

ANALYZING INTERRELATIONS BETWEEN ASPECTS OF SPATIAL TRIAD  
IN THE CASE OF SYRIAN REFUGEE CRAFTSMEN IN ULUBEY  
NEIGHBORHOOD, ANKARA

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NEIGHBORHOOD, ANKARA**

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **ANALYZING INTERRELATIONS BETWEEN ASPECTS OF SPATIAL TRIAD IN THE CASE OF SYRIAN REFUGEE CRAFTSMEN IN ULUBEY NEIGHBORHOOD, ANKARA**

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Migration, which aims to seek better living conditions, is an issue affecting many countries today. The places that emigrate and receive migration are affected economically and socially. In addition, due to developing technology and globalization, migration has become one of the daily practices of the societies in this age. Forced migration is another aspect of migration and is on the agenda of many countries due to internal or external conflicts or environmental disasters. In addition, Syrian migration, the largest flow of mass and forced migration in recent years, has affected many countries, especially neighboring countries. Because of Turkey's open-door policy for the Syrian immigration, this country has been most affected by Syrian refugee movement. Although refugees were generally settled in camps when they first arrived, they started to settle in cities due to the rapid increase in their numbers over time. This situation has had spatial and social consequences in cities. On the other hand, according to Lefebvre (1991), (social) space is produced socially. In this context, the places where the refugees settle are produced depending on their emotional and physical experiences. In this respect, Lefebvre argues that space is produced physically, mentally and imaginary regarding to his spatial triad theory. He

emphasizes the perception and living of the space are conceived within the scope of spatial triad which includes the perceived, conceived and lived space and the relationship between these three aspects. When one of the dimensions of the spatial triad has less relationship with the others, the occurrence of space production is the main research question of the thesis. In this case, in the contexts of Turkey and migration, when spatial or social intervention on refugees is inadequate, the place of conceived space in the spatial triad is investigated.

In this context, the concept of spatial triad developed by Lefebvre and used by geographers studying social space is used in the thesis to investigate the use of space in the daily life of refugees. Whether the refugees produced a clustered and disconnected refugee neighborhood is investigated in the field of Ulubey Neighborhood in Ankara on the basis of spatial triad theory. In the case of one of the perceived - designed - lived spaces has less effect on the relationship with the others within the scope of the findings obtained from the research, the production of the space in the area is discussed.

**Keywords:** Production of Space, Spatial Triad, Migration, Forced Migration, Refugee

## ÖZ

### **ULUBEY BÖLGESİ, ANKARA'DAKİ SURİYELİ GÖÇMEN ESNAFLAR ÖRNEĞİNDE MEKÂNSAL ÜÇLÜNÜN BOYUTLARI ARASINDAKİ İLİŞKİLERİN ANALİZİ**

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Daha iyi yaşam koşulları arayışı amacıyla gerçekleşen göç günümüzde pek çok ülkeyi etkileyen bir konudur. Göç veren ve göç alan yerler bu durumdan ekonomik ve sosyal olarak etkilenmektedirler. Ayrıca gelişen teknoloji ve globalleşme gibi nedenlerle göç çağımızda toplumların günlük pratiklerinden biri haline gelmiştir. Zorunlu göç ise göç kavramının bir başka boyutudur ve yaşanan iç veya dış karışıklıklar veya çevresel felaketler nedeniyle pek çok ülkenin gündemindedir. Bunun yanında, son yılların en büyük kitlesel ve zorunlu göç dalgası olan Suriye göçü özellikle komşu ülkeleri olmak üzere pek çok ülkeyi etkilemiştir. Türkiye'nin Suriye göçü için izlediği 'açık kapı' uygulaması ile bu göç dalgasından en çok etkilenen ülke olmuştur. Mülteciler ilk geldiklerinde genelde kamplara yerleştirilseler de zaman içinde sayılarının hızlı bir şekilde artması nedeniyle kentlere yerleşmeye başlamışlardır. Bu durum kentlerde mekânsal ve sosyal sonuçlar doğurmuştur. Öte yandan, Lefebvre'ye (1991) göre (sosyal) mekân sosyal olarak üretilmektedir. Bu kapsamda mültecilerin yerleştikleri mekanlar onların duyuşal ve fiziksel deneyimlerine bağlı olarak üretilmektedir. Bu doğrultuda, Lefebvre mekânsal üçlü teorisiyle mekânın fiziksel, zihinsel ve imgesel olarak üretildiğini savunmaktadır. Algılanan, tasarlanan ve yaşanan mekân boyutlarını

içeren mekânsal üçlü kapsamında tasarlanan mekânın, algılanması ve yaşanması ve üç boyutun birbirleri ile ilişkisini vurgulamaktadır. Mekânsal üçlünün boyutlarından birinin diğerleri ilişkisinin daha az olduğu durumda mekân üretiminin gerçekleşme şekli tezin ana araştırma sorusudur. Bu durumda Türkiye ve göç bağlamlarında mültecilerle ilgili mekânsal veya sosyal müdahalelerin yetersiz olması nedeniyle tasarlanan mekânın mekânsal üçlüdeki etkisi araştırılmaktadır. Bu bağlamda Lefebvre tarafından geliştirilen ve mekânı sosyal olarak inceleyen coğrafi bilimciler tarafından kullanılan ‘mekânsal üçlü’ kavramı tezde mültecilerin günlük hayatlarında mekân kullanım pratiklerini araştırmak üzere kullanılmıştır. Mültecilerin kümelenmiş ve kentten kopuk bir mülteci mahallesi üretip üretmediği Ankara’da Ulubey Mahalle’sinde yapılan saha çalışması ile mekânsal üçlü teorisi temel alınarak incelenmiştir. Araştırmadan elde edilen bulgular kapsamında algılanan - tasarlanan - yaşanan alanlardan birinin diğerleriyle olan ilişkisinde daha az etkisi olması durumunda, alandaki mekân üretimi tartışılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mekânın Üretimi, Mekânsal Üçlü, Göç, Zorunlu Göç, Mülteci



To my family

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## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1. Problem Definition**

“(Social) space is a (social) product” (Lefebvre, 1991).

On the contrary with tradition thinking on space, which is based on geometric form of space, postmodern thinkers, such as Lefebvre, Harvey, Foucault, are more interested in relationships between space and social relations. In other words, space is not an empty container and some social forms frame space. As Heever (2013 p.74) states that “understanding space and spatiality – where things happen – is essential for understanding why and how things happen”. In this way Massey (2005) defines space as product of relationships and a process of construction which never ends by contrast with geometrical definitions of space.

“Every social space is the outcome of a process with many aspects and many contributing currents, signifying and non-signifying, perceived and directly experienced, practical and theoretical. (Lefebvre, 1991 p.110)”

From Aristotelian tradition to postmodernist thinking on space, concepts of space have been evolving into more socialize form and human-centered. In addition to that, there have been people centered and humanistic approaches to spatial discussions because it was thought that people represent more than vectors in space. Space is an outcome of human activities and relations. At that sense, many philosophers and geographers such as Henri Lefebvre (Production of Space), Michael Foucault, Edward Soja, Michel De Certeau make many contributions to spatial thinking.

However, Henri Lefebvre is a priori for social conception of space and his works and theories are still used in space researches. He proposes a '*spatial triad*' that comprises of perceived-conceived-lived space and the main aim is to avoid binarism and create and 'an other' possibility in spatial thinking. In space discussions, besides mental dimension which produce space on paper or theoretically and physical dimension of space, Lefebvre added a third dimension that concerns about human being in space and argued a living space where space is socially produced. According to him, lived space is the space of the 'users'. This triad has three dimensions that work together and each dimension that forms other two and is formed by other two. In addition, Soja (1996), Harvey (1989) and Schmid (2008) contributes the spatial triad with following Lefebvre. Soja (1996) defines this triad as 'an other' possibility. Spatial practice or perceived space is daily routine of inhabitants and a materialized form of space. On the other hand, representations of space or conceived space is mental form of space and is a kind of controlling knowledge. It is space of planners, scientists or architects. Finally, spaces of representation or lived space is directly lived by inhabitants or users. It is experienced space and consists of meanings and symbolic dimensions.

In the most general sense, migration is physical movement from one place to another. However, when it is taken into account with the social dimension of the space, migration is also the transfer of individuals' perspectives, experiences and socio-cultural characteristics from one place to another. As a result, new social relations systems are established in the migrated space and new space experiences begin to emerge and space is produced in new ways. Immigration is a process of physical transition from one society to another, involving considerable frustrations and giving rise to many social problems among the immigrants. In addition to that, to give a very general definition to migration, Simmons (1987) suggests using three major dimensions to define migration: a change in residence, a shift in employment and a shift in social relations (As cited in Piché, 2013).

Migration phenomena is on the agenda in almost all parts of human history to reach better conditions or to flee threatening conditions. However, because of globalization, technological developments or conflicts 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century have been mentioned by migrations. In addition Castles & Miller (1998) emphasized in their book the political conspicuousness of migration in contemporary world and they refer to 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries as '*age of migration*'.

They (1998) also emphasize that while international migration has played a role in human history, it has increased since 1945s and most particularly since 1980s and they predicted in 1998 that migration will be one of the most effective factors in global changing. In addition, forced or involuntarily migration also have an important role in migration movements in the world. Forced migration causes the mass migration movements to various countries and Adamson (2006) remarks that many of the major migration movements in history are resulted in forced migration. One of these movements is Syrian forced migration movements which arises from conflicts in Syria. Since 2011, great number of Syrian immigrants have spread out different regions in the world. In addition to that, there is a huge migration movement to especially its neighboring countries. Turkey has been one of the countries which faces with this situation since 2011. In fact, Turkey is affected much more than other countries because Turkey receive the greatest number of immigrants. According to Directorate General of Migration Management (2019), there are approximately 3.6 million Syrian refugees under temporary protection in Turkey and this number has reached the highest level in the history of migration flows to Turkey. The concept of refugee refers a legal title rather than a type of migrant. According to "Foreigners and International Protection Law", definition of refugee concerns immigrants from Europe countries. However, as mentioned the great number of immigrants are hosted in Turkey and this definition make their conditions hard there. Because of this reason, General Directorate of Migration Management is forced to make a new definition for Syrian immigrants in Turkey and give them "conditional refugee" status.

In addition to that, the directorate adds “outside of Europe” phrase and “until inserting a third country, it is permitted conditional refugee to remain in Turkey” condition to its definition of refugee. Also, most of the Syrians sheltered to Turkey under the temporary protection that is developed to solve the problems of mass movements. The phenomenon of forced migration differs from other types of immigration due to the sudden occurrence and due to a force push. Migrants experience a forced displacement and the process of changing the place of their lives acutely and forcibly. Therefore, the results of this kind of movement in the settlements are different from voluntarily movements. First of all, mass movements lead to rapid population growth and ethnic divisions in areas that is settled by refugees. At the same time, the economic structure of the region may change over time. In this case, the point of view of the citizens towards migrants may change negatively and disintegration between refugees and citizens may begin.

These results affect the way how immigrants experience the space, and this affects the production of space processes of migrants, i.e. users or inhabitants of the space. Regarding to the process of migrating and settling to Turkey, the main subject of the thesis is the investigation of the production of social space processes of refugees and the relationship between immigrants and space to examine whether there is a production of isolated space by refugees. In this context, this thesis is based on production of space theory of Henri Lefebvre who is one of the most famous space thinkers and a critical analysis of space will be examined to understand production of social space of refugees. Regarding to this, the thesis focuses on daily routines of Syrian refugees in terms of their daily activities, destination, routes and feeling about these activities, and interventions to integration of refugees. As a result of this study, it is planned to figure out the relationship between individuals and space, or in other words, thanks to this relationship, it is also planned to investigate social outputs of these individuals.



## **1.2. Aim of the Study and Research Questions**

Migration that has taken place in political, social and economic agenda of contemporary world plays role in changes in society. Both voluntarily or involuntarily migration leads to some results in terms of cultural and social interactions in migratory areas. At that sense, the main purpose of this study is exploring the process of production of space that is developed by Henri Lefebvre in the context of Syrian Refugees which are craftsmen in Ulubey Neighborhood in Altındağ. Refugees have changes in their lifestyle due to forced migration process. In this new habitat, they look for a new way of production of space by using both their culture and culture of settlement where they migrate. In this context, there are sub-purposes of the study. Spatial practice is one aspect of spatial triad and this space consist of daily routines of refugees and physical materiality of space. At that sense, the first sub-purpose is exploring the spatial practices of refugees in their daily life. Second aspect of the triad is representations of space and finding out the production of representations of space is another sub-purpose of this study. Whether there are any theoretical or spatial interventions of authorities in the area will be searched in the scope of this aim. Finally, spaces of representation that is third aspect of the triad consists of the meaning of space and emotional experiences of refugees and exploring this aspect is final sub-purpose of this study.

Drawing on the theoretical framework on the relationship between space and individuals i.e. refugees, the essential question of the study is that:

- What is the process of production spatial triad of refugees in their daily routines and their daily experiences in the area?
- Based on the analysis of the spatial triad, do the migrants only use their own places and their surroundings, and do they create a unique lifestyle?

Also, there are sub-questions to identify the framework of the study. These questions are formed according to the sub-purposes of the study.

- What are the daily routines and destinations of refugees in and out the neighborhood in the context of spatial practices?
- What are the interventions of authorities to integrate refugees into the city in the context of representations of space?
- What are the emotional experiences and meanings of space in the context of spaces of representations?

### **1.3. Research Methodology**

This research will be conducted in two phases; first one is a comprehensive theoretical research on concept of space and production of space and migration movements. Regarding to aims that identified and in order to answer the research questions, literature review consists of a historical background of spatial thinking and various approaches to space. In addition, a depth literature review on migration movements, types and reasons of these movements is another part of theoretical research. Within this framework, researches on migration movements will be conducted by mentioning forced migration and refugee movements in detail. Afterall, derived information from the comprehensive literature review on concept of social space and refugee movements, daily life of refugees in the context of social space discussions will be analyzed.

The second phase of this thesis covers an empirical study which will be conducted to answer the questions and sub-questions of the thesis. Case study will help to understand the process of spatial production of refugees in their daily life. Case study conducted concerning the variables that emphasized in the theoretical research phase of the thesis. These variables are indicators of spatial triad and based on Lefebvre's spatial triad and interpretations on it. Perceived space includes activity, destination and routes and physical intervention variables. Activity covers the "daily reality" or "daily routine" (Lefebvre, 1991), "habits and patterns of movement" (Carp, 2008) are indicators in the scope of destination and routes and physical interventions consists of "observable space" (Carp, 2008) and "physical spatiality" (Soja, 1996).

Within the scope of second question the variable of destination gains importance to investigate the interrelation of refugees with outside of their neighborhoods. On the other hand, conceived space is mental space and it covers the knowledge and ideology” (Lefebvre, 1991) and “mental and verbal activity of scientists, planners or social engineers” (Carp, 2008). Finally, lived space has variables that are “new meanings” (Harvey, 1989) and the experience of living (Carp, 2008). Associated with literature review and contextual framework in previous chapters, case study will be conducted by observation and questionnaire methods in the area. As a result of this, there will be analysis about spatial triad which covers daily routines of refugees.

Because refugees had to live a forced displacement process and a sudden change in their life conditions, it would be more helpful to conduct this research with surveying with them to provide better understanding of their relations with space. Besides, analyzing their relations with city center or frequency of usage of city center will ensure to explore whether the daily lives of migrants and the use of space create an isolated immigrant neighborhood from other parts of the city. As it is mentioned this thesis focuses on interplay between space and refugees in the context of spatial triad. Regarding to this, each aspect of the triad will be analyzed with different research methods which are mentioned in detail in Chapter V. Correspondingly, the case study of this thesis will be conducted in three phases. Each of the phases provide answers for three sub-questions which are related to spatial practices, representations of space and spaces of representations. The method of questionnaire will be conducted for all three phases, but participants of first and third phases consists of refugees while the second phase will be conducted by surveying with decision makers.

#### **1.4. Structure of the Thesis**

This thesis mainly comprises of two parts; first is drawing a theoretical framework of space and concept of spatial triad and migration, and an empirical research on Lefebvre’s spatial triad in the context of Syrian refugees.

In Chapter II, definitions and concepts of space are discussed, and it represents a theoretical framework which focuses on space in social theory and Lefebvrian approach to space. First of all, definition of space and space in social theories is discussed with referencing Michel Foucault and Edward Soja. After that, Lefebvrian approach to space, which focuses on social production of space is dwelt on. Following this, spatial triad and its aspects is discussed in depth and different approaches to spatial triad are mentioned. In chapter III, the concept of migration, its definitions and types are presented. To better understanding of forced migration and forcibly displacement or shift in country, push and pull factors of forced migration and refugee movements is discoursed. Therewithal, some terms of forced migration are defined to understand legal status of refugees in the world and Turkey. Statistical information about international migration and forced migration movements in the world is given in this chapter. Chapter IV conceptualizes the spatial triad and migration movements; in other words, this chapter presents a spatial lens to migration studies. Firstly, deriving from the information in literature review of production of space, migration and forced migration movements is discussed in a social space lens. After that, aspects of spatial triad are referred in the context of refugees' daily life and some research elements of the study is identified obtaining from theoretical framework. Chapter V consists of case study which focuses on conceptualizing of spatial triad into refugees in Ulubey Neighborhood in Ankara. In more detail, refugees who keep shop in Ulubey Neighborhood are examined as case study and questionnaires are conducted to figure out their daily space production. Following, results are presented regarding to three aspects of spatial triad - Spatial Practice of Refugees, Representations of Space of Refugees, Spaces of Representation of Refugees. Finally, Chapter VI, conclusion part, provides answers for research questions of this thesis and a discussion obtained from results and application of Lefebvre's space theory. As a result of these findings, concluding discussion on spatial production of refugees and comments derived from finding are offered.

## CHAPTER 2

### SPACE IN GEOGRAPHY: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

“Within two decades, space had become a critical theme in many of the human sciences, from sociology to the cognitive sciences, but even more so in the movement of late 20th-century thought broadly known as ‘post-modernism’. (Hillier, 2008 p.220)”

#### 2.1. Definition of Space

In a very general term, space means “the dimensions of height, depth, and width within which all things exist and move” (“Oxford Living Dictionaries,” n.d.). Notwithstanding, human geographers focus on the relations between objects and the space. Correspondingly, their definitions also concentrate these relations. Foucault makes a definition of space by stating that “the space in which we live, which draws us out of ourselves, in which the erosion of our lives, our time and our history occurs, the space that claws and gnaws at us, is also, in itself, a heterogeneous space ... we live inside a set of relations” (Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986 p.23). In addition, Massey (2005 p.9) make three definitions for space in her book:

“... space as the product of *interrelations*; as constituted through interactions, from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny”

“... space as the sphere of the possibility of the existence of *multiplicity* in the sense of contemporaneous plurality; as the sphere in which distinct trajectories coexist; as the sphere therefore of coexisting *heterogeneity*”

“... space as always *under construction*. It is never finished; never closed.”

## 2.2. Absolute and Relational Conceptions of Space

As it is indicated in beginning of Lefebvre's book, "not so many years ago, the word 'space' had a strictly geometrical meaning: the idea it evoked was simply that of an empty area" (Lefebvre, 1991 p.1). This is all to say, he emphasizes that the space had a meaning of a geometrical formation for people. The concept of spaces was concerned as enable to name and class the evidence of the senses in the Aristotelian tradition. However, Descartes ended this discussions and space became to a part of the realm of the absolute (Lefebvre, 1991). Lefebvre (1991 p.1) also states that "as Object opposed Subject, as *res extensa* to opposed to, and present to, *res- cogitans*, space came to dominate, by containing them, all senses and all bodies". Despite Kantian space was absolute, a tool of knowledge or a means of classifying phenomena, it was distinguished from the empirical realm and regarded to a "*a priori* realm of consciousness (i.e. of the 'subject') and partook of that realm's internal, ideal - and hence transcendental and essentially ungraspable – structure" (Lefebvre, 1991 p.2).

In addition to Lefebvre's explanations about Aristotelian, Cartesian and Kantian approaches to space, Kitchin (2009) states that before 1950, space was thought as a container where something takes place and space was absolute which have three dimensions. The space was natural, given and mandatory and spatial processes were measurable although it was not officially cognized by workers at that time (Kitchin, 2009). Moreover, many geographers began to challenge the status quo in studies of geography, arguing that it should be more scientific in the thinking and method of the discipline (Kitchin, 2009). Also, Schaefer (1953) emphasizes that geography should be a part of the science referring to the formulation of laws that governs spatial distribution of certain characteristics on the surface of the earth. Space was counted as a "neutral container" and was identified through Cartesian geometry (with *x*, *y* and *z* dimensions) until 1970s. (Hubbard & Kitchin, 2011 p.4). Also, in 1960s, geographic researches were technical, statistical and quantitative (Campbell, 2018).

Geographers broadly were trying to systemize the geography with regarding to quantitative features. The absolute concept of space excludes the human activities and their daily life in space. Hubbard & Kitchin (2011 p.4) remark the space as “a backdrop against which human behavior is played out”. However, in 1970s, it was realized that people were considered as vectors or movements (Hubbard & Bartley, 2004). This idea was declined and many geographers took consider ‘human subjectivity’ to mention “a more ‘human’ human geography” (Hubbard & Bartley, 2004 p.33). Hubbard & Bartley make mention of two theories about spatial researches in 1970s; human centered theories and structural theories. Human centered theories comprise of behavioral critique which focuses on psychology in spatial studies and humanistic thought which concerns the relationships between people and their environments and the assumption the world is a human construct (Hubbard & Bartley, 2004). On the other hand, structural theories pay attention to approaches that “logic of the relational connections” that link people (Hubbard & Bartley, 2004 p.42).

“Space, it was argued, was not a given, neutral, and passive geometry, and essentialist and teleological in nature. Instead, space was conceived as relational, contingent, and active, as something that is produced or constructed by people through social relations and practices. Space is not an absolute geometric container in which social and economic life takes place, rather it is constitutive of such relations. (Kitchin, 2009 p.270)”

According to Kellerman (1994), 1980s also recorded as the age of social theory in geographical thought. These years were priory, which focused on the relationships between society and spatial thoughts. Kellerman also states that after Marxism and behaviorism which occurred in 1970s, social theory began to take place in a discipline which is formed by epistemological alteration in the post WWI era. Years of 1970s and after are the age of association of the social theory and geographical studies. Like these years, in 1990s, it was thought that space was constructed socially.

Campbell (2018) defines this time as a postmodern turn in human geography which studies social justice and emphasizes pluralities, positionalities and deconstruction. With regarding these historical processes of space and geography, human activities and social life have an important place in contemporary geography literature. Although the geographical or spatial studies were very related with the physical or geometrical features of spaces in absolute context, contemporary geographical studies are conducted via various studies such as social theories, feminist theories, structural theories. Space is more than an empty container since approximately 1970s. According to these approaches, space can be counted as intrinsically link with social relations in the sense of both socially produced and consumed. The two disciplines which are social sciences and geography are linked to each other thanks to the contribution of some writers; “major philosophical contributions from the likes of Henri Lefebvre (whose *La production de l’espace* appeared in 1974) and Gilles Deleuze (who, especially in his collaborations with Félix Guattari, increasingly couched his arguments in spatial and geographical terms)” (Tally, 2017 p. 2). As in most contemporary theories of space, Lefebvre proceeds from a relational concept of space and time (Schmid, 2009).

### **2.3. Space in Social Theory**

Lefebvre who is thought as a priori of spatial thinking in social theory, Michael Foucault and Edward Soja interpret the spatial thinking which develops out of a relationship between the space and human or society.

#### **2.3.1. Edward Soja**

Edward Soja is an important geographer who follows Lefebvre’s thoughts on space. He dwells on especially social spatially. He is known with his works about spatiality in social daily life of humans. Lehrer (2010) remarks Soja as “one of the key proponents of the spatial turn in social science” and he adds that exopolis, thirdspace and synekism are some of the terms which Soja developed.



He explains why he have chosen this topic that “thirdspace is a purposefully tentative and flexible term that attempts to capture what is actually a constantly shifting and changing milieu of ideas, events, appearances, and meanings” (Soja, 1996 p.2). He (1996 p.1) also emphasizes that “in encouraging you to think differently, I am not suggesting that you discard your old and familiar ways of thinking about space and spatiality, but rather that you question them in new ways that are aimed at opening up and expanding the scope and critical sensibility of your already established spatial or geographical imaginations.” Just as Lefebvre he proposes a third possibility of moments of space which is called as ‘thirdspace’ in order to avoid creating conflict of dialectic discussions. His books, *Thirdspace* (1996), *Postmetropolis* (2000) and *Postmodern Geographies* (1999), discourse generally the spatiality in daily life of societies. Soja develops an alternative version of spatial triad which is developed by Lefebvre. Thirdspace is developed in the content of Lefebvre’s analysis on three moments of space which are conceived, perceived and lived.

#### **2.4. Space as a Social Product - Lefebvrian Approach to Space**

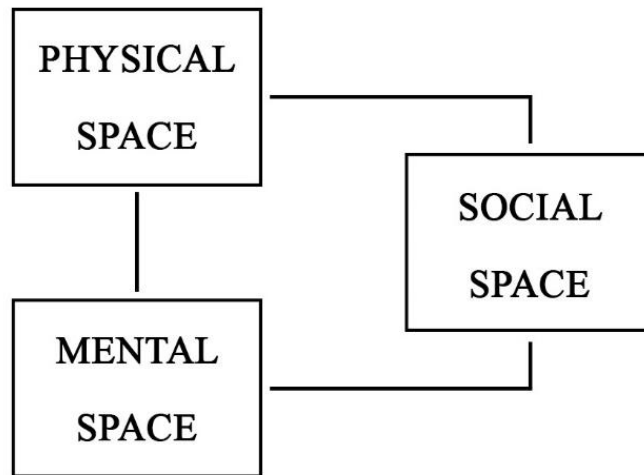
Lefebvre emphasizes the space is thought as a geometrical formation in literature. However, the space is a livable organism. People experience the city and their environment in everyday life. Correspondingly, he aimed to contribute literature by defining a new way of spatial thinking. Thacker (2017 p.30) says that Lefebvre emphasizes that space is not only a blank area but also it is a space that shape human society and is shaped by human activities. He indicates this spatial theory in his magisterial work which is *The Production of Space* (1991). This work has a great impact on geographical studies following Lefebvre’s theories.

“Lefebvre’s work has not only influenced later geographical theorists such as Derek Gregory, David Harvey, Doreen Massey, Edward Soja, and Neil Smith, but has also proved influential upon many literary critics whose work has centered upon the geographies of modernism (Thacker, 2017 p.30).”

Lefebvre identified space as necessary to our understanding and interaction with the world and he develops an alternative theory of space that would explain clearly the importance of space (Watkins, 2005). He emphasizes in his book, 'The Production of Space' that *(Social) space is a (social) product* (Lefebvre, 1991 p.26). Molotch (1993 p.887) explains this production process that "Lefebvre means that humans create the space where they make their lives and he continues with that it is a project shaped by interests of classes, experts, the grass-roots, and other contending forces". Space does not come from nature inherently or it is not a blank container which is not affected by social structure of society. The consequences of people's interactions and relations between each other and space determines the production of space again and again. Beyond its material construction, values, meanings or experiences which belong to human have a role in this (social) production of (social) space process. According to Lefebvre, space can be examined in three categories: *physical space, mental space and social space*:

"The fields we are concerned with are, first, the *physical*- nature, the Cosmos; secondly, the mental including logical and formal abstractions; and, thirdly, the *social*. In other words, we are concerned with logico-epistemological space, the space of social practice, the space occupied by sensory phenomena, including products of the imagination such as projects and projections, symbols and utopias (Lefebvre, 1991 p.11-12)."

He proposes a third moment which is called as 'thirthing-as-othering' by Edward Soja. Soja (1996) identifies social space as distinguish from mental and physical space and all-encompassing mode of spatial thinking. In other words, social space is recombination of the physical and mental spaces, and also it is separated from them as it is graphitized in Figure 2.1 Physical space is a material world and mental space is more imagined. So that, it can be understood that social space is a union of material or real and imagined spaces.



*Figure 2.1. Soja's Moments of Space (After: Soja, 1996)*

As Soja (1996 p.65) states that Lefebvre begins his critical thirding-as-othering by focusing on 'social space'. Soja (1996 p.65) evaluates the social space in two ways:

1. "... as a distinctively different way of thinking about space that has long been obscured by exclusive fixations on illusive materialist and/ or idealist interpretations"
2. "... as an all-inclusive and radically open mode of defining the limitlessly expandable scope of the spatial imagination"

In a very broad term, social space is "the space of social practice and the space of social relations of production and it is a space of work and non-work" (Lefebvre, 1991 p.225). This space is a mediatory between material or real and imagine. Social space has the characteristics which is indistinguishable from both mental space which is defined by philosophers and mathematicians and physical space which is defined by practico-sensory activity and the perception of 'nature'. The space is irreducible to be a "form" which is imposed upon physical materiality (Lefebvre, 1991 p.27).

“Social space contains- and assigns (more or\_ less) appropriate places to- (1) the *social relations of reproduction*, i.e. the bio-physiological relations between the sexes and between age groups, along with the specific organization of the family; and (2) the *relations of production*, i.e. the division of labor and its organization in the form of hierarchical social functions (Lefebvre, 1991 p.32).”

