# Negotiating Spatiality in Urban Migration Context:

# The Case of Syrian Students in Istanbul

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## ABSTRACT

This study contributes to the current literature on space, migration, identity, and everyday life by bringing insights into how space is experienced and negotiated by Syrian students who are settled and studying in Istanbul post forced migration context. The notion of space has been widely debated but with sociological imagination, there is little reference to its impact on the perceptions and individual experiences of migrant students, who engage with culturally different organizations of spatiality. The main goal of the research is to display the place-making process through the everyday practices of the migrants in their urban settlements and to examine the relationship between this place-making process and the formation of the migratory identity in contemporary Turkish urban society.

This thesis not only contributes to current literature on spatiality but also expands it to address the complexity of the construction of youth identities through migration processes by incorporating critical sociological theories and geographical discussions into the research. In this regard, the research draws a theoretical framework on the socio-spatiality discussion of Lefebvre and Soja, Cwerner's conceptualization of multiple senses of time, the interaction between global and local based on Massey's conceptualizations and Bourdieu's model of habitus and capital to explore the relationship between space and identity at different societal scales.

The research presents qualitative research into Istanbul based on ethnographic observations, virtual ethnographies, focus groups, unstructured and semi-structured in-depth interviews, with Syrian students and the NGOs they are affiliated with. Research findings regarding the multiple sense of temporality, the reconstruction of gender, understanding power relations, exploring the placemaking process, and transnational space and identities provide a complicated picture that grasps the dialectical relation between space and identity

construction of Syrian youth. The bulk of the literature underestimates the theoretical framework of this thesis focusing on intersected features of place in terms of social, cultural, and physical in migration studies. Since it is possible for immigrants a production of a space-making process by actively negotiating with the host country, a place is not constructed just by conscious planning and design, but by bodily doing and living. Moreover, by ensuring that migration is perceived as a totality of meaning that includes the past, present, and future, this combination of temporality and spatiality produces new and multiple senses of spaces.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

# INTRODUCTION

Coming to the end of the four-year PhD period and the hardworking days spent writing the thesis, I intended to write the introduction to the paper the next day. I was confused because I had not decided how to start it when I went to sleep. I was on the streets of Istanbul in my dream. While I was walking those streets, I heard a young migrant woman say to me that, "You should start with the spirit of the place". Space and spirit together, this is something I had not thought about on the conscious level, but maybe that is what I have been trying to do throughout the thesis. During the research, I explored the dynamic meaning of the space under the complexity that is breathing, viewing, touching, organizing, walking, feeling, talking, and, at the final point, maybe by dreaming. This long journey has taught me that if there is a spirit of the space and it has language to communicate, that language would be called empathy. This is also a preferred way of my research: to understand the relations in the field deeply. Therefore, this thesis, by using "the language of the space", mainly examines the everyday geographies of Syrian student youth groups to shed light on how Syrian student identities and their sense of space are co-constructed in Istanbul. This group, by producing a new sense of place and negotiating their identities, stands at the centre discussions on spatiality.

Then, what is space? Although there are many different answers depending on one's theoretical standpoint, according to my approach, space, or place interchangeably, is the combination of material, metaphorical, real, and imagined spaces controlled, perceived, practised, and created through encounters. Spatiality is not just the physical arrangement of things, but also the spatial patterns of social action and embodied routines, as well as the historical concepts of space and the world. In this regard, space and the new and old participants together can be understood best by the transformative effect of migration.

**The Rationale for the Study**

Approximately 4% of Turkey's population are recent arrivals: Syrian migrants, escaping from the harsh conditions of war in their country (Erdoğan& Erdoğan, 2018). With the outbreak of the Syrian civil war in March 2011, the majority of Syrian citizens became displaced to nearby destinations, these being Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey. As of March 2021, 6.7 million people had been internally displaced in Syria and 6.6 million Syrian refugees dispersed internationally, of whom 5.6 million are hosted in countries near Syria (UNHCR, 2021). As a result of the conditions in the region and its generous open-door policy, Turkey now hosts the world's largest community of Syrians displaced by the ongoing conflict. According to the statistics of the Directorate General of Migration Management, Turkey's Syrian refugee population was more than three million in mid-September 2021 (IDGMM, 2021).

Syrian migration to Turkey is forced migration, and sociologists must include this aspect in their research and analyses of the processes of social transformation. Because policy labels create categorical invisibility despite the similar means of travel used by different migrants (Castles, 2003), the categorization of forced migrants is problematic in the Turkish context as well. Refugees, migrants, asylum seekers, and temporarily protected people are the main categories that have been identified, and their rights and relations with the state differ from each other. Despite the informal usages of refugee and migrant to describe Syrian people in Turkey, they have not been accepted legally by the Turkish government as refugees. The definition of a refugee in Turkey is different from European countries because it maintains a geographical limitation concerning the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951 Convention): with the standing reservation to this Convention, Turkey is not obliged to grant refugee status to asylum seekers coming from outside Europe. As a result of this legal difference, Turkey has protected more than three million Syrians under a temporary

protection regime since 2011 (UHCR, 2017). Temporary protection status[1] is applied in cases of mass migration and is the procedure currently applied in Turkey for Syrian asylum seekers, a type of protection offered to foreigners who come collectively to the borders. According to Article 91 of the LFIP, it is applied to people who have to leave their country and who cannot find the opportunity to return to their country (Ekşi 2016, 53-54).

