

REASONS OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED KURDISH WOMEN FOR NOT  
PARTICIPATING IN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS IN PECs: A NARRATIVE  
ANALYSIS

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## Thesis Abstract

Aslıhan Zengin, “Reasons of Internally Displaced Kurdish Women for not Participating in Educational Programs in PECs: A Narrative Analysis”

This thesis aims to explore the reasons of internally displaced Kurdish women living in Bayramtepe, İstanbul for not participating to vocational and literacy courses provided by PECs (People’s Education Centers) through an analysis of their own perceptions of their life stories.

The study employs narrative inquiry, categorical-content analysis in particular, to gain insight into the reasons of internally displaced Kurdish women for not participating in vocational and literacy courses served by PECs. Semi-structured interviews were carried out with 9 Kurdish women between ages 26-51 in Bayramtepe, Küçükçekmece.

Narrative analysis of the data led to the formation of several outstanding themes. Discrimination based on ethnicity and language, demand for education in mother tongue, suppression of the husband and the immediate family, burden of children and the household duties, and health problems emerged as the most common factors that hindered women from participating or continuing further to educational activities.

Internally displaced Kurdish women’s nonparticipation to adult educational activities has been discussed within the concepts of mother tongue, patriarchal family structure, ethnic background, internal displacement, and in accordance with literature on effects of displacement on women. Along with some factors that are results of the process of internal displacement, patriarchal family structure has come out as an important factor that prevented particularly young Kurdish women from participating in such activities. On the other hand, relatively older Kurdish women could not participate in vocational and literacy courses because they lacked language skills in Turkish, leading them to demand education in the mother tongue. Most of the Kurdish women could not join educational facilities due to the density of household jobs and care for children as a result of social gender roles. Finally, being internally displaced has created a negative attitude among Kurdish women towards the state. The findings were discussed by constant comparison and contrast with global views on gender dimensions of internal displacement.

## Tez Özeti

Aslıhan Zengin, “Yerinden Edilmiş Kürt Kadınlarının HEM’lerindeki ( Halk Eğitim Merkezleri) Eğitim Programlarına Katılmama Sebepleri: Bir Anlatı Analizi”

Bu çalışma İstanbul Bayramtepe’de yaşayan yerinden edilmiş Kürt kadınlarının Halk Eğitim Merkezlerinin (HEM) sunduğu mesleki ve okuma-yazma kurslarına katılmama sebeplerini kendi hayat hikâyeleri algılarının analizi ile incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Çalışma, yerinden edilmiş Kürt kadınlarının HEM’lerinde sağlanan mesleki ve okuma-yazma kurslarına katılmama sebepleri hakkında iç görü kazanmak için anlatı analizinin bir şekli olan kategorik-içerik analizini kullanmıştır. Küçükçekmece’nin Bayramtepe beldesinde yaşayan 26 ile 51 yaşları arasındaki 9 Kürt kadın ile yarı yapılandırılmış mülakatlar yapılmıştır.

Verilerin anlatı analizleri bir takım göze çarpan temaların oluşması ile sonuçlanmıştır. Etnik ve dile dayalı ayrımcılık, anadilinde eğitim talebi, yakın aile ve eş baskısı, çocuk ve ev işi yükü ve sağlık problemleri Kürt kadınlarının eğitsel aktivitelere katılmamalarına veya yarıda bırakmalarına neden olan en yaygın faktörler olarak ortaya çıkmıştır.

Yerinden edilme süreçlerinden geçen Kürt kadınlarının gelinen yerdeki yetişkin eğitimi olanaklarından faydalanamamaları anadil, ataerkil aile yapısı, etnik köken, yerinden edilme kavramları ve yerinden edilmenin kadınlar üzerindeki etkilerine ilişkin literatür ekseninde değerlendirilmiştir. Yerinden edilme sürecinin sonucu olarak gelişen bir takım faktörlerin yanı sıra, ataerkil aile yapısının özellikle genç yaşta Kürt kadınlarının eğitsel faaliyetlere katılmamalarında önemli bir etken olduğu saptanmıştır. Yaşça büyük Kürt kadınlarının ise Türkçe dilindeki yetersizlikten dolayı hem mesleki hem de okuma yazma kurslarına devam edemedikleri, bunun yanı sıra temel bir hak olarak anadilinde eğitim talepleri ön plana çıkmıştır. Toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin bir sonucu olarak çoğu Kürt kadın çocukların bakımı ve ev işlerinin yoğunluğundan eğitsel faaliyetlere katılmamaktadır. Son olarak, zorla yerinden edilme deneyimleri devlete karşı olumsuz yönde önyargı geliştirmelerine sebep olmuştur. Çalışmanın sonuçları dünya çapında yapılan yerinden edilmenin cinsiyet boyutları ile karşılaştırılmıştır.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

BDP	Peace and Democracy Party (Partiya Aştî û Demokrasiyê)
DRC	The Democratic Republic of the Congo
FMO	Forced Migration Online
FARC	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia
FARDC	Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo
GÖÇ-DER	Association for Internally Displaced People's Assistance and Solidarity
IASFM	International Association for the Study of Forced Migration
IDPs	Internally Displaced People
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
NGOs	Non-governmental Organizations
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
KRG	Kurdistan Regional Government
KDP	Kurdistan Democratic Party
PECs	People's Education Centers
PKK	Kurdistan Workers' Party (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan)
PUK	Patriotic Union of Kurdistan
UN	United Nations
WFP	World Food Programme

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Migration has always been mandatory across all regions of Turkey for various practical reasons and it has been continuing with a steady increase since the early 1950s. During 1970s, internal migration emerged as mobilization of families from small and middle-sized cities to bigger industrial metropolises in the western Turkey as a the result of the mechanization of agriculture (Akşit, 1966, 1987; Boratav, 1972, 1980) that resulted in extinction of small-scaled subsistence oriented farming and left no incentive for surplus human power to stay in the rural areas. Migratory processes within and out of East and South-east Turkey, on the other hand, started early in 1990s as the major pattern of migratory movements, which is precisely defined as ‘internal displacement’ in the international literature related to migration. As the name suggests, internal displacement throughout 1990s is a kind of migration different from the previous voluntary and forced migration waves in terms of its dynamics, processes, and effects on its subjects.

Internal displacement, which has been going on since the very beginning of cold war and seems to continue further in the future, is an international phenomenon encompassing a huge number of people across diverse countries. According to the report released by Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) and Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) in 2010, 27.5 million people have been displaced by conflict and violence with the most affected continent being Africa. The most

affected countries in the world are Colombia, Sudan, Iraq, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), and Somalia, where there are at least one million internally displaced persons (IDPs henceforth).

A large body of global statistics of internal displacement often put emphasis on conflict as the main underlying factor (Mooney, 2005) while others handle the issue as a much broader concept which includes millions of other people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects (FMO, 2011). For the purposes of this research, internal displacement will be defined as a conflict oriented process.

The adverse effects of displacement, on the other hand, are multi dimensional; deterioration of social, educational, cultural, and even physical wellbeing of the displaced as well as differentiation in the kinds of occupations these people get in the place of arrival are overwhelmingly striking. Upon arrival in big and industrialized cities, IDPs are deprived of their former production tools (farming and breeding in the case of Kurds) and need to adhere to new ways of making money. Not able to mobilize properly due to lack of skills necessary for urban jobs, IDPs often nestle in informal sector in order to survive and protect the family and this process leads to reproduction of their social status within the borders of unskilled labor.

Internal displacement is more detrimental on women than men in terms of kinds of violence and hardships they encounter. Kurdish women living in İstanbul and other big cities face serious problems, among which education, language barrier and health complications stand out. Women who are mostly engaged in agrarian affairs and household duties in their hometown are either forced to work in low-qualified and low-paid informal jobs to support their family or they are doomed not

to move within the borders of their homes. This is usually due to lack of language skills that hinder women to interact with the outer social circle and inadequacies in literacy skills in order to mobilize socially and economically in the practical sense.

Although it is a well known fact that formal education is very important for human capacity development of young generations, it is less efficient on adult population. Therefore the inadequacies in the formal education of adult migrants can be compensated largely by adult education. Taking the gender inequality into consideration, informal education of migrant women has a crucial significance, especially in metropolitan centers (Kağıtçıbaşı, Göksen & Gülgöz, 2005).

Adult education is predicted to solve the disabilities of migrants in adapting to the urban life and mobilize within this new sphere of social structure both economically and socially. Adult education is generally delivered by private institutions, government agencies, local authorities and NGOs (Non-governmental Organizations) which work voluntarily (Ural, 2007; p.23). These services are primarily organized for underdeveloped rural areas, squatter settlements, areas where development projects are implemented, and rural and urban areas which are in process of development (MEB, 1980; cited in Ural, 2007). It is also reported that there is an increase in the number of adult women who like and are in need of working due to various reasons, which necessitates adult education to be focused on migrant women (Ural, 2007; p. 20). On the other hand, it is a question whether internally displaced Kurdish women benefit from these services or not, and if not, what are the factors affecting their non-participation to adult educational activities.

The aim of this study is to explore reasons and factors that affect internally displaced Kurdish women's non-participation to educational activities (both literacy

and vocational courses) in PECs in İstanbul through in-depth interviews using a qualitative inquiry, narrative analysis in particular.

### Background of the Problem

Displacement of Kurdish people from their hometown for security policies of the government has resulted in complications that are challenging to surmount. Kurdish women are just one community confronting with numerous problems deriving from displacement. Being the members of an ethnic majority, Kurdish women have problems special to their case. Difficulty in adapting to a new socio-economical environment and carrying out daily functions within a different social sphere while maintaining their self-identity and language despite those that might have some political preconceptions of the Kurdish community is challenging.

Upon observations and conversations with teachers, administrators, and participants in PECs, especially those in areas where internally displaced Kurds resident densely, (Kağıthane, Esenler, Esenyurt, Bağcılar, Avcılar, etc.), it is incomprehensible that almost none of the women participants are Kurdish, let alone being internally displaced.

The impact of migration on women and the participation of these women to organized adult education activities in order to adapt to urban life and to find jobs in big cities is one of the issues that deserves a close observation. There is a lot of research done on the participation of migrant adults to adult education activities, but little is known about those who cannot either participate in any kind of educational activities or abort the program before completion. It is equally important to explore

the factors and dynamics that influence internally displaced Kurdish adult women's decisions or attitudes towards getting education.

Many internally displaced Kurdish women deprive educational activities. Although they constitute the largest disadvantaged group in need of education, most of them do not or cannot participate in such activities. It can be predicted from previous similar studies that economical factors are among the main reasons why migrant people fail to get any kind of formal education. However, it is not known what kinds of factors determine displaced Kurdish women's non-participation.

### Significance of the Problem

Several studies have rich findings about reasons for non-participation to these programs. Among these, Çankaya (2005) focused on migrant adults' reasons for not participating in organized adult education activities; however, it included not only women but also men who migrated to İstanbul between 1985 and 2004. In this study, migrant adults' non-formal and/or informal learning experiences, their reasons of nonparticipation in organized adult education activities, and the relationship between migrants' characteristics and reasons of non-participation were investigated.

Çankaya's study revealed that the reasons of non-participation to educational activities of migrants were determined as low self-confidence, negative attitudes toward education, financial and communicational barriers, time constraints, family responsibility and familiarity with the courses, fear and hesitation regarding the environment, dissatisfaction from education, and unwillingness to participate. A similar study is conducted by Kirazoğlu (1996) which is about reasons for not

participating in adult education activities. Kirazoğlu (1996) pointed out in his study that migrant people had serious economic problems which constituted a big obstacle in front of participating in adult education activities and programs.

These studies were important concerning their implications about migrants, but there isn't any specific study which is merely on IDPs and their absence or little participation in organized adult education activities.

While analyzing the effects of migration on people, it is crucial to take a gendered perspective. Without having gender issue as a variable, understanding the dynamics and impact of migration in every aspect is hard to achieve. Gender is a variable that should be taken into account while trying to draw a comprehensive picture of any social phenomenon. Ethnicity and forced displacement are other two main variables that can be influential on the reasons and factors of non-participation. Hence, this study will be the first one taking internally displaced Kurdish women into the focus concerning reasons and factors that affect their non-participation to adult vocational and literacy courses in PECs.

### Statement of the Purpose and Research Questions

The aim of this study is to discover underlying factors and dynamics that affect internally displaced Kurdish women's participation to adult literacy and vocational educational activities provided by PECs in İstanbul. The study will elaborate on subsequent questions based on the in depth face-to-face interviews;

- a. How does language (their mother tongue) affect their nonparticipation?

- b. How does their ethnic identity (being Kurdish) within the political and migratory context affect their nonparticipation?
- c. What is the role of patriarchal thinking on their nonparticipation?
- d. How does being “internally displaced” influence their nonparticipation?

## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### Internal Displacement

##### Definition of Internal Displacement

Migration of groups of people within their own countries due to war and conflict oriented factors is an issue of great importance and concern and it has been researched and reported by international committees and councils on a regular basis. Thus, there is a growing tendency towards constituting a common definition of forced migration among researchers. Since its dynamics are completely different from a migratory process that is triggered by economic and natural factors, it is defined by several associations so as to include the ‘forced’ dimension of movement.

FMO (Forced Migration Online) has adopted the definition of ‘forced migration’ promoted by the International Association for the Study of Forced Migration (IASFM) which describes it as ‘a general term that refers to the movements of refugees and internally displaced people (those displaced by conflicts) as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects.’

UN’s (United Nations) Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement defines internal displacement as a process in which “... persons or groups of persons who

have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border.” (p.1) Up to now, the definition provided in Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement is the most commonly used and it will also be used to refer to the Kurdish IDPs in the context of Turkey for the purposes of this study.

### Internal Displacement in the World

Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) and Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) issued their newest report on internal displacement, a global overview of trends and developments, in 2011. According to their findings, 27.5 million people have been displaced by conflict and violence since December 2010 with the most affected continent being Africa (11.1 million IDPs in 21 countries). Since the end of 2009, the number of IDPs has tended to rise up to 400.000. The number of IDPs has increased in the Americas, Europe, Central Asia, Middle East, South, and South-East Asia. The countries where there are over one million IDPs are Colombia, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Iraq, Somalia, and Sudan. Over half of the total IDPs in the world are reported to be in Colombia, Sudan, Iraq, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Somalia, all having at least a million IDPs. There were around 980.000 IDPs in Pakistan in 2010. Of the total number, at least 2.9 million people were newly displaced and about 2.1 million were reported to have returned during 2010. The number of IDPs was 5.4 million in the Americas, together with an increase

of 400.000 during 2010 primarily due to the increase in the number of IDPs in Colombia.

The report estimated the number of IDPs in South and South-East Asia to be 4.6 million at the end of the year, 300.000 more than in 2009. There were new displacements due to ongoing armed conflicts in the region including Afghanistan, India, Indonesia, Myanmar, Pakistan, and the Philippines. As for the Middle East, 3.9 million IDPs were reported at the end of 2010 with a rise of about 100.000 since 2009 and recent displacement were reported to be mainly in Yemen. Lastly, there were 2.5 million IDPs in Europe and Central Asia, with an increase of less than 100.000, where the only new displacement was in Kyrgyzstan.

Comparing the reports representing the figures in 2007 and 2010 published by Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) and Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) portrays a better picture of what has been going on over several years. With the figures dating back in 1998, the table below shows the patterns in the increase of IDPs worldwide.

IDPs living in all the countries observed by IDMC are living in both urban and rural areas. The existence of IDPs in urban areas was documented in 90% of instances monitored, with exceptions being Burundi, Ethiopia, and Laos where the majority of them live in the rural. In half of the countries, on the other hand, IDPs are reported to be settled in camps and collective centers (IDMC &NRC, 2011).

#### Countries with the Largest IDP Populations

As to the contextual information about why and how internal displacement has emerged around the world, it is necessary to lay out a few examples to understand

the issue on a global level. The literature concerning internal displacement worldwide will focus on countries with over a million people identified as IDPs at the end of 2010. These are Colombia, Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Iraq, Somalia, and Sudan. Among these, Colombia and Sudan were declared as two countries where the largest number of IDPs exists. These are followed by Iraq, DRC, and Somalia.

### Sudan

Africa is the most affected region with 11.1 million IDPs at the end of the year, which means 40 per cent of the world's IDPs. Almost half of the IDPs was in Sudan. In 2001, Angola and Sudan had the largest internally displaced populations, with four million IDPs or more (IDMC &NRC, 2011). Sudan is the largest country on the continent with a population of 38 million, of which 44% of the population is under 15 years of age. There are mainly two ethnic groups of people. Arabs predominantly live in the north and Africans are mainly settled in the south. There are also over 300 tribal groups and over 100 different languages and dialects spoken in Sudan (Zaat, no date; p. 3).

At the beginning of 2001, four million IDPs emerged as a result of the civil war which started in 1983 between North and South Sudan. The armed conflict ended when the Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed in 2005, and people went back to the South. The number of people migrated from the north to the South or within the South reached two million towards the end of the decade. However, the number of IDPs stayed above four million due to the war which started in 2003 in Darfur, which caused many people to be replaced. 2.7 million IDPs were estimated to be in the region in 2008. At the end of 2010, between 4.5 and 5.2 million IDPs

were reported and this estimated number included people who were displaced from eastern states and people who were displaced for a second time even after returning as well as recently displaced people ( IDMC & NRC, 2011).

Zaat (no date) denotes that approximately 30 % of IDPs in Sudan lives in settlements around and in Khartoum. According to the Khartoum State Rapid Assessment Report over half of the IDP households do not have any source of income while 50 % of them report an income of less than \$1 per day. Food and water shortages are the main two problems stated by over half of the IDP households. 53% of the IDPs surveyed were suffering from serious illnesses such as malaria, diarrhea, pneumonia, skin rash, eye pain, cold, influenza and measles

### Colombia

Colombia is another country where displacement has been an endemic feature of the 40-year long conflict. Over 3 million Colombians are reported to have been displaced since 1985. Afro-Colombians and indigenous people are influenced disproportionately by the displacement, and they constitute the poor of the country. The government claimed to make an effort to improve the protection of displaced people under its policy called ‘democratic security’ instead of ending the conflict by military means, but since then, nothing have changed much. More civilians were drawn into conflict by their strategy and well above 175.000 people were displaced by armed groups in 2003, which led to widespread violations of human rights.

Through the decade, there has been an increase in the number of IDPs in Colombia. According to the estimations done, there were about three million IDPs in 2003, about 4 million in 2007 and above 5 million by the end of 2010, which implies ongoing conflict and prevalent violence. Due to the disagreement between the

government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) on negotiations in 2002, there was a significant increase in the violence mainly after the government's scaled up military campaign against the armed groups. The government forces aligned the armed groups and demobilized them, but the emerging new group boosted violence (IDMC & NRC, 2011).

Despite Colombia's most progressive IDP legislation, the existing legal framework has been undermined by the government through various amendments. In 2003, the number of new displacements seemed to decrease because a lot of IDPs feared to officially register due to retribution attacks by armed groups. Since they are unregistered, they are usually left without limited welfare services the state offers. For returns to be sustainable, the government needs to do more to ensure security in return areas and provide the IDPs with the necessary means to re-build their livelihoods (NRC, 2004).

Forced internal migration has been one of the most dramatic social consequences of the armed conflict among guerrilla, paramilitary groups and the army during the last two decades in Colombia. About two million people fled from the countryside to urban areas such as towns, cities and the national capital Bogotá (Meertens, 2003).

According to Meertens (2003), the long history of violence in Colombia has been a means of political and social conflict resolution and it dates back to 1950s and 1960s, a period of extremely cruel war between Liberals and Conservatives in particular, and this war was known as *La Violencia*, which affected the lives of peasant families seriously. During this time, peasant families who voted for the opposite political party were killed, creating distrust among younger generations and feeling of hatred and revenge. The employment of terror instead of social support

and the boost conflict via drugs trafficking caused deterioration in terms of international humanitarian law and territorial segregation (Merteens, 2003).

Afro-Colombian and indigenous populations, which are over-represented amongst IDPs, are particularly influenced by displacement, for all forms of access to their villages and towns are blocked and the transportation of food, medicines, fuel, and agricultural necessities is prohibited (Merteens, 2003). Even after their escape, displaced people continue to be the target of political violence. They are labeled as “guerrilla sympathizers” by paramilitary groups.

Besides political violence, hunger and insufficient health assistance is prevalent in Colombia. According to the regular reports released by World Food Programme (2009), IDPs live in poor physical conditions with little access to nutrition. 80 per cent of Colombian IDPs are extremely poor. Although the government assists these people for three months, the nutritional needs of them significantly worsen in time. Inadequate housing is a major problem for two-thirds of IDPs. What is more, sanitation is an important concern with little access (WFP, 2009).

#### Democratic Republic of Congo

Democratic Republic of Congo is among the countries that were affected by internal conflicts and displacement of people as a result. The armed conflict in Congo is rooted in the continuous political rival between the opposite political leaders, for whom violence has become a way of resolution. It is also based on the pursuits of foreign economic and political interests in Central Africa, which necessitates the re-organization of regional alliances.

Formerly a part of French Equatorial Africa, DRC was known as Middle Congo. In 1958, it became the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and gained its independence in 1960 (Lehtinen, no date). Nearly 6 million people have lost their lives during the armed conflict which has been going on within the country since 1996, and more than 3.4 million people evacuated their houses. After the peace agreement that was signed in 2006, first democratic elections were held (IDMC & NRC, 2011).

As of 31 July 2010, an estimated 1.9 million people were internally displaced in North and South Kivu, Orientale, Katanga and Equateur provinces of DRC. In the North and South Kivu provinces people are still routinely caught in the frontlines of armed confrontations between the Congolese army (Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo, FARDC) and various armed rebel groups, particularly the Rwandan former génocidaires, the Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Rwanda (FDLR). Over the course of 2009, the situation initially improved in North Kivu, following the peace and integration agreement signed in March between the government and Congolese armed groups, including the former opposition group Congrès National pour la Défense du Peuple (CNDP). This led to the return of over half a million former IDPs during 2009. However, the total number of IDPs in North Kivu still stands at 875,000 due to frequent armed confrontations between the national army and different armed opposition groups in the context of the government-led 'Amani Leo' military offensive against the FDLR and other Congolese armed groups. A recent worrying trend has been the impact of the extension of the government offensive to new armed groups, such as the FARDC 'Rwenzori' offensive against the ADF/ Nalu rebel group at the end of July 2010 in Beni territory. This resulted in the displacement of 90,000 people. The FARDC are

responsible for widespread human rights abuses against civilians. Villages are routinely looted and burned, with entire communities uprooted repeatedly. This not only results in massive humanitarian needs but it also blocks and hinders the recovery and development prospects of large areas (Forced Migration Review, 2010).

Although the conflict officially ended in 2003, an estimated 1,400 people continue to die each day from conflict-related causes, such as malnutrition and disease. The most obvious consequence of this climate of conflict is the insecurity in Kivu. In October 2010, there were still 1.5 million displaced persons, and new groups of people were fleeing their homes following a number of attacks, accompanied by rape, especially in Walikale territory. The human development indicators are extreme in Kivu. Poverty rates (84.7% in South Kivu and 73% in North Kivu) are higher than the national average (71.3%). School attendance rates are very low in primary schools (about 53%), and maternal and infant mortality rates are high. Very few households are connected to drinking water supplies and even fewer to electricity. Health services are inadequate, with one doctor per 27,700 inhabitants in South Kivu, one per 24,000 inhabitants in North Kivu (Forced Migration Review, 2010).

