



**SOCIAL SCIENCES UNIVERSITY OF ANKARA**

**INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES IN SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**HATİCE KÜBRA ÇELİK**

**DO TEACHERS' SUBJECTIVE BELIEFS AFFECT SYRIAN  
STUDENTS' EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES IN TURKEY?**

**DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE**

**IN**

**THE DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS**

**MARCH 2020**



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## TEZ ONAYI

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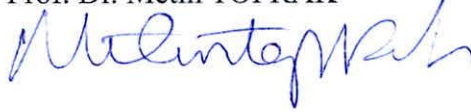
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## ABSTRACT

### DO TEACHERS' SUBJECTIVE BELIEFS AFFECT SYRIAN STUDENTS' EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES IN TURKEY?

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Due to the Syrian War, up to 12 million people have been forced to leave their homes and more than 450,000 people have lost their lives since 2011. The crisis has resulted in immense social and economic effects on Syrian people and the hosting countries. Around 1.5 million refugee children have been deprived of basic education for several years. Turkey hosts almost one million school-age Syrian children. The Ministry of Education in Turkey has been working on the integration of these children into the national education system. In this study, we aim at understanding the factors affecting Syrian students' academic success in Turkish primary schools. We conducted exams with both Syrian and Turkish students to evaluate their Math, Reading and Social Studies comprehension and also we interviewed teachers to collect their subjective beliefs on the students in their classrooms. We especially focus on teachers' attitudes towards Syrian students. To identify how teachers' subjective beliefs change depending on students' ethnicity, we compare students born in Turkey and born in Syria. Moreover, we aim at measuring how much a teacher has an impact on students' academic performance. We conducted our research in 13 primary schools in poorer districts of Ankara where there is a higher percentage of students with an immigrant background. We restrict our sample to the second and third-grade students. The result of this research indicates that, teachers' subjective beliefs do not have a significant effect on immigrant students' classroom performance.

**Keywords :** Teacher's subjective beliefs, academic performance, Syrian students, Turkey

## ÖZET

# ÖĞRETMENLERİN ÖZNEL GÖRÜŞLERİ TÜRKİYE’DEKİ SURİYELİ ÖĞRENCİLERİN EĞİTİM PERFORMANSINI ETKİLİYOR MU?

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Danışman: Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Zeynep Burcu Uğur

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Suriye’de çıkan iç savaş nedeniyle, 2011’den bu yana 12 milyon kadar insan yaşadığı yeri terk etmek zorunda kalmış, 450.000’den fazla insan hayatını kaybetmiştir. Ülkedeki kriz ortamı, Suriyeliler ve onlara kapılarını açan ev sahibi ülkeler üzerinde ciddi derecede yıkıcı sosyal ve ekonomik etkiler yaratmış, yaklaşık 1,5 milyon mülteci çocuk, eğitimden mahrum edilmiştir. Türkiye, halihazırda neredeyse bir milyon kadar okul çağındaki Suriyeli çocuğa ev sahipliği yapmaktadır. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, mülteci çocukların eğitim sistemine entegrasyonu konusunda üstün gayret göstermektedir.

Bu araştırmada Türk Eğitim Sisteminde eğitim gören yabancı özellikle de Suriyeli öğrencilerin başarısını etkileyen faktörler incelenmektedir. Öğrencilerin akademik başarılarının ölçülmesi hususunda seviyelerine uygun matematik, Türkçe ve sosyal bilgiler alanlarında soruların olduğu, gözetmenler eşliğinde çok oturumlu sınavlar yapılmıştır. Ayrıca, öğretmenlerin sınıflarındaki öğrencilerin akademik, ekonomik ve davranış konularında kişisel fikirlerini öğrenmek amacıyla çeşitli görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Bu çalışmada özellikle öğretmenlerin Suriyeli öğrencilere yönelik tutumlarına odaklanılmaktadır. Öğretmenlerin öznel inançlarının / görüşlerinin öğrencilerin etnik kökenine göre nasıl değiştiğini belirlemek için Türkiye’de ve Suriye’de doğan öğrencileri karşılaştırmaktayız. Ayrıca, bir öğretmenin öğrencilerin akademik performansı üzerinde ne kadar etkisi olduğunu ölçmeyi amaçlıyoruz. Araştırmalarımız, Ankara şehrinin, göçmen kökenli bireylerin çoğunlukta olduğu, yoksul beldelerindeki 13 ilköğretim okulunda gerçekleşmiştir. Örneklemimiz ikinci ve üçüncü sınıf öğrencileriyle sınırlıdır.

Bu araştırma ile ulaştığımız sonuç, öğretmenlerin öznel yargılarının, göçmen öğrencilerin akademik performansları üzerinde istatistiksel olarak anlamlı bir etkisi olmadığıdır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Öğretmenlerin öznel inançları / görüşleri , akademik performans, Suriyeli öğrenciler, Türkiye

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

|        |  |
|--------|--|
| UN     | United Nations   |
| UNHCR  | The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees          |
| TSB    | Teachers' Subjective Belief                                |
| UNICEF | The United Nations Children's Fund                         |
| ECLS-K | Early Childhood Longitudinal Study, Kindergarten           |
| OECD   | The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development |

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## 1. Introduction

Nationalism is pervasive in most of the societies in the world. There are numerous studies reporting that racial minorities, immigrants and foreigners perceive themselves to be discriminated against (Torney-Purta, Lehmann et al., 2001). These attitudes towards immigrants are generally very long lasting as it is closely related to prejudice (Allport, Clark et al., 1954).

Xenophobia, a feeling of fear to foreigners and outsiders, is likely to cause immigrants to be targets of social exclusion and political discussion. Those countries having vast numbers of immigrant residents often have issues with xenophobic behaviors. For instance, the expulsion of 800,000 Ghanaians from Nigeria in the 1980s has shown increasing inhospitality and harsh behavior to migrants (Crush and Ramachandran, 2009). Another example shows that an increasing right-wing German nationalism triggered harsh behaviors towards immigrants and foreigners during 1980s (Doğan, 2007). Those people were invited to Germany due to huge labor shortage in the country. By the time, the social tension between local people and immigrants has increased as newcomers started claiming for more social and democratic rights. Attacks on asylum-seekers in Sollingen and Rocstock/ Germany show that extreme right – wing nationalist sentiment was still prevalent (Şen, Quigley et al., 1994).

Xenophobia attempts to disseminate the real or perceived differences. Therefore, when we consider differences in race, language and ethnicity so on and so forth, it is not surprising to see higher tendency towards xenophobic behaviors to immigrants. Huge influx of the immigrants has result in fear and apprehension in hosting countries. Cultural differences are used as the excuse to promote a hierarchy of domination and the imposed model of assimilation (Lucas, 2012). This may end up with exploitation of rights of immigrants and put them in vulnerable positions. For instance, Czech Republic has been a home to minority of Muslim people with no serious integration problems. However, people display a wave of fear of the Muslim migrants, of such magnitude that it was noticed even by the UN (Kavan, 2016). This strong wave of fear urges politicians who try to canalize nationalist sentiment and use peoples' fears and intolerance of anything foreign and unknown. Media and politicians exhibits migrants as the source of crime, trafficking, drugs, disease, AIDS and other social ills (Boehnke, 2001). For instance, in his election campaign, Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi referred irregular migrants as the “army of evil”, while former President George W Bush stated that they bring crime to their communities (Crush and Ramachandran, 2009).

Xenophobia in Turkey, similarly, is used to feed the nationalist sentiment which has deep roots. Turkish nationalism evolved within the history of the country which is full of battles and glorious victories which will be elaborated under section 3.2. Nationalism is heavily supported by political parties and the government itself. Sinan Oğan, a Turkish politician and member of parliament from the right-wing Nationalist Movement Party, has expressed his ideas on Syrian refugees and their burden on Turkey (Hurriyet, 2017). He mentions that probability of being a live bomb of each Syrian in future is high. He also sees a high probability for Syrians to become a snatcher, thief, rapist or murderer. Furthermore, The Minister of Internal Affairs has announced new regulations to prevent additional influx of Syrian refugees into Istanbul due to illegal working conditions and ghettoization of Syrians in some districts. Minister Soylu mentioned that increasing mobility of Syrians might lead to further tension in the society and cause insecurity of the borders (Haberturk, 2019).

Initially the relations between Syrian refugees and the local residents in Turkey have been relatively peaceful, however, locals have started showing signs of discontent including blaming Syrians for the increase in housing prices (Sak, 2014), increase in unemployment, competition with local businesses (Çetingüleç, 2014) and several social occasions such as thefts, murders and prostitution (Erdoğan, 2015).

One can feel the nationalist sentiment in the Turkish education system very clearly especially in the curricula that is mandatory to follow for all schools all over the country. According to “Aim of Education” declared by Ministry of Education in 1940s , one characteristic of Turkish youth has to be nationalist. The aim of the education was deemed to raise youth with a nationalist spirit (Sabahaddin, 2011).

In this study, we would like to examine how teachers’ worldview affects Syrian children’s educational outcomes in Turkey. Syrian children’s educational attainment is important for many other countries as well as Syrian war has caused 2<sup>nd</sup> largest human movement in the world after the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War (Kingsley, 2015). Due to the war, more than 400,000 people have lost their lives so far, half of the population relocated from their home, over 6 million people have to abandon their homes and migrate to neighboring countries: Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey (Specia, 2018). This study is especially important for Turkey in the sense that Turkey hosts around the largest number of Syrians (around 3.5 million people according to official statistics – UNHCR). After the outbreak of the Syrian war and as of 2019, there are approximately 1 million Syrian school aged children in Turkey. Also, although there are small scale descriptive studies about difficulties of Syrian children in Turkish education system, we would like to show

how the educational performance of Syrian children is altered depending on the welcoming attitude of the teacher in a more objective manner.

Generally, negative attitudes towards immigrants fall with education (Carvacho, Zick et al., 2013). The experience of education might translate into more efficient use of social brakes against intolerance and other antidemocratic sentiments (Napier and Jost, 2008). Therefore, we expect teachers to be more positive about immigrants than general public. However, as teachers of any country are also citizens of that country, nationalistic ideals can also be seen among teachers.

For many migrants and refugees, education is seen as a key for getting out of hardship, breaking the cycle of socio-economic exclusion and violence. In the world, there are efforts to fight with negative impacts of xenophobic and nationalist sentiment and fortify interracial relations such as schools embracing a multicultural education with a more diverse curricula consisting of broader historical events and holidays (Martin and Baxter, 2001). These efforts can provide more opportunities for students with immigrant background. However, there are important barrier for students with immigrant background, too. U.S. Department of Education (2019) assert that approximately 45 percent of schools with low-income and minority students receive less local and state aid than others. Schools with limited aids and funding have less likely to invest on students' education and other facilities including technology, quality of teachers etc. This leads to less competition and success among students studying in those schools.

Furthermore, teachers' subjective evaluations on student are pervasive in any school where teachers have right to grade students behaviors exhibited during the class. It is called "opinion grading" where some teachers may give higher or lower grade depending on students' race, ethnicity or social status. For instance, the data collected from Early Childhood Longitudinal Study, Kindergarten (ECLS-K) in the USA shows that teachers tend to give better assessments to children of their own race and ethnicity (Ouazad, 2008). These practices are likely to harm certain group of students.

