


Exploring major roadblocks on inclusive education of Syrian refugees in school settings

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ABSTRACT There have been thousands of Syrian kids studying at Turkish public schools since the beginning of Syrian migration. This study aims to reveal the social and cultural motivations causing the barriers in front of inclusive education of Syrian refugees within school environments. This qualitative research was designed as a case study. Accordingly, the study group of the research is composed of 12 teachers and 5 administrators from five schools having Syrian refugee students and 10 parents consisting of both Syrian and Turkish kids. The data was gathered through semi-structured interviews. At the end of the data analysis, four main themes were found as: “Language Diversity”, “Reflections of Major Social Problems in Schools”, “The Dilemmas Based upon Integration Policies” and “Mutual Roots as an Inclusion Area”. Results of this study show that a collective and holistic approach is necessary to overcome the barriers in front of inclusive education of Syrian refugees.

Keywords: Inclusive education, Syrian refugees, Migration, Education

Okul ortamlarında Suriyeli mültecilerin kapsayıcı eğitimleri önündeki başlıca engellerin araştırılması

ÖZ Suriye’de başlayan iç savaş boyunca birçok Suriye vatandaşı başka ülkelere göç etmek zorunda kalmıştır. Bu ülkelerin başında, Suriye’nin en uzun sınıra sahip komşusu Türkiye gelmektedir. Suriye’den Türkiye’ye göç başladığından bu yana, Türkiye’deki devlet okullarında binlerce Suriyeli çocuk öğrenim görmektedir. Bu araştırma okul ve okul çevresinde Suriyeli mültecilerin kapsayıcı eğitimlerinin önündeki engellere kaynaklık eden motivasyonları ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu nitel araştırma bir durum çalışması olarak desenlenmiştir. Bu doğrultuda, Suriyeli mülteci öğrencilerin öğrenim gördüğü okullarda görev yapan 12 öğretmen ve 5 okul yöneticisi ile, Suriyeli ve Türk öğrencilerin velilerinden meydana gelen 10 öğrenci velisi araştırmanın çalışma grubunu oluşturmaktadır. Araştırmanın verileri, araştırma kapsamında uygulanan yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler ve sahada edinilen gözlemlerden yoluyla elde edilmiştir. Verilerin analizi sonucunda dört ana temaya ulaşılmıştır: “Dil Farklılığı”, “Temel Sosyal Problemlerin Okuldaki Yansımaları”, “Entegrasyon Politikaları Temelli İkiyemler” ve “Bir Dahil Olma Alanı Olarak Ortak Kökler”. Araştırma sonuçları, Suriyeli mültecilere kapsayıcı eğitimlerin önündeki engelleri kaldırmada kolektif ve bütüncül bir yaklaşımın gerekli olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kapsayıcı eğitim, Suriyeli mülteciler, Göç, Eğitim

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INTRODUCTION

Migration, in the widest sense, is a social and cultural relocation movement that people act individually or in mass because of political, geographic, economic or familial reasons, and that can transform not only the migrating people but also the societies these people are included (Kaysılı, 2014). Besides, migration can be defined more specifically in the context of its causes and the voluntariness of migrating people. Thus, there can be seen five broad classes of migration, designated as primitive, forced, impelled, free and mass (Petersen, 1958). Among these, forced migration has become prominent in recent years with its increasing importance in social, cultural and political debates. According to Hazan (2012; cited in Akşit, Bozok, & Bozok, 2015), the forced migration means that people have to leave their homes and go to safer areas for many reasons such as natural or man-made disasters and wars. Forced migration, in fact, has increased considerably in volume and political significance since the end of the Cold War (Castles, 2003) and with the rising proxy wars related to identity conflicts and ethnic problems of state formations, especially in the Middle East, wars have become the dominant factor of forced migration. The activating agent in forced migration is the state or some functionally equivalent social institution and people do not have the power to decide whether or not to leave (Petersen, 1958). Obligation, instead of willingness, is the keyword in forced migration.

Syria, as a country facing many dimensions of civil war, is the latest field that forced migration movements can be seen. The Syrian conflict and war have contributed such a large refugee crisis in recent history that millions of people have been trying to get protection and safe places (Drolet, Enns, Kreitzer, Shankar, & McLaughlin, 2018). Turkey, as a neighbor country of Syria, couldn't be unconcerned with this situation and took over the responsibility by implementing an 'open gate policy'. So, Turkey became the country receiving the most intensive migration with this policy after the civil war in Syria (Bakbak, 2018). Within open gate policy, Syrian refugees were given temporary protection status and it was set out in an unpublished Ministry of the Interior circular issued in March 2012 (Amnesty International, 2014). The regulation provides a legal status giving some social rights such as identity cards and social support (Saleh, Aydın, & Koçak, 2018). As of March 2019, 3,651,635 Syrian refugees have been living in Turkey and only 140.704 of them are living in temporary accommodation centers (Directorate General of Migration Management, 2019). It means that 3,5 million Syrian refugees, approximately, are living in various cities of Turkey. According to the statistical data of UNICEF (2018), 1,6 million of Syrian refugees living in Turkey are children; and more than 430.000 of them are out of school, while 565,907 Syrian children are enrolled in formal education. It is obvious that such a huge number of refugees may have some effects on the social life of the receiving country. So, education, as one of the most important social institutions of society, gets its share from these effects.

Without mechanisms in place to ensure that newcomers are adequately integrated into their newly adopted society, these people can face the risk of being far from social life or opportunities (Caidi & Allard, 2005). Therefore, joining of millions of refugees into a society makes it unavoidable for a country to think about the integration processes of these people. Integration includes financial, cultural and educational aspects. Turkey, at this point, maintained the same hospitable attitude in the educational field and put an inclusive education model into practice for Syrian refugee kids in schools. Inclusion is considered as a form of integration in which individuals express an interest in maintaining strong connections both with their ethnic group and host culture (Berry, 2006; cited in Passiatore et al., 2017). Inclusive education is a term that was essentially used in integration ways of disabled students within school environments. But it has recently had a larger usage along with increasing cultural diversity debates in the educational field (Taylor & Sidhu, 2012). According to this model, both Turkish and Syrian kids study in the same classes and instruction is conducted within the Turkish language. But the demands of Syrian kids are fulfilled as well. The aim here is to minimize the discrimination (Özcan, 2018). Because, according to inclusive education, all students in schools, regardless of their differences, are part of the school community and can feel that they belong (Taylor & Sidhu, 2012). So, schools can

discharge neutralizing the differences having potential to cause conflicts between Turkish and Syrian kids, and between the society and the refugees accordingly, through an inclusive school culture of warmth and welcome. But there are some sociocultural roadblocks for schools to carry out such an inclusive school culture.

