



*Development Centre*

# Forced Migration and Diyarbakır

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Annex 1. Problems expressed by interviewees on the status of women, families, neighbourhoods and return to villages and their suggestions for solution

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The study conducted in 2005 by the Development Centre on the Kurdish people forced to migrate from their villages was opened to discussion first in a workshop organized in Diyarbakır on 31 May 2006 and the study was published in June 2006 under the title "Forced Migration and its Effects: Diyarbakır". Since the first edition of the study is recently out of print we decided to launch this second edition.

This study taught us many things in relation to the struggle of the victims of forced migration waged in all domains of their lives. Apart from sharing these lessons through the report published in 2006, we also tried to convey our opinions on this issue at various national and international platforms. In this process while we were trying to support the victims of forced migration in their struggle for rights, we kept the issue in agenda in gatherings with many parties including the following: Deputies, representatives from the Government and political parties, groups in other countries who experienced forced migration, UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) an representatives from other international organizations, local governments, representatives of non-governmental organizations active in this area, academics and students. Believing in the value of collaboration among local organizations, we participated to meetings held with other organizations in Diyarbakır focusing on the same issue. As a result of these meetings The Migration and Poverty Working Group was created under the Local Agenda 21 ([www.gocveyoksulluk.com](http://www.gocveyoksulluk.com)). This Working Group participated by many non-governmental organizations active in the field of forced migration and representatives from local governments is presently coordinating and monitoring activities carried out in this area. Since 2005 we frequently visited the victims of forced migration in urban neighbourhoods they were living and discussed various political, social and cultural issues. In order to give an idea in this new publication about the latest developments and state of affairs we conducted interviews in the summer and fall of 2009 with central and local government organizations active in neighbourhoods, non-governmental organizations, muhtars, leading figures at neighbourhood level and neighbourhood dwellers to understand what had happened within the last 4-5 years. The earlier survey was limited to the neighbourhoods Aziziye, Gürdoğan, Benusen, Fatihpaşa and Savaş whereas the present publication also gives place to interviews and observations related to Ziya Gökalp, Kayapınar, Peyas and Beşyüz Evler neighbourhoods.

Following Chapter II State of Affairs in 2009 where we address recent developments you will find the study we published in 2006. We kept this part as the same as it was in 2006 with the exception minor changes to facilitate reading. In any case, latest interviews and impressions on these neighbourhoods suggest that what was reported in 2006 is largely valid for our day too. In this new edition too we emphasized the views and comments of persons interviewed.

Too many individuals and organizations contributed to this work; indeed too many to cite their names here. We are grateful to all for their sharing and time they devoted to us. We are also grateful to the Heinrich Böll Stiftung for its financial contribution that made this printing possible.

Development Centre  
Diyarbakır, March 2010



## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

*Why did we conduct a study focusing on the process of forced migration?*

It is mainly because we think that a large part of social and economic problems presently prevailing in Diyarbakır are related to the process of forced migration. Although 15 years have elapsed since the process of forced migration, the effects of this phenomenon are still felt and problems it generated are continuing and further deepening. Thus, our objective was to make the situation more visible by sharing the outcomes of the survey with general public and, at the same time, call authorities to fulfil their responsibilities without any delay to change the situation for better.

All members and volunteers of the Development Centre participated to the survey and writing of this report.

Many persons spared their support and labour to this work and we are grateful to all for being with us in this endeavour.

Our thanks are also due to the personnel of Beyaz Kelebekler Laundries, Umur Işığlı Women's Cooperative and neighbourhood dwellers and muhtars who opened their doors to us during the survey.

We highly appreciate the voluntary contributions of Ayşe Gündüz Hoşgör and Özgür Arun from the METU for the survey design and statistical details.

We must specifically mention Şemsa Özar from the Boğaziçi University who voluntarily spent her days at all stages of the survey from the very start until its completion.

Finally, our thanks go for the Diyarbakır Chamber of Commerce and Trade who made its conference hall available to us for the workshop held on 31 May 2006; İlhan Diken, Deputy Mayor of Diyarbakır who made the opening speech and all workshop participants including Dilek Kurban from the TESEV for their contributions and remarks.

Development Centre

Diyarbakır, June 2006





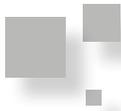
I.

# INTRODUCTION

As the metropolitan city of South-eastern Anatolia, Diyarbakır was one of the centres that faced the inflow of people displaced from their rural settlements as a result of forced migration in the 90s. Indeed, the population of the city doubled in such a short period of time as 5 years from 1990 to 1995. A large majority of these migrants are today living together in some neighbourhoods at the centre and outskirts of the city. Children born in these neighbourhoods experienced their childhood by listening to stories about past rural life and migration as told by their elders, in neighbourhood schools they attended, working in the streets of the city to contribute to family budget and in cotton or hazel nut fields they moved to work together with their family members. It is not possible to say that life in these neighbourhoods has changed much within the last 15 years.

With this study we aimed at having an insight in the real life experience of people who had to leave their villages starting from pre-migration period up to our present day. Accordingly, the people we visited in their neighbourhoods told us about their past rural life, what happened during their migration and their experience in Diyarbakır since their settlement. In doing this, they analyzed not only their past but their present situation as well and shared with us their future expectations and dreams. We hope we will be able to convey these stories to the reader as authentically as possible.

While we did set out to grasp a specific process in this study, our objective is of course not limited just to a passive understanding. Nevertheless, we believe that any step to be taken for the solution of problems faced by the victims of forced migration should first start by having an idea about their past experience. In Annex I, we list our suggestions for positive change based on the demands and expectations of people we visited in their neighbourhoods. We wish these suggestions find their way agendas of government organizations, local governments and non-governmental organizations as well as to general public opinion.



It is of course very important that victims of forced migration ask from the State reparation of their material losses at least, provision of minimum conditions for their return to villages and to resort to legal channels to have their demands met. In this context, studies on relevant legislation and practices of reparation are of great importance in terms of both informing the public opinion and ensuring that the victims of forced migration get what they are entitled to. However, this study is limited to conveying the ideas of these people on return to villages and conditions they consider essential for such return without going into the issue of reparation and its legal dimensions.<sup>1</sup>

Following the Introduction, Chapter II deals with changes and developments taking place since the first printing of the survey report. Also in this chapter, we tried to expose the difference of forced migration experienced in the 90s from earlier displacements faced by the Kurdish people. Chapter III gives information about the overall state in 5 neighbourhoods where the survey was conducted. Chapter IV outlines the methodology and techniques used in the survey. Chapter V tells about the whole migration process starting from events that caused migration. Chapter VI is devoted to descriptions of past rural life to better understand post-migration life in Diyarbakır and to compare these two life modes including underlying differences. Chapter VII takes a look, after 15 years since migration, at various aspects of life in Diyarbakır. Many issues are addressed starting from the overall condition of dwellings to personal relations, problems in health and education, income status, occupations, support and services received from the central government and local governments and political and cultural rights as perceived by these people. Chapter VIII is devoted to the issue of returning back to villages. This chapter reflects the tendencies of household members concerning the issue of returning and conditions deemed necessary for this return. The last chapter focuses on problems faced by persons interviewed during neighbourhood visits, their future expectations, requests from various authorities and, based on our own knowledge base and observations, suggestions for improving the lives of these persons at least to a certain extent and mitigating some of the problems they face.

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<sup>1</sup> For studies on such issues see GÖÇ-DER, "Opinions and Suggestions on the Draft Law on Damages to be Remedied as a Result of Terror and Fight Against Terrorism", [www.gocder.net](http://www.gocder.net), 2004; TESEV The Problem of Internal Displacement in Turkey: Observations and Suggestions for Solution, [www.tesev.org](http://www.tesev.org), 2005.



## II.

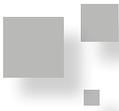
# STATE OF AFFAIRS IN 2009

*“If your spirit was indifferent to smoke rising high from those villages, don't expect children with fume on their faces, whose souls have burnt too and whose fathers were forced to eat human excreta come and kiss your hands for sweets during feast days. They will try the chimney if not the door. No escape. If your concept of blast is limited to gas tubes and balloons, the real one will find you at your doorstep. Then what happens? The Kurd becomes “scornful” and the Turk becomes “racist”. So choose the one closest to you...”*

*Evrin Alataş, 27 November 2009, Taraf*

The purge of Kurds from their villages in the 1990s was not the first time that they experienced such vagary. Throughout the history of the Republic, the Kurds were forced out of their original settlements many times, as in the cases of Dersim, Sason and Koçgiri for purposes of “consolidating the nation state.”

In the Kurdish rebellion starting in the 1980s, the State did not follow its earlier policies of resettlement and allocated or showed no new place for settlement to the Kurds who were forcibly evicted from their villages. In a process marked by casualties and torture, local villagers were imposed that they would either serve as village guards or leave their villages. In many cases, the State did not give sufficient time to local people to gather their essential materials for migration, provided no transportation or guidance means on the way to their destination. On the ground that villagers provided logistical support to the PKK or their refusal of recruitment as village guards, civil security forces or units like JITEM forcibly vacated villages some of which were also burned down.



As a result of forced migration, rural people were not only displaced but also expropriated by having to leave their houses, farming plots, animals, pastures, trees and almost all their assets behind. In addition to loss of property and assets, the victims of forced migration were also deprived of their qualifications. Since centuries old information and skills pertaining to rural life are not deemed as qualification in urban life and employment old, migrants suddenly turned out as unskilled people which led to their deeper impoverishment. After expropriating and disqualifying these victims of forced migration by its policies, the State now classifies them as members of a “disadvantaged” group in need of State assistance.

Of course what was left behind does not consist only of burned down or ruined houses, drying trees and graves of earlier family members; also, spiritual values and feelings that tie people to a specific space were all destroyed.

For example in the course of history the oral Kurdish literature was developed in villages and highlands by dervishes and the dengbej and transmitted from generation to generation. Derwêşê Ewdi in Karacadağ plateau and Siyabend û Xecê in Süphan plateau are the leading figures of this tradition. As a result of depopulated villages and bans on highlands the creators and transmitters of this literature were deprived of their sources, thus endangering the development and transfer of a rich historical heritage. The victims of forced migration too find it impossible to rejuvenate and preserve this tradition in their new urban environments.

### **Approach by the State**

Starting from the very time of eviction, the State just considered the people it displaced forcibly on the ground of security non-existent, never admitted their victimization nor bothered about the new situation and subsistence of these people. The State for a long time denied the real case and hid behind such terms as “damages arising from combat against terrorism” in order not to face the issue directly.

As a result of many applications to the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) by victims who lost their houses, farming plots, orchards, animals and many other assets and court verdicts imposing heavy fines on Turkey, it became inevitable in 2004 to enact the law no. 5233 (Law on Reparation for Damage Resulting from Terrorism and Combat against Terrorist Activities). This legislation also known as “Village Compensation Act” could be passed only 10 years after the period when forced migration was most intensive. Its implementation, furthermore, was a process that left victims without choices and never assumed a content where damages could be justly remedied for. In case victims decline to accept commission decisions on reparation and its amount, they have to be ready for a court process of at least



3 years. Additionally, in case domestic law failed to meet expectations, there lies ahead another process of 3-4 years with the ECHR. In the face of pressing economic difficulties, many victims of forced migration have to accept commission decisions. Furthermore, many applications by families have been turned down by governors on the ground that these families had members “fighting up in the mountains”.<sup>2</sup>

It is commonly known that there are still too many families yet have not remedied for even in 2009.<sup>3</sup> According to information supplied by the Diyarbakır Governorate there were 51,615 applications as of 13.10.2009 and only 32,026 of these have been finalized. The Governorate declined to our request of information concerning the number of finalized cases in which applicants were found eligible for reparation. While the Governorate requested from the Ministry 392 million TL for reparations, the amount actually allocated was 282 million TL.

Furthermore, discussions with the ECHR within the framework of Internally Displaced Persons suggested amicable solution by the parties concerned and, considering the experience of the UNDP in similar issues around the world, it was decided that province level Action Plans covering 14 provinces where forced migration took place should be prepared by the Republic of Turkey and UNDP for the settlement of the issue.

Firstly, in 2006, the Van Action Plan was developed for the victims of forced migration and implemented. However, this first action plan was far from bringing solution to problems because of its approach at both development and implementation stages. During the preparation of this plan, no serious dialogue was established with the victims themselves, non-governmental organizations working in this field, democratic organizations and political parties and when the opinion of others were solicited, these did not find any reflection in the final plan. Now, Action Plans for other 13 provinces are going through a similar process.

Given the authoritarian approach of the State devoid of transparency and accountability, it does not seem possible to make any significant progress in efforts geared to improving the lives of the victims of forced migration. The Van Action Plan consists of a list of public services already extended by the public sector to the poor, youth, children and other disadvantaged groups. As for the victims of forced migration the Plan approach does not go beyond mentioning the need to develop special programmes and policies for this group. It cannot be expected that small-scale interventions without coherence and not corresponding to the actual scale of the problem could ever contribute to solutions. In the face of this, there are already signs that plans to be developed for other provinces will adopt the same methodology and process as in the case of Van. Consequently, non-governmental organizations in Di-

<sup>2</sup> “Çiçek Hanım is not a terrorist...”, Radikal, 15.12.2009. [www.radikal.com.tr](http://www.radikal.com.tr)

<sup>3</sup> Statement by the Governorate of Hakkari on Village Redress, 03.07.2009 18:52, LPG Haber ([www.lpghaber.com](http://www.lpghaber.com)).

yarbakır mobilized under the Local Agenda 21 to intervene in this methodology and process and requested the introduction of a mechanism whereby the victims of forced migration themselves as well as non-governmental organizations active in this field can be present in the development, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of Action Plans.

Also, the GAP Action Plan covering 9 provinces classified as the “GAP Region” which was announced sensationally to give rise to great expectations neglected the case of the victims of forced migration. Yet, development related action plans covering the region must, by very definition, include programmes geared to the solution of the problems of internally displaced groups.

As can be inferred from above, so far no Government has displayed efforts and political will to phase in policies and practices capable for contributing to the solution of the problem.

Today, while the Government is giving some positive messages related to the solution of the Kurdish problem, violations of rights and arbitrary detentions in the region continue and children accused of stoning the police and their panzers are accorded sentences equivalent to their ages under the Anti-Terror Law (TMK).<sup>4</sup> This situation suggests that the State has not given up its security-centred approach inherited from the early years of the Republic and this in turn undermines hopes for peace in the region. Government personnel working at local levels in the region also adopt the same attitude and no positive change takes place in their stance unless their superiors are of democratic, participative and human-centred persons. Unless an attitude respectful to the culture, language and political demands of the people in the region is adopted, any talk about “democratic unfolding” will remain ‘business as usual’.

### **Return to Villages**

Forced migration distorted the economic, social and cultural fibre in the region. The culture concerned embodies such dimensions as methods of production, environmental protection and specific ways of perceiving seasons and the universe, which is impossible to reproduce or renew in other spaces of settlement.

In interviews conducted in neighbourhoods with the victims of forced migration suggest that there are various factors affecting the decision to return to villages. For

4 B.S. is a 15 years old child who was tried and sentenced to 7 years and 9 months of imprisonment under the Law on Combating Terrorism for stoning security forces in Diyarbakır. M.S., her mother says ‘after seeing her in prison I can’t sleep at night, because she told me she was crying all the time because she was afraid of dark. I can feel her pain and suffering; she is my child and I think of her all the time. Did our children kill somebody? Did they suck out the wealth of the State? They make them suffer for years equal to their ages. I wish God will take care of the perpetrators of such tyranny.’ (ANF, 27 February 2010).



example, the tendency to return is not common among who are originally from the mountainous villages of Kulp, Hani and Lice. Blocking of access to some villages by security forces, feeling of insecurity, existence of village guards and the possibility of re-experiencing some past events are all factors that dissuade people from return even if they actually want it.

On the other hand, there are returns if original villages are located near or close to main roads. These people mainly move to their original villages for some seasonal agricultural activities and stay there in tents or temporary shelters since standing houses are too ruined to be habitable. Construction materials supplied under the Village Return and Rehabilitation Project (KDRP) fell short of what is needed to restore standing houses.

The former muhtar (headman) of one of the neighbourhoods we visited is a person who decided to leave his village and move to Diyarbakır after some houses in his village were rocket-fired. After 2001, when peace was relatively restored, some 80 families returned to his village on the plain which once had 300 households. The muhtar says the following: "These people lived in the city for 9 years and the State gave each family 7,000-8,000 TL in return for their harvest for 3 years. From reparations in 2009 we see that the requests of many have been turned down. Those who have returned are now trying to restore their houses with own means. We are 3 siblings. From my family, only my elder brother returned. He is growing wheat and lentil there. But our main occupation was viticulture and stock-breeding earlier; they are no more..." Another neighbourhood dweller says, "There are only 3 families living now in a village which used to have 2,000 inhabitants, a health centre, school and a village room. There used to be tobacco, vegetable, viticulture and animal husbandry earlier." Some villages are simply erased from the map.

As far as the issue of returning to villages is concerned, members from the same family may have differing opinions. While tendency to return is stronger among middle aged and older population, the majority including youth and women prefer to stay in the city. The new generation of the victims of forced migration who were born or grown up in the city think they cannot adapt to rural life physically or mentally.

### **Economic Dimension, Employment and Unemployment**

Among the victims of forced migration unemployment has recently expanded together with deepening poverty and the number of neighbourhood dwellers who have regular and permanent jobs has decreased. A large majority of these people try to earn their living by working in constructions, peddling, carrying loads, animal slaughtering, scavenging solid wastes, domestic cleaning services and child care,



seasonal agricultural works and some other temporary jobs. None of these forms of employment has a guarantee in terms of both sustainability and remuneration. In fact, employment for 2-3 months is followed by a long period of joblessness.

As a result of high rate of unemployment, males also leave their families behind and move to western provinces of the country for construction works or solid waste collection. This situation affects families negatively and place additional burden on women.

While cases of full family migration to the west among the victims of forced migration still continue though to a lesser degree, some families who had moved earlier return back either for losing their jobs in that part of the country or for having been subjected to discrimination and exclusion.

As a chronic problem in Diyarbakır in general, unemployment is still more common and acute in neighbourhoods inhabited by the victims of forced migration. To support the family, all members (including children at ages 6-7) do what ever they can find as job. The high demand for State relief and assistance is an indication of the depth of poverty in these neighbourhoods. For example, 1,400 out of 1,853 students attending in a primary school in Aziziye neighbourhood are covered by the conditional cash transfer scheme<sup>5</sup>.

The fields of employment of these internally displaced people are among those most profoundly affected by the transformation that capitalism in the world and in Turkey has experienced. For example, as a result of falling cotton prices and consequent shrinking of land under cotton culture limits the seasonal employment opportunities of many. The process is further aggravated by the increasing use of cotton harvesters.

The poverty reigning in the region at present does not derive only from economic conditions; it has a political and historical background as mentioned above. In fact, many of these people believe that poverty will not disappear until the solution of the Kurdish problem. Hence, it is not possible to eliminate poverty in the region only by providing vocational training, attracting investments or promoting employment. Addressing the issue of poverty out of its political context, that is the Kurdish problem, is tantamount to ignore the reality of the past and our present day. The people long for an order of equal citizenship, dignity and a country where they can speak their own language and live their culture as much as employment.

