

A different approach to language racism in primary education with the example of the film “Two languages, one suitcase”

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Abstract

In today's world, cultural identities defined by religious and ethnic characteristics come into prominence as representation and recognition demands of ethnic groups, minorities, sects etc. Today, especially from the 1990s, immigration to big cities from the eastern to western cities continues increasingly, because of the reasons such as forced village evacuations, seasonal works, education etc. Especially concentration of immigrant families in certain settlement centres of immigrated cities, the relationship between these people and people from different ethnic backgrounds in cities, the problems encountered by children and young people in schools, constitute an important discussion topic. Nevertheless, it is not possible to see that basic human rights are equally distributed among citizens who have different cultural values in the nation state. Especially speaking mother language is an individual and social right. Naturally, this situation leads to intensification of multiculturalism debates and the growing demand for multicultural regulation of basic citizenship rights. In this study by analysing “Two languages, one suitcase—on the way to school” fictional-documentary, all these problems are addressed on the basis of language racism from the perspective of the film. In the film, a teacher's experiences who can't speak Kurdish with the children who can't speak Turkish in a Kurdish village are put forth. Moreover, students with different cultural identities and language skills that formal education policies ignore during the education process are evaluated in the triangle of family, teacher and students' problems and all actors, including teachers, students and parents, stand out as victims of the educational system.

Introduction

Today cultural identities defined by religious and ethnic characteristics come into prominence as representation and recognition demands of ethnic groups, minorities, sects etc. are increasing due to their different cultural life-styles (Parekh, 2002). Nevertheless, it is not possible to see that basic human rights are equally distributed among citizens who have different cultural values in the nation state. In the understanding of the nation state based on the inclusion of different cultural identities in the dominant culture; integration policies are implemented through practices such as official language and compulsory education. The main reason for this is the fact that the dominant one was accepted among the different cultural communities within the country and the rest was subordinated during the foundation process of the nation. But speaking mother language is both an individual and social right. Naturally, this situation leads to the intensification of multiculturalism debates and the growing demand for multicultural regulation of basic citizenship rights, because a real democratic society is a society in which conditions for representation or recognition demands of different identities do not exist or have disappeared. Hence, in a multicultural society, the attainment of representation of all cultures is possible with a democratic mentality and understanding (Sinan, 2006:5). In this study by analysing "Two Languages, one suitcase – on the way to school," all these problems are addressed on the basis of language racism from the perspective of the film.

Language, mother language, official language and multilingualism in educational environments

Language is a tool that the individual uses from the moment of birth in the process of socialization (Elmes, 2013:12). The culture, values, skills and all knowledge of a society are transmitted to the individual through language. The language is transferred to the individual as a part of the culture, and culture is transmitted through language. For this reason, it is undeniable that language is a very important phenomenon in individual and social development. The language not only transmits the ideas, but also functions in shaping the ideas.

The mother language is derived from the individual's family or from the society without a specific, conscious learning cycle; defined as the first language that descends into the sub-conscious and creates the strongest bonds of the individual with the society. According to Vardar (1988), the mother language is not learned; acquired or gained. Individuals view the world "from the window of their mother language", and their ideas are formed by the concepts of their mother language (Aksan, 1999). The mother language is also one of the elements that represent an individual's ethnic belonging. In this sense, as Benson (2005) states that, education in the mother language comes out as a process that needs to be taken seriously by considering how important the language is in the personal and social life of the individual. This is why multiculturalism debates often focus on demand for mother language rights (Aksan, 1999).

However, in today's globalizing world, social change and new forms of immigration (transnational) bring about new identification processes. But these new identification processes point to a situation that has to be considered in many different contexts, such as the definition of hybrid, patchwork, or transcultural identity, rather than a holistic identification (Sievers et al., 2010:94). Especially it is not right to mention a single mother language in countries where immigration takes place intensively because children can speak a few languages at the same time in their house because of the multicultural backgrounds of family members. In this case, multilingual, multicultural and multi-ethnic children grow up with two or three different

languages at the same time.¹ In this sense, in recent years, the multiple ethnic origins and multilingualism of students in the education system in Germany and in many countries have become a major problem of educational sciences and educational policies. As a matter of fact, without seeing the language of immigrant students as a problem, the students should be supported in all the education system from the beginning of kindergarten (Dirim et al., 2008:9-21).

