



The Effects of Terrorism on Education from the Educators' Perspective

Eğitimcilerin Bakış Açısıyla Terörün Eğitime Etkileri

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Abstract

This study reports a research investigating the effects of PKK terrorist organization and their acts on education in a particular town of Eastern Turkey starting from the 1980s. In order to determine these effects, eight semi-structured interview questions were formed and 12 educators (5 teachers and 7 administrators) who work in one city were interviewed. Data analysis was performed through descriptive and content analyses. The findings indicated that terrorism had a negative effect on individuals' social lives and their psychology; the killings of teachers in the region or forcing them to leave had a tremendous effect on reaching educational goals; the pressure, chaos, and fear created by terrorism victimized parents, teachers and students; young students got intimidated by the terrorism and left their homes to join the terrorist organization. Consequently, teacher scarcity and educational discrepancy got wider in the region.

Keywords: Terrorism, educators, education, case study.

Öz

Bu araştırmada özellikle 1980 sonrası Türkiye'nin doğusunda bulunan bir kasabada etkin olan PKK terör örgütünün saldırılarının eğitime olan etkileri araştırılmaktadır. Terörün eğitim üzerine etkisini araştırmak için sekiz yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme sorusu oluşturulmuştur ve bir ilde çalışan 12 eğitimci (5 öğretmen, 7 yönetici) ile yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Toplanan veriler içerik ve betimsel analiz yaklaşımları ile analiz edilmiştir. Sonuçlar terörün öncelikli olarak insanların yaşamında olumsuz etkilerinin olduğunu, onların sosyal yaşamlarını kısıtladığını ve psikolojilerini bozduğunu, öğretmenlerin öldürülmesi ve bölgeden ayrılmaları için zorlamaları eğitimin amaçlarını olumsuz yönde etkilemiştir. Bölgedeki baskılar kaos ve korku ortamı yaratmış, aileleri, öğrencileri ve öğretmenler terör kurbanları olmuştur. Öğrencilerin bir kısmı terörizmden korktukları için evlerinden ayrılıp terör örgütüne katılmışlardır. Bunların sonucu olarak bölgedeki öğretmen eksikliği bölgeler arası eğitim uçurumunu açmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Terör, eğitimciler, eğitim, durum çalışması.

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1. Introduction

The World is no longer a safe place. With globalization, terrorism has also become a global phenomenon. Turkey is one of the countries experiencing complexities due to terrorism. During the 1970s, left-right conflicts and alevi-shia conflicts were observed. After 1980, mainly PKK and other leftist and Islamist organizations carried out certain terrorist activities. Basically, based on the ethnicity issue, 400,000 people lost their lives due to PKK terrorist acts. PKK is a Kurdish abbreviation of *Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê* meaning Kurdish Worker Party in English. PKK is still officially listed as a terrorist organization by other countries (Sözer & Yılmaz, 2019). Terrorism has had absolute destruction over various fields including education.

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Separatist terrorism has been a severe problem for Turkey since the mid-1980s (Derin-Küre & Elveren 2014; Sözer & Yılmaz, 2019). Turkey has been hit by terrorist incidents for almost four decades. Terrorist groups have attacked civil service institutions, schools, tourist sites, transportation and telecommunication service facilities, business enterprises, and army bases in order to inflict maximum harm aiming at increasing casualties and economic damage (Öcal & Yıldırım, 2012). Turkey (90%) in their school textbook most frequently refer to themselves as being target of terrorist activities (İde, 2020).

In their study, Drakos and Kutun (2003) studied the effects of terrorism on tourism and they found that terrorist incidents are decomposed to better identify the impact of terrorism on tourism. In another study, Derin-Güre (2011) investigated the economic roots of separatist terrorism in Turkey. She found that there is no causal relationship between economic conditions in Southeastern Turkey and separatist terrorism. Derin-Küre and Elveren (2014) aimed to answer whether there was a causal relationship between income inequality and separatist terrorism in Turkey. The results showed that income inequality is not the main cause of escalation of separatist terrorism in Turkey.

Terrorist attacks mainly affected Eastern Anatolia and Southeast Anatolia regions in Turkey. Öcal and Yıldırım (2012) conducted a research to analyze the effects of terrorism on economic growth across provinces of Turkey between the time period of 1987-2001. It was found that terrorism has no direct relationship with economy nor with income distribution. However, when terrorism abides, its effects on economy is substantial. Feridun (2016) also investigated whether education and poverty had a causal effect on terrorist attacks in Turkey from 1980 to 2006. It was found that there was no long-run relationship in the where education is the long-run forcing variable for terrorist attacks. In addition, results also suggested no evidence of long-run relationship between terrorist attacks and poverty. Yet, Singh (2012) claimed that sustained terrorism negatively affects the long-term investment in rural areas.

Other effects of terrorism were studied under the State of Emergency Ruling (SOE). Kayaoğlu (2014) examined the socio economic impact of State of Emergency Ruling (SOE) in Turkey between the years of 1987-2002. The results showed that SOE ruling is an important factor for the underdevelopment of the Eastern and the Southeastern regions in Turkey and, thus, a new SOE will bring enormous inequalities, both economically and socially, and an intensification of the ethnic tensions in Turkey.

It was observed in regional reports (i.e., CHP, 1999) that economical dimension had been emphasized a lot, yet the impact on educational dimension has been underestimated in those reports. Kruger and Malečková (2003) studied the relations between education, poverty and terrorism. They found that there is little direct connection between poverty or education and participation in terrorism. Kavanagh (2011) also stated the relationship between socioeconomic status and taking part in terrorism by claiming that while poverty might not increase participation among people with low level of education, it is a noteworthy and positive predictor for those with high education. Danzell, Yao-Yuan and Pfannenstiel (2018) claimed that policymakers believe that access to education is an antidote for terrorism in Africa. They studied the role of education in mitigating a turn to terror among youth in Africa by examining 50 countries from 1970 to 2011. It was found that expansions in primary, secondary, and tertiary education appear to have different influences on domestic terrorism. However, their findings suggest that education should not be relied upon to counter extremism without additional initiatives to facilitate socioeconomic opportunities. Brockhoff, Krieger and Meierrieks, (2015) investigated the role of education in domestic terrorism for 133 countries between 1984 and 2007. The findings point to a nontrivial effect of education on terrorism. Lower education tends to promote terrorism in a cluster of countries where socioeconomic, political, and demographic conditions are unfavourable, while higher education reduces terrorism in a cluster of countries where conditions are more favourable. This suggests that country-specific circumstances moderate the effect of education on terrorism. The results of this study imply that promoting education needs to be accompanied by sound structural change to positively affect (individual and society-wide) development and consequently reduce terrorism.

