterli güven verildi.”

Katılımcının İmzası

Tarih

Katılımcının İsmi ve soyismi

Rıza alan kişinin imzası

Tarih

Rıza alan kişinin ismi ve soyismi

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Appendix D: Consent Forms for Local Parents

INDIANA UNIVERSITY INFOMRED CONSENT FOR LOCAL PARENTS

SCHOOLING EXPERIENCE OF FOREIGN NATIOANAL STUDENTS

You are invited to participate in a research study of schooling experience of foreign national students, which is being conducted by Ozlem Erden, who is a PhD candidate at Indiana University, Bloomington. **The purpose of the study is to learn about the school experiences of students in this region and improve the teaching and curriculum that the schools provide.** You were selected as a possible subject because you are a local parent, your child/children has/have a friend from different culture/nationality in their classroom, and your child/children is studying at the class, where Ozlem is going to collect data for her dissertation study. Please read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

STUDY PURPOSE

The purpose of the study is to learn about the school experiences of students in this region and improve the teaching and curriculum that the schools provide.

NUMBER OF PEOPLE TAKING PART IN THE STUDY

If you agree to participate, you/ your child will be one of 200 people. This study includes 100 local and foreign national students, 50 parents and 50 teachers.

PROCEDURES FOR THE STUDY

If you agree to be in the study, you will do the following things:

- You will be interviewed about the schooling experiences of your children.
- Your interview will be audio-recorded. The audio record of the interview will only be used for the data analysis.
- The expected time for the interview is around 30-60 minutes.
- The interview may take place in the school or in your home depending on your personal choice.
- I may do a home visit with the classroom teacher of your child/children to conduct the interview with you.
- The interview will happen after the classroom teacher leave the interview place.

If you also agree that your child/children participate to this study, they will do the following things. This information is enclosed in this form to inform you about the procedures that researcher plans to collect data. However, your child/children's participation is also dependent on their consent. Please see the assent form in the envelope given to you.

- The classroom that your child/children are studying will be observed while they are in Art, Physical Education, and Music classes. During this observation, I will examine the interaction among the students and the students' interaction with your child/children

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- There will be 3 observations in each class. In total, there will be 9 observations in your children's classroom. As I mentioned, these courses are Art, Music and Physical Education classes. Every observation will be around 45 minutes as the duration of a typical class is 45 minutes. The observations will happen any time after you sign the consent form and your child signs the assent form (The observations will begin in April, but this may happen earlier than April depending on the response rate from the parents and the students that I invited to the study) and May 25, 2016.
- Your children will participate in extra classroom activities designed based the guidelines of the National Curriculum together with the other students such as asking students to draw picture of their first school day, the best moments in the school, a typical day in the school, and a favorite leisure time activity. These activities are not going to interrupt the normal learning and teaching cycle but will be part of the instruction.
- As part of these activities, your children may be asked to bring some cultural object to the class. These objects will be used to observe the interaction among the students. Before, they bring the objects to the classroom, his/her classroom teacher will identify the objects. The photos of these objects will only be taken as part of the activity. Your child/children's picture will not be taken. These activities will happen when the normal instruction of the school is going on. That is to say, the observations will be 45 minutes.
- Your child/children's interactions will be audio and video recorded during the observation and when the classroom activities are going on as part of the regular instruction and learning. However the recorded data will only be used for research purposes. Any recorded data such as videos, photos, and audios will not be shared with anyone.
- The photos of their products such as pictures and art projects will also be taken. I will interview your child/children about their relationship with the Foreign National children and their life in school after becoming classmate with the Foreign National children.
- The interview will take about 30-45 minutes. I will have three interviews with your child/children. Interviews are planned to begin on April 10 and end on June 15, 2016.
- Consent and assent process will be between March 4 (The consent forms for local and refugee parents, and teachers including the assent forms for refugee and local children will be delivered after the approval of IRB) and April 2, 2016.
- Each interview will take place outside the classroom to give a private space to your child/children. There will be a school teacher present in the place when the interview will happen, but the third person present in the room will not participate to the conversation. She/he will also not be allowed to hear the conversation as the adequate distance will be adjusted in the room.

RISKS OF TAKING PART IN THE STUDY

While on the study, the discomforts or risks for you or your child are:

- There may be loss of confidentiality.
- You may feel emotional or sentimental about some of the questions.

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There also may be other risks that we cannot predict. If any unexpected risks or discomforts occur and if you feel overwhelmed with the questions, I will terminate the interview process and I will assist you and your child/children to the counselling service of the school.

BENEFITS OF TAKING PART IN THE STUDY

There are no direct benefits in participating in this research. However, we hope that this research provides a better understanding of the needs of the foreign national and local students in the education system.

Reports will be given the school and the Ministry of Education in a print format after the completion of the study. If you wish to learn about the results of the study, you may use the dissertation copy given to the school and the Ministry of National Education.

PAYMENT

You (will/will not) receive payment for taking part in this study.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Efforts will be made to keep personal information confidential. We cannot guarantee absolute confidentiality. Your/ your child's personal information may be disclosed if required by law. Your identity will be held in confidence in reports in which the study may be published **“and databases in which results may be stored.”** **If audio or video recordings will be made, they will be used for education purposes. The data will be destroyed when the data storage duration suggested by the Institutional Review Board is completed.**

Organizations that may inspect and/or copy your research records for quality assurance and data analysis include groups such as the study investigator and his/her research associates, the Indiana University Institutional Review Board or its designees.

CONTACTS FOR QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS

For questions about the study, contact the researcher, Ozlem Erden, at +1 812 369 5996 or +90 536 971 1703 or using the email ozerden@imail.iu.edu and ozlemerden@vmail.com. If you cannot reach the researcher during regular business hours (9 a.m. to 5 p.m.), please call the school principal or the classroom teacher.

In the event of an emergency, you may contact Ozlem Erden at +90 536 971 1703.

For questions about your rights as a research participant, to discuss problems, complaints, or concerns about a research study, or to obtain information or offer input, contact the IU Human Subjects Office at 317-278-3458 [for Indianapolis] or 812-856-4242 [for Bloomington] or 800-696-2949.

VOLUNTARY NATURE OF THIS STUDY

Taking part in this study is voluntary. You/ your child may choose not to take part or may leave the study at any time. Leaving the study will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits to which you/ your

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child are entitled. Your decision whether or not to participate in this study will not affect your/ your child's current or future relations with the school and school staff.

SUBJECT'S CONSENT

In consideration of all of the above, I give my consent to participate in this research study.

I will be given a copy of this informed consent document to keep for my records. I agree to take part in this study.

Subject's Printed Name: _____

Subject's Signature: _____ **Date:** _____
(must be dated by the subject)

Printed Name of Person Obtaining Consent:

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent: _____ **Date:** _____

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İNDİANA ÜNİVERSİTESİ BİLGİLENDİRİLMİŞ KATILIMCI ONAY FORMU

Yerel Veliler İçin

Sizi İndiana Üniversitesi'nde doktora öğrenimi görmekte olan Özlem Erden tarafından yürütülen "Yabancı uyruklu öğrencilerin okul uyumu" konulu araştırmaya davet ediyoruz. Bu araştırmanın amacı Türkiye'de Milli Eğitim Bakanlığına bağlı olan okullarda eğitimine devam eden öğrencilerin okul uyum sürecini araştırmaktır. Bu çalışmaya olası katılımcı olarak seçildiniz çünkü siz yerel bir velisiniz ve çocuğunuzun başka ülkelerden sınıf arkadaşı vardır. Lütfen formu çalışmaya katılmaya karar vermeden önce dikkatlice okuyunuz. Bu formu okuyup onaylamanız, araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz anlamına gelecektir. Ancak, çalışmaya katılmama veya katıldıktan sonra herhangi bir anda çalışmayı bırakma hakkına da sahipsiniz.

ÇALIŞMANIN AMACI

Bu araştırmanın amacı Türkiye'de Milli Eğitim Bakanlığına bağlı olan okullarda eğitimine devam eden öğrencilerin okul uyum sürecini araştırmaktır. Çalışmanın amacına ulaşması için sizden beklenen, bütün soruları eksiksiz, kimsenin baskısı veya telkini altında olmadan, size en uygun gelen cevapları içtenlikle verecek şekilde cevaplamanızdır.

ÇALIŞMAYA KATILACAK KİŞİ SAYISI

Araştırmaya sizin dışınızda tahminen 100 öğrenci, 50 veli ve 50 öğretmen katılacaktır. Bu çalışmaya katılmak tamamen gönüllülük esasına dayanmaktadır.

ÇALIŞMANIN YÖNTEMLERİ

Siz bu çalışmaya katıldığımızda, sizden aşağıda belirtildiği şekilde çalışmaya destek vermeniz istenecektir.

- Çocuğunuzun okul deneyimi hakkında sizinle görüşme talebinde bulunulacaktır.
- Görüşmeler esnasında ses kayıdı alınacaktır. Bu kayıtlar sadece veri analizi için kullanılacaktır.
- Yapılan bu görüşme yaklaşık olarak 30-60 dakika sürecektir.
- Görüşmeler tercihinize göre okulda ya da evinizde gerçekleştirilebilir. Evde gerçekleştirilecek görüşmeler için sınıf öğretmeni ile ev ziyaretinde bulunulabilir.
- Görüşmemiz sınıf öğretmenin görüşme ortamından ayrılması ile başlayacaktır.

Eğer kabul ederseniz çocuğunuz da bu çalışmaya katılacak ve aşağıdaki sürece dahil olacaktır. Bu bilgiler bu forma araştırmacının nasıl veri toplama yöntemleri olduğunu açıklamak adına bilgi amaçlı eklenmiştir. Ancak, çocuğunuzun katılımı sizin rızanıza bağlıdır. Lütfen ekte verilen çocuk rıza formu ayrıntılı bilgi edinmek için inceleyiniz.

- Çocuğunuzun Müzik, Beden Eğitimi, ve Resim derslerinde sınıf aktiviteleri ve etkileşimleri gözlemlenecektir. Bu gözlemler öğretmen tarafından belirlenen herhangi bir derste de gerçekleştirilebilir.
- Her ders için üç gözlem planlandı. Daha önce de bahsettiğim gibi, bu dersler Müzik, Resim ve Beden Eğitimi dersleridir. Toplam 9 gözlem planlanmıştır. Her gözlem yaklaşık olarak 45 dakika sürecektir. Bu gözlemler siz bu belgeyi imzaldıktan sonraki günlerde gerçekleştirilecektir (Gözlemler çalışmaya davet edilen velilerden ve öğrencilerden gelen cevapların hızına bağlı olarak tahminen Nisan ayında yada Nisan ayından önce başlayacaktır.) ve Mayıs 25 , 2016 gününde sonlandırılacaktır.

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- Çocuğunuzdan okuldaki ilk günü, okuldaki en güzel zamani, okuldaki bir günü, ve en sevdiğim okul aktivitem konulu ders etkinliklerini yapması beklenebilir. Bu aktivitelerin hiçbiri normal eğitim ve öğretim sürecini etkilemeyecektir. Aksine hepsi müfredatın bir parçası olarak öğrencilere sunulacaktır.
- Etkinlikler için çocuğunuzda kültürel ya da sevdiği herhangi bir eşya getirmesi beklenebilir. Bu eşyalar çocuğunuzun diğer öğrencilerle etkileşimini gözlemek için kullanılacaktır. Bu etkinlikler olağan eğitim öğretim süresi içerisinde gerçekleşecektir. Yani, her etkinliğin süresi 45 dakika ile sınırlıdır.
- Ders gözlemleri sadece veri amaçlı olmak üzere video ve ses olmak üzere iki türlü kayıt altına alınabilir. Toplanan veriler sadece araştırma kapsamında kullanılacaktır. Çocuğunuz tarafından üretilen ürünlerin fotoğrafları çekilecektir. Çocuğunuza ait hiçbir bilgi ve görüntü araştırma kapsamı dışında kullanılmayacaktır.
- Bu aktiviteler haricinde çocuğunuzun okul deneyimi hakkında yaklaşık olarak 30 ya da 45 dakika sürecek üç görüşme yapılacaktır. Görüşmelerin ses kaydı veri olarak kullanılacaktır. Görüşmeler 10 Nisan'da başlayacaktır ve Haziran 15'de sonlandırılacaktır.
- Çocuk ve veli rıza formları 4 Mart (Rıza formları yerel ve sığınmacı ailelere Etik kurulu izninden hemen sonra ulaştırılacaktır) ile 2 Nisan tarihleri arasında imza için davetli katılımcı adaylarına dağıtılacaktır.
- Görüşmeler araştırmacı ve çocuğunuz arasında gerçekleşecektir ve çocuğunuzun özelini korumak için öğretmenler odasında ya da okul kütüphanesinde olacaktır. Ancak görüşmeler sınıf öğretmeni ya da herhangi bir okul sorumlusunun olduğu bir yerde onların duymayacağı bir şekilde gerçekleşecektir.

ÇALIŞMA KAPSAMINDAKİ RİSKLER

Çalışma esnasında doğrudan ve dolaylı olarak risk ve faydalar edinebilirsiniz.

- Risk kapsamında kimlik bilgilerinizin öğrenilebilir.
- Sorulan sorulara duygusal tepkiler verabilirsiniz.

Çalışma esnasında öngörülemeyen risklerde olabilir. Eğer beklenmeyen risk ve huzursuzluklar olduğunu hissederseniz ve soruları cevaplamak istemezseniz, görüşme sonlandırılacaktır. Bu gibi durumlarda araştırmacı okul içerisinde gerekli sosyal ve psikolojik destek sağlama konusunda yardımcı olacaktır.

ÇALIŞMAYA KATILMANIN FAYDALARI

Bu çalışmada size yönelik doğrudan bir fayda yoktur. Ancak, umuyoruz ki çalışma yabancı ve yerel öğrencilerin eğitim ihtiyaçlarını anlama konusunda daha iyi bir anlayış sağlayacaktır.