Except the minority schools, education in Turkey depends on central education organization. In the initial teacher training process, there is not any kind of intercultural, transnational, or multicultural education. Therefore, Turkish is the only education language at all schools. On the other side, one of the mission of these schools is to promote Turkish language. In fact, this is the first step of assimilation. Although different foreign languages are included in education in the private language schools in English, German, and French, foreign languages other than Turkish are generally not used as education language in Turkey. In this case, it is not possible to talk about equal opportunity in the education system because the languages of the other ethnic groups in the country are not supported in the general education system (Canbulat, 2008:155-164).

Consequently, one can say that mother languages of children aside from Turkish are generally not considered in educational system in Turkey. In addition, although there are educational institutions such as private Italian, German, Russian schools and Armenian, Greek minority schools in Turkey, this situation isn't applied to children speaking Kurdish mother language. The works carried out about this issue are always interrupted in the context of the country's conditions. Therefore, in contemporary multicultural environments, it is important to consider the children's multilingualism; and in this context the individual should be able to express himself or herself in their mother language or other languages spoken in the family as well as being able to express it with the official language of the living society. For this reason, education of individuals in their mother language has to be seen as a right and it is necessary to create that take their multilingualism into account within the education system. Therefore, it is known that the strongest demand for ethnic communities and different cultures is "education in mother language". Carrying out the discussion over the film analyzed in this study, the important thing to note is that it is necessary to form an educational system which considers the students' multilingualism rather than seeing mother language speaking as a problem.

In the educational process, the students are able to learn the necessary topics, to be informed, to acquire skills, to acquire permanent reading habits, to enrich the expression and critical thinking through language. Therefore, it is important that in the educational process, individuals' mother languages and multilingual conditions should be taken into consideration in the educational system and shouldn't be perceived as a problem, because the basis of education is based on understanding and to be understood. In addition to this, especially in the

¹A research conducted by Ingrid Gogolin and Sara Fürstenau between January and April 2001, covering six major European cities in the scope of "Europäischen Jahr der Sprachen 2001." As a result of the research carried out with the name of "Multilingual Cities Project", multilingualism in schools is dominated by Latin languages such as German, Spanish and French on the examples of Madrid, Lyon, Göteborg, Brussels, Hamburg and Den Haag while in Brussels, Göteborg and Den Haag mixed languages, and three dominant language groups. 218 of the 230 schools in Hamburg were included in the survey and a total of 46,190 students (ages 6 to 11) were interviewed. Within the scope of this research carried out in 2001, 20% of the students were migrant and as the result of this research, the factors such as the number of countries where the students come from, language, spoken languages and mother language spoken by families, and the number of multilingual students' school are important (Gogolin, 2003:13-31).

provinces, the students start to school before they learn the national language properly and they are being educated in a different language by denying their mother language. Their multilingual conditions are not supported both in the family and educational institutions. So the student has to deal with learning a new language besides the learning obligations of the course content. Students who have not yet learned the national language of the country and who have come to an education environment with a different language have to go through this process by first trying to understand a new language. For this reason, there is a need for appropriate learning and teaching strategies in order to enable education in mother language as well as common language in educational environments (Sinan, 2006:10). A cultural relativist perspective should be adopted rather than an ethnocentric point of view and the importance of effective education in mother language has to be grasped and it should be emphasized at every stage of education.

Another important point except effective education in mother language is prevention of discrimination policies in education, and the adoption of multiculturalism in education. Multicultural education offers a framework that is sensitive to different cultures in terms of the curriculum, education of language, textbooks and organization of the learning environments. This kind of education is also aimed at making students open and tolerant to different views, identities, languages, religions, perspectives and ways of conceptualizing different experiences. The basis of a multicultural education system is to ensure that learners can see and feel different cultures in equal status but different from each other (Ameny-Dixon, 2004).