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<sup>5</sup> Conditional Cash Transfer is a social assistance scheme where families too poor to send their school age children to school are regularly paid cash on the condition that they send their children to school. This cash assistance is 20 TL monthly for male children attending primary school (grades 1 to 8) and 25 TL for female children.



### **Impact of Forced Migration on the Younger Generation**

In recent years there has been no improvement in the quality of education given in neighbourhood schools and neither there has been any serious effort to this end. School buildings in neighbourhoods are poor and unattended while there are serious teacher shortages. In some primary schools there are classes over 60-70 students. An indication for the quality of education is the fact that there are students passing to grades 2 and 3 without properly reading or writing.

In neighbourhoods inhabited by migrants the number of students attending secondary education is also low. Since families are far from affording private courses, those who could make it up to higher education do not exceed the number of fingers in a hand.

Some children both attend school and work to support family subsistence. Furthermore, when the time of seasonal employment comes, many children go out with their families before the end of school year and join the next school year only upon their return one month after schools start.

Since they are deprived of opportunities of quality education, younger generations are not in a more advantaged status than their parents in terms of finding better jobs. In this context, poverty and low living standards are reproduced from generation to generation forming a vicious circle.

Beyond these almost all interviewees point out that substance abuse and use and sale of drugs are all common in neighbourhoods especially among the youth.

The fact that these illegal acts take place in everyday and common spaces where the security can easily interfere brings along the conviction “after not having been able to suppress Kurds by arms they are now trying to do it by encouraging and tolerating substance and drug abuse.” Muhtars say they are talking to young people and trying to dissuade them from such habits, only to be responded “find us a job and we’ll do as you say”. They think that it is not possible to eradicate some crimes including theft and drug addiction/sale in an environment of such a deep poverty and unemployment.

### **Social Support Centres**

Governmental organizations, municipalities and non-governmental organizations extend services to neighbourhoods where the victims of forced migration live mostly through their centres related to youth, child and women.

One of the more recent positive changes in some neighbourhoods is the increase in the number of centres supporting education. These include the education support

centres of municipalities, Community centres under the Provincial Directorate of Social Services and Reading Rooms of some non-governmental organizations. These centres offer preparatory courses for admittance tests to Science and Anatolian High Schools and universities. While these centres perform an important function indeed, there are still shortages considering the magnitude of the problem.

There are also ÇATOMs or community centres established by governmental organizations engaged in skill and occupation building programmes mostly for women and “Children’s Centres.” in the former, for example, young women earn 100-150 TL a month by working in carpet weaving workshops.

Laundries of the Municipality are operating in three 3 neighbourhoods. These laundries also have their spaces for children and they organize meetings and courses for neighbourhood dwellers. Women’s organizations attached to municipalities conduct counselling and training activities for women in these laundries.

There are two NGO children’s centres in Benusen and Fatihpaşa neighbourhoods. These centres organize arts and education activities fro children.

Even if very valuable and important, even these interventions and activities fall short of need given the population density and number and depth of existing problems.

### **Social Assistance and Activities of Charity and Other Non-Governmental Organizations**

In recent years there is an increase charity and social assistance activities of governmental and local organizations on the one hand and other groups and NGOs with different political or religious affinities on the other. There are some NGOs extending cash and in-kind support of charity limited to Ramadan and other religious days. Some associations, on the other hand, deliver in-kind assistance such as food and cleaning materials systematically throughout the year on the basis of specific criteria for poverty. Again, however, these interventions fall short of the present dimensions of poverty. In addition, none of these are specifically geared to internally displaced persons; instead, they are directed to the poor in general.

Assistance by governmental organizations is mostly once-for-all and includes assistance in rental payment, coal supply, durable goods, house restoration etc. These are not rights-based transfers by the State such as older age or disability pensions. These are mostly destined to cease when their programmes expire. For example, many items of assistance by the Social Assistance and Solidarity Directorate can be available only when the Directorate is supplied funds by the Centre. In some cases governmental organizations apply to call for projects by the State, but can actually extend assistance only if their projects are accepted.



Since not enough information is supplied and no transparency exists in the distribution of relief, people tend to think that they are treated unfairly and there is some favouritism. They also complain about cases of degrading attitude they face during the process.

In sum, after more than 15 years since the forced migration of the early 90s, the State has not gone much beyond including the victims of forced migration in such poverty alleviation schemes as Green Card<sup>6</sup>, coal supply and rental assistance.

### **Transformation in the City After Forced Migration**

In recent years there has been no improvement in infrastructure. There are still frequent electricity cuts and problems related to sewage network, waste collection and pollution still exist. Houses and streets in neighbourhoods too are in poor conditions.

In 2008 and 2009 the Directorate of Social Assistance and Solidarity conducted a survey for the restoration of buildings in quite bad conditions; however, no serious restoration corresponding to identified needs could be carried out.

In some of these neighbourhoods, people are engaged in vegetable culture and animal husbandry in limited spaces. Illicit animal slaughtering is still going on in Benusen neighbourhood. Both keeping animals and illicit slaughtering poses a serious threat to public health and environment. While animal husbandry constitutes an important source of income for families, no support is given to transform this engagement into a healthier one.

Launched by the TOKİ in 2009, the urban transformation work in some neighbourhoods within the city walls is continuing. Putting this project aside, debates on urban transformation covering various quarters of the city has been going on for a rather long time. Many families living in neighbourhoods are worried that they are going to lose their houses as a result of urban transformation. In debates on urban transformation it is stated that those coming in as a result of forced migration “disrupt” the city and they have to adapt themselves to urban ways of life. However, instead of this excluding approach, there is need that both older and new inhabitants of the city together transform the city through a process of mutual interaction.

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<sup>6</sup> Green Card is given to persons who are not covered by any social security scheme and whose monthly income or income share in family's monthly earning is under 1/3 of minimum wage.



### III.

## NEIGHBOURHOODS

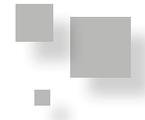
The survey area comprises Aziziye, Gürdoğan and Benusen neighbourhoods of Yenişehir Municipality which is a part of Diyarbakır Greater Municipality and Fatihpaşa and Savaş neighbourhoods of Sur Municipality. A large majority of the inhabitants of these neighbourhoods, particularly Aziziye, Gürdoğan and Benusen consists of internally displaced families. Another important characteristic of these neighbourhoods is that unemployment and poverty are both much more visible than in other parts of the city. Nevertheless it must not be forgotten that this characteristic is not limited to these five neighbourhoods of Diyarbakır.

#### **Overall State in Neighbourhoods**

A Large majority of families in neighbourhoods where the survey was conducted are of nuclear character, composed of parents and their children. The average household size is 6.9. The population composition in these neighbourhoods is quite young: 74% of inhabitants are under age 30 and children in the age group 0-11 constitute 35% of population. The average age of household members is 21.2.

Of neighbourhood dwellers interviewed 64% have Kurmanç as their mother tongue, 33% Zaza and 3% Turkish. 80% of interviewees can also speak Turkish.

The leading factor behind migration to Diyarbakır is forced migration. It is followed by economic motives. During in-depth interviews and focus group meetings, the factors of migration were analysed and from migration stories conveyed it was concluded that many of those who gave economic reasons for their migration were in fact pushed out by circumstances that made subsistence very difficult or, in some cases, virtually impossible. As to the background of these “circumstances” we see armed conflicts. For example a large majority of families who relied mainly on animal husbandry as their means of subsistence used to engage in pasture-based animal husbandry to lower their costs. These people could not take their animals to



pastures for a long time either because of armed clashes or bans put by authorities. Consequently, unable to practice in their basic means of subsistence many rural families had to leave their villages and move to cities.

### **Fatihpaşa and Savaş**

Being among the oldest quarters of Diyarbakır, Fatihpaşa and Savaş neighbourhoods remain within the city walls. The history of these adjacent neighbourhoods dates back as far as 5000 BC. Until 50 years ago, the Syriac, Keldani, Jews, Kurds, Turks and Armenians used to live together in these neighbourhoods. Neighbourhoods within the walls which used to be inhabited by the wealthy people of the city has undergone a transformation process within the last 30 years as wealthy dweller moved out to some other parts of the city, replaced by victims of forced migration. Houses and streets in these neighbourhoods are made of Diyarbakır basaltic stone and some older houses are presently desolated.

Fatihpaşa and Savaş neighbourhoods have been a haven for displaced people within the last 20 years. Desolate buildings were covered with plastic sheets and turned into dwellings at the time when migration was most intensive and spaces were expanded by using the city walls and adding storey over old buildings. Today the second floor in these houses is used as living places while some families keep animals in the first floor. Transportation is difficult because of old and very narrow alleys (kûçe) which garbage trucks as well as bigger vehicles like those used by the fire squad cannot enter. 2003 populations of Fatihpaşa and Savaş are 12,575 and 4,110, respectively.

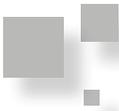
In these neighbourhoods there is a reading room for women managed by the Directorate of Social Services and in Fatihpaşa neighbourhood, Umut Işığı Women's Cooperative has a children's centre capable of serving to 60-70 children.

Neighbourhood dwellers earn their living by working in constructions, peddling, as porters, childcare and cleaning work in private homes and operating çek çek<sup>7</sup>. There are also many seasonally moving to western provinces for agricultural and construction works. These are the neighbourhoods in Diyarbakır where the rate of crime is the highest.

### **Aziziye and Gürdoğan**

Aziziye and Gürdoğan neighbourhoods consist of gecekondu type dwellings located to the north-east of Diyarbakır at a distance of 10 km from the centre. The population of Aziziye is 5,000 (2003) and Gürdoğan is 11,243 (2003). These neighbourhoods are just near houses built by TOKİ (Prime Ministry, Mass Housing Administration)

<sup>7</sup> Çek çek is a two-wheel cart operated by human power and used for transporting goods within the city.



and new settlements created after forced migration in the 90s. Neighbourhoods consist of one storey houses mostly built with. Characterized by serious infrastructure problems, these neighbourhoods have earth roads which turn into mud in winter. They rather look like rural settlements surrounding the city and dwellers are engaged in vegetable culture and animal husbandry as they used to back in their villages. There are some families hiring plots along the Tigris River to do farming. About 20 women are engaged in producing tandır out in streets for sale. Many women also go to private houses for cleaning and childcare while some children are employed in various enterprises as apprentices.

The “450 houses” quarter in Gürdoğan Neighbourhood were first constructed upon the ice earthquake in 1975 and in 1988 peşmerge coming in from northern Iraq were placed in these houses. Upon the return of peşmerge to Iraq, these houses were then allocated to the victims of forced migration. These four storey buildings are quite worn out. Animal barns constructed adjacent to buildings are used for keeping cattle. The quarter has infrastructure problems and its roads are still not asphalted.

In Aziziye and Gürdoğan neighbourhoods there is a community centre, a carpet weaving workshop and a laundry run by the central government and local governments.

#### **Benusen**

The Benusen quarter (population: 10,000) is a part of Şehitlik neighbourhood whose 2003 population is 62,942. Located to the south of Diyarbakır just out of city walls, Benusen experienced a rapid growth in 90s with migration. The quarter consisting of gecekondu type dwellings faces many problems including un-improved roads and frequent electricity cuts as a result of insufficient infrastructure and illicit electricity use.

Within the framework of the urban transformation plan, it is planned to remove these houses and to show new places of settlement to its inhabitants.

One of the most important means of subsistence for the dwellers of Benusen neighbourhood is illicit animal slaughtering. There are many families making their living out of transporting live animals to the neighbourhood, slaughtering and distributing to butchers. The number of working children is also high in the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood has a laundry run by the Greater Municipality, an education support and a youth centre Yenişehir Municipality and a carpet weaving workshop as a private enterprise. As of February 2006 the initiative ÇAÇA (“under the same roof with children”) was also launched in the same neighbourhood.



## IV.

# SURVEY METHODOLOGY

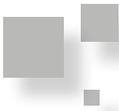
The following 4 different methods were used together in the survey:

**1. Questionnaire:** The survey accompanied by a form of questionnaire was applied to 400 households in 5 neighbourhoods.

**2. Focus group meetings:** 212 persons participated to 23 focus group meetings conducted in 5 neighbourhoods. Focus group meetings were conducted with groups differing with respect to age and gender in a way to disclose different problems and requests of participants and to provide environments of discussion that can be participated by all. Information about these focus group meetings including the characteristics of participants is given below:

Female child group age 7-14	:	2 meetings, 26 persons;
Male child group age 7-14	:	1 meeting, 14 persons;
Young woman group age 15-23	:	2 meetings, 16 persons;
Young man group age 16-22	:	5 meetings, 37 persons;
Adult woman group age 25-50	:	6 meetings, 65 persons;
Adult man group age 24-55	:	7 meetings, 54 persons.

Private homes, coffeehouses and laundries of the Greater Municipality were used as spaces to conduct focus group meetings. There were some problems related to participation; meetings originally planned to be carried out with 8-10 persons ended up with 15-20 persons upon the participation of others around.



**3. In-depth interviews:** In-depth interviews were conducted in 5 neighbourhoods with leading figures who knew their neighbourhoods and inhabitants well by following the guiding questionnaire designed earlier. These leading persons included muhtars, teachers, priests, opinion leaders and representatives from governmental and non-governmental organizations active in these neighbourhoods. Also a school manager was interviewed and information was received from the managers of Laundries in neighbourhoods and “Umut Işıği” Cooperative. The rationale for employing this method was to disclose individually with each participant those issues, problems and suggestions of solution which might not have been raised while in a group with others.

**4. Workshop:** On 31 May 2006, the draft report of the survey was shared in a workshop participated by the representatives of relevant governmental, local and non-governmental organizations as well as participants from neighbourhoods and others studying on forced migration. In this workshop, participants evaluated the draft report and contributed to the further development of policy proposals.

The application of the questionnaire, focus group meetings and in-depth interviews were conducted in the period June-November 2005. The work actually started in June 2005, but a pause was given since many families were out of province for seasonal employment. In November 2005 the field study was fully completed.

The questionnaire work was conducted in order to gather systematic information while focus group meetings and in-depth interviews created environments where neighbourhood dwellers could freely speak about their migration stories, daily lives, problems and demands.

During the survey interviewees frequently spoke about the insufficiency of authorities who were supposed to listen to their problems and particularly pointed out to the limited nature of outcome-oriented initiatives. Probably under the impact of this situation which leads to despair and hopelessness, interview part of the field work occasionally turned into gatherings exceeding the normal time allocations of the survey where participants talked long about their problems.

In parts where we convey the outcomes of the survey, quantitative information reflecting the results of the questionnaire work is presented together with quotations from focus group meetings.

Unless stated otherwise, all statistical information given in the text reflects the outcomes of the survey questionnaire. Parts in the text given in *italic* are the direct expressions of interviewees.



## V.

# MIGRATION PROCESS

### Causes of Migration

From the 1980s up to our present day, the process of migration from rural areas to Diyarbakır has passed through various stages. In the period up to early 90s, migration was a process participated by a relatively few number of families who planned for it as far as possible. In this earlier period, people moving to Diyarbakır experienced a quite prepared migration process. The common way was to first send a male from the family to stay with relatives in the city and the decision to move to Diyarbakır as family was taken after that first arrive found a guaranteed job. After this decision, rural families sold out their animals and in some cases houses as well and moved in by buying or renting a house in the city. Especially among migrant families living in Fatihpaşa neighbourhood, there are those who, before the 90s when forced migration was common, had left their home villages for economic reasons and settled in Diyarbakır through a similar process.

*After 1989 there was population congestion here. Many newcomers were aware of the situation and prepared by selling out their animals, but couldn't do the same with other items including furniture or so.*

In the first half of the 90s, especially in 1992 and 1993, upon the intensification of armed clashes in the districts of Cizre, Bingöl, Kulp and Lice, migration from villages to district and province centres gained pace and this migration continued in waves until 1995.

Against their will, many families had to leave their villages or districts as a result of force used by security forces. There are also other families moving to district and province centres by selling their animals at ridiculous prices upon hardening living conditions, feelings of insecurity and losing their expectations for the future. Most important causes that gave start to the process of migration are given below:

- Burning down of villages by security forces,
- Forced migration related to the problem of “security”,
- Economic difficulties,
- Burning down of animal barns,
- Security forces denial of permission to work on farming plots at some distance away from villages,
- Not letting animals be grazed on pastures and highlands on the ground of preventing “food assistance” to PKK militants,
- Restrictions on and rationing system for goods supplied from out of village on the ground that these goods would be transferred to the PKK as well as problems related to natural road blocks in winter,
- Imposition of the village guards system; rural people was forced to accept this system or leave their villages,
- Oppression by village guards,
- Many schools were closed and little opportunities for children to go to school,
- No security in travels,
- Remaining squeezed between the PKK and security forces.

Of families surveyed 31% left after their villages were burnt down and another 31% said they were forced to leave due to lack of security.

*13 years ago the state burnt down village including our house and barns. We were given no chance to take some of our things together. We barely saved our lives and reached Diyarbakır.*

*Soldiers came to the village (1990). They burned out things; we could save a little, so we transferred to another village. They didn't burn that village which was in Bingöl. They didn't burn some villages because there were visitors there at the time.*

*Our village was big with 350-400 stone built houses in a mountainous area. Now there is no single building standing.*

During interviews it was frequently mentioned that the state forced the whole population or single individuals to be village guards and those who did not accept this were forced to leave.

*Soldiers forced us to be village guards. But we didn't accept and so they dispelled us. Only those accepting to be guards remained. And village*



*guards too oppressed us. They seized our farming plots and cut out our fruit trees.*

*My husband used to be a village guard. He was wounded in a clash with guerrillas and he wanted to quit. The state took him in and tortured for 4 days because leaving his weapon. So we ran away from the village.*

*We migrated 8-9 years ago. Our village had a landlord and we were working on his land. The landlord introduced this village guard system and brought in some machinery which left no need for our labour. He first told us to be guards. When we refused he had his guards to dispel us.*

22% of all families have their reason for migration as economic difficulties. Investigating the background of economically motivated migration in in-depth interviews and focus group discussions we found that in many cases this motive too is closely associated with “security.” Ban on pasturing and using grazing lands, difficulties in working on plots distant from the settlement and bans on mill operations all seem “economic”, but in fact related to armed conflict. 3% of families said they moved to Diyarbakır for better education opportunities for their children.

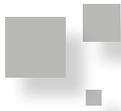
An overwhelming majority of migrants (88%) are from the villages of various districts in Diyarbakır including the central district and the rest are from provinces of Mardin, Bingöl, Elazığ, Muş and Bitlis.

#### **Leaving the Village and Migration Route**

Examining the process of migration we find that most of these households eventually reached Diyarbakır under very unfavourable circumstances. Majority of those involved in forced migration faced many troubles during the process. Indeed, almost all families were forced to leave without having chance to utilize their existing assets and make preparations in their point of destination and re-settlement. Some families left their crops in the field without harvesting and sold out their animals almost for nothing. According to survey data, only 30% of families (117 households) could leave by taking all their portable goods together. As for families not as lucky as the first group, 47% could take only their beds and 12% (34 households) only some jewellery. This last group is the most victimized of all.

In cases of village evacuation and burning, inhabitants just ran for their lives and barely made it to Diyarbakır.