Araştırma raporu okul ve Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı ile basılı olarak paylaşılacaktır. Eğer çalışma hakkında ilerleyen zamanlarda daha ayrıntılı bilgi edinmek isterseniz, okula ve bakanlığa sunulan tez kopyasını isteyebilirsiniz.

MASRAF

Bu çalışma süresince katılımcılara ödeme yapılmayacaktır.

GİZLİLİK

Bilgileriniz gizli tutmak için tüm uğraşlar verilecektir, ancak bu konuda kesin garanti veremiyoruz. Çocuğunuza ve size ait bilgiler kanunlar gereği biliniyor, alınmış veya verilebilir. Kimlik bilgileriniz

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raporların hepsinde gizli tutulacaktır ve veriler saklanacaktır. Bütün veriler eğitim amaçlı kullanılacak ve hepsi Etik kurul tarafından önerilen veri saklama süresi dolunca imha edilecektir.

Kurumlar İndiana Üniversitesi, Etik kurul, araştırmacının tez komitesi, araştırmacının veri güvenilirliğini yapacak kişiler toplanan verileri veri kalitesi ve veri analizi için denetleyebilir.

SORULAR VE SORUNLAR İÇİN İLETİŞİM BİLGİLERİ

Eğer araştırmanın amacı ile ilgili verilen bu bilgiler dışında şimdi veya sonra daha fazla bilgiye ihtiyaç duyarsanız araştırmacıya şimdi sorabilir veya ozerden@indiana.edu ya da ozlemerden@ymail.com e-posta adreslerinden ve +905369711703 ya da +18123695996 telefon numaralarından ulaşabilirsiniz. Araştırma tamamlandığında genel ve size özel sonuçların sizinle paylaşılmasını istiyorsanız lütfen araştırmacıya iletiniz.

Araştırmaya katılan birisi olarak haklarınız hakkında sorularınız varsa, ya da çalışma hakkında şikayet, problem ya da endişeleriniz varsa, İndiana Üniversitesi Human Subject Office'i ile iletişime 812-856-4242 [Bloomington-USA] or 800-696-2949 numaralarını kullanarak iletişime geçebilirsiniz.

ÇALIŞMANIN GÖNÜLLÜ YAPISI

Bu çalışma gönüllü bir çalışmadır. Siz ve çocuğunuz katılmamayı ya da katıldıktan sonra herhangi bir süre içinde secebilir. Çalışmayı yarıda bırakmak tarafınıza ve çocuğunuza hiç bir sorumluluk yüklememektedir ve hiç bir yaptırım oluşturmamaktadır. Katılıp katılmama kararınız sizin ya da çocuğunuzun şimdiki ve gelecekteki hiçbir okul ilişkisini etkilemeyecektir.

KATILIMCININ RIZASI

“Yukarıda yer alan ve araştırmadan önce katılımcıya verilmesi gereken bilgileri okudum ve katılmam istenen çalışmanın kapsamını ve amacını, gönüllü olarak üzerime düşen sorumlulukları anladım. Çalışma hakkında yazılı ve sözlü açıklama yukarıda adı belirtilen araştırmacı tarafından yapıldı. Bana, çalışmanın muhtemel riskleri ve faydaları sözlü olarak da anlatıldı. Kişisel bilgilerimin özenle korunacağı konusunda yeterli güven verildi.”

Katılımcının İmzası

Tarih

Katılımcının İsmi ve soyismi

Rıza alan kişinin imzası

Tarih

Rıza alan kişinin ismi ve soyismi

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Appendix E: Consent form Refugee Parents

INDIANA UNIVERSITY INFOMRED CONSENT FOR FOREIGN NATIONAL PARENTS

SCHOOLING EXPERIENCE OF FOREIGN NATIONAL STUDENTS

You are invited to participate in a research study of schooling experience of foreign national students, which is being conducted by Ozlem Erden, who is a Ph.D. candidate at Indiana University, Bloomington. **The purpose of the study is to learn about the school experiences of students in this region and improve the teaching and curriculum that the schools provide.** You were selected as a possible subject because you are a foreign national parent and your child/children is studying at the school, where Ozlem is going to collect data for her dissertation study. Please read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

STUDY PURPOSE

The purpose of the study is to learn about the school experiences of students in this region and improve the teaching and curriculum that the schools provide.

NUMBER OF PEOPLE TAKING PART IN THE STUDY

If you agree to participate, you will be one of 200 people. This study includes 100 local and foreign national students, 50 parents and 50 teachers.

PROCEDURES FOR THE STUDY

If you agree to be in the study, you will do the following things:

- You will be interviewed about the schooling experiences of your children.
- Your interview will be audio-recorded. The audio record of the interview will only be used for the data analysis.
- The expected time for the interview is around 30-60 minutes.
- The interview may take place in the school or in your home depending on your personal choice.
- I may do a home visit with the classroom teacher of your child/children to conduct the interview with you.
- The interview will happen after the classroom teacher leave the interview place.

If you also agree that your child/children participates to this study, they will do the following things. This information is enclosed in this form to inform you about the procedures that researcher plans to collect data. However, your child/children's participation is also dependent on their consent. Please see the assent form in the envelope given to you.

- The classroom that your child/children are studying will be observed while they are in Art, Physical Education, and Music classes. During this observation, I will examine the interaction among the students and the students' interaction with your child/children

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- There will be 3 observations in each class. In total, there will be 9 observations in your children's classroom. As I mentioned, these courses are Art, Music and Physical Education classes. Every observation will be around 45 minutes as the duration of a typical class is 45 minutes. The observations will happen any time after you sign the consent form and your child signs the assent form (The observations will begin in April, but this may happen earlier than April depending on the response rate from the parents and the students that I invited to the study) and May 25, 2016.
- Your children will participate in extra classroom activities designed based the guidelines of the National Curriculum together with the other students such as asking students to draw picture of their first school day, the best moments in the school, a typical day in the school, and a favorite leisure time activity. These activities are not going to interrupt the normal learning and teaching cycle but will be part of the instruction.
- As part of these activities, your children may be asked to bring some cultural object to the class. These objects will be used to observe the interaction among the students. Before, they bring the objects to the classroom, his/her classroom teacher will identify the objects. The photos of these objects will only be taken as part of the activity. Your child/children's picture will not be taken. These activities will happen when the normal instruction of the school is going on. That is to say, the observations will be 45 minutes.
- Your child/children's interactions with the local students will be audio and video recorded during the observation and when the classroom activities are going on as part of the regular instruction and learning. However, the recorded data will only be used for research purposes. Their photos will not be used publicly.
- The photos of their products such as pictures and art projects will also be taken.
- The interview will take about 30-45 minutes. I will have three interviews with your child/children. Interviews are planned to begin on April 10 to June 15, 2016.
- Consent and assent process will be between March 4 (The consent forms for local and refugee parents, and teachers including the assent forms for refugee and local children will be delivered after the approval of IRB) and April 2, 2016.
- Each interview will take place outside the classroom to give a private space to your child/children. There will be a school teacher present in the place when the interview will happen, but the third person present in the room will not participate to the conversation. She/he will also not be allowed to hear the conversation as the adequate distance will be adjusted in the room.

RISKS OF TAKING PART IN THE STUDY

While on the study, the discomforts or risks for you or your child are:

- There may be a loss of confidentiality.
- You may feel emotional or sentimental about some of the questions.

There also may be other risks that we cannot predict. If any unexpected risks or discomforts occur and if you feel overwhelmed with the questions, I will terminate the interview process and I will assist you and your child/children to the counselling service of the school.

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BENEFITS OF TAKING PART IN THE STUDY

There are no direct benefits to participating in this research. However, we hope that this research provides a better understanding of the needs of the foreign national students in the education system.

Reports will be given the school and the Ministry of Education in a print format after the completion of the study. If you wish to learn about the results of the study, you may use the dissertation copy was given to the school and the Ministry of National Education.

PAYMENT

You (will/will not) receive payment for taking part in this study.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Efforts will be made to keep personal information confidential. We cannot guarantee absolute confidentiality. Your/ your child's personal information may be disclosed if required by law. Your identity will be held in confidence in reports in which the study may be published **“and databases in which results may be stored.” If audio or video recordings will be made, they will be used for education purposes. The data will be destroyed when the data storage duration suggested by the Institutional Review Board is completed.**

Organizations that may inspect and/or copy your research records for quality assurance and data analysis include groups such as the study investigator and his/her research associates, the Indiana University Institutional Review Board or its designees.

CONTACTS FOR QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS

For questions about the study, contact the researcher, Ozlem Erden, at +1 812 369 5996 or +90 536 971 1703 or using the email ozerden@imail.iu.edu and ozlemerden@ymail.com. If you cannot reach the researcher during regular business hours (9 a.m. to 5 p.m.) please call the school principal or the classroom teacher.

In the event of an emergency, you may contact Ozlem Erden at +90 536 971 1703.

For questions about your rights as a research participant, to discuss problems, complaints, or concerns about a research study, or to obtain information or offer input, contact the IU Human Subjects Office at 317-278-3458 [for Indianapolis] or 812-856-4242 [for Bloomington] or 800-696-2949.

VOLUNTARY NATURE OF THIS STUDY

Taking part in this study is voluntary. You/ your child may choose not to take part or may leave the study at any time. Leaving the study will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits to which you/ your child are entitled. Your decision whether or not to participate in this study will not affect your and your child/children's current or future relations with the school and school staff.

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İNDİANA ÜNİVERSİTESİ BİLGİLENDİRİLMİŞ KATILIMCI ONAY FORMU
Yabancı Veliler İçin

Sizi İndiana Üniversitesi'nde doktora öğrenimi görmekte olan Özlem Erden tarafından yürütülen "Yabancı uyruklu öğrencilerin okul uyumu" konulu araştırmaya davet ediyoruz. Bu araştırmanın amacı Türkiye'de Milli Eğitim Bakanlığına bağlı olan okullarda eğitimine devam eden öğrencilerin okul uyum sürecini araştırmaktır. Bu çalışmaya olası katılımcı olarak seçildiniz çünkü siz yabancı uyruklu bir velisiniz ve çocuğunuz Türk okullarında okumaktadır. Lütfen formu çalışmaya katılmaya karar vermeden önce dikkatlice okuyunuz. Bu formu okuyup onaylamanız, araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz anlamına gelecektir. Ancak, çalışmaya katılmama veya katıldıktan sonra herhangi bir anda çalışmayı bırakma hakkına da sahipsiniz.

ÇALIŞMANIN AMACI

Bu araştırmanın amacı Türkiye'de Milli Eğitim Bakanlığına bağlı olan okullarda eğitimine devam eden öğrencilerin okul uyum sürecini araştırmaktır. Çalışmanın amacına ulaşması için sizden beklenen, bütün soruları eksiksiz, kimsenin baskısı veya telkini altında olmadan, size en uygun gelen cevapları içtenlikle verecek şekilde cevaplamanızdır.

ÇALIŞMAYA KATILACAK KİŞİ SAYISI

Araştırmaya sizin dışınızda tahminen 100 öğrenci, 50 veli ve 50 öğretmen katılacaktır. Bu çalışmaya katılmak tamamen gönüllülük esasına dayanmaktadır.

ÇALIŞMANIN YÖNTEMLERİ

Siz bu çalışmaya katıldığınızda, sizden aşağıda belirtildiği şekilde çalışmaya destek vermeniz istenecektir.

- Çocuğunuzun okul deneyimi hakkında sizinle görüşme talebinde bulunulacaktır.
- Görüşmeler esnasında ses kaydı alınacaktır. Bu kayıtlar sadece veri analizi için kullanılacaktır.
- Yapılan bu görüşme yaklaşık olarak 30-60 dakika sürecektir.
- Görüşmeler tercihinize göre okulda ya da evinizde gerçekleştirilebilir. Evde gerçekleştirilecek görüşmeler için sınıf öğretmeni ile ev ziyaretinde bulunulabilir.
- Görüşmemiz sınıf öğretmenin görüşme ortamından ayrılması ile başlayacaktır.

Eğer kabul ederseniz çocuğunuz da bu çalışmaya katılacak ve aşağıdaki sürece dahil olacaktır. Bu bilgiler bu forma araştırmacının nasıl veri toplama yöntemleri olduğunu açıklamak adına bilgi amaçlı eklenmiştir. Ancak, çocuğunuzun katılımı sizin rızanıza bağlıdır. Lütfen ekte verilen çocuk rıza formu ayrıntılı bilgi edinmek için inceleyiniz.

- Çocuğunuzun Müzik, Beden Eğitimi, ve Resim derslerinde sınıf aktiviteleri ve etkileşimleri gözlemlenecektir. Bu gözlemler öğretmen tarafından belirlenen herhangi bir derste de gerçekleştirilebilir.
- Her ders için üç gözlem planlandı. Daha önce de bahsettiğim gibi, bu dersler Müzik, Resim ve Beden Eğitimi dersleridir. Toplam 9 gözlem planlanmıştır. Her gözlem yaklaşık olarak 45 dakika sürecektir. Bu gözlemler siz bu belgeyi imzaldıktan sonraki günlerde gerçekleştirilecektir (Gözlemler çalışmaya davet edilen velilerden ve öğrencilerden gelen cevapların hızına bağlı olarak tahminen Nisan ayında yada Nisan ayından önce başlayacaktır.) ve Mayıs 25 , 2016 gününde sonlandırılacaktır.

