

# **FORCED MIGRATION AND ITS EFFECTS DİYARBAKIR**

**DEVELOPMENT CENTRE  
RESEARCH**



---

**DEVELOPMENT CENTRE**  
**Training, Research, Implementation, Counselling, Production and Enterprise**  
**Cooperative**

---



**FORCED MIGRATION AND ITS EFFECTS**  
**DİYARBAKIR**

**June 2006, Diyarbakır**

Ekinciler Caddesi, Kristal Apartmanı, Kat: 5 No: 21, Ofis /DİYARBAKIR  
Tel-Fax: 0 412 229 18 12  
E-mail: [kalkinmamerkezi@yahoo.com](mailto:kalkinmamerkezi@yahoo.com), web site: [www.kalkinmamerkezi.org](http://www.kalkinmamerkezi.org)

## **CONTENTS**

	<b>Page</b>
<b>Foreword</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>I. Introduction</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>II. Research Methods</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>III. Survey Area</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>IV. Migration Process</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>V. Past: Life in a Village</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>VI. After 15 Years: Life in Diyarbakır</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>VII. Tendency to Return to Villages</b>	<b>62</b>
<b>VIII. Assessment and Policy Proposals</b>	<b>68</b>
<b>Annexes:</b>	
<b>Annex 1. Survey questionnaire</b>	<b>77</b>
<b>Annex 2. Impressions of an interviewer</b>	<b>91</b>
<b>Annex 3. Guiding questionnaire for in-depth interviews and focus     group meetings</b>	<b>96</b>
<b>Annex 4. Neighbourhood general information form</b>	<b>99</b>
<b>Annex 5. Problems raised by respondents in relation to women's     situation, their families, their neighbourhoods and return to     villages and their suggestions for solving the problems</b>	<b>100</b>

## Foreword

The Development Centre is a non-profit working group aiming at conducting research in rural and urban areas where development needs are most urgent, developing projects and realistic and replicable models in the field context and hence generating long-lasting impact on all relevant sections of society. The centre was established in Diyarbakır in October 2004.

Why a survey on the process of *forced migration*?

We believe that social and economic problems faced in Diyarbakır mostly derive from forced migration. Although about 15 years have passed since the process of forced migration first started, its impacts are still felt and problems it generated turn into permanent ones by gaining further depth. Thus we decided to make this situation more visible by sharing the findings of this survey and to make a call on authorities to take action to fulfil their responsibilities to improve the present situation.

All members and volunteers of the Development Centre took part in the process of survey and writing of this report.

Many persons, impossible to cite their names here, have contributed to this work voluntarily. We thank them all for being with us and contributing to our work.

We are particularly grateful to the members of Aziziye and Benusen “White Butterfly” laundrettes, “Gleam of Hope” Women Cooperative, neighbourhood dwellers who welcomed us throughout the field survey as well as headmen of these neighbourhoods.

Our thanks are also due to Ayşe Gündüz Hoşgör from the METU for her voluntary contributions to survey design and statistics and to Özgür Arun for his help in transforming collected data into meaningful tables.

Special thanks to Şemsa Özar from the Boğaziçi University who spent days and nights voluntarily working with us at all stages of the survey.

The Diyarbakır Chamber of Industry and Commerce made their conference halls open for the workshop on 31 May 2006 when we presented the draft of this survey to audience and İlhan Diken, Deputy Mayor of Diyarbakır Greater Municipality made the opening speech of the workshop. We thank both of them and to all participants, including Dilek Kurban from the TESEV who were present at the workshop.

We are also grateful to the UNDP Representation in Turkey who contributed to the printing of Turkish and English editions of the survey.

## I. Introduction

As the metropolitan centre of the region of South-eastern Anatolia, the city of Diyarbakır was one of the focal points where people facing forced migration rushed during the 90s. The population of the province doubled within such a short period of time as 5 years from 1990 to 1995. Great majority of these people are still living together in some neighbourhoods located at the centre and peripheral parts of the city. Children born to these families had their childhood amidst stories of past village life and migration told by their elders, school life in neighbourhood schools, struggle in the streets of Diyarbakır where they worked to support their families as well as in cotton and hazel nut fields where they seasonally moved with their families again for subsistence. It is not possible to say that the life has changed much in these neighbourhoods for the last 15 years.

With this study we aimed at understanding the life and experiences of people who had to leave their villages and move to Diyarbakır starting from their past village life up to their present situation. Within this framework, inhabitants of neighbourhoods we visited told us their past life in villages, what they experienced during migration and how their life turned out to be since they settled in Diyarbakır. While doing this, they analysed not only their past but also their present situation and shared with us their future expectations and dreams. We hope to relate to you their stories in a genuine way.

Although our main motive in this study was to understand a specific process, our objective is of course not limited to a passive understanding only. Nevertheless, we believe that every step in solving the problems of the victims of forced migration should start with a real understanding of their situation. Thus, in the last part of this report we list suggestions to positively change the present situation of people we visited in their neighbourhoods as well as their demands and expectations. It is our sincere wish that these suggestions are taken into account by central government units, local governments and NGOs and that their problems find a place in the overall agenda of the country.

It is of course quite important that people involved in forced migration demand the state to compensate at least their material losses and ensure minimum conditions for their safe return to villages and pursue legal channels in this respect. In this context, studies on existing legislation and practices of compensation are of importance if victims of forced migration are to be treated just and fairly. However, this study limits itself to tendencies of migrants to return back and conditions under which this return would be plausible for them without going into legal and compensation related dimensions of the issue<sup>1</sup>.

Following the “Introduction”, Part II explains the methodology used in the survey. Part III gives information about overall situation in 5 neighbourhoods where the survey was carried out. Part IV describes the process of migration starting with causes of displacement. Part V gives information about past life in villages in order to understand this way of life better and compare it to present conditions in urban settlements. Part VI looks into different aspects of life in Diyarbakır 15 years after forced migration. In neighbourhoods that made up our survey area many issues were taken up

<sup>1</sup>For work conducted on these issues see, GÖÇ-DER, “Terör ve Terörle Mücadeleden Doğan Zararların Karşılınması Hakkında Kanun Tasarısı'na İlişkin Görüş ve Önerilerimiz”, [www.gocder.net](http://www.gocder.net), 2004; TESEV *Türkiye'de Ülke İçinde Yerinden Edilme Sorunu: Tespitler ve Çözüm Önerileri*, [www.tesev.org](http://www.tesev.org), 2005.

including the general condition of neighbourhoods and dwellings; interpersonal relations; education and health problems; income status; jobs done; support and services received from central and local government units; opinions about cultural rights, etc. Part VII is reserved to issues related to return. This part reflects conditions of return and families' tendencies about return process. Finally, in the last part, you can find statements of respondents about their problems and expectations as well as our suggestions for interventions to mitigate, at least partially, the problems faced by these population groups.

## II. Research Methods

The following 5 methods are used jointly in this work:

### 1. Survey:

The survey was carried out in 5 neighbourhoods with the help of a questionnaire<sup>2</sup> and 400 households were covered.

*Multi-stage Stratified Probability Sampling* method have been used for selecting the sample. The survey universe consisted of five neighbourhoods (clusters), namely *Aziziye*, *Gürdoğan*, *Benusen*, *Fatihpaşa* and *Savaş*. These are the poorest neighbourhoods also with highest rates of population growth. Total population living in these neighbourhoods is 42,928 (Table1). According to the Population and Health Survey 2003, the average total fertility rate in South-eastern Anatolia is 3.65. Considering that an average family has 4 children and families living in these neighbourhoods constitute the poorest section of population, the average household size was taken as 7 (see, column C). Column D gives the percentage distribution of 6,132 households with respect to neighbourhoods. Although 5 % of 6,132 households make 307, the survey was conducted with 400 households. Following *stratified sampling technique*, questionnaires administrated in respective neighbourhoods are as follows: *Aziziye* (48), *Gürdoğan* (104), *Benusen* (92), *Fatihpaşa* (116) and *Savaş* (40). Through *random sampling* households were selected by observing house numbers starting from 3 and continuing as 6, 9, 12, etc.

---

<sup>2</sup>See Annex 1 for survey questionnaire.

**Table1. Sample Selection**

(A) Neighbourhoods	(B) Total population 2003* (N)	(C) Average number of households (N/7)	(D) Share in total number of households (%)	(E) Number of households in the sample
<i>Fatihpaşa</i>	12 575	1 796	29	116
<i>Gürdoğan</i>	11 243	1 606	26	104
<i>Aziziye</i>	5 000	714	12	48
<i>Savaş</i>	4 110	587	10	40
<i>Benusen</i>	10 000	1 429	23	92
<b>Total</b>	42 928	6 132	100	400

\* Source: Demographic Studies of Diyarbakır Greater Municipality

The fieldwork was completed in 8 days by using 12 female interviewers. These interviewers received one-day training before starting their fieldwork. The team was composed of persons experienced in such field surveys. Questions in the form were re-articulated in a manner to fit better to daily spoken language. Interviewers also prepared field observations deriving from their fieldwork and presented these as reports to fieldwork managers. In writing the present report, these field observations were also used<sup>3</sup>.

The fieldwork covering 400 households gave the average household size as 6.91 persons and the survey reached, in total, information about 2,764 persons.

The survey data was analysed by using the SPSS programme.

---

<sup>3</sup>See Annex 2 for the impressions of an interviewer

## 2. Focus group meetings:

The number of persons attending 23 focus group meetings held in 5 neighbourhoods is 212. These focus group meetings were held with different groups, using age and gender as criteria, to discover different problems and demands of respective groups and to provide environments where participants can freely discuss their problems. Information about focus group meetings, their number and characteristics of focus group members is given below:

Age 7-14, group of girls:	2 meetings, 26 persons;
Age 7-14, group of boys:	1 meeting, 14 persons;
Age 15-23, group of young women:	2 meetings, 16 persons;
Age 16-22, group of young men:	5 meetings, 37 persons;
Age 25-50, group of adult women:	6 meetings, 65 persons;
Age 24-55, group of adult men:	7 meetings, 54 persons.

Meetings were conducted under the guidance of facilitators and in line with guiding questions articulated earlier. Spaces used for focus group meetings include houses, coffee houses and laundries run by the Diyarbakır Greater Municipality. There were some problems in terms of participation since meetings originally planned to be carried out with 8-10 persons attracted some others and some meetings had to be completed with 15-20 persons.

## 3. In-depth interviews:

One-to-one in-depth interviews were conducted in all 5 neighbourhoods with outstanding persons who had some mastery of local problems and known well by local inhabitants in line with a form of questions prepared earlier.<sup>4</sup> These lead persons included *muhtars* (neighbourhood headmen), teachers, local priests, representatives of various organisations working in these neighbourhoods and some local imams. 10 such interviews, 2 in each neighbourhood. There was also an interview with a school principal and information was solicited from local laundry managers and Glean of Hope Women Cooperative leaders. The purpose of conducting this type of interviews was to provide informal environments where issues that could not be raised in focus group meetings could be discussed more freely.

## 4. Workshop

The draft report of the survey was shared, in a workshop held on 31 May 2006, with the representatives of public and non-governmental agencies, people living in the neighbourhoods covered in the survey and persons conducting studies on forced migration. During this workshop, participants commented on the draft report and contributed to the further development of suggestions for solution.

---

<sup>4</sup>See Annex 3 for guiding question form in in-depth interviews and focus group meetings.



## 5.Meetings

In order to share the findings of the first four stages (survey, focus group meetings, in-depth interviews and workshop) of the survey with neighbourhood dwellers we plan to organize a widely attended meetings in each neighbourhood. In these meetings, suggestions of solution pertaining to problem areas as identified in the survey will be discussed with participants and first steps will be taken to lay the ground for the planning and implementation of future actions together with local people.

The administration of the questionnaire and focus group and in-depth interviews were all realized in the period June-November 2005. Although fieldwork started in June, there was a necessary interruption since many neighbourhood dwellers were out for seasonal works and all relevant works were finalized in November 2005.

Since respondents could express themselves much easier in their native tongues, the survey as well as focus group and in-depth interviews were realized mostly in Kurdish.

While the survey focused on systematic information gathering, focus group and in-depth interviews were used to create environments in which neighbourhood dwellers could freely communicate their migration histories, daily life, pressing problems and demands.

During our work, respondents frequently complained about the insufficiency of authorities who were supposed to listen to and address their problems. They particularly stressed that things quickly ran into an impasse when it came to finding concrete solutions. Perhaps as a result of this impasse which fed serious feelings of desperation, various stages of fieldwork took much longer time than originally envisaged since individual problem telling could easily turn into meetings where additional participants started telling about their problems too.

In parts where we present the outcomes of the survey, tables and figures reflecting the findings of the questionnaire are given together with quotations from focus group meetings and in-depth interviews. During fieldwork, names of persons interviewed were not asked and conversations were not recorded.

Unless specified otherwise, all statistical information, tables and charts in the text reflect the findings of the questionnaire. Quotes given in italics throughout the text are direct expressions of individuals interviewed.

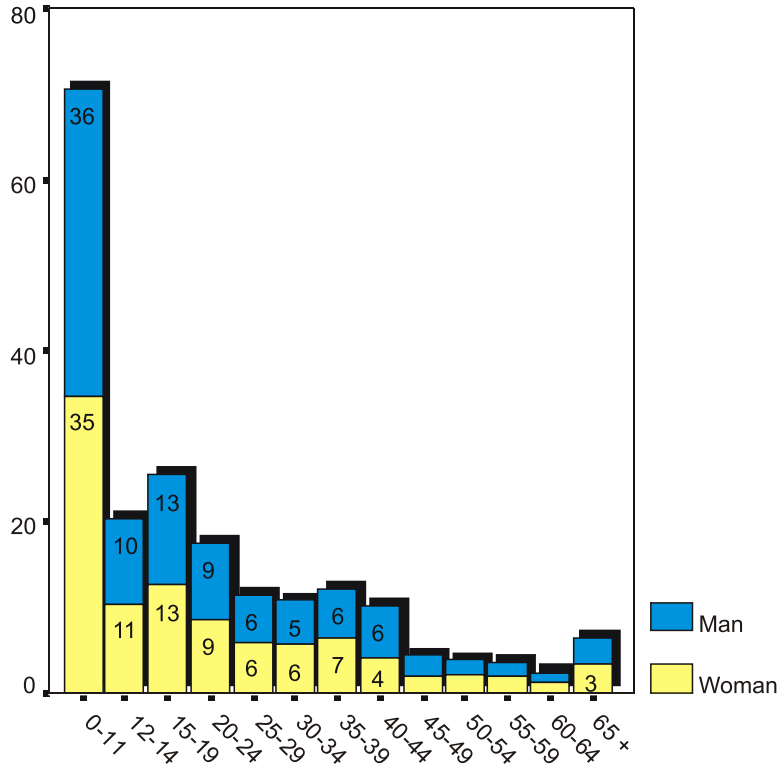
### III. Survey Area

The survey area comprises *Aziziye*, *Gürdoğan* and *Benusen* neighbourhoods within Yenişehir Municipality<sup>5</sup> and *Fatihpaşa* and *Savaş* neighbourhoods within Sur Municipality in Diyarbakır Greater Municipality. Among these municipalities, great majority of dwellers especially in *Aziziye*, *Gürdoğan* and *Benusen* consists of those coming in and settling as a result of forced migration. Another important characteristic of these neighbourhoods is the apparent presence of unemployment and poverty. Needless to say, these characteristics are not limited only to these neighbourhoods in Diyarbakır.

#### *Overall situation in neighbourhoods*

Large majority of families in neighbourhoods where the survey was carried out are nuclear families composed of parents and children. The average household size is 6.9 persons. The population is rather young, 74 % of neighbourhood dwellers are under age 30. Children in age group 0-11 constitute 35 % of total population in these neighbourhoods (Chart 1). Average age in households is 21.2.

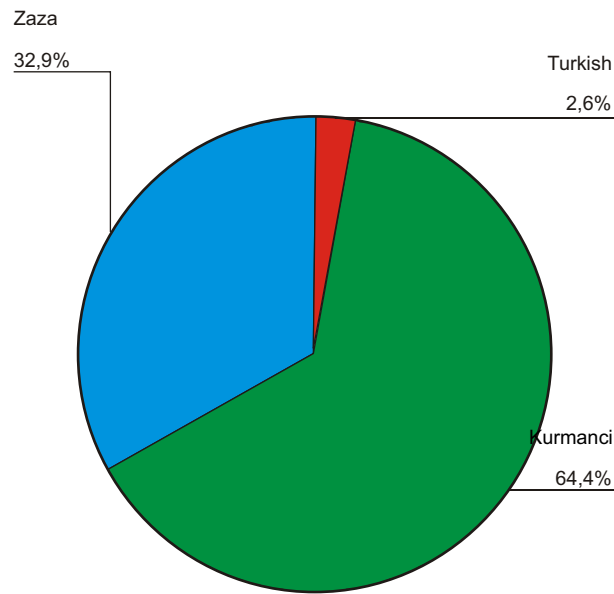
**Chart 1. Age groups by gender (%)**



97 % of persons interviewed speak Kurdish (Kurmanji (64%) and Zaza (33%)) while Turkish speaking persons make up only 3 % (Chart 2). 89 % of interviewed persons said they could also speak Turkish.

<sup>5</sup>See Annex 4 for neighbourhood general information form.

**Chart 2. Mother tongue (%)**



The primary cause of migration to Diyarbakır is forced evacuation of villages. Economic motives come after this primary cause.<sup>6</sup> The causes of migration were examined during in-depth interviews and focus group meetings and it was found out that those who had migrated for economic reasons used to face conditions which made subsistence almost impossible back in their villages. Yet, it was also clear that the factor setting the stage for grave economic hardships was again the environment marked by clashes. For example, majority of rural households subsisted on stockbreeding were dependent on pastures. For long time they could not take their animals up for grazing either because of armed clashes or bans introduced by security forces. This situation made it practically impossible to continue stockbreeding and families had no other alternative but leaving their villages.

### ***Fatihpaşa and Savaş***

Remaining within the city walls, *Fatihpaşa* and *Savaş* neighbourhoods are among the oldest settlement areas in Diyarbakır. In fact the history of these two adjacent neighbourhoods can be traced back to 5000 BC. Until 50 years ago Syriac, Keldani, Jewish, Turkish, Kurdish and Armenian communities lived together in these neighbourhoods. Suriçi neighbourhoods which

once hosted the leading families of the city lost its wealthy families to new settlement areas in the city within the last 30 years. Houses and streets in these neighbourhoods are marked by basaltic stone as construction material. Some old houses are almost demolished.

*Fatihpaşa* and *Savaş* neighbourhoods are among spaces where the migration waves of the last 20 years found destination. Worn out houses were turned into living spaces by plastic covers and some spaces were enlarged by adding storeys to some old houses by using stones from the city walls. At present, some families live in second floors of these houses while basements are used for keeping animals. Narrow streets (kûçe) peculiar to old parts of the city block traffic and service vehicles including waste collectors and fire-combat trucks cannot reach some parts of these neighbourhoods.

<sup>6</sup>This issue is addressed in more detail in Part IV under the heading Causes of migration.

In the year 2003 population of *Fatihpaşa* was 12,575 and that of *Savaş* was 4,110 (see, Table1, page8).

In each of these neighbourhoods there is a reading room and a laundry managed by the central government and local governments respectively. In *Fatihpaşa* neighbourhood Umut Işığlı Women's Cooperative runs a child centre with a capacity of 64 children. The centre also extends training to mothers in such areas as maternal and child health, nutrition and child psychology.

Inhabitants of these neighbourhoods make their living as construction workers, peddlers, porkers, child care for others, cleaners and *çek çek*<sup>7</sup> drivers. There are also those who move out to some western provinces for seasonal agricultural works. These neighbourhoods have been known of their highest rates of criminality in Diyarbakır.

### ***Aziziye and Gürdoğan***

*Aziziye* and *Gürdoğan* neighbourhoods are both *gecekondu* settlements 10 kilometres to the north-east of city centre, on Silvan road. In 2003 population was 5,000 for *Aziziye* and 11,243 for *Gürdoğan*. (see, Table1, p.5). These neighbourhoods adjacent to the mass housing area of the TOKİ (Mass Housing Administration of Prime Ministry) are new settlements emerging with waves of migration in the 90s. Houses are mostly single storey buildings made of brick and with a yard. Both neighbourhoods have infrastructure problems, including earth roads which are problematic especially in winter. They look like rural settlements and, indeed, dwellers are engaged in vegetable farming and stock breeding as they did back in their villages. There are some families hiring plots near the river Tigris to culture cotton and others producing and selling mud-bricks. There are 20 women engaged in producing *tandır* (an earth oven used for baking bread) out in streets. Women also go out for domestic services in other houses including cleaning and child care. Some children work in various workshops as apprentices.

The *450 Evler* part of *Gürdoğan* neighbourhood was constructed by the Government following the 1975 Lice earthquake and later, in 1998, these houses were used to host *peşmerge* coming from Iraq. Houses were vacated upon the return of *peşmerge* back to Iraq and houses were then allocated to displaced persons in the 1990's. These 4-storey houses are quite worn out. People are engaged in stockbreeding in shabby folds constructed near houses. Roads in the settlement area are still earth.

*Aziziye* and *Gürdoğan* neighbourhoods both have their community centres, carpet weaving shops and laundries introduced by the central government or local government

### ***Benusen***

*Benusen*, with a population of 10,000 constitutes a part of Şehitlik where 62,942 people live (see, Table1, page 5). Located to the east of the city out of city walls, *Benusen* rapidly grew in the 90s with successive waves of migration. The neighbourhood is made up of *gecekondu* type houses and it faces serious infrastructure problems including muddy roads and frequent electricity cuts deriving from worn out network and illicit use.

<sup>7</sup>*Çek çek* is a simple carriage with two wheels to transport cargo in short distances within a city.

Within the framework of “Diyarbakır Urban Transformation Plan” it is envisaged to run down houses in this settlement and allocate new houses to its inhabitants.

The most significant means of subsistence for the inhabitants of *Benusen* is animal slaughtering.

There are many families living on the transfer of live animals, their slaughtering and distribution to butchers. The number of working children is also high. The neighbourhood has a laundry and a privately run carpet workshop. The ÇATOM (multi-purpose community centre) which had been originally established by the GAP Administration was operating with the support of the Governorate since December 2000 in Şehitlik which includes *Benusen* neighbourhood as well. In February 2006, a new organisation, “Under the Same Roof with Children - ÇAÇA” started its activities for children in *Benusen* neighbourhood.

## IV. Migration Process

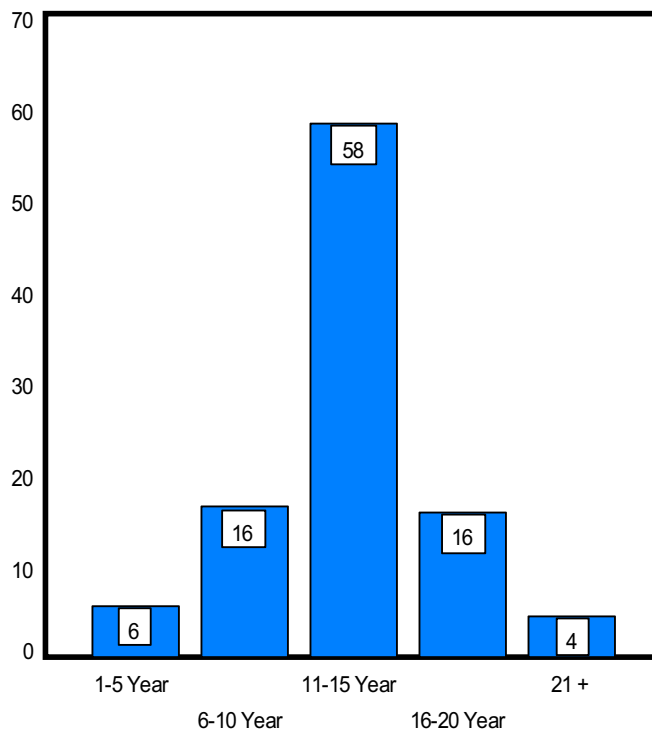
### *Causes of migration*

The process of migration has continued with different stages since 1980s. Until early 90s, this process was a relatively planned one involving limited number of families. In other words, people leaving their villages and moving to Diyarbakır during this early stage were more or less prepared to this radical change in way of life. The patterns involved sending an adult male to the city to live with his relatives for a time and then his family's moving in after he found a job to sustain his family. After this decision was made, families eased this process by selling their animals and, in some cases, houses in the village and renting/buying a house in the city. Especially in *Fatihpaşa* neighbourhood there are families who left their villages mainly for economic reasons before the 90s (30-40 years ago).

