



Can we Live Together? Discrimination in the Context of Education in Turkey: A Mixed-Methods Research *

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ABSTRACT

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Purpose: This study aims to evaluate the views of teachers, foreign and Turkish students, and their parents regarding students' common experiences and future expectations in schools in Turkey. **Method:** Using mixed-methods research in line with this aim, qualitative data were collected in 2019 from 26 students from different school types in Istanbul's Pendik District and their parents; qualitative data were collected from 535 teachers using the Attitudes Toward Foreigners Scale and a semi-structured in-depth interview form.

Findings: The findings obtained from the interviews in the research's qualitative phase were analyzed under four thematic headings: (1) View Toward Foreigners, (2) Prejudices, (3) Future Plans and Expectations, and (4) Concerns. The evaluations show Turkish students' and parents' negative views toward foreigners. The research's quantitative phase found teachers to generally have similar negative attitudes toward foreigners. **Implications for Research and Practice:** All these data show the need to provide appropriate conditions for contact through competent authorities by bringing Turkish and foreign students together in equal status, especially in schools, to reduce prejudice and discrimination.

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Introduction

Many studies report hostile approaches to foreigners to often reach racist levels and exist in many places in the world (Aoki & Santiago, 2018; Demintseva, 2018; Evans & Liu, 2018; Oberdabernig & Schneebaum, 2016; Rodríguez-Izquierdo & Darmody, 2017; Sakka, 2009; Wrench et al., 2017). Studies performed on racism/discrimination have rapidly increased in number since the 20th century. In the early 1900s, intense migration movements in America from the rural South to industrialized North led the Chicago School to perform studies on this issue. Burgess (1925) attempted to explain the migration movement in Chicago from this point by integrating McKenzie's ideas with the ecological balance from Darwin's theory of evolution. Living creatures that must live in the same place in a mutually dependent relationship struggle with one another; every living creature within the ecological balance that forms as a result of this struggle acquires its earned place. The Chicago School representatives viewed modern cities as an ecosystem/organism that balances the city in the long run. Afterward, to find the source of intergroup conflicts, Alport's (1954) studies on the nature of prejudices and Sherif's (1956) famous Robbers Cave Experiment focused on how to eliminate this state of conflict.

Hostile approaches toward foreigners evolved over time to emerge at the level of prejudice and discrimination/racism through the physical behavior stage. Therefore, to understand how dangerous discrimination can be, the concepts of prejudice, stereotyping, and stigmatization should first be understood.

Prejudices are defined as prejudgments whose object is considered the attitudes a social group forms (Hogg & Vaughan, 2017, p. 359); they can be positive or negative and expressed in any way, from mild displeasure to a total sense of spite (Macionis, 2017, p. 360). From this perspective, prejudiced people assess those with other individual characteristics basically as members of a group (Taylor et al., 2015, p. 182) and develop negative attitudes toward people in the group only because of the group they belong to (Kagiticbasi & Cemalcilar, 2014, p. 148).

For prejudice, the point needing consideration is that this judgment, exhibited early in prejudiced individuals, usually emerges without any direct encounter with that person/group/object (Kirel et al., 2013, p. 53); preconceived views are often based completely on speculation without direct evidence and resist change even if new information emerges (Giddens, 2013, p. 538). Prejudiced individuals tend to insult/ignore (ethnocentrism) communities from other cultures because they only approve of their own culture/lifestyle (Schaefer, 2008, p. 271). The literature finds many studies conducted on gender (Dedeoglu, 2009; Suher & Ispir, 2008; Simsek, 2010), ethnicity (Sagiroglu, 2014; Saracoglu, 2009), age (Coban et al., 2019; Muftuler, 2018), political views (Dudu, 2015; Maral, 2012), religious beliefs (Durmaz, 2015), sexual orientation (Guner, 2015; Sakalli-Ugurlu & Ugurlu, 2004), and peculiar prejudices toward interest/professional groups (Demir, 2011; Nemlioglu Koca, 2015). Studies show most prejudices to actually be expressed in a subtle, often not easily noticed, form. Research reveals gender, race, and age prejudices to be more common than others (Mackie et al., 1996, pp. 41-43).

The first stage in prejudice formation is categorizing to simplify the world. Social categorization, realizable in many ways (e.g., gender, race, nationality, religion, age, occupation), is the basic process of perceiving the social world. This process includes creating stereotypes (i.e., cognitive basis of prejudices; Kirel et al., 2013, p. 60). These negative stereotypes are the most important basis in keeping minority groups disadvantaged.

The flesh and bones covering prejudicial states often appear in stigmas. The aim of prejudice/discrimination is to stigmatize group members. Stigmatizing is a negative classification emerging from interactions/exchanges between individuals/groups. Thus, it has the power to classify one as possessing “something” that others consider as socially undesirable characteristics/behaviors. Goffman (as cited in Thorpe et al., 2015, p. 194) stated any quality/action is potentially stigmatizing and therefore presented stigmatizations to occur in nearly all social relations; anyone can be stigmatized at certain times. Society believes the stigmatized individual should not be substituted for humans. Based on this, discriminatory behaviors –conscious or not– are exhibited in many cases that make the stigmatized person’s life difficult (Goffman, 2018, pp. 31–32). Research shows stigmatization hinders academic performance, shapes class environment and student-teacher relations, and causes lower intrinsic motivation and higher academic stress (Gillen-O’Neel et al., 2011; Guyll et al., 2010; Zirkel, 2005).

Closely related to prejudices and stereotypes emerging toward groups, another concept with very tight interconnections is discrimination. Theoretically, “Stereotypes are cognitive, prejudices are emotional, and discrimination is behavioral” (Taylor et al., 2015, p. 179). Prejudice means attitudes, while discrimination is action. Like prejudice, discrimination can be positive (providing special advantages) or negative (creating obstacles) and range from indistinct to extreme (Macionis, 2017, p. 365). Discrimination means acting negatively toward a member(s) of a group only due to possessing negative attitudes toward that group. Discrimination examples are behaviors like not hiring a black just because they are black, harassing a foreigner just because they are foreign, and making difficulty in public offices for people with low socioeconomic status (Kagıtcıbası & Cemalcılar, 2014, p. 148). If prejudice defines attitudes and views, discrimination refers to actual behavior toward another group/individual (Giddens, 2013, p. 539). People do not just encounter discrimination one-on-one; it also appears in social institutions’ daily practices. Therefore, social scientists are particularly interested in how structural factors (employment, housing, healthcare, government policies) preserve the social importance of race/ethnicity (Schaefer, 2008, p. 274). Permanent solutions to problems sourcing from discrimination can only be found by tracing its origins. Denying rights to ethnic, religious, or other identity is an element of discrimination (Ataov, 1996, p. 79).

Much research has occurred on strategies for coping with discrimination in the USA and European countries with better economic development that millions of people encounter who have migrated there for their share of economic prosperity (Bielby & Baron, 1986; Borrell et al., 2010; Guyll et al., 2001; Harris et al., 2006; Lentin, 2008; Noh et al., 2007; Pager & Shepherd, 2008; Pettigrew, 1998; Price & Wolfers, 2010;

Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007; Verloo, 2006; Williams et al., 2003). Turkey also has this situation from its geographic intersection with many cultures. Aside from migrations for marriage, education, and economic reasons, foreigners in Turkey have increased recently through migrations due to internal unrest in their countries. According to data from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2011), Turkey was not among the top 10 countries hosting the most asylum seekers worldwide when the civil wars started but ranked first by 2014's end. The top three countries (Turkey, Pakistan, Lebanon) host 30% of the world's refugees (UNHRC, 2014). This situation also forces public institutions to take new positions against the formed demographics. With foreigners' prolonged, forced residence in the country, significant problems will obviously arise, children's education being at the top. For these reasons, this study mainly aims to reveal discriminatory behaviors foreign students in public schools suffer and parents' future expectations, to reveal whether Turkish students perceive foreigners as a threat to their future expectations by determining Turkish students' and parents' views, and to examine whether Turkish students/parents' perceptions discriminate against foreigners' based on nationality. Teachers' opinions on discrimination toward foreigners have also been included.