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- Çocuđunuzdan okuldaki ilk gn, okuldaki en gzel zamani, okuldaki bir gn, ve en sevdiđim okul aktivitem konulu ders etkinliklerini yapmas beklenebilir.Bu aktivitelerin hićbiri normal eđitim ve đretim srecini etkilemeyecektir. Aksine hepsi mfredatın bir parćası olarak đrencilere sunulacaktır.
- Etkinlikler ićin ocuđunuzda klterel ya da sevdiđi herhangi bir eŐya getirmesi beklenebilir.Bu eŐyalar ocuđunuzun diđer đrencilerle etkileŐimini gzlemek ićin kullanılacaktır. Bu etkinlikler olađan eđitim đretim sresi ićerisinde gerćekleŐecektir. Yani, her etkinliđin sresi 45 dakika ile snırlıdır.
- Ders gzlemleri sadece veri amaćlı olmak zere video ve ses olmak zere iki trl kayıt altına alınabilir. Toplanan veriler sadece araŐtırma kapsamında kullanılacaktır. ocuđunuz tarafından retilen rnlerin fotođrafları ćekilecektir. ocuđunuza ait hićbir bilgi ve grnt araŐtırma kapsamı dıŐında kullanılmayacaktır.
- Bu aktiviteler haricinde ocuđunuzun okul deneyimi hakkında yaklaŐık olarak 30 ya da 45 dakika srecek ć grŐme yapılacaktır. GrŐmelerin ses kayıdı veri olarak kullanılacaktır. GrŐmeler 10 Nisan'da baŐlayacaktır ve Haziran 15'de sonlandırılacaktır.
- ocuk ve veli rza formları 4 Mart (Rıza formları yerel ve sđnmacı ailelere Etik kurulu izninden hemen sonra ulaŐtırılacaktır) ile 2 Nisan tarihleri arasında imza ićin davetli katılımcı adaylarına dađıtılacaktır.
- GrŐmeler araŐtırmacı ve ocuđunuz arasında gerćekleŐecektir ve ocuđunuzun zelini korumak ićin đretmenler odasında ya da okul ktphanesinde olacaktır. Ancak grŐmeler snıf đretmeni ya da herhangi bir okul sorumlusunun olduđu bir yerde onların duymayacađı bir Őekilde gerćekleŐecektir.

ALIŐMA KAPSAMINDAKİ RİSKLER

alıŐma esnasında dođrudan ve dolaylı olarak risk ve faydalar edinebilirsiniz.

- Risk kapsamında kimlik bilgilerinizin đrenilebilir.
- Sorulan sorulara duygusal tepkiler verabilirsiniz.

alıŐma esnasında ngrlemeyen risklerde olabilir. Eđer beklenmeyen risk ve huzursuzluklar olduđunu hissederseniz ve soruları cevaplamak istemezseniz, grŐme sonlandırılacaktır. Bu gibi durumlarda araŐtırmacı okul ićerisinde gerekli sosyal ve psikolojik destek sađlama konusunda yardımcı olacaktır.

ALIŐMAYA KATILMANIN FAYDALARI

Bu alıŐmada size ynelik dođrudan bir fayda yoktur. Ancak, umuyoruz ki alıŐma yabancı ve yerel đrencilerin eđitim ihtiyaćlarını anlama konusunda daha iyi bir anlayıŐ sađlayacaktır.

AraŐtırma raporu okul ve Milli Eđitim Bakanlıđı ile basılı olarak paylaŐılacaktır. Eđer alıŐma hakkında ilerleyen zamanlarda daha ayrıntılı bilgi edinmek isterseniz, okula ve bakanlıđa sunulan tez kopyasını isteyebilirsiniz.

MASRAF

Bu alıŐma sresince katılımcılara deme yapılmayacaktır.

GİZLİLİK

Bilgileriniz gizli tutmak ićin tm uđraŐlar verilecektir, ancak bu konuda kesin garanti veremiyoruz. ocuđunuza ve size ait bilgiler kanunlar geređi biliniyor, alınmıŐ veya verilebilir. Kimlik bilgileriniz

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raporların hepsinde gizli tutulacaktır ve veriler saklanacaktır. Bütün veriler eğitim amaçlı kullanılacak ve hepsi Etik kurul tarafından önerilen veri saklama süresi dolunca imha edilecektir.

Kurumlar İndiana Üniversitesi, Etik kurul, araştırmacının tez komitesi, araştırmacının veri güvenilirliğini yapacak kişiler toplanan verileri veri kalitesi ve veri analizi için denetleyebilir.

SORULAR VE SORUNLAR İÇİN İLETİŞİM BİLGİLERİ

Eğer araştırmanın amacı ile ilgili verilen bu bilgiler dışında şimdi veya sonra daha fazla bilgiye ihtiyaç duyarsanız araştırmacıya şimdi sorabilir veya ozerden@indiana.edu ya da ozlemerden@ymail.com e-posta adreslerinden ve +905369711703 ya da +18123695996 telefon numaralarından ulaşabilirsiniz. Araştırma tamamlandığında genel ve size özel sonuçların sizinle paylaşılmasını istiyorsanız lütfen araştırmacıya iletiniz.

Araştırmaya katılan birisi olarak haklarınız hakkında sorularınız varsa, ya da çalışma hakkında şikayet, problem ya da endişeleriniz varsa, İndiana Üniversitesi Human Subject Office'i ile iletişime 812-856-4242 [Bloomington-USA] or 800-696-2949 numaralarını kullanarak iletişime geçebilirsiniz.

ÇALIŞMANIN GÖNÜLLÜ YAPISI

Bu çalışma gönüllü bir çalışmadır. Siz ve çocuğunuz katılmamayı ya da katıldıktan sonra herhangi bir süre içinde secebilir. Çalışmayı yarıda bırakmak tarafınıza ve çocuğunuza hiç bir sorumluluk yüklememektedir ve hiç bir yaptırım oluşturmamaktadır. Katılıp katılmama kararınız sizin ya da çocuğunuzun şimdiki ve gelecekteki hiçbir okul ilişkisini etkilemeyecektir.

KATILIMCININ RIZASI

“Yukarıda yer alan ve araştırmadan önce katılımcıya verilmesi gereken bilgileri okudum ve katılmam istenen çalışmanın kapsamını ve amacını, gönüllü olarak üzerime düşen sorumlulukları anladım. Çalışma hakkında yazılı ve sözlü açıklama yukarıda adı belirtilen araştırmacı tarafından yapıldı. Bana, çalışmanın muhtemel riskleri ve faydaları sözlü olarak da anlatıldı. Kişisel bilgilerimin özenle korunacağı konusunda yeterli güven verildi.”

Katılımcının İmzası

Tarih

Katılımcının İsmi ve soyismi

Rıza alan kişinin imzası

Tarih

Rıza alan kişinin ismi ve soyismi

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SUBJECT'S CONSENT

In consideration of all of the above, I give my consent to participate in this research study.

I will be given a copy of this informed consent document to keep for my records. I agree to take part in this study.

Subject's Printed Name: _____

Subject's Signature: _____ **Date:** _____
(must be dated by the subject)

Printed Name of Person Obtaining Consent:

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent: _____ **Date:** _____

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Appendix F: Assent Forms for Students

Indiana University Assent to Participate in Research

(Schooling Experiences of Students in Public Schools)

I am doing a research study. A research study is a special way to learn about something. I am doing this research study because I am trying to find out more about **your experiences with your new classmates in the school. The purpose of the study is to learn about your experiences in the school and with your classmates.** I would like to ask you to be in this research study.

Why am I being asked to be in this research study?

You are being asked to be in this research study because **your experience can help your teachers and you have better educational environment**

What will happen during this research study?

I want to tell you about some things that might happen if you are in the study. This study will take place at **in your school, in the classroom, and the school library.** Each interaction will last for **about 30 minutes. I will give you more information below.**

If you want to be in this study, here are the things that we will ask you to participate and do..

- **I will come to your Art, Music and Physical Education classes and make observations. This process will happen three times for each class. I want you to do the usual things in the classroom while I am there to observe.**
- **The observations will start in April and continue till May 25.**
- **As you know each class is 45 minutes. I will be in the class for 45 minutes. During the time when I am in the class, I will have small conversation with you about the activities. I want you to have regular conversation with your classmates about how you do your activities.**
- **I will now talk about these activities in detail.**
- **Your classroom teacher will ask you draw pictures about your school experiences such as your best day in the school and your favorite play time with your classmate.**

- You may bring a cultural object or your favorite belonging to the class and we take photos of it while we are talking about why you like it. Before you bring the objects to the class, I want you to get a confirmation from your classroom teacher.
- Your conversations and interaction with your classmates will be video and audio recorded during the observations and the activities mentioned above. Please let me know, if you feel uncomfortable with the camera and the recorder.
- In addition to these classroom activities we are going to have individual conversation about your experience in the school three times outside the class.
- Each conversation will last about 30 minutes.
- These conversations will be between April 10 and June 15. This conversation will take place in the teacher's room or in the school library. There may be a school teacher or the school counsellor in the room but our conversation will be private. No one will participate in our conversation.
- I will only audio-record our conversation during the interview. No pictures of you will be taken. I will only take pictures if you draw something during the interview.

Are there any bad things that might happen during the research study?

Sometimes bad things happen to people who are in research studies. These bad things are called "risks." The risks of being in this study might be **that your classmates may ask you why you are chosen for this study. Feel free to tell them that you participated because you wanted to. You may also feel emotional or sentimental. If you do not want to talk, please let me know. Then we can stop talking about it.**

Not all of these things may happen to you. None of them may happen. Things may happen that I don't know about yet. If they do, we will make sure that you get help to deal with anything bad that might happen. You will receive this help from the school counsellor. I also ask you to share what we are doing with you with your parents after each meeting.

Are there any good things that might happen during the research study?

Sometimes good things happen to people who are in research studies. These good things are called "benefits." The benefits of being in this study might be **that you can feel comfort about sharing your experience with an adult. You and your friends can have a better relationship. You learn about what you like and dislike doing. You will also have some time to do extracurricular activities together with your friends. Knowing about your experience may also help children like you have a better learning environment.**

We don't know for sure if you will have any benefits. We hope to learn something that will help other people someday.

Who can I ask if I have any questions?

If you have any questions about this study, you can ask your parents or guardians, teachers and me. Also, if you have any questions that you didn't think of now, you can ask later. **Here are my phone numbers +18123695996 and +905369711703. Here is also my email addresses ozerden@imail.iu.edu and ozlemerden@ymail.com.** If you like to ask your question, get help from your parents or teachers to communicate with me. You can also talk to me when you see me in the school.

What if I don't want to be in the study?

If you don't want to be in this study, you don't have to. It's up to you. If you say you want to be in it and then change your mind, that's OK. All you have to do is tell us that you don't want to be in it anymore. No one will be mad at you or upset with you if you don't want to be in it.

My choice:

If I write my name on the line below, it means that I agree to be in this research study.

Subject's signature

Date

Subject's printed name

Signature of person obtaining assent

Date

Name of person obtaining assent

Indiana Üniversitesi Katılım Rıza Formu

(Devlet Okullarındaki Öğrencilerin Okul Deneyimi)

Ben bir araştırma yapmaktayım. Araştırmalar birşeyler öğrenmek için kullanılan özel yollardır. Bu araştırma çalışmasını yapma sebebim **senin yeni arkadaşlarınla olan deneyimini** anlamaktır. Sana bu çalışmaya katılmak ister misin diye sormak istiyorum.

Neden bu çalışmaya katılmam istendi?

Bu çalışmaya katılman istendi çünkü senin deneyimin öğretmenlerinin ve senin daha iyi bir eğitim ortamına sahip olmanı sağlayabilir.

Çalışma süresince neler yapılacak?

Bu çalışma esnasında neler yapılacağı ile ilgili bir kac şeyi seninle paylaşmak istiyorum. Bu çalışma senin okulunda, sınıfında, ve okul kütüphanesinde gerçekleşecektir. Yaklaşık olarak 30 dakika sürmesini bekliyorum.

Eğer bu çalışmanın bir parçası olmak istersen, aşağıda belirttiğim şeyleri seninle yapıyor olacağız.

- **Senin Müzik, Beden Eğitimi ve Resim derslerine katılacağım. Bu derslerin her birine üç kez katılacağım.**
- **Gözlemler Mayıs ayının 25' ine kadar sürecek.**
- **Bildiğin gibi her ders 45 dakika o yüzden benim sınıfta bulunma süremde 45 dakika olacaktır. Derste olduğum süre boyunca, seninle ders etkinlikleri hakkında küçük seninle ve arkadaşlarınla sohbet edeceğiz.**
- **Şimdi sana bu etkinlikler hakkında biraz bilgi vereceğim.**
 - **birlikte senin okul deneyim ile ilgili mesela okuldaki en güzel günüm ve arkadaşlarımla oynadığım oyunlar konulu resimler yapacağız.**
 - **Okula sevdiğin veya kültürel bir eşya getirmen beklenebilir. Bu eşya ile ilgili etkinliğimiz onların fotoğrafını çekmek olacak.**
- **Bütün bu etkinlikler sırasında ses kaydı ve görüntü kaydı alacağız. Eğer rahatsız olursan sınıfa getirilen kameradan lütfen beni haberdar et. Yaptığımız resimlerin fotoğraflarını çekeceğiz.**

- Bu etkinliklerin haricinde seninle birlikte yüzyüze bir sohbetimiz olacak. Okul hayatın ile ilgili sorular soracağım ve bu konu hakkında seninle üç defa sohbet edeceğiz.
- Her sohbetimiz yaklaşık 30-45 dakika sürecektir.
- Sohbetlerimiz 10 Nisan'da başlayacak ve 15 Haziran'da bitecek. Bu sohbetlerimiz öğretmenler odasında veya okul kütüphanesinde olabilir. Sohbet ederken yanımızda öğretmenin ya da okuldan başka öğretmenlerin olabilirim, ama onlar seninle olan konuşmamıza katılmayacak ve senin sözlerini duymayacaklar.
- Bu sohbetlerin ses kaydını diğer etkinliklerde yaptığımız gibi kayıt edeceğim. Eğer resim çizersen, sadece birlikte yaptığımız etkinliklerin fotoğrafını çekeceğim.

Çalışma esnasında kötü şeyler olabilir mi?