### Iraq

The Iraqi state, a carry-over from the Ottoman Empire and British colonial creation, solidified political power in the hands of the Sunni minority, who settled in Baghdad and points north. Sunni rule came at the expense of the Shi'i majority who mainly inhabit Baghdad and points south. The government of Saddam Hussein, in power since 1979, has actively and often violently suppressed any sign of Shi'i political mobilization. Though Iraq's Shi'a fought loyally in Saddam Hussein's war against Iran, the fact that Iran is overwhelmingly Shi'i gave the Iraqi leader a pretext for

repression. The Kurds, an indigenous people of northern and eastern regions of present-day Iraq, saw the hope of an independent Kurdistan, outlined in the Treaty of Sèvres in 1920, dashed when the Vilayet of Mosul, in which they lived under Ottoman rule, was incorporated into the new state of Iraq. Since then they have struggled for political autonomy, at times violently, from the control of Baghdad.

Other groups such as the Assyrians, who have as long a history in the region as the Kurds, or the Turkmen, who were more recent arrivals and can only mark their tenure in centuries, have at times tolerated or even cooperated with the rule from Baghdad, due to their lack of numbers and strength to actively resist.

In August 1990, within days of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, the United Nations imposed the first in a series of sanctions on the country. Crude oil exports, which provided over 90 percent of Iraqi exports, were banned. The Iraqi government immediately instituted a system of food rationing, which remains in place to this day. In the aftermath of its Gulf War defeat, Iraq was politically divided between the Center/South, which remains under the control of the government in Baghdad, and the three northern governorates, that are under the control of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG). The North is in turn divided between two rival Kurdish political parties, each with its own army: the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK).

International humanitarian agencies entered Iraq in the wake of the Gulf War. In the North, accessible via Turkey until 1994, NGOs began programs without securing the approval of the government in Baghdad, although under US military pressure, the Iraqis did supply visas to NGO staff afterwards. A few NGOs began programs in the south, mostly in and around the port city of Basra, but the government has never encouraged the expansion of the number of NGOs in the areas

under its control. The UN agencies at first hesitated, waiting to enter the country until they had negotiated an agreement with the Iraqi government. Once they had done so, they began operations countrywide. For five years, the government of Iraq was allowed to import humanitarian supplies under the sanctions regime. But, due to the ban on oil exports, it claimed to have few funds to pay for them. In 1995, Baghdad finally agreed to a 1991 UN proposal to allow the proceeds from the export of oil to flow through a UN bank account in order to purchase humanitarian supplies. The 986 program (named after the Security Council resolution creating it), commonly known as the Oil-for-Food Program, was born. From December 1996 through October 2002, over \$57 billion dollars of oil has been sold through the program, and over \$38 billion allocated to the humanitarian program. At UN headquarters in New York, the Office of the Iraq Program, currently headed by Benon Sevan, runs the operation. In Iraq, the Office of the Humanitarian Coordinator for Iraq is headed by WFP official, Ramiro Lopes da Silva who took over from another WFP official, Tun Myat, in July 2002. He reports to Mr Sevan in New York.

### Northern Iraq

There are five broad categories of displaced people in the North:

- Kurds who were expelled or fled from their homes during the de-villagization campaign beginning in the 1970s and culminating in the 1988 Anfal campaign;
- Kurds, Turkmen, and Assyrians expelled during the Iraqi government's Arabization campaign;

- People who were expelled or fled their homes due to the internecine fighting in the mid-1990s between the two Kurdish parties: the PUK and the KDP, as well as those fleeing fighting between the PKK and the Turkish military;
- Kurds from many places in Iraq expelled to Iran in the 1970s, and who have now returned to Northern Iraq;
- Iraqis of all ethnic and religious backgrounds, including Sunni Arabs, who are enemies of the Baghdad regime, and have fled from government-held territory.

In Iraq, people were displaced prior to 2003 by actions of the former Ba'ath government. Their number rose significantly following the 2003 US-led invasion, but the biggest increase came during the sectarian violence that occurred in 2006 and 2007, when the total number reached two million for the first time. As of 2010, relatively few IDPs displaced by any of these causes had achieved durable solutions, and the number of IDPs stood almost two million more than at the start of the decade (IDMC & NRC, 2011).

### Somalia

The IDP figure in Somalia remained between 300,000 and 400,000 until 2007, when it went above a million for the first time in the decade. In December 2006, Ethiopian troops went into Somalia and fighting in Mogadishu and other areas steadily intensified. The Ethiopian troops left the country in 2009, but conflicts between armed groups and the Transitional Federal Government supported by AU peacekeepers has continued. A million more people were internally displaced in Somalia in 2010 than at the start of the decade (IDMC & NRC, 2011).

Large internally displaced populations were also identified in Turkey, India, Zimbabwe and Myanmar in 2010. In Turkey, between 954,000 and 1.2 million mostly Kurdish people were displaced between 1986 and 2005 due to the conflict between the Turkish army and Kurdish armed groups. Many were believed to still be living in displacement in 2010 without having found durable solutions (IDMC & NRC, 2011).

The violence that the civilian people and internally displaced persons face is appalling and it is reported (UN, 2010) that serious violations of human rights are widespread across the country where there are over 1.5 million IDPs consisting of mainly women and children. Since the start of Somalia's civil war in 1991, security has continued to deteriorate. With each passing year, the situation has grown worse, both for the long-suffering people of the country and for the humanitarian agencies trying to assist them. The year 2009 proved to be no exception. It opened with the killing of two WFP staff in three days in January during food distributions in southern Somalia and closed on 31 December with all WFP staff relocating from parts of the South controlled by the Al-Shabab movement. In between, there was real progress in what is probably the most dangerous and fluid environment in the world for humanitarian agencies. Following the killings, WFP secured support from communities, armed groups and administrations across most of the south and was able to resume feeding people. With the support of donors and the dedication of brave staff, WFP, the biggest humanitarian agency working in Somalia, proved that delivering assistance was still possible, though often difficult. In total, WFP fed 3.3 million people in Somalia in 2009 with more than 440,000 metric tons of food. In health and nutrition, WFP doubled its capacity to assist moderately malnourished people with nearly 150,000 women (WFP, 2010).

## Internal Displacement and Women

The impact of life in exile on women and girls is often paid little attention by assistance providers. Displacement has a gender-differentiated impact on the population. Internally displaced women face many problems among which there are sexual and physical violence by the military forces of the authorized government / state (Bosson, 2007).

Among the impacts of displacement on women, rape and sexual violence have been reported most frequently than any other effects (Bosson, 2007; Benjamin & Fancy, 1998; Meertens, 2003; El-Bushra, 2000; Patterson, 2001; Tesanovic, 2001; UN, 2002; Gururaja, 2000; Kumar, 2005).

Women and children often make up the majority of the IDP population (Benjamin & Fancy, 1998). Displaced women tend to be responsible for family survival in the cities and more easily than men take up all kinds of survival activities (street vending, domestic services), which, although the incomes they generate are precarious, give them an advantage over men, who suffer badly from unemployment and consequently from a loss of status as household providers. Most of the men previously worked in agriculture and livestock breeding, which are not very useful occupations in their new urban environment. It usually takes them some time to get trained as construction workers or guards, and for them the displacement therefore is felt as a disruption of their occupational experience. Men's attitudes towards work are different from those of women: in their former agricultural jobs they were accustomed to well-defined tasks demanding physical strength and therefore would hardly apply the term "work" to the hazardous and irregular day-to-day activities of

cleaning, vending or begging. This change of economic provider roles – and therefore of gender roles - is a widespread phenomenon amongst the displaced (Meertens, 2003).

Changes in gender roles, gender violence, breakup of families, and loss of cultural and social ties are some of the effects of internal displacement on women. Trauma associated with the deaths of family members, impaired health, and the loss of the home and possessions are also reported to be among the consequences of being displaced (Benjamin & Fancy, 1998; Din, 2010).

When displaced communities migrate, women are particularly vulnerable, especially if they are pregnant or caring for small children. Stories of women giving birth while fleeing violence are not uncommon. Others are vulnerable to sexual exploitation from officials and military personnel (El-Bushra, 2000).

Benjamin and Fancy (1998) claims that women usually suffer the effects more acutely than men do. Changes in gender roles are accelerated in situations of conflict as women are forced to assume responsibilities previously held by men. What is more, the effects of displacement depend on its duration, but immediate manifestations include family separations, exposure to gender violence, trauma associated with the deaths of family members, impaired health, and the loss of the home and possessions. Displacement may affect women's rights to inherit land and property. Over time, the cumulative effects of personal loss may result in depression and physical deterioration. Post-traumatic stress syndrome is a common ailment among women who have been displaced for more than a few months. The long-term impact of displacement on women may mean the permanent loss of social and cultural ties, the termination of career and regular employment, and disruption or loss of educational opportunities. Some marriages do not survive the stress of

displacement; divorces are common in IDP settings (Benjamin & Fancy, 1998; Patterson, 2001; Tesanovic, 2001).

On the other hand, displacement also changes gender roles as families become separated, relatives are killed, and homes are destroyed. When such events occur, women may become heads of families and find themselves forced into unaccustomed roles and responsibilities for which they are ill prepared (Benjamin & Fancy, 1998).

Another problem that is proposed is that men may be unable to find work or may become involved in the conflict leaving the woman responsible for the household. Often an unaccustomed role for which she may be ill prepared. IDPs from rural areas must adapt to living in an urban environment, and often find only menial or degrading work (Benjamin and Fancy 1998; Gururaja, 2000).

Finally, loss of social and cultural ties is another dimension of internal displacement. Displaced women generally lack community support; in many instances, the community is fragmented. The disintegration of community unity increases the vulnerability of women and children and weakens their coping mechanisms. Women and adolescent girls become easy targets for abuse when they are separated from normal support systems, husbands and other male family members. Internally displaced women continue to require protection against further displacement and abuses even after they return home. Women especially need support from their communities to defend their rights and cope with their plight. When families lose their support networks they may fall victim to crime and violence (Benjamin & Fancy, 1998).

Lawry & et al. (2005) have surveyed IDP women in six of the nine IDP camps in Nyala district, South Darfur and have concluded that general health

services, mental health, and women's health needs remain largely unmet and present a formidable challenge for humanitarian agencies in Sudan's South Darfur. The findings indicate limited sexual and reproductive rights that may negatively impact health and the already high maternal mortality rate despite humanitarian aid that has relieved a significant burden of this displaced population's basic needs.

Isolation from public places and activities is a big threat that internally displaced women experience. Even if women are not directly wounded during armed conflict, the devastation suffered by their families and the threat of violence can contribute to women's isolation. Widowhood, flight to cities and remaining inside the home to avoid violence, all serve to break down social institutions and isolate women (UN, 2002; Gururaja, 2000).

The majority of displaced persons receive no educational opportunities or skills training that would prepare them to earn incomes. In most displaced settings data collection is poor or non-existent; thus data on education may not be available. Education is a key to rehabilitation and a major step towards independence (Benjamin & Fancy, 1998).

Kumar (2005), a member of the Programme Associate Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group in India, discussed in his paper that women are harassed and physically dumped in totally unplanned resettlement sites, women face severe problems in these sites. These problems start from something as apparently small as no toilets for only women, to bigger problems such as refusal to give women-headed-households the status of PAF.

Women are the worst sufferers in this process of displacement and relocation Kumar (2005). Even when relief is given it is in the form of cash handed over to the male heads of households. Thus women are much less able to influence decisions of

how the money ought to be spent. If women protest the police often physically abuse them. The lands that are handed over to them are often of very low quality and cannot be cultivated.

The situation of displaced women in Pakistan is more or less the same with those in other regions of conflict around the world. Din (2010) reports that security was a basic problem for women even before the displacement. The solution of Taliban to this situation was banishing women from the public sphere. Their daily duty such as shopping or going to work was severely halted. Women could only move out of their houses for purposes of attaining medical care, but only accompanied by a male relative. Apart from security, inability to access to education was a major problem for Pakistani women as the most of the girls' school buildings were bombed (Din, 2010).

### Internal Displacement in Turkey

Turkey is characterized by the geographical mobility of its population and one of the most dramatic geographical experiences it has had within 20 years of time is the internal displacement of a large amount of its population. This displacement was overwhelmingly due to the conflicts that occurred in 1990s between the Turkish Army and the PKK.

### An Ethnic majority in Turkey: Kurds

Kurds constitute the largest minority ethnic group in Turkey, whose population can be counted with millions mostly dwelling in the East and Southeast part of the country. The conflict that emerged in the 1980s is not a very new issue; the roots of it

can be traced back to the Treaty of Lausanne, 1923, by which any manifestation of Kurdish identity was prohibited by the secular state of Turkish Republic. Any rejection by Kurds would be resulted in mass killings and deportation between 1925 and 1938 (NRC, 2005).

The fight between Turkish security forces and the PKK originated in many decades of government policy that did not acknowledge the existence of a distinctive Kurdish identity in Turkey. Most of the Kurds were attracted to the leftist revolutionary socialist groups which soon found themselves in armed conflict against right wing groups that were supported by Turkish State during 1970s. Beginning in the 1970s, a number of Kurdish political groups began to actively protest against this policy. In 1984, one of these groups, the PKK launched attacks against the Turkish state, with the declared intention of establishing an independent Kurdish state (Kirişçi, 1998). Part of the state's strategy against the PKK was to employ paramilitary militia or "village guards". Village guards and their families were the targets of deliberate and arbitrary killings by the PKK, while villagers who refused to join the guard often faced reprisals from Turkish security forces (HRW, 30 October 2002). Government security forces were granted exceptional powers under a State of Emergency Decree declared in ten provinces in 1987, which encompassed a heavy military presence, martial law and severe restrictions on civil and political rights enforced by a special Governor (NRC, 2005). The political instability and the disorders in the civil groups in public resulted in the intervention of the army in September, 1980. The detention and torture to an estimated 100.000 Kurds by the military government was followed by formation of specifically Kurdish nationalist groups to challenge denial and repression of the state. As a result of these rejections, Kurds formed the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). PKK steadily widened its sphere

of influence during 1980s. When government forces made them choose sides, large numbers started to support the PKK, despite misgivings over its methods (NRC, 2005). As civilians caught up in the armed conflict between Turkish security forces and the PKK in the East and Southeastern provinces of Turkey, they have been forced to flee their villages and have, for the most part, been unable to return since then (NRC, 2002).

During the height of the conflict in Turkey's south-eastern provinces between 1984 and 1999, hundreds of thousands of people, mainly Kurds, were forcibly displaced from their homes (Kirişçi, 1998). The conflict is believed to have claimed tens of thousands of lives. Over one million people were displaced in Turkey and more than 50% resides in big city centers like İstanbul, İzmir, and other urban areas in the country (Dufner, & Boll Stiftung, no date). The internal displacement of Kurds in contemporary Turkey is a tragedy resulting from a political structure lacking in pluralism, democratization and human rights (Erdem & et al., 2003).

#### Adult Education in Relation to IDPs' Vocational and Literacy Needs

Educational needs of adults are mainly satisfied by People's Education Centers (PECs), educational centers initiated by municipalities (i.e., İSMEK- İstanbul Artistic and Vocational Education Centers), non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and private companies to some extent. Among all these, PECs play an important role in providing adults with necessary vocational skills for any kind of occupation. For the purposes of this study, the literature regarding vocational educational needs of adult migrants will be explored within the context of PECs in İstanbul.

Adult education is predicted to solve the disabilities of migrants in adapting to the urban life and mobilize within this new sphere of social structure both economically and socially. While realizing these objectives, adult migrants should be able to stay in the formal area of economy as they also fit into the totally different working conditions. Adult education is generally delivered by private institutions, government agencies, local authorities and NGOs (Non-governmental Organizations) which work voluntarily (Ural; 2007, p.23). These services are primarily organized for underdeveloped rural areas, shantytowns, areas where development projects are implemented, and rural and urban areas which are in process of development (MEB, 1980; cited in Ural, 2007). It is also reported that there is an increase in the number of adult women who like and are in need of working due to various reasons, which necessitates adult education to be focused on migrant women (Ural, 2007, s. 20).

Taking migration into consideration, adult education is described by Geray (1994) as all the attempts towards assisting people migrating from rural to urban areas and urban people to acquire urban professions, to be integrated with urban lifestyle by acquiring urban culture and to help them solve the problems they face. As can be seen, adult education programs delivered by municipalities encompasses a wide variety of goals focused on urbanization, integration and adaptation to urban and resolving problems faced in urban (Geray, 1994 cited in Ural, 2007).

The rapidly increasing rate of migration is generally due to worsening employment opportunities in small urban centers and towns. People in need of employment rush into metropolitan centers to work as unskilled workers. Hence, migration by itself constitutes the greatest motive for municipalities to take part in the process of educating the unskilled labour force. Circumstances that necessitate PECs to take action in organizing vocational educational programs are basically

related to the lack of formal educational opportunities, migration and its complications with regard to urbanization and adaptation to and integration with urban by building urbanizing awareness.

## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

#### Research Philosophy

For this study, a qualitative research inquiry approach was chosen. Qualitative research is appropriate to use when there is a need to explore an issue or problem in order to attain a better and detailed understanding of an issue (Creswell, 2007). The use of qualitative approach in the current study provided a framework to explore in-depth the experiences of internally displaced Kurdish women in adult education literature.

Several assumptions led to the formation of research design. A review of qualitative research revealed that active engagement of participants gives them an opportunity to have a stake in and understand the research from their own point of view (Cresswell, 1998; Ladson-Billings, 2000). Second, narrative interviewing makes it possible to generate detailed accounts rather than brief answers or generalized statements (Riessman, 2008). Third, narrative accounts of participants are important because they give people voice and “help them hold the floor for lengthy turns and sometimes organize replies into long stories” (Riessman, 1993; p. 3). What is more, each and every narrative is unique, and this is manifested in extremely rich data (Glasser & Strauss, 1967).

Lieblich et al (1998) support the idea that the use of narrative methodology brings about rich and unique data which are impossible to be obtained from

experiments, questionnaires, or observations. Another advantage of narrative methodology stems from both the quantities of materials accumulated and interpretive nature of the work.

Exploring Kurdish women's experiences related to the factors that affect their participation to adult educational activities as well as their reasons for not participating in such activities through their own point of view is essential to this study and achieving this would not be possible without using a qualitative approach. Lieblich et al (1998) argue that in many sociological and anthropological studies, narratives are used in order to 'represent the character or lifestyle of specific subgroups in society, defined by their gender, race, religion, and so on' (p.5). These social groups are often discriminated against from a social, cultural, or ethnic point of view; hence, their narratives 'express their unheard voices' (Lieblich et al., 1998; p.5).

The interaction between the participants and the researcher necessarily bears multiple realities (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005); consequently, the intent of this study is to explore these multiple realities as well as using the experiences and perceptions of internally displaced Kurdish women as the main component of findings of the research (Creswell, 2007). To sum up, the criteria for using qualitative approach in this study was based on the necessity to explore and understand internally displaced women who belonged to a social ethnic majority in terms of the factors affecting their participation in adult educational activities from their own experiences.

## Researcher's Role and Values

The qualitative nature of the data and the data analysis process indispensably brought about the involvement of researcher subjectivity that stems from the cultural, political, and ethnic background of the researcher as well as the personal values and prejudices. Likewise, the role of the researcher as the primary data collection instrument necessitates identification of personal values, assumptions and biases at the outset of the study (Gillham, 2000). As a person of Kurdish origin capable of speaking the language of the participants at advanced level, I was able to comprehend all of the conversations made in Kurdish. Despite older participants' complete lack of language abilities in Turkish and linguistic and Semanuritic errors that other participants occasionally made throughout interviews, much of what they meant to convey were well translated into Turkish and English. As a 'Kurdish woman', on the other hand, my previous experiences in an environment almost totally made up of Kurdish society (i. e., my own mother's and other familiar women's educational experiences) as well as my political and socio-cultural point of view in relation to the Kurdish problem may have influenced the way the data were analyzed in a particular way through these lenses (Fine & Glasser, 1996).

In addition to researcher bias, the subjectivity of these participants was a strong factor that popped up at occasional times during interview process. To be more precise, being born in Adiyaman and being 'Alevi' was not desirable for me as all of the participants were politically active women and were interested in my political and religious background. Participants attributed certain political values to my characteristics, and throughout the data collection process, these characteristics functioned both as facilitator and obstacle at times with participants who attached

meanings to them. Whether all these factors did affect the direction of the analysis process negatively or positively is not known for sure. The role and values of researcher as well as participants can enhance the direction of a study and lead to sense-making activities; nonetheless, these values may also be a source of biases which may also function as barriers in the research process (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).

Carrying out the research as a researcher and a teacher might have hindered other potential disclosure from the participating women, that is, they may have given certain answers but refused to share some others due to my role as a researcher which suggested an intimate connection to the ‘state’ and an as a teacher which symbolized ‘education’ somehow.

The driving factors behind this study was my desire to understand and explore what kind of factors influenced internally displaced Kurdish women’s decisions about non-participation to adult educational activities through their own experiences and life stories. Having stated all these, I am well aware of the biases and liabilities that may interfere with the findings of the study as well as the advantages that my partially common background with the participants may have over the analysis process. Therefore, the findings and discussion parts of the study should be read with this fact in mind.

### Theoretical Framework

The purpose of this narrative study was to understand the factors and reasons that influenced internally displaced Kurdish women’s nonparticipation to adult vocational and literacy courses specifically provided by PECs with an aim to explore these factors and reasons through Kurdish women’s own social frameworks, that is, their

perceptions on ‘how’ and ‘why’ their experiences might have led to their exclusion from educational activities. The research question guiding this was - What are the factors and reasons affecting internally displaced Kurdish women’s nonparticipation to adult vocational and literacy courses provided by PECs?

Subsequent questions supporting the main research question were:

- a. How does language/their mother tongue affect their nonparticipation?
- b. How does their ethnic identity (being Kurdish) within the political and migratory context affect their nonparticipation?
- c. What is the role of patriarchal thinking on their nonparticipation?
- d. How does being “internally displaced” influence their nonparticipation?

## Research Design

Narrative inquiry is important to explore the stories of internally displaced Kurdish women and to understand the relationships between the experiences of them and their social framework (Jonas, 2005; Willis, 2007; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Lieblich et al., 1998; p.5; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). To be consistent with the nature of the data collected, namely the stories of Kurdish women concerning their perceptions of factors and reasons affecting their nonparticipation to adult educational activities, the study employed a narrative analysis in order to examine the data.

The word ‘narrative’ is defined in its basic form as a discourse that is designed to represent an interrelated succession of events. Lieblich (1998) and her coworkers offer the following definition for narrative inquiry:

‘Narrative research...refers to any study that uses or analyses narrative materials. The data can be collected as a story (a life story provided in an interview or a literary work) or in a different manner (field notes of an anthropologist who writes up his or her observations as a narrative or in personal letters). It can be the object of the research or a means for the study of another question. It may be used for comparison among groups, to learn about a social phenomenon or historical period, or to explore a personality. (p. 2)

Narrative inquiry is an interdisciplinary study of all activities related to generation and analyses of life experiences in the form of life histories, narrative interviews, journals diaries, memoirs, autobiographies and biographies (Schwandt, 2007). So, it is concerned with how to investigate and collect data that is used to reflect the lives of individuals, deal with individuals’ stories of their lived experiences, and explore meanings attached to them.