While only 1.4% of Syrians live in camps, as of October 21, 2021, the number of Syrians living in cities was declared to be 3.658 million. The number of Syrians living in cities increased by 10,270 compared to last month. Today, 98.6% of Syrians live in cities (Multeciler, 2021). This number, which is more than the population of many European countries, has naturally influenced different aspects of Turkish urban life. Suddenly, through appearing as the third largest ethnic group in Turkey, the Syrian people, whose origins and backgrounds are not in Turkey but whose future is in Turkey, have become vital for the future of both sides. In this sense, it is inconceivable for social scientists to stay away from this rapid societal transformation.

This transformation can be felt best within the culture and space because without being aware of the socialization process in everyday life, human beings are directly affected by the values and lifestyle within a place. During the production and reproduction of social relations, the place is both a centre of meaning and the external context of our actions. Objective and

[1] In Article 91 of Law No: 6458 on Foreigners and International Protection; Temporary Protection is defined as the following: "Temporary protection may be provided for foreigners who have been forced to leave their country, cannot return to the country that they have left, and have arrived at or crossed the borders of Turkey in a mass influx situation seeking immediate and temporary protection."
Refugees, migrants, asylum seekers and temporarily protected people are the main categories to be clarified as their rights and relations with the state are different from each other. Despite the informal use of the term refugee and migrant to describe Syrian people in Turkey, they have not been accepted as refugees legally by the Turkish government. The local definition of refugee is different from that used by the European countries because Turkey maintains a geographical limitation to the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (1951 Convention). With a standing reservation to this Convention, Turkey is not obligated to grant refugee status to asylum seekers coming from outside Europe. As a result of this legal difference, Turkey has protected more than three million Syrians under a temporary protection regime since 2011 (UHCR, 2017). With this protection regime, despite the improvements in the rights of the Syrian people, their status and rights are still not clear. Because of this complexity, studying forced migration in Turkey is more difficult than in other contexts.

subjective realities cannot be separated from each other because social processes and relations not only create a place in a material sense, but they also produce the meaning that people attach to it (Massey, 1994).

From this perspective, the relations between space and identity are crucial in migration studies because the place provides the tools needed to consider the multiple dimensions that affect immigrants' lives, while simultaneously enabling us to consider how immigrants use different ties to create places for themselves. Since it means leaving places where they have constructed their cultures and identities, migration leads to revolutionary consequences in the identities of immigrants and in the cities of the host country.

When immigrants enter a place, they bring with them a set of cultural traits and a particular socio-economic and legal status. Their religion, their language, and their skin colour all shape the experience they are likely to have in the new country. Whether they are rich or poor, legal or not, will determine how well they fit into the new society and the extent to which they feel that they belong there. Ultimately, the question becomes how well the immigrant senses that he or she is indeed "home" and the extent to which he or she can shape this new home to reflect his or her sensibilities. In this new home, where transportation, communication, and, sometimes, political advances have facilitated even greater levels of mobility, the attachments of immigrants to place are ever more complicated (Kaplan & Chacko, 2015, 129).

By regarding this complexity, the city can be viewed in terms of historical layers, some that have disappeared and others that are still shaping space and identity. New migrant populations continue to add to these layers, altering the historical and physical form of the city and transforming it into a space of hybridity. The city's spatial multiplicity and hybridity contribute to its heterogeneity as well as reinforce unequal development and power relations (Hanley, Ruble & Garland, 2008:9). In this respect, the purpose of this study is to understand

and explain this complex relationship that affects the everyday life of the people in the cities. Not only for Syrians but also for Turks, life in the Turkish cities gains a more complex character day by day.

This complexity is best felt among young Syrian migrants because they are not only undergoing the transformation of migration, but also the transformation from childhood to adulthood. These changes make it compulsory to understand adaptation to the new culture, the possibility of new forms of identities, their tactics in daily life in terms of language, education, employment, and so on. Moreover, if the age distribution is taken into consideration, it can be seen how the young Syrian population is remarkable and dominant in Turkish daily life. According to the statistics of the Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management (2021), there are 760,300 people between the ages of 15-24, which is defined as the young population, living in Turkey. The ratio of the young Syrian population to the total number of Syrians is 20.4%. The average age of registered Syrians is 22.2. Today, when Syrians are discussed, it should be recognised that what is being referred to is the mostly young generation, trying to adapt to Turkish daily life and survive, with their cultural values being negotiated with Turkish ones.