Migration, for a refugee, means facing different social and cultural patterns and experiencing the challenges of being a stranger in a new society. Language is an important cultural component and it becomes a crucial cultural capital for refugees in order to survive in this new society. Because language is the basic means for people, especially in a new society, to express themselves and to interact with others (Biçer, 2017), it inevitably becomes the dominant difficulty that the refugees face in the destination country. The challenges based on language diversity can be seen not only in social life but also in educational processes. Being unfamiliar with the native language of the host country can pose an obstacle in the instructional processes of the refugee kids having education in Turkish public schools. Correspondingly, this can be another barrier in the social inclusion of the refugees; because education is also responsible for contributing the social inclusion efforts in school settings.

Poverty is the other important source of roadblocks for social inclusion in educational processes. Most of the Syrian refugees arrived in Turkey with almost no financially valuable things or money with them, no means to meet their basic needs (Amnesty International, 2014) and they were entirely dependent on government aids. Due to their high conditions of poverty, settlement types of the refugees are formed correspondingly. It means that Syrian refugees settled the suburbs of cities where many social, economic, and political problems are already major social facts. Besides, the regions where Syrians settled are the places where many Turkish unemployed people were living as well. So, when the Syrian refugees tried to find jobs, it became the first clash between local people and Syrian refugees. Because Syrian refugees could work for very low costs, the employer began to prefer hiring them instead of local people. So, local people faced with losing their current jobs. When Syrian kids were sent to schools, they were together with the kids whose parents are already in aggressive competition to get a job. Soon after, Turkish families did not want Syrian kids to attend the same school with their kids, and what is worse, some school administrators and some teachers have similar negative attitudes towards Syrian kids in school settings. This study tries to answer how sociocultural clashes between Turkish kids and Syrians interrupt inclusive education of Syrian refugees. Within this context, schools were considered as the fields for social conflicts, while trying to comprehend how these conflicts were moved into the school.

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

This study is a qualitative research and designed as a case study research. The case study is conducted in order to develop a holistic and in-depth understanding of the certain phenomenon and where the boundaries of the case and the context cannot be easily distinguished (Creswell, 2015; Yin, 2009). According to Patton (2014), the cases to be investigated can be individuals, groups, programs, institutions, cultures, regions or nation-states. The case discussed within this study is the roadblocks for the social inclusion of Syrian students within the school settings.

Sampling and Research Group

In this study, a convenient sampling strategy (Frankel & Wallen, 2006) was adopted. Therefore, this research has been conducted in schools where Syrian refugees attend at higher rates. Five middle schools located in Ankara were determined to conduct the study. In order to be able to present a profound

conception of the target case, data source triangulation was employed and volunteer teachers, school administrators, and parents were included in the study. A total of 12 teachers, five school administrators, and 10 parents participated in the study. Pseudonyms were used instead of the real names of participants and we stated if anyone is a teacher as (*t*), a refugee parent as (*rp*), a native parent as (*np*) and a school administrator as (*a*). The data about the participants are given in Table 1, 2, and 3.

Table 1
Teacher Participants

	Name	Field of Study	Gender	Seniority
1	İlayda	English Language Teacher	Female	11 years
2	Mina	Social Studies Teacher	Female	16 years
3	Nihal	Primary School Teacher	Female	23 years
4	Ela	Primary School Teacher	Female	30 years
5	Asya	Primary School Teacher	Female	18 years
6	Liya	Primary School Teacher	Female	28 years
7	Pelin	Primary School Teacher	Female	11 years
8	Sinem	Primary School Teacher	Female	15 years
9	Kübra	Primary School Teacher	Female	11 years
10	Ali	Primary School Teacher	Male	24 years
11	Arda	Primary School Teacher	Male	23 years
12	Ece	Primary School Teacher	Female	24 years

Table 2
School Administrator Participants

	Name	School	Gender	Field of Study	Seniority
1	Yusuf	School A	Male	Primary School Teacher	16 years
2	Murat	School A	Male	Primary School Teacher	27 years
3	Mehmet	School B	Male	Primary School Teacher	32 years
4	Kerem	School C	Male	Primary School Teacher	18 years
5	Erdem	School D	Male	Primary School Teacher	21 years

Table 3
Parent Participants

	Name	Age	Children	Education	Status
1	Rana	32	4	Primary School	Syrian Refugee
2	Vale	31	3	Primary School	Syrian Refugee
3	Raja	29	4	Primary School	Syrian Refugee
4	Lil	35	5	Primary School	Syrian Refugee
5	Wehibe	33	6	Primary School	Syrian Refugee
6	Jasmin	35	4	Undergraduate	Syrian Refugee
7	Nez	37	2	Undergraduate	Syrian Refugee
8	Rabia	35	3	Undergraduate	Syrian Refugee
9	Fatma	-	3	Secondary School	Native
10	Zeynep	30	3	Secondary School	Native

Procedures

The most common and most useful interview technique used in qualitative research is semi-structured interviews (Packer, 2011). Pilot interviews were done with teachers, administrators, and parents, and later on, semi structured interviews were conducted with each group. For the interviews, interview forms have been prepared for each group, separately. The interview form for teachers composed of 13

questions and focused on the clashes emerge in the classroom and in school and the approaches of the teachers to the presence of refugee students and their educational attainment. And the form for school administrators composed of 8 questions and focused on the students and family profiles of schools, educational attainment of refugee students and the problems about the education of refugees. We have focused through the interviews with refugee problems on the problems that they experienced in social life and in the schooling practices of their children and this form for refugee parents composed of 23 questions fewer than seven themes. The form for native parents composed of 7 questions and focused on the problems what they or their children experienced with refugee students or about the presence of refugees. All the forms have been reviewed by three field experts and edited through their views before the pilot interviews. And researches reviewed the questions after the pilot interviews. When the participant did not know to speak in Turkish, interviews were done with the help of a translator. Each of the interviews with school administrators and teachers lasted for 30-40 minutes. On the other hand, the interviews with refugee parents lasted for 15-20 minutes. The interviews were recorded by a tape recorder and the necessary permissions were taken from the participants for that. After all the interviews finished, the records were transcribed verbatim. Though observations were carried out within an unstructured way, there were some descriptive themes with the researchers before going to the research site.

Data Analysis

Data gathered was analyzed through two coding cycles with an inductive way of coding. In the first cycle; a thematic coding strategy was conducted in the first cycle. In the second cycle, Pattern coding was used in the second cycle so as to create themes for the research report. The codes thought to be related to each other were gathered under categories. Then, the themes under which categories were subsumed were reached. Details of Themes have been tabled in Figure 1. Four main themes were formed which are “Language Diversity”, “Reflections of Major Social Problems in Schools”, “The Dilemmas Based upon Integration Policies” and “Mutual Roots as an Inclusion Area”. The categories collected under the themes were interpreted and supported with direct quotations.

