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ADULT EDUCATION EFFORTS FOR REFUGEES: A CASE OF A BORDER CITY IN TURKEY

If education is accepted as a lifelong process, adult education should be one of the main components of this process since it corresponds to a longer period in one's life. Adult education, on the one hand, can be prescribed as a remedy to the challenges of economic crisis and to the extreme speed of the change in required skills and competences in the modern world. It can assist in polishing competences to keep up with the demands of the labour market (Akdere & Conceicao 2006). On the other hand, adult education can go beyond its potential economic benefits. It can work as a tool to make competences visible and to turn them into achievements, which naturally increases self-motivation and encourages social participation. In addition, as suggested by the European Agenda on Adult Learning (The Council of European Union 2011a), adult education can promote active citizenship and social inclusion and can contribute to the defeat of gender inequalities through reskilling.

However, achieving adult education may not be a smooth process as drafted in the policy documents and action plans or as suggested by associations. At each and every period of life, adult learning will be meaningful in a different way for adults depending on their situation. Adults can be considered as more realistic when compared to children and they expect the adult learning that they are engaged with to bring tangible solutions to their needs and situations (Gökkaya 2014). Hence, offering adult learning options that match the needs of adults and their situation is important. On the other hand, to be able to engage an adult in adult learning there are some prerequisites. As Tusting and Barton (2011) suggest, basic physiological needs, health issues, or other social challenges can create problems for participating in adult learning.

Similarly to other adult groups, immigrant or refugee adults also need their own motivation to engage in adult education. New immigrants in a country may engage themselves in adult learning either for their intrinsically driven wish for personal improvement or through the extrinsic encouragement of the host country or culture (Chao 2009). As the European Association for the Education of Adults' Statement

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(2016) suggests, talking about adult education while giving no consideration to the refugee population that has increased significantly in the recent years would be a mistake; especially when we acknowledge the contribution of adult education to social cohesion, integration and to developing active citizenship. Adult education has an important role in integrating refugees into the host country by providing language or administrative support as well as giving space to promote social engagement and civic integration. Hence, it should be noted that adult education would not only be beneficial to refugees, but also to the host country and its residents. It should not be forgotten that many immigrants or refugees have the potential to reform their own community in their host countries as well as requalify themselves for active participation in the economy and in the society.

However, the engagement of immigrants in adult learning can be challenged by several factors. One of the challenges that prevent adults from participating in adult learning facilities can be the informational hurdle, that is, limited or no information about the possible adult education offers and possibilities (Komsu 2013), which can be a common and valid reason for limited access in the refugee context. On the other hand, culture and cultural determinants, too, as suggested by Merriam and Caffarella (1991), can prevent cultural minority groups from participating as much as the majority groups in adult education programmes.

In addition, the only very recent importance given to adult education in international and global decisions is another challenge to adult education for immigrants or refugees across countries. When the historical background of refugee education is examined, it is seen that adult education and its potential benefits were relatively neglected. The United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, which was adopted in 1951 and which has served as a basis for the succeeding regulations or conventions regarding education for refugees, calls for the “same treatment as is accorded to nationals with respect to elementary education” (UNCHR 1951, p. 24); however, it does not refer to adult education with the same concern. Similarly, the European Union Directory, which was issued a half a century after that convention, also fails to give the same importance to adult education as to formal education. It only suggests member states allow adult refugees access to education (The Council of European Union 2001, Article 14).

Recent Refugee Crisis in Europe and Adult Education

Europe is going through an unprecedented refugee movement towards its borders, which has not been experienced since the end of World War II. According to the numbers provided by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNCHR

2017), Europe received 1.2 million new asylum applications in 2016, which is 9% more than the number in 2015. By the end of 2016, the total number of people concerned, including refugees, asylum seekers and stateless people, reached 10.2 million across Europe. Such a drastic number of people requires good planning, effective strategies, efforts, and standards of treatment as well as an adequate budget.