## 2. Literature Review

To put the Syrian children's achievement in Turkey into context, we need to be aware of that there are well-documented achievement gaps depending on student's race, ethnicity and socio-economic background (SES) (Lee and Burkam, 2002; Jencks and Phillips, 2011). According to Fryer Jr and Levitt (2004), much of the achievement gap by race could be attributable to differences in SES. Yet, there are strong associations between SES and ethnicity (Lee and Burkam, 2002). If the differences in students' socio-economic background is the culprit, this implies that their parents' economic and educational outcomes are critical for students' achievement. On the one hand, it is plausible that families have a direct effect on their children's achievement by shaping their beliefs and aspirations (Wagner and Spratt 1988). However, if the association between SES and ethnicity continues over time, this also implies that schools are not functional in closing the gap between disadvantaged and advantaged students. It is possible that the schools that disadvantaged students attend are systematically different from schools advantaged students attend (Condrón and Roscigno, 2003). That is, if low SES families in poorer areas of a city, the schools located in those areas might have less resources than school located in richer areas. One difference could be classroom size. In line with that, Krueger and Whitmore (2001) found that a small classroom narrowed the gap between black and white students by 54%. Schools' resource scarcity can also be manifested as having low quality teachers.

Teachers shape students' attitudes and achievements. Grading is one of the way which teachers might influence students' beliefs (Mechtenberg, 2009). Lavy and Sand (2015) show that grading biases could result in long-lasting impacts on academic achievement of students. Sprietsma (2009) provides evidence for grade discrimination in primary education where German and Turkish names are randomly assigned to same sets of essays written by fourth-graders. She finds that essays with Turkish names are graded significantly worse.

Teachers also likely to influence students' belief by exposing their expectations on students. Teachers are prone to negatively perceive children of marginalized groups. For example, using the Beginning School Study of Baltimore students, Alexander, Entwisle et al. (1987) found that first-grade high-status white teachers typically rated their black and low-status students less favorably than white students on maturity and held lower expectations for black and low-status students. Rist (1970) believes that some teachers try to link poverty and minority status with lack of intelligence, therefore tend to discriminate the disadvantaged students in the classroom. Tannock (2008) claims that discriminatory tendencies of the teachers might lead to a secondary class of people that results in further failures and problems in the society. In deed, Gould (1996) and Kamin (2012) indicates that people usually tend to favor those coming from their ideologies and dominant social groups. In other words, discriminatory behavior of teachers can have roots from their social and political tendencies. Socio-economic backgrounds of these students appeared to have a strong influence over teachers' expectations (Namrata, 2011). Some describe children as 'lesser future potential' and 'slum type' implying that they are unable

to learn or they cannot do well in their studies. Van Ewijk (2011) finds that students from different ethnicities are more likely to be perceived as low-performers with unwanted attitudes by their teacher and this could reduce teacher's teaching effort and students' motivation and eventually result in lower academic performance. Moreover, teachers usually expect from minority students to be more disruptive and reluctant to complete their homework (Agirdag, Van Avermaet et al., 2013).

According to Steele (1997), teachers having low expectations may aggravate the harmful effects of stereotype because low expectations cause emotional responses that might harm performances or cause students to dissociate themselves from educational environments. Using data from National Survey of Student Engagement, Kuh (2003) has shown that classroom communication is an essential part of student-teacher engagement. It simply helps to enrich students' learning ability. Kuh (2003) adds on that active involvement leads to stronger skill foundations conveying to a better academic performance. Good (1987), in a review, argues that teachers having low expectations give less feedback, pay less attention and praise students less often for their success. Besides, they tend to criticize them more often for their failure. Therefore, student exposed to discrimination are found to suffer from withdrawal and isolation (Beoku-Betts, 2004) and feel less comfortable expressing themselves and communicating with hosting communities (Wadsworth, Hecht et al., 2008). Thus, we expect that perceived discrimination would spoil academic performance and lead to broken relationship with others and may eventually result in undesirable behaviors such as crime, violence etc. Besides, there exist studies showing the impact of own-race relations in the classroom. Dee (2004) found out that students belonging to minority groups excel better when they are matched with teachers having the same race or ethnicity. Also, it has been shown that racial matching of the teachers and students affect how teachers spend time on their students and evaluate their performances in the classroom (Ferguson 2003). For instance, Casteel (1998) shows that white teachers help Afro American students less than whites in finding the correct answer of the questions. The reason why each racial group benefits from their own-race teacher could be associated with cultural match and comfort coming from familiarity of shared symbols, values, and knowledge. However, we did not encounter any study examining Syrian student's case in terms of student success and racial match. Moreover, most of immigrant students migrate from Eastern countries to more developed Western countries. However, there are many different conditions in Western countries. So, not only teacher's race is different but also there could be important cultural and religious differences between hosting communities and migrants in general. Yet, Syrians and Turkish people are both mostly Muslims and shared a long history in the Ottoman Empire time.

An important barrier for Syrians in Turkish education system could be language. The public education system in Turkey is mostly conducted in Turkish and the mother tongue of Syrians, Arabic, is very different from Turkish in terms of grammatical structure. Many studies have shown that students have high rates of academic achievement when the medium of instruction is student's native language (Barnard and Glynn, 2003). For Syrian children, language barriers are found to be a reason to

drop out of schools (Aydin and Kaya, 2017). The effect of language can go beyond communication. That is, ability to speak and write in different languages contribute to refugees' capacity to interact with natives. If a child can speak, write and learn in the language of the hosting country, it could create confidence and self-assurance (Capstick and Delaney, 2016).

Studies show that learning the medium of education language as a later learner has a negative impact on performance of students (Kioko, 2015). In their 2015 report, Human Rights Watch stated that younger Syrian children learn Turkish faster and therefore can do better in school and integrate faster. On the other hand, older children's lack of language proficiency can lead to become isolated, drop out or even not being accepted for enrollment to the schools (Crul, Keskiner et al., 2016)

Moreover, to provide language education to Syrians was not the first priority for at least 3-4 years after Syrian refugees arrived to Turkey. Initially, Turkish language courses were handled on the local level with the support of municipalities and NGOs under the concept of 'Temporary Education Center' (GEM in Turkish) (Erdoğan, 2017). As of 2017, Syrian children have given the right to enroll in public schools (Erdoğan, 2017), but there is no infrastructure for them to learn Turkish or attend any form of transition classes (Crul, Keskiner et al., 2016).

Teachers, too, have difficult time to explain the topics to Syrians. Except for the Turkmen children who can speak Turkish, Syrian refugee children do not speak Turkish. According to Save the Children Foundation's report<sup>1</sup> (2018), 61% percent of teachers interviewed has reported that language of instruction is a key challenge for refugee students. Teachers also noted that refugee children struggle to catch what they teach, which result in spending extra time to translate and explain the topic again and again.

### **3. Syrian War, Turkish Nationalism and Turkish Education System**

#### **3.1. Background of Syrian War**

The history of Syrian Crisis dates back to 1970s, beginning with the problem of rule of Hafiz Al-Assad, whose strategy focused on keeping his power with an authoritative government. Syria has been a multi-religious and multi-cultural country. Its religious demography includes Sunni Arabs, Shia Arabs, Christian Arabs, Muslim Kurds, and Syrian Palestinians (Fargues, 2014).

Assad regime enriched individuals within the sect, appointing some people to senior positions (Sherlock, 2015). Similar to his father's presidency, current president of Syria Bashar

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<sup>1</sup> International Non-governmental Organization to improve the lives of children through better education, health care, and economic opportunities, as well as providing emergency aid in natural disasters, war, and other conflicts. <https://www.savethechildren.org/>

Al-Assad has followed an authoritarian regime. At the early stage of Bashar's presidency, the country witnessed rapid economic development. This top-down economic development benefited the elites and enriched the Al-Assad family (Hinnebusch, 2012). It also left economic and social welfare for middle and lower classes far behind. Besides the unequal distribution of wealth and political power among elites and civil society, segregation of religious sects - Sunni, Shia, Alawite - triggered wide spread unrest in the country. Bashar regime failed to respond to the basic needs of people living in rural areas which might exacerbate poverty.

The Arab Spring, which started in the Middle East and North Africa in 2011 gave hope to Syrians for a better democratic society. These incidents gave rise to protests and demonstrations of citizens leading to a civil war later on. According to a CNN report (Sterling, 2012), the spark that lit the flame began in the southern city of Daraa after the arrests of at least 15 children for painting anti-government graffiti on the walls of a school. Bashar Al-Assad severely responded to the protests by killing thousands of people.

Since the very beginning of the Syrian Refugee Crisis in 2011, more than 450,000 people have lost their lives, while around 12 million people have been forced to leave their homes (DePillis, Saluja et al., 2015). Under severe conflicts, people have struggled for their lives, in need of an immediate humanitarian assistance. More than 5 million people left everything behind to find a safe place. These conflicts have resulted in immense social and economic effects on Syrian people. Women refugees, on their journey to the hosting countries, came across smugglers and they were subject to physical and sexual abuse (International Organization for Migration, 2014) Furthermore, children are forced to contribute families' income, while they are being exploited by the employers. According to data collected from Hatay and Şanlıurfa in Turkey, around 30% of children are exposed to several form of abuse at work place and feel painful due to heavy workload (UNICEF, Support to Life et al., 2016) Accordingly, it is been found working-age Syrians work informally, because they are not issued work permits, (Del Carpio and Wagner, 2015).

Countries including Turkey, Jordan, Lebanon and Egypt have hosted most of the refugees, while a small number of them have sought hope to settle in Europe. The crisis has not only affected people's lives, the large number of refugee arrivals has resulted in severe negative social and economic consequences for the hosting countries (Zetter and Ruaudel, 2014). As a country with the highest Syrians population, Turkey hosts more than 3.5 million Syrian Refugees (UNHCR, 2019). Hosting that high population creates an economic burden on country. In addition to hardship caused by increasing inflation and unemployment, security and

social cohesion issues have caused great concerns in the world. For instance, intense influx of Syrian refugees in Turkey has increased the living costs. With higher demand, food prices and house rents have increased substantially and this led to increase in inflation rates in cities located in southern part of Turkey (Özden, 2013). Syrians has also increased unemployment rate for low skilled natives in Turkey as native workers were substituted by informal Syrian refugees. Informal labor market has been increasing as most of the employers do not require Syrians to have work permit or insurance. The reason for employers to choose Syrians is that they are paid lower wages. Most importantly, educating Syrian children has become an urgent concern as around 2 million school-age Syrian children (36 per cent) remain out of school inside Syria and around 700000 school-age Syrian children (35 per cent) remain out of school in the five host countries (UNICEF, 2018).

Every children out of school might mean a potential burden for his community and hosting country. Economic research indicates that, with regard to economic benefits, investing in the development of young children yields very high returns (Rolnick and Grunewald, 2003). These children will have difficulties to find a proper job unless they are educated and entitled to a diploma. If they cannot get education, they will be dependent on social security system leading further financial burden. Education provides opportunity to prosperity. However, provided that Syrian children are denied to have such opportunities for better education, it is likely to have negative consequences - including lower productivity, polarization, high crime rate etc.- for both Syrians, Turkish and every other country in the world.

