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Un-Settled: Exploring Belongingness in Syrian and Ukrainian Residences in Turkey

ABSTRACT

Today, many people, mainly due to civil wars, are forced to leave their countries and subjected to forced migration. Refugees face many difficulties because of displacement and try to rebuild their lives in another country and face some adaptation problems in the places where they try to live. (Economic, connection to the workforce, accommodation, language, exclusion, social characteristics, etc.) Relevant authorities in the receiving countries have some policies/ strategies to minimize problems such as social, economic, cultural, etc., and to put some solutions to the mutual issues that may arise. Although they try to develop integration strategies, it is noted that the strategies designed for housing are insufficient and temporary. The methods developed are not always compatible with refugees' needs, habits, lifestyles, and cultures. For this reason, refugees prefer to build or adapt new living spaces that are compatible with their lifestyles and cultures; thus, this attitude is thought to be effective in accelerating their integration processes. However, if this situation is not controlled, structures/additions that do not fit into the urban fabric will appear in areas where refugees have settled, which can be a problem for the urban fabric.

Within this framework, this study examined whether the adaptation processes that refugees begin to experience in the places where they have settled are accelerated by socio-spatial tendencies. The pre-war and current living conditions of specified refugees are compared based on the visuals and literary research conducted in the data-gathering process. According to the findings of the study, conducting on-site research on the specified area in Ankara-Önder Neighborhood for the Syrian refugees and Antalya-Alanya county for the Ukrainian refugees in Turkey, the study concluded that the adaptations made by refugees to their residence and its immediate surroundings accelerate the sense of belonging to their new living spaces and the adaptation processes in the country. Therefore, this study aims to determine the characteristics of the cultural reflections of adaptation to a new home caused by migration. After determining these characteristics, it is sought to measure whether the resulting adaptations increase the sense of belonging to the place and the effect on the permanence of the place.

Keywords: Forced Migration, Refugee, Culture, Culture-Space Interactions, Socio-Spatial Adaptation.

1. INTRODUCTION

Migration is a process that has existed throughout human history and significantly impacted people and the natural covering on earth. The desire of people to leave their land and go elsewhere and find new places for themselves has been going on for ages. In other words, although the forces causing migration have changed throughout history, it continues to be a subject that is open to debate and maintains its currency in each period (Kaya and Erdoğan, 2015). In the past, the reasons for migration are usually due to economic or ecological reasons of the regions they are in. Today, people have started to migrate, defined as 'forced migration' in the literature, mainly because of wars, and they are forced to leave their cities and homes unplanned and unexpectedly (Sağlam, 2017). People who leave their countries and flee to other countries receive some status within the policies determined by the host country. These people continue their lives with 'refugee status' in some countries and acquire rights accordingly, while in some countries, they are accepted to the country as 'migrants' and gain rights in this context. Turkey is a transit migration zone because of its geographic situation, and it has a variety of migrants from different countries. Especially after the 2011, beginning of the Syrian civil war, there has been a mass influx from Syria to Turkey. Within the past twelve years, although some of these refugees have spread to other European countries, most of them have settled in cities in Turkey such as Hatay, Şanlıurfa, Adana, Ankara, and Istanbul in Turkey. The Russia-Ukraine war, which has been going on a smaller scale since 2014, has reached a level of violence in 2022, where hot conflicts intensify, especially in the crowded cities in Ukraine, and people flee to Europe. Poland, Germany, the Czech Republic, Turkey, etc., have been the destinations of Ukrainians fleeing the

war. According to the official resources, 4.5 million Syrians had fled to Turkey. Syrians have 'under-protection' status in Turkey due to the policies implemented rather than the migrant status, and they are referred to as 'refugees'.

When the examples of different countries are examined, it is seen that the integration process of the refugees in the country they migrated to is defined by three basic dimensions (Pendakur and Pendakur, 1998; Hiebert, 2008; Carter and Polevychok, 2004; Carter et al., 2009). First, improving the employment opportunities of the refugees and their participation in working life in the country helps facilitate their economic integration. Secondly, establishing organizations and organizations that provide skills in certain subjects (especially language, manual skills, vocational courses, etc.) and the orientation and participation of refugees in these organizations contribute to social and economic integration (Bostan, 2018). Finally, meeting the housing needs, providing services related to the subject, and the existence of organizations supporting the mentioned services integration in the spatial dimension.

Refugees who are trying to rebuild their lives enter into a process of adaptation and integration, including issues such as choosing a safe area to live in, adapting to the people of this region, and maintaining their old habits (Abadan-Unat, 2002; GİGM, 2015; Adıgüzel, 2016). However, after a certain period, it is seen that they try to create various infrastructures and superstructures suitable for their own lives in the regions where they settled. It can be said that this situation presents mutual difficulties both for immigrants trying to adapt to the region and for the countries hosting them. For this reason, it is necessary to develop and implement integration policies that secure both the destination country and the immigrant (EU Commission, 2015). When refugees settled in cities, they started to make some appropriations in their living environment due to cultural transfers and spatial reflection of their before-war habits and everyday life needs. Refugees made these appropriations both inside and in the immediate surroundings of their residences.