The European Union Council sees adult learning as a means of intensifying social inclusion and active participation especially for disadvantaged groups such as migrants, Roma, refugees, and asylum seekers: and the council calls for collaboration of member states (The Council of European Union 2011b). However, when the European countries with large numbers of refugees are considered, it is seen that in several European countries adult education is not being given the same level of priority as the education for school age refugees. Zarifis (2016) points out that Greece has still no certain agenda or plan concerning adult education for refugees. Similarly, neither in Hungary (Lindeisz 2016) nor in Serbia (Maksimovic, Jovanovic & Koruga 2016), is adult education funded or seen as a support tool for the refugees. On the other hand, in certain countries, as in Italy (La Marca 2016), adult education so far has not gone beyond being a tool for economic integration through language learning.

In this study, Turkey as a non-EU country but as a partner of the European Union in the Syrian Crisis, is studied in terms of its response to adult refugee education. After a section that provides general information about the refugees and refugee education in Turkey, a small-scale research in a Turkish city follows. This research tries to analyse the experiences of refugee adults and volunteers engaged in the facilities for adult education in a city where religion and culture are politically debated. The city has a multicultural and religiously diverse demographic profile and portrays an image similar to the overall Syrian demographic profile. The findings can show how culture and religion matter in access to, and choice of adult education. The study tries to show how the interaction between the host society and newcomers converges or diverges and how this affects adult education participation.

Refugees in Turkey

Since the start of the Syrian crisis in 2011, Turkey has played an important role in the region in terms of hosting the victims of this crisis as well as international agencies, NGOs and volunteer groups who can settle and work close to the border of Syria. Turkey has as well the task of providing the necessary support for conveying the aid coming from Europe and the other parts of the world to the affected crisis region.

According to the numbers provided by the Turkish Ministry of the Interior (2017) in June 2017, Turkey was hosting 3.551.078 refugees. However, this is a generic number

and this number is believed to have reached almost 3.8 million by the end of 2017, if the constant increase in the number of the Syrian refugees is added to that number. The latest update by the UNCHR (2017) shows that the number of Syrian refugees alone reached 3.285.533 in November 2017. These numbers make Turkey a host country that has one of the largest refugee populations in the world.

A fact sheet published by the UNCHR shows that most of the Syrian refugees in Turkey are women and children, which makes providing a secure shelter a priority. Turkish authorities responded to the refugee crisis relatively quickly in providing early humanitarian aid. Refugees started to arrive to Turkey in June 2011 when the Syria crisis had just begun. The first comers were believed to be temporary guests in Turkey; and they were settled in camps close to the border area. However, with the increase in the severity of the crisis, the number of the refugees rose day by day and their permanence became more visible.

Education of Refugees in Turkey

As Acer, Kaya and Gümüs (2010) concluded from their research in Turkey, the refugee population experienced challenges in terms of accessing education facilities. In their research, they found that the refugees in Turkey did not have full participation in education especially for the school age pupils before the Syrian crisis. However, after the Syrian crisis and the influx of the refugees, education for the refugee population has become more visible in the agenda of the Turkish authorities due to factors such as the international attention focused on the region, the severity of the humanitarian crisis, or the length of the crisis.

The latest update from UNCHR about the condition of education for refugees in Turkey was made public in February 2017. According to that update, almost 60% of all Syrian school age children are registered in schools, which shows a 50% increase when compared to the previous year. However, the registration rate should be viewed with caution because of the high drop-out rate and the discontinuity of school attendance.