As Lefebvre indicates, there are two forms of space production. Both social relations of production and the relations of production have a role in production and reproduction of space. This process is very related with the experiences of people and how they value or perceive the space.

“From the point of view of knowing (*connaissance*), social space works (along with its concept) as a tool for the analysis of society accept this much is at once to eliminate the simplistic model of a one-to-one or 'punctual' correspondence between social actions and social locations, between spatial functions and spatial forms. Precisely because of its crudeness, however, this 'structural' schema continues to haunt our consciousness and knowledge (*savoir*) (Lefebvre, 1991 p.34).”

According to Lefebvre’s definition to (social) space, it is not neither a thing or product among other things or products. On the other hand, it subsumes things which are produced and involves their relationships coexistence and simultaneity - their (relative) order and/or (relative) disorder (Lefebvre, 1991 p.73). The production of (social) space is a process and as Lefebvre indicates, this process is not a work of a moment. Social space is self-presentation and self-representation of societies and the societies are different from each other.

“Social spaces interpenetrate one another and/or superimpose themselves upon one another. They are not things, which have mutually limiting boundaries and which collide because of their contours or as a result of inertia (Lefebvre, 1991 p.86-87).”

The space can be experienced, perceived and cognized. Because of this, people visualize and symbolize consequence of experiencing of their environment. “Insofar as that experience is shaped by our physical location (and the barriers of space and time associated with that location) and by our social position (and the normative requirements attached to it), our cognition of environment is likely to be a function of these factors” (Orleans, 1973 p.115). Space includes places which assign more or less allocated for the social relations of productions which are the biophysiological relations between the sexes, the ages, the specified organization of the family, and to the relations of production, namely, the division of labor and its organization and as a result of this, space is social (Lefebvre, 2009). It also has some features:

“Space is (i) result and cause, (ii) product and producer, (iii) a stake, (iv) locus of projects and actions, (v) applied as a part of specific strategies and (vi) object of wagers on the future (Lefebvre, 1991 p.142-143).”

Watkins (2005) remarks that Lefebvre defines the space as necessary to understand and connect the world and as the main focus of life experience in the world, he reveals the space. He also conceives an approach to space that change the realm of mental to be basis the engagement with the world.

#### **2.4.1. Spatial Triad**

“A triad: that is, three elements and not two. Relations with two elements boil down to oppositions, contrasts or antagonisms. They are defined by significant effects: echoes, repercussions, mirror effects. (Lefebvre, 1991 p.39)”

Lefebvre develops a triad model to avoid a binarism between object/subject, mental/material, natural/social. He proposes a third possibility for the spatial discussions. Spatial triad is implemented to various disciplines in academic studies.

Besides, it is seen that the spatial triad is defined as the most fundamental element of space theory of Lefebvre and thus his theory has shifted to spatial triad (Ghulyan, 2017 p.3). Schmid (2009) states that the scheme of spatial triad make analyze the (social) space in relation to three dimension. Firstly, social space comprises of the spatial practices which interlinks the network of activities or interactions which are based on significant material base which is morphology or built environment. Second, spatial practice forms the representation of space by defining linguistically and defining its boundaries as space. This definition is a frame of reference or order for a spatial orientation. Thirdly, the spaces representation comprises of the meaning, symbolism that express social norms, values or experiences of space which is defined by materially or linguistically (Schmid, 2009). Three dimensions of this triad work together and have interrelations between each other. Each of them affects the formations of others in the process of (social) production of (social) space. Thanks to this triad, a third dimension which plays a role of intermediate between the material and mental dimensions of space occurs.

“How is (social) space produced? Key to Lefebvre’s theory is the view that the production of space can be divided into three dialectically interconnected dimensions or processes. Lefebvre also calls them formants or moments of the production of space. On the one hand, they refer to the triad of “spatial practice,” “representations of space,” and “spaces of representation.” On the other, they refer to “perceived,” “conceived,” and “lived” space.” (Schmid, 2009 p.29)

To sum, Lefebvre’s work of triad has three elements because of complexity of contradictions which arise from social thought and social action. These contradictions are supplemented by a third possibility of creative, poetic or symbols (Schmid, 2009). The perceived – conceived – lived triad which refers to spatial practice, representations of space, representational spaces in spatial terms loses its force when it is approached as an “abstract model”.

In addition, because the subject, in other saying individual in a social group, can want to move from one to another without confusion, lived, conceived and perceived realms must be connected to each other. This is a very logical vitality (Lefebvre, 1991). As is seen in Figure 2.2, three dimensions of the perceived – conceived – lived triad are branches of the social space. It is important to note that they work together and affect each other. According to Schmid (2009), on the one hand, spatial practice, representation of space and spatial representations are parts of spatial production; on the other hand, phenomenological points are also revealed by basic terms: perceived, conceived and lived.

“Like all social practice, spatial practice is lived directly before it is conceptualized; but the speculative primacy of the conceived over the lived causes practice to disappear along with life, and so does very little justice to the 'unconscious' level of lived experience *per se* (Lefebvre, 1991 p.34).”

Lefebvre (1991) indicates that body is helpful to understand the three moments of space because the relationship between space and individual refers to the connection of his body with the space. at that sense, social practice uses of hands and sensory organs to perceive space. “As for *representations of the body*, they derive from accumulated scientific knowledge, disseminated with an admixture of ideology: from knowledge of anatomy, of physiology, of sickness and its cure, and of the body's relations with nature and with its surroundings or 'milieu” (1991 p.40). On the other hand, lived experience of body may be complicated and stranger because culture may take place in this process. “The 'heart' as *lived* is strangely different from the heart as *thought* and *perceived*” (1991 p.40).

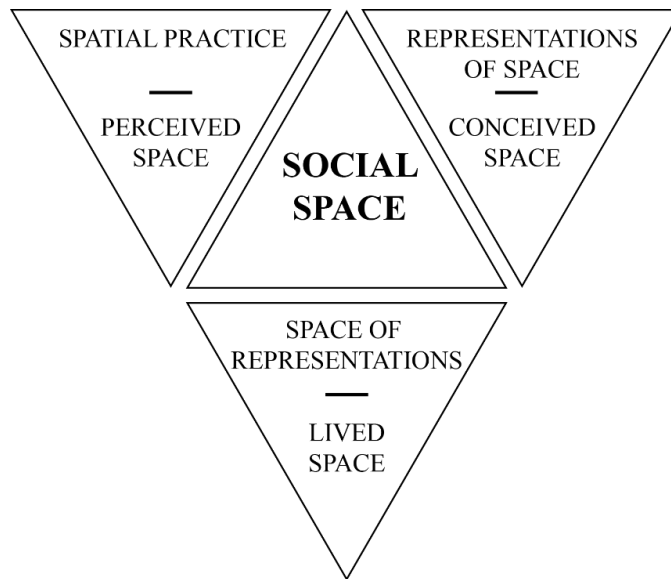


Figure 2.2. Spatial Triad Edited from Hansen (2014)

#### 2.4.1.1. Spatial practice

*“Spatial practice simultaneously defines: places - the relationship of local to global; the representation of that relationship; actions and signs; the trivialized spaces of everyday life; and, in opposition to these last, spaces made special by symbolic means as desirable or undesirable, benevolent or malevolent, sanctioned or forbidden to particular groups (Lefebvre, 1991 p.288).”*

This dimension of the triad comprises production and reproduction in addition to the locations and spatial clusters of each social formations. It also provides continuity and cohesion to some extent and this cohesion means a guaranteed level of ‘competence’ and a particular level of ‘performance (Lefebvre, 1991). In other words, spatial practice implies the daily routines or networks of individuals in material world. This world can be perceived by them because it is material and has physical elements.



In accord with Lefebvre (1991), spatial practice forms a close union between “daily reality (daily routine) and urban reality (the routes and networks which link up the places set aside for work, 'private' life and leisure)” under neo-capitalism. Individuals daily routines constitute the spatial practice. As it is mentioned before, production of space consists of two dimensions: social relations of production and relations of production. It can be said that the routes between work and private life of individuals forms these two dimensions. The spatial practice of a society is discovered through uncovering of its space from an analytic perception. Because the association between space and society contains the most excessive separation between the places it connects each other, this association is paradoxical (Lefebvre, 1991). “The specific spatial competence and performance of every society member can only be evaluated empirically. (Lefebvre, 1991 p.38)” Lefebvre (1991 p.38) states that “a spatial practice must have a certain cohesiveness, but this does not imply that it is coherent (in the sense of intellectually worked out or logically conceived)”.

#### **2.4.1.2. Representations of Space**

“It is tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to 'frontal' relations” (Lefebvre, 1991 p.33). This space belongs to scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic sub-dividers and social engineers. They all define “what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived” (Lefebvre, 1991 p.38). At that sense, they are important to identify the spatial practices and spaces of representations. This planned space provides guides for relations between the subject and space. so that this space has a critical role in production of space process.

“... representations of space have a practical impact, that they intervene in and modify spatial textures which are informed by effective knowledge and ideology (Lefebvre, 1991 p.42).”

Lefebvre (1991) states that space concepts consist of a system of verbal signs. The intervention of the actors of representation of space tend to create “a spatial context and a texture which call for 'representations' that will not vanish into the symbolic or imaginary realms” and these interventions takes place by way of construction. (Lefebvre, 1991 p.42).

#### **2.4.1.3. Representational Spaces**

“It embodies complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life, as also to art (which may come eventually to be defined less as a code of space than as a code of representational spaces) (Lefebvre, 1991 p.33).”

It is the space of users and inhabitants because it is directly lived by its relevant images and symbols. However, this space also belongs to “some artists and perhaps of those, such as a few writers and philosophers, who *describe* and aspire to do no more than describe” (Lefebvre, 1991 p.39). This space is experienced passively and dominated, which imagination desires to change and appropriate. It covers the physical space to create symbolic use of its objects. Because of this reason, representational spaces can tend towards systems of non-verbal symbols and signs (Lefebvre, 1991 p.39).

#### **2.4.2. Soja's interpretation on Lefebvre's spatial triad**

Soja adapted his own version of the triad into Lefebvre's triad and he proposed that perceived, lived and conceived spaces are three elements of spatiality as seen in Figure 2.3.

“No one of the three forms of spatial knowledge is given a priori or ontological privilege, but again there is a strategic privileging of the third term, in this case Thirdspace, as a means of combating the longstanding tendency to confine spatial knowledge to Firstspace and Secondspace epistemologies and their associated theorizations, empirical analyses, and social practices. (Soja, 1996 p.74)”

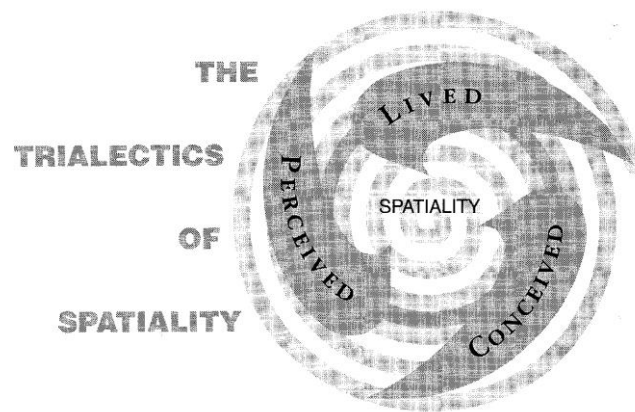


Figure 2.3. The Trialectic of Spatiality (Soja, 1996 p.74)

As it is shown in Table 2.1, he uses the terms, Firstspace as a physical space, Secondspace as mental space and Thirdspace as social space. Heever (2017 p.75) defines the dimensions of Soja’s triad as “Firstspace (Physical space/perceived space) – the concrete materiality of spatial forms; Secondspace (Mental space/conceived space) – ideas about space, re-presentations of human spatiality in mental or cognitive forms; and Thirdspace (Social space/lived space) – the real-and-imagined places as arena of socially lived life”.

Table 2.1. *Dimensions of Soja’s Triad* (Heever, 2017)

Firstspace	Physical space	Perceived space
Secondspace	Mental space	Conceived space
Thirdspace	Social space	Lived space

#### **2.4.2.1. Spatial practice – Firstspace**

“Firstspace epistemologies tend to privilege objectivity and materiality, and to aim toward a formal science of space (Soja, 1996 p.75).”

Firstspace epistemologies are physical forms of spaces and as Soja's (1996) emphasizes indicate, they are seen as outcome or product in human spatiality. The definition of First space is a material physical spatiality which focuses on “analytical deciphering” which is also called by Lefebvre as spatial practice or perceived space. This physical spatiality is comprehended in measurable configurations: “in the absolute and relative locations of things and activities, sites and situations; in patterns of distribution, designs, and the differentiation of a multitude of materialized phenomena across spaces and places; in the concrete and mappable geographies of our lifeworlds, ranging from the emotional and behavioral space "bubbles" which invisibly surround our bodies to the complex spatial organization of social practices shape our "action spaces" in households, buildings, neighborhoods, villages, cities, regions, nations, states, the world economy, and global geopolitics” (Soja, 1996 p.75).

#### **2.4.2.2. Representations of Space – Secondspace**

“In its purest form, Secondspace is entirely ideational, made up of projections into the empirical world from conceived or imagined geographies (Soja, 1996 p.79).”

“In the long history of spatial thinking, Secondspace epistemologies have tended to arise in reaction to the excessive closure and enforced objectivity of mainstream Firstspace analysis, pitting the artist versus the scientist or engineer, the idealist versus the materialist, the subjective versus the objective interpretation (Soja, 1996 p.78).”

There are debates about the essence of space about the existence of space as absolute or relative and a way of thinking or a material reality. On the contrary, the imagined geography in Secondspace is in tendency to be the real geography through the representation which defines and orders this reality (Soja, 1996). These mental spaces are dominated and representations of power and ideology.

#### **2.4.2.3. Representational Spaces – Thirdspace**

These spaces are combining of real and imagined and they do not privilege both real and imagined ones as a priori. They are counter spaces of resistance to sovereign order and they arise from subordinate, peripheral or marginalized place. Lefebvre's definition and its radical openness is close to definition Thirdspace which is made by Soja. (1996).

“Thirdspace, as I have been defining it, retains the multiple meanings Lefebvre persistently ascribed to social space. It is both a space that is distinguishable from other spaces (physical and mental, or First and Second) and a transcending composite of all spaces” (Soja, 1996 p.62).

As a result, Thirdspace is conscious and flexible term which seeks to capture the things permanently changing and changing milieu of ideas, events, appearances, and meanings (Soja, 1996 p.2).

#### **2.4.3. Schmid's interpretation on Lefebvre's spatial triad**

Schmid in his work, summarize the triad to understand and explain the social and material world. He defines the concepts of the perceived (*perçu*), the conceived (*conçu*), and the lived (*vécu*) spaces with noting Lefebvre's phenomenological access to the three dimensions of the production of space.

He also adds that this triad is not constituent for not only self-production of men but also self-production of society (Schmid, 2009). According to him, perceived, conceived and lived concepts of space create individual and social processes.

*Perceived space* - In a general definition, “this sensuously perceptible aspect of space directly relates to the materiality of the “elements” that constitute “space”” (Schmid, 2009 p.39). This space is perceptible by the senses and this perception takes part in social practices internally (Schmid, 2009). In addition to that, the all senses have a role in this concept of space.

*Conceived space* - “Bringing together the elements to form a “whole” that is then considered or denoted as space presumes an act of thought that is linked to the production of knowledge” (Schmid, 2009 p.39-40).

*Lived space* - This space is lived and experiences by human beings in their daily life. This space consists of practical experience which “does not let itself exhausted through theoretical analysis” (Schmid, 2009 p.40). Schmid separates the triad into experiences of societies and individuals and the conceptualization of these experiences as spatial practice, the representation of space and spaces of representation.

*Spatial Practice* - In concrete terms, it is networks of interaction and communication which occurs in everyday life (e.g., daily connection of residence and workplace) or in the production process (production and exchange relations) (Schmid, 2009 p.36). This concept specifies the materiality of social activity and interaction. It also focuses on the activities in daily life and it characterizes the system which springs from connection of activities (Schmid, 2009).

*The Representation of Space* - Representations of space emerge at the level of discourse, of speech as such, and therefore comprise verbalized forms such as descriptions, definitions, and especially (scientific) theories of space (Schmid, 2009 p.37). This concept define space by giving image to the space and it includes maps, plans informative pictures and signs. Social sciences and architecture and planning are some discipline which deal with the production of representations.

*Spaces of Representation* - “This concerns the symbolic dimension of space. According to this, spaces of representation do not refer to the spaces themselves but to something else: a divine power, the logos, the state, masculine or feminine principle, and so on (Schmid, 2009 p.37).” This concept is related with the symbols which is assigned to the material world in spatial practice and these symbols can come from nature or buildings and monuments or landscapes. It is a kind of inverse of representations of space as Lefebvre indicated (Schmid, 2009).

#### **2.4.4. Harvey’s interpretation on Lefebvre’s spatial triad**

Harvey is another scholar to interpret Lefebvre’s spatial triad. He proposes a grid to better understanding of the triad, which is shown in Table 2.2. The columns comprise of accessibility and distanciation, appropriation and use of space, domination and control of space and production of space. On the other hand, lines consist of material spatial practices (experience), representations of space (perception) and spaces of representation (imagination). Harvey states that “Spatial and temporal practices, in any society, abound in subtleties and complexities. Since they are so closely implicated in processes of reproduction and transformation of social relations, some way has to be found to depict them and generalize about their use” (Harvey, 1989 p.218). He (1989) explains three elements of the triad.

*Material Spatial Practices* - It attributes to physical and material flows and interactions which exist in space and by means to ensure the production and social reproduction.

*Representations of Space* - It includes signs, significations, codes and knowledge which let the material practice be understood. It can take advantage of either everyday common-sense or arcane jargon of the academic disciplines which are engineering architecture, geography, planning, social ecology.

*Spaces of Representation* - These spaces are “metal inventions that imagine new meanings or possibilities for spatial practices” (1989 p.218-219)

Harvey (1989) also lists four other aspects of spatial triad to better understanding:

*Accessibility and Distanciation* - “Distance is both a barrier to and a defense against, human interaction” (Harvey, 1989 p.222). The distance may apply a cost on production and reproduction systems (particularly those based on any elaborate social division of labor, trade, and social differentiation of reproductive functions).

*The Appropriation of Space* - It shows the activities, objects, individuals, classes, or other social groupings which occupy the space. Systematic and institutionalized allocation may require the generation of regionally restricted forms of social solidarity.

*The Domination of Space* - It refers to the way of domination of powerful groups and individuals in the process of production of space through legal or extra-legal means.



*The Production of Space* - It investigates the way of production of new systems (actual or imagined) of land use, transport and communications, territorial organization, etc. and the way of arising of new modes of representation (e.g. information technology, computerized mapping, or design) (Harvey, 1989 p.222).

The all aspects of spatial practice are very related to each other. “The friction of distance is implicit in any understanding of the domination and appropriation of space, while the persistent appropriation of a space by a particular group amounts to a de facto domination of that space. The production of space, insofar as it reduces the friction of distance alters distancing and the conditions of appropriation and domination” (Harvey, 1989 p.222).

Table 2.2. *Harvey's Spatial Triad* (Harvey, 1989 p.220-221)

	Accessibility and distancing	Appropriation and use of space	Domination and control of space	Production of space
Material spatial practices (experience)	flows of goods, money, people labor power, information, etc.; transport and communications systems; market and urban hierarchies; agglomeration	land uses and built environments; social spaces and other 'turf' designations; social networks of communication and mutual aid	private property in land; state and administrative divisions of space; exclusive communities and neighborhoods; exclusionary zoning and other forms of social control (policing and surveillance)	production of physical infrastructures (transport and communications; built environments; land clearance, etc.); territorial organization of social infrastructures (formal and informal)

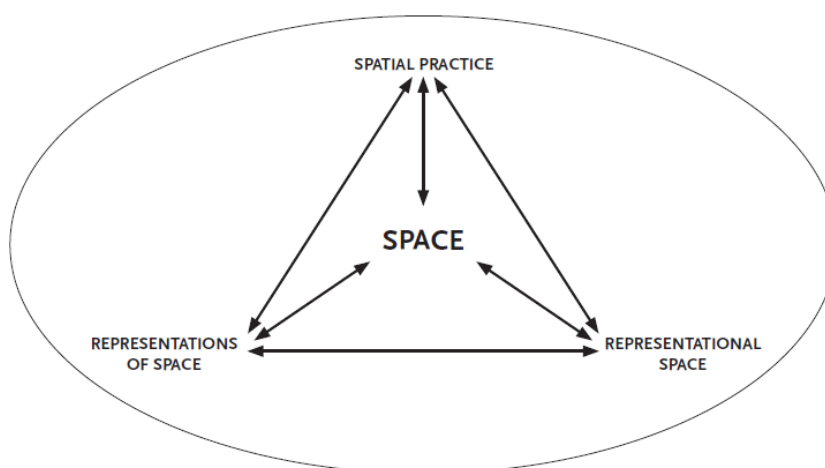
Representations of space (perception)	social, psychological and physical measures of distance; map-making; theories of the 'friction of distance' (principle of least effort, social physics, range of a good, central place and other forms of location theory)	personal space; mental maps of occupied space; spatial hierarchies; symbolic representation of spaces; spatial, discourses'	forbidden spaces; 'territorial imperatives'; community; regional culture; nationalism; geopolitics; hierarchies	new systems of mapping, visual representation, communication, etc.; new artistic and architectural 'discourses'; semiotics.
Spaces of representation (imagination)	attraction/ repulsion; distance/ desire; access/ denial; transcendence 'medium is the message'.	familiarity; hearth and home; open places; places of popular spectacle (streets, squares, markets); iconography and graffiti; advertising	unfamiliarity; spaces of fear; property and possession; monumentality and constructed spaces of ritual; symbolic barriers and symbolic capital; construction of 'tradition'; spaces of repression	utopian plans; Imaginary landscapes; science fiction ontologies and space; artists' sketches; mythologies of space and place; poetics of space spaces of desire

## 2.5. Concluding Remarks

As Lefebvre and other scholars indicated social production of space is a process and it is examined in three dimensions which are spatial practice, representations of space and spaces of representation. In other saying, these three dimensions of the process are related with the physical materiality, mental representations and imagery representations of space. Space consists of the social interactions and their reflections in terms of physical and imagery.

Lefebvre (1991 p.46) indicates that “it is reasonable to assume that spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces contribute in different ways to the production of space according to their qualities and attributes, according to the society or mode of production in question, and according to the historical period”.

In addition, three moments have interactions between each other. They occur as a result of existence of others and they affect the other assets as it is shown in Figure 2.4. In the context of migration these aspects should also work together; in other words, when existence of representations of space is lack in any context, there may be some problems such as isolation of immigrants from the other parts of cities. This is the second research questions and aim of this thesis, which covers the existence of representation of space and its effects on usage of city parts. At that sense, because the migration phenomenon is a space changing process and moving of societies' social structure from one place to another, the production of space in a significant space is affected by 'newcomers' and the way of producing space begins to adapt both local people and 'newcomers'.



*Figure 2.4. Conceptual Triad of Lefebvre (Goonewardena et al., 2009 p. 270)*

To summarize the all interpretations on spatial triad Table 2.3 is made and it includes variables which may be used in conceptualizing spatial triad on immigrant or refugee studies. Regarding to first question of the thesis which covers the production of spatial triad of refugees, three aspects of the triad have some research variables. First of all, perceived space includes “daily reality” or “daily routine” (Lefebvre, 1991), “physical spatiality” (Soja, 1996) and “habits and patterns of movement” and “observable space” (Carp, 2008). Daily reality and routine cover “the routes and networks”.

Second of all, conceived space determines the perceived and lived space as Lefebvre (1991) indicated. Thus, it covers the “knowledge and ideology” (Lefebvre, 1991) and “mental and verbal activity of scientists, planners or social engineers” (Carp, 2008). Finally, lived space consists of the “image and symbols” (Lefebvre, 1991), “new meanings” (Harvey, 1989) and the experience of living (Carp, 2008). These variables would be operated in this thesis in the context of refugees to answer the questions that concerns production of space of refugees and their relationship with parts of cities.

Table 2.3. *Approaches to Lefebvre's Triad (After Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 1996; Harvey, 1989; Carp, 2008; Schmid, 2008)*

	<b>Lefebvre</b>	<b>Soja</b>	<b>Harvey</b>	<b>Carp</b>	<b>Schmid</b>
<b>Spatial Practice Perceived Space</b>	“a close association between <u>daily reality</u> (daily routine) and <u>urban reality</u> (the routes and networks which link up the places set aside for work, 'private' life and leisure).”	<u>a material and materialized "physical" spatiality</u> sites and situations; in patterns of <u>distribution, designs, spatial organization of social practices</u> that shape our "action spaces"	<u>physical and material flows,</u> transfers, and interactions that occur in and across space in such a way as to assure production and social reproduction.	<u>habits, and patterns of movement</u> in and through <u>physical places</u> related to the <u>physical and empirically observable 'tangible, textured, visible, audible, olfactory'</u>	Perceptible aspect of space directly relates to the <u>materiality of the "elements" that constitute "space"</u>

	Lefebvre	Soja	Harvey	Carp	Schmid
<b>Representations of Space Conceived Space</b>	Conceptualized space the space of <u>scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic sub-dividers and social engineers, identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived intervene in and modify</u> spatial textures which are informed by effective <u>knowledge</u> and <u>ideology</u> .	Control over <u>knowledge</u> , signs, and codes: over the means of deciphering spatial practice and hence over the production of spatial knowledge.	All of the <u>signs and significations, codes and knowledge</u> , that allow such material practices to be talked about and understood	to <u>mental activity</u> about "physical space" in a theoretical distinction from the physical field  <u>verbal activity</u> of "scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers	<u>Rational, intellectual conceptions</u> of urban areas for analytical, planning and administrative purposes.
<b>Spaces of Representation Lived Space</b>	Space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols the space of <u>'inhabitants' and 'users'</u>	"Clandestine or underground side of social life"  The dominated - and hence <u>passively experienced or subjected</u> -space which the imagination (verbal but especially non-verbal) seeks to change and appropriate.	<u>Mental inventions</u> (codes, signs, 'spatial discourses,' utopian plans, imaginary landscapes, and even material constructs such as symbolic spaces, particular built environments, paintings, museums, and the like) <u>new meanings</u> or <u>possibilities</u> for spatial practices.	the actual <u>experience of living</u>  infuses both physical space and mental space	the <u>symbolic dimension</u> of space.  <u>the process of signification</u> that links itself to a (material) symbol



## **CHAPTER 3**

### **MIGRATION**

#### **3.1. Definition of migration**

Because migration does not have a universal and certain definition and concept or identified scale, a lot of definitions have been involved in the literature. In accord with (Sinha, 2005), it is hard to make a perfect definition of migration. However, scholars attempt to make a definition for migration. There are questions to make these definitions clearer such as permanent or semi-permanent change in residence, intention of mover, length of the destination etc. (Sinha, 2005). International Organization for Migration makes a definition for migration thereby it takes consider the political boundaries of states.

IOM (2019) defines the term of migration as the movement of a person or a group of persons both in state, and across international border.

“It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification. (“Key Migration Terms,” 2019)”

Together with migration definition of IOM, to give a very general definition to migration, Alan Simmons (1987) proposes three major aspects for explanation of migration: “a change in residence, a shift in employment and a shift in social relations” (Cited in Piché, 2013 p.142).

So that, in very general term migration is a place changing process of individuals or social groups. The migration process is an upward trend in the world for whatever reason or type it might be. Migrants leave the place which in they live voluntarily or by force because of economic reasons, better quality of life or conflicts in their homeland. In addition to these definitions, “such variations highlight the fact that there is nothing objective about definition of migration: they are the result of state policies, introduced in response to political and economic goals and public attitudes” (Castles, 2000 p.270).

### **3.2. Theories of Migration**

#### **3.2.1. Ravenstein’s Migration Laws**

Ravenstein’s the Laws of Migration which is published in 1885 is the first known migration study in the literature. This study is base of the push and pull factors in migration. Ernst Ravenstein was the first people to make an attempt to understand logic of human mobility, so he described ‘migration laws’ (Amelina & Horvath, 2017). Some of the laws are “*migrants going long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centers of commerce or industry*”, “*each current of migration produces a compensating counter current, the natives of towns are less migratory than those of rural areas*”, “*large towns grow more by migration than by natural increase*” and “*the major direction of migration is from the agricultural areas to the centers of industry and commerce and the major causes of migration are economic*”. These laws are based on contemporary migration debates. O’Reilly (2016) remarks about the Ravenstein’s work:

“Ravenstein concluded that favorable and unfavorable economic conditions serve to push and pull individuals in predictable directions, and the search for these characteristics of migration has since become a feature of migration studies” (p.26).



### 3.2.2. Lee - Push and Pull Factors

Lee (1966) defines migration as a permanent or semi-permanent change in broad terms, and no restrictions are imposed on the distance of movement or voluntary or involuntary structure of the action, and no distinction is made between internal and external migration. He summarized the process of migration in four categories: “(1) factors associated with the area of origin, (2) factors associated with the area of destination, (3) intervening obstacles and (4) personal factors” (Lee, 1966 p.50). Factors in the first heading are the push factors and second one includes factors which are pull factors. Lee (1966 p.50) also indicates that “every area has numerous factors that try to attract people in the region or attract people to themselves, and there are others who tend to push them”. These factors are shown in the Figure 3.1 as ‘+’ and ‘-’ signs and there is also ‘0’ sign that identifies the factors that people indifferent to. Lee’s model of migration is based on individual choices which concern positive and negative factors of origin and destination and these factors mainly based on growing gap between countries. Castles, Hass and Miller (2014) interpret the push and pull factors as migration is not just a reaction to difficult conditions at home: it is also motivated by the search for better opportunities and lifestyles elsewhere. Intervening obstacles on the other hand mention some disincentives such as distance or migration laws.

