



# **SUBALTERN MIGRANT CHILDREN'S TACTICS TO LEAK THROUGH CRACKS IN EVERYDAY LIFE: AN EXAMPLE OF A NEIGHBORHOOD IN ANKARA**

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## **Abstract**

*Turkey is one of the countries that feel the pressure of an intense and rapid irregular migration that started with the 2011 Syrian civil war and continued with Afghans in 2021. The main problem of this research is the relationship between forced migration and subalternity, in relational sociological terms, by avoiding a linear determinist view. In this context, the main question that the research seeks to answer is how Syrian children manage their daily lives in a foreign country. In de Certeau's terminology, it is how they practice the art of making to do with or art of presence. The study was based on the assumption that immigrant children are subaltern as well as their parents, and each child's situation is unique. The importance of the study stems from the critical look at the strategy-tactics and time-space duality, which is frequently used with reference to De Certeau in the current literature. In addition, the fact that migrants or refugees are not viewed as passive and weak, but rather in a liminal status makes the study unique. In the article, the serious struggle policies developed by Syrian children at a level that cannot be seen only as tactics are tried to be understood and interpreted with a relational and reflexive point of view. In the study, while the grounded theory methodology was applied in all its stages as open, axial and selective coding, immigrants were narrated with the stork metaphor. It has been understood that subaltern children do not pursue tactics only by being cunning, on the contrary, they develop very serious struggle policies, and they are in liminal status when they leak from the cracks.*

**Keywords:** Forced and irregular migration, child, subaltern, tactics, liminality, relational sociology, grounded theory methodology

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## **1. Introduction**

When thinking about being a "migrant" and being a "subaltern", the first thing that comes to mind is the questions for what reasons, how and from where to where these immigrants migrate. Although the subject of this article is child immigrants who are victims of irregular and forced migration, it would be useful to address the issue in general first. Because the problem is global and deep. For example, as Odem (2008) underlines, despite the emphasis on immigration in the founding myth of the United States, today's immigrants who came from Mexico and Latin America illegally and called "undocumented workers" are on the agenda even for the USA. Because although they are a very important part of the workforce, they are not powerful either in the political or social life of the country. And when they exist, they are on the margins, not in the centre. The irony here is that those who came from Europe or Africa and settled in the North American continent in the past, saw the immigrants coming from the south of the same continent as cheap and temporary labor and did not accept them as permanent members of the society, that is, citizens, and did not give them their rights. Even those who cannot tolerate living in the same neighborhood and having their children study in the same school are in the majority.

A similar situation is valid in Turkey as in many other countries. Because since 2011, Syrian immigrants living in Turkey are treated as guests under "temporary protection status", and work permits are only given in the field of agriculture where seasonal workers are needed. Other temporary protection holders are given a residence permit and then a work permit if they arrive after returning to their country and obtaining a Turkish visa. According to the Ministry of Interior (2021), the number of people who have received citizenship status in Turkey is 150,000 as of May 2021.

The duality of "human" and "citizen", which should also be rejected in relational sociological terms, serves to justify the distinction between immigrant and native, purposefully and politically. Therefore, social relations in

neighborhoods and schools are quite cool and distant between locals and immigrants. As Arent (1951) and Agamben (2013) said, what obscures and hinders rights is to use the concept of citizen instead of human. Despite everything in the USA, granting citizenship to those born in the country in accordance with the Naturalization Law ensures the settlement of the Latino immigrant population and the growth of the Mexican American community in cities such as Los Angeles and El Paso in the South West States (Sanchez, 1993). Although these so-called "illegal aliens" are slowly beginning to transform into sedentary populations who pay taxes and can buy houses, their subalternity has not ended. Because they still do not have the social security number, which is the most important privilege of their citizens in the USA. They are tax-paying immigrants with an individual tax identifier number.

In fact, they are illegal immigrants victimized by the American government with malicious intent. However, it is a fact that bankers and investors who covet the ever-growing Latino market are marketing houses to these undocumented immigrants with mortgages. This is the clearest indication of their being subaltern. Because the area they can seek their legal rights is limited. Unfortunately, they continue to play cat-and-mouse games with the police in the open air, street labor markets, which are often banned by local governments (Odem, 2008). The rationale for America's immigration policy, which has not changed for many years, is to give a green card, which means a certain number of permanent residency, by lottery every year.

Undoubtedly, not everyone is so lucky and a significant part of the immigrants are called subaltern immigrants. The most important reason for this is that many immigrants coming from illegal ways at unexpected times are condemned to live in poverty by being employed in temporary jobs at low cost and without security. It is known that Syrian middle-class immigrants, who try to hold on in the informal sector until their savings in Turkey are exhausted, become workers and become subaltern (Altıntaş, 2014; Deniz et al., 2016; Subasi 2019, Oner et al., 2020).

When the subalternity literature is examined, it is possible to see that very important sociologists have made theoretical contributions by being interested in the subject. Today, the famous female sociologist Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1988) wrote an article called "Can the Subaltern Speak" and tried to be the voice of subaltern groups such as women, tribal people, Third World, Orient/orient. It should be noted here that what is referred to as the Third World are the former British colonies of Australia, India, Pakistan, Nigeria, New Zealand, Jamaica. The basic concept in Spivak's theory is subaltern. According to her, subalterns cannot speak. When they talk, they are no longer subaltern. In fact, Spivak states here that they do not shy away from talk, that they avoid being considered unworthy of a speech.

Spivak presents the deafness of the sovereign, that those in power will not listen to the powerless, as the basis of postcolonial discourse. Because although those in power often seem interested, they actually have the symptoms of deafness. As noted by Young (2001), this is similar to the case of *The Little Prince*, which is known as a children's story even though it was written for adults. Because the hero of the story written by de Saint-Exupéry in 1945 also experienced a similar postcolonial discourse. Like all children, the Little Prince tells what he sees while looking at the above as a weakling.

Subaltern is etymologically a military term and means lower rank. *Subaltern Studies*, written by Spivak in 1982: It is the deconstruction of historiography and stands apart from previous thinkers such as Gramsci, as it expresses the need for a new historiography.

Spivak borrowed the concept of the subaltern from the more famous Italian thinker Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937). Gramsci (1992) in his *Prison Notes* (in Notebook 25) first used the term *Margins of History* (*The History of Subaltern Social Groups*) to describe groups such as workers and peasant women outside the classical Marxist proletariat (cited in Freeland, 2020). Gramsci used the concept of subaltern to describe those whose voices are not heard in a society because they are not represented, who cannot find a place for themselves in basic social functioning mechanisms such as decision making and production, and who are in a situation "other than the proletariat". According to Freeland (2020), Gramsci has always preferred the concept of groups rather than classes. Subalternity was never reduced to a class by Gramsci.

On the other hand, in my opinion, the duality of national and popular, on which Gramsci emphasizes, is also open to criticism as relational sociological. According to this distinction, the national intellectuals do not come from the people or the popular. Intellectual and public are detached from each other, intellectuals are like cast away from social reality. Intellectual and folk articulation is out of question. However, as stated by Spivak, organic intellectuals or the ruling class and the popular or subaltern are not connected by origin or nature, but functionally (Cited in Freeland, 2020: 205). There are discussions that there is a gap between the intellectuals and the public in Turkey and it has been going on since the Ottoman Empire period (Kasapoglu and Ecevit, 2004)

What Gramsci's prison notes remind us of, as underlined by Meret (2020), is the serious struggle of undocumented immigrants in our age to be recognized and to obtain their rights. However, subaltern struggles are characterized by being regional, spontaneous, disconnected, discontinuous and unique. Already the dominant classes use these weak features to provide control over them. However, today, new anti-systemic movements that transcend borders have begun to emerge. The internal contradictions of global capitalism have led to the emergence and rise of anti-systemic movements around the world.