*Population here increased after 1989. Most of those early comers noticed the situation and came in prepared by selling out their animals. But many of them were not able to do the same with their other property.*

During the first half of the 90s, especially in 1992 and 1993, migration from villages to district centres and provincial capitals accelerated upon the intensification of unrest and armed clashes in Cizre, Bingöl, Kulp and Lice and this process continued in waves until 1995. Families that were interviewed in the survey had moved from villages to the city 13 years ago in average (Chart 3). The share of those who migrated within the last 5 years is only 6 %.

**Chart 3. How many years ago did you first come to Diyarbakır (%)**



While many families left their villages and towns against their will upon the pressures of security forces there are some other who did the same as a result of hardening living conditions, feeling of insecurity and uncertainties about their future after selling out their animals at very low prices. Major factors triggering the process of migration are given below:

- Burning of villages,
- Forced migration as a result of “security” problems,
- Difficulty in subsistence,
- Burning of animal shelters,
- Ban on farming land which is beyond a specific distance from the village,
- Ban on taking animals out to ranges and pastures on the ground that farmers provide food to PKK militants,
- Ban or rationing of foodstuffs procured from out of villages on the ground that these are transferred to PKK militants. Problems of accessing food especially in winter when roads are blocked,
- Imposition of the system of village guards; the dilemma of either accepting to be village guards or leaving the village altogether,
- Pressures by village guards,
- Closure of many schools, children's limited education opportunities,
- Absence of security in travelling,
- Remaining in between the PKK and official forces.

While 31 % of families stated their forced migration to Diyarbakır resulted from “burning of their villages”, for another 31 % this was the result of “security concerns” (Chart 4).

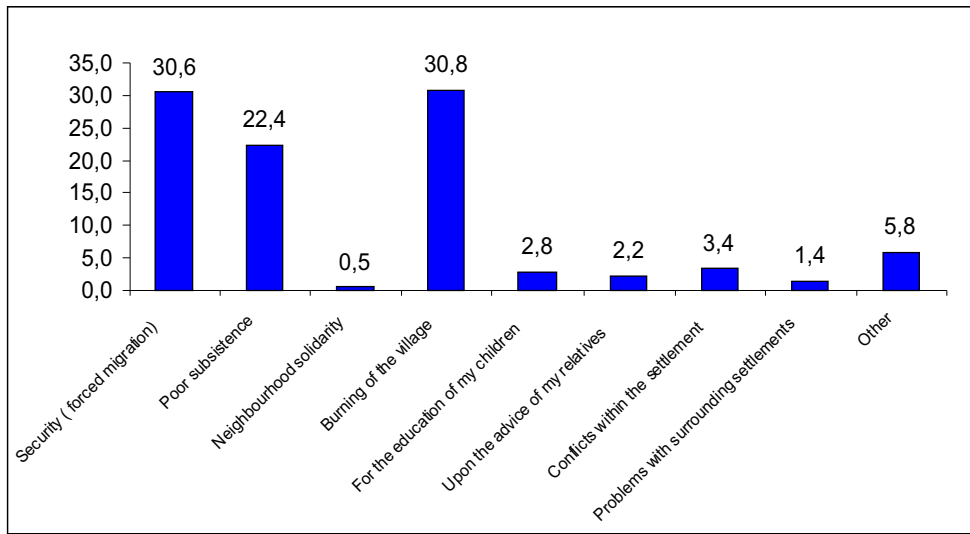
*13 years ago our village, houses and animal shelters were burnt down by the state. We were not allowed to take anything with us. We barely saved our lives and settled in this neighbourhood.*

*Soldiers came to our village (1990) and burned our property, we could save only some. So we moved to another village. They didn't burn down this village. That was a village somewhere in Bingöl. They didn't burn down some villages for they had visiting places<sup>8</sup>.*

*Our village was big. There were 350-400 households. Houses were on mountainous area, built of stone. Now there is no standing house.*

<sup>8</sup> “Visiting place” is used for tombs of some holy persons

**Chart 4. Major reasons of moving from villages to Diyarbakır (%)**



In our interviews, respondents stressed that in some villages all local inhabitants were forced to enlist as village guards whereas in some others this compulsion focused on some individuals. Those who refused were given no alternative but leaving the village.

*The military forced us to be village guards. We rejected and so we were dismissed from our village. Village guards remained. They used to oppress us. They usurped our farms and cut down our fruit trees.*

*My husband used to be a village guard. One day he got wounded in a clash with guerrillas and then he wanted to leave this job. The state took him in for 4 days and tortured. So we had to leave the village.*

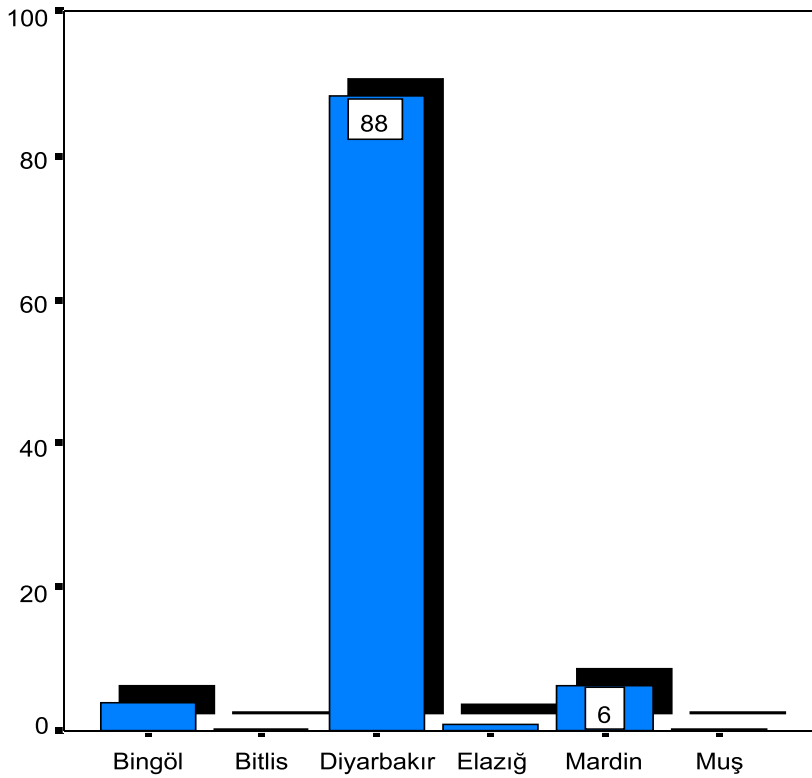
*We left our village 8-9 years ago. It was owned by a landlord and we used to work on his land. The landlord initiated this guard system in the village. He wanted us to be guards too. When we refused he forced us out with his guards.*

The share of families leaving their villages because of economic difficulties remains at 22 % (Chart 4). However, examining this reason in more detail as we did in in-depth interviews and focus group meetings, it can be found that this reason too is closely associated with “security problems”. Bans on pastures and highlands as well as flour mills and difficulties in working on relatively far away farming plots are among causes which forced families to leave. 3 % of families said they left their villages to provide better education opportunities to their children.

Large majority (88%) of families came from district centres and villages of Diyarbakır province, the origins of the remaining include Mardin, Bingöl, Elazığ, Muş and Bitlis (Chart 5).



**Chart 5. Where do you come from? (%)**



### ***Off the village and migration route***

Examining the process of migration we find that most of these families could reach Diyarbakır under quite adverse conditions. In fact many families who were forced to migrate state they faced great difficulties during this process. Almost all families had to leave their villages without optimal disposal of their property and making any serious preparation for their move. Some families left their crops in farms without harvesting and other had to sell out their animals at prices much below market prices.

According to data obtained from the survey only 30 % of families (117 families) could take their moveable assets with them. Among those who could not do this, 47 % took only their beds along and 12 % (34 households) took only their precious items.

In some cases of burning and evacuation of villages people said they could barely save their lives and reach Diyarbakır.

*We were forcibly removed from our villages in 1990-1992. Our villages were completely burnt down. They didn't let us take our things with us with the exception of some animals. In some villages village guards took our animals too.*

*We are from Hazro, Lice and Dicle district of Diyarbakır. We had to sell our animals out at very low prices at district centres. What we got from this could support us only for few months. We couldn't pay our rent.*

Majority of families who were forced to leave their villages immediately faced difficulty even in finding vehicles to take them to the city centre. Therefore they had to walk in groups until the main road leading to the city and stop some vehicles in traffic to take them.

*We could take nothing with us while leaving our villages. Some of us were even without shoes or slippers. We had no money at all. Some of us could have support from their relatives. Many of us spent the first winter out in streets.*

The fact that majority of families could not take along even their moveable assets (household items, animals, some jewellery) led to their confrontation with serious difficulties in their places of arrival. Others tried to pile up whatever they can on tractors, draft animals or trucks to take them to their destination.

Majority of these families could find no time and opportunity to secure a place for temporary stay when they first reached their destination. Problems of those already having their relatives in Diyarbakır were lesser. They joined their relatives and mitigated their difficulties in spite of economic hardships of those with whom they shared their houses.

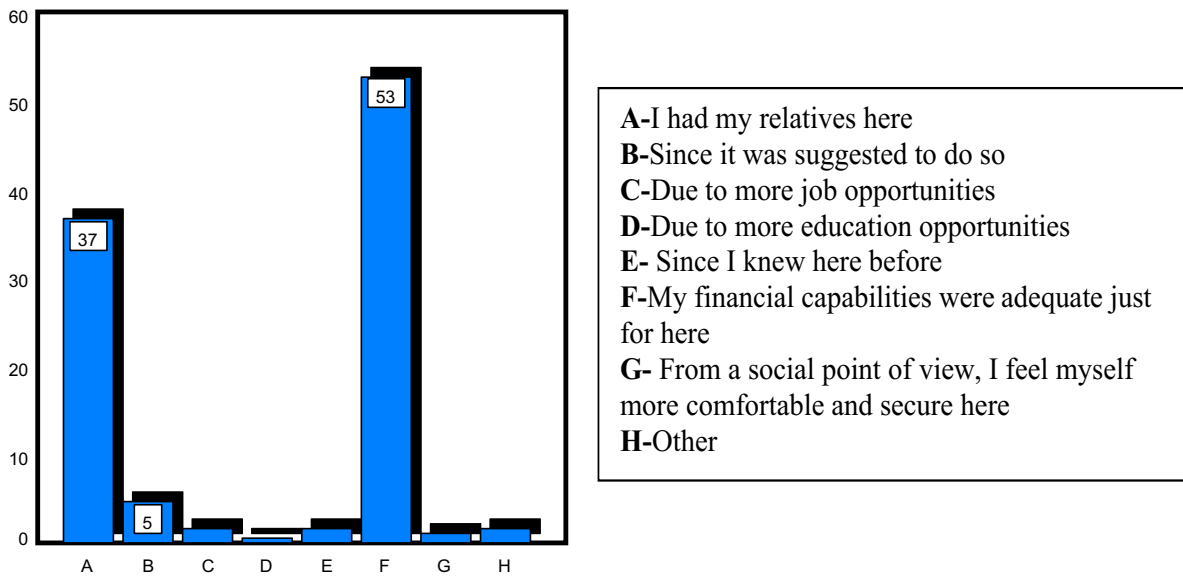
Those who left their village after selling their land make up only 5 % of total. The factor explaining this is the fact that many families considered this migration only temporary and considered to return back when situation was improved. The second factor is that under conditions of conflict property could not be sold or sold only at prices much below their actual value. Occupation of some farming plots by village guards is another factor. 51 % of families state they sold out their animals to cover their costs during migration and 24 % used their savings for the same purpose.

### ***Arrival to Diyarbakır***

As a result of displacement taking place in a specific time period (especially in May 1994) there was rather high inflow of people to Diyarbakır during that period. This is also true for some other cities in the region (Batman, Siirt and Şırnak).

Migrant people mostly settled in outskirts of Diyarbakır. Over a half of families (53%) said that their economic means allowed only for this option while 37 % stated that they preferred these neighbourhoods for their relatives living there (Chart 6).

**Chart 6. Most important reason for selecting the neighbourhood (%)**



Some of those who were looking for a place to stay first tried to find their fellow villagers and relatives who had come in earlier in coffee houses. Thus coffee houses played a central role in this kind of communication and contact.

*We preferred this part of the city since rents were cheaper and it was inhabited by people like us, who had to settle after having been forced out of their villages.*

*Minibus drivers and people in coffee houses were instrumental in helping us to find those persons from the same villages as ours. So we had to live in plastic tents for 2-3 months.*

Romans (locally “*Mirtip*”) who used to make their living by visiting villages during weddings and other fests and playing instruments also had to move in Diyarbakır after their mobility from village to village was banned.

*We made some living by visiting different district centres and our men playing instruments in weddings. Then the state restricted our mobility and we settled here in this neighbourhood. Our men try to do the same, but outdoor weddings are fewer now. People have such ceremonies in wedding halls nowadays.*

Arriving Diyarbakır, the most important problem was to find a place to stay. Many families found shelter with their relatives or acquaintances. During this period, earlier settlers of these neighbourhoods helped newcomers especially in terms of finding houses to rent and meeting some of their most basic needs. There were also relatives giving some of their furniture and some household items to newcomers.

A person arriving Diyarbakır before forced migration wave describes the situation of newcomers as follows:

*They came in mainly from Diyarbakır area with few things like nomads. There were some families from Mardin living around walls without any household items. Neighbours around gave them some help. We cleaned up a vacated building and let these people in. Newcomers were mostly in worst conditions, without having anything in their hands. I know 5 families living in the same house. Their neighbours couldn't help much since they were also very poor.*

In some cases high number of deprived and homeless families made any support and assistance virtually impossible.

*During the early phases of migration there were some people sitting till morning without any sleep.*

*Our relatives here couldn't help us much. They were already deprived anyway. There were some other relatives, who were economically better, but even from them there were too many people to help and they couldn't afford it.*

1991 to 1994 is the period in which migration was intensified. During these years there is a boom in demand for houses especially in the outskirts of the city. Prices of houses and rents doubled as a result of this high demand. Families who had their own houses in *Fatihpaşa*, *Savaş* and *Benusen* sold these houses at relatively high prices and moved to wealthier parts of Diyarbakır.

*Old inhabitants in these neighbourhoods sold their houses to newcomers at extraordinarily high prices. After years, these houses worth almost nothing.*

*They doubled or even tripled the price of houses within the city walls. Some opportunistic people emerged during these difficult times. Those who had some money preferred to buy houses in this part of the town since they found prices reasonable and they felt themselves better at such a neighbourhood.*

Especially in *Benusen*, *Fatihpaşa* and *Savaş* neighbourhoods, this high demand for houses was tried to be met by adding an extra storey to already shabby buildings. These houses now pose the risk of collapse since no columns were used in construction.

Some newcomers stayed with their relatives for months. Without any alternative, in some cases two or even more families came together to rent a common house. These are mostly families from the same village and also having kinship ties.

*When we first came here we had to live in the same house together as five families.*

There are also other families constructing their *gecekondus* with the help of their already settled relatives in newly emerging or growing neighbourhoods (i.e. *Aziziye*, *Gürdoğan*).

On important reason why these families preferred these neighbourhoods surrounding the city was that life in these places resembled in many respects to their earlier life in villages. These are single-storey houses with yards making it possible to grow vegetables and keeping animals.

*We can bake our bread here. It is similar to what we used to have back in the village. We go out for cotton picking, hoeing etc. I was sick for 3 months. It was so difficult that we could even live in a stable.*

*People prefer this place for its resemblance to village environments, without, for example having to pay property or environment taxes. These houses mostly have 2 rooms. Houses have their baths and toilets out. Rents are low.*

### ***Adaptation to urban life***

Migrant families stated that they experienced serious difficulties in adapting to new way of life during their early phases in Diyarbakır. These problems were felt more seriously by middle-aged persons and older generations. For a long time, these persons could communicate only with their fellow villagers and limited number of persons they knew in their neighbourhoods. In fact, for many families, this situation has not changed much in spite of past 10-15 years in the city.

Those who settled in *Aziziye* and *Gürdoğan* neighbourhoods located near main roads stated that they had difficulty in crossing the road especially during their early years and in fact about 20 persons were killed or injured after being hit by vehicles in traffic.

Coffee houses in or around neighbourhoods are important social spaces for males. Social relations of women, on the other hand, remained limited to family members, relatives and some close neighbours. Persons interviewed said they cannot go to the wealthier parts of the town and they felt themselves alien to such quarters of the city as *Ofis*<sup>9</sup>. This alienation is especially true for younger generations who felt themselves “isolated” and “restricted.”

Other than what they domestically produce, migrant families shop in groceries in their neighbourhoods. They prefer this since they can pay later for things they buy.

In fact, neighbourhood dwellers leave their immediate surroundings only for seeking job or visiting health institutions for their health problems.

---

<sup>9</sup>*Ofis* is the “downtown” area of the city where there are many shopping places, bank branches, restaurants and cafes used especially by youth as meeting venues and busy until late in evening.

## V. Past: Life in a Village

In this part, we thought it might be useful to take the reader to the past at the risk of diverging from the chronology of forced migration process. We think it will be valuable to look at the life of these people prior to migration in order to understand their present feelings better and give a meaning to their perception of past rural life. It must not be forgotten that villages and rural life mentioned here correspond to the early 90s in time. Today, rural settlements in the region are relatively better endowed in terms of drinking water supply, electricity and transportation.

### *Life in village*

Village houses typically consisted of 2-3 rooms and extra spaces used as cellar or fuel storage. Animals were kept either at basements or folds closely located to houses. 94 % of the houses had earth floors and only 6 % had cement floors. It is possible to say that infrastructure and education facilities used to be quite insufficient (Table2). 27 % of families had no school in their villages; 37 % had no piped water supply; 35 % had no good roads; 21 % lacked electricity; 60 % had no telephone connection and 82 % had no health centre. In the early 90s, many schools were closed after fires and killing of teachers.

**Table2. Information about infrastructure facilities in villages left**

Facility	% of households deprived of basic facilities
School	27
Health centre	82
Water supply	37
Road (allowing vehicle traffic)	35
Electricity	21
Telephone	60
Mosque	12

Especially in small villages and hamlets formal education was carried out in schools with one or two classrooms. So children at different ages and grades remained in the same class and education was frequently interrupted due to such reasons as shortage of teachers or their complete absence.

Most families lived as “familya”<sup>10</sup> in villages or small towns where traditions ruled. Social structure, especially in locations farther away from markets, was such that many needs were met through a tight network of solidarity. For example, it was only too common to have one family providing milk, yogurt, fruits and vegetables to another family in need. It was out of question to “sell” these goods to a person in the same village.

<sup>10</sup>The term “familya” is used by family groups engaged in relations of kinship.

## ***Basic Means of Subsistence***

Small land ownership was the common patterns especially in villages located in mountainous areas. Land distribution was more or less balanced. Since irrigation was not possible in many villages, animal husbandry was more important than crop farming.

In fact, animal husbandry was the primary means of subsistence for many families. This included small ruminants and cattle. Surplus product in both crops and animal husbandry was either taken out for marketing by farmers or sold to *cerci* (traders) who visited villages for buying and selling various goods. Goods sold this way consisted of grains, live animals and milk products (cheese in particular). Most families were able to make a living and provide for their basic needs with what they produced.

*Those who had their lands in the village were relatively better off. At least they had no fear of hunger. Here we face that threat. We lost the village without having any chance to be urban. Back in the village we had at least some fowl. Here, each one is trying to find his way out. In the village, a farmer with two sheep could feed two families.*

Because of rugged terrain which characterize the surroundings of many villages, cultivable land was limited and split in small parcels. Existing mainly at the bottom of valleys and near water sources, these small plots were used for growing vegetables (tomato, pepper, eggplant and bean). Further, walnut grown and marketed by these villages constituted another significant source of income. Cereals (wheat and barley) were the main crops in rain fed farming. There were also some villages engaged in viticulture and grape products (grape juice, dried grapes, raisin, etc.). Other fruits like apples, pears and plums were mostly grown for domestic consumption.

*We used to grow lentil, fruits and vegetables and had some animals in the village. We could make a living without being dependent to anyone else. Our trees gave plenty of fruit. Now our children can only watch fruits in grocers. We had our yogurt, milk and cheese. Now we don't.*

In short, families were not limited their activities to a single branch or crop but engaged in various activities including poultry, animal husbandry, crop farming, fruit and vegetable culture, viticulture, etc. For rural people, this diversity meant a balance in food supply and nutrition and also some income security in different conditions and seasons. The same situation also meant that all family members took part in subsistence activities in this or that way.

*Even 8 children fell short of our labour needs back in the village. Some took animals out while others worked in the farm. But here, they are all burden on us. It is too difficult to make a living here.*

Prior to forced migration, further split of farming plots along with increasing population was one of the factors making search for new sources of income compulsory. While some families chose to move to cities, others started to go out for seasonal works (16 %). The latter took place during idle seasons by sending some family members out to other places within the same province or region.

*We used to breed animals and culture vegetables, fruits and cereals back in the village. We didn't go out for seasonal works. We were economically independent.*

In spite of economic hardships and limited opportunities associated with urban life, many families state that their status, especially in terms of nutrition, was better while back in their villages.

*We used to have food beyond our needs. We marketed the surplus. Now we have no work to do and we are hungry.*



## VI. After 15 Years: Life in Diyarbakır

With this part, we will arrive 15 years past the process of migration. The part focuses on various issues including the situation in the neighbourhoods where migrant families live, condition of their dwellings, human relations, education and health problems, income status, employment and unemployment, support and services received from central and local government, etc. Additionally, the part also tries to reflect the ideas and feelings of migrant families concerning differences between their past rural and present urban life.

### *State of Neighbourhoods*

Great majority of families interviewed have been living in the same neighbourhoods as they first settled upon their arrival. Still there are some families who, after improvements in their economic status or for having some assets moved to *Huzurevleri* and *Bağlar* neighbourhoods after their first settlement. Nevertheless, even if these neighbourhoods may be considered better than others, they still have *gecekondu* type houses inhabited by migrant families.

*I wish I were living in some other neighbourhood: Huzurevleri or Hatboyu for example. They look more urban and have better shopping places.*

Although some infrastructure problems have been solved within the last 15 years in the neighbourhoods of *Aziziye*, *Gürdoğan*, *Benusen*, *Fatihpaşa* and *Savaş* where this survey was carried out, inhabitants are still disturbed by problems related to electricity, water supply, sewage network and environmental health.