Another study conducted by Elbakidze and Jin (2015) used transnational terrorism data from 1980 to 2000. They empirically examined the relationships between frequency of participation in transnational terrorism acts and economic development and education improvement. They found an inverse U-shaped association between the frequency of various nationals acting as perpetrators in transnational terrorism acts and per capita income in their respective home countries. They also found that education improvement from elementary to secondary is positively correlated with frequency of participation in transnational terrorism events, whereas further improvement from secondary to tertiary level is negatively correlated with participation in transnational terrorism. It was also found that citizens of countries with greater openness to international trade, lower degree of income inequality, greater economic freedom, larger proportion of population with tertiary education, and less religious prevalence participate in transnational terrorism events less frequently.

Benmelech, Berrebi and Klor (2012) analyzed the link between economic conditions and the quality of suicide terrorism. They found that high levels of unemployment enable terror organizations to recruit better educated, more mature, and more experienced suicide terrorists.

The relations between terrorism and education research results are inconsistent. Curriculum content is much more important than the years of schooling (Kruger & Malečková, 2003). Likewise, Jitka and Dragana (2013) reported that increasing education in years is not by itself a sufficient means of counter-terrorist policy. Lange (2011) claimed that education could shape ethnic violence. He provided a comparative–historical analysis of Assam, Cyprus, and Sri Lanka. He found evidence that education can promote ethnic violence by strengthening ethnic divisions and inter-communal disfavor, increasing frustration and aggression, intensifying competition, and providing mobilization resources.

O'Malley (2011) analyzed the longer-term impact of attacks on education and education system. She reported that the threat to education in general is the degradation of education or prevention of educational development. She grouped the effects of long period of attacks on (i) teachers and teaching provision, (ii) students and learning, (iii) infrastructure, (iv) the management of education and (v) the symbolic effect of the curtailment of the commitment to the right to education (p.5).

In Turkey, terrorism affected all walks of life, including the education being the most fragile. The impacts of terrorism and their results still exist due to great pressure on mobs and fearful atmosphere around. More than 1000 village schools were closed down; more than 100 teachers were killed or forced to resign; education was suspended often, classes were missed, three main stakeholders, teachers-students-parents, were apart from each other, and they all had stressful days.

As stated above, research investigating the effects of terrorism on education is limited. Therefore, this study aims to explore the effects of terrorism on education from the views of teachers and administrators who was working in the region. More specifically, it was intended to explore how educators were affected by terrorism and to be their voice in narrating their lived experiences.

2. Method

This study was designed as a qualitative case study. Case studies are used to describe an intervention or phenomenon and the real-life context in which it occurred while "how" or "why" questions are being posed (Yin, 2003). In this study, educators from a particular town were interviewed to understand in-depth how they were affected by terrorism and how education was affected based on their opinions and experiences.

Data were collected from a small city in the Eastern part of Turkey by critical case sampling. This city was mainly chosen since out of a hundred teachers killed, 25 of them were from this town only (MoNE, 2015). As for the general characteristics, it is a small-sized city with high schooling rate. While the city is known to be successful in their elementary education enrollment and achievement rates, high school academic achievement is reported to be low.

Participants of this study were selected based on maximum variation sampling (Patton, 1990). Although Patton (1990) claimed that this sample is beneficial to understand the common point of different groups, in this research, the aim of selecting maximum variation was to understand the whole picture by understanding different perspectives. Thus, each participant brought different aspects of the terrorism on education and educators.

Teachers and administrators of different educational backgrounds, levels and seniority from various organizations participated this study. The participants were original locals of the city and they were coded as NG, whereas others were appointed by the MoNE. In addition, they were originally from other parts of Turkey and they were coded as NNG. One participant was originally born in that city but grew up outside his own hometown. Later, he returned to work in his hometown. He was coded as NAG. Demographic information about the participants is presented in Table 1.

Table 1
Demographic information about the participants

Participant's Code	Gender	Age	Seniority	Years in that city	Branch	Position
NG 1	Male	34	11	34	Turkish Language and Literature	Asst. Principal
NAG 2	Male	48	5	5	Computer Sciences	Teacher
NG 3	Male	33	10	33	Philosophy	Asst. Principal
NG 4	Female	39	19	39	Preschool	Teacher
NNG 5	Female	48	25	25	History	Asst. Principal
NNG 6	Male	32	4	10	Preschool	Asst. Principal
NNG 7	Male	56	36	28	Primary School Teacher	Unit Director
NNG 8	Male	29	7	4	English	Teacher
NNG 9	Male	41	15	25	Technology Design	Teacher
NNG 10	Male	32	11	11	Primary School Teacher	Unit Director
NG 11	Female	33	8	33	Primary School Teacher	Teacher
NNG 12	Female	35	9	9	Art	Principal

The participants' professional experience ranged from 4 to 36 years; participants' years spent in the town ranged from 4 to 39. As for the participants' gender, 8 of them were male, 4 of them were female. In addition, two of them were unit directors, one of them was a school principal, four of them were assistant principals, and five of them were teachers. As presented in Table 1, teachers' fields also varied: primary school, Turkish Language and Literature, History, English, Art, Technology Design, Computer Sciences, preschool and philosophy teachers.

In order to provide reliability and validity, we tried to balance the insiders' and outsiders' opinion. The perspectives and experiences of not only the local participants but also those of ones from other provinces were taken into consideration. In addition, one of the researchers is an expert in educational administration field and is working in that town, the other researcher serves to bring a perspective as an outsider. Moreover, data was coded separately by the two researchers alone, and later compared in order to bring objectivity to the perspectives, and to be neutral as much as possible during the whole process of this research.

In order to determine the effects of terrorism on education, semi structured interviews were conducted with the participants. First, 8 interview questions were prepared and experts' opinions were asked. Based on their opinions, the final interview form was prepared. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with participants based on timely appointments receiving their consent. During the interviews, only the interviewer and interviewee met at a private place and the interviewer took notes. Although an average interview took about 30 minutes, the shortest one was 15 minutes, whereas the longest took 2 hours and 15 minutes. Data was collected during 2013-2014 academic year.

Data were analyzed by using content and descriptive analyses. First, all interview notes were typed via Microsoft Word programme. Then, each researcher coded the data, and they compared their codes. Later, they decided on the themes together. Finally, findings were supported with participants' statements.

3. Findings

The findings are presented in four sections. First, the effects of terrorism on school and schooling; second, the effects of terrorism on educators; third, the effects of terrorism on students; finally, the effects of terrorism on parents will be presented.

3.1. The Effects of Terrorism on Education

Participants stated that there had been a chaos in the region for over 30 years, which had prevented people from accessing education. Moreover, qualified students and teachers tended to leave the region, which definitely created a disadvantaged situation for education. Findings of this theme are displayed in Figure 1 below.