In fact, when viewed from a relational sociological perspective that rejects dualities and essentialism, it is necessary to see that there are different subalternities and to state that there is an inclusive field within intellectual culture rather than excluding subalterns (Freeland, 2020). As a matter of fact, Peter D. Thomas (2020) in his article "We Good Subalterns" examines Gramsci's concept of subaltern based on Prison Notebooks and underlines that he has three figures. These are "irrepressible" subaltern, "intersectional" subaltern and "citizensive subaltern" respectively. This last one is the most important for us as our topic is immigration.

Because Gramsci argues that subalterns are an indispensable part of the modern state and that the human-citizen distinction is made to legitimize the exploitation of immigrants. Immigrants are pacified by not being considered citizens. They are pacified and integrated into modern state power, as noted by Agamben (2013). So Gramsci's idea of seeing subalternity as a residue of the past, not elsewhere, but as the most fundamental element or condition of the most advanced "political" form of the modern state, right now, is so realistic.

Economic analysis was given less importance in the studies of subalternity after Gramsci. Subalternity studies have been conducted, led by thinkers such as Rana Guha (1989), Gayatri Chacravorty Sпивак (198), Dipesh Chacrabarty (2002), Shadid Amin (1973). Although these thinkers accepted the economic contradictions between the subaltern and the elite, it can be said that they were more interested in a new historiography.

The most famous person concerned about the resistance of the others who are not strong in daily life, whether we say subaltern like Gramsci or weak, poor, ordinary people, against powerful hegemonies is the French sociologist de Certeau (1984). He is known for drawing our attention to the importance of the practice of the weak. Because these practices show us the resistance of the weak to the power exercise strategies they encounter in daily life. In fact, it should be known that de Certeau (1984) distinguishes tactics and strategy in a not very relational way. According to de Certeau (1984), strategies, unlike tactics, are always hegemonic structures that extend to the whole of daily life and set limits.

Strategies cover specific areas of power, such as discipline mechanisms. Strategies make rules and regulations based on their hegemonic structure. They can show themselves both openly and hidden. Whereas, tactics are resistance techniques developed to erode the power of the weak that set the rules in question, to leak into it through cracks. These tactics are often developed temporarily and are not permanent. They weaken rapidly according to the requirements of the conditions or are developed by the subalterns to weaken the strength of the strategy. Tactics don't have a specific place, they just look for a suitable leaking opportunity. For example, a housewife in shopping immediately thinks about the kitchen supplies at home and thinks about what she can buy in addition to it. It's a kind of intellectual synthesis. On the face of it, it is possible for these tactics to be applied by very different weak groups such as workers, immigrants, ethnic minorities. de Certeau (1984) describes how Native Americans escaped it without leaving it, that is, their tactics, even though they did not have the power to challenge the hegemonic power exerted by the Spanish colonizers. The most important feature of these tactics is that ordinary people can develop invisible new forms of resistance to power (cited in Kasapoglu, 2015; 2016).

In Turkey, there are many studies on both immigrants and non-immigrants or those who come to big cities from smaller cities within the country under the theme of urban poverty. These are often referred to as overnight houses (gecekondu) studies (Gökçe et al., 1993). In recent years, the studies carried out in Turkey in collaboration with architects and geographers who conceptualize immigrants as precarity in urban poverty should not be overlooked. One of them revealed how poor Syrian immigrants developed different ways to adapt and experience precariat in the historical place called Basmahane in Izmir. More precisely, it is explained how the temporary and permanent needs of immigrants are met in the place (Basmahane), also known as little Syria (Oner et al., 2020). The other is the study that examines the tactics and strategies of Syrians, but rather their resistance to hegemony and structural violence, in Ankara/Onder Neighborhood (Subasi, 2019).

There are also some studies in Turkey that explicitly use the concept of subaltern. It is observed that the study published by a group of academics gathered around Necmi Erdoğan under the title "States of Poverty: Social Appearance of Urban Poverty in Turkey" (2011) has more Gramscian traces and focuses on the discourses of subalterns as well as their forms of resistance to domination relations. Erdoğan (2011) uses the terms poor and subaltern interchangeably in his study on the Turkish local poor and shows the urban poor's coping tactics in daily life, such as boiling bones instead of meat for protein, buying stale bread, growing vegetables in the shanty garden, taking the food given at work home to the children, etc. trying to make it visible.

In fact, what both Spivak (1988) and Chacrabarty (2002) want to convey with the concepts of epistemic cleavage or radical heterogeneity is the uniqueness of subalternity. This issue is also a feature that is considered important in Turkish subaltern studies. As a matter of fact, Erdoğan (2011) contributes to this heterogeneous and unique subaltern discourse by saying that justice is to give the rights of uniqueness.

Likewise, in Subasi (2019) study in which she examined those living in the margins, diversity and heterogeneity particular emphasis. It should be noted once again that this view is a non-essentialist reflexive approach and is the main feature of our Syrian subaltern child study.

From adults to children, living on the margin of poverty and managing by leaking through the cracks of power is an art that requires a special effort (De Certeau, 1984). Assuming that there are some differences between policy and politics, it is important to understand what kind of policies the children, who are the focus of this study,

develop in daily life. As Kallio (2008) discusses, previous studies on children (Mattehews et al., 1999) mostly focus on policies such as empowerment, development and participation. Studies that do not see these children as political subjects are incomplete and inadequate. However, children are active agents in daily life. They are not just passive consumers of public policies such as empowering children. Therefore, it is necessary to deal with child policy and children's own politics, although they are different from each other, with overlapping aspects and even to examine their confrontation from a relational sociological perspective.

In addition to the rareness of studies that consider children as active subjects in the academic literature, it should be noted that they come from experts in the sub-discipline of "children's geography". While they are working on the child's body as a battlefield, they especially benefit from de Certeau (1984) and the concepts of strategy and tactics that he uses in his sociology of everyday life. For example, Kallio (2008) used life stories and photographs recorded during the evacuation of Finnish children to Sweden during the Second World War to show that children engage in political actions in their daily practice. In this study of Kallio, as an everyday life policy, it has been shown that children, far from being powerless, have autonomous policies such as resistance and participation.

For example, in order not to go to different or distant foster families, the sisters did not separate from each other, they almost stuck to each other. A boy had managed to leave a family he did not want by damaging the car door of the family. According to Kallio (2008), the resistance of children to nude medical examinations was very dramatic when they were brought to Sweden. They were offered candy as bribes in exchange for staying calm. The one who refused it was left to cry to resist. Another covert tactic for the children was to not appear in the area where the rules apply. It was important to briefly disappear, and as adults we should all consider that we practice this tactic from time to time.

As it is known, according to DeCerteau, those who use tactics, whether they are adults or children, both accept the existing rules on the one hand, and on the other hand try to manipulate them. As a result, children always have a policy. Children's reactions to most issues are always subject to change in conformity or rejection, and are rarely seen as politically deviant or obedient behavior. The important thing is to avoid complete obedience when in uncertainty and to use tactics to resist.

In fact, there are differences between the tactics used by children. Goffman (1961) proposed a fourfold classification in this regard. The first two of these major tactics are tactics of active resistance: "vesituational withdrawal" and "intaransigence". These are mostly performed as regression or acute depersonalization. It has been reported that a four-year-old girl who practiced this in Sweden could not even communicate with the foreign society she came from. The other two tactics are about compliance rather than resistance: colonization and conversion. These are the tactics of being nice and good children, those who apply them are rewarded. The use of violence against children's bodies, such as the naked physical examination of children in Europe during the Second World War, is now far behind. Because it is now politically accepted that children's bodies cannot be touched. Today, children are constantly fighting to keep their bodies from being touched. De Certeau (1984) also sees this struggle as the politics of daily life. To argue that every area of life is political is to define politics in a broader sense. In other words, all agents in the same field, regardless of their status, are political. This view prevents politically marginalizing children and allows us to see them as "homo politicus" (Bourdieu, 1989).

