

MIGRATION, SETTLEMENT AND DAILY LIFE PATTERNS OF SYRIAN
URBAN REFUGEES THROUGH TIME GEOGRAPHY: A CASE OF ÖNDER
NEIGHBORHOOD, ANKARA

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URBAN REFUGEES THROUGH TIME GEOGRAPHY: A CASE OF
ÖNDER NEIGHBORHOOD, ANKARA**

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ABSTRACT

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Turkey is one of the countries most affected by the Syrian international migration wave, which is one of the most controversial issues that affect most countries in the world. With this effect, many different disciplines have conducted research on Syrian refugees. However, it is observed that the majority of these researches are directed towards the refugees living in the camps, and there is a lack of research on the refugees who settled in the cities despite the increasing importance of urban refugee concept. In order to fill this gap in the literature, in this thesis, the socio-spatial effects of the Syrian refugees settling in the cities of Turkey is analyzed. In this sense, the thesis study advocates the idea that the analysis of refugees' arrival in Turkey, the patterns of settlement in cities, the daily life experiences in the city, and the networks of solidarity and relations amongst them and with the Turks are important in terms of understanding refugees and revealing their effects in cities. In this context, within the scope of the thesis research, migration and settlement patterns, solidarity and social networks of Syrian refugees is analyzed through time geographic method, which is also used in migration studies as well as in many other areas and a common

part of social sciences and geography disciplines, within the fieldwork research in selected case, Önder neighborhood and surroundings located in Ankara, Turkey.

Key words: urban refugee, international migration, time geography, social networking, socio-spatial

ÖZ

ZAMAN COĞRAFYASI ARACILIĞIYLA SURIYELİ KENTLİ MÜLTECİLERİN GÖÇ, YERLEŞİM VE GÜNLÜK YAŞAM DESENLERİ: ANKARA ÖNDER MAHALLESİ ÖRNEĞİ

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Çoğu ülkeyi etkileyen ve çok konuşulan güncel konulardan biri olan Suriyeli mülteci uluslararası göç dalgasından en çok etkilenen ülkelerden birisi de Türkiye’dir. Bu etki ile beraber Suriyeli mülteciler üzerine bir çok farklı disiplin tarafından araştırmalar yapılmaktadır. Ancak bu araştırmaların çoğunluğunun kamplarda yaşayan mültecilere yönelik olduğu ve önemi artmakta olan kentli mülteci kavramına rağmen kentlere yerleşen mülteciler ile ilgili araştırma eksikliği olduğu gözlenmektedir. Literatürdeki bu boşluğu doldurmak adına, bu tez kapsamında, Türkiye’deki kentlere yerleşen Suriyeli mültecilerin kentler üzerindeki sosyo-mekansal etkileri analiz edilmektedir. Bu anlamda tez çalışması, mültecilerin Türkiye’ye geliş, kentlere yerleşme desenlerinin, kentteki gündelik hayat deneyimlerinin, kendi aralarındaki ve Türklerle olan dayanışma ve ilişki ağlarının analizinin hem mültecileri anlamak açısından hem de kentlerdeki etkilerini ortaya çıkarmak açısından önemli olduğu fikrini savunmaktadır. Bu bağlamda tez çalışması kapsamında, sosyal bilimlerle coğrafya disiplinlerinin ortak noktası olarak ortaya çıkan, diğer birçok alanda olduğu gibi göç çalışmalarında da kullanılan ve bu tezin de temel bir parçası olan “zaman coğrafyası yöntemleri” (time geographic

methods) esas alınarak Ankara Önder Mahallesi'nde yapılan saha çalışması ile Suriyeli mültecilerin göç hareketleri, yerleşme desenleri ve ilişki ağları analiz edilmiştir.

Anahtar kelimler: kentli mülteci, uluslararası göç, zaman coğrafyası, sosyal ağ, sosyo-mekansal

To My Parents

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Since 2010, so-called “Arab Spring” or “Democracy Spring” has given rise to some traumatic consequences in the countries of Arab Region¹. Along with the effect of the “Arab Spring,” small demonstrations and civil rebellions started in January 2011 in the city of Dera in the Syrian Arab Republic. The demonstrations then kept snowballing and spread other cities in Syria; government forces began to suppress these civil rebellions through brutal force. In parallel with the increasing violence in Syria, an enormous number of people steadily started flowing from the Syrian borders. Additionally, the later period of the Syrian conflict, there was an ascent of the Islamic state in 2014. The presence and territorial expansion of the Islamic state lead to Syria’s fragmentation and, turning the current map of the country in the nation under into a mosaic. These emerging developments, civil war and related changes in the military in the Syrian Arab Republic led to one of the most significant international refugee crisis since 2011 and burdened the neighboring countries, among them Turkey, in particular.

Turkey has been affected by this ascending international migration flow because of its geographical proximity to Syria. According to data of UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) (27th April of 2017 dated), latest updated number of Syrian refugees in Turkey is approximately 3 million people over total 5million people in the middle east region including Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, and Egypt as shown in Table 1.1². As a result, Syrian citizens have crossed to Turkish national borders in a massive and intensive scale since 2011.

¹ “Arab Spring” is a common name given to civil uprisings in the Arab world. Anti-government demonstrations started in Tunisia on December 2010.

² This information is gathered from UNHCR website: <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=224>

1.1 Table- Number of Syrian refugees in different countries including Turkey

(Table is created by the author in reference to data of UNHCR,2017)

Country	Number of Syrian Refugees	%
Turkey	2,992,567	60
Lebanon	1,011,366	20
Jordan	659,246	13
Iraq	239,639	5
Egypt	122,228	2
Total	5,025,046	100

1.1. SYRIAN “GUESTS” IN TURKEY

Turkey’s position towards the Syrian crisis has been in apparent conflict with its foreign policy principle of “zero problems with neighbors.” The country adopted an open-door policy towards Syrian refugees from March 2011 providing “temporary protection” to them in the framework of the Turkish asylum system (Csicsmann, 2014). Syrian “guests” in Turkey have been under protection through “Temporary Protection Status, ” and they do not have refugee status. In that sense, initially, it would be appropriate to explain two related concepts: refugee and “guest”(Asylum applicant) to understand the legal conditions of Syrian people in Turkey. To begin with, a “refugee” refers to an individual who abandons his/her country because s/he has a fear of being persecuted in his own country. According to the Geneva Conventions, dated 28th July of 1951, related to the legal status of refugees and the Protocol on the Legal Status of Refugees of 1967. Refugee seeks asylum from another state for temporary residence, and this request is accepted and protected by international agreements. However, Turkey has conditionally ratified this agreement and protocol within a geographical limit. In other words, Turkey does not accept refugees from countries that are not members of the Council of Europe even if the above conditions are met to be considered as a refugee (T.C. İçişleri Bakanlığı, 1994). Those from outside Europe are described as “guests” (Ownership of the asylum application) instead of refugees in Turkey (Mourenza & Ortega, 2014).

“Guest” (Asylum applicant) is the temporary status for immigrants who do not intend to settle permanently in another country. The concept of the “guest” refers to the refugees subject to the “Temporary Protection” regime in Turkey. Relatively, as officially declared in October 2011, so-called Syrian refugees according to the Turkish legal system are subject to the Temporary Protection regime under Article 10 of the Asylum and Asylum Regulation of the Ministry of the Internal Affairs of the Turkey. Turkey does not grant refugee status to people from Syria, and they are defined as “guests”³. Turkey has no time limit on “Temporary Protection” and stated that the borders would be open to those who wanted to come, that there would be no forced return and that the core needs of the camps would be met. Along with “Provisional Protection Regulation” that has been published in the official gazette in 2014 (T.C. İçişleri Bakanlığı, 2014), how to apply for temporary protection and its legal ground has been explained⁴.

AFAD (Disaster and Emergency Management Authority) is authorized as the coordinating agency for Syrian “guests” in Turkey. Additionally, The Ministries of Internal Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Health, National Education, Agricultural and Rural Affairs, Transportation and Finance; Presidency of General Staff, Directorate of Religious Affairs, Undersecretariat of Customs and The Red Crescent Society carries out collaborative works for Syrian refugees in cooperation with AFAD in Turkey. According to AFAD data %13,4 of the total number Syrian refugees are placed in 23 temporary accommodation centers such as refugee camps, container or tent cities in 10 provinces, namely Hatay, Gaziantep, Kilis, Şanlıurfa, Kahramanmaraş, Osmaniye, Adana, Adıyaman, Mardin, and Malatya (AFAD, 2014). The settlement centers for Syrian refugees are mostly located in the cities close to the Syrian-Turkish border as seen in Figure 1.1. Gaziantep and Hatay are the cities have the highest number of temporary shelters with five tent and container cities in comparison with other eight cities. Şanlıurfa follows Gaziantep and Hatay with four accommodation centers. In sequence, Kilis and Mardin have 2; the others have each one accommodation center for Syrian refugees.

³ The term of refugee is used in the thesis as an umbrella term even though Syrians are defined as a “guest” in Turkish legislation explained above.

⁴ See official gazette: <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2014/10/20141022-15-1.pdf>

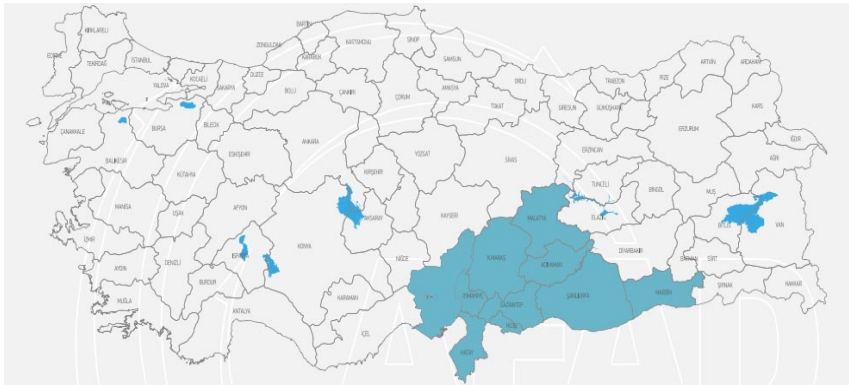


Figure 1.1. Distribution of accommodation centers, including camps, container and tent cities for Syrian refugees by provinces in Turkey (Source: AFAD, 2014)

While some of the refugees prefer to live in such accommodation centers, the rest, called “urban refugees,” live outside the camps⁵. According to Syrian refugee report of AFAD (AFAD, 2014), 13% of the Syrian refugees have been living in 23 camps built in 10 provinces while the remaining 87% have been spread the whole country. It is inferred from this data that more than half of the Syrian refugees are an urban refugee in Turkey. Accordingly, Figure 1.2 shows the population of all Syrian refugees living in and outside the camp, while Figure 1.1 shows only those residing in the camps. In this case, if the areas presented in Figure 1.1 are removed from the areas shown in Figure 1.2, the remaining cities indicated urban refugees.

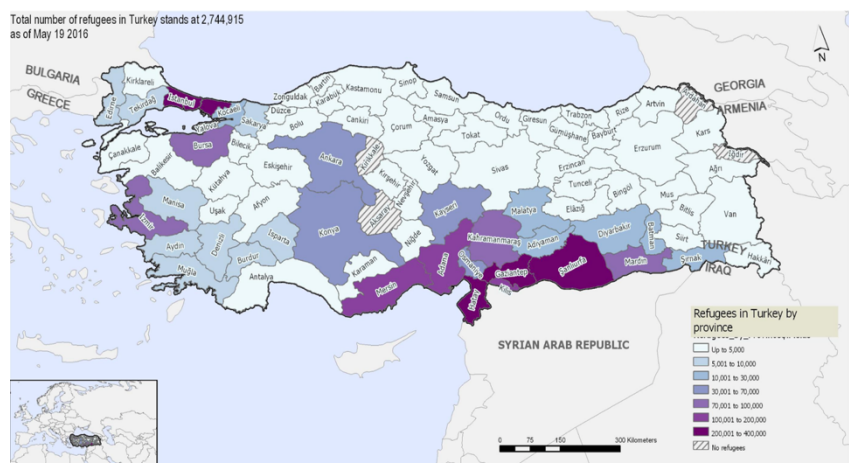


Figure 1.2. Distribution of all Syrian refugees, including living inside and outside of the camps, by provinces.. (Source: World Health Organization, 2016)

⁵ The concept of urban refugee will be explained in detail in the following title.

1.2 THE TERM OF “URBAN REFUGEE”

During the past two decades, the issue of urban refugees has occupied an increasingly prominent place on the global refugee policy agenda. There is an undergoing process of rapid urbanization in the world, and approximately more than 50 percent of the world’s population lives in cities. In parallel with, it is an inevitable fact the majority of refugees in the world found in urban areas. According to UNHCR’s most current statistics, nearly half of the refugees in the world now dwell in cities and towns, compared to one-third who live in camps (UNHCR, 2009). Along with the UNHCR description, the concept of urban refugee refers to all refugees living outside the camp. In this sense, it is challenging to establish a global definition of the ‘urban area’ notion. In a general manner, it refers to a built-up area that shelters a number of people living near each other, and where the majority of people sustain themselves using employment and the requirement of welfares and services. While some of the characteristics of an urban area noted above are same with refugee camps, they are excluded from this definition (UNHCR, 2009).

The concept of Urban refugee began to be expressed in the 1960s, and the policy was developed by UNHCR in 1990s. There are evolution of urban policies related to urban refugees starting from mid 1990 and extending today (Crisp, 2017). Initially, one of the first evidence to refugees living in urban areas resembles in a statement of the UN high commissioner for refugees, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan in 1967. (Statement to the Third Committee of the United Nations General Assembly, 1967)⁶. Concerning the urban refugee issue, he stated as:

We are confronted more and more frequently with a new problem and with a new class of refugees: on the one hand,..., on the other, the refugees who are not employed in agriculture and who are at present concentrated in urban areas...

⁶ Sadruddin Aga Khan, “Statement to the Third Committee of the United Nations General Assembly,” 20 November 1967.
<http://www.unhcr.org/admin/hcspeeches/3ae68fb510/statement-prince-sadruddin-aga-khan-united-nations-high-commissioner-refugees.html>

After this early description, urban refugees began to attract the attention of researchers and authors, especially in Africa. However, there was no progress regarding policy until the 1990's. In March 1997, UNHCR authorized an “Urban Refugee Working Group,” which produced a “comprehensive policy on urban refugees (UNHCR, 2009). This first legal system was designed to counter the protection risks confronted by the refugees and make them right owner as well as those who live in the camps. In the following years, there is an evolution and progress of policies for urban refugees. And as a result of the experiences, feedbacks, and outcomes of these policies, UNHCR is now displacing the 1997 policy statement with the current document⁷.

The situation of urban refugees in Turkey is similar to that of the world in a sense that the majority of the refugee population lives outside the camps. However, while defining urban areas globally in the definition of the urban refugee is difficult, the meaning of urban areas in Turkey can be defined distinctly because there are some measures in order to describe urban settings. Exceeding a certain population level is the most important defining factor in this sense. According to the definition made by the population measurement, the Village Law No. 442 gives the definition “The settlement with a population under 2,000 is called a village, the population between 2,000 and 20,000 is called a town, and those with a population over 20,000 are known as a city”. Accordingly, In the Development Plans and publications prepared by the State Planning Organization, it is seen that settlements with a population of more than 10,000 are called cities. According to the economic measure, the city is regarded as a financial mechanism that has emerged to meet the needs of society in the process of production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services. As these definitions show, the term of the city or urban area is separated from the rural communities by certain lines (Sehirplanciligi, 2013). In parallel with, the definition of urban refugee in Turkey can be distinguished with certain lines.

⁷ For more information about urban refugee policies of UNHCR see (UNHCR, 2009) and (UNHCR, 2016). However, these legitimate features do not apply to Syrians because they have “guest” status rather than refugee status.

The number of Syrian urban refugees has been increasing rapidly due to the limited capacity of camps in Turkey. As well as increasing in size, there are also other factors that make urban refugees spreading Turkish cities has gained importance. For instance, refugees may prefer Turkey as a transit country to reach western countries or Turkey would be preferred as target country. “Even if their existence is considered as temporary, some that could survive and sustain life in Turkey have been inclined to stay permanently.” (Erdoğan, 2014). In this sense, refugee camps would be an instant and temporary solution in the short term and it is believed that camps should be a temporary measure in response to forced displacement. (UNHCR, 2016). Therefore, camps are being temporary, but refugees are willing to stay permanently in Turkey.

International refugees experience some stages in the following order: abandonment of hometown, relocating and arriving new country. Rehabilitation and adaptation to hosting country processes follow the previous steps. In this process, refugee camps in Turkey have achieved success through supplying the basic needs of refugees. Relatively, the satisfaction level concerning services provided is high according to survey results (AFAD, 2014). However, the survey results also indicate that the number of refugees who want to live in camps and the number of refugees who want to live outside the camps are pretty close as shown in Table 1.2. These people are willing to live outside the camps despite the opportunities and services such as shelter, security, health or education that camps offered. This situation can be considered as another reason for increasing importance of the term of urban refugee in Turkey.

1.2 Table- Survey result investigating the number of refugees that wish to live outside of the camp (Source: AFAD Syrian Refugee Report, 2014)

Do They Want to Live Outside the Camps?	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Yes	607	52.3%	129	53.5%	736	52.5%
No	554	47.7%	112	46.5%	666	47.5%
TOTAL	1,161	100.0%	241	100.0%	1,402	100.0%

Additionally, disadvantages of refugee camps lead to increase of importance of the term urban refugee. These problems of refugee camps can be summarized in social and economic dimensions. Socially, refugee camps are usually enclosed structures where the connection with the outer world is minimized behind the fences. There are some similarities between camps and gated communities within controlled entrances . (Diken, 2004). Refugees inside of container or tent cities are excluded from city dynamics and existing local people. Geographical mobility of the refugees is also limited for refugees living in a container or tent camps. Additionally, camps are portrayed as a place to be afraid of getting close to local outer people.

Furthermore, from an economic point of view, refugees in camps use their money cards supplied by government and their human needs are also provided by government or Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) like AFAD. Therefore they do not have to work for a living. That is why they may not get involved local market economically because all the camp, container and tent cities have a capital cycle in itself. (Yılmaz, 2016). As a summary, Syrian refugees living outside the camps, in other words, Syrian urban refugees, gains more importance consistently because of some reasons which are these social and economic disadvantages of refugee camps clarified below, an insufficient number of refugee camps whereas steadily increasing number of Syrian refugees in Turkey.

1.3 ANALYSES OF CITIES WHICH HAVE SYRIAN URBAN REFUGEES

There are three options for Syrian urban refugees living in Turkey. The first alternative is settling down to cities near Syria border such as Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Hatay or Kilis. Secondly, cities in western Turkey such as İzmir, Aydın, and Muğla would be preferred so that they can reach other European cities via sea route. As a third option, big metropolitan cities such as Ankara and İstanbul can have great pulling power for Syrian refugees⁸. Accordingly, Table 1.3 shows the order of cities

⁸ The author made this analysis of triple distinction related to the distribution of Syrian urban refugees in Turkish cities as a result of analyzing the most populated cities with Syrian refugees

have most Syrian refugees and the percentage of comparison of Syrian refugee population with a provincial population.

1.3. Table- Numbers of Syrian refugees in different cities of Turkey (Table is created by the author in reference to data of UNDP, 2017)

Provinces	Registered Syrian Population	Province Population	Share of Syrian refugees in provincial population
İstanbul (3 rd type)	429,555	14,804,116	3.24%
Şanlıurfa (1 st type)	420,532	1,940,627	21,67%
Hatay (1 st type)	384,024	1,555,165	24,69%
Gaziantep (1 st type)	329,670	1,974,249	16,70%
Adana (1 st type)	150,795	2,201,670	6,85%
Mersin (1 st type)	146,931	1,773,851	8,28%
Kilis (1 st type)	124,481	130,825	95,15%
İzmir (3 rd and 2 nd type)	108,889	4,232,545	2,58%
Bursa (3 rd type)	106,893	2,901,396	3,68%
Kahramanmaraş (1 st type)	90,199	1,112,634	8.11%
Ankara (1 st type)	73,198	5,346,518	1,37%
Osmaniye (2 nd type)	43,773	522,175	8,38%

Initially, it is a fact that the number and the type of refugees settled in each city are not the same. There are several reasons for this distinction and behind this choice of refugees. The analysis of these causes reveals that each city has its dynamics, the opportunities or the struggles. Parallel to this fact, the number of refugees living in

each city is changing. Accordingly, it is aimed to analyze the causes, the major dynamics, and variables that affect the variability of the number of Syrian refugees settled in Turkish cities.

Although the reasons or problems affecting the choice of refugees vary from one city to another, some problems are common to refugees who have settled in every city in Turkey. These problems can be listed as follows; language problem and other problems due to the language barrier, social integration issues, finding an appropriate job, work permit, uninsured employment or cheap workmanship, problems related to housing such as unaffordable rent prices or finding adequate shelter and security concerns (AFAD, 2014). Moreover, Syrian “guests” couldn’t benefit from rights of urban refugees because they do not have refugee status in Turkey as explained above. They have some rights under temporary protection, but they still have difficulty in benefiting from some services such as health or education (Suriye’den İstanbul’a Gelen Sığınmacıları İzleme Platformu, 2013).

In addition to these common problems, Syrians would face with different problems specific to each type of cities of Turkey, as explained above. As an example related with problems specific to first type of cities preferred by Syrians explained, infrastructure of the Kilis has planned according to 80,000 population. Due to the fact that crossing borders and reaching to Kilis is the easiest way for Syrians, the total population has gone beyond expected population with Syrian newcomers. It is more than twice of planned population with approximately 200,000 people. That lead to disruption in municipal services (Ortadoğu Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi, 2015). Hence this is a problem which is specific to first type of cities that near to Syrian border because these cities are mostly and firstly preferred by Syrian refugees. Additionally, in Gaziantep, business and work life benefit from Syrian people and they support the idea that Syrians should be integrated into economic development of the city (Ortadoğu Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi, 2015). However, the more Syrians are getting integrated economically, the more their tendency towards returning to Syria is getting decreased. This would seen as another problem in the long run and it is also a problem which is specific to Gaziantep.

Together with, the cities of the western side of the Turkey such as İzmir, Muğla, Aydın or Balıkesir is seen as bridge to reach Europe for most Syrian refugees. They use sea transportation from these cities in order to reach European cities. According to the current statistics of UNHCR, over one million refugees arrived in Europe mainly via sea routes through the Aegean or Mediterranean and approximately half of these refugees (48%) have a Syrian background. Therefore there is a different problem related with second type of Turkish cities preferred by Syrians, which are western side of the Turkey and seen as a tool to reach Europe. There is a death risk on the way of migration to Europe⁹. According to data of UNHCR, more than 800 refugee died in the Aegean crossing from Turkey to Greece and it is constantly increasing (Merkel: Türkiye ile anlaşmazsak Yunanistan yükü kaldıramaz, 2016). In this case, these cities are seen as a temporary settlement for such refugees take the risk of death and crossing to Europe, but these cities become more permanent for those who can not envisage or be successful to cross the sea. Nevertheless, the cities of other types which are namely the big cities and the cities near the Syrian border, have a higher number of permanent Syrian refugees than this kind.

Big metropolitan cities such as İstanbul or Ankara, as the third type of cities preferred by Syrian urban refugees, have their dynamics and challenges. The most significant problem for Syrian refugees is to survive economically and socially in such metropolitan cities. Creating social and economic networks enables Syrians to survive more easily.

On the other hand, the reasons for selecting cities also differ in each type of city as well as problems. As an example, the second type of cities, which are located west side of the Turkey, would be preferred for the aim of reaching European cities via sea route. Alternatively, choosing big cities such as Ankara, İstanbul or İzmir as the third type is related to a high range of employment opportunities. The first type of cities such as Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Hatay, Kilis, etc., defined above, which is near to Syria border would be selected because of the proximity to Syria.

⁹ There are great number of international and national news related with Syrian refugee deaths during migration to Europe. For these see (Avrupa'ya varan mülteci sayısı 1 milyonu geçti, 2015), (Ege'de kaçak göçmen rekoru kırıldı, 2016), (Dearden, 2017 and Migrant crisis: Migration to Europe explained in seven charts, 2016).

There are also positive assessments of each type of cities involving Syrian urban refugees. For instance, Mersin is accustomed to foreigners coming to the city because the city has already heterogeneous social structure after internal migration caused by the Gulf War. Thus social inclusion and integration could be created quickly in Mersin. Additionally, Mersin could take advantage of this Syrian refugee crisis. It is the city which takes the largest number of Syrian investments. It contributes the city of Mersin to reinvigorate the economy. Exemplarily, existing networks with Syrian cities before Syrian civil war is another compelling reason (Ortadoğu Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi, 2015). To illustrate, there is a kinship between people of the city of Şanlıurfa and Syrian citizens. Also, a Kurdish and Arabic origin is also shared between them, and it helps to establish relationship networks. In Ankara, a similar situation can be observed. After a person, who first arrived at the city, is getting familiarized with the city and get networks, relatives or friends come afterward¹⁰.

Apart from these distinctions that can be produced for the Syrian refugees in Turkey, there are also financial and social criteria that are effective. However, due to the lack of literature on urban refugee studies, this distribution of them, the reasons behind the distribution and the results after the distribution socially and economically are not entirely understood. The following conclusion can only be reached by analyzing the results of the existing researches in the literature that: each type of city has its dynamics, positive and negative sides, opportunities and challenges for both Syrian urban refugees and Turkish cities. Moreover, it is expected that these differences are examined in not only urban scale but also neighborhood or community level. It is not possible to generalize all of the Syrian refugees who have settled in every city, district or neighborhood of Turkey. Hence the issue of Syrian urban refugees in Turkey should be studied through the cases. As will be explained in the following chapters, this research thesis is also based on a selected case in which have a great number of Syrian urban refugees.

¹⁰ This situation is explained in following chapters in detail.

1.4 AIMS, SCOPE AND JUSTIFICATION OF THE THESIS

Focusing on cities, urban areas are not only relevant to spatial assets, but they are also connected with social features. There is a substantial increase in the importance of urban software (intangible qualities like safety, ambiance, quality of life) shifting from urban hardware (physical facilities like locations, labor, infrastructure) (Van den Berg, Van der Meer & Pol, 2003). Therefore, scholars and practitioners research areas have been switching to socio-spatial issues in the urban environment. Along with growing interest in the social aspects of the urban environment rather than physical dimensions, the effect of Syrian refugee crisis in urban settings in Turkey, as social change, has been gaining importance.

This thesis study deals with the socio-spatial perspective of the Syrian urban refugees in Ankara, which has recently become a hot topic in the world but especially in Turkey. It primarily investigate migration as a movement process. In that sense, this thesis intends to answer the questions of how and in what ways refugees came, where they came from, how they move within the city, how they experience the city in a daily manner. It aims to understand refugee movements, settlement patterns and daily life experiences of Syrian urban refugees through a selected case. In this sense, refugees to come to Turkey, to settle in the cities and to their daily life patterns in cities are important to reveal their possible effects on the cities. Furthermore, time geography method is the best way to expose and analyze this because the time geography method is mainly a descriptive method, it is frequently used in migration studies as a primary outcome of the intersection of social science and geography discipline. In the thesis, in addition to the time geography method, qualitative methods and in-depth interview techniques were utilized. Moreover, this dissertation is approaching the refugee crisis issue by Turkish cities and local people's eyes in contrast to most of the studies that investigate the life of Syrian individuals and the integration matters of them. Instead of viewing at issue from the eye of Syrian people, this thesis attempts to explain challenges or opportunities for Turkish cities and individuals

In addition to main questions of the thesis, some context-based questions such as the motives why Syrian urban refugees choose this particular urban area to live while the other regions close to Önder neighborhood do not seem to have attracted a similar number of Syrian refugees, and how socio-economic characteristics of the area have changed with the arrival of refugees are in the scope of the thesis. Furthermore, what are social and economic influences of Syrian urban refugees on Turkish cities and other matters such as whether Syrian urban refugees are seen as a problem or a potential for Turkish cities and whether these newcomers are threatening Turkish cities or not is also be questioned in the thesis. In relation to this, there are some problems created by Syrians with different cultures than the Turkish culture that are settled in Turkish cities. Turkish cities are already suffering many challenges, such as poverty, renewal, urban transformation, socio-spatial segregation, etc. Relatedly, the question of "how and in what ways will the Syrian refugees influence these problems?" has become an important research question. The response to these questions is also investigated within the scope of this research thesis.

There are many justifications for the necessity and significance of this thesis work. Most importantly, while there are many types of research and studies related to Syrian refugees living in the camps in Turkey, there is not enough research about the Syrian "urban" refugees. The phenomenon of refugee camps, the design, sustainability and integration issues of camps has been much discussed by researchers and practitioners while the studies related to the term of urban refugee is missing although it is seen as such as significant title and has many advantages over refugee camps. Therefore, there is a need for this research that is caused by a lack in literature and the question of the thesis is worth to answer to contribute to relevant fields.

Another reason is the permanency of the Syrians in the cities of Turkey. Even if they have temporary protection status, there are indications that they would be permanent in the cities of Turkey. Initially, the primary reason for their fleeing from Syria is the security obstacle in their countries as also indicated in Table 1.4 which shows the results of the survey conducted by AFAD with a total of 2700 Syrian households, including 1500 lived in the camps, and 1200 lived outside the camps in 2013. It is

estimated that this ongoing problem will not be settled soon and subsequently, the more time it takes for the problem to be solved, the greater the extent to which Syrian refugees settle in and adapt to the Turkish cities. Besides, it is seen that the European road is closed for the refugees who use Turkey to pass to Europe, which is one of three preferences for Syrian refugees coming to Turkey mentioned previously. The Balkan countries, which are on the way of reaching to other European countries and cities by refugees who have passed through Turkey by sea via Greece, have blocked their border gateways for the refugees and have taken stringent security measures through wire fences around the frontier. In this sense, refugees who can go as far as Greece can not pass to other countries in Europe. This, in turn, gives cause for refugees seeking to cross the sea and roads to European countries and force them to stay in and remain in the cities of Turkey¹¹.

1.4. Table- Survey result of AFAD investigating reasons for Syrian “guests” fleeing Syria. (Source: AFAD, 2014)

Reasons for Leaving Syria	Inside the Camps		Outside the Camps		Total	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Security Reasons	232	31.9%	393	70.9%	1,363	48.8%
Political Reasons	209	28.7%	108	19.5%	211	24.7%
Economic Reasons	197	27.1%	5	0.9%	20	15.8%
Health Reasons	72	9.9%	39	7.0%	76	8.7%
Other Reasons	18	2.5%	9	1.6%	17	2.1%
TOTAL	728	100.0%	554	100.0%	1,282	100.0%

This thesis consists of 5 chapters. **In Chapter 1**, a general framework of the issue of the Syrian refugees is introduced. In detail, the status, significance, and analyses of Syrian refugees living outside the camps in Turkey is examined through

¹¹ For more information see: (Merkel: Türkiye ile anlaşmazsak Yunanistan yükü kaldıramaz, 2016).

classification of Syrian urban refugees living in Turkey. Then, aims and the scope of the thesis, justifications that support its importance and necessity, are explained.

In Chapter 2, the theoretical background for the research and the chosen and used methods in thesis research are analyzed. The intersection of social sciences and geography discipline and the emergence of time geography as a product of this overlap is defined as a theoretical tool. From this point of view, Hagerstrand's time geography and dynamic time-space map are explained. Also, the evolution of the time geographic method over time and its usage in migration studies as a result of its relations extending to other disciplines. Lastly, qualitative methods accompanied with time geographic techniques have been introduced in the light of the thesis's multi-method structure.

Chapter 3 largely includes spatial, historical and socio-economic outlines of the selected case which is Önder neighborhood and its surroundings located in Ankara. Then, the field study conducted with both Turkish and Syrian households is reported in detail. The framework of fieldwork constitutes subtitles considering research design, questionnaires, sampling and in-depth interviews.

Chapter 4 presents the findings and conceptualizations of these outcomes of the field study conducted in March 2017. The first subtitle contains all of the general conclusions, while the conceptualizations and analyses are gathered in other three subtitles. These three subtitles are prepared according to 3 different urban scales. Analyzes are interpreted and presented through time geographic maps according to their content for each level. The first level analyzes the stories of the refugees coming to Turkey, the second examined their way of experiencing the city of Ankara, and the third evaluates their daily life patterns and experiences.

Lastly, **in Chapter 5**, a summary of the thesis is defined, and the time geography is assessed and criticized from the current perspective. Then, since the Syrian refugees are permanent in the neighborhood, future scenarios and project proposals are being produced. Ultimately, recommendations have been made for similar studies to be accomplished in the future.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL TOOLS FOR STUDYING MIGRATION THROUGH TIME GEOGRAPHY

The purpose of this chapter is to understand the study of migration within the framework of overlap between geography and social sciences. This intersection can be examined within the associations between space and social and space-time relations. In this sense, time geography is at the center of the intersection of social sciences and geography disciplines regarding time-space relations. Additionally, time geographic method is usually used in migration studies. Along with this initial information, the following four issues are considered in this chapter: the intersection of these disciplines; time-geography, and its evolution over time; migration studies through time geography; and the methodology of the thesis.

2.1. OVERLAP BETWEEN SOCIAL SCIENCES AND GEOGRAPHY

One of the most fundamental indicators of the intersection is the growing contribution of geographers to social sciences. At the same time, many social scientists are interested in the discipline of geography, which has been excluded from the social sciences agenda for quite some time¹². Regarding this connection, as also Urry states that in the 1989 disciplines of sociology and geography have come much closer. If this is the case, sociology studies society or the social, and geography the spatial, then there has been a growing research program oriented to the analysis of

¹² Examples of geographers who contribute to the social sciences agenda are David Harvey's work (see Harvey 1982, Harvey 1989). Edward Soja's book (Soja, 1989) is among the important works to be mentioned in this context. Perhaps most important among social scientists inspired by debates in the geography discipline or geographical debate, though not a geographer, is the Anthony Giddens who benefited from the "time geography" concept of the Swedish geographer Torgen Hägerstrand, (see Giddens, 1984 and 1985). In addition, John Urry (Urry, 1985; Lash & Urry, 1987; Gregory & Urry, 1985) are among the social scientists who have contributed significantly to geographical debate.

socio-spatial interactions (Soja, 1985).

These two disciplines converge on discussions related to the phenomenon of the space. Therefore, the notion of space has become a platform in which these two different disciplines are overlapped. Increasing numbers of social scientists use spatial elements or spatial metaphors in their theories. A large number of social scientists are clear that geography discipline and spatial subjects, the primary research object of this discipline, are at the center of social sciences.

The early history of these disciplines should be considered to understand how these two disciplines came closer. Looking at the historical process, the overlap of these two disciplines began slowly in the 1970s. However, it can be observed in a small segment in the 1970s; an extremely constructive overlap has been found since the 1970s as Urry (1989) stated. Because until the 1970s geography discipline was under the influence of "positivist revolution," in other words "quantitative revolution." The positivist revolution began in the early 1960s and began to be criticized at the end of the 1960s. The main outcome of these criticisms is that the concept of space needs to be addressed about social structures, but it does not see the social, economic and political implications for the spatial processes of this revolution. In other words, the effort to establish geography as a spatial science, which lasted until the 1970s, brings a point of view that is not different from a map (Işık, 1994). In this sense, Hagerstrand criticizes the question, "How much more accurate it would be to say that Regional Science is mostly about people and not just about locations" (Hägerstrand, 1970).

After the 1970s, debates on structuralism began in the geography parallel to the changes in urban sociology. Debates on structuralism have been influential not only in the discipline of geography but also in the development of social theory. At the beginning of the 1980s, the concept of structuralism, which was exposed to criticism, was criticized as being one-sided to society-space relations because structuralism sees space only as an outcome and ignores the influence of space on social relations and society. The general aim of these criticisms is to emphasize the necessity of conceptualizing society and space as equivalent. Regarding this, Giddens is pursuing to discriminate between how the physical world affects the actions of agents and how social structure influences social practice (Jones & Karsten, 2008).

Even if the geographers' increasing contributions to social sciences or the inspiration of non-geographical social scientists from geographical debates can be regarded as evidence that space questions are central to the social sciences, this change is most often found in the efforts to conceptualize time and space, two fundamental elements of social existence. In this sense, many people are significant contributors and thinkers about the relationship between time and space and the importance of this relationship in the structure of society¹³. At the same time, several social theorists and social philosophers have taken a common thought that all forms of social interactions in time-space (Pred, 1981). According to the joint statement of these people who made researches and contributions in the sense of discussing time-space relation through the intersection of social sciences and geography; There is a range of complex, multi-faceted and mutual relations between social structures and practices and time-space insights. (Işık, 1994). Our social structure and relationships affect time and space, as well as our understanding of time and space, has an impact on our way of making sense of our social actions.

All social activities, events, and relations have a spatial form and take place in a particular space. The spatial spreading patterns of these relationships also change over time. These links are synchronous, and it is necessary that the dynamic social relations and processes in every dimension extending from the local scale to the globe can be grasped as a synchronicity. On the other hand, it should be noted that the necessity of establishing space as synchronicity can lead to a point where space is conceptually stationary. In these approaches, space is frozen, stopped at the time. Synchronism, however, does not necessarily imply stagnation. In a framework where time and space are treated equally, we need to be able to conceptualize society in four dimensions as a co-existence of time with three-dimensional space (Massey, 1993). In all these lines, time geography of Hagerstrand became the core and basis of studying relations between human beings and nature, and it also made the researchers from different disciplines accept the fact that space and time are irreducible with each other. They belong to each other as two sides of the same coin (Djisti, 2013).

¹³ See Anderson (1991/1993), Giddens (1990/1994), Harvey(1989) and Massey (1993).

2.2 TIME GEOGRAPHY

Time geography has been developed by Swedish geographer Torsten Hägerstrand as a reaction to the dominance of spatial concerns within geography during the 1960s with an explicit effort to show time-space relation in geographical research. The primary purpose of time geography is to incorporate a sense of time and geographic inquiry through considering both space and time as constraints of human geography, because time and space are essential building blocks in social systems as Giddens (1981) also stated (Çalışkan, 1995). Time and space operate in a shared social arena in which people have the opportunity to interact with other individuals, agencies, and institutions because the interplay between human activities in time-geographical research is the basis for Hägerstrand's time geography (Hägerstrand, 1978). As Thrift (2004) points out, Hägerstrand's contribution is a "spatializing" social theory because it goes beyond social constructionism by highlighting the physical limitations on human action. In Pred's (1977) words, "Hägerstrand's approach has a wider philosophical remit; it holds time and space, individual and society, ecology and place...address(ing) many of the dualisms of social theory attempts to overcome" (207). In 1970, a paper titled "What about people in regional science?" was introduced by Torsten Hägerstrand, which presented a conceptual framework for analyzing human movement and activities in space-time, known as time geography (Silvey, 2006). His question "what about people?" is essential indeed because it sets geography in the discipline of the social sciences as Paassen states that; " I'm almost tempted to say: it transforms geography into sociography." (Christiaan van Paasen, 1981)

Time geography can be considered as a visual language of the analysis of dynamic processes. From the perspective of an individual, time geography indicates two dynamic contexts. Firstly, when a person is stationary in a particular physical context; other people, mobile objects or natural processes -such as sunrise, sunset, weather, etc.- can move independently. Secondly, while an individual is moving in space, physical contexts would be switched to the individual changes location over time (Dijst, 2013). Time geography grasps the idea of the inseparability of the time and space in a graphical representation. Hagerstrand has made a notable effort to employ time-geography to comprehend the seriality of life paths or "life

biographies” of individuals. Life-paths or trajectories can apply at all scales from individuals to communities. Time-space likewise can refer to all temporal and spatial scales from individuals to communities (Giddens, 1985).

Everyday life of any individual involves sets of entities emanating from the settings of interaction. These entities are: other agents, indivisible objects, divisible materials, and domains. Domains refer to the movement of life paths through settings of communication. The nature of interacting social patterns within domains of time-space is limited by a series of constraints of space and time; including authority constraints, capability constraints, and coupling constraints. Under these constraints, an individual travels through a 3-dimensional space-time cube which is explained later (Lu & Fang, 2015).

There is a sophisticated vocabulary built upon to describe the human world in time-geographic terms. The notation of time geography enables us to pick up the interaction between agency and structure, to visualize what Giddens is asking to understand about the constitution of social life (Çalışkan, 1995). Hagerstrand’s concept of “togetherness” integrates individual and society in a corporeal world that establishes a “milieu” for every human individual (Pred, 1981). Emphasis is on the human individual and the problem of living in a corporeal world which extends in time and space. In that sense, corporealization refers to a continual and cumulative process of realization, future-oriented, but affected by the past (Pred, 1981).

Hagerstrand played an outstanding role in the “revolutionary” modernization of geography after the Second World War. On the whole, this “revolutionary” modernization obtains a methodological and instrumental nature, and it suggested to new theoretical perspective. It is made of instrumental kind of social science. Hagerstrand’s ideas are still subject a scope for various creative interpretations (Pred, 1981). It is frequently described as a “situational ecology” (Gregory, 2000). Since it is not seen only as an effort to improve human geography and the other social sciences in the direction of contextual theory, but also a view of geography as human ecology which is a critical perspective that is mostly missed or subordinated by most time-geographers (Sui, 2012).

2.2.1. DYNAMIC TIME-SPACE MAP

Agents move in spatial context, interact with one another. These interactions of individuals moving in time-space are indicated as a biography in dynamic time-space map. The map represents captured movement and continuity of human activity (Janelle, 2001). In the real world, people always follow a path through space and time at daily, weekly, yearly and even the whole life (Hägerstrand, 1970). Hägerstrand came up with a new concept called space-time path. The aim of the space-time paths is to display how a person routes his or her way in a spatial-temporal environment. The physical setting around a given individual is indicated as a two-dimensional plane. In this two-dimensional plane, his/her location and destination are shown as zero-dimensional points. Time is represented on the vertical axis and creating a three-dimensional "aquarium" or "cube" –as Hagerstrand calls- representing a particular part of space-time. Therefore, the path of an individual extends upwards over a vertical line between the starting and ending times as shown in Figure 2.1 (Silvey, 2006).

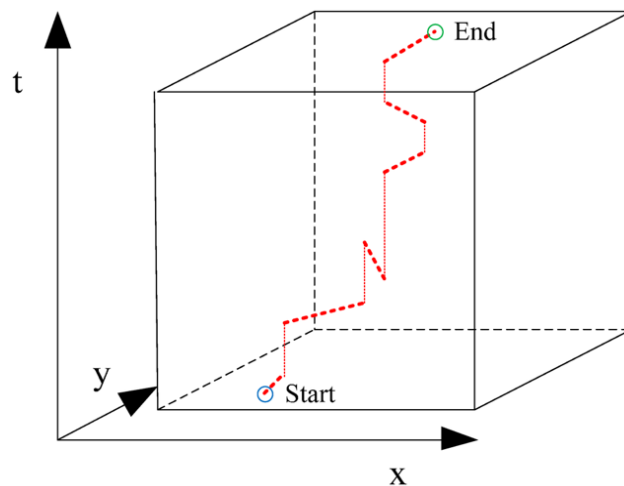
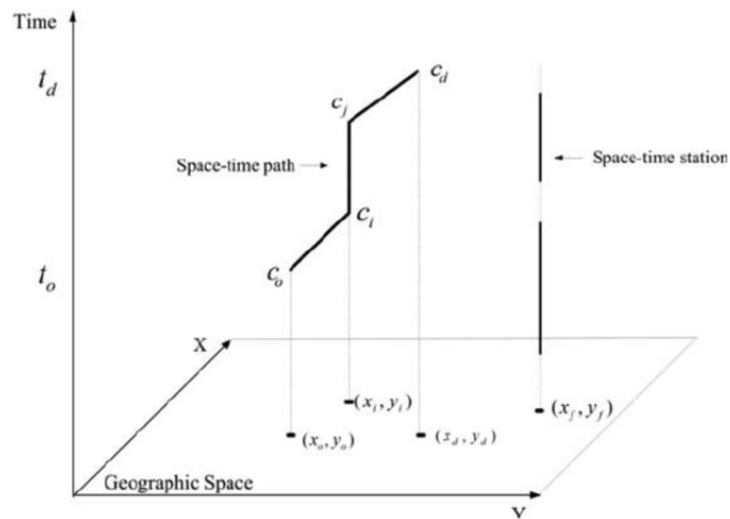


Figure 2.1. Time-space path between starting and ending stations in space-time cube. (Source: Lu & Fang, 2015)

Core entities of dynamic time-space map or time-space cube are “path”, “bundle”, “station” and “prism.” Space-time path –as explained above- tracks a sequence of any individual of activities at different locations over time. It is vertical when the

individual is stationary in a certain space-time station as seen in Figure 2.2. The person is moving in space with respect to time.



*Figure 2.2. Indicating space-time path and space-time station in space-time cube.
(Source: Lu & Fang, 2015)*

Space-time paths sometimes face a variety of constraints such as individuals, as well as activity space or limited portion of environment experienced (Miller & Bridwell, 2009). Social constraints broke up the homogenous time path, and they determine who has access to specific spaces at given specific times and under what circumstances. As the second important entity of dynamic time-space path, bundles are defined as meeting stations or specific time-space locations within bounded regions as shown in Figure 2.3 (Janelle, 2001). And projects are identified as purposes that explain individual's movement. In Pred's phrase, a weaving dance through time-space in which people connect each other in couples or groups ("bundles" according to Hagerstrand) at various points (stations) and for various purposes ("projects"). Thirdly, space-time prism delimites possible locations, and it refers to possible locations with fixed actions as indicated in Figure 2.4 (Silvey, 2006).

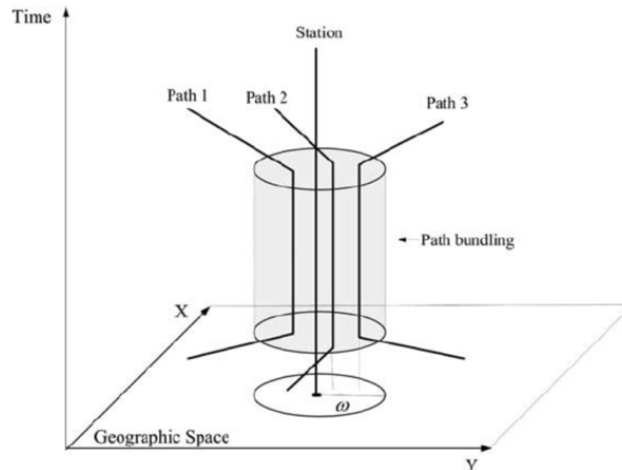


Figure 2.3. Space-time path bundling. (Source: Chen et al., 2016)

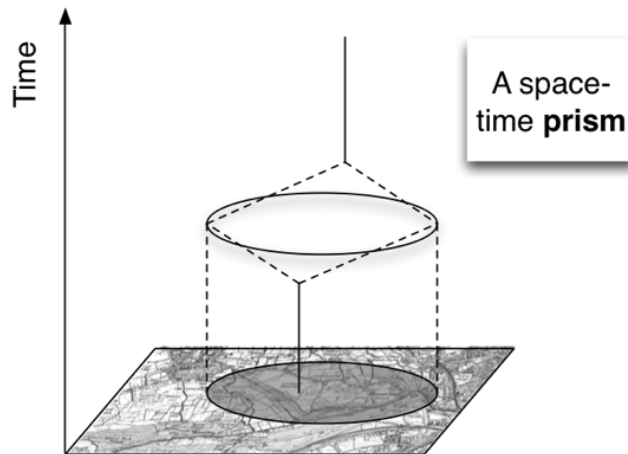


Figure 2.4. Space-time prism. (Source: Chen et al., 2016)

The primary function of the time-geographic dynamic map is, after recording the particular activities of a specific individual across days or longer spans of time-space, to build up a gross characterization related to social structure including networks and relations. In that sense, social interaction is an important keyword of time geographic dynamic map as Hagerstrand defines it in the intersection of particular individual paths. It can be seen in the everyday living movement of more than one person and the bundles formed by the collision of these paths. For instance, in Figure 2.5., there are activity programs of individuals in the family. It is seen from this mapping that when an individuals' life path, or biography, becomes associated with a given social role he or she must as a consequence intermittently steer his/her daily path to activity bundles belonging to a specific routine or nonroutine projects.

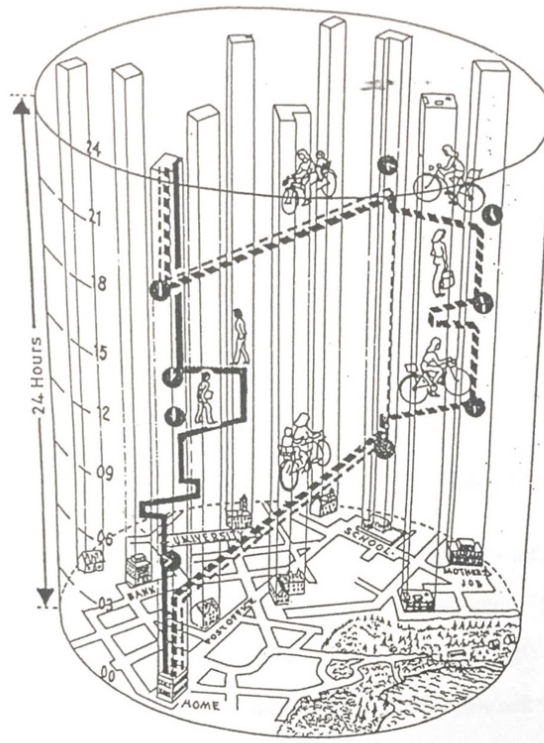


Figure 2.5. Activity programs of the individuals in a Swedish family over a single day (Source: Parkes & Thrift, 1980)

Table 2.1. Activity programs of individuals in the family. (Source: Parkes & Thrift, 1980)

Father	Mother	Child
9am – leaves home	7.50am – leaves home	8.20am – school
9.30am – bank	8.20am – drops of child at school	5.20pm – leaves school
10am – post office	8.30am – work	6pm - home
10.15am – home	11am – shopping	
12.10am – lunch at university	11.30am – returns from shops	
1pm - home	5pm – leaves work	
	5.20pm – picks up child	
	6pm – home	

2.3 EVOLUTION OF TIME GEOGRAPHY IN RELATION WITH DIFFERENT RESEARCH AREAS

Time geography of Hagerstrand is directly related to his worldview and it can be seen even in his very early studies like in his 1953 study which he has also deeper understanding of the mapping of about 10,000 individual in life histories of their migration patterns (Lenntorp, 2000). During the 1970s time-geography started to spread throughout the social sciences, there is the critique about time geography in the first edition of the book “The Dictionary of Human Geography” (Johnson et al., 1981). According to this critique, time-geography is connected to six other links which are location theory, phenomenology, project, spatial structure, transport geography and macro geography as seen in the Figure 2.6.

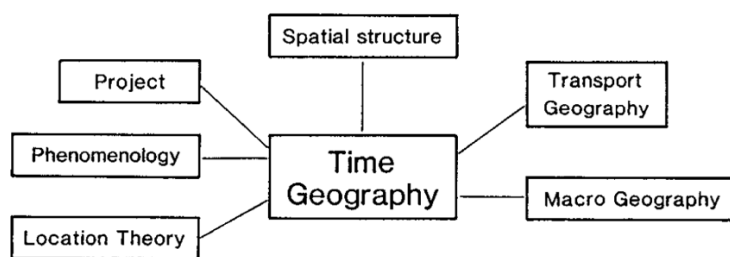


Figure 2.6. Entries connected to time geography in the 1970s. (Source: Johnson et al., 1981).