Method

Research Design

This study was conducted using mixed-methods research with quantitative and qualitative methods. Mixed-methods research enables minimizing the limitations of qualitative and quantitative research's individual weak aspects, revealing different world views and presenting researchers with new learning opportunities (Brannen, 2010; Creswell, 2014; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2015; Doyle et al., 2009). Figure 1 provides the mixed-methods model the research uses.



Figure 1. *Sequential Explanatory Method (Terrell, 2012).*

As shown in Figure 1, the sequential explanatory method is used, which was conducted as follows: After collecting/analyzing the qualitative data, quantitative data are collected/analyzed. The research data are combined in the Discussion and Conclusions. This mixed research benefits from the phenomenological design in the qualitative process and the survey model in the quantitative process.

The qualitative phase of the research was carried out using the phenomenological design. Phenomenological research designs focus on phenomena of which we are aware but have no in-depth/detailed understanding. Phenomenology mainly

purposes to reduce individual experiences regarding a phenomenon to a universal explanation (Creswell, 2013).

The quantitative phase was conducted using the survey design, which involves studies aimed to collect data to identify a group's specific characteristics. Answers are generally tabulated as frequencies/percentages that provide researchers with an advantage in terms of presenting much information from a sample of many people (Buyukozturk et al., 2011, pp. 16-17).

Study Group

Participants in the research's qualitative stage were selected using maximum diversity sampling, a purposeful sampling type suitable for selecting unique case samples that were particularly informative (Neuman, 2016). Maximum diversity sampling aims to capture/identify the central themes causing many changes regarding the event/phenomenon (Patton, 2002). In-depth interviews were performed with 26 students studying at universities and various types of high schools to determine the discrimination practices foreign students experienced in school and the future expectations they dream of obtaining through education. In-depth interviews were next conducted with 20 students' (10 Turkish, 10 foreign) parents to determine their concerns about children's future expectations. Participants were selected from foreign/Turkish students studying in Istanbul's Pendik District in 2019 and these students' parents. The university-level participants were from various Istanbul universities.

The research interviews foreign high school/university students from various countries (Kinjuang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China, Syria, Mongolia, Algeria, Egypt, North Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Albania, and Kazakhstan) and parents who'd come to Turkey from various countries (Romania, Moldova, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Russia, Austria, Syria, Afghanistan, Ukraine, and Egypt) with children in public schools. In-depth interviews expressing certain characteristics for all interviewed participants were coded for use in the research. Sample codes were as follows:

Turkish student, Gender, Grade = TSFU (Turkish Student, Female, University)

Foreign parent, Gender, Age = FPM48 (Foreign parent, Male, 48 years old)

The research's quantitative section used stratified sampling to determine the sample, aiming to identify sub-groups of the universe and represent them proportionally (Buyukozturk et al., 2011, p. 85). Thus the Pendik schools were separated into six layers (Primary, middle, Imam Hatip Middle, Imam Hatip High, Vocational High, and Anatolian High schools); five schools were chosen from each type through simple random sampling. The researcher formed the Attitudes toward Foreigners Scale and applied it to 535 Pendik school teachers chosen through random sampling.

Table 1*Frequency/Percentage for Teacher Sample Group's Demographics*

Variables	Groups	f	%
Gender	Female	321	60.0
	Male	214	40.0
School type	Primary	129	24.1
	Middle	105	19.6
	Imam Hatip Middle	66	12.3
	Anatolian High	83	15.5
	Imam Hatip High	59	11.0
	Vocational High	93	17.4
Total		535	100

As Table 1 shows, 321 teacher participants in the study group were female (60%) and 214 were male (40%). Of the participant teachers, 129 worked in primary schools (24.1%), 105 in middle (19.6%), 66 in Imam Hatip Middle (12.3%), 83 in Anatolian High (15.5%), 59 in Imam Hatip High (11.0%), and 93 in vocational high (17.4%) schools.

The quantitative research phase randomly selects the teachers in the sample considered to represent the universe and applies the 18-item Attitude toward Foreigners Scale. The 18-item, 10-factor scale explains 51.863% of the total variance. The scale's Cronbach's alpha is calculated as .962 (Yağın & Aksit, 2019).

Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis

Before beginning the interviews, the interview framework forms were prepared individually. Aside from the in-depth interview number and interviewees' demographic characteristics, this form served as a guide in each interview with questions from the subject headings/sub-topics. The researcher examined the answers to the open-ended questions included in the semi-structured interview form, discussed the topics' consensus/disagreement, and made the necessary alterations. The key points/views identified from the collected data were assigned codes. Coding is the process of analyzing by separating to see that meaning comes from the data obtained in the qualitative research before combining them meaningfully. The researcher obtains different findings for the themes through coding (Creswell, 2017, p. 156). It is essential that codes and themes are named based on the interview texts (Creswell, 2013). In this research, code and theme naming were created based on the interview records and presented to the approval of two expert academicians who had studies in this field. The codes were grouped under similar concepts (categories) to relate them more meaningfully to the problem and research case. These stages were performed using NVivo 12.

Results

The research findings were examined under two headings: Quantitative Findings and Qualitative Findings.

Quantitative Findings

The frequencies/percentages for teachers' answers to the scale are given in Table 2.

Table 2

Frequency and Percentage Distributions of Teachers' Responses Given to the Scale Items

Items No	Item	Completely Agree		Agree		Do Not Have Opinion		Disagree		Completely Disagree	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	The presence of foreigners in my country makes me uncomfortable.	94	17.6	187	35.0	31	5.8	161	30.1	62	11.6
2	I think that the increase in the number of foreigners increases the problems in my country.	155	19.0	251	46.9	31	5.8	72	13.5	26	4.9
3	I want foreigners to be taken out of my country as soon as possible.	79	14.8	139	26.0	96	17.9	159	29.7	62	11.6
4	I sometimes feel like a second-class citizen in my country concerning the services and opportunities offered to foreigners.	114	21.3	173	32.3	43	8.0	138	25.8	67	12.5
5	The increase in the number of foreigners affects our lifestyle negatively.	113	21.1	228	42.6	54	10.1	108	20.2	32	6.0
6	I presume that foreigners will cause much bigger problems in the future.	176	32.9	185	34.6	71	13.3	84	15.7	19	3.6
7	Foreigners disturb the peaceful atmosphere in my country.	89	16.6	211	39.4	75	14.0	138	25.8	22	4.1
8	Foreigners destroy the Turkish family structure.	65	12.1	144	26.9	116	21.7	173	32.3	37	6.9
9	I am uncomfortable with the improvement of the socio-economic conditions of foreigners.	59	11.0	117	21.9	89	16.6	206	38.5	64	12.0
10	The increase in the number of foreigners poses a danger to the future of my children.	106	19.8	194	36.3	83	15.5	118	22.1	34	6.4