On the other hand, it is important for our study that sociologists, like geographers and architects, have focused more on space in recent years. Because, children always appear in a place, in the spatial world, at home, in the kindergarden, at school, in the park, on the street, in the neighborhood. In terms of this study, the struggles of children who could not go out during the pandemic at home are important. So much so that longings for school, street and park were told and it was observed that during the pandemic process, houses were schools and living rooms were classrooms. In fact, it is more important and appropriate for relational sociologists, like Lefebvre (1971; 1991), to accept that the struggle takes place in both time and space in everyday life. There are many reasons to view and examine children's tactics as part of everyday life in general, like Lefebvre(1971) and DeCerteau, and to care about everyday life. Because this processual view, based on both production and consumption, helps us to understand both Syria and Turkey (space), both before and today (time) comparatively by overcoming the dualities (See Table 3).

### ***1.1. Research Design***

#### **Research Problem :**

The total population of Syrians who came to Turkey through forced migration in 2011 has reached five million today. 1,700,000 of this population are children under the age of 18. In addition, nearly one million of them were born in Turkey and are younger than 10 years old. Children are close to each other in terms of gender.

Age groups	Male	Female	Total
0-4	259.295	242.054	501.349
5-9	288.954	271.386	560.340
10-14	217.177	204.019	421.196
15-18	137.153	117.464	254.600

**Table 1: Number of Syrian Migrant Children in Turkey (2021)**

Resource : Mülteciler Derneği: <https://multeciler.org.tr/turkiyedeki-suriyeli-sayisi/> ( retrived: 08.05.2021)

According to the literature, immigrant children have health, education, shelter, poverty, family breakdown and various post-traumatic psychological problems, especially language (Morali, 2018; Sever, 2020). They are victims of both policies and temporary protection status. They are subalterns who experience the oppression and violence of xenophobia by both the state and the indigenous people. In fact, Turkey is a party to the 1951 United Nations Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees. However, Turkey has only become a party to this agreement by making a reservation that accepts obligations towards refugees from Europe. Based on this, Turkey does not consider Syrians refugees as they come from outside the West and does not fulfill all its obligations. In other words, Turkey sees Syrians only in conditional and temporary refugee status, and by adding support from the EU, it allows them to benefit from some basic services such as health and education. This temporary and indeed uncertain status (White et al., 2013) is the greatest "symbolic violence" (Bourdieu, 1989) on them. They are immigrants in liminal status (Turner, 1969) who have the meaning of both guest / relative (religious brother) and foreigner temporarily living in Turkey. This temporaryness is one of the important obstacles for the local people to adopt and accept them.

In the light of theoretical discussions, statistical data and current studies related to the Everyday Resistance literature (Scott,1985;1989; Gupta,2001; Gutmann,1993), the main problem of this study is that children who migrate to Turkey with their families are unfortunately subaltern. In this context, the main question that the research seeks to answer is "How Syrian children manage their daily lives in the neighborhood they live in Ankara/Turkey". To put it in sociological terms, how does the mechanism of hegemony (state and society) and tactics ( Syrian children's art of governing) work?

### **Importance:**

Developing a kind of tactics of penetration through cracks by creating new spaces is a common feature of the indigenous and migrant poor, who are unable to work or have to make do with what they have, both legally and economically. For example, in some studies with adult Syrian immigrants, such as selling at the hawker stall in order not to rent, avoiding taxation by bending the laws and thus succeeding in being invisible, adapting attire to locals and speaking a few words in Turkish, hanging a Turkish flag (Oner et al.,2020; Subasi ,2019) examples of the art of management are given. Trying to do the art of management with a focus on "migrant children" makes the work in our hands important. It can be said that the focus of the article is composed of child subalterns and its effort to carry it to a universal area with the identity of "The Little Prince" inspired by Young (2001) and his postcolonial discourse, actually makes the study important by itself.

In fact, another aspect that makes the study valuable is that a group of all-female volunteers mentioned the tactics in their multi-faceted work, which was and is still ongoing, before Syrian immigrants were granted Temporary Asylum Seeker status by the state in 2013 and legal services were offered. Because the volunteer women's group implements the "transformational women's leadership model" and produces solutions to the crises that immigrants face in their daily life in the neighborhood, both among themselves and in their relations with the local people. The strength of the volunteers stems from "awareness" and "mediator" as well as "empathy" (Topçu, 2017). For example, they are indirectly involved in the tradition of marrying girls at an early age, such as giving girls the opportunity to continue their education. They also try to meet the needs of Syrian families from higher SES with empathy. It is extremely important and valuable for research that all this unique network of relationships contributes to our understanding of the children interviewed.

While this article was being written, the fact that the data collected by first qualitative and then quantitative research in the same neighborhood were presented in a mixed design should be expressed as a tactic to overcome the difficulties in working with children and to reach more comprehensive data.

### **Limitations:**

The most important limitations of the study are that the study is conducted online due to the pandemic, children are reluctant to meet with people they do not know, and interviewing those with at least a little Turkish speaking skill. However, contribution has been received in the interpretation of every data collected from the volunteer women's solidarity group that we have met and helped with since 2015. It can be said that these discussions made it possible to put the collected data in a wider framework.

On the other hand, "indexical expressions", which we are used to in our grounded theory studies, were not included during open coding, since immigrant children cannot give their answers in long sentences due to age and language barriers. Despite this, the report has been tried to be comprehensible with the help of practical figures and summary tables, which are widely used while reporting the grounded theory studies.

## 1.2.Method

This study was basically carried out in accordance with the Grounded theory methodology, which is one of the qualitative research traditions. As noted by Creswell (1998), the most important features of Grounded Theory studies are the simultaneous realization of data collection and analysis, and the examination of the process with continuous comparisons (Kasapoglu, 2016).

In this systematic qualitative research approach, which takes place in various stages, while writing the report, first of all, open coding is done and all the collected data are displayed through a figure. In the second stage, axial coding, the data analyzed in open coding is tried to be synthesized and common main features are revealed. Meanwhile, it is tried to reach the core concept of the participants and the research simultaneously. After that, the report is completed by writing a story by adding a metaphor from the dominant culture to the analysis in order to achieve comprehensive cultural study and to overcome the duality of structure and individual. The aim of all these efforts is to reach a more meaningful and comprehensive picture and to help the reader overcome his/her foreignness by explaining them with familiar concepts. So much so that it is getting more and more approval to tell stories through metaphors in order to add vitality to very systematic solid analyzes (Kasapoglu, 2016).

There is a rich literature on metaphors on migration, mostly based on studies conducted in the West (Taylor, 2021). While describing immigration and immigrants with metaphors, it would not be wrong to say that some of the metaphors have positive and some negative connotations. According to Taylor (2021), although these metaphors have undoubtedly changed over time, the most basic migration metaphor in British society in the last 200 years is the expression with objects such as water and liquid. It can be said that this expression is used as a lack of control that can be abused for the benefit of others by being associated with crime. As a second negative metaphor, there are those who bear the traces of the colonial mentality (cargo, supply, demand, trade) as an object to be used commercially.

These metaphors tell us about human smuggling and human trafficking. A third group of negative discourses is referred to as right-wing migration discourse such as enemy, hordes, invasion, and savages (Baider and Kopytowska, 2017; Burke, 2002; Santa Ana, 1999). A fourth group is the quest metaphor used especially for immigrants from the same religion or close geography. However, it is thought to be like father land mother country, which bears traces of past colonial discourses. Because even though they are seen as family members, there are still some expectations from them (Burke, 2002; Charteris-Black, 2019). A fifth group is the discourse about animals and immigrants (Baider and Kopytowska, 2017; Marshall and Shapiro, 2018).