Bazen araştırmalara katılan kişiler kötü şeylerle karşılaşabilir. Bunlara risk denir. Bu çalışmaya katıldığında karşılaşabileceğin riskler: **arkadaşlarının çalışmaya neden katıldığını sorması olabilir. Eğer arkadaşların bu durumdan haberdar olup sana bu soruyu sorarlarsa, onlara katılmak isteğin için benimle görüştüğünü söyleyebilirsin. Bazen duygusal hissedebilirsin. Eğer konuşmak istemezsen, lütfen bunu benimle paylaş. Böylece konuşmayı hemen durduruz.**

Bunların bazılarını yaşayabilirsin. Bunların hiçbir olmaya da bilir. Benim bilmediğim başka şeylerle de karşılaşabilirsin. Eğer risk olursa, gerekli kişilerden yardım alacaksın. Bunun dışında senden bugün konuştuğumuz şeyleri ailenle de paylaşmanı isteyeceğim.

Çalışma esnasında iyi şeyler olabilir mi?

Bazen çalışma esnasında iyi şeyler gerçekleşir. Bunlara fayda diyoruz. Bu çalışmaya katıldığında edineceğin faydalar şunlardır. **Yaşadıklarını bir büyükle paylaştığın için rahatlık hissedebilirsin. Arkadaşların ve sen daha güzel arkadaşlıklar kurabilirsiniz. Aynı zamanda okul dışı etkinlikler yapacaksın. Senin deneyimlerin hakkında bilgi sahibi olmak senin gibi başka öğrencilerin daha iyi öğrenim çevresi edinmesini sağlayabilir.**

Tam olarak bu faydaların hangisini edineceğini bilmiyoruz. Umuyoruz ki senin deneyimlerinden öğrendiklerimiz başkalarına da fayda sağlayabilirsin.

Eğer sorularım olursa kime sorabilirim?

Eğer çalışma ile ilgili soruların olursa, bu sorularını benimle, ailenle ve öğretmenlerinle paylaşabilirsin. Aynı zamanda, ilerde aklına gelen başka sorular olursa, onları da sorabilirsin. Bana ulaşabileceğin telefon numaraları +18123695996 ve +905369711703. Aynı zamanda bana ozerden@imail.iu.edu ve ozlemerden@gmail.com elektronik posta adreslerinden de ulaşabilirsin. Eğer elektronik posta ya da telefonla iletişime geçmek istersen, velilerinden ve öğretmenlerinde yardım alabilirsin. Sorularını beni okulda gördüğün zamanda sorabilirsin.

Eğer çalışmaya katılmak istemezsem?

Eğer çalışmaya katılmak istemezsen, katılmayabilirsin. Eğer çalışmaya katılmak istiyorum der ve sonradan fikrini değiştirirsen, istediğin zaman çalışmadan ayrılabilirsin. Tek yapman gereken çalışmanın parçası olmak istemediğini söylemendir. Kimse sana kızmayacak ya da verdiği karardan dolayı üzülmecek.

Benim tercihim:

Eğer çalışmaya katılmak istiyorsan aşağıda sana ayrılan kısma ismini ve soyismini yazabilirsin.

Katılımcının İmzası

Tarih

Katılımcının İsmi ve soyismi

Rıza alan kişinin imzası

Tarih

Rıza alan kişinin ismi ve soyismi

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR TEACHERS

Hello, Miss/Mrs. /Mr. ... (Name of the teacher)

Please let me inform you before we begin our interview. This study investigates Syrian refugee students' schooling experience and their adaptation to the school system. I would like to hear your experience of teaching Syrian refugee students and hear your opinions about improving the current educational responses. We can begin our conversation, whenever you feel ready. If you do not want to answer a particular question, give a break during the conversation or end the conversation, you are free to do so. If you do not have any question, shall we begin our conversation?

A. Questions about Syrian refugee students' registering to the school

1. The school has quite a high number of refugee children. Can you please inform me how the school decided to accept refugee students?
 - 1.1. Did MoNE send a regulation or legislation to the school to explain how to register students?
 - 1.2. Has the school had some refugee student without official documents? If so, how did the school accept these students?
 - 1.3. From which grade level did the students without legal document start?
 - 1.4. What kind of conversation happened in the school when the Syrian students were accepted to the school? Can you please give an example?
 - 1.5. How did the school place the students in the classroom?
2. Why do you think the refugee parents chose this school to send their children?
 - 2.1. What do you think about the motivation of the parents?
3. What were your initial thoughts after you learnt that you had Syrian refugee students to teach in your class?
 - 3.1. What kind of concerns you had when you learnt that you were chosen to teach Syrian refugee students in your class?
 - 3.2. Which of your concerns became real after teaching them?
 - 3.3. What kind of strategies did you develop to provide better and quality education?
 - 3.4. What was your biggest surprise when you first interacted with the refugee students?

- 3.5. I now want you think about an example lesson that you have, how do the refugee student participate in the classroom activities?
4. I wonder whether you had any experience teaching a foreign national student before teaching Syrian students. If yes, do you think your experience helped you to teach refugee students in the classroom?
 - 4.1. (If yes) Are there any similarities between the group that you taught and Syrian refugee students?
 - 4.2. Have ever thought about sharing your experience with your colleagues without multicultural teaching experience to assist them to tech refugee students?

B. Questions about the issues during the academic year

1. Now, I want you to think about the first time that you saw your Syrian students in the class. Can you please describe those moments in detail?
 - 1.1. What were your thoughts after your first interaction with these students?
 - 1.2. How did their presence in the classroom make you feel?
 - 1.3. Do you think that your current feelings are different from before? Why do you think so?
2. Can you tell me what the three most challenging issues are in teaching Syrian students in the classroom?
 - 2.1. What do you think should be done to eliminate these issues?
 - 2.2. Do you think in-service training, teacher conferences, seminars or assistant teacher help you to eliminate these problems?
3. If you had a chance to travel in time and go back to the beginning of the Syrian students' registration, what would you like to change?
 - 3.1. Who would like to talk to you first and what would you like to tell that person?
 - 3.2. What would be your suggestions to your colleagues?
 - 3.3. What would be your suggestions to both Syrian and local parents?
4. If you have a new group of foreign students from a different country, what kind of accommodations do you arrange for these students both in the school and in the classroom?
 - 4.1. Can you give some examples that concretely present your ideas to accommodate the new group of students?
 - 4.2. To what degree did Syrian students experience such treatment in your ideal teaching environment that you described me a minute ago?

C. Questions about sense of belongingness

1. I would like to talk about to what degree Syrian refugee students feel as part of the school.
 - 1.1. Is there any example that you can share with me that made a Syrian student be part of the class?
 - 1.2. When do you think that Syrian refugee students feel alienated from the class?
2. If you assess the schooling adaptation of Syrian refugee students through using a 10-point scale, what would be your score? Number one is the lowest adaptation; number 10 is the highest adaptation.
 - 2.1. Why did you give that score? What kind of the factors made you score so?
 - 2.2. Do you think students' interactions affect the level of Syrian students' school adaptation?
3. When you observe the students during the recess, how do they interact with each other?
 - 3.1. To what degree are the local students interested in interacting with local students?
 - 3.2. Have you ever witnessed something negative when students interact with each other?
 - 3.3. What do you think is the most influential factor that causes negative situations?
 - 3.4. What have you done to eliminate problems between local students and refugee students?

D. Questions about language education and Syrian refugee students' language skills

1. Can you please talk about the language learning process of Syrian refugee children?
 - 1.1. What was their language proficiency level when they first came to the school?
 - 1.2. How do you evaluate their current language level?
 - 1.3. Can you easily communicate with them now?
 - 1.4. Did you see any improvement in their participation in the classroom activities after mastering Turkish?
 - 1.5. What does teaching Turkish to these students mean to you?
2. Which language do Syrian refugee students use at school?
 - 2.1. What do you think about When Syrian refugee students use their mother tongue in the school?
 - 2.2. Do you think that Syrian students should use their language at school or in the classroom? Why?
 - 2.3. If Syrian students prepare cultural festival and introduce their culture to the school through music, poetry and art artefacts, do you think that it will be appreciated by the school community? Why?
3. How do the other students react when Syrian student speak a different language?
 - 3.1. Do the other students want to learn their Syrian classmate's language?

- 3.2. How do the other students help their Syrian classmates learn Turkish?
- 3.3. Are students interested in learning their languages?
- 3.4. Why do you think that is the case? (The answer might be yes or no. I want to understand why the students want to learn another language or do not want to learn another language.)
- 3.5. What is your role when students have a certain position about learning their languages?

E. End of the interview

1. Thank you very much for this wonderful conversation. I learnt from your experience and appreciated your conversation with me. I think you answered all of my questions. Is there anything that you want to say or talk about before we finish? Maybe, you think that it would be better if you have a conversation about something else.

- 1.1. What was the best topic for our conversation? Why do you think so?
- 1.2. What was the topic that you did not like to talk about? Why do you think so?
- 1.3. Which topic was difficult for you to talk about?
- 1.4. When did you feel comfortable in our conversation?

Let me thank you for sharing your time with me to discuss Syrian students' schooling experiences. I appreciate your help. As you know, I am here during the semester. If you have any questions or if you want to share any further remarks, please do not hesitate to contact me. You have all of my communication information in the consent form.

ÖĞRETMEN GÖRÜŞME FORMU

Değerli ... (Öğretmenin Adı) Hocam

Öncelikle size çalışma hakkında bilgi vermeme izin verin lütfen. Bu çalışma yabancı uyruklu öğrencilerin okul ve ders ortamına uyumu ile ilgilidir. Bu konuda sizin deneyimleriniz hakkında bilgi edinmek ve görüşlerinizi almak istiyorum. Görüşme esnasında görüşmeyi dilediğiniz yerde sonlandırabilir, herhangi bir nedenden dolayı cevaplamak istemediğiniz soruları atlayabilir ve dinlenmek istediğinizde ara verebilirsiniz. Eğer izniniz olursa sohbetimize başlayabilir miyiz?

A. Yabancı uyruklu öğrencilerin okula gelişi ile ilgili sorular

1. Bu okulda oldukça çok sayıda öğrenci var. Beni okulun bu öğrencileri nasıl kabul ettiğin konusunda bilgilendirir misiniz?
 - 1.1. MEB bu öğrencilerin nasıl kayıt olacağı konusunda yönetmelik yada uygulama gönderdi mi?
 - 1.2. Okulun resmi belgeleri olmayan öğrencileri var mı? Eğer durum böyle ise, okul bu durumdaki öğrencileri nasıl okula kabul ediyor?
 - 1.3. Hangi seviyeden bir öğrencinin başlayacağına eğer resmi dokümanları yoksa nasıl karar veriliyor?
 - 1.4. Okula Suriyeli öğrenciler kayıt edildiğinde ne gibi konuşmalar kimler arasında gerçekleşti? Örnek verbilir misiniz?
 - 1.5. Okul öğrencileri sınıflara nasıl yerleştirdi?
2. Sizce neden Suriyeli aileler çocuklarını bu okula gönderdiler?
 - 2.1. Sizce ailelerin çocuklarını bu okula göndermelerindeki motivasyon nedir?
3. Sınıfınızda Suriyeli öğrencilerin olacağını öğrendiğiniz zaman ilk aklınızdan geçen düşünceler nelerdi?
 - 3.1. Bu esnada ne gibi endişeleriniz olmuştu?
 - 3.2. Bu endişelerin hangileri gerçekleşti?
 - 3.3. Ne gibi eğitim öğretim taktikleri geliştirerek bu çocuklara daha iyi bir eğitim vermeye çalıştınız?
 - 3.4. Bu öğrencilerle ilk karşılaştığınızda sizi en çok şaşırtan olay neydi?
 - 3.5. Rica etsem sizden sizin yaptığınız örnek bir dersi düşünerek, bu öğrencilerin derse en iyi nasıl katıldıklarını anlatabilir misiniz?
4. Daha önce yabancı uyruklu öğrencilere Suriyeli öğrencilere öğretmenlik yapmadan önce öğretmenlik yaptınız mı? Eğer evetse, sizce sizin bu deneyiminiz size Suriyeli öğrencilere birşeyler öğretmekte yardımcı oldu mu?
 - 4.1. Eğer evetse, daha önceki grupla bu öğrenciler arasında fark var mı?
 - 4.2. Bu deneyimlerinizi çokkültürlü eğitim öğretim deneyimi olmayan arkadaşlarınızla paylaşarak onları bu konuya bilgilendirmeyi düşündünüz mü?

B. Akademik dönem içerisindeki meselelerle ilgili sorular

1. Şimdi sizden sınıfınızda ilk defa Suriyeli öğrencilerinizi gördüğünüz zamanı hatırlamanızı isteyeceğim. Bana o ani ilk konuşmanızı ayrıntılı olarak anlatabilir misiniz?
 - 1.1. İlk iletişimden sonraki düşünceleriniz nelerdi?
 - 1.2. Onların sınıfta oluşu sizi nasıl etkiledi ve neler hissettirdi?

- 1.3. Simdiki hissettikleriniz önceki hissettiklerinizden sizce farklı mı?
2. Suriyeli öğrencilere ders öğretirken yaşadığınız sorunlar nelerden ve bunlardan en bariz belirgin olan üçü nedir?
 - 2.1. Sizce bu sorunları ortadan kaldırmak için neler yapılmalıdır?
 - 2.2. Sizce hizmet için eğitimi, öğretmen konferansları, seminerler, ve yardımcı öğretmenlerden hangisi bu sorunların azaltılmasında ve ortadan kaldırılmasında etkili olacaktır?
3. Eğer zaman içinde seyahat edip Suriyeli öğrencilerin ilk geldiği güne dönecek olsaydınız, neleri değiştirerek daha iyi öğretim imkanı hazırlamak isterdiniz?
 - 3.1. İlk kiminle konuşmak isterdiniz ve o insana neler söylemek isterdiniz?
 - 3.2. Meslekdaşlarınıza ne gibi önerilerde bulunmak isterdiniz?
 - 3.3. Suriyeli ve yerel ailelere ne gibi önerilerde bulunurdunuz?
4. Farklı bir ülkeden yeni bir grup öğrenci geleceğini öğrenseniz, hem sınıftaki hem de yeni gelecek öğrenciler için onlar gelmeden ne gibi ne tür bir sınıf ortamı hazırlardınız?
 - 4.1. Bana örneklerle bu durumu anlatabilir misiniz?
 - 4.2. Bu anlatığınız tarzda eğitim şartlarını şimdiki Suriye öğrencileriniz ne derece deneyimledi?