Themes and Categories	Language Diversity	
	A major problem for instructional activities from the point of educators	
	The main limitation for family participation in school	
	Reflections of Major Social Problems in Schools	
	Social status anxiety	
	A collective marginalizing process	
	Refugees as a source of new social problems	
	Insufficiency of economic and cultural resources	
	The Dilemmas Based upon Integration Policies	
	Problems of balancing instructional activities between refugees and natives	
	Breaking or reinforcing the minority constellation	
	Mutual Roots as an Inclusion Area	
	Religious School- as an advantaged educational environment	
	Ethnic Background- Reinforcing disadvantages	

Figure 1. Themes and Categories

Validity and Reliability

The basic strategy for validity and reliability employed in this study is consistency. For consistency related to the question “whether the proposed results can be obtained from the data at hand” (Akar, 2016), the collected data was analyzed and then they were descriptively presented and enhanced with direct quotations. Direct quotations formed the basis for the researcher's comments and explanations on the subject. Interpretations of the research findings were supported by discussions from the literature and both internal comment and external comment criteria were met.

The Role of the Researcher

Since the qualifications and standpoint of a researcher are important elements of a qualitative study, the experiences and approaches of the researcher may cause presuppositions about the research. However, a researcher should be aware of his/her approaches and thoughts and should suppress them (Creswell, 2005). For suppression, theoretical base about the study field gains importance. This research has been conducted by an associate professor and two research assistants studying on the sociology of education. In addition, cultural studies are among their research interests and one of the researchers studies on migration and education, also. During the field study, as researchers we based on the theoretical knowledge and self-awareness have been regarded. However, we have come up with some problems especially during the interviews with the refugee parents apart from language diversity. They were all women and because of the cultural assumptions, it was a hard job to persuade them for an interview. The female researcher has visited them at their house or the associations that they attended and interviewed with the women accepted to interview.

FINDINGS

Language Diversity: The Common Problem

Because of the migrations from other countries, problems based on multilingualism and multiculturalism have emerged in Turkey. Accordingly, these problems reflect to school settings in various ways. Schools, especially in disadvantaged regions, faced with problems about the education of refugees. Namely, new problems related with social and cultural conflicts have been added. The results of diversity arose in educational fields, especially as language problems. Language is the main tool for communication and it is a fact that adaptation to a new social order is possible with familiarizing and interacting with the society. Since interaction is possible with communication, using the same language becomes more important within a social structure. Thus language diversity is seen as a roadblock on the inclusion of refugees. When the social components of the school (students, teachers, parents, and school administrators) cannot communicate with each other effectively, inclusion is blocked. Language diversity is a common problem for all subjects within the problematic of refugee education. In terms of this study, the views of both teachers and school administrators and refugee parents have shown that language diversity is the initial step that should be negotiated.

A major problem for instructional activities from the point of educators

Language diversity becomes a problem for instructional activities in terms of two implications. The former one is that since students do not use the target language, they cannot lead in the classroom process and the later one is that teachers cannot arrange his/her instructional activities for the interest of refugee students. Language is a tool for communication and can function as the information source about the newly arrived students. Being unfamiliar with Turkish also prohibits refugee students from communicating with their teachers and peers and thus they cannot become socialized and can be excluded. Thus it seems compulsory to design policies in order to close the gaps. Knowing about students' educational backgrounds gains importance here for teachers in terms of arranging classroom activities and they can only do that through a suitable communication. Educators regard language diversity as an integration problem, and instructional problem accordingly, and the unknowing language of refugees is regarded as a roadblock. Language diversity is a problem for teachers in terms of instructional activities since they could not teach to children with whom they do not use the same language. Educators declared that the reason for being unsuccessful of refugee students is that they cannot speak in Turkish and if the language problem is overcome, the instruction and inclusion problems can be solved.

Mina (t): They don't understand the lessons because they don't know Turkish adequately and so they cannot succeed in lessons. They definitely need to learn Turkish. If not, I think, these kids are going to schools in vain.

Kerem (a): Our biggest problem is language. They cannot communicate without knowing language. When we solve this problem, the other problems are already solved as such.

Erdem (a): The only problem is language. When it is solved they seethe with our kids. If Syrian students are in minority in the school, they learn language easier and they socialize earlier.

The main limitations for family participation in school

The family patterns of refugee students can be defined with deficiency. Most of the refugees live in poverty and generally are lack of cultural sources. Families of refugee students studying at Turkish schools have low literacy levels and educational attainments. So, when the problem of language diversity emerges, it can be said that the disadvantaged position is doubled. This is because parents who do not know Turkish cannot communicate with the new society and cannot attend school effectively. Refugee parents stated that language diversity is an important problem for them and their children. Language diversity is a main problem also for families because they witnessed the roadblocks arising from language diversity that their children experienced. The parents reported that their children face problems because Turkish is not their first language and their children are not efficient in Turkish. Being not efficient in Turkish is a problem for refugee children because they could not attend to school effectively and early enough, and it is a problem for parents that they could not monitor their pupils' educational processes and could not support their school lives in terms of academic achievement. For refugees, language diversity can cause withdrawing from communicating with natives and sometimes from schooling as well.

Vale (rp): Due to the language problem my daughter is not at a grade level, which should really be. Because of the age gap, her communication with her classmates is broken.

Wehibe (rp): My children are not at their required grades. They lost one year due to the language problem.

Reflections of Major Social Problems in Schools

Schools are small samples of the society. Every school has social dynamics as the bigger society has, and accordingly, schools reflect similar problems as the bigger society has. So, it is necessary to look at the dynamics rooted in outside the schools to understand the clashes or conflicts within schools' social settings. Namely, in order to understand the conflicts between Syrian and native students, the environmental patterns of the school should be regarded. In this regard, the relations between the refugees and the natives gain importance. However, findings refer to conflicts between natives and refugees through social life.

The reflections of major social problems in school settings can be observed in two forms: social status anxiety and blaming the other one. Social status anxiety emerges from the social and economic problems of both Turkish and Syrian parents, and both sides blame the other one. The Syrians stated that they are excluded from the social structure mercilessly, and Turkish parents and educators stated that Syrians disturb the social order.

Social status anxiety

The social status anxiety emerges especially among Turkish parents and it reflects to school. The main reason for this anxiety is economic problems. People living in disadvantaged regions have already

economic problems, and when the population increases by the migration of Syrian refugees, the chance of getting a job decreases for natives. Since Syrians settled down these regions, they might become a threat for natives in terms of losing their jobs.