The rationale for selecting narrative inquiry as the analysis methods is that narrative research differs significantly from positivist research methods in its underlying assumptions that there is not an absolute truth in human reality or a pure correct interpretation of a text. Rather, it settles its roots on realms of pluralism, relativism, and subjectivity (Lieblich et al, 1998).

The specific method of narrative inquiry, which is employed in this study, is grounded in the thinking and scholarship of Lieblich et al (1998). The data of this study was analyzed and interpreted through the use of categorical-content analysis method, which is one of the four main methods of narrative analysis.

Lieblich et al (1998) provide four modes of reading a narrative:

- Holistic - Content

- Categorical - Content
- Holistic - Form
- Categorical - Form

As can be seen, there are mainly two independent dimensions that emerge; holistic versus categorical approaches and content versus form. The first dimension refers to the unit of analysis as an abstracted section from a complete text, or the narrative as a whole. In categorical analysis, which is similar to traditional content analysis, the narrative is split up and sections or single words belonging to a defined category are brought together from several texts belonging to a number of narrators. In holistic approach, on the other hand, the life story of an individual is treated as a whole, and the sections of the text are interpreted in relation to the whole text. The second dimension refers to two separate ways of literary reading of texts. The holistic-form-based analysis makes it possible to look at the plots or structure of complete life stories. It tries to understand whether a story develops as a comedy or a tragedy, whether it follows a path from a present moment to a past event or vice versa. Finally, the categorical-form mode of narrative analysis focuses on discrete stylistic or linguistic characteristics of predefined units of narratives. It is interested in the types of metaphors used by the narrator or the frequency of passive and active utterances. Each of these modes of analyses best works with certain types of research questions, different kinds of texts and is more appropriate for certain sample sizes.

## Categorical - Content Analysis

Being one of the above mentioned modes of analyses, the categorical-content approach is more familiar as “content analysis”. Categories of the studied topic are defined, and separate utterances of the text are extracted, classified and gathered into these categories/groups. In this mode, quantitative treatment of narrative is fairly common.

The narrative materials of the life stories were processed analytically by breaking the text into relatively smaller units of content and were submitted to either descriptive or statistical treatment. This is normally called content analysis, which is a classical method for doing research with narrative materials in psychology, sociology, and education (Riessman, 1993). Lieblich et al (1998) suggest that ‘categorical-content approach may be employed when the research is primarily interested in a problem or a phenomenon shared by a group of people’ (p. 12). This specific method of analysis will be further explored under ‘Data Analysis’ section.

## Pilot Study

Creswell (2007) and Seidman (2006) argue that interviewing has a critical role as the primary data collection method and the importance of developing an effective interview protocol should be recognized. To support the data collection process, previously defined interview questions were piloted with two internally displaced Kurdish women who resided in Zeytinburnu and Esenler. The participants were selected with the guidance of GÖÇ-DER and met the criteria for the research. Another pilot study was carried out with a group of IDPs living in Bayramtepe,

Küçükçekmece. Pilot studies were carried out following the approval of research proposal and all necessary modifications were done based on the results of the pilot studies and were approved by the dissertation mentor.

### Interview Protocol Revisions

The purpose of these pilot studies was to guarantee the strength of the questions included in the interview and the research questions of the study as well as the interviewing technique which is equally important in order to achieve a well organized interview. Piloting the interview questions provided an opportunity to test the recording device and attain an overall idea about the average length of an interview and the requirements that should be fulfilled prior to each interview. The necessity to use Kurdish language as the medium of communication became apparent at this stage, which also meant that the interview questions should be considered in the target language to make it easy to convey messages. The revised interview questions were re-ordered according to the research questions and some more sub questions were added while some others were omitted. Semantic and grammatic mistakes were corrected. The pilot study experience also revealed that the interviews should be done within a pre-determined length of time with extra care as to how to ask questions, and follow up on what the participant says (Seidman, 2006). The piloting process also gave an idea on how to direct the interview questions to the interviewees and a prior understanding of the target population in terms of the pragmatic language they used, prejudices and perceptions they had and how they reacted to a researcher. It alerted me to the range of factors that give an interview

flavor and direction: the ‘management’ dimension. It helped me to form more productive and stimulating questions. It helped to highlight key questions and indicate those that were redundant, and those that needed rethinking (Gillham, 2000).

### Interview Procedures

27 participants were interviewed in Bayramtepe, each interview was recorded with a digital recording device and was transcribed right at the end of the day in order to avoid accumulation of work and take necessary field notes along with the transcription procedure. The length of interviews ranged from 2 hours to 30 minutes. This was because some of the interviewees did not provide enough feedback on research questions due to the reasons that were discussed under ‘Researcher’s Role and Values’ heading. The researcher aimed at getting in touch with as many participants as possible to make sure that up to 10 subjects could be selected from all interviews. These subjects were selected according to the variety and quality of the answers they gave.

### Setting

All participants were selected from Bayramtepe, a district of Küçükçekmece, which is known to be one of the densely populated zones by Kurdish IDPs. It is also known as one of those districts of urban transformation with rapidly rising residences at one side and squatter settlements at the other side, depicting a peculiar urban image. Most of the Kurds in Bayramtepe are IDPs from different villages of Eastern provinces

such as Van, Bitlis, Bingöl, and many others. During the interview period, nearly two hours of travel was made in order to reach the research site. This meant to spend nearly 4 hours each day. Three different means of transportation were used to get to the site as it was far away from the place of departure.

### Population and Sample Selection

The population of this study consisted of all internally displaced Kurdish women who either did not have any adult educational experience or quit their educational lives for various reasons. Internally displaced people (IDPs) referred to people who were displaced from their villages during the armed conflict that took place in Eastern Turkey between the Turkish Army and PKK in 1990s. To represent the population, 9 participants whose ages ranged between 26 and 51 were interviewed. These participants were selected from a wider group of participants (27 women) with whom in-depth interviews were held. The selection criteria were based on the quality of interviews in terms of detailed and varied answers. All 9 participants were selected from Kurdish women residing in Bayramtepe (a district of Küçükçekmece) due to convenience concerns because it was not easy to find a gate that could make it possible to reach other Kurdish women in other districts.

### Sampling Method

To recruit suitable participants for this study, purposive and snowball sampling methods were used. Purposive sampling was essential for the study as it enabled the researcher to identify participants against a prescribed set of criteria to ensure that

participants who can provide insights about the study phenomenon are selected (Patton, 2002). Purposive Sampling is a nonprobability sampling procedure in which elements are selected from the target population on the basis of their fit with the purposes of the study and specific inclusion and exclusion criteria (Daniel, 2012). Snowball sampling was also used to identify and recruit participants for the study. Snowball recruiting, which focuses on the use of referral sources, is an effective participant recruiting strategy it may be difficult to identify participants who match the participant selection criteria (Patton, 2002).

The next step was to set criteria for inclusion and exclusion for the sample. Afterwards, the sample size was determined.

#### Sampling Criteria for Participants

The participants who qualified for this study were all:

- Kurdish women
- Aged 20 and above,
- Internally displaced during conflicts in East and Southeast Turkey,
- Lacked formal education both in childhood and adulthood

As can be seen, ethnicity, gender, lack of education, and displacement are core criteria for the aims of this study to shed light on the research questions posed in the methodology section. Participants had to be selected according to these assets due to the very nature of the study, which is to focus on experiences of internally displaced Kurdish women regarding their non-participation to adult educational activities.

## Participant Recruitment Documentation

The challenge faced in the current study was to identify individuals who were able to commit to an in-depth interview approach. The target audience for this study was internally displaced Kurdish women who did not / could not participate in adult educational activities served by PECs for various reasons or factors. Based on the researcher's location, the initial plan was to recruit individuals for inclusion in this study primarily from İstanbul, which is a metropolitan area.

To get in touch with potential participants for the study, members of GÖÇ-DER, a non-governmental organization concerned with the Kurdish IDPs living in İstanbul, were asked to identify internally displaced Kurdish women living in İstanbul. 17 year -old daughter of an internally displaced family agreed to guide the researcher to Bayramtepe, which was the selected research site for the study.

The number of participants for a qualitative study is influenced by the research objectives and whether the researcher wishes to focus on a broad understanding of the study phenomenon or develop an in-depth understanding (Patton, 2002; Seidman, 2006). The intent of this study was to develop an in-depth understanding of the experiences of the individuals selected to participate in the study. In selecting this number of participants, the fact that each participant would be asked to participate in three interviews was considered. Thus, the focus of the study was to develop information-rich data from a relatively small number of individuals.

## Data Collection Process

Seidman (2006) underlies the importance of interviewing as a qualitative method especially if the researcher is interested in the *stories* of people. While people tell stories, Sediman contends, ‘they select details of their experience from their stream of consciousness’ (p.7). The use of intensive interviews is essential for establishing participant rapport as well as helping participants to reconstruct their experiences with the research topic. What is more, the purpose of in-depth interviewing is to understand the lived experience of other people and the *meaning* they attach to what they have experienced (Seidman, 2006).

The interview strategy used for the study was face-to-face interviewing. Face-to-face interviewing was beneficial for this study as it enabled the researcher to be able to hear the verbal responses of participants and to observe nonverbal responses such as gestures, mimics, and body posture that may provide additional information or important clues to further explore the participants’ responses to the interview questions.

## Data Analysis

Four steps of content analysis (Lieblich et al, 1998) were qualified in this study, and each of them is broadly discussed under separate headings.

### 1. Selection of the subtext

On the basis of the research questions, all the relevant sections of interview transcriptions were marked and assembled to form a new file or subtext. The selected sections of the subtexts were withdrawn from the total context of the life story and were treated independently.

## 2. Definition of the content categories

The selected subtexts were read through as openly as possible to define the major content categories that emerged from the reading. Then the material was sorted into categories. This circular procedure involved careful reading, which made it possible to come up with relevant categories. After all readings of narratives, emerging categories were refined over and over. As for the ideal number of categories, Lieblich et al (1998) says that it depends on the research goals as well as practical considerations. In this study, my goal was to define many subtle categories that retained the richness and variation of the text but required meticulous sorting of the material.

## 3. Sorting the material into the categories

At this stage, separate sentences or utterances were assigned to relevant categories. Categories included utterances from several individuals. Single utterances that did not appear as much as to construct a new category were classified as ‘other reasons’. To attain interjudge reliability, the subtexts were read and classified by another researcher in order to create higher sensitivity to the text and its meaning to different readers.

#### 4. Drawing conclusions from the results

The sentences in each category were counted, tabulated, ordered by frequency in accordance with the research aims and questions and researcher's preference. Related subtexts were provided together with the analyses in order to exemplify specific situations related to each category.

#### Participant Profiles

The aim of the study was to discover underlying factors and dynamics that affect internally displaced Kurdish women's participation in adult literacy and vocational educational activities provided by PECs in İstanbul. For the specific objectives of the study, 9 internally displaced Kurdish women residing in Bayramtepe (Küçükçekmece) were interviewed in depth. Demographic information of the participants are presented in TABLE-1, displaying data on the participants age, number of children they have, length of stay in İstanbul after displacement, place of birth, the language which they preferred to express themselves, their spouses' job status and finally type of accommodation they had in İstanbul.

More factual information was gathered both during the interviews and via field notes, but only some of the data could be presented in the table for practical reasons. More vivid depictions of participants are provided in the following individual participant profiles.

Participant profiles do not include the stories of displacement, how they evacuated their villages or what they suffered from during displacement as the

study's aim is not to reveal what happened during the conflicts in 1990s but to attract attention to why and how displaced Kurdish women survive in the new place they have arrived together with their families, what are the reasons and factors that affect their non-participation to adult educational activities provided by PECs, and how *they* experience and think about their disability to get into such educational activities

TABLE -1 Demographic Information

Name:	Age	Children (#)	Length of stay in İst.	Birthplace	Education	Interview language	Husband
Nazenin	43	7	18	VAN	-	Turkish/Kurdish	Imprisoned
Gülay	48	8	16-17	BITLIS	-	Turkish/Kurdish	Unemployed
Semanur	31	1	18	BITLIS	-	Kurdish	Baker
Bedriye	51	10	16	BITLIS	Primary School	Turkish	Retired
Hülya	42	6	18	BITLIS	-	Turkish/Kurdish	Disabled/B.Laborer
Halime	41	5	18	VAN	-	Turkish	R. E. Broker
Nazime	35	6	18	BITLIS	Dropout (PS-5)*	Turkish	Shipping Agent
Selma	27	4	18	BITLIS	Dropout (PS-2)**	Turkish	Freelancer
Nisa	26	2	18	BITLIS	-	Turkish	Building Laborer

PS-5\*, Primary School, 5<sup>th</sup> grade.  
 PS-2\*\*, Primary School, 2<sup>nd</sup> grade.

## Nazenin

Nazenin is a 48-year-old married woman with 7 children, one of whom is married. She and her family had moved to İstanbul after being displaced from her village of Gevaş, Van. The second oldest daughter had left school at a very young age to work in textile industry in order to contribute to family budget. After the husband's arrestment due to political reasons, Nazenin was left with 5 school children to look after. The expenses of the family are afforded by neighbors as well as charity institutions.

Before arrestment, her husband had worked as an informal imam who got paid in funerals and various other religious rituals. The maintenance of the family completely depended on the husband despite his irregular earnings.

Other children of Nazenin are all school children whose ages range between 16 and 6. The negative experiences of the family during displacement and harsh economic conditions they face made her to encourage her children to do their best to get a degree in school.

As for educational background of Nazenin, life conditions back in the hometown can be thought as the main barrier in front of having formal education. Her family had to make a living out of cultivation of land and animal breeding. Heavy load of work had to be shared among family members; therefore, there was no time for anything else, as she said. Apart from practical reasons, male oppression was also an important issue that Nazenin mentioned during informal talks between interviews. At that time, it was a common belief that girls at her age were not to

participate in educational activities as it was simply thought not to be appropriate for females.

Lastly, Nazenin could spoke a little Turkish satisfactorily if not very well. However, she could make sense of almost everything told to her. She had learnt Turkish since she moved to İstanbul within her neighborhood which was made of both Kurdish and Turkish families from all over Turkey.

### Gülay

Gülay is a 48-year-old married woman with 8 children, four of whom are female. She is completely illiterate with almost no knowledge of Turkish. She could not go to school in the absence of one, but all her children managed to get into touch with some degree of education when in the village. Only one boy could survive till higher education. The need to get into work made it necessary for all siblings to quit their educational lives. Her two daughters had to leave school in the 3rd grade, when the conflicts got bigger and halted education in most of the villages in the region. Her husband wanted his children to attain higher levels in their educational life, Gülay said, there was no discrimination against daughters; on the contrary, he loved his daughters more than his sons.

Gülay's husband has been ill for some time, suffering from diabetes, cholesterol and high tension. Having all these health problems, the father could not go on further to support family income and has not worked for 3 years. All expenses are on the shoulders of a son and a daughter, who work in textile industry for considerably low wages.

### Semanur

Semanur is 31 years old and she has got only one child at this age because her husband, who is currently employed as a baker, had been imprisoned before she could give birth to her first child who was 13 years old at the time of interview. Like all other women, she and her family displaced from their villages, Cangiz (Tatvan-Van), 18 years ago. She blames her father for being illiterate since he had opposed his daughters' demand for formal education but approved his sons' attendance to educational activities. Within her 7 siblings, only two were lucky to have attended formal schooling. Her successful sister was also hindered by her father in spite of her mother's constant request. For this reason, Semanur blames the Kurdish patriarchal mentality for everything.

Compared to all other participants who were somehow well in utilizing Turkish despite their ages; Semanur could not communicate in Turkish at all, except for a few words she could make sense of. She was the only woman who was very young but lacked language skills in Turkish with regard to the number of years spent in İstanbul.

### Bedriye

The oldest of all the participants interviewed, Bedriye had advanced level of language skills, which made it possible for her to communicate in both languages

effectively. She had got the hang of Turkish language during her residence in Adana, where she migrated due to economic problems. However, intense violence she and her family encountered in Adana during years of conflict made them move to İstanbul for security concerns. It has been 16 years since she and her family moved from Adana. Her hometown was Tokaçlı, a village of Tatvan, Bitlis.

Bedriye was 51 year old and had 10 children at this age; as she puts it, she got married at the age of 14. Seven of them were married, one of them was a high school student and her two little daughters were primary school students. Bedriye's husband was a retired building laborer. To support his family in the proceeding years, he had decided to pay for his own insurance premium and now the family depends on the pension he gets.

Bedriye's educational experience had come to an end with her father's persistence in not agreeing to let her continue further her education upon completion of primary school. Despite her primary school teacher's insistence, the father rejected to send the child, believing that a girl on her own should not be sent away. Since then, she had promised herself to support her children in fulfilling their educational goals even if they had poor school performance.

### Hülya

Hülya was a Kurdish woman at the age of 42 and she was completely unable to communicate in Turkish no matter how many years she had spent in İstanbul with a neighborhood made up of both Turkish and Kurdish families. She neither could speak nor understand anything in Turkish; hence, the whole interview was completed in her mother tongue. She has got 3 daughters and 3 sons, most of whom are both

workers and students. Her husband is inherently disabled, but he had to work as a building laborer. To help their father, Hülya's eldest son, who has been doing his military service, and her 13-year-old girl, who is a student in secondary school, are trying to ease their father's burden by working in textile industry.

Her family was displaced from village of Emek, Tatvan. Having lost all their animals and lands, and some relatives in the conflict, they had no other choice but to find somewhere else to live. It has been exactly 18 years since they moved out of their hometown. Being obliged to live in an extremely humid and cold house for some time, she had tuberculosis and got treated in the sanatorium in Heybeliada, İstanbul. Her illness was the primary barrier in front of her wish to get education.

### Halime

Halime is also among the participants who spoke Turkish fluently despite her relatively older age and illiteracy. Although she was 40, she seemed to be well over 50, a common incidence faced through all interviews. Her claim was that her father had deliberately registered her at an older age in order not to send her to school and make it possible to force girls to marry at younger ages.

She and her family were displaced from Kavar, a village of Van during 1990s. Whatever she had experienced during conflicts made her to strictly believe that there was no sense in learning the language of the other, or getting any kind of education in the language of the other. So much was her hatred that she had even opposed her children's demand for formal education and hence had not sent them out for such an opportunity.

Breeding animals and harvesting various crops was common to all participants as it was with Halime. In İstanbul, her husband and two daughters worked as real estate brokers and her son waiting to be appointed as a candidate of religion teacher. She had five children, the oldest being 20 years old and the youngest only 5. Although the family was economically comfortable, they lived in a shanty house as they were waiting for urban transformation to be accomplished. Then, they could move to a more appropriate house.

### Nazime

Nazime is from Kısıklı village in Tatvan, Van. She is 35 years old and has 6 children, two daughters and 4 sons, the oldest one being just 18 years old. Her husband works as a shipping agent and he is economically supported by his 18-year-old daughter, who works part-time in a tuck-shop for a very low wage. The younger members of the family are between the ages of 15 and 6, all of whom are students. During the interview, the fifteen year old daughter had just started to work in textile industry for the summer months to compensate for her own educational and personal expenses.

Nazime got engaged just one month before she could finish primary school and married when she was only 14. Although her grades were pretty good, but the family was reluctant to send her further. Her teacher had tried to convince the father to let her daughter continue school, yet all his efforts ended up in failure. According to Nazime, her father was fiercely against the idea that girls could get education as boys did. It was impossible for him to send the child to another city for further

education. Having experienced such things, she was quite determined to invest in her children, especially girls, in any way she could.

Nazime lives very close to her sisters-in-law as most of the other Kurdish families do in Bayramtepe.

### Selma

Selma is the sister of Nazime's husband. She is 27 and already has 4 children whose ages are ranged between 12 and 2. She got married at the age of 14 through a forced arranged marriage with his cousin who is 7 years older than her. Her father had died when her youngest brother was only 6 months old and the whole responsibility of the family had passed down to her brother who used his authority by making Selma marry his cousin.

Selma, her siblings and mother had been displaced from their lands when she was a 2<sup>nd</sup> grade primary school child. She could hardly remember what had been going on during the conflicts until they decided to come to İstanbul to adopt a completely different way of survival.

The economic problems Selma faced was similar to that of Nazenin since her husband did not engage in regular work, nor was he willing to do so despite Selma's oppositions and concerns about their children's future lives. She regretted having married to such a man and firmly accused her brother of forcing her into a marriage with him.

Despite her young age, Selma suffered from serious psoriasis and had been treated for some time. She believed to have got this illness because of the stress she experienced both in her marriage and due to the life conditions she confronted in

İstanbul. She did piece work and embroidery to compensate for her children's school expenses.

As for her educational experience, Selma did not have the opportunity to even graduate from primary school. She had to leave school at the second grade of primary school when the conflict suddenly started and most of the people had to move to various places. Upon arriving in İstanbul, her widow mother could do nothing although she had always wished to do her best for her children. The necessity to get into work and support the family made Selma and her siblings leave their plans about education.

Apart from economic concerns, language constituted the main obstacle in front of stabilization. Selma and all other women had gone through an imperative process of language learning and these had been the most common factors that affected the adaptation of these people to the new place they were forced to move in.

### Nisa

Nisa is a 26 year-old married woman with two little children and expecting the third. She lives with her husband and children in a very small shanty house with all her relatives surrounding her immediate neighborhood. She has 6 siblings, two of whom did not have the opportunity to get education due to the correspondence of their school age to the time of displacement from Tatvan, Bitlis, in 1990s. According to her, her father was an egalitarian villager who wished all his children to have access to educational activities. Unlike other women, these children had had to leave school or had no access to it at all despite their enthusiasm to learn how to read and write. Like most of the people who were deprived of their former production tools, Nisa

also had to start to work when she was just 7 years old. She had promised herself to enhance her family's financial situation, trying to protect her family from being looked down on by anybody.

Like her two illiterate sisters, Nisa could not have the opportunity of getting primary education due to the conflict in 1990s. However, her desire to learn led her to get help from other family members until she succeeded in reading and writing properly. According to her, displacement at a very young age, lack of sources after displacement and disability in communicating in Turkish language have constituted the biggest obstacles on her educational life.

Having lost 13 relatives from her large family in the conflicts, Nisa and her siblings were confronted with a great deal of work both in the family and outside in textile industry. She started working when she was only 7 and quit as she got married at the age of 20.

The whole interview done with Nisa was in Turkish as she possessed proficient speaking skills and could express herself clearly in both languages.

## CHAPTER IV

### FINDINGS

#### The Burden of Children and Household Duties

One of the obstacles in front of Kurdish women who have been displaced is the burden of children and the household chores that are socially defined as women's 'job' in the house. Most women tend to bear a child each year for various reasons and, hence, they need to do lots of things to get through a dozen of chores to sustain a standard day of the family. 6 women reported that they had such a problem and complained about it. Among those who did not mention about the burden of children and household chores was Gülay, who was the oldest of the participants and did not have any young children at home. Bedriye had two young children at primary school age, but this was not an obstacle for her. Halime never talked about her younger children until I asked her, and she did not mention it overtly during the interview at all. However, when I asked a general question as to why Kurdish women did not participate in adult educational activities, she also said that most Kurdish women faced this problem and could not take part in educational activities.

