

Ethnographic Case Study on the Adaptation Process of Communities that Migrated to Turkey: The Case of Isparta Province

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Abstract: This research aims to examine the perceptions of refugee families and children about the migration process, their lives in Turkey, education, and social interactions in Isparta, Turkey. The province Isparta has a multicultural structure mainly due to the migrations from the Middle East and Africa. The research designed as an ethnographic case study was carried out with 12 students and eight mothers at an elementary school. The data were collected through participant observation, semi-structured interviews, students' drawings, and documents of the students' narratives about their pictures. The data were analyzed throughout the research with a holistic approach through the content analysis method. The findings outline the difficulties the refugee families experienced during the migration process and when they first arrived. Although some of these difficulties have been eliminated in time, some of them are persistent. Satisfaction with education, in general, attracts attention. However, certain important findings, particularly from student data, suggest that the concepts of family, home, and country, as well as the social cohesiveness process, are not structured.. Another problem in the adaptation process is language. Language stands out as a factor that facilitates the adaptation process of the refugees who can use it effectively. Adult education is also an important requirement besides the education of children of refugee families in the adaptation mechanism. Epecially for mothers, language learning, adjustment to cultural differences, adoption of socio-cultural rules emerged as critical points that have positive reflections in the adaptation process.

Keywords: Refugee students, refugee families, primary education, ethnographic case study.

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Introduction

Migration is a phenomenon that has occurred continuously in different patterns from the existence of humanity to the present day. The migrations that have occurred since the hunter-gatherer period until today's liberal economic order have arisen due to societal and economic transformations. This phenomena, which has existed since ancient times, gained global traction after World War II. The majority of the spatial reorganization in 'emerging countries' has occurred in the rural-to-urban direction.. Neoliberal transitions, especially after the 1970s, have also led to the differentiation of migration processes. As a result of neoliberal transformations, attempts to harmonize with the global new world order have led to international migrations with an acceleration that has not been witnessed before. According to the International Organization for Migration, 271.6 million people were international migrants in 2019, which is 3.5 per cent of the world's population (IOM World Migration Data, 2020).

When the social and societal dimensions of migration are considered, it can be said that migration originates from different causes. Among these reasons, those related to the economy, wars, health, natural disasters, climatic changes on a global scale are more evident. The interaction of different cultures from the past to the present has resulted in change, transformation, and progress as a result of the phenomena of migration.. In this respect, migration comprises re-location, settlement, and cultural adaptation processes due to societal and individual origins (Yalcin, 2004). Cultural harmony has many contexts that affect the migrating culture and the culture that is migrated into. Migration also entails cultural diversity. When looking at migration history from a modern perspective, the migration of commercially colonial European countries to exploited African and Asian countries; migration from European countries to the Americas as a result of industrial transformation; the limited migration period that includes refugee and forced migration processes to date; and the period of migration from industrialized to post-industrial countries all stand out (Kaya, 2018; Massey, 1994). The migration process that Turkey is facing today can be interpreted in the frameworks of both limited migration and post-industrial migration because forced migration stands out in the process and has a feature that gains momentum in terms of economic power (Saglam & Kanbur, 2017; Parlak & Sahin, 2015). Certainly, reasons such as the quality of economic conditions, the opportunities regarding labor force, and the moderate policy regarding cross-cultural interaction makes Turkey an attractive destination for Middle Eastern immigrants.

When the countries that accept immigrants are considered globally, Turkey ranks first in population and is among the top twenty countries in terms of humanitarian aid pertaining to migration reasons. On the other hand, the contributions of other countries remain limited at the level of indirect contribution. From the universal perspective, it is evident that the burden-sharing is not distributed equally among the countries in the world (AFAD, 2015). Beyond the migration policies of different countries, Turkey has priorities regarding human rights. From a global perspective, it is seen that the rhetoric underlined by the 1951 convention does not turn into action in Western countries.

Especially during the adaptation period, sharing responsibility at an international scale seems inevitable. Turkey adopts a structure that involves interaction, and that is not unilateral concerning migration. In this respect, we come across the mutual harmony of the individuals of the target and source countries. However, during this mutual adaptation mechanism, one of the most important problems in Turkey is language. There is a very large audience of immigrants speaking different languages, and therefore, there are problems in mutual harmony due to social acceptance (Kaya; 2018; Erdogan, 2015). There are also multi-dimensional problems concerning immigrant children in the Turkish education system. While the immigrant communities experience relatively fewer problems in structural integration, they reflect more introverted characteristics in the social context (Alkurt, 2016). Migrating communities are generally satisfied with the fulfillment of their essential needs such as health, housing, and transportation which are services based on the refugee social cohesion policy within the scope of the temporary protection law. However, they adopt a less socially engaged attitude.

Local policies are occasionally brought to the agenda in Turkey. At this point, vocational training and language courses for young people and children, and language courses and awareness studies about qualified work conditions for the adults of the migrating communities play active roles (Dogan & Gurbuz, 2018).

Forced migration has been taking place very intensively since the 2000s. As a result of natural disasters or human-made ones such as wars, the number of people forced to live in another place by fleeing their settlement or being exiled has increased considerably in recent years (Aksit, Bozok & Bozok, 2015). The legal status of people seeking refuge elsewhere or in another country due to dangerous situations is defined under the concept of refugees. In this context, according to the United Nations Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, a refugee is a person who is "outside the country of his nationality and is unable or unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country" because of a "well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion" (United Nations International Organization for Migration, 2020). In the convention, since the concept of refugees is limited to European countries as parties, the concept of refugees does not include the obligatory migration communities in Turkey. In this regard, it is more appropriate to define these communities as asylum seekers under temporary protection.

Various reasons compel people to abandon the country where they were born and live. These can be attributed to different reasons such as climate-induced, economic, politically sourced, and educational migration, brain drain, and retirement (Aksoy, 2012). Many countries have been experiencing political instability in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. European countries have been the destination or the intended destination for people who were forced to migrate from these countries due to political problems in recent years. Turkey plays the role of an intersection or a bridge in this migration process. When the current situation is evaluated, Turkey is also selected as the destination country by migrants in some circumstances, and it has the highest proportion

of asylum seekers in the world. Considering Turkey's burden in relation to the country's infrastructure and economy, it is evident that immigration poses a significant problem for both asylum seekers and the country (UNHCR, 2015). A healthy structuring about conditions such as work, housing, and education in Turkey cannot be made proportionately to the number of immigrants, and in this regard, the country is heavily under pressure by uncontrolled migration. Due to the partial attitude of European countries about migration, Turkey heavily faces adaptation problems resulting from migrations from the Middle East and Africa.

Due to forced reasons, communities migrating from one country to another go through an adaptation process. This adaptation process accommodates legal, economic, and socio-cultural dimensions. The legal dimension implies that the individual has the same legal rights as individuals in the society to which he emigrates; the economic dimension implies that the individual has an income-generating job in the country to which he emigrates; and the socio-cultural dimension implies that the individual mixes socially and culturally with the target community without facing social exclusion and discrimination (Fielden, 2008, as cited in Yi).. The economic integration of the migrating population to the community to which it emigrated can be evaluated from three perspectives. First of these is whether they have a job to provide for themselves in the country of emigration, the second is whether there is a wage differentiation between them and the other working class of the society, and the third is whether they can get formal jobs in society.

As migration has increased rapidly in Turkey since 2010 and is still continuing, adaptation processes are also ongoing. The legal adaptation process was structured through regulations made in 2014. According to Article 26 of the Temporary Protection Regulation (Temporary Protection, 2014), asylum seekers who came to Turkey in a mass influx due to war in their countries were allowed to stay in Turkey under temporary protection. Access to health services, education, the job market, social welfare, and interpreting services were arranged by granting a Temporary Protection Identity Certificate. On the other hand, economic adaptation and integration are closely related to the class characteristics of the migrating community. In this respect, it is observed that only the first of the three-stage process has been realized. Accordingly, immigrants have been able to get jobs to make a living thanks to the Temporary Protection Law in general; however, the wage differentiation between them and the established working-class persists. The legal arrangements' restrictions prevent these communities from having access to the labor market. From this situation, it can be inferred that their employment is mainly in the informal sector. The study by Simsek (2018, p.380) with a sample of Syrian immigrants states that asylum seekers, many of whom are forced to work in unregistered employment, are subjected to labor exploitation and work long hours, are underpaid, and have no social security. Socio-cultural and social integration in the adaptation process is a condition that will occur in time. Asylum seekers who migrate and settle in various parts of Turkey prefer to come together to belong to a community as a method for adaptation, just as it occurs in internal migration. These companionships are of importance while selecting the city and the district to be settled. But when it comes

to adapting to society, social integration is going slowly. This is because people in the established society see immigrants as people who work cheaply on the job market, lower wages, and take away their jobs. They also see immigrants as people who they have to share public resources with (Kaya, 2018).

This study aims to present the views of asylum seekers and their children who experienced forced migration from the Middle East and African countries to Turkey about the living conditions in their own country, their adaptation process, and their perceptions on the reflection of this process on educational environments.