Kübra (t): The parents living in this area collected signatures against Syrian refugees; they don't accept them. They are so reactive about this situation because most of the parents living in this area lost their jobs. They were working as furniture workers. But the bosses began to employ 5 Syrian refugees instead of 1 Turkish worker. Syrian refugees work for one-fifth of a Turkish worker. So, most of the Turkish parents became unemployed.

Zeynep (np): Nobody can tell me that the Syrians are in such a difficult situation. They get a lot of help from the government. Our children don't get any help as the Syrians take. The best teachers are given to them. Then they beat our kids at school!

The refugees cause a social status anxiety among natives in terms of social relations. Teachers reported that Syrian students use irritating expressions about native students and they should have learned to speak in this way from their families.

Ela (t): A Syrian kid entered the director's room and said 'the Turks are beating me'. Their families are talking like this at home. If not, how could those kids know or learn this jargon?

Kübra (t): Turkish parents claim that Syrian kids beat their children and say bad words to them. They say, for example, 'filthy Turks!' to their children. I think the conflicts between children result from conflicts between parents. A kid cannot say 'filthy Turks'. He doesn't know such a style of speaking. It is apparent that these words are spoken by their families at their homes.

A collective marginalizing process: Blaming the other one

Every one of the social components of school (students, teachers, parents, and school administrators) has important roles in inclusive school culture. So it can be implicated that social inclusion is possible with the integration of both sides. However, during our research, we have come up with resistance among the components of integration. We stated this marginalizing process is collective since exclusion and inclusion is a two-sided phenomenon and all sides blame the other. So, it means resistance. All groups participated in the research stated their reasonable ground for exclusion. Refugee parents defined their positions through discriminations and marginalization within the society that they witnessed and the blaming and exclusion that their children were exposed to. Native parents stated that refugee students are threatening and dangerous for their children. School directors claimed that the refugees do not care about their children and education. Thus, it can be said that the exclusion process is maintained collaboratively.

Refugee parents declared that they are marginalized by natives both in schools and outside of school, excluded from the society in various ways and regarded as a threat.

Wehibe (rp): I learned marginalization after coming to Turkey. When I go to the hospital, people say 'If you are Syrian, get the hell out! You're a charge on us!'. I face the same behavior with my neighbors. My kids are marginalized at school as well.

Rabia (rp): I went to the school in our district to register my children for school. The director said, 'Enough is enough! I don't want any Syrian in my school, go away!'.

Raja (rp): When my children tell me that they are marginalized, or mocked by their friends, I feel deep despair. Imputation of being a terrorist or a bomber is too heavy for Syrian people. Even in a little theft case at school, the first group to be accused is Syrian kids.

Nez (rp): I know that my child would not be exposed to this treatment if he is not a Syrian. When a Turkish kid does the same juvenility he doesn't get such reactions. But our kids are instantly marginalized.

Most of the school administrators criticize the refugee parents that they do not care their children anyway and schools function as a caregiver for their children. Most of the educators have problems in accessing the families of refugee students and cannot reach anyone to communicate. The school administrators also stated that these parents regard the education of their children as an economic source. These views about the educational attainment patterns of refugee families can be seen as a roadblock on the sustainability of refugees' education.

Murat (a): Children are valueless for Syrians. They see the school and the teachers as childminders. The school starting age is 6. But, when their children are just 4 or 5 years old, they register them for school. The children cry at the first class, but their mothers leave them without a backward glance. They care nothing about their children, I mean.

Mehmet (a): These families see education only as financial aid. They are very indifferent. Their children don't attend school regularly.

Yusuf (a): After they register their children for school, they never come to school again. Because they only need an official school registration certificate to get financial aid from the government.

Kerem (a): For Syrian families, the educational processes of their children are not important. They come to school to take the documents necessary for getting social and financial aids. After that, we cannot follow them. Nobody knows where they go.

The native parents react to the coeducation of their children with Syrians in an exaggerated way. The view of native parents that refugee students have behavioral problems and they are not clean and healthy enough directs them to object to coeducation of their children with refugees. The native parent's participants asserted that their children be exposed to violence because of refugee students. Cultural patterns and systematic problems about the education of refugee students, here, are regarded as a roadblock.

Fatma (np): They are (Syrians) a very immoral nation. Their children know no limit. I don't want my child to have education with them.

Zeynep (np): They are older and overgrown children in classes at school. For example, my child is 8 years old, but there 10 or 11 years old children in his class. Consequently, our children are oppressed at school by these older Syrian children. There are even Syrian children who pulled a knife on our children while they are going to school.

Refugees as a source of new social problems

Since the social structure is not ready for a migration wave, new social problems arising from the migration of huge numbers of people is inevitable. Unfortunately, in Turkey, such a complicated process as the Syrian migration phenomenon is managed through daily policies organized without caution and unsystematic. And these policies are not long-lived and effective. Policies for refugees and their adaptation processes are also not well planned, and in the long run, this manner contains serious problems. Especially teachers regard social problems in terms of criminal matters.

Nihal (t): I wonder what will happen to these children ten years later. I mean, what will happen when they meet our children? For example, the children who sell paper tissues at traffic lights... How

will we able to share the same environment with these children ten years later? If we couldn't include them in educational and employment processes, it will be a great problem for us, I think.

Ela (t): These Syrian kids will be trouble for our country. Already there are lots of children that we cannot teach reading and writing in our country. Such that many of them are lost in nightlives or in drug business. With these Syrians, we take much more problematic children than we already have. What will happen to these children in the streets? Let me say; they cause trouble to us!

Insufficiency of economic and cultural resources: Priority of surviving

Forced migration means a challenging process. In a new country, refugees who have already lost all that they have should initially survive their lives. The lack of economic sources leads them to poverty and priorities in their lives are determined by their conditions. Unfortunately, education comes second after the basic surviving needs. Thus they could not support their children's educational process even if they want to do it. Unfamiliarity with the new social order and the new culture can be regarded as a roadblock for inclusion. Being survive is their priority and the most significant one is the economic conditions. Educators regard economic problems as an important roadblock for inclusion. Priority of surviving leads both parents and students left behind of education. The educators declared that if there are no financial problems, they could attend school actively and be included well.

Mehmet (a): As their economic levels rise, the adjustment problem of these children decreases. On the contrary, as the economic level decreases, the adjustment problem rises.

Ela (t): Their only aim is to survive, not to have education. If their children don't have education, it doesn't matter for their families. They don't care about their children, and so the children don't care about their own lives as well. Accordingly, they cannot learn reading and writing in a normal period. I think, there is no possibility for these children to have an academic career in our country. Only one or two percent can finish high school degree.