C. Aidiyet duygusu ile ilgili sorular

1. Sizinle Suriyeli öğrencilerinizin kendilerini okula ait hissetme konusuyla ilgili konuşmak istiyorum.
 - 1.1. Benimle paylaşabileceğiniz Suriyeli öğrencinizin kendisini okula ait hissetmesine yardımcı olduğunu düşündüğünüz herhangi bir örnek var mı?
 - 1.2. Sizce ne zaman Suriyeli öğrenciler kendilerini dışlanmış hissediyorlar?
 - 1.3. Eğer bu öğrencilerin okula uyumunu 10 üzerinden değerlendirecek olursak, siz kaç puan verirdiniz? 1 en düşük puan, 10 en yüksek puan.
 - 1.4. Neden bu puanı verdiniz? Ne gibi etkenler sizin bu puanı vermenize sebep oldu?
 - 1.5. Sizde öğrencilerin gerek sınıf içinde gerekse sınıf dışındaki etkileşimi bu öğrencilerin okul uyumunu ne derece etkiliyor?
2. Yerel ve yabancı öğrencileri teneffüs ve oyun zamanlarında gözlemlediğinizde birbirleriyle nasıl etkileşim kurmaktadır?
 - 2.1. Ne derece yerel öğrenciler yabancı öğrencilerle iletişim kurmaya çalışmaktadır?
 - 2.2. Öğrenciler arasında olumsuz davranışlara şahit oldunuz mu?
 - 2.3. Sizce olumsuz davranışlara neler sebep olmaktadır?
 - 2.4. Yerel ve yabancı öğrenciler arasındaki bu sorunları engellemek için neler yapılmalıdır?

D. Dil eğitimi ve Suriyeli öğrencilerin dil becerileri ile ilgili sorular

1. Suriyeli öğrencilerin dil öğrenme süreci ile ilgili konuşabilir miyiz?
 - 1.1. Okula ilk geldiklerinde dil seviyeleri nasıldı?
 - 1.2. Şimdiki dil gelişimlerini ve seviyelerini nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
 - 1.3. Öğrencilerinizle kolaylıkla iletişim kurabiliyor musunuz?
 - 1.4. Öğrencileriniz sınıf katılımında Türkçe seviyeleri arttıkça bir artış gözlemliyor musunuz?
 - 1.5. Bu öğrencilere Türkçe öğretmek sizin için ne anlama gelmektedir?
2. Suriyeli öğrencileriniz okulda genellikle hangi dili kullanmaktadır?
 - 2.1. Bu öğrenciler sınıf ve okul içerisinde kendi dillerini kullandıklarında neler düşünüyorsunuz?

- 2.2. Sizce Suriyeli öğrenciler kendi dillerini okulda veya sınıfta kullanmalı midir? Neden?
- 2.3. Eğer Suriyeli öğrenciler, okul içinde kendi kültürlerini tanıtmak için etkinli düzenleseler bu etkinlik okul ve veliler tarafından nasıl karşılanır? Why?
3. Yerel öğrenciler Suriyeli öğrenciler kendi dillerini konuştuğunda nasıl tepki vermektedir?
 - 3.1. Yerel öğrenciler onların dilini öğrenmeye çalışıyor mu?
 - 3.2. Yerel öğrenciler onlara dil öğrenmeleri için sınıfta nasıl yardımcı oluyorlar?
 - 3.3. Yerel öğrenciler onların ya da herhangi bir yabancı dil öğrenmeye istekliler mi?
 - 3.4. Neden yukarda bahsettiğiniz durumun bu şekilde olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz? (Yukardaki sorunun cevabı evet ya da hayır olabilir. Ben bu soruyla yerel öğrencilerin başka bir dil öğrenmeye ne kadar hevesli olduklarını öğrenmeye çalışıyorum.)
 - 3.5. Yerel öğrencileriniz ve Suriyeli öğrencileriniz belli bir dili öğrenmek istediklerinde sizin rolünüz ne oluyor?

E. Görüşmenin sonu

1. Görüşmeyi bitirmeden önce bana sormak istediğiniz herhangi bir soru var mı? Belki, sizin başka konular hakkında konuşsa idik daha iyi olurdu dediğiniz şeyler vardır.
 - 1.1. Eğer benim yerimde siz ve bende sizin yerinizde olsaydım, bana ne sorular sorardınız?
 - 1.2. En çok hangi konu hakkında konuşmayı sevdimiz?
 - 1.3. En çok hangi konu hakkında konuşmayı sevmediniz?
 - 1.4. Hangi konu sizinn için hakkında konuşması zor olan konuydu?
 - 1.5. Biz sohbet ederken ne zaman kendinizi çok rahat hissettiniz?

Katılımınız için çok teşekkür ederim. Daha sonra benimle konuşmak isterseniz iletişim bilgilerim size kopyasını bıraktığım bilgilendirilmiş onay formunda yer almaktadır. Dilediğiniz zaman çalışma hakkında ve veri analizi konusunda bilgi almak için benimle iletişime geçebilirsiniz.

INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS FOR SYRIAN REFUGEE STUDENTS

Hello ... (Name of the Syrian refugee student participant)

Today, we are going to have a conversation about how you started the school, your time in the school, and your classmates and teachers, Please do not hesitate to say when you want to give a break and when you want to start. If you allow me, we will begin our conversation.

I. Questions that will be used during the first meeting

A. Questions about the time before starting to school

1. I want to have a talk about the time you came to Turkey with you.
 - 1.1. How many years have you been living in Turkey?
 - 1.2. How did you meet with your neighbors when you moved to your first house?
 - 1.3. Do you like your neighborhood?
 - 1.4. Do you play with your neighbors' children? ALTERNATIVELY, do you play with the children in the neighborhood?
 - 1.5. How many friends do you have in your neighborhood?
 - 1.6. Can you tell me a typical day in your neighborhood?
2. When did you start going to your school?
 - 2.1. I know that you had language classes. What were the things that you liked with these classes?
 - 2.2. Did you enjoy your classes?
 - 2.3. How did you feel when you began going to school?
3. How is the decision about the school that you now go to given? Do you know something about that?
 - 3.1. If you had a chance, would you tell your parents to send you another school?

B. Questions about after starting the school

1. Let's talk about the first day of your school. Can you please tell me your first day of in the school?
 - 1.1. Who was the first person that you saw on the first day of your school?
 - 1.2. Can you tell me three words that describe your feelings on the first day of the school?
 - 1.3. What were the things that were different from your school in Syria?

2. Maybe we can talk about some of the accommodations at your school that made you feel good.
 - 2.1. What were the things that made you feel happy and welcome in the school?
 - 2.2. Was there any person to share this happy moment with you?
 - 2.3. Do you want to share a good memory of yours with your classmates?
3. Is there anything in the school life that you did not like? Can you share it with me?
 - 3.1. What do you think that made you experience something you did not like?
 - 3.2. Whom do you talk if you want to get help or share your day at the school?
4. Imagine there is a new child from Syria coming to school to study with you. Your teacher asked you to help him/her in his/her first day of the school. Now, I want you to think about some suggestions that you want to give to this student who is going to start school here. What would you be telling to him?
5. Imagine that I give you a magical wand to go back to the first day of your school and change, how your teachers and classmates treat you, what would you like to change?

Thank you very much for having a conversation with me. You really did a good job. This was our first conversation with you. Please let me know if you have any questions about what we are doing. You can also ask your questions to your parents and they can tell your questions to me, as well. We are going to have our second conversation after two weeks from now. I really look forward to seeing you again.

II. Questions that will be used during the second meeting

Hello (Name of the participant)

I am happy to see you again. I hope you had wonderful school days. In our earlier conversation, we talked about your neighborhood and first day at school. Today we are going to talk about things that made you feel welcome. Let me know when you are ready to talk.

C. **Questions about belongingness**

1. Let's talk about some of the events that made you feel welcome.
 - 1.1. When did you feel cool and important in the school? What made you feel like that?
 - 1.2. If you assess your schooling life based on a 10-points scale, what would be the score that you are going to give your school life? Number 1 is the lowest option; number 10 is the highest option.
 - 1.3. How important to make friends among your classmates and the other students in the school?

2. What questions do you people in the school ask you about your culture? I mean your teachers, and classmates and etc. when I say people.

2.1. Who do you ask the questions most?

2.2. How do you answer your classmates or teachers' questions about your culture? Can you give me an example?

2.3. Do they ask how you are doing every day?

3. Have you ever tried to do something to introduce your culture?

3.1. Did your teacher or classmates ask you to share what do you like to do in your free time?

3.2. How often do you play with your classmates and do classroom activities with them?

D. Questions about language

4. How many languages do you speak? Can we talk about the languages spoken in your country?

4.1. Well, which language do you feel comfortable to speak? Why do you prefer that particular language?

5. What does speaking and learning Turkish mean to you?

5.1. I know that Turkish people like the person who tries to speak Turkish. Do you feel any difference in people's behaviors when you speak in Turkish?

5.2. How do you decide to speak in one of the languages that you know in the school?

6. To what degree your classmates and teacher want to learn your language?

6.1. Do they appreciate your effort when you speak in Turkish?

6.2. Do you feel like if your classmates and teachers respect your language as much as they should be?

6.3. What makes you feel that your classmates and teachers respect/don't respect to your mother tongue?

Thank you, you really did a great job. I appreciate the fact that you shared your experiences. I will see you again after two weeks from now. We will be meeting to talk about what we talked. Our last meeting will be like a summary of what we did. I hope to see you two weeks later. Let me remind you again. You can ask your questions anytime to me and to your parents.

E. End of the interviews

Hello ... (name of the participant)

Thank you very much for these wonderful conversations. I learnt about your experience and appreciated your conversation with me. I think you answered all of my questions. This time it is your time to ask questions to me. Do you have any questions? (If yes, I will answer his or her questions. If no, I will continue with the following questions.)

1. Well, is there anything that you want to say or talk about before we finish? Maybe, you think that it would be better if you have a conversation about something else.

1.1. What would you ask me if you were me to have conversation about my school life?

1.2. What was the best topic for our conversation? Why do you think so?

1.3. What was the topic that you did not like to talk about? Why do you say so?

1.4. Which topic was difficult for you to talk about?

1.5. When did you feel comfortable in our conversation?

Let me thank you again with my all sincerity. If you want to talk to me again on anything, I will be available during the school hours. You can find me in teachers' room during recess. Additionally, your parents have my phone number; you can call me under their supervision or ask them to call me to answer your questions.

YABANCI UYRUKLU ÖĞRENCİ GÖRÜŞME FORMU

Merhabalar

Bugün seninle okula başlama sürecin, burada geçirdiğin zaman ve arkadaşların ve öğretmenlerin ile iletişimin hakkında sohbet edeceğiz. Başlamak ve dinlenmek istediğin zaman bana söylemekte lütfen çekinme. İzin olursa sohbetimize başlayabilir miyiz?

I. Birinci görüşmede kullanılacak sorular

A. Okula başlamadan önceki dönemle ilgili sorular

1. Kaç yıldır Türkiye’de yaşıyorsun?
 - 1.1. Yeni komşularınla ilk evinize taşındığınızda nasıl tanıştınız?
 - 1.2. Mahalleni seviyor musun?
 - 1.3. Mahalledeki çocuklarla oyun oynuyor musun? YA DA Komşu çocukları ile oyun oynuyor musun?
 - 1.4. Mahallede kaç arkadaşın var?
 - 1.5. Hadi bana mahallende nasıl günlerini geçirdiğini anlat?
2. Okula ilk ne zaman başladın?
 - 2.1. Biliyorum okulunda dil dersleri aldın. Bu derslerde sevdiğin şeyler nelerdi?
 - 2.2. Derslerde eğlendin mi?
 - 2.3. Okula ilk defa başlayacağında neler hissettin
3. Okula başlama kararın nasıl verildi? Bununla ilgili birşeyler biliyor musun?
 - 3.1. Eğer şansın olsaydı, ailene seni başka okula göndermelerini söyler miydin?

B. Okula başladıktan sonraki dönemle ilgili sorular

1. Hadi seninle okula ilk başladığın gün ile ilgili konuşalım. Lütfen bana okula ilk başladığın günü anlatır mısın?
 - 1.1. Okuldaki ilk gününde ilk gördüğün kişi kimdi?
 - 1.2. Okuldaki ilk gününü anlatacak üç kelime söyler misin?
 - 1.3. Suriye’deki okulundan farklı olan neler vardı?
2. Belki şimdi seninle okulun senin için yaptığı derslerden ve seni mutlu eden bu şeylerden bahsedebiliriz.
 - 2.1. Seni okulda mutlu eden ya da sıcak karşılandığını hissettiren şeyler nelerdi?
 - 2.2. Okulda mutlu anlarını paylaştığın birisi var mı?
 - 2.3. Okulda güzel anılarını paylaşmak istediğin sınıf arkadaşların var mı?
3. Okulda sevmediğin herhangi birşey var mı? Benimle paylaşmak ister misin?
 - 3.1. Sence neden sevmediğin şeyler yaşadın?
 - 3.2. Eğer okulda iyi ve kötü birşey yaşarsan bunu anlatabileceğin birileri var mı?
4. Şimdi sende okula yeni bir Suriyeli çocuk geldiğini hayal etmeni istiyorum. Öğretmenin senden ona yardım etmeni istedi. Bu okula yeni gelen çocuğa tavsiyelerde bulunmanı istiyorum. Ona ne söyledin?
5. Şimdi elinde sihirli bir değnek olduğunu düşün ve bu değnekle geçmişe gidip öğretmenlerin ve okulunla ilgili herşeyi değiştirebilirsin. Neler değiştirmek isterdin?