*There are frequent and long-spell electricity cuts in our neighbourhood. The Municipality partly solved the water problem. But we still have some problems. Canals stink and there are mosquitoes. Our roads get muddy in winter. We tell these problems to authorities and they try to solve them.*

*Our neighbourhood has too many problems. Wastes are not collected regularly. We are all in mud in winters. The TEDAŞ cuts our electricity frequently for illicit use.*

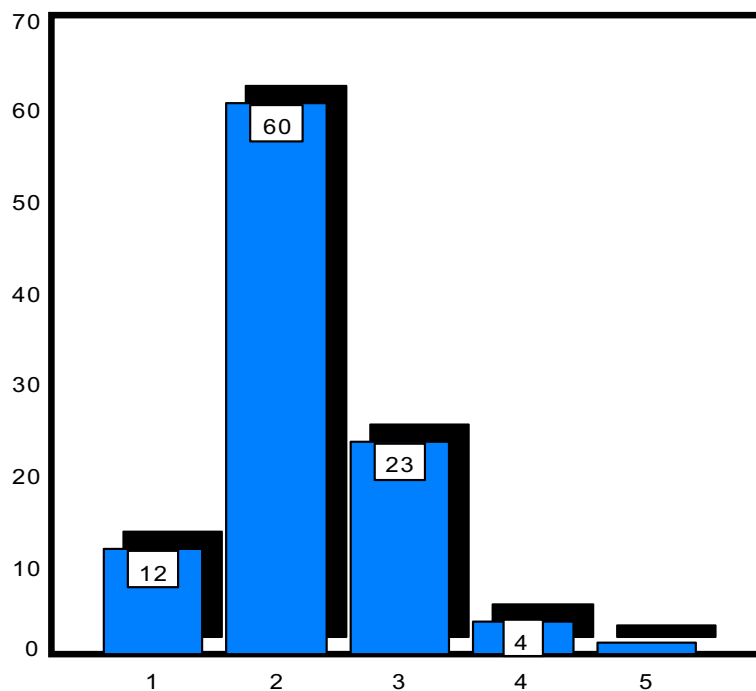
Absence of “condolence houses” and graveyards in nearby locations are among problems frequently expressed by dwellers. Women, on their part, complain about absence of safe spaces and playgrounds where they can let their children play. Yet very few in number, sports facilities introduced in some neighbourhoods are believed to have positive impact on children and younger generations.

*The municipality introduced a basketball field here. Earlier we had no idea about this sport, but now we are good in it.*

## State of Houses

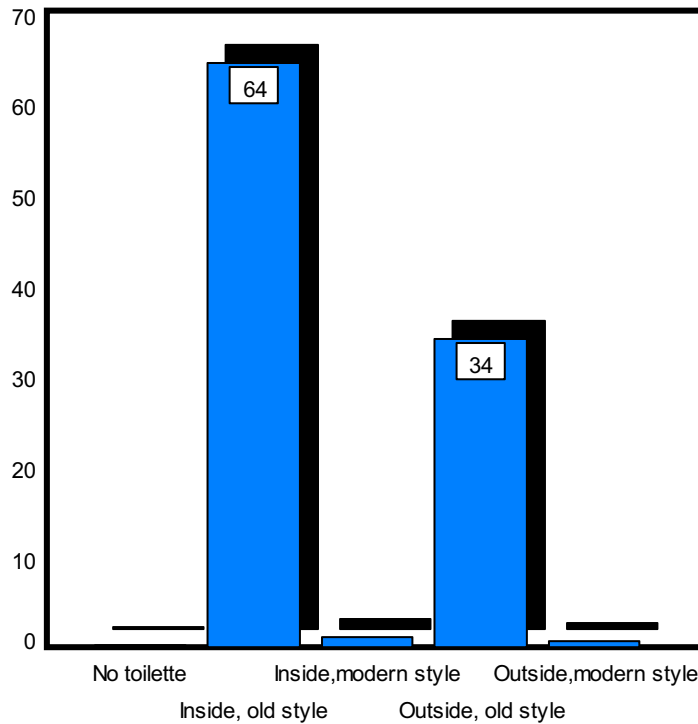
When they first came to Diyarbakır, migrant families made big efforts to find a shelter by selling out whatever they had. Owning a house is considered as an important guarantee in urban life. In fact, almost half of the families (49 %) presently live in their own houses. However, many of these *gecekondu* houses have no official title deeds. 20 % of migrant families live in houses owned by their relatives without paying rent. One-third (31%) live in rented houses and pay rent. Monthly rent varies from 20 to 120 YTL whereas 60 % of tenants pay 60 YTL or less a month. Examining the condition of houses, we observe that they are old and low quality buildings. 12 % of these houses have single room while 60 % have 2 rooms (Chart 7). Given that an average family consists of 6.9 members, congestion in houses becomes apparent.

**Chart 7. How many rooms are there in your house (%)**



35 % of houses have outdoor toilets (Chart 8). 17 % of houses have no separate bath and about 17 % again have no separate kitchen

**Chart 8. Toilet facility in house (%)**



Especially in neighbourhoods in Suriçi, there are families living in old and worn out houses abandoned by their owners.

*Many of these houses run the risk of collapsing. Two storey houses have no colons. Nobody bothers to restore since they will be demolished anyway. There are great problems when it snows or rains. In one-third of these houses toilets are in and in the rest they are out. The same is true for baths too. Monthly rent varies from 30 to 80 YTL.*

News that houses around the city wall will be removed by the Municipality give unrest to families.

*We are in stress knowing that our house will be removed one day. They don't give us a definite date. We have no idea what will happen and where we would be going. They tell us "you will be convinced when the time comes", but we don't want to go to any other place. We only want better housing. We were forced out once and we don't want this to happen again.*

95 % of families have refrigerators in their houses (Table3). The remaining 5 % without refrigerator constitutes the poorest group among migrants. Considering the climatic characteristics of the area, especially in summer, having a refrigerator is essential in many respects.

Only 47 % of families have washing machines. Thus, the Diyarbakır Greater Municipality indeed provides an essential service though 3 public laundries (*Beyaz Kelebekler*) operating in *Aziziye*,

*Benusen and Hasırlı* neighbourhoods.

These facilities are designed for washing and ironing. The facilities also have spaces where visiting women can chat and children can play. Furthermore, there are also training courses designed for women.

*The laundry introduced by the Municipality made our work easier. We also receive training in literacy and health at this centre.*

89% of households have TV sets. While 41% have telephone at their homes, 62% of families have at least one member with a cellular phone. The share of households having PC is very low (0.8%).

**Table3. Endowment of households with basic household items**

Household items	No. of households	% of households having items in their houses
Refrigerator	380	95
Washing machine	188	47
Television	356	89
Telephone	161	41
Cellular phone	244	62
Computer	3	0,8

### ***Daily life, solidarity and neighbourhood relations***

Many families tried to create conditions under which they can maintain some features of their past rural life. In fact, while visiting neighbourhoods, the survey team came across many examples demonstrating the will to live just as before. This tendency also derives from some economic considerations as well. For example many families still make their own bread in *tandır*s. This insistence derives from both economic reasons since it is much cheaper than bread sold in bakeries and from an uncompromised taste for it. In many neighbourhoods families come together to have a common baking facility. Similarly, 8% of families have their sheep, goat and cattle, a means of subsistence still preserved in urban environments.

Many people interviewed complain about weakening relative and neighbourhood ties in urban environments.

*Back in village people got together and talked every evening. Now this doesn't happen in the city since people are scattered to different parts of the town.*

*Relatives cannot get together; there are even relatives not knowing each other.  
Communication is broken.*

As to mutual assistance among families, there are different views. While some speak about the presence of such mutual assistance and solidarity, others reject this on the ground that extreme poverty allows no such assistance or solidarity.

*There is no mutual assistance since all are poor and have nothing to give.*

*There is some mutual assistance. We lend each other bread and other foodstuffs. It is like what we used to have in the village. This doesn't happen in apartment blocks.*

In general, condolence visits<sup>11</sup> and weddings are important events when families demonstrate their material and moral support to each other. In condolence houses, there is still the practice of cooking meals for visitors. Since this is a burden unbearable for an individual family, visitors for condolence mostly bring along some foodstuffs like flour and sugar. While this practice was carried out in normal houses back in villages, migrant families keep special condolence houses for this practice since their present houses are too small. However this practice is gradually vanishing as a result of poverty. Still in neighbourhoods where such houses do not exist or are insufficient, allocation of condolence houses is one of the major demands of dwellers.

Meanwhile, problems may emerge among groups having different backgrounds or ways of life. These problems may even lead to legal complaints by parties involved. Theft is one of the most complained problems in these neighbourhoods.

*There are Romans living here in this neighbourhood. They are involved in theft and bullying. They sneak in houses, stab people, etc. Romans should go out of this neighbourhood*

*Major problems of neighbourhood include use of drugs, aggressive youth behaviour and cases of theft and harassment. Perpetrators are mostly Romans. They come in from shanties around the walls.*

However, there are diverging views on this issue.

*Romans and the Karaçi are human beings like us, they are Kurds too; no point to blame them.*

---

<sup>11</sup>Visits of condolence is a highly praised tradition in the region. There are special spaces in the city used for this purpose. For example, for families who have moved in Diyarbakır from the same district there are condolence spaces

It is safe to say that within the last 15 years important changes have taken place in terms of both intra-family relations and social values. Still, one can also observe efforts in some neighbourhoods to preserve traditional tribal relations and customs. For example, the *Omeriyan* tribe coming from Mardin still maintains tribal relations. All members of this tribe, whether young or old want to return back to their villages as soon as conditions are conducive to such return. In these families male household heads are undisputed leaders and they take decisions by themselves. In spite of severe economic difficulties, women are not allowed to work out of home and families allowing their female members to work out are threatened with exclusion. It must be added, however, that these patterns or tribes are quite rare.

### ***Family relations***

Family members frequently state their concerns about loosening family ties and weakening dialogue. While fathers are family heads having primary responsibility for the subsistence of the family according to ruling social norms, their unemployment or poor status leads to unmet demands by younger family members and this situation weakens family ties, sometimes driving children away from their parents. In some families, on the other hand, fathers expect their children to support the family. Once children are jobless, this causes the resentment of fathers and dialogue suffers again.

*Our father tells us to go out and work, but there is no work. We can't stay home during day to avoid tensions that may lead to fight. There are cases when we violate laws, but it is because we have no alternative.*

Family member drift away from each other in cases where common decisions cannot be reached in solving various problems. Hence, each family member tries to find his individual solution to a specific problem. A young male describes his relationship with his father as follows:

*We see some families where father and son are just like friends. But here they hide from us; we don't want to come face to face. They hide from us for the guilt of present economic situation of families. We wouldn't treat each other like this if we had money. We don't want to be in confrontation with our fathers, it is not nice.*

And below is a father's views about relationship with his sons:

*All depends on material welfare. If this is in place family relations get well too. I have a son living in Germany and we get along well since his material situation is good. But I cannot communicate that easily with my children at home who have no jobs.*

Women often act as mediators or “buffers” between adult males, children and adolescents. When problems are not solved, it is again women who mostly get “squeezed” by both sides. In many such cases, males may behave rude and even resort to violence to their wives.

*What we think of first is violence or minimizing any dialogue. Just think about how we feel if we return home everyday without any job or hope of it.*

Of course lack of any communication or violence is not a rule for all families. To the contrary, at least in some families, poverty related problems may well consolidate solidarity and mutual help in some families.

### ***Children, adolescents and exclusion***

46 % of people in these neighbourhoods are children under age 15 (Chart 1, page 9). Although this young population composition has some advantages, it may also give rise to various problems, as is the case in these neighbourhoods, unless conditions favourable to the development of young people are created in such fields as education, social activities and job opportunities.

*When we first came in our eyes were closed. We had to see our children in misery. They were stealing or looking for bread in wastes. We were just like fish out of water.*

*We have too many children. It turns to be too late when we finally learn their involvement in crime. But we can't guard them for 24 hours or put them in chains.*

*We are losing our children.*

Young people believe that the city excludes them. They say they cannot dress up as they would like to because of deprivation and people in downtown look at them as they are aliens just because of this. This also seems to harm their self-confidence and esteem.

*Our family has no means here. We can't spend time in the "Ofis" enjoying our ice-cream. We can't have the clothes we want and we have to suppress our feelings.*

*There is this serious feeling of exclusion here. Here people value us by looking what we wear and exclude us.*

Young people add that when they take a walk to nearby mass housing area where middle-income families live people there regard them as potential criminals and don't allow them to use such public spaces as football and basketball fields and Luna park. They think they are excluded from many social facilities because of these debasing attitudes. Since they can speak neither Kurdish nor Turkish as fluently as other young city dwellers, this makes it difficult for them to express themselves clearly and this turns out to be an additional factor shaking their self-confidence.

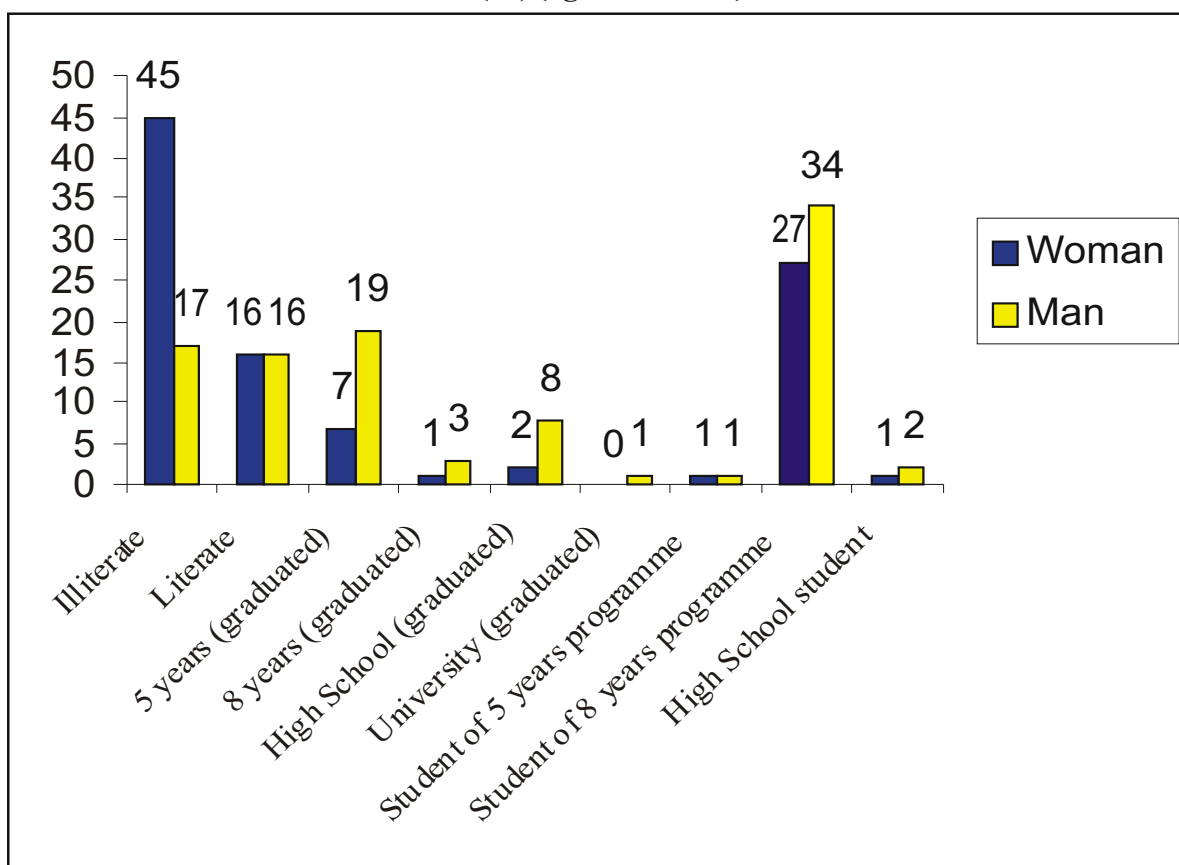
### ***Educational status***

During times when migration was intensive, there was an overcrowding of students in neighbourhood schools, doubling or even tripling student body in some schools. Many children who had no schooling back in their villages faced problems when they started schools here joining classmates many of whom are younger than them. Even those who had some schooling back in their

villages faced problems of performance since quality of education in rural settlements is lower.

As can be seen in Chart 9, the educational status of neighbourhood dwellers is quite low. 45 % of females and 17 % of males are illiterate. 16 % of both males and females are merely literate. The number of high school graduates or those presently attending high school is very low.

**Chart 9. Educational status (%) (age 6 and over)**



While the rate of female illiteracy is quite high, upon settlement in the city more families send their daughters to school. In general, families make efforts to send their children, both male and female, to 8-year basic education at least.

*We send children to school even at the expense of being more deprived. First we were not willing to do so (keeping especially girls out of school).*

*They go to school, but we can't support them. All families send their children to school, but we can't give them any pocket money.*

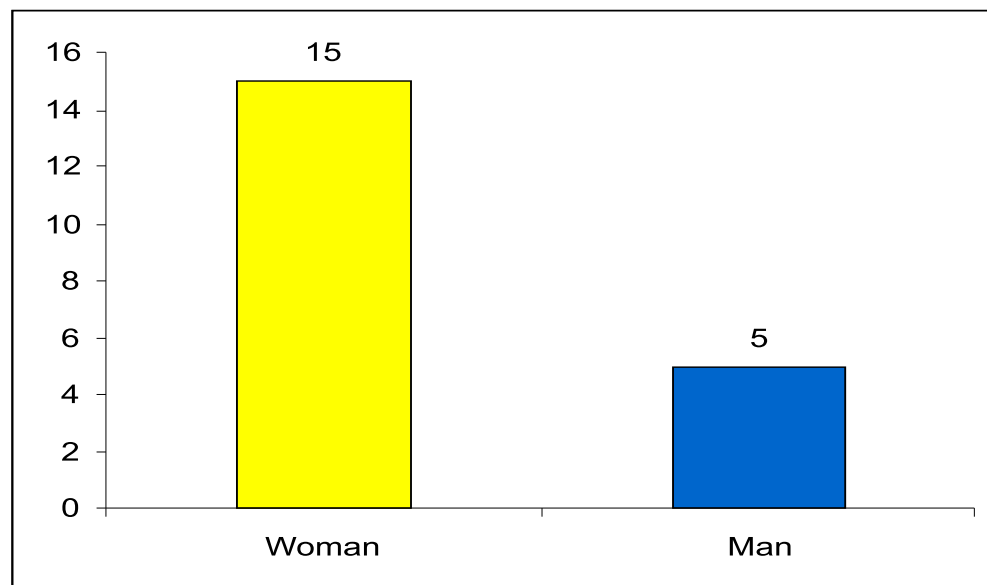
In families facing more serious economic difficulties and having no option but sending some of their children to school the preference is often made for male children. For example, while 34 % of school age male population (over age 6) attend 8-year basic education schools, this proportion falls to 27% among female children (Chart 9). One school manager gave the following reply to the question “Are there any families around here not sending their daughters to school?”



*Children are mostly sent to primary school. There are some families withdrawing their daughters from school after 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> grade considering them “grown-up”. Girls are often not sent to school after primary education. This is not the case with male children.*

The rate of illiteracy among children and adolescents is lower than preceding generation, but still high. While 5 % of males in the age group 7-21 are illiterate it is as high as 15% among females in the same age group (Chart 10).

**Chart 10. Illiterates in the age group 7-21 (%)**



In addition to routine school expenses, school managements' request from families to contribute to overhead school expenses place families in difficult positions to the extent that some families have to withdraw their children from school.

*In primary education there are children whose families cannot afford buying even a pencil. There are others asking money from schools. School administrations ask contributions from families without considering who can afford and who cannot. About 8-10 % of school age children are not sent to school.*

Neither parents nor children are satisfied with the quality of education in schools. Students say that the present mode of teaching is based on “by rote” methods. Students and parents remark the following as problems related to education and schools:

- Shortage of teachers which leads to high number of “vacant” sessions,
- Poor physical conditions in schools,
- Overcrowded classes (60-80 students),
- Many mothers cannot be receptive to advices of teachers since they can't understand Turkish,
- Limited availability of education materials,
- Children who can't regularly attend schools since they are working in streets,

- Delays in starting school and early leaves due to high number of families going out for seasonal works together with their children,
- Families' difficulties in responding to routine needs of their children (pocket money, lunches, supplementary textbooks, etc.),
- Parental disinterest in children's school performance.

Parents are not much willing to send their children to secondary education since they consider high-school diploma not much functional in finding jobs. The paradox is that in both parents and children/adolescents there is both a demand for and mistrust in education.

When high school and higher education is concerned, parents again prefer their male children for schooling. Many girls are not sent to school after compulsory 8-year education. Reasons include regarding schools as unsafe places for girls and considering girls' education as an investment without much return since they will get married soon and leave their families.

*Families don't send their daughters to school afraid of their flirting with boys around high schools. There is no discipline and good education in schools.*

*Girls in this neighbourhood have to discontinue their education after primary school. It is mostly because of material deprivation. There are some families not sending their daughters to school because there is no nearby school. Girls dropping out or having not enrolled at all are mainly engaged in cotton picking. There are some going out for domestic works.*

Only 2% of females covered by the survey are high school graduates. This is 8 % among males (Chart 9).

Parents think quality of education is also very low in high schools. They have no means to send their children attending high school to private courses and therefore chances of their children to make it to a university are meagre.

*Educational performance of our children is low. They can't catch up with others. Only few of them can. Because conditions are not equal. Our children going to high school know only what primary school graduates know.*

Even if some students perform successfully in university admittance tests families are too poor to afford this. So, young members of families are expected to start working as soon as possible to support their families.

*Unemployment and education are the leading problems of our neighbourhood. There are some performing good in tests for school admittance elsewhere, but they can't go because of material deprivation.*

In *Fatihpaşa* and *Savaş* neighbourhoods some civil society organisations and voluntary initiatives have launched supporting courses for students who prepare for secondary and higher education admittance tests. The demand for such courses is rather high. In *Fatihpaşa* there are also private courses launched by volunteering young people.

*Last year there were some volunteers here giving free courses. It was a useful activity in terms of building some solidarity. Courses started late and trainers were volunteers. Maybe they had some financial difficulties in coming here. Only few can afford to send their children to private courses.*

Looking at all families covered in the survey we see 12 male university graduates without any university graduate female at all.

*There is only one male and one female student from this neighbourhood attending university.*

Against all odds high school students want to continue with higher education but this is impossible without taking additional courses for preparation.

*Many students attending high schools want to win the test and continue with higher education.*

*10-15 students will be successful in university admittance tests if there is a private Course facility here.*

Some students in these neighbourhoods attend university preparation courses organized by the Municipality and Local Agenda 21.

Many pupils also work.

*We are selling sweets out in streets and there are frequent quarrels at home because of material deprivation. We have no room of our own to study. Our elders have the feeling that “nothing will happen with us anyway.” They think our studies are in vain.*

Considering their working life as well as conditions at home, it is unrealistic to think of much success in these children's education prospects. Overcrowded houses do not provide quiet environments for studying. Working children aptly analyze their present situation and express the following wish for their younger siblings:

*We don't want our younger siblings work like we do. They should play, go to school and be good in their lessons.*

The SRAP (Social Risk Mitigation Project) envisages cash transfers to families, monthly 22 YTL for girls and 18 YTL for boys on the condition that they keep attending their schools. This was for primary schools. For secondary schools this conditional cash transfer is 39 YTL for girls and 22 YTL for boys. In primary and secondary education applications should be

Made to school managements and funds should be established in order to benefit from this scheme. Cash transfers are made upon the evaluation and approval of the General Directorate of Social assistance and Solidarity located in Ankara. It is stated that this SRAP scheme has positive outcomes in encouraging families to send their children to school.

*This state assistance (cash transfers, textbooks) goes to children who have been previously kept away from primary schools. It is good that textbooks are provided free. The number of students will further increase if they do this in high schools as well.*

### ***Health problems, health services and social security***

Examining common health problems of inhabitants in these neighbourhoods it is found that many of these problems stem from malnutrition, immediate environments and hygiene. In other words, many health problems are directly associated with poor infrastructure and poverty of families.

Most common health problems include jaundice, typhoid fever<sup>12</sup>, respiratory tract infections, diarrhoea and problems specific to women (Chart 11).