Education in mother language policies and practices in Turkey

Turkey has a very heterogeneous structure in terms of population, which is multi-ethnic society because of the land it is on. Therefore, Turkey's official language policy cannot be considered apart from cultural and educational policies. But Turkey has often been abstained in some of the articles of international agreements that evoke ethnic and linguistic differences or which may provide various rights to minorities. Thus in the constitution it is clearly stated that education can be given in no other language but Turkish. Although there is no population based on a single ethnic origin in Turkey, when it comes to citizenship rights, it is expected from everyone speaking Turkish and educated in Turkish whether or not they are Turkish ethnic identity. However, it is detected that many different languages are spoken in Turkey except Turkish such as Kurdish, Abkhazian, Arabic, Albanian, Circassian, Armenian, Georgian, Coptic, Laz, Pomak, Greek, Syriac, Tatar, Hebrew (Aka, 2012:297). In this case, it is an assimilationist and ethnocentric approach to dictate to non-Turkish ethnic groups to speak Turkish and take education in Turkish. However, if it is tried to create a compulsive harmony instead of creating a democratic and free society in multicultural and multilingual societies, this situation inevitably leads to cultural conflicts. Cultures except the dominant culture of society are being humiliated both in terms of culture and language and are pushed out of society. This causes various problems in every aspect of social life. However, the one nation, one culture and one language paradigm of the nation state understanding is completely immersed in the national education system. This point of view can be easily seen in the curriculum and textbooks. However, the courses in the education system should give students the opportunity to benefit from their mother language. The approach, which ignores different cultures and even prepares the ground for the formation of hostile prejudices in the curriculum and textbooks has a discriminatory and exclusive discourse in terms of race, gender, social class, language, religion.

Recently some arrangements have been made as part of the process of adaptation to the

European Union. As the first channel in different languages and dialects TRT 6 started broadcasting in Kurdish on 01.01.2009; the name of the channel was changed to TRT Kurdî in 2015 (<http://www.trt.net.tr/>). TRT also broadcasts in different languages and dialects (Kurmanji, Zazaish, Arabic, Circassian, and Bosnian) each week for half an hour. Although the arrangements have made some changes in the ethnocentric approach of the state, such arrangements have been insufficient in terms of being able to create and sustain a multicultural understanding of society; because the feature of the programs made are perfunctory in the frame of outdated news, documents and music clips rather than a real cultural sharing in a real sense. On the other hand, it is not legally possible for private TVs to broadcast in different languages and dialects.

It is a big problem for everybody who lives in Turkey and whose mother language is not Turkish; that they cannot get education in their mother language; because individuals with different ethnic identities, language and cultural values were neglected by exposure to the homogenizing policies of nation-state. These policies are based on one nation, one language principal, especially in the field of education and ignoring the ethnic identities except the Turkish ethnic identity. But the prohibition of education in the mother language also means extinction of people's relations with their own cultures and histories (Chandler and Lalonde, 2008). For this reason, the educational demands of the mother language arise from the understanding of the education cannot be a liberating action, without the dominant culture's hegemony. Indeed, it is possible to have a democratic education in a real sense, by avoiding imposing identity to people from different cultures, punishing differentiation, or characterizing different ones as "abnormal," "perverted" or "traitor." In multicultural societies, all citizens have equal rights regardless of ethnicity, language, etc. means that each individual can live without being exposed to any othering within their own cultural values. On the contrary, trying to maintain the hierarchy between dominant culture and other cultural values and ethnic identities constitutes and reproduces forms of social inequality and furthermore poses an obstacle to a real democratic society and freedom, because education in mother language and having opportunity to use it in every area of social life is a social right of each citizens' living in a country. To create a democratic society and establish democratic values, it is first necessary to establish a point of view that regards differences as richness. Moreover, there is a need for legal protection for protecting different cultures, keeping them alive, developing, institutionalization, constitutional assurance and education and new arrangements must be done in these areas. New regulations in the field of education. This means to establish a legitimate basis for different cultural societies to use their mother language in all areas of life. Therefore, a democratic education system is also necessary to supply all these rights of different cultural societies. In addition, education demands in the mother language shouldn't be regarded as "division" and "minority" issues; education in the mother language needs to be perceived as the necessity of cultural and political pluralism and defined in the scope of human rights and democracy, and solutions for this direction need to be put forward.