Benimle sohbet ettiğin için sana çok teşekkür ederim. Gerçekten çok iyi iş çıkardın. Bu bizim ilk görüşmemizdi. Lütfen burada ne yaptığımız konusunda sorun olursa beni bilgilendir. Bu soruları ailene de sorabilirsin ve onlarda gelip bana sorabilir. Bugünden iki hafta sonra seninle ikinci görüşmemizi yapacağız. Seni tekrar görmeyi çok isterim.

II. İkinci görüşmede kullanılacak sorular

Merhaba ... (Çocuğun ismi)

Seni tekrar gördüğüme çok sevindim. Umarım okulunda çok güzel zamanlar geçirmişsindir. Önceki konuşmamızda mahallen ve okuldaki ilk günün ile ilgili konuştuk. Bugün seninle sana hoş karşılandığını hissettiren şeyler hakkında konuşacağız. Konuşmaya hazır olduğunda lütfen haber ver.

C. Aidiyet hissi ile ilgili sorular

1. Hadi seninle sana hoş karşılandığını hissettiren şeyler hakkında konuşalım.
 - 1.1. Okulda ne zaman kendini önemli hissettin? Ne senin bu şekilde hissetmene sebep oldu?
 - 1.2. Eğer okul hayatını 10 üzerinden değerlendirecek olsan, kaç puan verirdin? En düşük puan 1, en yüksek puan 10.
 - 1.3. Sınıf arkadaşların ve okuldaki diğer çocuklar arasından arkadaş edinmek senin için ne kadar önemli?
2. Okuldaki insanlar sana kültürün hakkında ne gibi sorular sormaktadır. Benimle bir kaçını paylaşır mısın?
 - 2.1. Bu soruları en çok kimler soruyor?
 - 2.2. Sınıf arkadaşlarının ya da öğretmenlerinin kültürünle ilgili sorularını nasıl cevaplıyorsun? Örnek verebilir misin?
 - 2.3. Sana hergün nasılsın diye soruyorlar mı?
3. Kültürünü tanıtmak için herhangi birşey yaptın mı?
 - 3.1. Öğretmenlerin ve sınıf arkadaşların sana boş zamanlarında neler yapmaktan hoşlandığını sordular mı?
 - 3.2. Ne sıklıkta sınıf arkadaşlarıyla oyun oynuyorsun ve onlarla birlikte etkinlikler yapıyorsunuz?

D. Dil ile ilgili sorular

1. Kaç dil konuşabiliyorsun? Senin ülkende konuşulan dil hakkında konuşabilir miyiz?
 - 1.1. Pekala, hangi dilde konuşurken kendini rahat hissediyorsun? Neden o dili tercih ediyorsun?
2. Türkçe öğrenmek ve konuşmak senin için ne demek?
 - 2.1. Bildiğim kadarıyla Türk insanı Türkçe konuşmaya çalışan insanları sever. İnsanların tavırlarında Türkçe konuştuğun zaman değişiklik hissediyor musun?
 - 2.2. Eğer birçok dil biliyorsan hangi dili konuşacağına nasıl karar veriyorsun?
3. Öğretmenin ve sınıf arkadaşların senin dilini öğrenmek istiyorlar mı?
 - 3.1. Onlar senin Türkçe öğrenmeye çalışmanı takdir ediyorlar mı?
 - 3.2. Sen öğretmenlerinin ve sınıf arkadaşlarının senin diline yeterince saygı gösterdiğini düşünüyor musun?
 - 3.3. Neler senin öğretmenlerinin ve sınıf arkadaşlarının ana diline yeterince saygı gösterdiğini ya da göstermediğini hissetmene sebep oluyor?

Teşekkür ederim. Gerçekten çok iyi iş çıkardın. Senin bana deneyimlerini anlatıyor olmanı çok takdir ediyorum. Seni tekrar iki hafta sonra göreceğim. Gelecek sefer seninle daha önce konuştuğumuz hakkında konuşacağız. Son görüşmemiz daha önce konuştuğumuzun bir özeti gibi olacak. Seni iki hafta sonra görmeyi bekliyorum. Sana tekrar hatırlatmama izin ver. Eğer soruların varsa bana ve aileme sorabilirsin.

III. Üçüncü görüşmede kullanılacak sorular

E. Görüşmelerin sonu

Merhaba ... (Çocuğun adı)

Bu güzel sohbetler için çok teşekkür ederim. Senin deneyimlerin hakkında çok şey öğrendim ve seni çok takdir ettim. Benim bütün sorularımı cevapladığını düşünüyorum. Şimdi soru sorma sırası sende. Herhangi bir sorun var mı? (Eğer cevabı evetse, ben onun sorularını cevaplıyorum. Eğer hayır ise, aşağıdaki sorularla devam ediyorum.)

1. Biz bitirmeden önce bana sormak istediğin herhangi bir soru var mı? Belki, senin başka konular hakkında konuşsa idik daha iyi olurdu dediğin şeyler vardır.
 - 1.1. Eğer benim yerimde sen ve bende senin yerinde olsaydım, bana ne sorular sorardın?
 - 1.2. En çok hangi konu hakkında konuşmayı sevdin?
 - 1.3. En çok hangi konu hakkında konuşmayı sevmedin?
 - 1.4. Hangi konu senin için hakkında konuşması zor olan konuydu?
 - 1.5. Biz sohbet ederken ne zaman kendini çok rahat hissettin?

Sana bütün samimiyetimle katılımın için çok teşekkür ederim. Daha sonra benimle konuşmak istersen, beni okulda ve öğretmenler odasında teneffüs zamanlarında bulabilirsin. İletişim bilgilerin öğretmenlerinde ve ailede var. Dilediğin zaman büyüklerinden izin alarak benimle görüşebilirsin.

INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS FOR LOCAL STUDENTS

Hello ... (Name of the local student)

Today, I would like to have a conversation with you about your classmates who came from different countries. You know them, right? Well done. If you let me, I will ask you some questions. I hope you share your opinions with me. Let me know when you would like to start. You can also stop our conversation any time you want. Shall we start now?

I. Questions that will be used in the first meeting

A. Questions about foreign national students studying in the school

1. You know you have some classmates from different countries; can we talk about the time when they first come to the school?
 - 1.1. How many foreign national classmates do you have in the classroom?
 - 1.2. Maybe you can tell me when you interacted with one of them. For example, do you remember when you talk to him/her for the first time? What did you ask him/ her?
2. How did you feel when you first saw them in the classroom?
 - 2.1. Have you ever had some expectations from your foreign national classmates such as playing together, studying together, learning the language, etc.?
 - 2.2. Have you ever worried about them as a foreign student in the school? Have you wanted to help them with their homework and the other school activities?
3. Do you have a favorite country? Let's now imagine that you are going to your favorite country to go to school, what do you think you might experience in that country?
 - 3.1. Do you think that language will be a problem if the people in that country speak in a different language?
 - 3.2. Do you think you can learn in this way through observing your foreign national classmates' experience in the school?

B. Questions about interacting with the foreign national students

1. Does your teacher group you with your foreign national classmates during the classroom activity?
 - 1.1. Why do you think your teacher groups you in that way?

- 1.2. Do you want to have a different grouping than your teachers arranged? Do you like that your teacher arranges the class activities in that way?
- 1.3. Would you be happy if you were the foreign national student and the teacher groups you in the same way as s/he regularly does?
- 1.4. What do you feel when your foreign national classmates being part of the classroom during the classroom activities?
2. Now I need your ideas about how to create a better place for you and your foreign national friends. Do you think of a problem that you experience in the class when you do a classroom activity with your foreign national classmates?
 - 2.1. What do you suggest your teachers to eliminate these problems?
 - 2.2. Do you feel like you are learning something from your foreign national classmates? If so, what are the new things you learned from your new classmates?
 - 2.3. What would you like to learn from your foreign national classmates?
3. I want you to imagine that your school is going to accept a new group of foreign national students from a different country than your new classmates. Where do you want those students to come?
 - 3.1. Well, let's say they come from... (Restate the country that the participant mentions). After being classmates with your foreign national students, what do you think will be the best thing to help these students?
 - 3.2. Lets' now travel in the past with a time machine and go to the first time that you begin interaction with your foreign national classmates. You can change anything in the past to make your experience with your foreign national classmates. What would you like to change in the past?
 - 3.3. Why do you want to change that particular thing?
 - 3.4. What kind of things would you like to tell your teachers and classmates about this situation?

Thank you very much for having a conversation with me. You really did a good job. This was our first conversation with you. Please let me know if you have any questions about what we are doing. You can also ask your questions to your parents and they can tell your questions to me, as well. We are going to have our second conversation after two weeks from now. I really look forward to seeing you again.

II. Questions that will be used in the second meeting

Hello... (Name of the local student)

Thank you very much for meeting with me again. If you remember, we talked about your experience in meeting and studying with your new classmates. Today, we will continue talking about what kind of activities you do and what kind of games you play with your new classmates. I also want to talk about what you think about speaking in a different language. If you are ready, let's begin our conversation.

C. Questions about the sense of belongingness

1. Do you like playing outside? Well, how often do your foreign national classmates play together with you?

1.1. Do you like to play with them? "If so," what do you like to play with them? Can you give me an example?

1.1.1. "If not so," why do not you play with them outside? Do you want to play more with them in the future?

1.2. Do your foreign national classmates teach you a new game from their country? "If so," would you like to tell me how the play is?

1.2.1. "If not so" why do not they teach you a new game?

2. Have you ever asked some questions to your foreign national classmates about their country? Can you tell me some of those questions?

2.1. How did your foreign national classmates answer your question after you asked a question about their country?

2.2. Do foreign national classmates may feel happy and welcome when they are talking about their country?

2.3. Did one of your foreign national classmates talked to you about her classmates, school, or teachers in their county? Can you please share them with me?

2.4. What do you think you should do to make your classmates feel like they are at home? Let's now think about it.

2.5. Do you think you are also helping your foreign national classmates as you want people to treat you when you go to another country?

3. If you have a 10-point scale to rate your relationship with your foreign national classmates, which number do you choose. Number 1 means low relationship and number 10 is the best relationship.

3.1. What do you think made you give this score to your relationship?

- 3.2. Do you think that if your foreign national classmates share more about their culture, your relationship improves?

D. Questions about foreign national students' language learning process

1. Let's talk about how your foreign national classmates were speaking Turkish when they first came to school. Can you please tell me whatever you remember anything from that time?
 - 1.1. How does their Turkish sound? What do you think when they speak in Turkish?
 - 1.2. Do you help them when they are learning Turkish?
 - 1.3. Can you give me an example of teaching Turkish to your new classmates?
2. Do you know which language your foreign national classmates speak?
 - 2.1. Have you ever asked them to teach some words from their language?
 - 2.2. What words do you know in their language?
 - 2.3. Does your teacher support you and your classmates to speak in that language in the classroom and the school?
3. Do you have any cultural activities prepared by your foreign national classmates?
 - 3.1. (if yes) Can you please talk about those activities? What was the thing that you really like in that activity?
 - 3.2. (if no) Would you be interested in having such activity in your school to learn about your classmates' culture?

Thank you, you really did a great job. I appreciate the fact that you share your experiences. I will see you again after two weeks from now. We will be meeting to talk about what we talked. Our last meeting will be like a summary of what we did. I hope to see you two weeks later. Let me remind you again. You can ask your questions anytime to me and to your parents.

III. Questions that will be asked in the third meeting

E. End of the interview

Thank you very much for these wonderful conversations. I learnt about your experience and appreciated your conversation with me. I think you answered all of my questions. This time it is your time to ask questions to me. Do you have any questions? (If yes, I will answer his/her questions. If no, I will continue with the following questions.)

1. Well, is there anything that you want to say or talk about before we finish? Maybe, you think that it would be better if you have a conversation about something else.

1.1. What would you ask me if you were me to have a conversation about my school life?

1.2. What was the best topic for our conversation? Why do you think so?

1.3. What was the topic that you did not like to talk about? Why do you say so?

1.4. Which topic was difficult for you to talk about?

1.5. When did you feel comfortable in our conversation?

Let me thank you again with my all sincerity. If you want to talk to me again on anything, I will be available during the school hours. You can find me in teachers' room during recess. Additionally, your parents have my phone number; you can call me under their supervision or ask them to call me to answer your questions.

YEREL ÖĞRENCİ GÖRÜŞME FORMU

Merhabalar

Bugün seninle okula dış ülkelerden gelen arkadaşların hakkında konuşmak istiyorum. Eğer izin verirsen sana onlar hakkında bir kaç soru soracağım ve benimle görüşlerini paylaşmanı rica edeceğim. Başlamak ve dinlenmek istediğin zaman bana söylemekte lütfen çekinme. İznin olursa sohbetimize başlayabilir miyiz?

I. Birinci görüşmede kullanılacak sorular

A. **Okula okuyan yabancı uyruklu öğrenciler ile ilgili sorular**

1. Bildiğin gibi sınıfında diğer ülkelerden gelen öğrenciler var. Seninle onların ilk okula geldikleri zaman hakkında konuşabilir miyiz?
 - 1.1. Sınıfında kaç tane başka ülkeden sınıf arkadaşın var, biliyor musun?
 - 1.2. Belki benimle onlardan biriyle ne zaman konuştuğunu anlatabilirsin? Mesela onunla ilk kez ne zaman konuştuğunu hatırlıyor musun? Ona ne sormuştun?
2. Sınıfta yeni arkadaşlarını ilk kez gördüğünde ya da öğrendiğinde ne hissetmiştin?
 - 2.1. Bu arkadaşlarıyla hiç oyun oynama, beraber çalışma ya da onlardan dil öğrenme gibi isteklerin oldu mu?
 - 2.2. Onlar hakkında hiç burda yabancı oldukları için endişelendin mi? Onlara okul ödevlerinde ve diğer etkinliklerde yardım ettin mi?
3. Senin sevdiğin gitmek istediğin bir ülke var mı? Hadi şimdi o ülkeye gittiğini ve orada okula başladığını düşünelim, sence o okulda neler yaşadın?
 - 3.1. Sence farklı dilde konuşuyor olmaları seni nasıl etkilerdi? Sorun olur muydu senin için?
 - 3.2. Sence buraya farklı ülkeden gelen arkadaşlarında sorun yaşıyorlar mı?