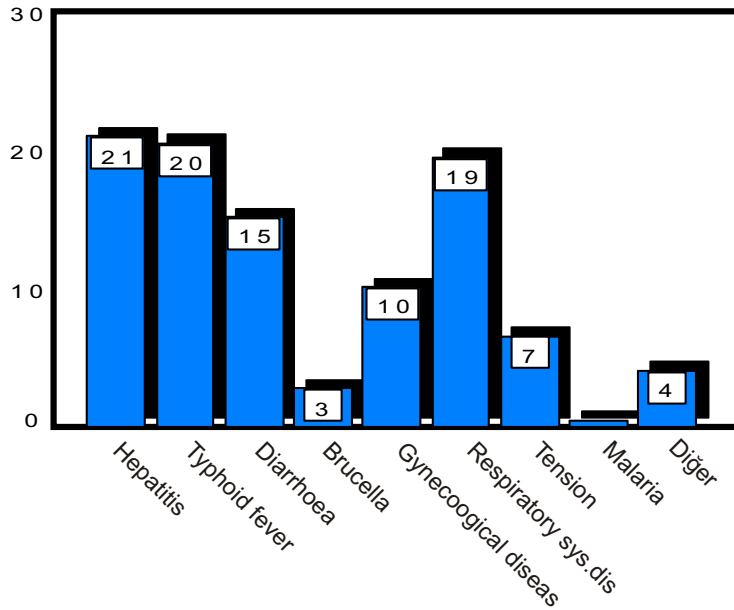
*My child was seriously ill. I took him to a doctor and doctor said the child was malnourished. He told me to give him milk and eggs regularly. Of course I couldn't do it. Neither could I buy medicines he gave in his prescription. So my child died. We used to have both milk and eggs back in the village. We even sold that part over our domestic needs.*

Some civil society organisations as well as government units carry out awareness building activities in neighbourhoods on health and hygiene. But economic situation of families is far from making it possible to do what they are told.

---

<sup>12</sup> In GÖÇ-DER's report on *Forced Migration Survey* (1999-2001) typhoid fever is reported as the most common disease along displaced populations ([www.gocder.net](http://www.gocder.net)).

**Chart 11. Most important health problems that families face (%)**



Since families were not covered by any social security scheme back in their villages, they had to pay for their healthcare expenses for a long time after moving in the city. As seen in Table 4, even at present very few families are covered by security schemes. Only 10 % of families have one member covered by the SSK. 2 % have a member registered with Retirement Fund and another 2 % with Bağ-Kur. *The Forced Migration Survey* conducted by Göç-Der in 1999-2001 reports that only 17 % of displaced persons are covered by security schemes. It seems that even after 5 years there is no change in this situation.

**Table 4. Health insurance and social security status of migrating families**

Social Protection	No. of households	% of households*
SSK	39	10
BAĞ-KUR	8	2
Retirement Fund	6	2
Green Card	307	77
Private health insurance	-	-
None	45	11
No response	3	1
Total	408	103

\*Total number exceeds 400 since some households have member with more than one social security card.

Large majority (77 %) of neighbourhood dwellers are “Green Card” holders<sup>13</sup>. Green Card is a scheme that has recently been introduced and spread rapidly. The scheme is limited to helping solve some health problems only. 11 % of families enjoy neither green card nor any other health insurance scheme.

Compared to rural environments, it is easier to have access to health services in Diyarbakır. As mentioned earlier, only 16 % of families used to have health centres back in their villages. At present 89 % of families have various options including local health centres, state hospitals and municipal clinics.<sup>14</sup> However, it is not possible to say that these facilities provide adequate and high quality services. Within the last 20 years, the number of people applying to health facilities has significantly increased as a result of migration and this overcrowding has given rise to problems going much beyond what health facilities in other regions of the country face.

Although a large majority of these people are entitled to free health services, the problem of access may, in some cases, lead to abstention because of transport or other costs involved. Since hospitals and health centres are located relatively far from neighbourhoods, patients have to travel some distance even for a simple injection or treatment.<sup>15</sup> Many families cannot afford taking taxi cabs and present public transportation network is not adequate to service well in this area. Especially families with disabled members face serious difficulties in reaching health services. Another problem is related particularly to women with health problems since they have to communicate their problems in Kurdish to health workers who don't speak or understand this language.

### ***Income and expenditures***

The average monthly income of families in the survey is 332 YTL. 60 % of families have monthly incomes below 300 YTL. Those having monthly incomes above 700 YTL constitute only 5 % of all families. (Table 5). At this level of income, families cannot provide even for their most basic needs and have to run into debt for living.

---

<sup>13</sup>Green Card is given to those persons not covered by any social security scheme and whose monthly income or monthly family income share is less than 1/3 of minimum wage excluding taxes and social security contributions.

<sup>14</sup>Diyarbakır Greater Municipality runs a health centre providing free health services to the poor.

<sup>15</sup>Health centres and policlinics are closed out of working hours.

**Table 5. Monthly income status of families**

<b>Income interval (YTL)</b>	<b>No. of households</b>	<b>(%)</b>
<100	35	<b>9</b>
101–200	89	<b>23</b>
201–300	108	<b>28</b>
301–400	74	<b>19</b>
401–500	32	<b>9</b>
501–600	20	<b>5</b>
601–700	7	<b>2</b>
700 +	22	<b>5</b>

When in need, families mostly borrow from their relatives (59 %) and neighbours (31%). Only 1.3 % borrow from commercial banks. It is stated that these borrowings are very small in amount (i.e. 20-100 YTL). Families say they dare not borrow from usurers and, in any way, such persons wouldn't give any loan to them.

During interviews in neighbourhoods, it is observed that families with monthly income equivalent to minimum wage are considered as “middle-income” people in the neighbourhoods.

*Our houses are about to collapse. We have no means to restore them.*

*I have 5 children. I've recently sent one to high school and I am thinking about how to cover his school and transportation expenses. I am too ill to do any physical work.*

*I have to pay 100 YTL a month for rent and I don't know how to manage it.*

*We can find nobody to borrow. We buy on credit from grocers we know.*

Families which receive extra income other than what their members earn are very few. Only 3 % of families regularly receive monetary assistance from their relatives. 0.5 % of families receive support from their relatives working abroad. Further, 1 % earns rent from their land and 2 % from their real estate.

*There are few families enjoying support from their villages. Some of them receive rent for their land and others are supported by fruits and vegetables coming from their villages.*

51 % of families have their land back in their villages. However, 62 % of these landholders earn nothing whatsoever from these holdings for this or that reason. 19 % of families say their land back in the village is presently farmed by their relatives remaining there and they receive either cash or crop as owners. 3 % say they have given their land out for sharecropping or rent.

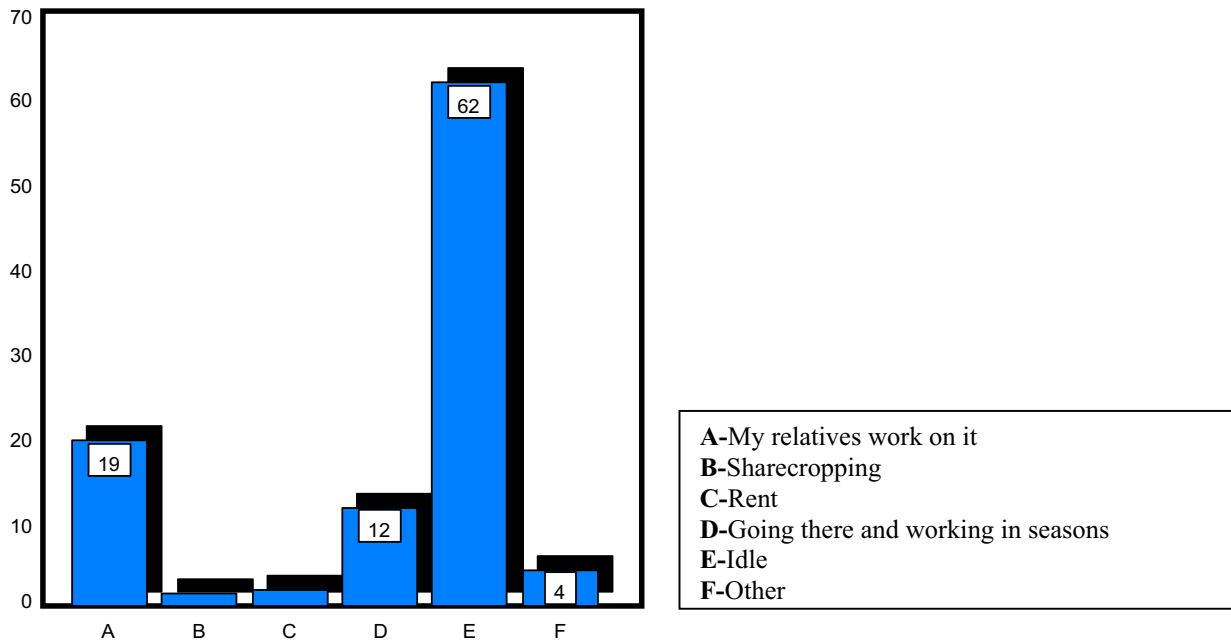
Some families (12 %) coming from villages located close to main roads re-visit their villages for farming purposes (Chart 12).

In sowing and harvesting season families return to their villages for only one day or stay longer in tents or worn out houses. There are some families who restored their houses or constructed single-room houses. Presently, villages of origin are mostly engaged in beekeeping and vegetable/fruit culture. Fruits and vegetables coming from villages are distributed to neighbours.

*If village is well endowed, some would stay and work there while others remain here.*

*Very old people still remain in villages. We send them some necessary things and they send us various village products.*

**Chart 12. Distribution of use of farmlands in villages (%)**



### ***Economic status and unemployment in Diyarbakır***

As it is the case in many other provinces in Eastern and South-eastern Anatolia, the economy of Diyarbakır cannot grow significantly mainly due to the absence of productive investments. Additionally, the environment of conflict reigning for the last 20 years also served serious blows to the economy of the province and the region.

Leaving aside agriculture as a sector which provides seasonal employment opportunities, employment generating sectors are much limited. Looking at the economic structure of the province we see crop farming and animal husbandry as leading economic activities with a share of 69 %. Then comes services (24 %) and manufacturing industry (3%). In the latter, textiles, foodstuffs and mining



are outstanding branches.<sup>16</sup>

The sector of industry in Diyarbakır is confronted with serious infrastructure problems. There are still electricity and water supply cuts especially in Diyarbakır Organised Industrial District (OSB). Since the railway does not reach the OSB, the marble sector, which has the potential of acting as a “locomotive” in development cannot open up to western markets. The region is also adversely affected by such problems as insufficiency of Habur Border Gate and tensions with northern Iraq. For all these, regional industrialists and businessmen state the need for regional and sectoral incentives including “positive discrimination” favouring the region.

Many enterprises in the textile sector which employs relatively more labour force had to close down mainly for not being able to cope up with new challenges brought along by global competition. Consequently, rising labour supply triggered by migration on the one side and negative implications of recent neoliberal economic policies on the other<sup>17</sup> have had their profound effects in the labour market in Diyarbakır.

*Here there were serious distortions in labour markets along with migration. Those who used to earn 1 million a month now can earn only 500,000 although doing the same work*

Unemployment is one of the most important problems that migrants have to face in Diyarbakır.

*Without having time to recover from our suffering back in villages, our problems multiplied in the face of poverty and unemployment here in Diyarbakır.*

*We are a family of 10 and only 1 member is working.*

*While in our village we used to spend the whole day working. We used to produce either by crop farming or animal husbandry, but now we can do nothing here. We sit in coffee houses while our women work and this is how we try to make a living. This is because not much jobs are offered to males.*

*Those who were once wealthy cannot find a job even as porter now. Still, we are mostly engaged in porter's work.*

<sup>16</sup>**Diyarbakır Inventory of Industrial Activities (2003)**

<b>Sector</b>	<b>No. of Active Firms</b>
Food	43
Chemicals-Petroleum-Plastic	25
Textiles	61
Wood and Forestry Products	12
Metal Works and Machinery	20
Non Metallic Mineral Products	30
Mining (Marble)	37
Other	15
Total	243

<sup>17</sup>For example, recent closure of Sümerbank's carpet and textile plants.

### ***Working status and nature of jobs available***

In 400 families covered there are 834 working members<sup>18</sup>. In 54 % of families only one member is working. Families with 2 working members constitute 26 % of the total (Table 6). In all families whose total population reaches 2,764, in average 3.3 persons live on earnings of 1 person.

**Table 6. Number of employed household member**

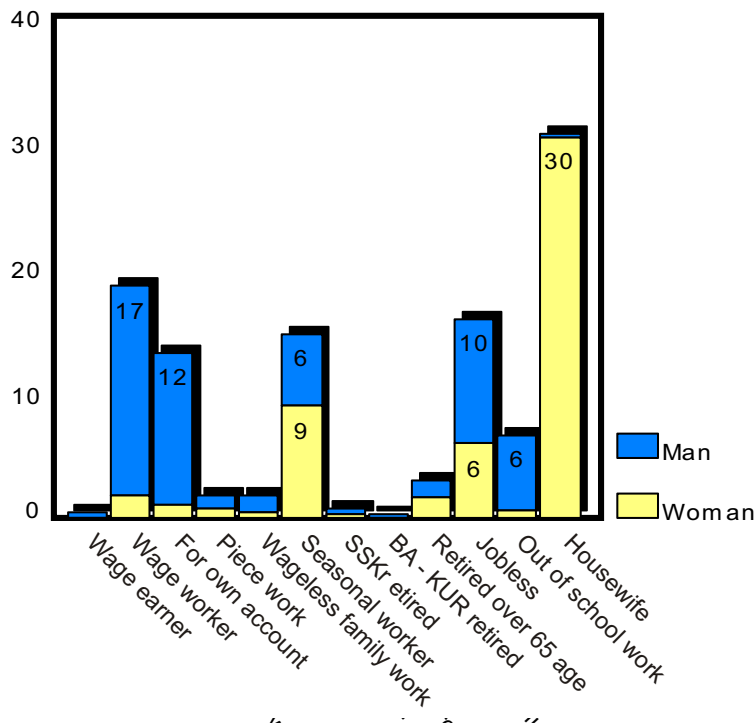
<b>Number of household members employed</b>	<b>Number of households</b>	<b>(%)</b>
1	188	<i>54</i>
2	89	<i>26</i>
3	46	<i>13</i>
4	10	<i>3</i>
5	13	<i>4</i>
6	1	<i>0.3</i>
7	1	<i>0.3</i>

In general, 17 % of male family members work for wage, 12 % are self-employed and 6 % are engaged in seasonal works; 10 % are unemployed. The share of salary earners and those living on retirement pensions is very small. 6 % of males both attend school and work. The most common work taken up by women is seasonal works (9%) (Chart 13).

---

<sup>18</sup>The term “working” denotes a family member bringing some income to his/her family by working at home or outside.

**Chart 13. Working status by gender (%)**



Jobs that can be found are mostly temporary, unqualified and based on manual labour.

*We can work occasionally here. One day you work and there is no work for next 10 days. We can work only for 5-10 days a month. Many of us are in construction works.*

The qualifications required in the rural areas such as crop farming and animal husbandry are not much use in the cities. The fact that available jobs in urban environments require different qualifications led to a rupture in the lives of these people, making them unqualified hands immediately upon their urban settlement. Though essentially different, those who were born in cities too face difficulties in finding jobs due to insufficient education/training or having to start working at too early ages without finding opportunity to develop other required skills. So many young people in neighbourhoods ask for local vocational training courses

*Here we need training in computer skills. If we are trained our chances of finding job will be improved. Training in garment production, language, technical drawing etc. will also be useful.*

*Many males in the neighbourhoods have no specific trade skills. Carpentry, textiles-garment training courses will attract many participants from neighbourhoods.*

In the face of this dramatic change in the lives of people which remains beyond their will and control, governmental agencies have failed, for long years, in providing employment opportunities or developing pertinent social policies and programmes.

Unemployment and low quality of jobs that can be found leads not only negative consequences in terms of income but also some transformations in family and social relations that people concerned are not ready for. Striving to maintain their status back in rural life, males find it shameful to engage in such jobs as waste collection or working as porters.

Some families repeat what they used to do back in their villages in new urban life. 8 % of families breed animals in their urban settings. These include, in order of importance, milk cows, poultry and small ruminants. There are also some families engaged in slaughtering animals and distributing meat to local butchers.

*We keep sheep and cows in our neighbourhood. Their feed and care is a problem for us and neighbours complain about odour, flies and mosquitoes. We used to sell dung, but not any more. We use the canal here to dispose of animal wastes and excreta. There is pollution of course, but what else can we do? We are right and our neighbours are right in their own way. Keeping animals is the only thing we know.*

*Many households have 1-2 cows. They are also engaged in illicit slaughtering. They get 50 kuruş for each sheep or goat slaughtered and 2.5 YTL for each cattle. Others make money by slaughtering live animals and dealing them to butchers.*

*These activities cause bad odour and environmental problems in neighbourhoods. There are also bad health effects. The Municipality exercises controls and imposes fines. But these practices will continue as long as people remain in their present poverty.*

Some families who could bring along some cash or build some capital by selling their property during displacement attempted to start their business. These are mostly small scale informal businesses such as peddling, running grocery, transportation (by motorcycles or *çek çek*) or coffee houses.

*I am transporting goods with my çek çek and earn 5 YTL a day. But what can 5 YTL mean? We have to pay for everything, for electricity, water, food, etc. Rural life was much better.*

Meanwhile, many households unaccustomed to urban ways of doing business and subsistence could not make good use of their cash and spent it quickly for short-term needs.

*We used to think that our village was the centre of the world. Now we don't know anything; we don't trust in or work with anybody.*

During the early years of new urban life people tried to maintain their old traditions and did not let women and young girls work. But this engagement to traditions soon loosened since adult males had very limited job opportunities. As a result of dire poverty and hunger all family members including women and young girls started working in any job they could find. Although it is still adult male

household heads who support their families, women are also engaged in various activities both inside and outside the home

### ***Jobs of women***

In the face of pressing economic difficulties, a large part of families now allow women work outside even if they are not so happy about it.

*Girls and women used to work without telling males, now there is no such secrecy.*

*There is some not approving this. The concept of honour is indexed to women. But poverty has done away with these values. People think that girls at ages 11-12 may work but not those at ages 17-18. However, girls at these ages do work together with 25-30 persons including males (i.e. cotton picking).*

This situation is of course associated with the fact that many males cannot find jobs or consider some jobs degrading for them.

*Since males cannot find jobs women work in cotton fields to maintain family subsistence.*

Among jobs that are considered “male” there are very few that qualification of migrant males satisfy. The number of unemployed males is very high. As a mother says:

*I have 5 grown-up sons and none of them is working. Some are attending secondary and high school. One of my adult sons is a tile layer, but he can't find any job. Since the family is broke there is no sound dialogue within family. What can I do while earning only 8 YTL a day?*

Job opportunities are limited for women too. Some families do not allow women to go out for such works as cleaning in houses or offices or child care. To allow women to go out for work, one important criterion is “reliability.” Women mostly go out for seasonal agricultural works together with other family members or other places where women do some jobs collectively. (Table 7).

*A neighbour of ours who has given birth only 15 days ago is now out of province to work with her 7 children.*

*We earn some money by doing such manual works as lacework. But this is not a regular source of income.*

*Hoeing and child care, that's what we can do. Some families send women to office cleaning works and they earn 10 YTL a day. They are working in shifts; service bus comes and takes them to their work.*

**Table 7. Income generating activities of women (%)**

Activity	Number of households	(%)
Daily cleaning works	34	27
Childcare	25	20
Seasonal employment	66	54
Wage labour	9	7
Handicrafts	23	19
Home-based production	5	4
Other	28	19
Total	190	150

Women take up any work no matter how difficult or low-paid.

*Women do hoeing, reaping and weeding in Hevsel plots near the Tigris. Owners of these plots pay women 3 YTL a day and some vegetables which are not marketable. But women can sell these vegetables at lower prices. Such works are done mostly by middle-aged women.*

*Making tandır (an earth oven used for baking bread, etc.) is an important source of income. Each tandır is sold from 10 to 25 YTL. Our profit is 2-3 YTL for each. 4-5 women coming together may produce 5-6 tandırs a day. A family may produce 30 tandırs in a month. This is women's work.*

*There are women and young girls going out for daily cleaning works and childcare. These types of jobs bring in 10-15 YTL a day.*

Since going out to others' houses for cleaning is not a good reputed job, some women hide their working from their neighbours. Young girls involved in such work may well be disregarded by her in-laws after getting married. This may even be used as pretext for violence against women.

*Family elders decide on with whom their daughter should marry. There are many girls wedded without asking their opinion. But problems emerge after marriage. Women who used to go out for agricultural works or cleaning before their marriage are mostly disregarded and debased in their new families: "We saved you from farming plots and streets. You only know how to work in farms, etc. You are no good in domestic chores..."*

In some neighbourhoods women and children are not allowed to go out for work especially in families where tribal relations still persist.

*We don't let our women and girls go out for work in cotton fields. We don't think it is proper for them to do such things. We think daily cleaning or childcare type works too are not good for them.*

*Our children do not sell things out in streets. They are well mannered and they avoid such things.*

The Foundation for Preventing Waste and Grameen Trust jointly implement a micro-credit scheme in these neighbourhoods<sup>19</sup>. Although many women interviewed were informed about this scheme, they said they were hesitant to use the scheme for its high interest rates.

*There are very few women using the micro-credit scheme. It is because of difficulties in forming a group and concerns about repayment. Using credit is something that makes us anxious.*

*There are some women using credit. Loans are used to meet daily needs and some women use it for promoting their husbands' businesses.*

*I am trying to earn some money by sewing for other women in the neighbourhood. My sewing machine is quite old and I need a new one. But I am rather anxious to use the micro-credit scheme. Its repayment obligations seem repelling.*

When men are asked “whether women should work” their main concern seems to be the “reliability” or “safety” of work and workplace concerned.

*If that is a decent work and reliable workplace, 60-70 percent of males approve working of their wives or daughters.*

### ***Jobs by young family members and children***

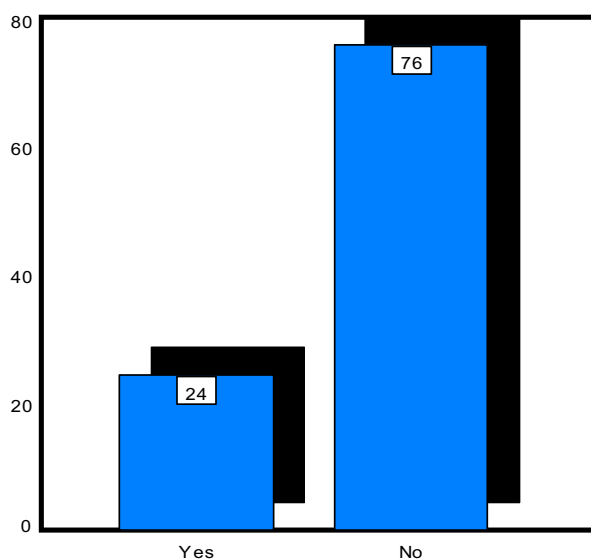
Child labour is a common phenomenon in these neighbourhoods. Facing a level of poverty akin to virtual hunger, families find no alternative but sending their children out even for improper works. A father describes the situation:

*We are sending him to work with many reservations, but still beat him when he doesn't work.*

---

<sup>19</sup>Micro credit is extended for launching micro and small-scale enterprises. Although these credits require interest rates higher than bank loans, no formal collateral is required and women forming groups may apply for credit providing collateral for each other.

**Chart 14. Proportion of families whose children are working (children at age 14 and younger)**



Since adults cannot find jobs or work in extremely low-paid jobs, significant number of children works in order to support their families. In 24 % of families, children under age 14 work to contribute family budget or are the only income-earners of their families (Chart 14).

*It is possible to say that children and young people ensure the livelihood of their families. Children aged 8 to 15 do scavenging (paper, metal and glass), sell ice in bus terminals, shine shoes, carry things or sell food or napkins. Each earns 3 to 5 YTL a day.*

*Those who work in industrial enterprises earn 15 YTL a week. Others working in restaurants earn 6-7 YTL a day.*

*I am 13 years old and I used to go to school until grade 4. My father didn't let me continue. Now I am working in a carpet weaving shop. I start working at 5 a.m and finish at 6 p.m. I earn 200 YTL a month. During Ramadan, workshop is kept open when the feast begins and we start working around 3-4 a.m.*

There are male and female children working in brick plants for 10-12 hours a day and some of these children have serious burns in their hands and various parts of their body deriving from carrying hot bricks. Their daily wage varies from 2 to 8 YTL.