Method

Research Design

The ethnographic case study model, a qualitative research method, was used in this study. The research investigates the adaptation process of communities migrating to Turkey from different Middle Eastern and African countries from an ethnographic perspective. The ethnographic approach allows presenting inquiries based on cultural perspectives (Hatch, 2002, p.21). The present research is limited to the school where one of the researchers works, and therefore, this research can be considered a case study. While a limited process or social structure-based inquiry stands out in the case study method, an ethnographic case study provides the opportunity to analyze facts and events based on cultural extensions more holistically and in-depth (Merriam, 2015). Creswell (2020, p.92) states that the ethnographic research model is suitable for research to explain how a cultural group works and to discover the problems concerning power, resistance, and sovereignty that the group is facing. In this study, the ethnographic approach is applicable because the perspectives and adaptation processes of families who emigrated to Turkey from various countries for different reasons are examined. With the ethnographic approach, cultural contexts are notable in a process based on the natural environment, while in the case study, those cultural extensions are reflected in interpreting the situation (Merriam, 2015; LeCompte & Schensul, 1999). In the present study, the adaptation processes of the asylum-seeking students and their parents at the Sehit Sezgin Uludag Primary School in Isparta, Turkey were examined in terms of their lives, education, and social interactions. The indicators about social life and school culture as well as family and peer interactions were considered in the framework of adaptation. At this point, the existing situation is questioned with reflections considering the ethnicity of the students and the parents. Observation was used to explore the existing condition about cultural extensions, whereas interviews, picture analysis, and document analysis were employed for inquiries with regard to the adaptation process.

Participants

The participant group, under temporary protection, consisted of immigrant students and their parents at Isparta Sehit Sezgin Uludag Primary School, located in a neighborhood inhabited by low socio-economic families in the center of Isparta. To facilitate communication, the participants were selected among mothers and their children studying at this school because one of the researchers was a female teacher working there. During the research process, consent from adult participants was taken on behalf of themselves and their children. Since the neighborhood is of low socioeconomic status, it is densely inhabited by immigrant families. A multicultural structure exists in the neighborhood and the school. At the time of the study, the school had a total of 276 students (133 Turkish and 143 other nationalities). Twenty-one students from Syria, three from Tajikistan, ten from Iran, four from Iraq, 83 from Afghanistan, one from Nigeria, 13 from Somalia, five from Eritrea, and three from Yemen were among the overseas students. The participant group comprised eight female parents and 12 students from various countries. Criterion sampling based on the purposeful sampling method was employed to determine the participant group. In this respect, the inclusion criteria for the refugees consisted of living in Turkey for at least one year, being a student at Isparta Sehit Sezgin Uludag Primary School for the children, and being able to speak Turkish at a basic level to maintain communication. The study group member from Tajikistan was included in the research because she had traveled through the Middle East to get to Turkey. The characteristics of the immigrants participating in the study are presented below.

Figure 1.

Distribution of the Countries of Origin of the Participants

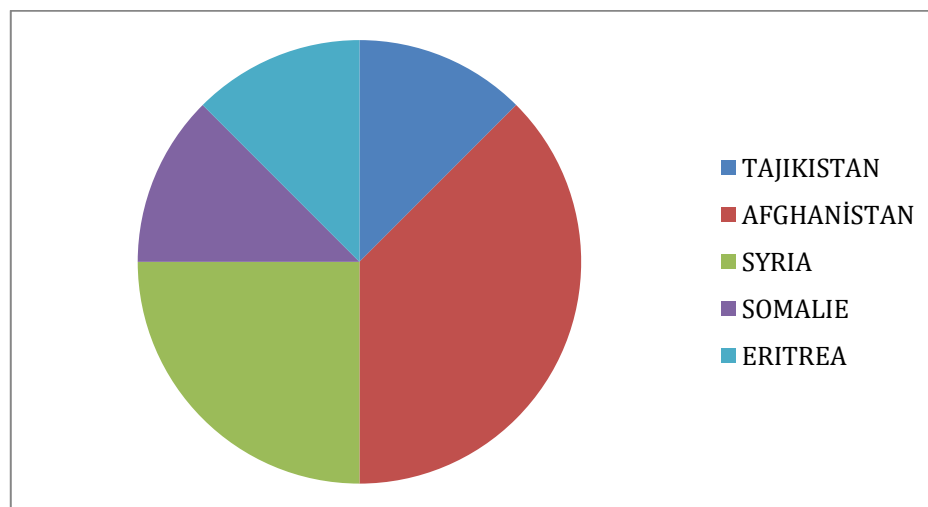


Table 1.

Characteristics of Families in the Study Group

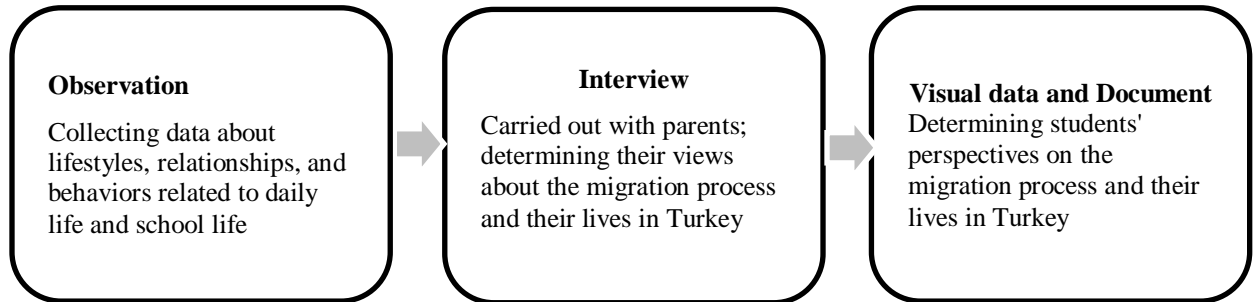
Code	Origin	Turkish Speaking Ability	Time Spent in Turkey	Opinion about Permanent Settlement in Turkey
P1	Tajikistan	Able to speak	7 years	I am a permanent resident.
P2	Afghanistan	Able to speak	3 years	If I am given citizenship, I am willing to stay; otherwise, I will try Europe.
P3	Syria	Able to speak at beginner level	6 years	I'll go back to Syria as soon as I can.
P4	Afghanistan	Unable to speak	6 years	Waiting for admission to the United States for medical treatment
P5	Syria	Unable to speak	5 years	I am a permanent resident.
P6	Afghanistan	Unable to speak	1 year	I am a permanent resident.
P7	Somalia	Able to speak at beginner level	7 years	I am a permanent resident.
P8	Eritrea	Able to speak	11 years	Thinking of moving to Canada

Data Collection Procedure

Interview, observation, visual data through student pictures and documents based on visual data narrations were used in the data collection process. Multiple forms of data acquisition, such as interviews, observations, or document analysis, are important for data triangulation and reliability in the qualitative research process (Merriam, 2015).

One of the researchers made the observations because this researcher had contact with the parents and students while teaching at this school. In this regard, it was possible to structure the selection of participants, and the collection of data was made in its natural environment. During participatory observation, refugee families explained their lifestyles and attitudes in the natural atmosphere to researchers. Since the refugee families interviewed were the parents of the participating observer's students, a trust relationship had existed over an extended time between them. The interviews were conducted online with families due to the pandemic, and with families who did not have this opportunity, the interviews were carried out in the class of the participating observer at school. Online interviews were recorded directly through the online environment, while those conducted in the classroom were recorded with a camera. The interviews were done in December 2020 with eight adult participants. The interviews were conducted directly with three parents who spoke Turkish, by getting the help of their children with three parents who could not speak Turkish, and with the assistance of a parent who spoke Turkish with two other parents. The students were asked to draw pictures about their lives in Turkey for the data collected through the images. Short interviews were conducted with the students about the pictures while notes were taken about the details in the drawings, and thereby, written documents were generated based on the students' narratives. No communication problems were encountered with nine of the children since they were able to speak Turkish. However, communication breakdown occurred in understanding the subject and during the reflection process with three of them since they could speak very little or no Turkish. The data collection procedure is presented in the figure below.

Figure 3.

Flowchart of Data Collection Procedure**Data Analysis**

Creswell (2020, p.182) describes the data analysis process in qualitative studies as preparing and organizing the data, encoding the data and reducing codes to themes, and presenting the themes in the form of a discussion. In the present study, the thematic analysis method was used due to the emergence of new themes through the codes obtained besides the predetermined themes. Two researchers independently and relationally analyzed the data. Since one of the researchers was the teacher of the participating students and was familiar with their parents, the data was collected through an extended period of interaction. Oral consent was obtained from the participants regarding their volunteering participation in the study, and the consent was recorded. It is important to use code names for the participants in the study owing to the ethical approach framework (Yildirim & Simsek, 2008). Therefore, code names were utilized in this study.