However, there are negatives such as swarms, flocking parasites or insect infestation, as well as positive ones. For example, in this article, stork is used as an animal metaphor, inspired by the traditional (conventionalist) Anatolian Turkey geography (Ogel, 1971) with a humanitarian approach that sees immigrants as human beings. The common tradition of taking theoretical sampling in accordance with the purpose in Grounded Theory analyzes was followed in this study, and telephone interviews were conducted with children whose mothers were reached through a volunteer women's group. A total of 20 children were interviewed in the qualitative part of the research project, which was planned to be quite comprehensive, as reported in this article. The quantitative part, on the other hand, was carried out with 33 children by adding 13 more children and was presented as a graduation thesis that I supervised at the Sociology Department of Baskent University (Yucel, 2021). The mean age of all children is 12.70, and the standard deviation is 2.17.

On the other hand, this study was carried out with the great contribution and mediation of women working voluntarily in a neighborhood of Ankara with these Syrian migrant children. The group, which has been showing solidarity in the same neighborhood since 2011 and whose numbers were higher in the past, is still working with great determination, even though it has decreased over time, and they organize and solve the most urgent needs of children and women, especially nutrition, education, health, shelter, relations with neighbors and school. An empirical study has also been conducted and published about this volunteer group (Topçu, 2017; 2018). Unlike the result and punishment-based leadership style, which is more common in men, in this all-female volunteer group, there is a solidarist leadership that cares about teamwork and is based on process rather than result. As Topçu (2017) states, under the leadership of a woman with a transformative and transactional character, a volunteer group of 100 women provided Turkish education to a population of approximately 200 families and a total of 1500 immigrants for two years in a public school building with 15 teachers among them. It has filled the gaps in the provision of housing, furniture, food and clothing, and in dealing with official government authorities. Even after the Syrian immigrants were given temporary protection status in 2013, they are still voluntarily trying to meet their needs, especially shelter and nutrition, and they have reached the stage of establishing an association. The fact that

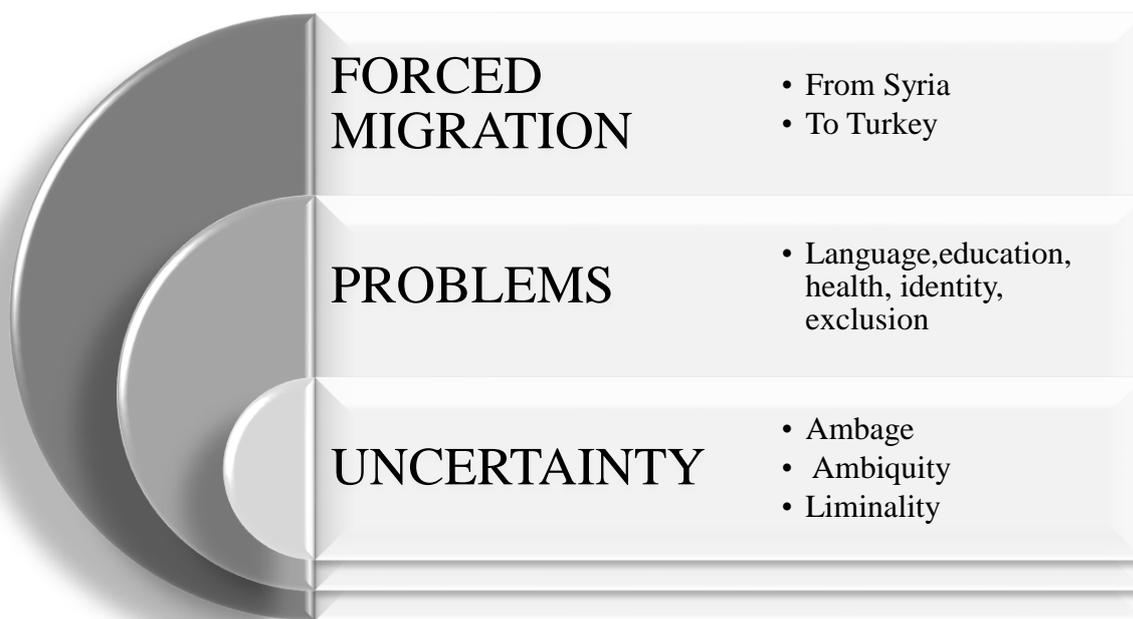
they started working on the regulations with the directors of the Baskent University Migration Research Center makes this group and the developments related to it important.

After obtaining the approval of the Baskent University Ethics Committee for both quantitative and qualitative research, interviews were conducted with the children over the phone, with the permission of the mothers. In the interview form, there were questions from daily life structured with the minimum and maximum options in the form of a game for the children. For example, nutrition (6 questions), music (4), games and leisure activities (4), sports (2), health (2) environment (4), social relations (6), education (2), happiness (8) future plans (4) were asked. In the interviews, there were 60 questions in total, including the demographic characteristics of the children and their families (6), the ownership of some technological equipment (5) and the immigration history (5 questions). Interviews generally lasted for a total of two hours in two sessions, and a third contact was made with those who were interrupted. In the quantitative research, a total of 40 closed-ended questions were used. The data obtained from the conversations that lasted an average of one hour by telephone were analyzed by SPSS-25.

Erdoğan (2011) who studies the urban poverty of the local people in Turkey, states that he is careful not to use epistemological violence and conveys exactly what the urban poor say without adding any comments. In this study of immigrant children, questions were prepared in easy and short sentences, which were arranged in the form of a game. When the children did not want to continue, they were interrupted immediately.

### **The model of the study:**

This study was planned by making use of the studies (Erdogan, 2020; Özçürümez and İçduygu, 2020; Seker et al., Sert and Kafali, 2014 ; Kaya, 2009; Karan, 2016), which made very important contributions to the literature on migration in Turkey. The model of the research, a part of which is reported here, is based on relational sociology (White, 1992; 2002; 2008; White et al., 2007; 2013), designed as nested circles and presented in Figure 1. The population coming from Syria to Turkey with forced migration is experiencing many problems such as language, livelihood, poverty, health, education, identity and exclusion. In the innermost part of the circles, their “liminal” status in uncertainties (Turner, 1969; Babuç, 2016) constitutes the focus of this study.



**Figure 1. Theoretical Model of the Study**

## **2. Findings and Discussion**

Since this article was conducted in accordance with the Grounded Theory as one of the qualitative research traditions, first open coding and then axial coding were done. In the conclusion part of the article, in order to overcome the structure and individual dichotomy as a comprehensive cultural sociological and relational sociological, the story of the immigrants was tried to be written through the metaphor of the stork.

## 2.1. Open coding

As it is tried to be explained in detail in the theoretical framework, eating, reading, speaking, listening, as the hidden forms of tactic while eroding the power holder, were investigated. In other words, in this subsection, in order to get to know the children better, their daily routines such as eating, drinking, studying, their views on shelter and nature, their future plans and their happiness status were especially tried to be understood. With these

interviews, it was tried to reveal the liminal status they were in (Turner1969, White et al., 2013) and the various tactics they applied in daily life and their leakage through cracks.

### **Everyday routine activities :**

Hide-and-seek, swinging, jumping rope for girls, basketball, football and cycling are the most preferred sports for boys. It is most preferred for both genders to leave the house and go to the park. There are many sports equipment in the parks and residents of all ages can benefit from these opportunities. However, they often talked about virtual games since they stayed at home more during the Pandemic. For example, children play modern tic tac-toe video games such as Minecraft(Swedish ), Fifa Blocky Soccer , Babybus Games , SOSGame on the phone. However, an android phone is required for these games. On the other hand, children do not have their own private phone and internet. According to our quantitative research data (Yucel, 2021), all of the children in the same neighborhood have a television and a washing machine at home, while the rate of having a computer is only 9.1%.

