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## Compulsory guests of Türkiye: A meta-synthesis study on teachers' experiences with refugee students

Ersin Yağın 

Ministry of National Education, Istanbul, Türkiye  
ersinyagan@gmail.com

Mustafa Özgenel 

Faculty of Education, Istanbul Sabahattin Zaim University, Istanbul, Türkiye

Mustafa Taktak 

Faculty of Health Sciences, Istanbul Gelisim University, Istanbul, Türkiye

### Abstract

In recent years, the number of refugees in Türkiye has increased significantly due to the wars in Syria, Afghanistan and Ukraine. This situation has brought about social, political, economic and educational problems. The issue of refugee education is 1 of the most important of these problems. With the research reported on here we aimed to draw new conclusions by combining qualitative studies on the experiences of teachers in public schools where refugee children are educated and to reveal similar and different aspects of teachers' experiences. We also aimed to provide theoretical assistance to teachers who teach or will teach refugee students. In this research, which is based on the meta-synthesis method, we examined 51 studies (19 postgraduate theses, 32 scientific articles) that met the inclusion criteria. The findings show that teachers found the education they had received on refugee education quite inadequate. It was revealed that teachers experienced burnout due to this inadequacy and did not want refugee students in their classes because it resulted in difficulty in classroom management. We also determined that refugee children were constantly stigmatised by Turkish students and their parents, and that this situation triggered an environment of conflict. As a result, anti-refugee political discourse has increased in Türkiye. Teachers are demanding that policymakers amend policies to improve economic conditions and solve problems related to refugees.

**Keywords:** education of refugees; forced migration; meta-synthesis; refugee students

### Introduction

Migration is an individual, group, or mass movement from one settlement to another. Evaluation of these displacement movements in terms of migration diversity show that they do not only involve a physical change of place but also an important indicator of change in social structure (Genç & Seyyar, 2010). Migration is a collective act of social change that affects both the society in the receiving country and the society in the sending country. However, migration and the experience of living in another country usually lead to changes in initial plans. Therefore, the intentions of migrants when they start migrating indicate very little about their current behaviour (Castles & Miller, 2008). People who come to a country for permanent residence are called immigrants, while people who are forced to leave a country due to war or religious or political reasons are called refugees (*Merriam-Webster's dictionary*, 2012). This small difference is important in terms of the reasons for migration, the form of the migration movement, and its results. Refugees experience many problems in their movements and settling in a new place. They worry about their past lives, including culture, language, family, and friends. They also experience a loss of activity and social identity (Vaynshtok, 2001). Therefore, mass migration movements create many problems for refugees that need to be resolved. All this is true for refugees in Türkiye from Syria, Ukraine and Afghanistan.

In the first years of the civil war that started in Syria in 2011, migration movements towards Türkiye took place in cities close to the Syrian-Turkish border. Examining migration to Türkiye from the perspective of international migration theories, it provides an idea about the reasons for migration and the ways in which migration mobility occurs. Therefore, this examination offers researchers the opportunity to make objective inferences about the possible results of migration. Considering that migrants use their own preferences in terms of whether to migrate or not despite the pressure, these migrations can be evaluated within the scope of "impelled migrations" (Petersen, 1958:261). Considering that the number of Syrian, Ukrainian and Afghan refugees in Türkiye is much higher than other groups, the main driving force of those migrating to Türkiye is the civil war, while the most attractive force is the desire to reach a safe region. The pioneer refugees settled in cities close to the border in the early years due to their kinship relations with the Turks living in the border provinces. Ravenstein (1889) states that migrations were mostly made over short distances but could also take place over long distances in parallel with industrialisation. Therefore, the initial migration to the provinces close to the Syrian border were directed to cities such as Istanbul and Kocaeli in Türkiye, where economic life was more active. For this reason, the population in the border cities gradually moved towards the big cities. In the long term, the network of relations developed thanks to the pioneer refugees led to the emergence of regional structures of certain refugee groups in the big cities (Yagan & Aksit, 2021). The established migration networks were effective in helping refugees find jobs (De Villiers & Weda, 2017).