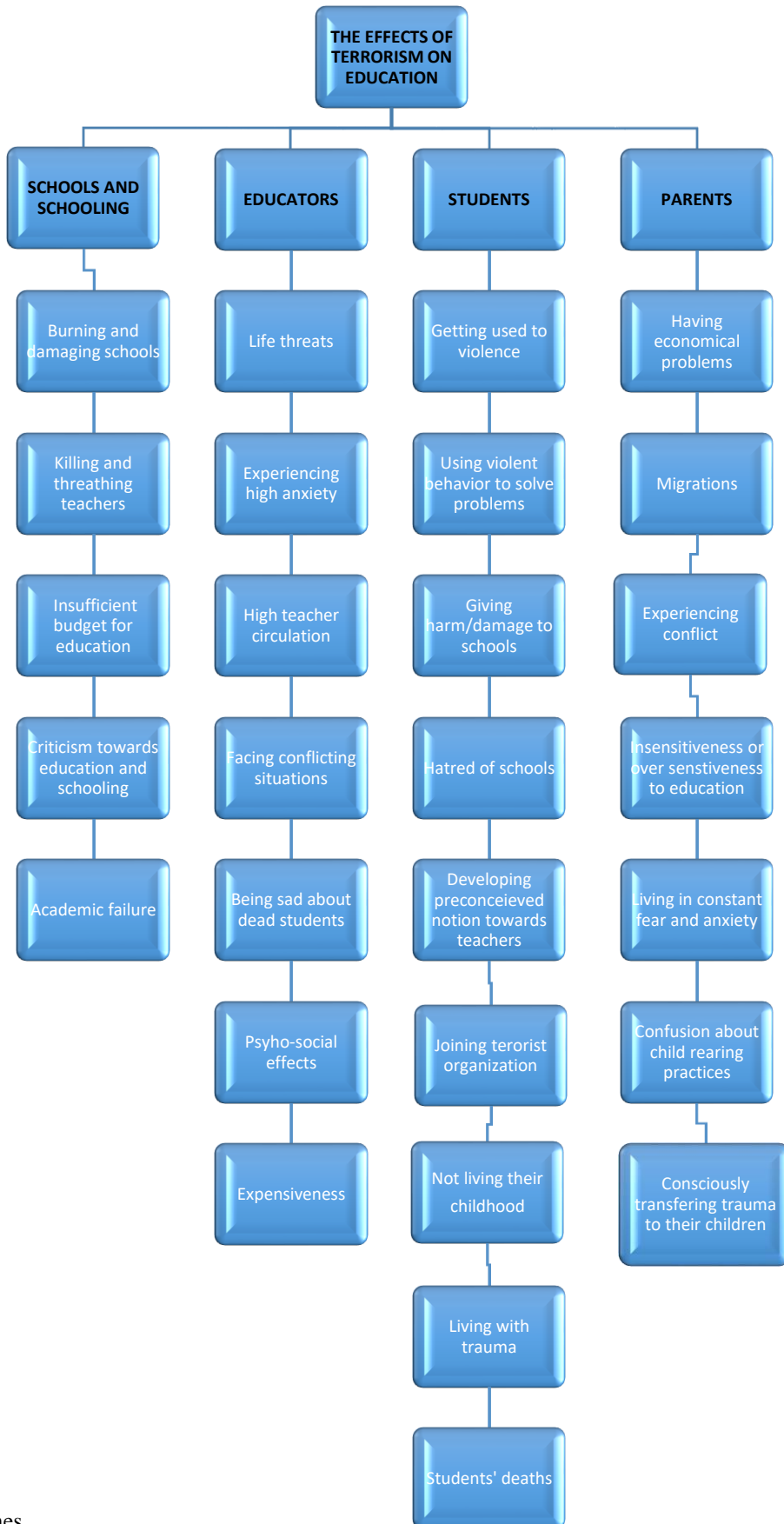


Figure 1. Themes

3.1.1 The Effects of Terrorism on Schools and Schooling

Under this theme, participants talked about burning and damaging schools, killing and threatening teachers, insufficient budget for education, criticism towards education and schooling and academic failure. Many schools were deserted and/or had to recess. Educators could not fulfill their responsibilities as expected and no supervisions were observed. Student-teacher-parent communication was missing to a great extent. Consequently, all these negative situations hindered the education process. In the following section, these patterns will be clarified.

Burning and damaging schools: In Eastern Anatolia and South Eastern Anatolia, many schools were burned or damaged by PKK terrorist groups because they perceived schools as the representation or symbol of the government.

Killing/threatening teachers: Terrorist attacks were directed to teachers and schools, causing many teachers die. Schools and teachers were considered as missionaries of "white assimilation" and were targets in those attacks.

Insufficient budget for education: Participants believed that the allocated budget for education in the region was insufficient, and the schools had limited budget for themselves. This insufficiency was another reason for poor educational outcomes.

Criticism towards education and schooling: Participants, especially those who were originally locals, stated that schools prevented their children from learning their mother tongue and assimilated their children with the existing curriculum. NG3 said that children were being assimilated at primary school years but became aware of the situation in the coming years as in the following statement:

"Individual assimilation was effective during the primary education years. But, as children got older, they started to develop "self" concept out. As they read, children understood better how assimilation was dangerous for themselves and turned it around for their good".

Academic failure: The most concrete effect of terrorism after teacher deaths was observed in decrease in academic success across the years. Educators put emphasis on academic failure and explained their reasons. One of the reasons in students' failure is the failure in meeting students' psycho-social needs. NG3 stated the following regarding this issue:

"In a setting where guns are fired and death news never end, students' psycho-social worlds are becoming upside down. One indication of this is the city of xx, where the university entrance rate is decreasing year by year".

NNG6 said that "children are full of horror, living in violence and anxiety. The situations in which they live prevent them from education and make them unsuccessful." The participant NNG10 also emphasized, "those developing anxiety levels led to a decrease in students' academic success. In addition, the effects of terror caused depression, adaptation problems, family problems and stress, which all contributed to their academic failure".

The participant NNG12 pointed out that here were serious reasons behind their academic failure as narrated in the following statements:

"Children here do not have the option of saying I could not study because electricity was off nor was I tardy because of the traffic. They would say there was a clash in the village, too many helicopters in the air, or my parents were detained in the early morning, gendarme cut off the electricity, when coming to school, the road was hold up etc. All these statements were not an excuse but real and serious reasons".

NG3 pointed out that "teachers did not want to work in the region, and when they came, they started to find a way to leave; and, the circulation of teachers in the region was quite high. This circulation would explain students' failure especially in middle schools". NNG7 mentioned that the insufficient number of teachers led to the class hours with no instruction. Thus, students spent their years with minimal learning. NNG7 also stated that students were detained from education by the terrorist groups and made them hate schools and administrators.

3.1.2 The Effects of Terrorism on Educators

Participants all agreed that terrorist acts in the region had affected their lives "negatively", and they further commented that these acts had prevented them from fulfilling their duties on time. Figure 2 represents teachers' reactions to the question on how terrorist acts had affected their lives.