The education for refugee children is provided in various institutions by various providers in Turkey. The biggest provider is the Turkish Ministry of National Education. The ministry is responsible for providing full access to schools and for eliminating any legal hindrance to school participation (Ministry of National Education 2017). On the initiative of the ministry, temporary education centres were established in the regions with a high density of refugee populations in and outside camps. These centres were specifically designed for refugee pupils. The education is provided by Syrian teachers in Arabic. However, these centres became a transition process to Turkish state schools and apart from the Syrian curriculum, 15-hour Turkish language courses were added

to their programme (Hayatsever 2017). On the other hand, the ministry made attending Turkish state schools possible for refugee children through new regulations; and attending state schools is encouraged by the ministry. It is believed that the state school can assist the integration and Turkish language learning process more easily especially when the permanence of the Syrian population in Turkey is taken into consideration. Apart from the Turkish authorities, the Syrian private sector has the permission to operate their own schools where the Syrian curriculum is being taught by Syrian teachers in Arabic. Although they are few in number, these schools are mainly private and cater for the refugees who have high socio-economic status due to their enterprises, businesses, and relatively smoother settlement after arriving in Turkey.

Higher education is another area to which the Turkish authorities paid attention in recent years. Although not given priority and rapid treatment as much as lower school levels in the first years of the crisis, access to higher education was made available with the collaboration of universities, NGOs, and international organizations. Starting from the 2015-2016 academic year, Syrian refugees were exempt from tuition fees for higher education institutions in Turkey and they are supported by scholarships provided by the Turkish government, the Ministry of National Education, the UNCHR, and by the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities.

Adult Education for Refugees in Turkey

Adult education is offered under the responsibility of the Ministry of National Education; and the main adult education providers are vocational training centres, public education centres and the Turkish Employment Agency.

All refugees have the right to benefit from the Public Education Centres that operate under the responsibility of the General Directorate of Lifelong Learning of the Ministry of National Education. These centres are designed to offer people who are outside the age of compulsory education as well as extracurricular activities for the pupils in school age. The centres are located across the country in all cities and provide courses for apprenticeships or vocational training, culture or hobby-related interests, or literacy; they date back to the early years of the foundation of the Turkish Republic. As Kaya (2015) argues, these centres were able to keep up with the quick integration of lifelong learning ideas and they embraced the responsibility for providing a wide range of courses to both women and men.

These centres can be considered as the main adult education possibilities for the refugee population in Turkey. However, due to the lack of Turkish language competencies, attending courses other than language courses is very difficult. The education

update reported by the UNCHR (2017) shows that the participation in adult education programs such as professional training is very limited in Turkey.

Adult education is offered for the refugees who are outside the school age and who hold a temporary residence permit. However, many refugees who do not hold the residence permit yet are beyond the reach of educational facilities. Hence, their education is left to volunteer initiatives, local authorities and to international institutions.

This Study

With this study, the aim was to describe the situation of adult education facilities for refugees in Hatay, which is a Turkish city at the border of Syria. The initiatives and the efforts for engaging adult refugees by state authorities as well as local communities and volunteers were the focus of the study.

Context

The research site for this study was Hatay, a city lying in the southern part of Turkey and at the border of Syria, which was one of the first destinations for the refugees fleeing from the war. This city has played an important role in the Syria crisis in terms of hosting international organizations, volunteer groups and state initiatives for emergency management. According to the last numbers retrieved from the Turkish Ministry of the Interior (2017), 384,024 refugees reside in this city forming 24% of the whole population of 1,555,565.

This ancient city, known as Antioch in history, is a multicultural, multi-religious and multilingual city, inhabited by Muslims (Alawi-Sunni) and Syriac Orthodox, Syriac Catholic, Antiochian Greek, and Armenian Christians. Due to its demographic structure and the geopolitical location, it has been a hot spot of contention between Turkey and Syria as both countries claimed their right to the city. Apart from its political importance, Hatay can be considered as a mirror image of the other side of the border in Syria in terms of the ethnicities, languages, religions, and the religious sects it has, but also as well as the sectarian conflicts between Alawi and Sunni Muslims which is also a conflict at the base of the crisis in Syria.

Method

This study used qualitative research methods to shed light on the researched topic. Interviews were used as the main data collection tools. Semi-structured interviews were conducted on the spot on a voluntary and confidential base. Interviews lasted approximately between one or one and half hours. The Turkish and Arabic languages

were used in the interviews. As the researcher speaks both languages, switching to the other language during interviews gave flexibility especially to refugee participants. The long-time engagement of the researcher in adult education contexts paved the way to observations as well as to a researcher diary. On the other hand, regular visits to the facilities could help in developing rapport both with facilitators and adult education participants. Although participation in the study was limited, the researcher tried to have a heterogeneous group of participants including both genders, various religious sects and different educational backgrounds and needs for adult education.