Presentation of the time geography through relation with other entries was not very deep and clear enough at that time¹⁴. But in the following years, the point of view about time-geography has widened and deepened over time. In the third edition of book “The Dictionary of Human Geography” published in 1994, new entries which are connected with the time geography has been added in the presentation as seen in Figure 2.7. Additionally, the expression of the time geography has extended and even the number of words, used in the book, has increased from around 2800 to 10000.

¹⁴ For detailed information about the relations of the time geography with other disciplines or research areas represented in the Figure 2.6 and 2.7 see (Johnson et al., 1981) and (Lenntorp, 2000)

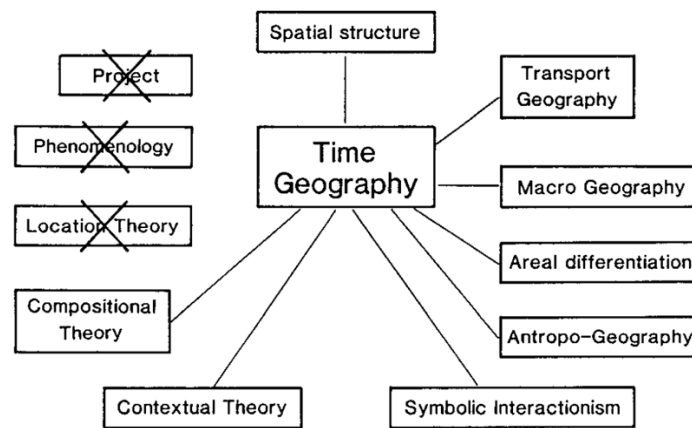


Figure 2.7. Entries connected to time geography in the 1990s. (Source: Johnson et al., 1981).

As can be understood from the above discussion, time geography has undergone mature evolution and has expanded its research fields of disciplines that it is related with. In today's world, developing data-rich environment also have contributions on the evolution of the time geography. The problem of lack of detailed individual-level data and analytical tools in the use of time geography has been solved with the help of the increasing availability of georeferenced individual-level data and improvement in the representational and geocomputational capabilities of Geographical Information Systems (GIS) because the context for geographic research has shifted from a data-scarce to a data-rich environment. (Miller & Goodchild, 2015).

Geovisualization methods are not only effective in revealing the complex interaction between the spatial and temporal dimensions in structuring human spatial behavior but also practical tools for exploratory spatial data analysis that can help the formulation of more realistic computational or behavioral models (Kwan & Lee, 2002). Thus, thanks to the geovisualization techniques, methods, and tools that have now developed, time geography representation has also evolved and into a visual chasm as seen in Figure 2.8. This is a different version of visualization of Charles Minard's famous map drawn by Menno-Jan Kraak. The map, showing Napoleon's march in Russia, allows to understand Napoleon's speed getting to Moscow and also tell the period he stayed in Moscow. (Nöllenburg, 2007)

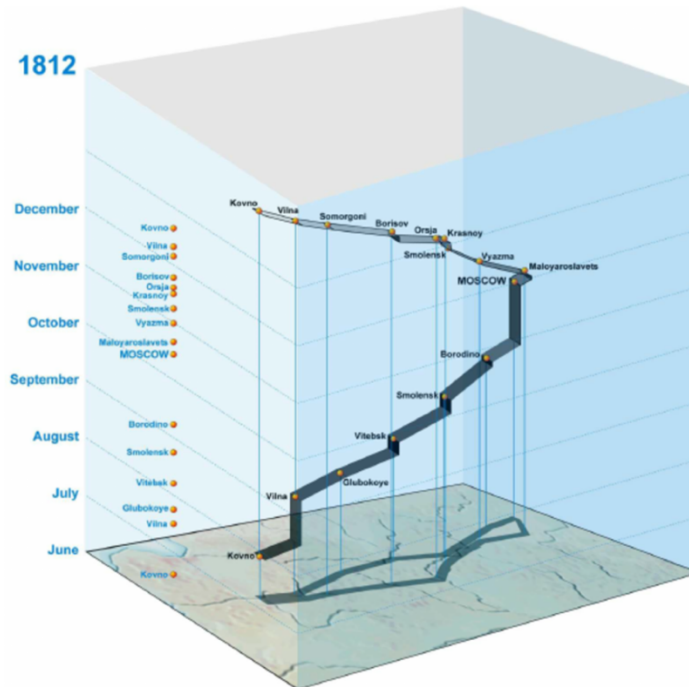


Figure 2.8. A space-time cube visualization of Napoleon's march in Russia. Image courtesy of M.-J. Kraak . (Source: Nöllenburg, 2007)

In today's world, time-geography seems to have matured, and there are numerous research fields in many disciplines that could be strengthened by the time-geographic approach. Especially, the biographic perspective of time geography has been used in psychology, ethnology, social anthropology, planning, gender studies and migration studies as well¹⁵. The use of time geography in migration research, which also shed light to this thesis, will be detailed in the next section.

2.3.1 THE USE OF TIME GEOGRAPHIC METHODS IN MIGRATION STUDIES

As a field of study migration studies is the description, analysis and the theorization of the movement of the people from one place to another. This movement can be short term/long term or temporary/permanent and it is clearly a space-time phenomenon (King, 2012). In other words, the description and the understanding of the phenomenon of migration are heavily related to the understanding social relations

¹⁵ See (Ellegård & Svedin, 2012), (Bendixen & Ellegård, 2014). (Scholten, Friberg & Sandén, 2012), (Shaw & Yu, 2009),

in time-space framework because both social landscape and the relationships between time and space are changing over time. Therefore, structuration framework in a time-spatial context is needed for migration studies.

From a different viewpoint, a combination of approaches contributes to a new understanding and creates a better understanding of migration processes. In relation to that, sociologist Robin Cohen said (1995:8):

There is no one discipline that migration studies emphasis on commensurability, mutual intelligibly across disciplines.

Therefore, interdisciplinarity and multi-methods approach, assimilate reading from across disciplines and methodologies when migration is singular focus. In this interdisciplinarity, migration studies are under the influence of ethnographic and oral history methods. (King, 2011). Ethnographic studies have a spatial approach on migration and time primarily is also taken into consideration. However, there is recently increasing attention devoted to dynamic and heterogeneous temporalities of migration. In this sense, ethnographers can only hope to “snapshots and slices” of immigration systems (McHugh, 2000). Deeper ethnography would shed light on temporariness, permanence, transience and flexibility and alienation related to migration practices (Cojocar, 2016).

Other than ethnography, interdisciplinary analysis of the interactions serves as bridge for different disciplines. It also sets ground to discuss the results in multidisciplinary decision-settings with respect to integrated knowledge on social and natural phenomena and shared advice to decision makers (Geertman, 2006). In this sense, geography is another integrating discipline, and it works as a bridge between different disciplines because it deals with migration theory through geographic perspective (King, 2011). As Richard L. Morill -who has studied settlement change for many years- points out, human settlement is considered as a core phenomenon of the discipline of geography, and there are some processes involved in and sufficient for settlement change. Migration is one of such processes under the geography subtitle. It can be clearly seen that migration studies and geography discipline have worked in a company (Gregory & Urry, 1985). Along with history, Hagerstrand's

contribution to theorizing migration is worthwhile among other contributions of geographers to migration theory. Especially Hägerstrand's time geography has attracted researchers in many different disciplines in the social sciences, natural sciences or engineering across North America, Europe, and Asia throughout the past 40 years.

In particular, geography's precise attention to the social construction of spatiality can enrich interdisciplinary approaches to the study of migration (Silvey, 2006). Using space-time path as geographic visualization can definitely enable people to improve their understandings of spatiotemporal structure of human behavior. Moreover, Hägerstrand believes that it is the mapping of the networks of individuals' and social relations that can be used to clear up the key sociospatial bundles and bound interactions in space-time. These bundles and bound interactions can be interpreted as the materials and symbols of social landscapes (Wong & Shaw, 2011). Therefore, this point of view has been used in many different fields including migration studies.

Castles and Miller's observation is that; the study of migration has fallen into two separate bodies of investigation: the First one is stated as research on determinants, processes and patterns of migration - pre-migration issues- and second one is research on the ways in which migrants become incorporated into receiving societies, in other words, post-migration research (King, 2011). Not only how social networks of international migration operate and/or how migrants construct new networks would be explained with time geographic methods, but also pre-migration/post-migration studies.

There are numerous researches under the title of migration studies through time-geographic methods, especially in relation to the importance of biographic perspective of time geography¹⁶. For instance, one of the current researches done in 2016 is titled as "Paths in transnational time-space: representing mobility biographies of young Swedes." This article describes personal cross-border movement from a long-term, biographical perspective. The aim is to discuss the use

¹⁶ For the other examples of migration studies through timegeographic methods see (Novák & Sykora, 2007), (King & Lulle, 2015) and (Liversage, 2009).

of a time-geographical form to represent people's transnational mobility as paths in time and space and to show how such representations can contribute to explain some of the dynamics of long-distance mobility. An advantage of using time-space paths is that several aspects of an individual's travel biography can be represented in a single image immediately evident, and the temporal and spatial relationships between the various mobility actions are made visible (Frändberg, 2008). In this research, the collection of biographical information regarding travel behaviour and the subsequent construction of time-space trajectories is part of a research project examining transnational mobility among young Swedes. The project is designed as a combined questionnaire and interview study. Time scale is set according to ages in time-space paths of young swedes analyzing change of mobility practices with time as seen in Figure 2.9., as the use of a biographical time scale may differ from years and decays to hours and days.

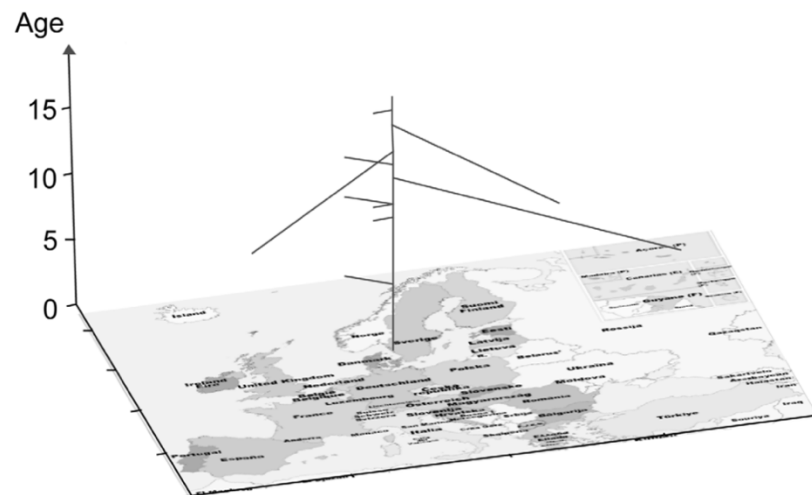


Figure 2.9. Space-time paths showing travel diaries of young swedes.

(Source: Frändberg, 2008)

Besides giving a general idea about the scope and forms of young people's mobility biographies, time- space paths such as those presented here may also contribute in more specific ways to explain some of the dynamics involved in transnational mobility behaviour. One of these contributions, time-space paths would also provide tools for capturing regularity in transnational travel patterns as seen in the Figure 2.10. In brief, even though the images provided by the time-space paths do not cover all forms of transnational practice, corporal mobility comprises a fundamental aspect

of how activity spaces and social networks are spatially stretched across nation-state borders.

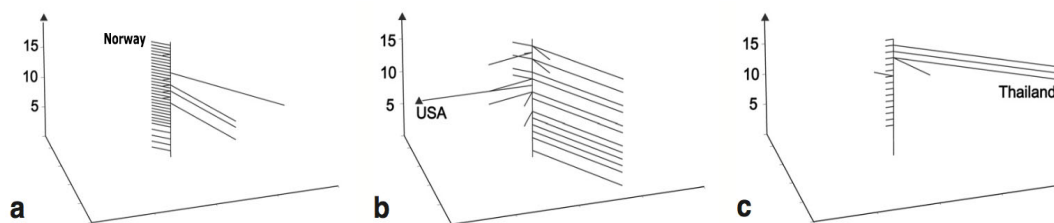


Figure 2.10. Three examples of space-time paths regarding transnational mobility biographies characterized by regularity. (Source: Frändberg, 2008).

As summary, the disciplines and different fields of study used in time geography have grown in time, and the time geography method has evolved and evolved over time as both display and content. As shown in the example given above, migration studies are one of the such fields using time geography. In the light of this information, this dissertation study also have built upon using time geographic methods in migration studies.

2.4 METHODOLOGY

This thesis is based on migration theory through a geographic perspective because it adopts interdisciplinary thinking. In this sense, not only theoretical analysis but also the methodological analysis of the thesis are interdisciplinary. The methodology of the thesis is also fed by qualitative techniques as time geography is also under the influence of ethnographic and qualitative methods (King, 2011).

At the outset, David Fitzgerald mentioned four methodological strategies to study transnational migration (Fitzgerald, 2006). He supports these strategies with his case fieldwork on Mexican migration. The first approach is exploring the site or explaining the effects of a place on some outcomes. The second method is trying to take political blinders out and bringing receiving and sending countries into a same analytical frame. The third strategy is, to historicize the field. And the last strategy is described as a development of research programs with ethnographic studies. Accordingly, before fostering a fieldwork research as the last strategy that Fitzgerald

stated, previous three steps have been taken into consideration for this thesis. Primarily, putting into practice of these strategies has started with exploring the neighborhood and participant observation. After evaluating receiving and sending countries in the same framework and historicizing the neighborhood, research method began to be elaborated.

As the last strategy that Fitzgerald points out, qualitative research methods have been selected as this thesis is a refugee-centered social science research and dealing with a selected case. Since refugee-related researches engage a broad range of qualitative techniques, this study is also fed by social sciences and sociological, ethnographic methods. Field work refers to conduct research related to any particular area. There are many ways of carrying out a field work such as informal, semi-structured, in-depth interviews or focus group, etc¹⁷. In that sense, fieldwork in Önder neighborhood was carried out with in-depth interviewing technique. Interviews are sometimes combined with other qualitative methods like participant observation or archival research and some ethnographic approaches.

The main aim of the fieldwork is to analyze social networks between Syrian urban refugees and Turkish families and question the changing socio-economic dynamics of the neighborhood with a huge number of refugees coming. Not only the networks between Syrian and Turkish people but also the networks of Syrians and Turks in themselves are pointed out to be investigated through in-depth interviewing technique.

There are some important factors related to conducting fieldwork. First of all, being active in the field is essential as well as problematizing a research question about the area. It can be said that fieldwork differs from any other research work because there is a must need of entering and spending a long period of time in the field. Otherwise, it would not go further than being research.

¹⁷ These informations are gained by one of the Master courses called “Qualitative Research” from Sociology Department of METU (Middle East Technical University)

Moreover, the issue of access is crucial and also though to enter the field. Since access does not only refer to physical entrance open to the field but also a social issue which requires an invitation, formal and informal permission. The researcher should negotiate with possible gatekeepers, make contacts and build a relationship with respondents. Relatively, entry strategies have been designated, and preparations have been made because preparations facilitate access.

Even if there are unforeseen problems occurred while field work, the researcher must be well-prepared about the topic, the area, expected obstacles and potential respondents before starting the field research. Accordingly, archival search was made and context-based information about the setting were collected before entering the field . However, there is a risk of accepting “imagined” history about the field which means being too informed about the neighborhood and having foreknown information (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003). It would prevent researcher to think critically and may have negative impact on his/her effort to catch hidden figures. Researcher would try to get answers that he/she expect to hear and would not open to obtain new and unforeseen information from the neighborhood and respondents. For that reason, only necessary information was received before this fieldwork.

Before entering the field, there are other necessary stages in addition to making archival research related to the neighborhood and preparations for fieldwork which are explained above. Creating a research question, revised open-ended questionnaire for all target groups and deciding the role playing in site are considered as these steps. How to handle with language issue is one of the preparations before entering the field. Also, what role or identity will each researcher play in site, what are the rules, techniques and their responsibilities in this fieldwork should be determined clearly at the beginning the fieldwork. Relatively, there are two identities of researcher in the field, being insider and outsider. Both of them have some advantages and disadvantages. Socio-economic characteristics such as race, age, social class, education or profession determine the proximity of researcher with participants and the level of insiderness or outsidership. However, the distinction between these two identities is never clear and always changeable in time during fieldwork (Merton, 1972).

There are also some challenges and limitations about fieldwork with forced displaced migrants or refugees. Ethical problems, confronting social scientists studying forced migrants or their host, are one of the most important issues especially researches into vulnerable populations like refugees. Related to limitations, there are currently very few large-scale survey data sets of refugee or IDP populations, especially of those who are self-settled, those living outside camps. 'Refugee studies' is also a limited area of study with its own accepted standards of knowledge production. The survey data researchers often have tend to focus on public health or nutritional issues, usually in camp settings and often during the emergency phase of displacement (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003).

After an initial introduction about how a fieldwork should be done and what needs to be done, detailed information about this fieldwork will be explained following chapter. Regarding this, research question of the fieldwork, entrance strategies, types of respondents or limitations etc. will be expressed.

2.5 CONCLUSION

The main theme of intersections of social sciences with geography discipline is the connection between time-space association and social relations. When this overlap is seen in the historical process, time geography is considered as an important contribution of Hagerstrand, which has been proposed as a product of this overlap. It is clearly seen that the time geography has been used in migration studies as a result of its widespread use throughout history and its use in other disciplines. In the light of this result, time geographic methods and dynamic maps will be used within the scope of this thesis. This thesis study, which aims to work as a multidisciplinary method, will also use in-depth interviewing techniques for qualitative methods in the formation of these maps.

CHAPTER 3

CASE STUDY: ÖNDER NEIGHBORHOOD AND SURROUNDINGS IN ALTINDAĞ, ANKARA

Ankara, the capital city of Turkey, has received a substantial number of Syrian urban refugees. Among other districts, Altındağ, located on the northeastern side of the city, is known with the highest number of Syrian population in comparison to others. In the Altındağ district, Önder neighborhood and its surroundings are squatter settlements considered as an important shelter for a significant number of Syrian urban refugees. The neighborhood is named “Little Aleppo” because of the increasing Syrian population which grows with developing networks and the dominance of visible Syrian culture in the area (Cenikli, 2015).

This chapter tries to answer context-based questions such as the motives why Syrian urban refugees choose this particular urban area to live while the other regions close to Önder neighborhood do not seem to have attracted a similar number of Syrian refugees, and how socio-economic characteristics of the area have changed with the arrival of refugees. A critique of the social and economic dynamics of the neighborhood before the arrival of refugees is needed to understand the reasons why they choose this particular area to accommodate. Hence, the socio-economic characteristics of both the neighborhood and its surroundings, the history of squatter development of Ankara and the area specifically; the history, reasons and the effects of the transformation zones, and the type of urban actors and characteristics in the neighborhood are needed to be investigated. As a summary, in this chapter, the area before Syrian urban refugees will be addressed in spatial, historical and socio-economic aspects.

3.1. SPATIAL CONTEXT

Önder neighborhood is located in Altındağ district, which is known with the highest number of Syrian population in comparison to other districts, in the northeastern side

of Ankara as shown map in Figure 3.1. The neighborhood is one of the 37 neighborhoods of the district. The population of the neighborhood is 3443 according to TÜİK (Turkish Statistical Institute) demographic data in 2016¹⁸. However, it has been increasing with coming Syrian refugees in recent years.

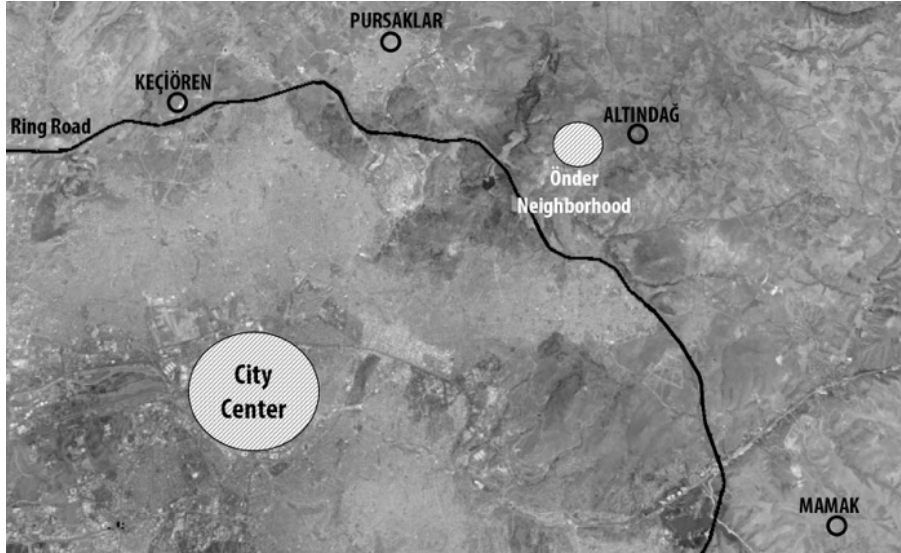


Figure 3.1. Location of Önder neighborhood in the city of Ankara.

(Source: Google Earth, 2017)

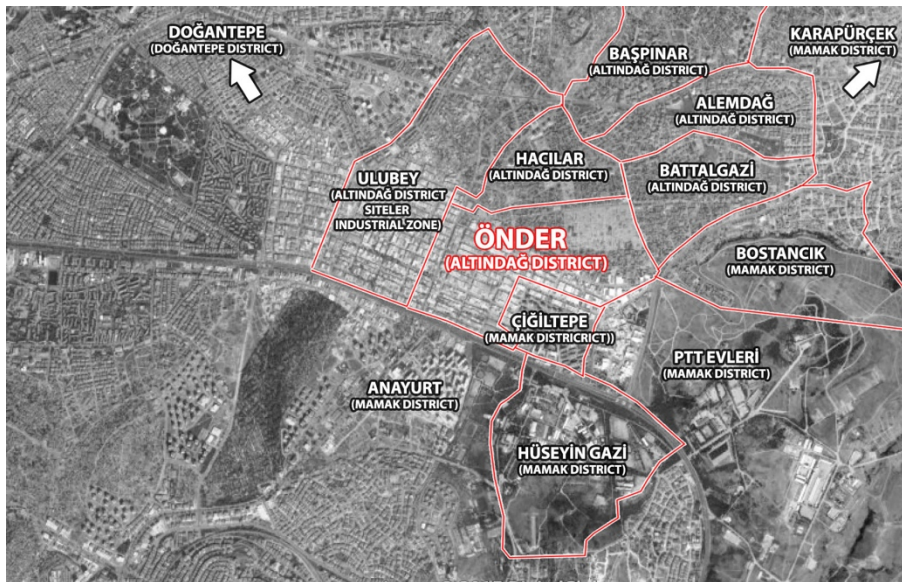


Figure 3.2. Önder neighborhood and surrounding neighborhoods.

(Source: Google Earth, 2017)

¹⁸ For the population of the neighborhood visit the website: <https://biruni.tuik.gov.tr/medas/?kn=95&locale=tr>

Önder neighborhood is a slum neighborhood, near to the Siteler Small Furniture Industry area. Even a part of the Siteler Industry is located within the borders of the Önder neighborhood, and the living and working areas are intertwined as also seen in Figure 3.3. (Önder, 2011). The areas surrounding the Önder neighborhood are the Hacilar, Ulubey and Battalgazi part of the Altındağ district and Çiğiltepe neighborhood connected to Mamak district as shown in Figure 3.2. Ulubey and Hacilar neighborhoods are also evaluated within the decision of urban transformation, and they are still in the stage of demolition, not in the project construction phase just like Önder neighborhood. Detailed information about urban transformation and the current situation of the neighborhood are given below. In contrary, Battalgazi, Karapürçek, and Doğantepe have new housing types within the context of urban transformation. In this sense, the Önder, Hacılar and Ulubey neighborhoods remained between the renewed neighborhoods. Another threshold that determines the neighborhood boundary is the Turgut Ozal Boulevard in the south. This boulevard is a multi-lane road and serves as a separator between the neighborhoods in the south and the districts of Mamak and the Önder neighborhood.

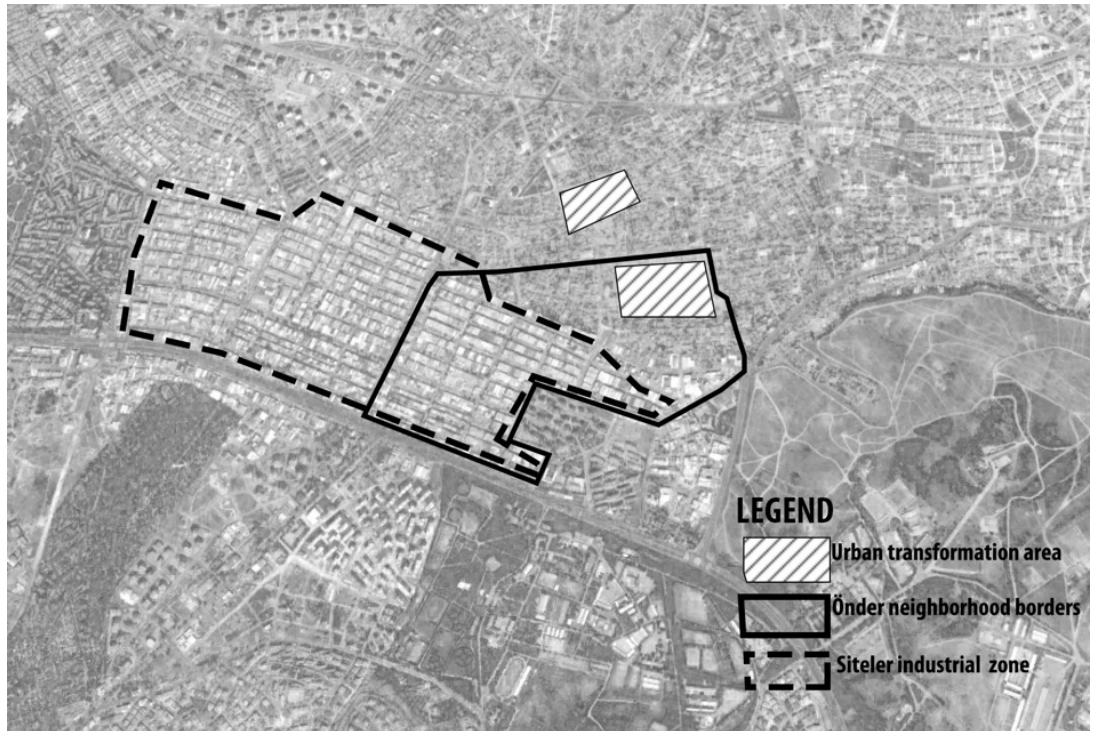


Figure 3.3. Önder neighborhood in detailed. (Source: Google Earth, 2017)

3.2. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The neighborhood started to develop around the 1950s with the development of Siteler Small Scale Furniture Industry nearby as shown in Figure 3.3. Before the 1950s, Ankara was developed around the old city Ulus and its surroundings as administration, commerce, entertainment, culture and education center. Squatter settlements were seen firstly in Ulus and its surroundings because of being walking distance to working areas and center of the city. Therefore the settlement areas near to old city centre -Ulus and surroundings- can be considered as the first wave of the squatter development (Şenyapılı, 2004).

In order to understand where the Önder neighborhood is situated in the historical and spatial development of Ankara, the years before the 1950s when the formation of the neighborhood began in parallel to the Siteler area, should be considered. In this sense, in the 1940s, migration to rural areas to Ankara was increased because of the mechanization of agriculture. This migrated population could also find marginal jobs such street trading or waste collecting as a branch of economic activity in Ankara. Especially squatter settlements in Altındağ district were comprised of this migrated population. However, there was no existence of Önder neighborhood in these years. Only the area of Ankara Castle and its surroundings was full of squatters. Second slum wave before the 1950s was started to develop north of the castle -Asri Mezarlık, Gülveren, etc.- and east of the castle -Cebeci, Seyranbağları, etc. Second slum wave includes mostly seasonal workers and squatter housings were a more makeshift type. Additionally, there were some thresholds in Ankara which are railroad as a physical threshold and topographical thresholds in these years. After first and second slum waves, spreading squatter settlements created the third wave in the 1940's and Önder neighborhood with its surroundings are the part of this wave as shown in Fig. 3.4¹⁹.

¹⁹ The map in the Figure 3.4 is a bubble diagram and does not show exact boundaries of these waves.

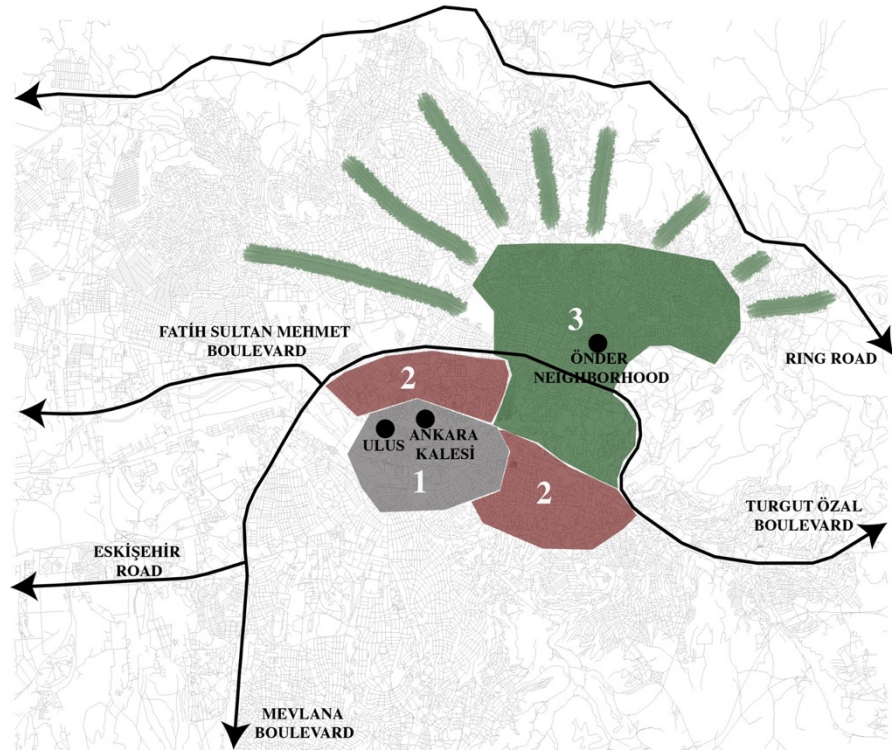


Figure 3.4. 1st, 2nd and 3rd squatter waves along with development of the city of Ankara.

After the 1950s, Ankara was under the pressure of population migrated from urban to rural like other big cities in Turkey. Small scale industry was started to develop in Siteler Furniture Industry Area. Within this changing economic situation of the city, migrated population could find jobs in industry addition to marginal and seasonal jobs. City was never seen as unknown for newcomers in the 1950s because the ones migrated before could help newcomers so that they can find accommodation and jobs. In maps of the 1970s, the existence of Siteler Industrial Area and Önder neighborhood was clearly seen (see. Fig.3.5). Ankara was developing through development plans, however there was no clear development related with squatter settlements until 1980s.

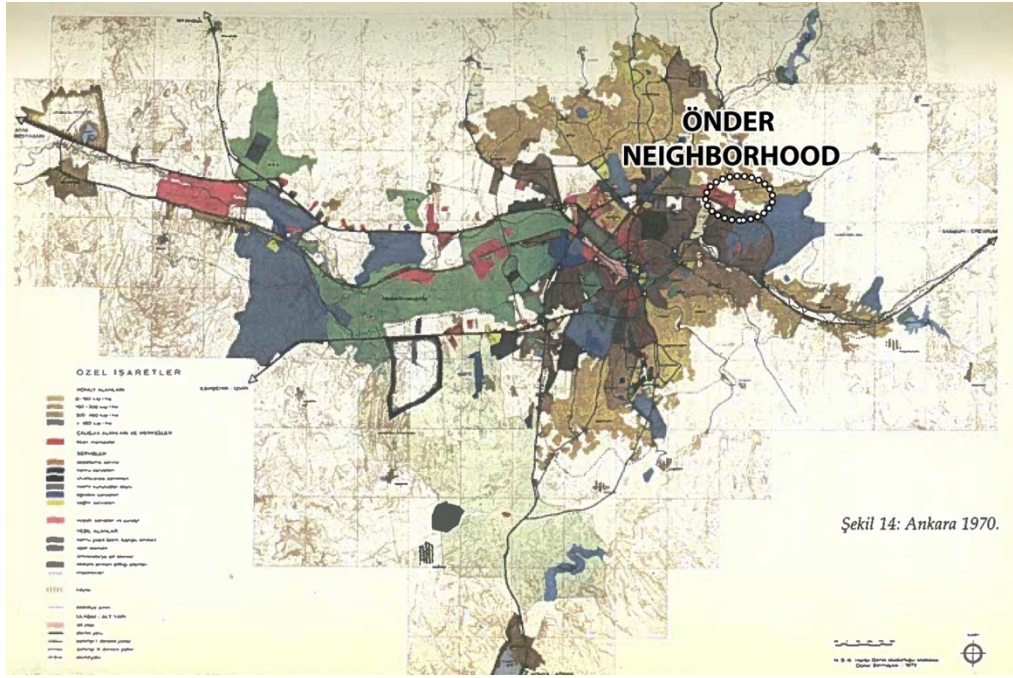


Figure 3.5. Ankara in 1970 including Siteler Industrial Area and Önder neighborhood.

Rehabilitation processes was started in gecekondu areas and amnesty laws initiate the most striking transformation in the slum areas including Onder neighborhood. In 1980s, five laws which are Act No. 3285 of May 1986, Act No. 3086 of December 1984, Act No. 3266 of May 1984, and Act No. 3366 of May 1987, for the amnesty of unlicensed construction was legislated. The most important of these laws is the law no. 2981, which contains regulations that can be considered revolution in every sense (Işık & Pınarcıoğlu, 2001). The Act No. 2981. This law has laid the groundwork for the transformation of existing illegal houses according to the models prescribed in the breeding development plans to be prepared while the other four legislation aims only to prevent squatter areas from being illegal. Accordingly, the law no.2981 can be summarized as giving the right to residents of the slums that they can have maximum four-storey structure on the same parcel. Additionally, this view cleared the way for transformation of the gecekondu areas into the apartment blocks.

The laws on amnesty has created a number of differentiations in the squatter areas. These differentiations have caused two different slum areas that separate from each other both in terms of physical environmental characteristics and in

terms of user profiles. On the one side, there are areas, that are located in more advantageous areas in the city, rapidly transform into apartment blocks. On the other side, there are slum areas which are located in disadvantageous locations in the city started to rapidly turn into depressed areas. Since these areas tried to transform into the efforts of their landlords, away from responding to the needs of users with a lack sufficient infrastructure facilities, and low environmental standards. Önder neighborhood was one of the squatter areas to rehabilitate and the amnesty laws, especially no.2981, has huge impact on the social, physical and economic transformation of the neighborhood. One storey buildings were transformed into multiple storey structures through the effort of landlords. Due to the inadequate infrastructure corresponding to the growing population with increasing floors, the neighborhood turned into a depressed area.

In 2004, works related with master plans and developments was run up after the election of city and municipality mayors in 28th of March in 2004. The demolishments of gecekondu areas was speed up and the year of 2005 was announced as “demolishment year (yıkım yılı in Turkish)” by Altındağ Municipality. In 2011, transnational migration started from Syria to Turkey and Önder neighborhood has been seen as an important shelter for refugee population because of some reasons such as walking distance to Siteler Industry Area which has employment opportunities for urban refugees. According to Asım Khalih, the head of the AYDAP (Ankara Cooperation and Solidarity Association), there is approximately 25000 Syrian refugees registered to this association²⁰.

After 2013, urban transformation operations started in the neighborhood. According to information gained by Altındağ Municipality, the area of the site is 43 hectare including 434 squatters with 4088 population. The area is surrounded by Selçuk Street from the north, Gönülçalan Street from the south, Şehit Rafet Sever Street from the east and Gez and Bulca 1 Streets from the west. The

²⁰ This information was gained by in-depth interview with the head of the association. AYDAP is one of the informal aid associations based on solidarity among Syrian refugees. The head of this association is also Syrian refugee and lives in Önder neighborhood. There are also other formal and informal associations and communities in the neighborhood.

neighborhood is located in the development plan consisting Hacilar-Önder-Ulubey neighborhoods within the scope of the Stage Development Plan Neighborhood which was approved with the decision of Altındağ Municipal Assembly with law dated 16.10.2001 and numbered 309. In this approved plan, area was designated as housing area. However, such dwelling development with determined precedent and altitude has never occurred. That is why the area was determined as risky area with the law numbered 6306 dated 22.04.2013 and selected area was demolished in July of 2015 within approved law numbered 3194 dated 15.04.2014. Now, the area is determined as reserve area under the law numbered 9611 dated 04.08.2016 so that municipality could make rent aid. This Law on the Transformation of Areas under Disaster Relief, dated 2012 and numbered 6306 has linked the urban transformation policy with the aim of improving the areas under disaster risk. Although this law is concerned with the rehabilitation and regulation of disaster-prone regions, the urban transformation in the 2000s is one of the key elements of the policy agenda. This law, which is associated with urban transformation, is regarded as the first step in the decision of urban transformation and destruction in Önder district (Sadioğlu, Tiryaki & Korkmaz, 2016). However, the decision of demolition was not made through this law but under the law no. 3194. And the area that is still demolished remains in ruins without a project proposal as indicated in Figure 3.6.



*Figure 3.6. Urban transformation project area before and after demolishment.
(Source: Google Earth, the left is dated 2010 and the right one is dated 2016)*



*Figure 3.7 Önder neighborhood after demolishments for urban transformation
(Source: Personal archive, 2016)*

As a result, Önder neighborhood is located in the 3rd wave of the spatial development of Ankara. It is clearly seen in historical context, The neighborhood has passed through major legal, spatial and urban transformation processes. Related to urban transformation in the area, it is not known what is envisaged for the neighborhood because of the blurring of Turkey's political of understanding of urban transformation. However, it is a fact that it will continue to cause social, economic and physical changes in the neighborhood. At the same time, this historical context analysis reveals that Syrian refugees have benefited and become new actors of the locality, as the region is in transition. The discussion of these changes and the analysis of the conclusions will be made in depth in the conclusion chapter.

3.3. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT

Two important matters of fact have an impact on defining the socio-economic basis of the area within years. To begin with, Altındağ district has socially been built up through national and international migration. The reason for rural to urban migration is that the district has one of the most important economic sources which is Siteler Small Industrial Area (shortly Siteler). According to a report of Development Agency of Ankara (Ankara Kalkınma Ajansı), %19 of the total production of Turkey has been supplied by Siteler Furniture Industry, and more than 5000 firms have been

operated in the area. It is not only important for furniture sector and production in Turkey but also a pulling factor for labor from a rural area. It is considered as a labor pool for newcomers. Siteler, where there are many small scale furniture production units with showrooms, furniture manufacturing, and raw material dealers, has been pulling labors from provinces and cities adjacent to Ankara such as Kızılcahamam, Çamlıdere, Bolu, Düzce, Çankırı and Yozgat (Beyhan, 2011). The fields of activity of businesses in the area are basically; chair, armchair, kitchen, bathroom, bedroom, office furniture, dining room, bathroom, decoration and so on. The vast majority of businesses produce bedroom furniture by order. There are also firms that include design units.

The Siteler region is mostly composed of small and medium enterprises. However, parallel to the change in the furniture industry, the Siteler area has undergone structural changes since 1975 (Söğütü & Eroğlu, 2009). In the past, the work done by the master craftsmen is now done in series with the help of the machines. However, this does not mean that small-scale enterprises are declining. The vast majority of the industry still consists of small and medium-sized businesses and works with traditional methods. There is no longer any need for hands-on experience and experimentation, only for old-fashioned businesses. In addition, while it is possible to talk about the existence of the production companies, the number of firms that are used as showrooms instead of production workshops, which focus on sales rather than production, is quite large.

In addition to having job opportunity, as facilitator factor for rural-urban migration, there is another factor make both migration and post-migration adaptation easier in Altındağ district. The factor is called as citizenship or township in English, “hemşehrilik” in Turkish. The city will no longer be unknown and uncertain for newcomer because migrated person have relatives who have already migrated and know the city. This created network enables immigrant to adapt new environment more easily in both economic and social ways (Şenyapılı, 2006). In this sense, most

of the residents of Önder neighborhood are fellow countryman, they have migrated from same province or city and there is solidarity networks among them²¹.

Altındağ district and Önder neighborhood with surrounding neighborhoods have been under impact of not only citizenship phenomenon and rural-to-urban migration, but also international migration. Over years, the neighborhood and its surroundings have received immigrants and refugees. Before 2011, the year that Syrian urban refugees started to come to Turkey, the most crowded immigrant population was Somalian people. They started to migrate to Turkey because of starvation and diseases in their country. They settled mostly in Altındağ and Mamak district nearby due to the same reasons as Syrian refugees to select this area to live (Baykuş, 2013). These reasons are basically that; firstly rents are lower in comparison with other neighborhoods and districts because the area consists of low and middle income groups, secondly immigrants and refugees could find housing to rent because most of the houses are located in transformation zone which means they will be destructed. Therefore landowners, who own houses in transformation zones, are more inclined to rent their houses to immigrants and refugees. Another reason is that, these neighborhoods are walking distance to Siteler Small Scale Industry area which involves employment opportunities as explained above.

Consequently, socio-economic characteristics of Önder neighborhood and its surroundings -other adjacent squatter neighborhoods in Altındağ district, Siteler Industrial area and squatter settlements in Mamak district which is adjacent to Altındağ district- have been fed and shaped by township phenomennon and national/international migration for many years and at the present time.

3.4. FIELDWORK

Entering the field has started in September 2016 even if interviews have started in March 2017. The reason for entering the field before the onset of the interviews is that Syrian urban refugees are forced displaced post-disaster society and they would

²¹ This is a collective information is gained by the help of ethnographical observations, interviews with residents, neighborhood mukhtar and municipality.

be reluctant or afraid to tell their true views. Therefore spending long period of time (more than 6 months) in the field is needed to gain their trust and familiarity. There are also hidden social groups to explore. Reaching them and finding out hidden social dynamics is only possible with staying long time in the field.

First of all, an open door -gate keeper or contact person- were sought in order to reach respondents. In this respect, the coordinator of the “Citizen's of Hope Project, which is a student-run aid project in Bilkent University with the aim of improving the lives of refugee families and raise awareness about the refugee issue in Turkey, was the most important contact person for the fieldwork of this thesis. Volunteers of this student organization regularly visit refugee families living in the neighborhood. The organization and the coordinator made negotiating entry to the field and reaching out both Syrian and Turkish families living in the neighborhood more easier. Basically, it is the way to seek for an open door in order to access to the field. In this way, potential obstacles in the site were identified, contacts were made and relationships were build. For the reason that the more closer relationship between respondents, the more likely they feel comfortable to share ideas and feelings.

After these entering preparations written above, this fieldwork with intensive in-depth interviewing technique has started in March 1st of 2017. It took one and half month with the help of external funding from BAP (Scientific Research Project).

3.4.1. ROLE AND PURPOSE

Interviews for this fieldwork were carried out by the author as a main researcher and a team including one paid research assistant and one paid local translator who speaks Arabic language. The issue of language use and translation of interviews with Syrian people were handled with the help of local translator.

At the beginning of the fieldwork, portrayal of involvement, researcher’s role and purpose were determined. It has decided that researcher and team members are completely overt towards participants which means being fully clear and explicit about purpose of the research. Also, what role will each one of them play in site,

what are the rules, techniques and their responsibilities in this fieldwork were explained clearly at the beginning the fieldwork.

In this fieldwork, I, as a main researcher of the fieldwork, am totally outsider. Local translator assistant is an insider because she lives in Önder neighborhood and she is also Syrian urban refugee. On the other hand, the other research assistant who is coordinator of the student organization, which is previously mentioned, knows the neighborhood well and have considerably strong relationships with both Syrian and Turkish residents of the neighborhood. For this reason, he might be considered as in between being insider and outsider. Hiring local assistans were considered as win-win position which everyone gain advantage from the fieldwork.

Both being insider and outsider have advantages and disadvantages. For instance, the most important opportunity of being insider is having more easier access to the field while gaining access to the site is very challenging for researchers. Being insider seems more advantageous over being outsider in terms of not only physical access but also social access. Because respondents might feel more comfortable and open while talking to someone with similar cultural backgrounds. For instance, living in this neighborhood gave local translator, and a team indirectly, some opportunities such as getting easily contact with informants and establishing strong relationships with respondents. Additionaly, knowing the neighborhood and residents well giving the other assistant opportunity of saving travel time to reach respondents When we found a respondent, we could immediately reach to him/her. We could even have 3 interviews in a day because my assistants know the neighborhood well and finding addresses of respondents was not hard to us. Additionaly, we know the socio-economic characteristics of the neighbourhood, it might be seen as another alternative of being insider because more or less we have been familiar with the type of respondents. Therefore respondents feel more relax, open and they acted naturally. If anyone else were making this fieldwork instead of me, he/she would have difficulty in finding addresses and would waste more time and effort than me because fieldwork requires substantial time to reach respondents.

3.4.2. RESEARCH DESIGN

The main aim of the fieldwork is to understand the relationship networks between the Syrian refugees and the Turkish citizens whose populations are gradually decreasing, the housing and work history experienced by the Syrian refugees, migration stories and the micro-scale daily life experiences of them and the socio-spatial analyses of changes with them in the neighborhood.

In the light of these research questions of the fieldwork, Turkish and Syrian residents, directly experiencing this socio-spatial dynamics in the neighborhood, were selected as main target respondents of the fieldwork. In addition to residents living in the neighborhood, there is another target group to be interviewed. This target group of people live outside the neighborhood, but they know these socio-spatial changes or they are indirectly affected by these changes. For instance, residents' relatives living outside the neighborhood, non-governmental organizations, charity organizations, people previously lived in the neighborhood or researchers might be regarded as this type target group.

Total number of interviewers is 31 with 15 Turkish and 16 Syrian respondents. One of the Turkish and one of the Syrian respondents are considered as last target group as explained above. Syrian one doesn't live in the neighborhood but he lived once and his relatives still live in the neighborhood. That is why he is affected by the changing socio-economic dynamics of the neighborhood indirectly. Turkish one also doesn't live in the neighborhood but he previously lived in there and he works in one of the charity organizations called Önder Foundation (Önder Vakfi). Therefore he is familiar with the neighborhood and residents. As a summary, Figure 3.8 indicated the type and number of respondents in detailed.

Turkish informants living in the area were divided as working and non-working. Working Turkish respondents were specified in reference to common lines of works indicated in the data of nomenclatures by economic activity in the districts of Ankara as shown in Table 3.1. The most common line of work in the neighborhood is manufacturing industry because %56 of working population, 1667 of 2999 total

working people, is in manufacturing sector. Secondly, service sectors such as community service, social work or personal service are considered as secondly most seen economic sector in the neighborhood with a percentage %17 of working population, 504 of 2999 total labor population. Thirdly most common economic sector is trade sector because %12 of working population, 369 of 2999 total working population, work as merchant or trader.

Table 3.1 Distribution of working population by sectors (Source: Turkish Population Directorate, 2000)

Neighborhood	Manufacturing	Service	Commerce	Total
Önder	1667	504	369	2999

Additionally, there are also marginal employment and informal jobs such as street trading or waste collecting as a branch of economic activity seen in the neighborhood. On the side of Syrian residents, economic sectors that have Syrian labors most are the same. Accordingly, working Turkish and working Syrian interviewers were selected from these three most common and other economic activities. Non-working Turkish and/or Syrian respondents were mostly women. There are also other reasons like health problems that prevent them from working. For instance, most of the non-working Syrian respondents were injured in Syrian war before coming to Turkey or some non-working Turkish interviewers had work accident. Accordingly, working Turkish and working Syrian interviewers were selected from these three most common and other economic activities. Consequently, 12 of 15 Turkish interviewers and 14 of 16 Syrian interviewers were working. Both these 12 Turkish and 14 Syrian working informants include labors from mentioned common economic activities. Detailed information about their jobs related to working ones and reasons of why they couldn't work about non-working ones are explained in tables in appendix part.

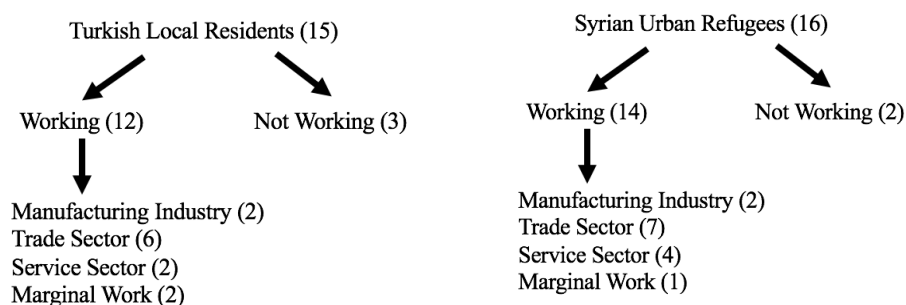


Figure 3.8.- Type and number of interviewees of the fieldwork

3.4.3 QUESTIONNAIRE AND IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

Another step of the fieldwork is creating questionnaires. Approximately 20-30 open-ended questions for each group of respondents were created. These questions were created along with the framework of the research. The main aim of the questions was finding out life stories, personal testimonies and thoughts of both Syrian and Turkish people. Active listening method was preferred. Spontaneous dialogues were allowed in order to catch hidden figures apart from needed to be learned. Interviewing with more than one members of a family contribute to evaluate a same fact from different perspectives with different narratives.

Even though there are general questions for all respondents, new questions were spontaneously formulated during interviewing. Thus, letting them talk technique was taken as a basis. Questions were arranged and specialized according to each respondents. Questions for Syrian respondents were collected under three headings which are stories about coming to Turkey, housing and occupational stories, experiencing the city of Ankara/ Önder neighborhood and relationships between Turkish people. On the other hand, questions for Turkish local interviewees were prepared to understand networks with Syrian people from local perspective, thoughts and experiences about neighborhood change, housing and occupational before and after refugees coming.

3.4.4 SAMPLING

Finding respondents for in-depth interviews is another challenging part of a fieldwork. In this fieldwork, facilitator person to reach respondents was local translator. Due to the fact that she is also Syrian urban refugee and lives in Önder neighborhood, finding appropriate respondents and negotiating with them to make in-depth interviews was easier with the help of her.

In that sense, “snowball technique” which is one of the sampling techniques was used in the fieldwork. This technique means that first respondent is asked to refer any other and helps to build up network in order to reach other respondents. Within reference of a respondent, the network grows like a snowball. Relatively, translator assistant eased the way to find interviewer and contact them. Snowball technique was helpful not only for reaching Syrian respondents but also Turkish ones. For instance, a Syrian labor was leading researchers to his Turkish employer or reaching Turkish householder was easy after interviewing his Syrian tenant. Figure 4.2 shows created chain of both Syrian and Turkish respondents with the help of “snowball sampling technique”.

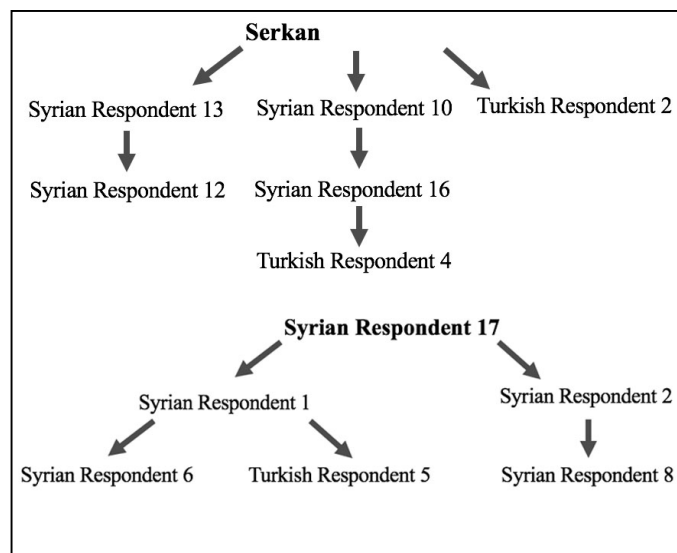


Figure 3.9 Snowball chain of respondents of the fieldwork

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND ANALYSES OF THE FIELDWORK

This chapter involves findings and analyses of the fieldwork and they are collected under 4 main titles. First one conveys general findings and graphical representation of statistical information on interviewees. In other three headings, findings and data are analysed through time-geographic methods in three urban scales. When switching from one level to another, maps are zoomed in the neighborhood and the time is also switched from year to hour.

First level of the analysis includes maps showing country boundaries of Turkey and Syria. In this level, Syrian refugees' entry to the country is described and analysed. Second level time-geographic maps deal with the residential background of the refugees arrived in Turkey and Turkish residents of Önder neighbourhood during same years, in an attempt to find out how refugees participate in the neighborhood, how, where and when residential backgrounds of Turks and Syrians overlap. In the last level of the analysis (namely the third level), daily life patterns of each settled Syrian family and existing Turkish family, and the intersection of the networks of their daily patterns in the neighborhood are analysed.

4.1. FINDINGS OF THE FIELDWORK

The total number of interviewees in the fieldwork is 31, 15 are Turkish, and 16 are Syria. 11 of the 16 Syrian interviewees were male, five were female, 12 of the 15 Turkish interviewees were male, and three were women. Thus, the total number of women is eight while the total number of men is 23 as seen in Figure 4.1.

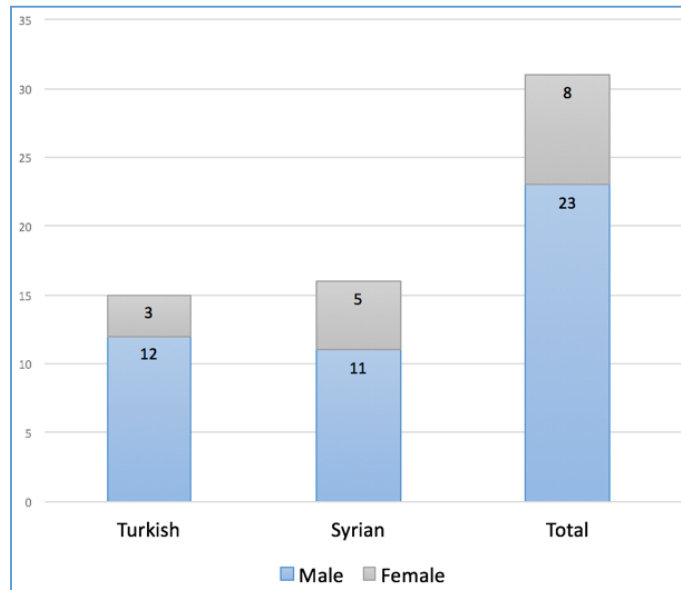


Figure 4.1 Nationalities and Genders of Interviewees

Twelve of the 15 Turkish interviewees and 14 of the 16 Syrian respondents, in total 26 of 31 interviewees were working. The remaining five interviewers do not have a job as shown in the graph in Figure 4.2.

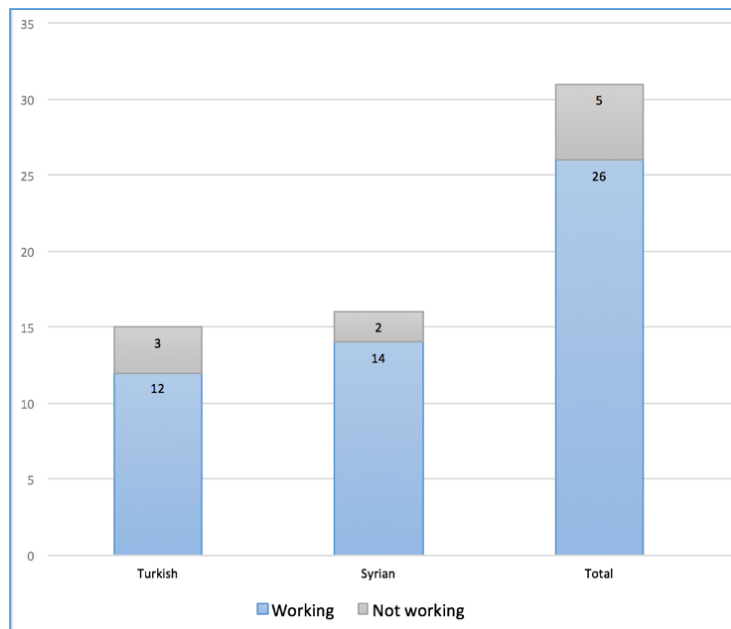


Figure 4.2 Number of Employees

Since the majority of Syrian interviewees came to Ankara directly in Turkey, the assessment was based on their arrival dates directly to Ankara instead of their arrival times to Turkey. Turkey's open door policy towards Syrian refugees led to increase

in the number of refugees arriving after 2012. In 2014 it reached its the peak. After 2014, the number of refugees accompanying the increase in the difficulty of crossing the border has begun to decrease.

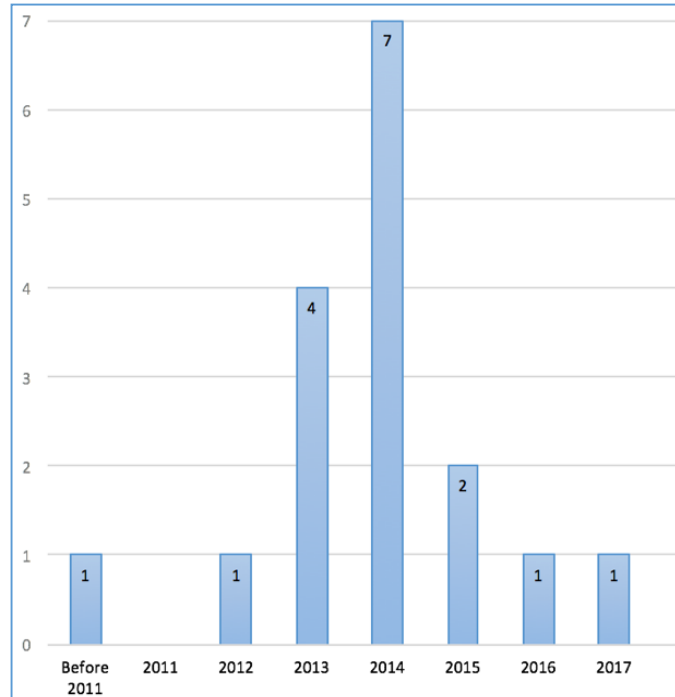


Figure 4.3 Arrival Dates of Syrian Refugees to Ankara

When they were asked about reasons for their arrivals to Ankara, the most effective factor is reference and help of their relatives, families or friends in Ankara who migrated before them as will be explained in more detail in the next section. Apart from that, having existing relationship with Turkey before the war in Syria is another effective reason for their arrival. The least effective reason is that they come to Ankara because of bad camping conditions. This is the least effective factor because the refugees who came to Ankara did not know and did not live camp life because they mostly came directly from Syria with reference of their relatives or friends. As indicated in Figure 4.4, 14 of the total 16 Syrian interviewers came to Ankara through family, relatives, acquaintances or friends. Two of them were due to pre-war relations while the other one was due to bad living conditions in the camp.

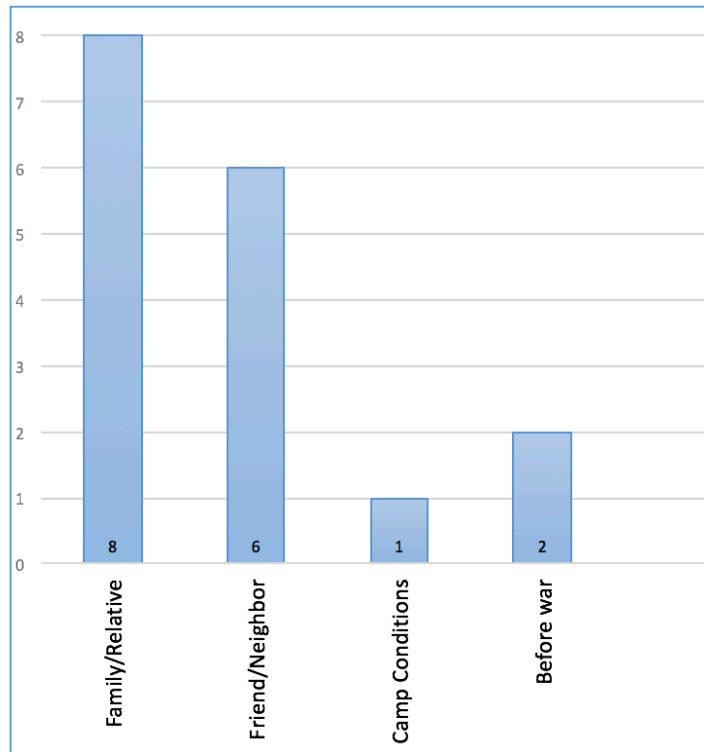


Figure 4.4 Reasons of Syrians for Arrival to Ankara

When the monthly income of the Syrian refugees and the monthly income of the Turkish families are examined, the average monthly income of a Turkish household is between 1000-3000 Turkish Liras while the average monthly income of a Syrian household is under 1000 Turkish Liras as seen in Figure 4.5. The reasons for the low monthly incomes of refugees and the main working areas of them in Turkey will be discussed in the following section. On the other hand, as seen in Figure 4.6, all of the Syrian are tenants and the monthly rent paid by the refugees is mostly in the range of 200-400 Turkish liras. 9 of the 15 interviewers are landlords in Turkish interviewers, while the other people who are tenants pay 600 rents per month. However, according to this result, it is not right to compare rents paid by Turks and Syrians because the conditions of the houses where the Turks live and the conditions in the houses where the Syrians live are not the same. Because the Turks live in houses in better conditions, their rent is higher than in Syria.

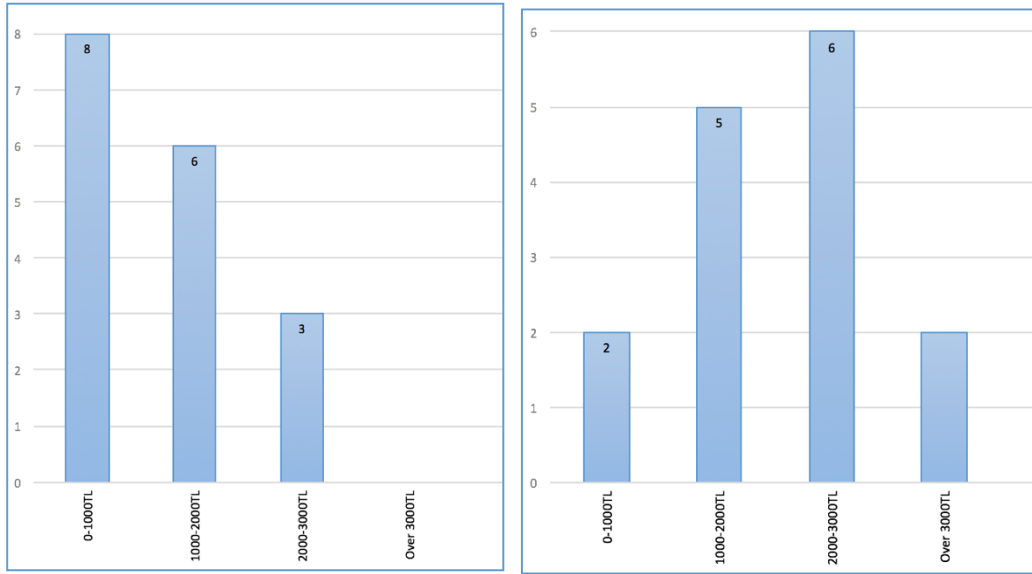


Figure 4.5 Monthly income per household of Syrians (on the left) and monthly income per household of Turks (on the right)

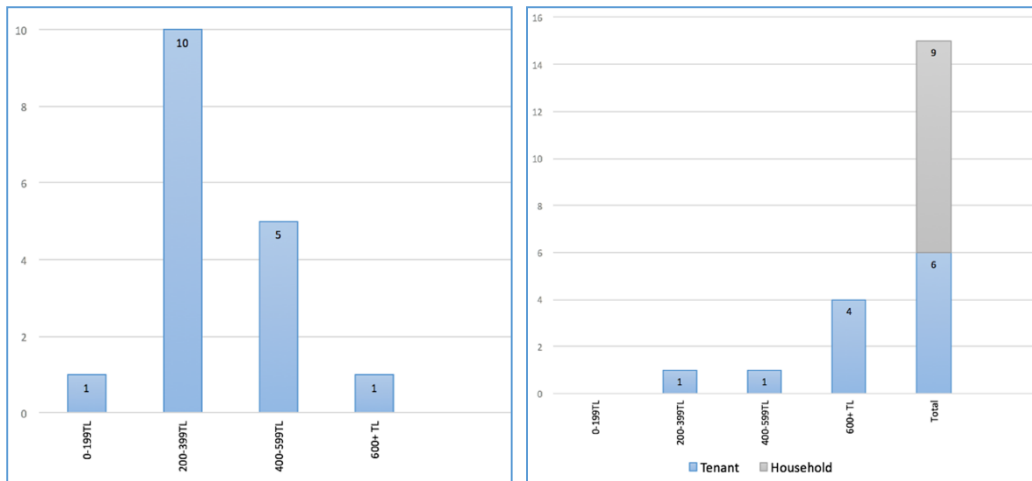


Figure 4.6 Monthly rent per household of Syrians (on the left) and monthly rent per household of Turks (on the right)

4.2. ANALYSIS OF THE DATA IN 1st LEVEL

This level with country borders is selected to see migration patterns of Syrian refugees, who have come to Önder neighborhood and surrounding neighborhoods, according to results of in-depth interviews. With the help of time geographic dynamic map methods, common pattern of Syrian migration could be analysed. Maps, created as a result of in-depth interviews, include time-space paths of Syrian

refugees which is one of the core entities of Hagerstrand's time geographic dynamic map. In these maps, Z-axis represents time distribution by years, cities are indicated as space-time stations in maps. Relatively, each line either red or black exemplifies one single family member. Red lines represent the pioneer person who came to Turkey before the arrival of other family members or relatives. Each map represents individuals living in the same household.

There are some common findings of respondents which is helpful to find out the common pattern and create time geographic maps. As it can be seen from maps that all Syrian refugees ,living in Önder neighborhood and surroundings, are from the city of Aleppo, Syria. Furthermore, in each case pioneers came to Turkey before other family members. After they were acquainted with Turkey -in other words finding out how to survive in Turkey; what kind of job opportunities Syrians might have and where; which city and/or neighborhood is most appropriate to settle- , they invite other family members from Aleppo. Briefly, they try to settle and survive in the first years as a first step and then they create appropriate living and working conditions for other family members.

Other than the fact that most of the pioneers are one young family member, preferably male, there are some other types of pioneers. Not only a family member but also other relatives, neighbors or friends might be considered as a pioneer if s/he or they came before. However, created maps below show the paths of first type of pioneers which is one family member. Related with the exceptions that aren't shown in maps, there are some examples. For instance, respondent 9 and his family came after his nephews found a job for him. So his nephews are considered as pioneers in this case. A pioneer is therefore any person, either a family member or relative or an acquaintant, who provides information for those in Syria about the living conditions in Turkey. An another example, respondent 15 and his family came 2 months after his friends' invitation or respondent 4 and his children came after his neighbors from Syria²².

²² Detailed information about each Syrian respondent, time geographic explanations of them and stories of maps about each time-space path could be found in tables in Appendix 1 part.

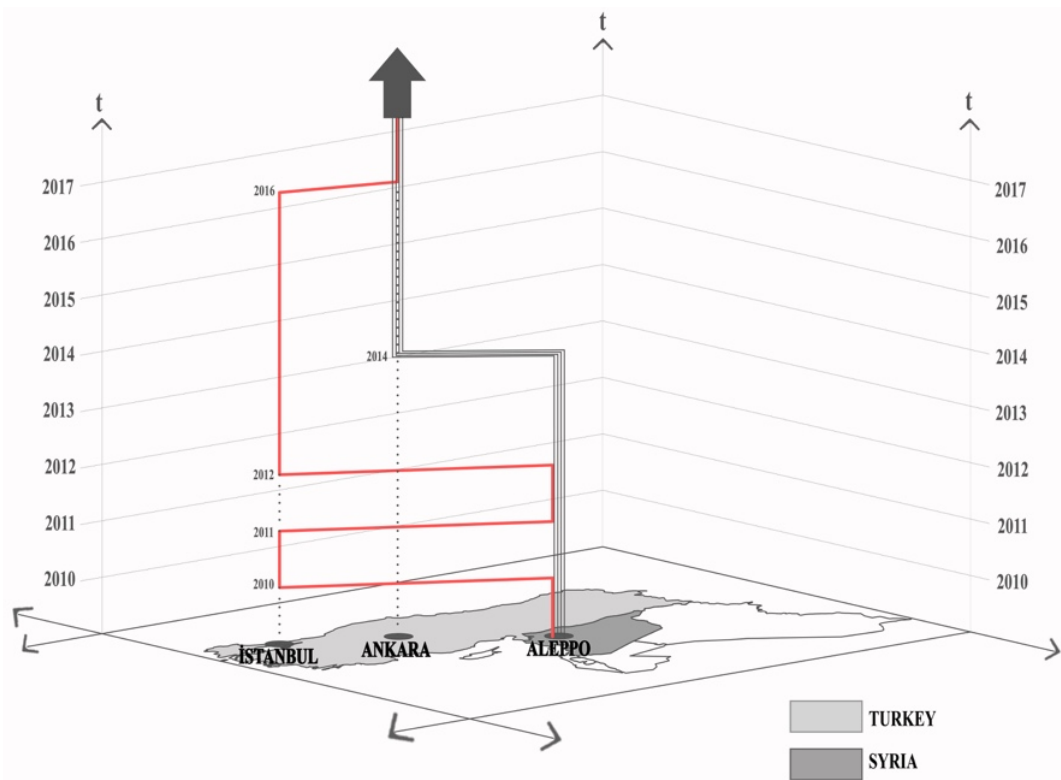


Figure 4.7. Time space-paths of pioneer person and other family members (Map is created within results of in-depth interviews with respondents 1, 2 and 8)

Years of arrivals of Syrians vary depending on their existing relations and networks with Turkey before the start of the Syrian civil war in 2011. It is seen that, the year of arrivals of some pioneers is before 2011 because they have been already in a relationship with Turkey before the war in Syria. However most of the pioneers' year of arrival is after 2011 with the aim of escaping from war and taking refuge in Turkey. For instance, respondent 8, pioneer person of the map in Figure 4.7., came to Turkey before 2011. It is because of his existing networks and familiarity with Turkey. If the time-space path of the respondent 8 is followed in Figure 4.7., it can be clearly seen that he came to İstanbul, Turkey in 2010. After 1 year later, he to turn back to Aleppo, Syria because he could not find an appropriate job in Turkey. One year later, he came back to İstanbul again. After a few attempts to find a job and to survive in Turkey, he was able to find a permanent job, he started to work as a translator in Anatolian News Agency (Anadolu Ajansı) which has been his place of work since then. His work is located in İstanbul but he had to travel other cities mostly to Ankara in the line of job. For this reason, he could make connections,

create networks and could be familiar with the working and living conditions in Ankara. In 2014, he invited other family members from Aleppo to Önder neighborhood even though his arrival year to Ankara is 2016 because of the work instatement. This example is an exception because the reason for arrival of pioneer person is not escaping from the civil war, which is most common reason, it is caused by existing relations and familiarities with Turkey.

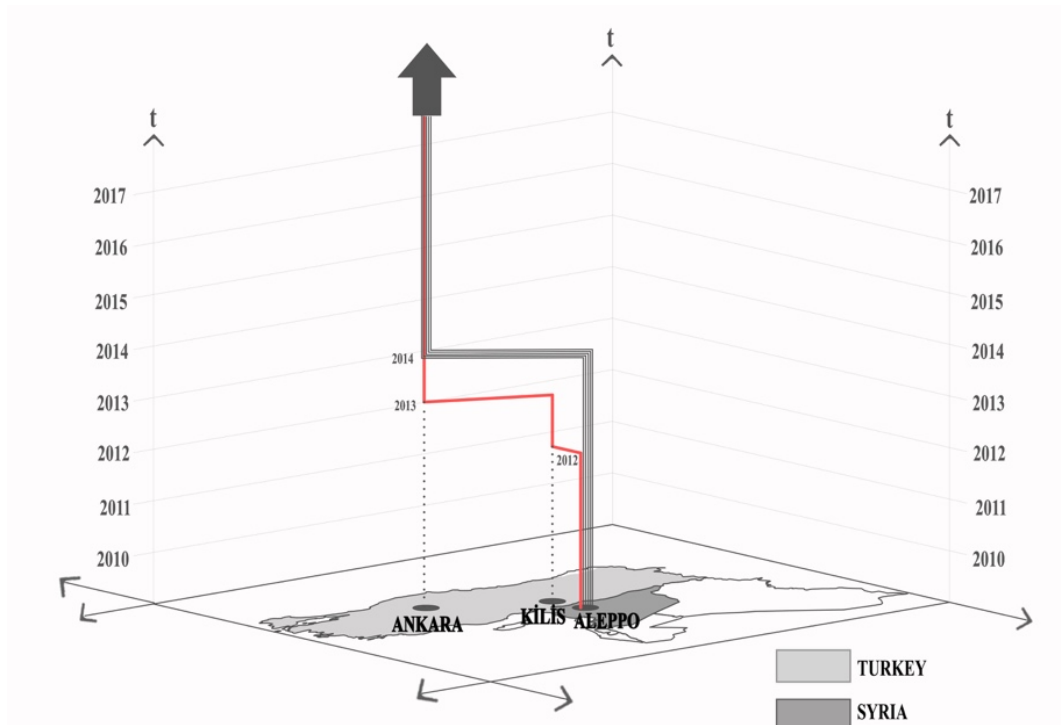


Figure 4.8. Map showing time space-paths of pioneer person and his/her family members (Map is created from in-depth interviews of respondents 12 and 13)

Most of the pioneers switched more than one city in Turkey and came to Ankara as a last stop, Önder neighborhood and nearby. Among all the Syrian interviewees living in the neighborhood including pioneers and others, there is only one pioneer who lived in a refugee camp in Kilis before arriving Ankara. As it can be seen in In Figure 4.8., Syrian pioneer crossed the border between Syria and Turkey, came to refugee camp in Kilis in 2012. He stayed in camp without other family members for 7 months. After that, he came to Ankara and invited his wife and children one year later. This gap year was for getting to know the neighborhood, finding a job and establishing relationship networks with both other Syrians and Turkish residents. In

that sense, this example is seen as another exception that is needed to be analysed separately from general migration patterns.

On the other side, invited relatives or other family members by pioneers mostly came in or after 2014. They mostly came to Önder neighborhood directly with the help of pioneers as crowded families. For this reason, the time-space paths of pioneers are more complicated singular and have more than one station while relatives, coming after, have more clear, one station-oriented and plural paths as seen in Maps. In that sense, there are also exceptions about arrival year of invited Syrians by pioneers. For instance, respondent 6 and her family have tried to live in Aleppo until March of 2017. Although the year of their arrival is not 2014 or 2015, other findings about this family are part of the general common pattern that they came in groups as crowded family of 11 people, they came to directly to the neighborhood in Ankara and their neighbors from Syria came before invited them.

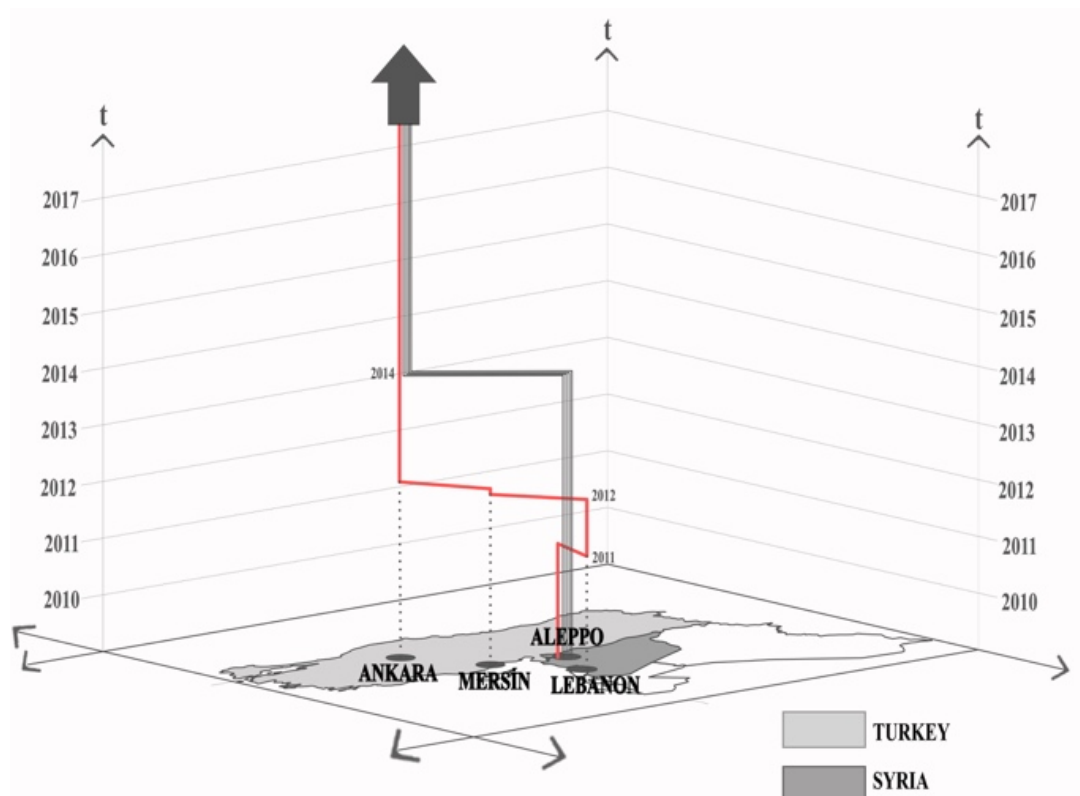


Figure 4.9 Time space-paths of two Syrian refugee families (Map is created within results of in-depth interviews with respondent 5)

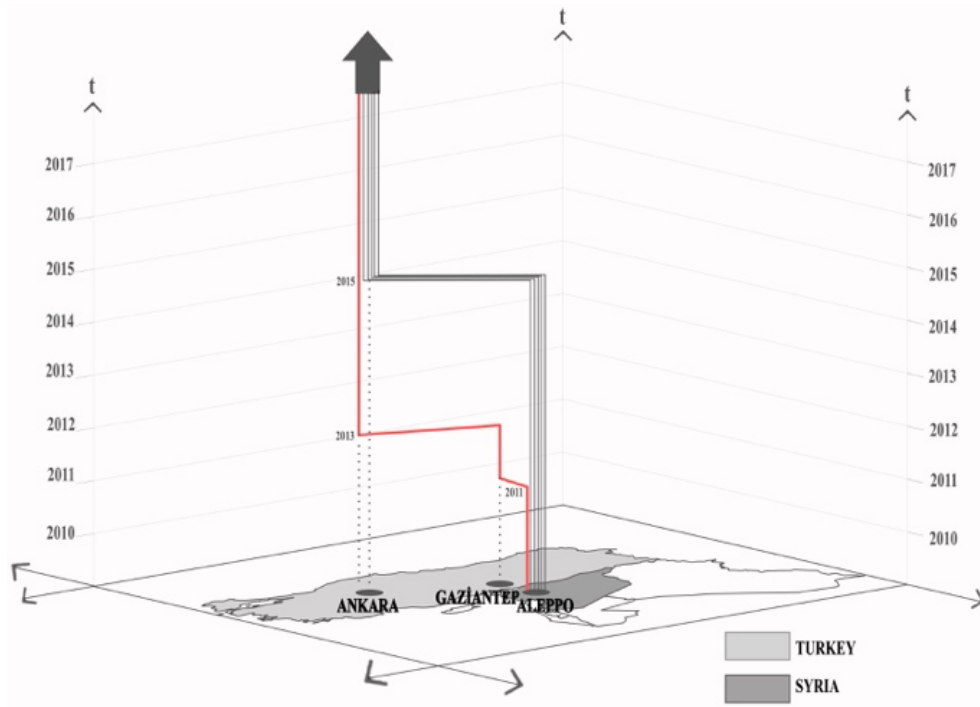


Figure 4.10 Time space-paths of two Syrian refugee families (Map is created within results of in-depth interviews with respondent 7)

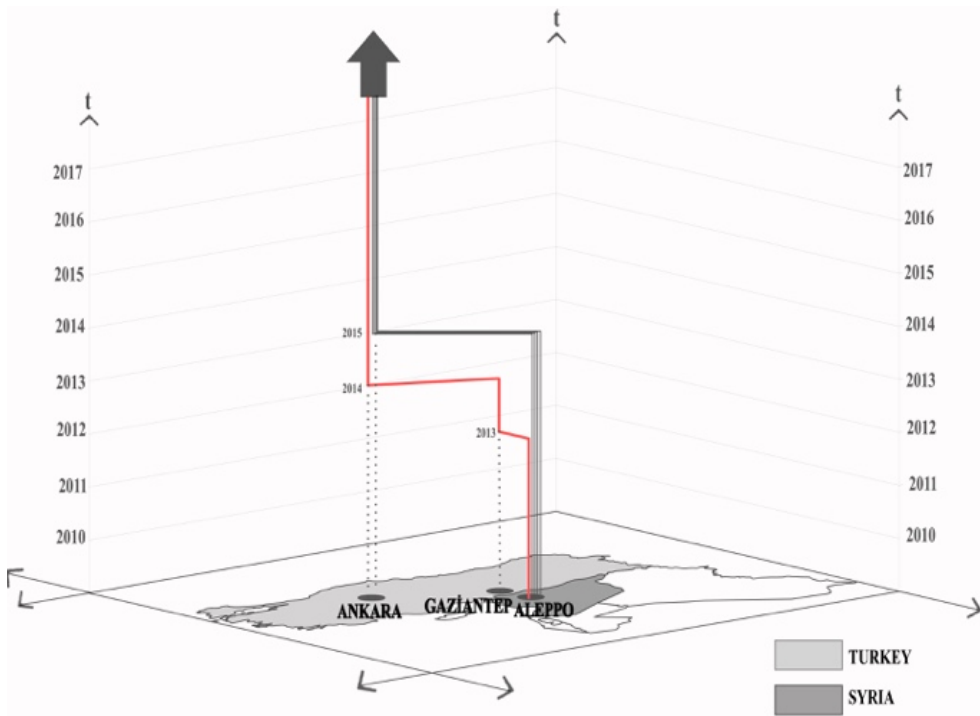


Figure 4.11 Time space-paths of two Syrian refugee families (Map is created within results of in-depth interviews with respondent 14)

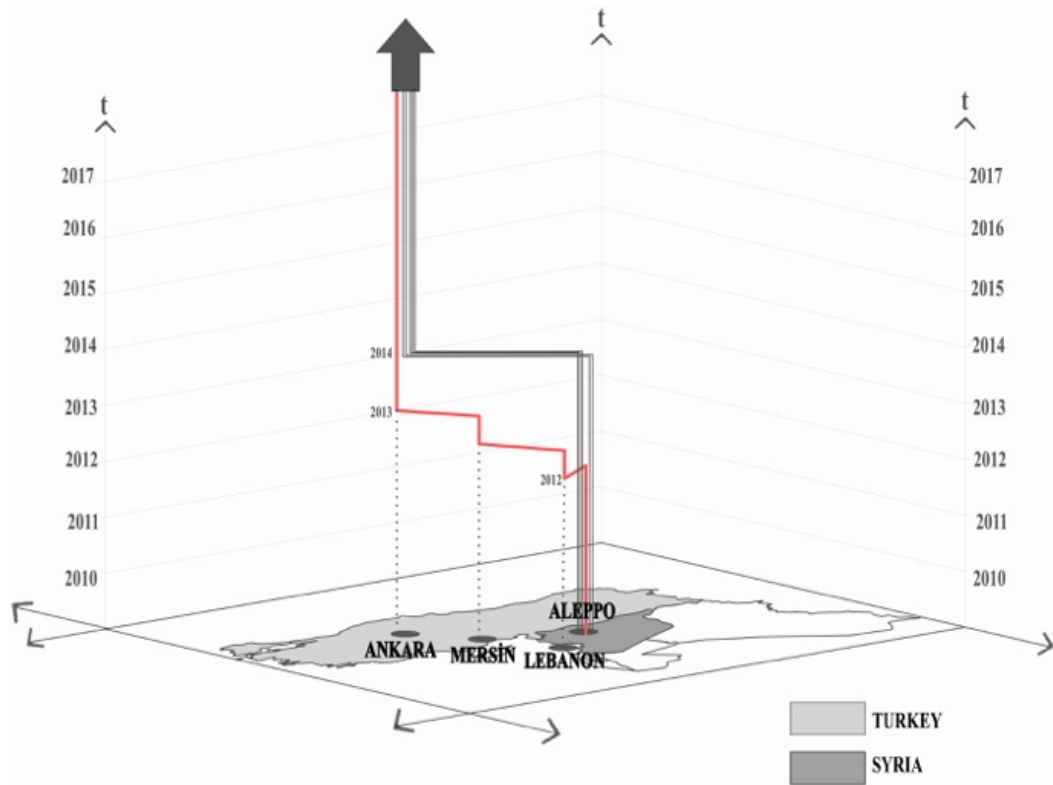


Figure 4.12 Time space-paths of two Syrian refugee families (Map is created within results of in-depth interviews with respondent 3)

These common patterns highlight an important outcome which is that migration story about both Syrian pioneers and others is kind of a typical migration pattern and there are some similarities between internal migration stories in Turkey. Pioneers get to know the area first before internal migration in between cities or rural-to-urban in Turkey. Families migrate near to their relatives and/or friends who migrated before or their migration would be with the help of their reference and assistance. Similarly, Syrian migration to Önder and surrounding neighborhoods in Ankara is kind of a planned migration. In other words, it doesn't happen suddenly and unprepared. It seems that refugee families are mostly informed about receiving country and society with the help of pioneers and they mostly have time to get prepared for migration. It can be also said that survival strategies in receiving country is already envisaged before migration. However, it is impossible to say that it is a general outcome containing all Syrian urban refugees in Turkey. But rather, this finding is specific to Önder neighborhood and its surroundings in Altındağ district, Ankara.

As a summary of level 1 analysis, first finding is that almost all Syrian urban refugees came from city of Aleppo and they have similar socio-economic and cultural backgrounds. Second, third and fourth findings are related to pioneer refugees, who came before. As it can be clearly seen that, pioneers are mostly young males, their years of arrivals change according to some variables explained above. Lastly, their time-geographic paths are singular, more complicated and have more than one stations. Most importantly, analyses in level 1 indicate that refugees were mostly informed about Turkey with the help of pioneers. Therefore this migration is not unprepared and sudden.

4.3. ANALYSIS OF THE DATA IN 2nd LEVEL

Second socio-spatial level is to understand Syrian urban refugees' housing backgrounds, how they move into the neighborhood and which factors enable them to settle. Base plane of time geographic maps of this level is zoomed in to Altındağ district -including Önder neighborhood and nearby neighborhoods such as Ulubey, Hacilar, Battalgazi, Karapürçek etc²³- from country scale in Level 1 maps.

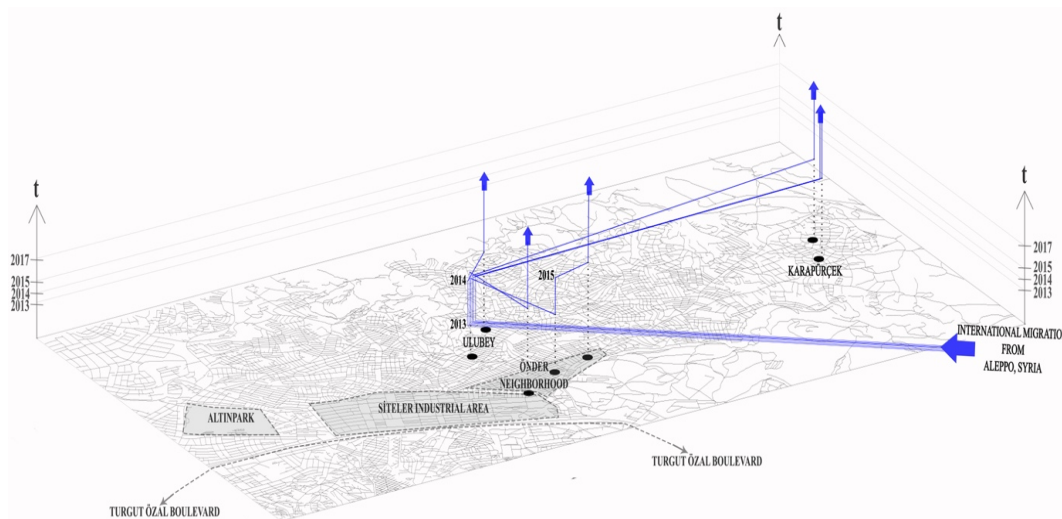


Figure 4.13 Time space-path of a Syrian refugee family (Map is created within results of in-depth interviews with respondent 3)

²³ Maps and information of Önder neighborhood and surrounding neighborhoods written above could be found in Chapter 2 in detailed.

As a reflection of common general findings about this level, time geographic dynamic maps are created. The map in Figure 4.12., under previous heading which analyses migration patterns in first level, and the following map in Figure 4.13 are both derived from in-depth interviews with respondent number 3 and his family. Figure 4.12 shows their arrival in 2014 after the pioneer member's arrival in 2013. As also mentioned in previous level, this Syrian family includes 25 people since most of the refugee families came from Aleppo to the neighborhood directly in crowded groups. After migration pattern of the family is seen in Figure 4.12 in previous level, Figure 4.13 indicates detailed settlement patterns of one Syrian family after their arrival to the zoomed in neighborhood.

As it can be clearly seen from the map in Figure 4.13 that they lived together in one apartment for one year after they arrived to the neighborhood in 2013. Then, they started to live separately after each could find his own apartment and have stable job to afford it. The area which is spanning different settlement locations of Syrian families isn't going beyond Önder neighborhood and nearby because the neighborhood is surrounded by gentrified neighborhoods such as Karapürçek, Başpınar, Aktaş/Doğantepe or Hüseyin Gazi which are transformation zones. These neighborhoods, in which new housing blocks replaced old ones, mostly contain more high rise apartment blocks with central heating instead of stove heating and have higher rent prices accordingly. Syrian refugees couldn't afford these type of apartments and they are kind of stuck in between these neighborhoods. Therefore, Önder neighborhood and surrounding neighborhoods are only one option for them to re/settle. In Figure 4.13 shows that their resettlement pattern in 2014. Most of them couldn't go further than Önder and nearby because of the reasons explained above.

However, there are also some exceptional cases where only limited number of Syrians can afford to pay for rent of this kind of new housing and they could move from Önder neighborhood to the neighborhoods which have such housing types. As it is seen Figure 4.13, two of 5 family members could move to Karapürçek. The possibility of moving from Önder neighborhood for Syrians depends on such factors as the amount of money that they bring from Syria, ability to use their existing professional skills in Turkey and to establish strong networks with both Turks and

other Syrians. The more they could bring cash money with, the more they could be richer and afford to pay higher rent prices. Bringing more cash money is also contingent upon preparedness and having more time in home country before migration because having enough time enables them to turn their properties into cash money so that they can bring with during migration. Secondly, using their existing professional skills in Turkey is also an important chance for Syrians other than bringing more cash money. For instance, respondent 3 and his father were pita makers (“pide” in Turkish) in Syria and they could open a pita restaurant in Turkey as well. Thus, this situation helps them to survive, get richer, afford to pay higher rents and move away from Önder neighborhood to other neighborhoods which have housing with higher rents. Even though the Syrian family with 25 members came from Aleppo with the same amount of money and at the same time, only respondent 3 and his father could move away from Önder neighborhood and nearby as also shown in Figure 4.13. It can be explained with the relation of the importance of being able to maintain and benefiting from existing professional skills. Lastly, creating strong relationships and networks with both Syrian and Turkish residents has huge impact on re/settlement choices. The questions such as what these networks are in between Turks and Syrians, and which roles and effects they have will be investigated within next level in detailed.

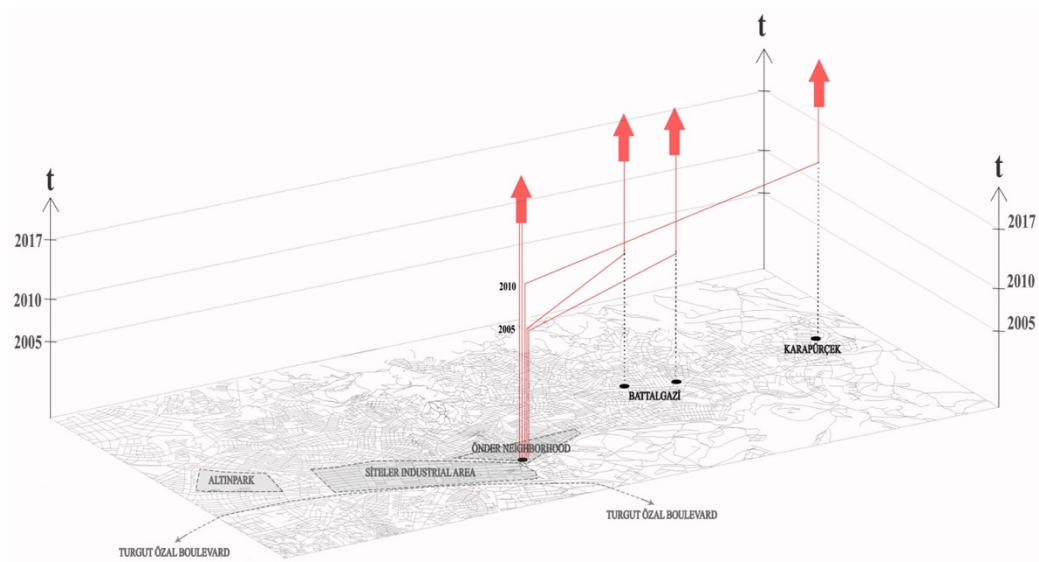


Figure 4.14 Map showing time space-path of a Turkish family (Map is created within results of in-depth interviews with respondent 7)

On the other side, Turkish families started to leave their houses and moved out from the Önder neighborhood. The most important reason for this relocation is the urban transformation operations that started in Altındağ in 2005. As Figure 4.14 clearly indicates, Önder neighborhood was affected by urban transformation decision especially after 2005 in which the year announced as “demolishment year” by Altındağ Municipality. The time geographic dynamic map shown in the Figure 4.14 was drawn with the help of in-depth interview with respondent 7. As the neighborhood is socially structured by internal and international migration waves, this Turkish family has also migrated from Bolu which is the city that emigrated to the Önder neighborhood most. The family lived in the same house till 2005. Related to that, Turkish interviewee 1 stated that:

Residents of Önder neighborhood have taken houses from other neighborhoods due to the fact that most of the houses in the neighborhood will be demolished due to urban transformation.

One example of overlapped residential backgrounds of the Syrian refugees and Turkish residents in and around the neighborhood can be seen in the map in Figure.3.9 which is created with interviews of respondent 3 shown in Figure 4.13. and respondent 7 indicated in the Figure 4.14. Turkish family rent a flat to Syrian in 2013 because 2013 is the year that urban transformation operations was started to run. 2015 is the year when demolishments started in the neighborhood. Accordingly, breaking points of time-geographic paths in the Figure 4.14 are happened in years of 2005, 2013 and 2015.

Syrian respondent 3 live together as 4 people with 2 children, a father and a mother in a three bedroom house in the Karapürçek neighborhood and they have a pita restaurant in the Önder neighborhood. Turkish respondent 7 He has been living in Karapürçek district for 7 years. He is an employer in Siteler area and also a contractor. Is married and have 2 children²⁴.

²⁴ Detailed information about each Turkish respondent and their families could be found in tables in Appendix 2 part and information of Syrian respondents are in Appendix 1.

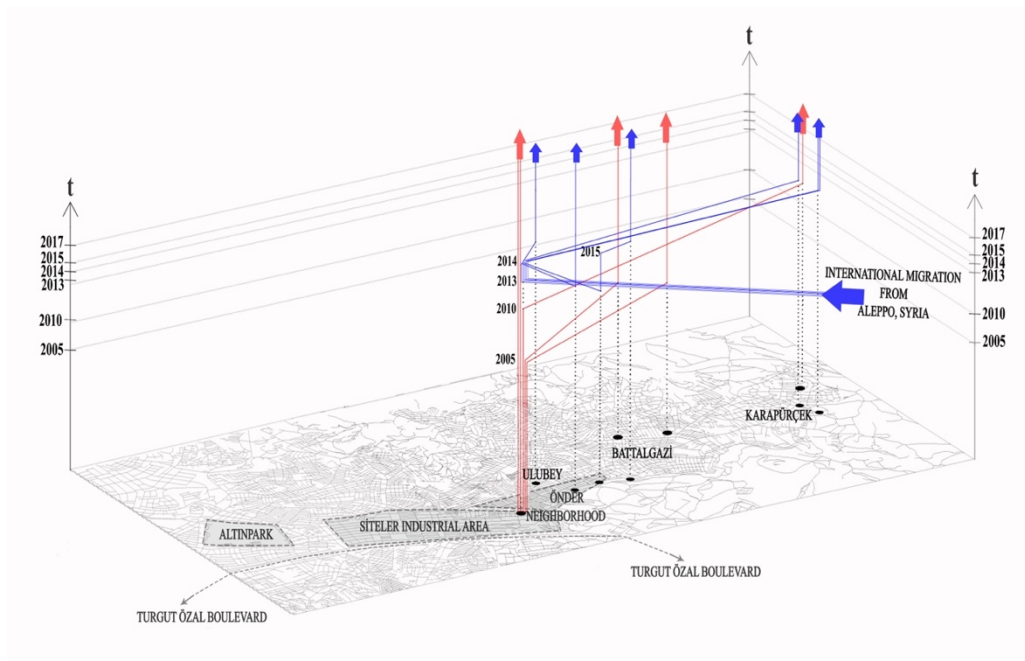


Figure 4.15. Intersection of time space-paths of a Turkish and a Syrian family (Map is created through results of in-depth interviews with Syrian respondent 3 and Turkish respondent 7)

In addition to these common findings, the most important factor, which causes the fact that Önder neighborhood and nearby have the highest number of Syrian urban refugees in Ankara compared to other districts and neighborhoods, is Syrians being settled to areas where Turkish residents have left. In more detail, Turkish residents have left their houses or moved out for the reason that most of housing areas – approximately one-thirds of the neighborhood have been demolished as the neighborhood is in transformation zone. Therefore old residents, who inhabited in the area that is announced to be demolished, had to leave their houses, move out and rent their vacant houses to Syrians. Therefore Syrian refugees benefit from this situation and fill the gap in the neighborhood.

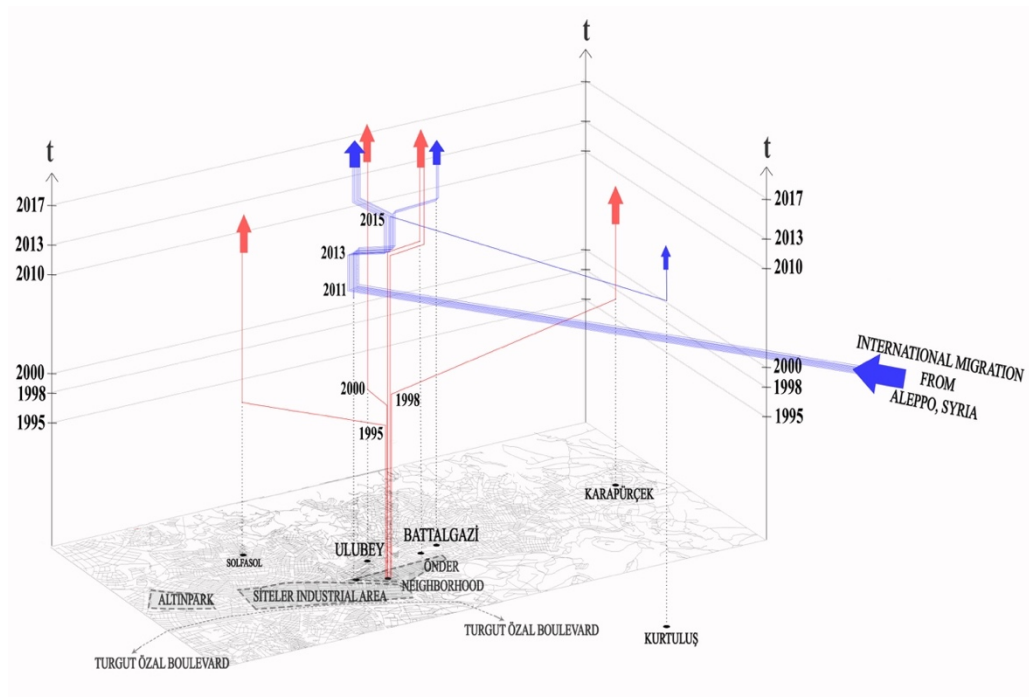


Figure 4.16 Map showing intersection of time space-paths of a Turkish and a Syrian family (Map is created through results of in-depth interviews with Syrian respondent 8 and Turkish respondent 13)

As an example, the Figure 4.16 indicates the intersection of housing backgrounds of another Turkish and Syrian families. The time geographic path of Turkish family is drawn as a result of in-depth interview of respondent 13 and the path of Syrian family is created with the help of interview of respondent 8. In relation with the important factor explained above, Turkish family left their houses that they lived by 2013 within the announcements of demolishments and rent it to Syrian family until it is demolished in 2015.

In a nutshell, this level is to show spatial representation of housing preferences of Syrian refugee families after their arrival to the neighborhood. In the framework of this level, main aim is trying to find out answers for questions such that; why Önder neighborhood and surroundings were selected in compared to other near neighborhoods or districts, which factors help them to settle and what are roles of Turkish residents and socio-spatial dynamics of the neighborhood for Syrians to accommodate.

4.4. ANALYSIS OF THE DATA IN 3rd LEVEL

Analyses of the fieldwork data in this level aim to understand daily life patterns of Syrian urban refugees and social networks between Syrians and Turks in the neighborhood through using such time geographic features as “path” and “bundle”. In other words, how old and new urban actors encounter within daily activities is investigated. Bundle refers to co-location at the same time and is helpful to comment on the intersections of social networks between Syrians and Turks. The base plane of time geographic maps of this level is more zoomed in to neighborhood than maps of level 2. The time of the maps is switched from year to hour in this level since the scale is zoomed neighborhood scale and the maps are representation of daily life patterns.

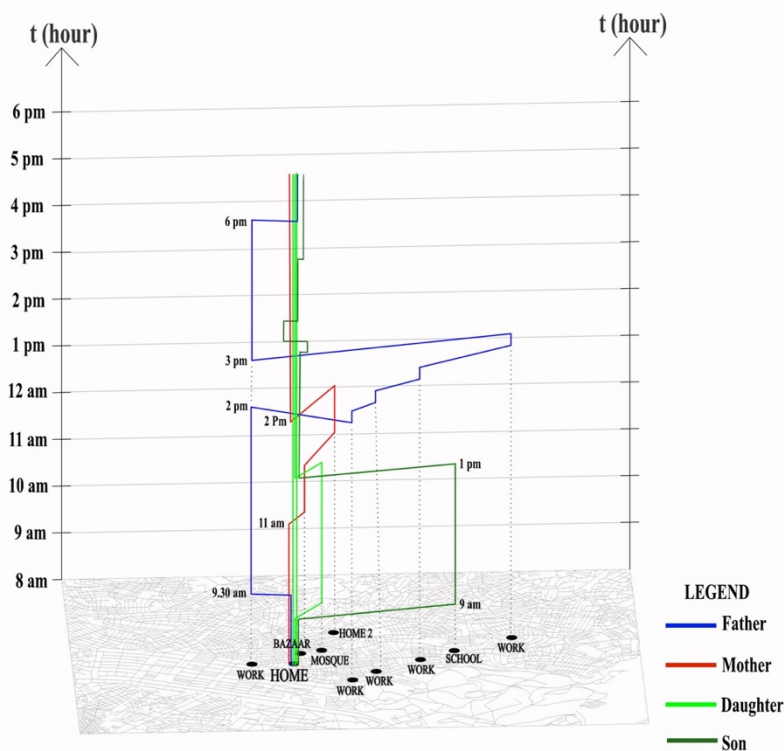


Figure 4.17 Daily life pattern of a Syrian family (Map is created with the help of interview with Syrian respondent 5)

To Begin with, daily activities of one Syrian family is observed through ethnographic observations and in-depth interviews. The map in the Figure 4.17 is a graphical

representation via time-geographic tools of Syrian respondent 5 and his family. They live together as 7 people with 5 children, a father and a mother in a three bedroom house in the Önder neighborhood and they have a greengrocery on the Selçuk Street in Önder neighborhood. This map is a generalized micro-level urban experience of a typical Syrian family in a weekday. In general, Syrian people do not often go beyond Önder neighborhood and nearby. Places outside the neighborhood that they mostly visit are for bureaucratic or legal purposes such as Provincial Directorate of Immigration (İl Göç İdaresi Müdürlüğü in Turkish) or Altındağ Municipality. Less frequently, they may go for a picnic as one of the interviewee's response.

Accordingly, father of the family goes to work if he has one. In this Figure, Syrian father works in one of the official aid associations which is Önder Foundation (Önder Vakfi in Turkish). He goes to the foundation in the morning and he usually visit other Syrian families in the neighborhood to give aid as a part of his job in a day as shown in between 2pm and 3pm in the Figure 4.17.

Syrian mothers mostly don't work and they usually have domestic roles in the family. They usually gather at homes²⁵. Therefore, neighborhood and kinship relations are important to prepare ground to socialize for them. Other than homes, a small number of them may prefer go outside for some reasons. For instance, they would go for grocery shopping from markets, for paying bills, to mosques for Quran course, to places where Turkish language courses are given, or to places in which have workshops, ateliers for women. Syrian women gather outside most for the reason that the informal bazaar which sets up in front of the bakery in which bread aid is distributed by municipality at 11am everyday Figure 4.18. This informal open market which has Turkish and Syrian sellers is also for both Turks and Syrians. It is the most effective place for Syrian women to gather and socialize with other neighborhood residents. Figure 4.17 shows the Syrian mother's two alternative

²⁵ As ethnographic study and interviews were conducted in between September of 2016 and March of 2017, there was no nice weather to gather outside like in recreational spaces. Accordingly, daily pattern of Syrians has been observed and result of the study has been evaluated in the framework of these conditions. Even though the reason for that Syrian woman don't spend time outside isn't that much related with the weather as in-depth-interviews and observations showed, this anecdote about the weather is needed to be noted.

socializing spaces which are another home of relative called home 2 in the map and the informal open bazaar. Other than that, she stays at home and have domestic duties such as managing the house, cooking, cleaning or taking care of children.



Figure 4.18 Temporary Informal Bazaar on the street

On the other hand, the way of experiencing the neighborhood in a daily manner of Syrian children also differs according to the gender. More specifically, girls mostly aren't allowed to go school while almost all of the Syrian boys go to school, instead they usually go to mosques for Quran course as seen in the Figure 4.17. Additionally, Syrian boys spend more time outside than Syrian girls as also shown in the map. These situation leads to the fact that Syrian boys speak Turkish language better than Syrian girls because they have more interaction with Turkish children than girls for the reason that they can have friends from school and they spend more time outside in a day.

Age can be seen as a distinctive factor among both Syrian boys and girls. Boys over a certain age would be forced to work instead of going school and being a student. Together with, girls over a certain age are expected to get married. In that sense, being over a certain age like over 13 or 14 means that the boy can work if needed. Older Syrian boys usually take the responsibility of bringing home the bread with their fathers because mothers mostly don't work. For instance, respondent 3 and respondent 4 have 15 and 17 years old working boys.

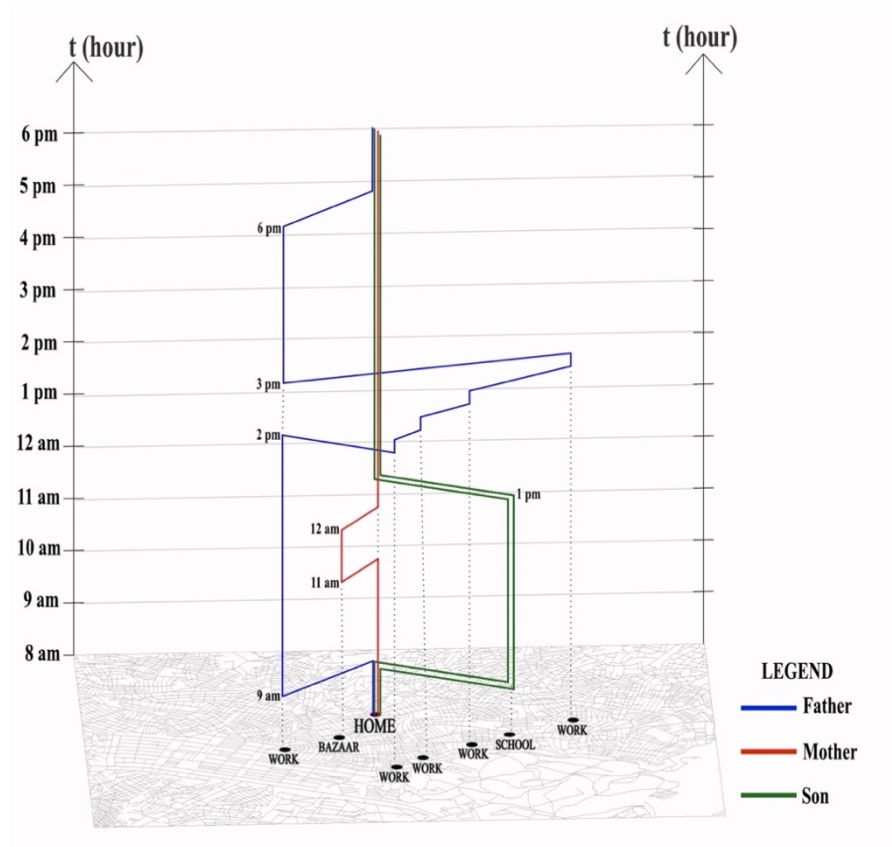


Figure 4.19 Daily life pattern of a Turkish family (Map is created with the help of interview with Turkish respondent 5)

In relation with the intersection of social networks between Syrian –as a new urban actor- and Turkish residents –as an old urban actor-, daily pattern of a Turkish family is investigated and showed in a generalized way through time geographic dynamic map in the Figure 4.18 with the help of Turkish respondent 5 and his family. This Turkish family has been selected for the purpose of showing intersections between Turkish and Syrian families. These two family has much in common such as fathers work in the same job, mothers have similar roles and experiences in a daily life and children go to same school. As it is clearly seen in the map that, father of the family goes to work in a weekday and he work in Önder Foundation which is the same with the job of father of the Syrian family. Turkish mother doesn't work, stays most of the time in the house and has domestic role like Syrian mother. Typically, Turkish children go to school and come back to home after school in a usual weekday as seen in Figure 4.20..



Figure 4.20 Turkish and Syrian children in the school

There are some intersections of social networks between Syrians and Turks in the neighborhood. These two urban actors mostly encounter for business purposes, aid/charity purposes or education purposes. Other than that, marriages between Syrian women and Turkish men is very common. Public spaces such as informal bazaar which is explained above, mosques for Quran course or solidarity centers enable them to come together. Since they live together in the district, neighborhood relationships are also important in the light of these encounters. This list can be extended in accordance with other neighborhoods or contexts. However, these are basically in common and special to Önder neighborhood.

Not only aims, places or actors of these intersections/encounters but also the scale and time period vary. Some of these encounters can be interpreted in daily life experiences and shown in neighborhood scale. In that sense, the time geographic dynamic map in the Figure 4.19, is created to understand and show overlapped social networks between Turks and Syrians in everyday life experiences. In the map, there is interference of daily life pattern of Syrian family which is investigated within the Figure 4.17 and Turkish family from the Figure 4.18 Some of the interventions, as listed above, can be followed in the map such as encounters for job purposes, for

education purposes, in public space like informal bazaar or neighborhood relationships. In more detail, fathers of these two families work in the same job, mothers gather in the informal open market and children are educated in the same school.

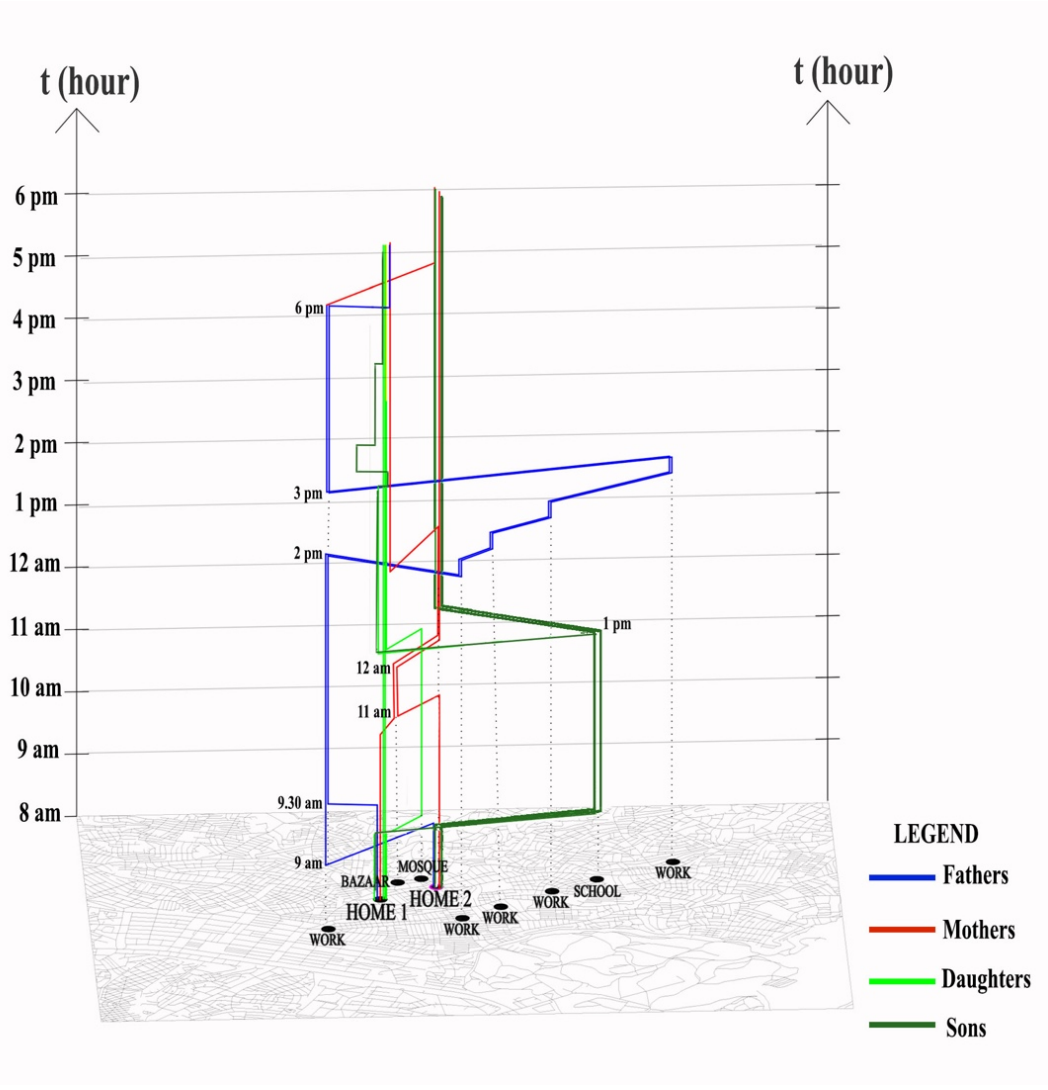


Figure 4.21 Intersection of daily life patterns of a Turkish and a Syrian family (Map is created through results of in-depth interviews with Syrian respondent 5 and Turkish respondent 5)

Moreover, the map represents encounters for aid or charity purposes as fathers work in Önder Foundation and visit both Syrian and Turkish families that need aid. In addition to informal charity or aid associations –numbers reaching 7 or 8-, there are some other illegal, named as underhanded and/or irregular aid entities and contacts

that are not possible shown in maps. For instance, some of the Turkish interviewees 2, 6, 8, 11 and 15, deal with aid activities for both Syrian refugees and Turkish residents with a few helpers. In this sense, the neighborhood is known as having the largest number of aid activities and zakat culture in the name of Islamic belief as Syrian respondent 8 and Turkish respondent 6 also state. Related to that, Turkish respondent stated that;

The most important reason for the Syrian refugees come to the Önder neighborhood is the higher number of aids. Employment opportunities in the Siteler Industrial Area is not that much effective because the people who come to the neighborhood are mostly poor and do not like to work.

As a summary in this level, micro-level urban scale experiences of Syrian residents in a daily life and intersections of networks between Turks and Syrians are investigated. It must be noted that it is difficult to reach general conclusions as the daily experience of each family is unique in many respects. Since there are different images under the general pattern. Findings are differentiated and specialized by gender and age. Each family member and each child with different age is experiencing the neighborhood in a daily manner. Furthermore, this level is also to search for intersections and encounters between Syrian and Turkish. Overlapped social networks and encounters are analyzed and shown through time-geographic dynamic maps.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

It is certainly true that the issue of Syrian refugees in Turkey has mostly been discussed within the framework of international policies, integration or humanitarian issues, namely mostly as a matter of survival for the refugees. Together with the increasing number of refugees living in cities rather than refugee camps, tent or container cities, the term called “urban refugee” has gained importance. Consequently, the term “urban refugee” has been a part of urban studies and planning because it is interrelated with the urban environment. However, there is a lack of researches about Syrian urban refugees within urban studies and planning discipline. In that sense, this research investigates Syrian urban refugees through urban studies in response to the lack of relevant studies.

Accordingly, Önder neighborhood has been undergoing a radical transformation process of spatial, social and economic change. In this change, Syrian urban refugees as the new urban actors have become the most influential factor in this transformation of the neighborhood. Thus, this transition process in the neighborhood should be taken up in a holistic approach with all related factors including Syrian urban refugee issue. In this sense, the in-depth interviews conducted within the scope of this thesis and the analysis of the results of field investigations have great importance.

Physically, the neighborhood was declared as an urban transformation area in 2013, followed by mass destruction under the name of urban transformation activities in 2015. In July of 2015, approximately one thirds of the total area of the neighborhood was demolished. The remains of demolished houses are still visible as a huge pile of rubble since no agreement has been reached between the concerned parties for the new project. Therefore, the population that is affected by this demolition had to move out to nearby or distant neighborhoods.

In the sense that these former urban actors have been forced to find new habitats for themselves, there are two types of displacement that are interpreted according to interview results. First one, those with higher socio-economic status prefer to settle new houses built and gentrified within urban transformation activities in close neighborhoods or they move to more distant neighborhood such as Keçiören or Pursaklar. Secondly, old residents whose socio-economic situation is not good enough, have settled in places like Önder, Ulubey or Hacılar. These neighborhoods are in between the gentrified areas that have higher rents more difficult to afford and surrounding the Önder neighborhood as a ring. Additionally, most of these neighborhoods are relatively inexpensive neighborhoods that are still in the process of demolition or under construction.

In case of examining the closest neighborhoods that are the shelter for the first type of displacement explained above; urban transformation efforts have been intensified by the decision of the municipality, especially after 2005 in just the same way as Önder neighborhood. However, contrary to the work in the Önder neighborhood, nearby neighborhoods like Karapürçek and Battalgazi have not only been destroyed but also hosted new projects. In other words, it can be said that urban transformation activities started rapidly in the Önder district but could not be completed in 2 years, while urban transformation activities in the near neighborhoods have progressed rapidly and completed.

The socio-spatial and economic repercussions of this physical change have also been mentioned. The neighborhood has lost population in the years for the reason that those who have higher socio-economic status, move to areas where urban transformation has been completed or because near the half of the neighborhood is in ruins²⁶. In this sense, it would not be wrong to make a neighborhood "ghost town" analogy. As mentioned in the analysis of in-depth interviews, Syrian refugees have benefited from the gap created by this transition period in the neighborhood and this transition period has made it easier for them to settle, adapt, and survive in the neighborhood. Turkish households, who own houses in the urban transformation area

²⁶ It is the information obtained as a result of the conversation with the neighborhood mukhtar and the Municipality of Altındağ.

and know that they will be demolished, have rent their homes to Syrian refugees at a higher prices than their current values. When viewed from this aspect, the main reason for preferring the Syrian refugee's Önder neighborhood is the transitional period that emerges in the neighborhood as a result of urban transformation.

The socio-spatial change that began with the urban transformation, apart from the refugees, was further enhanced by the arrival of Syrian refugees. Although Önder neighborhood is a neighborhood that is nourished by internal and external migrations throughout its history, it had a relatively homogeneous structure in itself before the arrival of Syrian refugees. However social dynamics have changed with the arrival of the Syrians. New relationships and solidarity networks that have been established have caused the neighborhood to change not only physically but also socially. For this reason, the relationship and solidarity networks between Syrian refugees and Turkish neighborhood residents have been analyzed in this thesis.

5.1 CRITIQUES AND EVALUATION RELATED TO TIME GEOGRAPHY METHOD FROM CURRENT PERSPECTIVE

Time geographic methods were used in the analysis of in-depth interviews and ethnographic observations in the field studies under the thesis. Time-geographic method, which is quite effective in terms of understanding the spatio-temporal structured human behaviour, has some weaknesses as well as many contributions in terms of directing the research. Related to contributions, it has been quite useful in interpreting immigration research, social networks, solidarity relations through the space-time phenomenon and their graphical representation. The most used time-geographic terms, path and bundle, were quite helpful guides to analyze both the migration stories of Syrian refugees and the points and years at which their paths intersected with the Turks.

However, it is necessary to emphasize the missing side of time-geography. First of all, Hagerstrand's time geography is missing in the data-rich environment, in other words, under the influence of the advancement of information and communication technology. In fact, today's evolving technology has revolutionized the origin of the

time geography. Because geographic visualization is now applied to a data-rich environment and it has been lifted up by today's geovisualization techniques. As an example, Nannan He introducing an creation of Annotated-Space-Time-Path (ASTP) to combine the traditional space-time path and many forms of annotations (photo, drawing, text, map, sound and video) together. This extended space-time path improves the understanding of the event and clarifies the nature of displayed space-time path (Ma, 2011).

In the sense of visualization, time geographic methods have evolved and considered as up to date. However, the content makes Hagerstrand's time geography out of date. In olden times, time and space are the only reference or measurement in the meaning of the examination of human activities. But in today's world, time geography is outdated because people's interaction no longer revolves around only the framework of time and space phenomenon. Now there is a bunch of virtual activities such as online shopping or social networking. Accordingly human activities and behavior would not only conduct in physical space but also in virtual space. In that sense, origin of the time geography couldn't meet demonstration and analysis of virtual activities of today's world.

In this research, when the social networks of Syrians between the Turks and themselves are examined, most of these networks are created via virtual space as social networks transit from physical space to virtual space over the past years. For instance, there are Facebook and Whatsapp groups where the Syrians share information they need while living in Turkey as respondent 13 states. The purpose of both these two social networking groups is to strengthen the solidarity among the Syrians living in Turkey. Some informative videos are being filmed and posted in the Facebook group, such as where the taxpayer is charged, where the bill is paid, how to apply for an ID card, etc. Such types of virtually solidarity and relationship networks can not be analyzed and interpreted through time geographic maps. Not only the Syrians in the neighborhood but also the Turks in the neighborhood have social dynamics which can not be seen in the physical space but can only be captured in the virtual space. For instance, on July of 2016 there was an attempt to lynch

Syrian shops in the neighborhood. And the calls for the uprising and gathering for this lynch attempt were also made on Facebook²⁷.

In this sense, discussions of literature on time geography concept in understanding and analysing social networks in both physical and virtual space will not be wrong. This is because time geography is only able to interpret human activities and social networks in physical space and it is considered insufficient to analyze the social relations and solidarity networks that take place in virtual space. For this reason, the evolution of time geographic methods is necessary not only in visualization but also in content. Moreover, not only analyzes of the relationships and solidarity networks that occur in the physical space done through time geographic maps, but also those that occur in the virtual space should be added as a footnote. In other words, the analysis should be further elaborated beyond the maps shown and the virtual space findings should also be added to the analysis and findings just as it is done in this thesis research.

5.2 SYRIAN URBAN REFUGEES BEING PERMANENT IN THE ÖNDER NEIGHBORHOOD

To begin with, it is necessary to explain that the findings of the fieldwork are the result of the concern about the permanence of the Syrian refugees. In fact, we see that the Syrians, who are under temporary protection status in Turkey, tend to be permanent because of some reasons. Even though this is not the case for all Syrian refugees in every city of the Turkey, it is a fact in the case of Önder neighborhood in Altındağ district of the city of Ankara. This result was obtained by analyses about Syrian urban refugees in the neighborhood through time geographic dynamic maps in 3 specific urban level which were previously explained. In more detail, it is seen in Level 1 scale; the migration isn't an unprepared process for most Syrian refugees coming to the Önder neighborhood because most of them have preliminary information about the country and the neighborhood before they emigrate to Turkey. It is not necessary to return immediately from the country because there is no

²⁷ This example was given on the statement of respondent 10 as a result of the in-depth interview.

unprepared migration . Additionally, survival strategies of the followers are also pre-set with the reference of the pioneers, that ease adaptation process. These results, which are raised from the analyses in first Level , increases the likelihood of Syrian refugees being permanent.

In level 2 analyses, it is seen that the majority of the Syrian refugees came directly from Syria's Aleppo to Ankara's Önder neighborhood and its nearby areas. Refugees do not prefer other cities of Turkey or other neighborhoods / districts of Ankara, but their direct access to the Önder neighborhood and its surroundings would be explained through that they have settled in the gap that arises from the neighborhood is being in transitional period as mentioned before. Refugees were easily able to fill the gap of the search for tenants caused by urban transformation. And the fact that this urban regeneration process progressed more slowly in the neighborhood than in other neighborhoods has also helped for Syrian refugees to be settled down. It seems that, the neighborhood, which has been demolished two years ago but has not yet passed the project stage, has many more years of restructuring with urban transformation. If refugees can take advantage of this process and use these years to settle in the neighborhood, it will increase the likelihood of being permanent. Accordingly, the findings at this level are also supportive of the idea that Syrian refugees would be permanent in the neighborhood.

According to the analysis of level 3, which is the latest level, it is seen that each Syrian family member can experience the neighborhood when micro-scale everyday experiences are analyzed. The experience of both Turkish and Syrian children going to school and the fact that their fathers are going to work means that the refugees are settled in the neighborhood. Moreover, there are similarities between daily life patterns of Syrian and Turkish families in this level. This can be considered as a sign that the solidarity and networks between them and the Turks are getting stronger. These stronger social networks have the potential to increase their desire to stay organized and permanent in the neighborhood.

As a result, it is seen as a common result of the analysis of these 3 levels, the majority of Syrian urban refugees are in a permanent situation in the neighborhood, with the

fact that there are exceptional and few number of refugees which seek to return when the war is over and the situation in their country is normal. Special to Önder neighborhood, they will be permanent as long as there is no such change as gentrification or until it will happen. However, due to the transition phase of the Önder neighborhood urban transformation process, the socio-spatial situation of the refugees and the neighborhood will change according to the new housing pattern to be produced in the destroyed areas. In this sense, the main question of the research is not on researching urban transformation. However, the phenomenon of urban transformation emerged unintentionally and unexpectedly as a result of field analysis and researches.

5.3 URBAN TRANSFORMATION AND THE FUTURE OF THE ÖNDER NEIGHBORHOOD

The new housing types to be produced in Önder neighbourhood will most likely be parallel to the concept of completed projects in the previously mentioned urban transformation areas surrounding Önder neighborhood or other urban transformation projects in Turkey. As also discussed in the urban literature; urban transformation projects implemented have caused significant changes in socio-spatial structure in Turkey and mostly resulting in displacement and urban fragmentation (Türkün, 2014). In other words, mandatory transformations that increase the quality of life of the urban population have replaced with policies that separate disadvantaged social classes in the urban space and arranging the division of rents in cities in favor of large capital.

As it is known fact that, urban transformation practices lead to a significant increase in rents in urban land and initiate new investments in the construction sector. On the other hand, these income and rent increases usually make use of the middle and upper income groups of society and the low income segments of society are being evacuated and excluded from the places where these investments concentrate. In fact, urban transformation projects should not obligate people to leave out of their own will, but unfortunately this is not the case in Turkey. It isn't wrong to say that these discussions deepen socio-spatial divisions in almost all cities.

In addition to the socio-spatial results caused by urban transformation projects, gentrification is another focus of debates on urban transformation in Turkey. Gentrification is generally defined as the change in the real estate value of the property and indirectly the living profile through the settlement of the middle class to the neighborhoods inhabited by the working class. Most of the urban transformation projects function as a means of raising rents and their rationale is based on opening a specific place to upper income groups or tourists. In sum, urban transformation projects are stimulating processes of displacement or evacuation while providing spatial recovery in selected areas of the city because a large proportion of those who live in demolished dwellings have to leave the areas where they once lived. According to some researches, when friends, relatives and families move out, solidarity associations weaken and over time other people leave their old neighborhoods.

This typical urban transformation approach of Turkey, explained in detailed above, have also been experienced and it will continue to be experienced in Önder neighborhood. With the beginning of the demolition announcements in 2013, the former residents of the Önder neighborhood left the neighborhood and the neighborhood have faced to rapid loss of population. When the relocation started from the old neighborhood, old residents, whose family, friends or relatives also move out, began to leave the neighborhood as well. Consequently, the solidarity relations between the Turks weakened. In response, Syrian refugees have settled in these gaps as explained before. However, as the demolitions began in July of 2015, few Turkish and many Syrian refugee families that were left in the area were also displaced. They found places to accomodate in the nearby neighborhoods and in the houses of the Önder neighborhood that have not yet been demolished. In other words, the urban transformation in the Önder neighborhood has displaced both the Syrians and the Turks.

What will be the future of the Önder neighborhood if new urban transformation projects are implemented? The answer to this question will be the same as the typical urban transformation projects in Turkey and the socio-spatial outcomes that are

briefly summarized above. The existing residents including majority of Syrians and minority of Turks, will be displaced again just as in 2015. The new projects will most likely lead to an increase in rents on the urban land in the neighborhood and will increase investment in the construction sector. From this increase, as is usually the case, the middle and upper income groups of the community will benefit, and the low-income segments of the locality will be evicted and excluded from the places where these investments concentrate. Consequently, the living profile of the neighborhood will change accordingly.

Another question is that, how will the Syrian refugees, who will be displaced again, be affected by these projects and the transformation in the neighborhood? The answer to this question can be interpreted based on the networks of Syrian refugees in the neighborhood. Although the Syrian refugees in the neighborhood have include exceptional differences, they have a homogeneous structure. This is because the socio-economic status and other characteristics of them are very similar. And because of this homogeneity, solidarity and trust networks are strong accordingly. However, in the time, heterogeneity among Syrian refugees has started to be observed. There are some Syrian refugees who have been enriched with the help of some factors mentioned in previous chapters and who raise the socio-economic status. Regarding this, some of the Syrian interviewees criticise that there are some Syrian refugees who are enriched in informal and unethical ways. For instance, according to statements of some Syrian respondents, it is alleged that one Syrian bought a car for himself just with the help of aids or one Syrian sold the house which is rented from Turkish landlords to another Syrian.

New projects could highlight this newly emerging heterogeneity among the Syrians and affect the solidarity relationships between them negatively. As a result, unity and solidarity among the Syrian refugees in the neighborhood can be harmed. Or with another alternative scenario, if the solidarity between the Syrians as a disadvantaged group victimized by this urban transformation is further strengthened, uprisings or revolts can be experienced. Perhaps the Turks and the Syrians, who have suffered the victimization of the transformation in the neighborhood, can unite for a common purpose and develop a different network of solidarity or cooperation.

The search for a new place to live of the displaced Syrians will vary depending on a number of factors. First of all, refugees with better socio-economic status will probably not have the same preference with low income refugees. Enriched refugees may continue to live in the neighborhood by affording new houses. Another factor that affects this spread of displaced Syrian urban refugees is their jobs and businesses. While the refugees who have a temporary jobs can move to other areas, districts or other cities, those who have a permanent jobs like running their own workplace, will not be able to go far away from the neighborhood.

Another important factor affecting asylum preferences is social networks. In that sense, having reference from pioneer person will be effective just as it has huge impact on preferring Önder neighborhood. It will be easier to choose places to live in, with the help of relatives, acquaintances or friends in cities. Solidarity and relationship networks established with Turks while living in Turkey in time will also be effective in this sense. Because of the transformation in the Önder neighborhood, the Syrians who live there are aware of the fact that the houses they live in are going to be destroyed. Regarding this, it is possible to hear the statement "We are here until demolished" from both Turkish and Syrian neighborhoods. For this reason, they have begun to investigate their back-up plans while living in the neighborhood and have begun to establish necessary networks to enable them while resettlement.

5.4 PROJECT PROPOSALS INTEGRATED WITH SYRIAN URBAN REFUGEES

As mentioned above, the urban transformation project that will be produced in the Önder neighborhood is likely to be similar to the typical urban transformation project examples in Turkey and as a result it is very likely that both Syrian and Turkish neighborhoods will face the consequences of displacement and socio-spatial diversification. However, it is also possible to create project proposals that can be integrated with Syrian refugees for the neighborhood since the neighborhood is in the process of demolition and has not yet developed a project. In that sense, there are

many housing projects for refugees all over the world²⁸. As a result of the evaluation of these projects, social integration is the most important factor that should be considered for the proposals that can be made for Önder neighborhood. There are already prejudices, false thoughts, disagreements and jealousy against the Syrians in the neighborhood. For instance, according to the common discourse of Turkish respondents 10, 11 and 12, The rate of aid to the local Turks has been halved since it was being transferred to the Syrians. Respondent 11 says:

Almost all our neighbors are Syrian. They are rude, filthy and they don't live according to our proprieties. At first, they did not bother because they had few numbers and they were afraid of the Turks. But now, they are thoroughly rude. Syrian men go out on the streets with athletes and they smoke shisha on the street. That is why we can not even go out on our balconies. We are disturbed and very uncomfortable.

In-depth interviews include many similar statements. In this sense, if the housing project is only for the refugees, the negative reaction will further increase accordingly. And at the same time, it will not be different from the refugee camps in this way, and it will bring about the possibility of ghettoization. For this reason, the main purpose of the projects should not only to accommodate a large number of Syrian refugees in the neighborhood, but also to incorporate Turks, who are also likely to be displaced from the neighborhood due to urban transformation, into the project and recommend socially integrated projects. Breaking the prejudice and ensuring integration must be fundamental. In this sense, generating a variety of spaces is necessary for social interaction.

When applied projects based on housing and integration issues are examined, a wide range of community organization and integration has brought key goals and success to the projects. Even if there is a reaction against the refugees at the beginning in

²⁸ Examples from World Habitat Awards including U Focularu: The Home Village (Italy, 2006 Finalist), Rental Mediation Programme (Spain, 2011 Finalist) and Urban Shelter Project (Jordan, 2016 Finalist) are investigated.

such a project to be formed in the Önder district, the social integration created over time will have a positive effect between the refugees and the whole community, as well as those who live. For example, in the "U Focularu: the Home Village" project, which is also known as "Asylum Island" in Italy, the local community has been involved throughout the process, providing initial assistance to the refugee families involved in cultural activities and playing a fundamental role in the social integration of the families.

In addition to seeing housing as an integration infrastructure, there are also some social considerations that should not be overlooked in recommending a projects, such as employment opportunities, schooling or community interaction. When these social factors are considered, the places that Turks and Syrians encounter with each other such as mosques, informal bazaars or places where Turkish courses are given have already formed spontaneously in the neighborhood as also analyses of the fieldwork indicated. Apart from that, in terms of employment opportunities, the neighborhood is close to Siteler, or the presence of Syrian shops suggests that this is possible. In this case, it is also a fact that the Syrians are actually settled in the neighborhood and they can adapt and establish their own structures. Apart from this, the workshops that will provide the interaction as it is done in the examples or enhancement of job opportunities for the Turks and the Syrians provided by the state can be increased in terms of financial and social sustainability of the neighborhood.

Budgeting and implementation of projects is another important issue. When examining the examples in this sense, it is seen that the role and the contribution of local and central administrations is quite important. The cooperation of NGOs and volunteers also plays an important role in the application of projects. In addition to these, it is also possible to find international funds like European Union funds.

The new urban regeneration projects can be further elaborated in addition to these mentioned issues. And, as a result, it is seen in the examined examples that; reducing funding barriers, creating socially integrated places instead of segregated residential communities for both Syrian urban refugees and Turkish residents is possible. It should be possible for the urban transformation projects to be produced in the Önder

district to be community-led housing projects rather than being government-led or money-focused.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

SYRIAN INTERVIEWEES

HOUSEHOLD NUMBERS	GENERAL INFORMATION	INFORMATION FOR TIME GEOGRAPHY
<p>NO.1 March 1 2017, Wednesday Male</p>	<p>* They live together as 7 people with 5 children, a father and a mother in a three bedroom house in the Önder neighborhood. They pay 300 Turkish Liras monthly rent. * Father works at Önder Foundation for 800 TL per month and mother is not working. Since the children are not in the age to work, he is the only one who works in the house. *He had a shop in the selling motorcycle parts while they were in Syria. *All know Turkish.</p>	<p>*They came as 10 people directly to Önder neighborhood from Aleppo 3 and a half years ago by road. *They have stayed in different houses in the Önder district since they arrived. Now the house they live in is their 3rd house. *Their older brother came to the neighborhood 1 year ago. After he settled, he invite other family members.</p>
<p>NO.2 1 March 2017, Wednesday Female</p>	<p>* They live together as 3 people with 2 children and a mother in a three bedroom house in the Battalgazi neighborhood. They pay 250 Turkish Liras monthly rent. *Mother works as a translator in the vaccination department of the health center established to provide services to Syrians for 2000 Turkish Liras per month. Since the children are not in the age to work, he is the only one who works in the house. *She was not working when they were in the Syria. *All know Turkish.</p>	<p>*They came as 10 people directly to Önder neighborhood from Aleppo 3 and a half years ago by road * When they first arrived, they stayed together in one apartment in the Önder neighborhood. Then they seperated houses. * Their older brother came to the neighborhood 1 year ago. After he settled, he invite other family members.</p>

<p>NO.3 2 March 2017, Thursday Male</p>	<p>* They live together as 4 people with 2 children, a father and a mother in a three bedroom house in the Karapürçek neighborhood. They pay 400 Turkish Liras monthly rent. * They have a pita restaurant in the Önder neighborhood, where he runs with his father. The restaurant is quite spacious and the rent is monthly 1500 TL. As soon as they arrived to Turkey, they could open the shop. *Father is the only one who works in the household. *Father of the family was accountant and his father was pita maker in Syria. * He speaks Turkish and English is at a very low level. (Due to small number of the Turkish customers arriving at the restaurant, he has not learned much in Turkish)</p>	<p>*They came as 25 people to Önder neighborhood from Aleppo 3 years ago. They traveled from Aleppo to Lebanon, then from there to Mersin via sea route and then to Ankara by road. * When they first arrived, they stayed together in one apartment in the Ulubey neighborhood. Then they seperated houses. *Their relatives who came there before them invited, they lived together for 2 weeks when they first arrived to Ankara.</p>
<p>NO.4 2 March 2017, Thursday Male</p>	<p>* They live together as 3 people with 2 children and a father in a three bedroom house in the Önder neighborhood. They pay 400 Turkish Liras monthly rent. *They have a coffee shop on the Selçuk Street in Önder neighborhood. The rent of the shop is monthly 300 Turkish Liras. He opened the shop 1 year after he arrived to Ankara. Since the children are not in the age to work, he is the only one who works in the house. *He was insurer in Syria. *He does not know Turkish.</p>	<p>*They came as 3 people directly to Önder neighborhood from Aleppo 4 years ago by road * First the neighbors of them in Syria came, then they came with the help of reference of the neighbors. *Where they have lived since they arrived and settlement patterns until today is unknown.</p>
<p>NO.5 2 March 2017, Thursday Male</p>	<p>* They live together as 7 people with 5 children, a father and a mother in a three bedroom house in the Önder neighborhood. They pay 450 Turkish Liras monthly rent. *They have a greengrocery on the Selçuk Street in Önder neighborhood.</p>	<p>*Two years ago, they came from Aleppo to Ankara as 14 brothers, brothers' wives and their children.</p>

	<p>The restaurant is quite spacious and the rent is 2500 TL. Since the children are not in the age to work, he is the only one who works in the household.</p> <p>*Father was vegetable wholesaler in Syria.</p> <p>*He speaks a little Turkish.</p>	<p>*First, his older sibling came six years ago, he is now studying medicine at Hacettepe University in Ankara. Then invited other brothers and their families.</p> <p>*Where they have lived since they arrived and settlement patterns until today is unknown.</p>
<p>NO.6 2 March 2017, Thursday Female</p>	<p>*They live together as 11 people with 3 family in a three bedroom house in the Battalgazi neighborhood. They pay 300 Turkish Liras monthly rent.</p> <p>*Only father works in the household for 250 Turkish Liras weekly in Siteler Industrial Area. Other members are not working female and children.</p> <p>*Father was working in manufacturing in Syria.</p> <p>*They all do not know Turkish.</p>	<p>*In the last week of February of 2017, they came from Aleppo directly to Ankara as 11 people; one 43-year-old male, 4 small children and 5 widowed women.</p> <p>* When there is no place to live in the battlefield in Aleppoe, they have to migrate near relatives in Ankara, but now they live seperately with these relatives.</p>
<p>NO.7 2 March 2017, Thursday Male</p>	<p>*They live together as 4 people; 2 children, a father and a mother in a three bedroom house in the Ulubey neighborhood. They pay 200 Turkish Liras monthly rent.</p> <p>*He had a car which he used to collect cardboard, nylon etc. After it was stolen, now he is unemployed.</p> <p>*He speaks a little Turkish.</p>	<p>* They went to refugee camping in Kilis in Turkey 2 years ago by sea from Lazkiye. After 9 months living in the camp, they came to Ankara. They live in the same house in Ulubey district in Ankara since they arrived.</p>
<p>NO.8 6 March 2017, Monday Male</p>	<p>* He lives alone in Kurtuluş district in Ankara in which far away distance from the Önder neighborhood, but his relatives and other family members still live in there.</p>	<p>*He came to Ankara alone in 2009 and then invited his relatives which are interviews 1 and 2.</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Works in Anadolu Ajansı (Anadolu Agency) as correspondent. *Was accountant in Syria. *Knows Turkish. 	
<p>NO.9 8 March 2017, Wednesday Male</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * They live together as 7 people with 5 children, a father and a mother in a three bedroom house in the Ulubey neighborhood. They pay 400 Turkish Liras monthly rent. *He opened a shop in which falafel is made and sold 1 year ago, until he opened it, he worked on glassworks in Siteler and saved money. Since the children are not in the age to work and his wife does not work, he is the only one who works in the household. *He was working on glassworks in Syria. * He speaks Turkish at a low level. (He could learn a little Turkish because of trades with Turks.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * 3 years ago they came directly from Aleppo to Ankara. They've been in the same house since they arrived. *His nephews had already arrived and they were working in glassware. Then they invited him to work.
<p>NO.10 8 March 2017, Wednesday Male</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * They live together as 3 people with 1 children, a father and a mother in a three bedroom house in the Hüseyin Gazi neighborhood. They pay 150 Turkish Liras monthly rent. *He sells socks on the street and he does not have a fixed monthly income. Since the children are not in the age to work and his wife does not work, he is the only one who works in the household. * He was a tailor-made in Syria, but he can not work now because he was injured in the war in Aleppo. *He does not speak Turkish. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *He came from Aleppo 7 months ago and he has been living in the same house since he came with his family.
<p>NO.11 8 March 2017, Wednesday Female</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * They live together as 10 people with 8 children, a father and a mother in a three bedroom house in the Ulubey neighborhood. They pay 250 Turkish Liras monthly rent. *She is not working and his husband has started to work in Ulus. He has daily works so the household do not have a fixed monthly income. *Her husband was baker and they had ovens in the Aleppo but it was bombed in the war. *All do not speak Turkish. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *3 years ago they came from Aleppo to Ankara directly. *Her mother's neighbors were here and they invited her mothers. Then two months later they arrived.

<p>NO.12 8 March 2017, Wednesday Female</p>	<p>* They live together as 5 people with 3 children, a father and a mother in a three bedroom house in the Ulubey neighborhood. They pay 350 Turkish Liras monthly rent. *She has opened school for the education of Syrian children in the neighborhood, but she does not work after school is closed. *The only employee at home is her husband. *All speaks Turkish.</p>	<p>* 3 years ago they came to Hatay from Aleppo. She had a mother-in-law in Hatay and came to Ankara after staying with her for 1 week. * One year before their son came to Ankara, then he invited other family members.</p>
<p>NO.13 8 March 2017, Wednesday Male</p>	<p>* They live together as 2 people in a three bedroom house in the Ulubey neighborhood. They pay 250 Turkish Liras monthly rent. *He is working in Denizfeneri Association and provides consulting services to the Syrians. * Previously a university student in Lebanon. *Speaks Turkish.</p>	<p>* He came from Lebanon to Ankara in 2012, then found a job in the association and settled in Ulubey district, then invited others. * When they first arrived they all stayed together in the same house, then they separate houses when he got married.</p>
<p>NO.14 9 March 2017, Thursday Female</p>	<p>* They live together as 4 people with 2 children, a father, a mother and a mother-in-law in a three bedroom house in the Battalgazi neighborhood. They pay 300 Turkish Liras monthly rent. *She is not working, her husband is dealing with car engine repairs in the Siteler area and earns 300 Turkish Liras per week. *Her husband was in the same profession while they were in Syria * She speaks Turkish at a low level.</p>	<p>*They came from Aleppo 4 years ago. When they first arrived they lived in the Önder district, after the destruction because of urban transformation they moved to the Battalgazi neighborhood. * Her husband's friends who arrived to the neighborhood first found a job for her husband and they invited them.</p>
<p>NO.15 9 March 2017, Thursday Male</p>	<p>* They live together as 4 people with 2 children, a father and a mother in a three bedroom house in the Battalgazi neighborhood. They pay 300 Turkish Liras monthly rent. * Opened a wedding dress shop 5 months ago with a monthly rent 400</p>	<p>* Three years ago, they arrived to Ankara as 13 people from Aleppo. When they first arrived, they stayed with his friend for a month.</p>

	<p>Turkish Liras. He was working on the Siteler before open the shop.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * He was doing wedding dress sewing in Syria. * He speaks very little Turkish. 	<p>They've been living in the same house ever since.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> *His friends who came to Ankara before him found a job for him and invited.
<p>NO.16 9 March 2017, Thursday Male</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * They live together as 5 people with 3 children, a father and a mother in a three bedroom house in the Ulubey neighborhood. They pay 450 Turkish Liras monthly rent. * He now has a second-hand goods store in the Önder district. Before that, he first worked in the furniture business on the Siteler area and he was a seller in street market in Cebeci. * His wife made and sells meatballs in Kızılay and she earns 400 Turkish Liras per week. * While in Syria, he bought and sells old goods and antiques. * Speaks Turkish at a low level. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * 3 years ago they came directly from Aleppo to Ankara. **Where they have lived since they arrived and settlement patterns until today is unknown.
<p>NO.17 9 March 2017, Thursday Female</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * They live together as 4 people with 2 children, a father and a mother in a three bedroom house in the Battalgazi neighborhood. They pay 250 Turkish Liras monthly rent. * She is doing temporary translator works. * Her husband has made furniture in the Siteler area but he has been unemployed for 3 months. *There was a workplace where her husband was a welder while in Syria. *All speaks Turkish. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *3 people came from Aleppo 3 years ago. When they first arrived they were in the Önder neighborhood and after the demolitions because of urban transformation, they had to moved out to the Battalgazi neighborhood. *They came with the help and reference of their relatives who came 2 months before.

APPENDIX 2

TURKISH INTERVIEWEES

HOUSEHOLD NUMBERS	GENERAL INFORMATION	INFORMATION FOR TIME GEOGRAPHY
<p>NO.1 2 March 2017, Thursday Male</p>	<p>* He lives with his family in Ulubey neighborhood. * Retired, he used to have a furniture workshop. *The house that they now lived in was formerly a gecekondü (slum type in Turkish). *He does not rent house to Syrians. *From Gerede in Bolu.</p>	<p>*He came to the neighborhood before 1960 and he has lived in the same house since then.</p>
<p>NO.2 4 March 2017, Saturday Female</p>	<p>*She lives with her family in the Ulubey neighborhood. *She has established an informal help network, and she is doing aid activities for both Syrians and Turks. * They pay 200 Turkish Liras monthly for rent of house. * His wife and daughter are working, salary unknown. *She is from Çamlıdere in Ankara.</p>	<p>*He came to Doğantepe district from Çamlıdere 32 years ago. Five years ago, when there was an urban transformation, they moved to Ulubey neighborhood.</p>
<p>NO.3 4 March 2017, Saturday Male</p>	<p>*He built a house in 1962 in a land which they bought in 1961. Then they made their single-storey houses multi-storey *From the city of Gümüşhane</p>	
<p>NO.4 9 March 2017, Thursday Male</p>	<p>*He lives in Karapürçek neighborhood. *Sells fruit vegetables in the informal market. *He have 3 children, one of them is working with him and helping him, the other is studying, and the girl one is 5-year-old.</p>	<p>*They live in Karapürçek for 3 years.</p>

	<p>*He is working with Syrians so that conversations with Syrian clients is able to be translated from Arabic to Turkish. From Ankara</p>	
<p>NO.5 13 March 2017, Monday Male</p>	<p>* He is working at the Önder Foundation for 22 years. * He has two sons, aged 10 and 12, and his wife, who used to work in a workplace selling dowry products in Haskoy, does not work now. He makes and sells food at home. * She works in helping Syria in the scope of foundation. *They are owner of the house which they live in now. *From Çankırı.</p>	<p>*They have lived in the neighborhood for 35 years. Before that, they lived in surrounding neighborhood.</p>
<p>NO.6 13 March 2017, Monday Male</p>	<p>* Married with a Turkish women but he is taking care of one Syrian widow and her children, he pays their montly rent 300 Turkish Liras in Karapürçek neighborhood. * Has had Syrian employees for 3-4 years. He used to have 4, now 2 is left.</p>	<p>*He has been in the neighborhood since 1994 and has opened his current workplace 10 years ago. He worked in the Siteler area before that.</p>
<p>NO.7 13 March 2017, Monday Male</p>	<p>* He has been living in Karapürçek district for 7 years. * He is an employer in Siteler area and also a contractor. * Is married and have 2 children. * Is from the city of Bolu * He rents a house for Syrian for monthly 350 Turkish Liras.</p>	<p>* He lives in Önder district for 32 years. *They were always in the same house, first of all, it was one storey gecekondu, then they built a 3-storey building on the same land.</p>
<p>NO.8 13 March 2017, Monday Male</p>	<p>*Is from Çamlıdere in Ankara. *He lives in Çankaya district in Ankara. *He is pharmacist and he is doing aid jobs for Syrians at the same time.</p>	<p>*He has a pharmacy shop in Önder neighborhood since 1984. *He moved to the neighborhood from Çamlıdere and lived in Önder</p>

		neighborhood for many years.
NO.9 13 March 2017, Monday Male	* He was the first to employ a Syrian worker, and now a Syrian woman is helping her. *He lives in the Pursaklar, and his father lives in the Karapurçek districts.	*He lived in Önder district for many years before he moved to Pursaklar district.
NO.10 15 March 2017, Wednesday Male	* He has a grocery store in Ulubey neighborhood. * 25 years old and is not married. * Is from the city of Bolu. * He rents house to Syrians for monthly 200 Turkish Liras.	* Grocery is 40 years old. *He lives near to grocery market and the other members of his family live on the top floor of the grocery store.
NO.11 15 March 2017, Wednesday Female	* 45 years old, married and has 1 daughter and 1 son. *She is not working, but her husband is a furniture painter on the Siteler area. *They have a good relationships between Syrian neighbors.	*Lived in the Önder district until got married
NO.12 15 March 2017, Wednesday Male	*Is from Çamlıdere in Ankara. *They have one daughter and a son, the girl is 46 years old and sick, their son is married and lives in another neighborhood. * House rent is for 200 Turkish Liras.	*They came from Çamlıdere village and have lived in the same house since they arrived
NO.13 16 March 2017, Thursday Male	*Is from Gerede in Bolu. *The children are all married and have their own apartments *He was a mukhtar for many years and now he has been retired. *He lives in Önder neighborhood.	*He came from the village in Bolu 10 years ago. * There was a gecekondü that he used to live and it was demolished because of urban transformation.
NO.14 16 March 2017, Thursday Male	*Is from Kızılcahamam in Ankara * He has a son, works in furniture workshop in Siteler area. * He can not work for 12 years, now he is collecting paper on the streets.	*They had houses in the collapsed area, before they collapsed, they moved to the house where they live now

	* Paying 220 Turkish Liras for rent, of a house with 2 bedrooms.	
NO.15 16 March 2017, Thursday Male	*He lives in Doğantepe district in Ankara. * Has a small mechanic workshop and retired for 10 years. * He has a son who lives in another district in Ankara and his wife is dead. *He has 5 apartments in the district and rent 3 of them to Syrians. *He gives consultation to Syrians because he speaks Arabic.	*He worked for 16 years in Arabia, he lives in Altındağ district for 10 years.