Due to its cultural compatibility with neighbouring countries and its geographical location, Türkiye is regarded as an important place for people and communities migrating for different reasons, hosting many people and providing settlement opportunities. Türkiye has hosted many people since 2011, especially due to the turmoil and war in Syria. Since July 2024, 3,105,539 people (of which 1,561,283 [49.7%] were children younger than 18) have fled the war in Syria and are trying to hold on to life in Türkiye (Refugees Association, 2025). Similar reports state that Türkiye is the country hosting the most refugees (European Asylum Support Office, 2021), not only to Syrian refugees, but also to hundreds of thousands of Afghans who fled the Taliban government after the United States (US) withdrew from Afghanistan and many Ukrainians who fled the war in Ukraine. Considering that 21,817,061 of the Turkish population are children younger than 18 (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2025), the ratio of Syrian children to Turkish children is approximately 16%. These figures make the education policy for refugee children much more important. Education plays an important role in helping refugees and their children adapt to the country of settlement by enabling them to acquire the skills necessary to enter the workforce (PISA, 2013). Therefore, refugee children are provided with many educational opportunities in Türkiye. In addition to official education programmes, education courses are arranged for Syrians through public education centres in many areas, including the teaching of Turkish. According to the Ministry of National Education ([MoNE], 2020), the primary school enrolment rate of Syrian children of school-going age in Türkiye has reached 96.30%, compared to 61% for refugees globally. The education of refugee children is important in all countries that accept refugees, including Türkiye. This is an issue that needs to be emphasised politically and socially. In the early stages of migration, the expectation was that refugees would stay in Türkiye temporarily. For this reason, no long-term policies were developed for refugees. However, at this point, it had become necessary to produce effective policies for the inclusion and integration of refugee children into the Turkish education system (Sarier, 2020). In this context, it was planned to close temporary education centres (TECs) and enrol refugee children in the Turkish education system (MoNE, 2017).

With the gradual inclusion of the Syrian population in formal education, many problems that negatively affected the quality of education have come to light. Teachers who were raised in a single language and a single culture faced various problems. Refugee students studied the same curriculum as their Turkish peers without knowing Turkish well. Therefore, they inevitably failed

academically (Biçer & Alan, 2022). Teachers had to ensure the academic development of these students with different cultures and languages in their classes. They also had to help refugee students adapt to the new society in which they lived. In this process, teachers play a critical part in the cultural adaptation, language skills, academic development, and socialisation of refugee students, both in humanitarian terms and in terms of social policy (Şeker & Aslan, 2015). However, teachers who did not have sufficient knowledge and skills on how to provide education in multicultural classrooms struggled with many problems, which has attracted the attention of many researchers (Amaç, 2021; Sarier, 2020; Yağan & Aksit, 2021). There has been an increase in the number of qualitative studies focusing on teachers' experiences in refugee education. We wanted to synthesise the studies conducted on the teachers who play an important part in the education of refugees in Türkiye to determine whether these studies produced a common discourse.

#### Theoretical Framework

People migrate primarily for reasons of security and economic concerns, political pressure, ecological events, cultural/social pressure or the desire to receive quality education (Crisp, 1999; Lee, 1966; Mabogunje, 1970; Petersen, 1958; Ravenstein, 1885, 1889; Stouffer, 1940; Wallerstein, 2017), and they experience many problems during and after migration. One of the main problems faced by refugee communities in their adopted countries is the prejudiced attitudes of the local people. When these prejudices exceed a certain threshold, they may lead to the emergence of hostile feelings, especially between minority and majority groups. Such negative feelings can take social conflicts to dangerous levels, as was seen in examples of Black-White conflict in the United States of America (Güney, 2015). One of the factors in the emergence and continuation of prejudice is feelings of aggression triggered by disappointment. This aggression is sometimes directed at minority groups and not at the real source of the problem. For example, the heavy defeat in World War I and the deep economic and social crises that the country experienced easily convinced the German people to hold the Jews responsible for all these crises (Güney, 2015). Thus, the people's anger was directed at the Jews, who were declared scapegoats. Scapegoating is a concept in which individuals unfairly accuse an individual or group, usually with less power, of being responsible for their own problems (Macionis, 2017).

Relative deprivation is another reason for the emergence of intergroup aggression. Relative deprivation indicates the difference between the current situation (reality) and the desired situation

(expectation). Davies (1962) examined this concept in detail in his famous J-curve hypothesis. He argues that revolutions were more likely to occur when a sharp reversal occurred shortly after a long period of targeted economic and social development. People become suspicious that ground gained with great effort would be lost, and their mood becomes revolutionary.

One of the most important studies published on the nature of intergroup relations and discriminatory practices is Gordon Allport's famous contact theory. Allport (1954) states that the basis of intergroup conflict is the lack of communication between groups and suggests that contact provided under appropriate conditions will eliminate these problems. Allport states that the positive effects of intergroup contact will occur under four conditions: the groups have equal status, common goals are determined, cooperation between groups exists, and the support of the authority emerges as law and tradition for this relationship. A harmonious relationship between the majority group and the minority group will ensure that minority problems disappear as destabilising factors. Therefore, constructive dialogue between groups and the participation of all groups in management becomes reassuring in the long run (Ataöv, 1996).

The Robbers Cave experiments conducted by Muzafer Sherif (1956) and his colleagues are among the most important studies conducted to explain the conditions under which prejudice and discriminatory behaviour emerge. Sherif believes that conflicts occur between groups competing for scarce resources and that ethnocentrism increases (Hogg & Vaughan, 2017). With the realistic conflict theory they put forward, Sherif and his colleagues argue that, as Allport claims, establishing contact between groups alone would not be sufficient to eliminate conflict between groups. According to them, in order to eliminate conflict between groups, group members should work together to achieve real and interesting goals (Sherif, 1956, 2010).