A qualitative analysis of the film "Two languages, one suitcase—on the way to school" in the context of language discrimination and importance of education in mother language

In the film, Emre Aydın's story who was born and raised in the province of Denizli in the Aegean Region and was appointed as teacher to a school in the Eastern Anatolia region after finishing the Faculty of Education and his pursuit of the profession in poor conditions is told in the frame of teacher, students and their families. The basic problematic of the film is presented in three

different perspectives. First of all, it is embodied in the film that how the education program prepared by National Education with a monolingual and single national identity and put into practice throughout the country cannot be carried out in a primary school in a Kurdish village in Eastern Anatolia. Secondly, it is emphasized that the teachers who will educate the students aren't educated related to this subject in their education process. The fact that studies about ethnic groups speaking different languages in Turkey cannot go beyond official discourse even in the educational program in universities constitutes an important problem. Therefore, education programs for kindergarten, primary schools and high schools are being developed in a single language in the education faculties, and education in different languages is limited to foreign language education such as English, German and French. In other words, the support of children with different mother language in the education process or the problems that may arise in this area and on the works toward alternative education programs are not (cannot) taken into account in general teacher education. This taboo subject is reflected in all institutions as a general political attitude of power in Turkey. Therefore, the education plan that the Ministry of Education envisages to be implemented throughout Turkey causes a young teacher has to stand alone against a group of students who do not speak Turkish at all. In a sense, the teacher in the film has to deal with the parents (mostly male) who have little knowledge of Turkish language and has to teach the students who do not speak Turkish in a demolished village which lacks many basic facilities like water, transportation and health. In every province and district in Turkey, although the National Education Directorates are responsible for education depending on the Ministry of National Education, it is not possible to develop and implement an autonomous education program separate from the central system regarding the political, economic, cultural and social conditions of the regions in which they are located. Besides the teachers who come to the region doesn't know how the educational environment will be and how they will teach subjects in Turkish to the students who can't speak Turkish. The teachers' education process does not include the preparation or support of teachers about socio-cultural environments of the villages where the teachers will go in advance and teachers have to stand against all of these problems alone. It is known as an obvious problem but it is not wanted to be seen by the authorized institutions. Therefore, all the problems that can be encountered in the educational process are being carried by the young, inexperienced teacher who is educated in the Western Turkey. Thirdly, students who start education without knowing any Turkish language are required to learn a new language as well as a curriculum that is applied for five years from the first year of education in other provinces Turkey. In addition, the education is conducted at the village school by one teacher and at the same time as all the classes in a single class. In the same class, the teacher is trying to teach Turkish to the first classes, Reading and Writing to the second classes, Mathematics and Life Science to third and fourth classes. Therefore, in the film, from the first day of the educational year, it is mostly difficult for the students to understand the teacher and the teacher to understand the students. From this start point, the basic question of the film is as follows: Is it possible for a newly started teacher to conduct a good education in the inadequate physical conditions of the educational institution and teach the students whose mother language is not Turkish without taken any education during the university education about the students whose mother language is different?

The problem encountered by the teacher during the education process is not limited to the central education plan, the mother language, and the education language. There are lots of problem such as; teachers who are sent to a village school cannot adapt to village conditions and for this reason teachers do not stay in the village for a long time; if there is a teacher in the school for one year, the second year there is not a teacher, and thus a continuous education cannot be provided; the lack of educational equipment for students (books, pens,

erasers, bags, books ...) in the schools; absence of working environments in students' homes and families cannot help children's education, children's hygiene, healthy nutrition, etc. problems; especially girls 'children as mothers' assistants, carrying water, washing clothes, grazing animals, taking care of their siblings, so they cannot go to the school regularly. On the other hand, students are not allowed to speak their mother language at school despite they speak only Kurdish and Turkish is a foreign language for them. Students are expected to speak Turkish and are exposed to humiliation when they do not understand textbooks prepared in Turkish and teachers yells to the students.