Those who say that they have internet facility in their homes are quite high (56.6%). However, these internets are mostly connected by mobile phones. The phones with which we talk to the children belong to their mothers. According to the quantitative research findings conducted with the same children, shared internet connection is quite high (60.6%). In this regard, it is possible to reduce the cost by purchasing the internet connection of children jointly and to use the same line by many people by sharing passwords. It would not be wrong to consider these as the important tactics of children in leaking through the cracks. In fact, such tactics are policies that are not unique to immigrants, and that we can replicate the examples of poor local children and youth. It's not uncommon for two students to be satisfied with a cheap one-person cafeteria meal at school, many students study from a single book or photocopy note, and more than one person passing through the turnstile with a single bus or subway card. According to the children who watch TV in their spare time, they mostly watch cartoons such as Sponge Bob , Nickledon, Rafadan Tayfa, Gökbelitepe and Indian TV series. Like those who do not like Turkish children's programs, there are also those who cannot choose much because there is only one television at home. Therefore, we can say that it is more common to prefer the game on the phone to watching TV.

Immigrant children interviewed prefer to listen to Arabic music more. However, they also listen to the intro music of the Batman children's cartoon, rap songs and fast music. Also, the name of the Turkish song and the singer with the Arabic word in it was remembered by most: The famous Turkish male singer Mustafa Ceceli and his Masallah song. The Mashallah refrain in the song from the album Break My Chain is a popular version of Islamic culture. This piece, which is not a children's song, may have been popular because it was a romantic and fast song with a holy Arabic word in it. Children do not like classical Western music and slow songs. Some of them stated that they prefer to listen to the Quran. Children are familiar with this music, since cassettes of the Qur'an are listened to by some people in Turkey, both on special days such as the birth and death of the Prophet, and during religious ceremonies. For children whose mother tongue is Arabic, the Quran is undoubtedly a part of themselves. Their preference for such songs can also be interpreted as a tactic of choosing to be happy by experiencing their own Syrian Arab culture. In Turkey, children are sent to Quran reading courses as part of Islamic culture. This tendency is quite common in cities as well. The Quran reading courses for children, opened in mosques by the Ministry of National Education, are also a kind of official religious education strategy for Turkish people who have a religion whose language they do not know.

### **Eating habits :**

In terms of nutrition, the children were asked about the most and least favorite main meals and snacks, fruits and vegetables, desserts, and beverages, respectively. Children love all kinds of meat dishes and stuffed leaves. On the other hand, they stated that they do not like soups and juicy dishes such as lentils which have a significant place in Syrian cuisine. In addition, pastries such as bread and pasta are among the unloved ones. Syrian children come from a culinary culture that is more meat-based than vegetables. Similar dietary habits prevail in Turkey from the West to the East. Although Turkey is surrounded by seas on three sides, the rate of fish consumption is also low. A carbohydrate-heavy diet is most common. The consumption of vegetables and olive oil, namely the Mediterranean diet, is gradually becoming widespread in the middle classes. Therefore, Syrian children's preference for red meat is in the expected direction. It would not be wrong to say that because red meat is very expensive due to the negative effects of the wrong agricultural and livestock policies, neither immigrant nor local families rarely use red

meat in their kitchens, and they cannot adequately meet their protein needs due to the recent increase in the prices of white meat. Here, the only advantage of Syrian single-parent families receiving help is that the middle-class religious people from Turkey constantly make sacrifices and distribute them to Syrians. In this regard, the volunteer women's group said that they fulfilled these distribution demands and that Syrian children can eat red meat. It is also known that Syrian women prepare meals for their children by flavoring chicken with traditional spices.

If we make a comparison between Syria and Turkey here, in the culinary culture of Turkish families, juicy dishes and soup are common. In addition, pasta, bulgur and bread are consumed a lot instead of rice because they are cheaper. According to Mayol (1984), the wealthy try to reduce food by drying or frying it. On the other hand, it is a phenomenon in the culinary literature that the poor turn their meals into juicy dishes, saying that they should be prosperous and feed many people (cited in De Certeau et al, 1984). In Anatolian folk cuisine, pastries and carbohydrates are consumed much more than other foods. In fact, this is a nutrition culture that starts with poverty and then turns into a habit. Although Syrians are used to eating lavash traditionally, children have become accustomed to eating bakeries produced in modern ovens over time. Because in Turkey doner is sold between bread. When volunteers distribute these doners, no child refuses. It can be said that this is an important example of their liminal status in the sense of both Syrian and Turkish. It is seen that children like all snacks containing many harmful additives, such as chocolate, chips, seeds, ice cream and cookies, but there is no snack they like least. While the most popular fruits are bananas and oranges, those who state that they do not like apples are much more. There are also children who say that they do not like sour fruits such as plums. Potatoes, eggplant, spinach and tomatoes were most liked, while broccoli and zucchini were noted as unpopular. Similar preferences with their peers are in the expected direction.

The most popular dessert is baklava. Then comes the birthday cake. Kunefe is considered as the unloved dessert. The preference of traditional desserts with more sugar and butter is very similar to Turkey. Because always baklava is the most popular pastry dessert. Turkey's most famous baklava cities and companies are in the Southeastern region. Fruit juices, coca-cola, fruit flavored milks and hot chocolate are the most popular beverages, while coffee and tea are the least popular. These preferences are also related to both age groups of children and the popularity of cola drinks.

Here, it would not be wrong to say that as the children of urban-based families who migrated from Aleppo to Turkey due to political reasons such as war and terrorism (Yucel, 2021), their welfare level was quite high in the



past. On the other hand, their eating habits are mostly red meat rather than vegetables and fruits, depending on the desert climate of the Syrian geography. As a matter of fact, children state that they like baklava more than fruit. In addition, it is quite common for families to receive a small contribution from their educated and professional relatives who have immigrated to Europe. Especially since the Turkish currency is very worthless against the Euro, a monthly aid of 200 Euros serves to meet the basic needs of children easily, by at least 2000 TL. The fact that there is no food that children want to eat but cannot eat can be a source of happiness for them. It should not be forgotten that none of the children in this study suffered from nutritional problems.

Figure2. Open coding as honeycomb

**Shelter :**

While the neighborhood where this study was conducted was one of the oldest slums in Ankara, it has undergone urban transformation in the last 10 years, resulting in the relocation of former residents to the newly built public housing in the neighborhood. The Syrians, who first settled in the houses abandoned by the local people, started to be deprived of accommodation in these cheap and garden houses with the urban transformation of these houses over time. This is why the volunteer women's group allows single-parent families to live safely in these public

houses by paying their rent. As expected, 90.1% of children do not have a separate room of their own (Yucel, 2021). Volunteers reach well-off people who will pay the rent of these houses and organize their assistance in the form of paying house rent. Children, especially in these new and modern houses with high floors and elevators, are neighbors with the locals of the old neighborhood as well as the Syrians, most of whom are like themselves. Children are extremely satisfied with houses with central heating. Because the park and landscaping arrangements of these residences were planned from the beginning. Although the older children's aspirations are for their houses with gardens in Syria, it is understood that the younger ones are satisfied with the modern parks and gardens around the multi-storey houses and the sports and play equipments available there. As it is known, while in the social sciences, changes on the basis of time were considered more important, nowadays space is also included in the analysis. It is clear that children adapt to multi-storey apartment life instead of a house with a garden. It is possible to observe the happiness created by the good heating of the house and providing the basic comfort with security in them. As a matter of fact, the quantitative research findings conducted in the same neighborhood are in this direction (Yucel, 2021). The main reason why volunteer women prefer to rent a public house to Syrian families is to ensure the safety of orphaned subaltern children living with their mothers.