#### Our Study

The number of refugees is increasing rapidly worldwide and will continue to do so, which results in social problems. This situation may be directly related to the concept of relative deprivation, which was developed to reveal the reasons for the emergence of intra-group aggression. The period of relative prosperity experienced in Europe, especially in the second half of the 20th century and in Türkiye in the early 21st century, has shown a decreasing trend in recent years. The economic problems experienced on a global scale have caused disappointment in all societies. With this

disappointment experienced in Western societies and in Türkiye, there has been a significant increase in votes of far-right parties, especially those who attribute this economic collapse to the refugee problem. The situation has rekindled debates about whether foreigners should be deported or integrated. However, it is obvious that it is not easy to send millions of refugees away from their adopted countries. In this case, the most rational solution would be to focus on how to best adapt these people to the countries they migrate to. The examination of studies conducted in different countries shows that the main issues are actually very similar. Refugees experience adaptation problems and try to develop solutions for these problems in many countries such as Germany (Aksoy, 2010), Sweden (Kılıç, 2017), the United Kingdom (Evans & Liu, 2018), Australia (Wrench, Soong, Paige & Garrett, 2018), Spain, and Ireland (Rodríguez-Izquierdo & Darmody, 2019).

Despite all the negativity, schools are places of hope for refugee youths as they act as a balancing factor in refugees children's lives and provide them with new interactions or opportunities in a safe environment (Matthews, 2008). Education is seen as an important actor in enduring adaptation problems and providing refugees with confidence and greater certainty (Dündar, 2019). Taylor and Sidhu (2012) argue that the needs of refugee students are often overlooked – not only by policymakers but also by scholars who research migration and multicultural education. With this study we examined the hypothesis that different groups coming together for common goals will resolve these problems. This idea is a fundamental assumption of contact theory and realistic conflict theory. We focused on whether teachers showed resistance or not. We tried to bring together the experiences of teachers working with refugee students in almost every region of Türkiye in order to reveal the similarities and differences to those found in the theses and articles we examined and to develop common discourse. Many studies have been done on the linguistic, cultural, academic and administrative problems experienced by teachers in the education of refugee children, in short, their knowledge and experiences. It is thought that combining these studies with the meta-synthesis method and re-synthesising their findings and results within a critical framework would contribute to the production of effective policies on this issue. The aim with this study was to bring together theses and articles conducted in different regions, levels, and conditions. In this way, we hoped that this would serve to develop a more holistic and comprehensive perspective and action plan that would reveal the problems experienced throughout the country.

## Process

### Research Design

This study was a meta-synthesis study that offered the opportunity to combine and deconstruct qualitative study findings and to analyse and synthesise them in depth. Meta-synthesis is to produce a new and integrative interpretation by using important findings and evaluations in qualitative studies as data (Finfgeld, 2003). Therefore, meta-synthesis is not a simple review of studies in the field but a methodological method of developing new knowledge based on an interpretative analysis of existing qualitative research findings (Aspfors & Fransson, 2015). With meta-synthesis one analyses the qualitative results/interpretations of previous studies, thus allowing for their reinterpretation (Dinçer, 2018).

### Data Collection Procedures

To implement meta-synthesis, an optimal number of qualitative studies conducted in a particular field is required. The qualitative studies to be included in the application should be sufficient to explain the problem or concept being studied and should be at a level that would allow the development of a theory (Polat & Ay, 2016). These levels were divided into steps before determining which studies would be included in the research. A review of the literature shows many suggestions regarding these steps (Noah, 2017; Noblit & Hare, 1988; Sandelowski & Barroso, 2007). Considering these suggestions, the following stages were followed in determining and collecting the studies to be included:

- Determination of the work area
- Detection of keywords
- Performing the scan
- Evaluation of studies according to these criteria by determining exclusion criteria
- Deciding on the studies to be evaluated

This study included qualitative studies examining the experiences of teachers who educate refugee children in Türkiye. The keywords were “foreign student, refugee student”, and “refugee education.” In addition, Web of Science, Google Scholar, Education Resources Information Center (Eric), Scopus, Taylor & Francis Online Journals, ProQuest and Dergipark were used as databases. As a result of the search, 149 studies on the education of foreign/refugee children (students) in Türkiye were found. Weed (2005) suggests that four or five studies will be sufficient for meta-synthesis. However, Noah (2017) states that more studies might enhance understanding of the field of study in a broad way. Exclusion and inclusion criteria were determined in order to conduct a detailed analysis and to limit the number of studies included. Studies were selected in line with the inclusion criteria, taking the recommendations of experts (Finfgeld, 2003; Noah, 2017; Thomas &

Harden, 2008; Weed, 2005) in the literature into account. The inclusion criteria were the following:

- Research in the field of educational science
- Research on teachers who teach refugee children,
- Research on public schools,
- Research using qualitative methods,
- Research conducted between 2010 and 2021,
- Master’s and doctoral theses, or full-text scientific articles,
- Research conducted in Türkiye.