Credibility and Ethics

Semi-structured interview questions were presented to the opinion of two field experts to ensure validity in the research. One of the experts has been doing studies about migration, and the other researcher is competent in qualitative research. The interview questions were inspected in terms of both inclusiveness and structure. Then they were finalized based on the feedback by the experts. To maintain reliability in the study, researchers obtained and recorded the consent of the parents during the interviews. During visual data analysis, the drawings were examined and interpreted with consensus among art-trained experts. In addition, to increase the reliability of the visual data, students' opinions were gathered in the form of documents about the drawings. Lastly, the findings were supported with direct quotations from the data to increase reliability. During the participant observation, the intense interaction facilitated collecting data about the participants in their natural environment. As reported in Creswell (2020, p. 179), these implementations are among the various methods that ensure reliability and validity in research. Furthermore, utilizing different data collection methods such as observation, visual data, and documents is important in data triangulation (Patton,

2002). Since the cultural characteristics of pseudonyms to protect the subjective identities of the participants were unknown, coding with letters was preferred instead of names.

Findings

In this section, the findings obtained from asylum-seeking families and their children through observation, interviews, and documents are presented on the basis of themes. The visual data are of particular importance in reflecting children's situation they are facing. While making sense of visual data, children and the subjects in their pictures were discussed, and observation notes were taken. The spontaneous drawings of children are related to their life perceptions, and they can provide detailed information by shedding light on their inner world (Yavuzer, 2000).

Factors That Cause Immigrants to Emigrate from Their Countries

Concerning the problems in their own countries, the participants stated their reasons related to the main theme of *"Factors That Caused Migration"* under the subthemes of *"War," "Quality education opportunity," "Right to free-of-charge education,"* and *"Economic reasons."* These causes are important factors in their forced migration and leaving their homeland.

Table 2.

Factors Causing Migration

Theme	Subtheme	Participants
Reasons for migration	War	P2; P4; P8
	Quality education opportunity	P1; P2; P6
	Right to free-of-charge education	P1; P6
	Economic reasons	P1

The most emphasized reason for migration was the subtheme "War." Participant P2 stressed that war was an important cause saying, "First, I was saying 'If only there weren't a fight in our own country, then I could go there'." P4 mentioned war as an important reason saying, "It is better here. There was war there." P8 highlighted the problem of war in their own country with these words: "Both Ethiopia and Eritrea are the same country. Then they fought a war. Therefore, there is a problem." P8 also explained the reason to leave the previously migrated country within the subtheme "War" as "Israel with Lebanon problem [sic]. They are making war. So, I escaped."

The participants also provided their and their children's not receiving education in their country as a reason for migration. P1 stated her views about the subtheme "Quality education opportunity" as: "We say they should have it all. We ourselves did not get any education, and now we act so that they can study." About the subthemes of both "Quality education opportunity" and "Right to free-of-charge education," P6 mentioned, "It was

good there, it was our country, but children do not study there... I am holding on for my children, so they can study.... I came here for my children. In Afghanistan, they were not studying. They did not give them [education]. And they were also taking much money."

Participant P1 also added, "In Tajikistan, going to school is very difficult, even if it is a public school. It is obligatory to pay well over their value for unnecessary items at school. Otherwise, the teacher is not interested in the children," thereby emphasizing the subtheme "Right to free-of-charge education." On the other hand, P2 points clearly towards problems about education under the "Quality education opportunity" subtheme with the statement "In Afghanistan, my children and I never went to school."

According to the interviews and observations, it is noteworthy that refugee families were not educated or adequately trained in their home countries. This situation is a critical obstacle in establishing a school culture for refugee parents and students since many of these children participate in a systematic education process in Turkey. Considering school culture, their awareness about student-teacher, parent-teacher, student-student relationships is considerably low in this process. This condition affects the adaptation mechanisms negatively. The students and parents are unaware of what attitude they should adopt in school and what kind of responsibility they should take.

Another subtheme emphasized under the main theme "Factors Causing Migration" was "Economic reasons." P1 stated that she had to leave her country for economic reasons with the following:

There is no workplace in Tajikistan. It is a very small place. Living is difficult. They go and work in Russia, and they send money. And since my mother-in-law commutes to Russia, [she said] 'Let's live in Russia with your spouses. Don't leave your husbands.' We thought about these all together.

Having emigrated from Tajikistan, P1 maintained that her reason for migrating first to Russia, then to Turkey was not war, but economic factors. In terms of its region, Tajikistan is one of the post-Soviet communities, so the economic problems after the dissolution seem to cause migration. On the other hand, the other participants were from Middle Eastern countries, and thus, war was expected to be the prominent cause of migration.

Transitional Countries during Asylum Seeking and the Problems Encountered in Transitional Countries

Many of the refugee families have emigrated to Turkey through other countries. Refugee families from countries such as Syria, Iran, and Iraq often emigrated directly, while those from countries such as Tajikistan and especially Afghanistan often emigrated to Turkey after living in other countries for some time. At this point, the subthemes "Inability to adopt as a homeland," "Social exclusion," "Inability to access quality education," "Inability to benefit from public services" under the main theme "Problems in the migration and transition process" were recognizable.

Table 3.

Problems Encountered during the Migration Process and in Transitional Countries

Main Theme	Subtheme	Participant
Problems in the migration and transition process	Inability to adopt the country as a homeland	P2
	Social exclusion	P2; P4
	Inability to access quality education	P2; P4
	Inability to benefit from public services	P2; P4; P8

Related to the subtheme “Inability to adopt the country as a homeland,” P2 said, “I am an Afghan. I was born and I grew up in Iran. However, I was never able to see Iran as my homeland. I consider Afghanistan my homeland. I don’t like Iran at all.” This indicates that P2 was not able to integrate into the country to which she migrated.

Participants stated that they had problems in terms of social inclusion, education, health, and monetary matters, among others, in the countries they transitioned to during migration, and they continued to migrate for these reasons. P2, who expressed opinions related to the subtheme “Social exclusion,” voiced her opinions about the social exclusion she experienced in Iran before she migrated to Turkey as follows:

For example, if there are streets and when we go through there, they immediately say ‘These are foreigners, these are foreigners.’ They are making fun of us. Men do, too. We can never go through comfortably – they always say something. For example, we buy bread from them. They say, ‘These foreigners are always buying out all the bread. Why are they buying so much bread?’ They do not look after foreigners there. They are fighting strangers.

P4, on the other hand, summarizes the problem of social exclusion by saying, “*Iranians were calling us ‘foreigner, foreigner.’ We were in a very difficult situation.*” It is noticeable that especially acceptance by the local community and cohesion were important problems in social exclusion, and therefore, these parents turned to emigration to Turkey through a second migration process.

The refugees who experienced forced migration from their own countries mentioned that they had difficulties in education in transitional countries. Concerning the subtheme “*Inability to access quality education,*” the Afghan-descent participant P2, who was born in Iran, explains her problems about education as follows:

They do not take [us] to school, and if they do, they take a lot of money... I have never studied courses myself. I only went to Grade 4. Then we came here... There, they take money from foreigners for one year, and the next year they do not. For example, in the beginning, we prepare everything. We buy notebooks, books, pencils. They say, ‘OK, you can come.’ But a week passes; a month passes. Then they say, ‘They tell us not to take foreigners.’ They tell us to wait and that they will call us. That year passes, but they ask [to wait] for one more year. And they say, ‘OK, we are taking [you].’ They even take the money. After that, they say, ‘OK, they told us not to take foreigners.’ That way, our child passed the class without going to school. In addition, they do not take money here, but they take a lot of money there.

P4 lived in Iran for some time after leaving Afghanistan. She mentioned that lack of access to education services was one of their reasons to transition to Turkey saying, *“They do not, for instance, send children to school. Therefore, we came here.”*

Regarding the subtheme *“Inability to benefit from public services,”* the participants pointed out that problems such as difficulty in getting an ID number and obtaining health services were among the reasons for their migration to Turkey. P4 said, *“There was no ID there, [we were] in a very tough situation. For example, we did not have insurance there.... We were not going to the doctor.”* On the other hand, by saying, *“Also, we get this here. We get IDs, and we do not pay the police department. But there, they pay a lot of money. Therefore, we came here”* P2 emphasized that their needs about public services were met more efficiently in Turkey. P8 said that she could not take advantage of these services because of war in Lebanon, the country where she emigrated due to forced migration: *“It is very difficult there, too. If people work there, it is very good. But there is war.”*

Perceptions about the Behavior of Target Country Citizens (Turkish Society) towards Asylum Seekers

For the main theme "Local Community's Perception of Asylum Seekers," the participants provided opinions on how Turkish society perceives and treats asylum seekers, which were grouped under the subthemes "Positive perceptions towards asylum seekers," "Negative perceptions towards asylum seekers," and "Positive perception based on comparisons with other countries."

Table 4.

Local Community's Perception of Asylum Seekers

Themes	Subthemes	Participants
Positive and negative perceptions about asylum seekers	Positive perceptions towards asylum seekers	P1; P2; P3 P4; P5; P6;
	Positive perception based on comparisons with other countries	P4
	Negative perceptions towards asylum seekers	P2; P3

The opinions of the participants that the Turkish people usually treat them very well and that they do not have any problems stand out. In addition, the participants who had previously migrated to other countries before Turkey expressed positive opinions about Turkey compared to their perceptions about other communities. However, some participants maintained that some Turkish people behaved very well, but others said things they did not like.