The participants of the study were refugee adults whose age ranged from 21 to 49 and whose residency in the city ranged from 9 months to 4 years. In this small-scale study, there were 12 participants in total. Nine refugees and 3 facilitators were the main interviewees. Three of the refugees were women while the remaining six were men. All of these nine refugees were already engaged in adult education. Among the participant refugees were also Christians, Sunni Muslims and Alawi Muslims as well as Syrian refugees of Turkish descent. In addition, three male volunteer facilitators who work in the organization of these programmes were the other main data sources. The participation in the study was on a voluntary basis and all participants were ensured that the collected data, and their personal information, was kept strictly confidential via a signed consent form. As the facilitators were volunteers and not government officials, the extra consent of the authorities was not required in order to process the interviews.

Due to limited time and limited possibility of individuals' participation, the data collection and analysis were done consecutively. After all interviews were transcribed, the data were analysed with a holistic perspective. Larger categories, in other words domains (Spradley 1980), were looked for rather than smaller units such as codes or categories. The domains found were semantically connected to each other. At the end of the analysis, domains were compared by taking the background of the participants into consideration. On the other hand, the researcher diary and the observations of the practices worked as tools for triangulation purposes. The observation data and the researcher diary were used to intensify the interview data by asking questions to the transcribed interview data and to read between the lines. The findings are discussed domain-based by including the related explanatory quotes of the participants. The volunteer adult education facilitators are referred to as 'volunteers' and refugees participating in adult education are referred to as 'refugee participant'.

This small-scale study adopted one main research question that had a broad perspective. The research question is: How do adult refugees and volunteers experience the adult education facilities in this city and how, if at all, do culture and religion play a role in the decision-making process?

Findings

The findings of this study led to four main domains. The first domain showed that there was a visible segregation in terms of refugee settlements depending on the religious sect of the residents, which had an effect on the accessing of adult education institutions and initiatives. The second domain, on the other hand, showed what role religion and culture played in the decision-making process for refugees to choose between adult education facilities, as well as for facilitators to match the culture and the background of the refugees in their programmes. The third domain was the focus on the conveying of Turkish culture and Turkish values to the refugees. The last domain showed how gender inequalities made themselves visible in the available adult education programmes on offer.

City-level Polarization and Segregation

The first domain showed that the religious sect had an important role in deciding in which area to settle. The refugees who live outside of the camps had to find their own accommodation in the city. It was found that the religious sect of the residents had an impact on the decisions of the refugees. Refugees who belong to the Sunni sect preferred settling in Sunni neighbourhoods, while the Alawi refugees preferred Alawi neighbourhoods. This settlement affected the adult education facilities as well. Few state initiatives that target adult refugees exist in the Alawi neighbourhood, while Sunni neighbourhoods have relatively more state programmes on offer. This was explained by a volunteer thus:

You will not find many state institutions in an Alawi area. They are mainly villages or towns that do not have hospitals or anything like this. If you need to do any paperwork or anything official you have to go to the city centre. So, the state will not bring anything here neither for refugees nor for the residents.

Another volunteer put it in other words:

We do not go and promote our activities at the other side of the city because we know that they won't welcome us and they will not have any interest in our offers.

An examination of facilities showed that there are fewer opportunities for adult refugees in the areas where mainly Alawi live. Public education centres and the courses offered by the Turkish Employment Agency are mainly located in the city centre and at the eastern part of the province where few Alawi residents happen to live. On the other hand, a refugee participant shared his ideas on the matter:

I am a Christian. I will never live in the other part of the city or go to the places either for education or health. I feel myself more welcomed close to my community.