Table 8 gives the distribution of school-attending and non-attending children at primary school ages. While 88 % of male children attend school, this is 81 % among females. In general, 16 % of children in the age group 7-15 are out of school. There were 432 male children in this group and 113 of them (26 %) were working. The number of female children in the same age group was 385 and 38 of them (10 %) were working (Tables 8 and 9). 78 % of working male children were also attending school. 47 % of working female children were attending school while the remaining 53 % were working without attending school.



**Table 8. Distribution of children in the age group 7-15 by school attendance**

	Attending school	(%)	Not attending	(%)	Total	(%)
Female	311	81	74	19	385	100
Male	378	88	54	12	432	100
Total	689	84	128	16	817	100

**Table 9. Distribution of children in the age group 7-15 by school attendance and employment**

	Attending school and working	(%)	Not attending school, but working	(%)	Total	(%)
Female	18	47	20	53	38	100
Male	88	78	25	22	113	100
Total	106	70	45	30	151	100

Sending children out for various works create some tensions within families and there are many children planning to quit home to find some relief from family pressures.

*Our families force us to work outside, but there is tension within family when we can't find jobs. We have no rest and we find the way out by leaving home. Last week we had some mates around who were planning to run out but we stopped them.*

*We want to find a job and work here. 200 YTL a month is enough, we are not looking for more. There are many who go out to other places to work. There are also some leaving their homes. There are even some who sell something from their houses or commit theft just to find money for transportation. But many of them cannot find jobs in places they go and see no other way but joining in some gangs. There are many such persons involved in theft, robbery, drug or substance abuse.*

While some children are not sent to school for their present jobs, others both work and attend school. Children working in streets are engaged in selling things like chewing gums, napkins, etc., shoe shining or carrying things in fruit-vegetable markets.

There are also many children gathering around traffic lights and wiping the windows of stopping cars. Some children are involved in begging.

*Our schoolmates dream about the end of the school year for having vacation somewhere. We dream the same, but for finding more time to work.*

Children working in streets are exposed to various risks and threats. While starting smoking at very early ages, they are also exposed to such habits as substance abuse (mainly solvents and adhesives such as thinner, bally, etc.). Once in streets, some of these children have to work for the benefit of some gangs. Street working may bring in 3-5 YTL a day. They hand in their daily earnings to their mothers for household needs.

*We give what we earn to our mothers or fathers. It is spent for family needs; usually we don't keep pocket money for ourselves.*

The following are children's responses when asked “do you like your present work?” and “what kind of difficulties do you face in your work?”

*It is not a nice job, but we have to do it.*

*There are bullies trying to get our things and others stealing what we have to sell.*

Girls who never attended or been withdrawn from their schools work in carpentry shops, cotton fields and brick plants or sell things like ice cream or paper napkins in streets. But after age 11-12 families do not let their daughters work out in streets on the ground that they are “grown up” and prefer cotton fields or plants where many others work considering that these places are less open to “harassment.” Working girls say the following about their working life:

*We sell things at bus terminals or streets until reaching age 11-12. Those who go to school work half day and others full time. We earn 1-2 YTL a day. We have to sell ice-cream quickly before it melts. We do our selling between 9:00-12:00 in the morning and then go to school. Those who are not going to school continue their work in the afternoon too. We like this job; at least we make a living out of it.*

*I am 15 years old and I have never been in school. My father didn't let me. Last summer I did hoeing for 12 hours a day in cotton fields and earned 10 YTL a day. In autumn I also work for picking cotton. 15 hours of work a day means collecting 50 kg of cotton. 1 kg of cotton picked brings you 10 kuruş. There are others picking 100 to 200 kg a day by working 12 hours a day. There are about 30 girls from this neighbourhood working in cotton fields. Males do not do this work. Boys in our ages just hang around in streets. It is a troublesome and tiring thing to work long time under sun. But it has its good sides too like being together and chatting with friends. Hoeing is harder than picking cotton. My brother goes to school on money I earn. We are out on our way to cotton fields early in the morning without having breakfast. We take with us some food to eat. This is mostly what remains from the preceding day's meal. We mostly take this and also tomato, cucumber and plenty of water. You need much water while working under sun.*

*As cotton workers we have never been to school. Our father works as porter in summer, but there is no work in winter. We work to support the schooling of our elder brothers. When family has some money, it is male children who are sent to school. We give what we earn directly to family elders. We are given a dress once a year. Our*

*peers stay at home or go out for cleaning work. We don't want our younger siblings work. We must let them go to school. Selling ice is easy, but hoeing is difficult. Girls involved in hoeing are at ages 14-15. Males don't work. They are drifting here and there.*

Common scenery in streets of Diyarbakır in evenings involves children picking and sifting waste. They start working in evenings and their work continues until 2:00-3:00 hours a.m.

We had the following answers for questions posed to parents about threats that their children may face in streets:

*Risks include indecent ways of life, inclination to theft, Atari saloons, drug addiction, recruitment by street gangs, being sent to Istanbul for illegal works, etc.*

*Being run over by vehicles, smoking, drug addiction and substance abuse, theft, Indecent behaviours.*

### ***Seasonal works***

Following migration, the number of families engaged in temporary seasonal works has increased parallel to the disappearance of primary sources of income. At present, 29 % of families are engaged in such seasonal works. Seasonal works are considered among one of the most difficult of all in terms of both conditions of working and remuneration.

The apparent reason for the increase in the number of families engaged in seasonal works after migration is the fact that these families cannot make a living with available jobs in Diyarbakır. The second reason is that seasonal agricultural works are fit to the present experience and skills of these people. In areas where seasonal works are available, inhabitants

of these areas despise it for its hard working conditions and limited earnings. Increasing number of seasonal workers moving to specific areas during specific periods of the year depresses the level of wages in these areas and brings along the risk of finding no job even after movement has taken place. Many families can finance their travel to these areas only on loans and remain in a difficult position if they can't find jobs in places they arrive. There are some not being able to find money for return. Solidarity by fellow villagers is of some help in such situations.

Seasonal work is the primary source of income for many families. It is so critical that families make their borrowing and yearly spending plans on the basis of their prospective income from seasonal works.

*Our males can find no jobs. Many of them go to other provinces (like Gaziantep and Ankara) to work in constructions. They stay there for 3-6 months. Their working conditions are not favourable. They have no means to take bath or wash laundry. They usually return home with lice. They earn little. So little that we cannot pay our rent,*

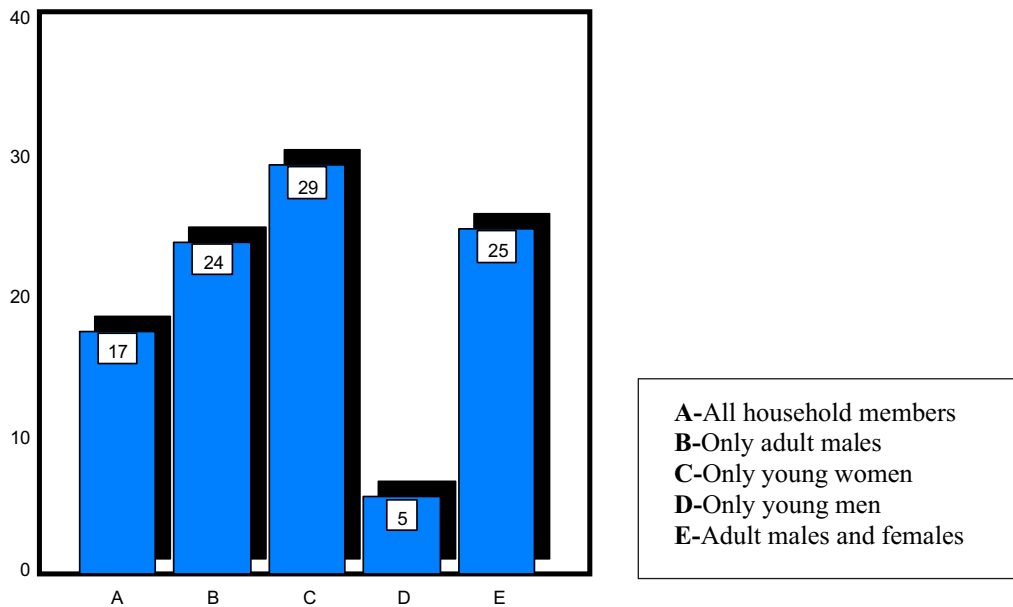
*electricity and water expenses with what they can earn.*

Target areas in seasonal works may be divided into two categories as closer settlements and out of province areas (may be within or out of the region). As far as areas located closer to Diyarbakır are concerned, it is mostly young women from neighbourhoods who move out daily in groups and return home in the evening.

*It is better like this. At least we come home at the end of the day. In other places we have to stay in tents and it is much more difficult.*

In 17 % of households, all household members join the seasonal work. In 25 %, this is done only by adult males and females. In 24 % only adult males are involved in seasonal works. In 29 %, only young women do this. And finally in 5 % only young males are involved in mobility for seasonal works. (Chart 15). This pattern depends on the nature of seasonal work to be done. For example, only males move out for construction works elsewhere. And hoeing and picking in cotton fields mostly involves females. The relatively high share (29 %) of households where only young women go out for seasonal works can be explained by the fact that there are cotton fields around Diyarbakır where women from neighbourhoods go in groups and work daily to return home in evening.

**Chart 15. Household members involved in seasonal works (%)**



Of families moving out for seasonal works, 47 % go to other districts and central villages of the same province (Diyarbakır), 26 % to Marmara Region, 16 % to Black Sea Region, 15 % to Mediterranean Region and 10 % to Aegean Region.

*There are families going to all parts of Turkey for seasonal works. There are even some going to Cyprus.*

*Many household are involved in seasonal works. They work in onion fields in Ankara; hazel nut plants in Black Sea Region; vegetable farming in Bursa and Manisa and vegetable farming and vineyards in İzmir.*

There are also some families changing their regions or provinces during their seasonal works depending on crop seasons. For example, some families may start with cotton, then move to hazel nut orchards and finally shift to tomato farming.

*Many families in this neighbourhood go to the western parts of the country to work. Those who move to Black Sea Region for picking hazel nut stay there for 45 days. Their working conditions are quite hard; they work 12 hours a day from 7:00 in the morning to 7:00 in the evening. Children under 14 are not paid. The daily wage is 13 YTL. Not much is left after deducing transportation costs and their daily expenses in places they work. I was there with 5 others and we returned with 1,500 YTL. Then I moved to Aegean Region for cotton and I was in a break even point there. In autumn I returned to Diyarbakır with 1,000 YTL. Then I moved to Hatay for orange harvest and stayed there for 6 months. If you want to cover your rent, electricity, water, daily living etc. you have to mobilize 30 persons for seasonal works. Long months of working out in other regions gave me only 1,500 YTL to be shared by 4 others.*

Working conditions are quite heavy in seasonal works. Families moving out for seasonal works live in plastic tents or in other shabby places. Such facilities as bath, toilet and kitchen are extremely limited and there is almost no hygiene. They have to for 12 hours under sun. This situation naturally affects children quite adversely.

*We don't listen to what our elders tell us, we just pretend to do so. We are minors and we cannot do every work. But accompanying our families in farming seasons, they run us to heaviest works. We are working 12 hours a day just for 10 YTL. It is something like serfdom.*

Daily wage rate is 8 YTL for children and varies between 10 and 12 YTL for adults. For those working seasonally out in other provinces, their payments are made instantly when work is over. For those working in closer cotton fields near Diyarbakır, they are paid when landowner sells his cotton. These payments are frequently delayed especially in recent years as cotton prices remain stagnant or even fall while inputs prices are rising. There are even cases where workers can receive their wages only after 6-8 months or not paid at all. The average net earning of a family of 5 working 3 months a year in seasonal agricultural works is about 2,000 YTL.

*They grow cotton here in this area. You go to work, but your payment may be delayed for 6 months or not made at all. It doesn't mean much if you can get your money only after a year.*

Connections and arrangements relating to seasonal works both within the province and in other regions are undertaken by intermediaries locally called *çavuş*. These intermediaries are paid by

landowners for whom they find workers and they also deduce some part of workers' wages as their share.

Involvement in seasonal works has direct bearing on education. Schools in these neighbourhoods, although unofficially, have to adjust their schedules according to the timing of seasonal works. Considering their students who will leave for seasonal works, schools manage their curricula somewhat quickly and timing of main exams is determined accordingly.

Apart from this, there are also males who remain out in other places for long time. Such persons spend only 1-2 months a year at their homes. Mostly working in constructions, these people share rooms where 5-10 persons stay and live in quite unfavourable conditions.

*I work in western parts of the country for 8 months and live in this neighbourhood for the rest of the year. I hand in half of what I earn to my family and spend the rest in a nearby coffee house.*

*Now our graves in the western part of the country start to outnumber those here.*

In addition to all these difficulties, one important problem of seasonal migrant workers is the maltreatment they face in places where they move in for work.

*We move to such places as Manisa, Ordu, Adana, Adapazarı, İzmir, Ankara and Yozgat. We prefer to go out to these places instead of remaining and working here for 2 months. It is because we can work there as long as 6 months and also get better pay. For example, while we get 9 YTL daily for some kind of work, they pay 15 YTL there for the same type of work. But people there do not*

*approach us in humane ways and this really disturbs us. We don't feel ourselves comfortable there. There are some contrasting cultural differences.*

*People there select people they want. They pay only half of what others get to persons they consider weak or feeble.*

### ***Support by public and local agencies***

The people who experienced forced migration state that public agencies extended no support or services during their displacement and early years in Diyarbakır. The quarter *500 Evler* which remains out of our survey area in fact consists of houses built by the Government for the settlement of displaced people. However, during the allocation of these houses authorities introduced some conditions including “not being involved in terrorist activities”, “not coming from a burnt village” or “no relative up in mountains” etc. which could not be satisfied fully by many displaced families. As a result, at least some of these houses were allocated to families remaining out of the scope of forced migration.

Neighbourhood dwellers within the scope of our survey were asked what kinds of official assistance they received since their arrival to Diyarbakır. As can be seen in Table 10, these mostly consist of foodstuffs and fuel. While 29 % of families stated to have received food, 22 % have had assistance in terms of heating fuel. Only those who have their files in the Foundation can benefit from coal provision and those with Green Card, elders and disabled persons are given priority in this provision. Food assistance is given mostly during religious fests including Ramadan and towards the end of the year. This assistance consists of packs containing such basic foodstuffs as flour, sugar, tea, tomato paste and rice. It should be added that this assistance is occasional and directed to meet short-term needs rather than having a sustained basis.

*We receive some coal and cereals from the Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation. And this assistance is given to those over age 40. Very few families benefit from cash assistance.*

**Table 10. Assistance received after migration**

Type of assistance	No. of Households	%
Household items	11	3
Clothing	14	4
Food	115	29
Fuel	87	22
Cash	44	11

Families complain about overcrowding in access to assistance especially when they are distributed without identifying who is really in need. Upon the media focus on this issue with some tragic scenery where people rush in desperation to get something, these aids are recently delivered to houses identified earlier. Coal is distributed by the Foundation to provide for at least a part of need for heating fuel in winter.

*The problem will be largely mitigated if aid reaches those who are really victimised. The problem is that those who are desperate cannot tell what their sufferings are. There are even those finding it shameful to ask for assistance.*

*We don't know how to defend our rights.*

Looking at the origins of this assistance we see the Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation (SYDTF) under the Governorate in the first place (27%), followed by municipalities (19%). Assistance by relatives is negligible. Although the region is characterised by rather strong kinship and tribal ties, assistance by relatives remains only at 6 % (Table 11). Two explanations can be called in for this situation. The first is that most of migrant families are in quite similar conditions with limited economic means. Secondly, since families who are better off have too many relatives in difficult situation it is not possible for them to help all.

**Table 11. Sources of assistance**

Type of assistance	No. of Households	%
Governorate/SYDF	87	27
Municipalities	58	19
NGOs	21	7
Relatives	18	6
Other	31	10

### ***Cultural rights and demands***

During our interviews with displaced persons in their neighbourhoods cultural rights too were frequently expressed as a problem in addition to those related to unemployment, education and health. To be more specific, interviewees stated their wish to speak their own language freely and practice their cultural life and Kurdish identity as indispensable.

*Cultural rights are the most important of all. People should be free, without any fear, To practice their own culture and customs.*

*We can't live with our own culture. We can't have education in our own language. We want to live with our own identity as Kurds.*

People want to have education in their own language and learn the grammar of Kurdish language.

*We are just idle in summers and this disturbs us. We want some social activities; we want our language and learn it well with its grammar.*

People state they are not treated equally because of their identity. They complain that their sufferings during displacement continue after settlement in different forms. Most of these people believe that neither return to village nor investments in the region could be possible without the solution of the Kurdish problem.

*Our security problem did not disappear after moving here. Here too security forces carried out operations targeting our homes for years. Especially young people were taken in detention and tortured. We were also prone to the assaults of the Hizbullah during the same period. Some of our young people were murdered brutally with meat knives.*

*When Kurds are free, each should live in peace in his own place.*

*We demand democratic environment and our rights. There should be no discrimination at all.*

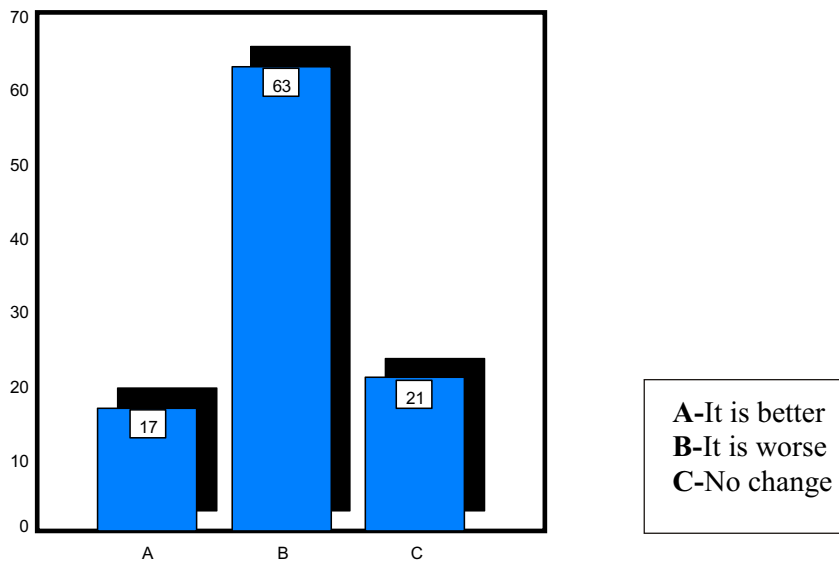


*The Kurdish problem needs urgent solution. An environment of trust must be created. This region should be made safe and secure for investments.*

### **Comparing life in village and present life**

We asked neighbourhood dwellers how they considered their present life if compared to their past life in their villages. 63 % of families think that their situation is worse now while 17 % consider it better and the remaining 12 % see no change. (Chart 16).

**Chart 16. Comparing village life to life in Diyarbakır (%)**



Almost all (94 %) who consider their present situation worse link this assessment to problems of subsistence. Other explanations include difficulties in adapting to urban life (43 %), missing the native village (37 %) and being unable to send their children to school (26 %) (Table 12).

*We used to have our animals, grow vegetables or other crops including cereals and tobacco. It was tiring of course, but we could make a living without being dependent to others. We could even help the poorer. Now we are as bad as thinking about begging.*

*We used to prepare for winter nutrition by cooking meat in advance. For a year now my children have had no meat. They want it. So I bought some fat from the butcher, cooked it and gave it to them. I think I could tell you the difference between our past life and now.*

**Table 12. Major reasons of worsening situation**

<b>Reasons</b>	<b>No. of Households</b>	<b>%</b>
I miss the place I left	96	37
I can't subsist	239	94
I can't send my children to school	65	26
Relations with neighbours are no good	28	11
It is difficult to adapt to urban life	109	43
Family tensions increased	49	19

Interviewees frequently state that some of their fellow villagers who used to be leading figures in their villages now have to work as porters if they can find such jobs. It is stated that this dramatic fall in status brings along serious social and psychological problems.

*I know many persons who were once wealthy in their villages, but losing all they had after coming here.*

As we mentioned above 17 % of families think that their situation is better now. Among these people 63 % say they make a better living here. They are followed by those thinking that urban life is easier (59 %), others who are happy to be in Diyarbakır (41 %) and those explain their satisfaction by referring to better education opportunities for their children (41%) (Table 13).

During in-depth interviews and focus group meetings too participants made reference to some positive aspects of urban life while pointing out, at the same time, their serious problems in terms of livelihood.

*It is true that education opportunities are better here. But still, rural life is better. You can live there without any money, but you can't do it here.*

*Our earlier problems multiplied. But a good thing is that we all know each other in this neighbourhood. This gives us some rest at least*

**Table13. Major reasons of improved situation**

Reasons	No. of Households	%
I am satisfied with where I am now	28	41
My subsistence improved	43	63
Better relations with neighbours	12	18
My children get better education	27	41
Urban life is more comfortable	39	59
Better family relations	18	27

While expressing their views, women make specific reference to risks that await their children here in urban environments. They say, playing outdoors which is a normal part of daily life for children poses some risks here that do not exist in rural environments. They add that they couldn't realise this difference when they first came in and thus couldn't protect their children from these risks. It seems that women, especially when their husbands are away for various jobs, feel burdened heavily under the responsibility of taking care of their children against various vagaries of urban life.

*We paid no rent and no money for water back in the village. You have to pay for everything here. Now we can't buy fruits, we can buy vegetables only when they get cheaper in markets. Back in the village, we couldn't possibly imagine how yogurt and eggs would be important for us one day. We suddenly found ourselves in deprivation.*

*Our children used to play or take care of animals or worked in farms. I mean there was no risk for them out of home. But they thought it would be the same here. They had no idea about the risks of being out here. Now our children are out in streets developing bad habits or working in bad conditions.*

*One is considered poor if there is no regular hot meal in his house. We are much poorer compared to our earlier life. Families split as a result of unemployment. Our husbands and children at working ages are out of town. We haven't sat together on dinner table for such a long time. Absence of males has negative implications on us. We can't sleep in peace with fear of theft. We have to take full responsibility for our children without any help. It is quite difficult to rear children in such conditions.*

With respect to changes in burden of work, while some women believe there is no difference between rural and urban life, others say it was more tiresome for them back in the village. We have already seen above what the situation is like for working women and young girls. Therefore, leaving aside those stay at home, it may be concluded that the work burden of women who also work for wage besides their daily household chores is much heavier in urban environments.

*We used to work hard in the village and we are working hard here too. There is no difference.*

*It was difficult back in the village to tend animals, work in fields and fetch water. But it was better since all family members were together, our children faced no risks and, most important all, we were not hungry.*

## VII. Tendency to Return to Villages

67 % of families whose villages were evacuated for security reasons have applied to damage assessment commissions working under the Governorate<sup>20</sup>. In 400 families covered by the survey, only 1.5 % of families were given compensation as a result of their application to commissions.

### *Status of evacuated villages*

Most of displaced families say their villages are completely inhabited now. In evacuated or burnt villages, many buildings are demolished and land is unattended. In many old crop fields, even plot boundaries have disappeared. Irrigation canals constructed earlier by local villagers have also been destroyed to a large extent, fruit trees and vineyards have dried out or perished. Most interviewees say that villages are now deprived of basic infrastructure including roads, electricity, water supply and school.

*All our means of production in villages have gone away. We may even find it difficult to locate our plots exactly if we go back.*

But there are some few and old aged people still living especially in villages located on plains or places close to main roads. These are villages where people return for seasonal activities. Villages in mountainous areas, on the other hand, are still empty because of security considerations.