Participant P1 expressed her thoughts on the subtheme *“I think their perspectives are quite nice,”* he says of positive attitudes toward asylum seekers. *I've never seen anything bad. We don't do it either, of course. We have a great deal of respect for the people who live here* "They are in a state of mutual respect with the Turkish people, suggesting

that they respect each other. After living in Iran for a while, saying *“Turkey is 100% better. People are 100% better. They behave better,”* the Afghan-descent P4 expressed her contentment with Turkey’s social approach compared to that of other countries. P5 said: *“They treat us well. They also view Syria well. Our neighbors are nice to us.”*

Similarly, P6 maintained that people in Turkey are kind towards them saying, *“This place and Turkish people are good.”* In addition, it was noticed that the name of a Syrian Grade 2 student was ‘Turkiye’ during the observations (Observation 10). This can be an indication of the positive opinions and gratitude of this immigrant family to the Republic of Turkey.

On the other hand, P2 and P3 expressed both positive and negative perceptions. P2 phrased her thoughts as follows:

While some people behave nicely, others say some very hurtful things. Everybody thinks differently. For example, sometimes they say, ‘These are helpless; they came here. Sometimes they say, ‘They have nobody. There is a fight in their own country; they came here.’ Sometimes they say, ‘Why did they come here?’ There are different people... For instance, sometimes I hear that we, for example, are unemployed; ‘These people are looking for jobs. They always give [the jobs] to them’... Or sometimes, for example, they say, ‘There are strangers in every place. It is always them in the buses.’

Related to the same theme, P3 remarked, *“My mother says that some people say, ‘You are very good. Stay here.’ Other people say, she says, ‘Go. Go back to Syria.’ ... Some people help when they are nice, then they talk well. They help with some household items. But when bad people talk, my mother says she gets more upset and wants to go to Syria directly.”* Considering these views, it can be said that the reactions to migrating communities are related to prejudices based on the fact that they are seen as the cause of unemployment, economic difficulties, and social life problems within the local culture.

The Areas in Which Asylum Seekers Want Change in the Source Country (Country of Origin) and the Target Country (Turkey)

Various opinions about the main theme *“The Areas in Which Asylum Seekers Want Change”* attract attention. These views generally express the state of satisfaction and the desire for change in ending the war in their own countries as well as expectations related to human behavior and cultural differences in the target country Turkey.

Table 5.

The Areas in Which Asylum Seekers Want Change in the Source and the Target Country

Theme	Subthemes	Participants
The points in which asylum seekers want change	Satisfaction with the target country	P1; P3
	Anticipation of the end of the war in the source country	P2; P3
	Anticipation of obtaining citizenship in the target country	P2
	Anticipation of empathy by the citizens of the target country	P3
	Things expected to change in the target country about cultural differences	P2

Based on the subtheme "Satisfaction with the target country," participant P1 explains, "Well, I am satisfied with everything of it because they are nice. I have not had anything [bad] with anyone for all this time. Everyone behaves well towards us... They respect us. They do not discriminate... May Allah bless, we have never seen evil," stating that she did not experience any problems with Turkish people and did not have expectations of change in this respect. When asked if there was anything they would change in relation to the subthemes "Anticipation of the end of the war in the source country" and "Anticipation of obtaining citizenship in the target country," some participants said they wanted the war to end right away so they could return to their homeland, or they wanted to get citizenship and see Turkey as their homeland from then on.. P2, who voiced her opinions about both themes, said: "At first, I was saying that if only there were no fight in our own country, then I could go there. Everyone loves it. And I wish they had given us citizenship... You really have to leave your hometown. Otherwise, nobody goes to another country because they love it."

Some of the participants who expressed their thoughts about "Anticipation of the end of the war in the source country" and "Anticipation of empathy by the citizens of the target country" emphasized offensive behavior by target country citizens, i.e., Turkish people, although it is not intense. P3 explains her views about these themes saying, "My mother says, 'I wish the war would stop.' ... My mother says her heart breaks when she hears ill speech from people. She wishes that this would change... Mother says, 'I happened to love Turkey a lot. I don't want anything to change. There are good people. It turned out that education is better here. Teachers teach children much better. They like the education here a lot.'" Briefly, she stated that people are good in general and that Turkey has superiority over its own country in areas such as education.

Especially the view that rights based on equality between men and women are changing in favor of men in Turkey is a quite remarkable opinion related to the subtheme "Things expected to change in the target country about cultural differences." Born in Iran, Afghan-descent P2 seemed to have internalized the pressures of the male-dominated society as a woman. She stated that men and women doing the same job in Turkey receive the same money is an injustice to men. She explained her thoughts as follows:

For example, I am working and earning at present. Man works, but we earn the same money. How is that possible? ... I am working now, and my brother is working, too, but we are getting the same money. How is that possible? For example, I earn as much as my brother does. He is male, so he should earn more, shouldn't he? That is how it is in Iran...

This perspective also demonstrates the importance of the necessity of cultural harmony. The observation notes of the researcher who conducted the interview after this meeting are important:

Today, I made interviews with parents at school. Some things quite affected me. The Iranian-born parent of Afghan descent, who perceived it as unfair to men that men and women doing the same job get the same money, defended it with great faith... (Observation 12)

The internalization of life and rights within modern Turkish society by asylum seekers living in Turkey will significantly affect the social perspective and facilitate adaptation. There is a strong need for adult education within the framework of public space pedagogy for harmonization.

Problems Encountered by Asylum Seekers in the Early Days of Immigration

Participants cited their main problems in their first days as financial problems, difficulties in obtaining a home and household goods, lack of language and mistranslations of the people they were assisted with as interpreters.

Table 6.

Problems Encountered by Asylum Seekers in the Early Days of Their Arrival

Themes	Subthemes	Participants
Problems encountered by asylum seekers in the early days of their arrival	Inability to generate income due to informal work	P1; P2
	Financial hardships	P1; P2; P5; P6; P8
	Difficulties in finding homes and household items	P1; P2; P3; P5
	Prejudices about renting homes to foreigners	P3; P7
	Problems arising from not knowing the target language	P1; P2

About the subthemes *“Inability to generate income due to informal work”* and *“Financial hardships,”* P1 maintained that they were unable to get the amount of money they agreed upon and they were entitled to from the employer: *“They did not pay my husband in a number of places. Those problems... When we first arrived, yes, we had these problems a lot. They did not pay on time but made him work. Half of the payment they paid; half of it they did not. We had such problems many times... My sister-in-law went to work herself later. She went picking apples etc. There they did not pay her properly, either. This money issue always occurred during the times we first came. We had been through problems like this with the money business.”* On the other hand, P2 said, *“For example, we did not know what they paid you. One month passed, and then we realized that they pay us this amount... So, we were broke many times.”* The participants also underlined that they could not get the payments they deserved because of not knowing Turkey and the language well and due to undeclared work. Translating her mother’s opinions, P5 said, *“When we first came, we did not have much money,”* explaining their financial hardship during the early days of their arrival. Having immigrated to Turkey only a year ago, P6 mentioned that the problems of early days were still present saying, *“They pay little money.”* P8, who settled in Istanbul when she first came from Lebanon and who was pregnant those days, expressed the hardships she faced with these statements: *“There was no food, no money. I was pregnant. I knew nothing. It was very, very difficult.”*

Besides financial difficulties, the participants also pointed to their experiences concerning the subtheme "Difficulties in finding homes and household items." P1 stated, "About the problem of household items, we did not have any belongings. Then, they gave some from the mosque. There is a mosque nearby. ... There they gave a few beds, duvets, things. Refrigerators, carpets, furniture, they helped a lot those days. They are helping now, too. They bring things. But in those days, they came to our home, and they saw that there was nothing, so they brought [things]." About the same theme, P2 stated, "Some time passed this way, without furniture. Then we worked a little. We bought blankets, for example. We bought pillows. But we had not had blankets for a long time. We acquired them little by little."

On the other hand, P5 refers to the difficulty in finding homes saying, "*Houses for rent were also too expensive.*" Based on the subtheme "*Prejudices about renting homes to foreigners,*" P3 said, "*My mother says, at first, we did not have some household items when we came. Some people gave them immediately. They did not give us some homes in Turkey. It turned out that finding even houses was difficult. And they did not give permission, either, saying 'why do you have four children?' They did not accept many children.*" P7 said, "*By Allah, when I first came, I came to Isparta; but they do not give you homes when you are a foreigner in Isparta sometimes.*" In brief, the participants expressed the difficulties they experienced in renting homes and acquiring household items. They also mentioned that Turkish people helped them obtain household goods.