In my thesis, I take into account the UN, which defines youth as the period between 15 and 24 years of age because, as in Turkey, all UN statistics are based on this definition. This international definition was made during preparations for the International Youth Year (1985) by the General Assembly (A/36/215/ and resolution 36/28, 1981) (Hörschelmann and van Blerk, 2012: 23). By considering the UN definition, I look at the data and statistics on young Syrians who are between 15-24 years of age. Article 1 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child defines the child as being up to the age of 18. So, for my thesis, since under 18 is legally considered a child, I conducted my research using people whose ages were over 18. However, social differences change the meaning and definition of youth

contextually, so the age range is more flexible in my research. Bourdieu argues that there is no clear border between youth and old age and that there is a complex relationship between social age and biological age. Some young people of the same biological age are considered adults, while others are not. According to Bourdieu, the most important reasons for this distinction are educational processes, employment, and economic conditions (Bourdieu,1996: 130-134). As forced migration has delayed the education, employment, and any other expectations of the Syrian youth migrant population in the Turkish context, many of them try to complete their education, continue to study in universities, and get skills in the labour market, even if they exceed the age of 25.

Like the dynamism of cities, migratory groups and identities are likewise dynamic as the practices and experiences of the youth are different from those of their parents. This is because they do not only struggle with the difficulties of migration, and they try to meet the expectations of society. According to the latest research conducted with young migrants, there is an intergenerational gap between them and older migrants, with the young people more able to negotiate their multiple identities (Ahmed, 2009; Dwyer, 1998; Lewis, 2007). These youth migrants challenge the dominant representations of migrants as they try to produce new meanings in their new society. However, identity construction and negotiation are contextual, so they cannot be discussed independently from the place in which the negotiation occurs. Since places are dynamic and each place has its own identity, "identities are negotiated differently in different places and are constructed and contested within particular places" (Dwyer, 1998: 50).

In this thesis, to understand the new forms of identity of the youth migrants and their effects on Turkish society, I have focused on Syrian students because they are adapting to daily life by using different places, creating a new sense of space with a new lifestyle, transforming and

negotiating their own identities, speaking Turkish, being integrated into the education system, and socializing by interacting with other different groups.

Although the Syrian population of each Turkish city varies and it has its own dynamics, Istanbul is different because it is the most cosmopolitan and the biggest city in Turkey with the greatest number of refugees: some 550,000. This means that Istanbul now has the highest urban migrant population in the country (Woods, 2018). More importantly, it has the highest youth student population in Turkey (IDGMM, 2019). According to Higher Education Institution statistics, there are 27,000 Syrian university students in Turkey, with 5,957 of these in Istanbul (YOK, 2019).

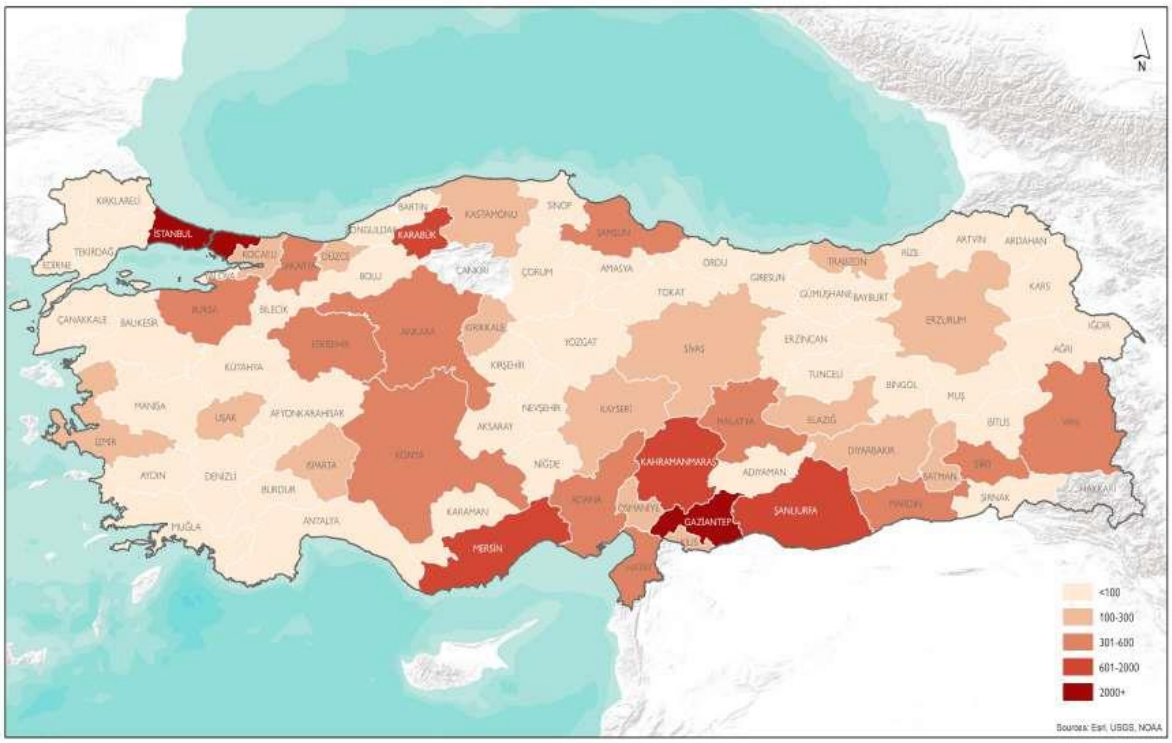



Illustration 1: Density map of provinces presenting the number of registered Syrian university students (Yıldız, 2019).