From the literature, 149 studies (96 postgraduate theses and 53 scientific articles) on the education of refugee children were identified. At the beginning of the study, we determined that 66 studies did not comply with the first criterion, 14 studies were not qualitative, and finally, 18 of the remaining 69 studies did not comply with the second and third criteria. As a result, a total of 51 studies, including 19 postgraduate theses (17 master’s and two doctoral theses) and 32 scientific articles met the above-mentioned criteria. The 51 studies that met the inclusion criteria (indicated by an asterisk in the bibliography) are listed in Appendix A and B. The participants in the studies included for investigation in this research were from different provinces in all regions of Türkiye. A total of 1,029 teachers were interviewed in 51 studies. Three of the studies were conducted with preschool teachers, 33 with primary school teachers, 23 with secondary school teachers, and eight with high school teachers.

This study was the first study conducted using the meta-synthesis design. Therefore, this process presented difficulties and learning opportunities. In order to increase the reliability and validity of the meta-synthesis study, we were careful to clearly explain the purpose of the study, the data collection process, and the other stages of the study. The descriptive characteristics of the studies determined through purposeful sampling, data collection procedures, and inclusion and exclusion criteria were clearly reported. We conducted a thematic synthesis after reading the included studies several times. The thematic synthesis was conducted separately by the three researchers (triangulation), and a checklist was created for codes and subthemes. These were then compared and consensus was reached. Reading and coding the studies took approximately 6 months. After the data analysis, a peer review was requested from an expert academic in the field of qualitative research. We tried not to include our own biases and assumptions. In addition, direct quotes from the relevant studies were included to increase the credibility of the research (Glesne, 2011; Maxwell, 2018; Merriam, 2015; Patton, 2018; Sandelowski & Barroso, 2007; Suri, 2011).

### Analysis of the Data

The thematic synthesis method, one of the meta-synthesis approaches developed by Thomas

and Harden, was used in this study. This method is also regarded as an analysis technique that may be used in different types of qualitative compilations rather than an independent compilation method (Gümüş, 2018). This analysis method consists of three stages (Thomas & Harden, 2008), namely, 1) coding (detailed coding of the studies included in the research), 2) creating themes (arranging codes under similar headings to form descriptive themes), and creating analytical sub-themes (creating abstract and analytical sub-themes in the context of themes and the codes they cover). Following these stages, the main points emphasised by the study participants and their evaluations were coded separately for each study in the first step. For the next step, the descriptive theme stage, opinions were taken from three experts. Thereafter, all the codes were read again to find and create themes. These themes were finalised by again consulting three experts. In the third stage, which was an intuitive process, the identified codes and themes were examined in depth and an attempt was made to draw inferences. This stage was where the research themes were considered critically, allowing for the emergence of more abstract and

analytical themes (Gümüş, 2018). Six themes, 15 sub-themes, and 50 codes were finally created.

The themes were language and communication, adaptation, discrimination, teacher experiences, psychological effects, and the education system. The included theses and articles were coded as S1, S2, ... S51 to make them easier to synthesise. In addition, the opinions of teachers in the studies included in the meta-synthesis are presented as direct quotations, interpretations, and synthesis methods. When quoting directly, the opinion of the participating teacher in the cited study is given with the code of that study.

### Findings

In this section, the findings obtained from the analysis conducted to determine the experiences of teachers who taught refugee students are discussed. Six themes and 15 sub-themes related to 50 codes are examined in the content analysis. The theme, "language and communication", has three separate sub-themes, namely teacher-child communication, language barriers, and teacher-parent communication, which are presented in Table 1.

**Table 1** Sub-themes and codes obtained for the language and communication theme

Theme	Sub-theme	Code	Frequency
Language and communication	Teacher-child communication	Inability to understand the lesson, inability to express oneself	40 publications
	Language barriers	Family resistance, cultural differences, number of refugees in the classroom, alphabet differences, desire to go to different countries	18 publications
	Teacher-parent communication	Language problem, teacher-family cooperation	20 publications

In all the studies examined, we found that the greatest difficulty for the teachers who taught refugee students was language and communication. The students could not express themselves, thus they could not communicate. One teacher reacted as follows: "I observe that they cannot understand the lesson and do not get along with their friends due to a serious language problem" (S16).

Under the sub-theme, language barriers, the greatest obstacle experienced by participating teachers was the language learning of refugee students:

*Families see language learning as cultural corruption, and they are reluctant to have their children educated at school (S23).*

*The fact that they are used to reading the text from right to left causes us problems while teaching Turkish (S13).*

Parent communication was another problematic situation experienced by teachers teaching refugee students. It was stated that communication with parents was not possible due to the language barrier. For this reason, it was stated that healthy information exchange with families regarding students' behaviour in school and their academic development could not be provided: "In general, parents are very indifferent. I didn't see their parents coming to school. They remain uninterested" (S36).

The sub-themes and codes identified under the theme, "integration", are presented in Table 2.