Liya (t): We try to include them in all our school activities. But, because they are very poor and they don't care about their children, they say that their children won't participate in the activities. For example, they don't participate in the reading festival or they don't give money for the service car that we use in museum tour. So, what can I do here? Should I separate them from their friends?

Syrian refugee students cannot attend school regularly. In some cases refugee families want their children to work and students do not want to go to school since they have a long break for education. Anyone can witness the child laboring.

Ilayda (t): We can see Syrian kids selling paper tissues in streets or collecting garbage behind the supermarkets.

Some parents also regard their economic status insufficient in order to support their children educational processes. Since they have lost what they had, they cannot achieve financial sources necessary for education.

Rana (rp): We had our own house and my husband was an electrician and he had his own workplace in Syria. The future of my children was guaranteed. But here...

Vale (rp): In Syria, when my child needed support about his lessons, I took private lessons. But we don't have any opportunities for that here.

The Dilemmas Based upon Integration Policies

There is a complicated dilemma for the inclusion of refugee students. The notion of “dilemma” has been used in order to describe this contradiction because both ways for the education of refugees have advantages and disadvantages. Though designing separate groups for refugees seems like an effective way in prevention the conflicts and withdrawing of refugees, it may reinforce the diversity. On the other hand, when refugee students are included in native students’ classes, the problems of balancing the instructional activities between two groups of students arise because of the differences in readiness level especially in terms of language problems and discontinue of education. So, the problems about the integration policies emerge in terms of balancing the instructional activities and breaking the minority constellation.

Problems of balancing instructional activities between refugees and natives

Teachers alleged that they have serious problems in balancing the instructional activities for children with different educational and language backgrounds. Accordingly, coeducation is regarded as harmful for both natives and refugees. It is harmful to natives because the learning process and the nature of their educational patterns are interrupted and slowed down. It is also harmful to refugees since they are not at the same ability level with native students because of language diversity and different educational backgrounds, the gap between native increases.

Pelin (t): It would be better if there were classes composed of only Syrian kids. Otherwise, the teachers are divided into two. She/he has to prepare two separate activities for both groups. Teachers ask questions after activities and there are explanations about the activity in the book. But Syrian kids cannot understand the explanations and so they cannot answer the questions. Because, even though she/he learns reading, he cannot understand what she/he reads. That was the most challenging part of this problem for teachers.

Yusuf (a): They know neither reading nor writing. Teachers spare thirty minutes of 40 minutes lesson for these Syrian children. So, the Turkish parents justifiably complain about this; they think that Turkish children are wronged in lessons.

Breaking or reinforcing the minority constellation

Educating refugees apart from native students seems like a solution. Hardly, this time the problem of rigid distinctions can emerge. However, for the social life living in a separated world is not possible for refugees, inclusion seems necessary. The quotations from teachers indicate that separate education is not an effective solution and for inclusive education, an effective planning should be conducted and some precautions should be taken.

Ali (t): If a separate academic group was created for Syrian kids it would be better I think. But, this time, it would be bad in the sense of including them in society. I don't know how we can balance both sides.

Mina (t): Syrian refugees have minority psychology. They are completely in contact with each other. They talk to each other. They cannot contact us. In fact, it seems like they don't want any contact.

Mutual Roots as an Inclusion Area

During our research, we have also come up with the conditions under which social inclusion emerges. There are some mutual areas that refugees can be included in without facing barriers. Herewith, historical, cultural and ethnic roots come to the forefront. Religion is an important factor for inclusion of refugees. Especially in social life, refugees can interact with natives within the religion circle.

However, for some cases, mutual religion is not for inclusion or being accepted in the new society. Other refugee groups such as Iraqi Turkmen can reinforce the exclusion of Syrians in terms of ethnic matters.

Religious school as an advantaged educational environment

Religion, as an important component of culture, may have a crucial contribution to immigrants' inclusion in the new society. Thus immigrant religion can be regarded as important for cultural integration and sometimes it can be problematic. However, since Syrians have the same religion with most of the Turkish, cultural conflicts in terms of religion are expected to emerge at the minimum level. In Turkey, during recent years, there is a growing number of religious schools. These schools have become advantaged environments for refugees. Both language (Arabic) and believing in the same religion can be regarded as the reason for attending these schools. The parents of refugee children reported that they prefer to send their children to religious schools. They stated that when they attend religious schools, they are included in the educational process, effectively and their educational attainment increases.

Rana (rp): I wanted him to be successful at Arabic lessons, so I registered him for Imam Hatip (Religious) high school.

Lil (rp): My children learned Turkish, they can speak fluently. They have no problem at school. Because I sent them to Imam Hatip (Religious) high school. They are very successful in Arabic lessons. They are the best students of their teachers. Sometimes their teachers ask them about Arabic when they cannot explain the lesson. My older son received a certificate of achievement.

Wehibe (rp): My other son, for example, nobody wants to play with him because he is a Syrian. But if they are at Imam Hatip (Religious) high school, their lives are getting better.

Ethnic background - reinforcing disadvantages

Ethnic backgrounds of the refugees can be a source of both inclusion and exclusion in the new society. There is a mutual root in the context of ethnicity reinforcing the disadvantaged positions of Syrian refugees. Homogeneity of both sides in ethnicity may possibly not pose a problem in inclusion; but, when mutual roots gain importance, ethnic discrimination can emerge and cause conflicts. This discrimination leads to distinctions among refugees as well. Thus, it can be concluded that Turkmen Refugees came from Iraq contributed to Syrian exclusion.

Sinem (t): Iraqi Turkmen kids and Syrian kids are different from each other. There was a rotted culture in Iraq. I mean, we have many more similarities with Iraqi Turkmen people in the sense of language and religion. Begin with, we speak the same language. We unavoidably feel an instant connection with Iraqi kids, thanks to this similar culture. But the behaviors and cultural backgrounds of Syrian refugees are so different.

Mina (t): Iraqi kids, of course, resemble us culturally. Once for all, they are Turkmen. I mean, Iraqi kids are not like Syrian kids.

Zeynep (np): After I saw the Syrian refugees, I understood better why the prophet Muhammad came for these Arabic people.

DISCUSSION and CONCLUSION

Social inclusion is a hard job both for refugees and natives because it requires active participation in all dimensions of life in the new country (Omidvar & Richmond, 2003). It is known that in order to achieve an effective participation, the social order should be ready for refugees and for the problems and conflicts that multiculturalism can cause. Belonging, acceptance, and recognition are the elements of social inclusion (Omidvar & Richmond, 2003) and refugees' position within the society should be regarded through these notions. Since its function within the social order, education has a crucial importance for the inclusion of refugees in society. Taylor and Sidhu (2012) also stated that schools have a crucial role in settling, developing the belonging sense and adaptation process and schools developing good practices in refugee education promotes positive images and discourses of refugees. However, there are some roadblocks for inclusion and this study aimed to explore the barriers for inclusive education and the clashes between the Turkish and Syrian students.