In addition to university students, when the potential of the young population preparing for university exams is taken into consideration with the category of 15-18-year-old Syrian youth, which is 258,626 in total (Interior Directorate General of Migration Management (IDGMM), 2021), it is understood that this number is as vital in Istanbul as it is in other Turkish cities. Hence, I will focus on the students 18 and over 18 who study for exams to enter the university, undergraduate students, or master's students in universities. These students have mainly come to Turkey because of the harsh conditions of forced migration, either with their family or individually. Although all of them have come to Turkey following the start of the civil war in Syria, some of them chose Turkey purposively and individually for educational opportunities, while others seek to continue their education after the settlement of their families there.

Citizenship is crucial dimension to understand their relations with education, urban life, working life, and more crucial for their plans for today and the future. Whether they have come to Turkey individually or with their family almost all the participants have applied to get Turkish citizenship. Since temporary protection rights restrict to their participation to the city life in terms of mobility and working rights, having citizenship is very crucial for them. % 40 of my participants were Turkish citizenship. Educated group is luckier than other Syrian migrants because regulations make easier applications and getting Turkish citizenship for qualified migrant groups. This is because necessities for Turkish citizenship best fit to student migrant group such as speaking Turkish, familiar with Turkish culture, and having income. The necessities are listed below (Gunes& Gunes, 2022):

. The applicant must be of age according to the laws of the country of citizenship, if s/he is stateless, s/he must be 18 years old according to the Turkish Civil Code.

. One's ability to distinguish

. Legally living in Turkey for at least 5 years without interruption before the application

. Not having a dangerous disease that threatens public health

. Having good morals and following the rules of etiquette

. Knowing and speaking enough Turkish

. Not to be a threat to national security and public order

. Having enough income to stay in Turkey.

As a first step in establishing the difference and the importance of this research, it is crucial that understanding of both Syrian and Turkish identities is created not based on boundaries and conflicts, but on the awareness of the dialectical (the continuing interaction of two forces) relations between space and identities, focusing on new cultural patterns seen everywhere in the city and understanding how Syrian migrants use the spaces in the cities with their identity undergoing transformation.

Second, migration studies based on space and identity with a sociological imagination are increasing day by day; however, still, there is a gap in the literature. This is because the discussions related to space and identity are mainly investigated by human geographers. Through combining the sociological perspective, which focuses on the social aspects of human behaviour and critically examines social issues and human geography, showing how humanity adapts to the environment and that all behaviour is shaped by its cultural and spatial context, I aim to contribute to the discussion on migration studies.

The last important aspect of my research is its contribution to youth studies through consideration of the effect of migration. Despite the different studies about Syrian migration, there is still a gap. This gap concerns not only space and identity but also youth studies in

general. According to Yaman, in Turkey, youth studies, which are accepted as an important topic in the discipline of sociology, have serious gaps in the context of both theoretical and field studies (2013: 12).

**Research Questions**

By taking into consideration these gaps in the literature, I will mainly contribute to the debate on migrant students and identities by identifying the negotiation of socio-spatiality in the urban context. “How do Syrian students construct and negotiate identities in their everyday geographies and how does this impact their sense of place in Istanbul?” is the main research question in this research.

Based on the main research question, I also aim to investigate these sub-questions:

a) How do Syrian students produce and reproduce space-time patterns of everyday activities in Istanbul? How do these patterns change over time?

b) What kind of social relations are reproduced through these patterns? What is the role of space in the reproduction of new social relations?

c) What kinds of discourses, experiences, and institutions have roles in the production of social relations in the spaces of Istanbul?

d) How do the experiences of Syrian students produce feelings of inclusion and/or exclusion about a space?

e) What kinds of tactics are produced by this youth to negotiate power relations in a social and spatial context? What is the contribution of space in the negotiation of power relations?

f) How do young Syrian migrants socialize in the cities? Which spaces do they mainly prefer to use depending on their social activities?

g) What are the differences between young Syrian men and women in the construction of a new sense of identity and place?