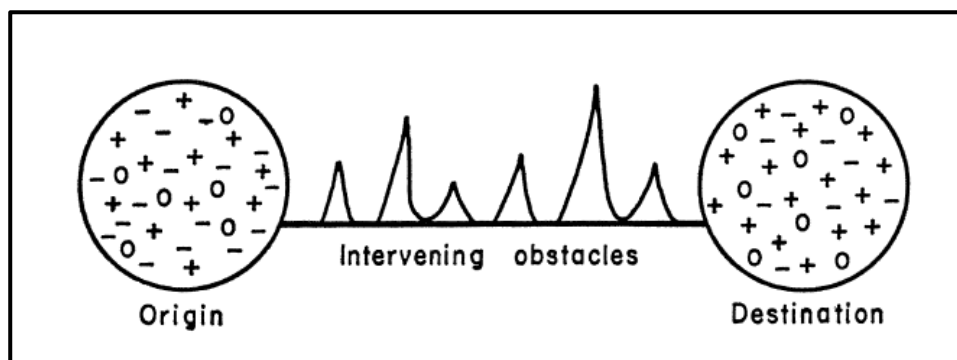


Figure 3.1. Origin and Destination Factors and Intervening Obstacles in Migration (Lee, 1966 p.50)

“Increasing technology plays an important role in diminishing intervening obstacles. Communication becomes easier, and transportation relative to average income becomes cheaper. Even if there were no change in the balance of factors at origin and destination, improving technology alone should result in an increase in the volume of migration” (Lee, 1966 p.54). Öberg explains the push factors in more detailed way. As seen in Figure 3.2, he divides them into two categories which are ‘hard push factors’ and ‘soft push factors’ (Öberg, 1994 p.371).

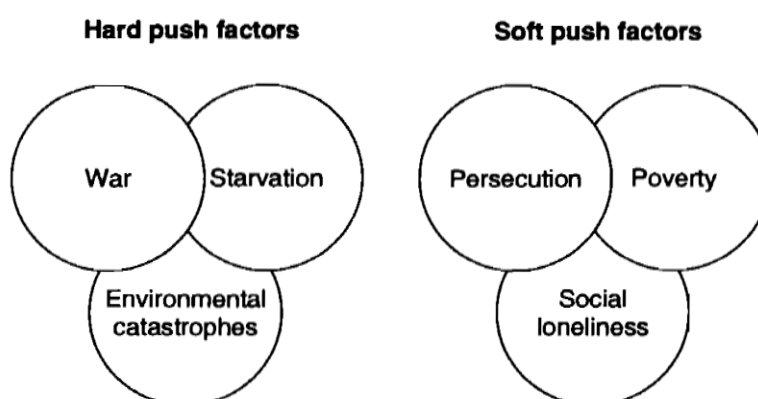


Figure 3.2. Hard and soft factors of migration (Öberg, 1994 p.371)

While war, starvation and environmental catastrophes are called as hard push factors, persecution, poverty and social loneliness are soft push factors.

### 3.2.3. Petersen – General Typology of Migration

Petersen (1958) divides the migration into five category which are primitive, forced, impelled free and mass migration, which is demonstrated in Table 3.1. He also states that:

“When the push-pull polarity has been refined in these two senses, by distinguishing innovating from conservative migration and by including in the analysis the migrants' level of aspiration, it can form the basis of an improved typology of migration. (p.259)”

Table 3.1. *Typology of Migration (Petersen, 1958 p.266)*

Relation	Migratory Force	Class of Migration	Type of Migration	
			Conservative	Innovating
Nature and Man	Ecological push	Primitive	Wandering	Flight from the land
			Ranging	
State (or equivalent) and Man	Migration Policy	Forced	Displacement	Slave trade
		Impelled	Flight	Coolie trade
Man, and his norms	Higher aspirations	Free	Group	Pioneer
Collective behavior	Social momentum	Mass	Settlement	Urbanization

***Primitive Migration*** - It occurs because of ecological push and it is the first class of migration. It mainly composes of the bad ecological or weather conditions in an area.

***Forced and Impelled Migrations*** - When people do not have the opportunity to decide whether they migrate or not, this situation named as forced migration. On the other hand, in impelled migration, people have chance to decide.

***Free Migration*** - In this type of migration, people are free to choose a migration option and they migrate taking consider their will.

***Mass Migration*** - When there is a good example of migration exist, the growth of this movement becomes semi-autonomic. People tend to follow previous movements of people and Petersen (1958) states that migration is a collective behavior at a sense.

### 3.3. Types of Migration

According to “Migration Impact on Cities Report” (World Economic Forum, 2017), migration can be classified into three categories which are political boundaries, movement patterns and decision-making approach.

Table 3.2. *Migration Types (World Economic Forum, 2017)*

By political boundaries	By movement patterns	By decision-making approach
Internal migration	Step migration	Voluntary migration
International migration	Circular migration	Involuntary migration
	Chain migration	

*Political boundaries* - The report (World Economic Forum, 2017) identified that this type of migration is based on political boundaries such as state boundaries and it depends on origin and destination. As it is demonstrated in Table 3.2, It includes internal migration which occurs in a state and international migration which arises across the states.

*Movement patterns* - This is based on social status of people, their travel points and periodicity. Step migration, circular migration and chain migration are elements of this classification. Step migration is based on the move from small settlement to a bigger one in city. Circular migration occurs when an individual live in both origin and destination, in other words, more than one location. Chain migration this occurs when people influence the other to migrate a place; that is to say, migrants decide where they migrate under the influence of people who migrate there before (World Economic Forum, 2017).

*Decision-making approach* - It is based on personal decisions which are voluntarily which based on person's free decisions or involuntarily which occurs when a person is forced to leave his/her home due to political or environment reasons (World Economic Forum, 2017). There are many other classifications for migration in literature. According to Tuzcu and Bademli (2014), although there are variety of migration classification which are based on different criterion, types based on *political boundaries* are commonly used. In addition, involuntarily – forced migration also take place in the agenda frequently these days. For this reason, political boundaries and decision-making approaches will be examined in detail.

### **3.3.1. Migrations Based on Political Boundaries**

#### **3.3.1.1. Internal Migration**

It means “a move from one area (a province, district or municipality) to another within one country” (Castles, 2000 p.269). It is a change of location of residence within a country.

Bell, Alves, Oliveira, & Zuin (2010) explains that internal migration ensues in a country and between regions from rural and poor regions to urban or big cities. Macionis (2012 p. 513) states that “all nations experience internal migration, movement within their borders from one region to another”. Internal migration is related with the urbanization and industrialization processes and it contains mass migration movements from rural to urban (Marshall, 1999). (a) From rural areas to rural areas, (b) from rural areas to a city, (c) from city to city and (d) from city to rural areas are the directions of internal migration (Kaya, 2015). However, the greater part of these migration flows comprises of rural-urban direction because of better services and job opportunities in cities. However, this thesis emphasis on especially international migration in terms of refugees because it remains on the agenda and it causes multi-ethnic interaction in cities.

#### **3.3.1.2. International Migration**

Castles (2000 p.269) defines the international migration as “means crossing the frontiers which separate one of the world’s approximately 200 states from another”.

In addition to this definition, the definition of UN states that an international migrant is a person who is living in a country other than his or her country of birth (UN, 2017).

International migration has taken place in practice in the long history of world. Agricultural and industrial revolutions, renaissance, colonization, changes in global economic systems and technologic developments are some factors that affect the international migration (Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana, 2016). The writers also remark that in the recent past, globalization has increased international migration waves thanks to mainly revolutions in the information technology (2016). On the other hand, natural disasters and violence or conflicts enhance the international migration. For example, Syrian migration wave the most contemporary trend in world nowadays. These reasons make international migration has grown into a popular practice and as a result, it has become a rising trend in intellectual interesting areas (Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana, 2016).

In accord with Cohen (1995), the world migration has gained importance in the modern period which has occurred thanks to long-distance commerce and communication in global scale. Industrial power of USA caused a mass migration in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Millions of workers from Europe tended to migrate to USA at that years. Second World War was another major period in migration history (Cohen, 1995). In order to escape from war and violence, many of war victims were forced to migrate to safe areas. Second World War made the migration trend more expanded and it brought a new perspective to literature. There were a lot of countries which were affected by migrants and they were faced with variety of economic, social and cultural backgrounds (Castles, 2000). The international migration boom which includes labor migrants was over in mid-1970s; despite, it was over in 1990s in the USA (Cohen, 1995). On the other hand, according to Castles (2000), international migration has increases more rapidly in 1990s. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, migration flows become more complicated and occur in more global scale (Cohen, 1995). A lot of countries have concerned with the international migration nowadays.

As it is seen the characteristics of migration flows have shown changes in the history. Development and globalization of the world and improvements in technology affect the migration phenomena. Koser (2007 p. 4) states that:

“That migration is associated with significant global events – revolutions, wars, and the rise and fall of empires; that it is associated with significant change – economic expansion, nation-building, and political transformations, and that it is also associated with significant problems – conflict, persecution, and dispossession.”

As a result of the history of migration, it is not possible that only one theory can explain the international migration. Economics, Sociology, Geography, Commerce, Management, Law, Political Science, Demography, and Psychology are some of the disciplines which influence researches on the international migration regarding to the complex generation of it. (Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana, 2016). In other words, international migration does not include a single or coherent theory and there is a fragmented set of theories which is developed separately from one to another. Additionally, these fragmented theories have important role in analyzing the international migration in terms of several correlated variables (Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana, 2016). All disciplines have a different approach when examining the process of international migration in terms of its consequences, reasons, types etc.

Economic and political factors, natural or men-made disasters which includes internal or external conflicts or family unification are some causes of international migration (Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana, 2016). Also, the globalization phenomena in the world is another cause of international migration. The contemporary world is more connected, and markets in the world are more connected to each other. Improvements in technology have influence in international migration pretty much.

International migration also has consequences both in receiving and home countries. There may be positive and negative results for countries. Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana (2016 p.15) state that “it is argued that migration is a positive force for development since it facilitates development for the receiving country, as the country is able to obtain the required knowledge, expertise and services of skilled and unskilled labor. However, the receiving country may also suffer due to unwelcome migrants moving into the country as refugees”. On the other hand, it can be negative for sending country in terms of losing the labor force and brain drain (Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana, 2016).

### **3.3.1.3. Types of International Migration**

Like migration literature, there are also different categories of international migration which depends on different perspectives. Castles (2000) divides international migrants into eight categories: temporary labor migrants, highly skilled and business migrants, irregular migrants, refugees, asylum-seekers, forced migration, family members, return migrants. Bell, Alves, Oliveira, & Zuin (2010) make three classification for international migration on the other hand, which are labor migration, forced migration and international retirement migration. Castles (2000) and Bell, Alves, Oliveira, & Zuin (2010) defines these types as follows:

Temporary labor migrants and highly skilled and business migrants: They are guest workers in a host country. The highly skilled and business migrants have some quality in their professions and look for a job in global market or international organizations.

Irregular migrants: They are illegal migrants who work in a country and do not have documents or permissions.

Refugees: This is a status for migrants who leave their country and they do not have a chance to return.



Asylum-seekers: They migrate to protect themselves without the status which is given by the UN.

Forced migration: It consists of refugees, asylum seekers and people who forced to leave their country.

Family members: It is known as “family reunion” and it occurs when members of a family who locate in different countries migrate and reunion.

Return migrants: They are people who return to their country after a particular time.

### **3.3.2. Migrations Based on Decision-making Approach**

#### **3.3.2.1. Voluntary Migration**

With reference to Adamson (2006 p.171), voluntary migration means that “migration by individuals who have left their homes of their own accord to pursue economic opportunities, for personal enrichment, or to be reunited with their families” and literature and political debates on migration generally comprise of voluntary migration

As a matter of fact, voluntary migration is explained above in the migration and international migration titles. As it is mentioned, it is associated with the theory of pull and push factors of areas broadly.

#### **3.3.2.2. Forced / Involuntary Migration**

Forced migration means that “a migratory movement in which an element of coercion exists, including threats to life and livelihood, whether arising from natural or man-made causes” (“Key Migration Terms,” 2019).

Castles (2006) explains the difference between voluntary and involuntary migration in terms of analytical and policy terms and he said that forced migration consists of many political categories and they force people to flee their countries. Considering Lee's push and pull theory and Öberg's hard push and soft push theory, natural or men-made disasters may be hard push factor for societies and these factors can force people to leave their country. Kunz (1973) also explain the motivations of migration by referencing push and pull factors. War, conquest, economic change and political conflict are some reasons for forced migration. As result, forced migration has an involuntary and rapid characteristic which causes sudden decisions and situations for migrants. Oliver-smith (1991) indicates that there is a loss of control over the choices and resources in process of involuntary nature of migration. Forced migration leads to many of the major migration flows in the history (Adamson, 2006). So that it causes mass human flows to various countries and make their population increase. It can be said that it has effects in receiving country. Forced migration bonds with process of societal change in origin and destination areas in a complex way (Castles, 2003).

Castles (2006 p.24) also emphasizes that “forced migration has increased rapidly and changed in character in recent decades, and the most common explanation for this involves the major political and economic shifts since the end of the Cold War”. The changes in especially economic and political policies affects the social structure of less developed countries and they cause transformation in socially in these countries. As a result, they may cause conflicts and these conflicts may cause forced migration (Castles, 2006). He (2006) states that forced migration is not a new phenomenon; they are a part of long human history. Refugee and forced migration studies arose in 1980s; however, Humanities and Social and Political Sciences has a significant and long history of researches on refugees and forced displacement. For example, after second world war, there were refugee movements and some international organizations were establish to protect them (Fiddian-Quasmiyeh, Loescher, Long, & Sigona, 2014).

In addition, Castles (2006 p.7) states that “forced migration has grown considerably over the last thirty years, becoming a major political and social issue in many parts of the world”. As it is mentioned forced migration has a lot of consequences both in receiving and origin country; so that, these consequences should be examined in detail to minimize these results. Fiddian-Quasmiyeh, Loescher, Long, & Sigona (2014 p.4) state that “there is a real and continuing need to collect accurate, representative and meaningful qualitative and quantitative data in order to carefully map and better understand the scope, scale causes and consequences of forced migration.”

### **3.3.2.3. Types of Forced Migrations / Definition of Terms**

Castles (2006) divides the forced migration into nine categories and these categories are explained following with reference to Castles’ and IOM’s definitions.

*Asylum Seekers:* They leave from their country to move in safer country, but they wait for refugee status which is given by receiving country. In addition, there is no time limit and they may wait for a long time to get the status. If there is a negative result to get refugee status, asylum seekers have to leave the receiving country or they stay in the country in an illegal situation (“Key Migration Terms,” 2019).

*Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs):* Persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border (“Key Migration Terms,” 2019) IDPs are poorer and have less social connection, and they are not protected by any international legal protection instruments. They often are protected by general human right organizations.

*Protracted Refugee Situations:* “Many refugees have experienced exile for many years, usually in camps, with no chance either of returning home, or achieving local integration in the host country (2006 p.10).”

*Returnees:* Refugees generally want to return to their home country when their country become safe. However, end of the violence does not mean it does not start again and there may be bad economic condition because of conflict in the country.

*Development Displacees:* Forced migration is not always occurs because of natural or men – made disasters. Sometimes, large scale development projects such as dams, airports, roads force people to move another area.

*Environmental Displacees:* It occurs when people are forced to leave their country because of environmental changes. In addition, although refugee experts claim that there are no environmental refugees, they also emphasis that environmental factors play part in forced migration. These environmental factors may be related with social and ethnic conflict, weak states and inequal distribution of sources.

*Disaster Displacees:* It consists of people who have to migrate because of natural disasters.

*People-trafficking:* It is another form of migration which occurs because of “the trafficking of people across international boundaries for purposes of exploitation” (2006 p.12).

#### **3.3.2.4. Refugees**

Refugees are another category of forced migration. It is very common in the last years because of conflicts, wars and natural disasters. Because of this reason, it is explained in detail. In 1951, the United Nations defined "refugee" as a person who "owing to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of that country" (UNHCR, 1951 p.3).

After world war II, there were huge wave of refugee to the different destinations of world, and there are many migrants in different countries. UNHCR made a definition and defined their international status in United Nations Convention in 1951. In fact, refugee is a political status for migrants. Although refugee phenomenon have played role in human history, it could gain importance and took play in world agenda because of increasing refugee population in 1980s (Schmeidl, 1997). He also states that:

Although some migration theories consider forced migrants (Peterson, 1958; Jenny, 1984), most focus exclusively on voluntary migration (Ravenstein, 1889; Lee, 1966) and thus provide little guidance for the analysis of refugee movements (1997 p.285).

The main feature of refugee movement is to become suddenly and unexpected. The movement of refugees does not follow one direction or path. Often being unplanned and sudden, refugee flows take any route or direction to reach safety (Clinton-Davis & Fassil, 1992 p.508). This situation affects the motivations of refugees in their new settlement and they cannot adapt the place easily. Another characteristic of it is that it occurs in opposition one's desire. "With a different past and with motivations at variance with voluntary migrants, the refugee moves from his homeland settlement against his will" (Kunz, 1973 p.130). As it is mentioned there are some push and pull factors in force movements. Clinton-Davis & Fassil (1992) explain these factors in Figure 3.3. First of all, they divide the choice process into two: internally displaced and first country of asylum. Lack of international assistance and the extension of civil war forces people to leave their country and make them a refugee. On the other hand, temporary safety and hope of return to country make people become internally displaced people. In addition, people choice to leave their country as a first country asylum. They can stay there, or they move for another country to get better conditions.

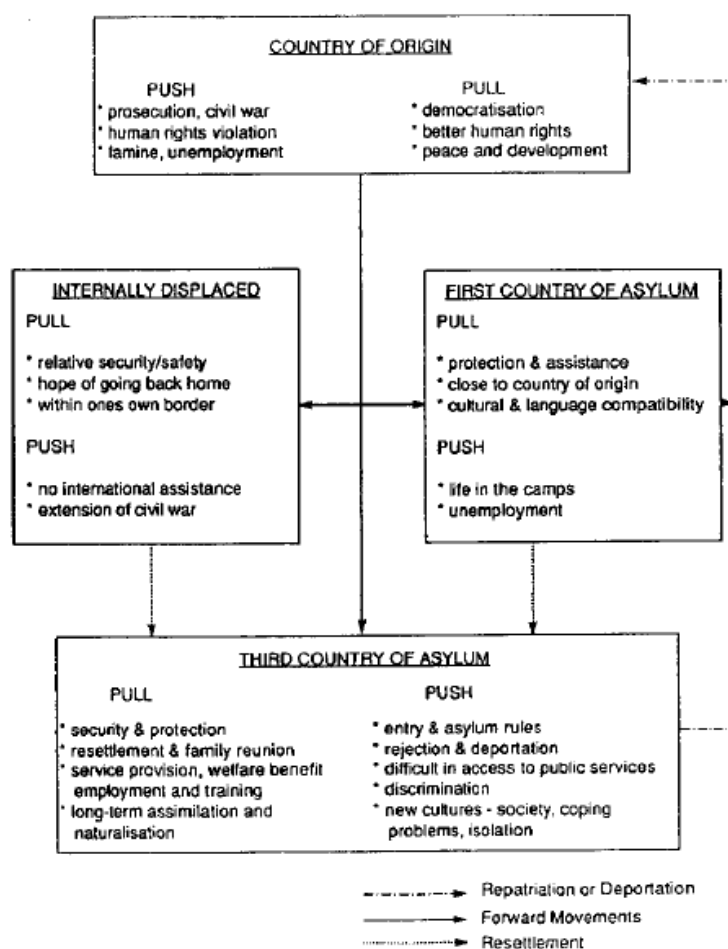


Figure 3.3. Push and Pull Factors of Forced Migration (Clinton-Davis & Fassil, 1992 p.508)

### 3.4. International Migration in Contemporary World Agenda

As it is mentioned thereinbefore, international migrant is a person who moves out of his or her country boundaries. According to World Migration Report, migration dynamics can be understood by considering several manifestations of international migration; at the same time, the needs of migrants are considered in these various migration dynamics. The digital revolution, technology in distance-shrinking and low travel costs are some reasons to make international migration more feasible and popular (IOM, 2017). Life quality, economic welfare, fleeing from violence or environmental disaster are main reasons that let people leave their home country.

Although majority of the people tend to migrate internationally for work opportunities, family reunion, education, many of them migrate because of some forcible reasons such as conflict, persecution or disaster (IOM, 2017). Regarding to these reasons, international migration phenomenon getting importance in years and the number of migrants shows an increase as it is shown in Figure 3.4. On the other hand, the percentages of migrants of world population is similar between 1990 and 2005 while this proportion shows an increase after 2010 (See Figure 3.4). The reason of this increase may be refugee phenomenon which occurs due to conflicts in Syria which starts in 2011.

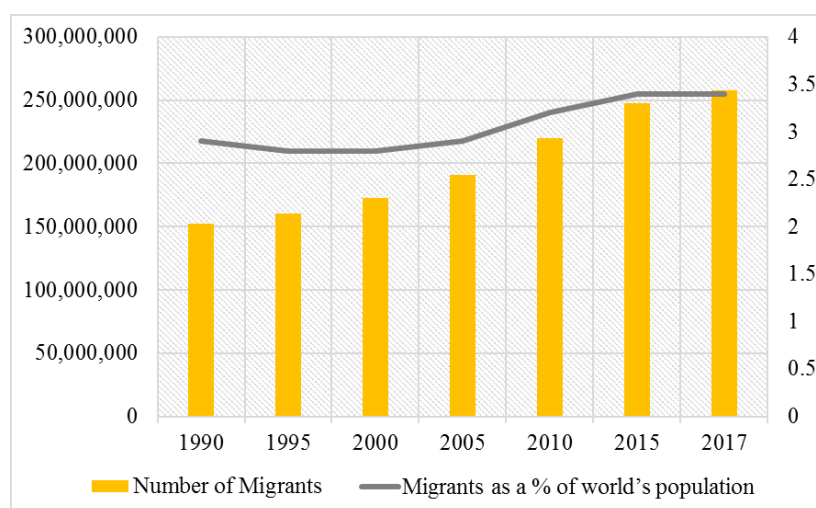


Figure 3.4. International Migrants in the World <sup>1</sup>

### 3.4.1. Forced Migration in the World Agenda

Forced migration which refers to involuntary or forced displacement studies can be divided into conflict induced, and disaster induced displacements. While conflict induced displacements are caused by humans, disaster induced displacements are result of natural disasters (Migration Data Portal, 2019a).

<sup>1</sup> This data is gained from UN DESA, 2017. (See <https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/data/estimates2/estimates17.asp>)

“At the international level, data on forced migration are collected and/or compiled by various intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), such as the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM), as well as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), such as the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC)” (Migration Data Portal, 2019a). According to UNHCR report (2018), 68.5 million individuals were displaced by force by the end of 2017. As it can be seen in Figure 3.5, 25.4 million of them constitute refugees, 40 million of them are IDPs and 3.1 million of them are asylum seekers (UNHCR, 2018). In the last eight years, Syria caused the huge majority of forcibly displacement in the World. UNHCR (2018) indicated that 12.6 million Syrians were displaced forcibly in until the end of 2017, which includes 6.3 million refugees, 146,700 asylum-seekers, and 6.2 million IDPs. There was a huge increase in the number of forcibly displaced people in the world. This situation makes this issue very important in governing and planning the settlement of them for governments and authorities. The number of forcibly displaced people increased by over 50 percent from 2007 to 2017 and conflicts in Syria have an important role in this increase (UNHCR, 2018).



Figure 3.5. Forcibly Displaced People Worldwide <sup>2</sup> (UNHCR, 2018)

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<sup>2</sup> This graph is created by using data from UNHCR Forced Displacement in 2017 report.



### 3.4.1.1. Refugees

There were 20.2 million refugees all around the world in mid-2018 and this is the first time that number of refugees exceeded 20 million and the global refugee population show an increase by 261800 people when it is compared with 2017 (UNHCR, 2019). As it is mentioned in previous part of this chapter, refugees generally tend to move border countries because they do not have many options and time. Figure 3.6 Shows the origin and destination of refugees and it can be said that refugees generally prefer their neighboring to flee. In addition, the policies about refugees of countries also important issue while choosing the country. Also, some refugees, even if just a drop, prefer to go further countries to live as it can be seen in Figure 3.6.

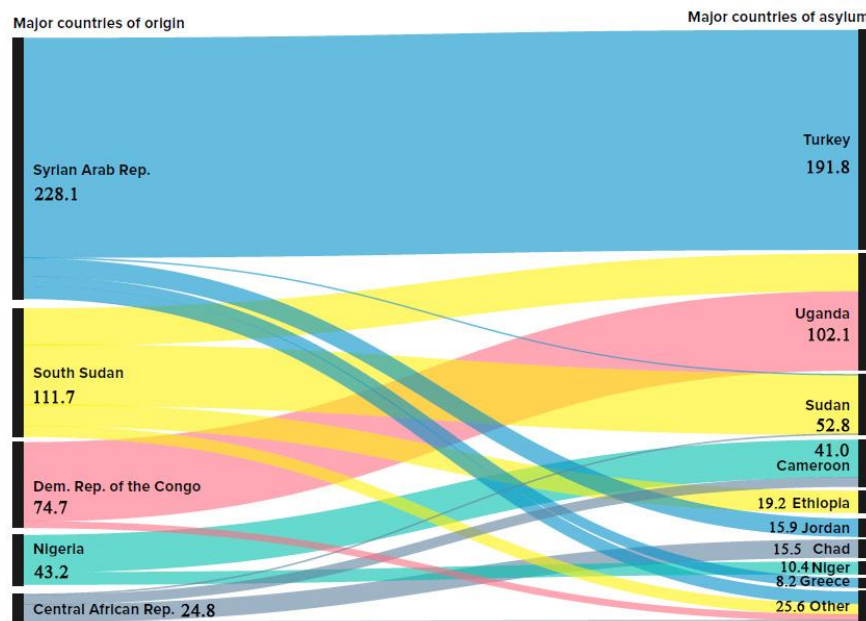
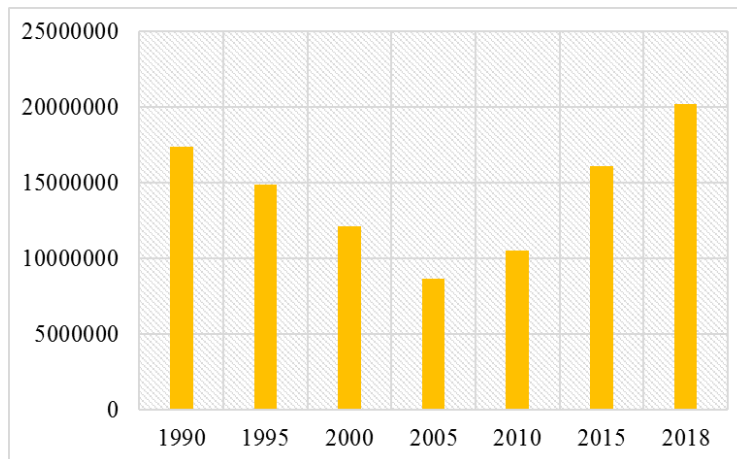


Figure 3.6. Major Countries of Origin and Destination of Refugees (UNHCR, 2019)



*Figure 3.7. Number of Refugees Under UNHCR Mandate (UNHCR, 2019b) and (UNHCR, 2019a)*

The number of refugees is generally affected by conflicts in an area. For example, as it can be seen in Figure 3.7, there was a rapid increase in refugee population after 2010 because of most probably Syrian conflict. Syria have been the main origin country of refugees since 2014.

#### **3.4.1.2. Origin Countries of Refugees**

Syrian Arab Republic is the first origin country which sends refugees all around the world in mid-2018 (See Figure 3.8). Afghanistan, South Sudan and Myanmar follow the Syrians. However, the Figure shows that the number of Syrian refugees is remarkable and has an important role in the World agenda. On the other hand, Figure 3.9 indicates that the increase in the number of Syrian, Afghan and Sudan refugees and Syrian refugees has an important increase after 2010.