Another problem is that students cannot be supported outside the school in terms of both teaching and learning Turkish. Mothers and fathers of the students also learned Turkish on their own (mostly men during the business and military service); for this reason, they are insufficient to prepare and support their children during their education process. Apart from this, in the meeting where the teachers and the parents came together in the film, the parents expressed that they believed that the education would be done by the school and the teacher in particular. In addition, in towns and villages far away from the city, families have difficult economic conditions with crowded family members and inadequate living conditions such as housing, nutrition and hygiene; they cannot have sufficient conditions to benefit from all of these as well as health and education facilities. Therefore, the lack of sufficient physical, spiritual, social, cultural and economic conditions to support the education process of the teachers and students in the village school is emerging as an important problem in the film.

From this point of view, children are not sent to the school when there is a lot of work at home, when the parents go to the farm and if the animals need care, and this is seen as a normal situation and it is expected that the children must help the family in the house and field work instead of going to the school. In addition, families with many children, cannot afford the materials (books, pens, notebooks, etc.) the children need as they go to school. Therefore, the school is not a goal for parents and children, it becomes an institution where the children continue if there is a teacher in the school and where they learn only Turkish.

As a result, in these conditions, education and multilingualism in education are not only problems but a comprehensive and controversial subject that should be considered together with educational, cultural, political and economic contexts. In other words, the regions otherized by the education system and the people living in these regions cannot benefit from the equal citizen rights. The schoolhouse in the village and intermittent existence of a teacher become just a showpiece. The children and young people who are born, raised and live here, are born with lack of basic necessities such as education and health, and their future is depends on totally luck and limited to their families' and their own qualifications.

There is a village away...

"Two languages, one suitcase—on the way to school" is a fictional-documentary film. All the characters of the film are the villagers who have been in front of the camera for the first time rather than professional actors. Emre Aydın, who worked as a teacher in the school and the students, continued their daily life in the village and school in front of the camera. As children have never encountered the camera before, they only become more interested in teacher who is the only major authority in the classroom rather than interested in camera or acting.

On the other hand, in the beginning the villagers preferred to talk to the camera about their expectation from the state related to substructure such as water, electricity and roads; but then they realized that the directors would not be able to help and they gave up from

expressing their demands in front of the camera (Doğan, 2015, www.mafm.boun.edu.tr/files/). Director Özgür Doğan states that the film's leading actor teacher Emre Aydın has never been to the East and South East Anatolia throughout his life and that he has been assigned and appointed as a teacher in Turkey without being given any information about the conditions of students whose mother language is Kurdish during his university education. Doğan emphasizes that the teacher in the film revitalizes his own life completely because he got shocked in this village and in the education environment where he has come to without any idea about where he would go after his assignment was made (Doğan, 2015, www.mafm.boun.edu.tr/).

The main theme of the film is a year of a Turkish teacher who grew up and was educated in the western cities of Turkey and assigned to primary school in Southeastern Anatolian Region of Demirci Village of Siverek Town of Şanlıurfa with Kurdish students and families who do not speak Turkish. The nearest hospital is 53 km away. Electricity has been brought to the village for the first time in 1994, but there are still no water installations in the houses (Çakır, 22.10.2009).

On the opening scene of the film, the teacher travels in the village minibus with the Kurdish-speaking villagers on their mountainous way to the village. The minibus stops in front of the school building at the entrance of the village. A few villagers come down with him and help the teacher to drop his belongings from the minibus. The teacher goes to the schoolyard where there is a rundown school building with bags in his hand. The teacher opens the locked school door and walks around the scattered and dusty classroom. These and the idle state of the teacher lodging near the school create the idea that the school has not been used for a long time.

After the first confusedness, teacher Emre Aydın, prepares his floor bed. He calls his mother living in Denizli and he says with a tired and dizzy voice: "I knew that I would come to the village but here is nothing, even water." Then women carrying water, playing children, horses and daily life of the villagers are reflected on the screen. Teacher Emre fills two bottles of water from the fountain, two children help him to carry the water while returning to the lodging.

The teacher spends the first night in his room in a different cultural environment, in a village far away from the city, in a waterless, rundown schoolhouse, in company with dogs' voice and light of full moon.