*In 1990-1992 we were forced out from our village. Many villages were simply burned down. They didn't let us take our things with us. Some could take their animals while in some villages village guards seized animals too.*



*We are from Hazro, Lice and Dicle districts of Diyarbakır. Soldiers burnt our villages and we fled by taking our animals with. We had to sell out our animals at the district centre at extremely low prices. What we got from these sales ran off in few months. We couldn't pay our rentals.*

A large majority of families who had to leave their villages or hamlets in a very short time had difficulties even in finding transportation means for their travel to the city centre. So they had to walk earthen roads connecting their settlements to main roads and then tried their chances with passing vehicles.

*We left the village only with whatever we were wearing then. Some of us couldn't even have time to put on shoes and ran barefoot to the district centre. We didn't have any cash even to buy some bread for our children. No quilt above and no rug below. Many of us spent the first winter on cement without anything to put on.*

The fact that many migrant families could not take their portables (household items, jewellery, animals) along caused them to confront with grave financial difficulties when they reached the city. Other who could save some of their items loaded them on whatever vehicle they could find and tried to reach them safely to Diyarbakır.

Most families could not have the time and opportunity to fix a place to stay in Diyarbakır before reaching there. Nevertheless, the situation was less problematic for those who already had relatives or acquaintances living in Diyarbakır. So they were hosted by these relatives and friends and shared their means in rather difficult circumstances.

Those who migrated after having sold their land constitute only 5% of migrants. One of the outstanding reasons why this proportion is so low is the fact that many thought their migration was temporary and they would return back when the situation improved. The second reason is that amidst armed conflict, land either could not be sold or sold at very low prices. Seizure of some land by village guards is another reason. 51% of migrant families sold out their animals, their most important means of subsistence, to cover the cost of migration and 24% had to use their savings.

### **Arrival to Diyarbakır**

As a result of intensified village evacuations within a short period of time (especially in May 1994) there was a rush of migrants to central Diyarbakır. This was also true for some other provincial centres in the region including Batman, Siirt and Şırnak.

New migrants mostly settled in poor neighbourhoods in outskirts of Diyarbakır inhabited by poor income households. 53% of incoming families said their economic status allowed them only for settlement in these neighbourhoods while 37% did so for having relatives and acquaintances already living there.



While looking for places to stay, some migrants tried to locate their relatives and fellows already in Diyarbakır by referring to coffee houses and for a time these coffee houses functioned as centres of communication.

*We preferred this neighbourhood for lower rental and having our fellow people from the same place living here for some time.*

*Newcomers found their fellow people in the city through village minibuses and coffeehouses.*

*We were quite in trouble and mess, we wanted to return. When we first came nobody wanted to rent us house. We stayed under plastic tents for 2-3 months, it was quite crowded.*

Among those who had to move in to Diyarbakır there are also the Roma (locally “mır-tıps”) whose wandering from village to village for performing music was also banned.

*We used to visit villages during weddings to perform music, but the state prohibited that. So we came in and settled here in this neighbourhood. Our men is trying to do the same as before, but business is low, wedding banquets are now in saloons.*

The most important problem faced upon arrival to Diyarbakır was to find a place to stay. Many families found shelter in their relatives’ and friends’. In this process, earlier settlers helped newcomers in finding houses and providing for some of their basic needs, including giving some of their furniture and other items.

A person settled in Diyarbakır before the wave of migration tells the following about the situation of newcomers who could barely made it to Diyarbakır:

*They came in fleeing from clashes in their region; with few things just like nomads. Some families from Mardin came in almost with nothing together and started living in Surdibi. Local people helped and gave them some household items. We cleaned out a desolate house for them to live in. Migrants were coming in mostly without anything they can use. Five families settled in a house with a single yard. Inhabitants in the neighbourhood were poor too, so they couldn't help much.*

In many cases, local assistance to migrants by inhabitants of neighbourhoods was insufficient since there were too many to help and consequently incoming families fell in deep destitution.

*Earlier, there were some people spending the whole night just by sitting.*

*Each is unhappy in his own way. Our relatives here couldn't help us much. In any way, they were not well off either. Even those who were better off*

*fell short of assisting because there were too many to help. So, some of them chose not to help at all.*

In the period 1991-94 when the wave of migration was particularly high there was a high demand for houses in the outskirts of the city. As a result of this high demand both rentals and house prices jumped up and some families having their houses in Fatihpaşa, Savaş and Benusen neighbourhoods sold their houses at high prices and moved to better neighbourhoods in the city.

*Inhabitants in these neighbourhoods sold their houses at high prices to us who just came in from villages, but now our houses have no value at all.*

*They sold houses located within the city walls at 2-3 times higher than their normal prices. Newcomers had to buy them at these prices. There were emerging opportunists when the migration wave was high. Nevertheless, migrants bought these houses for they were relatively cheaper than houses in other parts of the city and they felt themselves relatively more at home in these neighbourhoods.*

Especially in Benusen, Fatihpaşa and Savaş neighbourhoods a storey was built upon houses already in poor conditions to respond to swelling demand for houses. Since these buildings were originally constructed poorly without columns they pose a serious risk.

Families' stay in the houses of their relatives and friends lasted for months in some cases and there were also cases where two or even more families getting together to rent a common house. There were mostly families from the same village also having kinship ties.

*When we first came in this neighbourhood as five families we had to live in the same house for along period of time.*

With the support of their relatives, some families constructed gecekondü dwellings in such newly emerging and growing neighbourhoods as Aziziye and Gürdoğan. An important reason for preferring these poor neighbourhoods in the periphery of Diyarbakır is that the life there is similar to that in rural areas. One storey buildings with yards are fit for breeding animals and engaging in small-scale vegetable culture.

*We can bake our bread here. It is like back in the village. We were going out for hoeing, cotton farming and baking. I was sick for three months and for managing our things we were even ready to live in a barn.*

*The reason these places are preferred is that houses are of gecekondü type, there is no waste or real property tax and life here is similar to in villages. These are mostly two-room houses with baths and toilets outside. Rentals are low.*

All persons we interviewed said the governmental units gave them no support at all throughout the process of migration. During migration people received no assistance, for example, in transportation of their items and while trying to settle in Diyarbakır they were also left on their own. Relevant government units failed to fulfil their responsibilities in such areas as providing shelter, food, health services and education of children. In the 1990s when the migration was of mass character and most painful, there were almost no non-governmental organizations. The existing ones consisted of human rights associations and bars that focused on legal matters.

*We received support from nobody. In any case, all people around us were more or less in the same situation with us. The state acted as if we didn't exist. We couldn't protect our children; some of them were driven to streets.*

### Life in City

Migrants say that they faced really serious problems in adapting to the city during the early periods of their re-settlement. These problems of adaptation were particularly acute for medium-age and elderly persons and for a long time they could contact only with others from the same village or few people they knew in their neighbourhood. In fact, it is possible to say that this state of affairs has not changed much even after 10-15 years.

Migrants who settled in Aziziye and Gürdoğan neighbourhoods which are closely located to the highway connecting Diyarbakır to other regions were quite in trouble for some time in crossing the highway and the case was so serious that about 20 newcomers either got injured or lost their lives being hit by cars as they were trying to.

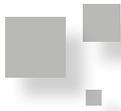
Coffee houses nearby or somewhere in their neighbourhoods became significant social spaces for new settlers. As for women, their social relations remained limited to home, close neighbours or relatives. Interviewees told us that they could not dare going to those sections of the city inhabited by high income groups and felt such quarters as Ofis<sup>8</sup> alien. This situation gives, particularly to younger generations, the feeling of being constrained or imprisoned in a narrow space.

Migrant families mostly use neighbourhood grocers to provide for some needs other than what can be found or produced at home. Another reason is that they can shop on credit in these grocers.

Mostly, inhabitants of these neighbourhoods go out seldom either for job seeking or medical care.

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<sup>8</sup> Ofis is the quarter of the city where many shops, banks, restaurants and coffee houses can be found; the meeting place of young people; busy and lively till late hours in evening.



## VI.

# BACKGROUND: LIFE IN VILLAGE

In this section we think it will be useful to take the reader to the past at the cost of disturbing the chronological sequence of events in the migration process. It is so because it is important to take a look at how they lived in their villages before migration in order to better understand their present mode of life and their thoughts and feelings about their past rural life. The point to keep in mind is that the villages and rural life we are going to describe in this section is that of the early 90s. In our present day, infrastructure in still inhabited villages specifically in terms of drinking water supply, electricity and roads is better than it was in the 90s.

### **Life in Village**

Majority of houses in villages consisted of two or three rooms plus spaces used as cellar or fuel wood storage. In two-storey houses, basements and in others spaces close to houses were used as animal barns. An overwhelming majority (94%) of houses had earth and only 6% had cemented floors. Education and infrastructure facilities were quite poor. 27% of families had no access to school for their children, 37% had no drinking water supply, 35% of villages had no roads connection, 21% of households had no electricity, 60% had no telephone and a large majority of villages (82%) had no health centre. Burning down of many schools and killing of teachers especially in the 90s led to the closure of many schools.

In rural settlements such as villages and hamlets education was given in merged classes which comprised children at different ages and therefore grades and even this was frequently interrupted as a result of such reasons as shortage of teachers or their absence from the villages for long time.

An important part of families existed as families<sup>9</sup> in villages or small townships where traditional norms prevailed and these families had strong ties of solidarity to respond to their needs especially in locations relatively remote to markets. For example, it was a routine practice that a family supplied the other some food including milk, yogurt, fruits or vegetables free whenever the latter fell needy. It was out of question for families in a village selling their produce to others.

### Basic Means of Subsistence

Small landholding was the dominant pattern in villages located at mountainous areas. Land distribution was relatively balanced. Since many villages lacked any irrigation facility, animal husbandry was more common than crop farming.

In fact, animal husbandry was the principal means of subsistence in many settlements. It covered both small and large head animals and any surplus crop or animal product were marketed by farmers themselves or purchased by itinerant tradesmen visiting villages for this purpose. Marketed products consisted mostly of cereals, live animals and milk products (cheese in particular). A large part of families were in position to sustain their lives and meet their basic needs with what they could produce as farming households.

*Those with their land in villages could sustain their lives this or that way and there was no such fear as hunger. Here we have it. We lost our villages for not being urban either. At least we had our poultry back in the village. Here, everybody is looking after himself. In the village, 2 sheep could sustain 2 families.*

Farming plots in villages with hilly and rugged terrain were in small parcels and limited. Along streams, there was also vegetable farming (tomato, green pepper, eggplant, onion and beans). Also an important source of income for farmers was walnut grown and marketed. Dry farming consisted of wheat and barley as major crops accompanied by vineyards and grape products (processed juice, pulp, etc) in some villages. Pear, apple and plum culture was for family consumption.

*Our village grew cereals, lentil, fruits and vegetables and bred animals. We used to sustain ourselves without being dependent on others. Branches of trees were heavy with fruits. Here, our children can just see them in greengrocers. We used to have our own milk, yogurt and cheese, now we don't.*

Many families were not constrained to a single product but engaged in large and small animal husbandry, cereals, fruit and vegetable culture, vineyards and poultry

<sup>9</sup> The term "familya" is used to denote family groups having kinship ties.



farming at the same time. This situation meant both nutritional diversity and continuous inflow of cash in various seasons of the year. The same situation also entailed the participation of all household members to production.

*Even with 8 children we were in need of hands back in our village. One was taking care of animals while others were in the crop field. But here they are all burden on our shoulders. Our burning problem now is subsistence.*

Before the start of the forced migration wave, split in farming plots as a result of growing population had already accelerated search for new sources of income and subsistence as a result of which some families moved to cities while other started to temporarily migrate for seasonal works elsewhere (16%). This practice of seasonal works was adopted by relatively fewer families to utilize idle labour force when there was nothing much to do in the village by temporarily going to other places within the province or region where there were seasonal labour needs.

*We used to engage in animal husbandry and raise cereals, grapes and vegetables. We had poultry too. We didn't go out for seasonal works. We were not in trouble in terms of cash and income.*

In spite of limited means and economic difficulties of rural life, interviewees state that their past rural status was better than the present one particularly in terms of food and nutrition.

*We had food too much to consume and we sold the rest. Now we have no jobs and we are hungry.*



## VII.

# 15 YEARS AFTER: LIFE IN DİYARBAKIR

This part is related to the situation after 15 years elapsing since migration. The part focuses on the state of neighbourhoods and houses that migrants presently dwell in, human relations, education and health problems, income status, jobs done and problem of unemployment and support and services they receive from public agencies and local governments. The section will also reflect the ideas and feelings of interviewees about their life in villages before migration and their present situation.

### **State of Neighbourhoods**

A large majority of interviewees have been living in the same neighbourhood as they first settled upon arrival to Diyarbakır. There are some families, however, who got relatively better off or had some resources to move out to such other neighbourhoods as Huzurevleri and Bağlar. It is also the dreams of those families presently living in neighbourhoods where the survey was conducted to do the same and move to these relatively better neighbourhoods. It should be noted, however, Huzurevleri and Bağlar neighbourhoods too are settlements established by migrants, presently inhabited by low income families and not very much improved compared to other poor neighbourhoods with their gecekondu like buildings.

*I would like to live in other neighbourhoods; like Huzurevleri or Hatboyu for example. There it looks more like a city. There are more and better places to shop.*

Within the last 15 years, some of the infrastructure problems of neighbourhoods Aziziye, Gürdoğan, Benusen, Fatihpaşa and Savaş where this survey was conducted. Nevertheless, dwellers of these neighbourhoods still face some problems in electricity water supply, sanitation and pollution.

*There are frequent and long electricity cuts in our neighbourhood. The water supply problem was partly solved by the municipality. But there are still problems. Canals stink and there are mosquitoes. Our roads are in bad condition, muddy all over in winter. We want the municipality to take care of these infrastructure problems. And they try to do their best.*

*We have lots of problems here in this neighbourhood. Wastes are not collected timely. We have mud around in winter and the TEDAŞ cuts out our electricity on the ground of illicit use.*

Among the problems frequently raised by local dweller is the absence of condolence houses and a nearby graveyard. Women, on their part, complain about the absence of safe spaces and parks that their children can play. It is added that although very few, sports areas in some neighbourhoods affect the life of children and adolescents in a positive way.

*The municipality constructed a basketball field here in our neighbourhood. Earlier, we knew nothing about this sport but now we are mastering it.*

### **State of Houses**

When they first arrived in Diyarbakir, migrant families made efforts first to find a dwelling by selling out whatever they had in their possession at that time. Having a house is perceived as a significant guarantee in urban life. At present almost a half of families live in their own houses; however, in these neighbourhoods where gecekondur type of dwellings is dominant, many buildings have no title deeds. 20% of interviewees live in the houses of their relatives without paying rent. One-third of families live in rented houses and pay. Rentals vary from 20 to 120 TL while 57% of rent payers pay amounts less than 60 TL.

Houses are mostly old and low quality constructions presently in quite bad conditions. 12% of these houses have only one room and 60% have 2 rooms. Considering that average family size is 6.9 it is easy to get an idea about congested indoor life.

35% of houses have their toilets outside. 17% of houses have no separate bathroom and about the same have no separate kitchen.

Especially in neighbourhoods around Suriçi, there are families living in ruinous houses abandoned by their owners.

*Many houses face the risk of being collapsed. There are no columns in two-storey houses. Since they are going to be expended away, nobody bothers maintaining or restoring them. There is big trouble when it rains or snows. Toilets are mostly outside; the same is true for bathing places. They are rented for 30 to 80 TL.*

News that the Municipality is planning to demolish houses along the city walls cause significant concerns and unrest among families living in this zone.

*We are under stress that our houses will be done away with. They don't give us any exact date. Nobody knows where these people will go and what to do. They say "we are going to have your approval and consent for this action." We don't want to leave here. But we want better houses of course; we were discharged once and we don't want this to happen again.*

95% of families have their refrigerators and the remaining 5% without refrigerator constitute the poorest of the poor. Considering the climate of the city particularly in summer, this particular household good is quite important.

On the other hand, only 47% of families have washing machines. The Diyarbakir Greater Municipality therefore responds to a very important need by community laundries called "White Butterflies" it launched in the neighbourhoods of Aziziye, Benusen and Hasırlı. These facilities were designed as washing and ironing places also with spaces where women can chat and children can play. There are also training courses delivered in these laundries.

*These laundries introduced by the Municipality facilitated our life. We also take literacy and health courses in these places.*

89% of households have TV sets. While 41% of households have their home phones 62% also have at least one mobile phone. Only 0.8% of households have computer.

### **Life, Solidarity and Neighbourhood Relations**

Many families have strived to maintain their rural customs in urban environments as well. During visits to neighbourhoods under the survey, we encountered many cases and examples regarding the wish to reproduce rural life and practices steps taken to this end. The choice to maintain rural customs sometimes derives also from economic reasons. For example, many families still bake their bread in tandırs. This is both from the fact that homemade bread is cheaper than bread in the market and also that it appeals much more to the taste of migrants. In many neighbourhoods few families come together to run a common baking place called "tandır". Another example of efforts to maintain rural life is that 8% of households have their large or small head animals.

Persons interviewed frequently spoke about weakening neighbourhood and kinship relations in urban settings.

*Back in our village, local people got together and chat every evening. In the city, people live at different places and hard to get together.*

*In the city families are distant from each other; relatives have virtually broken apart, no communication...*

There are differing views regarding mutual assistance and solidarity between families in neighbourhoods. While some point out to the persistence of such relations, others maintain that poverty is so deep to allow for any act of solidarity and assistance.

*If all families in the neighbourhood are poor, it means none has something to give others.*

*There is solidarity. We lend each other bread and other foodstuffs. Just like it was back in the village. But there is no such thing in apartments.*

In general, condolence<sup>10</sup> and weddings are important events when families support each other materially and morally. As an extension of what existed in villages, there is still food prepared in cauldrons to serve visitors in condolence houses. Since this endeavour is too costly for a single family, visitors for condolence bring with them some food items like flour and sugar. Back in villages, these condolence visits were made to private homes; in the city, on the other hand, since private homes are too small, the practice is transferred to “condolence houses” specially reserved for this purpose. Condolence meals are gradually fading away along with deepening poverty. Still, having condolence houses is one of the priority demands of inhabitants in case such space is not presently available.

At the same time, there are problems between groups originating from different places and having different styles of life, which may occasionally lead to some complaints through legal courses. Theft and pick-pocketing are the leading causes of complaint in these neighbourhoods.

*There are the Roma in these neighbourhoods involved in theft and bullying; they raid homes and stab people, they have to go...*

*The important problem here in this neighbourhood is drug addiction, adolescents driving fast on their motorcycles and cases of robbery and harassment. These are mostly by the Roma. They shelter in ruins around the city walls.*

However, neighbourhood dwellers have diverging opinions on this phenomenon.