The already visible religion or religious-based settlement segregation in the city was found to be also valid for refugee settlements. A highly controversial political debate in the city was connected with the underrepresentation of government offices, including hospitals or magistrates, in certain neighbourhoods of the city. This had an effect on the type of adult education programmes offered for refugees located in these neighbourhoods. As a result, volunteer adult education facilities were easier to find than state-offered facilities in such parts of the city.

Culture and Religion as Decision-Makers

The second domain of the study showed that the religion or culture of the refugees had an important impact on the decision-making process about which adult education facilities to attend. The participants had the tendency to pick up the offers that fit to their lifestyle and culture as well as their religion. Participant refugees who define themselves as religious were mainly interested in attending Quran classes, Quran preaching and other courses offered by Mosques, Islamic centres or associations. On the other side, non-religious refugees attend activities offered by volunteer groups. These activities included theatre, singing or public dances as well as organizing intercultural festivals or workshops where city residents and refugees come together. These activities included poem reading sessions, music sessions, and cooking sessions. A refugee who works in a cultural association and offers volunteer Arabic lesson, but at the same time takes math and physics classes in Turkish, summarized his ideas thus:

Here, I feel myself welcomed. In Syria, I was also living in the region with my own people and here also I live in this neighbourhood and I do not feel myself a stranger or foreigner. These people are like my family. We speak almost the same language and we live the same way. There is respect and understanding. I think I can give something back in this place by teaching language and at the same time learning from my brothers.

It was obvious that refugees wanted to choose activities that appeal to their life styles that they had in their home country before the war. It can be said that refugees had the chance to find such offers due to the demographic situation of this city where religious, non-religious or liberal and conservative people live all together. The importance that volunteer groups give to culture was also stated by a volunteer who is engaged in an Arabic theatre organization:

I do not know what the other volunteers offer, but we offer what fits to our culture and way of living as well to their culture. They are so similar to us that no one will get offended or feel embarrassed in this place. They are acting the same way that they do a couple of kilometres away in their home country. This is the way it can help them more.

Here, it was visible that language was a significant factor in the decision-making process for the adult refugees. Many refugees had the possibility of attending some

trainings such as cooking, handicrafts or intercultural activities like theatre or music groups where they can rely on their Arabic competences without being obliged to speak or learn Turkish. In the neighbourhoods that they reside in and where they also attend such programmes, a majority of the residents speak or at least understand a very similar dialect of Arabic.

Turkish Language and Values

The findings suggested that state-supported adult education facilities were mainly about literacy and Turkish language learning. The curriculum of such offers focused on the teaching of Turkish and Turkish values, which can be considered as an important path to integration. Participant refugees that attend the language classes of Public Education Centres agreed that Turkey and Syria had a common history dating back to Ottoman times, which makes it important to focus on common values and nurture the common values on both sides. A female refugee who is attending a Turkish class in a state-funded initiation explained herself in this way:

Learning Turkish is important, but without Turkish I feel also as if I am home. We are sisters and brothers and we follow the same religion and values.

While a volunteer Turkish teacher stated:

We have many common values so it is not difficult to teach Turkish to people who are close to you. There is no misunderstanding or culture clash. We are brothers through history and we understand each other very well.

Here, the effect of religion was also visible when the language was discussed. Sharing the same history or religion was seen as a facilitator and motivation to learn the language. However, here the critical point is the profile of the refugees benefiting from this facility. Although the Syrian refugee population was heterogenous in itself, those attending adult education can be considered homogenous as the majority of the attendees and the volunteer teachers shared the same religious sect.

Gender Inequalities

The fourth and last domain that emerged in the study was related to gender inequalities in the adult education programmes. Offers for vocational training and for reskilling for professionalization were mainly targeting male participants while women were offered more sewing or knitting classes and less opportunities for vocational training. On the other hand, male refugees had the option of some intercultural activities, such as football tournaments or other sport activities. Except for the Turkish language courses that target all adult refugees, many initiatives appealed either to only women or only to men. A volunteer who works in an Islamic association with women explained this thus:

We have sewing classes for refugee women so that they can come and be together while their kids are in the school. We do not see it as a professional training but as a leisure time activity so that they can enjoy their time and they can produce something for their homes.