### **3.2. Evolution of Turkish Nationalism**

Ottoman Empire consisted of people from different nationalities and different religions. Ottomans pursued pluralistic policies which allowed the Empire to last 500 years as well as to be place of rather peace. Later on, however, this harmony of different nationalities was cracked down by the impetuous behavior of non-Muslim minorities in the last years of the Empire. This led to traumatic effect on Muslim Turks and created a climate of suspicion regarding non-Muslim minorities (Doğan, 2007). Non-Muslim minorities were considered as potential betrayers to the state.

Moreover, there were also uprising from the Non-Turkish Muslims against the Ottomans. Sharif Hussein, a leader from the progeny of Prophet Muhammad, rebelled against the Ottoman Caliphate by attracting some Arab tribes to his side. This rebellion of Sharif was perceived by the Republican elites as an unfaithful uprising undertaken by all Arabs to “stab” the Ottoman

Caliph, during the nation-building process of Turkey. Later, the Caliphate was also abolished. This event was called as “Arab betrayal” (Çiçek, 2012).

After collapse of Ottoman Empire in 1920s, Turkish Republic has been established on the principle of national sovereignty. Mixed population structure of Anatolia was ignored, while secularism and Turkish nationalism was promoted (Ersanli, 2002). Perception that external forces aim to divide country and spoil the harmony of different nations has been quite strong and felt in the national education system as well. Turkish nationalism, as an official ideology took place in textbooks during First World War. Government used reading texts among the works of eminent, patriotic and nationalist writers such as Köprülü Fuad Pasha (Alkan, 2014). In 1970s, nationalistic ideals values were added to constitution. Accordingly, the aim was to educate the whole nation as citizens with national moral and cultural values of the Turkish nation (Sabahaddin, 2011).

Turkish nationalism is also at the crossroads with the increasing number of Syrians in Turkey. At the beginning of Syrian War, Turkey hosted around 1400 refugees, very small number compared to the number as of 2017 (Chen, 2018). Turkish government did not grant those people with refugee status as they believed the crisis would be resolved sooner. They were instead called “guests”. However, the situation even got worse. In subsequent years, the number of people moving to Turkey increased substantially, ending up with 1.5 million by 2015. The worsening situation of the war in Syria did not allow Syrians to go back and with any sooner. Therefore, Turkish government granted Syrians with temporary protection status (Chen 2018). President Erdogan usually calls Syrians “our Syrian brothers and sisters”. For instance, during Eid al- Fitr celebration in Kilis in 2016, Erdoğan came together with local people and Syrian refugees in Kilis. He expressed his appreciation and gratitude to people of Kilis for taking care of their Syrian brothers. He also mentioned that he sincerely believes those days, when Syrian refugees will reach their home, not far away.<sup>2</sup> However this language seems a part of a policy that recognizes the refugees as temporary guests not as rights-bearing individuals (Rowlands, 2018).

Recently, integration and social cohesion of Syrians have been debated by politicians, whereas local people tend to avoid commenting on them. Previously, those guests seemed to stay temporarily and Turkish hospitality required local people to be nice with their guests. Furthermore, religious sentiment was also effective on people’s approach to Syrians. Many

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<sup>2</sup> “Suriyeli Kardeşlerimize Vatandaşlık İmkânı Vereceğiz” - <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/haberler/410/45574/suriyeli-kardeslerimiz-vatandaslik-imbni-verecigiz.html>

Turks were aware that Islam encourages people to support those who are in-need and get along well with others in the society. Especially in social life, refugees can interact with natives within the religion circle. Lazarev and Sharma (2017) found that the level of aid increases according to the religion of refugees. According to this, if they are Muslims, they might get more economic support. However, mutual religion might not be for inclusion or being accepted in the new society. A study has shown that Turkish people do not have any affinity for Syrian culture although they share a common Islamic heritage. Yet, cultural similarity was one of the main reasons for Syrians to move to Turkey (Akcapar and Simsek, 2018).

In addition to economic problems mentioned above, integration and adaption of Syrians is one the most current issues to be sorted out. Xenophobia and discrimination, as previously mentioned, are prevalent in Turkey like many other societies. Recently, social tension and xenophobic behaviors towards refugees has caused political tension in Turkey. Since the beginning of the crisis, AK Party (the Governing Party) was positive toward Syrian refugees and even mentioned for entitling them with citizenship. Government officials clarified that Syrians could get citizenship if they meet several criteria (Akcapar and Simsek 2018). Syrian Refugee Crisis was mentioned as “ an internal affair of Turkey” by Ak Party, while this got reaction from HDP ( the party that suppose themselves to protect the rights of Kurdish people claiming that the tolerance shown to Syrians was deprived from Kurds, Alawites and Yazidis (Tuğsuz and Yılmaz, 2015).

The potential for anti-refugee violence is highest in the metropolitan areas of Istanbul, Ankara and İzmir where communities see Syrians as culturally different and feel resentment for Syrians taking over their jobs. Thus, refugee-related social tension and criminal incidents recorded 181 cases in 2017 which resulted in 24 Syrian refugee’s death (International Crisis Group, 2018). Language barriers make dialogue between Turkish people and Syrian refugees difficult. Media is another tool that worsens the dialogue between two groups. Recently, a rumor spread across social media that a Syrian refugee raped a little girl in Istanbul (International Crisis Group, 2018). This created a big clash between Syrian and Turkish men. This kind of disinformation through media triggers physical violence and hate towards refugees.

An interesting finding shows that different newspapers exhibit different approaches to Syrians. Newspapers with a position close to the government praise what the governing party has done for asylum seekers and portray refugees as deserving of pity, while newspapers against to the government show a strong opposition against the regime for Syrians and present Syrians as prone to crime and burden to Turkey. Newspapers like Hürriyet and Zaman changed position

as their ownership has changed and started to present Syrians mostly as victims (Pandır, Efe et al., 2015). Not surprisingly, most Turkish citizens believe that the influx of Syrians have had an adverse impact. An October 2017 survey found that 78% of citizens believed Syrians had made their country less safe (International Crisis Group, 2018). According to many Turkish people (86.2%), regardless of their political affiliations and voting behavior, are of the opinion that Syrians has to be repatriated once the war is over

### **3.3. The Education System in Turkey**

When we look into the legal aspect of the education in Turkey, Article 42 of the Constitution gives right to learning and education for everyone, and initially primary education was compulsory and free of charge in public schools. That is, regardless of people's language, race, sex and religion, and states, every citizen has right to access to educational institution, as guaranteed by Fundamental Law on National Education (Turkish Grand National Assembly , 1982).

As of 2019, children who have reached to 66 months in September are supposed to start 1<sup>st</sup> grade. As of 1998, 8 years of primary education (5 years of primary school + 3 years of secondary school) was made compulsory. As of 2012, 12 years of education (known as the "4+4+4 reform") became compulsory. According to the OECD Report "Education at a Glance" published in September 2018, schooling rate between the ages of 5-14 in Turkey has reached to 95 %, very close to the OECD average which is 98 % . The same report indicates that the number of students per teacher in primary schools is one of the largest among OECD countries, while the annual expenditure on students is one the lowest (OECD, 2018).

Starting from the primary to the university education, private schools are also an option for students with higher economic means. The share of private expenditure on primary through tertiary education is quite high ( % 21), while public expenditure as a percentage of total public expenditure is relatively lower ( %79) than other OECD member countries (OECD, 2018). Free education is publicly funded, but schools may receive contributions from parents and provincial government for personnel and financial management of schools. Although the public funding has increased , both primary and secondary education are underfunded compared to other OECD countries (Zapata, Pont et al., 2013). Some schools force parents to pay contribution during the registration process. According to Ministry of Education, it has been prohibited to pay contribution to schools. However, parents complain that they are forced to pay for miscellaneous charges including cleaners' salary and cleaning products used in the

schools<sup>3</sup>. As each region's economic level differs from each other, collecting money from parents might exacerbate inequality among the students in schools.

Another important characteristic of education system in Turkey is that teachers are a key actor for students' success. Performance evaluations done by the teachers play an important role whether student fail or pass from the course. Addition to written tests done each month, teachers have discretionary assessment on student's passing grade. In Turkey, teachers must have a bachelor's degree from education sciences and be under 40 years old to start working in Ministry of Education. In order to work in public schools, they have to pass Public Staff Selection Exam. Based on their result from the exam, they are randomly assigned to schools. Similarly, students are randomly allocated to teachers by the administration of the school. Teachers have no say on choosing which area or school they will work in.

Number of un-appointed teachers increases every year. According to data, in 2015, only 40,000 teachers were appointed among 300,000 new teachers (Alan, Ertac et al., 2018). According to OECD (2018) teachers tend to be assigned to disadvantaged areas first to provide equality of opportunity to disadvantaged areas but these inexperienced teachers might not be able to close the achievement with the developed regions.

Once they start working, teachers begin to collect service points assigned by Ministry of Education. Schools in remote and less secured areas have higher service scores. A teacher receives points automatically for each year she/he teaches. They usually try to collect as higher point as possible to be assigned to a school that they wish and it is usually difficult to be assigned to preferred school before 10 years. Teachers could be re-appointed to their preferred schools only if they have higher service points than other candidates, and there is a vacant position in the school and the teacher has completed minimum 3 years of service. Alan, Ertac et al. (2018) found out in their research that about 80% of teachers interviewed stated that they are not working in the district of their preference and %95 of these teachers are younger than 50 years old.

Students generally have the same teacher from grade 1 to 4. This could be disrupted only with rotations due to need and re-appointments (Alan, Ertac et al., 2018). Allocation of students is usually conducted by a draw in the presence of parents , while some schools apply last name alphabetical order or national ID number (Alan, Ertac et al., 2018). Here, parents can not

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<sup>3</sup> <https://www.yenisafak.com/gundem/devlet-okullarinda-tartisma-konusu-olan-bagis-parasi-velileri-isyan-ettirdi-3503777>

involve in choosing the teacher and it is not easy to change the class in later grades. Medium of education in primary schools is Turkish. The mainstream education is conducted in mixed gender classrooms.

When it comes to the characteristic of the curriculum, secularism and nationalism are heavily stressed (Ayata, 1996). Turkish identity and nationalism are promoted as fundamental values in the education system while cultures of minorities are ignored. The government allows numerous private or public schools and universities to teach in languages such as English, French, German and Italian, however, paradoxically Kurds, the largest ethnic minority in Turkey, and many other minorities, were not entitled to open and manage schools teaching in their own languages (Kaya, 2009).<sup>4</sup> The Constitutional Court stated that “it is not possible to use the local languages used by some ethnic groups in Turkey as a means of contemporary education”, referring to the promotion of Kurdish language by Emek Party (a Marxist-Leninist political party).