### **Nature and Environment :**

Children were also asked about the animals and plants they liked the most. Children like cats and dogs the most. In fact, they specifically state as kittens. On the other hand, children are afraid of aggressive dogs and therefore do not like them. There are not few children who state that they do not like birds. Among the flowers, roses and tulips are children's favourites. There are also children who do not like jasmine and yellow flowers. Children also state that they collect and give flowers to their mothers. It can be said that this is cleverly implemented as a tactic of pleasing loved ones without paying.

### **Education :**

Among the children, those who like mathematics, Turkish, English, Quran lessons and those who do not like them are at the same rate. This may be due to children's subjective perceptions and degrees of success. The most popular teachers are also those who teach these courses. Science is stated as the most disliked subject. The name of the science teacher is also mentioned as the most disliked in parallel with this. There are also children who worry about getting up early in the morning to go to school. Classmates who exclude them at school also upset them. According to our quantitative data (Yucel, 2021), the rate of students who exclude themselves is not very high (12.1%). Teachers who do not tell the exam date scare them. Immigrant students' opinions about teachers and school administrators are very positive (99%), no one finds it bad. The rate of those who are not satisfied with their school at all is quite low (6.1%). In addition, although there is no statistically significant difference, girls (81.8%) who say they are very satisfied with school are higher than boys (72.7%) (Yucel, 2021).

On the other hand, there are those who study hard in order to be successful at school and to become a doctor (surgeon and psychiatrist, cardiovascular specialist), teacher and police. Like Messi, there are also those who say they want to play football in Barcelona or become a professional hairdresser. According to quantitative research data (Yucel, 2021), it can be said that there is a significant difference between goals and behaviors, considering that almost half of the children (45%) do not study at all, and the rate of working for one hour a day remains at 3%. In addition, the findings about the system called EBA (Ertug, 2020) organized by the Turkish Ministry of National Education to provide distance education during the pandemic process, unfortunately, prevent optimism. Because 60% of children do not benefit from EBA even though they have a TV at home. The most important reasons for this are that many children do not have the opportunity to attend different classes at the same time and cannot understand the lessons due to language barriers. On the other hand, it should be noted that the rate of following EBA is always (15.2%) and occasionally (15.2) very low. In addition, it is understood that a high percentage (75.8%) of the participation in the courses, which reaches 30.4% of the total, is made via mobile phones.

It should be noted as an important finding that a very high rate (66.7%) of children (66.7%) miss going to school where Turkish and Syrian students are mixed, which is revealed by quantitative data (Yucel, 2021). The fact that no one among the children found the approach of their peers at school very bad and that only 12.1% said that they found it bad are also positive signs in terms of adjustment. Likewise, children's perceptions of other parents are overwhelmingly positive (97%).

Children do not read many books. Because the rate of those who state that they do not like reading is the same as those who state that they like to read. There are also those who stated that they like to read books in Arabic instead of Turkish. It can be said that the fact that there are also those who want to read about the Prophet Muhammad is due to the fact that the majority of these children studied at the Imam Hatip School.

### **Wellbeing and happiness :**

Only 27.3% of children stated that they have great difficulty in adapting to Turkey. On the other hand, the vast majority state that they do not suffer from adaptation problems, albeit to varying degrees (Yucel, 2021). In fact, anxiety and migration are phenomena that support each other (Kastan, 2015).

However, meeting the needs of the children in this neighborhood by female volunteers in a short time may have affected their anxiety levels. In addition, the fact that some families are immigrants of Turkmen origin and therefore do not have heavy language problems may be effective on the findings. In addition, it should be taken into account that children with an average age of 12 came to Turkey at a very young age in 2011 or were born in Turkey. The fact that the rate of children experiencing communication problems with other people is 18.1% can be interpreted as a very positive development. On the other hand, according to the quantitative data (Yucel, 2021), the most important problem they experience in Turkey is language (36.4%), followed by education (24%) and health (21.2%), and economic problems (18.1%).) is also important. Because language and communication are actually an important cultural tool in the construction of identity (Chambers, 2005; Apak, 2014). The fact that children mostly want language courses (39.4%) and then library (21.2%), painting (18.2%) sports (18.1) and theater (3%) activities, respectively, emphasizes the importance of language.

In addition, albeit to varying degrees, 89.1% of the children want to have higher education in Turkey, 97% want to live in Turkey, 93.9% want to be Turkish citizens, and 97% are satisfied with living in Ankara (Yucel, 2021).

This situation can be interpreted as important indicators that they are satisfied with Turkey, as well as signs that they are successful in life strategies and tactics. In fact, since these data also show their future plans, it would be beneficial for the rulers of the state to know. Moreover, all previous studies have shown that only a quarter of the immigrants return to their country (Erdoğan, 2020). It would not be wrong to say that these children, who were born in Turkey or came at a very young age, no longer have a Syrian imagination.

On the other hand, Yucel (2021) also found a relationship between the number of people in the household and the desire to pursue higher education in Turkey. In other words, the fact that families with fewer children have a higher demand for higher education in Turkey can be interpreted as a sign that they are more advanced in adaptation. When the relationship between the problems experienced and the gender of the children is examined, it is understood that the language problem is more common in boys (45.5%) and the health problem is more common in girls (27.3%). It was observed that economic problems were the same in both gender groups (18.2%). However, it is not appropriate to comment further because the differences are not statistically significant.

Children spend time with their mothers at home, especially since they cannot go out much during the pandemic. As a reflection of Syrian Arab culture, women do not work in a paid job outside the home. The children living in this neighborhood, whom the volunteer group is trying to meet all their needs, hugged their mothers tightly because they lost their fathers due to the war in Syria or they were far away from them. They want to go everywhere together, even to the park. Because their mother is everything to them. Children follow the policy of finding love and trust in their mothers by hugging their mothers. On the other hand, according to the quantitative data on meeting basic needs, the majority of children in the neighborhood where they live survive by receiving help from the Turkish state (57.6%) and private associations (39.4%). The rate of working among late adolescents is 15.2% (Yucel, 2021).

While the rate of people living in Syrian households in the neighborhood with less than five is only 15%, the other majority live together with 6-10 people (Yucel, 2021). The most important reason for this is that some families have to live together due to economic insufficiency. In our sample, they have at least three or four siblings at home, and some like to play with their older sisters and some with their younger siblings. They say that they have fun with their older sisters by cooking or drawing pictures at home. They bake delicious cookies made at home with cheap pastries and sometimes play as shop keeper. Most of them do not have relatives in Ankara. The neighbors they meet are mostly Syrians. They do not have much contact with their Turkish neighbors. Some are also in conflict with their Turkish neighbors.

They have lunch and drink with their Syrian neighbors, with whom they feel better and safe. Cooking and eating together is one of the most basic social activities. This issue has a similar pattern in the relations between families in Turkey. Housewomen are almost in competition with how skillfully they prepare food. The richness of Syrian and Turkish cuisine facilitates the work of women, and delicious home-cooked meals prepared in a short time make both them and children very happy. Already, food culture is an important tool in recognizing communities from a sociological perspective.

The characteristics of the children, which are introduced in detail in open coding, are summarized in Table 2 in the form of a before-after comparison. The purpose of this is to easily show the reader the process-based change that children undergo, which is also important in relational sociological terms.

PREVIOUS STATUS	NEW STATUS
Play with friends	Play with brothers and sisters
Education at school	Distance education at home
House with garden	Quarantine in the apartment
Parental mobile phone and computer	There is only one mother's phone
Internet	From mother's internet or shared with neighbours
Meat dishes	Meat and meatless meals
Arabic music	Music with Arabic words in it.
Just speak Arabic	Turkish at school, Arabic at home

**Table 2. Comparison of Old and New Conditions : Transformation of Daily Life during Pandemi in Turkey**

**2.2. Axial Coding**

In accordance with the grounded theory, the data, which were first divided into detailed parts and analyzed, were synthesized in Table 3 in order to reveal common aspects in the axial coding stage. Here, a triple comparison path is adopted that includes both time and space dimensions. As it is known, rejecting the dichotomy of time and space and taking the two together, as the most basic feature of relational sociology (White et al, 2013), has been followed as the main principle in this study.