*The Roma or Karaçi are people like us. They are Kurds too. One should not blame them...*

It is possible to say that within the last 15 years some important changes have taken place in terms of both intra-family relations and social values. Meanwhile, in

<sup>10</sup> Condolence visits is a tradition which is particularly upheld. In the city there are spaces specially used for such visits. For example a condolence house is used by families who moved in Diyarbakir from the same village. These are spaces at size of a normal shop.

some neighbourhoods one can observe significant efforts to preserve traditional tribal ties and customs. For example, the Ömeriyan tribe from Mardin now settled in Savaş neighbourhood has managed to maintain its tribal ties and relations and all, including both young and elderly, want to return back to their villages when conditions allow for it. In these families, the influence of male household heads over other family members is more pronounced and they take decisions mostly on their own. In spite of all economic difficulties, female family members are not allowed to work out of their families and it is stated that families with female members working somewhere may be excluded from the tribe. It should be added, however, that the survey team came across only with few families and structures of this kind.

### Family Relations

The most frequently referred phenomenon about family relations is the weakening and even breaking of dialogue between family members. Given the prevailing social values, fathers are held primarily responsible to economically maintain their families and their failure to respond to the needs of family members when unemployed or working at very low rates damage established family relations and in cases fathers may eventually tend to stay away from their children. In some families, on the other hand, fathers require their children to support the family and father-children relations get sour in case children cannot find any job to do.

*Our father says go to work, but there is no job for us. We think about running away from home. We can't stay home during day; if we do it is certain that there will be fight. Yes, there are occasions that we fall in conflict with law, but things force us to it.*

When they cannot take joint decisions for the solution of their problems, family members are alienated from each other and consequently each family member tries to find his or her solution. A young male says the following about his relations with his father:

*We see some families where fathers and sons walk around like intimate friends. But here, fathers keep away from us. They don't want to get in face to face contact. They do this for their economic situation... If we all had some money, this would not happen. Actually we don't want trouble with our fathers; it would be a shame for us...*

And below is what a father says about the same issue:

*All depends on your material situation. If you are better off, your relations will be fine too. I have a son working in Germany. Since he is economically well our relations are good; but I cannot communicate here with my sons who are unemployed. I am in trouble in this respect.*

Women, on their part, mostly assume the task of acting as mediators or buffers between man and children/adolescents. And when problems go unsolved, it is also women who are squeezed and oppressed by both. In such cases, men may maltreat their wives and cases of domestic violence may emerge.

What comes to our minds first is violence or keep silent, I mean reducing dialogue...

Of course lack of communication and violence is not common to all families. Quite to the contrary, poverty related problems may build further solidarity among family members at least in some cases.

### **Children, Adolescents and Exclusion From the City**

46% of population in these neighbourhoods consist of children under age 15. This young population composition could have been considered as advantageous in other circumstances, however in the absence of education services, social activities and employment opportunities this could be quite problematic.

*Our eyes were closed when we first came to this city from our village. We did harm to our children. They are now engaged in theft, collecting bread from garbage. We are just like fish out of water. Children are driven to harms way here.*

*We have too many children. Until we find out about it, they are involved in crimes. We cannot keep an eye on them for 24 hours; we cannot just put them in chains.*

*We are losing our children.*

Young people believe that the city excludes them. They say their material means do not allow them to dress up as they'd like to and people at the centre of the city despise them.

*Our family is poor. We cannot sit and have an ice-cream in Ofis quarter for example. We cannot wear as we like to and we just inhibit our feelings.*

*There is this serious feeling of exclusion here. Others grade us with our clothes and exclude.*

Young people add that when they take a walk to neighbouring mass housing sites where relatively wealthy families live they are regarded as potential criminals and they are not allowed to use such facilities as football or basketball fields or funfair. They are also troubled by the fact that they can speak neither Turkish nor Kurdish as fluently as their peers in the city, which brings along problems of expression and thus damages their self-confidence.

### Educational Status

In the period when rural to urban migration was most intensive there was overcrowding of students in neighbourhood schools, doubling or even tripling the number of students in some classes. Many children without any school enrolment back in their villages either for absence of school or some other reasons faced problems after starting school in Diyarbakir since they were mostly older than their classmates. Furthermore, even for those who had school experience earlier, many could not perform well since the quality of village schools is lower than urban ones.

The educational status of neighbourhood dwellers is quite low. 45% of females and 17% of males are illiterate. 16% of general population are just plain literates and the number of high school graduates as well as high school students is extremely low.

Despite this high level of literacy among females, there has been increase in girls' school enrolment upon settlement in the city. In general, families try to send their children, both girls and boys, to 8-year compulsory education.

*We make sure that they go to school even when we are hungry. We do this in spite of all odds. But we couldn't do this (particularly for girls) when we first came in.*

*They go to school, but we can't back them up. Almost all families here send their children to school, but we can't give it when they ask for pocket money.*

If families face serious material difficulties and have to send only some of their children to school, their preference is mostly for boys. Below is the response of a school administrator to the question "are there families not sending their daughters to school?"

*Children are mostly sent to primary schools. But some families take back their daughters after 4th or 5th grades saying 'you have grown up now'. In most cases girls do not continue their education after primary school, but boys do.*

The rate of illiteracy among children and adolescents is relatively high despite the fact that it has fallen comparatively considering earlier generations. While the rate of illiteracy among males in the age group 7-21 is 5%, it is as high as 15% among females in the same age group.

In addition to routine school expenses, some school managers ask for additional fees from the parents of their students, which may well exceed their materials means and lead to withdrawal of children from schools in some cases.

*In primary education there are some children who cannot even buy a pencil. There are schools asking for extra fees. School managements may*

*ask too many things from students without and regard to who is poor and who is better off. 8-10% of school age children are not sent to school.*

Neither parents nor students are content with the quality of education in their neighbourhood schools. Students think that the methods of education in their schools encourage them to memorize things without learning the essence. Parents and students say the following about schools and education:

- Shortage of teachers which leads to many courses without teachers,
- Poor physical conditions in schools,
- Overcrowded classes (60 to 80 students),
- Since many mothers cannot speak Turkish, they have difficulty in understanding what teachers say about their children,
- Education materials are of limited availability,
- There are children working in streets and thus cannot attend their schools regularly,
- Since there are families moving out for seasonal works, there are interruptions in normal school year,
- Families are mostly unable to provide for the needs of their children (pocket money, meals, supplementary textbooks, etc.),
- Parents are not very much interested in school performance of their children.

Parents are not willing to send their children to post-primary education since they believe that secondary education does not provide any significant advantage in terms of employment. In general, adolescents and their families have both demand for and lack of confidence in school education.

At the level of secondary and higher education too, parents mostly prefer their male children in sending them to schools. Among the reasons why girls are withheld from schooling after primary education is the fact that schools are not seen as safe places for girls. Also, it is one of the reasons for keeping them out of school that girls will get married and therefore would contribute nothing to their families even when they are educated.

*They don't send their daughters to school for having concerns about their relations with boys in and around high schools. There is no discipline and no quality education in schools.*

*Girls in the neighbourhood have to quit schooling after primary education. This is mostly for economic difficulties and in cases for the absence of any nearby school. Girls never attending or dropping out of school are mostly engaged in cotton works. There are some who are in domestic services.*



The proportion of high school graduate females is only 2% and this is also low with males with 8%.

Parents say that the quality of education in high schools is quite low and they don't have the means to send their children to private courses for university entrance exams. They see the university education of their children a very scant probability.

*The level of education of our children is low. Very few among them can compete with others. It is because they are not on equal footing with others. Our children attending high school have knowledge equivalent to that of a primary school student.*

Even when they are successful in university admittance tests, economic situation of families is quite low to afford the costs of higher education. Moreover, children are expected to start paid jobs as soon as possible to contribute to family subsistence.

*Unemployment and education are the most important problems of this neighbourhood. Adolescent performing successfully in university entrance exams cannot go because of economic difficulties.*

In Fatihpaşa and Savaş neighbourhoods non-governmental organizations and private persons have launched courses to prepare local children for secondary and higher education schools admittance tests. The demand for these courses is quite high. In Fatihpaşa neighbourhoods there are also courses launched by young volunteers.

*Last year young volunteers delivered courses here. This activity was useful in that we could get together and young people developed a sense of solidarity. Courses started late and trainers were all volunteers. Maybe they too had their material difficulties in coming here and going back. Still, it will be beneficial to all if these courses are given here and more regularly. There are very few here who can afford going to other private courses. Families are crowded and there are too many students. Many cannot even send one single child to private courses.*

Looking at all families interviewed, there are 12 university graduate males but no university graduate female.

*There is only one boy and girl from this neighbourhood going to university.*

High school students, on their part, want to go to university, but think it would be impossible without attending private university preparation courses.

*Many attending high school only want to continue their education and to be admitted to a university.*

*It will be good if there is a course scheme here; then 10-15 students can find their ways to higher education.*

Some students in surveyed neighbourhoods attend university preparation courses launched in other neighbourhoods by the Municipality and Local Agenda 21.

A significant part of children attending school are working at the same time.

*We sell sweets in streets. There is quarrel at home everyday for economic problems. We don't even have a room for studying. Our elders have given up and they don't care about our studies thinking that this will change nothing.*

Taking studying and home conditions of children together, one cannot think of any ground for successful school performance. Crowded home environments constitute an obstacle for children who want to study. Working children are keen on analyzing their own situation and wish the following for their younger siblings:

*We don't want our younger brothers work as we do now. They should go to school, study well and play.*

The SRAP (Social Risk Mitigation Project) is engaged in conditional cash transfers to families on the condition that they send their children to schools; rates for primary education are 25 TL for girls and 20 TL for boys on monthly basis. In secondary education, rates are 45 TL and 35 TL, respectively. At primary and secondary education levels, families need to apply to school administrations and fill a form to benefit from this scheme. Actual cash transfers start after these forms are approved by the Directorate General of Social Assistance and Solidarity located in Ankara. It is stated that this support by the SRAP has its positive effects in increasing school enrolment and attendance rates.

*For the state assistance (cash, free provision of textbooks) children at primary school ages not sent to school earlier are now being sent. It turned to be very good that the state provides textbooks too. More students will be attending if high school textbooks are given free too.*

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

Examining health problems faced in neighbourhoods it can be concluded that many health problems are associated with malnutrition, poor sheltering conditions and hygiene, which are in turn related to poor infrastructure and poverty of families.

The leading health problems include typhoid fever,<sup>11</sup> respiratory tract infections, diarrhoea and women's diseases.

<sup>11</sup> According to GÖÇ-DER's report on Forced Migration Study (1999-2001), typhoid fever is the most severe health problem observed among migrants. ([www.gocder.net](http://www.gocder.net)).



*My child was very sick and I took him to a doctor. He said the child was not fed well and he should have milk and eggs regularly. I couldn't provide these; neither could I buy the medicine he prescribed in time. I lost my child. We used to have both milk and eggs in the village and sold the part exceeding our family needs.*

Some non-governmental organizations are engaged in health and hygiene related activities in neighbourhoods; however, economic difficulties prevent many families to take adequate measures and comply with the rules of hygiene.

Since families, while back in their villages, were not covered by any social security scheme, they had to pay for medical care and interventions for a long time after migrating to Diyarbakır. Even today, very few families are covered by any security scheme. In all families, only 10% have a member covered by the SSK, 2% by the Government Employees Retirement Fund and 2% by Bağ-Kur. According to a study on Forced Migration conducted by the GÖÇ-DER in the period 1999-2001 only 17% of all migrants in Diyarbakır enjoyed social security benefits. It is clear that there is no improvement in the status of migrants from this respect within 5 years elapsing between two surveys.

A Large majority (77%) of neighbour dwellers have Green Cards. Introduced in recent years, the Green Card scheme provides assistance only in health-related matters and problems. 11% of families have neither green card nor they can enjoy from any security benefits.

Relative to rural circumstances, it is easier in Diyarbakır to access health services. As stated earlier, only 16% of migrant families had health centres in their villages. Now 89% of families have options like health centres, state hospitals and municipal health centres<sup>12</sup> where they can reach health services. However, the quality of services extended by existing health centres and hospitals cannot be said to be satisfactory and of good quality. With intensive migration taking place within the last 20 years, there is rapid increase in the number of patients applying to hospitals and this congestion in health facilities has led to problems much beyond those faced by public hospitals in other regions of the country.

While a large majority of neighbourhood dwellers have formal access to health services particularly with their green cards, they still face difficulties in “reaching” these services. For example, patients have to travel long distances from home (particularly at night) for an injection or dressing<sup>13</sup>. Many families cannot afford taking cabs in such situations and available public transportation means are quite insuf-

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12 The Diyarbakır Greater Municipality operates a health centre extending free health services to the poor.

13 Health centres and polyclinics are closed out of working hours.

ficient. Especially families with disabled members face serious difficulties in both reaching to and receiving health services. Another problem arises when it comes to communication between women patients who cannot speak Turkish and doctors who cannot speak Kurdish.

### **Income and Spending**

The average month income of families surveyed is 332 TL 60% of families have monthly incomes under 300 and only 5% can enjoy monthly income over 700 TL At this income levels, families cannot even provide for their basic necessities and can cope up only by borrowing in many cases.

The sources to refer to for borrowing are mostly relatives (59%) and neighbours (31%). Only 1.3% applies to banks. These borrowings are small, mostly in the range 20-100 TL Families say they cannot dare going to private moneylenders and these persons would not lend them anyway.

During interviews in neighbourhoods, it was observed that a family having a monthly income of around prevailing minimum wage was considered as of “middle income group.”

*Our houses are about to collapse;: but we have no means to restore them.*

*I have 5 children. They are going to school, but I am in worry how I can manage to provide for their school and transportation expenses. I am sick and I can't do physical work. And I have no other qualification. I have to pay 100 TL for rent and I don't know how.*

*We cannot borrow from anybody. Only we can have some items from the grocer on credit.*

There are very few families having income in addition to what working family members bring in. Only 3% of families receive regular assistance from their relatives. 0.5% is supported by their close relatives abroad. Those receiving land and house rental constitute 1% and 2% of total, respectively.

*There is limited number of families maintaining some revenue from their villages. Some receive rent and other fruits and vegetables.*

51% of migrant families have their farming plots back in their villages. However, 62% of these families cannot make use of or reap returns from these plots for this or that reason. 19% of families having land in villages say these plots are cultivated by their relatives and they receive returns in cash or in-kind as crops while 3% has leased their land or found sharecroppers. Some families migrating from villages located close to the main road occasionally go back and work on their land (12%).

In times of sowing and harvesting, families either visit their villages daily or stay there for some time in tents or desolate houses. There are some families who restored their houses in the village or built one-storey houses. The dominant practice in these villages includes beekeeping and fruit-vegetable culture. Products coming in from villages are distributed to close neighbours in the city.

*If villages can offer certain things, some families stay here while deriving their subsistence from villages.*

*People remaining in village are all elderly persons. We send them some materials and they send us some village products in return.*

### **Economic Situation and Unemployment in Diyarbakır**

Like in many other provinces in South-eastern and Eastern Anatolia Diyarbakır cannot follow a progressive development line due to insufficient level of productive investments. Additionally, the conflict environment of the past 20 years served heavy blows to the economy of the city and region.

Leaving aside agriculture which provides temporary employment, sectors that can create employment are very limited. The economy of the province is still heavily dependent on crop farming and livestock (69%). It is followed by services (24%) and manufacturing industry (3%). In manufacturing industry, the leading sub-sectors include textiles, food and mining.<sup>14</sup>

The industry in Diyarbakır is confronted with serious infrastructure problems. For example, there are still electricity and water supply cuts in the organized Industrial Zone (OIZ). The lack of railway connection between the OIZ and the end of the line makes it difficult for marble processing sector, which is the locomotive one in the province, to open westward. The insufficiency of Habur customs gate also negatively affects trade in the region. For all these reasons, businessmen in the province demand a region-specific and sector-based policy of incentives and in this context a “positive discrimination” for the region.

There were some textile plants which, due to their nature, used to employ relatively more people; but many of them had to close down for not being able to cope up with international competition in the times of globalization. Consequently, increasing la-

14 Outcomes of 2008 Diyarbakır Industrial Inventory Survey

<i>Sector</i>	<i>Number of Active Firms</i>	<i>Sector</i>	<i>Number of Active Firms</i>
Food	79	Building	69
Chemicals-Petroleum-Plastic	56	Mining (Marble)	64
Textile	80	Other	48
Wood and Forest Products	69	Total	522
Metal and Machinery	57		

Source: Diyarbakır Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası

bour supply triggered by migration on the one hand and negative implications of neo-liberal economic policies on the other<sup>15</sup> deeply shocked labour markets in Diyarbakir.

*Together with migration, there were serious distortions in labour markets here. There used to be people working for 1 TL, later accepting 0,5 TL job the same job upon migration inflow.*

Unemployment is one of the most disturbing problems that migrants face once arriving Diyarbakir.

*Before finding relief from the tyranny we faced in our villages, our distress was doubled with poverty and unemployment in this urban environment.*

*In a family of 10, there is only 1 person working.*

*While in our village we used to spend the whole day working. We were producing by engaging in crop farming and stock breeding. But here we can do nothing. We just pass the day by sitting in coffee houses; our women work and that's how we subsist. It is because there are no areas where men can work.*

*Once rich, people now cannot find a job even as porters. We are all porters now.*

### **Employment and Quality of Jobs that Can Be Found**

In 400 families covered by the survey, the total number of persons employed is 834.<sup>16</sup> In 54% of families only one family member is working and it is 2 in 26% of families. In these families whose members totalling to 2,764, on average 3.3 persons subsist on the income of one.

Of total male population in families covered, 17% are in wage work, 12% are self-employed and 6% is engaged in seasonal works, while 10% are unemployed. The proportion of salary earners and retirees is very low. 6% of males are both working and attending school. Among women, seasonal work is the leading form of employment (9%).

Jobs that can be found are mostly temporary, labour-intensive and unqualified, based heavily on physical labour.

*We are engaged in daily work here. You have a job on one day and nothing for 10. We work only 5-10 days in a month. There jobs are mostly in constructions. It is the case for most of us.*

The most important factor explaining this situation is that qualifications required by such rural works as crop farming and animal husbandry have no meaning for urban

<sup>15</sup> For example, recent closure Sümerbank's machine carpet and textile plants.

<sup>16</sup> The term "worker" is used for persons engaged in income generating works within or outside the family.



jobs. Entirely different skills and qualifications required by urban jobs brought about a radical break in the life of the victims of forced migration, turning them into unqualified persons in a very short span of time. Younger generations born or raised in urban environments, on the other hand, cannot find opportunities to develop skills and qualifications required by urban jobs for various reasons including low quality of education, material constraints, having to start working at early ages to support their families and doing whatever job can be found. Younger generations request vocational training courses to be launched in neighbourhoods in order to acquire needed skills and qualifications.

*There is absolutely a need to start a computer course here. May be this will present us some employment opportunities. There can also be courses in textiles, language, drawing etc.*

*Many males in the neighbourhood have no special skill. If there were carpentry, textiles etc. courses, young males and females would attend.*

In spite of rather long time passed since the days of the highest migration wave, the State has taken no initiative, no employment scheme to mitigate the negative consequences of migration which it imposed on people on the ground of "security."

Unemployment or low quality of jobs that can be found have brought along problems not only in the context of jobs and income but also in terms of family and community relations. In an effort to preserve their past rural status, males may behave too selective in jobs and find it humiliating to work as garbage man or porter.

Some families carried what they used to in their villages to their new urban environments. For example, 8% of families keep animals in their new urban settlements. This job includes large head animals (milk cows), sheep and poultry. There are also families engaged in such jobs as slaughtering and butcher delivery of animals brought in from elsewhere.