**Table 2** Sub-themes and codes obtained for the integration theme

Theme	Sub-theme	Codes	Frequency
Integration	Separate class proposal	Disrupting order, language problem	18 publications
	Cohabitation	Inclusive education environments, integration	14 publications
	Obstacles	Social perspective, fear of assimilation, parental apathy, economic problems, age difference	39 publications

Teachers who participated in the studies stated that refugee students had adaptation problems in some subjects, and they carried out inclusive education environments and integration studies to overcome these problems. The following is a sample statements from this theme: *“I am not really in favour of refugee students taking classes in the same class as Turkish students. Because they can’t fully understand and perceive the subjects, that’s why they disrupt the order of the lesson a lot”* (S4).

In the sub-theme of living together, it was found that the codes of inclusive education environments and integration were mentioned in eight theses and six articles. In the studies examined, it was stated by the teachers that the codes identified on the harmony of refugee students made a positive contribution. The ideas of the teachers about the sub-theme of living together are given below.

*Since the children could not express themselves verbally when they first arrived, I tried to offer*

*them educational environments enriched with sports so that they could participate in the environment with a sense of achievement. You know, when it comes to games, children already participate more easily. As a result, I observed that they were able to acquire the language more easily while playing.* (S33)

We determined that barriers, the last sub-theme under the harmony theme, were mentioned together with codes on society’s perspective, fear of assimilation, parental apathy, economic difficulties, and age difference in classes. It is thought that these codes were important findings for the adaptation of refugee students. The following is a direct quote on this sub-theme: *“First of all, Turkish families have prejudices. It’s like they’re all sick people who should never be approached. That’s how they see Syrians. Although I try to fix it, this behaviour flares up from time to time”* (S46).

The sub-themes and codes determined in the context of the discrimination theme are indicated in Table 3.

**Table 3** Sub-themes and codes obtained for the discrimination theme

Theme	Sub-theme	Codes	Frequency
Discrimination	Labelling	Syrian, Nasty, Terrorist, Thief	21 publications
	Grouping	Ethnicity, Achievement	19 publications
	Exclusion	Peer exclusion, adult attitude	14 publications

The teachers who participated in the studies stated that refugee students were labelled with words such as Syrian, nasty, thief, and terrorist, which resulted in grouping and exclusion.

*Syrians in my class are sometimes discriminated against by other students. Students mostly humiliate and exclude Syrian students with adjectives such as ‘Syrian’, ‘Dirty Syrian.’ In this case, the Syrian student can complain to the teacher, saying, ‘My teacher, he/she called me Syrian’, because other students use it as an insult even though they know that their Syrian identity is not bad.* (S24)

In the sub-theme, grouping, achievement and ethnicity emerged as codes. The participating teachers’ opinions on the grouping sub-theme are presented below.

*There is a lot of grouping among refugee students, especially among Syrian and Afghan students. It is seen that they are sitting next to their friends who are of their race in the classroom, and they are walking with the friends of their race in the schoolyard.* (S34)

Under exclusion, the last sub-theme of the discrimination theme, peer exclusion and adult attitude emerged as codes. We thought that these codes were important in understanding the discriminatory behaviour faced by refugee students.

*Local families do not want their children to attend classes with refugee children. They do not want refugees because they think that they can transmit diseases and that they are not clean enough* (S20).

The sub-themes and codes determined under the theme, teacher experiences, are presented in Table 4.

**Table 4** Sub-themes and codes obtained for the theme of teacher experiences

Theme	Sub-theme	Codes	Frequency
Teacher experiences	Classroom management	Compliance with the rules, teacher helplessness, teacher’s effort, teaching methods, and techniques, learning together, attendance, age difference, number of refugee students, academic achievement	33 publications
	Professional qualification	Lack of information and equipment, need for in-service training, translator student	16 publications

Two sub-themes were determined for the theme, teacher experiences, namely classroom management and professional qualification, which is clear from the following: *“They had no toilet habits; they never wiped their hands; they did not wash. I tried so hard to fix these situations; now*

*they have learned to be clean and honest. I brought these habits to these children”* (S45).

The codes from the sub-theme, professional qualification, were lack of information and equipment, need for in-service training, and translator students. From the studies examined, we observed that the most common problems faced by

teachers under professional qualifications were caused by language. The following provides an example of the teachers' opinions on the sub-theme, professional qualification: *"If I have sufficient knowledge, I can make the lesson*

*enjoyable. However, I do not believe I have the necessary knowledge and experience to educate refugee students"* (S4).

The sub-themes and codes under the theme, psychological effects, are given in Table 5.