Nationalist sentiment is also prevalent in education materials in Turkey which is overseen by Ministry of Education. The textbooks consist of too much information regarding to victory of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who founded the modern Turkey. Patriotism, on one hand, is quite stressed to protect the country from external enemies. Some school books include discriminatory, xenophobic statements against some minorities; some other school books praise Kemalism, Turks, and Turkish language and culture. For instance, a secondary school textbook by Ministry of Education considered Romanis backward (Cayir, 2014). In other textbooks, Turkish nationality and Islamic religion are presented to be better than the others (Kaya, 2009)

The idea of nationalism begins even in primary school. In every school, students recite an oath at least two times in a week<sup>5</sup>. During the ceremony, students should be stood up, stay silent and repeat the following words loudly by sensing it:

*‘I am a Turk, I am right, I am hardworking, my principle is to protect young people, to respect the elders, to love my country and my nation more than my soul. My ideal is to advance and go further. Dear Grand Atatürk, I take the oath to walk without stopping towards the target you have shown us, on the path that you have opened for us. My presence is a present to the presence of Turks. Happy is the person who says “I am Turk” (Kaya 2009).*

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<sup>4</sup> During his speech in International Relations Institute of Sweden, Erdoğan stated that Kurdish can not be an official language in Turkey. “<http://www.gazetevatan.com/erdogan--kurtce-resmi-dil-olamaz-170746-gundem/>”

<sup>5</sup> Previously, the oath was recited together every day before entering classroom.

When it comes to Syrian children in Turkey, there are more than 1,010,000 school-age Syrian children, out of this number, around 360,000 (35%) were enrolled in public schools in 2017-2018 academic year (Erdoğan, 2017). Around 250,000 (25%) of Syrian children were educated in Temporary Education Centers called GEMs. Education at GEMs aims at improving Syrian children's knowledge of Turkish language so that they could attend normal public schools. However GEMs have several problems including medium of education being not properly enforced, quality of training and trainers and not continuous attendance of children. It is estimated that 400,000 school-aged Syrian children do not get any education.

The Turkish government has strived to expand education opportunities for Syrian refugees by integrating them into the public school system (Parks, 2018). Legally, every Syrian child is entitled to go school in Turkey. However, according to Erdoğan (2017), only 65% of Syrian children are able to attend schools in Turkey. The target is to put every Syrian school-aged child to school as soon as possible. According to UNHCR (2019), %13 percent of Syrians are between 0 to 4 years old while more than %16 percent of them are between 5 to 11 years old. As it is clearly seen that Syrian refugees have remarkably high percent of young population which will lead to high demand for primary and secondary education in the upcoming years. With the participation of Syrian children, the management of classrooms became more complex. For example, language could be a barrier for Syrian children studying in primary and secondary level. To overcome that, Turkish language programs provided by language training organization affiliated to universities help students to become independent learners and speakers (UNHCR, 2019). With the cooperation of UNHCR, the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities provide scholarship for Syrian Refugees to cover their tuition and other relevant costs. They are also awarded with cash grants to be able to maintain their higher education (UNHCR, 2019).

Another initiative for Syrian children's education is Temporary Education Centers where Turkish language courses are provided. The curriculum used in these centers are partially revised by the provisional Syrian Government. Centers are connected to the Ministry of National Education and they are to enable more Syrian children to participate in education.

#### 4. Methodology

To examine the effect of teacher's subjective beliefs about Syrian students on their achievement, we use the following equation,

$$Score_{i,s} = TSB_{i,s}\alpha + X_{i,s}\beta + \varepsilon_{i,s} \quad [1]$$

where Score represents the test score of student *i* going to school *s*. TSB denotes student *i*'s teachers subjective belief about Syrians, and *X* is a vector of other control variables which are chosen based on previous findings in the literature that has been found to affect the students achievement scores. For example, As Krueger and Whitmore (2001) found that attending a smaller classroom leads to higher grades on standardized tests, we included the classroom size in our control variables.

Firstly, measuring teacher's expectations about their students through self-reported surveys can be very misleading as even if the teacher has negative impression about Syrian children, they might not tell us their true view for face-saving purposes. In order to understand teacher's real impression on Syrian students, we had a design where we gave 5 pencils to each teacher and asked them to distribute pencils to students in their classes. We presented these pencils as gifts to classroom and asked teachers to feel free to choose students on their own discretion. She/he could give all of the pencils to Turkish students, all of them to Syrian students or pick a distribution that gives to both two groups.

Later, we asked teachers to assess each student's academic achievement in 3 categories; (\*) for very good students, (+) for normal students and (-) for students who are behind the class. Finally, teachers' subjective assessment on economic condition was assessed; (+) for students who have some economic means and (-) for students who are in need.

We aim at developing a measure of teacher's nationalism score. That is, if the teacher found some Syrian students to be very successful and reports that they had economic problems, but if still chose to give all the pencils to Turkish students, we could call that teacher to be a nationalist. Our approach of measuring nationalism has some advantages as we are trying to measure it objectively from teacher's behavior. We think teacher's distribution of pencils or any other resources may also indicate how (s)he distributes her/his time during classes.

To be able to measure Syrian children's educational attainment, we run a test including questions from the curriculum. As the 1st graders learn how to read and write, they might not be able to answer a written test. Thus, we worked with 2nd and 3rd graders. We prepared questions parallel with their syllabus. Students were asked to attend 30-question test on maths,

social sciences and Turkish language. To motivate the students to answer the questions as much as possible, we gave each child a little chocolate for participation and an extra chocolate for those who perform above average.

Additionally, in order to analyze behavioral tendencies of Syrian students, we asked several questions to teachers on whether they observe behavioral and academic problems among Syrian students and whether Syrian students have impact on other students' behaviors and academic performance.

Assessing reading and math skills of the students helped us to see whether they keep up with their peers. Having interviews with teachers and students were really helpful to receive necessary information to understand teacher and student relationship in the classroom. Moreover, for identifying the effect of teacher's subjective beliefs on student performance, we need to tackle endogeneity problem. That is, the schools Syrian students attend are probably not random. As Syrian people came to Turkey leaving behind all their property, they generally live in the suburbs of city. Those schools they attend are also in those poor areas. Thus, it might be misleading to compare schools located in lower socio-economic background areas with schools located in higher socio-economic background areas. Therefore, we confined our sample only to suburbs of Ankara.

Furthermore, another potential endogeneity problem arises if teachers are self-selecting into schools. That is, the teacher Syrian children are exposed to might systematically differ from teachers who do not have any Syrian student in his/her classroom. Firstly, in Turkey, there are certain features of the education system which prevents teachers from self-selecting into schools unless they are very experienced teachers which we elaborated in the previous section. Secondly, we confined our sample to teachers who have Syrian students in their classroom to prevent self-selection problem. Thirdly, within the same schools, the teachers have to have almost equal number of Syrian students which is determined by the school principal at the beginning of the semester to maintain equality. Lastly, if some teachers' attitude towards Syrian children are very negative, they would not choose to work in those schools. Thus, the effects we will identify would be lower bound effects.

In addition, the results will be still prone to endogeneity problem if parents can choose a particular school or a teacher. Firstly, the children are assigned to schools closest to their home address. Very few families may change their location or the child's registered address for sending their children to different public schools. The students are assigned to their teacher by a draw to prevent skewed class size distributions and other complications. However, in reality,

some parents might change their children's classroom by convincing the school principal etc. Yet, this is very unlikely for Syrian parents as they have language barriers as well as social distance from the school management. Also, Syrian parents are also less likely to know insider information about teacher's quality.

Fourthly, teacher's subjective beliefs about Syrian children might be correlated with their teaching quality. If there would be a positive correlation between teacher's subjective beliefs and teaching quality, the effect of subjective beliefs on the student achievement would be overestimated as some of the teaching quality would be attributed to teacher's subjective beliefs rather than to the unobserved characteristics of the teachers. It is worth noting that there is a large literature that shows the importance of teacher's quality on student achievement (Aaronson, Barrow et al. 2007, Clotfelter, Ladd et al., 2007). Thus, taking into account teaching quality is necessary. We think Turkish students' achievement scores is a good proxy for teaching quality in a school-fixed effects model given that students are randomly distributed to teachers.

## **5. Data**

We collected our data through field visits to primary schools having Syrian students in Ankara. According to Directorate General of Migration Management of Turkey, Ankara is the cities hosting highest amount of Syrian refugees and has many advantages due to being capital of Turkey (Doğanay, 2019) . Additionally, we as researchers live in Ankara, where we have better information to find what we look for. We conducted our field experiments in Ankara between May and June in 2019. Our universe in this study is all the schools that have Syrian students. Sample were selected from these schools.

As our study includes studying with people, we get approval from the Ethics Committee of Social Sciences University of Ankara. Also, to be able to conduct the study in public schools, we get the permission from the Ministry of National Education of Turkey. We chose the schools in impoverished regions where usually Syrian refugees live in. We worked in 13 primary schools in 4 different districts including ; Pursaklar, Altındağ, Yenimahalle and Sincan (see below map of Ankara). These are particularly impoverished areas where people suffer from economical hardship.

**Figure 1: Map of Ankara**

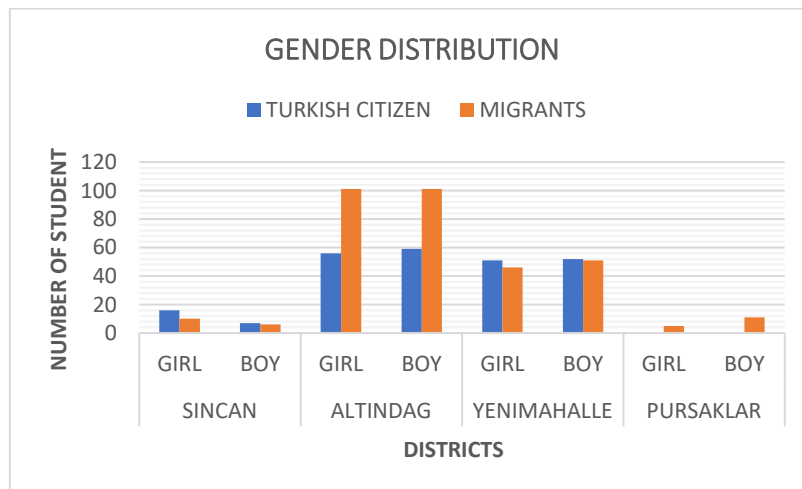


Source: Google Maps

**Table 1: Summary of Sample**

| District          | SINCAN |     | ALTINDAG |     | YENIMAHALLE |     | PURSAKLAR |     | TOTAL |
|-------------------|--------|-----|----------|-----|-------------|-----|-----------|-----|-------|
|                   | GIRL   | BOY | GIRL     | BOY | GIRL        | BOY | GIRL      | BOY |       |
| TURKISH CITIZEN   | 16     | 7   | 56       | 59  | 51          | 52  | 0         | 0   | 241   |
| SYRIAN            | 5      | 3   | 101      | 100 | 23          | 27  | 4         | 6   | 269   |
| OTHER NATIONALITY | 5      | 3   | 0        | 1   | 23          | 24  | 1         | 5   | 62    |
| TOTAL             | 26     | 13  | 157      | 160 | 97          | 103 | 5         | 11  | 572   |

**Figure 2 : Summary of Sample**



As table 1 shows, we studied with 572 children. Among them, 241 were born in Turkey whereas 269 were from Syria and 62 were from other countries such as Iraq and Afghanistan. Out of 572 children, 285 were girls while remaining 287 were boys. We tried to balance the number of students in each district based on their ethnicity and gender. As Figure 1 shows, in Sincan district, the number of Syrian students in primary schools are quite low compared to Altındağ and Yenimahalle districts.