The participants also remarked that they had "Problems arising from not knowing the target language" during the first days they arrived. Regarding this subtheme, P1 said, "When you do not know Turkish, you cannot tell your troubles to anyone, nor can you get your money." Likewise, P2 mentioned about her problems arising from not speaking the language saying, "First we came here, and we did not know the languages at all... They were speaking to us, but we could not understand." Additionally, P1 said that she got help from an acquaintance as an interpreter during the early days, but she did mistranslations as she described below:

When I first came, I was pregnant, to Işa. I was going to the hospital. They were telling me something. I could not understand at all. I also had too much pain those days, but I could not explain myself. I was not able to say that I had a lot of pain. They seemed to have said it was okay. I could not understand this, either then. Then this woman told me that she said, 'Go to another hospital. You have too many problems.' Obviously, she did not understand, either. [Later they went to the same doctor with another person.] We went again with that sister. When we went, the doctor said everything was fine. She gave me something. It was something like a vitamin, I think. She told her that I should use it. She said that everything was normal, and there were no problems.

Although considerable time has passed since the forced migration to Turkey, it is noteworthy that the participants do not speak enough Turkish in general. Because of the language barrier, the participants' children who spoke better Turkish were occasionally involved in the interview process.

The Problems Asylum Seekers Are Currently Experiencing in the Target Country

Asylum seekers have expressed views on future concerns and problems about the permanent settlement, such as the lack of citizenship and social security in general within the framework of their current problems. Financial hardship attracts attention as a problem that has existed since the days they arrived until now.

Table 7.

The Problems Asylum Seekers Are Currently Experiencing in the Target Country

Themes	Subthemes	Participants
The problems asylum seekers are currently experiencing	Inability to acquire citizenship	P1
	Lack of social security	P1; P2; P4
	Financial hardships	P6; P7

Concerning the subtheme "Inability to acquire citizenship," P1, who has been living in Turkey for some time and who has learned Turkish to a certain extent, said "Now our only concern is to be citizenship [sic]. We want to be comfortable with our children from now on. That's what we think."

Another subtheme is "Lack of social security." In this subtheme, opinions about not having access to health care services due to lack of social security and anxiety about the future are salient. Expressing her thoughts pertaining to this subtheme, P1 said, "We do not have social security. We work, and we get our money for that day. There is nothing to support us from our backs." Similarly, P2 said, "At the moment, they closed our social security, all of them to foreigners. That is, it is difficult for us to go to the doctor... We cannot go there comfortably. We get sick, but we hold on. We do not go to the doctor, in other words." P4 also raised the problem that the free food distributed to them in the soup kitchen was also cut off saying, "Well, we do not have that thing, social security... We had food tickets, but they took them from the security." P6, who has been in Turkey for a year, said that financial difficulties still existed saying: "Also, we are broke sometimes. That is, it [the money] is not enough. The children's clothes are getting old." P7, who does not work and lives on the support of 1000 Turkish Liras from the state and the money sent by her brother from Somalia, says "Live classes are a problem. We have problems getting online since we do not have tablets, computers," articulating the troubles arising from financial difficulties.

Working Status and Main Sources of Income of Refugee Families in Turkey

Some women from refugee families in Turkey work, and some do not work in an income-generating job. Women often work in sewing, house cleaning, and apple picking jobs.

Table 8.

Main Sources of Income of Refugee Families in Turkey

Themes	Subthemes	Participants
Income sources of refugee families	Generating revenues from handicrafts	P1; P2
	Generating revenues from cleaning services	P1
	Generating revenues from picking apples	P1; P7
	Generating revenues from the construction sector	P2; P3, P4; P5; P6

P1 made some remarks about the subtheme *“Generating revenues from handicrafts,”* explaining that they did sewing work with her mother-in-law and sister-in-law when they first came to Turkey: *“After 5-6 months, we started to sew from home. Bedding, pillows, we were sewing those... One quilt cover was 75 Kurus those days, and a bedding set was 1,5 [TL]. By set, I mean linen, quilt cover, its pillowcases...”* Likewise, P2 said, *“With a tailor... I was sewing skirts, trousers, pyjamas... I was sewing those,”* indicating that she was doing handicraft work for a living. Regarding opinions about the subthemes *“Generating revenues from picking apples”* and *“Generating revenues from cleaning services,”* P1 said, *“...my sister-in-law found a friend during apple picking; she owns a company. Then she went to the company and worked there. She also worked for 3-4 years in the company... A cleaning company.”* At the time of the study, P1 herself was also trying to make an income by cleaning houses. P7 said that she had worked before; however, she added that she then lived on the money his brother sent from Somalia and with state support: *“I mean, apple... Everything been picking apples before [sic], so [I was] earning money, but now there is none... By Allah, now [I am] not working, not doing work... It is a bit difficult, but our state gives this thing; the state gives 1000 Liras. I have a brother. He gives a little money. That is how it is.”*

The children of working immigrant mothers were observed to have better Turkish skills, adapted better to their environment, and were more successful in their studies. Both P1 and P2 had income-generating jobs, and their children were able to speak and understand Turkish better while their academic success was also higher. On the other hand, asylum-seeking men worked in the construction sector. P3 said that her husband worked at a construction site saying, *“Construction, teacher [addressing the researcher].”* P4, P5, and P6 also reported that their spouses were employed in the construction business. P2 said that her brother was also worked as a builder.

Perceptions of Asylum Seekers about Education in the Target Country Turkey

The participants remarked that they were contented with education in Turkey. They stated that they did not receive education services in their own countries or the countries they have transitioned to, or they acknowledged Turkey’s superiority in terms of education.

Table 9.

Perception of Satisfaction about Education in the Target Country

Themes	Subthemes	Participants
Perception of asylum seekers about education	Satisfaction with education in the target country	P1; P2; P3
	Satisfaction based on comparison of the source and destination countries	P1; P3

Based on the opinions expressed under the subthemes "Satisfaction with education in the target country" and "Satisfaction based on comparison of the source and destination countries," it can be concluded that the participants' levels of satisfaction increased even more when compared to the educational issues they faced in their home countries. Of the participants, P1 expressed her opinions as follows by comparing education in her own country and in Turkey:

Yes, I am satisfied with the education here... I am very pleased with the education of the school. They do not ask for much. When you say, 'I don't have it [money],' they understand... For example, in our school (Tajikistan) or Russia, you always get the books by paying for them. For instance, be it Turkish, or mathematics, or life sciences. There are different books, but you always buy them in exchange of money. There is no such problem here. They give them for free... In addition, here they use pencils because they write. In our country they write with ballpoint pens. Therefore, it is very difficult. Here, when you make a mistake for instance, you can erase it. Then he is trying to make it better from his mind. But there, you cannot erase them anymore. So, children helplessly sit down and cry. Here it is easy for children. For example, he opens the notebook first. There are printed dots. You go over them. Then your hand becomes used to it, and then you get to write... But in our country, it is not like that. You directly open the notebook, the teacher writes a letter or two. He simply writes into the notebook. You write continuously.

P2 said, "Yes, I am satisfied, too, and he is also satisfied. His grades are very good. He is studying, studying comfortably. He is not like us. He is alright, yes." P3 said: "My mother says she likes it. She likes it a lot because there are many differences. She says it is better here because they look after the children very well at school here. Here, teachers are like friends with students, but in Syria it is not like that to her... In Syria, teachers a bit strict. They do not take care of children, and they leave the class and go away she says. They even give notebooks, pencils to foreigners [here]. May Allah bless them." P6 explained, "I came here for my children. In Afghanistan, they were not studying courses. They were not giving them courses. I addition, they were taking a lot of money... It is good here. They are studying courses." With these statements, the participants remarked that they were very satisfied with the education in Turkey.

In general, refugee families are satisfied with their children's education process. However, the following findings in the observation data are also noteworthy:

Teachers make an important contribution by providing very intensive support to refugee students, especially in language teaching. However, owing to the dense circulation among asylum seekers by changing cities and neighborhoods, the teachers teach Turkish students and bring them to a particular language level may transfer to another school or move to another city. The outgoing students are being replaced by new students who do not speak the language, and as a result, teachers are experiencing burnout due to the continuous cycle of language and adaptation

problems. Teachers prioritize solving language and adaptation problems to make the education process work in a qualified manner, but when the students leave school at the point where they solve these problems, they return to the beginning. This situation is reflected in the quality of education, and therefore, teachers have difficulty in achieving their aims. In this context, parents of Turkish students at the school want to move their children to a school in a different area due to concerns with the school's functioning as a result of international students' complex adaptation to the educational process. This situation also limits the communication of asylum-seeking students with Turkish students in the integration process. Nevertheless, asylum-seeking parents are highly satisfied with education. According to them, the education that their children are receiving is well above the level of the education in their own country or beyond the education they dreamed of... because it has been observed that a significant part of these families is illiterate even in their own language. Most of them are quite far from the goals of learning Turkish or studying any subject. This situation has reflections on the students, and the students do not show a willingness to speak and learn Turkish, including those who have been in Turkey for a long time (Observation 11)

Perceptions of Children of Refugee Families about the Migration Process in Pictorial Expressions

The perspectives of the children of refugee families regarding the migration process were determined through the pictures they drew. The children were asked to draw pictures about their lives, and they were requested to explain what they drew. The children's statements regarding their pictures were also kept under record as written documents. In addition, interviews were carried out with the parents of seven children. The parents of the five children could not be reached by any means during the process. In Table 10, information about the origins of the children, their Turkish speaking ability, their parents' Turkish speaking ability, the time they spent in Turkey, and their status about settlement in Turkey are presented.