Man (2015) argued that the migration waves produce problems in family life, living conditions, poverty, employment problems and lack of education. Accordingly, it has caused problems for all areas of social life and education, as an important institution of the society, couldn't stay out of the effects emerging from migration. So, the education of Syrian refugees has become a new and controversial problem for Turkey. Turkey was caught unprepared for this migration wave because the refugees arrived in the country as uncontrolled huge numbers in a very short time. At the beginning of the process, there were no determined policies for social inclusion and for family participation in school settings; and so, a systematic adaptation and inclusion of Syrian refugees in educational processes was interrupted. The role and individual approach of teachers becomes crucial here because it seems necessary to find a balance for supporting refugee students without marginalizing them (Taylor & Sidhu, 2012). In other words, they are landed with the responsibility of social inclusion of refugee students in schools. But, as Zufiaurre (2006) argued, teachers do not consider the special treatment that immigrant students need and show little concern for the macro-social events.

Sunata and Bircan (2015) reported that Turkey is not efficient in the education of refugees in terms of both accessibility and quality and since the lack of economic source, developing effective educational planning becomes difficult. There is no establishment to organize and follow the educational processes of refugees or to support and lead them professionally. These refugees are supported only by the people including teachers, directors, and parents they encounter in their social environments. But this support generally varies by the thoughts of these people on refugees, and sometimes we even see challenges instead of support. In other words, the problem of education of Syrian refugees is a multi-variable process and it has been becoming much more complicated day by day. Accordingly, sustainability is regarded as another problem area. Çopur and Demirel (2017) asked that since the refugee students could not attend to school as soon as they migrated, and because of the systematic problems, providing sustainable education for refugee students does not seem possible, and this results in other problem areas.

Language diversity is one of the main problems in the sense of the education of refugee students (Apak, 2014; Bircan & Sunata, 2015; Dryden-Peterson, 2016; Sinan & Gültekin, 2018; Taskin & Erdemli, 2018). Watkins, Razee, & Richters (2012) defined the language problem of refugee students as the 'number one' problem. According to the study of Demir and Aliyev (2019), refugees have many difficulties in many occasions where language should be used such as in hospitals, on the busses, in official documents, and even when shopping. Language diversity, in a similar way, poses such a big problem in our study that all types of participants see it as an important challenge for qualitative education. Because the roadblocks emerging from language diversity can make the refugee students disadvantaged academically and socially (Pugh, Every, & Hattam, 2012). When students are included in classes where the language proficiency are not suitable for them, they face various difficulties and it takes longer to overcome language barriers and widens the gap between them and their peers (Aydın &

Kaya, 2017) and while they are struggling to overcome the language barriers, they spend the time for learning language and fall behind in age-appropriate academic content (Dryden-Peterson, 2016). Moreover, naming students with limited literacy skills as 'special needs' groups and placing them at a disadvantaged position and marginalizing them should be avoided (Sidhu & Taylor, 2007). Accordingly, during the transition to the school process, cultural and linguistic adaptation is required (Pugh, Every, & Hattam, 2012).

However, language diversity is just the tip of the iceberg. In fact, there are much deeper social and cultural roots of these clashes, and language diversity can become also a source of other problems. Namely, in the new country, learning the new language is a prerequisite for economic, political, social and cultural integration (Hou & Beiser, 2006). But, it can be said that these problems cannot be overcome even the language adaptation was achieved successfully because the difference in school performance emerges from the difference in social class and educational patterns in refugees' hometown (Modood, 2007; cited in Fangen, 2010). Besides, the problem volume of language diversity varies according to different educational practices: While it doesn't have a meaning in temporary education centers, it is a common problem for all subjects in native schools. So, knowing the educational backgrounds of refugee students becomes important for the teachers. Ager and Strang (2008) asked that a lack of linguistic and cultural competences function as barriers for social connection within and between groups in the community. These barriers can be seen in school settings and especially in instructional practices. In the direct proportion to the researches in the field, teachers working in the schools with Syrian refugee students can feel inadequate when they cannot communicate with Syrian students (Konan, Bozanoğlu & Çetin, 2017).

One of the most important problems related to Syrian refugee students is poverty, and acculturation problem originating from poverty itself (Konan, Çavuşoğlu & Oğuz, 2017). Poverty and social isolation are the effects of war experiences (Miller & Rasmussen, 2010; cited in Watkins, Razee, & Richters, 2012) of Syrian refugees fleeing from the civil war in their country and this reflects to schooling in a negative way (Pugh, Every, & Hattam, 2012). In that vein, we found that refugee parents' educational attainment is quite low because of the economic and cultural deficits. The family-school relationship is very little or there is no communication between school and family (Taskin & Erdemli, 2018). On the other hand, researches in the field show that teaching refugee students separately causes more isolation and can disturb the cohesion within the social structure since they continued their old habits (Başbay & Bektaş, 2009; Taskin & Erdemli, 2018). But our findings reveal that coeducation policies for refugees in native schools cannot be a sole remedy for social isolation and exclusion. While refugees describe their adaptation processes to the new society based on poverty and language diversity, for natives and educators, the reasons for refugees' exclusion are that they become a threat for social order and some negative situations emerging by their existence. Refugees are regarded as a threat for social order and the precautions of families and even teachers reflect to school and lead to a clash between refugees and natives emerges. Sakız (2016) found that school administrators had negative attitudes about the coeducation of refugees and natives. It can be said that behaving the refugee students like an alien contributes to the marginalizing of these students. However, when the refugee students interact with the native ones, their presence will be approved (Bolloten & Spafford, 1998; cited in Hope, 2008).

In such unclear educational processes of Syrian refugees, educational outcomes are to be doubtful as well. Because of these deficits like language skills and family support and lack of cultural capital, academic failure is an expected result of the schooling patterns of refugee students. Financial problems are another barrier to educational attainment. Mercan and Bütün (2016) found that refugee students whose basic needs are not supplied have more problems within classroom settings and excluded more (cited in; Kağnıcı, 2017). Child laboring prevents refugee children from schooling (Harunoğulları, 2016). So, the educators experiencing problems with the education of refugees think that it's a high probability that Syrian refugees won't be able to graduate from schools as qualified individuals. On the other hand, the students studying at schools are prospective citizens of society. In other words, we actually shape the future of our societies by training these children at schools. So, the children of both sides, who have been feeling these conflicts deeply, may bring them into the future. If this unclear

educational process goes like this, a few years later, Turkey may probably face much bigger social and political problems based on Syrian refugees.