Students from grade 2 and 3 were asked 30 questions which were prepared according to their curricula. All the questions are administered in Turkish. The first 10 questions were about Turkish language comprehension, 10 questions about Math and the last 10 questions were Social Sciences. For more details about the questions that measures students' achievement, please refer to Appendix B for 2<sup>nd</sup> graders and Appendix C for 3<sup>rd</sup> graders. We also provide the original questions in Turkish in Appendix B-2 and C-2 for 2<sup>nd</sup> graders and 3<sup>rd</sup> graders, respectively.

Also, we interviewed 75 teachers from the schools that we studied in. Teachers were asked to assess the behavioral and academic problems of Syrian children from 0 (no problem at all) to 3 (major problems exist) scale. We also asked teachers' opinions on the effect of Syrian children on natives. For detailed information about the wording of these questions, see Appendix A.

## **6. Results**

Table 2 provide descriptive statistics of our sample. The first column shows the average values for the whole sample. The second, third and fourth columns show the values for Turkish, Syrian and students belonging to other nationalities, respectively. To be able to see whether the differences between different nationalities are statistically significant or not, we conducted t-test which can be seen in Table 2. The significance stars on the 2<sup>nd</sup> column shows the comparisons of each variable between Turkish and Syrian student. The significance stars on the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> columns show the comparisons for each variable between Syrian and students belonging to other nationalities and students belonging to other nationalities and Turkish, students respectively.

Furthermore, we observe statistically significant difference between Turkish to Syrian students and Turkish Students to other nationalities with regard to the number of correct answers given in Turkish, Math and Social Sciences. Likewise, there is a considerable

difference between Turkish and Syrians students and student belonging to other nationalities with regard to the number of wrong answers given in Turkish, Math, Social Sciences and the number of correct answers in Math. We observe statistically significant difference between Turkish and Syrians students with regards to their correct, wrong and blank answer in each subject.

Accordingly, Turkish students answered 6.9, 7.54 and 8.14 questions of out 10 in Turkish, Math and Social Sciences respectively. On the other hand, Syrian students answered only 4.03, 4.8 and 4.83 questions in each respective subject.

Teachers' assessment on economic welfare statistically significantly differ according to students nationalities. 53% of Syrian students were identified by their teachers as having economic problems whereas only 16% of Turkish students were identified as so. Similarly, 61% of students belonging to other nationalities were identified as having economic problems. However, there is no statistically significant difference in terms of being perceived as having economic disadvantages between Syrians and students belonging other nationalities.

We also observe statistically significant differences with regards to teacher's subjective evaluation of the students' academic performance. Turkish students were more favorably assessed with an average of 2.59 out of 3 whereas Syrian students' performance was assessed with an average of 1.96 out of 3. Yet, we do not observe any statistically significant difference between Syrians and students belonging to other nationalities in terms of teachers' assessment on their academic performance.

We observe less pencils given to Syrian students compared to Turkish students at 5% significance level. The other t-test results suggest that Syrians and student with other nationalities as well as Turkish and students with other nationalities are similar in terms of pencils distributed, which means we do not observe any statistically significant difference. When we compare teachers' pencil distribution with regards to students' nationality, 21% Syrian students were given pencils 30% of Turkish students were given pencils by their teachers.

Descriptive statistics only contain the information of the students who attended the written exam. However, teachers distributed pencils to any student in their classroom regardless of their participation to the written test. Therefore, we had a detailed analysis of the students who both attended and did not attend to the exam. When we look at teacher's pen distribution for those who attended and not attended our written examination, we see that Turkish students received

on average 2.6 pencils whereas Syrian students received on average 1.7 pencils and students from other nationalities received on average 2.3 pencils. These results are in line with our descriptive statistics. In short, we do not find a statistically significant effect of teacher's subjective allocation of pencils on Syrian students' performance.



**Table 2: Descriptive Statistics**

|  | Total          | Turkish Citizens         | Syrians                  | Other Nationalities      |
|--|----------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| # of correct ans. in Turkish           | 5.39<br>[2.63] | <b>6.90***</b><br>[2.19] | <b>4.03***</b><br>[2.25] | <b>5.20***</b><br>[2.55] |
| # of wrong ans. in Turkish             | 3.74<br>[2.40] | <b>2.58***</b><br>[1.97] | 4.72<br>[2.35]           | <b>4.20***</b><br>[2.20] |
| # of blank ans. in Turkish             | 0.87<br>[1.98] | <b>0.52***</b><br>[1.18] | 1.24<br>[2.50]           | 0.61<br>[1.65]           |
| # of correct ans. in Math              | 6.04<br>[2.76] | <b>7.54***</b><br>[2.38] | 4.80<br>[2.49]           | <b>5.39***</b><br>[2.35] |
| # of wrong ans. in Math                | 3.00<br>[2.37] | <b>1.84***</b><br>[1.89] | 3.90<br>[2.33]           | <b>3.89***</b><br>[2.24] |
| # of blank ans. in Math                | 0.95<br>[2.09] | <b>0.63***</b><br>[1.54] | 1.31<br>[2.53]           | 0.71<br>[1.66]           |
| # of correct ans.in S. Science         | 6.43<br>[2.95] | <b>8.14***</b><br>[2.25] | <b>4.83***</b><br>[2.76] | <b>6.46***</b><br>[2.29] |
| # of wrong ans.in S.Science            | 2.74<br>[2.41] | <b>1.46***</b><br>[1.74] | 3.78<br>[2.43]           | <b>3.39***</b><br>[2.25] |
| # of blank ans.in S.Science            | 0.83<br>[2.18] | <b>0.40***</b><br>[1.39] | <b>1.38**</b><br>[2.80]  | 0.14<br>[0.35]           |
| Teacher's sub. asses. on academic per. | 2.23<br>[0.79] | <b>2.59***</b><br>[0.63] | 1.96<br>[0.80]           | <b>1.95***</b><br>[0.77] |
| Teacher's sub. asses. on economic wel. | 0.38<br>[0.48] | <b>0.16***</b><br>[0.37] | 0.53<br>[0.50]           | <b>0.61***</b><br>[0.49] |
| Pencil given by teacher                | 0.26<br>[0.44] | <b>0.31*</b><br>[0.46]   | 0.21<br>[0.41]           | 0.30<br>[0.46]           |
| <i>N</i>                               | 572            | 241                      | 269                      | 62                       |

mean coefficients; sd in brackets, \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**Figure 3: Achievement Scores by Immigrant Status**

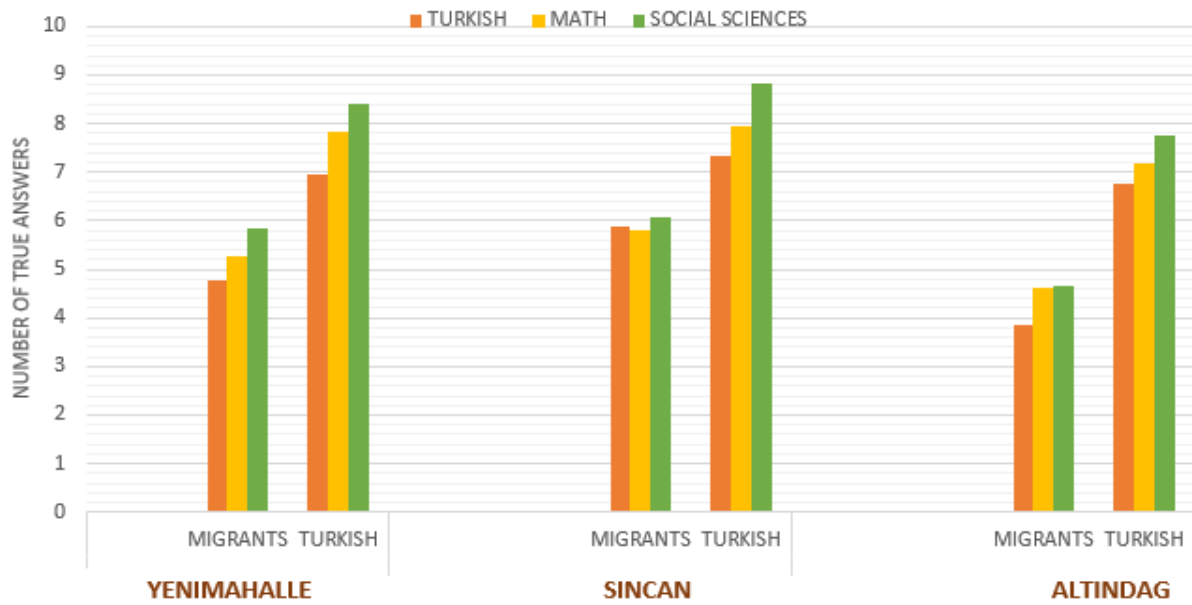


Figure 3 shows students' performance measured by number of correct answers in each subject grouped by their nationalities at our districts of study. In every district, students with a migrant background lagged behind the Turkish students in each subject. Both Syrian and Turkish students achieved the highest results in the subject of Social Sciences, while their results were the lowest in Turkish subject. Students in Altındağ region performed relatively poorer in each subject. This is valid for both Turkish students and students with a migrant background. Moreover, the highest discrepancy between Turkish students and students with a migrant background is also in Altındağ district. On the other hand, both test results of Turkish and Migrants students in Yenimahalle and Sincan districts follow a similar pattern, with a slight exception at score in Turkish subject achieved by Migrant students in Sincan.

**Figure 4: Teacher's subjective beliefs on Syrian children's Influence**

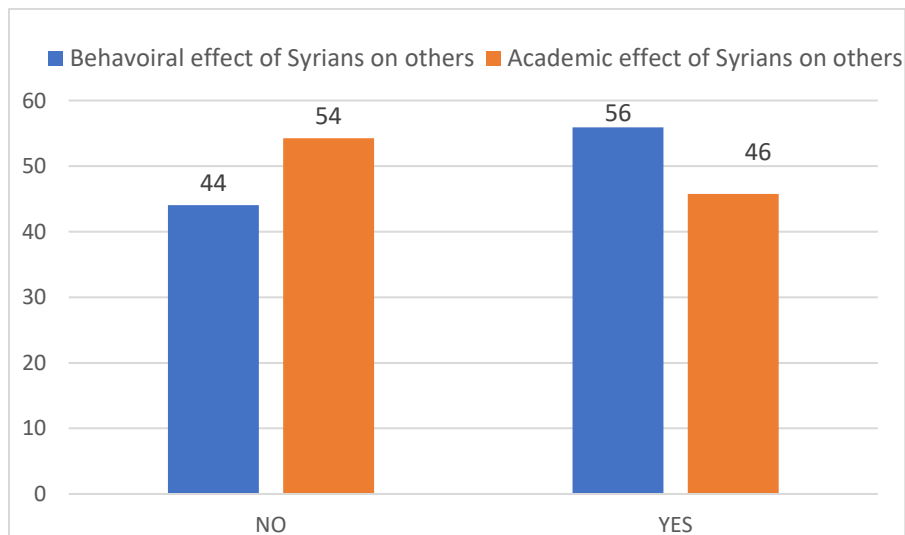


Figure 4 shows teacher’s subjective evaluation of Syrian children’s effects in the classroom, to be more specifics whether Syrian children has an effect on the other students behaviors and academic performance. 55 % of teachers consider that Syrian children are harmful to their classmates by being a bad role model in terms of behaviors. In addition, 45 % of teachers think that Syrian children has a negative influence on other students’ academic performance. When we compare teacher’s evaluations in terms of behavioral effect and academic performance effect of Syrians, teachers are more likely to observe a negative effect of Syrian children on other students’ behaviors.