Another female refugee who attends Turkish classes complains about that matter:

I am learning Turkish but I do not know if I can use my language knowledge in the future in that country. I wanted to learn a new profession to earn some money but I could not find anything that will bring in money. Now I am learning Turkish. I hope later I will find another possibility.

On the other hand, a volunteer who works in a theatre association and who is a school director agrees that women refugees are not the priorities when it comes to vocational and professional training:

Men are targeted in many projects so that they can learn some profession or they can use their own profession. There are many skilled adult refugees who are not working, but with some training they can be a part of the local community. Unfortunately, the same initiatives are not offered for women. Women are mainly unskilled and they will stay like this.

Conclusion

Taking ethnicity and religion into account when deciding which neighbourhood to settle in can be considered as a challenge as well as an opportunity for the refugees. With their already depleted resources and traumas, having not too much flexibility in their settlement options could be a burden in terms of finding fitting and affordable accommodation. Similarly, the access to government offices for paper work, health centres or other facilities, including adult education facilities can be hindered due to the settlement area. For example, attending a well-structured state literacy course that ends with certification can be relatively challenging to access from certain parts of the city. On the other hand, having an already welcoming neighbourhood with the same ethnic background and similar cultural institutions could help to overcome the experience of alienation. The study showed that such neighbourhoods offered more volunteer adult education options that appeal to the life style of the refugees.

The study showed that the city offered some possibilities for exchange between cultures. On the one hand, calling such activities intercultural maybe a faulty conclusion as the two sides of the participants, both residents and refugees, mainly share cultural similarities. Due to the ethnic background-based settlement trend, offering Arabic courses to locals and getting Math in return can be called an exchange but not cultural exchange. On the other hand, this exchange was mainly a result of voluntary initiative rather than well-structured official effort. The trend in Turkish adult education was visible here as well. Unfortunately, the Turkish non-formal adult education system offers almost no educational activities in terms of intercultural or multicultural

adult education, democratic participation, or active citizenship (Ünlühisarcıklı 2008), which transfers the responsibility to voluntary-based initiatives. As EAEA (2015) states, arranging intercultural meetings should also be a responsibility of adult education especially in the refugee context. Such possibilities can build a more fruitful connection between refugees and the host population. In this city, there are volunteer as well as state-offered possibilities for bringing the residents and refugees together. However, the participation at such facilities was limited to the exchange between similar cultures. The effect of religion or life style on engagement in adult education was a striking finding. The traditional sectarian division in the city made itself visible in the settlement choices as well as in refugees' adult education participation.

With regard to vocational training and opportunities for professionalization, adult refugees could access a number of programmes. As Miser, Ural and Ünlühisarcıklı (2016) argue, Turkish adult education can be characterized as advantageous due to its wide spread across the country and the wide range of the courses it offers. In this city, there were possibilities for vocational training. However, male refugees had more chances in terms of accessing such offers. This was not surprising, as Turkish vocational adult education can be considered essentially male-oriented adult education (Miser, Ural & Ünlühisarcıklı 2013).

A final remark can be made about the engagement of volunteers in adult education. As in all other levels and types of education, training for teaching holds an important position in adult education as well. Adult education for refugee learners should be carried out by professionals who have the training; however, when the state falls behind in supporting the refugees with such types of education, the civil society can be a support (EAEA 2015) as it is seen to be in this city.

As seen in this research, the political, demographic or social conditions of a city can influence the post-flight situation of refugees. Accessing adult education facilities and choosing the types of adult education to attend can be affected not only by the personal needs and interests of refugees but also by the availability, accessibility and appropriateness of the programmes offered. This study showed how religion or religious sect and ethnicity can play an important role in the engagement of the refugees in adult learning. On the other hand, the common patterns of national adult education in Turkey, such as male dominant vocational training were also valid in the refugee context. Enabling all refugees to obtain the adult learning they need and wish regardless of their ethnicity or religion would enhance integration in society and personal development. Further research can be calibrated to find out how to prevent the political challenges embedded in the host society from interfering with the efforts to provide adult education for refugees.