B. **Yabancı uyruklu öğrencilerle etkileşim**

1. Öğretmeniniz seni farklı ülkeden gelen öğrencilerle sınıf etkinliklerinde grup yapıyor mu?
 - 1.1. Sence neden öğretmenin böyle yapıyor?
 - 1.2. Sen öğretmenin seni farklı bir gruba koymasını ister miydin? Neden? Sen öğretmenin böyle yapmasından hoşlanıyor musun?
 - 1.3. Eğer sen başka ülkeden gelmiş olsaydın ve öğretmenin hala aynı şekilde sizi grup yapsaydı hoşuna gider miydi?
 - 1.4. Onlarda sınıf etkinliklerine katıldığında ne hissediyorsun?
2. Şimdi sınıfınızı daha hem senin hem de yabancı arkadaşların için daha iyi bir yere yapmak için senin fikirlerine ihtiyacım var. Sınıfta olan herhangi bir sorun düşünebiliyor musun yabancı sınıf arkadaşlarıyla etkinlik yaparken?
 - 2.1. Öğretmenine bu sorunu düzeltmesi için bir şeyler söylemek ister misin?
 - 2.2. Sence yabancı sınıf arkadaşlarından bir şeyler öğrenebiliyor musun?
 - 2.3. Onlardan neler öğrenmek isterdin?
3. Şimdi senden okula yeni bir grup başka ülkeden gelen öğrenci geleceğini hayal etmeni istiyorum. Bu öğrencilerin nereden gelmelerini istersin?
 - 3.1. Evet, X ülkesinden gelen öğrenciler senin yeni sınıf arkadaşların olacaklar. Sence en iyi ne bu öğrencilere yardım etmeni sağlar?

- 3.2. Şimdi seninle zaman makinemiz olsun ve onunla zamanda bir yolculuk yapalım. Geçmişte başka ülkelerden gelen arkadaşlarınla yaşadığın herşeyi değiştirme hakkın var. Şimdi bana söyle, sen neyi değiştirmek isterdin?
- 3.3. Neden bu bahsettiğin şeyi değiştirmek istiyorsun?
- 3.4. Bu durum ile ilgili öğretmenlerine ve sınıf arkadaşlarına söylemek istediğin birşey var mı?

Benimle sohbet ettiğin için sana çok teşekkür ederim. Gerçekten çok iyi iş çıkardın. Bu bizim ilk görüşmemizdi. Lütfen burada ne yaptığımız konusunda sorun olursa beni bilgilendir. Bu soruları ailene de sorabilirsin ve onlarda gelip bana sorabilir. Bugünden iki hafta sonra seninle ikinci görüşmemizi yapacağız. Seni tekrar görmeyi çok isterim.

II. İkinci görüşmede kullanılacak sorular

Merhaba ... (Çocuğun ismi)

Seni tekrar gördüğüme çok sevindim. Umarım okulunda çok güzel zamanlar geçirmişsindir. Önceki konuşmamızda mahallen ve okuldaki ilk günün ile ilgili konuştuk. Bugün seninle sana hoş karşılandığını hissettiren şeyler hakkında konuşacağız. Konuşmaya hazır olduğunda lütfen haber ver.

C. **Aidiyet hissi ile ilgili sorular**

1. Dışarda oynamayı sever misin? Pekala, ne sıklıkta başka ülkelerden gelen arkadaşlarınla oyun oynuyorsun?
 - 1.1. Onlarla oynamayı seviyor musun? Eğer öyleyse, onlarla neler oynuyorsun? Bana örnek verebilir misin?
 - 1.1.1. Eger öyle değilse, neden onlarla oyun oynamıyorsun? Onlarla ilerde daha çok oyun oynamak ister misin?
 - 1.2. Başka ülkeden gelen sınıf arkadaşların sana kendi ülkelerinden yeni oyunlar öğrettiler mi? Eğer öğrettilerse, bana o oyunun nasıl oynandığını anlatabilir misin?
 - 1.2.1. Eğer öğretmedilerse, neden sana yeni bir oyun öğretmediler?
2. Başka ülkeden gelen arkadaşlarına onların ülkeleri ile ilgili sorular sordun mu? Mesela neler sordun?
 - 2.1. Başka ülkeden gelen sınıf arkadaşın sorularını nasıl cevapladılar?
 - 2.2. Sen soru sorduğunda onlar mutlu ve hoş karşılandıklarını hissettiler mi?
 - 2.3. Bu arkadaşların hiç sana geldikleri yerdeki okullarından, arkadaşlarından ve öğretmenlerinden bahsettiler mi? Eğer anlattırlarsa benimle de paylaşır mısın?
 - 2.4. Sence sen neler yapmalısın ki bu arkadaşların kendilerini evlerinde gibi hissetsin? 2.5. Sence sen burdaki başka ülkeden gelen arkadaşına sen başka bir ülkeye gittiğinde sana davranılmasını istediğin gibi davranıyor musun?
3. Eğer başka ülkeden gelen sınıf arkadaşlarıyla arkadaşlığına 10 üzerinden bir puan verecek olsan, kaç puan verirdin? 1 en düşük, 10 en yüksek puan.
 - 3.1. Sence neden bu puanı verdin? Neler senin bu puanı vermene sebep oldu?
 - 3.2. Sence başka ülkeden gelen sınıf arkadaşların kendi ülkeleri hakkında daha çok şey paylaşırsalar arkadaşlığınız daha mı çok gelişirdi?

D. Yabancı uyruklu öğrencilerin dil öğrenimi ile ilgili sorular

1. Haydi seninle başka ülkeden gelen sınıf arkadaşlarının ilk geldikleri zamanki Türkçe konuşmaları hakkında konuşalım. Lütfen bana o zamanki anılarından hatırladıklarını anlatır mısın?
 - 1.1. Onların Türkçeleri kulağına nasıl geliyor? Onlar Türkçe konuşurken neler düşünüyorsun?
 - 1.2. Onlara Türkçe öğrenirken yardımcı oluyor musun?
 - 1.3. Bana onlara nasıl Türkçe öğrettiklerine dair örnek verir misin?
2. Başka ülkeden gelen sınıf arkadaşlarının hangi dili konuştuğunu biliyor musun?
 - 2.1. Onlara sana kendi dillerinde bazı kelimeler öğretmelerini istedin mi?
 - 2.2. Onların dilinden hangi kelimeleri biliyorsun?
 - 2.3. Öğretmenin seni ve diğer arkadaşlarını başka ülkeden gelen sınıf arkadaşlarının dilini öğrenmek istediğinde destekliyorlar mı?
3. Okulunuzda başka ülkeden gelen sınıf arkadaşların için hazırlanan etkinlikler var mı?
 - 3.1. Varsa, bana bu etkinliklerden bahsedebilir misin? Bu etkinlikler içinde en çok neler hoşuna gitti?
 - 3.2. Yosa, başka ülkeden gelen sınıf arkadaşların için etkinlikler hazırlanacak olsa onların kültürünü öğrenmek hoşuna gider miydi?

Teşekkür ederim. Gerçekten çok iyi iş çıkardın. Senin bana deneyimlerini anlatıyor olmanı çok takdir ediyorum. Seni tekrar iki hafta sonra göreceğim. Gelecek sefer seninle daha önce konuştuklarımız hakkında konuşacağız. Son görüşmemiz daha önce konuştuklarımızın bir özeti gibi olacak. Seni iki hafta sonra görmeyi bekliyorum. Sana tekrar hatırlatmama izin ver. Eğer soruların varsa bana ve aileme sorabilirsin.

III. Üçüncü görüşmede kullanılacak sorular

E. Görüşmelerin sonu

Merhaba ... (Çocuğun adı)

Bu güzel sohbetler için çok teşekkür ederim. Senin deneyimlerin hakkında çok şey öğrendim ve seni çok takdir ettim. Benim bütün sorularımı cevapladığını düşünüyorum. Şimdi soru sorma sırası sende. Herhangi bir sorun var mı? (Eğer cevabı evetse, ben onun sorularını cevaplıyorum. Eğer hayır ise, aşağıdaki sorularla devam ediyorum.)

1. Biz bitirmeden önce bana sormak istediğin herhangi bir soru var mı? Belki, senin başka konular hakkında konuşsa idik daha iyi olurdu dediğin şeyler vardır.
 - 1.1. Eğer benim yerimde sen ve bende senin yerinde olsaydım, bana ne sorular sorardın?
 - 1.2. En çok hangi konu hakkında konuşmayı sevdim?
 - 1.3. En çok hangi konu hakkında konuşmayı sevmedin?
 - 1.4. Hangi konu senin için hakkında konuşması zor olan konuydu?
 - 1.5. Biz sohbet ederken ne zaman kendini çok rahat hissettin?

Sana bütün samimiyetimle katılımın için çok teşekkür ederim. Daha sonra benimle konuşmak istersen, beni okulda ve öğretmenler odasında teneffüs zamanlarında bulabilirsin. İletişim bilgilerin öğretmenlerinde ve ailede var. Dilediğin zaman büyüklerinden izin alarak benimle görüşebilirsiniz.

Curriculum Vitae

Ozlem Erden

Fulbright Ph.D. Scholar

Curriculum Studies
Curriculum & Instruction
Indiana University, Bloomington-School of Education

Last updated: 03/15/2017

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

- Ph.D., Curriculum Studies, Curriculum & Instruction, July, 2017, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN/USA
 - CGPA: 3.95/4.00
- International Summer School in Forced Migration, July 2015, Oxford University, Oxford/UK
- Graduate Studies, Summer Institute on Sexuality, Culture & Society, August 2014, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam/ the Netherlands
- M.S., Educational Sciences, Curriculum & Instruction, July 2013, Middle East Technical University, Ankara/Turkey
 - Master's Thesis, An assessment of MoNE-YLSY scholarship program from the perspectives of scholars': Changes in cultural, political, economic and educational perceptions. Thesis advisor: Ahmet Ok, Ph.D.; defended July 2013.
- Postgraduate Exchange Studies, Education Studies, Department of Education, September 2012, Middlesex University, London/UK
- B.S., Science Teaching, Division of Science Teaching, June 2010, Hacettepe University, Ankara/Turkey

Languages

Turkish-Native
English-Near Native
Arabic-Advanced low
Ottoman-Intermediate

Achievements

- 2016 Fall Fee Assistance Award by Office of Office of International Services at Indiana University, Bloomington
- 2015-2016 Shirley Engle Fellowship

- 2015 Summer International Enhancement Grant by Indiana University (IU)
- 2013-present Fulbright Foreign Student Program, Ph. D, Curriculum & Instruction, Indiana University, Bloomington
- 2014-2015 Fee Remission Award for Ph.D. Program in Curriculum Studies provided by Office of International Services at Indiana University
- 2013-2014 Fee Remission Award for Ph.D. Program in Curriculum Studies provided by Office of International Services at Indiana University
- 2011-2012 Erasmus Postgraduate Exchange Program Scholarship
- 2010-2011 Middle East Technical University(METU)Performance Awards - Ranked 1st

PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS-EMPLOYMENT

- 2015-2017 Graduate Assistantship at Center for International Education, Development & Research at Indiana University, Bloomington/US
- 2017 Spring Project Assistant for the 2017 Afghanistan English Curriculum and Educational Policy Project-Center for International Education, Development & Research at Indiana University, Bloomington/US
 - 2017 Spring Project Assistant for the 2017 Fulbright Russian International Education Administrators-Center for International Education, Development & Research at Indiana University, Bloomington/US
 - 2016 Fall Associate Instructor of the Specialized Seminar for 2016 Fulbright Distinguished Award in Teaching Program-Center for International Education, Development & Research at Indiana University, Bloomington/US
 - 2016 Fall Inquiry Project Coordinator for the 2016 Fulbright Distinguished Award in Teaching Program-Center for International Education, Development & Research at Indiana University, Bloomington/US
 - 2016 Spring Project Assistant for the 2016 Fulbright Russian International Education Administrators-Center for International Education, Development & Research at Indiana University, Bloomington/US
 - 2015 Fall Inquiry Project Coordinator for the 2015 Fulbright Distinguished Award in Teaching Program-Center for International Education, Development & Research at Indiana University, Bloomington/US
 - 2015 October Project Assistant of Transformational Leadership Program (TLP)—Scholarships and Partnerships University of Prishtina Faculty of Education and Indiana University Partnership USAID Kosovo/World

Learning-Center for International Education, Development & Research
at Indiana University, Bloomington/US

2016 Summer	Summer Counsellor and Facilitator of the Balfour Scholars Program-Center for P-16 Research & Collaboration, Indiana University, Bloomington/USA
2016 Summer	Language Instructor and Cultural Activity Coordinator of the Summer Language Workshop-Turkish Flagship Program, Indiana University, Bloomington/USA
2016 Summer	Language Instructor and Cultural Activity Coordinator of the Business is Global Summer Language Program, Indiana University, Bloomington/USA
2016 Spring	Field Coordinator of the Istanbul Province of the Projects of Profiles and the Living Conditions of the Foreigners Legally Residing in Turkey-Institute of Populations Studies, Hacettepe University, Ankara/Turkey, Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior, and Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior Ankara Directorate General of Migration Management
2015 Summer	Interviewer and Data Coder for the Partnership for Improving Mathematics and Science Instruction through Integration and Tapping Teacher Potential (Improving Teacher Quality – ITQ), Indiana University, Bloomington /US
2011 to 2012	Education Platform Coordinator, Social Studies Centre, London/UK
2009 to 2010	Assistant Science Teacher, Turhan Feyzioglu Elementary School, Ankara/Turkey
2008 to 2009	Assistant Tutor, ANAFEN Private Institution, Ankara/ Turkey
2007 to 2010	Private Tutor of International Baccalaureate (IB) students, Ankara/Turkey
2006 Summer	Library Assistant, Hacettepe University Beytepe Library, Ankara/Turkey
2004 Summer	Taekwondo and Kickbox Trainer, OZAY Sports Club, Kayseri/Turkey