When the studies on refugees in Turkey are examined, it is seen that the evaluation is based on the integration strategies of the European Union Council, and there are many studies on the economic, social, and institutional integration processes of refugees (Kaya, 2015; Erdoğan, 2017; İçduygu, 2015; Kirişçi, 2014). However, few studies have been found on the spatial adaptations of refugees to the immediate surroundings of their residences and inside the house. In the literature, there are some studies on spatial analyses (Arunoğulları & Cengiz, 2014), social and spatial effects of migration (Tümtaş & Ergun, 2016), and aesthetic-spatial quotations of migration and belonging (Savaş, 2010). Although these studies contain some findings on the spatial adaptation of immigrants, it is thought that it would be beneficial to combine the connection between cultural memory transfer and the created space with the concept of socio-spatial integration with this study. In this context, it is aimed to examine the adaptations made by refugees outside and inside the house.

In this context, the rest of the article is divided into four main sections. The first part is an introduction, briefly explaining the study. The second part will clarify the migration processes in Turkey title, the refugees, and their migration processes. The third part will explain the concepts of memory, cultural transfers, socio-spatial integration, and spatial adaptation. The third part includes the case study process. In this context, photographs taken from the selected residential areas by the author will be compared with the pre-war lifestyles of refugees. In addition, these comparisons will discuss the refugees' daily life experiences, needs, traditions, and spatial adaptations to meet these needs. Finally, in the findings and conclusion, the similar and differentiating elements they carry inside and outside the house from their previous lives will be interpreted within the scope of socio-spatial adaptation processes and memory transfers.

2. MIGRATION PROCESSES in TURKEY

Since this study focuses on the integration processes of the refugees coming to Turkey and the reflections of this integration on the inside and outside of the house, it will be helpful to give brief information about the immigration process in our country, the legal status, and the rights of the immigrants.

Considering the concepts determined by the Council of the European Union (2014), a 'Refugee' status is a stateless person who thinks that he is under threat in his country, mainly because of race, religion, or political separation, and goes to another country because he does not feel safe in his country and does not want to return to his country. On the other hand, according to the Law on Foreigners No. 6458, which was rearranged in 2014 in our country, it does not accept people from non-European countries as refugees. It has been decided to put these people under 'conditional refugees' status and allow them to stay in Turkey

temporarily due to the possibility of moving to another country. 'Temporary protection' includes war, life-threatening, etc., from his country. It is the status given to people who were forced to leave their country due to reasons that need urgent and temporary protection. They cannot apply for this status because the conditional refugee status includes procedures valid for persons other than the masses whose status has yet to be officially defined by the governments for these reasons (T.R.D. Foreigners and International Protection Law No. 6458, 2018). In this context, while Syrian refugees are in temporary protection status, immigrants from Ukraine have the right to enter the country without a visa, and they come to Turkey with a request for international protection. Still, the rights they benefit from are not different from the temporary protection status.

2.1. Syrian and Ukrainian Refugee Cases

In this Section, information on Syrian immigrants living in Turkey since 2011, the policies applied to them, and the regions where they settled are summarized in the first title. Afterward, the information about the Ukrainian immigrants who settled in the Mediterranean region during the Russia-Ukraine war that broke out in 2022 and were hosted with different policies are summarized below under their headings.

Overall, Turkey's approach to integrating refugees has been multi-dimensional, encompassing both short-term humanitarian relief and longer-term integration strategies. While there are still challenges to be addressed, such as managing the spatial concentration of refugees and improving the quality of services and housing conditions available to them, Turkey's efforts provide a proper case study for other countries grappling with the challenge of integrating large numbers of refugees into their societies.

2.1.1. Syrian Case

The Syrian refugee crisis has been one of the largest humanitarian crises of the 21st century. Millions of Syrians have been forced to live due to the ongoing civil war, and many have sought refuge in neighboring countries, such as Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan. The mass influx of Syrian refugees has presented a major challenge for these countries, as they have had to manage the social and spatial integration of large numbers of people from different cultures and backgrounds.

According to legal sources, 59,877 Syrians under temporary protection are accommodated in 7 temporary accommodation centers in 5 provinces. Apart from this, 3,411,029 Syrians under temporary protection living in cities (<https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-korumamiz-altindaki-suriyeliler>, 2023). One of the challenges for socio-spatial integration in Turkey has been the concentration of refugees in certain areas, particularly in cities like İstanbul, Ankara, and İzmir. To address this issue, the Turkish government has implemented several integration policies to promote social and economic inclusion for refugees. One such policy is the Temporary Protection Regulation, which provides refugees access to healthcare, education, and legal protection. These policies have helped to ensure that refugees are not entirely isolated from Turkish society and have access to essential services.