The most outstanding example of this category was Nazenin's case. With 7 children without the husband, she was totally shouldered the total burden of the family. Her husband had been imprisoned for almost two years by then and the children's age ranged between 22 and 7, two of whom had to work in textile industry for very low wages. When asked about why she did not participate in adult

educational activities such as literacy courses, the first and repeatedly given answer was that she spent all her time dealing with the daily needs of her children of school age. While talking about this issue, she somehow needed to make a comparison between Kurdish and Turkish women in terms of how these two carried out their duties concerning the children, and most of the time she felt proud of how she was deeply interested in looking after her children and doing housework despite her enthusiasm for education. Her need for literacy was for two reasons: the first one was to be able to write letters for her imprisoned husband, and the second was that she often participated in conferences and lectures where she wanted to take notes.

I really wanted to go. I want to go, but because of little children... Every year, Kurdish women have a baby in their arms. Really... For instance, Turkish women prepare a sandwich and give it to their children. We, Kurds, have breakfast every morning, prepare two pots of meal afternoons, we cook for the dinner. Every day, it is the same. The reverse is not possible. They (Turkish women) stay out until evening, when their children cry, they give a sandwich of tomato and olives to them. We don't do that. We can't. We cook for every time of day. (...) We deal with children, housechores, whatelse... I have seven children, five daughters and two sons. Five of them go to school, one of them works. I also want to participate as you might know. Two (of students) go to school in the morning, they come and have lunch. Three of them go to school in the afternoon and arrive at home in the evening. I can only deal with cooking and cleaning for them. Otherwise, I would like to go to school. Indeed, women read and write letters. For example, when we go somewhere, we take notes. I don't know anything. I would like, but we can't (Nazenin, 1)

Nazenin said that having too many children was a social reality of Kurdish society and Kurdish women looked after their children properly despite the density of their needs. For her, this was the one of the most important factors affecting her participation.

Kurdish people constituted the majority of the population in Bayramtepe; thus, there was co-operation among families both socially and economically. As Nazenin lived with her 6 children in a shanty house that was in a very bad condition,

the neighboring families often helped her financially and helped for cooking for the children.

Nazenin is a drop out participant in adult literacy courses, but it is not because of her little child, Dilan, (3-4 years old at that time) but because she was dawn with asthma due to bad living conditions. Nazenin's attempt to continue literacy courses was interrupted when she was started to suffer from severe asthma, and her experience of literacy courses lasted for a week when she couldn't stand the smells (This will be exemplified in another category). Her insistence to join classes despite her little daughter is observed in following excerpt:

I really wanted to go, but I couldn't. At that time, my little daughter was three or four years old. It was three years ago. We were learning how to read and write in the course. For example, we knew what the teacher wrote on the board. 'Where is this? – Mardin. We knew it. Where is that? – Batman. I know all of the letters individually. I know them, but I can't integrate them. Indeed, I... (Smiling) Indeed, I can recognize all the individual letters. There aren't any letters that I don't know, but I can't read. Yes... What can I do? (Musing) I left it unfinished. I continued for seven days. Seven days... Yes... I couldn't go. I was unable due to smells (Nazenin, 2).

Although she has got 6 children to care for, Nazenin continuously mentioned about her enthusiasm to learn how to read and write. Having children is a joy for her, yet it is also a barrier between her and her wish to continue her education both in literacy and vocational courses. Her over-repetition of this implies the degree of her desire for learning and the importance she attached to it.

Yes... I really want to go. I want to be able to do every jod, but I can't, we can't go. We have a lot of children. If there weren't children, I person could learn and do any job. But we can't go because of children. There are a lot of children (Nazenin, 3).

Nazime is a close friend of Nazenin. She is more than a friend for her since her husband's arrest. At the age of 36, she has 6 children of whom the oldest is

already 18 years old. She is responsible for the care of not only her children but also a 6-year-old disabled daughter of her brother-in-law who cannot support medication and all other expenses of her daughter because he does not possess a green card.

With all her children and the disabled child, Nazime carries out all household duties herself without the help of her older daughter whom she encourages to focus on her education. This and all other duties emerging from her role as a 'housewife' are overwhelmingly affecting her for her participation to adult educational activities in spite of her willingness and fancy for literacy and vocational courses.

I had I little child. All of them used to go to school. Then, it was school time. It got dark until I could prepare them for school. I didn't have the chance / opportunity; otherwise, I would like to go. (...) I have the enthusiasm for such things. I want to go, but... Let's see. I hope it (the course) will open again. I will go (Nazime, 1).

As can be understood from the above utterances, the burden of children and responsibilities concerning children and house can determine the participation of women to courses to a great extent.

Another woman who stated the same reason is Nazime's sister-in-law, Selma. Though she is only 27 years old, she already has got 4 children. The last child being almost a baby, it not surprising to hear from her that even if her husband and family give permission to participate in educational activities, she said she would be suffering from this problem. Hence, no matter what other kinds of obstacles there are in front of her, her responsibility of her children and house would prevent her from even going out for any other reason. As mentioned in another category, Selma's first complaint is about her husband and close neighborhood's suppression and control over her, but in the absence of these, the result would not change for her since she is

deeply buried into a dozens of familial duties and cannot devote time and effort into educational interests. Like other participants, the burden of children and related emerging responsibilities and duties are somehow on the shoulders of Selma. On one hand, she has internalized the fact that she has to get permission before doing something, on the other hand, the maintenance of the house and the care of children is within her responsibility area as if the children belong to her only, which implies a paradoxical relationship between the wife and the husband.

You have to get permission necessarily. Because we have responsibilities, children... For example, if I consider myself, I have four children. I can't leave them and go out. (...) Actually, there are a lot of reasons for our nonparticipation (Selma, 1).

Working is considered inappropriate for women as a result of their social gender roles as mothers and housewives. It should be noted that this predetermined division of labor operates more like a restrictive set rather than being simply a way to get through daily duties. Selma's words concerning the viewpoint of her family and other people of 'working married women' is well reflected in the following paragraph.

We have four children. If they weren't little, I would work. I can't work because of our neighborhood. It would be considered strange in our society if a married woman worked. it is not wanted (desirable). (If you go to a vocational course?) They definitely wouldn't let me go! Really... (Who, for instance?) Neither my husband nor his family would let me go. Yeah. (Her tone of voice lowered.) What do I say to you? If I ever go out, they would say 'Why this woman goes out? Here and there...' Yeah. They don't understand (Selma, 2).

Among other participants, Semanur was relatively older compared to Selma, Nisa, and Nazime, who had 4, 3 and 6 children respectively. This was because her husband had been jailed for 7 years, and during this time Semanur raised her sole

child in the absence of her husband. Her husband was released 7 months ago (at the time of interview) and she was unwilling to have one more child, anyway. When asked about that, she was well aware of the fact that having too many children was not a gift but a burden that meant less movement outside the house and more effort to carry out daily duties within the house. She was much contented with what she possessed so far and was conscious about the problems and limitations other women in the wider family (her sister-in-laws lived in the same apartment) had.

Women have a lot of children. They can only deal with children, the house and cooking. I know tens of women. They can only carry out the household duties, they have so many children. For example, you are an educated woman, so you can go anywhere and do anything you want. But we have a lot of children, haousewok, and cooking. So, this is the way Kurdi women are. Actually, I wouldn't prefer to have so many children. I have just one, so it is very easy for me. If I had a lot of children, I definitely wouldn't be able to look after them all. We have a lot of children but they still can't get education, they participate in protests. At least, my children go to school, really. For instance, my brother in law's wife is fifty years old, and she gave birth to another baby this year. She is ten months old. How many children does she have? Seven? Eight? She has ten children and this is the 10<sup>th</sup>! Ten children! (Laughing) Her husband hasn't been satisfied yet. Really! He likes children a lot. Can you leave nine children behind and go to school? (Laughing) Can you leave them and go? Really, there isn't anything that we can do. They (women) simply cannot. One of my sister-in-law has 6 children, one has 10, another one has 9 children, yet another has 5 and the last one has 6 children. And I have one. (Laughing) I have had the least among all. Yeah, really. What can I do? (Semanur, 1).

### Discrimination Based on Ethnicity and Language

Many Kurdish women have stories of discrimination in terms of their identity and language, and these stories are either based on their own experiences that took place in public institutions such as hospitals, schools, municipalities, district governorships and police stations or indirect experiences mostly involving their children's activities and reactions of teachers and school managers towards these children. Kurdish

women who were above the age 40 told stories of discrimination based upon experiences of their own whereas younger Kurdish women tended to give examples of discrimination within stories of their children of school age.

Some stories included both lingual and ethnical dimension of discriminatory activities while some others consisted of either only lingual elements of discrimination or they were generally directed to the ethnic origin of these women.

Among older women, Halime (41) insistently reported very long stories of discrimination, giving specific time, place and agency of the events although she was quite good at speaking Turkish compared to other women of her age. Her rejection to attend educational activities was due to her resistance to master further in the language of the 'other' people, referring to the ethnicity of the state. The negative effects of displacement on her life both at the time of displacement and after displacement are all embodied in her personal experiences in which she gave a very detailed picture of what had happened to her and her family.

Discrimination due to disability to speak the other language is a common occurrence in almost all Kurdish IDPs lives as it is in Halime's life. In one of the stories dating back to the early years of displacement, she said she was mistreated by a nurse just because she could not speak Turkish then. When it was her turn to be examined, she could not answer the questions of the nurse; therefore, the nurse had complained to the doctor in a furious manner that she had to deal with 'mentally disabled' people like Halime. Upon this complaint, Halime went crazy and tore of her medical papers to show her reaction to her behavior. When the doctor said that he did not have to learn her language, she answered back: "You got educated' I said 'but you have become an animal! An animal!' I said 'If you had learnt in Kurdish,

you could understand'. 'You' I said 'could understand me, know me.'"(Halime, 1). Her disbelief in the power of education to change people's attitudes was overt in this statement as it was also apparent in her direct words of what she thought about formal education.

In another incident that took place in another hospital, a retired chief inspector took her husband's turn and attempted to go in to the doctor's room to get examined, but got punched by Halime's husband who was extremely angry to see that nobody cared for them and other people continuously took their turn as they sat silently in their chairs.

About 17 years ago, in the early times when her family moved to İstanbul, Halime experienced another case of discrimination, but this time it was based on her daughter's homework when she was a primary school student. In order to help her daughter's homework which required writing down all the names of fruits, the father had written the names in Kurdish because he knew only Kurdish names those fruits. Bewildered by the language 'unknown' to her, the teacher called the student's mother, Halime, to ask how many languages her daughter knew. The following excerpt summarizes what had happened afterwards:

'How many languages does your daughter speak? How many languages?' I said ' She speaks seven languages! How many on earth can she speak?' I said ' Turkish, Kurdish...' 'No!' she said, 'She knows another language.' 'Which language did she speak?' I asked, 'She doesn't speak any, but maybe she speaks when she is with you.' I said. And she said 'She knows another language except Kudish, something like French...' She (my daughter had written in Kurdish, she doesn't know the Turkish names of fruits. (...)) She said 'What is this?' I saw that it wrote in her notebook 'Sév, alû ce...' She had written all the Kurdi names of fruits so nice and taken it to her teacher. ( Laughing) 'I can't accept this!' she said. 'What did you teach to this girl?' 'Teacher,' I said, I am not a liar, I didn't do anything!'. 'But she has written, what will happen now?' the teacher asked. 'You stupid!' she said. They didn't want my daughter to continue to that school (Halime, 2).

Halime's anger could be understood from the last sentences in which the teacher considers the child's mother tongue as a deficit in her learning process and is concerned about it. More interestingly, if the child could speak another language other than Kurdish, it might have been seen as a natural endowment rather than her natural performance in her mother tongue which caused the teacher to demand the child to be expelled from school.

Halime attributes her dislike of the Turkish language and resistance to use it as a medium of communication to what she had experienced so far due to the Kurdish problem. She said she did not want to speak the language of those who oppressed them; therefore, even when she listens to the news, there is only a few channels that she prefers, and all of them are in Kurdish. If there is not any other option, she strictly refuses to watch anything to avoid hearing the language.

I don't want to hear anything in Turkish! (...) I hate it so much. There stands the television, I don't like it. How can I go to school and learn Turkish from now on? Yes? No! Impossible! Otherwise, why do I not participate? Eee.. I now everything without having any education. (Laughing) (Halime, 3).

As can be observed, her hatred of the *other* and the *'other's'* language is deeply rooted in her experiences of discrimination imposed by the 'school' as an agency of oppression. For this basic reason, she and her whole family including her husband, daughters, and sons stayed out of formal schooling. For women like Halime, if formal education is a way to hinder people to retain their own mother language, then there is no need to attend.

Gülay (48) had left literacy course due to lack of attention and interest of course instructors, which caused her to lose her motivation and enthusiasm to continue further. She believed that the instructors treated them differently because

they spoke their own language, which naturally implied that they were ‘Kurdish’; hence, it was her Kurdish identity manifested in the spoken Kurdish language that led people of other ethnicity to discriminate against her.

They don’t mind us no matter which course we participate. We are put off as soon as we see that they don’t care much for us. They are not interested in us in the courses we participate, there is little attention, they don’t care. (...) We would like to learn everything? Our young people should get education. (...) If possible, we would want. Why not? Who doesn’t? We are in need of it. For example, if they cared for us when we went there, if they hovered around us, spoke our language, we would also like it to be one of us. But they exclude us. We would like to have a carrier, job, we would like to endeavour. We went there for once, alienated from it, and quit it. We realize that nobody cares for us. They don’t overtly say that they find us strange when we speak Kurdish, but they cause us to perceive it. We can’t understand Turkish, either (Gülay, 1).

Her problem is not only about the attitudes of the course instructor towards her identity as a Kurd, but it is also related to simple practical reasons. Both sides could not convey their messages just because there wasn’t a common language for communication. Gülay had the enthusiasm to learn but lacked the ability to speak Turkish. Her teachers did not have knowledge of Kurdish and hence they seemed to be ignoring her, which Gülay interpretes as a manifestation of discrimination. All these are generated as a result of disability to make oneself understood to the other person.

Semanur (31) had two main reasons for leaving the course half. The one that she mentioned first was about her close family of her husband including all male and female members older than her. The second, which came to the surface after a long talk during the interview but was not stated as a clear reason for her nonparticipation, was that she simply could not understand any of the language spoken in the class. Unlike Gülay, she did not think that they behaved her differently due to her ethnic

background based on her clothing or Kurdi language. In the following excerpt, she denoted how she felt ashamed in the classroom when she could not understand a word.

I couldn't understand the teacher when she spoke Turkish. My face would blush so much. Oh my God! I would be ashamed so much. One should do everything at the right time. Actually, they did not abuse us at all. They were kind, but we did not understand each other's language (Semanur, 2).

Language plays a role as a device that reveals the ethnicity of the person, making it apparent that the person of interest belongs to a specific ethnic group and not to the other. Hence, most of the participants' discrimination stories include the language as the main determinant of whatever happened related to their experiences within public sphere.

Gülay's further revelations on this issue gave a clue about her prejudice about formal schooling. She got on well with the Turkish families in the same neighborhood, but she thought that *they* (Turkish people in charge of vocational educational activities) did not want them to occupy good vocational positions. This was not put into words; however, it could be read in their eyes, according to Gülay.

We go somewhere within our neighborhood. They are good, they treat us gently. We like each other. But they don't think that we deserve good jobs. That is, they don't want us to work, to acquire an occupation. It can be read from their faces. They don't want. They don't articulate it. We went to ISMEK (İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Art and Vocational Courses) for designing course in Altınşehir. Once, twice, three times... But we realized that they did not teach us anything. It was not a matter of care; rather, they didn't talk to us. We did not understand each other's conversation. Therefore, we didn't learn anything and quit. We went there to learn something, to work and earn money. We want to speak our language and live our culture. We spoke Kurdish as we did not know any Turkish; hence, we couldn't understand each other (Gülay, 2).

In the last sentence above, language is the main reason why the two sides could not communicate, but it is also the main reason why Gülay believed she had

been discriminated against. Hence, both the medium of communication and the meaning attached to it (the fact that speaking Kurdish implies that the person is also Kurdish) played a significant role as an obstacle in her case. Despite all these, her motivation to continue her education had not lessen at all, and she agreed that she would certainly participate in both literacy and vocational courses no matter who taught (a Turkish or Kurdish instructor) as long as there was no discrimination against Kurdish women like her.

Bedriye (51) was the oldest woman among other participants, and she also had political awareness that shaped her ideas in a particular way. Like all other women, her sharp reaction to formal education was mostly due to what she had got through in the last 30 years. For her, schools functioned as mechanisms which forced their children to adopt a different identity and prevented them from speaking their own mother language. Besides, she did not recognize school as a reaction to the state's discriminatory policies against Kurds (Here, she protested the rejection of the Kurdish deputy Hatip Dicle, which was a hot issue at that time); therefore, she wished to send her children to a school out of state control. This reaction was also intended to emphasize that her language was prohibited in schools and their children could not speak the language freely. The following quotation is from her interview:

Now, I wish there was a Kurdish school for my children. I don't want them to continue this school. Look, the state doesn't want us! The state doesn't want our language. The state doesn't want our deputy! We don't discriminate but we don't want them, either. If there were a Kurdish school (Kurdish as the language of instruction), I would be proud to go there. I do not want Turkey's school. If there is any, I want to go to a Kurdish school. I will also enroll my children to that school. Why would we want people who do not want us? Right? This is what I mean. They say 'I am Turk, I am proud...' It hurts me! Saying these words hurts me! I am Kurd! Kurd! See, I am Kurd! Why do you keep saying 'I am Turk, I am right!?' Just let me say in my own language 'I am Kurd, I am right.' Let me say it. If I went to such a school (A Kurdish one), I wouldn't be ashamed at all! Not to a Turkish school. If a

Turkish school treated otherwise, if it did not discriminate against us, if it let our language be spoken, if it provided education both in Kurdish and Turkish... both their language and our language... If they did not always oppress us... (...) It wouldn't hurt us. We wouldn't feel ashamed. But if they dictate us, we see it as oppression. Look, our children are under oppression (Bedriye, 1).

As in the case of other participants, Bedriye also has a story based on an event that took place in the school of her daughter. During the Turkish National Anthem, the little girl had raised her hand and did victory sign while she was singing another anthem. The teacher had beaten her and blamed her mother for the little girl's 'misbehavior'.

Bedriye is indignant against state initiated establishments and this seems like the foremost factor behind her attitude towards formal education. Like Halime, her nonparticipation is also based on her negative feelings, but she is not aggressive to the common people. On the contrary, it would not matter for her to be in the same place with Turks as long as this 'place' was not controlled by the state. She thought the state employed school as its ideological apparatus to oppress and 'normalize' people different in ethnicity and language. These can be read from what she said in the following excerpt:

No, honestly I won't go. I won't go to a place that the state has opened for vocational education. Turks and Kurds can be together, but it shouldn't be initiated by the state. Yeah. We don't want to be educated according to the state's objectives, sit and stand up in the way they want and be oppressed. We don't want it. We don't want something like this. If they receive our consent, if everything is in accordance with our wishes, then we wish to go. Really, we would go (Bedriye, 2).

Despite her age and compared to much younger participants (i.e. Semanur (31)), Bedriye speaks Turkish fluently and almost perfectly as in the case of Halime, but her distress results from the fact that Kurdish language is controlled in terms of

its contents as in the example of Channel Şeş and speaking the language without expressing one's ideas is not enough. The oppression she feels through state governed establishments also exists in the civil Turkish society in which she could give vivid instances of discrimination and exclusion. Such examples of social exclusion are prevalent in other women's stories like Nazenin, and they usually deepen the negative feelings of these women towards the educational facilities held by the Turkish state with Turkish language being the medium of instruction. The degree of her reaction could be seen both in the words she uttered and the tone of her voice that peaked up during the whole interview.

No, I speak Turkish quite well. I have this capability wherever I go. (...) I say, if there isn't state oppression... Just like this child that goes and comes under the oppression of Turks... (...) Just like Kanal ŞEŞ. For instance, they cannot have political conversations. We just can't accept such things! If everybody does their own job voluntarily, it is Ok. If they come here and see that we opened a course (in Kurdish), they will say, 'Do not speak Kurdish!' If they command us, we reject! Yeah... They will say this! 'Do not use the second channel (do not speak Kurdish)!' Look, we live together, we don't say anything even if they speak their language till evening. If there is a Turk in our community, she will gather her brows and leave. She resent if we speak Kurdish. The second channel is our language! We are Kurds, we were born Kurds, and we will speak Kurdish! What is wrong with it? Do we say anything when they speak their language all day? We don't say anything! (Bedriye, 3).

In summary, Halime, Gülay, and Bedriye reported discrimination and oppression giving specific examples, and these cases constituted the main reason behind their rejection to state initiated educational activities.

The remaining 6 participants reported other reasons for not participating to or quitting their educational activities, they also wanted to share experiences related to discrimination. Hülya (41), Nazime (36), and Nazenin (41) had confronted ethnical discrimination by the teachers and school managers of their children in various ways. Yet, some other participants like Selma (27), including the ones above (Halime,

Gülay, and Bedriye) faced such discrimination within public institutions where they had been to for personal reasons. Semanur and Nisa, on the other hand, did not indicate any such experiences concerning discrimination within public institutions.

To start with, Nazenin (41) thought that the state did not employ Kurds, and it did not mean anything even if their children got formal education. My position as a teacher and a researcher was a rare case for her as there were barely a few people who could survive to higher education and execute their jobs properly.

What else can I say? We are Kurdish, everything happens to us. There is nothing that we haven't experienced. They don't employ our children even if they get education. They simply don't. Actually, they don't employ them because they are Kurdish. Even when they graduate from school as teachers, they don't recruit them. Whatever they become, the state does not employ them. You are Kurdish, but you are just one (Laughing) (Nazenin, 4).

The traditional customs of Kurdish women may also be a source of discrimination. Without exception, all Kurdish women who were married wore white head scarves with delicate embroidery. They did not take it off wherever they went because they saw it as an important part of their identity as 'Kurds'. The comparison between a woman with a white head scarf and a woman without it would certainly lead people to identify the former as a Kurd and the latter as a Turk.

(...) Indeed, when we go somewhere, we wear our headscarves (holding her headscarf). This is our identity. Wherever we go, we don't leave this. I swear, I went to Ankara, I went to Van (with my headscarf). I go to İzmit every month. I go there with my headscarf. I wear green, red and yellow colours when I visit my husband. I am not ashamed of my headscarf. I am proud of it. But if we (you and I) together go somewhere like this (me with a headscarf and you without it), it will make a great difference. They will say that this is Kurd and that is Turk. If we go to the district governorship or anywhere else, this headscarf disturbs them. We are recognized easily. I am Kurdish. It doesn't matter whether they serve us or not, I am what I am. I will go there like this (...) (Nazenin, 5).

Discrimination is not only manifested in state buildings, but it also germinates in the very close neighborhood made up of non-Kurdish civil society.

Communication with the others is accomplished via Turkish even if the other side is not proficient in speaking the Turkish language. Like other women, Nazenin had difficulty to understand why it was her who had to convey her messages speaking the language of the other side but not the Turkish women who could understand and speak Kurdish but refused to do so. The fact that communication is accomplished through Turkish but not Kurdish led Nazenin to conclude that discrimination against Kurds exists in all spaces.

I can't speak Turkish very well. I speak Turkish when they come near us. I don't want to be misunderstood because it is rude. I don't want to offend them, it is rude. But they don't treat us in the same way. I can't speak Turkish, either. Why do I not speak a word in Kurdish when I am with them? They won't speak even if they know. No, they won't. Neither the state nor the Turks like us, neither in the street, parliament, nor in the prison or the army... They discriminate a lot, I don't know what to say (Nazenin, 6).