The next day is the first day of the school. The teacher Emre orders the classroom. He wears his suit, shaves himself in front of a broken mirror, applies hair-gel and waits for his students excitedly in the classroom. That day is also his first professional teacher experience day. But on the first day no students come to the school. He goes to the garden of the school; he watches the villagers going to the fields with their horse-drawn vehicle. Some of the villagers that see him in the schoolyard come and meet him. The villagers use Kurdish accent and teacher uses Aegean Region accent and chat with each other.

The next day teacher Emre goes around every house to determine the students who should come to the school. With the help of children and parents he takes out the list of children in school age and invite the children to the school. After the teacher begins to visit the villagers' houses, camera shoots the village for the first time. In the village, houses and animal shelters are intertwined and many children are together in the house and in front of the house. There isn't any furniture in the houses such as couch, table or chair. The donkey in front of the house enters the house. In most homes there is nobody, when the teacher asks, "Are there anybody in this house?" children say that they are on the field.

The next day the children who the teacher calls to the school are prepared with the help of their mothers or elder sisters to go to the school; the hands and faces of the children are washed and the students who have school uniforms are dressed. Girls' uncombed hair for a long time is combed and the children go through the school garden with or without school uniforms, with bags or without bags, with shoes or slippers. Emre places the students in the same class in turn after classifying students in schoolyard as 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5th classes. Four to five students sit together in the same desk. Most students do not have pencils, erasers or notebooks. The toilet that students use at school is broken and there is no water. The teacher visits the village's elders like a village headman, and asks them for water transport to the school and restoration of the toilet.

Education language versus mother language?

The teacher Emre provides even if there are just a few students coming to school in the first weeks. The teacher starts the first lesson in order to implement the course plan envisaged to be taught in all primary schools in Turkey which the Ministry of National Education has prepared. On the first day, he plans to meet the students and prepares the student list of the class.

Teacher: "How are you kids?"

Students: "We are fine, and you?"

The teacher writes his name on the board. He says where he is coming from and asks if there is anyone who can speak Turkish. None of them replies and they just look at the teacher. The teacher asks a girl: "Can you speak Turkish?"

She answers in Kurdish: "Beli"

Teacher says: "No Beli, you must say yes".

The teacher records each students' names, family names and their parents' names. Especially new students who start school do not understand any of the questions of the teacher and older students who know little Turkish help the teacher. This situation becomes more concrete in the film especially in the following example:

Zülküf is one of the new students. The teacher reads Zülküf Yıldırım's name aloud and no one answers. The teacher asks again, "Is Zülküf not here?" Some of the children sitting next to Zülküf answer "here" as indicating Zülküf. Zülküf gapes to the teacher and his friends pushing him. The teacher asks Zülküf this time, "Isn't your name Zülküf?" Then he yells at Zülküf and says "I ask your name, what your name is?" He calls Zülküf and asks "don't you know your name?" The child hesitates and replies, "My name is Zilkif." The teacher calls his name as "Zülküf" in Turkish, whereas the name of the student is Kurdish and enunciated as Zilkif, since the time he was born. For this reason, the student doesn't (can't) understand that the teacher is calling to him. Then the teacher Emre forbids the students speak in Kurdish at school.

At the end of the day, instead of going home, some of the students play in the schoolyard, while Emre is cooking pasta at his house with the door open halfway, then he speaks to his mother on the phone. He tells his mother what he experienced at school in an exhausted way: "I speak but it's useless, they don't understand at all. I will teach them only literacy in the first class. I will teach math and social studies courses next year." Emre believes that it is necessary to go out of the education plan and to teach Turkish to the students who do not

know Turkish and do not come to school regularly or come to school without proper stationery equipment.