SERVICE

Academic Service

2017 Spring	Academic Jury at Curriculum and Instruction Research and Creative Activity Symposium (CIRCAS), School of Education, Indiana University, Bloomington/Indiana-USA
2015 to 2016	Conference Proceeding Editor for the International Conference on Gender and Education, Bloomington/Indiana-USA
2013 to present	Reviewer, Journal of Sociology Study, David Publishing Company, Rosemead, CA/ USA
2013 to 2015	Academic Coordinator and International Committee Member, International Conference on Gender and Education, Bloomington, IN/USA

- 2013- 2014 International Committee Member, International Gender and Law Conference, Izmir/ Turkey
- 2013 Spring Local Committee Member, International Gender and Migration Conference, Istanbul/ Turkey
- 2012 to 2013 International Committee Member, the Third International Conference on Critical Education, Ankara/ Turkey
- 2012 to 2016 Education Platform Associate, Social Studies Centre, London, UK

Professional Service

- 2017 Spring CIRCAS Academic Jury- Curriculum & Instruction Research Creative Activity Symposium. School of Education, Indiana University, Bloomington-IN, USA.
- 2015-2016 Co-President of Turkish Student Association, Indiana University, Bloomington/ USA
- Turkish Republic Day Reception September 29, 2016, Bloomington, IN/USA
 - IU World Fair, November 12, 2015, Bloomington, IN/USA
 - Coffee Hour with Abdurrahman Tarikci on Turkish Folk Music, November 20, 2015, Bloomington, IN/USA
 - Songs of the 90s and Bowling, January 24, 2016, Bloomington, IN/USA
 - Turkish Poetry Night in Collaboration with the Turkish Flagship Language Program, February 19, 2016, Bloomington, IN/USA
- 2015 March Session Chair, 2015 Comparative International Education Society Conference, Washington, DC, USA
- 2014 Fall Conference Organizing Committee Member, Midwest Conference of the Comparative and International Education Society, Bloomington-IN, USA.
- 2013 Spring Session Moderator, Curriculum & Instruction Research Creative Activity Symposium. School of Education, Indiana University, Bloomington-IN, USA.
- 2011 October Event Organization Member, Welcome Reception, University of Westminster, London, UK
- 2012 April Event Organization Member, Networking Brunch for Postgraduate Students, London, UK

RESEARCH PROJECTS

- 2016 Spring Profiles and the Living Conditions of the Foreigners Legally Residing in Turkey- Institute of Populations Studies, Hacettepe University, Ankara/Turkey, Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior, and Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior Ankara Directorate General of Migration Management

2011 to 2012 Education Seminar Series, London/UK

- International social mobility and family transmission among migrants, May 2012
- Education and social mobility-From 'Royal Avenue' to a Mechanism of Stasis, March 2012
- Book Launch, Education, Asylum, and 'the Non-citizen' Child; The Politics of Compassion and Belonging, February 2012
- Documentary Screening: "Söz Bizde - We Have the Voice" - Turkish Youth in London, November 2011

2012 Spring Youth in Action Project, London/UK

2010 Spring Science Festival Project, Turhan Feyzioglu Elementary School, Ankara/TURKEY

2009 Spring Forestation Project, Atatürk Forest Farm, and Zoo, Ankara/TURKEY

RESEARCH INTERESTS AND PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Academic Profile

My academic interests, in general, focus on human mobility, multicultural education, critical theory, inquiry methodology, gender and sexuality, and curriculum planning. My scholarship concentrates on critical race theory, queer theory, and feminist theory. Particularly, I am interested in exploring issues related to immigrant, refugee and minority education along with international student mobility with an eventual aim of creating educational solutions. I am also interested in preparing educational programs to deal with urgent and unexpected needs of vulnerable communities.

Publications

Erden, O. (2016). Building Bridges for Refugee Empowerment. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 1-17.

Erden, O. (2013). *An assessment of MoNE-YLSY scholarship program from the perspectives of scholars': Changes in cultural, political, economic and educational perceptions.* (Master), Middle East Technical University, Ankara.

Erden, O. (2013). *Experiences of a Syrian Family in Social and Educational Context: Case Study.* Paper presented at the International Conference on Gender and Migration: Critical Issues and Policy Implications, Istanbul, Turkey.

Erden, O. (Under Review-Comparative Education Review). Immigrants and Citizenship Education in the Netherlands

Erden, O. (in preparation). An Examination of Unwelcoming Discourse upon Refugee Children in British Schools.

Erden, O. (in preparation). The *Derslane* Debate: Shadow over Education and the Test and Toast Generation

Erden, O. (in preparation). Science Teaching Department Graduates' Understandings of Attitudes and Issues in Sex Education

Erden, O. (in preparation). English Education in India: A Path to Participation and Inclusion?

Erden, O. (in preparation). Elementary Science Teachers' Approaches to Deal with Controversial Issues Regarding Sexuality and Sex Education.

Conference Presentations

Erden, O. (2016, April). Historical Influences on Present Day Refugee Education in Turkey. Paper will be presented at American Educational Research Association (AERA), Washington, DC, USA

Erden, O. (2016, April). Immigrants and Citizenship Education in the Netherlands. Paper will be presented at American Educational Research Association (AERA), Washington, DC, USA.

Erden, O. (2015, October). Refugee Youth and Discourse of Belongingness in Turkey. Paper presented at American Association for Teaching and Curriculum, Portland-Maine, USA

Erden, O. (2015, May). *Local Women Initiatives for Improving Refugee Education and Empowering Women*. Paper presented at International Conference on Gender and Education, Bloomington-Indiana, USA.

Erden, O. (2015, April). *An Examination of Unwelcoming Discourse upon Refugee Children in British Schools*. Paper presented at American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies Conference, Chicago-Illinois, USA.

Erden, O. (2015, March). *Critical Assessment of Turkish Study Abroad Program*. Paper presented at Comparative and International Education Society Conference (CIES), Washington DC., USA.

Erden, O. & Hollett, A. (2015, February). *Sexuality Politics, Identity, and Citizenship*. Course design presented at Curriculum and Instruction Research and Creative Activity Symposium (CIRCAS), Bloomington-Indiana, USA.

Erden, O. (2015, February). *How can the key structural elements of language learning experiences of Syrian Refugee children in Turkey be utilized to enhance their social and educational adaptation?* Work-in-progress paper presented at Chicago Curriculum Studies Student Symposium, Chicago-Illinois, USA.

Erden, O. (2014, June). *English Education in India: A Path to Participation and Inclusion?* Paper presented at the VI. International Congress of Educational Research. Hacettepe University, Ankara, Turkey.

Erden, O. (2014, May). *Elementary science teachers' approaches to deal with controversial issues regarding sexuality and sex education*. Paper presented at International Journal of Arts and Sciences Academic Conference. Harvard University, Boston, USA.

Yildirim, E. & Erden, O. (2013, May). *The critiques of the budget provided to private special education centers for the education of individuals with special needs: Parents' perspective*. Paper presented at III. International Conference on Critical Education. Ankara University, Ankara, Turkey.

Erden, O. (2013, June). *The understanding of science teaching department graduates on attitudes and issues in sex education*. Paper presented at 5th International Congress of Educational Research. Canakkale 18 Mart University, Canakkale, Turkey.

Erden, O. (2013, May). *Experiences of a Syrian family in social and educational context: A Case study*. Paper presented at International Conference on Gender and Migration: Critical Issues and Policy Implications. Marmara University, Istanbul, Turkey.

Erden, O. (2013, April). *Comparative analysis of parental involvement in educational activities among Turkish-speaking migrant parents*. Paper presented at II. International Social Studies Education Symposium. Aksaray University, Aksaray, Turkey.

Erden, O. (2013, March). *An assessment of YLSY scholarship program and determining the factors affecting the scholars' cultural, political, economic and educational perception throughout international student mobility process: UK case*. A portion of this research presented at Citizenship and Belonging: A BSA-Sponsored Postgraduate Conference at the University of Nottingham, Nottingham, UK.

Erden, O. (2012, September). *Perception of Turkish-speaking parents on their children's education*. Paper presented at British Association for International and Comparative Education Conference. The University of Cambridge, Cambridge, UK.

Erden, O. & Balci, N. (2012, June). *The changes of Turkish students' perception on marginalization throughout the student mobility process*. Paper presented at Understanding the Migrant Experience-Postgraduate Research Conference. Swansea University, Swansea, UK.

Atilgan, H. & Erden, O. (2012, June). *Analysis on Turkish-speaking parents' involvement in secondary education in and out of school*. Paper presented at Understanding the Migrant Experience-Postgraduate Research Conference. Swansea University, Swansea, UK.

Grants and Funds

Received up to \$15,001.00 Fee Remission for Ph.D. Program in Curriculum Studies (Spring 2016)

Received up to \$1,500 International Services Cash Award from Office of International Services at Indiana University, Bloomington/IN-USA (Fall 2016)

Received up to \$15,001.00 Fee Remission for Ph.D. Program in Curriculum Studies (Fall 2016)

Received \$350 Travel Grant from Indiana University School of Education Curriculum and Instruction Department for the American Association for Teaching and Curriculum (AATC) conference 2015 in Portland/ Maine-USA

Received \$190 Conference Fee Remission from the American Association for Teaching and Curriculum (AATC) Conference 2015 in Portland/ Maine-USA

Received £1000 2015 International Fellowship-Tuition Fee Remission Grant for attending International Summer School in Forced Migration at Oxford University, UK

Received \$14,000 Shirley Engle Fellowship for 2015-2016 academic year from Indiana University for continuing doctoral studies

Received \$2000 International Enhancement Grant Summer 2015, from the Office of the Vice President for International Affairs for attending International Summer School in Forced Migration at Oxford University, UK

Received \$250 Travel Grant from UREAG (Under-Represented Ethnic and Ability Groups) for Attending 2015 Comparative and International Education Society Conference

Received up to \$ 18,873.00 Fee Remission Award for Ph.D. Program in Curriculum Studies (August 2014)

Received \$70,000.00 Fulbright Foreign Student Program, Institute of International Education (August 2013 - May 2015)

Received up to \$18,913.00 Fee Remission Award for Ph.D. Program in Curriculum Studies (May 2013)

Received All-Inclusive Travel Grant for Pittsburgh Fulbright Enrichment Seminar, Pittsburgh, PA, (March 2013)

Received All-Inclusive Travel Grant to present a paper at British Association for International and Comparative Education Conference, Cambridge, UK, (September 2012)

Received All-Inclusive Travel to present a paper at Understanding the Migrant Experience-Postgraduate Research Conference, Swansea, UK, (July 2012).

Received All-Inclusive Tuition Fee Coverage and £540 Monthly Stipend for 12 months from Erasmus Exchange Program

Guest Lectures

2017 March *"The Overview of Refugee Education in Turkey: Challenges and Opportunities in Access to Education"* An invited talk at the National Board of Visitors Meeting at Indiana University, Bloomington/Indiana-USA

2017 March *"National and International Frameworks Regulating the Refugee Education in Turkey: Challenges and Opportunities of Refugee Education"* A keynote speech was given at No Lost Generation at Indiana University, Bloomington/ IN -USA

2017 March *"The Challenges of Syrian Child Refugees in Turkish Schools"* A keynote speech was given at No Lost Generation at the University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati/Ohio-USA

- 2017 February Panel moderator of *“The Future of Higher Education in Afghanistan”* panel at Indiana University organized in collaboration with the Inner Asian and Uralic National Resource Centre and the Centre for International Education, Development and Research (CIEDR)
- 2017 February *“Schools and Schooling in Turkey”* A keynote speech was given at Indiana University, Bloomington as part of the Schools around the World Lecture Series: A Series of Multi-Media Lectures, Bloomington-Indiana/ USA.
- 2016 November Guest Lecturer- Syrian Refugee Crisis and Refugee Resettlement Policies of Turkey- Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey/USA
- 2016 November Panellist -Film Screening and Discussion in the International Education Week- School of Education, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana/USA
- 2016 September Turkish Flagship Talk on Refugee Education Policies in Turkey- Turkish Flagship Program at Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana /USA
- 2016 February *“Tips for Applying to Graduate School”* A professional presentation given at a professional workshop for helping prospective students to apply US graduate schools, Bloomington, Indiana/USA
- 2015 February *“Schools and Schooling in Turkey”* A keynote speech was given at Indiana University, Bloomington as part of Schools around the World Lecture Series: A Series of Multi-Media Lectures, Bloomington-Indiana/ USA.

Conferences

- 12 February 2016 21st Annual Preparing Future Faculty Conference- Focus on the Future: Opportunities and Challenges in the Next Generation University, Bloomington, Indiana/USA
- 16-20 April 2015 American Educational Research 2015 Annual Meeting, Chicago-Illinois/ USA
- 5-6 March 2012 International Conference on Education: Diverse Talents for the Future of Europe, Brussels/BELGIUM
- 24-27 November 2008 Hacettepe University- 7. Human Resource and Personal Development Congress Ankara/TURKEY

PERSONAL INTERESTS

- I am interested in martial arts to maintain my physical health and spiritual well-being. I was a licensed kickboxer and taekwondo player for seven years from 1999 to 2006.
- I enjoy cooking and baking recipes from Italian, Moroccan, and Turkish cuisine.
- I am interested in observing and photographing the nature, and searching the origin of different plants and seeds.

- I like joining philosophy discussion forums to discuss on the interpretation of philosophy texts.
- I play strategy games such as GO, Chinese checker, Turkish checker, and cross-checker.