*We keep sheep and cows in our neighbourhood. For us both feeding and caring animals are problematic. While we are not satisfied with the way we keep animals, neighbours complain about smell, flies and mosquitoes. Earlier, we used to process and sell dung, but we gave it up. Now we lead animal excreta to canals. It is pollution of course. But we are right and our neighbours are right too. What else can we do? This is the only thing we know and can afford to.*

*Many families have their barns keeping 1-2 cows. There is also illicit animal slaughtering in these barns. They charge 0,5 TL per small and 2.5 TL per large head animal. Some families earn their living by transporting*



*live animals to the neighbourhood and then serving butchers with their meat and haslets.*

*This practice of illicit animal slaughtering creates both visual pollution and bad odour in neighbourhoods. It is unsanitary. The municipality is conducting controls and fines occasionally. But this practice will continue as long as this poverty remains.*

Following arrival in Diyarbakir, some who could bring along some cash or others who made a small capital after selling out their rural property attempted to establish their own businesses. These are mostly very small-scale informal enterprises including peddling, groceries, transportation (with small vehicles) and running coffee houses.

*I am carrying load with a tri-hauler all day and I return home with 5 TL earned. You have to pay for electricity, water, food and so on. What is 5 TL for all these? You have to pay for everything here in the city. It was much better back in our village.*

Meanwhile, many people not familiar with the rules and ways of doing urban business could not utilize their holdings rationally and shortly exhausted them in providing for basic household needs.

*We used to think that the whole world was turning around our village. Now we don't know anybody, trust nobody and do business with nobody.*

During the first years after migration, the traditional structure was tightly preserved and wives and daughters were not allowed to work outside. At the beginning, this was also true for male children. However, meagre opportunities of job for adult males have, in the course of time, led to radical change in these traditional structures. As a result of facing with poverty and hunger, all family members, including females and children started working for any job they could find. While adult males are still primary breadwinners, women in many families are now working either in home-based work or outside.

### **Employment of Women**

As a result of economic difficulties many families now let their women work out of home although they are not happy about it.

*Earlier, girls and women used to go out to work secretly, but there is no more secrecy now.*

*There are some families considering this inappropriate. The concept of 'honour' is geared to women. But poverty undermined these values too.*

*The standard logic is that a girl aged 11-12 can work, but not at ages 17-18. However, when it is a group of 25-30 girls at these ages go out to work (i.e. in cotton harvesting).*

The fact is that man cannot find jobs and many adult males find it humiliating to do certain jobs.

*Since there are no jobs for men women work in cotton and hoeing and sustain them.*

Among jobs which are coded as “male jobs” in society there are very few fit to adult males. Even men with some qualification have difficulty in finding jobs. A mother tells the following about this situation:

*I have 5 grown up sons and none is working. One is going to secondary school and the other to high school. The one who is a tiling master cannot find a job. Since all are jobless and broke nobody talks and there is no dialogue at home. What can I do with my daily earning of 8 TL?*

Job opportunities are also very limited for women. Some families do not let their female members go out to such works as cleaning or childcare. In letting women work, the perception of “safe” workplace is the leading criterion. When women do work, it is mostly those jobs that a group of women can go such as seasonal agricultural work.

*Our neighbours including a woman who gave birth just 15 days ago went out of province to work with their 7 children.*

*We do such things as knitting, lacework and embroidery for money. But we cannot find orders regularly.*

*Hoeing and childcare... Some families send their women to offices for cleaning work or serving tea. They earn 10 TL a day. They are working in shifts and service busses take them to work and bring back.*

To contribute to family subsistence, women take whatever job they can find even when unfavourable conditions and at very low wages.

*Women do hoeing, vegetable picking and weeding in Hevser gardens near the Tigris. They are paid 3 TL daily plus some vegetables which cannot be marketed. But working women mostly find ways of selling these vegetables. They are mostly from middle-age group.*

*Construction of baking places (tandır) is an important source of income. We sell them for 10-25 TL and earn 2-3 TL out of it. 4-5 women come*

*together and can make 5-6 such baking places. A family can produce 30 tandirs a month. It is mostly women's work.*

*There are young women and girls going out to childcare and cleaning. These domestic services bring in 10-15 TL a day.*

Since going out to other houses for cleaning work is not something well received in neighbourhoods many women keep it as secret from their close environments. Women engaged in this work are despised by their in-laws after getting married and this may even lead to some cases of violence.

*Families decide with whom their daughters should marry. There are many young girls whose marriages are fixed without asking their opinion. Problems start to emerge after marriage. Young women who worked out in childcare or cleaning before getting married are despised by their husbands and in-laws. Discourses include "We saved you from streets and working for others. You know nothing about housework, all you know is what is done in other houses or in crop fields..."*

In some neighbourhoods and particularly in families bound by tribal relations and values women and children are not sent out to work.

*We don't let our women and children go and work in fields. We don't think it would be correct. Neither do we let them work for daily cleaning or childcare.*

*Our children do not sell tissues or water out in streets. Our adolescents are wise too, they are not involved in bad things.*

There is micro-credit scheme in these neighbourhoods initiated by the Turkish Thrift Foundation and Grameen Trust.<sup>17</sup> Many women interviewed are informed about this scheme but they hesitate to apply since they find the rate of interest too high.

*There are only few women using the micro-credit scheme. We don't use it for difficulty of forming a group and concerns about regular repayment. Using credit is something worrying us.*

*There are women using micro-credit extended by an institution. This credit, however, is used mostly for daily needs. There is some trying to support their husbands' business with it.*

*I am trying to earn money by sewing for other women in the neighbourhood. My sewing machine is too old and I need a new one, but I am hesitant about using micro-credit. Interest rate is too high and I am not sure whether I can pay it back.*

<sup>17</sup> Micro credit is extended for the establishment of micro and small-scale enterprises. While this scheme charges interest higher than bank rate, it does not require collateral since receiving women are mutually responsible.



When men are asked whether women should work, the main concern is how “safe” their workplace can be considered.

*The condition is that their workplace should be somewhere “normal” and “safe”. 60-70% would approve if this condition is met. There are not so many places to work in.*

### **Work by Adolescents and Children**

It is common for children in these neighbourhoods to work. Faced with poverty close to hunger, send their children to work even in most unfavourable conditions even when they do not want to. The father of a working child says:

*We have worries about his working, but we beat him up if ne doesn't go!*

Since many adults are unemployed and even those with jobs do not earn enough to sustain their families, a considerable number of children do various jobs to support their families. In 24% of families children under age 14 either contribute to or fully undertake their families' livelihood.

*It can be said that it is children and adolescents who maintain their families. Male and female children at age 8 to15 scavenge (paper, metal articles, glass, etc.), sell ice at bus stations, sell tissues, sweets, etc., do shoe shining and carry things. They earn 3-5 TL a day.*

*Those who work in the industrial zone earn 15 TL a week. Those in restaurants earn 6-7 TL a day.*

*I am 13 years old and I went to school until the 4th grade. My father did not let me continue with my school. Now I am in a carpentry training course. I am there from 5.00 a.m. to 6.00 p.m. I earn 200 TL a month. During Ramadan, the course is open early in the morning when people get up for fasting, so in Ramadan we go there around 3-4 a.m.*

In brick factories, there are male and female children working and suffering serious burns on their hands and bodies for carrying hot bricks 10-12 hours a day and earn 2-8 TL a day.

Not all children at primary school ages attend school. 88% of male children attend school and the proportion for female children is 81%. When the age group 7-15 is taken, 16% of children do not go to school. As for families covered by the survey, of 432 male children in the age group mentioned above 113 (26%) are working and the number of working female children is 38 out of 385 (10%). 78% of working male children also attend school while 22% are out of school. For female working children, 47% both work and go to school and 53% work without school enrolment.

Sending children out to work disturbs intra-family relations and many children plan to run away in order to find relief from pressures at home.

*Our families force us to work, but there are no jobs out. So there is tension and quarrels at home that disturb us. Eventually we plan about going away. Last week there were some peers determined to realize their plans, but we stopped them.*

*We want to stay and work here if there are jobs. 200 TL a month is enough, we don't look for more. There are many going out to work, there are children deserting their homes. There are also some grabbing the money their family has or engaged in theft just to pay for transportation in running to other places. But those who managed to run away find themselves in unspeakable conditions when they couldn't find any job in places they went to. So they join some gangs involved in crimes. There are also some children turning into drug addicts.*

Even though few in numbers, some families prefer their children working rather than attending school while some children both work and attend school. These working children sell various items including paper tissues, chewing gum, etc., shine shoes or carry things in market places.

Apart from these there are children trying to earn money by cleansing car windows at road junctions with traffic lights. There are also some who are begging in streets.

*Our peers in school dream about vacation when the school is over; we do the same but not for vacation, for working.*

Children working in streets face several risks; start smoking at very early ages and are prone to substance abuse with some substances like thinner or glue or forced to work for some gangs. These street children earn 3-5 TL a day and give it to their mothers to support family budget.

*We give what we earn to our mothers or fathers. It is spent for household needs. We don't keep much as our pocket money.*

When asked whether they like their work and what kind of difficulties they face we get the following responses:

*It is not a pleasant thing to do this job, but we have to...*

*There are hoodlums stopping us and seize our goods or sometimes they steal it when we are not careful enough.*

Female children withdrawn from school or never enrolled work in carpentry workshops and cotton fields, sell ice, paper tissues or ice cream in streets. After age

11-12 families no more send their female children to street work considering them grown up enough and prefer cotton fields, vegetable gardens or other workplaces which they consider safer in terms of harassment or assault. Working female children express their ideas and feelings about working as follows:

*Until age 11-12 we sell ice and ice cream in streets and bus stations. Students work half day and other work full. We earn 1-2 TL a day. We have to sell these things quickly before they melt. We do this from 9 to 12 in the morning and then go to our schools afternoon. Others who are not going to school continue this in afternoon as well. We like it; we earn our living this way.*

*I am 15 years old and I have never been to school. My father didn't let me. In summers, I earned 10 TL a day by hoeing 10 hours a day in cotton fields near Diyarbakır. In fall, I used to pick cotton. 1 kilogram of picked cotton brings you 10 cents. I was working 12 hours a day to pick 50 kilograms of cotton. There are others picking as much as 100-200 kg a day. There are 30 girls from this neighbourhood working in cotton. There are no males in cotton. Our work is too tiresome and working long hours under sun is not so easy. But still there are parts of it that we like. I mean being together with friends and chatting. Hoeing is more difficult than picking. My brother is going to school with the money I earn. We set out early in morning without breakfast. We bring there some food with us. We usually take what is left over yesterday (pilaf, other foods) and bread, tomato, cucumber and plenty of water. You get easily thirty working so long under sun.*

*As cotton workers we have never gone to school. My father works as porter in summer and there is no job in winter. We work to support our elder brothers' education. Once in a year they buy us a dress. Other family members stay home and do housework. There are others going to cleaning in other houses. We don't want our younger siblings to work; they should be going to school. Things like selling ice are easier, but hoeing is hard. Those who are engaged in this work are 14-15 years old. Male children do not work, they are wandering in streets as hoodlums.*

One scene commonly observed in the streets of Diyarbakır in evening is scavenging children. These children start working in the evening and continue until 2-3 a.m.

When asked about potential risks awaiting children in streets, parents responded as follows:

*Getting corrupted, making pick pocketing a habit, Atari saloons, vagabond way of life, addiction to drugs and substance abuse, falling prey to gangs, being trafficked to İstanbul, etc.*

*Getting hit by cars, drug addiction and substance abuse, theft, insolent attitudes.*

### Seasonal Employment

After migration and parallel to the vanishing of earlier sources of income, there has been an increase in families going out for seasonal works. At present 29% of families are involved in seasonal employment. Seasonal employment is considered as one of the most difficult engagements in terms of both working conditions and remuneration.

One of the leading causes of increase in the number of families going out for seasonal employment after migration to Diyarbakir is that available jobs in Diyarbakir cannot sustain families. A second reason is that work done in seasonal employment is fit for already existing skills of these families. Original inhabitants of places where migrant workers go for employment are distant from this work for its difficulty and insufficient remuneration. Increasing number of worker incoming from other places and possibility of employing these people at lower wages both further depress wages and prevent the employment of the poor of the region or area concerned. Many families travel by borrowing from others to seasonal works and fall in rather difficult situations when they cannot find jobs. When they are penniless to finance their return back, solidarity mechanisms of fellow villages are phased in.

Seasonal employment is the primary means of subsistence for many families. Even lending and annual spending plans are made by considering prospective returns from this employment in the first place.

*Our husbands and sons cannot find jobs here. Many of them go to Gaziantep or Ankara to work in constructions. They stay there from 3 to 6 months. They live and work under very unfavourable conditions; no facilities to take bath, no laundry washing. They usually return home with louse. They earn little; it does not even finance our rentals, electricity and water bills. Those going out to work and us remaining here, we are both in trouble.*

Destinations for seasonal employment can be divided into two as places in the province and others (i.e. places in the same region or other regions). When places of work are near Diyarbakir people, mostly young women go out to work daily in groups and return back in evening.

*It is better; at least we come back home at night. Out there in distant places living conditions are bad, we have to stay in tents.*

17% of families engaged in seasonal employment elsewhere move out with all family members. In 25% of such families only adult males and females are involved. In 24% only adult males and in 29% only young women take part in seasonal migration

for employment. Finally, in 5 % of these families only young males are observed to move out. These patterns with respect to the participation of different family members vary according to the nature of work to be done. For example only males participate if seasonal employment is for construction works and we see only females if it is cotton. The reason behind the fact that in some cases only young females take part in such a large proportion of families is that groups of young females, accompanied by few men, can go to fields close to Diyarbakir for daily cotton picking.

The geographical destination of movement for seasonal employment is as follows: Central villages and districts of Diyarbakir (47%); Marmara region (26%); Black Sea region (16%); and Mediterranean region (10%).

*There are people going out to all places of Turkey and even to Cyprus for seasonal works.*

*Most families take part in this seasonal movement. It is for onion in Ankara, hazel nut in Black Sea, vegetables and grapes in Bursa, İzmir and Manisa. Some families have to take their children together and thus their education is interrupted.*

Depending on the timing of agricultural activities, there are also cases where families move from one province or region to another. For example, a case for a family may be first starting with cotton and then moving to another region for hazel nut and then elsewhere for tomato.

*An important part of people in this neighbourhood moves to Western Anatolia for seasonal works. They go to Black Sea region and stay there for 45 day working in hazel nut harvest. They work 12 hours from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. Children under 14 are not paid. Others are paid 13 TL a day. Considering travel costs and other expenses there, they don't have anything remaining in their hands. I went there with 5 persons and returned with 1,500 TL. After hazel nut, I went to İzmir for cotton and I returned with little over expenses: 1,000 TL. In autumn I was back in Diyarbakir only to move to Hatay after a while for orange and stayed there for 6 months. During this period of time you have to pay for everything and you have to go with 30 people to earn something. After working with 5 people for 6 months, I returned with 1,500 TL.*

In seasonal agricultural works working conditions are very unfavourable. Families engaged in this movement have to stay in plastic tents or in what can be called cottages. Facilities such as bathing places or toilets are meagre and conditions are unhygienic. Working under sun for 12 hours is quite difficult and this affects children particularly heavy.

*We don't listen to what our elders say; we just pretend doing so... We are too young to do any job or undertake heavy ones. But when we accompany our families in seasonal works, they assign heaviest works to us. We work for 12 hours a day to earn only 10 TL; it is like drudgery...*

Daily pay is 8 TL for children and 10-12 TL for adults. In employment outside the province, payments are made at the end of the whole work and in the province only after cotton picked is sold. Especially with the last 3 or 4 years, stagnating and even falling cotton prices accompanied by rising cost of inputs there are problems in paying labourers. There are cases where payments are delayed as long as 6-8 months and even not paid at all. A family of five engaged in seasonal works for 3 months will eventually earn 2,000 TL.

*There is cotton culture in this region and you work, but you get your payment only 6 months later and in some cases you're not paid at all. This is particularly true for working in Diyarbakir or in this region; you are not remunerated timely. There is no sense in getting paid only after a year; we are in poverty anyway...*

In movements both within and out of the province, there are intermediaries locally called "çavuş" who connect migrant workers to their prospective employers. These intermediaries receive "commission" from employers while they also share a part of payments made to workers they organize and dispatch.

Seasonal employment has its serious repercussions on education as well and though informally, many schools arrange their schedules by the times and periods of seasonal migration. Teachers, on their part, cover some units in the curriculum faster to consider the situation of children who would accompany their families in seasonal migration and also fix exam dates accordingly.

Among males there are some whose seasonal migration takes longer than others. These people can stay home only for 1-2 months a year. In their places of employment, they stay in congested "inns" with 5 to 10 people in the same room and in extremely unfavourable conditions.

*I am living for 4 months in this neighbourhood and I am out in western provinces for 8 months of the year. I spend half of my income for my family and the rest I spend here in this coffeehouse.*

*It turns out that our graves in western parts of the country outnumber those here!*

In addition to all these troubles, people involved in seasonal migration also frequently mention maltreatment they face in their places of employment.



*We go to such provinces as Manisa, Ordu, Adana, Adapazari, İzmir, Ankara and Yozgat. We prefer those places instead of working here for 2 months because there we can work for as long as 6 months and also earn more. For example if we get 9 here, we get 15 there. But out there, local people approach us not in humanistic ways. We don't feel ourselves in comfort there. And there is a lot of cultural disaccord.*

*There people qualify and select incomer. If you are weaker, you get half the rate paid to others.*

### **Support by Public and Local Institutions**

The people forced to migrate maintain that governmental organizations extended them no support or services during the process of migration and their first years in Diyarbakır. The quarter called “500 houses”, which is out of the scope of this survey, consists of dwellings constructed by the state for the settlement of incomers forced to leave their villages. However, while allocating these houses to families, many conditions including “not having been involved in terrorist activities”, “the village concerned was not burnt down” and “no relative fighting up in mountains” were sought and consequently these houses could not be fully used by victims of forced migration and some were allocated to those not involved in forced migration.

We asked neighbourhood dwellers what kind of assistance and support they have received from the government or non-governmental organizations since their arrival to Diyarbakır. What they have received mostly consists of food and fuel (coal for heating). Responses show that since their first arrival to Diyarbakır only 29% of these families have received food assistance and 22% fuel. Coal assistance is allocated to those families having their registration files with the Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation with priority given to green card holders, elderly and disabled persons. Food assistance, given mostly during feasts, religious holidays and towards the New Year's Eve consists of such basics as flour, sugar, tea, tomato paste and rice.

*What we receive as support is coal and cereals from the Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation. And they give these to people over age 40. Very few families can benefit from cash assistance.*

Families complain there is rush and overcrowding in neighbourhoods during the distribution of food and dresses launched without pre-determining who is to benefit. As a result of media coverage of some unpleasant situations and reactions, assistance is recently being delivered to households identified earlier. Coal provision is made mostly by the Foundation to provide partly for winter time fuel needs.

*If this relief reaches those who are truly in need, the problem will have been largely mitigated. The poorest of the poor cannot express their needs anyway, cannot get anything and there are some ashamed of getting such aid.*

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

Looking at the origin of this assistance we see the Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation (SYDV) under the Governorate in the first place (27%) and then Municipalities (19%). Assistance by relatives is negligible. In spite of strong kinship and tribal ties, the share of assistance received from these channels remains only as 6%. Two reasons can be given to explain this situation. The first is that migrant families are mostly all alike with very limited economic means and the second is that even those who are relatively better off cannot help all since there are too many relatives in distress.

### **Political and Cultural Rights and Demands**

During interviews in neighbourhoods, political and cultural rights were issues raised as frequently as others related to unemployment, education, health and livelihood. Here, people state that they want to speak their language and practice their culture freely and the Kurdish identity is just indispensable to them.

*Cultural rights are the most important of all. It is important that a person can practice and experience his culture and customs freely without any fear.*

*We can't live with our culture; we can't get education in our language. We want to live with our Kurdish identity.*

Many migrants particularly youth, want to have their education in their language and learn Kurdish properly with its grammar and rules.

*We are just wandering idle in summers and this situation disturbs us much. We want some social activities and to take part in them. We want our language and learn it well.*

Interviewees state that they are not treated as equal citizens just because they are Kurdish and oppression and violations they faced during the process of forced migration continue in Diyarbakir as well. A large majority of interviewees think there can be no return to villages neither there can be any investment in the region unless the Kurdish problem in broader sense is solved.

*Our security problem is not solved after we left our villages. Here too state security forces raided our homes for years. Our young members*

*have been arrested and tortured. In the same period, we were also the target of the religious sect Hezbollah. Many young people were killed by assassins using chopping knives.*

*When Kurds are free anybody should live where hi likes in his village.*

*Our demands are democratic environment with full enjoyment of rights, end to discrimination and equality.*

*First of all the Kurdish problem has to be solved. There should be an environment of safety and peace so there can be investments in the region.*

### **Past Rural Life versus Present Life**

During neighbourhood visits, we asked interviewees how they evaluated their present situation compared to their life back in their villages. While 63% of families stated their situation had gone worse, 17% mentioned betterment and 21% said there was no change.

Almost all (94%) who pointed out to a worsening situation focused on difficulties in earning livelihood in the first place. Other reasons include difficulties in adapting to urban life (43%), missing rural life (37%) and difficulties with the education of their children (26%).

*We used to keep animals, grow vegetables and other crops including tobacco. Yes, we were getting tired and exhausted; but we didn't have to lean on others. We could even help those who were poorer. Now we are on the brink of begging.*

*We used to prepare two large jars of fried meat for winter. Now it has been a year since my children could have some meat. They are crying for it. I could only afford buying some animal fat from the butcher. I think I clearly put the difference.*

Interviewees frequently mentioned about some men who were once well of and leading figures in their villages now ready to work as porters and even cannot find jobs as such. It is added that this radical change in status brings along some serious social and psychological problems as well.

*There are many who used to be quite wealthy while back in their villages and lost almost everything after settling here.*

Of those who think that their situation is improved here in Diyarbakir compared to earlier rural life (17%), 63% explain this improvement by better livelihood, 59% by more comfortable living conditions, 41 by their happiness in being here and 41% by better education opportunities for their children.

During in-depth and focus group discussions, while participants talked about positive sides of living in a city, they still mentioned about problems of subsistence.

*Yes there are better education opportunities here in the city, but rural life is better in the sense that you can still maintain yourself without money. In the city, you have to pay for everything.*

*Our problems are aggravated, but the difference is that here (in the neighbourhood) we all know each other and this gives us some ease.*

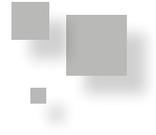
Women, on their part, while talking about the dimensions of urban impoverishment, also draw attention that being out of home here in the city poses some risk for their children while it was not the case in their villages. Playing or working outdoors as a part of routine rural life may lead to serious problems when repeated in urban environments and, they say, when they first came in Diyarbakir they couldn't protect their children being unaware of such risks in urban life. Especially those women whose husbands regularly move to other places to work state that while striving for subsistence they are also overwhelmed under the heavy responsibility of taking care of their children.

*We didn't have to pay rent or pay for water in the village. Now you have to pay for everything. We can't buy fruit, for example. We can buy vegetables only when prices go down. Back in the village we could never imagine yogurt and eggs would be so important! We can't buy it for our children now. We suddenly found ourselves in poverty.*

*In villages, children and adults were mostly engaged in fields and animal care out. Outdoors would pose no danger. But they conceived the city as if it were just like the village. They didn't think streets could be dangerous for children. So children started working in streets in unfavourable conditions and acquiring bad habits.*

*One who cannot have regular hot meal at home is considered poor. In that sense we are quite poorer now. Our families fragmented because of unemployment. Our husbands, grown up male children are out of the city. We miss the times we had lunch or dinner altogether as family. The absence of males affects us badly. We can't sleep in peace at night because of burglaries. We are alone responsible for our children and it is too difficult to raise them under these conditions.*

In terms of their workload some women say there is no difference between rural and urban life while others believe it was heavier while they were back in their villages. In the section above on working conditions we have already seen how difficult they are for working women and young girls. Thus adding work outside to domestic



household chores it can be said that work burden of women in cities is no less than what it used to be in rural life.

*We used to work hard in our villages and we are working hard here as well. There is no change in our workload.*

*It was more tiring for us back in the village. Taking care of animals, working in the field, fetching water, etc...But as family, we were all together, no hazard for our children and most important of all we were fed up.*



## VIII.

# TENDENCES OF RETURNING BACK TO VILLAGE

67% of families whose villages were vacated on “security” ground have applied to “damage assessment commissions” operating under the Governorate.<sup>18</sup> In 400 households covered by the survey only 1.5% could receive compensation.

### **Present State of Vacated Villages**

A large majority of evicted families state that their villages are presently completely uninhabited. Houses in vacated or burnt villages are mostly desolate and farming plots are uncared-for. For many farming plots, even boundary lines are no more recognizable. Irrigation facilities once constructed by farmers were destroyed; vineyards and fruit orchards dried out. Most interviewees say their villages are deprived of such basic infrastructure facilities as road, electricity, water supply, communication and school.

*All our instruments of production are gone. Now if we go there may be we won't be able to find where our parcels are. It is that bad.*

Few elderly people still live in villages on the plain which are closely located to main roads and some city dwellers periodically revisit these villages for some seasonal production activities. As for villages in mountainous areas, villagers are either not allowed visits on security grounds or villagers themselves avoid going there afraid of undergoing the same experience as before.

<sup>18</sup> In the province of Diyarbakır, out of 51,625 applications made under the law no. 5233, 32,026 were finalised as of 13 October 2009. There are 19,589 files yet pending before commissions. The allowance requested from the Ministry is 392 million TL; actual allocation is 282 million TL and 110 million TL is expected.



Some families state that their houses and plots were seized by village guards and their vineyards and orchards were occupied against their will. There are few families saying that they leased their land.

### **Tendencies of Returning Back**

41% of households interviewed want to return back to villages they had to leave years ago.

The leading factor in shaping tendencies to return back to villages is serious concerns about re-experiencing what had happened before.

*Males do not go back to their villages even for short visits still under the fear of torture they once had to suffer. Once they tied up our males on their feet without shoes and made them stay for two days on snow. Many of them suffered physical damages as a result.*

Additionally, the maintenance of the village guard system is the most important obstacle to returning to villages. Backed by the system, village guards inflicted many sufferings and pain to local people and seized the property on many local farmers.

Keeping in mind many events they experienced in the past, many parents do not favour permanent rural re-settlement particularly for their children.

In regard to the issue of returning back to village, opinions may diverge even within a single family. Those who want to return permanently to their villages are mostly middle aged and elderly males and elderly females. For these people having most of their lives spend in rural environments, some moral and spiritual values are as important as material assets left back in villages.

*We miss everything about our village; its air, its water, vegetables, animals and humanity...*

These people say they want to return for permanent stay or for periods when safe and peaceful environments are restored. They want to operate at least some of their assets in their villages to earn something.

*Of course I'd like to go back if circumstances are all right. My house was beautiful, but I learned that it was destroyed. So I have to restore it.*

Some of the middle-aged women do not want to go back. These women prefer urban life despite all its difficulties. For example, having piped water home saves them from fetching water everyday. Males think the following about this stance of women:

Women are more at ease here, they want to stay here. But who'll have the final word, it is not certain yet. It may be that what women say will be determinative. But if po-

verty further deepens and there is nothing to hold on here, then there may be no other alternative but returning to villages. If women have to endure the same by working and moving elsewhere for seasonal works there is no reason to keep them here.

As to younger women, almost none of them want to return back to village. It is observed that emotional rural ties of this younger generation half of whose life has been in urban environments are weaker than their elders.

Although there is no significant improvement in the quality of education, spatial closeness of schools and more advanced opportunities please parents, particularly mothers and are among the reasons of their preference to stay in Diyarbakır.

Tribal families who still strongly preserve their traditional ties want to return back to their villages including the large majority of younger family members.

Almost all family members (including those who oppose returning to village for permanent stay) agree to visit their villages in specific months or seasons. Although in few numbers, there are already some families doing this. Young women state the following about the issue of returning back to villages:

*Some families return to villages in summer for cereals, tobacco and vegetable culture. It is for a period of 4 to 5 months. While mainly living in Diyarbakır centre, we feel ourselves belonging to rural life. But we don't think about returning to village permanently. Because nothing will be as it used to be before. Maybe we can plant new ones in place of our burnt out trees, but it is impossible for us to forget all about our sufferings and lost family members and relatives. The state should pay us for our damages; with this we can have a dwelling in Diyarbakır and our man will start some business.*

Since conditions for returning back are not ripe yet, it is difficult to predict what kind of problems will be encountered during the process if this return takes place.

*It is difficult for the whole family or group of families to go. In the worst we go there for 3 months while younger family members stay here.*

Meanwhile, even those who really want to return back to their villages think it unrealistic to expect this return soon. Recent events taking place in the region and the response of the state to these events support this pessimism. At present the most important problem and obstacle is related to security and absence of some basic infrastructure facilities including housing, road, water supply, electricity and schools. A large majority (86%) of families expect the solution of these problems from the state.

*We don't go unless we get our redress. If we get it, we will be at ease even in emotional terms. They even burnt stones in villages. All we ask is that the state should pay for our damages. We don't want more, we'll fix whatever remains to be done.*

### **Youth's Ideas About Returning Back to Village**

Since many adolescents were born in Diyarbakır or elders ones were very small when their families left their villages, village can have a meaning for them only by what their elders and parents tell about. In case they return, they think they cannot handle certain things which are necessary in rural environments but they have no experience in. Nevertheless there are few young persons who do want to go back to their villages. The main reason is related to difficulties they face in their urban environments and some bottlenecks they experience as a result. These young people think that life will be easier there even with limited land, some poultry and few cattle.

*Youth is confronted with two options under present conditions: Prostitution or theft. There is no other.*

However, they say returning to village is not solely dependent on their will or wish; conditions in the village must be ready and this cannot be done only by restoring houses. The most important condition is security.

*First of all the security problem has to be solved; it means there must be peace. Then come water supply and electricity and procurement of animals including cattle, sheep and horses.*

*Even when infrastructure facilities such as road, electricity and water are all in place we still need support, because everything was burnt down and there is no stone over stone including our vineyards and mosques.*

### **Ideas of Women About Returning Back to Village**

The approach of women to the idea of returning back to village differs. Younger women state that they are alien to rural life and they live the neighbourhood they are presently living in.

*We don't know much about rural life. So we consider ourselves belonging to this neighbourhood.*

Women whose memories about their villages are still fresh do not want to return thinking about the suffering they had to experience in the process of migration.

*We still feel ourselves belonging to our village. But we don't think about returning there permanently. We cannot forget our past sufferings. Our brothers, fathers were killed.*

Although the yearning of women who had their rural experience before migration for their villages is quite deep, they still think that it would not be realistic for the time being to decide to return.

*In any case there are no suitable conditions to go back to villages. Right now our villages are no different than a desert, everything was demolished. What can you do on such land?*

*We brought a lawsuit against the acts of burning our village and forcing us to migrate. If we get redress we are going to build a house in the village and spend summers there. We don't want to re-settle in the village permanently. Once you left it is not so easy to return. Our children have accustomed to urban life and as women we want to stay too.*

*We miss everything about our village: its air, water, fruits and plants... We'd prefer not to have moved out in the first place; but now we don't think about returning. As you see, armed conflicts started again.*

Women say that the state imposes some conditions for return and those not satisfying these conditions are not found eligible for state assistance.

*The State wanted us to sign a document stating "our village was burnt not by security forces but terrorists". Knowing that it is not true we didn't sign that document. They promised to supply free sand, cement and construction iron for rebuilding houses and animals as well had we signed that document. Some families in really difficult situation had to sign it.*

Many young women say they were born and raised in the city and they don't want to leave their neighbourhoods; but they also add that when decision to return or not is taken probably they won't be asked about their idea. These young women who have had chances to visit their villages speak positively about these rural environments but still want to stay in Diyarbakır if they were asked about it.

*We have no idea about our families' returning back to village. But if they decide to do so we have to go too. They wouldn't ask our opinion about this issue. If we do return, we'll miss our friends here and feel sad.*

*We visit our village occasionally as family. Our village is beautiful, it has clean air, and it is green. It is nice to go there time to time, but we don't want to stay there permanently. We are happy with this place.*

Males state that while considering return to villages, at least the word of adult women would be heeded.

*In decision to return to village or not, the word of women is also listened to; if they don't want to, there will be no return.*

### Tendencies to Migrate to Other Provinces

In spite of all difficulties they face in Diyarbakır there are few families who think about moving to some other province. Only 16% of families want to move permanently to provinces other than Diyarbakır.

Those who want to migrate to other provinces have their reasons as subsistence (44%), desire to live in a better place (26%) and unemployment (11%). While employment opportunities are better in provinces other than in the region, the reason why those who want to move out make a small part of families is that they are despised by local people in western provinces they go for seasonal works and their problems of adaptation.

*We absolutely don't think about moving to other provinces. We have no such plan at all. It is because we understood, during our seasonal migration we could not do in other places permanently. We are here and we belong to here. It is difficult to live with Turks; their outlook to us is so different and our customs and traditions too are different. They don't see us as human beings; when they hear the word "Kurd" they completely change and become negative. It is difficult to live there even if we get wealthy.*

*We don't want to move elsewhere from Diyarbakır. Our relatives, friends are all here. People in other places do not receive us well.*

It appears that many families are unable to finance the cost of moving to some other place from Diyarbakır even if they wanted to. Such tendencies are further curbed by the fact that there are some eventually returning back to Diyarbakır after migrating to some provinces in the west.

*There are some who want to do it, but their material means do not allow them to. Others who have already fixed things in their destination do go anyway. How can a family move somewhere while unable to pay water bills? One has to earn 2-3 billion a month to go and live in İstanbul, for example...*

*There were families moving from Diyarbakır to such places as Mersin, Bursa, İstanbul and Tarsus. Some of them had to return back; if they cannot find livelihood there, they return. Unless better living conditions are guaranteed, nobody leaves this place.*



## IX.

# GENERAL EVALUATION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR SOLUTION

Firstly, while the title of this section suggests that we are going to list suggestions of solution for the problems mentioned so far, we are well aware of the fact that no “solution” can be found to past pains and suffering. Secondly, suggestions that we present below derive from problems expressed by interviewees in visited neighbourhoods, their future expectations and demands<sup>19</sup>, plus our own accumulation of information and observations. Of course, these suggestions need to be discussed and further elaborated by specialists, implementers and neighbourhood dwellers.

It is not possible to say that the dwellers of Aziziye, Gürdoğan, Benusen, Fatihpaşa and Savaş are hopeful about the future. It is not so hard to understand this pessimism about the future considering their present conditions after the elapse of some 20 years after forced migration. A large majority of families in these neighbourhoods just struggle to “save the day” while memories of their experience during forced migration are still fresh in their minds.

Negative effects of the process of forced migration are still acute even after so many years. As tried to be conveyed in this study, there is no serious effort to mitigate these adverse effects. Those agencies responsible for mitigating problems experienced during and after migration and bring solutions have not fulfilled their responsibility. While one can expect at least some improvement in the living standards of displaced persons after so many years in Diyarbakır, what we see is mere deepening and persistent poverty, deprivation and exclusion.

<sup>19</sup> Annex 1 gives the problems and suggestions for solution as expressed by interviewees in relation to women, families, neighbourhoods they are living in and prospects of returning to villages. In the field survey carried out with 400 households, respondents were women in 330 households and men in 70 households.



Though may be seen as a drip in an ocean, a child centre, laundry or a basketball ground launched in these neighbourhoods is still important in improving the daily lives of these people. Nevertheless, it should be added that these initiatives are yet far from the scale needed to transform the negative picture drawn in this study. The outcomes of this study point out to the fact that steps to be taken to break the vicious circle of desperation that these people have been trapped by need to be taken in their multiple dimensions and in an integrated manner. To develop programmes and policies that address problems in a multi-dimensional way, it is clear that all relevant governmental, local and non-governmental organizations should collaborate and act in coordination. In relation to such programmes and policies, the crucial point is to ensure the active participation of neighbourhood dwellers from the early stages of design up to implementation and evaluation of outcomes.

By being subjected to forced migration, the life of a large number of people was distorted; these people were left in a position to struggle within a mode of life that they were forced in without their will and consent and without any help. After so many years, we are aware that we are suggesting one more intervention, though in positive sense this time, to the lives of these people with policies and practices presented below. Accordingly, in this study we preferred first to listen to the people concerned as the target group of suggested policies and develop our suggestions in line with their requests as far as possible. In regard to both return to villages and stay in the city, we believe that all practices should be designed and launched by soliciting the views and ensuring the participation of the people concerned and building mechanisms enabling them to make their own choices. We also believe that this approach is extremely important in terms of reaching effective outcomes as well as requirements of a human rights based approach.

### **Return to Villages**

While there are some who want to return back to their villages permanently, others opt for living seasonally in their villages and there are also those who want to stay permanently in the city. These three tendencies can be observed even within the same family. Nevertheless, the common ground for all including those who want to return and others who do not is that they don't want to give up with their original settlements. People want back their right to travel back to their villages in safe and secure conditions even it is for the sole purpose of burying their deceased family members. In this respect, the first point that any initiative for return to villages must take into account is that vacated villages still belong to these people.

The Law no. 5233 on Reparation for Damage Resulting from Terrorism and Combat against Terrorist Activities and its implementation fall short of responding to the needs



and problems of internally displaced people. While its focus is exclusively material reparation, it is far from doing so. It is not possible to motivate and support return to villages only by contributing to the reconstruction or restoration of houses in villages. All factors impeding return to villages must be eliminated through a holistic programme.

- A very small proportion of families were found eligible for reparation under the law no. 5233. This legislation has to be reviewed and expanded in scope. The new legislation must be developed as solution oriented considering the circumstances of the region.
- Before implementing programmes and projects on return to villages a quick inventory work must be launched to assess the existing situation in villages. Many infrastructure facilities existing earlier are now not usable. Villages have to be extended basic services including transportation, water, electricity, schools, communication and health centres.
- No production activity has been taking place for a long time in vacated villages and rural people too have broken apart from these activities. Basic facilities in villages including farming plots, irrigation canals, animals, machinery and equipment are either absent or unusable. Programmes must be developed and necessary support must be provided to make circumstances in villages again suitable for production activities.
- The village guard system as the most important obstacle to return to villages must be abolished.
- De facto seized farming plots must be returned to their legal owners.
- Mediation is needed to eliminate uncertainties as to borders between different farming plots since earlier borders are not unidentifiable. The cadastral office has to be involved in this process.