**Figure 5: Teacher’s Subjective Beliefs on Syrians**

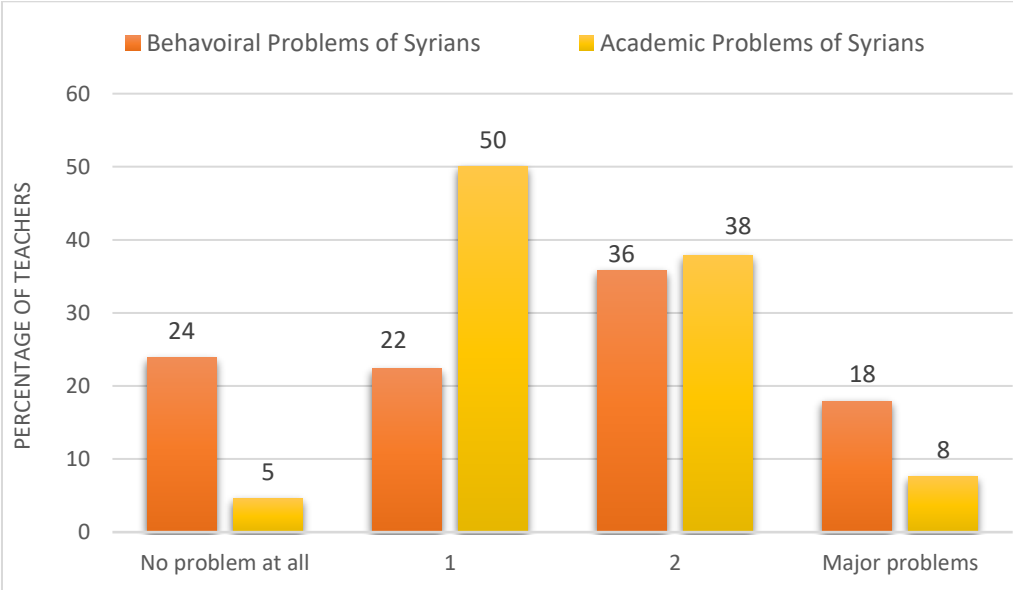


Figure 5 shows that 50 % of the teachers believe that academic problems of Syrians is not significant, while around 40 % of the teachers believe that there are problems and 10 % of the teachers believe there are major problems. On the other hand, more than 35 % of them believe that problems exist when it comes to behaviours of Syrian students. Relatively less teachers, around 20 %, perceive the presence of major behavioral problems. Remaining teachers believe that either there is no problem at all or not significant problems exist.

The number of teachers believing in major problems in both behaovir and academic success of students are relatively lower. Likewise, those observing no problem in academic success of Syrian students has the lowest amount among the whole population.

**Table 3: Regression Results**

|                                       | (1)                     | (2)                      | (3)             |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| Female                                | -0.21<br>(0.66)         | -0.86<br>(0.80)          | 0.42<br>(0.80)  |
| Syrians<br>(Ref: Other<br>Immigrants) | <b>-2.34*</b><br>(1.22) | <b>-2.58**</b><br>(1.24) | -1.84<br>(1.44) |
| Financial Problems                    | -1.34<br>(0.84)         | <b>-2.26**</b><br>(1.03) | -0.79<br>(0.94) |
| Class Size                            | -0.57<br>(0.37)         | -0.25<br>(1.25)          | -0.08<br>(0.19) |
| Performance of Natives                |                         | 0.32<br>(1.56)           | 0.01<br>(0.10)  |
| Teachers' Subjective<br>Belief ( TSB) |                         |                          | 0.01<br>(0.04)  |
| School Fixed Effects                  | +                       | +                        | +               |
| Teacher Fixed Effects                 | +                       | +                        | -               |
| R-squared                             | 0.45                    | 0.38                     | 0.18            |
| N                                     | 303                     | 205                      | 186             |

Standard errors are robust and provided in parentheses, \*  $p < .1$ , \*\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*\*  $p < .01$

To be able to control for the other factors that affect student's performance, we conducted a regression analysis. Regression results are presented in Table 2. In model 1, we included student's gender, financial problems, class size and Syrian dummy variable to be able to differentiate Syrian students from other foreign born children. Furthermore, some schools might gather more successful students in the same class, or, financially restricted students might be put in the same class on purpose. These deliberate choices might give us biased estimates. School fixed effects helps us to use variation between schools and allows us control for socio-economic background differences between different regions as these schools are located in different places of Ankara. In similar vein, teacher fixed effects matches students with their teachers and this specification can control the differences across classroom that might arise due to different time-invariant teacher quality. Therefore, we controlled school and teacher fixed effects.

In model 2, we want to take into account peer effects, too. What we capture with teacher fixed effects can also be partly the performance of native students in that classroom. Therefore, we also control for average score of natives in each classroom in the regression analysis. As you observe, in model 1, we had 303 foreign students whereas in model 2, we have 205 students because some classrooms did not have Turkish students, therefore we had to drop them from the analysis in model 2.

In model 3, we add teacher's subjective belief scores as an additional independent variable. With model 3, we aim at identifying the effect of teacher's subjective beliefs on foreign students accounting for peer effects and other important dimensions of classroom composition.

According to the regression results, Syrians students perform worse than other immigrant students in model (1) and (2) at 90% and 95% confidence level, respectively. In model (2), including performance of natives, which counts for the peer effects, has a positive effect on the overall performance of foreign students. However, the effect is not statistically significant. In model (2), after taking into account of the peer effect measured by the performance of natives, we see that the financial problems reduce students' performance. the result effect of financial problems on performance is statistically significant. Without the presence of peer effects, we do not observe any statistically significant effect of financial problems of foreign students.

In model (3), when we control peer effects, we do not see any statistically significant effect of teacher's subjective beliefs on foreign students' academic performance. Moreover, in model 3, the Syrian dummy variable became statistically insignificant. That is, after taking into account teacher's subjective beliefs and other control variables, there is no statistically significant difference between Syrian students and other foreign students.

## **7. Discussion**

In this study, we document teachers' perception of students from immigrant backgrounds and the factors that affect these students performance. We especially focused on teacher's subjective beliefs. We found that Syrian students on average perform worse than other immigrant children. Secondly, teacher's subjective beliefs are not found to affect immigrant students performance. Yet, previous studies have shown that teachers' subjective assesment have impact on success of the students. However, our finding could be a result of several other factors including language barrier, students' lack of necessary educational background etc. For instance, because of their Turkish language incompetency, Syrian students might not keep up with their peers in the classroom which is likely to result in lower grades. For Syrian children

to be influenced by their children, there might be minimum level of knowledge of Turkish language so they can follow the lectures. However, in our study, the main thing that teachers complained about was lack of language proficiency. In other studies as well, teachers mentioned that they have difficulty to follow the curricula due to miscommunication in the classes where Syrians students exist (Save the Children, 2018). In deed, Kioko (2015) shows later learners of a medium of instruction fall behind their peers and this negatively effect their performances.

We found that teachers are not positive about Syrian students in their classroom as 95% and 76% of teachers complained about academic and behavioral problems of Syrian children, respectively. Along the same lines, Van Ewijk (2011) found that students having different ethnicities are usually considered as low-performers with unwelcome behaviors by their teacher. This consideration might reduce teacher's teaching effort and students' motivation, which might result in lower academic performance. Our findings demonstrate that more than half of the teachers interviewed consider that Syrian children are detrimental to their classmates by being a bad role model in terms of attitude.

Besides, in another research conducted in Belgium, teachers usually expect nonnative students to be more undisciplined and disinclined to complete their assignments (Agirdag, Van Avermaet et al., 2013). Our result seems parallel to this claim because we have found that more than 35 % of the teachers reported that there exists significant behavioral problems exist.

In his review, Good (1987) argued when teachers have low expectations, they tend to give less feedback, pay less attention and praise students less for their success. Addition to this, Dee (2004) found out that students from minority groups do better when they have teachers having the same race or ethnicity. This could be due to the similarities in culture and understanding of both groups. In our study setting, none of the teachers are from Syrian background. This could be a disadvantage for the performance of Syrian students in Turkish education system. On the other hand, half of the teachers we interviewed in 13 different schools reported that they do not observe major academic problems on Syrians students. We also asked them to assign numbers from 3 to 1 to students in the classes according to their academic performances in the classroom; ranging from 3 (Very Good) to 1(Poor). Figure A-1 in Appendix D shows the average of each groups of students and we found out that Syrian students are not perceived to be particularly unsuccessful compared to student with other immigrant backgrounds.

## **8. Conclusion**

Syrian Conflict has been one of the worst humanitarian crisis in the world. It has caused displacement of millions of people and death of more than four hundred thousands civils. Turkey, as a country hosting the highest number of Syrian refugees with almost 4 million, has strived to provide humanitarian support for those who are in need. There are thousands of children who started getting education in Turkey from 2014 onwards.

In this study, we examine Syrian students' academic performance in Turkey. To the best of the author's knowledge, this is the first study that documents Syrian children's' educational performance in Turkey. We monitor the variables that could be influential on Syrian students' academic performance and give special interest to teacher's subjective beliefs on the Syrians.

We used a novel technique to be able to identify teachers' subjective beliefs. We worked with more than 75 teachers and 575 students in 13 schools located in 4 different district in Ankara, where a considerable number of Syrian refugees are hosted. Eventually, we observe that there is no a statistically significant effect of teacher's subjective beliefs on Syrian students and this could be due to Syrian students having much bigger language obstacles that they need to solve to be influenced by their teachers.

Given the findings in this study, we recommend to policy makers to increase their efforts for improving Turkish language proficiency of students with immigrant background for improving their academic performance.

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## 10. Appendices

### 10.1. Appendix A

#### QUESTIONS FOR TEACHERS

1- How do you assess the behavioral problems among immigrant students? ( i.e. harsh behaviors and violence against towards others)

Not at all ( 0 )    Yes but not significant ( 1 )    Yes ( 2 )    Yes, pretty much (3)

2- How do you assess the academic problems among immigrant students? (i.e. not being able to keep up with others)

Not at all ( 0 )    Yes but not significant. ( 1 )    Yes ( 2 )    Yes, pretty much (3)

3- Do you think that immigrant students have a negative impact on non- immigrant students' behaviors?

YES (1) NO (0)

4- Do you think that immigrant students have a negative impact on non-immigrant students' academic success?

YES (1) NO (0)

5- Can you please rate each student's academic success level according to the classification below?

\* : Very good + : Good - : Poor

6- Can you please rate each student's behaviors according to the classification below?