Since the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, the most important duty of teachers was transferring science, nation and modernity understanding of the Republic to the rural areas. According to Yeğen (25.10.2009), the tension between localness of rural and Republic, is narrated from the center point that the intransitivity and incongruity of the Republic language (Turkish) and local language (Kurdish) in "Two languages, one suitcase—on the way to school." The teacher doesn't speak Kurdish, the students learn Turkish only at school and they continue to speak only Kurdish in their daily lives after finishing school. In this case, the teacher finds talking with his mother via mobile phone as the only exit door in his life, where he has trouble with the students and is stuck in a ruined school and lodging. These conversations are only based on communication problem with students, the lack of water, the hygiene problem, the frequent electrical interruption and loneliness. According to Yeğen, these complaints can be interpreted as the absence of the power to fulfill the basic mission of the Republic, such as science, modernity or national identity, and teaching the Turkish language in the current conditions of the teacher; because it is not so easy for students to learn Turkish. Students always speak Kurdish in break times, at home and among themselves. In addition, the teacher has to teach the students a lot of basic education such as habit of using garbage, asking permission to go to the toilet, washing their hands, keeping the class clean. For example, when the teacher tries to tell the lesson in Turkish, a student standing sharpens his pencil. When he sharpens it, its trash falls down and this is a normal situation for him. Teacher shows the garbage bin standing in the corner of the classroom to the student in Turkish. He tells him to sharpen his pencil in front of the garbage bin. The student comes in the middle of the classroom and continue to sharpen his pencil. The teacher holds the student's arm, takes him to the garbage bin and shows him how to pour the trash into the bin. In the following scenes the other students are seen, sharpening their pencils in front of the garbage bin.

In the case of Demirci village, are teacher, students and families actors or victims of the education system?

The teacher opens the course plan book on the table. The course subject "Turkish Literacy" can be seen with close shot. The teacher asks the students what the animal and objects are in the book is by showing their pictures. He asks the bear by showing its picture in the book to the students. One of the girl says "it is a cow." Meanwhile Zülküf doesn't get his book out from his bag and watches his teacher carefully from his desk. The teacher shows a picture of a bee to Zülküf and asks. Zülküf answers in Kurdish: "heng!", the teacher corrects the Kurdish word that the child says by saying "bee" in Turkish with anger and eagerness. Then he shows picture of a "bear" and a "bee" again and makes the students repeat the name of the animals in Turkish. Throughout the course, the students remain silent or respond wrongly or in Kurdish to all questions of the teacher.

Following scene of the film images of the everyday lives of the students such as Zülküf who is eating watermelon with bread on the floor after school, Kader who is doing homework on the floor in the living room, Bahar helping her mother, little siblings walking around in the house, her mother who makes bread. In these images, the children speak Kurdish among themselves and their families, while girls help their mothers in many tasks, such as doing their own homework and homework of their siblings, at the same time taking care of their siblings, doing housework and washing clothes at the fountain.

The teacher performs a first aid to the younger sister of a student whose finger injured in the village and he would like to visit the family on a later day to inquire about the situation of the injured child. In the guest room where only men sit, the lunch is eaten and the men are chatting. The teacher, the homeowner and some of the villagers first talk about the wounded girl and what was done to her after the first aid. Then the villagers tell their experiences as Kurds in different cities and conditions in Turkey. One of the parents tell that when he went to the city for a job interview, and that he replied "Turkish" when he was asked whether he does speak a foreign language. The employer laughed at his answer and then said: "We all speak Turkish, I asked whether you can speak a foreign language." Then he asked: "What is your mother language?" When he said "Kurdish", the employer burst into laugh. The man turns to the teacher and showing his son by holding his arm: "My esteemed teacher, why does this kid go to school, what do you teach him?" The teacher answers "Turkish". The student's father says: "In this case, isn't Turkish a foreign language for him?" and then he indicates that he learnt Turkish for the first time in the army.

As in this example, because of the problems the families experienced related to language, parents support their children to learn Turkish at school and see this education as an obligation, because at least their children could learn Turkish at school.

The teacher Emre invites the parents to school by sending them invitation notes with their children. He wants to talk about the current situation of the students and for families to make a contribution to the learning of Turkish students at school. The parents show interest in the teacher's invitation.

The students' parents who are coming to school are mostly men, there are just two women. This time the teacher speaks with the parents sitting in the students' desks. The teacher tells the parents that the students do not bring their books and pens most of the time when they come to the school, that they have difficulties in learning Turkish, and therefore they should encourage their children to speak Turkish at home. He exemplifies the fact that the students do not understand him: "I asked a student who had come to school without pen and notebook, where his pencil and notebook were," he said 'na,' I guess, it means 'There isn't' in Kurdish. They cannot even repeat a sentence that I say, their Turkish level is so weak." The teacher continues to his opening speech by saying: "Please send your children to school as neatly dressed, with their pencil and notebooks and just at the right time. They come to school too early, the school has opening hours." One of the parents translates what the teacher says from Turkish to Kurdish. After the translation, one of the mothers says in Kurdish: "We have to put up with them all this time, now you have to take care of them." Another parent says: "You educate them, we commend them to you, you would know better."