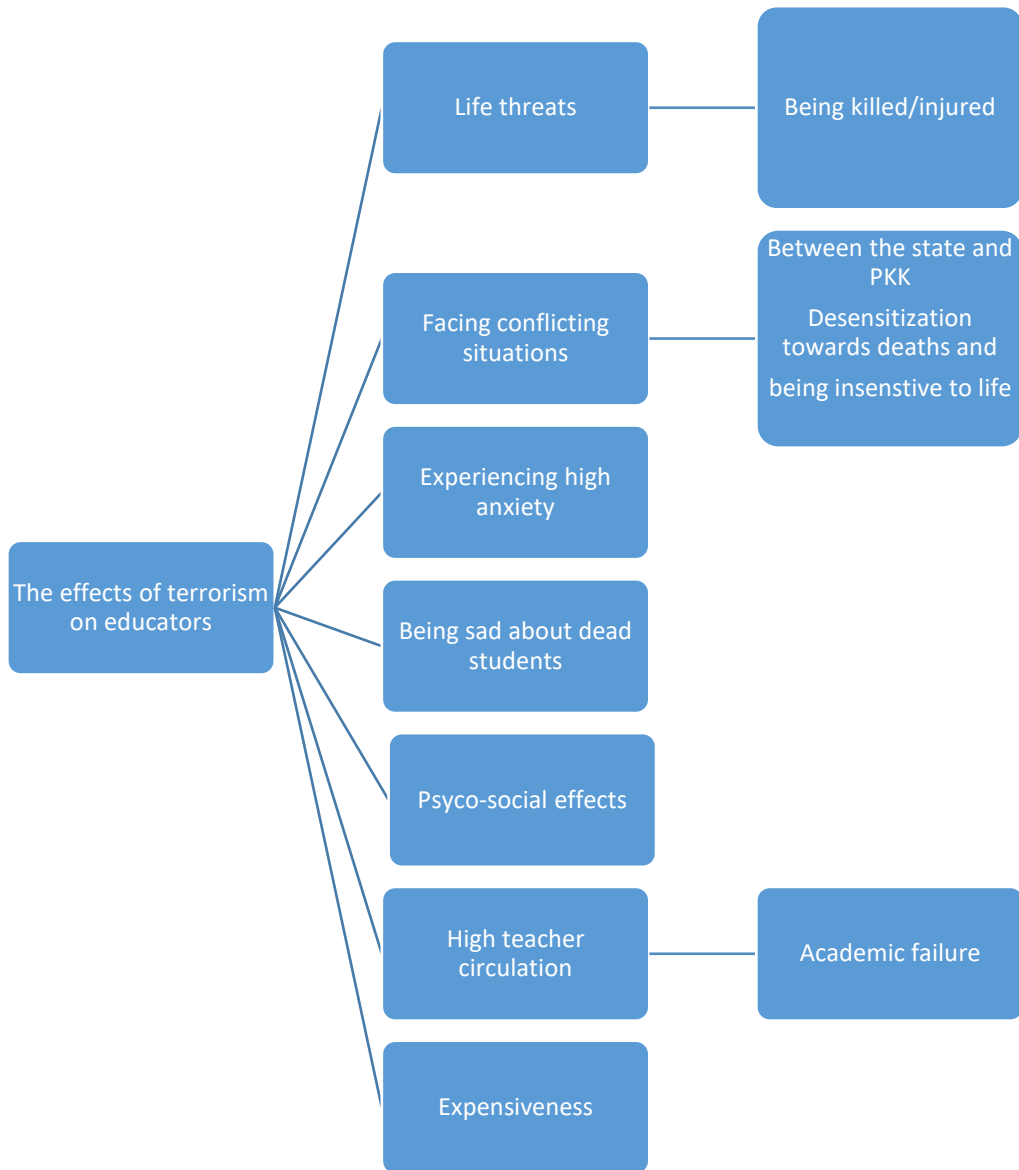


Figure 2. The Effects of Terrorism on Educators' Lives

Life threats: The effects of terrorism were experienced differently by those who came from other towns when compared to those with local origins. Those from other cities are considered as representatives of the State and transmitters of the official ideology; therefore, they are at the target of terrorist groups, resulting mostly with killings or being forced to resign. Families of those teachers had higher anxiety due to such killings and threats. Those who experience life threats and those who refrain from coming to the city to work affect the education negatively.

High teacher circulation: Teacher circulation is also in a flux since those who arrived in the region became so eager to leave as soon as possible. Hence, students are left disadvantaged with lower academic achievement.

Facing conflicting situations: Teachers find themselves trapped between the terrorist organization and their own professional responsibility. Due to teacher killings and threats, teachers develop preconceived notions toward this region and people who live in this region.

When the war first broke out, teachers from this region were not assigned here and those who came from other parts of the country came with prejudice and considered all of us as terrorists (not all of them, I need to emphasize). Therefore, they were not helpful for our kids and looking for options to leave as soon as possible. NG3

Being sad about dead students: Teachers in this region have to deal with students' academic failures as well as their psychological well-beings, especially with those who come from rural areas. Student deaths, their arrests, and their choice to live on mountains make teachers upset and put them in a dilemma. NG2 reflected this situation as follows: *"those are my sorrowful memories during my teaching in the region"*. Similarly, NNG6 stated that it was very sad to observe parents who lost their relatives in terror.

NNG6 stated that there were families who lost relatives due to terrorism and it was sad to witness it. After a certain period of time, teachers received the death news of their students who were on the mountains, and they were even unable to go to the funeral because it is viewed through the eyes of their terror. It was the same when a soldier was killed; and, this dilemma, according to them, make them very upset.

After going to the mountains for a while, we received news of the death would have on students. Those were not more than 17, and they all had a mother with a burning heart. ... You do not go to the funeral (you'd be a traitor). On the other side there is a soldier who died at 20. What a strange feeling to feel the sorrow for both sides...

In particular, teachers originally from the region stated that the current system was promoting to train apolitical students; on the other hand, NG3, who was one of those teachers emphasized that they were training students with a growing strategy in politics, open to inquiry and questioning their native language, and with the scientific and democratic nature of education as they grow. In addition, those teachers also pointed out that one of their duties was to prevent those students from participating in different terrorist groups (Al Qaeda, IBD-C, etc.).

Psycho-social effects: The psycho-social effects of terrorism on participants are presented in Figure 3.