**Table 5** Sub-themes and codes obtained for the psychological effects theme

Theme	Sub-theme	Codes	Frequency
Psychological effects	Trauma	War and migration, loss of relatives	13 publications
	Psycho-social effects	Lack of confidence, self-isolation, tendency to violence, psychological support	15 publications

The teachers who participated in the studies stated that reasons such as war and migration, and loss of relatives created a noticeable difference in behaviour among refugee students, which is seen in the following:

*We have some problems with Syrian students. Children are introverted. We have problems with communication. Since they come from a war environment, they can show different reactions to different events. When there is a sudden loud noise, the child suddenly shuts himself down and does not speak at all.* (S31)

Under the sub-theme, psycho-social effects, lack of confidence, self-isolation, the tendency to violence, and psychological support, were mentioned in almost all studies. In this sub-theme, the focus was on teachers' approaches to students. Identifying the differences in the behaviour of refugee students is important in this regard. A participant in S18 said the following: *"When my student first came to me, she/he wanted to be alone in a corner; she/he was crying all the time; she/he didn't understand what I was saying; these were hard times"* (S18).

The sub-themes and codes determined for the theme, education system, are given in Table 6.

**Table 6** Sub-themes and codes obtained for the education system theme

Theme	Sub-theme	Codes	Frequency
Education system	Support	In-service training, materials, and infrastructure	13 publications
	Deficiencies	In-service training, quantification and evaluation, materials and infrastructure, programme, and regulation	23 publications

Participating teachers mentioned some important situations under the sub-theme, support, to increase the quality of state education. Under the sub-theme, deficiencies, unfulfilled requests by administrators/authorities were mentioned. The teachers stated that they needed in-service training and materials to improve their teaching of refugee students.

*It was not enough. It would be better to have hands-on training. We tried to provide education for foreign students without encountering any foreign students before. We did not see the practice. We saw the theory. They say that it will happen like this, but it certainly doesn't. Real life is different....* (S39)

In the sub-theme, deficiencies, the codes in-service training, quantification and evaluation, materials and infrastructure, programme and regulation were mentioned throughout. This sub-theme is important in terms of exemplifying the structural conditions of the education system in the education of refugee students.

*They said that you will only provide education with this infrastructure, but they did not make any arrangements. We only had a seminar once. We hoped that this seminar would be a guide for us. But then we only listened to each other's problems. It didn't contribute anything.* (S4)

### Discussion and Conclusion

The civil war that started in Syria in 2011 has led to a large influx of refugees into Türkiye from 2014. Although Türkiye has hosted various migration movements in the past, this was the first time that the country encountered migration of this magnitude and diversity. It soon became clear that the state and civil organisations were not sufficiently prepared. With the Temporary Protection Law promulgated in 2016 and the definition of Syrian refugees as "individuals under temporary protection status", academic studies on refugees had gained momentum. In our study, we did an in-depth analysis of 19 postgraduate theses and 32 academic articles in which the circumstance of refugees in Türkiye between 2010 and 2021 were discussed. In these studies the integration of refugees into educational processes and the difficulties encountered in this process were examined in detail. These studies show that teachers had a critical responsibility, shaped by uncertainty and a lack of planning, to integrate refugee students into the education system during this period.

The findings of the study clearly show that one of the most fundamental difficulties that teachers faced in the integration of refugee students

into the educational process was the language barrier. Bernstein's (1960) theory of linguistic codes draws attention to the relationship between language use and educational success. Bernstein argues that students' linguistic differences can negatively affect their academic performance. This lack of mother-tongue education may cause poor reading ability (Vos & Fouché, 2021). The inability of students with low Turkish proficiency to actively participate in lessons lead to social exclusion and intra-group separation. This situation revealed that teachers faced serious difficulties in ensuring harmony in the classroom. In addition, language proficiency problems were not limited to students. They also created significant difficulties in communication with parents. Teachers emphasised that refugee parents' lack of command of Turkish made school-parent cooperation difficult. In this context, we observed that Turkish teachers significantly differed with regard to the language and communication problems experienced with refugee students. Teachers stated that most refugee students' economic situations were poor. For this reason, refugee parents were reluctant to send their children to school. They also wanted their children to work and contribute to the household economy. Therefore, they did not care enough about their children's education. From the theses and articles that we examined, we found that a small number of teachers tried to overcome these obstacles with empathy and patience, while the majority exhibited a more reluctant approach to this process. We determined that these differences in attitudes negatively affected the adaptation process of refugee students into the education system.

Negative attitudes towards refugees in Turkish society complicate the students' adaptation. Local people regard refugee children as a threat to the quality of education that their own children receive. Teachers also said that parents often complained that refugees negatively affected harmony in the classroom. Teachers frequently express their observations of discriminatory behaviour faced by refugee students. We found that ethnic separation among refugee students has become more evident over time. For example, it is stated that Turkish students rather accepted Syrian students of Turkmen origin than Syrian students of Arab origin. This separation might be due to the discourse that students are exposed to at home (Saklan, 2018). Goffman (2018) emphasises that stigmatisation is a negative form of classification that emerges because of interaction between individuals or groups. Stigmatisation may cause individuals to associate themselves with socially undesirable characteristics which could lead to discriminatory behaviour against these individuals. Refugee students are often labelled negatively as dirty, thief, or terrorist, and this deepens the separation between refugees and Turkish students.