Table 10.

Characteristics of Children in the Study Group

Code Name	Origin	Turkish Speaking Ability	Parents' Turkish Speaking Ability	Time Spent in Turkey (Years)	Status about Permanent Settlement in Turkey
S1	Tajikistan	Able to speak	Able to speak	7 (Parent P1)	Parent is permanent.
S2	Syria	Able to speak	Unable to speak	Parent could not be interviewed.	
S3	Syria	Able to speak	Unable to speak	5 (Parent P5)	Parent is permanent.
S4	Syria	Able to speak	Unable to speak	5 (Parent P5)	Parent is permanent.
S5	Afghanistan	Able to speak	Unable to speak	6 (Parent P4)	Parent is not permanent.
S6	Afghanistan-Iran	Able to speak	Able to speak	3 (Parent P2)	Parent is permanent.
S7	Afghanistan	Able to speak	Unable to speak	Parent could not be interviewed.	
S8	Eritrea	Able to speak	Able to speak	11 (Parent P8)	Parent is not permanent.
S9	Afghanistan	Able to speak	Unable to speak	1 (Parent P6)	Parent is permanent.
S10	Afghanistan	Unable to speak	Unable to speak		
S11	Afghanistan	Unable to speak	Unable to speak	Parent could not be interviewed.	
S12	Syria	Unable to speak	Unable to speak		

The pictures were analyzed through evaluations of two experts in art education and the children's explanations about their paintings. The findings are presented in the following figures.

Figure 4.

The Characteristics of the Childrens' Pictures

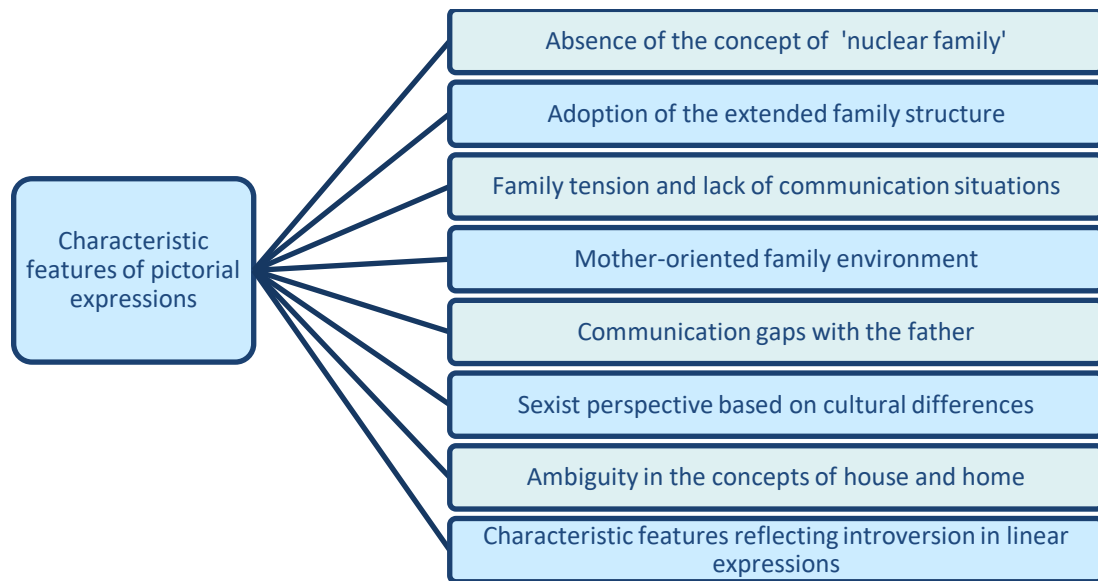
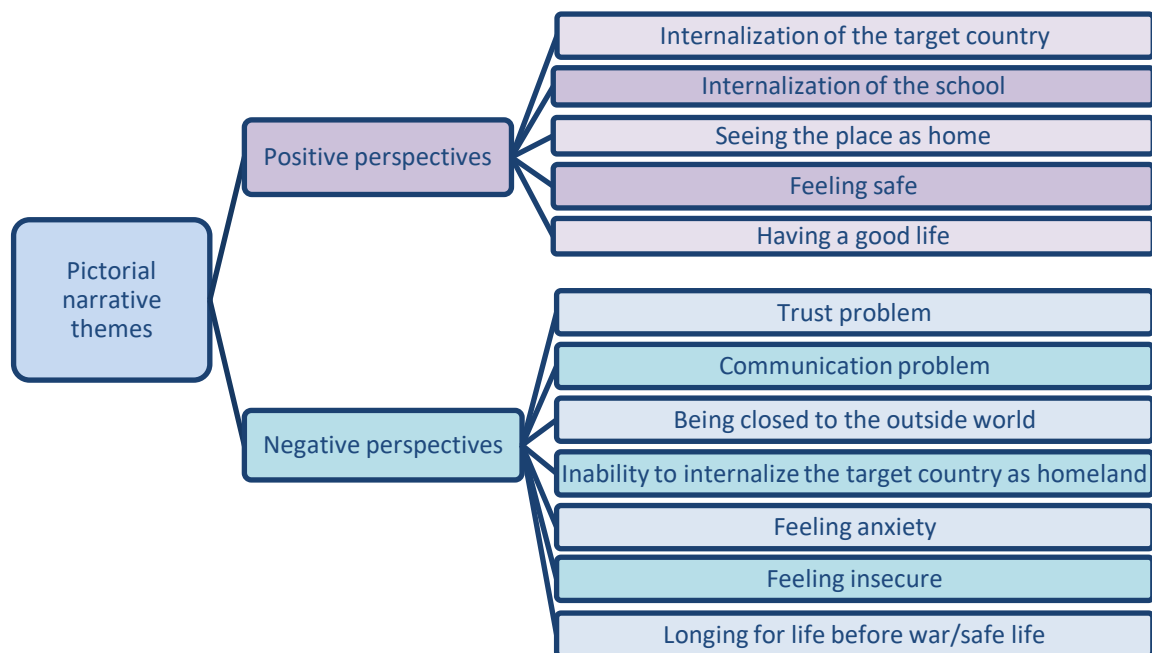


Figure 5.

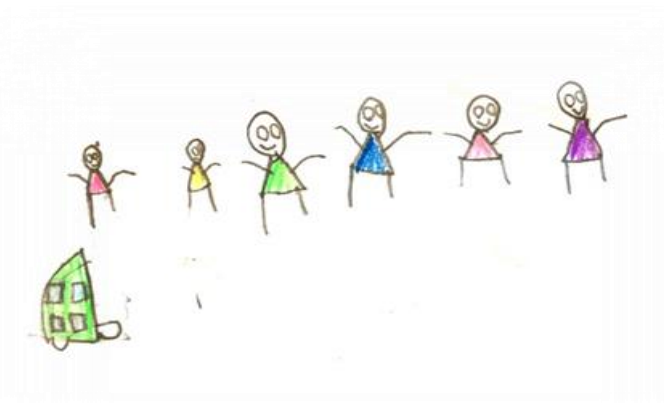
The Analysis of the Children's Pictures



In carrying out these analyses, the children's pictures' elements were examined in detail, and comparisons were made with the information in their written narrations. In this context, the findings regarding the interpretation of pictures based on a relational structure are as follows:

Picture 1.

S1-Tajikistan



Picture 2.

S2-Syria



Picture 1 was drawn by S1. S1 explains the picture as “My father was doing work in Russia. My mother gave birth to me in Tajikistan, and my sister, too [In fact, both were born in Turkey.] My aunt raised my elder brothers. They were studying. Then we came to Turkey. In the picture, my sister (Mekselina), my younger sister [S1 calls her cousin ‘sister,’ and they live together], my father, myself, my mother, my grandmother [they live in the same house]. The green building is our house [They live in a house with a garden.]” When the picture is examined in general, it can be interpreted on the fact that the house is not on a floor line or there is no binding element indicating a path towards the home, garden or a relationship between the family and home. A ground line in the picture indicates the child’s awareness that he is a part of his environment, and it points to a larger and relational world (Oztabak, 2020; Yavuzer, 2000). Based on S1’s narrative, it can be said that his family structure is an extended family with relatives rather than a nuclear family since he refers to his cousin as a brother or sister. This situation is important data about the cultural and social life integration to the target country, which adopts more the nuclear family structure. This condition can be interpreted as a limitation and closure in integration into the social structure of the target country while maintaining the social extensions of the country of origin. When asked to describe family life in the picture, S1 emphasized that he preferred a narrative that would include extended family members such as his cousin and grandmother as members of the family. According to this narrative, it can be said that the perception of the family is structured to refer to the concept of the extended family instead of the nuclear family. The absence of some organs, especially the lack of ears in the body, may be associated with an environment that harbors possible communication gaps within the family. According to Yavuzer (2000), the figure drawings of a child of primary school age are expected to include small body parts such as eyes, nose, and ears, and the main body parts, including the

head, torso, arms, and legs. To Halmatoy (2015), the fact that the drawings in the children's pictures are not coherent with their developmental period or their state at the 'stickmen' level is associated with communication difficulties.