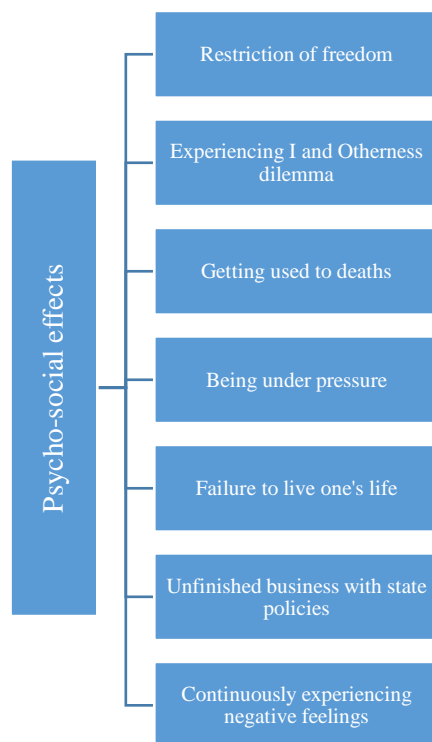


Figure 3. The Psycho-social Effects of Terrorism

Restriction of freedom: Restriction of freedom due to living in controlled environment and lack of freedom to travel has affected social life. Sacrificing social life caused discomfort, uneasiness, social unrest and tension, feeling of alienation, feeling insecure and unsafe, and being introvert. Those feelings and experiences ended in losing confidence and human relations.

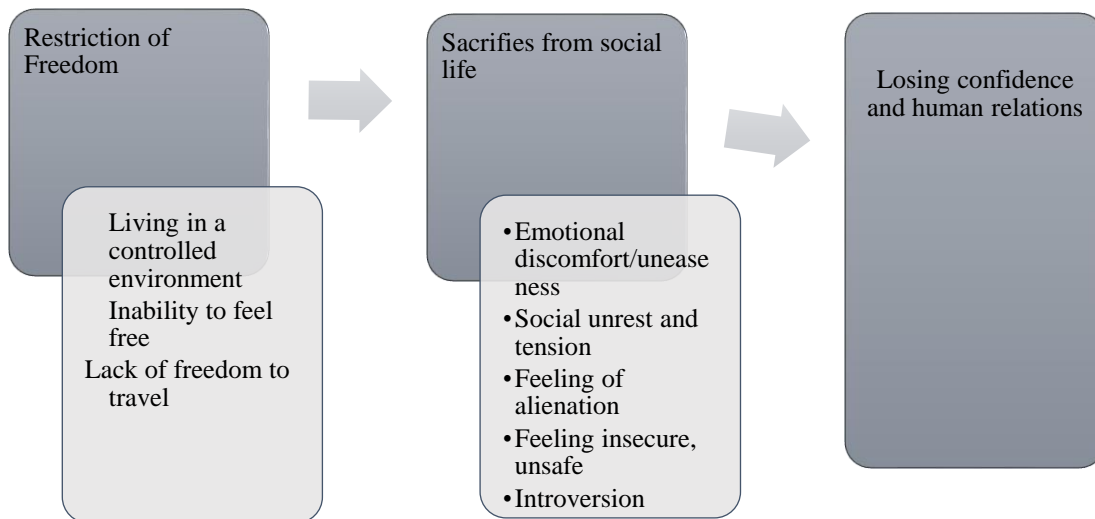


Figure 4. The Pathway of Restriction of Freedom

The participants indicated that these terrorist acts restricted their freedom in many ways, including an inability to feel free and the lack of freedom to travel. These restrictions caused tension and mistrust among young people and children as voiced by NG11 in the following statement: *"Children and young people were facing pressure or violence. They were only allowed to go out at certain hours. Consequently, this led to social unrest, tension, or the feeling of insecurity."*

I had not bought bread before going to picnic 'We were strolling in the city. We did not travel freely. We were in fear and panic. We could not get out whenever we wanted. A convoy of vehicles were traveling and it was not safe. Every day he made his way to search everywhere. Our children were growing up as witnesses of it. So much so that every call my son 'do not bomb our cars' he said. Our security was extreme NNG5.

Living in a controlled environment: Participants pointed out that people's approach to any institution or government officials became single-sided. For example, while walking down the street without rhyme or reason, one could have been stopped by unidentified people asking personal ID, which would put people in uneasiness and make them uncomfortable. Like NG11 and NAG2, NNG12 also emphasized that they live in a strictly controlled social environment where they witnessed the clashes from time to time narrating that *"there were rarely a few helicopters flying up and down in the heart of the town, but now they are everywhere, we see the circulation of military vehicles every time, constant identity checks at city entries and exits, ...all four sides of the city points in their military spots, the clashes at these points..."*

Feeling of alienation and insecurity: Participants stated that they had to sacrifice their social life, they did not feel themselves safe and secure, and lost their trust in people. They further commented that people were consciously alienated in order to weaken their will and eventually they would become one who would do whatever is requested from them. One example of this is reflected as in the following:

NNG7 said *"we had to sacrifice our social life routines. We could not travel between provinces, we could not be together in the most painful days of our closest friends. There were security issues. We did not feel confidence in ourselves"*.

NG11 stated they lost the confidence in themselves by saying that *"in the first place, confidence was either shaken or lost in human relations". NG11 went further to comment that people were consciously alienated in order to weaken their will, and eventually they would become one who would do whatever is requested from them.*

I and Otherness dilemma: In terms of their social life, the participants were surrounded by the effects of terrorism as well, which eventually created a fear outside, distrust of social relations, feeling of being "the other", and further developed a polarizing attitude towards those who are "others". Participants were observed to live in a dilemma, both to get angry with the notion of "being the other" and to create their "others".

The life outside indicates a fear to me, like pushing me to hide something. Our social relations became insecure, therefore, I tend to act with no motive but being "the other". And I'm developing a polarizing attitude toward others who I thought were different (NG1).

Getting used to deaths: Participants stated that as they observed the deaths around their social environment, they got used to the situation and found themselves in a situation where they develop the feeling of hatred in themselves.

Hearing news of the death of someone they know and to witness the death of their friends gradually create a sense of indifference in participants as stated in the following: *"I feel that most of the time these feelings are incompatible with the human conscience. I'm developing a sense of hatred about myself."* (NG1) ,

Similarly, NNG 12 reflected that he was very surprised at himself in that *"I certainly do not believe when they say I was vapid. I feel ashamed, regardless of whoever killed people, no matter what supporters of this war made is getting used to this insensitivity "*.

Being under pressure: Participants complained about being not only under the pressure of a terrorist organization but also under the government pressure. In addition, local teachers particularly in this province indicated that they experienced a personality conflict under these pressures.

"I turned to be a person growing out of personality conflicts where the feeling of hatred created within us as a result of insults that we heard, yet carrying the hope to live with human dignity within me as being part of a society which accepts me as I am " NG3

Failure to live one's life: NG4 stated that s/he had been living in the middle of these conflicts since s/he was 6-7. The biggest problem s/he faced was his/her not being able to live their childhood and being subjected to ill-treatment, not being perceived as a child.