In addition, it is extremely important and consistent with the same relational logic that the common feature in axial coding is "uncertainty" (See Table 3). As a result, the main concept in terms of grounded theory work is uncertainty. This means liminal identity, which we can express as ambivalence. On the other hand, it is useful to remember that identities avoid uncertainty and try to control them. The relational sociologist Harrison White (1992) also tells us this in his book "Identity and Control". According to him, there are two kinds of uncertainty, one in cultural values and the other in social relations. While uncertainty in social relations is ambage, uncertainty in values is ambiguity. Due to the fact that children make a future plan for themselves in Turkey, we can understand that they are happy by defeating them with various tactics and various leaks in their daily lives, although they have uncertainties in both social relationships and values.

On the other hand, another important concept that Harrison White et al. (2013) taught us is the turning point. In this context, the migration of children and families from Syria to Turkey is a turning point.

Children struggle with the tactics they apply with the uncertainties of their liminal identities. I think they need more time to control them.

TIME AND SPACE	PAST/ SYRIA	PRESENT/ANKARA	FUTURE/ TURKEY/ SYRIA/ ANOTHER COUNTRY
<b>FAMILY</b>	Extended (Parents, brothers and relatives together)	Broken (Mother and brothers, sisters)	Single or nuclear family
<b>EMPLOYMENT</b>	Mother housewife , father working	Mother housewife	He /she is working
<b>SUBSISTANCE</b>	The head of family provides	Subsistance is provided by Governmental or NGO and individual.	By themselves
<b>HOUSING</b>	House with gardens and pet	Rented flat	Both possible
<b>EATING</b>	Red meat dishes ,kebab and dessert.	White meat dishes,vegetables and fruits	Vegetables,fishes and natural foods
<b>LANGUAGE</b>	Arabic everywhere	Arabic at home, Turkish at school	Arabic, Turkish,English and another Western language
<b>RELIGION</b>	Muslim	Moderate Muslim	Radical or secular Muslim
<b>IDENTITY</b>	Syrian Arab boy/girl	Student,young immigrant. Child marriage in girls	Employed or unemployed migrant. Immigrate to Syria or another Arab or Western country
<b>LIMINALITY</b>	Low uncertainty	Moderate uncertainty	High uncertainty

**Table 3. Axial Coding: Time and Space Co-existence**

While children want to stay in Turkey, receive education and become Turkish citizens, it is not possible for them or us to know exactly what will happen in the future. Here, it is now possible to talk about the type of uncertainty that White calls "contingency" (White et al, 2013). Because in the future of these Syrian migrant children, the factors that are external to the system in Turkey, especially the EU and the USA, Russia and Iran's decisions about Afghan

migration will be effective. Moreover, the content of Turkey's talks with the USA, which has withdrawn from Afghanistan, and the main Afghan cultural components (Pestuns, Uzbeks, Tajiks, etc.) that do not have a single nation, is also unknown.

### **3. Conclusion**

The starting point of this study is the children of poor immigrants called subaltern by Gramsci (1992) and ordinary people by De Certeau (1984). On the other hand, Spivak (1988; 1990) has a great influence on the popularization of the concept of subaltern today. Both Gramsci and Spivak were used in this study. Because refusing to be essentialist is the most fundamental feature of the relational sociological perspective. Moreover, both Gramsci and Spivak have critical views with high sensitivity to the increasing social inequalities and colonialism in the world.

All postcolonial studies against colonialism and Eurocentrism are not only limited to immigration, but have gained an interdisciplinary nature that concerns all human and social sciences, from anthropology to theology (Young, 2001). On the other hand, Young (2001) interestingly establishes a meaningful connection between *The Little Prince*, which is known as a children's book even though it was written for adults, and subalterns. Because children, like subalterns, look carefully at those who command from above. However, in our sociological study, there are findings that Syrian immigrant children are actually quite different from the Little Prince in the story of Saint Exupery, and that they adapt to the society they live in by sometimes leaking through the cracks with the tactics they apply.

When we try to interpret this situation, it must first be underlined that Turkey has never been a colonial country in the Western sense. We can also think that there may be some positive differences in the approach to immigrants from the Islamic culture close to themselves, both in the society and among the rulers in power. As a matter of fact, in the first years, Syrian immigrants in Turkey were always seen as religious brothers, that is, "Ansar" and neighbors.

In addition, according to Young (2001) democracy has not been established immediately in any of the countries where the postcolonial discourse has developed. Despite all criticism, Turkey has been a secular democratic state of law since 1923. Despite the anti-secular rhetoric of the conservative governments, the multi-party democratic system tries to harmonize with the presidential system, which is called the Turkish type and is not yet fully operational. Although exploiting immigrants is not a clear policy, the conflict between the secret pragmatist mentality that wants to take advantage of them politically and economically, and the opposition views that want to get rid of them completely, has become more apparent with the last Afghan migration.

On the other hand, it is possible to benefit from Scott (1990) as well as Decerteau (1984) in understanding the management arts of Syrian migrant children in daily life. According to Scott (1990), subalterns may behave differently in the public sphere and in the private sphere where they feel safe. In this sense, they can have both public and private scenarios or stories. Scott's emphasis, which is also important for children, is the enrichment of the hidden scenario in proportion to the increase in domination. Children may begin to develop different resistance strategies. This situation, that is, resistance, is observed in many places without discrimination of women, children, disabled and immigrants. In fact, it can even be said that this secret scenario space was a home instead of a school for Syrian migrant children during the pandemic. Maybe we can even say that while there was visible obedience at school (public space) before the pandemic, covert disobedience at home (private space) was more common.

In order not to make mistakes from the theoretical and practical relational point of view, instead of this duality, it is necessary to prioritize the concept of liminality, which means both, which allows us to take both together, and it should be noted that the distinction between public and private spheres is actually for analytical purposes. Likewise, since the concept of hybrid was not liked by relational sociologists because it implies duality, liminality was used in the study.

On the other hand, it is clear that not all immigrant children will have the same tactics and resistance strategy. It should be kept in mind that, like their parents, they may have a contradictory, fragmented and scattered subaltern consciousness from time to time (Spivak 1988 : Gramsci 1992 ; Erdoğan, 2011).

Gramsci was deeply concerned with how subaltern groups could be mobilized for solidarity and autonomy in the transformation of society. Because he himself was an immigrant from rural Sardinia in Italy to the industrial area of Turin. He was aware of the strong political ties between the landless in the South and the industrial proletariat in the North. What mattered to him was how those who had historically remained in the margin would manage to have class consciousness versus the ruling class that controlled them. In fact, Gramsci knew that without help this work could not be accomplished. As stated by Modonesi (2014), subalternity is not a social condition or a given status. Subalternity is a relationship, awareness and autonomy. This point is also a very valuable starting point for us. In order to understand the experiences of children as young subalterns with forced migration in Turkey, awareness and life struggles are of interest to us rather than their status. It would be appropriate to state that the most important help to them came from the volunteer women's group.

As a matter of fact, in our studies, some findings of which are shared in this article, some results have been reached in terms of both immigrants and the volunteer women's group that supports them. Because, quite interestingly, the group, which provided aid to Somalis before the Syrians came to their neighborhoods in 2011, decides to empathize and take the responsibility after a Syrian migrant woman lost her life because she could not speak Turkish.