Another strategy has been the development of a network of Community Centers, which provide a range of services to refugees, including language courses, vocational training, and cultural activities. These centers are located in areas with high refugee populations and are designed to promote social interaction between refugees and the host community.

In addition, Turkey has implemented policies to facilitate refugee employment, including the insurance of work permits for refugees in specific sectors. This policy has helped to reduce economic barriers to integration and has allowed refugees to contribute to the Turkish economy.

Since the subject is a spatial phenomenon and the spatial context is thought to increase one's sense of belonging to that place, it will be helpful to examine the spatial adaptations affected by the cultural transfers made by the refugees to their residences while trying to understand the socio-spatial integration strategies.

2.1.2. Ukrainian Case

With the Russian attempt to invade Ukraine in February 2022, millions of people were displaced, some of whom came to Turkey. As a result, Turkey has announced that it will follow an open-door policy for Ukrainian citizens and facilitate the entry and stay of Ukrainians in Turkey (Bülbül, 2020). The UNHCR (2022) reports that over 12 million individuals have been displaced, with 7.1 million internally displaced in Ukraine and 5.6 million seeking refuge in neighboring countries. Most Ukrainians have fled to European

nations like Poland, Romania, Hungary, Slovakia, Moldova, and other EU countries, where they received temporary protection.

Apart from these countries, Turkey also accepted immigrants from Ukraine to the country. While it was reported that 150,000 Ukrainians came to Turkey during the peak periods of the war, it was later stated that this number decreased to around 50,000 (<https://haberglobal.com.tr/gundem/ukrayna-buyukelcisi-vasyl-bodnar-turkiyedekiukraynalilarin-sayisini-acikladi-180695>). Even though it was coincidental, there was a migration from Ukraine to cities such as Istanbul, Izmir, Antalya, etc., in Turkey before the war because The Ukrainian and Turkey Governments made a mutual travel agreement with visa-free (Official Newspaper of the Republic of Turkey, 2012). In 2015, ties with Russia were weakened, and political relations with Ukraine were strengthened as Russia came to be seen as one of the main culprits in the Syrian war. When the war between Russia and Ukraine broke out, it facilitated residence permits in Turkey for Ukrainians (Deniz & Özgür, 2022). However, by the international protection agreements, a residence permit for up to 90 days has been granted to Ukrainians who want to stay in Turkey temporarily; most of them are women and children and prefer to live in İstanbul and Antalya (UNHCR, 2022).

3. SPATIAL ADAPTATIONS in the CONTEXT of CULTURAL TRANSFERS

This section of the paper will focus on the connection between the cultural background

of a migrant and their behavior and preferences towards the spatial adaptation phase of settlement. Since spatial outcomes will be the focus of this paper. In this case, the issues of ‘memory reflections’, ‘place’ and ‘sense of belonging’ issues are important for understanding the user's connection with space, the process of acceptance, and use of space. Migrants who leave their living spaces and cultures behind and try to establish a new life in a new place try to maintain their own cultures, habits, and spatial characteristics that remain in their memories in these new settlements. How migrants carry these elements of their memories to their new living spaces and daily lives will be discussed through the concepts of culture-memory relationship and spatial memory transfer.

To understand and infer the summary of the indicators of the spatial adaptations of refugees’ living spaces, a bubble diagram was created by the author as follows to present the findings of this chapter. In this way, some keywords that have been identified will contribute to future phases of the study.

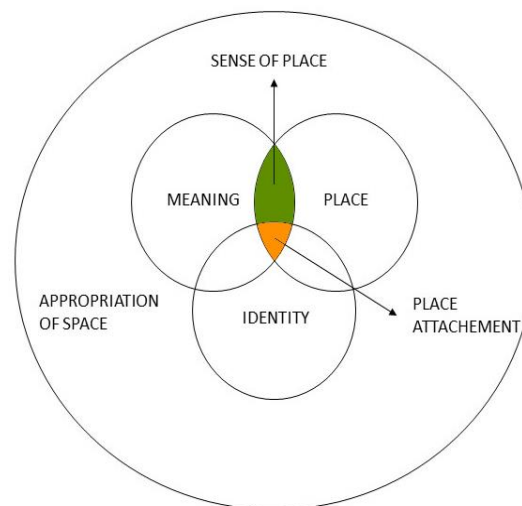


Chart 1. A Summary Chart for the Theoretical Adaptation of Space (Author, 2019).

As can be followed on the chart, in the process of spatial adaptation, the space, the meaning of the space on the user, the identity of the user, and the identity elements attributed to the space are essential. When these elements come together, changes to be made in the space and spatial additions emerge. Thus, the space starts to personalize, and the sense of belonging to the space begins to increase.