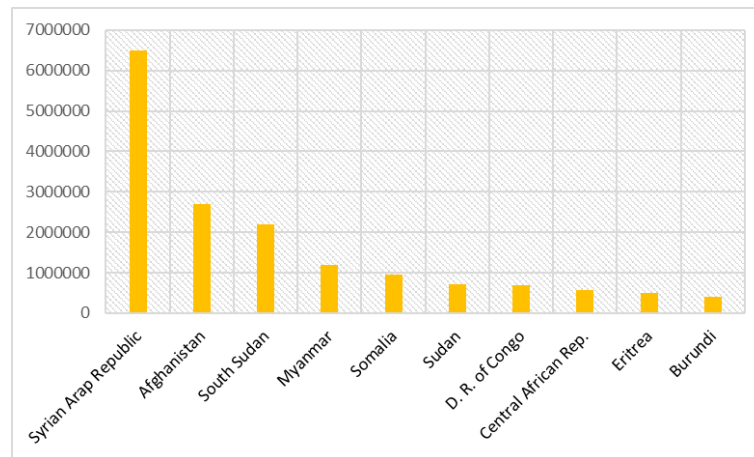


Figure 3.8. Top Ten Origin Countries of Refugees in Mid-2018 (UNHCR, 2019a)

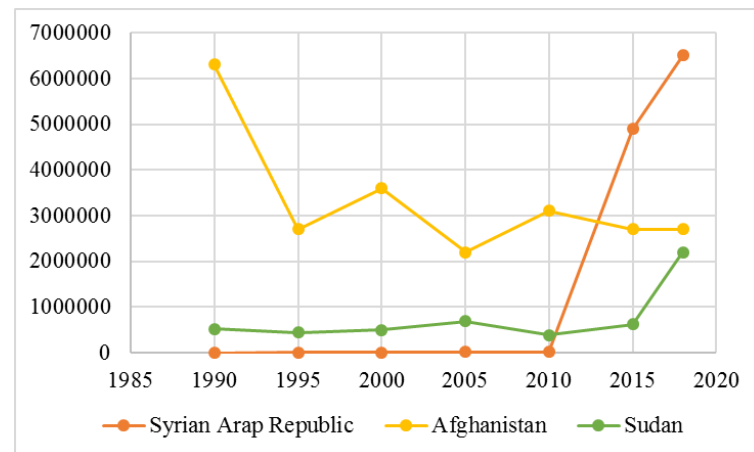


Figure 3.9. Number of Refugees Between 1990-2018 (“Migration Data Portal,” 2019b) and (UNHCR, 2019)

### 3.4.1.3. Destination Countries of Refugees

Turkey is the host country which has the largest number of refugees in the world. After Turkey, Pakistan and Uganda have the most refugees as it seen in Figure 3.10. There are 3.6 million of refugees in Turkey in mid-2018, which 98 percent of them are Syrians (UNHCR, 2019).

The main reason why Syrians choose Turkey is that Turkey is a neighboring country of Syria. They come to Turkey to settle or to use as a transit country to go to other countries.

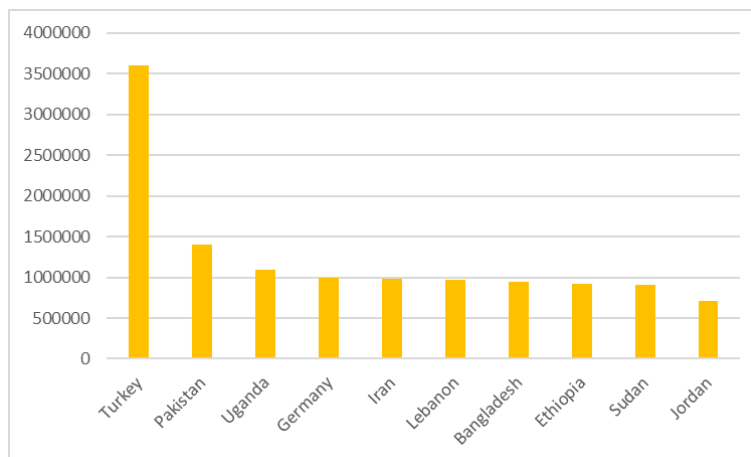


Figure 3.10. Top Ten Destination Countries of Refugees in Mid-2018 (UNHCR, 2019a)

After 2010, there has been a rapid increase in the number of refugees in Turkey while Pakistan is faced with decreases and increases in years and number of refugees in Uganda increases or decreases levelly. In Figure 3.11 it can be seen that, refugees in Turkey have always been show increase and it never decrease between 2010 and mid-2018.

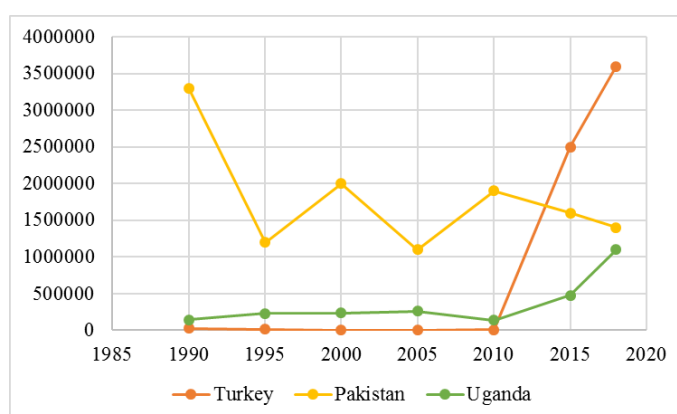


Figure 3.11. Number of Refugees Who Located in Host Country Between 1990-2018 (“Migration Data Portal,” 2019b) and (UNHCR, 2019)

### **3.5. Concluding Remarks**

Migration has various definitions that cover many disciplines, and it is hard to make an appropriate definition of migration. On the other hand, in a very general definition, it is a place changing process of individuals. It has push and pull factors according to Lee (1966), and Öberg (1994) contributes this theory with hard push factors and soft push factors. Wars are hard push factors and at that sense, they cause a forced push factor that make people leave their homes. Migration types have different classification criteria and they depend on these criteria. For example, there are types of migration based on boundaries of countries, which are internal and international migration. In addition, voluntarily and in voluntarily migrations depend on people's decision-making processes. Each types of migration also have various categories, and forced migration covers asylum seekers, IDPs, returnees, environmental displacees and refugees. As it is known, refugee phenomena take place in the contemporary discussions mostly.

The main characteristic of refugee movement is occurring suddenly and unexpectedly, and refugees do not a plan to settle somewhere. Reasons in Syrian refugee movement is an example of hard push factors, and it also happens unexpectedly, and refugees do not have any plan. Because of this reason, refugees flee neighboring countries of Syria and Turkey is the largest share of this situation.



## **CHAPTER 4**

### **A SPATIAL LENS TO MIGRATION STUDIES**

Most of the migration studies generally includes adaptation of refugees to the migrated places or researches which focuses on their exclusion by the host society from the years 1920s and 1930s to the 1980s (Vertovec, 2001). In addition to that, Özgür (2018) remarks that in 1990s the analysis of transnational circumstances among immigrants emerged in anthropological discussions in America and then spread to other disciplines. Regarding to this, researches on individuals has begun to take place in migration discussions.

A very general definition of migration is a spatial change of populations. On the contrary, as cited in Scheibelhofer (2016 p.76), Samers (2010) indicates that “classic migration research, as well as many recent migration studies, fail to reflect on this spatial character of the social and thus are unable to address the consequences of spatiality.” According to Roseman (1971), there are two research viewpoint; one “considers migration as the movement of people from one areal unit to another” and the second “considers the end result of migration-the impact of migration upon destination areas as well as upon the migrant as he adjusts his life style to a new location” (p. 589).

“... the question why the spatial has been mostly ignored in migration research might also be explained through the naturalizing effects of the spatial: As well as in our everyday lives as in most migration research, the space seems to be objectively given, not changeable by human beings. (Scheibelhofer, 2010 p.74)

However, as it is mentioned in Chapter II, relationship between space and social sciences has drawn attention of researches since 1990s. This make the social production of space take place in the migration studies.

#### **4.1. Spatiality in Migration Studies**

Migration is a spatial movement in the most general sense. Individuals or societies move from one space to another voluntarily or involuntarily. While they are moving, they do not only change their homes but also, they transfer their social, economic or cultural structure with them. Migration does not only comprise of a geographical change. As a result of this, people who migrate face with many consequences such as adaptation, integration, settlement. In addition to that, host country where migrants settle is affected by many consequences. Because the consequences of population movements cause turns and displacements of human resources, migrations are spatial phenomena (Murua & Eguía, 2015). In addition to that, migration is a population movement which affects social, economic, political structure of societies (İnan, 2004). At that sense, migration causes a remarkable transformation in migrated and host societies. As Tümtaş and Ergun (2016) cited from Doğan (2002), migrants do not transport only their body but also socio-cultural impacts of settlement where they come from to the new settlement where they migrate, and they create cultural interaction. The writers continue with that migration leads to contact and communication among people who are culturally and geographically separated from each other. As a result of this, it may be said that migration is a social or cultural transformation process for both immigrants and hosts besides it is a physical or spatial mobility process. Bruslé & Varrel (2012) question that migration and migrant change space and form new spaces that represent their relations to host country, their migration process and spaces where they come from.



They draw the attention of relationship between space and social interactions on account of migration and mobility by stating that “in a context of mobility, new forms of relationships to space are created. Migration patterns tend to become embedded in people’s lives to such an extent that multilocality is part of their ‘normal’ life” (Bruslé & Varrel, 2012 p.4).

As it is mentioned, migration leads to spatial changes in addition to social and cultural transformation regardless of whether the type of migration is internal or international and forced or voluntarily and every type of migration have different specific consequences with regards to immigrants and hosts. However, this thesis focuses on international migration in the context of refugee movements because of its bonds with creation of multi-cultural or multi-ethnic societies. In addition, Faist (1998) also propose a theoretical concept which is ‘transnational social spaces’. He (p. 216) defines transnational social spaces as “combinations of social and symbolic ties, positions in networks and organizations, and networks of organizations that can be found in at least two geographically and internationally distinct places.” Thus, the concept of social space takes place in migration literature. In addition to that, Bruslé & Varrel (2012 p.4) define the migration as “a spatial phenomenon in that migrants live their lives in several places in several countries” in the consideration of transnational social spaces.

Ekici and Tuncel (2016) argue that migration also lead to changes and transformations in values and meanings which societies attribute to the world they live. Mobility of people increase day by day for whatever the reason might be, and it causes networks and interconnections among individuals and societies. Regarding to contemporary globalization, people consistently move from one place to another, communicate and create new territories, thus these mobilizations create new socio-spatial formations and processes (Özgür, 2018 p.25).

“A space-sensitive approach to migration research has benefits in question the circumstances, power-relations and consequences of the (implicit) spatial concepts adopted by the actors studied; also, social systems and institutions are enhancing specific spatial concepts (and on this basis inclusion and exclusion is based on). (Scheibelhofer, 2010 p.11)”

#### **4.1.1. A Spatial Turn in Migration Studies**

According to classical space perspectives, space is a physical structure. However, thanks to spatial turn, approaches to space become to change. Researches (Lefebvre, Soja, Harvey etc.) defend the opinion that space is produced by social relations. “Integrating the material component of spatiality into social theory as well has been an issue for scholars from various social scientific traditions, such as Henri Lefebvre (1991) and David Harvey (1994) (Scheibelhofer, 2016).” At that sense, it is inevitable that spatial thinking in migration studies take place in the literature. Migration studies can be conducted by various disciplines. As it is mentioned spatiality is one of them. Kılıçaslan (2016) states that the context of spatial analysis which concentrates on everyday lives and activities of migrants is forms the multidimensional characteristics of migrations.

“Space is a continuum where life trajectories and individual, as well as collective strategies, literally *take place* in the sense that people’s lives, along with the circulation of ideas and artifacts, contribute to modifying or to creating places and migratory spaces (Bruslé & Varrel, 2012 p. 4).”

Space was thought as a geometrical form in the past. On the other hand, the spatial turn contributes to the literature that space has meanings and values for societies. As Lefebvre (1991 p. 26) indicates, “social space is a social product”. With respect to this statement, migration leads to produce new values, cultural features or social structures of societies in locations to which people migrate.

“The space of the elite, of the architect or of urban planners is the dominant one. In this already framed space, individuals, through their spatial everyday practices and strategies (de Certeau 1980) appropriate it. This lived space is the space of everyday life where social reproduction occurs: it is the dominated space. (Bruslé & Varrel, 2012 p. 7)”

Space is a living organism and individuals experience and reproduce it via their perceptions and experiences. So that, migrants bring new experiences to their new space from the space they lived before. According to Lefebvre, space cannot be described as dead thing or object, on the other hand, it is organic, fluid and alive and it flows (Watkins, 2005). Methodological limitations which discuss in migration studies show that migrant’s experiences and living circumstances are not able to be perceived by the researches (Scheibelhofer, 2010). However, migrants face with some changes besides they cause transformations the settlement where they migrate. These changes generally researched in terms of economic structure, exclusion or inclusion. The experiences of migrants are lack in migration researches. How they use the city, how they give the meaning to space or what is the relationship between migrants and spaces where they live are located in migration literature marginally.

#### **4.2. Spatial Thinking in Forced Migration Studies**

According to International Organizations of Migration (2019), forced migration is defined as “a migratory movement in which an element of coercion exists, including threats to life and livelihood, whether arising from natural or man-made causes.” In addition to this, UNHCR Refugee Convention (1951) remarks particular element that define of a refugee. These elements are “being outside the country of origin, nationality, or habitual residence evidenced by unwillingness to return to such a country (1951 p. 7). These definitions and elements make different forced migration from other types of migration.

Economic problems, overpopulation, violations or ethnic and civil conflicts are some of the reasons of forced migration (Schmeidl, 1997). Migrants are faced with a ‘forced’ push factor and they are forced to leave their settlements where they live in a sense. They experience a forced shift in their live spaces. Following this, in some instances, they do not find opportunity to choose best time or best place to migrate. They also experience different life conditions, cultures etc. To be uprooted or displaced denotes to change in cultural structure, to be powerless and to lose identity (Brun, 2016).

“Under certain conditions the decision to move may be made after due consideration of all relevant information, rationally calculated to maximize net advantage, including both material and symbolic rewards. At the other extreme, the decision to move may be made in a state of panic facing a crisis situation which leaves few alternatives but escape form intolerable threats. (Richmond, 1988 p. 17)”

Oliver-smith (1991 p.133) explains the process of forced migration that “resettlement projects may involve or evoke rapid and radical changes, in environment, in productive activities, in social organization... The affective ties between individuals and communities and their material environments are destroyed by uprooting and resettlement”. In the case of voluntary migration, individuals can adapt more easily to integration and integration in their new settlement. The social cohesion and integration of immigrants, who are forced to come to the new settlement without preparation and accumulation, can be much more difficult (Tümtaş & Ergun, 2016 p.1348). Another challenge for refugees is to suffer from segregation in host country. They can be seen as threat in terms of economic or violence crisis. Sanyal (2012) indicates that host societies provoke marginality of refugees who are discriminated against by them. In addition, refugees suffer from economic and health problems when they arrive the host country.

Clinton-Davis & Fassil (1992) cite that “separation from family members and friends, plunged into new and alien environment, they must come to terms with the trauma of the past, the hardship of the present, and the uncertainty of the future” (Hear, 1990). These circumstances affect the experience, usage and attributing mean to space by refugees. At that sense, researching refugee experiments with respect to spatial searches and analysis will be beneficial to determine social conditions of refugees in the host countries. There are various multi-disciplinary fields and studies which focus on refugee or forced migration studies.

Stein & Tomasi (1981 p. 6) indicate study of refugees as “a comprehensive, historical, interdisciplinary and comparative perspective which focuses on the consistencies and patterns in the refugee experience”. As cited in Brun’s (2016) article, Black (1991, 1993) and Robinson (1993) argues that geographers contribute and suggest possible contributions of refugee studies and they add that geography helps to explain complex causes of forced migration, involving economic development, environmental degradation and ethnic conflict. In other words, forced migration is a complex process because of its reasons and consequences and geography contributes to understand and analyze these situations. Although spatial researches lack in literature, (Collyer, 2014) mentions that even in 1993, Black argued that the relationship between the new locations where refugees settle and social and cultural features of them have been analyzed by geographers rather than physical locations of them.

“The broadest level of speciality within geography is between physical geography and human geography. Research into forced migration is dominated by subdisciplines of human geography, including political, economic, social, cultural, and development geographies, with much less engagement from physical geographers. (Collyer, 2014)”

As it is mentioned, refugees or migrants who are forced to leave their countries have unique experiences. They become uprooted suddenly, they are faced with a social and cultural change, and they begin to live in a new environment. Regarding to this, the usage of spaces in cities or meaning of space can differ for them. Experiences of refugees are very useful in spatial researches in migration studies. Their engagement with new locations and relations with those new locations find out their social structure. Brun (2016 p. 17) states that “in discussions on the meaning of space and place in refugee studies, a main aim should be to maintain a social dimension and let the refugee experience inform our theoretical categories”.

“The close contact between geographers, planners and decision-makers makes geography well suited for addressing policy alternatives related to consequences of refugee movements. (Brun, 2016)”

Refugees are not out of place, their place is defined by the particularity of their social interactions that intersect at the specific location where they are present (Brun, 2016).

#### **4.3. Contextualizing the Spatial Triad into Refugees**

According to Leary (2009 p.196) spatial triad of Lefebvre can be applied to a range of planning subjects and scales from local to regional or from national to international. In addition, Lefebvre do not emphasize any method or scale so that this topic can be context in any research study. Thanks to spatial triad of Lefebvre and interpretations to that, the triad will be reinterpreted in this thesis study. This study will help how people interact with space in city. In addition to that, it will be investigated the relationship between migration and spatial triad. So that, the triad will be studies considering the topic of migration and its consequences.

Lefebvre indicates that

“Space is conceived of as being transformed into 'lived experience' by a social 'subject' and is governed by determinants which may be practical (work, play) or biosocial (young people, children, women, active people) in character. This representation subtends the notion of a space in which the 'interested parties', individuals or groups, supposedly dwell and have their being. Of any actual historically generated space, however, it would be more accurate to say that it played a socializing role (by means of a multiplicity of networks) than that it was itself socialized (Lefebvre, 1991 p.190-191).”

Space is socially produced (Lefebvre, 1991) and the components of the spatial triad take place in the process of production of space. These components are related to each other and have an impact in producing each of component. As Carp (2008 p.130) emphasizes that “each element of the triad represents an aspect of the social production of space”. He (2008) continues with that the process of production of space by people and influence of space on people are revealed by the relations among elements of the triad. Carp (2008), when he is conducting his empirical study, takes in consideration (1) produced and experienced space (existing materiality) and (2) that experience produces space (human being). In other words, he emphasizes that there is a strong relationship between space and experience of people and this relationship have a role in production of space. Carp identify the ‘spatial practices’, ‘representation of space’ and ‘space of representation’ as each aspects of spatial triad and he states that

“in other words, because the conceptual triad’s aspects refer to the physical space/lived experience relationship, each aspect can be approached from either the physical stand point (e.g., places; concrete processes of production and consumption; signs, codes, and images) or the standpoint of lived experience (e.g., human activities, sensations, thoughts, imaginations, attitudes). (Carp, 2008 p. 131)”

By looking at Carp's idea about 'the conceptual triad as an analytic tool', this thesis focuses on the space that is produced and experienced and producing of space through experience of human beings. Lefebvre proposes a third possibility for the spatial discussions. So that, there is a strong relationship among these three aspects of the triad. They are the layers of one space and influence the production of each other.

#### **4.3.1. Aspects of Spatial Triad**

##### **4.3.1.1. Spatial Practice of Refugees – Perceived Space**

In a general term it is the space of *users* and *inhabitants*. It comprises of the daily routines, activities or routes of people, for example what is the routes of people while they are going to work from their home. Schmauch and Nygren (2014 p.375) define this space as "concrete and mapable geography of lived places." In other words, it is a use of physical or material city which comprises of negotiations. Carp (2008) indicates that our bodies are the perception positions through sense organs and means of movement and we, as bodies, go to and arrive at certain destinations, abstain from others and create routines of movement through the day or the year or the lifetime and produce social patterns. Refugees forced to move a settlement unexpectedly and suddenly. They do not have enough knowledge about the settlement, and they arrive there off hand besides they shift to an uprooted position. As Carp (2008) mentioned that people know best the places that they frequent. These all affects the use of space, activities and connections in area where they settle. At that sense, the activities and daily routines of Syrian refugees will be investigated. Their routes when they go to work from home, or leisure activities are studied, and their daily routines map will create. The relationship between users and space will be explored during the accommodation of refugees. Also, physical structure of the area will be analyzed and how refugees affects the physical appearances of the area will be observed. In addition, it is searched that when the interventions of authorities or decision makers is not enough, how refugees experience their daily life and whether they live separated from other parts of city.



*Outcomes:* As it is mentioned, when spatial plans or policies specific to refugees are lack, refugees may produce their own lifestyles. At that sense, refugees regulate and order the spatial practices in their daily life and they began to organize their knowledge. It has some effects in physical structure of the area and usage of the spaces. The space begins to belong to refugees and become isolated; however, there should be integration among ‘the newcomers’ and ‘settled ones.’ So that, how they produce first aspect of spatial triad -spatial practices- and whether the producing the representation of space is important to get more integrated society will be explored.

#### **4.3.1.2. Representations of Space of Refugees – Conceived Space**

Lefebvre (1991) states that it is the space of planners, architectures or scientists. Also, these actors identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived (Lefebvre, 1991 p.38). It is the space that regulate daily patterns of users and organize and control the knowledge. This space dominates the perceived and lived space. Leary defines (2013) this space as rational, intellectualized official conceptions of urban areas for administrative purposes.

“Ideas and concepts competing for physical expression involve representations of space/conceived space in varied forms: transportation models, private and public development plans, court briefs, contracts, home improvement television shows, and pattern books, land use regulations, explanations of diverse phenomena, professional certification, Web sites, academic studies, marketing campaigns, outreach and public education strategies, variations in code enforcement, rumors, anecdotes and historical accounts, and so forth (Carp, 2008 p. 134).

It is mentioned that refugees have sudden change in their daily life. On the contrary, there is also consequences for the host country because a lot of refugees arrive instantly and settle different places. One type of place is refugee camps and the other is urban areas.

Although the refugee camps are planned by decision makers, urban areas are not prepared for this rapid settlement. At that sense, it is necessary to ask this question for the urban areas: Are there any spatial guides or policies for refugees? This is the space of planners, scientist or decision makers and regulates the other two spaces. Representations of space is important to find out the spatial textures of study area and the effects of authorities' knowledge and ideology which reflects the space. Thus, the relationship between space and decision makers will be investigated during the process of accommodation of refugees in study area.

*Outcomes:* When planners and decision makers do not intervene the space sufficiently, the actors of space become 'the users' and they produce their own space. Correspondingly, refugees as users or new inhabitants create new spaces which belongs to their cultural and social features and these spaces are unconnected to other urban areas.

#### **4.3.1.3. Spaces of Representation of Refugees – Lived Space**

This is the space of inhabitants and users as Lefebvre indicates (Lefebvre, 1991). In other saying, lived space is a space that is experienced by users. Lefebvre (1991 p.41-42) elucidates that "memories, dreams, images and symbols and he adds that spaces of representation is alive, and it speaks". Although, Lefebvre explains that spaces of representation include both experiences of users or inhabitants and it is a space of artists, poets, writers or philosophers, empirical study will focus on users' experiences and emotions of everyday spaces. In other words, emotional reflections of users to perceived and conceived spaces. Like spatial practice, the relationship between space and users can be investigated during the process of accommodation of refugees in study area. However, lived space is more related with the emotions or experiences of space. Users experiences and feeling about the space and the relationships between spatial practice and spaces of representation when the presentation of space does not produce by the planners will be examined.

*Outcomes:* Usage of space and the emotional circumstances of refugees have a relationship. In addition, the production of representation of space has also effects in emotions of refugees and how they give the meanings and values to the spaces.

#### 4.3.2. Research Elements

Table 4.1. *Research Elements*

	Who's space?	Research elements	Outcomes
Spatial practice	Space of 'users and inhabitants'	Activities Destinations Purposes Physical interventions Routes	Effects in <u>physical structure</u> of the area and <u>usage of the spaces</u> Explore of the necessity of the <u>representation of space in terms of producing spatial practice</u>
Representations of Space	Space of 'planners, designers, decision makers'	Verbal definitions Scientific theories of space Plans Design projects	no spatial plans and policies specific to refugees new spaces which <u>belongs to their social features</u> <u>unconnected</u> to other urban areas
Spaces of Representation	Space of 'users and inhabitants'	Symbols Emotional Experiences Meanings for spatial practices	the meanings and values of the spaces Explore of the necessity of the <u>representation of space in terms of producing spaces of representations</u>

Table 4.1 demonstrates the belongs, research elements and outcomes of three aspects of spatial triad in the context of refugees and each of the research element is explained in detailed.

#### **4.3.2.1. Spatial practice**

##### *Activities & Purposes*

Soja defines the spatial practice as “complex spatial organization of social practices that shape our "action spaces" in households, buildings, neighborhoods, villages, cities, regions, nations, states, the World economy, and global geopolitics. (Soja, 1996 p.74-75)” Regarding to this, the spaces where refugees spend their times when they are live in their daily routine and the activities will be searched. According to Carp (2008), people’s daily patterns, habits and movements in and through the physical spaces forms the destinations and spatial practice.

##### *Destinations*

Regarding to activities, refugees have daily destinations and they have purposes why they go these destinations. It is also conducted to investigate which spaces they use with reference to their stay in the neighborhood. Schmid (2008 p.36) says that this determines “the material dimension of social activity and interaction”. Refugees go places in their daily routine, and they have various purposes. Spatial practices also refers to “special routes and destinations that are motivated by the diversity of purposes and inclinations in a given area” (Carp, 2008 p.132).

##### *Routes*

“Spatial practice/perceived space refers to sequences, habits, and patterns of movement in and through physical places, so involves every day and special routes and destinations that are motivated by the diversity of purposes and inclinations in a given area” (Carp, 2008).

With regarding to the first research element of the research, refugees have different activities in different places such as working, leisure, shopping. They also have routes and destinations when they arrive each activity. As carp emphasizes that these routes produce the spatial practice. Lefebvre (1991) also indicates that there is a relationship between daily routine and the routes and networks. It is “the representation of that relationship; actions and signs spaces made special by symbolic means as sanctioned or forbidden to particular groups (Lefebvre, 1991 p. 288)”. The words ‘forbidden’ and ‘sanctioned’ can refer to the refugee group in the area. During the research, which connections are used by refugees or which ones are not will be searched because they are minority group in the area. Schmid (2008) also defines the spatial practice as a term that refers the tie between activities.

#### *Physical interventions*

As Lefebvre (1991), Soja (1996), Harvey (1989), Michael Edema Leary (2013), Carp (2008) and Schmid (2008) mention that spatial practice comprises of physical material and it is a physical space. Also, Carp (2008) identify this space as observable. “As a materialized spatial form, it focuses on things that can be observed empirically both as a surface of appearance and as spatial explanation for example by class and race analysis. (Schmauch & Nygren, 2014 p.375)” The physical interventions of the refugees will be observed to find out their effects on physical production of space.

#### **4.3.2.2. Representations of Space**

“From the standpoint of human experience, conceived space refers to the activities of thinking, imagining, reflecting on an idea, analyzing, planning, developing, sequencing, illustrating, explaining, and shaping and reshaping an inchoate thought into expression, as either individual or collective activity, including both ideational synergy and conflictual perturbations (Carp, 2008 p.134).”

### *Verbal definitions & scientific theories of space& plans*

With reference to Schmid (2008), “verbalized forms such as descriptions, definitions and scientific theories of space” are concerns of representation of space. Architecture and planning as well as social sciences are some of the disciplines of specialization and they deal with the production of the representations (Schmid, 2008). Regarding to these cites, whether there is any plan or scientific description or theory for the study area will be investigated.

#### **4.3.2.3. Representational Space / Spaces of Representations**

“Lefebvre (1974/1991) describes this as “third space”: because this moment is lived, it is personal and tacit; and because it is collectively experienced, it is a powerful social experience (Carp, 2008 p.136).”

### *Emotional Experiences*

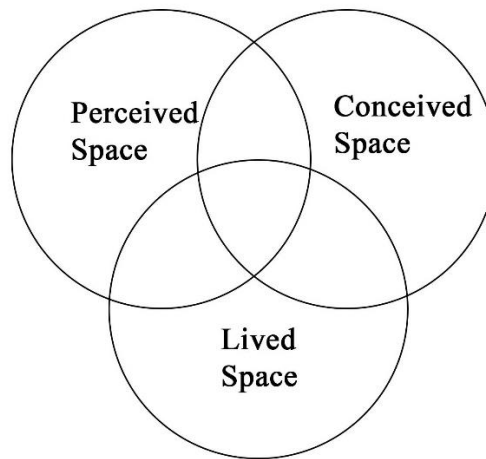
Space of representations is emotional experience of space. Also, it includes the lived experiences of perceived and conceived spaces. (Schmauch & Nygren, 2014) Emotional expression to these spaces represents the social structure of users. In other words, this space produces subjective experience of space of a person in his/her daily life.

### *Meanings for spatial practices*

Harvey (1989 p.218) defines the spaces of representation as “mental inventions that imagine new meanings and possibilities for spatial practices”. Spaces of representations overlap the physical spaces and value places in a way to run counter to dominant representations of space representative lived space (Leary, 2013)

#### 4.4. Concluding Remarks

Migration is both spatial and societal change in people's lifestyle whether it occurs voluntarily or involuntarily. In addition, migration phenomenon has effects on both immigrants and host country. At that sense, social thinking in spatial studies gain importance in the context of migration studies. As Lefebvre (1991) indicates that space is a livable organism and immigrants have new experiences and perceptions on the new space that they move. Accordingly, space is produced by socially. In addition, spatial triad would be contextualized in different disciplines and subjects.