Table 2 Continue

Items No	Item	Completely Agree		Agree		Do Not Have Opinion		Disagree		Completely Disagree	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
11	I think the opportunities provided for foreigners are too much.	116	21.7	193	36.1	94	17.6	109	20.4	23	4.3
12	Foreigners cause infectious diseases in my country to increase.	112	20.9	162	30.3	159	29.7	80	15.0	22	4.1
13	Foreigners cause security incidents (e.g., theft, smuggling and prostitution) in my country to increase.	113	21.1	222	41.5	104	19.4	81	15.1	15	2.8
14	Foreigners should be kept in certain areas or camps and should not be allowed to interact with the local community.	112	20.9	122	22.8	94	17.6	155	29.0	52	9.7
15	The increase in the number of foreigners poses a severe threat to the integrity of my country in the future.	150	28.0	173	32.3	74	13.8	114	21.3	24	4.5
16	I would be uncomfortable with the foreigners being naturalized.	173	32.3	177	33.1	66	12.3	97	18.1	22	4.1
17	I think that the foreigners in my country enrich our lifestyle.	95	17.8	183	34.2	107	20.0	121	22.6	29	5.4
18	I can dream of a common future in harmony with foreigners in my country.	116	21.7	176	32.9	125	23.4	87	16.3	31	5.8
Average		111	20.8	181	33.7	85	15.9	122	22.8	36	6.8

As shown in Table 2, over 50% of the teacher participants stated being uneasy about the presence of foreigners; two-thirds believe the increased number of foreigners to have increased the country's problems. Teachers see the presence of foreigners in the country as the main source of problems. Two-thirds of the teachers believe the presence of foreigners will cause much bigger problems in the future. This situation may show teachers perceive the presence of foreigners as a threat to the future. Over half the participant teachers declared perceiving the presence of foreigners as a threat concerning their children's future and to be unable to dream of a common future in harmony with foreigners. Based on these findings, public school teachers can be generally said to have negative attitudes toward foreigners.

Table 3 provides the results from the independent groups t-test made for determining whether teachers' attitudes toward foreigners show significant differences according to gender.

Table 3

The t-Test Results for Scores from the Attitudes toward Foreigners Scale according to Gender

Variable	Group	n	M	SD	t	df	p
Gender	Female	321	2.49	.90	-3.27	533	.001
	Male	214	2.76	.95			

* $p < 0.05$

When examining Table 3, teachers' attitudes toward foreigners appear to show a statistically significant difference concerning gender ($t_{(771)} = 3.27$; $p < .01$). Female teachers' attitudes toward foreigners ($\chi = 2.49$) were more negative than male teachers' ($\chi = 2.76$).

Table 4 provides one-way variance (ANOVA) analysis results for determining whether teachers' attitudes toward foreigners differ according to school type.

Table 4

ANOVA Results of Scores from the Attitudes toward Foreigners Scale according to School Type

School Type	n	χ	SD	Variance Source	KT	df	Mean Square	F	p	Diff.
A-Primary School	129	2.60	.88	b/n group	10,895.8	5	2,179.1	8.17	.000	A > B C > A, B, D, F E > B, F F > B
B-Middle School	105	2.25	.88	w/in group	141,003.4	529	266.5			
C-İmam Hatip MS	66	3.08	.84	Total	151,899.3	534				
D-Anatolian HS	83	2.44	.97							
E-İmam Hatip HS	59	2.86	1.00							
F- Vocational HS	93	2.62	.87							
Total	535	2.60	.93							

* $p < 0.05$; HS = High School; MS = Middle School

When examining Table 4, teachers' attitudes toward foreigners show a significant statistical difference according to school type ($F = 8.17$; $p < .001$). Primary school teachers' attitudes toward foreigners ($\chi = 2.60$) were more positive than middle school teachers' ($\chi = 2.25$); Imam Hatip Middle School teachers' attitudes toward foreigners ($\chi = 3.08$) were more positive than primary school teachers' ($\chi = 2.60$), middle school teachers' ($\chi = 2.25$), Anatolian High School teachers' ($\chi = 2.44$), and vocational high school teachers' ($\chi = 2.62$); Imam Hatip High School teachers' attitudes toward foreigners ($\chi = 2.86$) are more positive than middle school teachers ($\chi = 2.25$) and

vocational high school teachers' ($\chi = 2.62$); and vocational high school attitudes toward foreigners ($\chi = 2.62$) were more positive than middle school teachers' ($\chi = 2.25$).

Qualitative Findings

This section focuses on the analysis of the data gathered from the participants interviewed in-depth about the research topic; their views on foreigners are grouped under the headings: Perspective on Foreigners, Prejudices, Future Plans and Expectations, and Concerns. Determining the overlapping/coinciding points is attempted by placing the ideas from the four different groups under the same headings as much as possible regarding the themes and sub-themes addressed while making the evaluations.

Findings regarding Views toward Foreigners

The findings related to Views toward Foreigners were analyzed under the sub-themes of Reason for Being in Turkey, Experiences, Local People's Attitudes, and School's/Teachers' Attitudes by assessing the data collected from the participants.

Reason for being in Turkey

The majority of interviewed foreign students and parents stated coming for the purpose of "Studying under much better conditions in Turkey than in their countries and being able to receive religious education that they think they can't receive in their countries due to restrictions."

Turkey has many more freedoms. Yes, Egypt now has religious education, but the police and intelligence are constantly watching you. Things tightened up, particularly after Sisi. **(FPM43)**

I came here because I couldn't fully get a religious education in Kazakhstan; we don't have Arabic or Qur'anic lessons. There's also a headscarf problem. **(FSFH)**

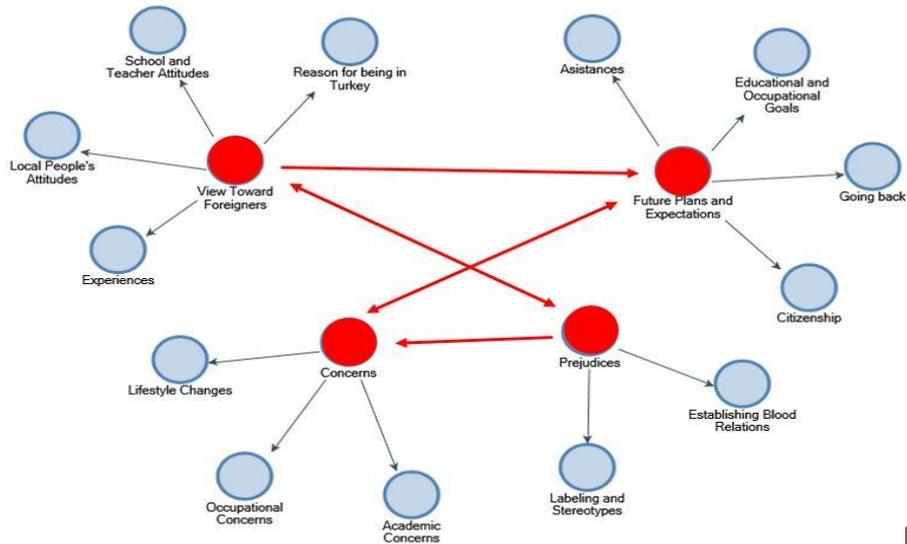


Figure 2. Qualitative Research Theme and Sub-Themes

Experiences

A significant portion of the interviewed Turkish parents stated experiencing no negative events regarding foreigners; on the contrary, they said the foreigners they or their relatives communicated with exhibited positive attitudes and behaviors. Those who stated having negative experiences with foreigners encountered behaviors, such as *making rude remarks, making areas crowded, behaving disrespectfully, and begging.*

It happened to me in the past. We went out in the evening. There I was, next to my daughter, so she wouldn't walk alone. He made a pass at my daughter, those paper/cardboard gatherers, humph (frowning nervously). (TPF43)

I went for a walk and met two Syrians. They asked about an address. One more or less knew Turkish. When I said, "I can help you, ask with Turkish words," the other Syrian said to me, "You learn Arabic, get used to it anymore." This really surprised me, dealing with such an approach in my own country. (TPM47)

Local People's Attitudes

The interviewed Turkish parents and students stated many opportunities had been provided to people, especially those from Syria, in both the eyes of the people and government. The foreign parents and students in Turkey appear uncomfortable about the presence of Syrians in Turkey and their access to these opportunities.