In the parents' meeting, the families mention their expectations from teacher, and the teacher mentions his expectations from the families. In general, the teacher asks parents for help in learning Turkish and hygiene of students, but the families emphasize that the teacher and school are responsible for these issues. The meeting conducted here is also inconclusive, because the parents themselves do not have a formal education process and are as helpless as the teacher is on expectations from them.

Conclusion

First of all, "Two languages, one suitcase—on the way to school" is a fictional-documentary film. In the film, a teacher's experiences who can't speak Kurdish with the children who can't speak Turkish in a Kurdish village are put forth. The teacher is all alone in the village far away

from the city. He begins his job without being prepared in any way. In the film, students with different cultural identities and language skills that formal education policies ignore during the education process are treated in the triangle of family, teacher and student problems that they experience in the educational process. All actors, including teachers, students and parents in the film, stand out as victims of the educational system.

Documentary films as "Two languages, one suitcase—On the way to school," are important in terms of showing the reflections of the social issues to the real life and being a guide to find solutions to these issues. For example, this film had opportunity to be watched not only in theaters but some associations and universities. Therefore, it has been served as a part of cultural, social and political conflicts. As Akbulut (2010:124) underlined, unlike the mainstream movies, these kind of documentaries criticize "monolithic national identity" and they produce multi-lingual and multi-cultural narratives and discourses. They give chance to the alternative voices which are dominated by the hegemonic official discourse and try to create a local memory culture. By raising the public awareness, documentary films affect the politicians and lead the people to mobilize them.

In this context, researches that take into account the children who speak Kurdish or other ethnic languages which are taboo in political terms and which cannot be spoken much even in academic fields in Turkey point out to a problematic area at the same time. In this respect, the problem should be regarded as a problem solely in the first place as a matter of priority, as a single teacher should be carry on his/her shoulders of a different cultural environment conflicts, without any preparation for how he/she will work, and to be appointed as a teacher with different knowledge or prejudices. Besides, students must be subjected to primary and secondary education curricula in addition to learning Turkish, and they have to enter centralized exams in Turkey to continue to high school and university education. However, they haven't equal conditions as the rest of the students in Turkey and this brings with very important inequalities for their future. Thus, as one of the main organs of the state, the Ministry of Education does not take into account the education conditions of the non-Turkish students, but preserves the dominant positions of the groups with ethnic, cultural and linguistic characteristics representing the national culture with education policies and this understanding is normalized and the minority groups are otherized (Dirim, 2012). In this case, the children whose mother language is Kurdish continue their education even if they learn Turkish at school, maintain their education in difficult conditions against the children who speak Turkish at home and everyday life. Therefore, students are faced with an educational application other than the curriculum plan from the first year of the education process. The lives of the students from the ethnic backgrounds, which are shown as a concrete example in this film, are limited to their own village. As seen in the example of one of the student's parent told in the film, when they leave the village or town because of the military service, work or migration, they experience different difficulties.

Today, especially from the 1990s, immigration to the big cities from the eastern regions where Kurds live intensively to the western cities continues increasingly, because of the reasons such as forced village evacuations, work, seasonal workers, education etc. Especially the concentration of immigrant families in certain settlement centers of immigrated cities, the relationship between these people and people from different ethnic backgrounds in cities, the problems encountered by growing children and young people in both private and public schools, constitute a separate research and discussion topic.

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ANALYZED FILM

The name of the film: İkidil, birbavul-Two languages, one suitcase (On the way to school), 81’
 Director: OrhanEskiköy, ÖzgürDoğan, 2008
 Film Genre: Drama, Fictional-Documentary
 Film Actors/Actresses: Teacher: Emre Aydın,
 Students: ZülküfYıldırım, ZülküfHuz, Rojda, Vehip, Devran, Redife.