To understand the everyday geographies of Syrian students, these questions have been answered using qualitative research methods, ethnographic observations, in-depth interviews, and group interviews in Istanbul. These will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

**Outline of chapters**

Chapters One locates the study within the broader academic debate on issues of spatiality. This chapter attempts to reconfigure the existing literature on the issue of place and placemaking from the expanding interdisciplinary field of social science into a theoretical framework to rethink the relationships between the forced migratory subjects and the place of their urban settlement. In the first step, by focusing on the discussions on identity and space together, I clarify why seeing a dialectical relation between them is important to understand the changes in both migrants' everyday life and the spaces of the host country's post-migration context. As the key focus of the chapter, the main spatiality discussions are reviewed from sociological and geographical perspectives by creating a theoretical framework, consisting of the socio-spatiality approach of Lefebvre and Soja with the third space concept, the social space understanding of the symbolic interaction approach, and Doren Massey's theorization of the global sense of space. I also sustain my argument by incorporating the idea of temporality because, without time that covers past, present, and future, it is impossible to analyse the dynamic nature of the space. I seek to produce a conceptual framework for a holistic approach to show how the intersection of various times and multiple variables are possible in the same context. The argument that different time

constructs can be simultaneously possible in the same country is crucial to understanding migration with past, present, and future-based implications together. The discussions of temporality and spatiality lead me to the negotiation of migrant students with the structures in the new country. This is only possible with the theories that can examine the interaction between structure and agency covering temporality and spatiality. In this regard, Giddens' structuration theory and Bourdieu's operationalized concept of habitus stand at the centre. In the last part of the literature review, I discuss power relations because the relations between the minority and majority and their constructed meanings in society are not independent of power and are not innocent.

In the second chapter, in detail, I discuss my methodology, sampling, and data collection, ethical considerations, and I reflect on the research process required to answer the research questions throughout the thesis. Qualitative research methods are used to examine the chosen field of research, Istanbul between August 2019- March 2020. These include ethnographic observations, virtual methods, unstructured and semi-structured interviews, and group interviews, and an explanation is given as to why they all fit my research best.

Then I present my research findings under the following five different empirical chapters. Chapter Three mainly clarifies why temporality is another dimension that needs to be understood alongside space as a socially constructed issue, both of which are experienced by Syrian students simultaneously. A sense of time and the organization of everyday life are the main two results of the experiences in the new country. As the focal point of this chapter, I argue that a simultaneous multiple sense of time is possible in the same society. *Strange times* and *remembered times*, and a new concept I call *modernized religious time* are the temporalities of Syrian migrants all existing in the Turkish context simultaneously, and each one has different functions within the spatiality of the new context. The other finding directly related to the multiple temporality constructs of the youth is the organization of everyday life.

I see that the different paces of time and the organization of everyday life produce a new socio-spatial network in the new context. Under the title of the *socio-spatial network*, I explain how social relations inherent to the culture can differ from place to place and from time to time. The changes in time and space transform the everyday organization of space and produce a new socio-spatial network. This new network can be best understood in the resolution of extended family relations, the production of new responsibilities and relationships different from family-based networks, and the activation of individualization patterns.

Chapter Four is directly based on the space-making processes of Syrians. This chapter mainly focuses on the question: "How do the everyday geographies of Syrian migrant students construct a sense of place in Istanbul by negotiating their identities?". I look at the relations between the dynamic production of space and the performative dimension of identity in terms of the inclusion and/or exclusion of the Syrian youth in Istanbul. Migrants do not only select a place to live that matches their experiences directly; rather, places are made through repeated everyday actions and encounters. In this regard, both the dynamic nature of the place and the performativity of Syrian students in everyday spaces of Istanbul are at the heart of the placemaking process of Syrian students in this chapter. However, this cannot be thought of as being independent of the power relations that make possible experiences of exclusion and inclusion. However, the most interesting part of the findings is the possibility of the production of exclusion and inclusion simultaneously. The third space, which is the place of opposites and binaries, allows this contradictory relationship to occur in the same space. Throughout the chapter, I categorize different spaces according to their functions by naming them according to the data coming from the fieldwork. I add to literature new concepts (segregated, judicial, private, open, co-operational, social imaginary, and emotional spaces and also comfort zones) produced from the field work and basically from interviews.

The contribution of Chapter Five is the analysis of how migration has affected men and women students simultaneously by adding gender as a main variable in the new context of the spatiality discussions. Although there are increasing gender studies in urban migration context, in this chapter, the main analytical focus is the integration of spatiality, migration, and gender from the sociological perspective. It is crucial to understand geographical variation in gender discussions because gender experiences are socially constructed and differ from one space to another. From the space-based encounters, migration inevitably re-designs roles and gives different responsibilities in the new space and gives different responsibilities to young Syrian men and women. To analyse public space relations, gender relations and working life, and a sense of freedom in this chapter, not only do I embrace the theoretical concept of intersectionality by considering gender, ethnicity, culture, religion, and modernity but I also expand the intersectional approach by adding space, time, and everydayness.