Uh I really don't think very good on that issue. As I just said, I was doing business on the European side, and there were many more Syrians there. Namely, I think they disrupt Turkey by coming, in the streets and roads like that, I don't like it very much. (FPF45)

The interviews with foreign parents and students showed they considered the rapid increase in the number of Syrians in Turkey to have a particularly negative impact on people's perceptions toward all foreigners.

School and Teacher Attitudes

The interviewed Turkish high school students mentioned about the foreign students studying in their schools that they were purposefully *favored* and constantly having positive *separate treatment*.

...One time, there was a theft and similar incident at school. They entered the class and stole a large amount of money after one of the Anatolian classes. The two people supported one another, and they were never disciplined. Yeah, they hid their identity; no one knows already. Or, when going on a trip, for example, they go first, we go last. Like now, I'm a senior and there're university trips; they take them first traveling to beautiful places and toss us to more secondary plans. (TSFH)

Findings regarding Prejudices

By assessing the participants' data, findings related to Prejudices are examined under the sub-themes of Stereotyping-Labeling and Establishing Blood Relations.

Stereotyping-Labeling

The interviewed participants used many prejudiced statements toward Syrians and stereotyped them. The participants often labeled Syrians as *dirty, smelly, thieves, rude, narrow-minded, primitive, uncivilized, and derogatory toward women*.

Okay, let the educated people come and work, but everyone came, there's thievery, everything. Just like that, but I don't go out on the street, I don't steal, I don't do anything bad to people (Her voice trembles; clearly, she is uneasy with this). So, live and let live. One man and three women, like, I don't understand this, so much is happening. They don't know it. I mean, I'm a foreigner, they're also foreign; I came, and they came too. (FPF40)

The people I've seen are the unemployed, disrespectful, rude type. So, of course, most of them are not only a danger for my child but also for all Turks. (FPF45)

There's the general perception of the Arab group of a Bedouin lifestyle; their views are a little narrower, more primitive. But the European group doesn't generalize them; I think they are more understanding. (TSFH)

Establishing Blood Relations

The interviewed participants appear to have different views regarding establishing blood relations through marriage. Almost all the foreign students studying in both high school and university stated not looking warmly upon marrying Turks and preferring to marry someone from their country.

There's no marrying someone different in our culture; however, if we can't find it from our own, we'll do it. This shows us it's as if our girls look down on us. This is so wrong. **(FSMU)**

The Turkish students' thoughts on establishing blood ties through marriage appeared quite different from those of the foreign students. These Turkish students look warmly upon marrying a foreigner from the European continent or Turkish Republics; they were only completely against marrying a foreigner with Arabian roots.

I suppose, I mean I look as I normally do when I look at those with Turkish roots. Things start to get a little negative when I come across those with Arab origins. **(TSMH)**

Well, it's possible. Especially with those from Europe or America, even from the Far East, but I don't want someone from the Middle East. **(TSMH)**

Findings regarding Future Plans and Expectations

Findings regarding Future Plans and Expectations were examined under the sub-themes of Going Back, Citizenship, Assistance, and Academic/Occupational Goals while assessing the participants' data.

Going Back

All foreign parents wanted permanent citizenship rights because they were thinking of staying in Turkey. They stated being able to obtain citizenship would make them quite comfortable, especially in overcoming difficulties in the area of work and enjoying social rights met by the state, such as health. The fear of being deported was particularly noteworthy as a major discomfort foreign parents expressed.

Yes, there are a lot. I'm having a hard time, especially for my child's residence permit. I have until the 17th of this month to extend the permit. That's 1600 lira, 1600 each year for each of the four of us. If I want to stay here, I have to work for it. Oh, I want so much. **(FPF36)**

I make a lot of effort. To become a Turkish citizen, I will give to my children a protection, insurance, connection to the country, documentation. Whoever helps, I will go to be able to get it. **(FPF37)**

Citizenship

Despite the foreign parents' citizenship requests, the interviewed Turks oppose foreigners obtaining citizenship. The main arguments they put forth were *being crowded, adaptation problems, cultural differences, crime susceptibility, and property issues*.

They will stay or (an unpleasant expression appears on her face). I don't want it because the nation is very crowded; so if their countries they will maintain, the lives they will live, are in order, really, let them go. We already don't fit, we're very crowded, and our own people can't do it. **(TPF36)**

Citizenship should not be given. Look, I am Circassian, my grandparents migrated from the Caucasus, but we integrated. We went from Turk to being very Turkish. We've added culture positively to the culture. But if they will increase the crime rate and take us to a negative, they should go. Humans all around the world should be treated as humans, but if they leave their humanity, what is necessary should be done. **(TPF39)**

Academic/Occupational Goals

The vast majority of foreign parents stated wanting their children to finish their education in Turkey. Foreign parents expressed their hopes that related to obtaining a profession, their children's choices would be shaped around entering Turkey's workforce.

May my children study here, go to high school here, work here, do everything here; I want that they may stay here and not go. **(FPF36)**

The vast majority of foreign students stated wanting to receive education in Turkey because the quality here was much better than in their countries. Both the interviewed high school and university students stated their first choice on entering professional life after graduating would be to return to their country. If they encounter a situation, such as not being able to return due to various negative situations in their countries; however, they expressed not looking for other alternatives and being able to settle in Turkey to obtain a profession.

God willing I will continue my education. You know, after graduating from this university, I will move on to my master's and doctorate. After that, there are also departments I want like this. Psychology, for example, I will study as much as I am able to do this with my hands. **(FSFU)**

Assistances

Regarding social assistance made for foreigners, the interviewed Turkish parents and students think and feel uncomfortable about foreigners, especially Syrians, being offered much more. The participants expressed their discomfort in the context of

receiving income without working, equal treatment for all foreigners, equal benefit from health and social assistance, and education/work opportunities.

They should assess the blessings bestowed on them and not emphasize insolence. They should be Turkish like us. Did they go to the hospital? Waiting in the Turkish line, they are insolent and cut in line. This happens too much, and it bothers me. It will be equal, so we are not to the side since they have been oppressed, but it will be equal. **(TPF39)**

So, although they don't think it's being done too much, particularly on the point of social assistance, they are, in fact, given much more support than our own citizens. **(TPM47)**

Findings regarding Concerns

Findings regarding Concerns were examined under the sub-themes of Lifestyle Changes, Academic Concerns, and Professional Concerns by assessing the participants' data.

Lifestyle Changes

Remarkably, Turkish parents expressed Turkish family lifestyle to have started deteriorating in parallel with the increased number of foreigners. The participants stated fearing the *Turkish lifestyle becoming increasingly Arabic and thinking that Turks' lifestyle resembled foreigners* while foreigners should adapt to their lifestyle. Turk parents feel particularly uncomfortable about the *change in child-parent relations within the family and attitudes regarding marriage.*

There is a cultural difference. The problem relates to how much they adapt. How much are they adapting? I'm not very sure of that. Sometimes, it feels like we are coming to resemble them more. It bothers me a little. To me, it seems like we are sliding to the east instead of the west. I am uncomfortable with how our society is becoming Arabic. **(TPF39)**

Academic Concerns

The Turkish parents thought that not managing the rapid increase in foreigners in a planned manner will trigger fundamental problems like increasing the number of students in already crowded public schools. They remarkably expressed the fear that issues like this might decrease their children's academic success. The points the participants emphasized the most are *crowded classes, language issues, cultural differences, and test anxiety.*

I also have many reservations. The first is school overcrowded. How do I know, I know because I experience it. Many children from Syria study with Begüm. **(TPF39)**

I see it as an obstacle to academic success. I see it as an obstacle with other Turkish children. Therefore it will impact, definitely impact the academic success of my children. **(TPM50)**

The discomfort high school and university students mentioned regarding foreign students sources from the fear of being treated unfairly and unequally in classes, especially in the university entrance exams.