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ADULT EDUCATION EFFORTS FOR REFUGEES: A CASE OF A BORDER CITY IN TURKEY

SUMMARY: Due to the continuous and long refugee influxes towards its border, Turkey calibrated the attention to the permanence of refugee population and to the long term planning for their integration through education. In this study, the focus is on the adult education efforts for adult refugees. Adults can have social, economic or personal benefits from learning and adult education can play a key role especially for the refugees in terms of supporting them to get included in the host country. Adult education can encourage tolerance and respect to stand against xenophobia and refers to adult education as a key to cultivate active citizenship and intercultural competences. Such possibilities can build a more fruitful connection between refugees and host population.

This study discusses the adult education facilities offered for refugee adults in a Turkish border city, Hatay. In this city, the majority of the refugee population live outside camps, which makes them deprived from the adult education facilities offered by the authorized institutions in camps. The data were collected through observations, intensive interviews with volunteers and refugees. The findings showed that the city has offers for adult refugees on state and on voluntary basis. However, vocational training targets men more than women and Turkish language and Turkish values have a big place in the adult education curriculum. On the other hand, the city has a sectarian division with regard to refugee settlements; and religious sect and life style were found to be important in terms of deciding which type of adult education to choose or to offer.

KEYWORDS: adult education, refugee, religion, ethnicity.

EDUKACJA DOROSŁYCH DLA UCHODźCÓW: STUDIUM PRZYPADKU MIASTA GRANICZNEGO W TURCJI

STRESZCZENIE: Długotrwały napływ uchodźców do miast granicznych spowodował, że obecnie rząd turecki koncentruje swoją uwagę na utrzymaniu trwałości populacji uchodźców i planowaniu ich integracji przez edukację. W artykule skupiono się na działaniach edukacyjnych skierowanych do grupy dorosłych uchodźców. Dorosli mogą odnieść społeczne, ekonomiczne lub osobiste korzyści z uczenia się, a kształcenie dorosłych może odegrać ważną rolę w procesie inkluzyj, szczególnie uchodźców, do

kraju przyjmującego. Uczestnictwo w edukacji dorosłych wzmacnia tolerancję i szacunek dla postaw sprzeciwiających się ksenofobii, pielęgnuje aktywne postawy obywatelskie i kształtuje kompetencje międzykulturowe. Jednocześnie korzyści z edukacji wzmacniają związki między uchodźcami a społecznością przyjmującą.

W artykule omówiono formy edukacji dla dorosłych uchodźców w tureckim mieście granicznym Hatay. W tym mieście większość uchodźców mieszka poza obozami, co sprawia, że są pozbawieni możliwości uczestnictwa w kształceniu dorosłych oferowanym przez upoważnione instytucje na terenie wyznaczonym przez władze tureckie. Do zbierania danych wykorzystano metodę obserwacji i pogłębionego wywiadu. Wywiady przeprowadzono z uchodźcami i wolontariuszami. Wyniki badań pokazały, że po pierwsze miasto oferuje zróżnicowane formy kształcenia dla dorosłych uchodźców (organizowane przez państwo, jak i organizacje). Po drugie szkolenie w zakresie kwalifikacji zawodowych było ukierunkowane bardziej na mężczyzn niż kobiety, a w programach nauczania dla dorosłych język turecki i wartości kultury tureckiej zajmują wiele miejsca. Po trzecie bardzo ważne dla oferty uczestnictwa w edukacji było otoczenie społeczne i przestrzenne. Miasto Hatay jest podzielone na osiedla dla mieszkańców i uchodźców, a religia i styl życia determinują wybory edukacyjne i oferty skierowane do uchodźców.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: edukacja dorosłych, uchodźcy, religia, etniczność.