I was 6-7 years old during the 80s and was in the middle of these events. Continuous turmoil in the streets, military vehicles passing, ransacked the house, witnessed street fights while playing on the streets, I lived through them all. More than playing a game, we had brothers and sisters reading books and/or talking. We grew up in fear of violence, and I was not even a child at the age of 5, but was seen as an individual with a mission. Even our playhouse game included themes related to our lived experiences (Police-Soldier). NG4

Unfinished business with State policies: According to NNG5, the source of today's terror is related to previous experiences. If problems with the State's policies and practices were experienced by one or by their family members, this becomes apparent in subsequent years. NNG5 says that *"There is a grandmother who lived through the 1930s, 3 out of 38 children of whom went to the mountain"*. Similarly, NNG7 stated that there are people in this region and these people have unfinished businesses both from the Kurds and Turks. NNG7 further commented that they should not have been employed in the region, by providing an example from people who had lost their grandfathers in 1938 for an idealistic mission. According to NNG7, among those people, some come here for revenge and these people are negatively affecting the students.

Continuously experiencing negative feelings: Participants experienced intense fear of death due to terrorism and they are constantly tense. They concluded that those negative feelings affected their daily lives by changing their psychology.

NNG8, who also experienced intense fear of death, added that their freedom of travelling is restricted: *"Terror primarily affects my psychology, people begin to feel doubtful about what will happen and when. And worst of all, our fear of death ...which has restricted us joining social events. When we want to go to a place or an event we want, we make our plans accordingly"*. In addition, they stated their constantly tense situation as follows: *"because*

you live in a tense environment, psychology of terrorism affects our lifestyle with its negative implications. NNG9 also confirmed that they live in fear, they cannot travel freely, and they are afraid of tomorrow.

You start to become scared and cannot express yourself, and turn to be an introvert person. If we open our mouths, something you live with the fear comes upon us. We are concerned about our future. There was not much social life, personal safety, we would not travel to where we wanted, when we wanted (NNG9)

The biggest impact of terrorism was that it created a culture of fear, attempted to intimidate themselves, consequently they experienced stress and anxiety.

I think the most important effect is fear. The thought of every moment may be upon us was already enough to influence our lives negatively. The actions can lead to intimidating people, you can be dragged into the intimidation. The uncertainty and sudden incidents, stress and worry causes us to continue our work life in fear. Whether we are exposed to terror or we stay away, living conditions, the news, and the events lived through would just be enough to disrupt people's psychology (NNG10).

Other experienced feelings were anxiety, uncertainty, and pain. Prior to the teachers' appointments here, they were very upset and expressed fear long before coming here. The reason for this is that there were many teacher killings here.

I was too anxious like anyone as I stepped the East, with the thoughts of whether I would be stepping on mines, or will be stopped on my way or will find myself in the middle of a conflict when I came to this city. Both with great fear and prejudice. How could not it be? The city was ranked the first in educational success and teachers' death compared to other provinces in the East. NNG12

NNG12 adds further that they experienced continuous uncertainty with no prediction of future stating that "*I guess I came to this city, where no predictions could be made for the days ahead, during the most silent days of its history*".

Expensiveness: Almost all educators had been adversely affected by the high costs as a result of the financial situation in the region. NG11 said that they hardly had access to many basic food items "*for example sugar, flour, and bread, and tea*".

3.1.3 The Effects of Terrorism on Students

The negative effects of terrorism on students were emphasized by almost all the participants. The articulated negative effects included the following behaviors. First, children get used to violence in time. Second, they develop violent acts when trying to solve problems. Hatred of schools and giving damage to schools are the other observed behaviors. Finally, children develop pre-conceived notions toward the teachers coming from outside of their towns, hold no expectations for the future, and an act of requesting something all the time since they have constantly been provided such help packages all the time.

Participants also made a clear distinction between different levels of students. Those who attend in the primary school were thought to be indifferent or not aware of what is going on, and were concentrating more on their classes, yet, high school students were affected differently:

Although my students are only 9 years old, they were affected by terrorism. The concept of "terror" does not mean a lot for them since they are not aware of what is happening. They are being trained to answer multiple choice questions in exams and watch the happenings on TV. This is the only channel for them to make comments about. I am trying to give them an attitude to query, be curious, and ask questions before accepting upfront. I am also trying to get them away from the negative effects of the situation, but frankly I do not have a lot to help. NG11.

Moreover, NAG2 stated that they could not have any influence on high school students. According to NAG2, students' previous experience both at school and outside the school had an influence on their decision when joining the organization, and this influence is even facilitated if there is another family member already participated at earlier times as seen in the following statement: "*it is important to look at students' previous life experiences. Those who join the organization, would probably have at least one family member there*".

NG4 pointed out that students fell behind the courses during middle school years. Reasons for that were stated as their own imprisonment, long lasting cases against them, or their relatives' imprisonment.

Educators had diverse opinions regarding students' qualities. Some believed that students were apolitical, asocial, and unqualified, others stated that they matured earlier with no chance of living their childhood.

Not all kids grow in a lucky environment. Kids here grow earlier. Kids, whose families are shattered, busted, parents beaten or belittled in front of themselves... where else could those kids end up with? Or,

migrating into cities from their villages and having had to adjust themselves to this new situation... NNG12.

Educators also stated that students are introvert, live in fear, and lie on the floor crying when they hear an abrupt sound. These students are members of shattered families, unhappy individuals, economically deprived and living in poor conditions when they move into cities from villages, and face discriminations and being criticized by their fellow citizens.

NNG7 narrated that students living in the region are growing with a trauma; those who come from villages are usually considered as a member, their classes are often missed, they live through failures all the time, witness their teachers martyred, and are exposed to propaganda by the members of the organization. Educators believed that students would carry these lived experiences through their lives and the State needed to take steps toward. Those children who could not play outside with their peers would develop hatred and revenge toward the State unless some precautions were taken.

3.1.4 The Effects of Terrorism on Parents

Participants stated that (a) the economic and social destruction of the terrorism was felt by the parents heavily, (b) some of the parents came by migration to the region and they fall into economic difficulties, (c) sometimes children are excluded and parents are caught between terrorists and the state in that they had to compromise the drug use by their children in order to prevent their children from joining the terrorist group, (d) some parents took an advantage of this situation to tender for the education of children turning to the government, and (e) some parents became completely insensitive towards education.

Economic and social devastation of the war on parents were especially felt in the poorest neighborhoods. Those who break away from rural life and/or were forced to migration for reasons are suffering a thousand kinds of difficulty for their children to attend schooling. Once they fail to overcome this situation, they become increasingly insensitive against their children and schools. Those who send their children to boarding schools (who were the most heavily affected from the environment) feel diminished responsibility and develop an expectation from schools and from others full responsibility for their children; some are beginning to transform the situation of children to an opportunity for him to get help. NNG1.