*Figure 4.1. Spatial Triad of Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 1991)*

As it is mentioned the three elements of the triad have a relationship between each other and the conceived space dominate the perceived space. In other words, conceived space is an interface between the perceived and lived space. As it is shown in Figure 4.1 the three elements of triad are link and intersects to each other. In the context of Syrian refugees in Turkey, interventions of planners and decision makers is lack. So that, the conceived space has less impact in the triad and the perceived space and conceived space have relations among each other mostly.

The second question of the thesis is about whether the usage of space of refugees is isolated from the other parts of city. Regarding to this question, it is claimed that refugees conduct their daily routine without connection outside of neighborhood where they live or its close surroundings. Thus, it is also claimed that when conceived space has less affect in production of space, perceived and lived space interact mostly together and individuals create their own lifestyle.



## **CHAPTER 5**

### **THREE DIMENSIONS OF THE PROCESS OF SPACE PRODUCTION: IN THE CONTEXT OF SYRIAN REFUGEE CRAFTSMEN IN ULUBEY NEIGHBORHOOD, ANKARA**

#### **5.1. International Migration Phenomenon in Turkey**

International migration means that individuals cross the border because of several reasons given period in the most general sense. International migration towards and from Turkey has maintained its importance for years because of geographic and strategic location of Turkey. Turkey is a bridge between Asia and Europe and a stop for migration to Europe from North Africa, Middle East and some Asian countries, and it is a country where the immigrants settled (Deniz, 2014). This makes Turkey destination and transit for migrants. Because Turkey is located on migration routes, it becomes a center of attraction in terms of migration (Kolukırmık, 2014). Figure 5.1 demonstrates that number of international immigrants since 1990, and as is seen, there was a boom after 2010 and this is because of Syrian refugees who are forced to leave their country. However, by comparison with 2006, the number of people who entered Turkey reached more than double in 2018. Syrian crisis and Mediterranean crisis have a huge contribution to this increment. Besides Turkey is a transit country for migrants and refugees, during the recent years, Turkey has become a destination country for immigrants (IOM, n.d.). In addition, because Turkey has many economic and politic challenges in years, it is an origin country for migrations and its location has a very important effect for migration flows from Turkey to other countries. That is to say, Turkey has maintained its importance in terms of interior migration and international migration for years.

Figure 5.1 shows the number of migrants by source countries in 2017. As it is seen, the number of Syrian migrants is much higher than the number of migrants from other countries. Syria sent approximately 5,7 times more immigrants than the number of immigrants from Bulgaria which sends the second maximum number of migrants to Turkey. Turkey has an important position in all periods for migration, but in the intense population of Syrian immigrants which is seen in Figure 5.2 has brought a new dimension on the immigration debates in Turkey. The integration with the local people and Syrian refugees whose population is stated by millions and settlement state to the Turkish cities is a critical and considerable situation issue for the decision makers and governors.

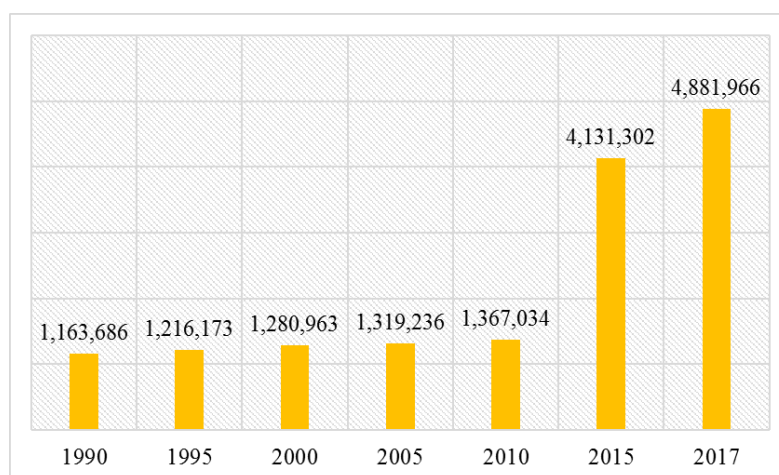


Figure 5.1. Number of International Migrants by Years, 2017 (UN, 2017)

Turkey becomes a destination country where immigrants migrate and work instead of an origin country whose citizens migrate other countries since 20th century and this leads to some economic, political and socio-cultural consequences (Deniz, 2014). Deniz (2014) also identify characteristics of migration to Turkey in three categories which are Turkey as an origin country, transit country and destination country.

Origin Country Turkey – This type of migration involves the labor movements of people to especially EU countries in 1960s.

Transit Country Turkey – Illegal migrants generally use Turkey as transit country to move especially EU countries and this makes Turkey transit country to reach better conditions. Also, there are a lot of individuals who work unrecorded and aim to return their countries.

Destination Country Turkey – Deniz (2014) states that before 1980s, people who migrate to Turkey are generally Turkish origin while after 1980s, immigration by foreign immigrants has been seen.

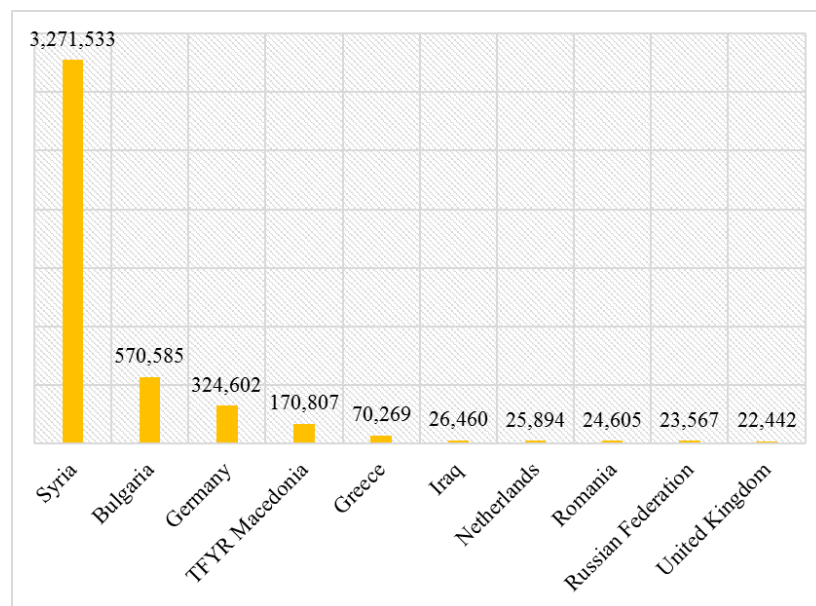


Figure 5.2. Number of International Migrants by Countries, 2017 (UN, 2017)

Whatever the type of immigration, has maintained its importance in each period for Turkey. However, the migration phenomenon gained another dimension after the Syrian migration that took place after 2011. As seen in the Figure 5.1, the number of migrants increased by approximately 2.8 million in the period between 2010 and 2015. Arriving thousands of immigrants within a very short time leads to be affected cities in Turkey which are not prepared to this migration wave in terms of economic, social and morphological.

### 5.1.1. Migration Flows to Turkey

Anatolia has been the home of many individual and mass migration movements throughout history. (İnce, 2018). In addition, Turkey has become a country of both immigration and migration throughout history. It also is exposed to mass immigration movements in different periods due to internal confusions or wars especially in its neighboring countries. As it is emphasized in Table 5.1, there have been a lot of mass migration movements to Turkey since foundation of Republic. Some of these migration movements are Turkish migrants from foreign countries. In addition, some migratory movements include migrants from the Middle East. Looking at the recent history, the wave of migration that attracts approximately 500000 people is noteworthy as a result of the Gulf War (See Table 5.1). In the late 1980s, pattern of migration before 1980s showed an alteration in terms of origin countries of immigrants and they began to arrive from especially Iran and Iraq.

Table 5.1. *Mass Migration Movements to Turkey after Foundation of Republic (Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü, 2019a)*

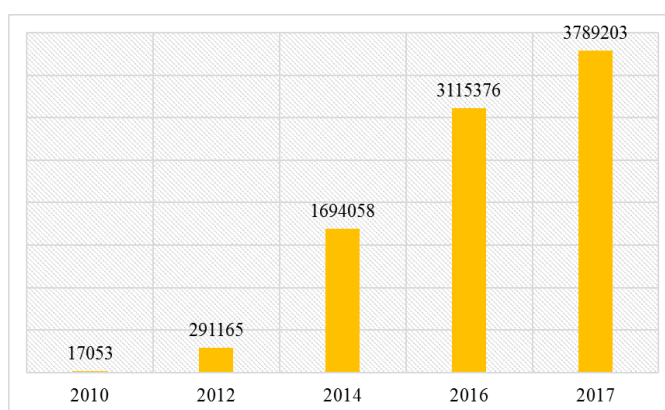
1922-1938	384000 immigrants from Greece
1923-1945	800000 immigrants from the Balkans
1933-1945	800 immigrants from Germany
1988	51542 immigrants from Iraq
1989	345000 immigrants from Bulgaria
1991	467489 immigrants from Iraq after the Gulf War
1992-1998	20000 immigrants from Bosnia
1999	17746 immigrants after conflicts in Kosovo
2001	10500 immigrants from Macedonia
2011-March 2019	About 3.6 million immigrants from Syria because of internal disturbance in Syria

Kirişçi (2003) defines Turkey as country of emigration traditionally because between 1960s and 1970s, a great number of Turkish individuals migrated to Western Europe countries. This period is specified as mutual labor change between Turkey and different countries (Sirkeci & Yüceşahin, 2014). On the other hand, this situation has reversed recently because of irregular migrants who tend to migrate another country out of Turkey. Kirişçi (2003) also states that “Turkey has also become a destination for irregular migrants from former Soviet Bloc countries, and a magnet for illegal immigrants and from 1923 to 1997, more than 1.6 million people immigrated to Turkey, mostly from Balkan countries”. As seen in Table 5.1, migrations between 1922 and 1945 consisted of movements from Balkans and Greece and these movements can be counted in forced migration category. In addition, the period between 1900 and 1960 is determined by massive forced displacements which are caused by war (Sirkeci & Yüceşahin, 2014). “The early years of the Turkish Republic continued to see large movements of people in both directions. Most significant of these was the forced exchange of population between Greece and Turkey in the mid-1920s, involving over a million Greeks from Turkey and almost half a million Muslims and Turks from Greece” (Kirişçi, 2003). Table 5.1 demonstrates that after 1988, migration waves have become movements from especially Middle East. Kirişçi (2003) explains this situation that large number of irregular migrants which are nationals of neighboring countries in Middle East have begun to use Turkey as transit way to reach countries in Europe. Finally, after 2011, Syrian immigrants whose number reach to about 3.6 million began to migrate to Turkey because of civil conflicts there (See Table 5.1).

#### **5.1.1.1. Forced migrations to Turkey**

Forced migration has been in the agenda of several countries since especially Second World War II and there were several forced migration flows to Turkey in several times. However, Syrian refugees with a great deal of population has become an important item on the agenda.

As it is emphasized, Turkey is both destination and transit country for immigrants and this make Turkey a home for both asylum seekers and refugees. As Kirişçi (2003) defines Turkey as “a country of asylum” because during World War II, many Jews use Turkey as their first asylum and many people from Nazi-occupied Balkan countries took refuge in Turkey and many of them returned to their home country after the war. Civil conflicts and wars in neighbor countries of Turkey make the country an immigration country and pull immigrants to the country. Turkey’s location that links Asia and Europe also a pull factor for immigrants and this situation attract migrants to migrate for getting better quality of life. Being a bridge between East and West makes Turkey more attractive for transit migrants that want to switch to Western countries and these migrants tend to migrate countries that border on Europe such as Turkey (Sezik, 2017). As seen in Figure 5.3, number of forcibly displaced people shows a boom after 2012 and most important reason for this boom is Syrian refugees. The number of migrants has increased approximately 220 times from 2010 to 2017. Comparing 2017 with 2010, in place of the forced migration of Syrian refugees in Turkey agenda can be observed.

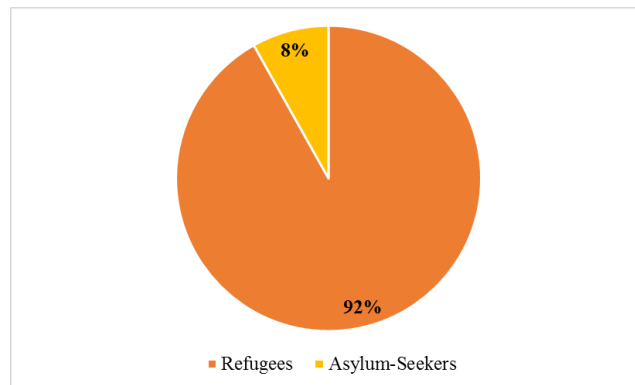


*Figure 5.3. Forcibly Displaced People by Year (UNHCR, 2019b)*

Kirişçi and Karaca (2015) divides mass forced migration movements towards Turkey into three period; people movement from Bulgaria in 1989, from Iraq in 1991 and from Syria 2011.

Although Turkish citizens are helpful and generous to refugees and asylum seekers in general, there are different interventions and perceptions from Turkish authorities for these movements. First of all, Bulgarian immigrants were seen as cognate and prepared legislation that make them Turkish citizen very quickly. It was not necessary to get helps from international supports because immigrants gain citizen status easily. In addition, legislative regulations were prepared to make easy returning of immigrants to their home country and some of them return their country while others prefer to go and return between two country.

Republic of Turkey has encouraged migration of Turkish families and enacted a settlement law for these immigrants (Kirişçi & Karaca, 2015). Second movement is from Iraq and it perceived as a threat to national identity and security. Because of this reason, there were some interventions to block this movement. On the other hand, Syrian migration movement leads to a different experience for Turkish authorities. Contrary to policies for Iraqi refugees, there was an open-door policy for Syrian refugees, in a word, Turkey act very welcoming for Syrian refugees and give them refugee status and establish Temporary Shelter Centers in border cities. As is seen, three categories of attitudes of authorities in Turkey to migration movements are different from each other. Differences of Bulgarian migration flow is that Turkey make interventions for local integration of immigrants and look for permanent solutions for settlement of immigrants. On the other hand, there have been more temporary solutions for Iraq and Syrian refugees. One of the main reasons for this is the geographical restriction that prevents the granting of refugee status to forced migrants from outside Europe. However, with the new legal arrangements made in 2013, the General Directorate of Migration Management was established and an advanced status determination system was established (Kirişçi & Karaca, 2015).



*Figure 5.4. Percentage of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Turkey in 2017 (UNHCR, 2019b)*

According to the rate seen in the chart there is a significant degree of migrants in Turkey. According to data from 2017, 92 per cent of forced migrants who arrive Turkey are temporary refugees. The concept of refugee is a legal title given to people who need protection in the country rather than a kind of migrant. In this case, as seen in Figure 5.4, 92 per cent of immigrants who are forcibly displaced and settled Turkey till 2017 are legally protected while the remaining are waiting for protection status from Turkey or other countries.

#### **5.1.1.2. Syrian Refugees**

According to “Foreigners and International Protection Law” Clause 61, refugee means that:

“... the foreigner who is outside the country of his country of citizenship and who cannot benefit from the protection of this country or who does not want to benefit from the protection because of fear of being subject to persecution due to race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinions because of conflicts in Europe countries ... (2013)”

However, this definition consists of immigrants from Europe countries because geographical limitation hinders to give refugee status to refugees out of Europe.



This make Syrian conditions hard in Turkey and General Directorate of Migration Management make a new definition that consists of Syrians. General Directorate of Migration Management adds “outside of Europe” phrase and “until inserting a third country, it is permitted conditional refugee to remain in Turkey” condition to definition of refugee status and the directorate has established a new status which is “conditional refugee”. In this way, Syrian immigrants in Turkey gain conditional refugee status. In addition to that, it is not possible to define Syrian migrants under a single topic. Tunç (2015) defines this migration movement as “political” in terms of its causes, “mass” in terms of its form, “forced” in terms of its condition and international migration in terms of geographical territories.

Process of Syrian movement to Turkey has extended over time and today refugee movements form Syria to Turkey is continuing. Early on this movement, Disaster and Emergency Management Authority established Temporary Shelter Centers in border cities and according to Kirişçi & Karaca (2015) there were eight Temporary Shelter Centers that went into action in 2011. On the other hand, there is thirteen Temporary Shelter Centers today (Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü, 2019b). However, the number of refugees increased very rapidly, and these Temporary Shelter Centers became to remain incapable. Firstly, Syrians settled in camps, but capacity of camps became not enough for Syrians in time. This situation led to the dispersion of almost all of the country with the large increase in the number in the process. The prolongation of the civil war increased immigration movements (Tunç, 2015).

In other words, refugees became to settle in urban areas and most of the them live in urban areas today. As seen in Table 5.2, 97 percent of refugees live outside Temporary Shelter Centers. Finally as Akşit, Bozok, & Bozok (2015) state that forced migration wave that started in 2011 with first comers from Syria to Turkey has transformed into a mass migration movement that leaded to displaces thousands of people because of growth of conflicts in Syria and unprepared condition of Turkey and international community (Akşit et al., 2015).

Table 5.2. *Refugees in Temporary Shelter Centers and Urban Areas in Turkey in 2019 (Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü, 2019b)*

	Number of refugees	Percentage
Temporary Shelter Centers	108732	3
Outside Temporary Shelter Centers	3514016	97
Total	3622284	100

Conflicts in Syria causes a huge humanitarian crisis in the world and migration movements to especially neighboring countries of Syria. Figure 5.5 demonstrates that in 2011 when conflicts started, Syrian refugees preferred to migrate to mainly Pakistan, Iran and other parts of Syria. According to Migration Data Portal, Turkey have had the majority of Syrian refugees in the world since 2014. In 2017, top three countries that have the greatest number of Syrian refugees were Turkey, Pakistan and Uganda.

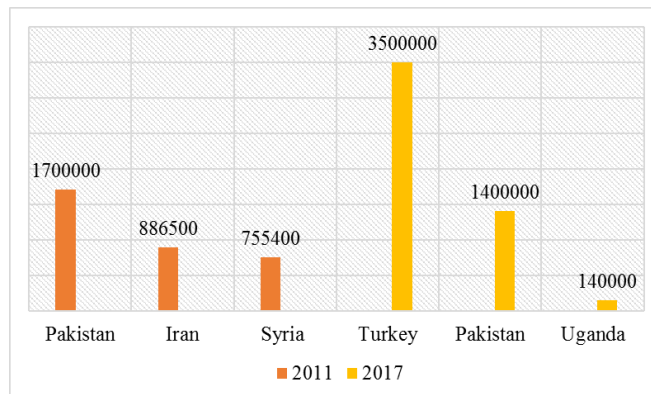


Figure 5.5. Destination Countries of Syrian Refugees in 2011 and 2017 (“Migration Data Portal”, 2019)

On the other hand, the number of Syrians in Turkey under the Temporary Protection has increased rapidly since 2012 (See Figure 5.6). In April 2019, the number of Syrians covered by temporary protection is approximately 250 times the number of Syrians in 2012. As a result of this, population projections of the cities in Turkey unprepared for the situation that has shown rapid change and this has given rise to various social and economic consequences.

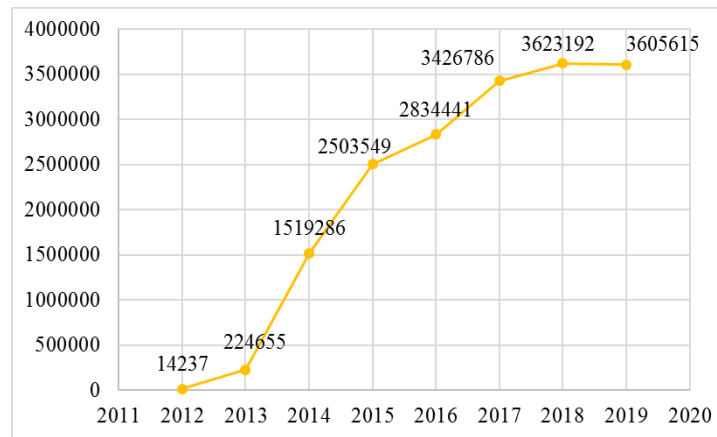


Figure 5.6. Syrians Under Temporary Protection in Turkey by Year (Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü, 2019b)

When the issue is considered economically, the resulting picture is quite different. In some assessments, it is expressed that aids to Syrian refugees have negative impacts on Turkey's economy such as the rise of rent or the increase of unemployment while in other assessments, Syrians' businesses, even if they are small-scale, have contribution to Turkey's economy (Sezik, 2017).

## 5.2. The Settlement Process of Syrian Refugees in Urban Areas

According to Artar, Bakioğlu and İzmir (2018) the main reason of coming to Turkey is security needs of Syrian refugees and they add that because Turkey is safer than other Middle East countries, they prefer to settle Turkey despite the language problem instead of Iraq and Lebanon. In addition, the open policy of Turkey towards Syrian immigrants is the most important pull factor. Also, the closeness and job opportunities are other factors that impel refugees to migrate Turkey.

Refugees, who were placed in temporary shelter centers in the first time they came, started to migrate to the cities in time. The insufficient capacity of the camps and prolongation of war are main reasons for this. As a result, as seen in Table 5.2, 97 percent of the refugees currently live outside the camps and in various cities.

According to Tunç (2015), refugees, who face with their loss in the first few months, are making efforts to regain their loss in a year or two. During this period, most of the refugees change their jobs and start to move from their neighborhoods to the neighborhoods where the refugees live intensively. Many of the Syrian refugees first settled in cities in Southeastern Anatolia Region and then they come to Ankara thank to job opportunities and favorable life conditions in Ankara and the city has the optimum size comparing with İstanbul (Artar et al., 2018). Refugees lived in other cities initially have better experiences in Ankara comparing with others and that makes the city more advantageous. This advantage is attributed to the better livelihood and potential of shelter in Ankara, similarity of the city with Aleppo and being the capital (Artar et al., 2018). To summarize the factors affecting the establishment of a refugee living area in Ankara; suitable living conditions, shopping, housing and job opportunities stand out. With sequential migration, the Syrian population is concentrated in the region (Artar et al., 2018).

In addition, Artar, Bakioğlu and İzmir (2018) summarize why refugees select Ankara to live in three aspects: (1) need of cheap workforce in Siteler Area, (2) cheap housing stock arising from urban transformation in especially Altındağ district and (3) location that provide accessibility to services in the city. Also Artar, Bakioğlu and İzmir (2018) state that Ankara Siteler industrial zone has lost its competition power and it has cheap workforce need. This attract refugees to the area. Refugees are employed mostly in Siteler in Ankara and then, Ostim Organized Industrial Zone is the second in which they are employed (Health and Safety Labor Watch, 2019). Refugees have settled in areas that are close to industrial zones in the city. Ulubey and Önder Neighborhoods are two of them. Artar, Bakioğlu and İzmir (2018) emphasize that there is a refugee habitat in Ulubey and Önder Neighborhoods. Siteler has a very important role in site selection of Syrian refugees because of need of the cheap workforce that work in ateliers in Siteler. According to Artar, Bakioğlu and İzmir (2018) in Önder and Ulubey, Syrian refugees clustered and they have less relationships with the local people

### 5.3. Place of the area in Ankara

#### 5.3.1. Altındağ District

Ulubey Neighborhood is located in south of Altındağ District in Ankara as it is demonstrated in Figure 5.7. According to Turkish Statistical Institute data in 2018, there are 370024 residents located in Altındağ. On the other hand, regarding to Turkish Statistical Institute, 4835 people settle in Ulubey Mahallesi in 2018. In addition, there is an industry district which is named as “Siteler” south of the Ulubey Neighborhood. In recent years, Altındağ draws attention of Syrian refugees because of especially job opportunities. Siteler creates a significantly employment possibility for Syrians and refugees constitutes low-cost labor in the district.



Figure 5.7. Altındağ District and Place of Ulubey Neighborhood (Author's drawing)

According to Bakioğlu, Artar and İzmir, locations that Syrian refugees are located in Ankara intensely are Altındağ and Dikmen districts and half of Syrians who are located in Ankara live in Altındağ. Main reason for this is the Siteler industrial area in Altındağ and its job opportunities created by this area. Second reason is the cheap housing opportunities in the district. Another reason is wanting to live with relatives who arrive to district before (Artar et al., 2018). In addition, there are a lot of shops that Syrian refugees work in Altındağ and it is expected that Syrian refugees also obey the rules that is valid for Turkish craftsmen (*Göç ve Uyum Raporu*, 2018)

On the other hand, the source of income of local administrations is inadequate to manage a mass migration and also, inefficacy of legislation for Syrian refugees make difficult to manage the migration process in the district (*Göç ve Uyum Raporu*, 2018). Another problem in the area is reactions of local people in the area. Because of some environmental cleaning problems, local people react existence of Syrians.

### 5.3.2. Ulubey Neighborhood

Ulubey neighborhood has an important place for refugees in terms of especially closeness of Siteler industrial area and Syrian refugees take advantage of job opportunities of that area. Approximately 10000 Syrian refugees live in this neighborhood (*Göç ve Uyum Raporu*, 2018). Also, the report indicates that Ulubey neighborhood has the highest number of refugees in Altındağ district. As is seen in Figure 5.8, Önder, Alemdağ, Başgınar, Doğantepe and Altınpark are some of neighboring neighborhoods of Ulubey. Önder Neighborhood also remarks because of the high number of Syrian refugees.



Figure 5.8. Altındağ District and Place of Ulubey Neighborhood (Author's drawing)

Ulubey neighborhood is 1.5 kilometers away from the neighboring immigrant neighborhood, Önder neighborhood. Also, the neighborhood is located in Altındağ and the distance between Altındağ and Ulubey is 12 kilometers.

Distance between Kızılay and Ulubey is 10 kilometers, and the neighborhood is 8 kilometers away from Ulus. Ulus and Kızılay two centers of Ankara. The distance between Ulubey and Mamak is 20 kilometers, and distance between the neighborhood and Keçiören is 11 kilometers. There are many shops which are started by Syrian refugees and they sell productions from their culture. At that sense, there are a solidarity among Syrians, and they help each other.

## Bu mahallede Türkler azınlık: Ulubey

Bülent SARIOĞLU fotoğraflar:  
Sedat CENİKLİ

21.01.2018 - 14:44 | Son Güncelleme : 21.01.2018 - 14:48

***TBMM Mülteci Hakları Komisyonu'nun hazırladığı rapora göre Başkent'teki 80 bin Suriyeli sığınmacının yarısı Altındağ'da. Ulubey Mahallesi'nde ise 10 bini bulan Suriyelilerin nüfusu Türk vatandaşlarını geride bıraktı.***



Figure 5.9. A Newspaper Article About Immigrants (Sarioğlu, 2018)

As is mentioned in Figure 5.9, local people become minority in the neighborhood because the Syrian population increases very rapidly in the neighborhood

#### **5.4. Production of Spatial Triad in the Context of Syrian Refugees (Craftsmen) in Ulubey Neighborhood in Ankara and Research Methodology**

Space is a social product and every individual plays a role in the process of production of space. Spatial triad which developed by Lefebvre is searched and conducted in various studies. The spatial triad will be study to search the spatial production of refugee craftsmen in Ulubey Neighborhood by examining their daily spatial practices and spatial representations in the area. In the scope of this thesis, firstly a comprehensive literature review on Spatial Triad and migration, forced migration is conducted. The process of social thinking in spatial studies and Lefebvre's Production of Space is reviewed. Also, contributions of some thinkers to spatial triad is also analyzed. In the second part, migration movements and their characteristics also reviewed. Finally, these two concepts are evaluated together and spatial triad in the context of Syrian refugees is investigated.

As it is demonstrated in Table 5.3, aims, methods and actors of this study is separated in three categories, which are Spatial Practice, Representations of Space and Spaces of Representations. The aims, methods and actors are determined consideringly the literature review. In this regard, the main aim of surveying spatial practice is to examine the physical usage of space; in other saying, daily routines of Syrian craftsmen which includes daily activities and the destinations of these activities are some research elements. Also, the routes between these destinations will be examined in the context of spatial practice. Maps, observation and survey are the methods for this research and the actors are 'users', in other words Syrian Refugee Craftsmen in Ulubey Neighborhood. To find out the spatial intervenes of decision makers is the main aim of the aspect of representation of space and actors which are related to this aspect are decision makers and planners. Spaces of representation include the emotional experiences of users on the spaces in Ulubey neighborhood. The means of some spaces for refugees, their favorite places and their emotions about where they live are some of objectives on searching the Spaces of Representations.



Surveys and maps are research tools to analysis the emotional experiences of refugees in the neighborhood. Moreover, actors which take place in spatial practice and spaces of representations are users, Syrian refugees while actors for representation of spaces are decision makers and planners. In the context of Ulubey neighborhood, actors are municipality or NGO workers which have a role in settlement of refugees.