According to Heidegger (2006), 'being' is directly linked to settling and inhabiting, and the transformation of a settled place into a place is realized through time, experiences, and the cultures of the community that came to that region. Differences in geography have led people to adopt different living habits, but this is only a spatial adaptation to the topography.

Additionally, it can be thought that the transfer of memory forms the built environment produced by the social fabric. Besides being synonymous with the word memory and mind, memory can be summarized as

the power to consciously store what has been experienced or learned (<https://sozluk.gov.tr/>). Ünlü (2017), who stated what Perouse said about memory in 2006, noted that memory is never neutral, the phenomenon of conscious storage is essential, and it is important to transfer all phenomena such as events, people, places, sounds, etc. that are consciously kept in memory to the future. For the people who go there, the place of settlement is a sign of the continuation of old cultural habits. In the regions where migrants go, especially as time passes and they become more crowded, they start to create regions where they have their majority and in accordance with their living habits that remain in their memory. To give an example from nomadic peoples, Bedouin communities, even when they move their camps to another place, make a common/social/storage area arrangement, create the interior arrangement of their tents similarly, and have a hierarchical structure (Levent, 2006). While this is the case even among nomadic peoples, it has become much more palpable in urban terms for the regions settled by people who had to change countries in time and settle down in the places they went to. Chinese neighborhoods in America and Turkish neighborhoods in Germany are examples of this.

3.1. Spatial Memory Transfer And Culture Relations

It has already been mentioned that 'place' is a phenomenon shaped by spatial experiences and cultural habits. In this context, for the sake of clarity, what is meant to be is explained in the relationship between place and space at the urban scale as Ünlü (2017) says, 'while it is inevitable that the basic or natural structure such as geography, climate, topography in which the city is located affects the way of life and social structure; it is also inevitable that the built environment produced by the social structure shapes the natural structure.' It would be a more accurate approach for this study to talk about the memory transfer to space through the concept of cultural memory, which provides the connection between the past and the present, and to think that the recollections of immigrants who have migrated and settled in a city are efforts to re-exist in terms of memory and culture.

As all societies have their own culture, cultural adaptation in this phase is the most critical factor. According to Assmann (2001), cultural memory is directly related to human memory, that is, how the individual is socially or culturally influenced. Culture is definable and measurable and is related to individuals (Kilmann, 1984). According to the refugee studies literature, culture can be divided into two parts. These are primary culture and sub-culture. Each ethnic group can preserve its original culture and socially adapt to cultural diversity (Yang, 2009). Universal ideas refer to basic human needs, which is a pattern acceptable for all societies. If it is to be exemplified in its simplest form, the family unit can be an example of the universals of culture (Little and McGivern, 2016).

Space can be considered one of the strong elements used in cultural transmission. One of the main reasons why the spaces created by people from different cultures differ is the variations in the transfer of their differentiated experiences to the spaces. As people live, they accumulate memories, which can be visual objects or spatial additions. In this case, these additions can be considered one of the main elements that help make cultural memory visible in space (Depeli, 2007). When talking about the concept of 'space', it may be helpful to talk about the meanings of 'lived' as the space includes 'everyday life experiences' which need to be rational, and 'conceived' as an objective abstraction (Lefebvre, 1991) which is done consciously in the lived experiences of a space and 'perceived' space as a how people feel a space in their world, especially concerning their everyday life, to understand what the space differentiates in terms of usage (Crang and Thrift, 2000). The space adaptation process is more related to changing or converting the space based on needs to a place. This process can be understood as changing the settled place into a living space. To understand this process clearly, it would be helpful to deepen the issue of the concept of "creation of space" and form its relationship with "daily life experiences" and to understand its effect on spatial memory transfers and space adaptation processes.

Gülbetekin and Öztürk (2016) summarized the issue of spatial memory transfer as the concept of the connection between the past and the future, where societies maintain their characteristics and make them feel that they can have continuity and the visual and spatial additions that immigrants add to their residences and their immediate surroundings are helpful elements to see these transfers within the residence. When discussed regarding the adaptation and acceptance of immigrants trying to establish a new life, it reveals the importance of the spatial additions or elements that the person keeps in their memory and transfers to the space for the relationship that the person establishes with the space. All these play an essential role in making the place permanent for the person (Özak and Gökmen, 2009). As Depeli mentions in his article 'Migrant's Home' (2007), Visuality and Cultural Memory: Photographs, called visual objects, preserve migrants 'cultural/social memory and sense of belonging against the fear of being forgotten.

In this study, cultural diversity (multiculturalism) is another important concept to understand the problems like rights, services, or denial of resources that refugees face when trying to adapt to a new society. These problems can feel they do not have equal rights in their new society. As mentioned in UNESCO’s Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001), besides the negative effects globalization may have, ‘cultural diversity’ can be defined as the varieties of societies or cultures in a specific region. Community participation includes independent living opportunities and relationships with people in the same area with the contribution of neighborhood, resources, and housing factors (Yanos et al., 2007). It is also important to evaluate the psychological processes of refugees’ adaptations in society. Psychological dimensions have an important role in the action plans of social adaptation to eliminate the social problems that can occur because of people's traumas.