Like other participants, there were instances in which she claimed to have been discriminated against. Since most of the participants did not have direct relationship with the school, they had indirect experiences of discrimination through the relationship between their children and school. Nazenin's following memories seem to be similar to what Gülay had experienced in her short educational life.

We attend parents' meeting at school. (Giving an example) Assume that you are Şilan's teacher. You say to Şilan 'Şilan, tomorrow is Saturday. Tell your mother to be here for the meeting at 12.00'. I go there, there are both Turkish and Kurdish mothers, all kinds of people are there, but there is still discrimination going on. They can't say it to our face, but we know that it exists. The teacher treats them more politely. They are more... Because we have headscarves, they do not treat us the way they treat them. They do not treat us as they treat Turks (Nazenin, 7).

The attitudes of Şilan's teacher led Nazenin to feel that the teacher discriminated against the Kurds because she felt that Turkish parents were treated much more politely than were Kurdish mothers. Again, the traditional head scarves worn by Kurdish women are regarded as a source of discrimination, a visible characteristic of Kurdish women on which they think discrimination is based.

As a consequence of discrimination, Nazenin thought that they were not wanted to attain higher positions in civil service (i.e. to be a police officer, judge, lawyer, deputy, etc.) Her words were similar to what Gülay said when she talked about her own experience of discrimination concerning her own schooling. Hence, it seemed that discrimination these women felt was not only related to their language and dress code but it also shaped their view of how other people did not find Kurdish people worthy of specific positions in civil service. In the following excerpt, Nazenin talks about her perception of this.

They don't like us. They don't want us to acquire a profession. They don't want us to be in the parliament. They don't want us to work in the police office. They don't want us to be in prosecution office, or district governorship. They don't want us anywhere (Nazenin, 8).

Nazenin complained about her non-Kurdish neighbors who refused to speak the Kurdish language for communication. Some other people, on the other hand, refused to speak in any language. In one of her stories of discrimination, she reported another incidence which occurred when she was sitting in the school garden waiting for her little daughter. Her attempts to touch a little baby's hand to show sympathy for her was ended by the little child's mother unexpected pull to the other side, which made her deduce that it was a sign of discrimination.

For example, if a Turkish woman sits next to me, she won't talk to me, she hates me. If there is a Kurdish woman instead, we talk to each other until we leave. Yes. Really, we talk. They won't! (Turkish women). They won't talk. (For example) If her child is next to me and I show clemency to her, say 'Hişşt!', she will move her child to the other side (shows how she would do it.) Really! I swear! (Nazenin, 9).

As in the case of Selma, the dressing code of Kurdish women as well as the language or the Kurdish accent in their Turkish may well be viewed as a factor that a Kurdish woman puts forward while giving examples of discriminatory acts. Selma mentioned cases parallel to other interviewees in terms of discrimination faced in public places such as hospitals, municipalities, and district governorships, and it was mainly her way of dressing and Kurdish accent that made her feel that the non-Kurdish authorities in such places treated her quite differently than they did so to other patients or clients.

Most of the Kurdish IDPs are employed in low-paid informal jobs without insurance. Hence, they are paid for expenses of their school age children by the state. According to what she said, one of the officers working there had blamed Kurdish people for working in informal sector in order to get paid for their children's expenses. Upon hearing this for several times, Selma finally ended up to think that there is a certain bias against the Kurds and this would continue to exist despite all their efforts to adapt to their new neighborhood.

Most of the Kurds do not speak any other language except Kurdish. Hence, in the first few years of displacement, Kurdish IDPs have to get the hang of Turkish language in order to survive within the new social space made up of non-Kurdish citizens. The process of language acquisition is not bi-directional; that is, the Kurds usually have to acquire Turkish whereas non-Kurdish people do not necessarily do

so. Thus, she believed that the Kurdish issue was all about the denial of their identity and language officially. What Selma experienced in a hospital concerning communication between the doctor and a Kurdish patient is a kind of discrimination that generated from the absence of a common means for communication. As she was well above her Kurdish peers in terms of language ability in Turkish, once, she had accompanied her sick mother, who could not speak Turkish at all, to the hospital. The doctor insisted on asking questions in Turkish to the old woman in spite of Selma's role as translator in-between. The attitude of the doctor led her to say "Then I said 'If Turkish is obligatory, Kurdish should be obligatory, too. I said 'You learn (Kurdish) so that we can live together.'" (Selma, 3).

Hülya did not mention any occurrence of discrimination against herself but was among participants who had stories of discrimination through their children's relationship with school. She claimed that the teacher of her 10 year-old son, Ömer, had discriminated against Kurdish pupils by giving their certificate of excellence to their Turkish peers since all other Turkish children within the same neighborhood had got this certificate, but none of the Kurdish students had got one.

Despite long stories of what had happened to them concerning discriminatory attitudes of both the officers in public institutions and common people in the same neighborhood, Hülya, Selma, and Nazenin did not state discrimination as a factor affecting their participation to the adult educational activities. Gülay, Halime and Bedriye, on the other hand, voiced their negative experiences concerning language barrier and bias that played a key role on their decision to go on further (as in the case of Semanur and Gülay) or to reject to the manipulation of educational activities by the state as a controlling agent (as in the case of Bedriye).

Contrary to above mentioned women, Nazime, and Nisa did not share any related history of discrimination within public institutions or concerning their proficiency in Turkish language.

### Demand for Education in Mother Tongue

Women's complaints about the instructional language of the courses and the discrimination they confronted on different levels both in schools and other state institutions were followed by their demand for education in their mother tongue. Of all participants, Halime and Bedriye tended to show utmost reaction to the state controlled educational facilities. Therefore, they were the first to come up with the idea of initiating literacy and vocational courses in their own language. To start with, Halime insistently emphasized the necessity of a course in Kurdish language. Her rejection to educational activities in Turkish was as much as her enthusiasm to join a course in her own language. If this was promised, she was sure that all other women (and men) would participate willingly.

I wish we had such a teacher. Really, I would like to. If a course in Kurdish language opens, if my girl (you) open a course in Kurdish language, I will start school now. If a Kurdish teacher comes and teaches us in Kurdish language, I myself will go to school right now, me, four others, I will come. We are five or so, and we will come. However, it will be in Kurdish language; or else, I definitely won't go. If a course in Kurdish language opens here, Zehra will also participate. Our daughter... She will come, she will definitely come (Halime, 4).

She insistently mentioned the urgency of opening such a course. In this case, she promised to collect all of the people in the neighborhood to attend classes. Her denial of education was solely based on the fact that the medium of instruction was

in Turkish, which naturally referred to the hegemonic power of the state over Kurds for her. It was not because she was ashamed of her language and identity, but because her hatred that caused her to refuse to participate in those courses. As she went on talking on this issue, her motivation could be read from both her face and her words in the following excerpt.

You all put effort and open up a course on Kurdish language. There is no Kurdish (course); hence, we do not want schools; or else, we would also get education. Believe me, if a Kurdish course opens up in this school, I will get all my neighbours to enroll in this school. If there is a Kurdish course, I will help you, all of us will come, get education and be happy. God damn it! It is not because we are ashamed, it is because we reject! Why should I be ashamed? No! We don't want (to go)! We are not ashamed! What should I be ashamed of my language? (Halime, 5)

Bedriye was among the most politically active Kurdish women participants. she refused to send her children to state schools claiming that the state itself did not want *them*, referring to the Kurdish society as a whole with all its components such as language, culture, politicians and so on. The way she used her tone of voice revealed a great deal of outrage towards the state itself, but as she continued talking, she overtly expressed that they did not discriminate against the state, yet they did not desired to get into their community within the pre-defined borders of the state's educational policy, either. She said that she would be glad if she and her children could have another option in terms of schooling and the medium of education in schools.

We want our language, after all. But, why our children go to this Turkish school? I wish there is a school (in Kurdish language) for my children, too. I don't want them to go to this school. Look, the state doesn't want us! It doesn't want our language, our deputy. We do not discriminate, but we don't want them, either! If a Kurdish school opened here, I would be honoured to go there. I don't want Turkey's (Turkish) school. I want to go to a Kurdish

school if there is one. I will also enroll my children in this school. Why should we want people who don't want us? Right? (Bedriye, 4).

In the following excerpt, Bedriye was concerned about the state's potential oppression over people like her. Again, she expressed how it was unacceptable to be educated in another language; that is, the language of the oppressor.

If a course opens according to our wishes... not with state's force... If we are not under pressure, we will all go. But if you say (the state says) 'Here, I opened a course (language course), Kurdish people! Come and I will oppress you again! Turks are before you!' (...) We cannot put up with such things! (...) (Bedriye, 5).

Another participant who asked for education in the mother tongue was Gülay. Her expression of this demand was not as strong and direct as Bedriye's. She gently gave her suggestion for a more inclusive education that took language matter into consideration. If this condition could be met, women like her and Nazenin could probably have more chance to be a part of vocational and literacy courses. The following quotation is from Gülay's interview.

If they open a course in our language, we will also go, Kurdish women will participate. All of them want to participate a lot, but they don't have the chance. If they open a vocational course in our language, if we learn something and earn money, I will also participate to look after my children. Nazenin will go, it will be good for her. All Kurdish women are hardworking (Gülay, 3).

Nisa had similar opinions concerning education in the mother tongue, which is given below:

Actually, it will be really good for women if there is such a course here. It will be good if it is in Kurdish (the course) of course. If only there is such a course, at least it could be in this district (Nisa, 1).

Lastly, Nazime's wish to access to such educational activities in her mother tongue as she believed it constituted a problem for her. She showed a similar attitude

to that of Gülay as she said “Kurdish-Turkish... They want to get education in Turkish and we want Kurdish along with it.” (Nazime, 2). This utterance gave an impression about how she realized education in the mother tongue as a natural and equal right of all people regardless of their ethnicity.

Indeed, there aren't any other problems. If only their courses were in Kurdish language. We really want it. That is... Kurdish, Turkish... They want to get education in Turkish and we want Kurdish along with it. Education in the mother language. For me... Really, this is a barrier in front of me (Musing) (Nazime, 3).

### Suppression of the Husband and the Immediate Family

Suppression and control of the immediate family (family members of the husband) and the husband was a phenomenon that was more specific to younger participants and could be further divided into three types. There were women who experienced i) oppression from the husband and the close family of the husband, ii) oppression from the close family of the husband only, and iii) oppression from both men and women in the wider close family of the husband. Hence, it is not possible to define oppression as a tool employed only by men because some of them were complaining about older women in their family, too.

The first category is based on what Selma has experienced so far. When asked about the reasons why she could not participate in literacy courses, Selma mentioned about her husband, her children, and neighbors respectively in a way that she could show the relative effect of each on her. Her potential attempt to go out for any reason would lead others to judge her intentions as a ‘woman’ and behaviors that are not considered to be appropriate for married young women. The tendency to control the movements of such women is prevalent in the Kurdish culture and this is

observable in the experience of Selma. What is more, she compared her own neighborhood with other regions of İstanbul in terms of limitations and suppression she experienced, but this was much like an assumption rather than result of any experience, since there is no evidence of how she got such a point of view.

The most important ones are my husband, my children, my neighborhood, for example. Well, so to speak. For example, if we consider this: if I go out once or twice a day, (they will say) ‘God! Where on earth is this woman going? Why is she going out so much? Why has she fancied up?’ for example. This is what happens generally speaking. Here, it is like this. If you go somewhere else in the city center, it is different than it is here. Hence, it is also related to the neighborhood (Selma, 4).

Suppression may well be in the form of jealousy in some cases rather than an overtly performed action. Jealousy was one reason why her husband did not want her to go out. As for what she thought about his jealousy, there was no clear evidence whether Selma was glad to face it or she was discontented with her husband’s attitude. However, both her way of speaking and her words (the use of grammar structures) revealed an impression of her discomfort about her husband’s manner. Concerning her husband’s attitude, for instance, she said It is related to our spouses’ attitudes. We cannot go to everywhere without getting permission. We cannot go wherever we want. You can say ‘I went here and there today’. You need to get permission.” (Selma, 5). As for the immediate family, she had to get permission both from her husband and his elders in the family for all her visits to other places, and her request would be rejected sometimes. Despite all these, she wished to be more independent. In another statement, she said “If there was a course, I couldn’t go. Because I cannot think that my husband will allow me to go. And I don’t *anyway*.” (Selma, 6), implying that she was convinced that there was no way to get out of her

husband's hand. The following quotation includes her words about the jealousy of her husband and the necessity to obtain permission from the family.

Well, for example, there is jealousy. And I don't know, in our society, we have learnt from our elders that one cannot go wherever (s)he wants without getting permission. We cannot go out without the permission of our spouses. For example, let's say an elderly person is at home, you cannot go out without his/her consent. You can go out only if they permit. And not everywhere... They won't let you go to a place they do not know. We have learnt this within our society; otherwise, we would also like to be independent, and do whatever we want (Selma, 7).

As the conversation went on, Selma revealed a lot about her view of her husband and the neighborhood. She insisted on telling more about her relationships and their effects on her activities. First of all, the composition of the close neighborhood was a factor that affected the degree of their control over her; that is, since all the people in the surrounding were familiar, they monitored her actions and questioned her intentions. Even if she did not smarten up before going out, she was well sure of what they would say. In any attempt to go out, older family members would prevent her, reminding her responsibilities over her children. Thinking that having children constituted a barrier, I again asked "What if you did not have any children?" The answer was worse because that time, it would be totally impossible to have any reason for going out. For example, she only could get out for parent-teacher meeting at the school.

And due to our neighborhood, we all know each other. We haven't been to anywhere so far. If I ever attempt to go somewhere now, it will be misunderstood somehow by people. Really, 'Where is this woman going everyday? Why has she dressed that way, fancied up, gone here and there? If I really go... (If you didn't fancy up at all?) They would still judge. Really. Here is like a village. It is just like a village. Of course, if you go to a more central place in İstanbul, everybody is at their own sweet will. Nobody is responsible for another person. But here it is different. Everybody knows each other here. Hence, it is partially because of our elders. For example, if I go out for one or twice, my father-in-law will ask 'Why are you going out? You

have children, is it necessary? (If you didn't have any children, you still couldn't go out?) I still couldn't. If I didn't have any children, I could never go out (laughing). I don't know. They wouldn't let me go. Well, I don't think they will (Selma, 8).

Despite all these obstacles, her motivation for learning new skills to earn a living endured. Because her husband did not work all the time, she had to support her family income with embroidery (headscarves, knitting, and many other items). That was why she wanted to learn more to widen the range of her products.

My further attempt to make her think about the reasons why she could not participate in vocational courses made her anxious. Let alone joining courses, just going out itself was seemed impossible for her to try to explain to her husband and family. She expressed working was not acceptable for a married woman. In the following excerpt, her desire to work and the potential rejection of her family is stated.

If a person is married, many things are restricted in her life. Especially, ours. People like us... We are restricted in many ways (Selma, 9).

She went on talking:

We have four children. If my children weren't so little, I would work. And I can't work because of my neighborhood. In our society, a working woman, a married working woman is perceived strange. That is, it is not desirable. (If you go to a vocational course?) They definitely won't let me! Really. (Who?) Neither my husband nor his family will let me. Yeah. (With a lowered tone of voice). What do I tell you? If I go out, they will say 'Why on earth is this woman going out? Here and there? Yeah. They won't understand (Selma, 10).

Nisa, on the other hand, is a woman whose activities are not inhibited by her husband but her mother-in-law who is above 70 years old. Besides, she is prejudiced that the elders of her husband's family, especially elder female members of the family are inclined to put limits to her actions. For her, some women can bear

feudalistic ideas as much as men although it is usually the case that men are main agents of suppression over women. As in the case of Nazime, the immediate family and neighborhood play an important role of suppression on her husband, which is aimed to be effective on Nisa's manners. Upon my question whether anybody would interfere with her decision to participate in adult educational activities, she gave the following answer which included almost the same utterance as in the interview done with Selma: "She is married with children, she should engage with her house, she is a woman, is it really necessary?" (Nisa, 2) The social gender role tailored for Nisa is the main factor for her nonparticipation. Being married and having children meant to be engaged in household duties and responsibilities for children and there were not any reasonable purpose in attending such courses. Although she also had 2 children, and expected the third, Nisa did not complain about her children as a restricting element.

I wouldn't be oppressed by my husband, but I would be restricted by my neighborhood. My husband wouldn't think so (bad), no. He doesn't say, for example... (uncompleted). If he has the opportunity, for example, he would (let me). But my neighborhood, for example, his family would misjudge. They would put pressure on my husband. (What do you mean by 'misjudge'?) They would misjudge. They would say 'She is married with children, she should deal with housework. She is a woman, what is her duty? She should stay at home and look after her children and do the housework.' (Who says this?) Both women and men think like this, well, all think that way. They haven't changed. They (women) don't know. She has experienced the same thing as a woman, she experiences the same misery (Nisa, 3).

In the last two sentences, Nisa puts emphasis on the fact that patriarchal relationships are not only transmitted by men, they are also perceivable within female relationships. Elderly women in the wider family may also have control over younger women. The fact that feudality may well be a mechanism of oppression used by women is exemplified in the following excerpt of the interview done with Nisa.

The mother-in-law portrays a democratic and egalitarian personality, and attends to a wide variety of activities such as meetings although she tends to behave in a reverse way to the members of her family according to her.

They (women) think like males. For example, they are female, but they are not considerate. For example, some women still bear mannish attitudes. For example, my mother-in-law goes to meetings, attends to various events, she goes everywhere. She has to surmount some things, you know, but she still hasn't overcome the feudality surrounding her mind. For example, she says 'you experience the same things as I have in the past.' She would have us go through the same way if she had the chance. But she pretends to be kind of a democratic and easygoing woman when she is with other people. But she bears that kind of oppressive manner against us at home. She does it. She hasn't overcome this attitude, she hasn't been able to break it down because it has fossilized in her mind, become rigid, it has settled in her mind. She cannot get rid of it so easily (Nisa, 5).

Patriarchal thoughts are not only associated with elderly women and men in general. Many younger women may also tend to bear patriarchal control over their peers. Nisa adds, "For example, there are some young people, you see that they are the same; they are young, but you see that they are thinking very different." (Nisa, 6), suggesting that this is not restricted to only men and elderly women.

Nazime was among the women who experienced the same kind of suppression from her immediate neighborhood and family. Her husband is politically very active and mindful and supportive concerning the self-improvement and awareness of both her wife and daughters. Nazime thought her husband had changed to a great extent since he participated in the activities of the party. He had changed to the point that he was so regretful to have forced her younger sister (Selma) to marry his cousin in the absence of her father for the purpose of satisfying his mannish power. Despite all these, Nazime and her husband denoted that they were constantly repressed by their immediate neighborhood and family. When I asked 'Why can't you go to the course?', the answer She gave was parallel to the above reality.

Let's, for example, say I go out for several times, it could be (...) due to the neighborhood. Let's say I go to the city centre. I go there whenever there is a meeting. I go when they call me. My husband allows me to go, but my neighborhood does not. They are concerned. Where on earth is this woman going all the time? Our own neighborhood... That is, our relatives. Well, you know the people of southeast. They problematize everything. Where is this woman going all the time? All the time... Therefore, one gets disturbed. One gets disturbed when she is told off. I had better not go out. I go out, but then if they are talking behind me; thus, one gets disturbed. So we have to give up. Honestly, I would go, so would my husband. For instance, I can participate in courses, I can participate in trainings, too. My husband says 'Go if you want and you can even get a driving licence.' (Nazime, 4).

Some younger husbands may equally be under pressure of his elder family and neighborhood in that they are usually held responsible for their wives' actions and manners. The informal interview carried out with Nazime's husband predicated what Nazime denoted early in the interview. As he said, if an undesirable behavior is performed by the daughters or the wife, the father is warned beforehand by the immediate family. Immediate family refers to the peers of the husband, the father, elder brothers, uncles and elder women who may share the same degree of patriarchal ideas.

The patriarchal suppression also exists in Semanur's story in which she relates her withdrawal to the rejection of both male and female relatives. She lives with her 4 in-laws and their wives in the same building. Her actions and behaviors are constantly monitored and checked by men as well as women. Upon the question what kind of factor there were for her withdrawal, she blamed the immediate family for her literacy education that was left half finished. Like Nazime, Semanur pointed out the socio-cultural structure of Kurdish society, and thought that this was quite prevalent and specific to the Kurdish. In the absence of her husband, other women in the family and their husbands had not allow Semanur to continue her education

which she had been going for almost three months. The reason behind this is not known, but it sometimes functions as an inhibiting factor rather than a mechanism that aims at protecting women.

Well, I continued for several weeks, yes, but I told you, My husband was imprisoned and going to school was difficult for me both in my family and in the society. That is, in my family, despite my brothers-in-law and father-in-law. I am married, I live with my sister-in-law, I couldn't go under their oppression. They told me not to go. One gets a bad reputation in the Kurdish society. A girl goes out and they say 'Aha, your daughter has gone out, where on earth is she going?' And my husband wasn't here. Yeah...(Semanur, 3).

In the absence of the husband, who also has a decision-making power over the woman, the immediate family members, who consist of both male relatives and their wives, make the final decision on whether a woman can do something or not. In Selma's case, the family members made a negative decision which meant leaving literacy course. All Kurdish women resembled to each other in that all their relatives as well as their husbands interfered with what they could do and what not for any reason that they thought was necessary, but without exception all participants showed sign of frustration either overtly in their words or through their gestures and exclamations that popped up unintentionally during conversations. The following is such an example in which Semanur gave clues about how she felt about this issue.

There were literacy courses in primary schools in the first and second semester. I wanted to enroll, but then my husband was imprisoned. I had no other choice. He had been in prison for three weeks then. Therefore, we all stayed together. That is why I couldn't go on. My brothers-in-law and father-in-law did not accept. We were tortured a lot, which one should I tell and which one should I not? (Sighed deeply) (Semanur, 4).

Another quotation in which Semanur uttered the degree of suppression over her is as follows:

(...) Well... we couldn't go due to men's oppression. 'it is a shame' they thought. One of them said 'it is a shame for us to send you to school, it is not appropriate at this age' (Semanur, 5).

Having education is generally associated with small children; thus, married women are not supposed to be getting education due to their ages. The answer above contained another opinion of men about women; they did not approve women's getting education after a certain age and it was a 'shame' for them. The over repetition of this can be considered as distress of what women confront when they attempt to do something that necessitates going out. As suggested in the examples, Semanur and Nazime were mainly restricted by the control of their close family members, and surprisingly, women relatives tended to control these women more than men.

#### The Relationship between Political Awareness and Suppression over Women

The suppression over women tends to decrease as the political awareness of their husbands increase and it is generally a problem specific to younger women whose ages range between 26 and 35. None of the women above 35 stated a negative experience related to this category; on the other hand, all younger women shared their stories of suppression. Nazenin (41) was contended with her husband in that he assisted her when she did not feel well. He would even cook and prepare beds for children without getting help from his daughters. She could attend meetings, conferences, and other social activities whenever she wanted despite her illiteracy and disability to speak Turkish properly. She related the change in her husband's view to the women's movement within the agenda of the party.

Gülay (48) reported that Kurdish women had suffered from men violence in the past in various ways. Women could not go out without the permission of men and girls were not sent to school for basic literacy. For her, the main reason for the change in the Kurdish men is the party and its gender politics that put more emphasis on the freedom of women.

Indeed, they oppressed women a lot in the past. They did not let girls go to school before this movement started. In fact, they changed people, set them free (Smiling). Then... They esteem women more then ever before, they give more importance to women. Women became equal. Women are generally independent. They can go wherever they want and do whatever they want. In the past, they couldn't move anywhere for fear of men. But not now. Women of today go out and come bak without asking anybody (Gülay, 4).

Halime (42) and Bedriye (52) did not mention any negative experiences related to their husbands' attitudes. On the contrary, they also believed that men were relatively less suppressive over them and did not constitute a factor on their nonparticipation. Bedriye was the oldest woman I interviewed with, and both her words and her way of speaking suggested that she was glad to be free to go everywhere without the permission of her husband. To the question about her husband, she replied, "Nooo, really, no, no. Nobody can prohibit me. They can say nothing. Now, there is freedom in our society. No, no." (Bedriye, 6).

As for younger women who reported suppression from their husbands and family members, Selma's case included suppression of her husband and his family as well as the neighborhood which she shared the same social sphere and this was the main reason why she was not able to join literacy or vocational courses. Her husband hardly ever took active role in the party while Selma did so whenever she had time left from her children. She implied that it was an excuse by which she could get

socialize, and this was more apparent in her words “I rush out.” (Selma, 11) in the following excerpt.

My husband does not go to the party. Really, he never goes, I sometimes participate (the meetings). But my husband doesn't go, he is not interested in politics at all. I sometimes participate (Smiling), *I rush out*. But not so frequently. I really cannot find the opportunity because of my children (Selma, 12).

Selma's brother is Nazime's husband who had forced Selma to get married to his cousin although she perceived him like a brother rather than a potential mate. According to Selma, this was the worst thing her brother did to her, since she did not get on well with her husband at all, and was constantly bothered with his restrictive manners as well as his disinterest in working in order to earn money for the whole family. The economic burden resulting from his irresponsible attitudes and Selma's efforts to add to the income of the family by knitting and doing embroidery despite her 4 little children made her loose her temper at times and blame her brother for her unsuccessful marriage. Having changed his point of view ever since he participated in the party's political activities, Nazime's husband has apologized for his overpressure in the past many times even if Selma still was angry at him. On one hand, she is restricted by her husband; on the other hand, her brother is permissive to the utmost degree although it does not mean much for her, since she is primarily and overwhelmingly controlled by her husband, not her brother any more.

(...) We had a mandatory marriage. (...) It is really difficult. (...) He was my uncle's son. He wasn't anybody I did not know. Upon my family's demand... (Did you like him, did you want to marry him?) Not at all. He was like my brother. (...) I swear. (...) There was age gap between us. 7 years. (...) How old was I? I was 14 years old. He was 21. He wasn't a person whom I fancied

to marry at all. But...I did not want, but my brother insistently said ‘ I will make you marry whomever I want.’ Yes...(Selma, 13).

In summary, there was a significant difference between women whose husbands were deeply involved in the political affairs of the party and adopted the ideology concerning free women movement and those whose husbands were rarely involved in such affairs.

### Health Problems

Among almost 27 women to whom I spoke, there was a wide range of illnesses that influenced their lives in many ways. Many women suffered from serious and chronic illnesses ranging from tuberculosis, diabetics, high tension, asthma, to psoriasis, peptic ulcer, migraine, heart and skin related diseases. Women who had any of these diseases also reported that they had no such illnesses before they moved to İstanbul. They thought lack of nutrition and unhealthy food had caused them to suffer from illnesses they had never experienced in their lives back in their village, where they could breed animals and ploughed their land for yielding various crops. Some of the excerpts are given below from women who reported such incidence.

Halime and her husband have had diabetics since their arrival in İstanbul. The severity of their illness seemed to make her angry, since she spoke fiercely in the interview. At the time of interview, her husband often had to see the doctor and this made her to regret having moved to İstanbul. Instead, she wished she could live in her own village where her family had not had health problems. Her voice tended to rise up when she felt angry rather than bearing sorrow, for she exclaimed her

thoughts wrathfully. Following is the quotation that summarizes what she felt about this situation.

How much have we suffered. Well, her dad is ill. (...) He has diabetes. I don't know. We can't get rid of diabetes, illnesses, and craps! I don't know what is diabetes, we arrived in İstanbul, everything is here. Diseases, illnesses... Nothing else. Well, it is true! We were bonny in our villages! Well, my husband is here. We took him to the doctor yesterday. Not yesterday, the day before. We took him three times last night. What are we going to do? We wish we have resided in our village (Halime, 6).

Older women tended to have more illnesses than younger women. Women around 40 and above defined themselves as 'old women' while others whose ages were between 25-35 thought that they were middle-aged and hence it was too late for them to get educated. Among the wider sample of 27 women, almost all 40 and above participants reported that they had one or more illnesses while younger women did not mention any kind of illnesses except for Selma, who was suffering from serious psoriasis at the age of 27. These young women all agreed that their elders were much healthier when they used to live in their hometown. Following quotation is from Nazime's interview in which she talked about how older women in her family and neighborhood dealt with illnesses.

I can hardly say that one or two of our older women are physically sound. All of them have either tension or diabetes. They have cholesterol, this and that and so on. Believe me, my mother-in-law is at hospital 24 hours a day. When we were in the village, there was nothing like this. We didn't have any problems. We obtained everything from our land. It did not come from...the bazaar. Ee... they did not contain hormone. But here everything contains hormone. Everything is diseased (Stopped talking and sighed deeply). So this is the way it goes (Nazime, 5).

There were two participants whose educational activities interrupted by their illnesses. Nazenin was the first woman I talked, and her illness was continuing at a

high level at the time of interview. She dealt with numerous illnesses like asthma, heart and skin related diseases, migraine and dental problems at the age of 41. All of these illnesses were severe and most were observable (e.g., her asthma and skin & dental problems, etc.), but only asthma was the main reason of her withdrawal after attending literacy courses for exactly one week. Among all participants, Nazenin was the one that had more than one illness and this was quite obstructive not only for her further education but it was also affecting her daily activities related to her children and house as well as her participation to social activities together with her friends. Although she felt that she was in need of learning how to read and write for very practical reasons, her deteriorating health constituted a serious barrier in front of educational opportunities. For example she said she wished to be able to take notes during seminars and talks and write letters to her husband.

Quality of food served in the urban is another thing that she and many of other women complained about. For her, whatever they eat here in İstanbul is unhealthy compared to the natural dairy products and foods they harvest themselves, and this is the main reason why most people are sick. Nazenin talked about how she would sustain a healthy life for her family by her own tools of production, and expressed her preference for her previous place of accommodation instead of urban in the following excerpt.

If we were in our village, there is land, cows, I would feed them. I would look after my children in a beautiful manner. We have had all kinds of illnesses here. Asthma, hearth disease, migraine, and so on. All illnesses exist here. In our village, milk is healthy. Greenery is clean, all are remedy. Cows here do not feed with fodder, they eat plastic. They eat (plastic) bags, hence their milk does not taste good. But all honey, yoghurt, and milk in the village is remedy. We do not know any illnesses (We haven't encountered ever before). What is asthma, migraine? What is bronchitis? I don't know. I have all of them now.

Look, I will show you my pills. I got a report. If I didn't have a green card, I don't know what I would do (Nazenin, 10).

Since her health problems constituted the main obstacle in front of her educational needs, she repeatedly went over the same issue. As if I had not believed to her, she insisted on showing all the medicine and related equipment for her asthma and showing how she used it when needed. She had got a hoarse voice due to the overdose of drugs and her physical power had decreased; therefore, her teenage daughter carried out most of the chores ranging from cooking, to cleaning and preparing beds for her younger siblings.

Besides malnutrition, some illnesses are resulted by worsened living conditions such as living in a shanty house. Nazenin's house was in a very bad condition; rain water passed through the walls and the ceiling, hence there was an intense cool air which had led her to suffer from asthma seven years ago.

If I don't get this drug every day, I can never go to the kitchen, cook food, or go out, I can't. (Again, she takes a deep breath). This is the way I am. I am sound thanks to this medicine. My voice was not like this before. My voice has got hoarse because I use this drug. My voice is husky. It suddenly gets lower whenever I speak. All due to medication, asthma drugs... When I speak, I know I have difficulty right here! (Holding her throat) I take so much medicine. I have got asthma for seven years. The doctor said it was because of cold (Nazenin, 11).

Nazenin could not perform many things, but another effect of her illnesses is the fact that it cost her too much to afford. Possessing a green card helped her a lot in previous years, but she couldn't get a visa for green card then (at the time of interview) for some reason and consequently, it was impossible for her to get her swelling arms cured. In the excerpt below, she expresses her distress from all these.

I have asthma, migraine, hearth disease, all my teeth are very bad. Aha! (Opening her mouth to show her missing teeth) They hurt; they all have

decayed and fallen. I had them pulled out. I used to take my green card and had them pulled out for free. Now it costs 30-40 liras, and I can't afford it (Coughing). My hands are spotted up to my wrists; they have reached till my arms (showing her both arms at length). Look at this. I don't know what it is. I had my blood tested numerous times; they said that my blood was not infected. I don't know what it is. It is all because of problems, is it easy to deal with children? How many children... is it easy to look after seven children? Especially in a world of poverty... (...) (Nazenin, 12).

And she went on talking about it:

I left it half-finished. I continued for seven days. Yeah... I couldn't go. I was weakened due to smells. Now, no matter how much it smells, I am not affected as I get this medication (Nazenin, 13).

The other woman who put forward her illness as a factor inhibiting her participation to literacy courses was Hülya. Her family lived in a house that belonged to one of their relatives, but the humidity in the house made her have tuberculosis two years after her son's birth. Her three-month's experience of literacy course was interrupted when she learned that she had tuberculosis about ten years ago. After a few months spent in sanitarium in Heybeliada, she recovered from her illness, but did not continue her education despite all her enthusiasm for learning.

In summary, there were two participants who emphasized their illnesses as the main reason for their nonparticipation. A few of the rest of participants underlined the fact that most Kurdish people suffered from a wide range of diseases due to bad quality food and environment. Lastly, Gülay, Bedriye, Halime, Nisa and Semanur did not report anything concerning health as a main barrier. However, when asked, they preferred living in their hometown instead of İstanbul for the same reasons.



## CHAPTER V

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the findings were summarized and discussed, concluding remarks on the study were presented. Finally, limitations of the research and suggestions for further research were presented.

#### Summary of the Findings

The aim of this study was to explore the reasons of internally displaced Kurdish women living in Bayramtepe, İstanbul for not participating to vocational and literacy courses provided by PECs (People's Education Centers) through an analysis of their own perceptions of their life stories.

The study employs narrative inquiry, categorical-content analysis in particular, to gain insight into the reasons of internally displaced Kurdish women for not participating in vocational and literacy courses served by PECs. Semi-structured interviews were carried out with 9 Kurdish women between ages 26-51 in Bayramtepe, Küçükçekmece.

The analyses of the interviews made it possible to come up with a bunch of categories laying out factors affecting Kurdish women's non participation to adult educational activities.

First of all, almost all participants of the study reported that having a lot of children and being responsible for all the household duties constituted a barrier in front of participating to educational activities. 6 of the 9 participants had children, whose number ranged from 3 to 10. Women had to deal with the daily care of their school-age children and carry out usual housework and hence they did not have time to spend for any other activities.

The second factor that played a role as a barrier was the discrimination these felt due to their ethnic background and language. Based on their personal experiences in public institutions such as hospitals, schools, municipalities, district governorships and police stations or indirect experiences mostly involving their children's activities and reactions of teachers and school managers towards these children, all participants shared their stories of discrimination. The discrimination felt was manifested in either language or the dressing code of the traditional Kurdish culture or the accent these women had when they spoke Turkish. While older women (above 40) gave direct experiences of such occurrences, younger women depicted discrimination based on their children's relationship with the school.

In the third place, stories of discrimination were almost immediately followed by a demand for education in the mother tongue. Some participants had difficulty in understanding the course in Turkish or they did not have any competency in the language of instruction at all whereas, some other participants, although almost perfect in speaking and understanding Turkish (i.e. Bedriye and Halime), strictly refused to get any kind of education in Turkish, as they bore the belief that such educational institutions were state controlled and that the primary aim agenda of the

state was to oppress Kurdish people through forcing them to take part in educational activities provided by adult education centers.

Suppression experienced by the husband and the male and female members of the immediate family was another factor that women defined as an obstacle. While younger women were all complaining about their husbands' and their families' attitudes towards themselves, older women claimed to be more independent in their decisions on what to do and where to go. Marriage played a key role for men and the wider community of the woman in restricting the activities of the married woman and jealousy explained some of the restrictive behaviors of males in some cases.

Suppression was not only applied by males but it was also referred to by the elderly women in the wider family of the husband. Younger participants reported suppression by their mother-in-laws, who, at times, behaved more like a male rather than a female. In other words, patriarchal relationships were not only observed in males, but it was also transparent in female behaviors.

Women, whose husbands were politically active, were more independent in their educational decisions and choices compared to those whose husbands did rarely participate in political activities. Participant women who reported a greater access to mobilization and socialization repeatedly underlined the fact that the women's movement ideology of their political party enabled men to redefine their relationships with women in the Kurdish society and thus, they tended to trust their spouses in any condition.

Serious and chronic illnesses ranging from tuberculosis, diabetics, high tension, asthma, to psoriasis, peptic ulcer, migraine, heart and skin related diseases were reported by most of the participant women. Among 9 participants, two reported

that their educational activities were interrupted by their illnesses. They believed that malnutrition and genetically modified foods had caused them to suffer from illnesses they had never experienced in their lives back in their village, where they could breed animals and ploughed their land for yielding various crops.

### Discussion and Conclusion

Analyses of the data have revealed a dozen of categories summarizing factors that affected Kurdish women's nonparticipation to adult educational activities. Although the result may be the same for each factor (that is Kurdish women's absence in adult educational activities) the underlying factors and reasons should be examined so as to understand the nature of these dynamics and interaction between them.

Women are restrained by their social gender roles defined by the society and are bound to be engaged with children and their 'womanish' duties that are inherently thought to be within their responsibility areas. Their gender roles entail two basic facts: caring for children and doing the housework. Having a lot of children is a common fact among the Kurdish society and whether this is a blessing or a burden for women is a question. Of the 9 participants who were interviewed, two-thirds of women put having children forward as a reason why they could not go out for any educational activities. Other Kurdish women that were interviewed but not included in the study also complained about having a child almost each year despite their young ages and health problems as well as economical restrains. As they were kept responsible for caring for children and doing all household chores mostly deriving from having so many children and as a consequence of their

predefined 'social gender roles' by men, they were also restricted in their movements even within their immediate environment. Married women with small children are generally responsible for the child care, and this constitutes a basic obstacle in front of them on its own even though there are many other factors that would function as a barrier in the absence of child care burden. The six women who came up with this factor as a deterrent concern were seemingly younger women as they were caring for their little babies and children of primary school age. This was an important revelation as it led women to associate this problem with how their spouses and their family used it as an instrument for limiting women's activities out of the house sphere. Their attempt to go out for 'getting education' or something irrelevant to the children and house was seen unnecessary and inappropriate for what their social gender roles required, which made it impossible for these women to move out of their narrow social circle even if they craved for it.

Although there are various reasons for having so many children, it is usually men who demand to have one more child right after the other. Nonetheless, it is a socio-cultural fact that having a lot of children is a basic characteristic of Kurdish society. It is usually the case that either families lack sons or they wish to have daughters when they have just sons as well as being deprived of birth control methods.

Most of the Kurds do not speak any other language except Kurdish. Hence, in the first few years of displacement, Kurdish IDPs have to get the hang of Turkish language in order to survive within the new social space made up of non-Kurdish citizens. The process of language acquisition is not bi-directional; that is, the Kurds usually have to acquire Turkish whereas non-Kurdish people do not necessarily do

so. This is partly because they are biased against the Kurds, and partly because they are not in need of surviving in a completely different social sphere in which they lack communication ability.

Political background and experiences of displacement strongly determine the kind of attitude Kurdish women bear towards educational activities. Since all the women participating in the study were members of the same political party (BDP) and were politically active individuals in the party, their answers to some of the interview questions were more or less the same. For example demand for education in the mother tongue was a natural response for almost all women included in the study sample. Lack of competence in Turkish was the main reason for women who could only communicate in Kurdish for not participating in educational activities of any type. The instruction language being Turkish was regarded as a manifestation of the hegemonic power of the state over the Kurds; thus, Kurdish women who were almost perfect in communicating in Turkish refused to get education in state schools, perceiving the language as the greatest symbol of ethnic discrimination. The examples of discriminatory actions came both from women's direct experiences and through their children's relationship with their schools. In brief, the biases women held towards the state derived from the violence they were exposed during the armed conflict, interrupted educational careers, and painful displacement process they had gone through in 1990s. This was a factor that determined the way these women perceived formal education and their final decision on whether to participate or not.

Patriarchal thinking, which has always been existent in the traditional Kurdish culture, is another point to be considered if one is interested in why and how Kurdish women feel restricted to socialize. The suppression of the husband, brothers,

brothers-in-law, fathers-in-law is permanent over the married woman, even if she has her husband with her. Not only males but also elderly females and sisters-in-law tend to put pressure on the woman and criticize her more than males do. The incarnation of mannish behaviors in a female's mind can sometimes be more difficult to deal with. For relatively younger women, the decisions of close family members had deterred these women from even attempting to participate in adult vocational and literacy courses. Semanur, for instance, had been limited in her choice to complete literacy course; the long absence of her husband had led others to have a right to say a word on her. Older women did not suffer from such oppression as they were no younger, and being over a certain age somehow meant that patriarchal rules could not be applied to them.

Patriarchal thinking seemed to be weak in husbands of those who participated in the activities and meetings of the political party of the Kurdish people. Their wives were more confident about their husbands' attitudes towards getting education. To clarify this, husbands of several participants were also interviewed informally to see the correspondence of such an idea with their practices. On the other hand, women who constantly emphasized that they were restricted by their husbands and other males and females in the wider family reported that their spouses rarely participated in political meetings.

The last research question of the study aimed to find whether internal displacement was a factor on Kurdish women's nonparticipation to adult educational activities or not. Most of what women's experiences originated from their being forcibly displaced. The most striking result of this experience, as stated above, was the negative attitudes held towards the state due to the painful process of

displacement and the strategy the state had employed in order to displace these people. Such a bias is very strong and cannot be broken apart so easily. Secondly, displacement had interrupted the educational carriers of some of the women who were either about to start school or were already primary school children at the time of conflict. These people had lost the opportunity to construct a strong tie with education; their desire to further continue from where they left half was halted by the pure fact that they had to work in order to survive. As can be understood, the economic factors also played a crucial role in the formation of school-related experience; once little girls, some of the participants had to work in textile industry for extremely low wages and since then, they have held negative feelings about schooling. Lastly, the traumatic effects of internal displacement were visible in all participants. Some of them had suffered from serious illnesses such as tuberculosis and asthma, some had psoriasis and diabetes, while some other were furious when talking about what had happened back in their villages.

According to Benjamin and Fancy (1998), one dimension of internal displacement was loss of social and cultural ties. In other words, displaced women generally suffered from lack of community support and their communities were most of the time fragmented. Support of the community was vital for them to defend their rights and cope with the difficulties they faced. The loss of social network could even lead them to fall prey to crime and violence. Contrary to what is claimed by Benjamin and Fancy, displaced Kurdish families live together in the place of arrival and in some districts of big cities, they live in very large communities in order to construct a space for solidarity and cooperation for other families in need. Semanur (31), for instance, resided in a five-storey apartment with her five sisters-in-law and

she had been accompanied with the support of her wider family in the absence of her imprisoned husband. Like her, most of the internally displaced Kurdish people live in clusters.

Lynn Lawry & et al. (2005) have surveyed IDP women in six of the nine IDP camps in Nyala district, South Darfur and reported that general health services, mental health and women's health needs are not met most of the time. The analysis of the interviews done with internally displaced Kurdish women revealed results parallel to what Lawry & et al. (2005) have found to some extent. Nazenin (42), who suffered from serious asthma, migraine and various other illnesses, had problems concerning her green card, and her husband's absence led her into a very challenging situation economically, physically, and mentally. Some of the participants (i.e., Halime, Selma) had confronted discrimination in hospitals they had gone, which suggests that the bias they held against the state as the health service provider was the main reason why they had difficulty in attaining health care.

Relatively older participants of the study told such stories of displacement that contained extreme violence used by the soldiers during the conflict in 1990s. Two of the participants' educational life had to end due to the constant conflicts, and upon moving to a big city which they were totally strangers, these women had to withdraw their right to get primary education. The practical reasons as well as psychological suffering they had gone through and the necessities to work in order to support the family economically were the main barriers. All these led women's isolation from public places and activities, which is a big threat that internally displaced women experience. Although women are not directly injured during armed conflict, the devastation experienced by their families and the fear of violence can

contribute to women's isolation. Widowhood, flight to cities and remaining inside the home to avoid violence, all cause breakdowns of social institutions and isolation of women (UN, 2002; Gururaja, 2000).

Benjamin and Fancy (1998) also draws attention to the fact that most IDPs have no access to educational opportunities and skills training which would definitely prepare them to earn their living. Majority of the Kurdish IDPs, both women and men, cannot participate either in vocational or literacy courses provided by PECs due to their struggle to survive. Being deprived of the former production tools in their village, both men and women IDPs have to get into informal and insecure jobs with very low wages only for the sake of their children. The state does not have rehabilitation programs directed to IDPs although education is a fundamental factor and a major step towards better life conditions.

When compared to Pakistan and other regions of conflict in the world, the security conditions of Kurdish women are slightly different. Din (2010) asserted that displaced women in Pakistan could not carry out their daily duties such as doing shopping and going to work. Security conditions in the new place are so harsh that women could only move out of their houses for health care only with accompany of a male relative. Kurdish women, on the other hand, are not in a situation similar to that of Pakistani women. However, most women have common stories of insecurity in their former place of accommodation. They could not breed their animals or cultivate their lands. The inability to move freely within their own villages had forced them to move to nearer cities or metropolises far away from hometown. The place of arrival does not restrict women from moving around for daily duties, but generally, they feel

insecure towards the state and its apparatuses, among which are schools, hospitals, police stations, and other government offices.

Din (2010) draws attention to another problem: destruction of school buildings. In Pakistan, most of the girls' schools were reported to have been bombed during the conflict in some of the regions of the country; hence, girls' participation to educational activities had ended. As more than three thousand villages and towns were burnt down, which included the destruction of all properties as well as schools and other functional stuff, Kurdish people were left with nothing; therefore, the majority of them, who refused to be village guards, fled to elsewhere.

Patterson (2001) and Tesanović (2001) say that family separations, exposure to gender violence, trauma associated with the deaths of family members, impaired health, and the loss of the home and possessions are some of the immediate effects of displacement. In time, the accumulation of such effects may result in depression and physical deterioration. Women are faced with post-traumatic stress syndrome, which is a common disturbance among women who have been displaced for more than a few months. On the other hand, permanent loss of social and cultural ties and disruption or loss of educational opportunities are some of the long-term effects of displacement. The analyses of the interviews made it apparent that women seriously deprived of educational opportunities both in their villages years ago and in İstanbul, where they had to care for their families, stay within the borders of their own community instead of taking part in vocational and literacy courses provided both by PECs and local schools. Secondly, all women were depressed by the conflict and the death of their family members during the conflict; most of them could vividly remember the details of what had happened, some participants started

To conclude, it was found that internally displaced Kurdish women did not participate in adult vocational and literacy courses provided by PECs for several important reasons. The most important factor was the burden of children and household duties, which was a defined gender role by the wider society. The second reason that affected their decision in participating in such activities was their persuasion about discriminatory attitudes of people confronted in public building, which created a negative feeling against the state. Another factor was the demand for education in their mother tongue for both practical and political reasons. Health problems were reported to be common among displaced people regardless of their age and gender. Younger women faced experienced suppression from their husband and the immediate family members of the husband, and this indicated how patriarchal thinking was prevalent and strong even after displacement. However, older women were relatively more independent in their actions and decisions due to their increasing status in the wider family.