Upon the creation of conditions that allow return to villages, restart of crop farming and animal husbandry activities will ensure the re-utilization of presently idle natural resources. Those who have either permanently returned to or seasonally visiting their villages will be able to earn their living while also serving to mitigate the problem of employment experienced acutely in Diyarbakır. Furthermore, this will also provide some opportunities to the relatives of returnees who stay in the city. For example, some urban dwellers will be able to receive some food items from their villages without having to pay for them.

Apart from these programmes relating to village return, others are needed to support those who want to remain in the city.



### **Suggestions for Improving Life in Diyarbakır**

Internally displaced people have developed some methods of coping up within the limited means and availabilities of neighbourhoods they are living in. The mode of life in these neighbourhoods is a mixture of urban and rural features. Here, rural and urban exist in an amalgamation in terms of both means of subsistence and social values.

In the five neighbourhoods covered by the survey there are problems in terms of both infrastructure and the condition of houses. In addition to common problems, there are others specific to some neighbourhoods deriving from their location, state of infrastructure and distance to places where people work. It is therefore important that programmes to be developed take into consideration the characteristics of both individual neighbourhoods and their dwellers.

In neighbourhoods concerned, most of the means and ways of subsistence of families are of informal nature. There are also illicit activities such as “informal” animal slaughtering. The elimination of this occupation is necessary not only as a matter of law but also in terms of public health and hygiene. However, what must be kept in mind in relation to such activities is that bans or strict controls introduced without providing alternative means of subsistence will bring nothing but further problems for these already impoverished people. Neighbourhood dwellers created new means of subsistence with respect to the special location of their neighbourhoods. For example, in neighbourhoods on the outskirts of the city there are many families growing vegetables in their gardens and breeding animals. Those who live in more central quarters of the city, on the other hand, are mostly engaged in domestic services including child care and cleaning, peddling, transportation, scavenging, etc. Therefore, interventions to neighbourhoods by both governmental and non-governmental organizations must be keen on possible effects on the existing means of subsistence.

Families living in those parts of the city covered by the Urban Transformation Project of Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality, which is partly at the stage of planning and partly in implementation, have serious concerns about the future of their neighbourhoods. Vacation of neighbourhoods dominated by desolate houses and transfer of families to “modern” neighbourhoods with decent houses may be a positive step in terms of both urban planning and improved quality of life for people. However, blunt implementation without throughout analysis on the impacts of this transformation may pose some extra threat to families who are already at the margin. For example, not paying garbage tax or using electricity illicitly do help these families’ subsistence; moving to other parts where dwellers have to pay for



municipal services may further impoverish these families if not accompanied by compensating measures.

A large majority of neighbourhood dwellers consists of children and adolescents. Hence, programmes to be developed must include child-focused alternatives.

Also a matter of complaint by neighbourhood dwellers, such events as theft and substance abuse which constitute crime should not be seen solely as a problem of security since narrow measures bring no sustained solution. Indeed, the aggravation of the problem in spite of many security measures clearly show they are not as effective as expected. It must not be forgotten that there lies interrelated social and economic causes under this problem. A multi-dimensional approach is needed for solution. In this approach, there must be programmes on training, employment and social-cultural activities as well as psychological support.

Our suggestions for improvements in neighbourhoods are as follows:

- Sewage, waste disposal and transportation problems of neighbourhoods are waiting for solution.
- Support must be extended for the restoration or reconstruction of dwellings. The problem of dwellings without titles must be solved and comprehensive housing projects must be designed to solve the problem.
- Social and cultural spaces (green areas, children's parks, condolence houses etc.) must be introduced to respond to the needs of neighbourhood dwellers.
- Activities must be geared to building self-confidence in children and adolescents and supporting their individual development together with centres focusing on this (playing and sports grounds, artistic activities, psychological support programmes, skill building courses, computer training, preparation for high school and university).
- Programmes must be developed to respond to some urgent needs (food, clothing, housing, heating, education and health) of neighbourhood dwellers.

#### **Employment and Unemployment**

Limited employment opportunities and widespread unemployment are among the most pressing problems in the province and in the region in general.

It is difficult to say that existing incentives geared to the developing regional economy and boosting employment are at a level and in effectiveness to bring out a momentum changing the economy radically. Already disadvantaged relative to provinces in the western part of the country, provinces in the region started to face



worsening situation upon internal displacement. Hence, incentives and other measures must be designed so as to respond to urgent and genuine needs.

Implementation of projects geared to skill building and creation of employment is of utmost importance in the solution of the problem of unemployment.

Since the new generation settling in Diyarbakir cannot adequately benefit from education opportunities in the city their employment opportunities too are very limited. In other words they could cover no distance further in this respect compared to their elders. The existing poverty brings along the poverty of new generations. No improvement has taken in the living standards of younger generations.

Following are our suggestions for employment creation:

- Investment in leading sectors must be encouraged and measures must be taken to promote regional trade. In encouraging investments, weight must be given to employment creating, labour intensive and high value added sectors.
- Special projects accompanied by special incentives must be launched so as to set local Dynamics in motion by bringing business circles together under the leadership of the chambers of commerce and business associations.
- Improvement of working conditions at workplaces and social security coverage of working people.
- Opportunities must be provided to families to practice animal husbandry and urban farming. To encourage the latter, Treasury land around the city must be allocated to these families accompanied by credit in favourable terms.
- Employment oriented skill building courses with respect to sex and different age groups.
- Lots must be allocated to neighbourhood dwellers at marketplaces operating in middle-class neighbourhoods.

### **Child Labour**

School age children work out in streets and workplaces faced with many hazards. Though aware of such hazards and risks, families have no other choice but let their children work. Child labour cannot be effectively eliminated by punishing parents. In an environment where adults cannot find jobs trying to stop child labour with police measures is tantamount to condemning the whole family, including children, to starvation.

Urgent and medium-term measures must be adopted to first mitigate and then eliminate this problem. What needs to be done urgently is to further develop the Sta-



te policy encouraging education and increase the amount of cash payable to each school attending child. This may help dissuade parents from sending their children out to work instead of school. Full elimination of child labour, on the other hand, is possible only with the implementation of a comprehensive training and employment policy and providing decent jobs to adults.

### **Seasonal Employment**

Seasonal employment is the activity of the poorest, involving rather and working and living conditions. It has also the side effect of interfering the education of children, either undermining or disrupting it. Those who move out to western provinces for seasonal employment complain not only of low wages and difficult conditions but also of discriminatory attitude because of their Kurdish identity.

While legislative arrangements are introduced to improve the conditions of seasonal employment, policies must be pursued to generate opportunities of subsistence and employment in places where families live and send their children to school.

### **Education**

In the neighbourhoods surveyed, the proportion of children out of school is rather high either because of dropouts or not sending at all and many children attending school also work. Fewer children continue with secondary education after completing primary school.

- Measures must be taken to improve the quality of education in neighbourhood schools and conditions conducive to children's retention in schools after primary education (i.e. considering the employment opportunities in our times, jobs are mostly available to people who have some education beyond primary school).
- The conditional cash transfer scheme introduced to encourage children's school enrolment must be made more attractive.
- In order to help children not speaking Turkish when they start school not to fall in disadvantaged position before others, particularly first grade teachers must be selected among those who can speak Kurdish at least to communicate with such children.
- Training in mother tongue must be incorporated to school curricula and necessary arrangements must be made for transition to education in mother tongue. Courses on grammar and writing in mother tongue should be launched for adults.
- Free pre-school education must be further expanded.



- Considering difficulties that students face in studying at home, there must be spaces within school or neighbourhoods where school attending children can study, do their homework and also engage in various activities that would contribute to their development.
- Because of financial constraints students cannot attend private courses. To respond to this situation the number of free preparation courses offered to children who will take entrance tests must be increased and further spread in neighbourhoods.
- Methods of encouragement, persuasion and sanction must be used to dissuade male members of families preventing the school enrolment of girls.
- Favourable circumstances and programmes must be phased in to promote literacy.
- To bring out a positive change in the life of the youth, there is need to create employment opportunities while, at the same time, to deliver skill building trainings corresponding to newly created areas of employment. No sustained outcomes can be reached in trainings delivered without a comprehensive plan.
- In order to increase the attractiveness of all kinds of training and skill building, in cash or in kind assistance must be provided to participants (Since people have to work long hours for their subsistence, any time spared for training may have the effect of reducing incomes and in such cases it may be difficult to convince people to attend training courses).
- In neighbourhoods, centres providing spaces to potential entrepreneurs in manufacturing and services sectors must be launched like İŞGEMs of the KOSGEB (New enterprises must be allowed to operate at these centres until they can stand on their own feet. Businesses established at these centres must also be provided counselling services).
- Training programmes must be delivered to encourage young people to entrepreneurship and necessary support must be given to those who intend to start their own business.
- No interest credit with periods of grace must be provided to those families planning to start their own business (especially in micro and small scales) accompanied by counselling services at the stages of establishment development and sustenance.
- People must be supplied information about opportunities of business start-ups, employment, credit and grant funds accompanied by neighbourhood centres providing information on such issues and opportunities.



## Women

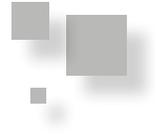
Women and girls living in these neighbourhoods are under heavy burden both physically and emotionally. In addition to working for family subsistence, women are also seen as the bearers of “family honour.”

Suggestions to improve the lives of women:

- Such facilities as laundries and kindergartens that ease the work burden of women must be launched and promoted. These facilities must be used also as centres to build awareness in women about their rights.
- Basic needs of abandoned women or women who lost their husbands must be met and they must be given support for the care and education of their children.
- Training in reproductive health must be given to both women and men.
- Initiatives must be taken to diversify employment opportunities which are presently very limited for women and skill building courses must be launched to enable women to be employed as qualified workers.
- Measures must be taken to improve remuneration in occupations where women are employed since wages are extremely low in these occupations due to excess labour supply.
- Training programmes must be developed in line with the preferences of women.
- Producing women must be provided means of marketing their products.
- Male-specific programmes must be developed to solve problems mainly originating from males.
- Shelters must be provided for women suffering violence.

## Health Problems

Poverty-triggered diseases and health problems such as typhoid fever and jaundice are quite common in these neighbourhoods. Also having its share in this ill-health is the lack of awareness concerning health issues on the part of neighbourhood dwellers. Therefore, they must be given training on causes of disease and in health in addition to preventive health services. The point to be considered in these trainings is that they are delivered in the language that trainees would prefer. In other words the medium of training should be Kurdish who cannot understand and speak Turkish. Also, the support of local leaders and prominent figures will enhance the effectiveness of in campaigns in the context of preventive medicine (i.e. like immunization).



There must be health centres in neighbourhoods extending some health services (i.e. injections, dressing, etc.) outside working hours as well.

Health spending of families with disabled members must be supported.

### **Trust in Governmental Organizations**

Access to public services is quite poor in neighbourhoods. This situation has fed mistrust in governmental organizations. The majority of these people think it quite unlikely that they can actually benefit from universal economic and legal rights that other people are entitled to. Therefore, to enhance the effectiveness of programmes and policies pursued by governmental agencies in particular there is need to rebuild mutual trust between such agencies and internally displaced people.

In the planning and implementation of suggestions listed above, all including governmental organizations, local governments, Professional organization, businessmen's associations and relevant non-governmental organizations have their duties to perform.

For the implementation of these solutions, we think that the first precondition is the cessation of conflict in the region. This, in turn, requires the recognition of political, democratic and cultural rights of Kurds.





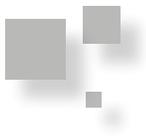
# ANNEX 1

## **Problems expressed by interviewees on the status of women, families, neighbourhoods and return to villages and their suggestions for solution**

### **MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS OF WOMEN**

#### **Economic Problems**

1. I can't contribute to my family.
2. I have no economic freedom.
3. I have no cash at hand.
4. We can't find jobs.
5. Women should have regular pensions.
6. My husband has no job.
7. My husband has no social security.
8. Minimum wage is too low.
9. We go out for seasonal works.
10. We have no house of our own.
11. I wish I had a better home.
12. We have no household goods.



### **Problems Related to Domestic Household Work Burden of Women**

1. Nobody help me at home, it is all a burden on me.
2. Families are too crowded.
3. Taking care of mother and father in-law at home.
4. No washing machine and I have to wash with my hands.

### **Child Related Problems**

1. Men want too many children.
2. It is difficult with too many children, they give you no rest.
3. We can't have them educated.
4. I am of no use to my children.
5. I can't give pocket money to my children.
6. My children work in places too far.
7. My daughters go hoeing and I am so sorry about it.
8. I can't make a child.
9. My children do not behave well to me.

### **Health Problems**

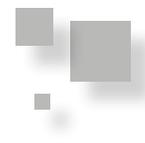
1. My husband is sick.
2. I can't take care of my sick child.
3. I have some woman's diseases.
4. I can't get treatment.

### **Problems Related to Education**

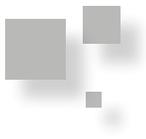
1. We are not sent to school for being females.
2. We are uneducated.
3. We are ignorant and illiterate.
4. Girls are not sent to school.

### **Problems Related to Gender Inequality, Intra-Family Conflicts/Violence, Cultural, Social and Political Life**

1. Women are perceived as second class. Male oppression on women.
2. Men do not let us say our word.
3. Men do not take the opinion of women.



4. My husband does not let me speak.
5. We can't go out of home without men's permission.
6. No social activity for women.
7. I am of no use at home.
8. My word doesn't count at home.
9. We are of no use.
10. My husband is gambling.
11. Women cannot defend their rights.
12. Men want to own women.
13. Man look too harshly at women.
14. We are beaten up and oppressed.
15. Women's rights are violated.
16. There are no shelters that women suffering violence can resort to
17. Men do not like to see women working.
18. I was going to domestic cleaning work but my husband stopped me.
19. We can't earn money just because we're women.
20. I am widowed.
21. When I lost my husband I was made to marry my brother in law.
22. My husband has a second wife, he doesn't care about me.
23. Forced marriages make wrong couples.
24. Bride-mother in law we all live in the same house.
25. We can't tell about our problems for not speaking Turkish.
26. I can't go to doctor, I can only rely on my husband.
27. Uncertainties about future.
28. Electricity is not regularly provided.
29. My husband is in prison.
30. We are not free.
31. What do you mean by 'problem' I am already dead.



## **SUGGESTIONS FOR SOLUTION OF WOMEN'S PROBLEMS**

### **Suggestions of Solution Economic Problems**

1. My family should be given a larger house.
2. A larger house
3. House should be built.
4. I wish I had a separate house.
5. A house of my own.
6. Separate houses for married children.
7. If my children grow up and have their jobs I'll have a house.
8. I wish we could have a bath, toilet and kitchen of our own.
9. Household items.
10. Washing machine
11. The rich should give their unused goods to the poor.
12. Job opportunities for uneducated women.
13. Job for my elder son.
14. Everything will be OK if there are jobs.
15. State should provide jobs.
16. More job opportunities.
17. Women should have jobs without having to go out of their neighbourhood.
18. More factories.
19. State should launch factories.
20. Textile workshops should be launched.
21. State should lend at low interest rates.
22. Improvement of economic status.
23. Higher minimum wage.
24. I can work when children grow up.
25. It is not possible since my husband does not let me work
26. I work if my husband permits.
27. Pensions to the unemployed.
28. State pensions to women.

- 
29. Cash transfer to women.
  30. State should give to all families.
  31. Support by the municipality.
  32. Municipal support to widows.
  33. Lot of money.

#### **Suggestions of Solution for Child Related Problems**

1. Family planning.
2. I wish I made as much children as I could care.
3. I want state support to care for my children.
4. I wish I could tell my ideas about our children.
5. Problems will be over when children grow up.
6. We find rest when children get married and leave us.
7. I wish they were quiet.
8. I want my children here.

#### **Suggestions of Solution for Health Problems**

1. Better curative services.
2. Better care in a better hospital.
3. Caring about our health problems.
4. More health centres.
5. Access to doctors.
6. I am sick and I can't solve my problems.
7. Being able to see a private doctor.
8. My spouse should be cured to work better
9. Hiring a carer for my disabled child.
10. I can't do cleaning work for my sickness.
11. I wish there were somebody to take me to a doctor.

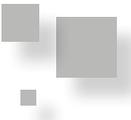
#### **Suggestions of Solution for Problems Related to Education**

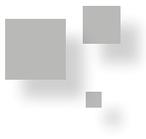
1. Availability of training centres.
2. Favourable environments for the education of children.

- 
3. All girls must go to school.
  4. The state must support girls' education.
  5. I'd like to go to school if it were possible.
  6. My children didn't teach me to read and write; maybe I go to a course.
  7. Women should be educated whether in rural or in urban environments.
  8. You get a profession by receiving education and training.
  9. If I were educated I would have married anyone I liked and not live like this.
  10. Training in women's rights.
  11. Training courses for children.
  12. Training in family planning and women's diseases.
  13. They should teach us good things.
  14. Men should be trained.
  15. Men should be trained about women's rights.
  16. NGOs should train men.

**Suggestions of Solution for Problems Related to Gender Inequality, Intra-Family Conflicts/Violence, Cultural, Social and Political Life**

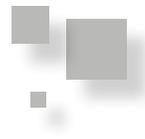
1. Men should be respectful to women.
2. My husband has to be more understanding.
3. A man with good personality supports woman.
4. Activities to convince their spouses.
5. We can't solve problems with my husband.
6. No beating.
7. They should give us our rights.
8. Elderly should not act ignorantly.
9. Listening to the elderly.
10. I can go out if it is spoken with my family.
11. I want to speak more freely without fear.
12. Talking to my husband and convincing him to permit.
13. I want my word heeded in this house.

- 
14. I can't go anywhere without getting permission.
  15. I think we have to suffer; they are men and we have to do what they say.
  16. Only if women keep silent and follow what their husbands say.
  17. If the man does not earn bread woman cannot do anything.
  18. There will be no oppression and violence at home if my husband gets a good job.
  19. If a work somewhere my husband will have less to tell me.
  20. If man and woman work together.
  21. I would not have married my in-law if I were better off.
  22. They have to put up with their husbands.
  23. Women cannot live without man, there is no solution.
  24. No solution since women have nothing to say.
  25. It is a pity for women, one should understand them.
  26. No second wife.
  27. We want to be in comfort.
  28. We want to manage our affairs.
  29. Women should unite.
  30. Municipality should launch sheltering places for women.
  31. State should launch protection houses.
  32. State should punish polygamy.
  33. New legislation for women's rights.
  34. Counselling services
  35. Keeping their husbands away from home.
  36. Pardon to those convicted or held in custody,
  37. It would not be like this if my husband was alive.
  38. No solution unless we become an EU member.
  39. NGOs think they are doing something, but nobody comes to us. I have no chance to go out.



### **Suggestions of Solution for Problems Related to Return to Villages**

1. Rebuilding of houses in the village and return there.
2. If they help us return to our villages our livelihood will be the same as before.
3. Those who burned out village should build a new village and let us settle.