That the house is drawn in a small manner in relation to the size of the page can be related to the fact that the concepts of house, home, or homeland are variable in the context of migration. The house seems to remain in the background in terms of hierarchy and significance. This might signify the inability to internalize the current house, home, or the country.

Picture 2 was drawn by S2. S2 described the picture as "I am showing my mother how beautiful the flower is. We are next to our home. It is Turkey here. There are beautiful flowers in Turkey. My mom points to Turkey and says it is beautiful. Isparta is beautiful. I do not want to go to Syria. I want to stay here." Only the mother and child can be seen as the family structure in this picture. This case might be a reference to the disintegration of the concept of family. Yavuzer (2000) emphasizes that children between the ages of 9 and 12 should draw more realistically and describe the existing situation more accurately. Children of this age are expected to draw the whole family when they are asked to draw a picture related to the concept of family. Therefore, the shattering of families, especially during the migration process, can be inferred from this picture. However, the narration that S2 feels safe with her mother in Turkey is also noteworthy. The house in S2's picture stands out hierarchically. The greater size of the house might indicate that this student loves, internalizes, and sees the country in which they live as home. In addition, the butterfly and flower figures nearby the house are also reflections of the fact that they like and embrace the place where they are. The student's statement stressing that she does not want to return to Syria matches the representations of the beautiful life in their own way and the life that the mother and child in the picture have established in Turkey.

Picture 3.

S3-Syria



Picture 4.

S4-Syria



A huge house that comes to the fore attracts attention giving the message of security in the picture made by S3. This house is so safe that inside there are flowers, which are symbolic indicators of happiness. When the student was asked to describe the picture,

she said, *"I am playing with my Syrian friends in the neighborhood. It is Syria here. Kevser, me, Duha, my sister Fatma. They are bringing ayran [a yoghurt drink] to soldiers in Syria. The soldiers are protecting us during war they say. When we go, their dogs chase us. The soldiers stop the dogs."* The fact that this house is in Syria is associated with her longing for their previous life. It can be said that the concepts of house, home, and homeland related to Syria stood out, and the student could not embrace the new country at this point. Some studies point out that drawing is an effective reflective technique in describing experiences that have a negative impact, such as war, losing loved ones, or violence, and this type of data based on visual representation helps us to identify and understand the situation of the children (Oztabak, 2020; Rutter, 2003). Underlining the war environment in their country in written statements while commenting on the pictorial representations, concepts such as soldiers protecting them and dogs chasing them reveal the difficulties S3 experienced in that process mentally. S3's family members also have language problems, and thus, introversion, trust issues, and a yearning for old life in Syria may be present due to the communication problems. Indeed, this condition may negatively affect the students' acceptance and adaptation to the country where they arrived.

In Picture 4 made by S4, dark clouds and family members under these clouds are noticeable. The dark color and the many clouds that are covering the page from side to side can signify a situation of anxiety. Moreover, the family members are lined up according to their gender as *"Me, Fatma, Bahar, my sister Emine, my mother, my father, my brother Faysal, my brother M. It is Turkey here."* This depiction might be seen as an extension of family members' perspectives and the family structure of the culture from which they come. Furthermore, another notable element in the picture is that the mother figure is hierarchically larger and more prominent than the father figure. This can reflect the family structure in which the father is outside, in other cities, or separate from the family for economic reasons with this disconnection. The mother figure is generally more prominent in children's expressions, and they mention a world built with the mother. Again, S4's emphasis that the place is Turkey can represent an expectation that is based on the full existence of every family member in the country of their origin and that this will continue in the future.

Picture 5.

S5-Afghanistan

**Picture 6.**

S6-Afghanistan



Regarding Picture 5, S5 says, *“My father, my mother, and myself [on the left side of the picture], my brother and Esma [on the right side of the picture].”* In this picture, the school and the Turkish flag are noticeable. Flags symbolize the sense of belonging of the individual (Oztabak, 2020). The fact that the school is big emphasizes its significance for the student. However, the absence of a door in the building and its black color might refer to a possible communication problem. According to Vender (2007), the frequent use of grey, dark brown, and black in drawings might stress a communication problem, introversion, bad, and unpleasant events. On the left side of the picture, which is safe for the student, are the parents and the child herself. The sun is on that side. In a sense, it can be interpreted as a yearning for the possible safe life of parents and children in the past. On the other hand, sunny weather, clouds with light colors, and birds represent happiness and joy of life (Savas, 2014). In a study by Maagero and Sunde (2016), children were asked to describe the meaning of “happiness” and “fear” through drawings, and according to the findings, all children attributed “happiness” to flowers, bouquets, a bright sun, family, and friends. On the other hand, there are younger siblings of S5 on the right side of the picture. S5 refers to his sibling who is older or close in age to him as “my sibling” while distinguishing his baby sister as “Esma.” It’s possible that this later-born sister might have caused changes in the family structure, which may have led to the identification of this sibling in this way.

S6 is the child of an Afgan-descent mother who was born in Iran. They migrated from Afghanistan to Iran before they came to Turkey. The mother’s expressions emphasized that Turkey is better than Iran and that they are happy here. S6 described her picture as *“Fatmanur, Cemre, me, and my teacher. We are playing all together in the break time. When the bell rings, we go inside. We study reading-writing. We look at the sky with the flag.”* The fact that the Turkish flag is included in both the visual expression and the written expression is directly proportional to their adoption of the target country. In this picture, too, the size of the school is quite big and is hierarchically important. The teacher and students are important figures for her. Again, flowers, butterflies, and bright colors are examples of the happy bond she made with the target country. The fulfillment of responsibilities at school stands out with the discourse of “reading and writing” in the written narrative of the student. This may also be related to the fact that family members can speak Turkish and pay attention to this situation. In addition, the Turkish flag in the pictures of two students of Afghan origin is a powerful symbol of their adoption of the school and their view of Turkey as a safe place.

7 drew only himself and said, *“It is me in the picture. It is Turkey here”* about the drawing. While drawing himself, he did not include some body parts. For instance, he did not draw ears. This might refer to the communication breakdown or the tension he is exposed to in his environment. In addition, the lack of legs might signify the child’s feeling of insecurity. The fact that S7’s family members are unable to speak Turkish and build communication through him might be increasing the anxiety of the child since the basic role of guidance of the parents is hindered due to their language problems.

Picture 7.

S7-Afghanistan



Picture 8.

S8-Nigeria Ethiopia



S8, whose father is an immigrant from Nigeria and their mother from Ethiopia, said for her picture, *"It is Isparta here. I went out and played with my friends. Then I played at home. I went out again and played with my friends."* In this picture, the house is large, it has a door, and there are many children. These indicate that the student's drawing had a more extroverted atmosphere. Another striking point is that both S8 and her family members can speak Turkish. This helps children feel safer and create a more extroverted attitude in the adaptation process.

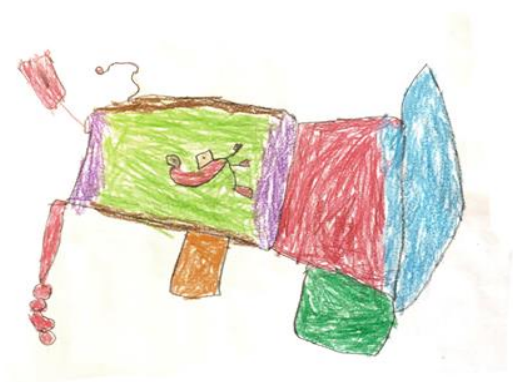
Picture 9.

S9-Afghanistan



Picture 10.

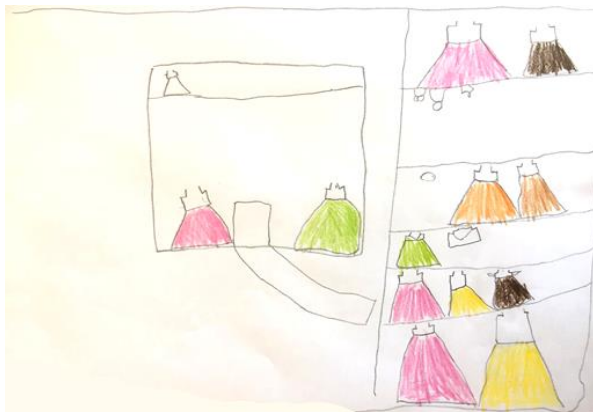
S10-Afghanistan



The student with the code S9 drew Picture 9. The mother figure is absent in the picture. The student describes the drawing as *"The sun, me, my brother, and my father."* The absence of limbs of the father and children in the picture again reveals the trust problems they have through the eyes of the child.