In Chapter Six, I contribute to the spatiality discussions through analysing power relations. This is because the sense of place is produced with its embedded meanings after the establishment of power relationships between the majority and minority. In this regard, symbols, beliefs and meanings are all the production of power relations in the space, and places are the essential creator of the difference between “us” and “them” (Creswell, 2020). Since outsiders are seen as the deviants in a society and insiders are those who know and obey the rules of the dominant culture (Becker, 1996:25 as cited in Creswell, 2020), outsiders are understood to be powerless in this relationship. However, power relations within the space show that migrants are not passive victims; conversely, they are proactive agents. They produce tactics against the strategies of the dominant power through improving current conditions and planning for the future. So, to categorize the relationship between today and the future, basic and forward-looking tactics are discussed. In this chapter, I also add to

literature new concepts as spatial tactics, language tactics, consumption tactics, institutional tactics. They are all new and produced by me.

In the seventh and last chapter, I explore the future orientation of these students. This chapter shows in detail how space and migration are not only directly related to the past and present but also the future. Space-based interactions are constructing the future of the migrants from today both within national borders and international contexts. Everyday encounters of Syrian students give clues about their futures and their routes from today. The first part, Perspective on Citizenship and Transnational Connections, focuses on the students' plans. The Transnational Spaces and Youth Engagements part differs from the first. Instead of looking at the plan, it focuses on how the students construct their future from today through their economic activities, charity organizations, and their activities on social media. To explore all this mobility and transformation, I employ Massey's concepts of routes and roots and the duality between them.

Finally, I conclude by summarizing my main findings and addressing those points that need further clarification and research. In the end, I reflect on the limitations of my study.

# CHAPTER ONE

## 1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### Introduction: Negotiation of Space and Identity in Urban Migration Context

There has been a tendency to discuss migration with identities mainly by looking the issue behind the conflicts and boundaries between migrant and native people (Gans, 1992; Nagel, 1994, 1996; Cornell, 1996; Nagar, 1997). I want to move on from this discussion, however, to include the concept of place within the analysis of identity and migration. According to my approach, daily life interactions within urban places create inevitable transformations in the dynamic of place and identity together. By including the notion of place in migration studies, therefore, I will contribute to the literature by establishing a dialectical approach that covers heterogeneities and dynamism both in space and identities in itself.

"Identity" is a controversial concept in social science because of its different dimensions and dichotomist constructions. Although self-identity and social identities tend to be discussed differently from each other, self-identity is also accepted to be social because without social construction identities are not possible. It is not a fixed point but an ambivalent point (Hall, 1989). From my perspective, not only identities but also places are socially constructed. Meanings are assigned and ascribed to places by people with shared values and common identity. "A sense of place is not only the ability to locate things on a cognitive map, but also the attribution of meaning to a built-form or natural spot" (Giereyn, 2000:472). In this context, a sense of community is critical in the process of place making, and thus stands at the centre for my discussion. Initially, locations are constructed on top of pre-existing identities and lifestyles, but later, re- and co-construction of identity occurs alongside integration with place, allowing people to maintain or reproduce new values and lifestyles in their location.

The construction of identity is therefore related to the social production of places, and thus places both foster and reinforce expressions of identities. It follows from this that, migrants through negotiating their belonging and engaging in creating places, make urban space 'a negotiated reality' (Anderson, 1991: 28). This negotiation involves both symbolic and material expressions as a result of migrants' engagement with the receiving society. In other words, migrants are often faced with new situations and new experiences, requiring a rethinking and negotiation of their understandings about the world. Living in the city constantly highlights multiplicities and renegotiations of history and space, which both subordinate and coordinate other identities (Hanley, Ruble & Garland, 2008: 9). Among these identities, youth identity is the most dynamic because young people have more potential and are more eager to adapt themselves to changes in their urban environment and their own identities (Dwyer, 1998). It is for this reason, that I focus my research particularly on the dynamism between places (public, home, work, education, NGOs) and youth migrant identity, using different theoretical perspectives to challenge the reality of de-territorialisation of belonging and identification in urban environments.

The essence of the above argument is that there is a two-way relationship between migrants and host societies. Urban life transforms migrant groups into ethnic communities with shared memories and perceptions, because it is on city streets that migrants discover their own similarities in opposition to the world around them. As members of migrant communities seek to become incorporated into the life of their new city, they face language barriers, racial discrimination, unfamiliar cultures, hostile labour markets. Thus, these migrants must find an appropriate balance between maintaining cultural and ethnic integrity while simultaneously accessing their new city's social, political, economic opportunities (Hanley, Ruble & Garland, 2008: 5-8). This two-way relationship in turn implies, however, that neither identities nor places remain the same—both undergo transformation.