## **MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS OF THE FAMILY**

### **Economic Problems**

1. Hunger, despair
2. Low income.
3. Hard to subsist.
4. My spouse is jobless
5. Better job for my spouse.
6. My spouse has to work in other provinces.
7. My spouse is working despite his illness.
8. No regular jobs.
9. I have to undertake all household things.
10. No regular income.
11. Pay increase.
12. We fight in family just because of poverty.
13. I am widowed and I am at pains thinking about what to serve in meals.
14. I have to pay to the grocer.
15. Not being able to pay my debts.
16. Electricity bills to be paid.
17. Water bills to be paid.
18. I got it debt while my children were getting married.
19. Our house is too small.
20. I have no house.
21. Our house is in very bad condition.
22. Our house has to title and it can be expropriated.
23. Having to pay rent.
24. Our house is small and too damp.
25. Bath, kitchen and toilet are all outside.
26. No refrigerator.



27. No washing machine and furniture.
28. No fuel for heating.
29. No stove and fuel
30. A better life.

**Child Related Problems**

1. Future of my children.
2. Too many children.
3. I can't take care of my children.
4. My child has no job.
5. Children are working in distant places.
6. Missing the mother when she moves out to other places to work in summer.
7. Having no child.
8. My children are troublesome.

**Health Problems**

1. Unable to work regularly because of health problems
2. Spouse cannot work because of health problems.
3. No green card.
4. Child with a disease.
5. Disabled child.
6. Elder son lost one of his arms.
7. Elder son is sick.
8. Better treatment to a daughter.
9. Needs of disabled children.
10. Too old and paralyzed parents.
11. Spouse has mental problems.
12. Spouse has kidney problems.
13. Spouse has visual problems.
14. Spouse is ill.

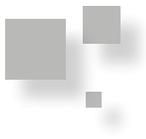


### **Problems Related to Education**

1. Most of family members are uneducated.
2. Not being able to send children to school.
3. Children do not go to school.
4. Going to school, but the school is not of good quality.
5. Spouse does not let girls go to school.

### **Problems Related to Gender Inequality, Intra-Family Conflicts/Violence, Cultural, Social and Political Life**

1. Unrest and conflicts within family.
2. Acute family conflicts.
3. No value is given to women.
4. House is too crowded.
5. In-laws living together.
6. Conflict with relatives.
7. In-laws behaving unfair.
8. Problems between spouses.
9. Spouse left home.
10. Husband is with another woman.
11. Spouse has bad habits.
12. Spouse is alcoholic.
13. Abandoned by her husband.
14. My husband and children worry me.
15. I wish my spouse was here.
16. I am not happy with my present environment.
17. The fact that we had to migrate.
18. Troubles are piling over.
19. Not being able to go around.
20. Not having an occupation.



## **SUGGESTIONS FOR SOLUTION TO FAMILY RELATED PROBLEMS**

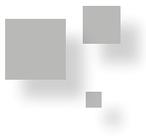
### **Suggestions of Solution for Economic Problems**

1. Jobs for family members.
2. Ne factories in Diyarbakır.
3. I wish there were jobs here to work for.
4. By working more.
5. Better jobs.
6. We work eagerly if the State provides us jobs.
7. The State jobs are better, we go for them.
8. Job opportunities for grown up children.
9. We'd go nowhere else if we had jobs here.
10. Permanent jobs for mothers.
11. A job whatever small it may be.
12. By working.
13. The State can solve the problem of unemployment.
14. I wish my spouse's job was here.
15. I wish my spouse was covered by insurance scheme.
16. Businessmen should launch new factories and fields of employment.
17. If the problem of unemployment is solved there will be no more unrest.
18. The Municipality and the State should help us on this.
19. A job to my son from the Municipality.
20. Payment of our debts.
21. We can buy a house by working and saving.
22. I'll take my children from school and let them work somewhere.
23. The State and Municipality should take care of this.
24. It is better if the State helps, we can do nothing without initial capital.
25. There should be pension for widows.
26. Assistance for better living.
27. The State should pay to all our children.
28. Fuel support.

- 
29. No matter who gives us a helping hand.
  30. My husband should be pensioned for his physical disability.
  31. Living in better and more comfortable places.
  32. Staling in better houses.
  33. Houses fit to us should be constructed.
  34. The State should provide houses to forced migrants.
  35. The Municipality should build houses for us.
  36. The Municipality should construct new houses.
  37. The Municipality should let us build our house.
  38. The State can solve the title problem.
  39. The State should give us houses.
  40. The State should build houses on Treasury land and allocate them to us.
  41. The State should provide opportunities for buying houses.
  42. The State should help the homeless.
  43. The State should provide especially favourable terms in housing of the poor.
  44. A larger house
  45. If the State provides us jobs we can buy refrigerator.
  46. We'll move if our situation gets better.

#### **Suggestions of Solution for Child Related Problems**

1. I wish I could give future to my children..
2. Good communication with children.
3. Children should listen to our words.
4. I could work if I had some place to leave my children.
5. I want my children here with me.
6. Providing for the needs of my children.
7. I wish I had children as much as I could care for.
8. Fewer children.
9. I wouldn't have 7 children if I were informed earlier.
10. I wish I had a child.



### **Suggestions of Solution for Health Problems**

1. I need better treatment.
2. I wish I could go to hospital and see a doctor.
3. We'd have better treatment if we had money.
4. The State should provide much better doctors to my spouse.
5. My spouse should be cured by a better doctor.
6. If I had money I'd engage private doctors for my daughter.
7. I wish my children could be cured.
8. I want green card for the treatment of my child
9. I have no child and green card gives me no chance in medical services.
10. Needs of my disabled child should be met.
11. Since medicine is imported I can't afford it.
12. Family planning.
13. Doctor says there is no solution.

### **Suggestions of Solution for Problems Related to Education**

1. They should provide for the education of my child.
2. The State should also help in the field of education.
3. My children should get education as they want.
4. My children should be able to go to better schools.
5. Children should be able to go to private schools.
6. School for our children.
7. I'd send my daughter if there were a school nearby.
8. Businessmen and the State should grant scholarships.
9. Families should be convinced to send their daughters to literacy courses.
10. Schools should give training to avoid fight at home.
11. Nobody should bet et ignorant.

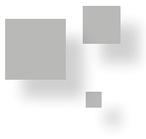
### **Suggestions of Solution for Problems Related to Gender Inequality, Intra-Family Conflicts/Violence, Cultural, Social and Political Life**

1. We must be respectful to each other.
2. There will be peace if the family understands.

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3. Talking it together as a family.
  4. They could be more understanding.
  5. Each should love the other
  6. Higher value may be attached to women.
  7. If there is money, there will be no unrest.
  8. The minister in charge of family should take care of this.
  9. Accommodation for elderly people..
  10. Population shortage.
  11. We'll get out of here if I can convince my spouse.
  12. Too crowded to take care of.
  13. I can think of nothing.
  14. I have no hope.
  15. We'll be better of if the God helps.
  16. Too late for any solution.
  17. There is no problem at all.
  18. Not to worry for anything.

### **Return to Villages**

1. Better returning to village.
2. It will be OK if we return to our village.
3. Returning to village with both material and moral support from authorities.
4. The State should restore the house in the village.
5. Housing support to those whose houses were burnt down.
6. The State should re-build the village and redress us.
7. If the State drove us out of our village, then it should take care of us.
8. The State should provide houses to those whose villages were burnt down.
9. The State should rebuild our village.
10. We brought a lawsuit for our house burnt down, if we win the case we'll build a new house in the village.
11. It will be resolved if we are redressed.



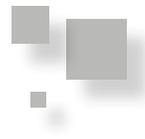
## **MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS OF NEIGHBOURHOOD**

### **Problems Related to the Future of the Neighbourhood and Buildings (Dwellings, Coffee Houses, Etc.)**

1. They don't tell us whether our house to be demolished or not.
2. Fear of remaining homeless.
3. Demolishment of houses along the city walls.
4. Titles should be distributed.
5. No difference from village.
6. Too many old buildings.
7. There is a coffee house right across the street.
8. Houses are adjacent and in bad condition.
9. All migrants from villages come in here.
10. Problem of ruined houses.
11. No bakery
12. No marketplace
13. Marketplace is too far.
14. Streets are not in order.
15. No condolence house.

### **Road, Water, Electricity and Transportation Facilities**

1. Poor infrastructure.
2. Bad roads.
3. Dust all over,
4. Mud.
5. Low quality of services.
6. The Municipality lift road construction in mid-way.
7. No minibus fro transportation.
8. Car from here to hospital
9. Electricity cuts.
10. Water supply problem.
11. Exchange station is insufficient.



### **Absence/Limited Availability of Recreation Areas**

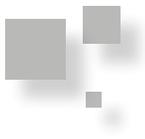
1. No park and playground for children
2. Playground for children
3. Laundrettes

### **Environmental Health**

1. Environmental cleanliness.
2. Too much pollution.
3. No garbage cans.
4. Garbage is not collected.
5. No waste dumping.
6. Wastes are thrown out to streets.
7. Debris and garbage remain without being collected.
8. Dirt and disorder.
9. Waste water continuously flowing.
10. Sewage problem.
11. Too many flies and mosquitoes.
12. There is bad odour because of animal slaughtering.
13. Illicit animal slaughtering.
14. Neighbours are keeping animals.
15. No environmental design.
16. Too noisy environments.
17. Too crowded.
18. Neighbours complain about water leaking when I clean the house.

### **Child Related Problems**

1. Too many children
2. Our neighbour has too many children.
3. Quarrels between children.
4. Children just wandering in streets.



5. Noise and bad things by children.
6. Too many children involved in substance abuse.

#### **Problems Related to Education**

1. Lack of education, ignorance.
2. Schools are poor.
3. Schools are too crowded.

#### **Problems Related to Cultural/Social Life**

1. Relationship between neighbours.
2. Bad neighbourhood relations.
3. Women fighting each other in the neighbourhood.
4. Not being able to go out.
5. Youth is just idle.

#### **Security in Neighbourhood**

1. Theft.
2. No security.
3. People keeping dogs in ruins.
4. A neighbourhood with plenty of fight and clowns.

#### **Economic Problems**

1. Problems of subsistence.
2. Material constraints.
3. Unemployment and poverty.
4. Female unemployment.
5. All poor people gather in the same settlement.
6. Relief materials are not distributed fairly.

#### **Other**

1. There is nobody I can talk about my problems.
2. No problem in the neighbourhood.



## **SUGGESTIONS OF SOLUTION FOR PROBLEMS IN NEIGHBOURHOODS**

### **Suggestions of Solution for Problems Related to the Future of the Neighbourhood and Buildings (Dwellings, Coffee Houses, Etc.)**

1. The Municipality should conduct better checks.
2. The Municipality should remove debris.
3. The Municipality should help in all areas.
4. They should remove houses already ruined. They should provide us dwelling if there are going to expropriate the present one.
5. Houses should be provided to those with bad dwellings.
6. They should build houses elsewhere and we move there.
7. They should give us either deeds or money we paid.
8. If I have money I'd sell out my house and go away.
9. The Municipality should launch bakeries.
10. Stock breeders should be moved from the city.
11. Cheap shopping centres.
12. The State should find a solution.

### **Suggestions of Solution for Problems Related to Road, Water, Electricity and Transportation Facilities**

1. The Municipality should take care of this neighbourhood as it does OFIS.
2. The Municipality should assign more importance to places like this.
3. The Municipality should take care of our street too.
4. The Municipality should collect garbage from houses as it does in other housing areas. The Municipality neglected this neighbourhood.
5. The Municipality should arrange our streets.
6. We expect the solution from the Municipality and DiSKİ.
7. The Municipality should distribute garbage bags.
8. The Municipality should asphalt our streets.
9. Busses directly leading to the hospital.
10. Line minibuses should pass by this neighbourhood.

- 
11. Transportation should be within the neighbourhood.
  12. The Municipality does not work as it should.
  13. The Municipality, muhtars and deputies should solve the problem.
  14. The Municipality and the State can solve the problem.
  15. We expect assistance and support from the State.
  16. The Municipality can solve it.
  17. We expect solution from mother.
  18. Electricity cuts should be less
  19. We need an additional power exchange station.
  20. People must avoid using illicit electricity.

#### **Suggestions of Solution for Problems Related to Absence/Limited Availability of Recreation Areas**

1. The Municipality should do it.
2. The Municipality should launch a new laundry.
3. More people should benefit from the laundry.
4. Tenders should be replaced by bakeries. The Municipality should provide parks.
5. Park for children,

#### **Suggestions of Solution to Child Related Problems**

1. Parents cannot take care of
2. If there were playing grounds children would go and it won't be so crowded at home.

#### **Suggestions of solution to problems in the field of education**

1. Launching of skill training courses.
2. Training of women.

#### **Suggestions of Solution to Health Related Problems**

1. Ministry of health.
2. Health workers should visit more frequently.
3. Ministry should conduct more frequent checks.



### **Suggestions of Solution to Problems Related to Cultural/Social Life**

1. Mutual respect.
2. People around could have been more understanding.
3. Neighbours could have been more charitable.
4. Persons disturbing others should be punished.

### **Suggestions of Solution to Security Problems in Neighbourhoods**

1. The State can provide better security.
2. It can be solved if the State takes security measures.
3. Police should be more sensitive to robberies..
4. Police can provide security.
5. It should be more secure at nights.
6. Providing security.

### **Suggestions of Solution to Economic Problems**

1. With the support of businessmen.
2. Relief materials should be distributed to all
3. Muhtar should observe fairness in distributing relief.

### **Suggestions of Solution to Migration Related Problems**

1. A better settlement for migrants.
2. Migrants should be settling in other neighbourhoods as well.

### **Other**

1. We can solve.
2. The State should back us up.
3. They should come in and ask how we are.
4. Those who visit us for our votes during elections should solve these problems.



## **IMPORTANT PROBLEMS RELATED TO RETURN BACK TO ORIGINAL SETTLEMENT**

### **Problems Related to Security**

1. Life security.
2. I am afraid to return,
3. We are not safe; our house was burnt down and we cannot restore it.
4. No public security.
5. We are afraid that they will raid our village again.
6. We are afraid to re-experience what we lived.
7. The State does not permit.
8. No barrier at all.
9. No barrier at all.
10. The village was burnt down.
11. The village was burnt down, it has to be re-built.
12. No return before armed conflicts end.

### **Housing and Infrastructure Problems**

1. I'll return if the State provides houses.
2. I'd go if the State provides a house and animals.
3. If the State gives my land and house back.
4. If there is electricity, water, school and roads.
5. No house.
6. We cannot construct a new house.
7. Cash is needed to restore the house.
8. My house was burnt down.
9. If they give us our house and land back.
10. I have no place to go.
11. The village is inhabitable now.
12. No one is left in the village.
13. Village is empty.



### **Education Opportunities**

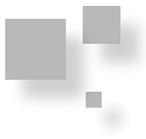
1. Children are going to school.
2. My children have no future.
3. There is no high school in the village.
4. There is no school and health centre.
5. Education and health services are poor.

### **Means of Subsistence (Land, Shelter, Irrigation)**

1. I would return if I had a house and land.
2. I'll go if the State provides for our needs.
3. If earlier conditions are placed in.
4. No land, no farming, plot.
5. No house, land or animals
6. We have nothing there, why should we return?
7. I'll return if I am given enough to have land and animals.
8. I am not agile enough to engage in farming.
9. Subsistence problems.
10. We can't find a livelihood.
11. No job, no farming plot, no animals.
12. I have nothing left in the village to subsist on.
13. I am not working in the village.
14. Not much assets in the village.
15. No jobs in the village.
16. Stock breeding was my only means of subsistence and I can do it no more.
17. Poverty and lack of life security

### **Existence of Village Guards**

1. There are village guards in the village.
2. There are village guards.
3. Village guards do not provide assistance and security.



### **Family Related/Social Problems**

1. We can't return for some family problems.
2. We can't return because of gossiping.
3. My in-laws drove us out of the village.
4. Both parties cannot return because of blood feud.
5. Blood feud.
6. Village people do not want us.
7. We cannot get along with people in the village.
8. We have nobody there, we are afraid to go back.

### **Problem Deriving From Differences Between Rural and Urban Life**

1. We can't do any more in the village.
2. Children are grown up, they can't live there.
3. Children have accustomed to urban life. Life is difficult in the village.
4. No good environment to live in.
5. Too much work to do in the village.
6. We are accustomed to the city, we can't re-adapt to rural environments.

### **Other**

1. I won't go, I can do nothing there.
2. I have nobody.
3. Authorities may be more sensitive to listen to the problems of rural people.
4. It was not good in the village and it is why we migrated.
5. The village was sold out and we cannot go back.
6. The rich does not want the poor.
7. Landlords are bad.



## ABOUT DEVELOPMENT CENTRE

Established in Diyarbakır in 2004, the Development Centre is a non-governmental organization engaged in studies, research and capacity building work which constitute the basis of its poverty alleviation programmes in both rural and urban areas.

While its activities mainly take place in the province of Diyarbakır, the Development Centre is also involved in some regional and national-level events. The province and the region concerned comprise the most backward settlements in the country and this backwardness manifests itself in many spheres of life. In many provinces of the region, poverty and deprivation make themselves acutely felt. Deeply impoverished, rural people is worst affected by this adverse situation.

The people of the region subsist, in general, in standards remaining much below both national averages and basic human necessities. Further, there is no indication at present that these problems could be radically solved in near future. What can be done in the short term is to mitigate the situation by mobilizing available scientific and technological means to the benefit of the people on the basis of an equalitarian approach upholding the principles of social justice.

By capitalizing the co-existence of social and traditional structures in modern times and forms of organization, we consider it important to further develop areas of common use.

It is among our major goals to launch plans and practices which provide grounds for means, opportunities and legal structures conducive to human development and develop policies accordingly.

In the face of existing problems, the Development Centre targets at mitigating poverty and deprivation in urban and rural areas, improving the status of women and contributing to the social development of children. Further, it is also among our objectives to bring in social justice by mitigating deprivation, to protect natural environments by contributing to the formulation of sustainable development models and advancing development cooperation with both national and international non-governmental organizations. The Development Centre seeks to contribute to the creation of a democratic society where people enjoy decent and quality life. It is planned to gradually scale-up region wise projects, practices and pilot works developed in this context.

It is one of the pillars of our approach to cooperate in all initiatives with governmental organizations, local governments, universities in the country and abroad, non-governmental organizations, professional organizations, chambers, associati-



ons of producers and others. Ensuring the full participation of partners provides the ground for correct and effective work while, at the same time, making it possible to extend ongoing activities to larges masses of people. For all the time, the most essential and indispensable participants of this cooperation is of course the people living in areas where interventions have been planned or made.

The Development Centre has so far accomplished projects on the following:

- Rural surveys
- Patterns of agricultural production in the EU countries and their adaptation to the region
- Training of local development workers,
- Study on forced migration and its implications,
- Support to groups involved in forced migration,
- Strengthening women in rural areas,
- Capacity building in rural areas.

The working style and organizational structure of the Development Centre envisage experience sharing, creating a tradition and culture of collective action and a participatory and transparent management. The centre observes these premises in its organization and activities.