There is a growing body of literature about the advantages of inclusive education and its implications for successful cultural integration policies. One of the main requirements of inclusive education is understanding the dynamics of the newly arrived culture and this seems important for social integration. However, when we have focused on the two-sided characteristic of inclusion, understanding the cultural patterns of refugees is not enough alone. Tüzün (2017) suggested that a holistic approach is necessary for the adaptation process. During our research, we have observed that there is resistance for the inclusion of refugees both from refugees and natives. Refugees resist this process because they do not have the necessary means for including the new social order such as language, cultural capital, educational background, and economic sources. Natives resist because they regard the refugees as a social threat and anxiety emerges especially among the natives. Refugees, who have been seen as cheap labor force in the countries where they settle, have to work at very low wages as it is in Turkey (Demir & Aliyev, 2019), and accordingly native people working minimum wages have been on the edge of losing their jobs. Struggling for limited economic sources is the basis of attitudes to refugees and othering them (Clark, 2008; cited in Sönmez & Adıgüzel, 2017). Thus it is necessary to think about the competition to emerge in the labor market before discussing on the social integration (Özpinar, Çilingir & Düşündere, 2016). Through this research, it has been concluded that the labor market is the main reason for this resistance. Tumen (2016) indicated that native workers lost their employment after the refugees came in the labor market. The presence of immigrant worker has also caused a decline in the prices at the informal labor market (Balkan & Tumen, 2016). Koca (2016) identified this problem as public security and regarded this as a securitization problem.

In terms of belonging and acceptance, since the two-sided characteristic of the inclusion process, in order to conduct social inclusion, natives should accept refugees and the new social order. Deniz and Etlan (2009) claimed that the approaches of natives are quite important for surviving refugees without any problems where they live. The mutual roots are regarded as important here. Especially religion plays a role in providing social cohesion. Lazarev and Sharma (2017) found that the level of aid increases according to the religion of refugees. If they are Muslims, they can receive more economic support. Doğanay and Keneş (2016) stated that these problems emerging in social life are the reason for a discriminative approach to refugees. Accordingly, in the point of blaming the other one, analyzing the reasons why they do not accept, indicating the points that they perform resistance within a deep understanding has a crucial importance. Regarding the inclusive education is a one-sided process and land with natives means disregarding the roots of roadblocks in front of inclusive education arising from immigrants. In conclusion, we have focused on the crucial importance of education for inclusion and the roadblocks on inclusive education in school settings. However, there are wider social roots of these roadblocks. We concluded that the problem of refugees' education is not merely derived from school settings or pedagogical processes. Thus, a holistic approach addressing the education of Syrian refugees not only as an educational or instructional problem but also as a reflection of major social problems is needed in order to solve this problem.

To sum up, the roadblocks we investigated emerge from language diversity, economic problems, and social and cultural premises and biases. These roadblocks can be clustered under instructional and sociocultural dimensions. There are cyclical relations between these dimensions, and the themes and categories of our findings intersect with both dimensions. First of all, language diversity is regarded as one of the major problems for the inclusive education and it is related to both instructional and sociocultural dimensions. It is an instructional problem because interacting in an effective way with a student or speaking another language is a quite desirable quality for a teacher in inclusive education. It becomes a sociocultural problem when individuals cannot recognize each other without any communication. Economic problems are also related to these two dimensions we identified. For the instructional dimension, survival instinct or priority of surviving restrains families and even the children from educational attainment. It is also a social problem that Syrians become a threat for natives in terms of getting a job or losing their income. Though the clashes resulting from social conflicts are out of

school, in-school processes are indispensably affected by these problems. Another intersection point of these two dimensions emerges in mutual roots. We suggested that religious schools are advantaged educational environments for refugees. These students can interact easily with other components of the school setting where their cultural codes (such as language) are approved. And finally, though teachers are regarded as instructional subjects, sometimes they can play roles in the sociocultural dimension. In other words, with their practices or approaches, teachers can cause the reproduction of socially disadvantaged position of refugee students on the basis of ethnic discrimination, while the teachers having cultural awareness can be inspirational role models for inclusive education.

In consideration of the findings of this study, it can be said that both the natives in social life and the teachers in school settings are landed with some responsibilities for inclusion in migration processes. They are wanted to have welcome and tolerant attitudes towards the refugees in both fields. So, first of all, their resistance points have to be analyzed and understood in order to conduct a successful inclusion process, and policies developed for refugees should include dimensions for Turkish citizens as well. The problems related to migration seen in school settings, as aforesaid, are actually rooted in wider social dimensions as language diversity, economic problems or interruptions in the adaptation of refugees arising from prejudice. In order to minimize these problems, some revenue generating projects, which can create social interaction fields for natives and refugees, can be developed by Directorate General of Migration Management, municipalities or nongovernmental organizations. Besides, some researches can be done to analyze how religious schools function as advantageous fields for refugees and why the refugees adapt more easily to these schools. The results of these researches can be an inspiration to the prospective studies focusing on creating instructional models for Syrian refugees living in Turkey.

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TÜRKÇE GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET

2011 yılında Suriye’de iç savaşın başlamasından itibaren, savaştan kaçarak ülkesini terk eden milyonlarca Suriyeli göçmen, bu ülkenin en uzun sınıra sahip komşusu olarak Türkiye’ye yönelmiş ve bu durum Türkiye’nin sosyolojik yapısını etkileyecek bir boyuta ulaşmıştır. Araştırmanın raporlandığı Aralık 2018 itibariyle Suriye’den Türkiye’ye göç eden insan sayısı 3,5 milyonu aşmıştır (Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü, 2018) ve bunun 1,6 milyonu çocuklardan oluşmaktadır (UNICEF, 2018). Kısa bir sürede bu yoğunlukta bir göç dalgasının yaşanması ve göçmenlerin yarıya yakınının çocuklardan oluşması, Suriyeli mülteciler konusunu Türk toplumunda kritik bir gündem maddesi haline getirmekte ve bu konunun başta eğitim olmak üzere toplumsal yapıyı oluşturan kurumları etkilemesini kaçınılmaz kılmaktadır. Türkiye başlangıçta bu duruma hazırlıksız yakalanmış olsa da, uyguladığı açık kapı politikasıyla komşu ülke vatandaşlarına kucak açmış ve iyi niyetli tutumunu eğitim alanında onlara yönelik yürüttüğü kapsayıcı eğitim politikasıyla sürdürmüştür.