My older sister's university also has foreign students. They can stay in semesters for much longer, for example. She says some of her friends have been in their first class for four years. This is quite a strange thing for me. **(TSFH)**

Foreign students in Turkey are more fortunate than Turkish students. Opportunities, options, maybe scholarships come easier. They say they came to Turkey because it's much more comfortable than their country, for example. If we were to mention equality in education, whether we are a foreigner or from here, we want to have the same conditions. **(TSMU)**

The topic Turkish students emphasized most and expressed being uncomfortable about is the separate and easier university entrance exam made for foreign students. The students stated this to be a great injustice and to be quite bothered by it.

Now frankly, I'm somewhat bothered about this. For example, I had a problem with this when preparing for university. Namely, I was quite angry when I learned that foreign students have the right to enter the same universities as us with a much simpler exam, while we have to study day and night to be able to enter the university. **(TSMU)**

Meanwhile, the foreign students were also asked their opinions on this topic. Most foreign students stated finding Turkish students' concerns about the university entrance exams to be justified and that they would feel unfairly treated if they encountered such a situation in their country.

I'd think so too if I were in their place. This is advantageous to us because we wouldn't get in if we took the same exam. So Turks are really well-prepared for the university exam. On the one hand, they are right to think our exam is easier because they don't know it very closely. **(FSFH)**

Occupational Concerns

The Turkish students mostly perceive foreigners in the country as a threat in terms of planning their career to obtain a profession after graduating.

So, as I already said, I'd been angry because they place more easily into universities; now, if they interfered in my field of work, that would be a great injustice to us. If there were an obstacle to doing business after graduation, of course, I'd see them as a threat to the future. **(TSMU)**

Because the opportunities are already decreasing more in a country where all of us experience unemployment and problems finding work after university, I see no justification for giving more varied opportunities to people from another country. (TSMU)

Turkish parents, as well as Turkish students, see foreigners in the country as a threat to the students' future. When considering economic status and the problem of unemployment, Turkish parents did not want to share the currently limited opportunities with foreigners.

Isn't it a threat to you? It is to me. Why are they accepted as doctors and civil servants? Our children are up to their necks, aren't they? Our children are studying for a while under difficult conditions. So why should these kids get work, why should work go to a man from Syria (She's getting angry and her voice is getting louder). (TPF39)

Here if I get someone to work at home, it's a Syrian, or Afghani or Romanian. So I think they're all a threat. As if I would be happier if I could live like this within myself, for my life, and for my children's lives. (TPF38)

Discussion, Conclusion and Recommendations

The number of foreigners in Turkey is increasing rapidly. It is obvious that there will also be an increase in the number of multicultural classes in our schools. This situation has the potential to bring along adaptation problems experienced for many years, especially in Europe and America. At this point, schools have great responsibilities to overcome the adaptation processes easily. Attitudes of Turkish students and parents to foreign students are important. However, the attitudes of teachers, who play a primary role in the planning and implementation stages of educational institutions, on this issue will be among the most important factors affecting the success. This research stage comparatively presents the results reached from the data collected from the various participant groups.

Turkish students studying at the same school as foreign students stated trying to establish closer relations in the first years of school; however, they were unable to receive a similar response over time to their efforts from the other side. This situation shows the students diverged rather than merge as expected over time. The students stated school administrators to have made no effort at enabling this merging; on the contrary, they restricted spaces where Turkish and foreign students come together. Another issue Turkish students, in particular, complained about is foreign students being favored by school administrators (e.g., grades and disciplinary topics). Students who feel disadvantaged toward foreign students because of the YÖS (Yabancı Öğrenci Sınavı [Foreign Student Exam] for placing foreign students in university) considered these disadvantages to continue in the in-school practices; this also caused them to increase their negative attitudes toward foreign students.

When asked about establishing blood relations through marriage, Turkish students and parents stated in the first phase to generally not consider marriage with someone from a different culture. Afterward, however, they stated being able to consider marrying someone from the Turkish Republics or Balkan/European countries but not someone of Arabic descent. This reveals their views toward foreigners to vary concerning the foreigner's nation. The stigmatizing from a significant portion of the interviewed participants who stated "They are uncivilized" or "Arabs don't value women" as reasons for not marrying Arab-descended foreigners is a most striking example of prejudice on this issue. When handled in this context, the Turkish parents' statements on the lifestyle and Turkish society changes becoming increasingly Arabic with the increase of Arabic-descended foreigners in Turkey in recent years are remarkable. Most teachers in this research think similarly to local people; 63% of teachers stated the increased number of foreigners had a negative impact on their lifestyles. This increased negative perception accompanied by the various labeling of foreigners caused stigmatizations.

In the context of this research, the participants confessed having prejudices regarding foreigners. They stated the most significant source of their prejudices was social media. Importantly, the many labels they used for foreigners (e.g., dirty, thief, primitive, rude, uncivilized, ignorant) had not originated from personal encounters but entirely from publications spread in communication outlets. Many studies performed in Turkey and abroad related to foreigners reveal the stigmatization/otherization of foreigners to result from local people's conceptualization of "us" and "them" due to gaits, work styles, skin color, language, clothing, and customs (Aksit et al., 2015; Demintseva, 2018; Dong, 2018; McLaren, 2003; Mete, 2018; Unal, 2014; Yagan, 2020). Based on these findings, publication outlets and social media are the most obvious sources of negative attitudes toward foreigners.

The foreigners stated feeling uncomfortable by local people's assumptions that they are Syrian; this perception caused them many problems in their daily lives. The main reasons for this negative perception are public institutions' more tolerant behavior toward Syrians both in the local community and among foreigners, and the services/assistance state-run organizations distribute unevenly in favor of Syrians. In addition, over half the teachers in the quantitative study think that, similar to the parents, the opportunities provided to foreigners were too much. The more merciful attitudes Turkish people had at the start for foreigners hardened with time through the impact of negative publications in mass media outlets. Yagmurlu's (2018) study revealed local people's attitudes toward Pakistanis to be much more positive than Syrians. So much so that even Syrians who display exemplary behavior are excluded by locals. Negative attitudes toward Syrians also begin to form with time in other foreigners living in the country. The people in Turkey who are forced to live in difficult circumstances economically have strong convictions about the assistance coming from the European Union and United Nations being quite insufficient next to the money the state spends on foreigners, and this aid is given mostly to Syrians (Ozen, 2016; Rozsypalova, 2018). Although state officials occasionally publish about this being

untrue, posts made particularly on social media cause people to exhibit negative attitudes.

Although the participants stated their tolerance for foreigners had decreased, foreigners' most significant demands are obtaining the right of citizenship. All interviewed adult foreigners expressed having dreams of a future here and did not consider leaving Turkey or returning to their country. Thus, they stated wanting to obtain citizenship first to feel more comfortable both at work and in their social lives. Cavus's (2019) research determined 83% of Syrians want citizenship. This will be one of the most challenging issues for policymakers because, despite foreigners' demands, the interviewed Turkish citizens' most significant concerns/objections about foreigners is the issue of giving them citizenship. Local peoples' negative attitude against giving foreigners citizenship is also seen in the teachers. Two-thirds of the teachers stated being uncomfortable giving citizenship to foreigners. Like some Turkish parents in the research, teachers consider the seriously increased number of people, especially those belonging to a certain ethnic group, to lead to political demands in the future, and this is a danger for the country's integrity. The participants were generally stuck in a conscientious dilemma during the interviews. While expressing their views on many issues, they stated feeling particularly uneasy about children and women migrants' status and that the government needs to assist them. In this context, teachers are also stuck on the fence regarding the need to remove all foreigners from the country. While half the teachers stated the foreigners in the country need to be removed as soon as possible, the other half stated the opposite. Despite this, the same participants who are very worried about citizenship and their children's academic/occupational goals and future plans have much tougher objections toward foreigners.

The issues where Turkish people and foreigners are expected to have the highest conflict of opinions/expectations are about children's academic/occupational expectations of the future. The Turkish parents stated feeling uncomfortable about foreigners' increased activities within economic life. When considering the economic prosperity is not too high, Turks can be said to not want more partners in their limited resources. Similar to this research's results, other studies revealed locals gradually perceive foreigners as cheap labor and foreigners' participation in the workforce as leading to lower wages. Additionally, rents increase, and locals assess foreigners as the main reason for increased unemployment and public security incidents (Aksit et al., 2015; Assida, 2016; Gunes, 2013; Nurdogan et al., 2016; Ozkarsli, 2014). The quantitative part of the research with teachers showed 50% of teachers to be unbothered by foreigners' increased economic/social statuses in Turkey. Teachers think more positively about this issue than locals' views.

People think receiving a good education is an important prerequisite for being able to have a profession. Thus, the Turkish parents have objections regarding foreigners' education due to it hindering their children from receiving a good education, particularly from placing into higher education institutions. In parallel with the locals' concerns, over half the teachers stated perceiving the increased number of foreign students as a threat in terms of their own children's future. Although teachers stated

that they were not being bothered by foreigners' improved socio-economic levels, teachers also stated perceiving foreigners' statuses as a threat to their own children regarding receiving good education, which is an important contributor to improving socio-economic levels in Turkey. This shows teachers are also conflicted about this. Various studies on this issue also show locals perceive foreigners as a threat, particularly on the issue of their children's education and employment (McCarthy, 2016; McLaren, 2003; Ozkarli, 2014). However, although foreigners in Turkey want to stay in the county, the school children stated wanting the same rights Turkish students obtain through education. Here is where the two groups' expectations most obviously conflict. The Turkish students/parents feel quite bothered by foreign students' privileged exam quotas because entering a good university is already difficult.

Public school teachers' perspectives on foreigners emerged as generally negative. According to Althusser (2014), while the number one ideological state apparatus before capitalism had been religious institutions (i.e., churches), schools took priority over religious institutions in mature capitalist formations. When considering that foreigners, whose numbers increase daily, will not return to their countries in the near future, policymakers also give the greatest duty to the school apparatus regarding enabling foreigners' adaptation to Turkey. While research indicates foreign students have experienced problems adapting to school and have suffered from discrimination (Boru & Boyaci, 2016; Er & Bayindir, 2015; Eren, 2019; Yaylaci et al., 2017), studies are united regarding teachers in these schools to have experienced problems and to need serious training regarding managing multi-cultural classrooms to overcome these problems (Polat, 2009; Saglam & Kanbur, 2017; Sakka, 2009; Seker & Aslan 2015; Ozer et al., 2016). Although relatively fewer, the literature finds studies that determined teachers to have quite positive attitudes about foreigners in school settings (Rengi & Polat, 2014).

The most striking result of this study is female teachers having more negative attitudes toward foreigners than male teachers. This can be interpreted as women approaching this more emotionally as mothers who are much more worried about the future of their children. The wide variety of findings concerning gender on how individuals shape their perspective toward foreigners is remarkable. Just as studies in the literature determined males to have more negative attitudes toward foreigners than women (Ceballos & Yakushko, 2014; Zeisset, 2016), other studies have also determined men to have more positive attitudes toward foreigners than women (Scott & Safdar, 2017). In addition, other research has also determined no significant difference exists concerning gender and attitudes toward foreigners (Yazici et al., 2009). Having different results in the literature regarding gender and attitudes toward foreigners is interpretable as gender alone not being a predictor of these attitudes. Experiences people have as a group can be interpreted as impactful in shaping their attitudes.

Examining teachers' attitudes concerning educational institution type shows teachers from Imam Hatip Middle and High Schools to look the most positively at foreigners. This may relate to fewer academic problems as Syrian students have high

success in courses, such as Arabic and the Qur'an. This is because the literature has consensus on the phenomenon of language as the most important issue regarding foreigners' education and adaptation. Studies on this issue reveal the biggest problem regarding foreigners' education is what happens regarding not knowing the language of the country; many problems are easier to fix by learning the local language (Boru & Boyaci, 2016; Kagnici, 2017; Karaagac, 2018; Tunc, 2015; Yurdakul & Tok, 2018). Celik (2019) revealed Syrians of Turkmen origin experience fewer problems speaking Turkish than Arab-descended Syrians; Ozkarsli (2014) revealed Syrians in the case of Mardin to experience fewer problems because the locals also knew Arabic. Aoki and Santiago (2018) stated that, aside from learning the local language facilitating individuals' education, foreigners who learn the language also have increased fertility rates. Based on their research, foreigners who learn the local language can be said to feel safer. The more positive perspective of Imam Hatip School teachers may be connected to this reason. When considering that many Turkish students in Imam Hatip Schools have difficulty in their Arabic lessons, students with Arabic mother tongues put themselves forth more in class and thus behave with more self-confidence. Arab-descended teachers have begun being employed in Imam Hatip Schools' Arab classes. Despite some researchers (i.e., Akpınar, 2017) having suggested this in their research results, other researchers (i.e., MacCarthy, 2016) contrarily stated hiring foreign teachers in Turkey will increase locals' negative perspectives toward foreigners as Turkish teachers also expect to be assigned. When considering the medical faculty students in our research assessed the recent appointment of foreign doctors in Family Health Centers as something done unfairly against them, employing foreigners in government positions would likely give birth to negative consequences.

Examining the research performed on foreigners in different countries shows similar headings for the problems to appear. Aksoy's (2010) research in Germany, Kilic's (2017) in Sweden, Evans and Liu's (2018) in the UK, Wrench et al.'s (2018) in Australia, and Rodríguez-Izquierdo and Darmody's (2019) in Spain and Ireland have reported that similar problems are experienced and suggestions for solutions are attempted through a variety of frameworks. Despite all the negativities for foreign students, schools are areas of hope. Schools are the most important locales for them to establish contact with locals. Therefore, if clashes among groups who start establishing contact with one another is reduced, inevitably, this area of contact will be schools, as Alport (1954) claimed. Will this contact reduce or increase the perception of threats the locals form? Oberdabernig and Schneebaum (2017) argued that, despite immigrants' low level of education in Europe, this situation changed in the last two generations and the increased level of immigrants' education frightens the local people. Meanwhile, Karaoglu (2015) revealed the empathy levels of those working with immigrants were high, and the perception of threat was low than others. Ritchie and Gaultier (2018) also revealed 13 immigrant students were taken to a dance community in England to be much more easily adaptable to school.

Negative attitudes toward foreigners appear for various reasons. As Hamilton and Gifford (1976) stated in their idea of illusory correlation, locals excessively focus on foreigners' negative behaviors in Turkey. People who cannot possess what they want

economically tend to relate this to the foreigners coming to the country, as stated in scapegoat theory. Meanwhile, individuals who fear losing their current status in the context of "relative deprivation" also look negatively at foreigners with the concern they will trigger this. As both Allport (1954) stated in his contact theory and Sherif (1956) in his realistic conflict theory, the contact locals have with foreign groups needs to be built with the support of authorities such that groups have equal status, common goals are determined, and inter-group cooperation is established. Therefore, immediately starting studies with all the institutions of the Republic of Turkey regarding foreigners' adaptation is necessary for producing effective policies that consider other countries' experiences.

Examining all the findings from this study alongside the related literature shows Turkey to recently be clearly facing the reality of immigration that developed countries like European and North American countries have had to face economically for many years. Developed countries, especially economically, appear unable to finish their internal arguments on integrating immigrants despite the years that have passed; quite different policies have been implemented over the years on this issue. Based on this, Turkey must be noted as being seriously faced with the reality of foreigners coming to the country anymore, albeit for very different reasons. Therefore, for many more years, Turkey will face the problems countries in Europe and America in similar situations have experienced.

Studies can be recommended on eliminating the perception that a certain group of people is favored regarding different applications among foreigners in Turkey, especially regarding health and aid distribution. Additionally, foreign students can take a language proficiency test before being admitted to schools and students who cannot pass the exam can take a language preparation course for at least one year. Adaptation issues can be minimized in these centers by giving training about Turkish culture. Lastly, this research is designed around educational institutions. Therefore, participants are mostly from the education community; mostly education-related issues are examined. Examining different occupations' perceptions toward foreigners will help reveal society's general perspective.

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Bir Arada Yaşayabilir miyiz? Türkiye’de Eğitim Bağlamında Ayrımcılık: Bir Karma Yöntem Araştırması

Atf:

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Özet

Problem Durumu: Özellikle ABD ve Avrupa ülkelerinde ekonomik refahtan pay alabilmek için bu ülkelere göç eden milyonlarca insanın bu ülkelerde karşılaştıkları ayrımcılıkla ve baş edebilme stratejileri ile ilgili çok sayıda araştırma bulunmaktadır (Bielby & Baron, 1986; Borrell, vd., 2010; Guyll, Matthews & Bromberger, 2001; Harris, vd., 2006; Lentin, 2008; Noh, Kaspar & Wickrama, 2007; Pager & Shepherd, 2008; Pettigrew, 1998; Price & Wolfers, 2010; Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007; Verloo, 2006; Williams, Neighbors & Jackson, 2003). Türkiye de coğrafi konumu gereği çok farklı kültürlerin kesişme noktası durumundadır. Evlilik, eğitim ve ekonomik sebepli göçlerin yanına son yıllarda ülkelerindeki iç huzursuzluklardan kaynaklı göç eden yabancılar da eklenince Türkiye’deki yabancı sayısının ciddi oranda artış gösterdiği gözlenmektedir. İç savaşın başladığı 2011 yılı baz alındığında Birleşmiş Milletler Mülteciler Yüksek Komiserliğinin verilerine göre Türkiye dünya genelinde en fazla sığınmacı ağırlayan ilk on ülke arasında yer almıyordu. Ancak 2014 yılı sonu itibarıyla en fazla sığınmacı ağırlayan ülkeler listesinde ilk sıraya yerleşmiştir. Sıralamanın ilk üç ülkesi olan Türkiye, Pakistan ve Lübnan dünyadaki sığınmacı sayısının yüzde otuzunu barındırmaktadırlar (UNHRC Global Trend). Bu durum kamu kurumlarını da oluşturan demografik duruma karşı yeni bir pozisyon almak zorunda bırakmıştır. Ülkedeki yabancıların zorunlu ikamet durumlarının uzamasıyla

birlikte özellikle çocuklarının eğitimi başta olmak üzere önemli sorunların gündeme geleceği de ortadadır.

Araştırmanın Amacı: Bu çalışmanın temel amacı, devlet okullarında eğitim alan yabancı öğrenciler ile ailelerinin uğradıkları ayrımcı davranışları ve gelecek beklentilerini ortaya koymaktır. Bunun yanı sıra Türk öğrencilerin ve velilerinin bu konudaki görüşleri tespit edilmiştir. Yabancı öğrencilerin Türk öğrenci ve velilerin gelecek beklentileri için bir tehdit olarak algılanıp algılanmadıkları ortaya konmaya çalışılmıştır. Yabancıların milliyetlerinin onların Türk öğrenci ve veliler gözündeki algılarında ayırt edici bir unsur olup olmadığı da çalışma kapsamında incelenmiştir. Çalışmada öğretmenlerin yabancılara yönelik ayrımcılık konusundaki görüşlerine de ayrıntılı biçimde yer verilmiştir.

Araştırmanın Yöntemi: Bu çalışma, nicel ve nitel araştırma yöntemlerinin birlikte kullanıldığı karma araştırma yöntemi kullanılarak gerçekleştirilmiştir. Karma araştırma yöntemlerinden “sıralayıcı açıklayıcı yöntem” kullanılmıştır. Sıralı açıklayıcı yöntem şu şekilde yürütülmüştür: (i) Nitel veriler toplanıp analiz edildikten sonra, nicel veriler toplanmış analiz edilmiştir. Araştırma verileri, tartışma ve sonuç bölümünde birleştirilmiştir. Karma yöntem araştırması olarak tasarlanan bu araştırmanın nitel araştırma sürecinde olgubilim (fenomenoloji) deseninden, nicel araştırma sürecinde ise tarama (survey) modelinden yararlanılmıştır. Çalışmanın nicel aşaması tarama desenine göre yürütülmüştür. Tarama araştırması bir grubun belirli özelliklerini tespit etmek için verilerin toplanmasını amaçlayan çalışmalardır.

Öğrencilerin okullarda yaşadıkları ayrımcılık uygulamalarının ve eğitim yoluyla elde etmeyi hayal ettikleri gelecek beklentilerinin tespit edilmesine yönelik olarak üniversitelerde ve farklı türlerdeki liselerde eğitim gören toplam 26 öğrenci ile derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. İkinci olarak ise çocuklarının gelecek beklentileri üzerine kaygılarının belirlenmesine yönelik olarak 10 Türk öğrenci velisi ve 10 yabancı öğrenci velisi olmak üzere toplamda 20 öğrenci velisi ile derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Katılımcılar, 2019 yılında İstanbul İli Pendik İlçesinde öğrenim gören yabancı ve Türk öğrenciler ile yine çocukları devlet okullarında öğrenim gören Türk ve yabancı öğrenci velileri arasından seçilmiştir. Üniversite öğrencisi olan katılımcılar, İstanbul’daki çeşitli üniversitelerin öğrencilerinden oluşmaktadır.

Araştırmada lise ve üniversitelerde eğitim gören farklı ülkelerden (Çin’in Doğu Türkistan Özerk Bölgesi, Suriye, Moğolistan, Cezayir, Mısır, Kuzey Makedonya, Bosna Hersek, Arnavutluk, Kazakistan) yabancı öğrenciler ile görüşülmüştür. Yine farklı ülkelerden (Romanya, Moldova, Özbekistan, Tacikistan, Rusya, Avusturya, Suriye, Afganistan, Ukrayna, Mısır) Türkiye’ye gelmiş ve çocukları kamuya ait okullarda eğitim gören yabancı veliler ile görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Araştırmanın nicel kısmında, Pendik İlçesinde görev yapan 30 okuldan toplam 535 öğretmene araştırmacı tarafından oluşturulan “Yabancılara Karşı Tutum Ölçeği” uygulanmıştır.

Araştırmanın Bulguları: Yabancı öğrenciler ile aynı okulda okuyan Türk öğrenciler okulun ilk yıllarında daha yakın ilişkiler kurmaya çalıştıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Ancak zamanla kendilerinin bu çabalarına, karşı taraftan aynı şekilde karşılık alamadıklarını ifade etmişlerdir. Bu durum da öğrencilerin zamanla beklenenin aksine kaynaşmaktan ziyade ayrıştıklarını göstermektedir. Öğrenciler okul yönetimlerinin de bu

kaynaşmayı temin etmek adına herhangi bir gayret içinde bulunmadıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Aksine okul yönetimleri Türk ve yabancı öğrencilerin bir araya geldikleri mekânlarını kısıtlamaktadır. Özellikle Türk öğrencilerin şikâyetçi oldukları bir diğer husus da okul idareleri tarafından yabancı öğrencilerin kayırılıyor (not ve disiplin konuları gibi) olduğu iddiasıdır. Zaten YÖS (yabancı öğrencilerin üniversiteye yerleşme işlemleri için yapılan Yabancı Öğrenci Sınavı) sebebiyle yabancı öğrencilere karşı kendilerini dezavantajlı hissetmektedirler. Okul içi uygulamalarda da dezavantajlı olma halinin devam ettiğini düşünüyor olmaları onların yabancı öğrencilere karşı olumsuz tutumlarının artmasında etken olmaktadır.

Türk öğrenci ve veliler evlilik yoluyla akrabalık kurma konusundaki görüşleri sorulduğunda genel olarak farklı kültürden biriyle evliliği ilk aşamada düşünmediklerini belirtmişlerdir. Ancak sonrasında Türk Cumhuriyetlerinden, Balkan veya Avrupa ülkelerinden biriyle evlenmeyi belki düşünebileceklerini ifade etmişlerdir. Ancak Arap kökenli birisiyle evlenmeyi asla düşünmediklerini belirtmeleri halkın yabancılara bakış açısının yabancının mensubu olduğu milliyete göre değişiklik gösterdiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Görüşme yapılan katılımcılardan önemli bir bölümünün Arap kökenli yabancılarla evliliğe sıcak bakmamasına sebep olarak onları "medeni değiller" diyerek damgalamaları ve kadına değer vermediklerine inandıklarını belirtmeleri de yine bu konuda oluşan önyargıya en çarpıcı örneklerden biridir. Görüşme yapılan Türk velilerin son yıllarda Türkiye'de Arap kökenli yabancının artmasıyla birlikte yaşam tarzında da bir değişimin oluştuğunu belirtmişlerdir. Gittikçe Türk toplumunun Araplaştığı yönündeki beyanları da bu çerçevede ele alındığında dikkat çekicidir. Araştırmaya katılan öğretmenlerin de büyük bölümünün yerel halkla benzer düşündüğü görülmektedir. Öğretmenlerden %63'ü yabancı sayısının artmasının yaşam tarzlarını olumsuz etkilediğini belirtmişlerdir. Artan bu olumsuz algı beraberinde yabancının çeşitli etiketlemeler yoluyla damgalanmalarına sebep olmaktadır.

Araştırma kapsamında görüşme yapılan katılımcılar yabancılar konusunda önyargılara sahip olduklarını itiraf etmişlerdir. Bu önyargılara sahip olmalarına yol açan en önemli kaynağın da özellikle sosyal medya olduğunu belirtmişlerdir. Bu noktada yabancılar için sarf ettikleri birçok etiketin (pis, hırsız, ilkel, kaba, medeniyetsiz, cahil gibi) onlarla karşılaşmalarından kaynaklanmadığını belirtmişlerdir. Bu etiketlerin tamamen iletişim organlarında yayılan yayınlardan kaynaklandığını belirtmeleri önemlidir.

Görüşme yapılan yabancının Türkiye'den en önde gelen taleplerinin vatandaşlık hakkı elde etmek olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Türk vatandaşlarının da yabancılara yönelik dile getirdikleri en önemli endişe ve itirazları onlara vatandaşlık hakkı verilmesi konusudur. Yerel halkın yabancılara vatandaşlık verilmesine karşı takındığı olumsuz tutumun araştırmaya katılan öğretmenlerde de olduğu görülmüştür. Araştırma kapsamında görüşlerine başvuru alan her üç öğretmenden ikisi yabancılara vatandaşlık verilmesinden rahatsızlık duyacaklarını belirtmişlerdir.

Türk halkı ile yabancının görüş ve beklentilerinin en fazla çatışması beklenen konuların özellikle çocuklarının akademik ve mesleki açıdan gelecek beklentilerine yönelik olacağı söylenebilir. Görüşme yapılan Türk veliler yabancının ekonomik yaşam içerisinde etkinliklerinin artmasından rahatsızlık duyduklarını belirtmişlerdir. Halkın gözünde iyi bir eğitim almak, bir meslek sahibi olabilmek için önemli bir ön

koşuldur. Bu sebeple görüşme yapılan Türk velilerin çocuklarının iyi bir eğitim almaları ve özellikle yükseköğretim kurumlarına yerleşmelerinde engel oluşturabileceği sebebiyle yabancıların eğitimi noktasında itirazları olduğu görülmektedir. Araştırma kapsamında görüşlerine başvuru alan öğretmenlerden yarısından fazlası yerel halkın endişelerine paralel olarak yabancı öğrenci sayısındaki artışı kendi çocuklarının geleceği açısından bir tehdit olarak algıladıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Öğretmenler uygulanan ölçekte yabancıların sosyo-ekonomik düzeylerindeki iyileşmeden rahatsızlık duymadıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Ancak yine aynı ölçekten elde edilen sonuçlara göre yabancı öğrencileri kendi çocuklarının nitelikli eğitim almalarının önünde bir engel olarak görmektedirler. Bu durum eğitimin sosyo-ekonomik düzeyin iyileştiricisi rolü düşünüldüğünde bir çelişki olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

Araştırmanın Sonuçları ve Öneriler: Araştırma kapsamında elde edilen tüm bulgular ilgili alanyazın ışığında incelendiğinde, Türkiye'nin Avrupa ve Kuzey Amerika ülkeleri gibi özellikle ekonomik açıdan gelişmiş ülkelerin uzun yıllardır yüzleşmek zorunda kaldıkları göçmen gerçeği ile son yıllarda çok daha belirgin şekilde karşı karşıya kaldığını göstermektedir. Özellikle ekonomik açıdan gelişmiş ülkelerin aradan geçen uzun yıllara rağmen göçmenlerin uyumu konusunda kendi içlerindeki tartışmaları sonlandıramadıkları görülmektedir. Bu konuda yıllar içerisinde oldukça farklı politikaları hayata geçirilmiştir. Bundan hareketle Türkiye'nin de çok farklı sebeplerle de olsa ülkeye gelen yabancılar gerçekliğiyle artık ciddi bir biçimde karşı karşıya kaldığını belirtmek gerekir. Bu sebeple Türkiye'nin Avrupa ve Amerika'daki benzer durumdaki ülkelerin yaşadığı sorunlarla daha uzun yıllar karşılaşacağı söylenebilir.

Türkiye'de yaşayan yabancılar arasında özellikle sağlık ve yardımların dağılımı alanlarında meydana çıkan farklı uygulamalar konusunda halkta belirli bir kesimin kayırıldığı algısının ortadan kaldırılmasına yönelik çalışmalar yapılması önerilebilir. Ayrıca yabancı öğrenciler okullara yönlendirilmeden önce bir dil yeterlilik sınavına tabi tutulabilir ve sınavda yeterli başarıyı gösteremeyen öğrenciler en az bir sene süreyle dil hazırlık kurslarına alınabilirler. Bu merkezlerde Türk kültürü ile ilgili eğitimler de verilerek uyum sorunları en aza indirilebilir. Son olarak, bu araştırma eğitim kurumları ekseninde kurgulanmıştır. Bu sebeple katılımcılar daha çok eğitim camiası içerisinde olmuş, ağırlıklı olarak eğitimle alakalı konular incelenmiştir. Farklı meslek gruplarının yabancılarla yönelik algılarının incelenmesi toplumun genelinin konuya bakış açısını ortaya koyması açısından faydalı olacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ayrımcılık, önyargı, damga, kalıpyargı, yabancılar