Such discriminatory attitudes and exclusionary behaviour in schools sometimes lead to physical conflict. Teachers are affected by this chaotic environment in different ways, and their pedagogical approaches are divided into three main groups. The first group is those who fulfil their duties without discrimination, adhering to professional ethics. The second group is those who attach importance to professional ethics but change their attitudes according to environmental factors. The third group is teachers who ignore refugee students and disregard their existence. In the theses and articles examined we found that most teachers resorted under the third group. These different approaches resulted in the formation of diverse attitudes and perceptions in educational environments. In our study, we understood that teachers were not hopeful about solving these problems. This situation is clearly revealed from the direct quotes in the findings section. Teachers shared many of the problems expressed by the parents. In this context, the various roles that teachers take as members of society, such as parents and colleagues, and the effects of these roles on their professional lives should be taken into consideration. Studies show that teachers expressed that they needed to take a stand against negative discourse towards refugees. However, the same teachers stated that, being mothers or fathers, they shared the concerns of society (Yağan, 2020a). The necessity of establishing a balance between the realities of society and professional ethics is critical for teachers to effectively cope with the challenges in their personal and professional lives.

Allport's (1954) theory of intergroup conflict provides an important framework to explain this situation. Allport states that a lack of interaction between groups can pave the way for the reinforcement of hostile attitudes. The positive effects of intergroup contact will occur under four conditions. Groups have equal status, common goals are determined, there is cooperation between groups, and there is support from the authority that emerges as law and tradition for this relationship. When evaluated in this context, it is thought that sharing common educational areas with Turkish and refugee students would contribute positively to the adaptation process. It is stated that restricting educational opportunities increases the risk of cultural marginalisation of refugee communities, and this situation makes it more difficult for teachers to manage classroom dynamics (Sheikh & Anderson, 2018). Sherif and his colleagues, who examined the nature of intergroup conflict, advanced Allport's theory and stated that to eliminate intergroup conflict, group members should come together to achieve real and interesting goals (Sherif, 2010). However, under current conditions, it is seen that the basic principles put forward by Allport and Sherif are

insufficient in presenting the integration policies implemented against refugees in Türkiye and the world.

Economic pressures and intense migration movements deepen social divisions and lead to differences in attitudes in educational institutions. The increasing refugee population due to mass migration after 2014 and the economic crisis triggered by the coronavirus disease (COVID-19) pandemic that started in 2020 have led to refugees being branded as scapegoats by teachers and a large part of society. The shrinking economic conditions have caused the local population to exhibit discriminatory behaviour against refugees. This has further complicated the dynamics within the classroom. The significant increase in the voting rates of far-right parties that promise to deport refugees from Türkiye and many countries of the world, especially in Europe, is noteworthy. If precautions are not taken, we face the risk of this situation turning into serious conflict. Indeed, the violent anti-refugee actions that took place in European countries with relatively high income, especially in England, Italy, and France in the summer of 2024, are a clear example of this. Therefore, the effectiveness of economic conditions in reducing the risk of conflict between groups should never be ignored. If the task of assimilating refugees is given to schools alone without taking these conditions into account, failure is inevitable. Althusser (2014) argues that the most important and useful ideological apparatus of the state before the Enlightenment was the church. However, according to him, since the value of religion in the eyes of society decreased after the Enlightenment, this role is now taken by educational institutions. Since the monopoly of states on information has been broken thanks to developing mass communication tools (internet, social media, etc.), education is again the most effective apparatus of ideological dissemination in society. Schools have thus become the most useful ideological apparatus of the state. Therefore, the role of schools in eliminating all these conflicts and developing an inclusive perspective in the eyes of society should be reconsidered.

As a result, when we examined teachers' statements about the problems they had experienced with refugee students, we found that they actually expressed a deep sense of helplessness. One of the two main reasons that give rise to this feeling of helplessness is that teachers, as the rest of society, have economic concerns. The second reason is that they do not receive sufficient training on how to deal with this situation. Superficial in-service training presented in short periods result in teachers feeling inadequate about working with refugee students and their families. For this reason, they must develop instant solutions to problems in the classroom and try to eliminate

their lack of knowledge with individual efforts. While Burns and Lawrie (2015) emphasise that teacher training is generally inadequate in emergency situations, Ring and West (2015) state that the necessary training in the refugee context is often incomplete. Amaç (2021) and Sarier (2020) state that teachers complain about the inadequacy of the education they had received. It is stated that similar negative attitudes were also observed among school administrators (Yağan, 2020b). This situation causes teachers to feel helpless in inclusive education practices. This helplessness increases the feeling of burnout in teachers and leads to negative attitudes. Supporting the professional development of teachers and increasing their development opportunities stands out as a fundamental element that will strengthen the overall success of the education system.

#### Data Availability

The data that support the findings of this study are available from the corresponding author upon reasonable request.

#### Authors' Contributions

All authors contributed equally in the preparation of the article. All authors reviewed the final manuscript.