Also, emphasizing the impact of multiple factors, for example, intergenerational influences such as community cultures, education traditions, and daily life rituals of migrants and natives are the combined important factors for the social effects of adaptations. Thus, the relationship between social adaptation and space can be mentioned when these effects are combined with the social environment. In this context, the refugee situation can become more complex when cultural differentiation and inequality feelings are considered. Due to the different socio-cultural knowledge of refugees, the cities, regions, and the residential areas where they are settled can differ from the local population of that region. To understand and solve the present problems, it is important to understand these people's identities, cultures, habits, and daily life experiences (Christmann and Ibert, 2012). At this point, it is important to analyze the spaces that these migrants construct, especially in their private spaces, thinking that they belong to themselves, to eliminate the feeling of the minority that all these migrants experience.

3.2. Cultural Transfers and Spatial Reflection Relations At The Residential Scale Through Selected Examples

Importantly, space is not just related to materials but also directly related to the created environment, activities, and habits of people around it. According to this concept, humans not only produce social relations and use values but also produce social space. It means human beings create space. The adaptation processes of the individuals to the regions where they reside/take shelter in the country where they migrate are positive or negative. This fact is strong enough to affect the entire social structure of the region where they settled. While migrants try to adapt themselves to these places, they tend to appropriate the place they live in by activating many factors without realizing it. These attributes are listed in the table below:

	DIMENSIONS	SPATIAL ATTRIBUTES
APPROPRIATED SPACE	1. Appropriation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Using something in people’s way • Creating necessities • Faster solutions • No need to be the best option • No complicated structures • Helpful for the first phase • Gives clues about the cultural and economic structures of people
	2. Spatial Memory transfer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Place attachment • Place identity • Creating homes that match with their habits • Shows characteristics of the pre-existing identity

Table 1. Summary of the Spatial Attributes of Refugees (Complied and used in the P.hd. thesis of the Author, 2020)

In this part of the study, a comparison was made in the context of the behaviors mentioned in the table. To analyze how migrants appropriate their spaces, the following elements emerged from the observations.

- Allocation Schemes and Functionality
- Kitchen/ Kitchenette
- Storage Areas
- Appropriated Use of Furniture and Its Function
- Appropriations Materials Used Inside the House
- Appropriations Outside the House
- *Appropriations in Functionality of Exterior Spaces the House*

Additionally, these elements and the spatial analysis parts of the article will be examined in this context.

By looking at the Spatial Memory transfer issue in this context and within the scope of the cultural transfer and memory transfer mentioned earlier, this part of the article will discuss the examples of 2 migrant communities that are thought to permeate these factors into the place where they live. The migrant groups to be addressed are Syrians and Ukrainians, who have recently migrated due to war and settled in Turkey.

3.3. Syrian Residential Spaces in Ankara, Önder

In this part of the study, data were collected from the Önder neighborhood of Altındağ district in Ankara, a city chosen by Syrian migrants to live in Turkey. It is known that the areas where Syrians migrating from Syria to Turkey settle, other than camps, are generally areas that have undergone urban transformation, are cheap, and are close to industrial zones in terms of easy access to job opportunities. Önder neighborhood in Ankara is one of the areas that fit this description, and the majority of Syrians who came to Ankara live there. Önder neighborhood is next to 'Siteler', the furniture industrial zone of Ankara, and is 9 km from the city center. Although urban transformation has recently started in the region, the houses are generally slum-like and old. It is known that the Syrians in Önder neighborhood live in this area with all their relatives. Due to the fact that Syrians are in the majority in the region, it is seen that it has turned into a neighborhood where there are many shops, stores, grocery stores, etc., where they can maintain their unique habits and meet their needs.



Figure 1 A -B. Önder Neighbourhood. Sözcü (29.01.2019)

As seen in the image, grocery stores or shops in the area usually use Arabic signs on their facades and sell products used by Syrians. In fact, the owners of the shops in the area are also Syrians, or they employ a Syrian. Thus, even if they do not speak Turkish, Syrians living in the area can meet all their needs within walking distance. It has been determined that the houses where the Syrians settled in the Önder neighborhood are old, facing demolition or slums. Economic and social factors are known to be effective in this settlement preference.