There are some families saying that their houses and land in villages were occupied by village guards. There are villages where some people live on buildings and land without the knowledge or consent of their proprietors as well as villages completely controlled by village guards. There are few families who could rent their land to others.

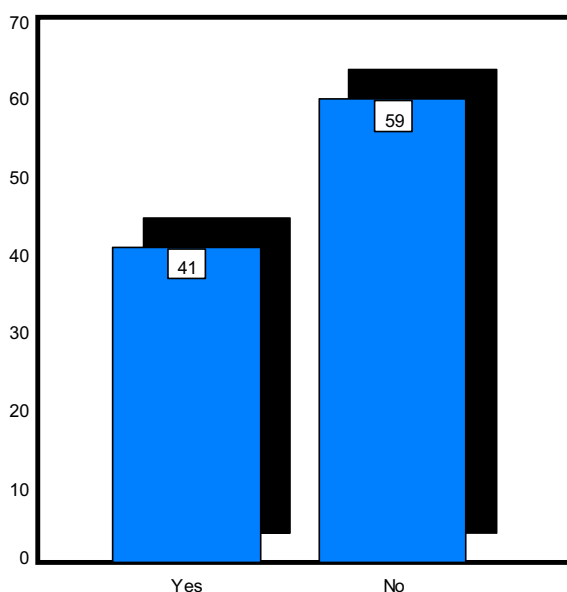
### *Tendencies about returning to village*

41 % of families responding to the questionnaire want to return to villages from which they were forced to migrate (Chart 17).

---

<sup>20</sup>Of 37,046 applications made in Diyarbakır under the law no. 5233, only 4,343 could be finalised as of 15 May 2006. Of these finalised cases, in 3,230 applicants' claims were accepted, 1,113 applications were rejected and no conciliation could be reached in 36 cases.

**Chart 17. Do you want to return to the village you came from? (%)**



The major factor which determines people's tendency to return back to their villages is the possibility of having to experience again what they experienced in past.

*For the torture they suffered there, males don't go back to village even occasionally. Once they tied the hands and feet of all males and forced them to stay barefoot on snow for two days. Many of them suffered serious health problems as a result.*

Additionally, the preservation of the village guard system still constitutes a serious obstacle to returns. According to what displaced persons say, village guards may exert great sufferings on people with the power they obtain from the prevailing system and, their position is further consolidated by the occupation of property belonging to displaced families.

Most of parents do not want their children in particular to return and permanently stay in their villages considering their own past experiences.

It should be noted that the issue of returning to village may be disputed even within the same family. Those who favour permanent return are mostly middle and old age males and females. Among factors which tie these people to their villages where they spent a significant part of their lives we see some traditional values as well as economic assets which may be available there. In fact, these values find expression in their rather nostalgic references to their past life in villages.

*We miss everything in our village; its people, vegetables, animals, water and environment, everything.*

These persons prefer to return permanently or periodically given that their safety and security is ensured. They at least want to use and earn something from their assets there.

*If conditions are conducive to it of course I want to return. I had a good house there. But they burnt it, so I have to make some restoration.*

Some middle-aged women say they don't want to return. In spite of some difficulties, urban life in some ways eases the life of women. For example, availability of indoor piped water saves women from the burden of fetching water everyday. Men think as follows about this position of women:

*Women feel themselves more in comfort here. But whose decision will be valid? This is not clear yet. It is possible that women's preference becomes the decision. But still, return to village should be considered if our poverty deepens here and life becomes unbearable. Apart from this, if women would work and suffer the same in seasonal works there is not much point in returning.*

As for young women, almost none wants to return. It is normal since emotional or other ties to village cannot be as strong as those observed among elderly persons in younger generations who have spent a significant part of their life in urban environments

Although it is not possible to speak about any serious improvement in the quality of education, presence of neighbourhood schools and alternative education opportunities is another factor that pleases parents, particularly mothers, thinking about the future of their children.

Coming to tribal families who still strongly preserve their traditional ties, all family members including younger generations want to return.

Almost all family members (including those who don't want permanent return) think there may be temporary return to villages in specific months/seasons. Although few, there are some families actually doing this. Young women express their ideas about return as follows:

*Some families return to their villages in summer to sow cereals, tobacco or vegetables. This revisit is for 4-5 months. Although we have been living here in Diyarbakır for long time, we still feel ourselves tied to our villages. But we don't think returning permanently. Because we know that nothing will be the same as before. We may of course replant trees to replace burnt ones, but we can't just rinse away our sufferings and be happy again. The state should pay us what we lost back in our villages. Maybe we can buy a house with this money and our males start their business.*

Since conditions are yet not ripe for return, families find it difficult to envision what kind of problems they may be facing if they return.

*It is difficult for the whole family to move back. Maybe we go and stay for 3 months let's say. Young member of families would prefer to remain in Diyarbakır.*

Meanwhile, even those who want to return and resettle in their villages think that it is not possible in near future. This idea is consolidated by recent events in the region and the reaction of the state to

these events. For the time beings, most important deterrents include absence of security and some basics (house, farming instruments, roads, water supply, electricity, etc.). A large majority (86 %) expect the solution of these problems from the state.

*We won't go back unless we get our compensation. Compensation will ease us at least partially. They have burnt even stones in the village. We want the state compensate for what we lost. That is all; we can handle the remaining on our own...*

### ***Young people's ideas about return to village***

Since many young family members were born in Diyarbakır or they were too small during displacement, they visualise rural life only by what their elders tell them about it. They are weary that they can't handle what rural life will impose upon them. But, although few in numbers, there are some younger people who want to go back. They explain this preference with poverty they are facing now and other impasses in their present urban life. They add that their life in village would be much easier than now even with few poultry, cattle and tiny plot of land.

*In Diyarbakır, young people like us have only two alternatives: Prostitution or theft. There is no other way.*

But these persons stress that return to village requires certain other things beyond their will and control. There is need to prepare villages for decent inhabitation and subsistence and this cannot be done only by restoring houses. The first requirement is safety and security.

*Firstly, the problem of security must be solved; there must be peace in other words. Then come restoration of houses, water supply and electricity and getting animals like sheep and cattle.*

*We will still need support even if basic infrastructure like roads, water supply and electricity are provided for. It is because we have nothing left to live on. Our village was fully destroyed including its mosque.*

### ***Women's ideas about returning to village***

Women's approach to the question of return to villages differs from others. Especially younger women say they are too far away from rural life and they like the neighbourhood in which they are living now.

*We know nothing about village life. We consider ourselves as a part of this neighbourhood and life.*

Women who have memoirs about their suffering during displacement don't want to go back.



*It is true that we still place ourselves in rural context, but we don't think about returning back and living there permanently. We cannot possibly forget about our pains and suffering. Our fathers and brothers were killed.*

Women who spent a part of their life back in their villages still have strong feelings for their rural life, but don't think that it is realistic to consider return under present circumstances.

*There are no conditions conducive to return. Our villages were completely destroyed. What can we do only with a bare land?*

*We brought a suit before court since our village was burnt down and we were forcibly displaced. When we are paid compensation we will build a house there. We will spend summers in our village and remain here in Diyarbakır in winters. We don't think about returning permanently. Our children have accustomed to urban life and as women we don't want to return.*

*We miss everything about our village. I wish we could have stayed there. But now we don't want to return. You see, clashes started again.*

Women say that some conditions are imposed on them in relation to return to villages and those who don't satisfy these conditions are denied material assistance by the state. There are some respondents stressing that the state does not allow them to return back to their villages.

*Authorities wanted us to sign a document saying "our village was burnt down not by the state but terrorists." We refused to sign since it was not true. They promised us to provide iron, sand and cement for house construction and some animals if we signed this document. Some families did sign since their situation was too difficult.*

Especially younger women are unwilling to leave their present neighbourhood, but they add that their opinion will not be asked anyway if a decision is taken on this issue. Even after visiting their village and finding it "nice", young women still prefer to remain in Diyarbakır.

*We have no idea about our families' return to village. But if they decide to do so, we have to join them. Our opinion is not asked. If we return, we will be missing our friends here.*

*We occasionally visit our village with other family members. Our village is nice indeed with fresh air and green surroundings. So it is nice to pay short visits but we don't want to stay there permanently, we are happy to be here.*

Males, on the other hand, state that at least the opinion of elder women will be taken into consideration.

*When the issue of returning to village is raised, women's opinion is respected. If they don't want to return, we can't return.*

### ***Tendency to move to other provinces***

In spite of all difficulties faced in Diyarbakır, limited number of them thinks about moving out to some other province. Only 16 % of families consider this as an alternative.

For these families, primary reasons for considering such a new move include problems of livelihood (26 %), preference for another place believed to be better than Diyarbakır (26 %) and unemployment (11 %). Although the prospects of finding jobs in provinces out of the region are stronger, the reason for such a limited percentage of families considering this alternative derives from the fact that people moving to western provinces have experienced debasement by local inhabitants there and they think they will have serious problems of adaptation and recognition.

*We don't think about moving to other provinces. We have no plan for this. During seasonal moves we found out that it was not possible to live in other places permanently. We belong to here and we like it here. It is difficult to live with Turks, our culture is different and their outlook to us is disturbing. They don't see us as human beings. It is difficult to live in such places even if we are wealthy.*

*We don't want to live in other places. Our relatives and friends are all here. People in other parts of the country do not regard us well.*

Additionally many families are not materially endowed to move out and settle in other provinces even if they want to do so. They are further dissuaded by the fact that some of those who had once moved to other parts of the country for permanent settlement had to return back after some time.

*There are some people considering this alternative, but they don't have material means. Those who could make a sound basis for livelihood in other places can of course go, but what if a family cannot pay for its water bill? For example, only those who have some guarantee of earning 2-3,000 YTL a month can move to İstanbul and this is very rare.*

*There are some families moving to Mersin, Bursa, İstanbul and Tarsus from Diyarbakır. But some of them had to return. Nobody would leave this place unless much better living conditions are guaranteed.*

## VIII. Assessment and Policy Proposals

Firstly, although the heading of this section suggest that we are going to make some recommendations for the solution of problems mentioned so far, we are aware that it is impossible to find any solution to sufferings experienced. Secondly, policy proposals below derive from problems as expressed by interviewees during neighbourhood visits, their expectations and demands<sup>21</sup> and our own experience and observations. Needless to say, these policy proposals are open to discussion and further elaboration by experts, implementers and neighbourhood dwellers.

It is impossible to say that people living in Aziziye, *Gürdoğan*, *Benusen*, *Fatihpaşa* and *Savaş* neighbourhoods look to their future with some hope. One can understand why they are so pessimistic if one considers what they experienced during their displacement and what they have been experiencing in their present settlements for the last 15 years. Majority of families in these neighbourhoods are striving only to “save the day.” Memories of displacement are still fresh in their minds.

Adverse effects of the process of displacement are still significant in spite of many years past since then. As we have frequently mentioned throughout the report, there is yet no serious attempt to mitigate these adverse effects. Authorities who bear the responsibility of mitigating the adverse effects of displacement and resettlement and coming up with solutions did not fulfil this responsibility. While one may expect at least some improvement in the lives of these people after so many years in Diyarbakır, what we observe now is, to the contrary, deepening poverty, deprivation and exclusion.

Though may seem as an oasis in a desert, a child centre, laundry or basketball field available in a neighbourhood are all significant in improving the daily life of neighbourhood dwellers at least to a certain extent<sup>21</sup>. Nevertheless, all these facilities are naturally far from radically transforming the picture we have been trying to draw here. The findings of this survey point out that multi-dimensional and integrated attempts are needed to break the present desperation

of people living in these neighbourhoods. In order to develop programmes and policies that address problems in their multiple dimensions, it is clear that there is need for the joint work and collaboration of all public, local and civil society organisations. The crucial point about these programmes and policies is the need to ensure the active participation of neighbourhood dwellers to the process starting from preparation to implementation and evaluation.

---

<sup>21</sup> Annex 5 covers the problems of respondents relating to the situation of women, families, neighbourhoods and return to village as well as their suggestions for solution. In our survey work covering 400 households, questions were responded by women in 330 households and by men in 70 households.

Forced migration interfered in lives of large numbers of people, they were made to struggle in a new way of life which they did not voluntarily choose and they were left alone in their struggle. After so many years, even if it is for improvement this time, we are aware that we are proposing another intervention to their lives with policies and practices we suggest below. Since the issue of intervention is again in agenda, we preferred to listen to the voice of people targeted by prospective policies and programmes and shape these policies and programmes in line with their tendencies. We believe all policies and practices relating to those who want to return to their villages or remain in Diyarbakır should be introduced by creating mechanisms allowing for the voice and participation of those who will be affected by them and also enabling them to make their own choices concerning their future life. We are further convinced that such an approach is needed not only in the context of human rights but also in obtaining meaningful and effective outcomes at the end.

## **Return to village**

While some displaced persons want permanent return to their villages, others favour mostly seasonal and temporary return, and there are also some who don't want to return at all. These three preferences exist even within the same family. But all, whether favouring or not favouring return has one point in common: They don't want to fully give up their village. In other words, people want to regain their right to go back to their villages even if it were only for burying their deceased relatives. In this sense, any initiative regarding villages and displaced persons should bear in mind that evacuated villages still belong to these persons.

*Both the content and enforcement of the Law no. 5233 on the Compensation of Damages Resulting from Terror and Combat against Terror fall short of solving the problems of displaced persons. Though the law is limited to the compensation of material loss and damage, it is even insufficient in this limited area. It is not possible to ensure return to village*

by construction houses there. Rather, it is necessary to develop a holistic programme addressing all obstacles to return.

- There are very few families who could receive compensation under the law no. 5233. This law should be revised and its scope should be enlarged. The revised legislation should target permanent solutions also by considering circumstances in the region.
- Before implementing programmes and projects focusing on return to villages, a quick inventory work should be carried out to assess the present conditions of villages. Many infrastructure facilities in these villages are now unusable. There is need to construct or reconstruct such infrastructure facilities as roads, water supply, electricity, school, telephone connection and health centre.
- In many evacuated villages there is no production activity for a long time. Meanwhile, original settlers of these villages have also somewhat detached themselves from production activities. Some essential means (i.e. land, irrigation canals, agricultural equipment, animal barns, etc.) are presently unusable. Programmes need to be developed to improve this situation and relevant

support should be extended. Villagers should be trained in new farming and stockbreeding techniques.

- The system of village guards which is presently the most important obstacle to return should be abolished.
- Occupied land should be returned to their original proprietors.
- Mediation should be introduced to settle any land dispute among villages deriving from the disappearance of plot boundaries. This requires the active involvement of property title and cadastral office.

When conditions of return are ensured, revival of crop farming and animal husbandry activities will bring along the utilisation of natural resources which are presently idle. Once people return permanently or temporarily to their villages to engage in production activities, this will contribute to the mitigation of the problem of unemployment in Diyarbakır too besides providing livelihood to families involved. This will further provide some opportunities to the relatives of returnees who are living in Diyarbakır since returnees can provide some crops and foodstuffs to their urban relatives.

While developing and implementing programmes on return, others should also be developed for others remaining in the city.

### **Suggestions for improving life quality in Diyarbakır**

Displaced persons have, within the limited opportunities in their urban neighbourhoods, tried to develop some new ways of life corresponding to their present reality. Life in these neighbourhoods is a unique mixture of rural and urban life patterns. In other words, people experience both rural and urban life characteristics at the same time in terms their means of subsistence and social values.

In all 5 neighbourhoods covered by the survey there are problems with infrastructure and houses. While neighbourhoods have some common problems, they may also have some special problems depending on their location, present infrastructure and distance to the centre of the city. It is therefore important to develop relevant programmes on individual neighbourhood basis with due account of the characteristics of neighbourhood dwellers.

Many means of livelihood that people have developed are either informal or illicit like in the case of illicit animal slaughtering. Elimination of some illicit activities in an urgent need not only for violations of law they entail but also for health risks they pose. However, it should not be forgotten that initiatives to this end, launched without placing in alternative sources of livelihood, will only work to further deepen the present poverty of these families. Neighbourhood dwellers developed some ways capitalising on the location and state of their respective neighbourhoods. For example vegetable farmers and others having animals are mostly in those neighbourhoods located at the outskirts of the city. On the other hand, people living in neighbourhoods located closer to the centre of the city are engaged in peddling, transportation, scavenging, house cleaning and child care. Thus, while intervening in living spaces of people, its impacts on income sources of people should also be considered in relevant programmes and projects.

Families living in neighbourhoods covered by the “Urban Transformation Project” of Diyarbakır Greater Municipality, which is partly in implementation and partly at planning stage, are deeply concerned about the future of their neighbourhoods. It is of course a positive step in terms of both urban planning and life quality of people to vacate shanty neighbourhoods and move people living there to modern housing sites. However too hasty practices without conducting thorough analyses on the possible impacts of such move may pose some risks for families who can only barely subsist at present. For example, moving from neighbourhoods where waste collection tax is not paid and electricity is used illicitly to modern sites where families have to pay for both may increase the burden of families.

Children and adolescents constitute the large majority of people living in these neighbourhoods. Therefore, programmes should also introduce child and adolescent focused alternatives.

There are problems like theft and substance abuse about which neighbourhood dwellers are also concerned. Addressing such issues only within the boundaries of legal action, however; will not bring any solution. This has already been proved by the fact that these problems continue and even get worse in spite of all actions by the security. It should not be forgotten that these problems derive from interlinked social and economic causes. There is need for multi-faceted approach for the solution of the problem. Such an approach should include programmes for training, employment and social-cultural activities as well as those focusing on psychological support.

***Our suggestions relating to neighbourhoods are listed below:***

- Solving such problems of neighbourhoods as sewage, waste collection and streets.
- Supporting the restoration or re-construction of houses. Solving the title problems of houses without titles.
- Launching social and cultural life spaces responding to the needs of neighbourhood dwellers (i.e. green spaces, playgrounds for children, condolence houses, etc.)
- Organising various activities designed to build self-confidence in children and adolescents and opening centres for such activities (i.e. playground and sports fields, arts, psychological support programmes, skill building courses, computer courses and courses in preparation for university education).
- Developing programmes, as the first stage, to respond to most basic needs of dwellers (i.e. food, clothing, housing, heating, education and health).

***Employment and Unemployment***

Limited employment opportunities and unemployment are among the leading problems of the province and region.

It is hard to say that existing incentives designed to bring along economic development and enhance employment are effective in adding a momentum to the economy of the region and initiate a genuine change. The provinces of the region are already disadvantage compared to those in the western parts

of the country and the situation has even gone worse upon the congestion of people leaving their villages. Considering this fact incentives need to be made stronger by introducing necessary amendments in relevant legislation.

Implementation of projects to functionalise skills already possessed by people and create employment opportunities bears great importance in terms of curbing unemployment.

New generations growing up in Diyarbakır cannot make use of already limited employment opportunities mainly for not being able to benefit adequately from education-training opportunities available in their urban environment. In fact, they are not much beyond their elders in finding jobs. Persistent poverty means the poverty of younger generations as well without much change and improvement in their status.

Recommendations on employment generation are as follows:

- Granting incentives to leading sectors to revitalize the economy of the region and adopting measures to promote regional trade. In incentives schemes, giving priority to employment generation and labour intensive sectors also with high value added.
- Implementing special projects, under the leadership of Chambers of Commerce and Associations of Businessmen, bringing together local businessmen to set local dynamics in motion and granting incentives to such projects.
- Improving present working conditions in workplaces and covering employees in social security schemes.
- Creating conditions conducive to shift production to organised zones at appropriate distance from the city centre by allocating Treasury land and providing credit in reasonable terms. Points to be considered in introducing and organising production include selection of branches that will yield maximum return per unit of land or animal and carrying out joint programmes with producers in these branches.
- Launching of employment oriented skill building courses with different programmes with respect to age groups and gender.
- Allocating places in neighbourhood bazaar to those living close to middle-income quarters of the city.

### ***Child labour***

Children at school age work in places and streets where they face various risks. Although many families are aware of these risks they have no other choice but sending their children out for work. Child labour cannot be eliminated by penalizing the families of working children. Trying to do this with police measures without providing employment to parents would mean nothing less than convicting families, including children, to hunger.

Urgent and medium-term measures are needed to mitigate this problem at first and gradually eliminate it. As an urgent measure it is possible to strengthen the education encouragement policy of the government and increase cash support to families sending their children to school. This will convince families to keep their children in school instead of letting them work. Full elimination of child labour, on the other hand, requires provision of decent job

opportunities to all adult people who can work by implementing appropriate training and employment policies.

### ***Seasonal works***

Seasonal works are taken up by the poorest sections of the population concerned and it involves very hard working and living conditions. These types of work also intervene in the education of children by either disturbing school attendance or by fully eliminating the possibility of school attendance. Those who move out to western provinces for seasonal works suffer not only from low wages and adverse living conditions but also from degrading treatment by others solely on the ground of their ethnic identity.

Interventions in this area should have a double approach, meaning that while legal arrangements are made to improve conditions in seasonal works, policies should be implemented to provide employment opportunities to people in their permanent settlements.

### ***Education, training and counselling services***

The proportion of children not attending/not being sent to school is quite high. Apart from this, there are also quite a number of children at primary school ages both working and attending school. On the other hand, the number of children continuing with secondary education after primary school is low.

- Adopting measures to improve the quality of education in neighbourhood schools and creating conditions to allow the continuation of education after primary school. Given present employment opportunities, many sectors and branches require higher-than-primary level of education from their workers.
- The present official support in the form of “conditional cash transfer” to encourage parents to send their children to school may be given a more attractive character.
- Using the methods of encouragement, persuasion and sanctioning to prevent withholding girls from school.
- Launching and expanding the scope of free pre-school education.
- Ensuring that first grade teachers understand and speak Kurdish to communicate with



Kurdish speaking children in order to avoid placing them in disadvantaged position relative to other children since they may not be fluent in Turkish at this age.

- School curricula should cover teaching of mother tongue. Courses must be launched to teach adults the grammar and rules of their language
- Providing employment opportunities and introducing vocational training in needed skills are both necessary to have positive changes in the life of young people. Training given without well designed plans proves to be futile.
- Pupils cannot take private courses because of deprivation. There is need to further expand the scope of free additional courses and to launch courses in neighbourhoods.
- Given that pupils can rarely find environments to study at home, spaces must be provided within schools or neighbourhoods where pupils can study.
- Programmes and conveniences must be introduced to teach literacy to illiterate people.
- Providing in cash or in kind support to trainees to make training courses more attractive. At present people have to work hard and too long to make a living. Time spared for training may thus have an adverse effect like reducing family income.

Centres should be launched in neighbourhoods to provide spaces to those who want to start their business in manufacturing and services (like İŞGEMs under the KOSGEB)<sup>22</sup>.

- Training programmes must be introduced to encourage young people to entrepreneurship and necessary support must be given to those who plan to start their business after this training.
- Families who want to start their business (through micro and small scale enterprises) should be provided loans with low interest as well as counselling services to help them sustain and improve their enterprises.
- People must be informed about ways of starting and improving business, employment, credit and grant funds and efforts must be made to help them benefit from such schemes. There must be information centres for this purpose in neighbourhoods.

### ***Women***

Women and girls in the neighbourhoods are under a rather heavy burden. Besides daily household chores and outdoor jobs to support their families and education of their brothers, they are also regarded as “bearers of the honour of their families.”

Suggestions for improving the lives of women are given below:

<sup>22</sup>In such spaces, an enterprise should be given sufficient time to be able to sustain itself. These centres should also have staff to provide counselling services to newly established enterprises.

- Increasing the number of such facilities as laundries and child centres which will ease the daily lives of women. Using these centres also as venues to inform women about their rights and give counselling services.
- Providing for urgent needs of widowed women and others abandoned by their husbands. Giving support in care and education of their children.
- Training in reproductive health and securing the support of their husbands in this training.
- At present, employment opportunities for women are quite limited. It is necessary to launch initiatives to diversify employment opportunities and skill building courses to enhance their skills.
- Taking initiatives to prevent the further depression of wages which derives from abundance of labour supply in work that are taken up by women.
- Developing training programmes in line with requests of women.
- Providing marketing channels for items produced by women.
- Developing programmes for training men in order to eliminate problems stemming from the traditional attitudes of males.
- Opening shelters for women who suffer violence.

### ***Health problems***

In neighbourhoods, health problems like typhoid fever and jaundice which are associated with poverty are quite common. Another reason is low level of information on the part of neighbourhood dwellers on health and hygiene. In addition to preventive health services, there should also be training in hygiene and causes of common illnesses. The crucial point in these activities is giving relevant training in a language that trainees can understand. Further, mobilisation of community leaders will contribute to the success of campaigns especially in preventive medicine (i.e. immunisation campaigns).

These neighbourhoods should have health centres where some health services (i.e. injections, dressing, etc.) are given also out of daily working hours.

- Training neighbourhood dwellers about health issues.
- Helping those having disabled members in their families.

### ***Trust in public agencies***

Public services can reach the dwellers of these neighbourhoods on to a limited extent. This situation further triggered mistrust in public agencies. People think that there is little chance in their enjoying economic and legal rights on equal basis with other citizens living in other regions of the country. Considering all these, it is necessary to restore trust between public agencies and displaced persons if envisaged programmes and policies should work effectively.

In elaborating and eventually implementing policy proposals we have mentioned above, besides public agencies, local governments, professional organisations, associations of businessmen and other relevant civil society organisations should also perform their roles. Many problems can be eliminated if these organisations can work, without excluding each other, in a coordinated manner at provincial, regional and national levels.

We believe that establishing a peaceful environment is the basic *sine qua non* for the realisation of suggestions made in this study. Peaceful environment, in its turn, requires the recognition of all democratic and cultural rights nationwide. We hereby call on all people and organizations, most of all the central government, local governments and civil society organisations to create an environment in which ethnic and religious differences are recognised and accepted as a source of richness and diversity.

**Annex 1. Survey questionnaire**

**DEVELOPMENT CENTRE**  
**Training, Research, Implementation, Counselling, Production and Enterprise**  
**Cooperative**

---



**SURVEY ON MIGRATION AND ITS EFFECTS IN DİYARBAKIR PROVINCE**  
**QUESTIONNAIRE**

.....NEIGHBOURHOOD

**FORM NO:.....**

**INTERVIEWER:.....**

**DATE:.....**

Number of household members : .....  
**1-DEMOGRAPHIC DATA**

Number of employed household members: adult ----- children -----

**Household Information**

Proximity to the person administered questionnaire	Gender	Age	Educational status	Marital status	Type of marriage (only to those who are married)	Do you do something from which you earn money?	Status in work (more than one job-casual)	Languages spoken (There may be more than one statement under "Other")		Have an official ID card?	Is there any disabled family member (mentally or physically)
								Native	Other		

- Proximity to H.H. Head**  
 1- HH Head  
 2- Spouse of HH head  
 3- Mother of HH head  
 4- Father of HH head  
 5- Mother in law of...  
 6- Father in law of...  
 7- Daughter/son  
 8- Daughter/son in law  
 9- Grandchildren  
 10- Other (please explain)
- Gender**  
 1- Female  
 2- Male
- Age**  
 1- Illiterate  
 2- Literate  
 3- 5 years (graduated)  
 4- 8 years (graduated)  
 5- H.S. (graduated)  
 6- University (graduated)  
 A- Student (with corresponding years)
- Educational status**  
 1- Single  
 2- Married  
 3- Widowed  
 4- Divorced  
 5- Separated
- Marital Status**  
 1- Civil  
 2- Religious  
 3- Both
- Type of marriage**  
 1- Yes  
 2- No
- Do you do something from which you earn money?**  
 1- Salary earner  
 2- Wage earner  
 3- Self-employed  
 4- Piecemeal  
 5- Unpaid family work  
 6- Seasonal worker  
 7- SSK retiree  
 8- BAG-KUR retiree  
 9- Retired after age 65  
 10- Unemployed  
 11- Working after school  
 12- Housewife
- Status in work**  
 (more than one job-casual)
- Languages spoken**  
 1- Turkish  
 2- Kurmanci  
 3- Zaza  
 4- Arabic  
 5- Other (please explain)
- Have an official ID card?**  
 1- Yes  
 2- No
- Is there any disabled family member (mentally or physically)**

## 2- HOUSING AND CONSUMPTION

### 1-) Status of Present Dwelling

		K
Own		
Family house	Paying rent	
	Not paying	
Rental		
Other (Please explain)		

### 2-) (to be asked to those living in rented houses) How much rent do you pay?

	K.
	YTL

### 3-) Which of the following in your house are separate?

	K
How many rooms except toilet, bath and kitchen (also except sofa)	
Do you have a guest room?	
Kitchen (is it separate?)	
Bath (is it separate?)	

### 4-) Toilet

<b>Toilet type</b>	K
No toilet	
Inside, old style	
Inside, modern	
Outside, old style	
Outside, modern	

### 5-) Which household items do you have?

	K
Refrigerator	
Washing machine	
TV set (how many)	
TV antenna	
Computer	
Phone	
Cellular phone (how many)	
Rickshaw	
Peddling table	
Trihauler	
Car	

**6-)Breed animals?**

.....

*(Pass on to question 8 if answer is no)*

**7-)If yes;**

	K
Type	Heads
Large	
Small	
Poultry	

**8-) Which social security schemes mentioned below is valid for household members?**

(More than one option may be marked)

	K.
SSK	
Bağ-Kur	
Retirement Fund	
Green Card	
Private insurance	
None	

**9-)What are the most commonly contracted diseases in your family (mark the leading 3)**

(explain diseases)

	K
Jaundice	
Typhoid fever	
Diarrhoea	
Brucellosis	
Female genital diseases	
Respiratory problems	
Blood pressure	
Malaria	
Other (please explain)	

**3-SOURCES OF INCOME**

**10-) How do you make a living? (to be asked individually)**

### 3-SOURCES OF INCOME

10-) How do you make a living? (to be asked individually)

SOURCE		K	
		Yes	No
Farming income (from the village)	Crop		
	Cash		
Farming income (in urban settlement)	Crop		
	Cash		
Remittances from others	domestic		
	abroad		
Wage labour			
Retirement pension			
Seasonal works			
Rent from land			
Rent from house			
What children bring in			
Other (please explain)			

11-)What is the total average monthly income of the family? (approximate amount)

.....

12-) Do you have land back in your village? (Continue with Q 13 if yes, go to 14 if no)

Yes ..... No.....

13-) How is your land back in village used now?

	K
My relatives are farming	
Giving it to sharecropper	
Renting it	
I go and take care during seasons	
Idle	
Other	

14-) Do you presently obtain something from the village?

Yes..... No.....

(Continue with Q 15 if yes, go to 16 if no).



**15-) Which of the following are among what you get from your village?**

	K.
Rental (land)	
Rental (pasture, range)	
Returns from shared animals	
Animal products	
Fruits and vegetables	
Returns from beekeeping	
Rental of machinery	
Tractor	
Other (please explain)	

**16-) What is your average monthly household consumption? (Monthly YTL)**

.....

**17-) Where do you go when you need money?**

	K.
Bank	
Relatives	
Neighbours	
Usurer/money lenders	
Other	

**4-SEASONAL MIGRATION PROFILE**

**18-) Are there household members going out for seasonal works?**

	K.
Yes	
No	

*Go to Q 23 if no.*

**19-)Who goes out for seasonal works?**

	K.
All household members	
Only adult males	
Only young members (females)	
Only young members (males)	
Adult males and females together	

**20-) Which other places do you move for seasonal works? (More than one option may be marked)**

	K.
Central villages or districts of Diyarbakır	
Other provinces in the same region	
Black Sea provinces	
Mediterranean provinces	
Marmara provinces	
Aegean provinces	
Other (please specify)	

**21-) How long do you stay in other places for seasonal works? (day/week/month)**

.....

**22-) How much did you earn last year from seasonal works?**

.....

**23-) Were you going out for seasonal works before you left your village (Yes/No)?**

	K.

**5-PROBLEM AREAS RELATED TO WOMEN**

**24-) Which economic activities listed below do women take part? ( within and out of household)**

	K.
Daily cleaning work	
Childcare	
Seasonal works	
Wage labour	
Handicrafts	
Home based production	
Other (please specify)	

**25-) What are the most important problems of women in your opinion?**

<b>1</b>	
<b>2</b>	
<b>3</b>	

**26-) What do you think should be done to solve these problems?**

1	
2	
3	

**27-) In your house, who gives decisions in issues listed below?**

	Household head K.	Spouse of H.Hold head K.	Husband and wife together K.	Family elders K.	Family members together K.
Sending girls to school					
Sending boys to school					
Daughter's marriage					
Marriage of male members					
Dowry to be requested					
Buying land, house					
Lending					
Borrowing					
Buying durable household goods					
Buying consumption goods					
Seasonal work					
Daily shopping					
Disposing income					

## **6-PROBLEM AREAS RELATED TO FAMILY AND NEIGHBOURHOOD**

**28-) In your opinion, what are the 3 most pressing problems in your family?**

1	
2	
3	

**29-) What do you think should be done for the solution of these problems?**

1	
2	
3	

**30-) In your opinion, what are the 3 most pressing problems in this neighbourhood?**

1	
2	
3	

**31-) What do you think should be done for the solution of these problems?**

1	
2	
3	

**7-PRE-MIGRATION BACKGROUND**

**32-) From where did you come to Diyarbakır?**

Province	Centre K.	District K.	Village K.
Diyarbakır			
Batman			
Mardin			
Siirt			
Şırnak			
Other (please specify)			

**33-) What were your possessions in the place you left?**

	K.
Land/farm	
House	
Pasture/range	
Animals	
Orchard	
Beehives	
Tractor	
Nothing	
Other (please explain)	

**34-) What was the infrastructure in your village?**

	K.
School	
Health centre	
Electricity	
Water supply	
Roads	
Telephone	
Mosque	

**35-) about your house back in the village**

	K.	
Number of rooms		
Its floor	Earth	Concrete

**36-) How many persons were living in the same house back in your village?**

.....

**37-) What are the major reasons that you left your village and moved in Diyarbakır (mark 3 at most)?**

	K.
Security (forced migration)	
Poor subsistence	
Neighbourhood solidarity	
Burning of the village	
For the education of my children	
Upon the advice of my relatives here	
Conflicts within the settlement (District/Village)	
Problems with surrounding settlements	
Other	

**38-) What did you bring with you when moving?**

	K.
All belongings	
Only jewellery	
Only our beds	
Our animals	
Other (please specify)	

39-) Which of the following did you do to settle in the city after leaving your village?

	K.
Sold my land	
Sold my animals	
Sold my wife's precious belongings	
I used some savings	
Other (please explain)	

**8-POST-MIGRATION**

40-) How many years have you been living in Diyarbakır?

.....

41-) What is the most important factor that you chose to live in this city (neighbourhood) (mark at most 3)?

	K.
I had my relatives here	
I was advised to do so	
For job opportunities	
For education opportunities	
Because I already knew this place	
My material means allowed me to come here only	
I feel myself socially better and more secure here	
Other	

42-) Can you tell if you received any assistance after moving here?

	K.
Household items	
Clothing	
Food	
Fuel	
Cash	
None	

Go to Q 44 if "none."

43-) From which sources did you get these (you may mark more than one option)

	K.
SYDTF/Governorate	
Municipalities	
NGOs	
Relatives	
Other	

44-) Was any compensation paid if their village was evacuated for security reasons?

	K.
Yes	
No	
At the court now	

**9-QUESTIONS ABOUT PERCEPTIONS RELATING TO MIGRATION AND ATTITUDES**

45-) In your opinion what are the most important problems/obstacles related to your return to your original settlement?

	K.

46-)How can these problems be solved? (you can point to more than one choice)

	K.
By the state	
By us	
By others	

47)If some interventions (training, courses) in skill building for young people and adults are started in this neighbourhood would you like to have your household members participate?

	K.
Yes	
No	

48-) What kind of skill building training is needed in this neighbourhood to facilitate starting a business or finding jobs?

	K

**10-COMPARISON OF PRE AND POST-MIGRATION SITUATIONS:**

**(To the attention of questioner! (Introduction) Now I am going to ask you some questions on the comparison of your past and present situations)**

**49-)Is there any difference between your past in the village and now?**

	K
My present situation is better	
It is worse than before	
No change	

*If the situation is better now, continue with Q 50 and go to 51 if not*

**50-)Why is your situation better now? (more than one answer can be given)**

	K.
I am happy here	
Economically better off	
My children get good education	
Good neighbourhood relations	
Urban life is easier	
Peace in family	
Other	

**51-)Why is your situation worse now? (more than one answer can be given)**

	K.
I miss the place I left	
Economic difficulties	
I can't send my children to school	
Bad neighbourhood relations	
It is difficult to adapt to urban life	
There is more tension within family	
Other	

**11-FUTURE MIGRATION PLANS**

**52-) Do you think about going and settling permanently somewhere else?**

	K
Yes	
No	



Go to Q 55 if no

**53-)Where do you want to move from here?**

	K.
Adana	
Ankara	
Mersin	
G.Antep	
İstanbul	
İzmir	
Bursa	
Other	

**54-)If yes, why?**

	K.
Security	
Economic difficulty	
I can't send my children to school	
I want to live in a better place	
I want to be with my relatives	
No job	
Other	

**55-) Do you want to return to your village?**

		K.
Yes	No	

**56-) If Yes/No, why?**

.....  
.....

**INTERVIEWER'S OBSERVATIONS**

*(On the person interviewed, household members, house, poverty and other matters)*

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

## **Annex 2. Impressions of an interviewer**

### ***MIGRATION AND ITS EFFECTS STEP BY STEP***

You, the people waging a heroic struggle for life in Diyarbakır where they have ended up either as a consequence of blood feud or health problems or forced migration or seeking better livelihood!

People were waging this struggle in Aziziye, Gürdoğan, Fatihpaşa, Savaş and other neighbourhoods beyond my knowledge!

Whatever their original drive may be, the situation of these people who had to leave their villages is nothing less than dramatic. I wonder if someone ever turned to end this tragedy?

It was my first job as a survey interviewer. I had no idea about it and firstly I learned about the nature and objectives of the survey. Still, without any experience, I started it with some questions in my mind.

My first day was in Fatihpaşa. I was living in Diyarbakır for 15 years and I heard about this neighbourhood. But I had no idea what life could be like there. I might have passed through the neighbourhood in some occasions, but I must repeat: I never knew that Fatihpaşa roomed in such desperate, out of time and poor heroes and heroines.

The neighbourhood bears no characteristic which can be attributed to our modern times. Neither with its houses, nor with other physical features, nor with the situation of its dwellers... Once they notice a person with papers in his hand people rush:

\_\_\_ Is it for relief?

\_\_\_ What are you going to deliver?

\_\_\_ Write our names too?

When I explain them it is a survey about migration, they say “OK, come in and study us as well.” You can easily read out desperation from their faces. But they are still struggling with the hope that someone can hear their voices.

Their struggle is indeed heroic. Despite not being able to provide even for their most basic needs they still keep their dignity. If people are hungry they can do many things, commit crime, subscribe to vice, etc. But these people are trying to keep away from these; their resistance is heroic, because they can still hope for the better.

Poverty, hunger, those who withdraw their children from school just for avoiding associated expenses, having plenty of children against all odds, etc. etc. This is a different world and one cannot understand it without seeing.

Working as a survey interviewer is the second important affair in my life. I worked as a teacher for one year. It was short but full of valuable experience. I worked really hard for a year to be useful to my young students. But it was a temporary duty and, when finished, I cried together with my students.

After this experience, I thought I could never find any other job as satisfying and inspiring as teaching. But I was wrong. The present one is as good as that.

It was indeed rewarding to be with these people, witness their present conditions and ask them about their problems. We received warm invitations to visit them in their houses. When we did, they tried their best to give us some comfort with what they could provide or offer. But their warm “welcome” was the most valuable of all.

Some of them still miss their village. But women seem to be content with their new urban life: “It was too tiring for us to fetch water everyday while back in village. It is better here in that respect, and it will be even better if we can have jobs.” Younger generations who were born in villages have long forgotten their past rural environments.

In spite of these differences, they still have a common problem: Desperation and hunger. “We never felt the risk of hunger in our villages. We had no such problems as electricity and water supply. Even when we had nothing else, we could uproot onion from our plots and eat it with bread. We do manual works here, if we can find of course. If we fall ill, it's gone too. Then we can't find that onion either.”

A mother complained about her son who finally made her use medicine. Her son is 17-18 years old and he has all bad and harmful habits including smoking, alcohol, substance and drug abuse. She couldn't find any solution and she needs help. Now she is sick and using medicine.

During the first 2 days of my fieldwork I was still in shock even thinking “is this really Diyarbakır?” It was of course Diyarbakır, and I then started thinking that, beyond my knowledge, this life here in these neighbourhoods might have been going on for decades.

In a standard neighbourhood block, you normally find 2 wealthier families, 5 middle-income households and 1-2 poor ones. There is no such distribution in these neighbourhoods. All households are poor. It has been going like this for years. OK, but isn't there at least one or two households relatively better off? I visited every street and knocked at every door. What I faced was the same all over.

I felt like it was necessary for me to be a prominent world leader, a president, a prime minister or at least the governor of this province to be of any help to these people.

Not having any idea about striking scenes I was about to witness, I got up clumsily on my first day in duty. After first day's experience I was very quick in the morning of my second day, and I got up much earlier than needed on other days.

I tried to do my best as a survey interviewer. I hope everyone will do the same in the solution of this problem and, in future, there is no need to conduct a survey titled “Migration and its Effects.”

Believe me that the problem is beyond what you can possibly imagine. I think it should be the primary duty of all authorities and citizens with some sense of responsibility to solve this problem. Do you

think it will be fair if these people pass another winter in hunger in their cold and dark houses while we find peace in our warm houses with plenty of food?

As a single and ordinary citizen I have my limits. This problem cannot be solved by single individuals but by joining hands as a nation led by its state. Otherwise, it may be too late tomorrow.

Aziziye is a *gecekondu* neighbourhood. Displaced persons built their houses there with stones, tiles and mud. Whatever they could bring in was gone for building these houses. They are afraid that their houses may be demolished by authorities as illicit *gecekondu* buildings. How can people stand this, waking up every morning with fear of losing their dwellings? While working in Aziziye, I saw a man in the pit he dug on ground.

\_\_\_ What's up?

His face went sour when he noticed papers in my hand. Perhaps for years he has been witnessing people coming here with papers and asking them some questions, which never yields anything and improves nothing.

This digger too was applying to the DSI (Hydraulic Works Authority) for days to find out why their quarter had no water. Receiving no reply from authorities he decided to dig to find out what was wrong about pipe network. He refused to respond to my questionnaire and I couldn't blame him. Could I do something else if I were in his place?

Aziziye and Gürdoğan neighbourhoods resemble ghost towns in some respects. There is mud all over. But the strange think that these neighbourhoods are a part of Diyarbakır, one of the metropolis of the country!

In one house there was a young man shivering under a blanket. I was somewhat hesitant; his mother said:

\_\_\_ Don't worry, he is no harm... He is my son and he has this problem since he finished his military service. We took him to a doctor and he said he should be taken to Ankara for diagnosis. But we have no money to take him to Ankara.

Another house in Benusen. A mother and 4 disabled children. Kezban, one of them was chained by her mother. She cried when she saw me at the door.

I am a survey interviewer and I have to ask my questions. As they chained Kezban, I chained my they saw me as somebody who could solve their problems. We unchained Kezban and I asked why she chained her.

\_\_\_ Kezban runs away if I don't keep her chained. I can't send her to the rehabilitation centre since she runs away from there too. I am worried that something bad may happen to her if she is away. I put her in chains since I don't know what else can be done.

Do you know how old she is? Kezban is only 15, in the spring of her life. But she has to live with her chains.

One day I was in Savaş neighbourhood and I was about to start my last questionnaire. I knocked a door and the door was opened. There was a large yard leading to the stairs of a house. I explained them who I was and said I would like to ask some questions if they'd allow. This family had left its place 13 years ago, but as a result of blood feud this time. There was an old lady, about 80 years old, listening to us very carefully. While forwarding my questions, I couldn't keep myself taking quick looks at this stern looking old lady. Then I learned about her. Her son was killed at the age of 23 in a blood feud and since then this young lady has spoken to nobody in mourning that "her son's blood was left on ground without revenge." All other family members made peace with the rival family, but this old lady never accepted this settlement. So even now she is not speaking with her eldest son.

I asked the last question in the form and I was about to write down my personal observations. I suddenly realised that the old lady was gone. Then she showed up with an old bundle. She first took out an old pants from the bundle and hang it over the stairs and then a bloody shirt. She kept taking things out from her bundle: a pair of sock and a tobacco case. We were all shocked, just watching what she'd do next. Probably she was trying to give us some message. After disappearing for a while again, she came up with matches and a piece of plastic sheet. She stroke a match and let the sheet in fire; then she put the pants, shirt and case in fire. It was soon smoky inside, ashes falling upon us. It was the ashes of a case of blood feud blowing around. It smelled heavier than any other fire.

I was later told that the old lady had been opening her bundle and crying for 13 years. Who could guess that she'd raise her protest in such a way after 13 years? Maybe that day I was a catalyst for her protest; she had chosen me as a way of spreading her protest. I recalled that the term "blood feud" was uttered several times during this interview. The lady was 80 years old, but quick enough to understand why, for what purpose I was there. So she decided to protest her loss to blood feud because of which her beloved son was gone.

I was utterly shocked and I felt like having all the bullets spent so far on the name of blood feud. When I was saying goodbye to the family, the old lady wasn't there. As I stepped out, I saw her standing at the corner I was about to pass. Frankly speaking, I couldn't dare looking at her, especially at her eyes and I just walked by. It was quite an experience for me. There was a mother who was proud of letting her pain known to others through my presence there. This was what I got from her straight and confident standing at the corner.

I was sure that I gained much from this work. I knew I wasn't the same person after completing this work including my last experience. Still, I felt lucky for knowing that I had something to eat in a warm house and there was no reason why I should experience such suffering. I felt lucky, because I could have been one of those people I met during interviews!

These people need urgent measures and lasting solutions in the long-run. As a society we are facing an utterly serious problem. I became aware of it. One should bother and see these people in their places to get an idea about how serious the problem is.

I was in another house in Benusen. There was almost nothing inside. I asked why. They told me that there was a fire, the fire squad didn't arrive in time and they had to watch their few belongings burn. "It is always like this, we see our houses in fire or have some urgent patients, but neither the fire squad nor ambulance comes in here..."

That's why I say these people are no less than heroes!

They are heroes bravely fighting against all odds; living in dignity in the face of all difficulties!

There is urgent need to improve the living conditions of these people and restructure their modes of life in humane ways.

These neighbourhoods are, sites for the poor at present. If looking for really poor and deprived people, the address is ready at hand...

After meeting this people during my job they started to be my guests in my dreams. What really makes me upset is not being able to do anything for them. Of course I am much better off, but neither my purse nor my career allows me to help them.

So here I am calling on authorities.

Migration and its effects in Diyarbakır can be visualised best by considering a very severe earthquake and its aftermath. Dump houses looking as if their collapse is soon; streets flooded with sewage water; people close to starvation, but still struggling for their lives... During my 6-day duty they gave me a message:

Save us!

Attention! There may still be people alive beneath the ruins!

**Annex 3. Guiding question form for in-depth interviews and focus group Meetings**

**IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW FORM**

Neighbourhood	:
Person interviewed	:
Age	:
Occupation/time	:
History in present neighbourhood	:

- 1)Background of neighbourhood  
.....
- 2)Where did most of the people migrate from?  
.....
- 3) How and under which conditions people settled here?  
.....
- 4)Why did they prefer this neighbourhood for settling?  
.....
- 5)What kind of environment they found when they first came here?  
.....
- 6)How was their situation while they were back in their villages?  
.....
- 7) Comparing the present situation and their past back in village is there improvement or worsening ? (explanation with examples) ?  
.....
- 8) What do the people in neighbourhood do for living? What are their income sources?  
.....
- 9)Most important problems of neighbourhood/suggestions for solution  
.....

**SEASONAL WORKS**

- 10-a) What proportion of households here go out for seasonal works?  
.....
- 10-b) When do they go out for seasonal works? (periods)  
.....
- 10-c)Which family members go?  
.....
- 10-d)Where do they mostly go?  
.....
- 10-e)What kinds of work they do?  
.....
- 10-f) How satisfactory is their earning?  
.....
- 10-g)Problems faced in seasonal migration (social and physical conditions, health, etc.)  
.....

**CHILDREN**

- 11-a) What are the most important problems of children?  
.....
- 11-b) Is there any gender preference in sending children to school?  
.....
- 11-c) What is the proportion of children not sent to school due to poverty?  
.....
- 11-d) What is the proportion of children working in streets?  
.....
- 11-e) Working hours in streets?  
.....
- 11-f) What kinds of work they do out in streets?  
.....
- 11-g) How much do they earn in streets?  
.....
- 11-h) How do families think about children's working in streets?  
.....
- 11-i) What are the risks and threats that children may face in streets?  
.....
- 11-j) How can this problem be solved?  
.....

**WOMEN/GIRLS**

- 12-a) What are the most important problems of women?  
.....
- 12-b) Are girls/women engaged in income generating works at home? What? (details, income earned, etc.)  
.....
- 12-c) How does neighbourhood look at women/girls working out?  
.....
- 12-d) Are girls/women engaged in income generating works out of home? What? How much do they earn?  
.....
- 12-d) What are the most important problems of girls?  
.....
- 12-e) Working girls (brick works)/conditions and problems?  
.....
- 12-f) Working girls (daily work in cotton fields) / conditions and problems?  
.....

**YOUTH**

- 13-a) What are the most important problems of youth?  
.....
- 13-b) What needs to be done to solve these problems?  
.....



**LABOUR FORCE PROFILE/SKILLS**

- 14-a) Labour force (young men/men/girls/women) profile in neighbourhood  
.....
- 14-b) What kind of courses/training should be arranged and for whom?  
.....
- 14-c) Ideas/tendencies about such courses/training?  
.....

**RETURN TO VILLAGE**

- 15-a) Would people prefer to be here or back in their villages now?  
.....
- 15-b) What factors keep people from returning to their villages?  
.....
- 15-c) Are there people returning to their villages? (periodically/daily/permanently)  
.....
- 15-d) Conditions and tendencies to return by age groups?  
.....
- 15-e) What should be the model in return to villages?/ Which conditions must be provided?/By whom?  
.....
- 15-d) What is the tendency to move to other settlements/neighbourhoods/other places within the region/out of the region?  
.....

**GENERAL**

- 16) What are the most important problems of people living here? (in general)  
.....
- 17) What needs to be done to solve these problem? / Whose support is necessary?  
.....
- 18) What can be done to reduce unemployment? What can you suggest about this?  
.....
- 19) Who in the family does poverty affect the most?  
.....
- 20) What are the mechanisms of support/solidarity among the dwellers of this neighbourhood?  
.....
- 21) Urban slum problem / expected developments (local governments, etc.)?  
.....
- 22) What do you think could be the situation of people living here in short time perspective?  
.....
- 23) What are your hopes/expectations/ideas about future?  
.....

#### Annex 4. Neighbourhood information form

1-Name of the settlement	
2-Brief background: establishment, first dwellers, large families, etc.	
3-Population	
4-Number of households	
5-Population movements	
6-Dwelling types (in general)	
7-Water supply (drinking and use)	
8-Access, roads	
9-Electricity	
10-Transport services (bus, dolmuş, etc.)	
11-School	
12-Health facility	
13-Mosque	
14-Coffee house	
15-Grocery, market	
16-Bakery	
17-Manufacturing establishments (carpenters, repairers, etc.)	
18-Local governments (Municipality)	
19-Public agencies and their services	
20-NGOs and their present activities	

## Annex 5. Problems raised by respondents in relation to women, situation, their families, their neighbourhoods and return to villages and their suggestions for solving the problems

### MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS OF WOMEN

<p><b>Economic problems</b>  I can't contribute to my family  I have no economic freedom  I have no money  We can't find jobs  Women must be paid salary  My husband has no job  My husband has no social security  Minimum wage is too low  We move out for seasonal agricultural works  We have no house of our own  I wish I had a better house  No furniture and household items</p> <p><b>Problems related to domestic work burden on women</b>  Nobody helps me in household chores  Families are too crowded  Taking care of mother and father-in-law  No washing machine, I have to do it manually</p> <p><b>Problems related to children</b>  Men want too many children  It is difficult to have too many children, they give you unrest  We can't send them to school  I can't help my children  I can't give them pocket money  Children are working away  My daughters have to go for hoeing, I am sorry about it  I can't make child  My children don't behave well to me</p> <p><b>Health problems</b>  Husband is sick  I can't take care of my sick child  I have some health problems unique to females  I can't reach medical treatment</p> <p><b>Problems related to education</b>  We were not sent to school for being female  We have no education  We are illiterate  Girls are not sent to school</p>	<p><b>Problems related to gender inequalities, intra-family conflicts/violence and social/cultural life</b>  Women are regarded as "second class"  Oppression of men over women  Men do not give us a chance to speak out  Men do not take the opinion of women  My husband always silences me  We can't go out of house if men do not allow  There is no social activity for women  I am of use to nothing in house  I have no word in household affairs  We are of no use  My husband gambles  Women cannot defend their rights  Men take side with women  Men are too rough with women  We are beaten up and oppressed  Women's rights are violated  There is no shelter for women facing violence  Men don't like to see women working  I wanted to go out daily for domestic works but my husband didn't let me  We can earn nothing just because we are women  I was widowed  I was made to marry my brother in law when my husband died  My husband has a second wife and doesn't care about me  We are forced to marry even with wrong mates  Living together with my mother in law  We can't make ourselves clear for not speaking Turkish  I can't go to a doctor, I am dependent to my husband</p> <p><b>Other</b>  Lack of clarity about future  There is no regular electricity  My husband is in prison  We are not free  I am already dead, what "problem" are you talking about?</p>
--	--

## SUGGESTIONS FOR SOLVING THE PROBLEMS OF WOMEN

<p><b>Suggestions for solving economic problems</b></p> <p>My family should be given a larger house  A larger house  They should build a house for us  A separate house  A house of my own  Separate houses for married children  I will have a house if my children work when they are adults  Separate bath, toilet and kitchen  Furniture  A washing machine  The rich should give their unused household items to the poor  Job opportunities for uneducated women  Job for my elder child  It will be all right if there are jobs  The state should provide jobs  More and better jobs  Women should be given jobs without their moving out of neighbourhood  More factories  The state should launch factories  Garment enterprises will be good  The state should extend credit on low interest  If economic situation improves  Minimum wage should be higher  I can work when my children grow up  I can't work since my husband doesn't allow  I will work if my husband  Unemployment benefits should be given  The state should pay salary to housewives  Women should be given money  Municipality should support families  Municipality should support widowed women  Plenty of money</p> <p>Suggestions for solving problems related to children</p> <p>Family planning  I wish I had as much children as I can care  I want state support in caring for my children  I wish I could have my word in decisions relating to my children  Problems will go away as children grow up  We get better if children get married and move out  I wish children were more quiet  I want my children here</p> <p>Suggestions for solving health problems</p> <p>Better medical care  Better care in better hospitals</p>	<p><b>Suggestions for solving problems related to gender inequalities, intra-family conflicts/violence and social/cultural life</b></p> <p>Men should be respectful to women  My husband should be more understanding  A man with good personality will take care of his wife  Efforts to persuade husbands  We can't solve our problems with my husband  There should be no beating  Our rights should be given and respected  Elders should no more behave ignorantly  Listening to family elders  I can go out if this matter is talked within family  I want to speak out freely without reservation  I will talk and persuade my husband  I want to have my word in household affairs  I can't go to the place I want without taking permission  I think we have to endure it; they are men and we have to do what they tell us  It is better if women keep to what they are told by their husbands  If men does not bring in money, women can do nothing  If my husband has a good job there will be no oppression and violence in home  My husband would keep silent if I had my job  If males and females work together  I wouldn't marry my brother in law if I had my word  They have to suffer with the problems of their husbands  Women cannot do it without man, there is no solution  There is no solution since women are silenced  It is great injustice to women, they should have their word listened to  End to the practice of second wife  We want to be in peace  We want to govern our own affairs  Women should unite  Municipality should open shelters  The state should open shelters  The state should punish those having two wives  New legislation on women's rights  Counselling services  Keeping husbands away from home</p> <p><b>Suggestions of solution for problems related to return to villages</b></p> <p>Restoring the house back in the village and return  Our livelihood would be the same as before if our return is ensured  Those who burnt down our villages should build new ones for us to settle</p>
---	---

<p><b>Other</b></p> <p>My husband should be given treatment by a better physician</p> <p>My husband would start working again when he gets well</p> <p>Keeping a carer for my disabled child</p> <p>I can't do regular cleaning work because of my illness</p> <p>I wish there were someone to take me to a doctor</p> <p><b>Suggestions for solving education related problems</b></p> <p>Training centres</p> <p>Necessary environment for the education of children</p> <p>All girls must be sent to school</p> <p>The state should help the education of girls</p> <p>I'd like to benefit if there were educational opportunities now</p> <p>My children didn't teach me literacy, may be I will take a course</p> <p>Rural or urban, all women should have education</p> <p>Education gives you a profession</p> <p>Awareness building on these issues</p> <p>If I were educated, I would marry on my own preference and avoid this life</p> <p>Training in women's rights</p> <p>Courses for child raising</p> <p>Training in family planning and female illnesses</p> <p>They should teach us good things</p> <p>Men should be educated</p> <p>Men should be trained about women's rights</p> <p>NGOs should train men</p>	<p>Doesn't know</p> <p>No idea.</p> <p>Nothing in my mind</p> <p>Let the God solve it</p> <p>It requires a miracle</p> <p>No solution, it will go like this</p> <p>It cannot be solved, it is a social problem</p> <p>I am a housewife, I can't do anything</p> <p>Wouldn't be like this if my husband were alive</p> <p>No solution until Turkey becomes a EU member</p> <p>NGOs think they are doing something, but nobody has yet reached us.</p> <p>I have no chance to go out</p> <p>A general amnesty</p>
---	---

**Economic problems**

Hunger, desperation  
 Limited income  
 Difficult to make a living  
 My husband is unemployed  
 A job for my husband  
 A better job for my husband  
 My husband works in other places  
 My husband is ill but he is still working  
 No regular job  
 I take up the whole burden of household  
 No salary  
 Pay increase  
 We fight each other mainly because of our poverty  
 Tensions between couples because of subsistence problems  
 I am widowed and each evening I think about what to eat  
 I have debt to the grocer  
 Not being able to pay back debts  
 Electricity bills to be paid  
 Water bills to be paid  
 I ran into debt while my sons got married  
 Our house is too small  
 No house of my own.  
 Our house is not usable  
 We fear our house can be removed since it has no title deed  
 Paying rent  
 My house is small and damp  
 Bath, kitchen and toilet are outside  
 No refrigerator  
 No washing machine and furniture  
 No fuel for heating  
 No stove and fuel  
 A better life

**Problems related to children**

Future of my children  
 Too many children  
 I can't take care of my children  
 My children have no jobs  
 My children are working away  
 Children missing their mothers when they go back to village to work in summer  
 No children  
 Children are nervous  
 Children are spoilt

**Health problems**

Not being able to work regularly because of health problems  
 My husband cannot work because of his health problems  
 No green card  
 My child is ill  
 My child is disabled  
 My elder son lost one of his arms  
 My elder son is ill  
 Better medical treatment for my daughter  
 Needs of my disabled children  
 My parents are too old and paralyzed  
 My husband has mental problems  
 My husband has kidney problem  
 My husband has visual problems  
 My husband is ill.

**Problems related to education**

Majority of family members are uneducated  
 Not being able to send my children to school.  
 My children don't go to school  
 My children cannot go to good schools  
 My husband doesn't let our daughters go to school

**Problems related to gender inequalities, intra-family conflicts /violence and social/cultural life**

Unrest and clashes within family  
 Severe unrest  
 No value is attached to women  
 House is too crowded  
 In-laws are living with us  
 Disputes between relatives  
 My husband's family is unfair to me  
 Problems between couples  
 Husband having left  
 Husband is together with another woman and doesn't care about his family  
 My husband has some bad habits  
 My husband is an alcoholic  
 My husband left me  
 My husband and children burden me  
 I wish my husband were here  
 I am not happy with my present environment  
 Problem after problem  
 Not being able to go around

**Other**

We had to move out  
 No occupation

## SUGGESTIONS FOR SOLVING FAMILY PROBLEMS

<p><b>Suggestions for solving economic problems</b>  Members of the family should work  Factories in Diyarbakır  Only we could have jobs back in our village  Working more and more  Better jobs.  We work hard if the state provides us jobs  Employment in the public sector is better.  Job opportunities for our children  We won't go somewhere else if we have jobs here  Permanent jobs to mothers  A job no matter how small it is  By working  The state can solve the problem of unemployment  I wish my spouse had a job here  I wish my spouse had a job with insurance  Businessmen should launch factories  Unrest will disappear if the problem of unemployment is solved  Municipality and the state should help us  Municipality should provide job to my son  Our debts are paid up  We can buy a house by working hard  I will take my children out of school and place them in jobs  The state and Municipality should commit to these issues  It will be better if the state helps, we can do nothing without any start-up capital  Salaries to the widowed  Assistance for better living  The state should provide benefits to our children  Fuel aid  Somebody must help us  Disability benefits for my husband  Living in better and more comfortable places  Living in a better house  Houses fit for our needs  The state should provide houses to victims of forced migration  Municipality should construct a house for us  Municipality should construct new houses  The Municipality should let us build our houses  The state can solve the title deed problem  The state should provide dwellings  The state should construct houses in treasury and for us  The state should help us have house  The state should provide houses to homeless  The state should provide benefits to the poor in housing  I wish we had a bigger house  I will earn money and buy a refrigerator if the state provides job  I will move if my economic situation gets better</p>	<p><b>Suggestions for solving health problems</b>  Getting better health care  Access to hospitals and doctors  We could have better medical treatment if we had money  The state should provide good doctors for my spouse  I'd send my daughter for private medical care if I had money  I wish it was possible to give medical care to my children  I want green card for my children's health problems  I have no children and no green card  Meeting the needs of my disabled child  Drugs come from other countries and I can't afford them  Family planning  Doctors say there is no solution</p> <p><b>Suggestions for solving education related problems</b>  My children should get education  The state should help us in schooling  My children should go to schools as they want  My children should be able to attend good schools  Children should be able to attend private schools  There should be schools at places where we go with our children  I would send my daughter if there were a nearby school  Businessmen and the state should grant scholarships  Families should be persuaded to send their daughters to literacy courses  School training to avoid strife at home  All should step out of ignorance</p> <p><b>Suggestions for solving problems related to gender inequalities, intra-family conflicts/violence and social/cultural life</b>  Mutual respect  There will be peace in an understanding and tolerant family  Family members should get together and discuss their issues  They may be more understanding to each other  Love within family  Women should be appreciated  Money will bring peace as well  Minister in charge of family should address this issue  Rest houses for elderly people  Fewer population  We get out of here if I convince my spouse  Too crowded family does not allow care for each</p>
---	--

## SUGGESTIONS FOR SOLVING THE PROBLEMS OF WOMEN

<p><b>Suggestions for solving problems related to children</b></p> <p>Give a future to my children Talking good to my children Children should listen to us I work if I can leave my child somewhere I want my children by me My children's needs should be met I wish I had as much children as I could care Fewer children I wouldn't have 7 children if I were informed better I wish I had only one child</p>	<p><b>Return to village</b></p> <p>Returning back to village It will be OK if we return to our village Returning to village while authorities give us both material and other support The state should restore the house back in village Housing assistance to those whose houses were burnt down The state should rebuild our village and pay us The state should own us if it drove us out of our village The state should provide houses to those whose houses were burnt down The state should rebuild the village We are after a court case since our village was burnt down, we will rebuild our houses if we win All will be settled if we are compensated</p> <p><b>Other</b></p> <p>I don't know. No idea. I can't think of anything I am totally hopeless Only if God helps us Too late for any solution. There is no problem at all. Not to worry about anything</p>
---	---



## MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS OF NEIGHBOURHOOD

<p><b>Problems related to the future of neighbourhood and facilities (i.e. dwellings, coffee houses, etc.)</b>  My house may be removed by they don't tell us anything  Fear of being homeless  Removal of houses near the city walls  No titles, they should be granted  No difference from a village  There are old buildings  There is a coffee house across the street  Houses are adjacent and in bad condition  Living in slum houses  All people coming from villages settle here  There is problem with remains of old houses  No bakery  No market  Market is far away  Our streets are in bad condition  There is no condolence house</p> <p><b>Road, water supply, electricity and transportation</b>  Infrastructure is insufficient  Rugged streets  Dusty roads  Mud all around  No good service delivery  Municipality stopped halfway in road construction  No minibus  No bus leading to the hospital  Frequent electricity cuts  Water problem  Commuter is insufficient</p> <p><b>Limited nature/absence of social spheres</b>  No park for children  Playground for children  Laundries are not enough</p> <p><b>Environmental health</b>  Environmental health  It is too dirty around  No garbage cans  Garbage is not collected  Garbage is randomly left around  No cleaning or wastes and debris  Untidiness and dirt  Polluted water  Sewage problem  To many flies and mosquitoes  There is bad odour because of slaughtering  Illicit slaughtering  Neighbours keep animals</p>	<p><b>Problems related to children</b>  Too many children  My neighbours have too many children  Quarrels among children  Children drift around out in streets  Children are too noisy  To many children involved in substance abuse</p> <p><b>Problems related to education</b>  Lack of education, ignorance  Schools are insufficient  Schools are too crowded</p> <p><b>Problems related to cultural/social life</b>  Relations with neighbours  Bad neighbourhood relations  Women fighting each other  Being unable to go out  Youth wanders around</p> <p><b>Safety in neighbourhood</b>  Theft  No security  Dogs around remains  A neighbourhood marked by fights and clowns</p> <p><b>Economic problems</b>  Difficulties in subsistence  Material deprivation  Unemployment and poverty.  Female unemployment  All poor people gather in the same space  No fairness in delivering assistance</p> <p><b>Other</b>  Nobody to talk about my problems  No problem in this neighbourhood</p>
---	--

<p>There is no environmental arrangement Too noisy environments Extreme congestion of people Neighbours complain about water running out when I clean my house</p>	
--	--

## SUGGESTIONS FOR SOLVING THE PROBLEMS OF THE NEIGHBOURHOODS

### **Suggestions for solving the problems related to the neighbourhoods and facilities (i.e. dwellings, coffee houses, etc.)**

Municipality should exercise good inspection  
 Municipality should clear debris  
 Municipality should help us in every area  
 They should remove destroyed houses  
 They should provide house to us  
 Those in bad housing conditions should be provided houses  
 They will start housing somewhere else and we'll move there  
 Our deeds or money we paid for houses should be returned  
 I would sell this house and go away if I had  
 Municipality should run bakeries  
 We should benefit from municipality bakeries Animal breeders must be removed from the town  
 We need cheap shopping centres  
 The state must find solutions

### **Suggestions for solving road, water supply, electricity and transportation problems**

Municipality should take care of this neighbourhood as it does with Ofis  
 Municipality should pay more attention to places like this  
 Municipality should make improvements around our house too  
 Municipality should collect garbage from houses as it does in other parts of the town  
 Municipality restored many places but it is only half-way here  
 Municipality should improve our streets  
 We wait solution from Municipality and DİSKI  
 Municipality should provide garbage bags  
 Municipality should asphalt our roads  
 Public busses heading directly to the hospital  
 Minibus route should include this neighbourhood  
 Minibuses and busses should reach inside the neighbourhood  
 Municipality does not do what it is supposed to do  
 Municipality, headmen and deputies in the parliament must bring solutions  
 Municipality and the state can solve problems together  
 We wait assistance and support from the state  
 Municipality can handle these  
 We expect solutions from the headman  
 Fewer electricity cuts  
 Additional commuter is needed  
 No illicit electricity use

### **Suggestions for solving the problems related to children**

Better and closer care by parents  
 Children would go and play and this place would not be so crowded if we had parks

### **Suggestions for solving education related problems**

Training and skill building courses  
 Training of women

### **Suggestions for solving health related problems**

Ministry of Health should solve  
 More frequent visits by health workers  
 Ministry of Health should exercise more frequent controls

### **Suggestions for solving problems related to cultural/social life**

Mutual understanding  
 Mutual respect  
 People around could be more understanding  
 Neighbours could be more helpful  
 People disturbing others should be punished

### **Suggestions for solving problems related to safety**

The state can provide safer environments  
 It can be solved by appropriate measures by the state  
 The security should be more attentive to theft  
 Police may ensure safety  
 Police may provide security  
 Need for safe and secure environments

### **Suggestions for solving economic problems**

With the support of businessmen  
 Aid coming to the neighbourhood should be distributed  
 Headmen should distribute aid materials equally

### **Suggestions for solving problems related to return to villages**

Better settlement for migrants  
 Migrants should be dispersed to other neighbourhoods as well

**Suggestions for solving problems related to the limited availability/absence of social spheres**

Municipality should do it

Municipality should launch a new laundry

More people should benefit from laundry

Bakeries should replace old style cooking places

Municipality should construct parks

We need playgrounds fro children

**Other**

We can solve it.

The state should own us.

We want to see them here asking about how we are  
Those who visit us for our votes in election campaigns  
should solve these problems.

## IMPORTANT PROBLEMS RELATED TO RETURN TO THE VILLAGE

<p><b>Problems related to safety</b>  Safety of life.  I am afraid to go back.  It is not safe. Our house was burnt down and we can't restore it  No public order there  We are afraid they come in again  We are afraid to live again what we already faced  The state doesn't allow.  No obstacle.  The village was burnt down.  If they restore our burned down village  No return until conflicts end</p> <p><b>Problems related to housing and basic facilities</b>  I will return if the state provides a house  I will return if the state provides house and animals  If the state gives back my house and land which were burnt  If there is electricity, school and roads  No house.  We can't build a house  No money to restore the house  My house was destroyed  If they give back our house and land  I have no place to go.  Village is not habitable  No one is left in the village.  Village is evacuated</p> <p><b>Educational opportunities</b>  Children are going to school.  There is no future for my children  There is no high school there  There is neither school nor health centre  Poor health and education services</p> <p><b>Means of subsistence (land, housing, irrigation)</b>  I'd return if I had house and land  I'd return if the state provides for our needs  If earlier conditions are restored  No land and no farm to work with  No house, no animals and no land  We have nothing there, why return?  I will return if they provide a house and animals  I have no means to farm my land  Subsistence difficulties  We can't make a living there  No job, no land, no animals  I have nothing there to subsist on  and I can't do it now  Poverty and safety problems</p>	<p><b>Presence of village guards</b>  Village guards are still there  There are village guards.  Village guards are of no help</p> <p><b>Family related/social problems</b>  We can't go back for family problems  We can't return because of gossips  My brothers in law ousted us from the village  No party can go back because of blood feud  Blood feud.  People there don't want us.  We can't get along well with others  We have nobody there and we are afraid.</p> <p><b>Problems deriving from differences between rural and urban life</b>  We can no longer do in a village  Children are grown up, they can't live there  Children got used to urban life  Life is difficult back in village  No environment fit living in  Lots of work to do there  We got used to it here, we can't do it back in village</p> <p><b>Other</b>  I won't go back, I can't do anything any longer I have nobody there  One can take care of village people and listen to their problems  Village was no good, so we left  We can't go back since the village has been sold out  The rich doesn't want poor there  Landlords are bad.</p>
--	--