\* : Very good + : Good - : Poor

7 – Can you please rate each student's economic condition according to classification below?

+ : Good - : Poor

PS: Teachers rated each students on printed classroom lists.

## ÖĞRETMENLER İÇİN HAZIRLANAN SORULAR

1- Suriyeli öğrenciler arasında ciddi davranış problemleri gözlemliyor musunuz? ( Diğer öğrencilere karşı sert davranışlar ve şiddet eğilimi vb)

Hayır (0) Biraz (1) Evet (2) Ciddi problemler gözlenmekte. (3)

2- Suriyeli öğrenciler arasında ciddi akademik problemler gözlemliyor musunuz? (Dersi takip edememe, akademik başarının düşük olması vb.)

Hayır (0) Biraz (1) Evet (2) Ciddi problemler gözlenmekte. (3)

3- Suriyeli öğrencilerin diğer öğrencilerin davranışlarını negative etkilediğini düşünüyor musunuz?

EVET (1) HAYIR (0)

4- Suriyeli öğrencilerin diğer öğrencilerin akademik başarılarını negative etkilediğini düşünüyor musunuz?

EVET (1) HAYIR (0)

5- Sınıftaki öğrencilerin akademik başarı seviyesini aşağıdaki simgeleri baz alarak değerlendirebilir misiniz?

\* : Çok iyi +: İyi - : Zayıf

6- Sınıftaki öğrencilerin akademik başarı seviyesini aşağıdaki simgeleri baz alarak değerlendirebilir misiniz?

\* : Çok iyi +: İyi - : Zayıf

7 – Sınıftaki öğrencilerin ekonomik durumunu aşağıdaki simgeleri baz alarak değerlendirebilir misiniz?

+ : İyi - : Zayıf

NOT: Öğretmenler kendilerine verilen sınıf listeleri üzerinden değerlendirme yapacaktır.

## 10.2. Appendix B

### GRADE 2

#### Turkish Language

1- " Masal, Hikaye, Roman "

If the words above are sorted by alphabetical order, which one would be the second word?

- a) Masal (Tale)
- b) Hikaye ( Story)
- c) Roman ( Novel)



2- Which of the following starts with the second syllable of “ mevsim ”?

- a) Merak ( Curiosity)
- b) Silah ( Gun)
- c) Simge ( Symbol)

3- Which of the following is divided into its syllables correctly?

- a) Ma-te-ma-tik
- b) Tar-ih
- c) Co-ğra-fya

4- Which of the animals, on the right side, is taller than others?

- a) Giraffe
- b) Dog
- c) Ant





5 - Ev (House) ⇒ Evler ( Houses)

Balık (Fish) ⇒ Balıklar (Fishes)

Kitap (Book) ⇒ ?

How do we write the word "Kitap" in plural form based on the examples above?

- a) Kitaplar
- b) Kitaba
- c) Kitapçık

6 - Which of the following sentences does not include the antonym of "peace" ?

- a) We discussed the small details in our agreement.
- b) Relatives of the young, who died in the war, were assisted.
- c) He got injured in the war

7- Which of the following word pairs is different from others?

- a) cry - laugh
- b) gift – present
- c) happiness – joy

8 - Which of the following sentences has cause-effect relationship?

- a) I am tired
- b) I ate because I was hungry
- c) I have not seen a child as cute as you are

9- " My voice was hoarse, because " ... .. " which of the following is not suitable for the blank?

- a) I drunk cold water
- b) My voice is so beautiful
- c) I yelled out

10 – Which of the animals, on the right side, live in a different environment?

- a) Ladybird
- b) Cat
- c) Fish



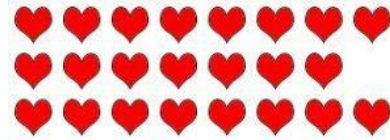
## MATHEMATICS

1- How many **tens** and **units** are there in the number **29**?

- a) 3 tens and 9 units
- b) 2 tens and 9 units
- c) 1 ten and 9 units

2- How many “ hearts” are there in the picture?

- a) 25
- b) 23
- c) 32



3- Which one on the right side is 1 **dozen**?

- a) 1
- b) 2
- c) 3



4- How many more is the number **28** than a **dozen**?

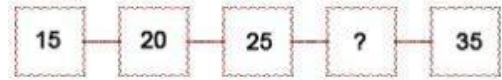
- a) 15
- b) 16
- c) 17

5 - In rhythmic counting shown on the right, which number should replace “?”

a) 26

b) 27

c) 30



6- Sertaç says that he lives in one flat below the last floor of a 7-storey building.

Which floor does Sertaç live in ?

a) 8. (eighth)

b) 6. (sixth)

c) 7. (seventh)



7 – What is the result of the subtraction shown on the right?

a) 14

b) 16

c) 18

$$\begin{array}{r} 32 \\ -18 \\ \hline ? \end{array}$$

8 - Ceren has 30 walnuts. If Ali gives 6 more walnuts to Ceren, how many walnuts will Ceren have?

a) 35

b) 30

c) 36



9- A box of milk is 1 liter. One liter of milk is equal to 6 glasses of milk. If Zeynep drinks 2 glasses of milk in each day, in how many days she will finish a box of milk?

- a) 5
- b) 3
- c) 2



10 - Which geometric shape does the object, shown on the right, look like ?

- a) Rectangle
- b) Circle
- c) Cone



## SOCIAL STUDIES

1 - In which course, the object shown on the right is used?

- a) Turkish Language
- b) Art
- c) Mathematics



2 - Which one of the following is **not** a statement of courtesy?

- a) Have a good day
- b) Gimme
- c) My pleasure.

3 - Which of the following should **not** be consumed for a proper diet and healthy life?

- a) Egg
- b) Milk
- c) Junk food

4- What is the name of the institution in which sick people are cured /examined ?

- a) Classroom
- b) Patisserie
- c) Hospital



5- In which season, clothes shown on the right are worn ?

- a) Spring
- b) Winter
- c) Summer



6- Which of the following is consumed by the animal, shown on the right?



- a) A
- b) B
- c) C

7 - Which of the following images symbolize the rain ?



- a) A
- b) B
- c) C

8 - Which of the objects, on the right, is **not** used in the classroom?



- a) A
- b) B
- c) C

9 - According to the picture on the right, what does the child like to do ?

- a) Listen to music
- b) Play football
- c) Draw picture



10- What is the name of object we use to have a safe journey?

- a) Gear
- b) Weist belt
- c) Seat belt



## 10.3. Appendix B-2

### 2. SINIF

#### TÜRKÇE

1- " Masal, Hikaye, Roman " sözcükleri sözlük sıralamasına göre sıralanırsa ikinci sözcük hangisi olur?



- d) Masal
- e) Hikaye
- f) Roman

2- Aşağıdakilerden hangisi " mevsim " kelimesinin son hecesiyle başlar ?

- d) Merak
- e) Silah
- f) Simge

3- Aşağıdaki sözcüklerden hangisi hecelerine doğru ayrılmıştır ?

- d) Ma-te-ma-tik
- e) Tar-ih
- f) Co-ğra-fya

4- Yanda resimleri olan hayvanlardan hangisi diğerlerinden daha uzundur ?

- d) Zürafa
- e) Köpek
- f) Karınca



5 - Ev ⇒ Evler

Balık ⇒ Balıklar

Kitap ⇒ ?

Yukarıdaki eşleşmelere göre " Kitap " kelimesini **çoğul** olarak yazarsak nasıl yazarız?



- d) Kitaplar
- e) Kitaba
- f) Kitapçık

6 - Aşağıdaki cümlelerden hangisinde " barış " kelimesinin zıt anlamlısı **kullanılmamıştır**

- d) Anlaşmamızda küçük detayları görüştük.
- e) Savaşta ölen gencin yakınlarına yardım edildi
- f) Çıkan savaşta yaralandı.

7- Aşağıdaki kelime çiftlerinden hangisi **diğerlerinden farklıdır ?**

- d) ağlamak-gülmek
- e) hediye-armağan
- f) sevinç-neşe

8 - Aşağıdaki cümlelerin hangisinde **sebeup – sonuç** ilişkisi bulunmaktadır?

- d) Ben yoruldum.
- e) Acıktığım için yemek yedim.
- f) Senin kadar tatlı bir çocuk görmedim.

9- " Sesim kısıldı çünkü, ..... " cümlesi aşağıdakilerden hangisiyle **devam etmez** ?

- d) soğuk su içtim.
- e) sesim çok güzel.
- f) çok bağırdı

10 – Yandaki hayvanlardan hangisi yaşam alanı olarak diğerlerinden farklı bir yerde yaşar?

- d) Böcek
- e) Kedi
- f) Balık



## MATEMATİK

1- 29 sayısında kaç onluk, kaç birlik vardır?

- d) 3 onluk 9 birlik
- e) 2 onluk 9 birlik
- f) 1 onluk 9 birlik

2- Yandaki şekilde kalplerin sayısı kaçtır?

- d) 25
- e) 23
- f) 32



3- Yandaki şekilde hangisi **1 düzine** eder ?

- d) 1
- e) 2
- f) 3



4- 28 sayısının **1 düzineden** kaç fazladır ?

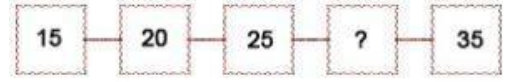
- d) 15
- e) 16
- f) 17

5 - Yandaki şekilde ritmik saymada " ? " yerine gelecek sayı hangisidir?

d) 26

e) 27

f) 30



6- Sertaç 7 katlı bir binanın son katının bir altında oturduklarını söylüyor.

Sertaç kaçınıcı katta oturuyor ?

d) 8. (sekizinci)

e) 6. (altınıcı)

f) 7. (yedinicı)



7 – Yandaki işlemin sonucu kaçtır?

d) 14

e) 16

f) 18

$$\begin{array}{r} 32 \\ -18 \\ \hline ? \end{array}$$

8 - Ceren'in 30 tane cevizi vardır. Ali, Ceren' e 6 ceviz daha verirse Ceren' in kaç cevizi olur ?

d) 35

e) 30

f) 36



9- Yandaki kutudaki st 1 litredir. 1 litre stten 6 bardak st ıkmaktadır. Zeynep, her gn 2 bardak st itiđine gre, bu kutuyu ka gnde bitirir?

- d) 5
- e) 3
- f) 2



10 - Yandaki resimde verilen cisim aŐađıdakilerden hangi geometrik cisme benzer ?

- d) Dikdrtgen
- e) ember
- f) Koni



## HAYAT BİLGİSİ

1- Yandaki grselde verilen ders ara ve gereci hangi dersle ilgilidir ?

- a)Trke
- b)Resim
- c)Matematik



2- AŐađıdakilerden hangisi nezaket bildiren bir cmle deđildir?

- a)İyi gnler.
- b)Versene.
- c)Rica ederim

3 - Dzenli beslenmek ve sađlıklı bymek iin aŐađıdakilerden hangisini **tketmemeliyiz** ?

- a)Yumurta
- b) St
- c) Abur cubur

4- Hasta olanların iyileşmek amacıyla yattığı ya da gittiği sağlık kurumuna ne ad verilir ?