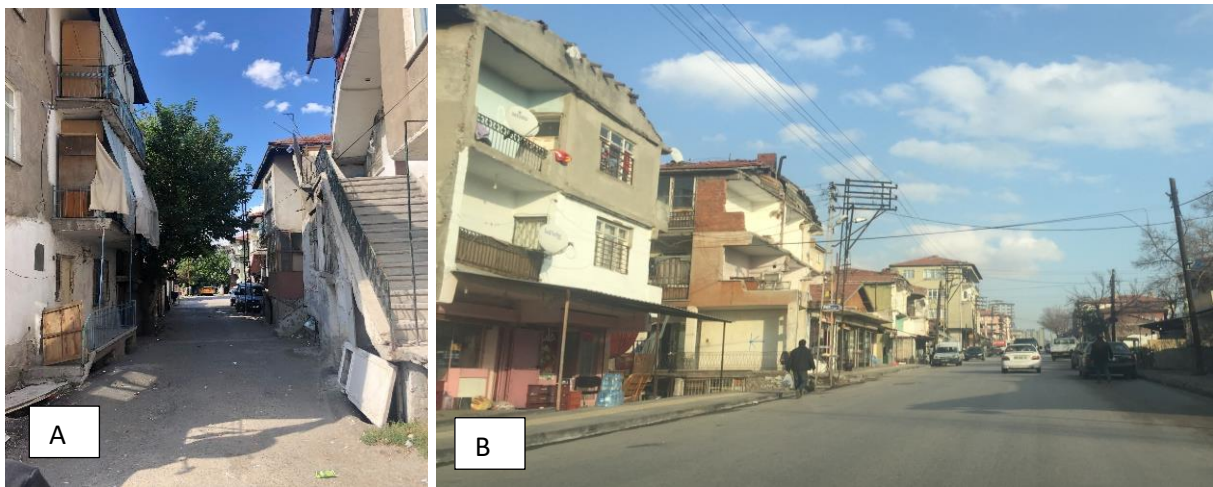


Figure 2 A - B. Residential Areas in Önder Neighbourhood (Taken by the Author 2017-2019)

As can be seen in Figure 2, the buildings are generally very old and falling into ruins. The façades are mostly made of second-hand wood/furniture collected from the neighborhood to provide privacy. Considering the fact that the Syrians living in Önder neighborhood came to Turkey to flee from the war, it can be said that they took only light and easily portable items (carpets, rugs, floor mattresses, quilts, etc.) with them from their old lives. For this reason, they usually fulfill the deficiencies in their homes with the used and old items they have acquired through donations. When we look at the interior and immediate surroundings of the houses, it is noticeable that a number of materials are used to protect privacy, as is applied on the façades.

When looking at this region where Syrians live within the scope of the urban scale, it can be said that they have created a neighborhood cover dominated by their own culture, especially with the use of signboards dominated by the language element, the way they use buildings, and the facade covers they apply to the buildings.

3.3.1. Interiors of the Houses in the Önder Neighbourhood

In this part of the study, the elements of adaptation mentioned earlier in the article will be evaluated through photographs taken from inside the residences in the region. Based on the observations made in the region, it was noted that Syrian refugees place great importance on maintaining a sense of privacy. They value having a space where they can experience family privacy within their living areas and immediate surroundings while remaining connected to the outside world.



Figure 3 A-B. Exterior adaptation examples of Syrians in Önder Neighbourhood (Author, 2019)

This spatial adaptation can be seen as a significant attitude, as these adapted venues allow socializing with close relatives or friends from the region. These spaces also serve as gathering places for women to engage in daily activities such as carpet washing or preparing meals for the winter.



Figure 4 A-B. Exterior space usage of Syrians in Önder Neighbourhood. (Author, 2019)

Furthermore, their desire to preserve their cultural life and meet emerging needs is reflected in their willingness to modify the indoor use of their houses. When the houses in the region are analyzed, the spatial adaptations that occurred in the first stage are as follows.

It was observed that they preferred to have separate living rooms for women, distinct from the general living areas. Despite having enough rooms in their houses to accommodate bedrooms for their children,

they maintained this practice and allocated a second room that was not used for sleeping purposes. Instead, this room was used to read the Quran, separate from the haremlik selamlık area.



Figure 5 A.B. Interior space usage of the Syrians in their houses in Önder Neighborhood.(Author, 2019)

As a result, this arrangement and the emphasis on maintaining the haremlik selamlık tradition led to a lack of available sleeping areas, causing parents and children over 18 to share sleeping spaces. If there were no opportunity for separate rooms, they would share the same room with their children until a certain age. However, once their children reached a certain age, particularly boys, they provided another room specifically for them.



Figure 6 A.B. Interior space usage of the Syrians in their houses in Önder Neighborhood. (Author, 2019)

3.4. Ukrainian Residential Spaces in Antalya, Alanya

Antalya is the most preferred city for Russian and Ukrainian people in Turkey. Generally, resort settlements of Antalya host lots of tourists in summer. Still, especially in Alanya, a considerable amount of Russian or Ukrainian people live the whole year. Alanya is a resort settlement 150 km southeast of Antalya (Wikipedia). There is easy transportation from Gazipaşa airport because the distance between Gazipaşa and Alanya is 30 km. Buses from the airport to Alanya run regularly. This situation also increases the tourist amount of Alanya.