#### Limitations of the Study

Since all the participants were drawn from the same district (Bayramtepe), the findings should be evaluated with this fact in mind. The process of finding a gate to reach displaced women was lengthy in time and the gate keeper found with the help of GÖÇ-DER was dwelling in Bayramtepe and it was demanding for her to locate some other candidates of participants in different locations in İstanbul. Secondly, the participants reached for the interview held a certain political view and not the other, hence it was challenging to contact with other women bearing opposite political

views, since the social sphere I could get through was primarily made up of those who were supporters of Peace and Democracy Party (BDP- Partiya Aştî û Demokrasiyê (Kurdish)).

Another limitation of the study was that some candidates of participants were hesitant whether to take part in the research or not because they were afraid of their husbands and somehow doubted that their children could tell what they talked with me. Yet some other women got suspicious about me being from a different political sphere due to my religious background and place of birth. The only way to surmount this problem was to get into a conversation based on my own short life story to make it clear that there was nothing unsafe to participate in the study. As a result, it was necessary to meet each participant several times and make it explicit how I got there. Lastly, the dialect of Kurdish spoken by these women (Van and Bitlis) was a little bit different from that of mine (Adıyaman dialect), making it necessary to get help from my gate to translate several words that I could not understand. However, after a few days, the language was clear to me and the transcriptions were therefore painless except their length.

### Recommendations for Further Research

This study was a preliminary analysis of the factors that affected internally displaced Kurdish women's nonparticipation to adult vocational and literacy courses provided by PECs. Besides, it was the first study to discuss the educational problems of internally displaced Kurdish people within adult education with special emphasis on gender perspective. Therefore, there is an urgent need for further research both on

women and men regarding other issues related to adult education. The literature on this issue could then be compiled so that there is abundant research on the dimensions of adult education with regard to internal displacement of the Kurdish in Turkey.

Secondly, the study had a small sample of participants from only Bayramtepe, one of the many districts known to be primarily inhabited by internally displaced Kurdish people. It is, therefore, difficult to generalize the findings of the research to other regions where Kurdish IDPs reside mostly. In any case, the sample size and qualitative nature of the research necessitates one to comprehend it with these facts in mind. To clarify and support the findings of this research, research that employ quantitative and other types of qualitative methods other than narrative analysis could be employed.

## APPENDICES

APPENDIX A  
Quotes in Turkish

## Quotations in Turkish

Nazenin 1 - “Valla şimdi ben gitmeyi istiyorum(dum). Ben gitmek istiyorum ama küçük çocuklar yüzünden... (Kürtçe) biz Kürt kadınlarının her sene kucağında bir bebeği olur. Valla. Mesela Türk kadınları çocuklarının eline ekmek arası bir şeyler hazırlar verirler. Biz Kürtler sabah kahvaltısı yaparız, öğlen iki tencere yemek hazırlarız, akşam yine yemek hazırlarız, yoksa olmaz, her gün böyledir. Yoksa olmaz. Onlar (Türk kadınları) akşama kadar dışarıda otururlar, çocukları ağlayınca ekmeğin arasına domates zeytin koyar verir. Biz öyle yapmıyoruz. Biz yapamayız. (Türkçe) Bizde her sabah öğle akşam yemek olsa. Çayı olsa. Yani biz öyleyiz(...). Biz çocuklarla uğraşyoruz, evle uğraşyoruz bilmem...(Kürtçe) Benim yedi çocuğum var. Beşi kız, ikisi oğlan. Beş tanesi okula gidiyor, bir tanesi çalışıyor. Ben de ancak senin de bildiğin gibi gitmek istiyorum. (Türkçe) Ee 2 tanesi sabahçı, geliyorlar, öğlen yemeği yiyorlar. Üç tanesi de öğlen gidiyor, akşam geliyorlar. Yemeğini, çayını, bilmem çamaşırlarını ancak ben onlarla baş ediyorum. Başka (yoksa) ben istiyorum okumayı. Valla ben şimdi kadınlar okuyor, mektup yazıyor. Mesela biz bi yere gittik not alıyor... Ben hiç bişey bilmiyorum. Ben istiyorum. Ama yapamıyoruz.”

Nazenin 2 - “(Kürtçe)Yani gitmeyi çok istiyordum ama yapamadım. (...) O zamanlar en küçük kızım 3-4 yaşındaydı. Bundan üç yıl önceydi. Biz kursta yazı yazmayı öğreniyorduk. (Türkçe) Şimdi tahtada yazıyor, biz biliyorduk. Bu neresi? - Mardin. Bu neresi? –Batman. Biz öyle, ancak biz öyle biliyorduk. Ben okuma yazmada böyle tek tek bütün harfleri tanıyorum. Ben böyle tek tek yapıyorum ama birleştiremiyorum. Valla ben... (gülüyor) Valla ben tek tek hepsi tanıyorum. Hiç bi harf tanımasam yoktur. Ama ben okuyamıyorum. He valla. Ne yapayım (düşüncelere daldı). (Kürtçe)Yarım kaldı. Ben yedi gün devam ettim. Yedi gün. Evet... Gidemedim. Kokulardan dolayı çok acızdim.”

Nazenin 3- “(Kürtçe) Evet... valla ben gitmeyi istiyorum. Her mesleği yapabilmeyi de istiyorum ama elimizden gelmiyor gidemiyoruz. Çoluk çocuk çoktur. Çocuklar olmasaydı insan her mesleği öğrenebilir, yapabilir. Ama çocuklardan dolayı yapamıyoruz. Çocuk çoktur.”

Nazime 1- “Ya benim çocuğum bi tane şey var, küçük vardı. E hepsi okula gidiyorlardı. O zaman da okul zamanıydı. E onları zaten şey yapana kadar, okula gönderene kadar akşam oluyor, öğlen oluyor. Öğlenden sonra anca yemeğini pişiriyosun, temizliği yapıyosun...fırsatım olmuyodu, yoksa ben yani gitmesini isterim. Ben gitmemi isterim. Ben kendim giderim. Ben şey ediyorum yani. Böyle şeylere..heves ediyorum. Gitmek isterim ama...bakalım..inşallah gene açılır. Giderim vallah.”

Selma 1- “İlle izin alacaksın, yani sorumluluk sahibiyiz, çoluk çocuk. Mesela ben kendi *şahsımı* düşünürsem, 4 tane *çocuğum* var. Bırakıp da gidemem.(...)Yani biçok nedeni var aslında yani gidememizin.”

Selma 2- “Dört tane çocuğumuz var. Çocuklar küçük olmasa hani çalışırım. Bi de çevremizden dolayı çalışmıyorum. Bizde bi kadının çalışması, evli bi kadının çalışması biraz tuhaf görünür. Yani istenmiyor. (yani bi meslek kursuna gitsen?) Kesinlikle bırakmazlar! Gerçekten... (kimler?) eşim de bırakmaz, ailesi de bırakmaz. evet...(ses tonu iyice düştü...) size ne diyom, ben bi çıksam der ki bu kadın niye gidiyo. Şuraya buraya...evet...anlamazlar...”

Semanur 1- “(Kürtçe) Kadınların bir sürü çocuğu var. Ancak çocuklarla, evle, yemekle uğraşıyorlar. Belki onlarca kadın biliyorum. Ancak ev işlerini yetiştiriyorlar, o kadar çok çocukları var ki. Mesela, Allah tamamına erdirsin, bak sen okumuşsun, sen her yere de gidip her şeyi yapabiliyorsun. Ama bizim çocuklar var, ev işleri, yemek... İşte Kürtler de böyle yani. Valla çok çocuğumun olması benim hoşuma gitmezdi. Şimdi benimki sadece bir tane, çok rahat benim için. Çok çocuğum olsaydı kesinlikle bakamazdım. O kadar çok çocuk getiriyoruz ama yine de çocuklarımız okumuyor, eylemlere gidiyorlar, yine bizimkiler biraz okuyor, gerçekten. Mesela bir kaynımın karısı var. Kadın elli yaşında, bu sene bir çocuk getirdi dünyaya. On aylık. Mesela kaç çocuğu vardır? 7 mi 8 mi? 9 tane çocuğu var. Bu onuncu. Dokuz tane! (gülüyor) Daha kocası doymamış. He valla. Kocası çocukları çok seviyor. Gel de dokuz çocuğu bırak işe git. (gülüyor). Gel de dokuz çocuğu bırak da işe git. Gerçekten insanın elinden hiçbir şey gelmiyor yani. Yapamıyorlar işte. Bir eltimin 6, bir tanesinin 10, bi tanesinin 9 tane, diğerinin de 5 tane çocuğu var. En sonuncusunun da 6 tane. Benim ki de bir tane (gülüyor kahkahayla). En azını ben dünyaya getirmişim. He valla, ne yapayım.”

Hailme 1- “Okudun ama,’ dedim, ‘hayvan oldun, hayvan oldun!’ dedim. ‘Bi de kürtçe okusaydın,’ dedim, ‘anlayacaktın.’ dedim. ‘Beni,’ dedim ‘tanıyacaktın.’”

Halime 2- “ ‘Senin kızın kaç dil biliyor? Kaç dil biliyor?’ Ben dedim ‘Yedi dil biliyor! Kaç dil bilecek!? Ben dedim ‘Türkçe, Kürtçe... ‘Yok!’ dedi, ‘Başka dil de biliyor.’ ‘Hangi dil konuştu?’ dedim, ‘Benim yanımda hiç bilmiyo, ama senin yanında konuşabilir.’ dedim. Bi de dedi ‘O Kürtçeden, yani Fransızcadan... Yani başka dil de biliyo... (...) Kürtçe söylemiş, yazmış ya... Türkçeyi bilmiyor meyvenin. (...) Dedi ‘Bu ne bu bu! Defteri aynı böyle... Valla baktım ‘Sév, alû ce... Bütün Kürtçe meyveleri yazmış, öyle güzel yapmış götürmüş öğretmene vermiş (gülüyor). ‘Ben bunu kabul edemem.’ dedi. ‘Sen bu kızı nasıl öğrettin?’ ‘Hoca,’ dedim, ‘ben yalan yoktur, ben söylemedim!’ ‘Ama yazmış, ne olacak?’ dedi. ‘Akılsıza bak!’ dedi. Kızı okula istemediler...”

Halime 3- “O Türkçesi duymak istemiyorum! (...) O kadar nefret ettim. Aha televizyon orda duruyo, hiç sevmiyorum. E de (şimdi) ben nasıl gidecem Türkçeyi öğreneceğim? He mi? Yok! Olmaz! Yoksa niye sevmiyeyim? Ee, okula da gitmeden her şeyi biliyorum (gülüyor).”

Gülây 1- “(Kürtçe) Hangi eğitime gidersek gidelim bizimle pek fazla ilgilenmiyorlar. Bakıyoruz ki bizimle ilgilenmiyorlar, bizim de keyfimiz kaçıyor. İlgi yok, gittiğimiz kursta, neye katılırsak katılalım bize fazla ilgileri yok, bizi aramıyorlar. (...) Biz de istiyoruz her şeyi öğrenelim, gençlerimiz öğrensin. (...) Olsa biz de isteriz, niye istemeyelim? Kim istemez ki? Bizim ihtiyacımız var. Mesela

biz gittiğimizde bizimle ilgilenseler, etrafımızda gezinseler, dilimizden konuşsalar, biz de isteriz bizden biri olsun. Ama bizi dışlıyorlar. Biz de bir iş-meslek sahibi olalım, uğraşalım isteriz. Bir kere gittik, soğuduk ve yarım bıraktık. Bakıyoruz kimse bizimle ilgilenmiyor. Kürtçe konuştuğumuz zaman bizi garipsediklerini söylemiyorlar ama bize hissettiriyorlar. Biz de Türkçe anlamıyoruz.”

Semanur 2- “(Kürtçe) Okuldaki öğretmen Türkçe konuştuğu zaman ben anlamıyordum. Öylesine çok kızarıyordum ki... Aman Allahım! Çok utanıyordum. İnsan herşeyi zamanında yapmalı. Valla kötü de davranmıyorlardı. İyilerdi. Ama birbirimizin dilinden anlamıyorduk ki.”

Gülay 2- “(Türkçe) biz mahallede bir yere gidiyoruz, çevre iyi. bize iyi davranıyor. Biz seviyoruz kendi kendine (birbirimizi). Ama iş, meslek için bizi görmüyorlar. Yani sevmiyor biz iş yapacağız, bizim meslek alacağız. Onların yüzünde var. İstemiyor (yüzlerinden anlaşılıyor). Söylemiyorlar. Altınşehir’dekine modelistlik (İSMEK) için gittik. Bir defa, iki üç defa... Ama baktık hiç bi şey göstermiyor. (Kürtçe) İlgiden de ziyade bizimle konuşmadılar, birbirimizin ne konuştuğunu anlamadık, o yüzden hiçbir şey öğrenemedik, bıraktık. Öğrenmek için gittik kursa, çalışıp para kazanmak için. Biz dilimizi kültürümüzü konuşmak istiyoruz. Türkçe bilmediğimiz için Kürtçe konuştuk hep, o yüzden anlayamadık.

Bedriye 1- “Şimdi istiyorum benim çocuklarım için de Kürt okulu açılsın. Bu ilkokula gitmesin. Bak, devlet bizi istemiyor! Devlet dilimizi istemiyor, devlet milletvekilimizi istemiyor! Biz de yani ayrımcılık yapmıyoruz, ama onları da istemiyoruz! Ben bi Kürt okulu olsa, ben Kürt okuluna gitsem gurur duyarım. Ben Türkiye okulunu istemiyorum. Eğer açılsa ben Kürt okuluna gitmek istiyorum. Çoluk çocuğumu da oraya verecem. Bizi istemeyen bir insanları niye biz istiyek? Değil mi? Ben onu diyorum. Şimdi bana diyor ki ‘Ben Türküm, doğruyum...’ Benim zoruma gidiyor! Türküm, doğruyum desek zoruma gidiyor! Ben Kürdüm! Kürdüm! İşte ben Kürdüm, niye ‘Türküm, doğruyum.’ diyorsun? Hele bir gün de de ki kendi dilinle de ‘Ben Kürdüm, doğruyum.’ Bi onu da getirin. Yani ben kendi okula (okulumu) gitsem yani kendi okuluma gitsem ben utanmam! Türk okuluna değil. Türk okulu böyle olursa, eğer ayrımcılık yapmasaydı, bizim dilimizi de karıştırsaydı, hem Kürtçe dil verseydi, hem Türkçe dil verseydi... Hem kendi dilini, hem bizim dilimizi... Hep bizi ezdirmese, (...) zorumuza gitmezdi. Biz utanmazdık. Ama kendi sanki bizi emir altına almışsa, bi baskı gibi biz görüyoruz. Bak bizim çocuklar baskı gibidir.”

Bedriye 2- “(Türkçe) Yok, vallahi ben gitmem. Devletin iş için açtığı bi yere ben gitmem. Ya Türk Kürt karışık olsun ama devletin isteğiyle olmasın. He. Devletin isteğiyle bizi götürüp hep kendi isteğiyle yetiştirse, kendi isteğiyle kalk otur, kendi isteğiyle bizi ezmek istese, biz onu istemiyoruz. Biz öyle bir şey istemiyoruz. Kendi şeyimizle olursa, kendi kafa dengimizle, kendi isteğimizle bir şey olsa biz istiyoruz. Vallahi gideriz.”

Bedriye 3- “Yok, ben Türkçe iyi biliyorum. İşte ben nereye gitsem yani dilim var. (...) Sana diyorum devlet şeyi olmasa, devlet baskını gibi gidip, aynı bu çocuk gibi gidip Türk baskını altında...(...) Kanal ŞEŞ gibi. Kanal şeş gibi, mesela Kanal Şeş

girdiği zaman siyasi konuşmıyor. Öyle şeylere biz gelemiyoruz! (...) Herkes kendi isteğiyle gitse, konuşsa, görevini yapsa olur. Hele onlar gelse, biz burda kürtçe kursu açsak, onlar gelse bize diyecekler ‘Konuşmayın, iki(nci) kanala girmeyin (Kürtçe konuşmayın)’ emir verse biz istemiyoruz! He... Bize öyle diyecekler! ‘İkinci kanala girmeyin!’, bak biz bir toplumda oturuyoruz, ama onlar sabahtan akşama kadar konuşsa biz onlara diyemiyoruz. Burda bi Türk şimdi bizim yanımızda otursa o böyle yapıp (kaşlarını çatıp) kalkıp gidecek. Diyecek ikinci kanala girmişsin. Yani Kürtçe... İkinci kanala girmişsin. İkinci kanal bizim dilimizdir! Biz Kürdüz, Kürtçe doğmuşuz, Kürtçe konuşamaz, niye? Ne var orda? Onlar sabahtan akşama kadar Türkçe konuşuyor biz bi şey diyor muyuz? Biz bi şey demiyoruz!”

Nazenin 4- “(Kürtçe) Daha ne diyeyim? Biz Kürdüz, başımıza her şey geliyor. Başımıza gelmeyen kalmadı. Çocuklarımız okusa da onlara meslek vermiyorlar. Vermiyorlar. Kürt oldukları için vermiyorlar valla. Yani okuyup öğretmen olsalar da, onlara mesleklerini vermiyorlar, iş vermiyorlar. Her ne olsalar da devlet onlara meslek vermiyor. Sen Kürtsün ama sadece bir tanesin (gülüyor).”

Nazenin 5- “(Türkçe) (...) Vallahi biz bi yere gittiği zaman, böyle tülbent (başörtüsünü tutarak), bu bizim kimliğimizdir. Biz nereye gittik, biz bunu bırakmam. Yemin ederim ben Ankara’ya gittim, Van’a gittim. Her ay İzmit’e gidiyorum. Ben hayatta böyle tülbentle gidiyorum. Kocamın görüşüne gidiyorum. Kesk-sor-zer (sarı-kırmızı-yeşil) takıyorum. Böyle ben hiç tülbentte utanmıyorum. Ben gurur duyuyorum. Ama biz senle bu baş açık, bu tülbentlidir, bi yere gitsek, çok fark yapacak. Diyecekler bu Kürttür, bu Türktür. Biz böyle kaymakamlığa gitsek, nereye gitsek bu tülbent onların gözüne giriyor. Biz hemen fark ediliyoruz. Ben Kürdüm. İsterse versin isterse vermesin ben böyleyim. Böyle gidecem. (...)”

Nazenin 6- “(Türkçe) Bak ben fazla Türkçe bilmiyodum. Onlar bizim yanımıza geldiği zaman ben Türkçe konuşuyom, ben diyom farklı anlamasın. E ayıptır. Yanlış anlamasın, ayıptır. Ama onlar öyle değil. Ben de Türkçe bilmiyom. Ben onun yanına gidip niye bi kelime Kürtçe konuşmuyorum? Bilse de konuşmuyolar. Bilse de konuşmuyolar yok. Bizi sevmiyor ne devlet, ne Türk, ne sokakta, ne mecliste, ne cezaevinde, ne askerde... Valla onlar çok ayırım yapıyolar ben bilmiyorum ne diyecem.”

Nazenin 7- “Biz çocuk toplantısına gidiyoruz. Okulda, sen öğretmensin (örnek veriyor). Şilan’a diyeceksin ‘Şilan, yarın Cumartesi’dir. Annene söyle 12de toplantısı var.’ Ben orda geliyom, orda Türk de var, Kürt de var, her insan da var. Ama ayrımcılık var. Bize diyemiyor ama biz biliyoruz var. Öğretmen de onlara daha şey davranıyor. Kibar davranıyor. Onlar da daha... Bizim tülbentimiz başında ya, bize onun gibi davranmıyor. Türkler gibi davranmıyor. (...)”

Nazenin 8- “(Türkçe) Bizi sevmiyor. İstemiyor biz bi şey olsan. İstemiyor biz mecliste olsan. İstemiyor biz karakolda olsan. İstemiyor biz savcılıkta olsan. Kaymakamlıkta olsan. Hiç bi yerde bizi istemiyorlar.”

Nazenin 9- “Mesela benle bi Türk otursa yanımda, benle konuşmuyor, nefret ediyor. Bi Kürt olsa, biz biri birine konuşuyoruz kalkana kadar. Evet. Valla konuşuyoruz. O

konuşmuyor! O konuşmuyor. Ben onun çocuğu yanımda. Ben çocuğa böyle yapıyorum, ‘Hişşt!’ . Böyle sevsem, çocuğu öbür tarafta alıyor (Bunu taklit ederek gösterdi). Valla! Valla yemin ederim.”

Selma 3- ‘O zaman dedim sen madem ki Türkçe zorunluysa, o zaman Kürtçe de zorunlu olsun. Dedim ki siz öğrenin, birlikte yaşayalım.’

Halime 4- “Keşke böyle öğretmenimiz olsa... Valla seve seve... Bi ders Kürtçe varsa... Kızım bi ders Kürtçe koysa... Yeni okula gidecem... Bir öğretmen Kürtçe gelse, öyle ders verse, ben yeni yazılacam okula kendim gidecem, yemin ederim. Kürtçe dersi verirsen (bana diyor), üç kızımı da gönderecem, ben, aha dört kişi, ben gelecem. Beş-altı kişi biz geliyoruz. Ama Kürt olacak, Kürtçe olmadığı zaman hayatımda gitmiyorum (hayatta gitmem). Kurs ji (da) burda açarsa, hem ji (de) bizim Zehra gelecek. Bizim kız... O gelir, o çok gelir vallahi.”

Halime 5- “Hepsi destekleyin, bi Kürtçe dersi olsun. (...) Kürtçe yoktur. Onun için biz okul istemiyoruz. Biz de okurduk yoksa. Valla aha şimdi bi ders olsa varya, bütün mahalleyi ben yazacam. Bi ders Kürtçe olsa bu dershanede ben sana yardımcı olurum, hepsini biz geliriz, okuruz, seviniriz... Ama Allah kahretsin, biz utanmaktan gitmiyoruz okula (utandığımız için değil). Biz istemeden gitmiyoruz (istemediğimiz için gitmiyoruz). Yoksa utanacam? Yok! İstemiyoruz! Yoksa utanmıyoruz ki! Dilimde niye utanacam?”

Bedriye 4- “İnsan mesela kendi dilini, kendi şeyini zaten istiyor. Ama bak bu Türk okulu desek niye çocuklarımız gidiyor? Şimdi istiyorum benim çocuklarım için de Kürt okulu açılsın. Bu ilkokula gitmesin. Bak, devlet bizi istemiyor! Devlet dilimizi istemiyor, devlet milletvekilimizi istemiyor. Biz de yani ayrımcılık yapmıyoruz ama onları da istemiyoruz! Ben bi Kürt okulu olsa, ben Kürt okuluna gitsem gurur duyarım. Ben Türkiye okulunu istemiyorum. Eğer açılsa ben Kürt okuluna gitmek istiyorum. Çoluk çocuğumu da oraya verecem. Bizi istemeyen bir insanları niye biz istiyek? Değil mi?”