Table 5.3. *Aspects of Spatial Triad, Aims and Methods*

	Spatial Practice	Representations of Space	Spaces of Representations
Aims	<p>To examine daily routines of Syrian refugee craftsmen</p> <p>The routes of places where they go</p> <p>Places that they spend time</p> <p>To indicates their effects on physical environments</p>	<p>To find out spatial intervenes for Syrian refugee craftsmen by planners and decision makers</p>	<p>To find out means of places for Syrian refugee craftsmen</p> <p>Their favorite places</p> <p>Their emotions for these places</p> <p>To research their emotions about their routes which searched in spatial practice.</p> <p>To find out some important points for refugees and what do they mean to them</p>
Methods	Maps, Observation, Survey	Semi-structured interviews	Surveys, Maps
Actors	Users (Syrian Refugee Craftsmen in Ulubey Neighborhood)	Decision Makers and Planners	Users (Syrian Refugee Craftsmen in Ulubey Neighborhood)

Each elements of spatial triad have an important role in the process of production of space and they have relationship between each other. In addition to that, every aspect plays a part in generation and development of other two aspects. According to observations in Ulubey Neighborhood, representation of space dimension does not develop sufficiently in neighborhood; that is to say, any significant spatial intervention which is conducted by planner cannot be observed. Key to Lefebvre's definition, representation of space contains theoretical literature and plans. Lefebvre (1991) also indicates that representation of space defines the space that is lived and perceived with the space that is conceived. So that, it is important to discuss the process of production of space; in which the concept of representation of space is not developed sufficiently in a place. This discussion becomes meaningful in context of production of space. While actors who take place in production of space are users and decision makers or planner according to Lefebvre's context, aspect of representation of space keeps out of the spatial triad leads that space is produced by only users, Syrian Refugee craftsmen in neighborhood. In the context of Syrian refugees, space is produced by Syrian refugees and there may be isolated neighborhood which is used by majority of Syrian refugees. This situation can cause some consequences such as usage of spaces in neighborhood and city center and integration of refugees. Ulubey Neighborhood becomes a space which is produced and used by Syrian refugees, and it is possible that refugees who lived in this neighborhood lead a life disconnected from other parts of city. As a result of the interviews with the refugees, it is aimed to reveal their uses and destinations, and whether the neighborhood was transformed into an isolated immigrant neighborhood. In summary, the case part of the thesis is formed by combining the objectives and research methods produced from the literature review. In this context, daily life practices of migrants are examined through questionnaires, observations and interviews. Ulubey neighborhood is chosen as the site for the field research. One reason is the high number of Syrian populations in Ulubey neighborhood. The second reason is the cluster of shops in Şehit Rafet Sever Street in Ulubey and this lead that many Syrian go this neighborhood to shop. Because of this reason, the craftsmen in the neighborhood have social interaction with people.

#### **5.4.1. Sampling of the Study - Syrian Craftsmen in Ulubey Neighborhood**

The selection of the sample group consists of three phases. In the first phase, it is decided that the group would be composed of Syrian refugees who had experienced a forced migration process. In the second phase, it is decided to study urban refugees because a huge majority of refugees live in urban. Finally, it is observed that Syrian refugees are generally limited in their use of space and the craftsmen refugees are more connected with the space and have social relations in the neighborhood, and therefore, it is decided to conduct this case study with the ones working in shops in the Syrian refugee group. In other word, Syrian refugees are the ‘users’ in the context of spatial triad. They have an important part in production of space in Turkey since they have settled because they have different lifestyle, different experiences. As a result, these differences reflect the spaces where they live or work. In addition, according to the observations made in the neighborhood, the tradesmen in the Ulubey neighborhood consist of a significant number of Syrian migrants. At the same time, Syrian refugees from various districts of Ankara come to the neighborhood for shopping. In short, the neighborhood has become a commercial center for Syrian refugees. The Syrian craftsmen are in an effort to continue the tradition of using spaces in the countries where they come from. This situation of migrants in accordance with the rules and traditions of the process of spatial production in Turkey makes a synthesis of perspectives on their own. In this case, process of Syrians’ spatial production with the rules and traditions in Turkey makes a synthesis of their own traditions. Syrian craftsmen also have importance for Syrian refugees in the other parts of the city. For example, according to interviews with some craftsmen, there are a lot of customers who are Syrians located in Beypazarı. This means that there is solidarity among refugees in terms of commercial activities. Nearly all of the business owners are Syrian and in Şehit Rafet Sever Street all the shops have Turkish and Arabic signboards. Asylum-seekers, who have a job in every area from the restaurant to the supermarket, from the butcher to the barber, sell what they have brought from Syria as well as from the wholesalers in Turkey (Sarioğlu, 2018).

As Lefebvre (1991) indicates social relations of production and relations of production are two forms of production of space. At that sense, this thesis conducting with Syrian craftsmen because of two reasons:

#### *Having a part in economic relations*

Craftsmen have a role in economic relations in Turkey. They purchase productions that are peculiar to their culture and sell them in Turkey. This gain new kind of products in Turkish market and it leads new production relations in the market. In addition, since the shops in the area are preferred by many refugees from different parts of the city, craftsmen have economic and social relations with Syrian refugees from different segments. This is closely related to their perceptions and experiences of their area and the city.

#### *Social relations in the neighborhood*

Syrian craftsmen have relationships with people always in their daily life and they experience the space in terms of physically and emotionally better than others and they experience the perceptions of local people.

According to local authority of Ulubey Neighborhood, there are approximately 200 Syrian shops in the neighborhood and most of them are located in Şehit Rafet Sever Street (See Figure 5.10). The fact that spatial intervention for Syrian refugees in the neighborhood is not enough to solve their problems and integrate them to city is emphasized. In addition, there is only food allowance for Syrians. Also, authorities do not have a role in settlement of refugees in the neighborhood and as it is mentioned, they generally choose the neighborhood because of their relatives and economic opportunities. There are 24 respondents in the study and this number 12 % of the Syrian craftsmen in Ulubey neighborhood.



*Figure 5.10. Şehit Rafet Sever Street in Ulubey Neighborhood (Author's personal archive)*

#### **5.4.2. Research Design in Fieldwork on Spatial Triad of Craftsmen Refugees in Ulubey Neighborhood**

According to Pandey & Pandey (2015) a research design is a guide in gathering and analyzing the data and it can be said that it is a framework. They (2015) also emphasize that research design is a map and it guides the research. This research is planned to conduct with Multi-Method Research Data, which is based on using mix of methods, and in this thesis, qualitative, quantitative and case study methods is used. Qualitative researches are conducted by open-ended interviews and field notes and it generally depends on researchers' experiences. On the other hand, quantitative researches focus on objective measures such as statistical data in terms of researching and analyzing. In addition to qualitative and quantitative approaches to thesis methodology, case study is another method, which focuses on research of the topic on a small number of subjects. The main aim of the fieldwork is understanding the migration and settlement process of refugees and the relationship between space and refugees in the area. In addition, the interrelationships between perceived and lived space of refugees is an aim of this fieldwork when there are no governmental interventions to integrate Syrian refugees to city. Regarding to research questions of the thesis, Syrian refugees who craftsmen in Ulubey neighborhood are respondents of this thesis because according to observations, they actively use the parts of neighborhood. At that sense, there are 24 Syrian respondents conducting this study. They all work in shops in Ulubey neighborhood. Perceived space consists of daily routine which includes the routes and networks (Lefebvre, 1991), "physical spatiality" (Soja, 1996) and "habits and patterns of movement" and "observable space" (Carp, 2008). These indicators will be the research variables of this thesis. In other words, in the scope of perceived space, the physical experiences of Syrian refugees in the case area will be searched in field study. On the other hand, lived space is related to imagines on space and it covers the variables which are "image and symbols" (Lefebvre, 1991), "new meanings" (Harvey, 1989) and "the experience of living" (Carp, 2008).

### 5.4.3. Research Tools

Questionnaires, interviews and observations are tools for this research. Questionnaires are questions that are written and lead to have short answers or choices between options. They are structured and data that is gathered can be analyzed statistically (Williamson, 2016). Questionnaires can be conducted by interviewer or filled by respondent by himself. In the scope of this thesis questionnaires is used for analyzing the perceived and lived space of refugees. The questionnaire that is made for this thesis includes 23 questions and 4 of them are personal information questions, 6 questions are based on migration process of refugees and 13 questions are getting information about daily spatial routines of refugees. Questionnaire is conducted with 24 respondents who are Syrian craftsmen in Ulubey Neighborhood. Questionnaire was conducted mostly in Şehit Rafet Sevet Street. On the other hand, interviews are face-to-face dialogues between interviewer and interviewees and have less questions than questionnaires (Williamson, 2016). In this context, interviews were conducted with local authorities in Altındağ and Ulubey to search the physical and social interventions which are part of conceived space of spatial triad. First of all, interviews were conducted with the neighborhood headman to get information about migrants and to learn about the spatial and social interventions of the administrators. Secondly, planner who work in Altındağ Municipality Construction Affairs was interviewed. Finally, municipal police were interviewed to learn the interventions on signboards and shops in the area. Also, direct observations are observing the research area without interacting with people. Observation tool is used to search perceived space - the physical interventions of refugees and lived space.

As seen in Table 5.4 the questionnaire questions are prepared regarding the keywords that come from literature review and the table demonstrates how each question forms. Also, there are personal questions in the survey, and they concern the migration and settlement processes of refugees.

Table 5.4. *Questionnaire Questions*

Perceived Space	<p>Daily Routine (Lefebvre, 1991);</p> <p><b><u>Daily space experiences and usage:</u></b></p> <p>What are the activities in your daily life? (Commercial, Social, Open Space, Entertainment, Other)</p>	<p>The routes and networks (Lefebvre, 1991)</p> <p>Patterns of movement (Carp, 2008)</p> <p><b><u>Destination of activities:</u></b></p> <p>What are the destination of activities?</p> <p>Do you prefer outside of Ulubey Neighborhood? Which destinations?</p> <p>Do you use the city center (Ulus&amp;Kızılay)?</p> <p>Which destinations do you not want to go to? Why?</p>
Conceived Space	<p>Space of planners, urbanists... (Lefebvre, 1991)</p> <p>Codes and knowledge (Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 1996; Harvey, 1989)</p> <p>A verbal activity (Carp, 2008)</p> <p><b><u>Physical interventions of planners and decision makers</u></b></p> <p>Is there any spatial intervention before or after the Syrian migrants move to the Ulubey neighborhood?</p>	
Lived Space	<p>Mental Inventions (Harvey, 1989)</p> <p>Experience of living (Carp, 2008)</p> <p><b><u>Emotional experiences</u></b></p> <p>What is the satisfaction level during performing activities?</p> <p>What are the most favorite destinations?</p>	<p>New meanings or possibilities for spatial practices (Harvey, 1989)</p> <p><b><u>Meanings</u></b></p> <p>Define the neighborhood in 'one word'.</p>



Tools of this research are identified according to three aspects of spatial triad which are perceived conceived and lived spaces, and methods will be mentioned in depth. In addition, there are personal and migration questions that lead to understand the migration and settlement processes of refugees. Personal questions consist of 5 questions that concern age, gender, neighborhood where refugees live, number of family members and ownership of shops. On the other hand, questions that are about migration processes of refugees comprise of 5 questions. These questions regard reason of migration, date of arriving Turkey and Ankara, decision making process of them and their future plans. The case study started in February 2018, firstly, observations were made to understand the refugees' life in the neighborhood. Afterwards, thanks to literature review on production of social space and migration, the research methods were identified. Fieldwork started in May 2019 and interviews and questionnaires were conducted in several days in this month and respondents consist of both Syrian refugees and local authorities.

#### **5.4.3.1. Spatial Practices**

According to Lefebvre, this space is the space of users and the users can be defined as Syrian Refugee Craftsmen in Ulubey Neighborhood. In the context of spatial practice, firstly, the daily activities, destination of these activities and the networks among these destinations will be investigated in the process of this research. That is to say, usage of space of refugees in the neighborhood is main research element for this topic. This space is a material form of production of space and it can be perceived by individuals. It also includes the physical interventions of users - Syrian Refugee Craftsmen- to their living space. As a result, the second way of research is to observe and take photos of the physical structure and façade of the area. This is the physical space of regulating knowledge of refugees. However, without any intervention of decision-makers, refugees begin to organize this physical space and their knowledge so that, activities and destinations is formed based of this knowledge.

First research tool for spatial practices is questionnaire which depends on activities and destinations of refugees in the neighborhood. On the other hand, the second one is direct observation to explore the physical interventions of refugees. Sampling group of this phase of research covers Syrian refugee craftsmen in Ulubey Neighborhood.

### *Activities and Purposes*

Carp (2008) states that **daily habits and patterns** are parts of the perceived space and these variables forms the destinations of refugees in their daily life. Also, Soja (1996) states that the **action spaces** are shaped by spatial organizations of social practices. As it is demonstrated in Table 5.5 activities can be examined by separating into categories, which are commercial, social and cultural, open space, entertainment activities and basic services and other activities which are defined by participants. In addition to these, it is important to find out activities which is not done by refugees because of several reasons such as social, economic, or safety.

Unused spaces are also a part of spatial production because individuals do not prefer these spaces due to their emotional and past experiences.

Table 5.5. *Types of Activities of Refugees in Daily Life*

Commercial	Market, bazaar or clothes shopping are some of kinds of commercial activities. As it is mentioned, there are a lot of Syrian craftsmen in the neighborhood. Therefore, it has been investigated that the daily shopping habits of Syrian migrants that that are made from the shopping areas in the neighborhood and other neighborhoods which have Syrian refugees or from city centers.
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Socializing – Open spaces	Social and cultural activities include meeting with friends, and it is important to find out whether these activities are made in or outside neighborhood. In addition, open spaces are generally public spaces and are important for the integration of local people and Syrian migrants. Therefore, the use and frequency of use of these areas is important in terms of daily use of the space and the reason why open spaces are not used during this research is also investigated.
Entertainment	Like social and open space activities, entertainment activities are individuals' leisure activities and it includes going to cinema or theatre, visiting some cultural points. These activities have some challenges for refugees in terms of language so that they may not prefer to do these kinds of activities.
Basic services	Basic services that include health or education are vital for every people. Ulubey Neighborhood have health center for refugees; in this case, whether Syrian refugees prefer to get this service from this center or outside neighborhood has part in spatial practice of refugees.
Activities which are not preferred to do by refugees	The activities of refugees produce the first aspect of triad; however, spaces which are not used by refugees represents a perception by refugees to these spaces. This situation is related with the emotional experiences such as fearing of some areas or regarding these areas as a threat. On the other hand, social, economic or security problems can cause that refugees do not go these spaces.

### *Destinations and Routes*

Destinations and routes are parts of spatial practice of refugees in the neighborhood. Schmid (2008) states that destinations specify the material dimension of social activity and interaction. Regarding to this, this variable would be use in investigating the relationship refugees and city in the scope of thesis question. The destinations in which the activities are carried out and the routes used to reach these locations affect the use and production of the place in the neighborhood. In addition, activities performed inside or outside the neighborhood indicate whether refugees in the neighborhood have meet their needs with connecting to the city. The relationship between refugees and parts of city is an important indicator that Syrian craftsmen are in contact with out of their living areas. As a result, whether there is an isolated immigrant neighborhood has been formed in time is examined.

As it is mentioned, destinations are important to find out the spatial production in the neighborhood and the link that connects these destinations also have a role in this production process. The purposes specify the daily routes of Syrian refugees in the neighborhood. Patterns of movements are identified the purposes of usage of area by Syrian refugees in the neighborhood.

### *Physical Interventions*

Spatial practice is a physical space and it is formed by physical materials. As usual, Syrian refugees have some effects on the physical structure of the neighborhood. Although the physical interventions of the Syrian refugees in the neighborhood are not on the base of housing, the appearance of the street and the façades began to change with the effect of the signboards. This element of spatial practices is searched by using observation tool. Schmauch and Nygren (2014 p. 375) states that physical space would be observed “empirically both as a surface of appearance”.

#### **5.4.3.2. Representations of Space**

As Lefebvre indicates, representation of space is a conceptualized space and belongs to scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic sub-dividers and social engineers. These actors define the perceived and lived spaces as Lefebvre indicated. In the neighborhood, there are spatial interventions such as construction plan and there are some social interventions such as ‘temporary protection status’ for refugees. On the other hand, according to observation of the area and literature reviews about refugees in this neighborhood, spatial intervention specific to refugees is lack. A few interventions are made in the neighborhood and rule on the Arabic signboards is one of them. As a result of this, refugees begin to regulate their space and knowledge about space. In other words, scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic sub-dividers and social engineers are not a part of spatial production process in the neighborhood and spaces in Ulubey neighborhood begin to produce by mostly ‘users’ i.e. Syrian refugees. They create their own rules in the neighborhood. This situation can lead to the formation of a space that is disconnected from the other parts of city and where the migrants communicate within themselves. The representation of space in the neighborhood will be investigated in consultation with the authorities, and the effects of this situation on production of spatial practice and spaces of representation will be examined. As summary, conceived space is examined in two ways. First one is a review on refugees’ legal situation and literature on refugees. Secondly, conceived space reflects authority’s ideology and knowledge to space, and this is examined by interviews with minority and local authority of Ulubey neighborhood. At that sense, semi structured interview is the method that is used in searching this phase and interviewees comprise of local authority, planners and municipal police. There is one question in the interview:

Are there any physical interventions before or after arriving of Syrian refugees to Ulubey Neighborhood?

#### **5.4.3.3. Spaces of Representation**

Spaces of representation is directly lived by Syrian refugees and produced by their emotional experiences. The physical production of space is related with the emotional experience and production of space as well. Lefebvre (1991) states that this space is alive, and it includes meanings, imagines about space. Refugees had a hard and sudden process of movement and they do not prepare to live another space. This situation affects the meaning of some spaces for them.

Like spatial practices, the research tool is questionnaire which depends on meaning of space and emotional experiences of refugees in the neighborhood and the sampling group is Syrian refugee craftsmen in neighborhood.

##### *Meanings*

Regarding to Harvey (1989) meaning one of the variables that measure lived space. Also, as Lefebvre (1991) states that lived space is directly lived by users and inhabitants, the meaning that are attributed by Syrian refugees – users creates new ways of spatial production. Meaning and usage of space overlap in terms of meaning identify space for refugees in their daily life. There is one question to figure out the meaning of the neighborhood for respondents:

Could you please explain what this neighborhood means to you in one ‘word’?

##### *Emotional Experiences*

Spaces of representations consist of subjective experiences of Syrian refugees in the neighborhood in their daily life. According to Schmauch and Nygren (2014), lived space covers the emotional and lived experiences of perceived and conceived spaces. Spaces where they happy, afraid from or unhappy is asked to refugees.

Also, in the context of spatial practice, spaces that refugees do not want to go is examined, correspondingly, why they do not prefer to go these places is related to their emotional experiences in the neighborhood. Questionnaire is also a tool to search the emotional experiences of respondents and respondents are expected to indicate their emotional experiences for each activity that they conducted.

## **5.5. Findings of Daily Production of Space of Refugees**

### **5.5.1. General Information About Participants**

As it is mentioned, there are two reasons why Syrian craftsmen are selected in the case study:

1. They have impact on Turkish economy whether it is positive or negative, and this make craftsmen an actor in production relations.
2. They have relationships with people always in their daily life and they experience the space physically and emotionally better than others and they experience the perceptions of local people towards them.

Total number of participants of this study is 24, 20 are male and 4 are female. Since the study is conducted to search the production of space of craftsmen and Syrian women do not work, there is limited participation of female respondents. As it is demonstrated in Figure 5.11, majority of respondents' age are in between 18 and 44, 8 are in between 18 and 24, 6 are in between 25 and 34 and 8 in between 35 and 44. The rest of participants, whose number are 2, are 45 and older than 45.

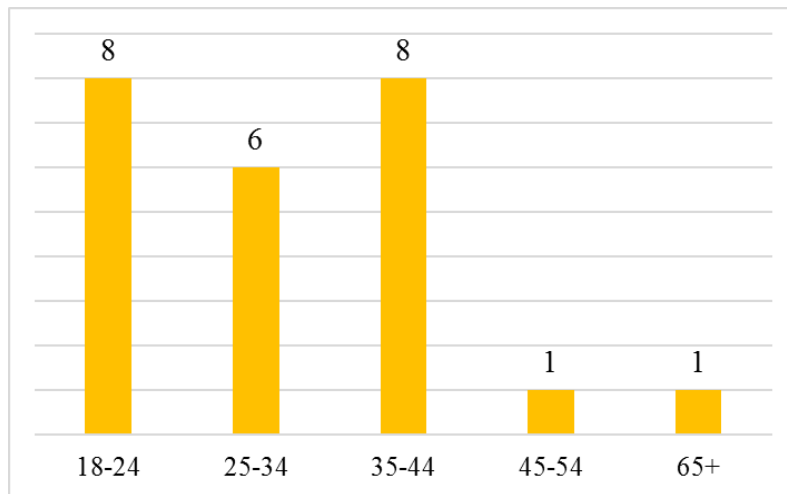


Figure 5.11. Age of Participants

Figure 5.12 demonstrates the location of refugees' houses and 10 of the participants which have majority live in Ulubey neighborhood. On the other hand, some refugees prefer to live in other neighborhoods in Altındağ, 2 of the respondents live in Site Yıldız, 2 live in Önder and 3 of them live in Beşikkaya, Başpınar and Baraj. In addition, 7 Syrian respondents live in other districts in Ankara, 6 respondents live in Mamak and Hüseyin Gazi and one lives in Etimesgut.

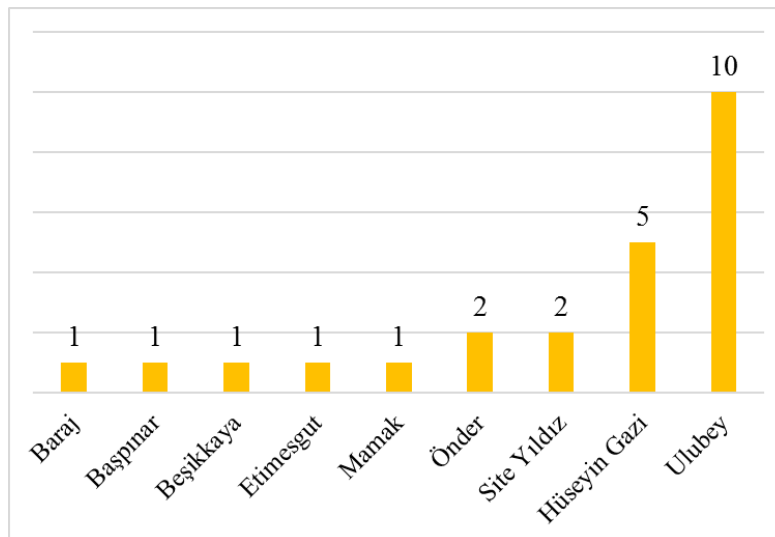
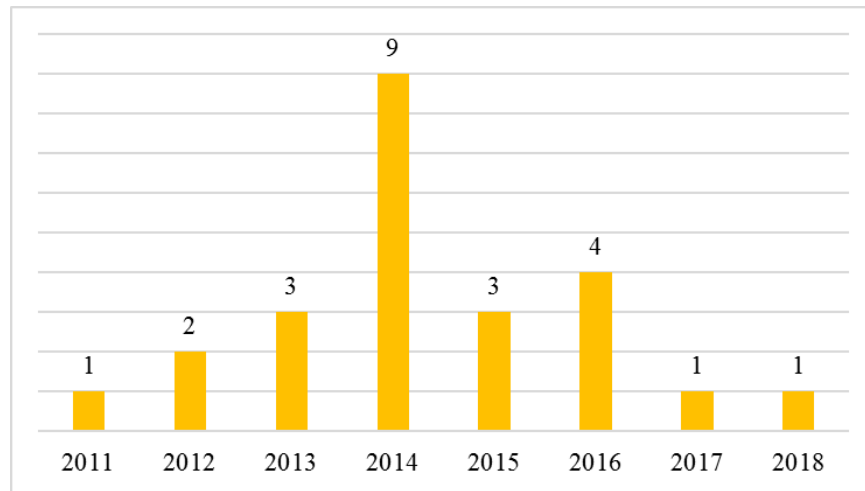


Figure 5.12. Live Neighborhood

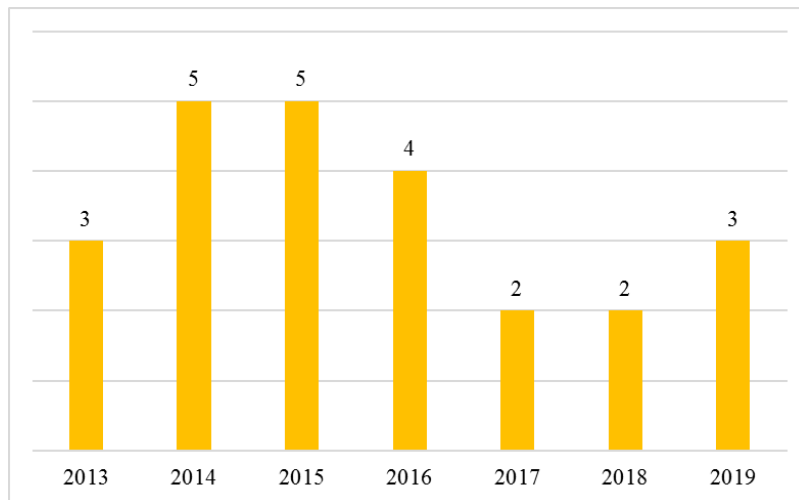


Until 2014, the number of refugees who migrated to Turkey has been increased dramatically and it reached its maximum in 2014, which is 9 (See Figure 5.13). Furthermore, after 2014, the number of refugees who arrived Turkey started to decrease.



*Figure 5.13. Date arriving Turkey*

As seen in Figure 5.14, the date of arrival of the refugees to Ankara has a more homogeneous distribution comparing to the arrival date in Turkey. Most of the respondents came to the neighborhood in 2014 and 2015. After 2015, 11 refugees came to the neighborhood. Also, in 2019, 3 refugees from the interviewees settled in the neighborhood. As a result of the interviews with refugees, it is seen that 12 respondents came directly to Ankara. The remain of the respondents previously lived in various places in Turkey and later they moved to Ankara. It shows that refugees had experienced different parts of Turkey before coming to Ankara.



*Figure 5.14. Date arriving Ankara*

Most of the respondents have decided to migrate to the neighborhood due to their relatives or for economic reasons. 15 of respondents migrated to neighborhood because of their relatives who migrated before and 8 of them migrated due to economic opportunities. Only one respondent has chosen the neighborhood because of the location of the neighborhood. In this case, the fact that the migrants come to the neighborhood because of their relatives indicates that they had already been informed about the neighborhood. In addition, the fact that they come for economic advantages may be an indication of a previous research on the neighborhood.

As shown in Figure 5.15, the majority of refugees whose number is 17 want to stay in the neighborhood. 3 of them stated that they want to return to Syria. 3 of the 21 respondents who prefer to stay in the neighborhood also stated that they may go back to Syria if the war is end. On the other hand, 3 of them want to move another country, and this indicates that these refugees use Turkey as transit country.

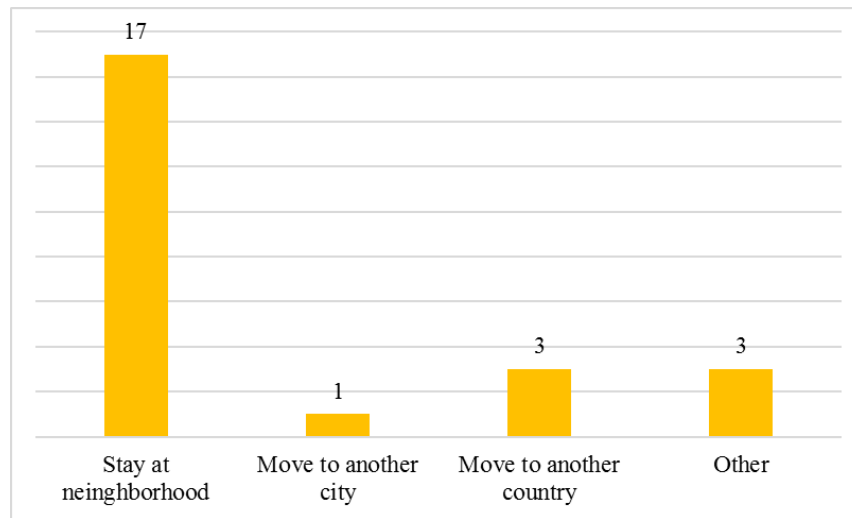


Figure 5.15. Future Plan of Respondents

## 5.5.2. Spatial Practice of Refugees – Perceived Space

### 5.5.2.1. Activities

Question that covers the daily activities of respondents is a multiple-choice question and respondents could select more than one choice. As can be seen in Table 5.6, there are 71 responses in multiple-choice questions on daily activity of refugees which is answered by 24 respondents. Of the 71 responses, 34% of them consist commercial activity in the daily life of refugees; in addition, all 24 participants use space for commercial activity in their daily life. As emphasized in Table 5.6, commercial activities are the most preferred activities of Syrian interviewers in daily life. The respondents go shopping for their daily needs within the objective of commercial activity. At the same time, there are shops opened by the Syrians in Şehit Rafet Sever Street, where conducting interview, and Syrian refugees from different parts of Ankara come here to shop.

In addition to commercial activities, basic services and open space activities are also preferred by the respondents. While 25% of the responses consist of open space activities in the daily life, 24% of them include the space to meet refugees' basic needs.

18 respondents who mark open space prefer to go to parks in their daily life in terms of open space activities. In addition to that, all the interviewees who marked the basic services option in the questionnaire benefit from health services. In addition, 4 interviewees with school-age children also benefit from educational services.