Although it has already been a preferred destination for a long time, especially after the Russian-Ukrainian war that started in 2022, it has received more immigrants and tourists who came to the region just to spend their summer holidays and other people who discovered the region through them bought houses in the region and started to continue their lives here. Thus, there has been a considerable increase in the population of Alanya.

Ukrainians, who come to the region for accommodation in summer and winter, mostly prefer to live in the Mahmutlar region, where there are more new houses suitable for permanent residence in Alanya. Mahmutlar region is located near the sea neighborhood in Alanya. It has big shopping streets which are mostly parallel to the sea. Many properties are located near the houses and beaches.



Figure 7. Alanya, Mahmutlar. Shutterstock (12.10.2023)

The regional shopping streets and shops that previously existed and appealed to Russians have increased, which is reflected in the signboards. In addition, there are many places in the region where Ukrainians can meet all their needs, from markets where they can find products specific to their eating and drinking habits to stores selling products suitable for their clothing styles. Although this situation has increased over time due to the intensity of tourism in the region, it is seen that it has become more intense in the last year.



Figure 8. A-B Mahmutlar Neighbourhood, Alanya. Alamy (12.10.2023)

When we look at the urban scale of this area where Ukrainians live, we see the intensity of the use of signboards dominated by the language element, and especially the shops in the bazaar area appeal more to Ukrainians and Russians. However, as said before, it can be related to the tourist position of the city.

3.4.1. Interiors of The Houses in the Mahmutlar Neighbourhood

As in the fourth chapter's first part, the elements of adaptation mentioned earlier in the article will be evaluated through photographs taken from inside the residences and in the region. In addition, the pictures were taken by a real estate office serving the region, and interviews were held with the real estate office on the use of housing by the renting Ukrainians. During the interviews with the real estate office, it was stated that Ukrainians tend to rent furnished houses.

Based on the observations made in the region, at first sight, it seems that Ukrainian refugees are not in the same approach as Syrian refugees to make adaptations to their residents in Turkey. Instead, it is thought that they may be spending time in their summer houses in Alanya, Mahmutlar region, where they are used to coming for holiday purposes, or in their houses that they rented temporarily until the end of the war. In this part of the article, the residents of Ukrainian refugees, who are not considered to be permanent, are analyzed by comparing them with the criteria that emerged as a result of the changes made in the residents of Syrian refugees, who were understood to intend to become permanent as a result of the researches and interviews conducted beforehand.

Firstly, it is worth noting that Ukrainians are religiously and culturally distinct from Syrians and come from a life accustomed to a more collective housing life, where the aim of privacy is not necessarily the

same as theirs. For this reason, it was found that they did not tend to make any changes in their houses' immediate surroundings except for sun protection. For this reason, it has been observed that Ukrainians, who generally prefer to live in newly built apartments, do not make any cultural additions to the facades of the apartments.

However, it has been observed that Ukrainians desire to create a place of worship in a corner of their homes. This behavior was tried to be achieved with small symbolic objects and religious figures.



Figure 9 A.B. Usage of Religious symbols of Ukrainians in their residents. (By: Şeyma Fidancı)

As mentioned earlier, Ukrainians, who tend to rent their homes already furnished, prefer to use whatever furniture is delivered to them in the general living areas, bedrooms, or even bathrooms in the houses they settle in and not make any changes. This will be discussed below through photographs of the daily living spaces, bedrooms, and bathrooms of Ukrainians taken from their homes.



Figure 10 A.B. Living rooms of the Ukrainians in the region. (By: Şeyma Fidancı)

Figure 10 shows the living rooms of 2 different houses rented by Ukrainians. As can be seen from the photographs, although the Ukrainians live in these houses, they have not made any changes to the house as it was rented to them. They did not bring anything from their pre-war homes or even buy decorative elements to make their homes more personalized. In the figure on the left, it is seen that they do not even feel the need to hang the painting on the armchair. Apart from the possibility that the conditions under which they rented their houses may have been harsh, it may also be considered that they wanted to stay away from personalizing the space.



Figure 11 A.B. Bedrooms of the Ukrainians in the region. (By: Şeyma Fidancı)

The majority of the houses visited in the area are shown on the left in Figure 11. In the bedrooms, which were used almost like hotel rooms, they only used their bed linen on the bed. However, in only one of the houses visited, the rest of the house was more personalized than in the other houses, and the bedroom was also more personalized than in the other houses. The photograph on the right shows that the space appears to be a more lived-in environment. In the interview with the users of this house, they stated that they used to come to this house in the summers before the war and used it as a summer house.