Bedriye 5- “Ya bir kurs açılsa, böyle bir şeyler açılsa, eğer kendi isteğimizle gibi... Devlet zoruyla değil... Baskı altına girmiyelim, bişi olmasa biz hepsi de gideriz. Ama desen ‘Gine ben burda bi kanal açmışım, bi kurs açmışım. Kürt insanları! Gel gine seni ezecem! Önünde Türk var! Biz öyle şeylere gelemiyoruz! (...)”

Gülay 3- “(Kürtçe) bizim dilimizde kurs açsınlar, biz de gidelim, Kürt kadınları da gider. Hepsi de gitmeyi çok istiyor. Ama imkânları yok. İş için bizim dilimizde kurs açsalar, birşeyler öğresek para kazansak, çocuklara bakmak için ben giderim, Nazenin gider. İyi olur. Kürt kadınlarının hepsi çok çalışkandır.”

Nisa 1- “Aslında yani burada öyle şeyler olsa çok iyi olur, çok güzel olur kadınlar açısından. Kürtçe olsa güzel olur, tabi. Keşke burda öyle bişey olsa, mesela en azından ilçede açılsa...”

Nazime 2- “Kürtçe -Türkçe... Onlar Türkçe ders almak istiyor, biz de yanında Kürtçe istiyoruz.”

Nazime 3- “Valla başka bi sorun yok da... Ama şu dersleri keşke bizim Kürt dilimizde serbest olsa... Biz onu da çok istiyoruz. Yani... Kürtçe -Türkçe... Onlar Türkçe ders almak istiyor, biz de yanında Kürtçe istiyoruz. Ana dilinde eğitim. Benim için...Valla benim engelim...(düşünüyor)”

Selma 4- “En önemlisi mesela eşim, çocuklarım, çevremiz mesela... Hani... Yani... Şimdi mesela şunu da düşünürsek, mesela günde bi iki defa çıktın mı mesela, ‘Amaaann, bu kadın nereye gidiyo acaba? Niye bu kadar geziyor? Neden süslendi? Yani mesela hani... İşte genel anlamda konuşursan yani öyle yani... Buralarda böyle... Yani sen şimdi İstanbul’un içine gidersen farklı, buraya gelersen farklı. O yüzden biraz çevreyle alakalı hem.”

Selma 5 - “Eşlerimizin tutumuyla alakalı bi şey... öyle her yere gidemiyoruz izinsiz hani. İstedığımız yere çıkıp da gidemiyoruz yani. ‘Ya ben bugün şuraya gittim, buraya gittim’ diyemiyosun. İlle izin alacaksın.”

Selma 6- “Kurs olsa gidemem yani. Çünkü eşimin izin vereceğini düşünemiyorum. *Düşünmüyorum da.*”

Selma 7- “Ya, kıskançlık var mesela yani. Bi de hani bilmiyorum, bizim çevremizde, hani, büyüklerimizden gördük hani, her yere izinsiz gidemeyiz mesela hani. Eşimizin onayı olmadan yani çıkamayız. Mesela diyelim ki aile büyükleri var evde, onlardan izin almadan da gidemezsin yani. Onlar anca izin verecek ki sen gideceksin. Öyle her yere de... Mesela diyelim ki hani, bilmedikleri yere seni bırakmazlar. Bizim çevremizde biz bunu gördük. Yoksa biz de isteriz hani, bağımsız olalım, hani, istediğimizi yapalım.”

Selma 8- “Ya bi de çevremizden dolayı, hepimiz birbirimizi tanıyoruz hani. Ya hiç bi yere gitmedik. Şimdi kalkıp da gitsem mesela hani, biraz farklı... Şey oluyo, tuhaf kaçıyo milletin gözüne. Gerçekten hani bu kadın her gün nereye gidiyo? Niye giyindi, bu kadar süslendi, gitti şuraya buraya? Gerçekten gitsem...(Süslenmeyip de gitsen peki?) Yine de derler. Gerçekten... Burası aynen bir köy gibi... Gerçekten bi köy gibi hani... Tabi ki İstanbul’un içine gidersen herkes kendi keyfinde... Kimse kimseden şey değil. Ama burda öyle değil. Burda herkes birbirini tanıyor. O yüzden, hani şimdi bizim büyüklerimizden de yani biraz kaynaklanıyor. Aile büyüklerimizden de kaynaklanıyor. Mesela ben bi gitsem, iki üç gitsem kayınbabam şey yapar. Hani niye gidiyosun? Çocukların var, ne gerek var? (Peki çocukların olmasa yine de mi gidemezsin?) Gine gidemem. Çocuklarım olmasa zaten hiç gidemem (gülüyor). Ne bilim... Bırakmazlar. Hani zannetmiyorum bırakacaklarını.”

Selma 9- “Ya insan evli oldu mu... Çok şey kısıtlanıyo aslında insanın hayatında. Hele bizim..Bizim gibilerin... Bizde çok kısıtlama var, bizim çevrede.”

Selma 10- “Dört tane çocuğumuz var. Çocuklar küçük olmasa hani çalışırım. Bi de çevremizden dolayı çalışamıyorum. Bizde bi kadının çalışması, evli bi kadının çalışması biraz tuhaf görünür. Yani istenmiyor. (Yani bi meslek kursuna gitsen?) Kesinlikle bırakmazlar! Gerçekten... (Kimler?) Eşim de bırakmaz, ailesi de

bırakmaz. Evet. (ses tonu iyice düştü.) Size ne diyom? Ben bi çıksam der ki ‘Bu kadın niye gidiyo? Şuraya, buraya? Evet. Anlamazlar.’

Nisa 2- “Evlidir, çocuğu var, eviylen uğraşsın, kadındır, ne işi var?”

Nisa 3- “Ben şimdi kendi eşimden dolayı görmem ama çevremden dolayı görürüm. Eşim düşünmez, yoo. Mesela demiyo ki... Elinde olsa şey yapar mesela. Ama benim çevremde mesela onun ailesi belki farklı yerlere götürür mesela. Eşimin de üzerine giderler. (Farklı yer derken?) Ya farklı yere götürürler. İşte, ‘evlidir, çocuğu var, eviylen uğraşsın, kadındır, ne işi var?’ anlayışı ön plana çıkar. ‘Otursun, ondan sonra evinde çocuklarına baksın, evini şey yapsın.’ anlayışı ön plana çıkıyor. (Bunu tam olarak kim yapıyor?) Erkek de yapıyo, kadın da yapıyo, yani hepsi de yapıyo. Aşmamış. E bilmiyo, kendisi de aynı şeyi çekiyo, kadındır, o ızdırabı çekiyo mesela.”

Nisa 5- “Ya erkek zihniyetlidir, mesela her kadın mesela kadındır, (ama) anlayışlı değil. Mesela bazı kadınlar halan de erkek zihniyetini taşıyor. Mesela benim kaynanam, mesela mitinglere gider, mesela o kadar ortamlara girer, heryere gider mesela. Bazı şeyleri aşması lazım biliyo musun, ama o feodallığı daha da aşmamış. Mesela diyor ki ben zamanında ne yaşamışsam siz de onu yaşayın. Mesela elinde gelse bunu yaşatır bize. Ama yeri geldiği zaman senin yanında çok demokrat, çok, ondan sonra, bazı şeyleri aşmış, şey bir kadındır. Ama mesela evinde mesela bize karşı, şeye karşı mesela o ezici yapıya sahiptir. Mesela onu yapar mesela. Aşmamış mesela, onu kıramamış, çünkü o zamanında, o şey var ya, o betonlaşmış, kalıplaşmış, bi kere onun beynine yerleşmiş. Onu artık o kolay kolay aşamaz.”

Nisa 6- ‘Mesela bazı gençler de var, bakıyosun aynı öyle, mesela gençtir, şeydir, ama mesela bakıyosun çok farklı bi yerde.’

Nazime 4- “Hani diyelim ki ben şimdi iki üç defa gidersem çevremden dolayı şey olabilir. Mesela diyelim ki ben gidiyorum bazen ilçeye gidiyorum. Mitingler olduğu zaman gidiyorum. Çağırdığı zaman gidiyorum. Benim eşim izin veriyor. Ben kendi eşim izin veriyor, ama çevrem şey yapmıyor. Sorun yapıyor. Acaba bu kadın sürekli nereye gidiyor? Bizim kendi çevremiz yani. Akrabalar yani. Bizim Güneydoğu’nun insanlarını biliyosun yani. Her şeyi sorun yapıyorlar. Acaba bu kadın ikide bir nereye gidiyor? İkide bir... O yüzden insan rahatsız oluyor. Mesela bi laf duyduğu zaman insan kendi rahatsız oluyor, gitmesem daha iyi olur. Ben gidiyorum, şimdi acaba beni arkamda başka şeyler de mi konuşuyor, bu yüzden insan rahatsız oluyor. (...) Biz de bırakmak zorunda kalıyoruz. Aha valla ben kendim giderim, eşim de yani. Mesela kurslara giderim. Eğitime de giderim. Ha şimdi eşim bana diyor ki gidersen git ehliyeti bile al.”

Semanur 3- “(Kürtçe) Yani ben iki üç hafta kadar gittim, evet, ama dedim ya sana eşim tutukluydu, toplumda ve ailede de bu (okula gitmek) benim için zor bir şeydi. Ailede yani, kayınlarımın yanında, kayınbabamın yanında... Bak ben evlenmişim, eltimin yanında yaşıyorum mesela, onların baskısından gitmiyordum. ‘Gitme’ diyorlardı bana. Bizim Kürtlerde insanın adı çıkıyor. Bir kız çıkıyor dışarı, diyorlar

ki ‘Aha işte kızımız çıktı, ne halt yemeye çıkıyor acaba?’ (Türkçe) Hem de kocam yoktur burda da. E valla...”

Semanur 4- “ İlkokullarda kadınlara 1. Dönem 2. Dönem okuma yazma kursu veriliyordu. O zaman gidip yazılmak istedim ama eşim hapisteydi. Başka çarem yoktu. Üç haftalık cezaevindeydi. O yüzden hepimiz bi arada kalıyorduk. Gidemedim o yüzden. Kayınlarım ve kayınbabam kabul etmedi. Biz işkence çok gördük, neyi söyleyelim, neyi söylemeyelim?(iç çekti).”

Semanur 5- “ İşte... Gidemedik. Erkek baskısından dolayı... ‘Ayıptır’ diyorlardı, bir tanesi ‘Sizi okula göndermek bize yakışmaz, yakışık almaz’ dedi bu yaştan sonra.”

Gülay 4- “(Kürtçe)Valla eskiden çok eziyorlardı kadınları. Kızları okutmuyorlardı bu hareket çıkmadan önce. Zaten onlar insanları değiştirdi, böyle özgürleştirdi. (Gülüyor) Ondan sonra... Kadınlara daha çok saygılı duyuyorlar, daha çok önem veriyorlar. Kadınlar eşit oldular yani. Genelde kadınlar özgür... İstedığı yere gider, istediğini yapar. Eskiden erkeklerin korkusundan hiçbir yere çıkamıyorlardı yani. İzin almadan, ya da onlarla gitmeden hiç bir yere çıkamıyorlardı. Ama şimdi değil. Şimdiki kadınlar hiç sormadan çıkıp gidip geliyorlar yani.”

Bedriye 6- “Yoook, valla, yok yok. Kimse bana engel olmaz. Hiç bi şey demez. Artık bizim aramızda özgürlük var. Yok, yok.”

Selma 11- “Kendimi atıyorum dışarıya.”

Selma 12- “Eşim hiç gitmiyo partiye. Vallah hiç gitmiyor, ben kendim arada bir hani baaazen katılıyorum. Ama onun dışında eşim gitmiyor. Eşim gitmiyor, siyasetle hiç alakası yok. (...) Ben arada bi katılıyorum (gülüyor), *kendimi atıyorum dışarıya*. Ama öyle fazla da değil yani. Çocuklarımdan dolayı fırsat bulamıyom gerçekten.”

Selma 13- “ Zorunlu evlilik yaptık. (...) Gerçekten çok zor yani. (...) Amcamın oğluydu. Görmediğim biri değildi. Ailemin isteğiyle... (Beğeniyor muydun onu, evlenmek istiyor muydun? ) Hayır, kesinlikle... Abim gibiydi. (...) Yemin ediyorum valla. (...) Aramızda çok yaş farkı da vardı. Yedi yaş... (...) Ben kaç yaşındaydım? 14 yaşındaydım. O 21 yaşındaydı. Kesinlikle evlenebileceğim bir insan değildi benim gözümde. Ama işte...(...) Mesela ben istemiyodum, abim de illa ‘Ben de kimi istersen seni ona veririm.’ Evet...”

Halime 6- “Biz neler çektik. Valla babası biraz rahatsızdır işte. (...) Şeker hastalığı var. Ne bilim ben? Şekerden, hastalıktan, pislikten biz kurtulmuyoruz ki! Şeker hastalığı bilmiyorum nedir, İstanbul’a biz geldik her şey, hepsi İstanbul’da. Rahatsızlık, hastalık... Başka bi şey yok. Valla doğrudur! Biz köyde top gibiydik be! Valla bizimki de iki üç gündür burda. (...) Dün doktora götürdük. Dün değil öbür günü. Gece üç sefer götürdük. Biz ne yapacağız? Keşke köyümüzde otursaydık.”

Nazime 5- “Bi tane şimdi desem bizim yaşlı kadınlardan bi tane sağlam ya var yok. Hepsi ya tansiyon hastası, ya şeker hastası. Kolesterol var, bilmem neyi var, şuyu var buyu var. İnan ki bi kaynanam var, her gün 24 saat hastaneden gelmiyor. E

köylerde olduğu zaman hiç bi şey yoktu. Bi sorunumuz yoktu. Köyümüzde her şey mesela biz tarlamızda(n) getirip yiyoduk. Böyle... Şeylerden gelmiyodu. Pazar filan... Ee... Hormon mormon yoktu. Ama burda her şey hormon. Her şey hastalık... (sustu- derin bir ah çekti) İşte böyle gidiyor.”

Nazenin 10- “(Türkçe) Biz böyle biz şimdi köyümde olsaydık tarla vardır, inek vardır, bakacaktım. Biz gül gibi çocuklara bakacaktım. Burda her hastalık biz burda kaptık yani. Astım, kalp, migren, bilmem ney.. Her hastalık burda var. Köyde (Van-Gevaş köyü) sütleri temizdir. Otları temiz hepsi ilaçtır (devadır). Burdaki sütler, (...) yem yemiyor, naylon yiyor. Poşet yiyor, sütü de güzel değil. Ama her köydeki bal vardır, yoğurttur, süttür, herşeyi ilaçtır. Hastalığı biz bilmiyoruz. Astım nedir, migren nedir. Bronşit nedir. Ben bilmiyom ki. Hepsi vardır şimdi bende. Bak ben şimdi ilacımı sana göstersem. Bi rapor çıkardım. Şimdi yeşil kartım da bilmiyorum herhalde olmasa ben ne yapacam bilmiyorum valla.”

Nazenin 11- “(Türkçe) Ben her gün bu ilacı içmesem, hayatta ben böyle kalkıp mutfağa gidim, bi ya ekmek pişirecem, bi ya dışarı çıkacam, ben gitmem (gidemem). (Tekrar derin ve sık nefes alıyor). Böyleyim ben. Ben bu ilacı içiyorum böyle ayakta konuşuyorum. Önce sesim de böyle değildi. Çok ilaç içen içen böyle kısılmış. Sesim kabalamış. Ben konuştuğum zaman aniden sesim böyle kısılıyor. Hepsi ilaçta, astım ilaçta... ilaçta öyle oldu. Ben konuştuğum zaman da ben biliyorum, ben aha buramda (boğazını tutuyor) zorluk çekiyorum ha! O kadar ilaç içiyorum. Yedi senedir astım vardır. Dedi (doktor) soğuktur.”

Nazenin 12- “(Kürtçe) Astım, migren var, kalbim ağrıyor, başımda migren var, dişlerimin hepsi çok kötü. Aha! (ağzını açıp dökülen dişlerini gösteriyor) ağrıyorlar, çürüdüler, hepsi döküldü. Ben çektirdim. Yeşil kartı götürüyordum, bedava çektiriyordum. Şimdi 30 milyon, 40 milyon, ben de o yüzden gücüm yetmiyor (öksürüyor). Ellerim bileklerime kadar benek benek, kollarıma kadar ilerledi. (her iki elini uzun uzun gösteriyor). Buna da bak. Bilmiyorum nedir. Kaç defa da kan aldırđım, kanın temiz dediler. Nedir bilmiyorum. Derttir hepsi, çocukların derdi kolay mı çekiliyor? Kaç çocuk... Yedi çocuk kolay mı? Yokluk dünyasında hele de. (...)”

Nazenin 13- “(Kürtçe)Yarım kaldı. Ben yedi gün devam ettim. Yedi gün. Evet... Gidemedim. Kokulardan dolayı çok acıydım. Şimdi ne kadar çok koku olsa da ben bu ilacı içtiğim için bana tesir etmiyor (kokular).

## APPENDIX B

### The Interview Form in English

## Demographic Information

1. Can you talk about yourself and your life please?
  - a. How old are you? Where were you born? Are you married? (if not, how many brothers and sisters have you got?)
  - b. If you are married, have you got any children? What is their educational background? If there are any children working, what do they do? How do they contribute to the family income?
  - c. Does your husband work? How does he contribute to the family income? If he does not work, why?
  - d. Where did you migrate from to İstanbul?
  - e. For how many years have you been living in İstanbul?

## Interview Questions

2. Questions related to experience of displacement: Where did you migrate from to İstanbul? How did you migrate? Can you talk about what you have experienced during migratory process? How did it start? What do you remember?
  - a. How was the life back in your hometown? What did you do in order to survive? Did you have any financial problems?
  - b. How did evacuations start in your village? How old were you then? What do you remember?
  - c. What happened to your house and your family? Was anybody killed in your family?

- d. How do you evaluate displacement process? How did it affect your life generally?
3. Questions related to prior educational experiences: Can you talk about your educational experiences?
  - a. Are you literate?
  - b. Was there a school in your village? Were there any schools nearby?
  - c. For how many years did you continue to school? If you quit, why did you do so? Did economic factors matter? How did your family affect your participation?
  - d. What is the educational background of your family members? If there are anybody who were deprived of education, what was the reasons behind their deprivation?
  - e. (If you left school of your own accord) Why did you leave school?
  - f. If your educational life was interrupted, what kind of factors interfered? How did your being displaced and your family affect it?
4. Questions related to mother tongue: How did Kurdish language as your mother tongue affect your nonparticipation to educational activities?
  - a. Can you speak Turkish? How much of it can you understand? How much of it can you speak? How the language of instruction in the courses being Turkish affected your participation to these courses?
  - b. In which language could you communicate with the teacher? Did you have any difficulty in understanding Turkish? How did not being able to understand or speak Turkish affect your interest in these courses?

- c. Have you ever felt that you are being treated differently because you are Kurdish? According to you, did speaking Kurdish either in the courses you have left unfinished or in any public place affect other people's attitudes towards you?
5. The effect of patriarchal family structure over women's participation to educational activities: How was your husband's (or father's, brother's and other elderly male members) attitude towards you when you wanted to participate in any kind of educational activity?
- a. Did your husband exert psychological or physical violence of any kind? What do men think about this (participating to an educational course)?
  - b. How does your husband or immediate family affect you in general? Were there any incidences in which you felt the oppression of your husband, his family, or your close neighborhood? How did you feel?

## APPENDIX C

### The Interview Form in Turkish

## Demografik Bilgiler

1. Bana kendinizden ve hayatınızdan bahseder misiniz?
  - a. Kaç yaşındasınız, nerede doğdunuz, evli misiniz? (bekâr iseniz-kaç kardeşsiniz?)
  - b. Çocuklarınız var mı? Eğitim durumları nedir? Çalışan çocuklar ne iş yapıyorlar, ev ekonomisine ne kadar katkıda bulunuyorlar?
  - c. Eşiniz mesleği nedir? Çalışmıyor ise sebebi nedir?
  - d. Nereden göç ederek geldiniz?
  - e. Kaç yıldır İstanbul'da yaşıyorsunuz?

## Görüşme Soruları

2. Göç deneyimine ilişkin sorular: Nereden göç ederek İstanbul'a geldiniz?  
Göç esnasında yaşadıklarınızdan bahseder misiniz? Göç süreci nasıldı?  
Neler hatırlıyorsunuz?
  - a. Köyde nasıl geçinirdiniz? Hangi işlerle meşgul olurdunuz? Maddi sıkıntılarınız var mıydı?
  - b. Köy boşaltmaları esnasında kaç yaşındaydınız? Neler hatırlıyorsunuz?
  - c. Eviniz yakıldı mı? Ailenizden ölenler oldu mu?
  - d. Göç sürecini nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
3. Geçmiş eğitim deneyimlerine ilişkin sorular: Bana eğitim geçmişinizden bahseder misiniz?
  - a. Okuma yazmanız var mı?
  - b. Köyünüzde okul var mıydı? Yakın çevrede okul var mıydı?

- c. Okulu en son kaç kadar okudunuz? Eğer bıraktıysanız neden bıraktınız? Maddi sıkıntılarının veya ailenizin nasıl bir etkisi oldu?
  - d. Ailenizdeki diğer bireylerin eğitim durumları nedir? Okuyamayanlar neden okumadılar?
  - e. (Kendi isteğinizle gitmediyseniz) Okula gitmeme sebepleriniz nelerdi?
  - f. Eğitiminiz yarım kaldıysa sebepleri nelerdir? Göç deneyimizin ve ailenizin nasıl bir etkisi oldu?
4. Anadiline ilişkin sorular: Anadiliniz olarak Kürtçe'nin eğitsel kurslara katılmamanıza nasıl bir etkisi oldu?
- a. Türkçe konuşabiliyor musunuz? Ne kadar anlıyorsunuz? Ne kadar konuşabiliyorsunuz? Kurslarda verilen eğitimin Türkçe olması bu kurslara katılımınızı nasıl etkiledi?
  - b. Öğretici ile hangi dilde iletişim kurdunuz? Türkçe anlamakta zorluk çektiniz mi? Bu dili konuşamamak veya anlayamamak kurslara olan ilginizi nasıl etkiledi?
  - c. Kürt olduğunuz için size farklı davranıldığını hissediyor musunuz? Yarım bıraktığınız kurslarda veya diğer kamuya açık alanlarda Kürtçe konuşuyor olmanız diğer insanların size olan tavırlarını etkiledi mi sizce?
5. Ataerkil aile yapısının kadınların eğitime katılımları üzerindeki etkisi: Herhangi bir kursa gitmek istediğinizde eşinizin (veya babanızın, ağabeyinizin ve diğer eril aile büyüklerinin) tavrı nasıldı?

- a. Eşiniz eğitime gitmemeniz konusunda size herhangi bir şekilde psikolojik veya fiziksel baskı uyguladı mı? Erkekler bu duruma ne diyor?
- b. Eşinizin veya yakın çevrenizin genel olarak sizin üzerinizde nasıl bir etkisi vardır? Eşiniz veya eşinizin ailesi ve yakın çevreniz tarafından baskılandığınızı hissettiğiniz durumlar oldu mu? Neler hissettiniz?

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