Parents stated that they could not send their children away from home and live in constant anxiety and fear irritably. The first rank was their fear of having their children join the terrorist organization.

In addition to the concerns about the future of their children, the parents were concerned about their children attending terrorist organizations, which constitutes a secondary problem in addition to their economic distress. NNG8

Living in constant fear and anxiety: Parents lived in fear and desperation regarding how their children will grow up and what kind of life they will pursue due to the terrorism in the area. Participants stated that parents would not know how to approach their children since all kinds of suffering and different experiences they lived through. Moreover, since parents would not know how to approach their children, they tend to develop serious concessions, some put extreme pressure on their children, and some put extra effort to train their children apolitically.

Parents who left their villages due to terrorism moved to the cities, leaving their entire property at their behind, a child as a victim in the mountains, do not even know how to approach their children. Economic difficulties, fear of leaving the child alone in the mountains remains unresolved. Parents try to block their children's social life. NNG9

Parents constantly had to compromise in order to prevent children out of the mountain. According to NNG5, "if families were political, their children would tend to be so. Meanwhile, there were many families compromising in order to prevent their children from going to the mountains". Similarly, NNG12 stated that parents left their children as free as possible to prevent them from leaving for mountains "...there is an incredible freedom from families. Its reason is quite clear: they do not want their children to leave for the mountains. They do not want their children to experience the bitterness they experienced earlier".

NG3 stated that parents are consciously turning their children into apolitical individuals, simply because if they stayed away from politics, they would not think of going to the mountains. NG3 further commented that families refrained their children from reading and thinking since "the war environment created a perception in the parents that if the child develops political consciousness by reading, s/he will be declared a terrorist by the government. Therefore, today's students are taken on an apolitical structure".

This apolitical outcome was based on the past and bitter experience, again NG3 explained, by giving examples from their memories in that each family had lost a member either at the mountains, or tortured, imprisoned, or fled

abroad. NG3 also mentioned that leaving for the mountains was even used as a threat by the children against their parents in 90s.

Experiencing conflict: It is seen that parents struggle to avoid conflict constantly. Again, parents found themselves in a discomfoting dilemma between the state and the terrorist organization. The terror organization continuously checked the village, and they put intense pressure on those families living there. Consequently, they were forced to migrate to urban areas, where they found themselves unhappy, and their social life was affected negatively.

Consciously transferring the trauma to children: It was observed that parents were transferring their trauma to their children consciously. Educators surveyed for this study narrated that parents wanted to transfer what they had lived through from generation to generation with the belief of creating awareness. NNG6's statements can be a good representation of this situation:

They want to show their children the truth, and they tell them about it. They are transferring these lived experiences from generation to generation. They are creating awareness in their children. Children will never forget those described when they grow up, and possibly will also play an active role in the solution. (NNG6)

4. Conclusion and Discussion

The effects of terrorism on education and educators are quite disruptive around the world and specifically in Turkey. O'Malley (2011) prepared a report about education for all global monitoring report for UNESCO and mentioned about the long term impact of attacks on education. She reported that the attacks are carried out against students, teachers, academics, educational personnel, and educational officials. In addition, they also damage or destruct the school buildings and facilities.

It was found that those PKK terrorist acts prevented people from accessing education and reaching the ultimate aim of education. Qualified students and teachers tended to leave the region which definitely appears as a disadvantageous area for education. In her analyses of the attacks to education and educational facilities, O'Malley (2011) concluded that destruction of educational facilities could affect parents' trust in the role of schools in providing protection for children. In addition, she further adds another message that was given by attacking schools was to threaten the capacity of the State when providing educational services. Anikelechi, Ojakorotu and Ani (2018) reported that the activities of Boko Haram terror sect ran down schools at all levels in North-eastern Nigeria, leading to deaths of teachers and learners as well as the destruction of school buildings.

PKK terrorist acts had burned or damaged the schools, killed or threatened teachers. The participants mainly from that region criticized education and schooling in that region. They also talked about the insufficient budget for education and academic failure. O'Malley (2011) claims that school is the visible symbol of government control and destroying or burning schools will be the victory of terrorist group. In East Anatolia and Southeast Anatolia many schools were burned or damaged by the PKK terrorist groups. Because they perceive schools as the representation of the government. It is seen that education for all provided by Turkish government perceived as by PKK terrorist group and the some people from that city as education against them. Is education for all an illusion? Who has the right to determine the content of the curriculum? What kind of education should be offered? Those question should be answered.

Another finding about schooling and school is lack of supervision. O'Malley (2011) also talked about the attacks on system processes such as examinations, inspections, and accreditations. Lack of supervision affected the improvement and the quality of education in the region. In addition, student-teacher-parent communication was also missing to a large extent. Consequently, all these negative situations hindered the education process.

The most concrete effect of terrorism after teacher deaths is observed in decrease in academic success. Due to high teacher circulation, insufficient number of teachers led to the class hours with no instruction. Thus, students spent their years with minimal learning. Another reason for academic failure was explained with the failure in meeting students' psychosocial needs. In addition, the effects of terror caused depression, adaptation problems, family problems and stress, which all contributed to their academic failure. Moreover, insufficient or limited budget contribute to poor educational outcomes.

In this research, criticism toward school and education was very heavy. Participants, especially those who were originally locals stated that schools prevented their children from learning their mother tongue and assimilated their children with the existing curriculum. They think that children were being assimilated at the primary school years but became aware of the situation in the coming years especially at high school with their help. Miller-Grandvaux claim that the attacking reason to schools might include insensitiveness to local language, religion and cultural identity (O'Malley, 2011). Schools and the nature of education and training programs should be revisited from an educational policy perspective.

The literature clearly shows that education alone is not the sole factor to prevent terrorism (Brockhoff, Krieger & Meierrieks, 2015; Danzell, Yao-Yuan & Pfannenstiel, 2018; Elbakidze & Jin, 2015; Feridun, 2016). As Jitka and Dragana (2013) reported, improving education is not by itself a sufficient means of counter-terrorist policy. Curriculum content could be insensitive to local needs and it could be a factor for conflict (Kruger & Maleckov, 2003; Lange, 2011; O'Malley, 2011). Lange (2011) specifically claimed that education could shape ethnic violence. When curriculum is developed or new courses are added, conflicting issues can be considered. Scientific and secular education system may be an approach to minimize conflicts. Conflicting content can be given as elective online courses.

Terrorist acts affected educators' lives negatively, and these acts prevented them from fulfilling their duties on time. The effects of terrorism are experienced differently by those who came from other towns when compared to those with local origins. Those from other cities are considered as representatives of the State and transmitters of the official ideology; therefore, they are at the target of terrorist groups, killed, or forced to resign. Twenty-five teachers have been killed in this city (Ministry of Education, 2015). Educators are worried because of the constant fear of death and suffer from lack of life security due to terrorism. Due to teacher killings and terrorism, teachers develop preconceived notions toward this region and the people who live in this region. Those who experience life threats and those who refrain from coming to the city to work affect the education negatively. One wonders how effectively the education could be sustained and delivered under these harsh circumstances. O'Malley (2011) also claimed that killing the teachers or death threats affect teachers' concentration and frame of mind for teaching.