Figure 12. A.B. Kitchens of the Ukrainians in the region. (By: Şeyma Fidancı)

The photographs taken from the kitchens of Ukrainians' houses show that the kitchens are more personalized and in use than the rest of the houses, even if they do not reach the usual intensity of kitchen use. Along with the previously mentioned religious objects, a number of items necessary for the kitchen, such as spoons, pots, cleaning materials, and tablecloths, seem to have been preferred.



Figure 13. A.B. Bathrooms of the Ukrainians in the region. (By: Şeyma Fidancı)

As seen in Figure 13, the use of the bathroom and toilet is mostly for personal belongings and cosmetic products. In some houses, even decorative items such as rubbish bins, toilet brushes, etc., seem to have been placed most cheaply.

The discussion of this situation and the comparison with the living spaces created by Syrian immigrants in Ankara, Önder region, will be discussed in the findings section.

4. CONCLUSION

In this study, firstly, in order to understand the spatial adaptation of migrants to the places where they go while building their new post-war lives, research has been conducted on spatial adaptation processes, culture-space interactions, and spatial belonging phenomena of space. As a result of the study, it has been observed that spatial adaptation processes are directly related to the person's identity, habits, and culture. By bringing these elements together, a tendency to make some additions to the space has been entered, the space has started to be personalized, and thus, the sense of belonging to the space has been increased. To compare emerging spatial attributes, two cities with different migrant groups in Turkey are analyzed.

While examining the migrant groups in the cities, the Syrian migrant group in Ankara, Önder region was analyzed, and the adaptations made to their houses were examined. As a result, it has been observed that despite their escape from the war, their efforts to live a life in the camps, and their tendency to settle in the cities illegally, they have made some additions to their houses and their immediate surroundings in line with their own culture, everyday life experiences and habits.

As a result of the observations made in this context, it has been observed that the changes they have made in their spaces are related to their culture, remain in their memories, and are transferred in accordance with their habits. When analyzing how they made these transfers, it was determined that they did so through a number of spatial attributes, and these are listed in Table 2:

Table 2. Outside and inside the house appropriations of Syrians in Önder Neighbourhood

OUTSIDE AND INSIDE THE HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS OF SYRIANS IN ÖNDER NEIGHBOURHOOD			INCLUDED
APPROPRIATIONS INSIDE THE HOUSE	Allocations and Functionality	Allocation Scheme Types and Functionality Rooms, Kitchenette Storage areas	+
	Furniture	Furniture and its Function Second-hand Furniture	+
	Materials	Waterproof materials Smooth Materials (Carpet etc.)	+
APPROPRIATIONS OUTSIDE THE HOUSE	Appropriated Outdoor Usage		+
	Furniture and its appropriated function		+
	Fabric materials for coverings, waste materials for coverings, smooth materials (Carpet, etc.)		+

As can be seen in the table, Syrian migrants make changes both inside and outside of their houses in Ankara. There are generally reorganized allocations according to their needs, the use of second-hand furniture and materials they prefer to meet their needs quickly due to economic reasons, and the material preferences they add to the space to continue their cultural and daily habits.

Continuously, Ukrainian migrant groups in Alanya Mahmutlar were analyzed, and the adaptations made to their houses were examined. As a result, it has been observed that although they fled the war and came to Alanya, Mahmutlar region, it seems that the consciousness of using the region to spend their summer holidays continues spatially. Ukrainians' spatial attributes are listed in Table 3:

Table 3. Outside and inside the house appropriations of Ukrainians in Mahmutlar Neighbourhood

OUTSIDE AND INSIDE THE HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS OF UKRAINIAN IN THE MAHMUTLAR NEIGHBOURHOOD			INCLUDED
APPROPRIATIONS INSIDE THE HOUSE	Allocations and Functionality	Allocation Scheme Types and Functionality Rooms, Kitchenette Storage areas	-
	Furniture	Furniture and Its Function Second-hand Furniture	+ -
	Materials	Waterproof materials Smooth Materials (Carpet etc.)	-
APPROPRIATIONS INSIDE THE HOUSE	Appropriated Outdoor Usage		-
	Furniture and its appropriated function		-
	Fabric materials for coverings, waste materials for coverings, smooth materials (Carpet, etc.)		-

In the Ukrainian case part, it can be observed that, except for religious objects, there is not much change in the places. In fact, if the house is rented to them furnished, it seems that they tend to live without even putting their personal belongings on the house as it was delivered to them. When this spatial tendency is added to the table, it can be said that there are only some minor preferences regarding the use of furniture. There is no preference for making spatial attachments other than furniture usage preferences, which migrants may prefer to personalize the space.

The spatial approaches that emerged as a result of the comparisons made over these two groups give an idea that the Syrian group tends to increase their belonging to the space, that they own the space, and that they may want to live in these houses for an indefinite period of their lives. When the Ukrainian group is evaluated based on the same criteria, it can be concluded that they do not see the need to personalize the space in any way. Perhaps they do not want to increase their belonging to the space, that is, they may not intend to be permanent.

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