Engelli bireylerin okula entegrasyonu bağlamında kullanılmaya başlanan kapsayıcı eğitim kavramı, son yıllarda okullardaki dil ve kültür farklılıklarına yönelik tartışmalar için de kullanılabilir hale gelmiştir. Bu bağlamda kapsayıcı eğitimin gündeminde, farklılıkları dikkate alınmadan tüm öğrencileri kendilerini ait hissettikleri okulun bir parçası haline getirme ideali yer alır (Taylor & Sidhu, 2012). Bu kapsamda Suriyeli mülteci çocuklar Türkiye’deki devlet okullarında Türk çocuklarıyla birlikte aynı sınıflarda Türkçe eğitim görmektedirler. Burada amaçlanan, ayrımcılığın en aza indirilmesi olmuştur (Özcan, 2018). Okullar bu görevi, sahip olduğu insan unsurunun kapsayıcılık kavramı ekseninde bir okul yaşamı üretmeye tam katılımları ile yerine getirebilirler (Mille, Ziaian & Esterman, 2018). Dolayısıyla okulların söz konusu ideali gerçekleştirme potansiyelleri, kapsayıcı bir okul kültürüne sahip olmaları ile doğru orantılıdır. Böylesi bir sürecin yürütülmesi, okullarda gerek göç süreçlerinden gerekse de dışsal nedenlerden kaynaklanan bir dizi engel ile karşılaşabilmektedir. Araştırma, sözü edilen kapsayıcı eğitimin uygulama alanı olan okullarda ne tür engellerle karşılaştığını ve bu engellerin ark planında yer alan sosyal ve kültürel motivasyonları ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Suriye’den Türkiye’ye gerçekleşen zorunlu göç gibi, sosyal yapıyı kapsamlı biçimde etkileyen olaylar, araştırmacıların durumu yerinde görmelerini ve insanlarla derinlemesine görüşme yapmalarını gerektirmektedir. Nitel bir durum çalışması olarak desenlenen bu araştırmada, okul ortamlarında Suriyeli mülteci öğrencilerin kapsayıcı eğitimlerinin önündeki engeller durumu oluşturmaktadır. Araştırmanın çalışma grubu belirlenirken uygun örneklem belirleme stratejisi uygulanmıştır (Frankel & Wallen, 2012). Bu doğrultuda araştırmanın çalışma grubunu, Ankara’da Suriyeli mülteci çocukların öğrenim gördüğü 5 ortaokulda görev yapan 12 öğretmen ve 5 okul yöneticisi ile 10 öğrenci velisi oluşturmaktadır. Veri toplama süreci, nitel araştırmalarda en yaygın ve kullanışlı bir teknik olan yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler yoluyla gerçekleştirilmiştir. Araştırmaya dahil olan her bir grup için ayrı ayrı olmak üzere toplam dört farklı türde görüşme formu hazırlanmıştır. Görüşme formları hazırlandıktan sonra alan uzmanlarının görüşüne sunulmuş, alan uzmanlarından gelen dönütler doğrultusunda düzenlenerek pilot görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Pilot görüşmelerden elde edilen deneyim ve görüşler doğrultusunda son hali verilen görüşme formları üzerinden görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Elde edilen veriler iki döngü kodlama biçiminde tümevarımsal bir yaklaşımla kodlanarak analiz edilmiştir. Bu kodlar ilişkili kategoriler altında toplanmış ve bu kategoriler temaları oluşturmuştur. Geçerlik ve güvenilirlik bağlamında, elde edilen bulgular yorumlanırken aynı anda sunulan doğrudan alıntılar araştırmanın tutarlılığına temel teşkil etmektedir. Verilerin analizi sonucunda dört ana temaya ulaşılmıştır: “Dil Farklılığı”, “Temel Sosyal Problemlerin Okuldaki Yansımaları”, “Entegrasyon Politikaları Temelli İkilemler” ve “Bir İçerme Alanı Olarak Ortak Kökler”. Dil farklılığının göçmenlerin eğitimi bağlamında yer alan bütün özneler için ortak bir problem alanı olmasının tartışıldığı bu temada, göçmen öğrencilerin Türkçeyi etkin biçimde konuşamamalarından kaynaklanan sosyal ve eğitsel sorunların üzerinde durulmuştur. Göçmenlerin varlığının toplumsal yapı içinde neden olduğu sorunların okul içi süreçlere yansımalarının ele alındığı ikinci temada temel argüman okulun toplumun maketi

olduğudur. Okullar, içinde buldukları toplumun sosyoekonomik ve sosyokültürel arka planları dikkate alınmadan doğru biçimde analiz edilemezler. Diğer bir deyişle okul, toplumsal yapının izdüşümüdür. Suriyeli mültecilerin varlığının, yoğun olarak yaşadıkları bölgelerde sosyal ve kültürel çatışmalara neden olabildikleri temel bulgusu üzerinden bu çatışmaların kapsayıcı eğitim önünde önemli bir engel teşkil ettiği tespit edilmiştir. Aynı zamanda yoksulluk ve kültürel yeterliliklerdeki eksikliklerin de toplumsal bütünleşmeyi engellediği bu temada ele alınan temel konulardan biridir. Sistematik ve politik problemler mültecilerin eğitiminin çelişkili yapısının temel kaynağıdır. Bu öğrencilerin eğitimiyle ilgili ikilemlerin ele alındığı bu temada mülteci öğrencilerin yerli öğrencilerle birlikte mi yoksa ayrı olarak mı eğitilmeleri gerektiği konusundaki yaklaşımlar ele alınmıştır. Etnik ve kültürel ortaklıkların ve farklılıkların mültecilerin toplum içerisinde kaynaşmasındaki rolüne odaklanan son temada ise dini içerikli okulların dil ve kültürel ortaklıkların sağladığı avantajlar açısından Suriyeliler için önemli bir kanal olduğu ancak etnik kökenler gündeme geldiğinde dezavantajlı duruma düşebildikleri konuları üzerinde durulmuştur.

Araştırma sonuçları, dil problemlerinin etkin bir eğitim-öğretim süreci önünde büyük bir engel olduğunu, okul dışı sosyal çevrede yaşanan ve çoğu zaman ekonomik koşullardan kaynaklı olan sosyal çatışmaların okul içi ilişkilere yansıdığını, mültecilerin eğitimi konusunun göz ardı edilemeyecek çeşitli boyutlardan oluştuğunu ve bu durumun yaşanan sorunları pekiştirdiğini ve kültürel bazı kanalların mülteciler açısından çıkış noktası olarak görüldüğünü ortaya koymuştur. Bu çalışmanın ortaya koyduğu en tartışmalı sonuçlardan biri mültecilerin sosyal yaşama dahil edilmesi ya da dışlanmalarının tek taraflı bir süreç olarak ele alınamayacağıdır. Suriyeli mültecilere kapsayıcı eğitimlerin önündeki engelleri kaldırmada kolektif ve bütüncül bir yaklaşımın gerekli olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır.