



PARENT-CHILD RELATIONS AFTER THE DISPLACEMENT IN SUR





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*Dedicated to the
memory of Tahir Elçi...*

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Lotus Genç Alan Association

Lotus Genç Alan Association was founded as a youth non-governmental organization. Our fundamental purpose of operation field for founding this association encompasses gender, ecology, and works based on the human rights. Traumas resulted from curfews because of the clashes in 2015 accelerated our idealized work based on the human right not only for the youth but also for women and children. Moreover, we started to pursue financial, psycho-social support, and social interaction for our target audience such as the youth and women living in other cities around Diyarbakir. In this context, we conducted psycho-social supportive projects for women and children who lived in in Sur during the clash process.

As Lotus Genç Alan Association, it continued to operate until the second quarter of 2017-2018 “Sur Child and Women Friendly Environment Main Project”, previously supported by the 2017-2018 Açık Toplum Foundation. During this period, psycho-social support workshops were held for children who lived in Sur and were affected by the curfews during the conflict/trauma. Communication between the Syrian and local people, who were under temporary protection status in Sur and Bağlar districts of Diyarbakir, was supported by the 2018-2019 Açık Toplum Foundation and the EU Delegation, and it is not on the basis of segregation and discrimination; “Social Adaptation” project was carried out to be on the ground of fraternity, social peace, sensitivity, understanding and empathy. Within the scope of the project, culture and art workshops and activities that instilled ethical values for 12 months, psycho-social support studies were carried out. Based on the outputs obtained as a result of the project carried out with the children, the necessity of re-examining the effects of the psychological damage caused by the conflict process on family relations has been revealed.

Story of Research

Curfews were declared in the provinces and districts where Kurds are densely populated between 2015-2016 due to clashes between the People's Defense Forces (YPS) and the Turkish Army. People were left in a difficult situation due to the restricted living conditions in the settlements, where the curfews continued for a long time. During this period, there were intensive violations of rights; people were forced to leave their homes and they had to deal with many problems and uncertainties, and especially shelter.

Many local, national, and international institutions dealing with the destructions suffered during curfews and following the curfews intensive activities, observations, reports, and research about the destructions. with different dimensions have been made/are being made. In the reports, the results of the research on physical/structural, historical, cultural, economic, legal, psychological, and sociological damage determinations, especially "human rights violations", were shared with the public and the dimensions of the destruction caused suffering when these findings were revealed. Reports that were published also helped to reveal the research areas that need to be researched and are waiting to be publicly visible.

We had some findings when we previously concluded the psycho-social support activities that we conducted with the children during the post-clash period in Sur district as Lotus Genç Alan Association. We observed the social adaptation problems that children suffered due to the displacement effect and the parent-child relations. Based on the findings, the need to conduct a research on "how the clash process affects the parent-child relationship " was developed. A new field research involving parents and children became imperative for us in line with the emerging need. For this reason, our research focuses on the changes in the parent-child relationships of families who returned to Sur district after the clashes and curfews.

INTRODUCTION

Displacement is the movement of people or communities from where they live for numerous reasons. Displacement can happen due to access to a better life, such as finding solutions to fiscal problems, benefiting from education and health services, as well as military and political reasons. Displacement in Turkey is an ongoing process that gained momentum under the influence of industrialization, mainly economic reason until today. In Turkey, the mass displacement that took place in the 1990's differs from past experiences. The methods used is evaluated in terms of both the rush and irregular occurrence over a certain population and it is seen that there are forced displacements due to military-political reasons. Jongerden (2015: 14). Forced displacement that took place in the 1990's in Turkey is called "resettlement." The displacements that took place at that time were called "Kurdish displacement" because the regions where the Kurds were concentrated in the 90's displacement, also caused people to displace massively as a result of forced evacuation and burning.

Approximately 35 years after the 90's displacement, curfews were declared in the provinces and district centers where the Kurdish population lived and people were forced to leave their places due to the clashes in this process. In the curfews announced between 2015-2016, approximately 400-500 thousand people were forcibly displaced in the provinces and district centers where the curfews were imposed, and 1 million 671 thousand people were indirectly affected by this process.

There are similarities as well as differences between rural (the 1990's) and urban (2015-2016) displacements in Kurdish populated areas. Unlike the 90's displacement, the displaced population is not the rural population but the urban population, and the majority of the displaced population carried out horizontal mobility within the city's borders. Again, unlike the 90's, the residents settled in temporary places, and after the clashes ended, the majority returned to their original settlements. An important part of the population which were forced to leave their places due to the clash environment consisted of the population that was forcibly displaced and forced to migrate to the cities due to the village evacuation/burning incidents that took place in the 1990's.

Displacements, in any reason, cause break downs in social structures and family structures. In Sur district, it is known that people, especially physical and social structure, lead a collective life in daily life and neighborhood relations, and street culture encompasses almost all social life especially for women and children. Families who had to leave their homes due to clashes faced social adaptation problems in their city's metropolitan areas considering their cultural values and daily life practices although they did not go beyond the city limits. Lefebvre (2016), denotes space as a "social product," therefore, a place cannot be handled only in abstract integrity; but rather, social production relations also produce feelings such as identity, memory and belonging over time. Consequently, it is not just a house as an abandoned place but all social values and relationships, primarily family relationships produced on the axis of the place.

The report written in this context is about the families who had to leave their homes due to the clashes that started with curfews in Sur district, but returned to Sur district even if they could not return to their own home after the clashes ended. This research in which the qualitative research technique is used includes 20 family members, with the specified characteristics identified by the snowball sampling method, and in-depth interviews were conducted with semi-structured interview questions. This research consists of three main sections. In the first part, the methodology used in the research is presented. In the second part of the research, forced displacement practices in the provinces and districts where Kurds live are discussed. In the third part, the findings obtained from the research are discussed.

SECTION 1

Purpose and Scope

This research, on behalf of the Lotus Genç Alan Association, within the scope of the NGO-Academy Cooperation Support Program of the Civil Society Development Center (STGM) was carried out as “Investigation of Socio-Psychological Changes in Parent-Child Relations as a result of displacement of Families Living in Sur in Curfews.”

The sample of the research consists of parents who had to leave their homes due to curfews and clashes. The main objectives of the research are to reveal how changing living conditions are reflected in the parent-child relations and whether they caused any change-transformation after the curfews were announced due to the clashes in Sur. In this research, changes in the parent-child relationship of families who had to migrate were interpreted in line with the data obtained by making a comparison of the pre and post displacement process.

Research Methodology

Since the scope of the research is focused on the effects of the clash process in Sur on the parent-child relationship, it presents only a small section of the clash process. The sample of the research consists of families who had to leave their homes with the curfews and returned to Sur after the bans were over. In this research, qualitative research techniques are used with in-depth interviews conducted with a semi-structured questionnaire. This research includes qualitative research methods and the secondary data on the subject (Turkey Statistical Institute, literature and local, national, and published reports of international organizations and institutions). Besides, observations obtained during and after the interviews were noted by the researchers and included in the report.

The questions asked to the participants were created based on the data obtained as a result of the literature review on the field and the main problems of the research. A total of 20 people were interviewed within the scope of the research, and interviews were conducted with 14 female and 6 male participants. The number of male participants intended for the research was fewer, either because they did not agree

to participate or the interviews could not be deepened due to short answers because of their unwillingness to share the “private area” of the family-oriented questions prepared under the subject of the research. The interviewed people were reached through the snowball sample. Interviews were recorded with a voice recorder after the approval of the interviewed individuals. The records were transcribed and converted into written texts after the interviews were concluded. Again, within the scope of the research, training, and workshops were held for women and children. Within the scope of “Psycho-Social Support”, a workshop lasting 4 weeks was held with the participation of 20 children. The outputs of the training and workshops are also reported in the relevant sections of the report.

The in-depth interviews were conducted by 4 female researchers and each interview was conducted by at least 2 field researchers. Before the interview, the language that the participants could express themselves most comfortably was asked: 12 of them wanted to conduct the talks in the Kurdish language. While the in-depth interviews were deciphered, the comprehension adhered and the information that could risk the participants was not used, and the names and addresses that could reveal their identities were changed/disguised.

Limitations and Challenges of the Research

It is estimated that 40,000 people were displaced during the clash period between 2015 and 2016 in Sur district¹. This corresponds to approximately 5497 families who had to leave their homes.² We could aim to reach at least 5% of 5440 families by using quantitative research technique in this research, but we found it more meaningful to use the qualitative research technique to make the victims, especially who had just been exposed, talk and reflect his or her feeling, even with a small sample about this process.

1 Amnesty International 2016, “*The Right of Internally Displaced Persons to Return to Their Homes*” <https://www.amnesty.org.tr/public/uploads/files/Rapor/TURKEY>

2 Association of Southeastern Anatolia Region Municipalities, 30 June 2016. “*Damage Assessment & Forced Displacement Report*”

While conducting fieldwork within the scope of the research, meeting with many families due to the psycho-social support studies we carried out in Sur made it easier for us to establish a relationship of trust. Again, with the comfort of their native language, Kurdish, Turkish, or both languages, there was a reduced anxiety not to be misunderstood and it made the interviews healthy. However, since the traumas caused by the clash process had not been overcome, there were frequent emotional moments in the interviews, so our talks were accompanied by long silences, and in some cases, the interview ended by considering the mood of the participant. Male participants preferred interpretation rather than narration, as they put themselves in the place of a third person rather than a subject based on what they observed rather than what they suffered. Another difficulty was the fact that we were being followed by the police while conducting fieldwork, so we either did not meet in order not to decipher the person to be interviewed or we had to postpone the meetings so that the participant who saw that we were under surveillance did not feel under pressure.

SECTION 2

Displacement Practices Against Archaic Collective Memory

The intensity and scope of the clashes were expanded with the declaration of curfews that started between the security/armed forces of the state and the YPS from 2015 to 2016 in the provinces and districts where Kurds live intensely. People had to leave their places with an increased risk of safety in the places where clashes took place. According to the data in the report of Human Rights Association (İHD), between July 24, 2015 and July 24, 2016, curfews were declared in 35 districts of 9 cities. **At least 320 civilians, 75 of whom were children, lost their lives.**³ **Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (TIHV) report conveyed that at least 111 indefinite and all-day curfews were announced.**⁴

When we look at the provinces and districts where curfews were declared between 2015 and 2015-2016,⁵ it is seen that the provinces where village incineration/evacuation practices took place were rural areas in the 1990's. The direction of forced displacement in rural areas, where Kurds lived densely, took place in the 1990's towards cities, was towards a new form of life they that did not know before. As a result of forced displacement in that period (1990-1999), a total of 939 villages and 2019 hamlets were evacuated.⁶ According to the Migration Committee Report, 3 million people had to experience internal displacement between 1989 and 1998⁷. Those who came to the city by displacement had to live in poor conditions in the slums of the cities or makeshift structures away from the city center. They also had to work in the areas of unhealthy and insecure jobs with low wages because of their low level of education, lack of qualifications in urban labor markets, and cheap labor force. As a result of unemployment and poverty that emerged with urban life, families could not adapt to urban life for a long time.

3 https://hakikatadalethafiza.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/2016.08.30_IHD_CatismaliOrtam_YillikBilanco

4 <https://tihv.org.tr/16-agustos-2015-16-agustos-2016-tarihleri-arasinda-sokagacikma-yasaklari-ve-yasamini-yitiren-siviller-bilgi-notu/>

5 See Table: 2

6 TESEV *"The Problem of Internal Displacement in Turkey: Assessment and Proposed Solutions"*

7 TBMM (Grand National Assembly of Turkey)1998 (Interim) Committee Report

Similar situations affected families who were displaced by clashes that began with curfews. Although the intensity of the clashes and the physical/spatial destructions differed by region, they caused the displacement of approximately 400.000.⁸

United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, as identified in the Report on Human Rights Situation in Turkey's Southeast, stated that the structure of property and architectural character permanently altered due to the bombing in place.⁹ When the curfews ended, most of the families who were displaced could not return to their previous places due to the destruction¹⁰ of their homes or serious damages. This process caused the financial and moral grievances of families. Especially women and children were negatively affected by the clashes.

SUR

According to the address-based population data in Diyarbakir's central Sur district in 2015, when the total population was 22,323 in the neighborhoods where curfews were experienced in the pre-clash period, the majority of the population had to leave their homes as long as the curfews continued. At the same time, people living in settlements close to neighborhoods where curfews were declared were forced to leave their homes. Although the curfews were officially announced in the six neighborhoods of Sur (Cevatpaşa, Fatihpaşa, Dabanoğlu, Hasırlı, Cemal Yılmaz, and Savaş), the impact of the clashes covered a wider area. According to the report of Amnesty International, it is stated that approximately 40,000 Sur residents were forcibly displaced.¹¹ The curfews ex-

8 Association of Southeastern Anatolia Region Municipalities, (30 June 2016) Damage Assessment & Forced Displacement Report "Post-Clashes Situation in City Centers"

9 https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Countries/TR/OHCHR_South-East_Turkey2015-2016_TURK.pdf

10 According to the Report released by TMMOB (Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects), in terms of area, 61% of 6 neighborhoods, where curfews were imposed, was destroyed, whereas it was 72% in terms of structures and edifices. According to the data gathered by Amnesty International, it was stated that 1750 of all 5200 houses were destroyed in 5 neighborhoods where curfews were imposed.

11 Amnesty International "Internally Displaced and Dispossessed The Right of Sur Residents to Return to Their Homes" 2016, <https://www.amnesty.org.tr/public/uploads/files/Rapor/TURKEY>

ceeded 100 days in Sur district and the total population of Sur district in the following period was 121.750 in 2014, while it was 117.698 in 2015; 116.858 in 2016; in 2018, and it decreased to 112,306.¹² The most important reason for this decline is the destruction caused by the clashes in the places where the curfews were declared. Another reason is the expropriation decisions taken towards the district.¹³

When we look at the demographic structure before the curfews in Sur, one of the common points in the neighborhoods is that the living population were residents affected by mainly previous displacements in 1990's. Another prominent point is that they are working in unqualified jobs because they live in district with the lowest literacy rate in the center of Diyarbakir. Considering all social, educational, health, and economic indicators, another important factor that stands out in Sur is poverty.¹⁴

Relatives and neighborhood relations of families in Sur were highly intense before the clash. In daily life, a solidarity based on trust comes to the fore in economic relations. The way Sur has organized its own daily life differs from the other central districts of the city. Although this difference provides advantages in itself, it causes problems in terms of adaptation to the whole city. Especially women and children having difficulty in participating in urban life do not have the opportunity to go out of their safe areas since they have no connection with other parts of the city. Therefore, the differences in social structure among the regions are the reason for the second break-in families who had to leave their settlements.

It caused much material and moral damages and psychological traumas to be suffered for a long time because the fundamental rights such as education and health, especially the right to live and housing were violated in the

12 Cited from: https://www.nufusu.com/ilce/sur_Diyarbakir-nufusu.

13 Upon its article dated 16.03.2016 and numbered 2988, it was decided by the Council of Ministers on 21.03.2016 according to the 27th article of the expropriation law numbered 2942. While almost 60 percent of the district is expropriated, especially the places where curfews are declared, there are many historical buildings in the expropriated areas.

14 See, Diyarbakir Metropolitan Municipality Department of Zoning and Urbanization Area Management Department (2013) "*Diyarbakir Suriçi Socio - Economic Analysis Report*"

regions where clashes occurred. Moreover, in regions where there were no clashes, families had difficulties continuing their daily lives; the education process of children was disrupted due to safety; employees were not able to go to the workplaces, and they could not open their shops with the anxiety of security of trades, and patients could not benefit from health services.

They resisted not to leave their homes in the first process. They did not have a place to go out of the chaotic environment that started with the announcement of curfews in Sur, because they lived in the same regions with their relatives. However, they had to leave the environment where life safety was not available, with many vital limitations such as speeding up clashes, restricting movement areas, frequent and prolonged electricity and water cuts. In this process, they usually rented houses in the metropolitan districts of Diyarbakir, which were within the borders of the province. In the neighborhoods where the clash was intense, the families who could not pay rent and find any house had to stay in real estate stores and warehouses for months.

When we look at the displacement directions of the forced displacement, it is seen that, unlike the displacement in the 90's, they experienced horizontal mobility in the city without moving away from the settlements. According to the information in the "Regional Damage Determination Report" published by the Association of Southeast Anatolian Municipalities (ASAM) in 2016, 1660 of the 5440 families who had to be displaced from Sur moved to other neighborhoods of Sur and 1245 moved to Yenişehir. Moreover, it was observed that 955 moved to Kayapınar and 1580 to Bağlar, namely the metropolitan districts of Diyarbakir.¹⁵ Looking at the direction of displacement, it was seen that families showed horizontal mobility without leaving Sur. The reason for the socio-economic causes of horizontal mobility was the hope of returning home soon, with the idea that poverty and clashes would not last long. Another prevalent reason was the sense of belonging created within the framework of the unique historical fabric of Sur and that traditional relationship networks between people were strong.

15 Association of Southeastern Anatolia Region Municipalities, (30 June 2016) Damage Assessment &; Forced Displacement Report "Post-Clashes Situation in City Centers"

SECTION 3

EFFECTS OF CURFEWS ON PARENT-CHILD RELATIONS

Socio-Economic and Demographic Profile of Sur

The most distinctive symbol of Diyarbakir, which forms the urban identity and takes place in social memory, is undoubtedly its historical walls. The construction of the walls (sometimes referred as castle), which is approximately 5.5 kilometers long and consists of 82 bastions, dates back to 7500 years BC and has hosted nearly 30 civilizations (Işık, 2013: 287-289). Sur district, which became culturally richer with every civilization and has evolved into an open-air inscription museum.

Sur district is the oldest settlement area of Diyarbakir province and the walls constitute the borders of the metropolitan district of Sur. The population of the district, which consists of 15 neighborhoods, is constantly active.¹⁶ Along with the population, movements caused changes in the socio-economic, demographic, and physical structure of the district. Many of those who were displaced from rural areas to the city between 1990-2000, settled in the slum areas of the city and Sur district when the displacement was the most intense. Families who had left all their financial savings in the burned/destroyed villages were used as cheap labor in unhealthy and insecure environments because they didn't have the professional knowledge/skills that could be included in the city life. Poverty that they suffered transformed the socio-economic structure of Sur, and turned into neighborhoods where poverty was very intense and deep.¹⁷

The social and economic structure of Diyarbakir affected not the only displacement from neighboring provinces and districts, but also horizontal mobility within the city. It seems like the city is divided into social classes according to revenue levels with an imaginary line. The table below strikes in terms of revealing urban population mobility. Considering the movements that took place in 2008-2012 and 2019, the city had a steady increase in the districts of Bağlar and Yenişehir, where the middle and

16 See Table 3

17 https://www.karacadag.gov.tr/Dokuman/Dosya/www.karacadag.org.tr_47_YE3Z30YW_Diyarbakir_surici_sosyo_ekonomik_analizi_projesi.pdf

middle-low income citizens live, and in the district of Kayapınar where there is a high increase in the socio-economically middle class, and Sur district seems to have lost population. An important reason for the decrease in the population in Sur district is the process that started with curfews. It is understood that the mobilization neighborhoods where curfews were imposed before and after the clashes was due to the rush expropriation and urban transformation projects carried out in the Suriçi region, due to the functional transformations (commercial and touristic).¹⁸

Table 1. Urban Population Change in Metropolitan Districts of Diyarbakir

| District | 2008 | 2012 | 2019 |
|-----------|---------|---------|---------|
| Bağlar | 327.504 | 343.065 | 396.102 |
| Kayapınar | 185.626 | 253.323 | 381.414 |
| Yenişehir | 178.972 | 195.791 | 210.927 |
| Sur | 107.345 | 100.534 | 106.108 |

Cited from: <https://www.nufusu.com/ilceleri/Diyarbakir-ilceleri-nufusu> 2019, Diyarbakir Metropolitan Municipality (2013) "Suriçi Socio-Economic Analysis Report"

All city residents were affected psychologically in the clash process that started with the curfews in Sur district. However, the highest levels of the effect on families displaced, both financially and morally, victimizations in basic issues such as shelter, nutrition, education, and health deepened the destruction. The traumatic situation that happened, of course, would differ depending on the economic, cultural, and especially age and gender status. Especially considering the limited social environment of women and children, they were more likely to suffer from effects of trauma for a long time and more extremely.

During the period when clashes broke out, but displacement had not yet become massive, the access of Sur people to electricity, water, food, and health services was restricted by the authorities. It seems that these restrictions were, in a way, applications to force people to leave their homes. Increased clashes and lack of life safety brought about countless problems such as the speed of displacement and the difficulty of finding

18 https://www.karacadag.gov.tr/Dokuman/Dosya/www.karacadag.org.tr_47_YE3Z30YW_Diyarbakir_surici_sosyo_ekonomik_analizi_projesi.pdf

a place to go, the problems of adaptation they encountered in their new destinations, poor living conditions due to financial inadequacies, and the children being away from school and education for a long time.

As a result of the clashes during the curfews exceeding 100 days in Sur, according to the report of Amnesty International, it is estimated that approximately 40,000 people were forcibly displaced.¹⁹ The people living in Sur who had to leave their places were scattered in different parts of the city. Apart from the collapsed buildings during the clashes, 1100 damaged buildings were destroyed by the government, so according to the report, it was stated that approximately 22 thousand people did not have a house to return.²⁰

Looking at the Guiding Principles of United Nations (UN) Forced Displacement within the Country: human rights were violated and those rights are such as that individuals were arbitrarily displaced; authorized institutions did not provide shelter for displaced persons; did not protect the property of the displaced from destruction and occupation; did not secure the right to education; principles such as security, food, health.²¹

The family as the first institution where individuals socialize may go through break downs due to destructions in chaotic environments such as natural disasters, war, and clash processes. In addition to the traumas emerged as a result of the destruction, the material-spiritual breakdown can cause drastic changes in family relationships (both between spouses and parent-child relationships). One of the other vital processes that affects family relations is displacement. Displacement is in a decisive position within this research as it affects peer cultures, education, aspirations, and child-parent relationships (Mayall, 2018: 40). For this reason, we consider the displacement as the center of this research observing “how” the family relations are affected by the displacement process and as well as the predicament that continues today.

19 Amnesty International “The Right of Internally Displaced Persons to Return to Their Homes” 2016, <https://www.amnesty.org.tr/public/uploads/files/Rapor/TURKEY>

20 Association of Southeastern Anatolia Region Municipalities, (30 June 2016) “*Damage Assessment & Forced Displacement Report*”

21 <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/IDPersons/GPTurkish.pdf>

Although the effects of forced displacement in the 90's are revealed in time, it is not possible to see results of the destruction caused by the process of curfews or, in general terms to predict the effects of urban clashes in the parent-child relationship and the new generations.

The Impossibility of Leaving Sur or Returning Home²²

Come, let the place where you were born and grow up disappear.

*It's hard to start over, we couldn't get used to it.*²³

Curfews and military operations, which were first announced on 6 September 2015 in Diyarbakir and renewed periodically, were officially terminated on 06 March 2016. Vast majority of the people living in restricted areas were displaced during this process. Families who had to leave their homes with the increase of clashes described the displacement process as follows:

“Bullets hit our home; bombs dropped in. We stayed as a guest in my daughter's house for a few months. When the clash ended, we came back to our house. Actually, I went everywhere at that time. But there was no cure. I did not want to leave my house, but I had to...Our village was burned in the 90's. It was very bad at the time. My baby was 40 days old. I was trying to extinguish huge fire with water, with the baby on my lap. Then with my mind ... We left the village and settled in Sur. There was not even a carpet in our house; we lost everything. We had a lot of crops, all burned. State persecution was the same then, now it is the same. We saw the same thing in Sur. In Sur, I could not stay in my house. I witnessed so many things. We saw a lot, but I mean, we still have something to eat or drink in this world” (Kezban, 59 Years old, Cemal Yılmaz Neighborhood).

“We had to flee with exacerbation of the clashes and curfews. The clashes were not close to us at first, then we did not go out because the children were going to school, and our financial conditions did not allow us to leave. There were clashes in the places where my husband's work-

22 Iain Chambers (2014), “Göç, Kimlik, Kültür” (Migrancy, Culture, Identity), Ayrıntı Publications

23 Ahmet, 29 Years old, Dabanoğlu Neighborhood.

place was. My husband had to quit his job. We could not leave our house due to our economic condition. Because if we were out, the kids' going to school would cost a lot of money. It was said that the clashes would begin to spread to Alipaşa district. We saw everyone was packing their stuff; everyone was in a rush and everyone was in fear and we decided to get out. When the clashes started in Sur, we went to my mother-in-law's house. We stayed with 5, 3, 8 people together. In our first displacement, I was a child and we had to leave the village. We suffered from a forced displacement again" (Atiye, 39 Age, Alipaşa Neighborhood).

13 of our participants left their places and settled in Sur due to the forced displacements in the 1990's. Approximately 30 years after the first forced displacement, history fell back and forced people living in Sur to leave their homes again. In the comprehensive field research conducted by the Migration Monitoring Association in 2019, in the provinces and districts where clashes occurred, 36% of the participants in the research were found to have been subjected to forced displacement in the 90's.²⁴

Mahmut, who used to live in the city of Afrin in Syria, settled in Diyarbakir with his family in 2015 due to the clashes in Afrin. Mahmut and his family, who had no financial saving because they fled the war, started to work with a tradesman together with his wife Zeynep after settling in a house in Sur. No sooner had they escaped the effects of the Afrin where they had just fled war than they were caught in a city where they were new and foreign again. They stayed in the family of Mahmut, who left the city and settled in Istanbul upon displacement. However, when the clashes were over, they returned to Sur again. Mahmut and Zeyno described the process of Sur as follows:

"We suffered 4 displacements throughout our lives While we were in Afrin. They looted our neighborhood. They dropped bombs, fired flares, and so on. We had to get out of there. We went to another place, which was a part of Afrin. When the war situation increased, and we had to get out of there, too. From there, we came to Turkey, to Sur. Shortly after coming here, clashes started to break out in Sur. We left

24 Migration Monitoring Association (2019) "Curfews and Violations Experienced by Women in the Process of Forced Migration and Experience Report".

Sur and went to Istanbul. We had to leave Sur and go to Istanbul because our children were very young. We did not want our children to suffer from the same conditions of war again. Because they were already scared and now were afraid of the clashes in the place we came before Sur. That's why we got out of Sur. When the clashes were over, we returned to Sur" (Mahmut, 37 Years old, Hasırlı Neighborhood).

"Before the clashes, I was working with my husband at a restaurant in Sur. When the clashes started in Sur, my husband went to work and went to a place that bought second-hand goods. We had a few pieces of goods in our house, and we would sell our household items so that we had some money to stay in Istanbul. When my husband went home to take items out of the house and sell the items, a rocket fell on the street where our house was. When the rocket fell, we gave up selling our belongings and went to Istanbul to escape, saying, "we do not need money." We just left the house and fled. That's how we decided to get out of here. We went with four of our children because there were too many explosions and those explosions were going through with very loud noises. We stayed in my mother-in-law's house in Istanbul. We went to with 4 people including the children - then we had no babies - there were 5 people left at home. When we left, 9 people lived in the same house" (Zeyno, 29 years old, Hasırlı Neighborhood).

"Sur was a war, we never could get out of war"²⁵

"I had never been displaced before Sur. I came here after the clashes (again moved to a different neighborhood in Sur). We left Sur. You know the events. I had brain surgery. There were bombs in front of my door. For example, there was a clash once a week. So the people who came to the neighborhood were changing all the time. I did not know who was who. The house I lived in before displacement was mine. My house was destroyed a month later; when I saw my house ruined, the bud on my head were torn apart. They took me to emergency surgery" (Nahide, 37 Years old, Hasırlı Neighborhood).

25 Mesut, 19 Years old, Fatihpaşa Neighborhood.

“I changed seven houses during the displacement process. It was very bad and I can’t explain that process. It was a very bad process. At the dawn of the morning, I awakened my children in a hurry and ran away without shoes under the bullets. In no way, were we able to save anything. We struggled. We had a lot of trauma there. Despite our psychology deterioration, we struggled and tried not to quit, but we had to. The house was not mine; it was my father’s house. At least I was staying there, so I didn’t need anyone. I could survive in a way; my financial situation was not bad, but all of them suddenly disappeared. Because I couldn’t stay there. We were already under threat. Special operation policemen were taking us off. They cut our electricity and water there, and we struggled there, but they took us out. So we went out to save our lives. Along with the events, my husband could not stand against operations and he got mad due to the accumulation of past troubles and the traumas that came after the war. This is because my husband had never suffered from clash and he witnessed the events for the first time. He is Turkish, not from here. He is from İzmir, from Karşıyaka. (.....) He could not bear all the negative situations. Finally, he was hospitalized to the department of mental and nervous diseases” (Ayşe, 32 Years old, Alipaşa Neighborhood).

Violations of rights caused by clashes in Sur were multidimensional, and electricity and water were cut off to intimidate families who continued to stay in Sur and to cut off their communication with the outside. Apart from financial losses, people suffered from the psychological damage that they couldn’t repair for a long time. Physical destruction and psychological traumas caused people to have serious health problems. In the unsafe environment that emerged with the onset of clashes, children who were unable to go to school had to take a break from their education for a while, while some children did not want to continue school because they could not adapt to education. Our participants who went to high school in clash processes described their experiences in that period as follows:

“I stopped going to school during the curfews process in Sur. I couldn’t adapt to school. I had many friends who left school like me. We did not choose to go to school. I did not want to go to school before the process, either. I quit school and started to work in a barbershop.

I don't like going to school. We are 6 people living at home, and only my father used to work. I had a barbershop. It was demolished during the clash. My job is as a barber. I have not been working anymore since my shop was demolished. During the clashes, my father and I did not want to leave our house. The events intensified. We sent my mother and siblings to our relatives. We went out later. Everyone in the house was very afraid, except for me and my father. My brothers were hugging us. They were very afraid of sounds of gun and bullets. The little children were very scared. Without them, I would never have been affected. I'm the oldest in the family. During the events my father I and were left alone and we saw everybody leaving, then we left as well. We stayed as a guest in different relatives for 4 months. We changed 4 different neighborhoods. We were staying with my uncles for a week and another uncle for another week. We did not want to leave our neighborhood. But we had to. We rented a house 4 months later. I have not seen our old place since then, and our house was destroyed" (Mesut, 20 Age, Fatihpaşa Neighborhood).

"It was very bad at that time. We could not stay at home, there were so much sound of gun and bombs that my mother was able to cook only by crawling. Our house was so close to clashes that gas and lead were coming through the windows all the time. We couldn't stand at home. We hurriedly moved. We never even thought about looking for a house and I didn't know-how. It was very terrible. Everyone's house was being demolished. Vehicles could not enter. Anyone who left Sur could not come back. The elderlies were crying; there were children with disabilities. It was very difficult for them. The folks carried their belongings with barrows. The announcement was being made. I was in first grade at high school during Sur conflict. Our school bus service was waiting there in Eski Hal. It couldn't get closer to home. I went out one morning, at 5.50, and the two policemen said, "Raise your hand." I could not move because I had student uniform. "Are you a terrorist?" they said. I said, "Don't you see, I'm a student?" Because I had school uniform, and I had a picture on my bag. They asked for my identity, I was young, I wasn't carrying an identity card. Then I went home to get my ID and my mother came after me. I said "don't come" to her, and I shouted; I

insisted that she should not,, but she came. Then I went to school. An announcement was made on the way back; I was left alone. The curfew on entering Sur began on that day. I went to my grandmother's house” (Roz, 19 Age, Melikahmet Neighborhood).

Mesut, who was a child at that time, had the mission of protecting his siblings by giving up being a child in the face of violence and destruction, because he was an older boy during the clash. Because of his testimonies, he could not find his desire to continue school. Roz, who was 14 at the time of the clash, said that both her own and her siblings' success levels in their school education decreased due to the impact of violation and expressed their lives with the words “we have completely changed” after their testimonies in Sur. Every individual who was exposed to clash processes was affected by this situation in many ways. However, in terms of children and adolescents, the fear they experienced due to the effects of the events they witnessed increased the anxiety of the future, which caused children to have to put up with a lot more burdens in early childhood.

Families who are in the middle of clashes at the beginning of curfews did not leave their homes in the first announced prohibitions, considering that prohibitions and clashes would not continue for a long time and state forces would not target places such as homes, schools, and mosques. However, they witnessed violence, the bullets that hit their homes, the people were being shot in the middle of the street, so they had to leave their places as a result of home raids, the constant announcements, and the increasing conditions threatening life safety.

The families stated that they had to leave their homes due to the clash and wanted to return to their homes in Sur after the clash ended in most of the interviews. It's noted in the comprehensive report prepared by TMMOB (Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects) that in the areas where curfews are applied; 3569 buildings, including 87 registered buildings and 247 buildings worth registration were demolished in the 6 prohibited neighborhoods in Sur. Accordingly, 61% of the banned neighborhoods were destroyed and 72% of them were structurally destroyed.²⁶. Therefore, although many families wanted to return to their homes after the clashes, they did not have a home to return.

26 <https://www.tmmob.org.tr/yayin/tmmob-yikilan-kentler-raporu>

Social and Economic Adaptation After Displacement

When we were under the influence of a concussion, while we, our family, our friends feel a disaster wind blows, we were surprised that the world around us continued as if nothing happened, and cheerful faces appeared in the windows.

Maurice Halbwachs.²⁷

Sur as the metropolitan district is the first residential area in the city center of Diyarbakir, that hosted different ethnic and religious communities at different times. The historical and cultural accumulation of Sur is also the most important element of urban identity. Sur was the first destination of economic and forced displacement, especially due to financial deficiencies in the 1990's. This situation causes Sur to be notorious for poverty (and all the elements accompanied by poverty) besides its historical identity. Sur district today represents two different socio-economic profiles.

All of the people interviewed within the scope of the research stated that they were in the same building or the same neighborhood with their close relatives before the clash. They also stated that even though they do not have blood ties between them, they had very close and sincere relationships with their neighbors. Since the indoor installation of the houses (kitchen, bathroom, toilet, etc.) is related to the culture directly, it was observed that the perception and use of the house are changed in the structure and architecture of the house, if necessary.²⁸ Since Sur district is within walking distance to all institutions such as (Hospital, Municipality, Courthouse, etc.), they didn't use a car to go from one place to another, so they didn't not pay a fee for transportation.

All participants stated that there was strong social solidarity in their neighborly relations. Mizgin described the trust and sincerity in the neighborhood and neighborhood relations with the following words; *"We felt more secure in Sur. Everyone in Sur was like a relative and a*

27 Maurice Halbwachs (2017), *"On Collective Memory"*, Heretic Publications.

28 Zan Foundation *"Two Faces of Destruction in Sur: Urban Transformation and Blockade, Urban Transformation and Blockade Relationship Analysis Report in Sur District of Diyarbakir"*, Diyarbakir, 2016

member of family.”²⁹ If there were families with the poor financial situation in the neighborhood, all residents of Sur came together and provided cash and or cash-wise assistance to the family.

Mehmet described the culture of solidarity that has come true in neighborhoods with these words: *“In the past if there was a poor in the neighborhood, each gave something from their home, and then the financial situation of the family was turning into normal*³⁰.” As Küçükırca stated: The construction of the Sur as a public and solidarity house is established in a relational way, not despite the private space and privacy. (2018: 38).

Although they resisted not to leave the house in the early times when the curfews started, due to the difficulties they suffered economically, they had to leave their houses with the intensification of the clash. Ayşe described the neighborhood in which they had to go in that process as follows. *“In the neighborhoods we went to, they were poor neighborhoods, so we couldn’t go to rich neighborhoods.*³¹” In general, the places preferred by many participants for displacement were the socio-economically weak neighborhoods. The reason for this was the fact that they do not have a good monetary situation to sustain their lives. They were unable to take their belongings out of the environment of the clash; they just could only take items such as clothing and blankets. Because many of the workplaces they work in are in Sur and shut down during the curfews, it caused them to have difficulties to meet daily needs.

The primary problem of families who suffered from clash was material and moral difficulties to find new places to shelter. Another important problem was that the residents of Sur, who developed a unique relationship network with one another did not know what kind of social environment awaited them where they went. The participants would explain the adaptation problems in the places they moved to as follows:

29 Mizgin, 19 years old, Savaş Neighborhood.

30 Mehmet, 50 years old, Ziya Gökalp Neighborhood.

31 Ayşe, 32 years old, Alipaşa Neighborhood.

“Now, I mean, we came here. Cost of a truck to carry our stuff from here to Cezaevi (a neighborhood in Bağlar district) was 50 Lira (referring to the pre-conflict). There are truckers next to the marketplace and they were terrible. They took a load from here about 600-700 Lira. The municipality never came and warned them saying, “these citizens are already victimized, they are being displaced, why are you asking more money?” Not a single day! No one appeared to be saying this. They did not ask them (truckers). This is our first offense to the municipality. Later on, they did not say, “They have already been victimized and you should not victimize them anymore.” We moved to Bağlar during the curfew period. We stayed for about a month. We rented a house. When we went there, we were going there every morning (referring old marketplace in Sur), expecting clashes to stop sooner or later. So my shop was closed for 3 months. After the houses were evacuated and Sur was evacuated, these truckers were stealing personal properties from the abandoned houses. The municipality still did not release out a press statement on it. We have already entered an apartment in the building in Bağlar. I Mean, we lived in Xançepek (Hasırlı Neighborhood), There are no such houses in Xançepek. You know, it is just a flat here, you go and rent it; no one came to say “you are welcome.” No one asked if we were hungry or if we had money. We were most angry at the municipality. Because they didn’t even say, “Why are these people here, why are these men persecuting them?” I mean, when we rented a house in Bağlar, if the rent of the houses is 500, they would get 800 Lira from us. There was a deposit fee and it was too much for us. I mean, you have no income, nothing. You are not working, always out of pocket... My shop (in Sur) was closed for three months” (Ali, 56 Age, Hasırlı Neighborhood).

The families, who had to leave their places with the intensification of the clashes, could not get rid of the network of opportunists who turned the crisis moments into advantage. Although some carriers/truckers and house owners knew that people living in Sur had to leave their places because of clashes, they showed immoral attitude by increasing their rental and transportation prices. People who faced these and similar

situations reacted because the Municipalities, which they saw as a hope, did not interfere with events and didn't take steps to eliminate the grievances. Mesut, who had not yet left his neighborhood during the period of clashes in Sur, described what happened in that process as follows:

“While there was an intense war in Sur, the people were smoking hookah at Hasan Pasha Inn. We felt offended by this. Life was very normal when we went to places where there was no clash, with our torn clothes. I lost my friends in the clash. I witnessed many deaths. That’s why I am not related to anyone outside my old neighborhood. At that time, there were people from other neighborhoods coming to steal things from houses that were evacuated. Our old neighborhood was very different; there was nothing good in that area. Alcohol and drug addiction were everywhere. The children there, were not going to school. There were a lot of thieves. But we all knew each other. We didn’t need money. We were not comfortable during our stay as a guest. It wasn’t like our own home. The only thing that affected me was that I was away from my old neighborhood, from my friends. We are now foreigners. In our old neighborhood, we were all bounded like a chain. Now we greet only when we run into each other. No one is asking us how we are, like that. It was very difficult. Sometimes we were starving. The man is always more comfortable in his own home. When we were guests, we had food and drink. Since my father’s job was in Sur, he could not go to work and we consumed what he had accumulated. Nothing left behind” (Mesut, 19 Age, Fatihpaşa Neighborhood).

Mesut, who was 16 years old during the clashes, expressed his disappointment when they went to the areas where there were no clashes, curfews that were temporarily suspended in Sur or the normal course of life to provide interim safe passages food and supplies. During this period, he felt like a mourner in the face because of the loss of his relatives and the events he witnessed and he stated that he became introverted.

Although he stated that he lived in a neighborhood where there was urban criminality, he specified that he felt safe in the social relations that existed in Sur and he had a good network of friends where he would

not have any financial difficulties. Mesut, who could not go to his old quarter because his home was destroyed, tends to glorify what he had lost during displacement and clashes, like many people who had a feeling of loss. This caused him to have a strong psychological connection with the past and did not let him connect with the new destination.

In the place after the clash, they described the effects of new neighbors and the differentiation of the house as follows:

“Sur was a very different place; all the neighbors were like parents, brothers, and sisters. I don’t even know our neighbors today... Sur was a friendly and warm place. Our family didn’t restrict us from going out, but here they call us many times even when we go to the supermarket. Our house was very small before; almost all of us were sleeping in the same room. We spent more time together, but now everyone is isolated in his/her room. I don’t remember when we last sat together and chatted with the whole family. Sur was a place consisting of slums. If you opened the window, we could see the other neighbor and greet him. But now we don’t even know our neighbor next to us. I don’t know how I can say, but we used to sit on the pavement close to our houses in Sur with the neighbors until midnight. We could even sleep in one another’s houses at night, but now it is not like that, in fact, we never got used to the apartment life. I was unable to meet many of my friends. Each went somewhere else. We were more connected in the past. We were staying in a single room, but we were cheerful. For example, after moving to the apartment, I learned what the extra expenditures are; there were no such costs in Sur. Now we have a hard time” (Mizgin, 19 Years, Savaş Neighborhood).

“The buildings in Bağlar and Sur are different. The number of rooms there (referring to Bağlar district) is different. Maybe it is more comfortable than the houses in Sur. But in Sur, you have neighbors, you have people that you are familiar with, you have relatives. If you have a need, it doesn’t matter. There are many places you can go. But on the other side (in Bağlar), nobody knows about anyone. Everyone is stranger and no one cares about who is dead in

the building, or who is hungry, or who is full. Do you know what you call social life in Diyarbakir? From home to work, from work to tea-house, and from tea-house to home. The psychology of the children is broken. Their interest in school diminished. Now you cannot pressurize on children. However, you try to convince by talking, but it doesn't work sometimes. The relocation caused children to fall out of love with the school" (Mehmet, 50 Years, Ziya Gökalp Neighborhood)

The spatial specificity shaped around the historical and cultural structure of the Sur has an essential role in shaping the neighborhoods, streets, and human relations. Housing type, which is one of the material cultural elements, has developed following the social and historical features of Sur. Rows of houses that are built close to each other or facing the same courtyard are seen everywhere. Again, since the houses were built to meet the accommodation needs, they were smaller and less than 3-roomed houses. Although the physical features of the structure show a characteristic that will prevent individualization, it enables the people living in the family to spend more time together. Spatial proximity of the houses, on the other hand, is a paramount factor in the development of intimate relationships based on trust in neighborly relations.

Since everybody knew everyone in the neighborhood, economic relations with tradesmen such as grocery stores, greengrocers and bakeries, where daily shopping was done, were also based on mutual trust (credit-receivable relations, shopping and paying usually when money was available). In the field research conducted by the Zan Foundation on the subject, it was observed that families from Sur who were displaced and placed in TOKIs (Mass Housing Administration) did not continue their socio-cultural, economic (debit, credit) and political (organizational) relations based on trust, and they started to be alienated from neighboring place and new neighbors negatively affected their families. (2016: 12)

Whether in TOKIs outside the city or other districts in the city center, changing living conditions with the social and spatial differences that families encountered in their places, instigated changes in daily life habits, social relationships, and communications, from the arrangement of space to its use. Apart from the spiritual breakdown they faced, the financial condi-

tions that forced them also affected their adaptation to social life negatively. First of all, families had their own houses in Sur, or they were living in a relative's home, or they were paying a very small amount of rent.

Since they lived in detached houses, they reduced their obligatory expense such as dues and doorman fees, and by being within walking distance of the places they could go while in Sur was an advantage. However, it would cause them to face extra costs in the place where they were placed. Money was never such priority in their daily lives before, but as Roz said in the new settlements, "Everything turned into money there."³² This affects families whose economy is not good anyway.

Nahide, who had to leave her house because it was destroyed, but moved to a neighborhood where there were no clashes and close to her previous house where it was destroyed, would describe the difficulties she faced during that period as follows:

"Actually, I did not leave Sur. I was only a distance of 150 meters away from my previous house. Diyarbakir is Diyarbakir with all its districts and neighborhoods. My people, my Kurdish people - and I are Kurds - did not welcome my children among them; this neighborhood, yes, this is neighborhood. Which is the back of my street, and my children are excluded here. My children were not accepted to the games by other children. They said, "You supported the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party), you deserved that you are here." My children were battered and despised. In other words, I quarreled with a family, one by one every day to have my children accepted here. For example, I asked, "Were you there? Did you see if I gave support? No." So, within such a little time everything went well. I lived in my old house for 9 years. I went there when I got married."

We had decent relations with my neighbors. For example, there was hospitality among us. They were coming to my home and I was going to their home. Ok, there used to be benefits but now there is more. A lot has changed after the displacement. I mean, while we were there (referring to her former neighborhood) our life

³² Roz, 19 years old, Melikahmet Neighborhood.

was regular; we were healthy, and we had a life. Okay, my husband was not able to have a job at İŞKUR (a government institution finding jobs for people) at the time, but so how could I say we didn't need anything much. So now my husband is working, but we have a lot of trouble with many things. For example, my children go to school, but I can't buy them bags or clothes most of the time. I brought the clothes that I found out of the trash or used clothes that other people gave me and I still dress my children with those clothes" (Nahide, 37 Years old, Hasırlı Neighborhood).

The bad conditions and the testimonies experienced by the people due to the conflicts in Sur weakened their future expectations and caused them to have a more fragile attitude towards life. As Bauman puts it, strangers tend to cause anxiety, as they can destroy everything because they are scarily unpredictable, unlike people we interact with daily and believe we know what to expect (2019: 14). This determination of Bauman expresses the perception of "foreign" in society as a result of mass immigration to Europe by leaving their countries due to wars. However, the approaches expressed by the participants refer to the exclusion/discrimination from one street next to destroyed homes, not another district, or another province. Even if it is not a common situation, the main reason for marginalization is propaganda to produce criminals to legitimize the conflict environment. Another reason may be a defense developed by people living close to conflicts because of fear and anxiety that they witness directly. Or, as Bauman put it, "moral panic", when there is evil threatening social welfare, a feeling of fear spreads among many people (2019: 9-10). Therefore, the state of fear and anxiety created by the conflict environment is humanly understandable. However, escaping from a conflict environment and being marginalized by their neighbors in their shelters is much more than to be just explained by fear.

Ahmet,³³ who spent his entire life in Sur left his house and went to the Ofis district due to clashes, described the surprise he faced with the view as "We have come to Las Vegas." When Ahmet, who did not feel the

33 Ahmet, 29 years old, Dabanoğlu Neighborhood.

need to get out of Sur before the clashes began, faced with the dimensions of the socio-economic and cultural difference that exist among different centers of the city where he lives. He expressed the loneliness created by the sense of strangeness as, *“We suffered a lot of strangeness when we stayed outside”*

Children had problems adapting to the place where they were placed like adults. In the workshops held with the children, the expressions used by the children while expressing their adaptation problems were noteworthy. Since the majority of the children in the workshop did not leave Sur before the clashes, they suffered from both the material/physical structure (house, street, etc.) and social structure (friendship relations, forms of play, etc.) that were felt in the place where they moved. Children especially regret being separated from their streets and friends: They expressed as ³⁴ *“We were calling one of us through the door and the windows in Sur, and we were meeting and playing ball, etc. No one was knocking at the door where we went; nobody was calling and talking... No sound in the street... “or “I was very bored with loneliness. I wanted to go back here (to Sur).*

Another emotion that accompanies this sense of alienation in the new living spaces they encounter is “shame. The children explained their difficulties in making friendships with their expressions: *“I didn’t know anyone when I first went. I had never been there before. When I first went to class, I never raised my head off the floor. I knew that those children would exclude me. At that time, I was embarrassed to make friends, and I was having trouble being with friend someone. That’s why I always sat alone at home. I was watching TV; I was unhappy.”*³⁵ Aside from the unhappiness caused by the loss of the social environment in which they were born, the difficulties they suffered from having a place in an environment they did not recognize caused them to become more isolated and introverted. After the traumas caused by war and clash environments, anger bursts, restlessness, self-blame, anxiety, tension, startle, aggressive behaviors were also observed in children after the trauma brought by war (DISA, 2018: 23).

34 Workshop Dated 02.02.2020 *“Love and Trust Environment”*

35 Workshop Dated 01.02.2020 *“Love and Trust Environment”*

Changing Family Relationships After Displacement

Family is the oldest and most important institution that is shaped by the historical, cultural, material-spiritual and economic accumulation of the society in which it is located, and therefore can possess unique characteristics and functions in each society. As in all societies, it is in a highly important and protected position in the Kurdish society as well. What makes the family institution important- basically the most important practice expected of a family- is to raise individuals who comply with social norms. However, societies, and thus life in families in this case, do not progress on a linear pattern. Events that lead to social break downs/traumas such as wars, conflict environments, natural disasters can also bring about transformation in family relationships and in the structural characteristics of families.

While comparing before and after conflict, and when changes in family relationships in general, and relationships between spouses in particular (or private) were asked, participants responded as follows:

“I used to allocate more time for my wife, and it is a bit... You know we call it being multi-functional; we have to catch up with everything. We can’t make it if we don’t catch up. I have to work hard, so I cannot handle it (referring to allocating time to his wife). I leave the house early in the morning., I see her at breakfast. When I arrive at night, all family members are already asleep. Perhaps, but so rarely, she (his wife), gets up- which is kind of her-, prepares food, if not, I grab some snacks and go to bed straight away” (Ahmet, 29 Age, Dabanoğlu Neighborhood).

“I sometimes go out when the children (referring to his wife) don’t listen to me. You know, there is a saying; they say, “the joy of the house is an occasional discussion.” Of course, what I mean is not violence. Well, when I dictate and insist on my own ideas, or when she does the same, problems start to occur; contradictions arise between us. In the past, there was no such a thing between us. All economic needs could be met and there was no problem. 90% of women are like that, so if they have financial independence, there is no problem” (Mehmet, 50 Years old, Ziya Gökalp Neighborhood).

Before the conflict, the families had to put much more efforts in Sur to adapt to the changing conditions, and to solve financial glitches, with the annihilation of the order to which they were accustomed. Financial responsibilities are expected only from men, as families with patriarchal family characteristics do not socially favor women's work. More struggle, more work, less time with the family lead to deteriorated family interactions.

Our male participants who contributed to this research, when asked about the changes in their relationships with their wives, did not want to respond to this question with the thought that their "private" areas were questioned, even though they did not express verbally, or that there were quarrels between the spouses due to the fact that women exaggerate financial issues and regard as problems.

Apart from the changes in the family relations experienced during the conflict process and afterwards, the women reported the financial problems; financial difficulty- induced physical and psychological problems which arose during the conflict, as follows:

"Of course I suffered a sort of disconnection with my husband. There is no peace anymore. We were not happy. Since we already witnessed the conflicts there and we could not easily recover. There was an everlasting atmosphere of fear and panic. We always felt like something dangerous would happen. My husband lost his job, and he is already not a local here. I mean, my husband was affected very badly. He started to ignore home, stopped coming home. He started to feel overwhelmed and lose his sanity, and we started to run away from each other. Because when I asked him for something, he couldn't do. Even I wanted it. He was running away from us because he was not able to do and he couldn't afford. Because we had no savings, nothing at all. In short, they were very bad things. We lost our job; we lost our peace. I was previously a housewife- and was pretty content with that-, but now I do daily and unstable cleaning jobs, and I'm stressed. Because my husband is sick. We all have psychological problems. We know that I can no longer give my family a warmth as before. Because this is not what I can control" (Ayşe, 32 Age, Alipaşa Neighborhood).

“We left Sur. You know the clashes. I had brain surgery. My husband and I developed stronger bonds. You know, we used to value each other in the past as well, but now we are more connected. I did not expect my husband to change this positively. There was love and connection before, but he did not show me obviously. After these events, when we saw that no one around us took us into their house, we realized that we have no one else, then we hugged each other, got closer” (Nahide, 37 Years old, Hasırlı Neighborhood).

The attitudes of families affected by the same conflict environment at different levels were reflected in their relationships with each other. With her husband’s deteriorating psychology, leaving his family alone for a long time, escaping from her and moral responsibilities caused Ayşe to shoulder the whole burden alone. Having to work because of financial difficulties, Ayşe cannot bear new circumstances and therefore feels angry towards her husband. She states that although she is aware that she and her children are not well, she cannot deal with her anger since she cannot find a solution to the helplessness they experience as a whole family.

Nahide, who left her home with the outbreak of the clashes, suffers from a severe neurological illness, which she thinks is caused by the sadness she experienced when she saw her house collapsed when the clashes ended. The demolition of her house, her husband’s unemployment, the absence of supporters in difficult times, and the severe medical discomfort she suffered, strengthened her relationship with her husband. As for the trauma experienced, while a family was swung entirely, another family supported each other and strengthened their family ties.

Participants that were not able to find the opportunity to rent a house during the conflict and had to stay in close relatives described the changes in the relations in that period as follows:

“Of course, when we started living with my mother-in law, I had problems with both my husband and children. Was it possible to avoid problems? Because they already live in a flat that can barely accommodate them. So they don’t provide you a private room. We live in the rooms with their belongings and using

their belongings. So you can't be comfortable. Even if it is your mother-in law's house and how good they are, you are not free, you cannot be comfortable. I couldn't fulfill the responsibilities of being a spouse. Because the kids were sleeping with us, too. Istanbul is very troublesome. It is a costly city. To move to a separate house in Istanbul and live comfortably, you need to have a lot of money. We were working in a factory there. We were working from 7 in the morning to 8, 9 or even 10 in the evening. Where we worked was a plastic factory. Syrians were paid the least. We were both Syrians and Kurds. They did not like the Kurds. People of Istanbul did not like Syrian Kurds, but they did like Arabs. So we returned to Diyarbakir as soon as the conflicts ended. There is no problem between me and my husband here. Furthermore, we are working in the same place" (Zeyno, 29 years old, Hasırlı Neighborhood).

"When we were in our own house, we could spend time privately. We were more comfortable. But, in some else's house we were like guests and we couldn't adopt like our own home. In the old days, we used to visit my mother-in law; it was like that. We used to go so comfortably, with no problem. But as our duration of stay increased, everything changed. My mother-in-law was old. For example, even when my little girl touched her devices, she would get angry. You know, she was saying, 'don't touch, you will break them down.' Of course, it is not like you are at home. So I started to feel uncomfortable, and thought if it continued like this, we wouldn't get along with my mother-in-law. That is just a child, after all. Children play, get spoilt, do mischief, do everything. I have never reflected this situation to my husband" (Atiye, 39 Age, Alipaşa Neighborhood).

The participants stayed at the mother-in-law's home during the conflict period. Since they did not have a house of their own during the time they spent there, a healthy relationship did not develop between the spouses, nor between the parents and their children. Despite that they were not perpetually settled, tensions were experienced with the other residents of the house due to the extended stay.

Zeyno, a Syrian- Kurd, who came to Sur, barely fled the Syrian Civil War, had to go to Istanbul because she had no relatives other than her mother-in-law who stayed in Istanbul. As in many other countries, also in Turkey, refugees and asylum seekers are forced to work with cheap labor, way less than minimum wage, although they work a lot more than Turkish citizens. For this reason, she had to continue to stay in her relative's home because she could not afford a separate home to live as a family. Also, when the issue of ethnic identity is considered, they were more exposed to discriminatory policies. After the clashes in Sur ended, due to the problems they faced, she returned to Sur and re-established a house.

Gurbet, who stated that she had never had any problems with her husband until then, explained how her fear of losing everything at any moment due to the tragedies she experienced during the conflict and how the uncertainty that awaited her and her family in the future are reflected on their relationship as follows:

“To date, my husband has never said a bad word to me. He didn't hurt me. We've been together for so many years. My children are witnesses. Sometimes in the evening he goes to the garden (referring to the tea house with yard). He gets salary, the minimum wage, but they give him 1700 Turkish Lira. They give him less than what he should get officially. So, we suffer from financial problems. Now, still we consult each other, but we have lost our connection: we are distant to each other. For example, we have a basement below, which is like a small store. We want to re-open it, but after the war, neither he is eager to open it nor am I. For example, our roof is dripping, leaking water, for example, if it had been before the war, we would have repaired, but now we are so disconnected from life, we are indifferent. We stored food in cans, for example, will we be able to eat? We think about these issues. We have an anxiety in our hearts and ask questions like 'Will we be ever lucky just once in our lives? Will we escape, will we stay here?' We have lost our eagerness; there is no meaning anymore. I wonder if there is any in everything we do? We think” (Gurbet, 34 Years old, Hasırlı Neighborhood).

In the conflict process, Roz's father was detained and arrested on his way to work as usual, and in the absence of her father, she told what happened at that time due to both the tensions they experienced in the family and the approaches of her paternal relatives as follows:

“My father’s family wanted us to live close to them in Seyran-tepe³⁶, but because they were so oppressive, my mother did not accept or else they would force us to wear headscarf. My father was imprisoned during that time. He was working in the municipality. When he went to work, panzers stopped my father during the Sur clashes, saying that there was a warrant on him and that he was wanted by the police. His family also left him alone (referring her father’s family). We were desperate and pitied our father. My mother was thinking about how to take care of us. When my father was imprisoned, we realized that he did not have a real family. My father went to prison; my mother was the only one to take care of us. We were very sorry for my little brother. He couldn’t utter the word father; he would grow up without love of father. We were always deprived of psychological and financial support. We have lacked both. But we managed to survive through money given to prisoners’ families. It was a sort of governmental assistance. Then we went back to Sur. But my mother was no longer able to take care of her children. My brother started to patronize her and us too. My father’s family always told him, “You are the man of the house, take care of them!” and he was putting pressure on us” (Roz, 19 Age, Melikahmet Neighborhood).

In the family, the absence of the father created an authority gap, and the extended family (paternal relatives) tried to fill this gap by transferring ‘leader of house’ title to the eldest son of the house. The role change, which is conducted in compatible with the patriarchal family structure, is related to the desire of the extended family to develop a conservative and oppressive attitude towards mothers and daughters. Even though the roles have changed in the family, the mother has taken on all the financial and moral responsibility. The family, which already

36 A neighborhood within the border of metropolitan district of Yenisehir

had difficulties in financial terms, had more financial difficulties with the father being imprisoned. The family did not receive any support of their relatives during this difficult period. One of the reasons why they did not support is that the family did not choose to live with their relatives, in other words, they did not accept the oppressive authority of their relatives. The family tried to make a living with social support funds for a long time. However, aside from the financial difficulties they suffered, when it became difficult to cope with teenagers, the mother decided to return to Sur again after the clashes were over.

Reflections of Experiences in the Displacement Process on Parent-Child Relationships

In war and conflict environments that cause social trauma, witnesses, losses and exposure to violence levels of effects is experienced differently in each individual. Level of being affected by trauma affect the process of being affected by trauma and dealing with trauma depending on especially age and gender; socio-economic, cultural and social characteristics on historical projections; personal traits such as family relationships, emotional, social ties/ belongings and psychological tendencies (DİSA, 2018: 16-17).

Our participants explained how the changes beginning with the conflict process and lasting until today that emerged both in themselves and in their children are reflect on their relations:

“The relationships we have with our children are the same, they used to be good as well. Now it’s good. But our bonds got stronger after the conflict” (Emine, 29 Age, Cevatpaşa Neighborhood).

“My daughter used to be quieter in the past; now she comes and tells me everything that is going on around. Our bonds have increased relatively, even more compared to the past” (Atiye, 39 Age, Alipaşa Neighborhood).

“When I love my children sometimes, I abruptly think of other children (she is referring to those who were killed) and all at once, you forget to love... One’s child disappeared, and the other’s child

was killed. When these things come to mind, one cannot show much love and affection to the child. Those children had mothers, too. I think of their mothers. Of course, I love my children now, too, but I think deeply about these matters. Those children had mothers too; their mothers come to my mind... Now I love my children but these things come to my mind... We have become indifferent and distant. It is hard to feel anything. Where should we run? My psychology is already in poor conditions” (Gurbet, 34 Years old, Hasırlı Neighborhood).

“Sometimes they are affected when the old days are spoken, but that’s it. But they are still scared when they see guns and see the police. Since they do not know who to blame for not understanding the events. they ask, “Mother, are we guilty?” Let me say, for example, our doors were open in Sur (before the conflict), our children would go out. I never asked them, “Son, where are you? Where are you going my daughter?” Now before getting out of the door, I ask them all one by one: “Where are you going, who are you going to meet?” I always try to keep them under control” (Nahide, 37 Years old, Hasırlı Neighborhood).

Even though they went through the same conflict process, it is seen that different approaches appear in the relationship of parents with children. Whereas one, due to the clashes or conflicts he/she witnessed, had difficulty in connecting to his/her children with the fear of losing; for the other parents, fear increased their interest and caring towards their children. The children, who are too young to understand the reasons for what happened, if accompanied by constant control, that asked, “Mother, are we guilty?” think that they were responsible for what happened. Otherwise, why, then, this process that left them and thousands of people homeless and worsened their mothers’ health happened?

During the conflict, our participants, whose spouses are in prison, explained how the difficulties suffered in that process were reflected in the parent-child relationship as follows:

“My 2 daughters have just graduated. I have no money; I cannot send them to extra courses to get prepared for university entrance exam(YKS). I sent the other one last year because she failed so I didn’t send her this year. My other daughter was a hard working girl. She had a meningitis disease when she was young, and she still suffers from that. She is very rebellious. Even if you physically hurt her, she does what she wants anyway. She was in the dormitory; we did not tell her that her father was imprisoned. When clashes started here, their schools sent them to the dormitories. They were sent to other schools on boarding. I went to school to see her every week, and thought that she is just a kid. “Kids should not be sad” I said all the time. You can’t slap young people now. If I slap them, they threaten me, saying, “We’ll leave the house, go there, we’ll go here.” They threaten us. Our relationships were better when my husband was with us” (Melek, 42 Age, Melikahmet Neighborhood).

“Now our relations are good, but our ties were very strong in the past. And children grow up, they realize everything. They care about me, am I getting old? My husband and my children clash among themselves. For example, when my husband was released from the prison, they thought as if I was remarried to a foreign man” (Garip, 39 Years old, Cemal Yilmaz Neighborhood).

Melek’s husband was arrested during the clashes, while Garip’s husband remained in prison for 11 years and was released right after the conflict ended. It is seen that conflicts in relations arose in one family due to the absence of the father, and in another it was due to the father who was re-included in the family after so many years.

In both families, children lived separately from their fathers when they needed family unity and love the most. The destructions caused by the conflict environment triggered a basis for the conflicts within the family. One reason for conflicts suffered in the family is because teens do not want to accept parental control and intervention.

In Sur, there were 6 schools in 6 neighborhoods where curfews were imposed, and with the onset of conflicts, the students of these schools were transferred to other schools in the metropolitan districts of Diyarbakir. Some students were sent to boarding schools. Students staying in boarding schools were left deprived of both their social circles and families. According to the data in the HDP's (Peoples' Democracy Party) report; there were 15 schools affected by the blockade at first phase, so 7450 students studying in these schools were affected. It was also stated in that report that the schools evacuated due to conflicts were used as headquarters and all the schools in these neighborhoods were destroyed.³⁷

Our participants, who were displaced and migrated to Bağlar and Yenışehir metropolitan districts of Diyarbakir during the conflict, returned to Sur district after the conflict. However, upon their return to Sur, they explained the problems that arose in their relationship with their children as follows:

“When we were displaced, 3 families had to stay together. When 3 families live together, naturally, you cannot take care of your child. Everybody was in trouble in some way. We try to meet the needs of those who stay there (Sur). How one could think about their children, wife, or daughter? All you think is how to feed so many people, provide them a safe shelter. Now you say something to your child, she/he doesn't listen to you. They behave as they wish. When I told them something, they used to take it serious, at least, they used to take it into consideration.

Following the conflict, disconnections in our relations with children started to arise. My children were taking better care of themselves when they were in Bağlar. They did not get sick during that period. They have been getting sick almost once a month since we returned to Sur. They lost their motivations to live, became indifferent. Because Sur was not good for children, we decided to move to Bağlar” (Mehmet, 50 Years old, Ziya Gökalp Neighborhood).

37 <https://www.hdp.org.tr/images/UserFiles/Documents/Editor/Surraporu.pdf>

Well, at that time we were quite wealthy (before the conflict). We could purchase whatever the child wanted, but now, we can't. Since we can't buy, my son asks why we are not able to afford. For example, when we were in Sur, we were much more comfortable. But my children miss life in Toplukonut (where they migrated). Because we were in a site (a bunch of block of apartments that have security, fences, small playgrounds) there. We were safer. The boy had a bike and he could buy whatever he wanted there. After coming here, I started to have some problems with my eldest child. At first, he didn't understand why we came back to Sur. He didn't want to come here. "Our place is beautiful, we have friends," he said. After coming here (to Sur), he started to say, "Why isn't everything the way I want it?" (Leyla, 28 Age, Dabanoğlu Neighborhood)

Conflict process caused destruction in families in many aspects: financially, spiritually and psychologically. Parents or family members who undertake responsibility tried to get over the security threats that may arise while trying to solve the problem of survival. By their nature, children were adversely affected by conflict and violence they were exposed to, but managed to recover from the effect of staying away from the traumatic environment. However, their parents' decisions to return to Sur after the conflict revived the trauma effects they had hidden subconsciously. The children who migrated to Sur showed both physical and emotional reactions.

In the pre-conflict period, the families stated that they were not financially strong, but they were not in need. However, families who had to leave their homes due to the never-ending conflicts described the changes due to the conditions in the process as follows:

"Both my wife and I were working. I couldn't find time to take the kids to the park. I had no time for them. We went out to save them from the war, but I couldn't spare them any time. Often, I couldn't see the children. For example, I would leave home in the evening, but they were already asleep at that time. When I came home early in the morning, the children were asleep. Every 15 days, when I got a day off, I spent that day sleeping. I was only 2-3

hours awake except for work. I was working on the evening shift. It was very difficult and the conditions were very poor and heavy.” (Mahmut, 37 Years old, Hasırlı Neighborhood).

“I wasn’t working before the conflict. Then I had to start to work. Because I can’t stay at home. After the events, I feel like the house is suffocating me, I feel this way at home. I also have financial difficulties. I used to spend all my time with my kids before. I used to wake up in the morning and have a nice breakfast with my kids. I would help them with their homework. I used to take them to school or pick after school. I used to cook dinner. We used to watch a movie together in the evening. Now I come from work, cook. Then the children come from school. I have them do their homework. I get very tired and sleep after that. I can’t take care of them as much as before (Güler, 28 Age, Savaş Neighborhood).

During the conflict, when families had to leave their homes, they had to work harder to survive in the new places they went, because they had to leave their houses before they could get their belongings. In their pre-displacement life in Sur, women did not work in stable jobs with a salary except for handcrafts (such as knitting or sewing) at home, or seasonal work in the summer - usually family members went together. However, women also had to join the labor force due to financial difficulties.

The inclusion of women in working life led to changes in the usual parent-child relationships. Mothers who closely watched all the processes of the children and spent a significant part of their time with their children stated that they could allocate less time to their children as the conditions dramatically changed.

Physical and Psychological Changes Observed in Children After Displacement

Trauma has a wide range in terms of both its causes and effects. Therefore, its effects are experienced on different levels in each individual and can lead to different processes. Levine states that witnessing human slaughter, whatever type it is, to be exposed to it constantly, can be as traumatic as experiencing the event first hand (2019: 21). All of the participants included in the research witnessed the first processes of the conflict environment in Sur with their families. Some were injured, others witnessed the death of young people and children. And all of them were exposed to clashes (guns, tanks, artilleries, announcements, etc.) until they came out of Sur. Clashes were so dense that a student in the children's workshop reflected the normalization of the clashing voices, saying "we cannot sleep if we do not hear the bomb sound."

Children, who could not make any sense of what happened, suffered from behavioral disorders as well as health (physical and psychological) problems that were noticed by parents during and after the conflict. In similar situations, as Halbwachs states, as children experienced and got to know suffering that is generally experienced by adults and had to face this pain at the same level as adults, they moved away from childhood and had to learn how to cope with what they experienced at an early age (2017: 29).

Participants described physical, psychological and behavioral changes experienced by children during and after the conflict as follows:

"My daughter was deeply affected by this process. She couldn't go to school for 20 days. She was terribly affected and was constantly saying, "I have a headache." I took her to hospital, to neurology department and, they did all the tests, and they examined and said there was nothing wrong at all. They said, "it's psychological." They directed us to psychiatry., Psychiatrist prescribed her medicine. The medicine was syrup. She started taking it, then she said she did not want to take any more as it made her lethargic, so I did not want her to take the syrup, and she stopped taking it. Then I enrolled her at another school. When she started going to school, she got relaxed for a bit. My eldest daughter was affected too adversely. I did not

expect her to be affected so profoundly. She started to develop anxiety about the future. She still continues to go to the psychologist. During the conflict, my daughter was undergoing puberty. So she was affected badly” (Atiye, 39 Age, Alipaşa Neighborhood).

“The school grades of the children dropped significantly. I kept honor degrees my children received. You will be shocked if I show you. They already started high school and then these clashes broke out. We were displaced, moved from one place to another. Their psychologies were ruined. One of my daughters has just recovered. Suddenly they are gone bad (referring to their psychological disorders), they are gone. Fortunately, they have recovered now, thank the God. My little child could not go to the toilet for 15 days in that period, had a bowel problem, but luckily recovered after the treatment” (Melek, 42 Age, Melikahmet Neighborhood).

In all of the interviews, parents stated that their children were very psychologically affected by the conflict process and that they received psychological or clinical support from experts. Because of the atmosphere of fear created by what had been experienced, the children either refused to go to school, or they could not achieve their previous levels of success because they could not adapt to new schools they were sent - schools were either moved due to conflicts or students were sent to other schools as guest students.

“During the conflict, two of my children were teenagers, and one of my children was going through puberty. For example, my children were very successful, but they could not do anything. My son began to suffer from stuttering after the conflict. He still suffers. Once my child was in the big, front yard of the mosque, a rocket fell on the area; the rocket nearly hit him. We were all scared. At that time, for example, gunfire, bomb sounds, etc. I know what sounds were familiar to us. We were afraid, but we were getting used to it over time. Because we could not get out of Sur due to conflicts. If we got out of the Sur, we couldn’t go back” (Garip, 39 Years old, Cemal Yılmaz Neighborhood).

“My two kids were students. They got honors, rewards of high academic achievement every semester. After the clashes, the GPAs

of both of my children fell substantially. Teacher were not caring, either. My son isolated himself in the room and played with guns. He asked me, "Doesn't everyone play with guns?" One of my children told the teacher that her brother was murdered, killed by the police. Actually, there is no such thing, but I gave birth, and my baby died. The counselor called me to school. I went, the teacher told me, 'your son is talking bizarrely', 'cops killed my brother, is there really such a thing? He called my child to his room; my son said to the teacher, "I thought that the police killed my brother because the police killed everyone." According to him, the police are killing everyone who died. Last night my husband was cleaning his licensed gun. My daughter cried and came to me screaming. When I asked what happened, she said, "He will shoot us" because she saw the gun. The psychology of my children has deteriorated. They still behave bizarrely" (Gurbet, 34 Years old, Hasırlı Neighborhood).

"There is constant fear in my children. They used to trust everyone in the past. They shared everything they had with their friends. Now, my eldest son does not share what he has with his younger one. My little one is in the same way ... There is such a fear; they do not trust anyone. For example, they can only make friends with the people I approve. They have no other friends, even at school. The children did not want to go back because they saw that the house was destroyed and there was no house anymore. They say, 'Why did they come and demolished our house. We also had a house, a neighborhood, a ball. No one wants to be friend with us.' And they utter many sentences like this. The psychology of the children had deteriorated, even my older son started to wet his pants. They were afraid even when such a small balloon exploded. For example, the streets were dark, if a cat passed, they used to get frightened and say, "Look mother, they started again, now the weapons will intensify" (Nahide, 37 Years old, Hasırlı Neighborhood).

"If the children still see a news about Diyarbakir on TV, they are so panicked and they are so worried that, they say" will there be a war again? " (Emine, 29 Age, Cevatpaşa Neighborhood).

In addition to the continuity of the sounds of death, injury and con-

flict in the clash environment, situations such as electricity, water cuts, insufficient food supplements, caused great psychological stresses and the situation affected many people, especially children. Behaviors such as unexpected reactions, self-blame, nightmares, wetting, stuttering, scare, overreaction to high and sudden voice, anxiety, blaming someone, if not finding anyone, blaming themselves, introversion, and aggression are the reactions observed as a result of both observations and statements of witnesses. In the conflict period, these are main reactions revealed as a result of observations. Still, some children who witnessed the conflicts are worried that when they see the police and are exposed to sudden sounds because, they symbolize violence with the police, guns and all the sudden sounds (gunfire, balloon explosion, violent knocking of the door), the conflict situation may be experienced again. In some children, since they witnessed the use of too many weapons in the conflict process, they tend to play war games as they see the use of weapons legitimate and therefore perceive the gun as a force (or strength).

“My older child was very comfortable and free when he was in Syria. He was going to Kurdish school there. He was 6 years old and went to school alone. All people we knew there were relatives and acquaintances. There was no fear since the war had not started yet. We see that our children are struggling in lessons, but we cannot help them since we do not know the language. Even if we know the language, we do not know the Latin alphabet. We know the Arabic alphabet because we used that in Syria. Fortunately, my kids do not have any health problems triggered by the war, for now. My youngest wasn’t affected because he was too young to remember. But my oldest child remembers some, and always dreams of returning (to Afrin). He dreams that he can come back one day and take his bicycle and new slippers that he left in front of the door. I want to buy a bike here too, but the house is so small that there is nowhere we can put it. My young child also remembers the names of his friends in Syria. He says he wants to return to them. We did not reflect our anxiety and fears of conflicts in Syria on our children. We always described the war as if all was a game. But now they know that we had to leave our place because of a war.

For example, the other day my son came to me and said, “I wish there were no wars.” Sometimes their father hears stories of the war there while watching the news. For example, they ask questions such as “why are there planes, why are there wars?” Then he says, “War is not a good thing because children die, mothers die ... Why?” Maybe they are young but they know, they understand” (Zeyno, 29 years old, Hasırlı Neighborhood).

“When I gave birth to two baby girls within a relatively short time, my eldest daughter was staying with my mother. She lived there for two or three years. My mother was taking care of her. After she started school, she came back home and started to stay with us. She was afraid of staying at home alone after the clashes in Sur. They always wanted to stay with me. My children still miss the house, their room, the furniture. They still say that they miss. For example, here, we live in a four-room house. But they don’t have their own furniture, they don’t have anything. Our destroyed house had two rooms. They had their belongings. They had separate rooms” (Güler, 28 Age, Savaş Neighborhood).

The fact that families had to leave their familiar environment/ places made it difficult for children to get used to the new place, so they can connect their past life to a toy they had or a room of their own (they used to have). However, the changes in place and order, distortion in their daily habits and rituals, loss of goods and toys, being away from home, school and street, and poverty can make the child weaker and unsafe (Akt. Erden and Gürdil, 2009: 2). Therefore, in spite of the losses they experience, children dream of having a day to go back to their homes that they had to flee, their belongings they had to leave behind, and to their friends who had played in the same street.

“My youngest daughter dropped out of school because of fear. She used to love her school and her courses. Now she is sitting at home. She can’t go out. She runs away when she sees the police. She can’t even go to the kitchen. She suffers from panic attacks. She never leaves the house. My youngest became member of a reli-

gious group(tariqa). I cannot cope with it. He grows his beard like members of Hüda-Par (a legal party in favor of Islamic Sharia). His brothers do not accept it, so they fight all the time. I can't recognize my son. I don't know how he became so. I wish he never went to a mosque" (Kezban, 59 Years old, Cemal Yılmaz Neighborhood).

I'm the youngest in my family. After the clashes in Sur, I started to suffer from panic attacks. I started to be afraid of school. Actually, I loved reading. I did not want to go to school because there is still fear in me. I heard a lot of bullet noises (Lale, 18 Years old, Dabanoglu Neighborhood).

Well, what affected me was that I lost where I was born and raised. I do not stay at home much. I don't see my family much. But my brothers and sisters continued to be affected badly, and when they heard a gunshot, they were running to my mother. The psychology of my brothers was deeply affected (Mesut, 20 Age, Fatihpaşa Neighborhood).

"We were very successful; everyone would talk about our success. We changed the house. We couldn't go to school. Our father was arrested and our success was gone. Even my sister was expelled from school. We all started smoking. We were going through adolescence. My brother dropped out of school. We had no discipline because we had no father. We all became very unsuccessful people" (Roz, 19 Age, Melikahmet Neighborhood).

Children in adolescence during the conflict could not recover for a long time because they could not get rid of the effects of what they experienced after the conflict. Even though they were not aware of the decisions they made, all of which were made because fears at the time, there were decisions that would affect their entire lives. At that time, trends such as dropping out of school, seeking for different opportunities, or turning to religious communities and parties without support from the family were very common among children. Although general anger about the conflict process can be observed among the participants, the fact that young people keep the events alive in their minds while

describing the process, their inability to get rid of the effects of their experiences, and the control mechanisms of the families on the children provided a ground for the children to be obscure and lost. In a way, this is a grieving process that is not completed. Uçarlar states that one cannot deeply mourn without witnessing and that grief is experienced only when a personal grief turns into a collective experience (2015: 60). However, many families who lost their lives during this period could not organize funerals and for condolences and could not get the dead bodies³⁸ de of their relatives for a long time. Consequently, the losses experienced turned into a personal grief and anger since the mourning that they needed was blockaded. They even were deprived of mourning.

Changes Observed in Lives of Women After Displacement

*In the past, the streets of Sur were like a festival area,
now even the shadow of the tree has changed.*³⁹

In societies with patriarchal family order, the family becomes the institution where gender inequality is formed. The role distribution in the family is usually the father who provides the income of the house; all domestic responsibilities such as child care and raising a child, home order, cleaning, and kitchen are allocated to the mother (Connell, 1998; Comer, 1984; Rowbotham, 1987; Kandiyoti; 2015). However, in situations that lead to social break downs such migration (displacement), division of labor based on domestic gender roles can cause changes in character due to the new class environments they enter and changing relations (Connell: 1998: 169-171).

While analyzing the example of Sur, most of the women stated that they did not work before displacement and that they undertook child-care and domestic housework. Until the conflict, many participants specified that they did not go beyond Sur, were engaged in social life in Sur, and spent most of their days with their neighbors and relatives. Gurbet described her daily life before the conflict as, “Everyone used

38 For further information, see, Migration Platform [2018], 2015-2016 Displacement Stories of Women During the Curfews (Sokağa Çıkma Yasakları Sürecinde Kadınların Göç Hikayeleri)

39 Kezban, 59 Years old, Cemal Yılmaz Neighborhood

to wash their houses; we would do housework. We used to do it quickly so that we could sit in front of our doors with neighbors. We would sit down knitting and embroidering our headscarves. We would eat the melon and watermelon seeds that we dried at home, and we would sit until midnight, 1 a.m. at night. We were happy.⁴⁰

When the participants compared their daily life practices before and after the conflict, they described the changes observed in women as follows:

“I was a housewife before the conflict. After the displacement, I went to İŞKUR (a government institution finding jobs for people) and filed my application. Because I couldn’t stand staying at home. My husband agreed on my decision when I decided to work, but he said, ‘our children are too young, you will put yourself in a lot of trouble, I think you had better not work.’ That was his reason; not because he did not trust me. He didn’t want me to get tired more. There is no problem of trust between us. Also, husbands can no longer act like women’s guards. If I am bad person, I can be bad at home, too. If I am good person, I can be good outside, too. He did not discourage me; the only thing he said to me was that our children were young. But I said that I was bored at home, had trouble, so I wanted to work. If I work, I can share my problem with someone, talk to someone, but my psychology was worsening even if no one knew. Also, we needed the job” (Gurbet, 34 Years old, Hasırlı Neighborhood).

“I wasn’t working before the conflict. I applied to İŞKUR. I had to start working. Because I can’t stay at home. After the clashes, the house turned into a grave for me, I felt suffocated at home. I also have financial difficulties” (Güler, 28 years old, Savaş Neighborhood).

“I was not working when I was in Syria. Previously, I was saying “I will never work.” My husband was very jealous; how would I work? But here I have to work. I did not want to work here, either because I was afraid since my children were young. But we real-

40 Gurbet, 34 Years old, Hasırlı Neighborhood

ized that we had to work when we got here; we had no other choice. My husband and I started working in a restaurant. I didn't know what working was, so I had hard times. But beyond all, I think it's a good thing for a woman to work. I think every woman who can work should work. Working is not a shame. You both support your family and you can do something for yourself" (Zeyno, 29 years old, Hasırlı Neighborhood).

"Actually, I am in favor of working. My mother tried to deal with everything on her own, and also my father was not here. So she was more comfortable. In fact, women became freer. At that time, İŞKUR was arranging jobs for to the victims of Sur. Women who had never been out started working. To be honest, that was good for women. My mother started becoming aware of herself; she goes everywhere alone. The women started to stand on their own feet. When they had no house, no furniture, women started working. Their husbands also had to allow them to work" (Roz, 19 Age, Melikahmet Neighborhood).

Women who were not included in labor force and public sphere before the conflict, stated that they were involved in the labor force after the conflicts due to both the worsening financial conditions that were already very bad, the impact of the traumas they experienced and the need for different social environments. In total, 2 of our female participants stated that they benefited from İŞKUR⁴¹ projects, in which 3 thousand people were employed for 6 months, under the "Community Benefit Programs." Although presence of women in labor force was not a situation approved by their husbands, they could not oppose due to the current living conditions. The fact that husbands did not provide support for women who are involved in labor force increased the work load of the women given that the women had already overwhelming housework such as childcare, and chores. As Comer stated, even if a woman works outside, she has to endure to symbolize love and compassion, the most basic tenets attributed to femininity (1984: 153). Although it

41 <https://www.birgun.net/haber/iskur-sur-da-ise-aldigi-3-bin-kisiyi-isten-cikariyor-117525>

is tiring to continue working both outside and at home, women do not complain about being involved in the labor process and standing on their own feet. Participating in labor force legitimizes their entry into the public sphere, which also provides them the opportunity to get to know or observe people from different social backgrounds.

“I can say that my position has changed in the eyes of both my children and my husband. My children call me ‘you are the commander of the house, mother’. They know that the breadwinner of the house is the father, but I manage everything. My husband is well aware of this. I had thought about working, but there was no one to look after my children, so I could not work. I used to do handicrafts and tailoring. I had customers. I used to earn a decent amount of money. When Sur was destroyed, they were gone. To be honest, I have gained higher position in the family compared to the past. They started to value and respect me. I mean my family. A lot of people said, “She will not be able work. All she talks is nonsense; she cannot.” But after these clashes, as seen, you can stand on your own feet, you can prove yourself and your value rises again. That was what I did. Hmm, after this surgery- I am also paralyzed- I was fighting for my children” (Nahide, 37 Years old, Hasırlı Neighborhood).

Nahide who used to contribute to the household economy by tailoring before the curfews began underwent heavy surgery due to a problem in her brain during the chaotic period of conflict and so could not continue her job. The illness she suffered caused permanent damage. The unpleasant words people told her, impassioned her, so she held on to life more tightly. Despite her ongoing health problems and difficult living conditions, the efforts she put for her husband and children increased her dignity in the family.

“For example, I was working at that time, now I am unemployed. I was working in the municipality and this process damaged us; we were removed from our jobs within the scope of 36 (Article 36 of the Decree-Law, KHK). Before the conflict, I could afford school needs, social needs, individual needs of my children. I could

afford the entire burden. We had income: it wasn't too much, but it was enough. Now there is no family; everyone is fighting each other, not talking to each other. When you go deeper into this, you see that the underlying reason is financial difficulty. My husband is not working; I am not working; my daughter is not working. Not only did we isolate ourselves at home, but also from the rest of people: we are totally indifferent to everything. We lost our social relations. I don't know; we turned to ourselves. Before the conflict, women lived more extrovertly. They used to value themselves, care about themselves. They used to have a sort of dignity; they were fearless. But the conflict process affected everyone so profoundly that it was as if we went back in time for 15-20 years. In the past, there were several women's institutions that women could go to in Sur. Now they don't exist anymore. I think there is only one, ÇATOM⁴², which is opened by the district governor and there is no other. There were places where women would go if they were subjected to violence. There were places to attend the vocational courses. But now, they have nowhere to take refuge. This is also the case for the children. We used to have nurseries, but the nurseries were closed" (Garip, 39 Years old, Cemal Yılmaz Neighborhood).

With Decree Law (KHK),⁴³ which came into force on 01.09.2016, trustees (Kayyım) were appointed by the Ministry of the Interior to municipalities under the leadership of the People's Democracy Party (HDP). During that period, many municipal employees were either suspended, their contract was not renewed or removed from their positions by decrees issued under the State of Emergency (OHAL). Garip, who used to be able to meet the needs of her children during her work (her husband was sentenced prison for 11 years), was released after the clashes and was removed from her job soon after her appointment to the municipality. The closure of women's associations which supported women before the conflict in Sur with Decree Law (KHK) resulted in

42 Multi-Purpose Community Centers (ÇATOM), is an organization founded by the GAP Administration in 9 cities where Kurds are densely populated in 1995s. Its target audience is women.

43 See, <https://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2016/09/20160901M2-2.htm>

more women being affected by the conflict process and being isolated more. In the process of the beginning and after the conflict, women expressed that they lost their gains they have achieved up to that day, as well as the fact they experienced material and moral destructions, which they described with the words “*went back in time for 15-20 years.*”

“Well, I don’t know how to describe, but after the war, the city is broken into pieces. We could go out. But after the war, there has been an increase in number of places where people go and hang out. People became free in this sense. People used to spend their time on streets, but now I see everyone in Ceylan Karavail Park⁴⁴ In the past, they didn’t know there” (Mesut, 20 Age, Fatihpaşa Neighborhood).

“My wife wants to work, but we don’t want to, and there is no job opportunity to go and work. She didn’t think about working in the past because we didn’t need it. Now we have no furniture or appliances: we have nothing, but debt. For example, we used to live in a house of 100 square meters before, now, it is only 60 square meters. So think, how can anyone move around in this house? She even struggles while cooking in the kitchen. For example, in the house where we went as a tenant (referring to the place where he first moved to), the kitchen was big so she was quite okay with that. A woman spends whole her time in the kitchen, hundred percent of her time I mean” (Mehmet, 50 Years old, Ziya Gökalp Neighborhood).

“Yes, no one was thinking of working outside. Now, they are obliged to apply for a work in (İŞKUR). But we are not allowed to work; we never worked, and husbands never let us work even if they become beggars” (Kezban, 59 Years old, Cemal Yılmaz Neighborhood).

“When it comes to women, Syria is a very problematic place. Women were not comfortable, but Turkey is much freer than Syria. For example, women are everywhere. They can go out and they go hang out outside. When we saw women here in every field, of course, our perspective has changed. I wouldn’t want my wife to work, even though she is able overcome all the difficulties and although I had

44 The largest shopping mall located in metropolitan district of Diyarbakir, Kayapinar.

a lot of confidence in her. For example, when my wife wanted to go somewhere in Syria, I would take her, and I had a car and there were relatives everywhere. There were no strangers. But I don't want her to go anywhere here" (Mahmut, 37 Years old, Hasırlı Neighborhood).

As mentioned before, women had the freedom to act within the borders of Sur in the pre-conflict period, and this situation was limited by neither husbands nor other members of the family. However, families who had to leave Sur due to the post-conflict displacements were located in different neighborhoods of the city, and during this period, they had the chance to get to know diverse places. In the families returning to Sur after the conflict, specifically the young girls' freedom to go to public spaces outside Sur - any social activity outside Sur is generally a freedom area for men - created a perception of danger in men.

It has been observed that women did not want to work before the conflict, and one of the main reasons why such a demand gained popularity in women was to develop new efforts to get over the trauma they experienced after the conflict as well as to mitigate their economic problems. However, within the traditional relationship patterns, both men and especially women representing the first generation did not welcome working outside. The women who wanted to be involved in the labor force were often reminded that it was kitchen that they should spend most of their times due to their domestic role in the family.

Mahmut, who had to flee Afrin and take a refuge in Sur, states that the social conditions in where they came from were more oppressive, that women are not welcome to work, even to go outside without a family member. However, to Mahmut, compared to where they came from, this city (people living here) perfectly accepts presence of the women business life and social life. So he did not object to her wife's decision to work. Even if he was not content with the decision, because of the financial difficulties they experienced, he later started to work in the same place with his wife. He stated that although they got used to and loved the city, he did not want his wife to go to a place outside of his control in

this city, as he thinks they were foreigners.

Before the conflict, women were also involved in tailoring, handicrafts that could be done at home as well as field-farming jobs under family supervision outside. After the conflict, they continued their previous works as much as possible. Women who started working outside home had to work in either cheap labor or unqualified jobs due to their low education level, which creates a different exploitation and discrimination field for women.

IN LIEU OF CONCLUSION

Although approximately 4 years have passed since the conflict process in Sur, the destruction has not been fully repaired. In addition to material and moral damages, traumas experienced have not yet been overcome. One of the most important reasons for this is undoubtedly the failure of the state and its authorities to provide adequate support for material and moral losses. Although non-governmental organizations try to support Sur through social projects, it is insufficient considering the desperate need of Sur.

The fact that the families could not mourn the material and moral losses they experienced during the conflict process caused them to suffer from the process for more prolonged periods. Some women contacted by non-governmental organizations, received psychological support from experts, and children were included in psycho-social recovery studies. However, there are also women and children who could not get psychological support in any way. It is also observed that some families that witnessed the conflict process first hand showed a protective approach towards their children because of the fear and insecurity created by the violence environment, so they did not want their children to be included in the works of NGO's. Women's associations, children's nurseries, educational support houses, assistance and solidarity associations, cultural and art associations operating in different fields and municipal service areas of the Sur, were shut down by Decree Law (KHK) in accordance with the state of emergency (OHAL) announced on July 20, 2016. Closing the institutions and not replacing many of them narrowed down the social sharing areas of women and children. Therefore, when the inadequacy of social areas is added to the problems they encountered due to financial problems in daily life, the mourning process could not be completed. The material and moral problems that started with curfews and has continued until today makes it difficult to heal the pain/grief.

Apart from the edifices collapsed during the conflict in Sur, after the demolitions that continued while the curfews were still in practice continued but the conflicts ended, houses, schools, mosques and many historical buildings- where the curfews were implemented with the Rush

Expropriation Decision- were destroyed in the neighborhoods with tanks, panzers bulldozers, and heavy weaponry. Not only were the edifices destroyed, but all the cultural values and experiences that were integrated with these edifices were annihilated. New buildings were built in place of destroyed houses and structures. However, these constructions are not compatible with the cultural texture of the Sur or its social structure. The constructions are not built for the local people of Sur whose houses were destroyed. The demographic transformation of the historical Sur district was also targeted with these new constructions. Because newly built houses are not built for Sur residents, but they are offered for sale for people with high purchasing power and because of economically high prices. When the transformation process is analyzed after the destruction in Sur, it is obviously seen and strengthens the observations (and claims)) that what was aimed was to destroy a culture and memory acquired through experiences and to build a new culture and memory instead.

Many of the families left their belongings at home while fleeing their homes. Because the families thought that they would return to their homes they had to leave due to conflicts, and they thought where they moved was just as a temporary shelter. However, as a result of the demolitions initiated by the Rush Expropriation Decision taken after the clashes in 6 neighborhoods where curfews were declared, the banned neighborhoods were wiped out from the map.⁴⁵ Therefore, families no longer had a home to return to. Families whose houses were destroyed in the conflict process were both left dispossessed and dragged into poverty. The practices that families were exposed to in the conflict process had no equivalent in either national or international law.

At the beginning of the problems that started during the clash process and continue until today, it is possible to list psychological problems that families suffer such as difficulties in developing social relations, social adaptation, belonging. Emotions such as future anxiety, hopelessness, and insecurity in adults reflect in their social relation-

45 TMMOB (Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects) Diyarbakir Provincial Coordination "Destroyed Cities Report" 2015-2016"

ships and family relationships. The traumatic process that they suffer affects especially success in the school and friendship bond of children. The spatial features (street and residential forms) of Sur organize the social life and shape the relations among people. Established relationships based on its unique solidarity do not limit the private space to the house but overflow it to the streets. Since the streets do not cause any threat to the families in Sur before the clashes, it is not a problem for children to spend significant parts of the day with their friends on the street except the time they spend at school. However, the fear atmosphere and insecurity that developed after the clash affected the way parents tie in their children. Compared to the past life, protectionist and oppressive approaches have been revealed because parents try to gain more control over their children.

All members of the families without exception who had to leave their homes due to the clashes suffered from adaptation problems wherever they went in the same way. First of all, the main condition to maintain their daily lives is realized with money, from the moment they got out of Sur. Payments such as rent, water bill, electricity bill before displacement were covered with a small amount of fee that wasn't too much to risk their financial situation. On the other hand, encounters of payments they never knew before, such as building expenses, concierge money negatively affected families who do not have any financial savings. While they could provide their basic needs such as food and clothing from locally familiar tradesmen with a loan account, the fact that they did not have such an opportunity in the place where they were displaced, limited their consumption possibilities.

Since men spend an important time of the day outside, they are not affected by the adaptation to the environment as much as women and children. Lack of neighborly relations in the destination and especially children's efforts to make friends on the street-perceived as foreign-caused the children to feel isolated from the street, to spend the whole time at home, and thus it caused them to be more introverted. Although they did not notice in the difficult process they suffered, women later took more place in both business life and public space compared to the past. Of course, it would be misleading to see this as a gain compared

to the losses they suffered because of the displacement and the clashes. However, they also experienced a process of meeting with gender identity and they realized that they can stand on their own and they took notice of their own power.

With each forced displacement, people were immobilized and impoverished and forced to reconstruct life in its most fragile form. All these processes led families who were forced to migrate on a journey towards the unknown. All the cultural accumulation they have gained through experiences and transfers face weakening in places where they go. When this situation is evaluated in terms of cultural heritage, it prevents the continuity of the experiences and traditions (such as language, history, oral tradition) that people have accumulated over generations.

APPENDIX

Table 2. Map of Curfews in Turkey



Cited from: <https://tihv.org.tr/16-agustos-2015-16-agustos-2016-tarihleri-arasinda-sokaga-cikma-yasaklari-ve-yasamini-yitiren-siviller-bilgi-notu/>

Table 3. Population Distribution of Neighborhoods in Sur District

| Neighborhoods | 1985 | 1990 | 2000 | 2005 | 2008 | 2010 | 2013 |
|-----------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Abdaldede | 28726 | 23082 | 1406 | 1487 | 1305 | 1269 | 1126 |
| Cemal Yılmaz | 42986 | 52090 | 4127 | 3299 | 2695 | 2843 | 2580 |
| Cami Kebir | 25668 | 24588 | 3139 | 2705 | 1863 | 1898 | 1680 |
| Cami Nebi | | | 2850 | 3283 | 2826 | 2954 | 2796 |
| Cevat Paşa | | | 5432 | 5263 | 4244 | 4518 | 3740 |
| Dabanoğlu | | | 5207 | 5867 | 4502 | 4652 | 4361 |
| Fatihpaşa | | | 9515 | 12575 | 7916 | 7952 | 6557 |
| Hasırlı | | | 14304 | 14321 | 8761 | 8553 | 7361 |
| İskenderpaşa | | | 8946 | 10412 | 8636 | 8294 | 7627 |
| Lalabey | | | 7146 | 6969 | 4977 | 4954 | 3765 |
| Melikahmet | | | 8260 | 8330 | 8605 | 8706 | 7418 |
| Savaş | | | 3755 | 4110 | 3424 | 3425 | 3162 |
| Süleyman Nazif | | | 854 | 882 | 762 | 723 | 656 |
| Ziya Gökalp | | | 4798 | 5013 | 4570 | 4466 | 4102 |
| Ali Paşa | | | 8107 | 8690 | 5952 | 5743 | 4184 |
| Total in Sur District | 97380 | 99760 | 87846 | 93206 | 71038 | 70950 | 61115 |

Cited from: Metropolitan Municipality of Diyarbakir ⁴⁶ (2013)“ Suriçi Socio - Economic Analysis Report”

46 1. It was compiled by Diyarbakir Metropolitan Municipality from Population of 2013 Citizenship Affairs General Directorate (NVI) web site. It may differ with TUIK data. 2. 1985 and 1990 populations in 3 neighborhoods are collectively given. Cited from: the Nazım Plan Research Report.

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