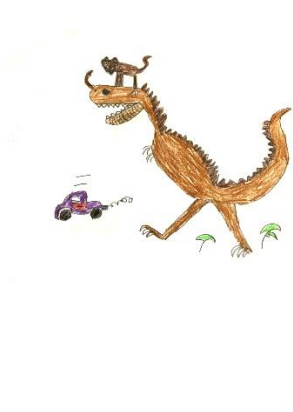
Picture 9.

S9-Afghanistan



Picture 10.

S10-Afghanistan



S10, S11, and S12 could not understand that their teacher asked them to draw a picture about their lives because they did not speak Turkish, and thus, they could not answer the questions. The fact that the parents of these students cannot speak Turkish is the basis of the communication problem. The presence of at least one adult who can speak Turkish in the family positively affects children in the adaptation process.

Conclusion and Discussion

In this study, the adaptation processes and lifestyles of families who had to seek refuge in Turkey for various reasons were examined with the participation of parents and students at the school where the participating observer worked. As a result of the research, the participants attributed the reasons for migration to the war in their own countries, to the inadequate educational opportunities, and to some economic problems after the war. Political reasons such as war and educational and economic deficiencies are known to force people to emigrate (Aksoy, 2012).

Asylum seekers who are in the process of migration for various reasons can enter Turkey through another country. While asylum seekers from countries such as Syria, Iran, and Iraq migrated to Turkey directly, migrants from countries such as Tajikistan and especially Afghanistan often stated that they entered Turkey after living in another country for a while. These refugees in the second group stated the reason why they were not permanent in the first country they emigrated as economic difficulties in these countries, social exclusion, and inability to receive services in the field of education.

The perceptions of asylum seekers concerning Turkish people also vary, but they are generally positive. Some Turkish people empathize with them and give them a helping hand because they see them as victims in difficult situations. In contrast, while some other Turkish people do not behave towards them in an unsettling manner, they express their displeasure with the presence of asylum seekers.

The asylum seekers listed the problems they experienced in their first days in Turkey as the inability to obtain homes and household goods, financial difficulties, not knowing the language, and misinformation of the people they were assisted with as interpreters. They stated that they have solved the problems of housing, household items, and financial problems to some extent at present, but they were experiencing pessimism and difficulty due to the lack of rights such as insurance and citizenship. These financially sourced and language-oriented problems have appeared in many studies in a similar manner (Sirin & Aber, 2018; Levent & Cayak, 2017; Balkar, Sahin & Babahan, 2016; Sakiz; 2016; Aksit, Bozok & Bozok, 2015).

The asylum seekers in this study, which was conducted in Isparta, make a living from specific sources. Women do seasonal apple and rose picking jobs, cleaning, and tailoring, while men work in construction. Working mothers have demonstrated better integration into Turkish society and have learned Turkish considerably. It is likely that because of this integration, the children of working mothers speak Turkish better, and their academic success is higher than those of non-working mothers. Their social relations with their classmates are also stronger, and it can be said that they are more easy-going and happier with their friends.

Each participant stated that they were very pleased with the education in Turkey. They stated that they cannot send their children to school in their own country (Afghanistan), that teachers in their country are too strict and distant towards their children (Syria), that countries in transition do not enroll their children or enroll them only in exchange for substantial payments (Iran). In fact, the school where the study was conducted is remarkably below Turkish education standards. Therefore, Turkish teachers do not prefer to work at this school, and many Turkish families seek ways to enroll their children in other schools.

When the refugee parents were asked to generate solutions for the problems they were facing, they did not provide any ideas but continued to talk about their problems. The parents who were unable to speak Turkish did not even suggest opening a language course to learn the language. They did not recommend taking a course in any field and finding relevant employment. They only raised issues such as lack of money and went on to state their own problems. The problems experienced by asylum seekers in the country of origin, problems in the adaptation process, perception of the citizens of the target countries, language problems, findings based on economic problems are also in line with the literature (Yanik Ozger & Akansel, 2019; Gunes-Aslan & Gungor, 2019; Yildirimalp et al., 2017; Cetin, 2016; Akdeniz, 2014). Based on the observations by the researchers of the refugee families, it is obvious that these families who migrate to Turkey have needs such as reading-writing literacy, learning languages, and obtaining skills due to their low levels of education. However, it is quite remarkable that they do not have expectations to improve themselves.

Confusion in the concept of family, domestic tension and violence, unusual roles of the father and mother, problems caused by cultural differences, uncertainty about the concept of house and home, and reflecting an introverted attitude rather than harmony

are some of the salient aspects of the pictures the students drew in the study. The main problems in the adaptation process based on the self-expressions of students are the inability to internalize the country, school, society, or the environment they come to, not feeling safe, having problems in communication, and experiencing anxiety. The visual data reveals results that match some quantitative and qualitative research in the literature (Ozen & Cerit, 2018; Yildirimalp et al., 2017; Karasu, 2016). Particularly the results of the study by Gunes-Aslan & Gungor (2019) are consistent with the findings of this research concerning domestic violence, family relations, anxiety, being closed to the outside world, and not feeling safe.

A limitation of the current study is that it is conducted with women only. Asylum-seeking men are more involved with Turkish people and have more experience with Turks in business life. Women employees are making progress in learning Turkish. Moreover, children of working refugee women are more successful at school. On the other hand, women who do not work have a more isolated life without learning a language.

It is often not a priority for migrating communities to open up to or approach the target culture or adopt that culture's qualities. However, there is a mass migration to be considered towards the target country Turkey, and in this process, trying to speak or communicate in Turkish and having expectations based on Turkey or the Anatolian culture are the most decisive points in terms of harmonization. In other words, even if systemic integration appears to be achieved, this does not mean that social cohesion occurs. Certainly, the irregular migration facing Turkey is also an important factor. In this process, it is critical to structure social interactions that are focused on social awareness and public space pedagogy reflecting the process experienced by migrating communities. A focus on mutual awareness on behalf of the culture of the target and source country in cohesion is important in Turkey's migration policy. The approach of the host country in mutual integration is the main determinant. This awareness should also be established on behalf of migrating communities. For example, rights within the framework of legal regulations related to the workforce, major rights and responsibilities for compliance with the education process, and approaches that adopt female-oriented adaptation can be emphasized. The inclusion of women refugees into the workforce is critical especially in approaches that support a female-oriented adaptation. This is because migrant women involved in work-life learn languages, embrace social cohesion more willingly, try to integrate social cohesion into their family life, and participate more in school-family cooperation during their children's education.

In the adaptation process, the need arises to focus on educational, academic, behavioral, and psychological integration from a holistic point of view. In this regard, social integration, civil society organization, a feeling of common identity, and the construction of a common ethics-moral-norm perspective are all important because new integration difficulties are likely to occur with the next generation within migrant groups. In the new generation, dimensions that can be listed as more claims of rights, response to their legal rights, and higher expectations are involved. In this regard, action and solution-oriented approaches are needed for the awareness of mainstream culture, cultural interaction, and culture-sensitive education. Hence, the quality of in-service

training should be increased, especially for teachers who work for the Ministry of National Education. Teachers' multifaceted competence, such as how to approach communication and language-related problems, how to structure a classroom management process for migrant children, how to improve the quality of migrant children's education, how to soften and break social integration resistance, and how to structure school-family cooperation, is an unavoidable necessity in this context. It is certain that educational psychology support and counseling studies are also important in this process.

Furthermore, considering the cultural characteristics of immigrants, it may be possible to find starting points that are important to society. Relationships concerning values, beliefs, and lifestyles that can pave the way for cultural intimacy seem significant for the society migrating communities are trying to integrate.

In terms of sociological barriers and prejudices against the target country Turkey, it is necessary that the adaptation process required by social life be adopted primarily by migrating communities.

For Turkey, the communication configuration about social life, politics, economy, and culture with the migrating community's country of origin is a critical point of consideration. Both the preservation of the immigrants' own culture and their adaptation to the culture in which they arrived should be considered in this situation.. In this manner, cultural production and diffusion based on mutual interaction may occur. On the other hand, common cultural transformation paves the way for the integration of the local community and migrating communities. Thus, the culture they come to becomes richer and cultural cohesion occurs. In addition, by improving the level of education of migrants, which consists of a large community, by increasing their professional skills, by making their transformations related to urban life possible, and by mastering the language more, it may become possible for them to contribute to Turkish society. In other words, they need to adapt to the transformation by maintaining their own cultural richness without losing their ethnic identity and embracing the local culture's values without resistance to integration into the target country.

Refugee families who have arrived in our country temporarily are now settled in Turkey. They cannot return to their homeland due to the conditions of their countries. Many of them want to settle permanently in Turkey, and few want to emigrate to Europe. In these circumstances, we are directly concerned with the status of these families with whom we share the same land and schools. Clearly, these families have low levels of education, and they are not adequately educated even in their own language. Therefore, the problems of these families and their children's education are of direct interest to us. There is a strong need for research on this subject matter, and steps are necessary to be taken by both the state and NGOs.

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