Ehrkamp's researches, "Turkish immigrants' politics of belonging: identity, assimilation discourse, and the transformation of urban space in Duisburg-Marxloh. Germany" (2002) and "Placing Identities: Transnational Practices and Local Attachments of Turkish Immigrants in Germany" (2005) are crucial because it was one of the first studies to examine the negotiation between place and identity, rather than just focusing on the latter. She finds that rather than creating binary oppositions or contradictory attachments, Turkish immigrants negotiate different scales of belonging within the place. Ehrkamp's studies contribute to my study in terms of understanding place as a thing, always under construction, and identity as a concept negotiated alongside the effect of place attachment (Ehrkamp, 2005).

Building on this, Powell and Rishbeth (2012) argue that flexibility of meanings of place, as well as flexibility of places visited, can be important to first generation migrants. Thus, the urban environment has a dual role to play in providing both a growing sense of familiarity and in providing diverse opportunities for a process of change: rootedness and transformation. As a result, the tension between place rootedness and transnational identities (fluidity/routes) is being discussed in the literature so as to understand more fully the place-making process with migration dynamics.

Claire Dwyer (1998), in her study, "Negotiating Diasporic Identıtıes: Young British South Asian Muslim Women "uses the "negotiation" as a concept to understand the identities within the social and local contexts of their everyday lives. As in the study of Ehrkamp, she focuses on the differences and heterogeneity. Instead of understanding issue with homogeneous groups and hybridity concept, she shows the position of young migrant women varied considerably depending on their social and class position which is consistent with my arguments in the thesis.

As a result, I am going to discuss young migrants with individuals by considering their positions. So instead of understanding the issue with homogeneity, intersectional approach will be used. Class, gender, age, race and ethnicity should be considered together and can be understood inter relational. However, this interrelationality could not be analysed without putting the place into the discussion because the meaning of place varies according to the social differences and social positions of agents (Gough& Franch, 2005).

### 1.1. What is Space?

Although I use space or place interchangeably during the thesis, both usages are different from the abstract geometries referring to size, shape, or distances. Space mainly is where social and cultural interpretations, material, historical, emotional values are filled by people, practices, and interactions. Moreover, space is more than settings or contexts which are the main focus of sociological attention. The space is irrelevant to studies comparing two contexts in terms of behaviour patterns, structural changes, or attitudes – unless further hypothesized about the effects of geographic location, material form, or ascribed meanings of the two countries (Gieryn, 2000). As migration cannot be reduced to two dichotomous contexts as back and migrated country, spaces cannot be seen in a unique form. I see space as the combination of geographic location, material form and, also meaning and value. Geographic location refers to flexible logical boundaries which can be a building, an armchair, a room, a region, a country, a district, or a city (Entrikin 1989, 1991 as cited in Gieryn, 2000: 464). The material form covers the physical features of the city which can be thought of with material culture embedded in the physical characteristics. In addition to two, without producing the meaning, cultures, interpretations of ordinary people, space is not space. In this regard, space is flexible and always under construction with the contribution of new meanings and newcomers so differences, heterogeneities, hierarchies, power relations are an inseparable part of the production process of meanings in the spaces. In my approach,

social media is also a space in which new meanings and its reality symbolically are reproduced. From this perspective, I conceptualize social media as a symbolic public space. I see symbolic spaces are real in the sense that they provide a way how to think, see, feel, act, etc. (Popkewitz, 1998, p. 29 as cited in Lindgren, 1988:10). I also see social media as a public space because, "online social spaces are indeed loci of the public display rather than a private revelation: online profiles are structured with the view that 'everyone can see them, even if the explicitly intended audience is more limited" (Burkell et al., 2014:974). As a result, in my research everyday space is seen as the result of the collaboration of material, physical, geographical, temporal, gendered, emotional, real, and imagined spaces that are perceived, practiced, memorized, and created by Syrian students.

In the following parts of this chapter, I will discuss different geographical and sociological standpoints to discuss migratory subjects with these features of space under the consistent theoretical framework.

### 1.2. Place Making in the Post-Migration Context

Just as urban studies' scholars (Tönnies,1957; Simmel,1905; Gans,1962; Granovetter's,1973) Wirth became increasingly interested in the importance of social ties, as major urban centres have become a focal point for immigrants, so scholarship has turned as well to focus on the new ethnic groups and their networks. The effect of migration on urban settlements is now a particular subject of academic interest, and, from a sociological perspective, that interest particularly centres on the interaction between the dynamism of migration and urban place. Recognition of this dynamism underpins many different approaches to the relationship between the migratory subjects and urban places.

The first theory directly to address immigrant groups, settlements and their processes of adaptation was the *functionalist paradigm* of the Chicago School (1920). Scholars in this

tradition handled the issue on the basis of a linear model of migration which implies immigrants' processes of adaptation in urban areas and to new industrial work roles, which affected everything from family life to leisure activities. They also emphasized the concept of "disorganization" in respect to the issue of migration. According to this perspective, since the organization of cities is different from that of rural communities, migrants are forced to change themselves and adapt to the new social structure (Lutters & Ackerman, 1996: 5-6). In other words, instead of using "social pathology"[2], these scholars prefer to see urban areas as a "mosaic" of communities (Park, 1952: 196) each of which adapts to the new culture.