The founder and leader of this group of volunteers is originally a history teacher and still works in the district directorate of national education. It can be said that the strong communication that the female leader establishes with both her team and immigrants is completely based on trust. Since 40 of these volunteers have been exegesis from the Qur'an for 20 years with the leader, their familiarity with some basic Arabic words has facilitated their communication with Syrian women and children. Volunteer women tried to bring Turkish knowledge and skills to meet the daily needs of immigrant women and children by using their own creativity without any official training documents in their hands. The materials in the lessons were handwritten and used by photocopying.

In fact, these volunteers, who try to help Syrian children and women, live in accordance with the definition of liminal, just like immigrants. Although they were educated and even one of them graduated from law school, they could not be appointed to public duties for many years because they were veiled.

In the study, tactics such as the success story of these subaltern women who enabled us to reach immigrant families as well as immigrant children, their efforts to leak through the cracks and the fact that most of them do training even though they are not teachers, use the primary school building in the afternoon, try to establish a dialogue with Syrian women and children with the Arabic of the Imam Hatip Vocational High School, which they studied, are also shown.

On the other hand, the reasons such as the fact that they make the locals unemployed by working for a low wage, that they stay longer than the guests and give birth to many children, increase the hate speech towards immigrants in Turkey. Therefore, they, too, form passive network and instantaneous communications among themselves, often informally, in Asaf Bayat's (2000) terminology, with their relatives, friends and citizens. The inclusion of some volunteers in this network in our study in Turkey shows us that a new situation has arisen. It can be said that there are not only subaltern and hegemon, but also "volunteer" women as catalysts once in a while. In fact, these volunteer women have been the subaltern of the state because of their clothing preferences. They have been trying to do this volunteer work by leaking through the cracks for 10 years.

Before the state admitted Syrian children to official public schools, volunteer women managed to establish a dialogue with Syrian women and children using the Arabic they learned in the Qur'an lessons in imam-hatip schools, and taught them. By finding the strength to work and produce together, they have now reached the stage of association. Now they are strong women who organize the needs of Syrian families, most of whom do not have a male head of household. Here we can say that we are observing the political power of ordinary people and their potential to change societies as depicted by Bayat (2010).

In the axial coding stage, which is the second part of the research findings, the past, present and future comparisons were made in order to look at the process. The most basic feature reached is that children have a liminal identity (Turner, 1969; Babuç, 2016). Uncertainties regarding the future identities of children are anticipated by us as much higher. Especially with the new wave of irregular migration from Afghanistan and the troubles arising from the unsuccessful and faulty economic policies that Turkey has been in for a long time, played a role in these predictions. It should be underlined that here, some "turning points" (White et al., 2013) are tried to be pointed out without mentioning a simple deterministic linear relationship.

In the final stage of a Grounded Theory Study, it is expected to write a story with metaphors. It is one of the appropriate options to describe the immigrants with the metaphor of the stork, which is actually a bird, that is, an animal. Because in the Anatolian Geography, the storks that come with migration in summer are the symbols of fertility. It is seen as an example in the society that they build their homes and feed their newborns with great devotion. Storks are sacred. They are never hunted by humans. Even in Turkey, when parents tell their children about reproduction, they say "the storks brought you". This means culturally passing on from generation to generation that storks are good-hearted animals that carry human babies. There is a rich cultural heritage in Anatolia regarding birds. For example, the saying "They put the bird in a golden cage, but my free nest" is an example of this. The bird is a symbol of both freedom and migration. There are many songs and folk songs about migratory birds in Anatolia.

As a migration route, storks initially set off on a very long and tiring journey from Africa. Some of them fall and die, while others become crippled. On their way back, storks come from the Balkans to Thrace and the Bosphorus, and go back to Syria, Egypt and South Africa via Hatay towards the warm climate. It is known that storks pass through the Dardanelles and Marmara Sea after Istanbul. The Anatolian people have made it a tradition to help these crippled migratory birds, who fell before they could complete this long journey. In fact, it can be said that this aspect is important when we describe the Syrian immigrants with the metaphor of the stork. Because the people of Anatolia make nests, give food to these injured birds, and take care of them until they get stronger and fly. For example, in the 19th century, there was "Gurabahane-i Laklakan", that is, "House of Injured Storks" in Bursa.

According to Ogel (1971), storks are a part of Turkish folk culture with their hard work and fertility in Anatolia. It is considered as a lucky bird as it has become the symbol of goodness, wisdom, honesty and large family. In Anatolia, the calendar is based on the harsh conditions of winter, and when storks come to Anatolia at the end of February, they are considered the precursors of summer. Most importantly, since storks feed on insects, the public considers them as helpers and partners. The people watch around the stork's nest and believe that their own house is also protected from pests. The nest he made in the chimney of the house is indestructible. They are also known as Haji Baba, Haji stork, as they came by passing over the Holy Kaaba of Islam. "Do not touch the nest", "don't honk" signs are posted to avoid disturbing the storks. Every stork has a protective family. Children almost compete based on the arrival date of the storks.

Those who harm stork nests are immediately condemned and punished. It is a pleasure to see the stork in the air, it is believed that many travels will be made that year.

On the other hand, the probability of the majority of Syrians who have been in Turkey for 10 years to return to their countries is gradually decreasing. Especially since 2011, one million children have been born in Turkey and the language barrier is gradually decreasing as they go to school. Thus, the possibility of integration with Turkey increases even more. In terms of this permanence, it is an interesting point that there are similarities between some storks and them. Because some storks leave their migration habits. For example, in Uluabat, a stork has not been gone for 10 years and stays permanently. Although the reason for this stork's stay while the others migrated is unknown, the name given to it Yadigar - Memento (Atlas,2020) is quite meaningful.

As a result, it would not be wrong to say that although animal metaphors are generally used for immigrants with negative attributions in Western culture, the use of the stork metaphor in this study, inspired by the Anatolian Turkish Folk culture, is important because it allows the comparison of different cultures' perspectives on migration and immigrants.

This study has revealed that the children of immigrants from Syria, who are trying to be explained using the stork metaphor, have leaked through some cracks in the art of administration in Turkey, based on Decerteau's concepts of strategy and tactics.

Particularly, the use of the common internet provides them with a great opportunity in the information age. They are aware of both their home country Syria and all the events in the world. In addition, being bilingual will give them a great advantage in the future.

The fact that they do not want to return shows that they look to the future with hope. In this context, the positive effects of volunteer women who are with them in every problem, like the guardian angel who takes care of them closely, should be mentioned in this context. As a matter of fact, it can be said that the children whose health and education services are covered by the Turkish state after they are given temporary protection status are actually under the special protection of the volunteer women's group.

In fact, the date when Syrians arrived as the first 25,000 people in March 2011 is considered a milestone. Starting from this date, everything is normal during the first two years until 2013, during which 250,000 people are accepted as guests in the camps. On the other hand, an important turning point, or a break, in terms of Turkey's immigration policy started with the transition to an open door policy in 2013 by telling Syrian immigrants to "take care of yourself". Immigrants left the camps in which they lived in a short time and spread all over the country. In fact, the official number of Syrians under temporary protection in 2021 is 3,690,000. However, their unofficial number is 5,000,000 million and they have started to live in Istanbul, Gaziantep, Kilis, Adana, Mersin, Bursa and Izmir. According to the Migration Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the number of people who visited Syria during the Eid al-Adha in July 2021 was only 20,000. The number of those who received a work permit was 35,000.

As a final word, as Bayat (2010) underlines, although immigrants are not a collective force, it is inevitable that they will have an impact on this society. However, policies may change in Turkey, which has been shaken by the unexpectedly rapid Afghan irregular migration that started in July 2021. In addition, there is the opposition that wants to send back all immigrants, including Syrians, and a government that argues that immigrants are an indispensable part of the Turkish economy. Due to the political power that wants to keep the immigrants in Anatolia in return for the funds from the EU, the tension is increasing. It is time for Turkey to change its immigration policy based on short-term political and economic interests.

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