Educators find themselves trapped between the terror organization and their own professional responsibility. Educators complained about being not only under the pressure of the terrorist organization but also under government pressure. In addition to this dilemma, teachers had dilemmas about student deaths, their arrests, and their choice to live on mountains make teachers upset and put them in a dilemma. Teachers were also sad to observe parents who lost their relatives in terrorism.

Teachers also mentioned that one of their duties was to prevent those students from participating in different terrorist groups like Al Qaeda, IBD-C, etc. This shows that students are the sources for those terrorist groups. Policy makers should take immediate actions to prevent people from joining those groups.

The psycho-social effects of terrorism on participants were also mentioned. The main psychological effects of terrorism was the restriction of freedom of people which led to living in a controlled social environment, resulting in feeling of alienation and insecurity. It restricts the freedom of educators' trips with loads of terrorism. Educators were unable to travel as they wish because of terrorism. Having been prevented from living the way they want, they lived communication and transportation problems. O'Malley (2011) mentioned psychosocial effects of attacks on teachers and students who felt high levels of fears, stress, grief at the loss of their colleagues and students.

Another psycho-social effects of terrorism on educators was creating the "*I and Otherness dilemma*" which led to developing a polarizing attitude towards those who are "others". Barrinha (2011) who studied the discourse on PKK in Turkey claimed that "labelling the 'other' is one of the most relevant aspects in an armed conflict context". In Turkey and many other countries, PKK is considered as terrorist, and their activities as terrorism. Educators also talked about getting used to deaths which makes educators hate themselves because of their insensitivity to deaths. As another psycho-social effect of terrorism, educators talked about not living their childhood. They were perceived not as children but children who have missions as future militants.

The surprising finding of the psycho-social effects of terrorism was having unfinished business with the State policy. It was mentioned that the source of today's terrorism is related to past experiences. Kurdish side unfinished business related with State's previous policies. Turkish side unfinished business was related to Kurds' attacks and killings. Unfinished business is an important Gestalt Therapy concept (Sharf, 2000) which refers to "feelings from the past that have been unexpressed but are dealt with in the present" (p.255). It describes the experience of unexpressed yet painful feelings that occurred repeatedly over the course of relationship, and the situation continues to trouble the individuals interfering the current functioning. Greenberg and Malcom (2002) claim that people may emotionally or psychologically stuck to their childhood painful memories. In this city, people have emotional traumas resulting from the governments' previous policies. Those traumatic unsolved emotional experiences trigger their painful memories. Both parties consciously transfer their traumas to the next generation to keep the hostility alive. Within this process, unfinished business triggers hostility to appear, which makes the situation much more difficult and vulnerable.

Because of continuous experience of negative emotions and experiencing intense fear of death due to terrorism, educators' feelings affected their daily lives negatively. Obviously, there is urgent need especially for psychologists to focus on this particular issue. Demirli (2011) claims that in order to understand the aim and goals of terrorists, the psycho-social effects of terrorism should be understood. She reports that the actions of terrorism are not random and

aimless. Terrorist groups are trying to create a traumatic society by threatening the individuals' physical and psychological wholeness, values, thoughts, and attitudes.

Educators claimed that terrorism adversely effected economy, and almost all educators had been adversely affected by the high cost as a result of the economy in the region. Researchers found that economic problems are the result of the terrorism, not the reason (Derin-Güre, 2011; Derin-Küre & Elveren, 2014; Öcal & Yıldırım, 2012). If terrorism is prevented in the region the economy will be effected positively. Terrorism results in high costs leading to the deterioration of the economy in the region. It has also been difficult for the educators living in such conditions. Urgent remedial measures need to be taken regarding the educational workforce residing in these terror-affected areas. This research shows that educators are not in good condition economically. It was suggested that teachers' salaries can be increased in the region to keep teachers there longer and prevent teachers' circulations.

The negative effects of terrorism on students were emphasized by almost all the educators. The articulated negative effects on children included getting used to violence and developing violent acts when trying to solve problems; hatred of schools and giving damage to schools; developing pre-conceived notions toward the teachers coming from outside; holding no expectations for the future, and the act of requesting something all time since they are provided such help packages all the time.

Educators reported how terrorism affected different levels of students. They claimed that primary school students were indifferent or not aware of what is going on, and were concentrating more on their classes, yet, high school students were affected differently. They believe that students fell behind the courses during middle school years. When they are at high school, they join PKK.

Educators had diverse opinions regarding students' qualities. Some believed that students were apolitical, asocial, and unqualified, others stated that they matured earlier with no chance of living their childhood. It was found that students living in the region are growing with a trauma. Educators believed that students would carry these lived experiences throughout their lives and the State needed to take steps toward. Those children who could not play outside with their peers would develop hatred and revenge toward the State unless some precautions were taken.

The effect of terrorism on parents was also negative. Parents felt the economic and social destruction of the terrorism heavily. They had to migrate and fall into economic difficulties. The terror organization continuously checked the villages and they put intense pressure on those families living there. Consequently, they are forced to migrate to urban areas, where they found themselves unhappy and their social life was affected negatively. Some parents had to prefer letting their children use drugs to preventing them from joining the terrorist groups. Parents constantly had to compromise in order to prevent children from mountains. Parents could not send their children away from them and live in constant anxiety and fear irritably. The first rank was their fear of seeing their children join the terrorist organization.

Participants stated that parents did not know how to approach their children. They tend to develop serious concessions, some put extreme pressure on their children, and some put extra effort to train their children apolitically. It was observed that parents were transferring their trauma to their children consciously. Educators claimed that parents wanted to transfer what they had lived through from generation to generation with the hope of creating awareness.

Participants stated that there had been a chaos in the region over 30 years, which prevented people from accessing education and reaching the ultimate aim of education. Moreover, qualified students and teachers tended to leave the region which definitely appears as a disadvantage for education. Terrorism has a negative impact on education and educators. Terrorism has abused peoples' right of accessing to education. The goal of education is not likely to be achieved under such difficult circumstances. Teachers are killed, schools are burnt down, and schooling is suspended. All these consequences led to increase in teacher circulation; thus, resulting in academic failure.

Terrorism adversely affects the students as well. Some of the high school students who join different terrorist groups are adversely affected by terrorism, and even get killed. The effect of PKK terrorist attacks on education organizations and educators are different from the terrorist attacks in Muslim world. In other Muslim countries, attacks are aimed at preventing girls from education and threatening female teachers. PKK terrorist attacks are usually ideological and has ethnic rather than religious bases.

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