#### Notes

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**Appendix A: List of Studies Included in the Analysis**

- Akay S, Hamamcı Z & Kurt M 2017. Suriyeli öğrencilerle çalışan psikolojik danışmanların yaşadıkları sorunlar ve bu sorunlara ilişkin uyguladıkları çözüm yollarının incelenmesi [Examining the problems faced by the psychological counsellors who work with the Syrian children and the solutions applied to encounter the problems]. *Gaziantep Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Dergisi*, 2(1):23–47. Available at <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/download/article-file/485030>. Accessed 13 August 2025.
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**Appendix B: Studies Included in the Research**

CODE	Researcher	Year	Area of study	Type of publication	Teacher	Pre-school	Primary school	Secondary school	High school
S1	Kaysılı A, Soylu A & Sever M	2019	Ankara	Article	12			*	
S2	Yurdakul A & Tok TN	2018	Ege Bölgesi	Article	70		*	*	
S3	Günlü A, Sağlam A, Gürat C & Uz Baş A	2020	İzmir	Article	12		*	*	*
S4	Soylu A, Kaysılı A & Sever M	2020	Ankara	Article	14		*	*	
S5	Erdem C	2017	Afyon	Article	5		*		
S6	Mercan Uzun E & Bütün E	2019	Samsun	Article	6	*			
S7	Boylu E & Işık P	2020	Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Hatay, Mersin, Kilis	Article	10			*	*
S8	Boylu E & Işık P	2019	Adıyaman, Gaziantep, Hatay, Osmaniye, Kahramanmaraş, Şanlıurfa ve Kilis	Article	6		*	*	
S9	Avcı F	2019	Eskişehir	Article	8	*			
S10	Cırt-Karaağaç F & Güvenç H	2019	İstanbul	Article	33		*		
S11	Göktuna Yaylacı F, Serpil H & Yaylacı AF	2017	Eskişehir	Article	5		*		
S12	Zayimoğlu Öztürk F	2018	Ordu	Article	10			*	
S13	Şahin F & Şener ÜÖ	2019	İstanbul	Article	2			*	
S14	Başar M, Akan D & Çiftçi M	2018	Uşak	Article	20		*		
S15	Börü N & Boyacı A	2016	Eskişehir	Article	10				*
S16	Baloğlu Uğurlu N & Akdovan M	2019	Mersin, Niğde, Adana, Siirt, Sivas	Article	10			*	
S17	Taskın P & Erdemli O	2018	Ankara	Article	5		*		
S18	Demir Başaran S	2021	Kayseri	Article	21		*		
S19	Kardeş S & Akman B	2018	Ankara	Article	19		*		
S20	Göksoy S	2020	Batı Karadeniz Bölgesi	Article	23	*	*	*	*
S21	Eren Z	2019	Bolu	Article	29		*	*	
S22	Şimşir Z & Dilmaç B	2018	Konya	Article	17			*	
S23	Moralı G	2018	Kayseri	Article	22		*		
S24	Altıntaş ME	2018	11 Different Provinces	Article	50		*	*	*
S25	Aykırı K	2017	Mardin	Article	18		*		
S26	Bulut S, Kanat Soysal Ö & Gülçiçek D	2018	Ankara, Bursa, Muğla	Article	14		*		
S27	Akay S, Hamamcı Z & Kurt M	2017	Gaziantep	Article	32		*	*	*
S28	Özenç EG & Saat F	2019	Nevşehir	Article	20		*		
S29	Gültutan S & Kan MO	2019	Şanlıurfa	Article	30		*		
S30	İmamoğlu HV & Çalışkan E	2017	Sinop	Article	20		*		
S31	Alkalay G, Kırıl B & Erdem AR	2021	İstanbul	Article	12		*		
S32	Koşar S & Aslan F	2020	Ankara	Article	35		*	*	
S33	Aktürk Çopur D	2019	Düzce	M.A	15		*		
S34	Sekin SA	2019	Osmaniye	M.A	26		*		
S35	Alpaslan S	2019	Antalya	M.A	20			*	
S36	Anis R	2019	Gaziantep	M.A	25		*		
S37	Erçakır-Kozan B	2019	Ankara	M.A	10		*		
S38	Emiroğlu SE	2018	Antalya	M.A	17		*		
S39	Esen S	2020	Konya	M.A	27				
S40	İçöz H	2019	Antalya	M.A	24		*		
S41	Kultas E	2017	Van	M.A	8			*	
S42	Atlıhan AM	2019	Denizli	M.A	7		*	*	
S43	Olgun O	2019	Ankara	M.A	63		*		
S44	Özgün E	2019	Mardin	M.A	80		*		
S45	Pehlivan Yılmaz A	2019	Unspecified	PhD	7			*	
S46	Polat A	2019	Konya	M.A	16		*		
S47	Saklan E	2018	Gaziantep, İstanbul, Adana	PhD	35			*	
S48	Sarıahmetoğlu H	2019	Kastamonu	M.A	8			*	
S49	Şanlı B	2019	Gaziantep	M.A	22			*	
S50	Şeker S	2020	Yozgat	M.A	24			*	*
S51	Uyanık A	2019	Konya	M.A	30		*	*	*