Table 5.6. *Daily Activities of Respondents*

	Responses		Percentage of the Responses for Each Activity
	N (=24)	Percent	
Commercial	24	33.8%	100.0%
Social	1	1.4%	4.2%
Open Space	18	25.4%	75.0%
Entertainment	11	15.5%	45.8%
Basic Services	17	23.9%	70.8%
Total	71	100.0%	295.8%

On the other hand, 16% of responses comprise entertainment activities and respondents prefer to go to cafes at their leisure. There is one café in Ulubey neighborhood and refugees go there in their daily life. Social and cultural activities are not preferred by respondents too much, only one respondent marked the social and cultural activity and the respondent stated that he/she plays sports in terms of social and cultural activities. Also, respondents state that they do not go to cinema or theatre and the reason is the language and cultural differences.

When the daily activities of the Syrian refugees are compared with their ages, the results can be seen as in Table 5.7. As it is demonstrated in this table, commercial activities are mostly conducted by interviewers between 18-24 and 35-44 years of age, number of respondents between 18 and 24 is 8 and number of respondents between 35 and 44 is also 8. 6 people between the ages of 25 and 34 shop in their daily lives.

Table 5.7. Respondents' Age and Daily Activities

Daily Activities	Age					
	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	65+	Total
Commercial	8	6	8	1	1	24
Social	1	0	0	0	0	1
Open Space	5	4	7	1	1	18
Entertainment	4	3	4	0	0	11
Basic Services	3	5	7	1	1	17
Total	8	6	8	1	1	24

On the other hand, open space activities are generally preferred by the 35-44 age group. The main reason for this is that the respondents in this age group prefer to go to the park with their children. In addition, respondents in the 18-24 age range prefer to spend time in open spaces. Recreation areas such as Altınpark and Mavi Göl in the Altındağ area make the outdoor activities attractive for young people. Like open space activities, entertainment activities are also conducted by respondents between 18 and 44 age group. Activities that involve basic needs are experienced by generally respondents who are between 35 and 44 years old. Then 25-34 age group interviewers usually meet their basic needs. As mentioned above, basic services activities consist of going to hospital.

However, respondents also indicated that their time generally limited to spend time on open space, social or cultural activities. For example, as seen in Figure 5.16, social activities are not performed by most of the respondents in their daily life. In addition, activities that are vital, such as commercial activities, are carried out by all respondents. While activities involving basic services is conducted by 17 people, 5 people have not needed to go to the hospital since they arrived and 2 people who moved to the neighborhood in 2019 said they have not needed basic services such as hospitals because they were new.

18 respondents indicate that they desire open spaces in their daily routine, and they all go to parks and recreation areas. Entertainment activities are chosen by 11 respondents and they remark that they go to cafes and shopping malls their spare time. Respondents state that they generally prefer to go Syrian cafes and according to observations in the neighborhood, these cafes also reflect their culture. As a summary, all respondents perform at least one activity in their daily routine and shopping is the one that is done by all respondents as seen in Figure 5.16. On the other hand, other activities, even basic services are not preferred by all respondents.

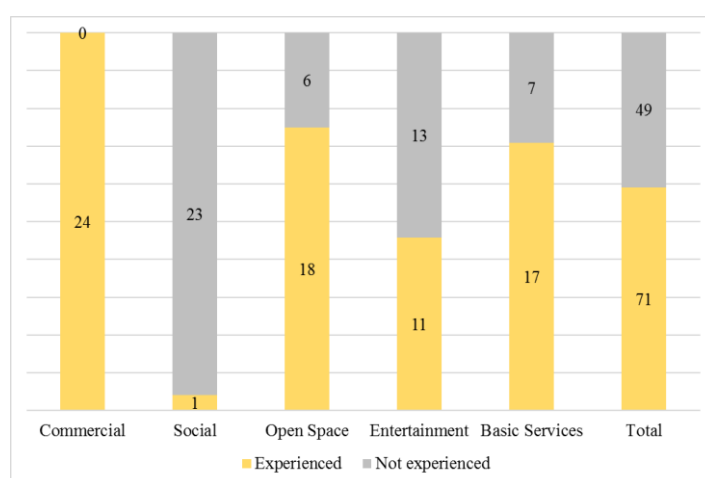


Figure 5.16. Activities Experienced and Not Experienced by Syrian Respondents in Daily Life

### 5.5.2.2. Destinations and Routes

The refugees perform their daily routines that stated under the title of ‘activities’ in certain parts of the city. The questions about destination are open ended questions and respondents are expected to answer where they go to in their daily life and they would give more than one destination. From this point of view, there are 24 answers to the question of the destinations where commercial activities were carried out. As shown in the graph in Figure 5.17, the majority of the respondents conduct commercial activities in the Ulubey neighborhood. Approximately 70% of respondents use Ulubey to go shopping in their daily routine.

The main reason for this is the Syrian shops in the neighborhood and the solidarity between refugees in terms of economic conditions. Only 8% of respondents go to city centers which are Ulus and Kızılay to perform commercial activities while 24% of respondents choose to go outside of Altındağ. In addition to that, only one respondent that use Hüseyin Gazi which is a neighborhood close to research area and also, one respondent prefers to go Etimesgut.

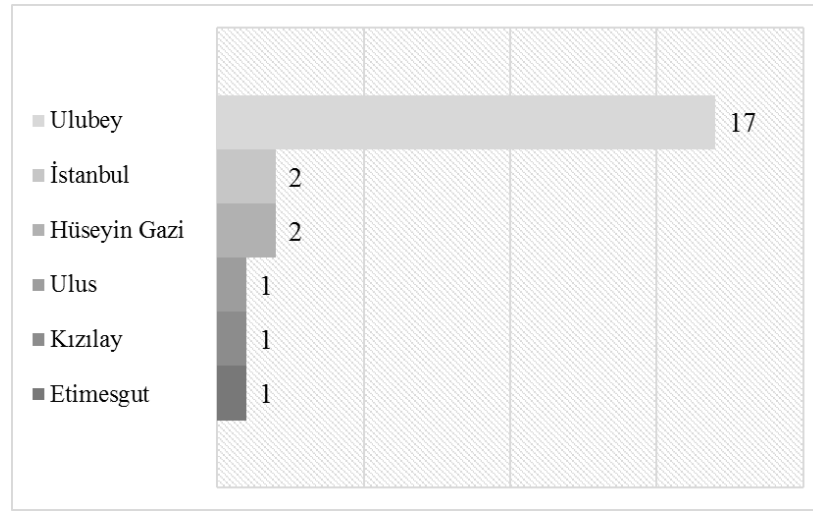


Figure 5.17. Destination of Commercial Activities

According to the responses from the interviewers, there was a more diverse frequencies for open space activities when it is compared with destination of commercial activities. Open space activities are carried out by 18 participants in a total of 32 different destinations. However, as shown in Figure 5.18, most of the preferred locations are the parks and recreation areas in Altındağ. There are 8 responses that choose Altınpark in open space activities. In addition to that, 5 of respondents prefer to go Ulubey Park which is located in the neighborhood. Mavi Göl is preferred by 4 respondents. 15% of responses are conducted outside of Altındağ district.

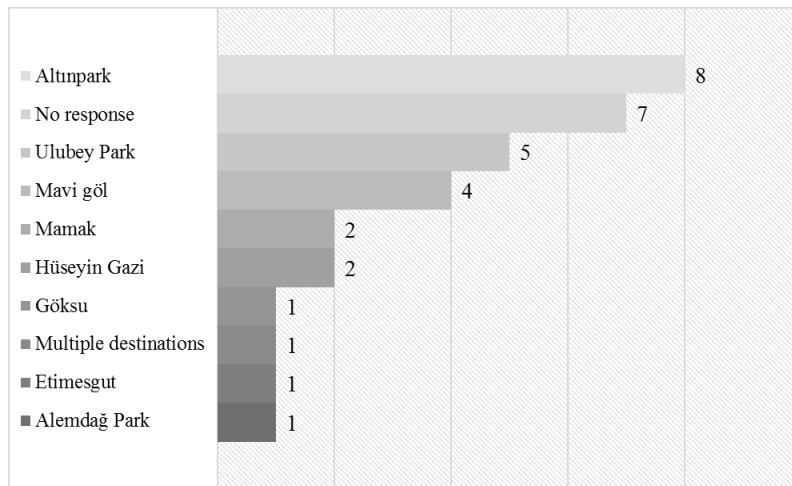


Figure 5.18. Destination of Open Space Activities

As it is mentioned, entertainment activities are not preferred by Syrian respondents too much. The distribution of destinations of entertainment activities is demonstrated in Figure 5.19, and majority of the destinations are preferred by only one respondent. Evaluating the destinations whether in Altındağ district or not, while 12.5% of respondents prefer to go places in Altındağ district, 25% of them choose to go outside of the district. In addition, one respondent goes for entertainment activity to city center, Kızılay. On the other hand, 14 respondents do not answer this question as seen in Figure 5.19.

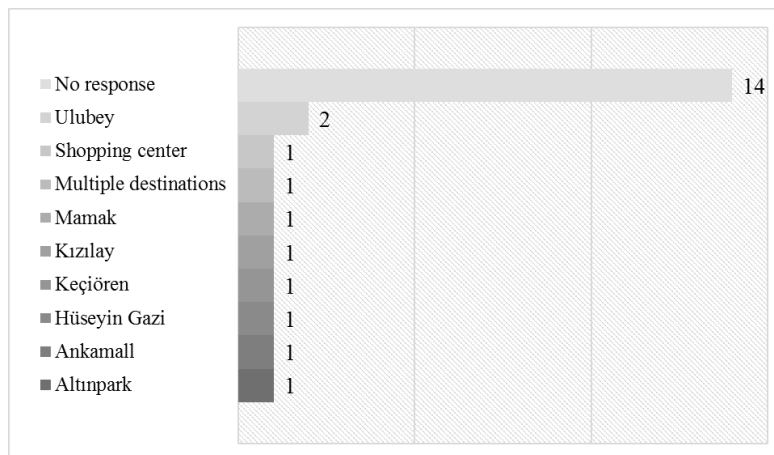


Figure 5.19. Destination of Entertainment Activities



Basic service activities are performed by 17 participants in a total of 26 different destinations. 38% of these destinations locate in Altındağ and 19% of destinations locate in other parts of Ankara (i.e. Mamak, Keçiören and Ulus) as demonstrated in Figure 5.20. In this context, 4 Syrian respondents stated that their children go to school and the respondents stated that the preferred destination is usually Ulubey region for educational activity.

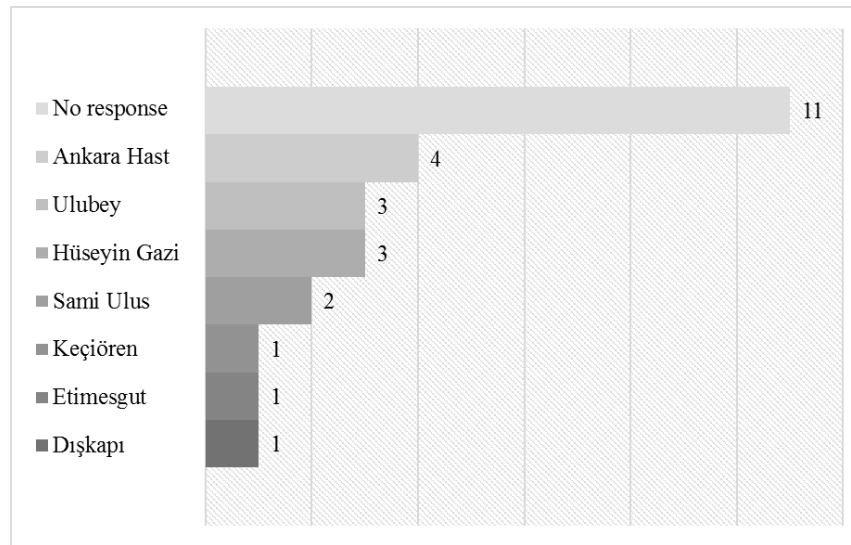


Figure 5.20. Destination of Basic Service Activities

The map in Figure 5.21 demonstrates the usage of different locations by Syrian respondents. Black circles refer commercial activities, green ones are open space activities, orange ones are entertainment activities and blue ones are activities that cover basic services. As shown in the figure, respondents generally prefer locations in Altındağ district. Correspondingly, networks that take place in respondents daily routine are mostly located in Altındağ. In addition, respondents go to Mamak and Keçiören in their daily routines and these locations are close to Ulubey Neighborhood. Respondents also prefer to go Mavi Göl as the most distant location for open space activity. For commercial activity, Ulus and Kızılay are preferred by one respondent and for entertainment activity Kızılay is preferred also by one respondent.

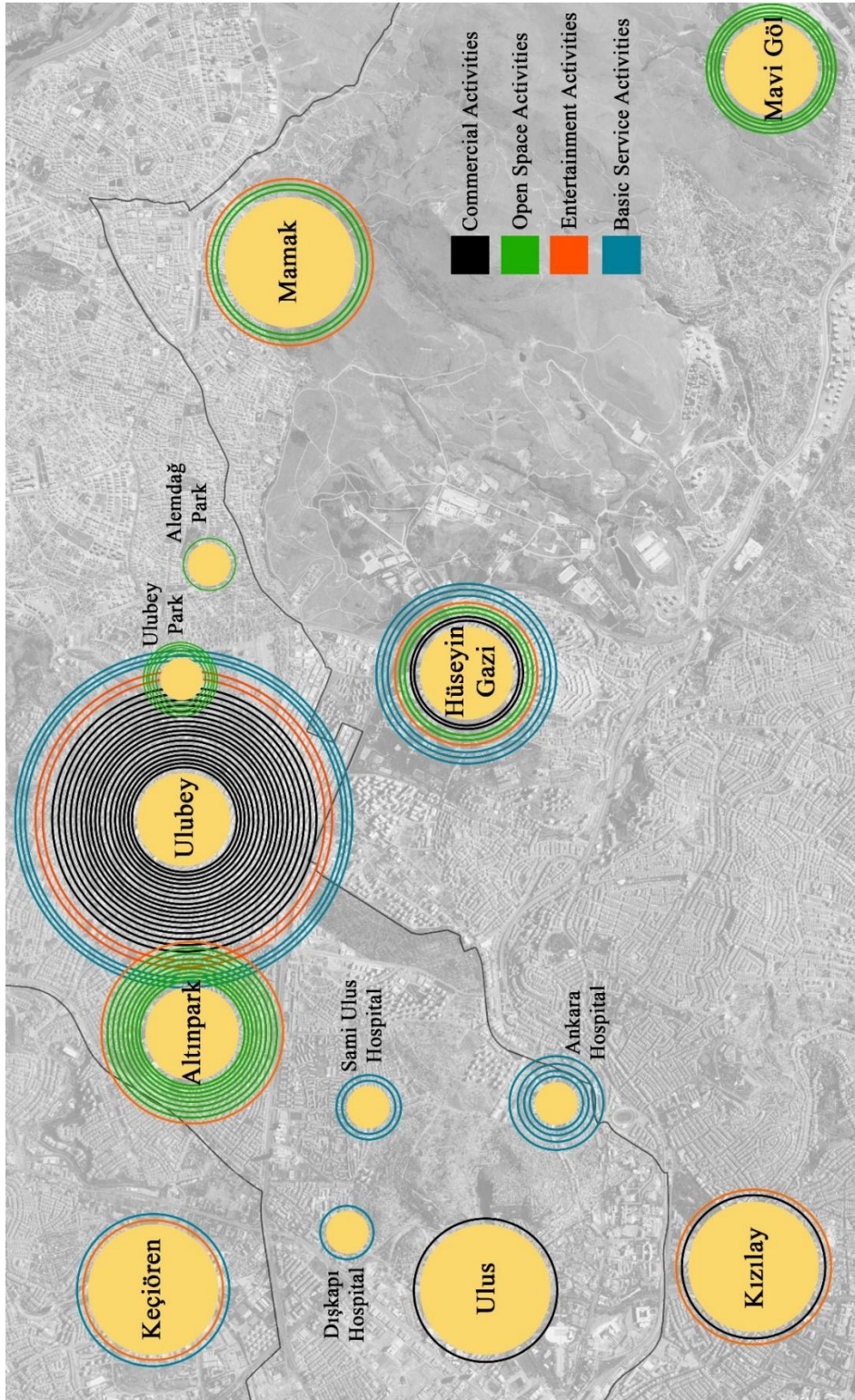


Figure 5.21. Destinations of Activities in Ulubey Neighborhood and Outside

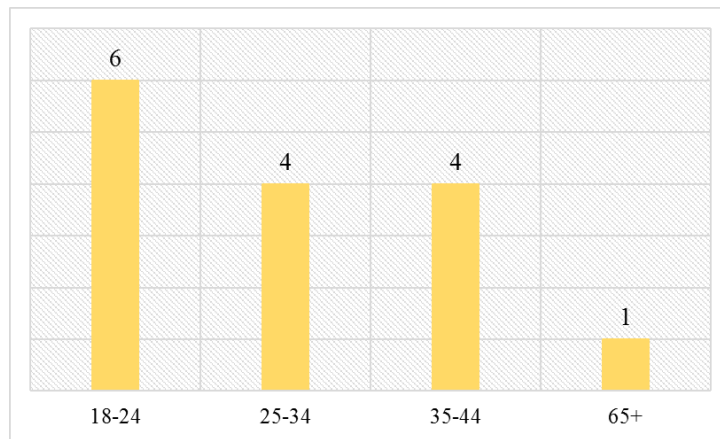
Table 5.8 demonstrates the location of activities whether inside Ulubey neighborhood or not. All participants responded these questions and there are 35 responses from 24 participants. 11 of them prefer to go both inside and outside of the neighborhood while 13 of them prefer either inside or outside only. 4 respondents choose to experience their activities in the neighborhood and 9 of them choose outside of the neighborhood. In total, 20 responses comprise activities within the neighborhood while 15 responses include activities outside the neighborhood.

Table 5.8. *Activities inside or Outside of the Neighborhood*

Location	Responses	
	N	Percent
In Neighborhood	20	57.1%
Outside Neighborhood	15	42.9%
Total	35	100.0%

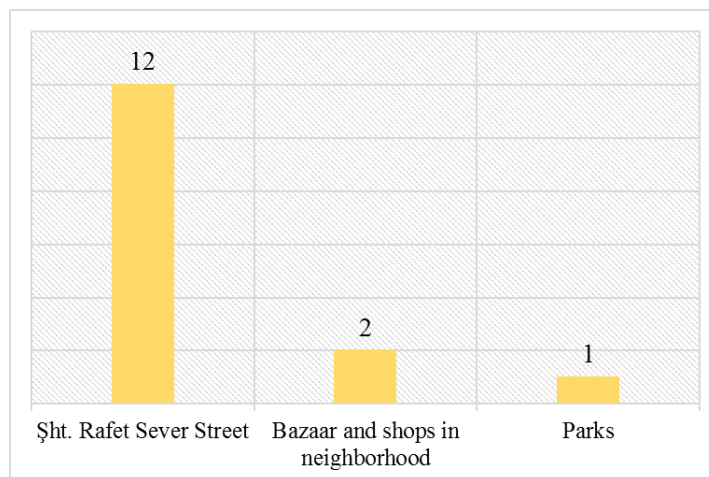
On the other hand, Table 5.8 also demonstrates the percentage of activities in and outside of neighborhood. 57% of the responses include destinations which locate in the neighborhood; however, 43% of responses consist of destinations outside the neighborhood.

As seen in Figure 5.22, in general, 18-24 age group which consists of 6 respondents prefer to use outside of the neighborhood. Of the 25-34 and 35-44 age groups, 8 respondents tend to use spaces outside the neighborhood. On the other hand, there is one respondent in 65+ age group and he/she use outside of the neighborhood. In this manner, it can be said that outside of the neighborhood is generally used by younger profile.



*Figure 5.22. Age and Usage of Outside of Neighborhood*

There are 15 responses that emphasized specific locations of activities which are experienced in the neighborhood. As seen in Figure 5.23, majority of respondents prefer to go Şhit Rafet Sever Street. While 12 respondents choose Şhit Rafet Sever Street, 2 of them choose bazaar and shops and one respondent chooses parks in the neighborhood. The main reason behind that there are many shops in this street and almost all are Syrian shops.



*Figure 5.23. Locations in Neighborhood*

As emphasized in the graph in Figure 5.24, Önder Neighborhood is preferred by 7 respondents and it is preferred most among the destinations outside Ulubey neighborhood. The main reason for this is the high number of Syrian shops in the neighborhood of Önder, as in the Ulubey neighborhood. The city center is chosen by 4 respondents as the second most preferred destination after Önder Neighborhood. With the deduction from the graph in Figure 5.24, 25 percent of the respondents preferred Altındağ region, while 16 percent preferred the city center and 29 percent preferred other areas in Ankara such as shopping centers, Etimesgut, Keçiören and Mamak.

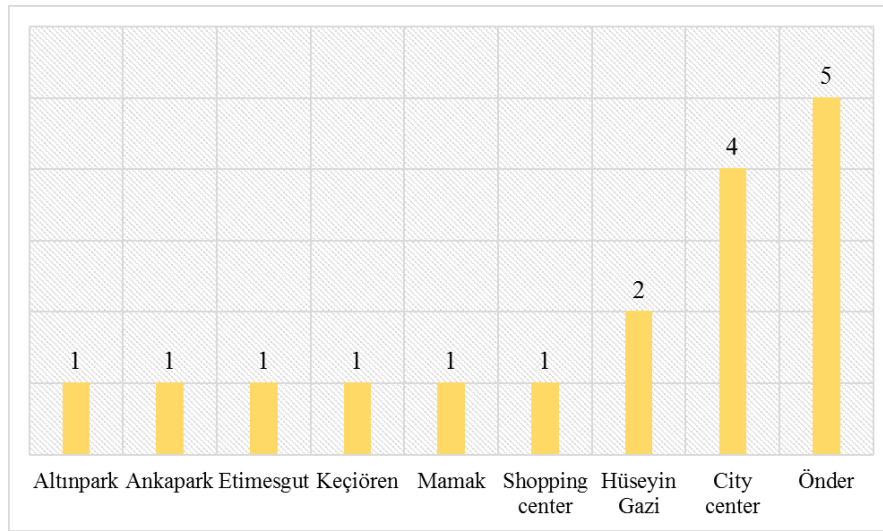


Figure 5.24. Locations Outside Neighborhood

According to graph in Figure 5.25 the question of frequency of use of the city center which involves Ulus and Kızılay was evaluated with 5 different ratings. In this context, there are 9 respondents go to the city center 'seldom'. While 3 respondents 'never' use the city center at all, 4 respondents prefer to go there 'sometimes'. In addition, 3 respondents go to the city center 'frequently' and 5 of them use it 'always' in their daily lives.

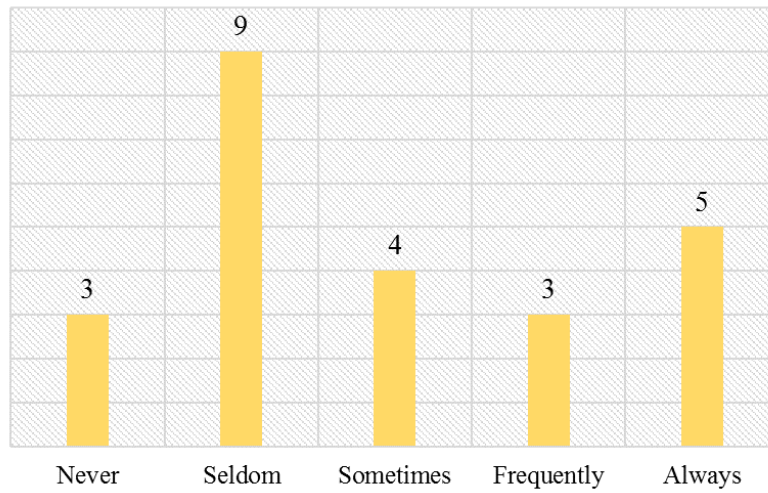


Figure 5.25. Frequency of usage of city center

The age groups and the frequency of city center usage is compared in the graph in Table 5.9. For this question, city center refers to Ulus and Kızılay in Ankara. Accordingly, a large majority of the 35-44 age group go to the city center ‘seldom’. However, half of the respondents from the 18-24 age group ‘always’ use the city center in their daily routines. Participants in the 25-34 age group usually use the city center ‘seldom’ or ‘sometimes’. As can be seen from the graph, the city center is generally used more frequently by the Syrian respondents in the younger age group.

Table 5.9. Age and frequency of usage of city center

	Age					Total
	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	65+	
Commercial	8	6	8	1	1	24
Social	1	0	0	0	0	1
Open Space	5	4	7	1	1	18
Entertainment	4	3	4	0	0	11
Basic Services	3	5	7	1	1	17
Total	8	6	8	1	1	24



In the question of where refugees do not want to go, 14 respondents stated that there is no place in Ankara that they do not want to go as seen in Figure 5.26. In addition to this, while 3 respondents do not prefer to go to Önder Neighborhood and one respondent does not want to go to Doğantepe, 3 of them emphasized that they do not want to go to Çiçin. One of the Syrian participants stated that he does not want to go to Ulubey although he/she is working in the Ulubey neighborhood. Also, 3 respondents stated that they do not want to go to Ulubey Park, and they indicated that they are annoyed with perception of local people. One participant stated that he was not disturbed to spend time in these places when he/she first came to the neighborhood, and he also states that he is hesitant to go to these areas later because of the change in perspective of local people in a bad way. People who tell the Çiçin and Önder districts stated that they do not want to go to these areas for security reasons.

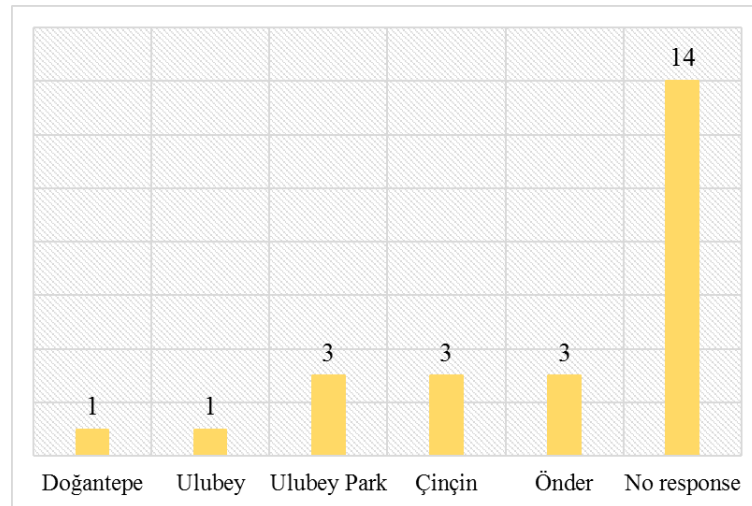


Figure 5.26. Place that refugees do not want to go

In total 5 of respondents' most favorite places are green and open areas in Altındağ as it is demonstrated in Table 5.10. On the other hand, one respondent prefers AVMs mostly and one likes Hüseyin Gazi. 2 respondents state that they like to spend time in their home and shop, which are the places they use frequently in their daily life. On the other hand, one participant likes to spend time in Mosques, and one prefer to go Çankaya mostly.

Table 5.10. *Most Favorite Places of Refugees*

	Frequency
No response	13
Altınpark	1
AVM	1
Çankaya	1
His Shop	1
Home	1
Hüseyin Gazi	1
Mavi Göl	1
Mosque	1
Parks	2
Ulubey Park	1

### 5.5.2.3. Physical Interventions

Migrants do not have any physical interventions in the neighborhood in terms of housing or physical infrastructure. They have settled houses in the area and rented the shops and they do not build any building in the neighborhood. According to observations, the most important physical interventions they made in the neighborhood is the changes in the appearance of the façades in the Şehit Rafet Sever Street which can be defined as the commercial axis of the neighborhood. These changes are mainly manifest itself in the signboards with Arabic language as it can be seen in Figures 5.27 and 5.28. Also, they are remarkable, and they have flashy fonts and color. Syrian craftsmen generally prefer to golden signboards as seen in Figures 5.27 and 5.28. In addition, it is observed that the signboards generally comprise of materials that are changeable so that, they are temporary. Two factors may cause this situation. One is that Arabic signboards are not allowed. Second is that refugees think that they are not permeant in Turkey.





Figure 5.27. Façade of a Jeweler Shop in Ulubey Neighborhood (Author's personal archive)



Figure 5.28. Façade of Shops in the Neighborhood (Author's personal archive)

### 5.5.3. Representation of Spaces in Ulubey Neighborhood – Conceived Space

First of all, a literature review on legal regulations about Syrian refugees is carried out. One legal regulation for Syrian refugees is regulating the definition of refugee in Turkey. At that sense, ‘conditional refugee’ status is given to Syrian asylum seekers. This status gives them the right to health, education and work. Also, according to legislations owning property is not allowed people except Turkish ancestries. Syrian respondents also state that they rent their shops instead of not purchasing it. In addition, Arabic signboards are restricted in Turkey. According to standard that is accepted in 2018 by Turkish Standard Institution, usage of Turkish words is taken as a basis in signboards and size of foreign words should be 25 percent of Turkish words (Turkish Standard Institution, 2019). However, in Ulubey, shops have generally Arabic signboards as seen in Figure 5.29. According to observations in the neighborhood, while some shops use Arabic signboards, some use Turkish alphabet.



*Figure 5.29. A signboard in Ulubey Neighborhood (Author's personal archive)*

Secondly, semi-structured interviews are conducted with planner in Altındağ Municipality, headmen of Ulubey neighborhood and municipal police of Altındağ Municipality. So that the interview is conducted by three type of actors. One is planners in Altındağ municipality. Altındağ Municipality Construction Affairs states that there is no intervention specific to Syrian refugees as a part of development process in Ulubey Neighborhood. They also provide the development plan and satellite image to understand the development process in the neighborhood. On the other hand, municipal police department of Altındağ municipality remarks that there is a rule that forbid the Arabic signboards, but it is not implemented too much. They also state that most of the shops do not have license and this means refugees begin to produce some informal economic relations in the neighborhood. Finally, headman of the neighborhood is interviewed. He also states that there is no spatial intervention of decision makers specific to Syrian refugees. He also remarks that there are some social activities such as food aid.

As shown in the map in Figure 5.31, although not particularly refugees, there is a transformation process in the region. When the development plan obtained from the municipality is combined with the satellite image, there are differences between the development plan and the current situation. Urban transformation in the region, as already mentioned, means cheap housing for refugees because local people generally move to transformed areas and there are cheap houses in not transformed areas. At this point, the decision makers intervene in the neighborhood, although it is not spatially specific for refugees. In addition, because Şehit Rafet Sever street is an axis where refugees go for usually shopping, the street for cars in the development plan is used by mostly pedestrians especially in weekends. (See Figure 5.30 and Figure 5.31)



*Figure 5.30.* Street view of Şehit Rafet Sever Street (Author's personal archive)





*Figure 5.31. Development Plan and Satellite Image of Ulubey Neighborhoods (Altındağ Municipality Archive)*

#### **5.5.4. Spaces of Representation of Refugees – Lived Space**

##### **5.5.4.1. Meanings**

The meanings attributed to the neighborhood by respondents are examined in three main categories: positive, negative and neutral. In this context, 37.5% of the respondents describe the neighborhood in a positive way, while 21% have a negative perspective towards the neighborhood.

In addition, 33% of them have a neutral view on the neighborhood and 2 refugees do not respond the question. As seen in Table 5.11 respondents who define the neighborhood positively used the words ‘good’, ‘nice’ and ‘thanks’. In addition, the negative evaluators used the words ‘old’, ‘bad’ and ‘difficult’.

Table 5.11. *Neighborhood in one word*

		Frequency	Total
Nice	Positive view	1	9
Good		7	
Thank you!		1	
Normal	Neutral view	1	8
Neutral		7	
Old	Negative view	1	4
Bad		3	
Hard		1	

#### 5.5.4.2. Emotional Experiences

As seen in Figure 5.32, 33 and 34, respondents have generally good experiences during conducting commercial, open space and entertainment activities. On the other hand, respondents have neutral emotional experiences for basic services which covers health needs generally. 18 respondents have good experience when conducting commercial activity and 5 of them do not feel bad or good.

Regarding to open space activities, while 11 respondents feel good, 7 of them have neutral feelings as it is demonstrated in Figure 5.33. In addition, Figure 5.34 shows that emotional experience of entertainment activities and 10 people feel good while 1 people feel neutral. Conducting basic service activities respondents generally feel neutral as seen in Figure 5.35. 13 respondents feel neutral and 3 of them feel good.

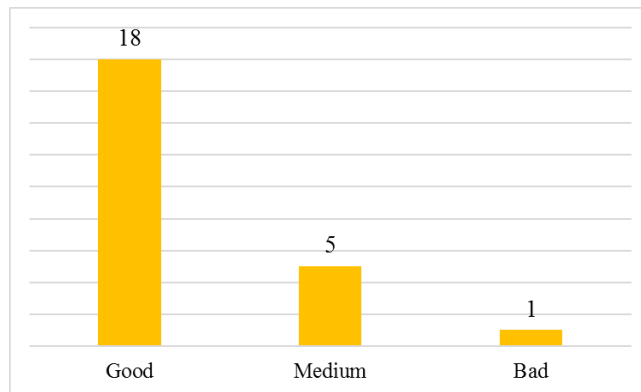


Figure 5.32. Emotional Experience of Commercial Activities

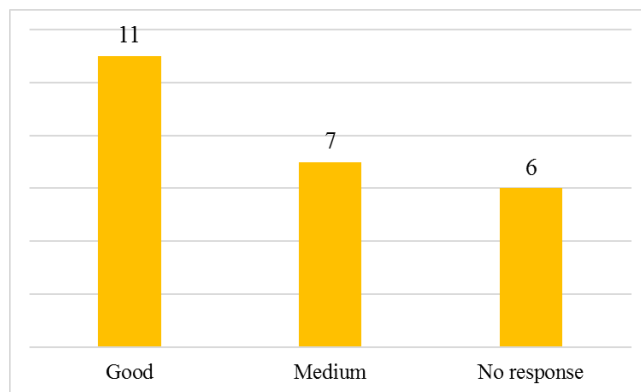


Figure 5.33. Emotional Experience of Open Space Activities

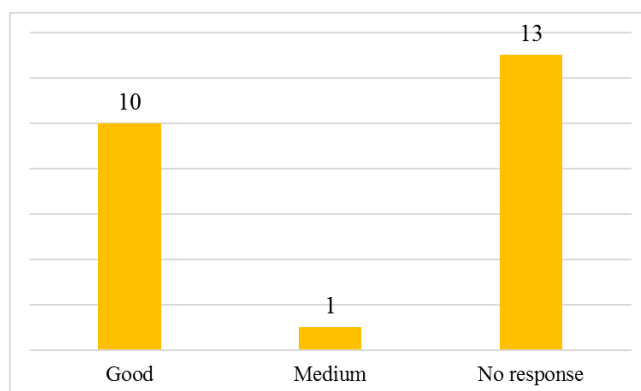


Figure 5.34. Emotional Experience of Entertainment Activities

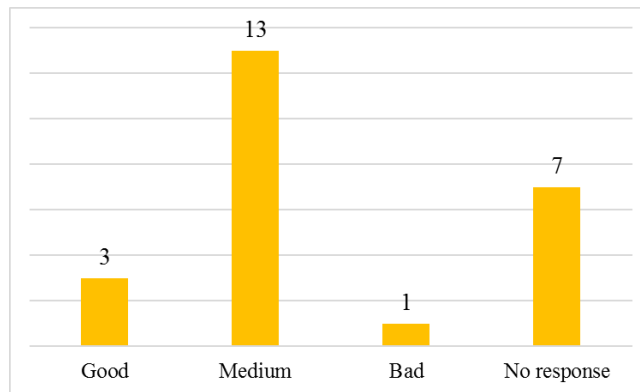


Figure 5.35. Emotional Experience of Basic Services

### 5.5.5. Evaluation of Findings

The findings are evaluated in two ways:

1. Spatial practices in daily routines of refugees, spatial interventions of local authorities on refugees and emotional and meaning experiences of refugees.
2. Based on the space production processes and the spatial triad analysis of the refugees, whether or not refugees are disconnected from the other parts of the city and there is an isolated space production.

In the scope of first phase of evaluation, perceived, conceived and lived space of refugees are investigated. Perceived space comprises of activities, destinations and physical interventions of refugees. The activities of refugees in the neighborhood are generally composed of commercial activities. In addition to commercial activities, open space and basic services are among the activities of Syrian respondents. In other words, it is possible to say that migrants generally use spaces in their daily routines to meet their vital needs. In addition, even if it is rarely, entertainment activities take place in respondents' daily routines. Interviewed refugees stated that they generally go from home to work and that activities based on socialization are limited.



On the other hand, destinations are the other research element of the aspect of spatial practices. According to the findings of this research, migrants generally use areas in Ulubey Neighborhood or in the Altındağ district. It is noteworthy that there are refugee neighborhoods where refugees go addition to areas in the neighborhood. Şehit Rafet Sever Street in Ulubey neighborhood is preferred especially for commercial activities. The city center generally not preferred by respondents and also, western parts of the city never used by respondents. When evaluated in terms of physical intervention, in the neighborhood, it is seen that street images on the street where the Syrian shops are located, are started to be affected by the immigrants' own culture. Arabic signs on the street attract attention and there is no observable physical intervention in residential areas.

Conceived space is examined in two ways. Firstly, a literature review on legal status of Syrian refugees is conducted. At that sense, the legal status of Syrian refugees in Turkey is investigated especially. Syrian refugees are given the 'temporary protection status' by Turkish government, and they benefit from a variety of service such as health care and education. In addition, there is no physical interventions on refugees. The urban transformation process started in the neighborhood is progressing independently of refugees. However, the fact that urban transformation has not yet been completed has led to the cheapening of the poor housing in the region, which has been an attraction factor for refugees. Although there is no direct physical intervention in the process of refugee settlement, some decisions have influenced the lifestyle of migrants in the area. However, the lack of decisions on the integration or adaptation of refugees causes refugees to create their own lifestyles and knowledge. This situation causes refugees to lead a life separated from the city. It is possible to apply this situation to many disadvantaged groups. However, since international immigrants bring their own culture and lifestyle with them, and forced migration generally causes mass migration, various foreign particles are formed in the cities. Second of all, there are interviews with headman of the neighborhood, planners in Altındağ Municipality and Municipal police.

According to headman and municipality there is no spatial intervention in terms of development of neighborhood. There is only some food allowance by municipality for refugees in the neighborhood. Also, Municipal police states that there no permit for Arabic signboards, but they are still using them and there no intervention of police. Lived space includes refugees' emotional experiences of space. In this context, migrants generally feel good in the neighborhood. Especially in commercial and outdoor activities, most of the migrants feel good while they generally feel neutrals in activities involving basic services such as hospitals. In interviews, it is observed that the interviewers generally feel good in the neighborhood. In addition, refugees are expected to define the neighborhood with a single word and these definitions are evaluated in three categories, positive, neutral and negative perceptions. Majority of respondents refer to positive perception on the neighborhood while 5 of respondents have negative perception to the neighborhood.

The second phase of the evaluation is based on whether the refugees live in a neighborhood that is separated from other parts of the city. In this respect, firstly, the spatial triad formation is examined within the context of Lefebvre's theory of space production. Spatial practices and destinations are especially important in order to reveal the relationship of refugees with places outside the neighborhood and in the neighborhood. When the interviews with the respondents are evaluated, in the scope of the second phase of the evaluation, it is possible to say that the migrants carry out a space production process that is broken apart from other parts of Ankara. When the evaluations about the destinations are examined, it is seen that the migrants generally prefer the places in Ulubey or in the Altındağ region. In this case, it is also closely related to local or governmental not taking spatial or integrated measures and decisions. The refugees have developed a unique style of life in their neighborhood and have built a life that does not need other areas of the city.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

In this thesis, it is conveyed the process of experiment of the spaces where refugees conduct their daily routines within the scope of social production of the space regarding to their forced change in locations of homes and lifestyle. The main framework this thesis is Henri Lefebvre's spatial triad. This thesis is structured in two main topics, one includes theories on space and social production of space and the second is migration phenomena and at that sense, forced migration. In the most general sense, migration is a process of shift in space, and in this context, migration is also the process of socially reproducing the space settled by refugees. As it is emphasized the relationship between space and social connections attract attention to the contrary of traditional Euclidean thinking on space. At that sense, Lefebvre (1991) who is prior for social concept of space indicates that (social) space is produced socially in his book. He proposes that space is not an empty space and it is livable organism. Thacker (2017) remarks Henri Lefebvre's emphasizes on space; which space is not only a blank area but also it is shaped by human activities. After a literature review on (social) space and migration, the thesis proceeds with evaluating the migration process in the context of social production of space and spatial triad. Within this scope, the main aim of this study is **evaluating the process of production of space and spatial triad which involves spatial triad, representations of space and spaces of representation in the context of Syrian Refugees which are craftsmen in Ulubey Neighborhood in Altındağ**. The sub purposes of this study are to explore each aspects of spatial triad, spatial practices of refugees, representations of space of refugees and spaces of representation of refugees.

Within the scope of the main and sub purposes of this study there are two questions which is expected to be answered in this thesis, (1) what is the process of production of space of refugees in their daily routines in terms of their daily experience in the area regarding to three aspects of spatial triad and (2) based on the analysis of the spatial triad, do the migrants only use their own places and their surroundings, and do they live and conduct using of space by isolating from other parts of the city. Regarding to these questions this study is based on two parts which involve a comprehensive theoretical research on concept of space, production of space and migration movements; and an empirical study which is based on a case study on Syrian refugees in Ulubey Neighborhood.

Case study of the research involves observation and questionnaire methods in the area. Using case study in this thesis, analysis of the spatial triad regarding to the daily routines and emotional experiences of Syrian craftsmen refugees in the neighborhood is developed. The selection of the sampling group consists of two phases. In the first phase, it is decided that the interviewer group would be composed of Syrian refugees who had experienced a forced migration process. In the second phase, on the other hand, it is observed that Syrian refugees are generally limited in their use of space and the craftsmen refugees are more connected with the space and social relations in the neighborhood, and therefore, it is decided to conduct this case study with the ones working in shops in the Syrian refugee group.

### **6.1. Key Findings and Discussion of the Study**

In the scope of the case study, the process of space production of Syrian refugees who are craftsmen in Ulubey neighborhood of Altındağ district in Ankara, which is based on the theoretical background of Lefebvre. In this context, in the survey that is conducted with 24 respondents, three aspects of the spatial triad of refugees are examined within daily practices of respondents.

As a result of the interviews, the evaluation of the findings is carried out in two phases and in the first phase, it is aimed to answer the 3 sub-questions asked for the study. In the second phase, it is aimed to answer two main questions of the study within the framework of the findings and answers of the sub-questions.

**The first phase of the evaluation consists of 3 aspects of spatial triad; spatial practices, representations of space and spaces of representation.** In the scope of perceived space, daily routines and physical space experiences of migrants are examined and the activities of migrants in their daily lives and the destinations of these activities are investigated. In addition to this, the physical interventions of refugees in the neighborhood are observed. In this context, the spatial activities of migrants were analyzed in the categories of commercial, social, open space, entertainment and basic services. Respondents generally prefer to experience commercial activities and all respondents state that they go shopping in their daily routine. The socialization of refugees is limited and especially some social activities such as theatre or cinema are not preferred by respondents. Their use of city is also limited; they state that they generally go from home to work. As a result, destinations of activities are also limited. They generally composed of locations in Ulubey and close distances. The city center is generally not preferred by respondents. Besides, it is noteworthy that especially the western parts of Ankara are never used by the interviewed refugees and there is no place located in these parts among the answers. At this point, when the destinations used by the refugees to conduct their activities are examined, it is seen that they generally prefer the Ulubey neighborhood and the nearby regions. In addition, physical intervention of respondents is limited to signboards of their shops. The signboards generally have Arabic letter. Also, craftsmen sometimes use sidewalks to sell their productions. Conceived space is the space of the planners and decision-makers according to the Lefebvre's (1991) definition, which is generally a plan or a scientific space. In this context, whether there is a spatial intervention in the study area has been researched by theoretical researches and interviews with the headman and municipality employees within the scope of local authorities.

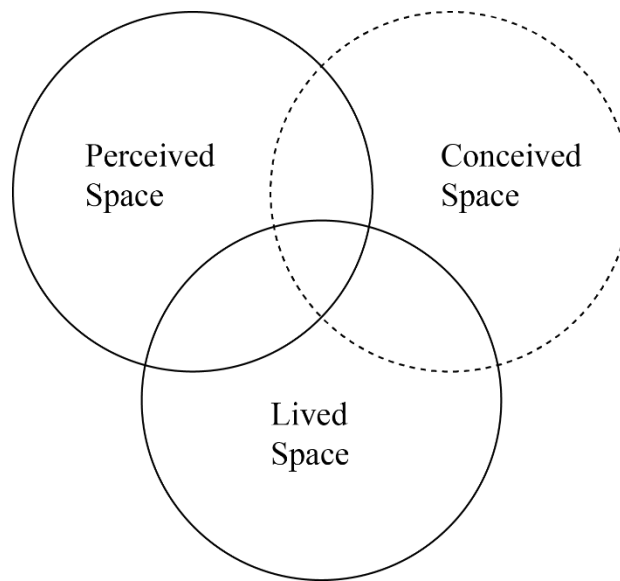
Intervention of government and decision makers is generally limited. One intervention is giving 'temporary protection status' to refugees so that they are provided health, education and working rights. Also, there are some prohibitions like owning property. In the scope of lives space, respondents' emotional experiences and meaning of space for them are investigated. Respondents generally have positive feelings experiencing the activities. They feel neutral during the basic service activities. They feel good in the neighborhood and also, they state that most of them do not want to move another neighborhood or city. Like emotional experiences, meanings of space that are attributed by respondents are also generally positive.

**The second part consists of the relationship between respondents and various parts of Ankara.** First of all, respondents generally spent time in the neighborhood, and they produce production and social production relations in the neighborhood. It is possible to say that there is a lack of decision for inclusion and adaptation of refugees and this leads to separation of refugees from the city. So that, they begin to create their own lifestyles. As seen in the evaluation of the findings, migrants generally use their own neighborhoods and neighboring immigrant neighborhoods. The relations of the refugees with the city center and especially with the western parts of the city are quite disconnected.

The discussion of this thesis is conducted in two phases. At that sense, the results obtained in the survey indicate some meaning for the researchers in the planning discipline and the public. Especially the role of planners gains importance in the context of managing mass migration and planning implementations on settlement process of immigrants. As Castles & Miller (1998) states these times are defined as 'age of migration' and planners should be prepared for such unexpected conditions. In other words, planners have an important role in managing the unexpected conditions in cities in terms of socially and physically. Migration flows especially ones that have high population create some unexpected situations in cities.

In a historical context of process of immigrants to settle in cities in Turkey, it is possible to say that the distribution of migrants to the cities took place in an unplanned manner. According to the results obtained from the investigation of the representations of space of the triad, the spatial and social interventions of refugees are very limited in Syrian migration context. Interventions that are limited to some legal restrictions are insufficient to ensure the integration of refugees with the city. Since immigrants are close to their own culture and there is solidarity among themselves, they do not prefer places outside the neighborhood. In addition, Syrian migration movements have some uniqueness because this migration flow took place in a very short time and very quickly, and the migration flow to Turkey is still continuing. In time, the number of refugees is overpopulated, and the camps started to be not enough for their populations, and they begin to move to the cities. The lack of any social or physical intervention in this situation creates certain immigrant neighborhoods in the cities.

According to the results of this thesis, it is possible to conclude that the impact of conceived space less than expected as seen in Figure 6.1. According to Lefebvre's theory, spatial practices and spaces of representations are the spaces of users and inhabitants, while representations of space belong to planners and decision makers. Because of lack of the representation of space from the other aspects of the triad, space started to be produced by mostly users and inhabitants in the neighborhood. This situation causes segregation of Syrian refugees from Ankara and Ulubey neighborhood has become **a refugee cluster**. Iceland (2014) defines this situation as geographical isolations that is related with "social exclusion and economic marginalization" (p.2). He also adds that segregation reflects the poor cohesion. Regarding to this definition, there should be policies that provide social cohesion among different social groups.



*Figure 6.1. Lefebvre's Spatial Triad in Ulubey Neighborhood*

At that sense, planners have important role in managing the existence of different social groups in cities. The role of the planner has been a constant change from past to present. The planner, who only served as a decision maker in the past, is now pursuing a decision-making process in partnership with the public. In the context of this thesis, planners' role is to make the aspects of this triad interrelating with each other in unexpected situations.

## **6.2. Limitations and Further Studies**

This study has some potential limitations and the findings of this study have to be seen in light of some limitations. The first and most important one is the language problem because this study is conducted by interviewing with Syrian refugees in the scope of this thesis. Because interviews were conducted with the help of a translator, it was difficult to communicate directly with the respondents and it cause lack in getting information. On the other hand, a second limitation is that the respondents were sometimes reacting to the survey because the survey had been conducted continuously in the neighborhood. Another limitation is the sample group of this study.



This study is conducted regarding to forcibly displaced Syrian refugees and their settlement to Turkey because one of the biggest migration flows in recent years is taking place in Turkey from Syria. However, whatever the type of migration is, it is a process of displacement and has an effect on the production of space. Immigrants are forced to meet with a new space or environment and social features. At this point, it is suggested that in the further studies, how Lefebvre's theory of production of space produces results in other types of migration would be investigated. Another limitation consists of the research tool of the research. Since the respondent group is Syrian and the communication is difficult, a questionnaire is used as a research tool in the scope of this thesis. However, it is recommended that a deep interview would be carried out in the further studies in order to examine the three dimensions of the spatial triad in the most effective way. The final limitation concerns the sampling group of the thesis. Due to the fact that Syrian craftsmen have more communication with the various groups and physical space in the neighborhood, and within the scope of the study, Syrian refugees working as tradesmen are interviewed and as a result, few participants are women. In further studies, it is recommended to conduct surveys with all refugees in the study area and to examine how the results differ according to various groups.



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## APPENDICES

### A. ANKET

#### GENEL SORULAR

1. Yaşınız nedir?
  - a. 18-24
  - b. 25-34
  - c. 35-44
  - d. 45-54
  - e. 55-64
  - f. 65+
2. Cinsiyetiniz nedir?
  - a. Kadın
  - b. Erkek
3. Hangi mahallede yaşıyorsunuz?
4. Çalıştığınız dükkân kira mı sizin mi?
  - a. Kira
  - b. Kendi mülkü

#### GÖÇ İLE İLGİLİ SORULAR - Göç etme sürecinizi ve nedenlerinizi anlamaya yönelik sorular.

5. Göç etmenizdeki neden aşağıdakilerden hangisidir?
  - a. Yaşadığım ülkedeki çatışmalar / Zorunlu göç
  - b. Yerleştiğim yerdeki ekonomik avantajlar
  - c. Akrabalarımın buraya göç etmesi
  - d. Diğer. Lütfen belirtiniz: \_\_\_\_\_

6. Türkiye'ye geliş tarihiniz nedir?
7. Şu anda yaşadığınız mahalleye yerleşme tarihiniz nedir?
8. Aileniz kaç kişiden oluşmaktadır?
9. Bu mahalleye göç etmeye nasıl karar verdiniz?
  - a. Akrabalarım buraya taşındığı için
  - b. İş, sağlık, eğitim vb. olanakları için
  - c. Mahallenin konumundan dolayı
  - d. Diğer. Lütfen belirtiniz: \_\_\_\_\_
10. Mahallede yaşamaya yönelik gelecek planlarınız nelerdir?
  - a. Şu anda yaşadığım yerde kalmak istiyorum
  - b. Başka bir mahalleye taşınmak istiyorum
  - c. Başka bir şehre taşınmak istiyorum
  - d. Başka bir ülkeye taşınmak istiyorum
  - e. Diğer. Lütfen belirtiniz: \_\_\_\_\_

## MEKÂNSAL ÜRETİM İLE İLGİLİ SORULAR

**Bu kısım günlük mekân kullanımları ve deneyimleri ile ilgili sorular içermektedir.**

Mekânsal Pratik – Bu başlık altındaki sorular mekânın fiziksel olarak nasıl kullanıldığı ve mekanlar arasındaki rotaların nasıl olduğuna dair sorular ve harita çizimleri içermektedir.

11. Günlük hayatınızda yapmakta olduğunuz aktiviteler nelerdir?
  - a. Ticari
  - b. Sosyal – kültürel
  - c. Açık hava
  - d. Boş zaman faaliyetleri
  - e. Diğer. Lütfen belirtiniz: \_\_\_\_\_
12. Bu aktiviteleri yapmaktaki amacınızı açıklayınız.



13. Gnlk yařantınızda yaptığınız faaliyetleri hangi destinasyonlarda (mevkilerde) yapıyorsunuz, haritada gsteriniz?
  - a. Ulubey mahallesi iinde nereleri tercih ediyorsunuz?
  - b. Ulubey mahallesi dışında nereleri tercih ediyorsunuz?
14. Gnlk hayatınızda gerekleřtirdiğiniz aktiviteler iin kent merkezini (Kızılay, Ulus) kullanıyor musunuz?
15. Yukarıda aıkladıığınız destinasyonlar arasındaki rotaları harita zerinde gsteriniz.
16. Mahalle ierisinde zellikle gitmek istemediğiniz yerler var mı?
  - a. Neden gitmek istemiyorsunuz?
    - i. Ekonomik nedenler
    - ii. Gvenlik nedenleri
    - iii. Sosyal nedenler
17. Mahalle ierisinde zellikle tercih etmediğiniz yollar var mı?
18. Mahalleye ilk geldiğinizde gitmeye ekindiğiniz yerler var mıydı? (Gitmeme nedenleriniz ekonomik veya sosyal olabilir.)

Temsil Mekanları ile ilgili sorular - Bu kısımdaki sorular katılımcıların duygusal olarak mekân deneyimlerini iermektedir.

19. Gnlk aktivitelerinizde kullandığınız mekanlardaki memnuniyet seviyenizi nedenlerini aıklayarak deęerlendiriniz:
  - a. İyi
  - b. Orta
  - c. Kt
20. Mahallede vakit geirmekten en ok hořlandığınız mekanları nelerdir?
21. Mahallede gitmeyi en az tercih ettiğiniz alanı belirtiniz.
22. Haritada belirtilen yerler hakkında neler hissettiğinizi belirtiniz.
23. Yařadınız mahalleyi tek kelime ile nasıl tanımlarsınız?

<u>AKTİVİTELER</u>	<u>DESTİNASYONLAR</u>	<u>DUYGUSAL DENEYİMLER</u>
Ticari		İyi / Kötü / Orta
Sosyal – kültürel		İyi / Kötü / Orta
Açık hava		İyi / Kötü / Orta
Eğlence (Sinema, tiyatro...)		İyi / Kötü / Orta
Temel hizmetler (Sağlık, eğitim...)		İyi / Kötü / Orta
Diğer Lütfen belirtiniz.		İyi / Kötü / Orta

#### Mekân Temsilleri ile ilgili sorular

Bu bölümdeki sorular mekânın plan olarak veya teorik olarak üretilmesinde rolü olan paydaşlara sorulacaktır. (Muhtarlık, belediye vs.)

Suriyeli göçmenlerin Ulubey mahallesine taşınmadan önce veya sonra mahallede herhangi bir mekânsal müdahale yapılmış mıdır?

Evetse, bu müdahaleleri açıklayınız.

## **B. QUESTIONNAIRE**

### **GENERAL QUESTIONS**

24. What is your age?
- a. 18-24
  - b. 25-34
  - c. 35-44
  - d. 45-54
  - e. 55-64
  - f. 65+
25. What is your gender?
- a. Female
  - b. Male
26. Which neighborhood do you live in?
27. Is the shop rent or your property?
- a. Rent
  - b. My property

### **QUESTIONS ABOUT MIGRATION PROCESS - Questions to understand the migration process and its reasons.**

28. What is the reason of migration?
- a. Conflict in my country / Forced migration
  - b. Economic advantages in the settled country
  - c. Because of relatives who migrated this place before
  - d. Other. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_
29. When did you arrive in Turkey?
30. When did you settle in the neighborhood live recently?
31. What is the number of family members?
32. How did you decide to migrate to this neighborhood?

- a. Because of relatives
- b. Because of job, education, health opportunities
- c. Because of the location of neighborhood
- d. Other. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

33. What are your future plans for living in this neighborhood?

- a. I want to stay where I live right now.
- b. I want to move to another neighborhood.
- c. I want to move to another city.
- d. I want to move to another country.
- e. Other. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

**QUESTIONS ABOUT PRODUCTION OF SPACE - This section contains questions about space usage and experiences in daily life.**

Spatial Practice – The questions under this heading include questions about how the space is physically used and the routes between spaces and map drawings.

34. What activities do you experience in your daily life?

- a. Commercial
- b. Social - Cultural
- c. Open Space
- d. Leisure activities
- e. Other. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

35. Could you please describe your purpose in doing these activities?

36. In which destinations do you experience these activities in your daily life?

Please show it on the map.

- a. Which places do you prefer to go in Ulubey neighborhood?
- b. Which places do you prefer to go outside Ulubey neighborhood?

37. Do you use the city center (Kızılay, Ulus) in your daily life?

38. Please show the routes between the destinations described above on the map.

39. Are there any places in the neighborhood that you do not want to go?
- a. Why?
    - i. Economic reasons
    - ii. Safety reasons
    - iii. Social reasons
40. Are there any routes/roads in the neighborhood that you do not prefer?
41. When you first came to the neighborhood, were there any places you were afraid to go to?

Spaces of representation - The questions in this section cover the emotional experiences of the participants.

42. Please evaluate your satisfaction level in the places you use in your daily activities: Good / Neutral / Bad
43. What are your favorite places to spend time in the neighborhood?
44. Please indicate the area you do not prefer to go to the neighborhood.
45. Please tell us how you feel about the places shown on the map.
46. How would you describe your neighborhood with a single word?

<u>ACTIVITIES</u>	<u>DESTINATIONS</u>	<u>EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCES</u>
Commercial		Good / Neutral / Bad
Social - Cultural		Good / Neutral / Bad
Open Spaces		Good / Neutral / Bad
Leisure		Good / Neutral / Bad
Basic services		Good / Neutral / Bad
Other Please specify		Good / Neutral / Bad

Representations of space - The questions in this section will be asked to the stakeholders who have a role in production of space in terms of the plan or theoretical background. (Headmen, municipality)

Is there any spatial intervention before or after the Syrian migrants move to the Ulubey neighborhood?

If yes, could you please explain these interventions.