- d) Dersane
- e) Pastane
- f) Hastane



5- Yandaki görselde verilen giysileri hangi mevsimde giyeriz ?

- a) İlkbahar
- b) Kış
- c) Yaz



6- Yanda görseli verilen hayvan, aşağıdakilerden hangisi ile beslenir ?



- a) A
- b) B
- c) C

7 - Aşağıdaki görsellerden hangisi, yağmurlu sembolünü göstermektedir ?



- a) A
- b) B
- c) C

8 – Yandaki şekillerden hangisi sınıfta kullandığımız ders araç gereçlerden **biri değildir** ?



- a) A
- b) B
- c) C

9 - Yandaki görselde çocuk aşağıdakilerden hangisini yapmaktan hoşlanır ?

- a) Müzik dinlemek
- b) Futbol oynamak
- c) Resim yapmak



10- Yolculuk sırasında güvenlik amacıyla taktığımız kemere ne ad verilir ?

- a) Vites
- b) Bel kemeri
- c) Emniyet kemeri





6- " Salih drunk a glass of .... "

Which of the following can **not** be put in the blank ?

- a) Water
- b) Juice
- c) Rice



7 - " He loved studying .... "

Which of the following **can not** be put in the blank ?

- a) So much
- b) At all
- c) A bit

8 - What is the antonym of the word 'fresh'?

- a) Heavy
- b) Light
- c) Stale

9 - What is the antonym of the verb 'to cry'?

- a) Not to cry
- b) To laugh
- c) To zoom



10 - Which of the following is written in alphabetical order?

- a) Aslan - Abla – Amca
- b) Arkadaş - Altı - Anıl
- c) Aydın - Aylık – Ayna

## MATHEMATICS

1 - What is the smallest natural number that can be written with 6, 7, 4?

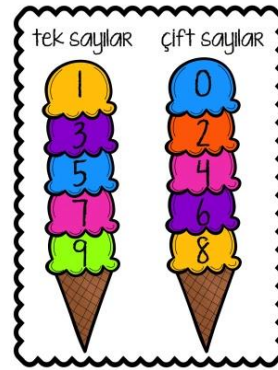
- a) 467
- b) 674
- c) 476

2- What is the natural odd number that comes right before number 176?

- a) 173
- b) 175
- c) 177

3- Which of the following's result is an even number?

- a)  $25 - 2$
- b)  $96 - 12$
- c)  $38 - 15$



4-  Which number should replace “?”

- a) 19
- b) 12
- c) 14

5 - The time is 2:00 right now. What time will be after 1.5 hours?

- a) 02 : 30
- b) 03 : 30
- c) 12 : 10



6 - What number should we put instead of “?” ?

- a) 4
- b) 5
- c) 6

$$28 \overline{) ?}$$

7 - What is the result of the subtraction ?

- a) 264
- b) 265
- c) 267

$$\begin{array}{r} 397 \\ -132 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

8- Which number stands for ABC, shown on the right?

- a) 356
- b) 385
- c) 387

$$\begin{array}{r} 468 \\ -ABC \\ \hline 112 \end{array}$$

9 - Ayşe slept at 10 pm last night. She woke up at 8 am today. How many hours did she sleep in total?

- a) 9
- b) 10
- c) 11



10 - Which of the numbers given below is written correctly ?

- a) Beş yüz on = 501 ( Five hundred and one)
- b) Dört yüz seksen yedi = 478 ( Four hundred and seventy eight)
- c) Altı yüz otuz = 630 ( Six hundred and thirty)

## SOCIAL SCIENCES

1- Which of the following traits we do not want our friends to have?

- a) Lovely
- b) Jealous
- c) Tolerant



2- Which of the following items is used in mathematics class ?

- a) A
- b) B
- c) C



3- Which of the following food is from plants ?

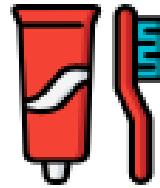
- a) A
- b) B
- c) C



4- We should brush .....before going to sleep

What should be written in the blank ?

- a) our nails
- b) our teeth
- c) our clothes



We should buy .... foods.

5- What should be written in the blank ?

- a) stale
- b) cold
- c) fresh



6- What does the sign on the right symbolize ?

- a) Crosswalk
- b) No vehicles
- c) No cycling



7- If you dial 155, which one you are calling for ?

- a) Police
- b) Fire-fighter
- c) Ambulance

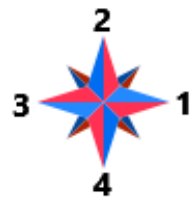


8- Which of the following items is not a product of chicken?

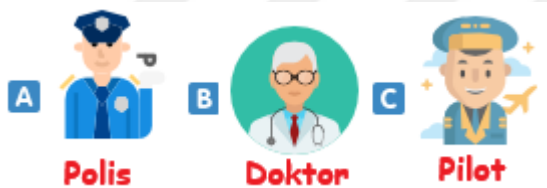


- a) A
- b) B
- c) C

9- Which direction is shown with the **number 4** in the Picture on the right ?



- a) East
- b) West
- c) South



10-

Which of the above occupations is to meet our health needs?

- a) A
- b) B
- c) C



6- " Salih bir bardak ..... içti. "

Yukarıda verilen cümlede noktalı yere aşağıdakilerden hangisi **getirilemez** ?

- a) Su
- b) Ayran
- c) Pilav



7 - " Ders çalışmayı .....severdi. "

Yukarıda cümlede noktalı yere aşağıdakilerden hangisi **getirilemez** ?

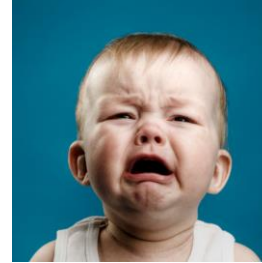
- a) Pek çok
- b) Hiç
- c) Biraz

8 – “ Taze” kelimesinin **zıt anlamlısı** aşağıdakilerden hangisidir ?

- a) Ağır
- b) Hafif
- c) Bayat

9 - " Ağlamak " kelimesinin **zıt anlamlısı** aşağıdakilerden hangisidir ?

- a) Ağlamamak
- b) Gülmek
- c) Büyültmek



10 - Aşağıdakilerden hangisi alfabetik sıraya uygun olarak yazılmıştır ?

- a) Aslan - Abla - Amca
- b) Arkadaş - Altı - Anıl
- c) Aydın - Aylık – Ayna

## MATEMATİK

1 - 6, 7, 4 sayılarıyla yazılabilecek **en küçük doğal** sayı kaçtır ?

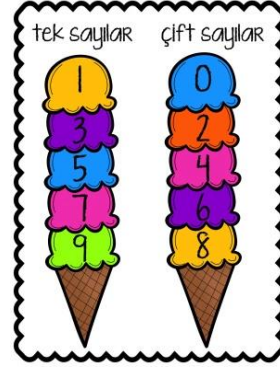
- a) 467
- b) 674
- c) 476

2- 176 doğal sayısından bir önce gelen **tek doğal** sayı kaçtır ?

- a) 173
- b) 175
- c) 177

3- Aşağıdakilerden hangisinin sonucu **çift sayıdır** ?

- a) 25 - 2
- b) 96 - 12
- c) 38 - 15

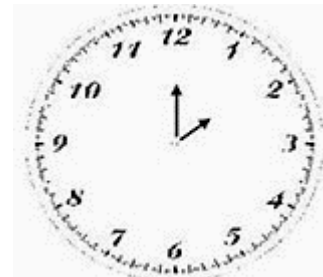


4-  Görüntüde “?” yerine kaç yazılmalıdır ?

- a) 19
- b) 12
- c) 14

5- Saat şu an 2:00’yi göstermektedir. 1:30 saat sonra saat kaçı gösterir ?

- a) 02 : 30
- b) 03 : 30
- c) 12 : 10



6 - Yandaki şekilde soru işareti ile gösterilen yere hangisi gelmelidir ?

- a) 4
- b) 5
- c) 6

$$\begin{array}{r} 28 \overline{) ?} \\ \underline{\phantom{0}7} \\ \phantom{0} \end{array}$$

7 - Yandaki çıkarma işleminin sonucu  $\begin{array}{r} 397 \\ -132 \\ \hline \end{array}$  kaçtır ?

- a) 264
- b) 265
- c) 267

8- Yandaki çıkarma işleminde ABC yerine hangi sayı yazılmalıdır ?

$$\begin{array}{r} 468 \\ -ABC \\ \hline 112 \end{array}$$

- a) 356
- b) 387
- c) 385

9 - Ayşe akşam 10:00'da uyumuştur. Sabah 8:00'de uyandığına göre toplam kaç saat uyumuştur?



- a) 9
- b) 10
- c) 11

10 - Aşağıda okunuşu verilen sayılardan hangisi **doğru yazılmıştır** ?

- a) Beş yüz on = 501
- b) Dört yüz seksen yedi = 478
- c) Altı yüz otuz = 630

## HAYAT BİLGİSİ

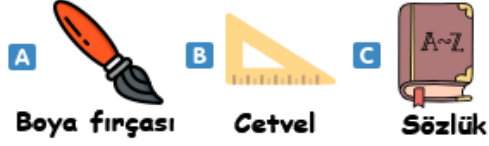
1- Aşağıdaki özelliklerden hangisinin arkadaşlarımızda bulunmasını istemeyiz ?



- a) Sevecen
- b) Kıskanç
- c) Hoşgörülü

2- Aşağıdaki araç gereçlerden hangisini daha çok matematik dersinde kullanırız ?

- a) A
- b) B
- c) C



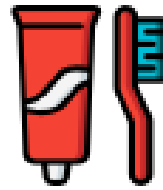
3- Aşağıdakilerden hangisi bitkisel besindir ?

- a) A
- b) B
- c) C



4- Yatmadan önce \_\_\_\_\_ fırçalamalıyız. Boş bırakılan yere hangisi gelmelidir ?

- a) tırnaklarımızı
- b) dişlerimizi
- c) giysilerimizi



Bir sebze ve meyveyi satın alırken \_\_\_\_\_ olmasına dikkat etmeliyiz.

5- Boş bırakılan yere hangisi gelmelidir ?

- a) bayat
- b) soğuk
- c) taze



6- Görselde verilen **trafik levhasının** anlamı aşağıdakilerden hangisidir ?

- a) Yaya Geçidi
- b) Taşıt Giremez
- c) Bisiklet Giremez



7- Telefonda **155** ' i arayan bir kişi hangisini aramıştır ?

- a) Polis
- b) İtfaiye
- c) Ambulans

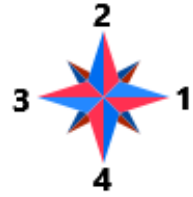


8- Aşağıdakilerden hangisi **tavuktan elde edilmez** ?



- a) A
- b) B
- c) C

9- Görselde verilen yön şemasında 4 numaralı yere **hangi yön yazılmalıdır** ?



- a) Doğu
- b) Batı
- c) Güney

10-



Yukarıdaki mesleklerden hangisi **sağlık** ihtiyacımızı karşılar ?

- a) A
- b) B
- c) C

## 10.6 Appendix D

**Figure A-1: Teachers perception of academic success of Syrian students**