The functionalist paradigm is also seen as adopting a "Human Ecological Perspective", which is one of three main theoretical bases for understanding social change, emphasizing the interactions of humans with their environment, and thus combining spatiality, definitions of space, and also the socio/spatial/temporal problems within the sociology of space. This is because, even though the Chicago school used to be criticized for focusing too much on economy-based explanations and too little on the broad social relational perspectives in urban contexts, today, the Chicago school has increasingly encompassed understandings of spatial differentiation in urban relations, such as the interrelation of ethnic and socio-economic groups (Hillier, 2003: 219). This approach views humans as basically individualistic, rational, competitive, self-oriented and interest based. Social change is seen as evolutionary and technologically based. Division of labour, social-cultural systems, and spatial design in urban places are all influenced by technological changes. With the development of technology, however, other forces, such as demography and socio-cultural structure, may effect changes

[2] "Social Pathology" refers to a social factor, as poverty or crime, that tends to increase social disorganization and inhibit personal adjustment. "Pathology in social science has a certain parallel to pathology in medical science. As the study of physical disease is essential to the maintenance of physical health, so social health can never be securely grounded without a wider and more definite knowledge of social disease" (Rubington & Weinberg, 1981: 22-23). Social problems are the result of pathological factors in the personal lives.

in space, both physically and as a social product of ecological processes. From this perspective, the state is a neutral mediator and not an independent force for change (Iadicola, 1990:47-50).

Some of the classic ecological models of urban sociology are Burgess' (1925) "concentric ring" model, Hoyt's (1939) 'sector' and Harris and Ullman's (1945) 'multiple nuclei' theory. These theories mainly assume that settlements are uniform and stable. However, contrary to this one way understanding, from the economical perspective, it should be examined whether policies serve the interests of any particular group. With the restructuring of cities, the role of capitalism, international economic relations and state orders started to be questioned because cities came to be seen as the centre of inequalities.

This new urban restructuring led, therefore, to the second perspective on the sociology of space, namely the Neo-Marxist Political Economic Approach. Since migration was seen as the conflict between new and old residents by Neo-Marxist perspective, the settlement of migrants in cities was likewise articulated as an object of economic and political struggle.

Neo-Marxist approach rejects the assumption of the ecological approach that human beings are competitive in nature, arguing that the conditions in society's economic and political structure produces alienation with the separation from nature (Marx & Engels, 1968). The concept of alienation is directly related to spatiality because "Neo-Marxist Political Economic analysis would note that problems of alienation result from people not having access to space, or the ability to order the world in terms of spatial relationships which allow them to recreate themselves to their fullest potential" (Iadicola, 1990: 52). This is because the organization of space may be incompatible with human nature with long working hours. The capitalist system's aim of achieving a high level of production underestimates the needs of human beings. This inevitably produces contradictions which in turn have the potential to provoke

fundamental changes. In this regard, the Neo-Marxist Political Economic Perspective sees space as the centre of capital accumulation in which conflicts and contradictions are reproduced (Harvey, 1975; Castells, 1977). Castells attempts to discuss contemporary urban sociology with consistent arguments from Neo-Marxist approach. He pays attention to "bourgeois ideology" and argues that urbanism is more than a concept and it should be understood as way of thinking, social organizations and attitudes. Although ideological constructions of urbanism may be expressed as "Modernization" or "Westernization", in reality urbanism is a construction of capitalist relations (1976; 1977). In other words, the modern city is the concrete statement of capitalism. The quotation from Harvey (1985) also adds that by arguing the issue with mainly conflicts and contradictions in capitalist society:

Capitalist society must of necessity create a physical landscape—a mass of humanly constructed physical resources—in its own image, broadly appropriate to the purposes of production and reproduction. But I shall also argue that this process of creating space is full of contradictions and tensions and that the class relations in capitalist society inevitably spawn strong cross-currents of conflict" (1985:3).

Moreover, Harvey sees the place as a deeply ambiguous facet of modern and postmodern life. On the one hand, investments in place can play a role in resisting the global circulation of capital. On the other, it is often quite an exclusionary force in the world where groups of people define themselves against others who are not included in the particular vision of place being enacted; so these flows and contradictions inevitably create anxiety (Creswell, 2006). This approach also produces economic determinist conclusions, however, and thus, like the ecological paradigm has been critiqued on grounds of teleology and tautology. The main difference, however, lies in their assumptions. While ecologists think that markets produce net benefits and look at functional efficiency, political economists emphasise the social costs and its negative consequences (Flanagan, 1993: 77-82).

My approach is different from both because the changes in space are more wide-ranging than can be captured by purely economics-based discussions. Moreover, in addition to conflicts and boundaries within cities, there are also possibilities for integration, reproduction and transformation for each user of cities and cities in themselves. Cities should also be analysed from a broader perspective. Gottdiener (1985) argues that urban analysis needs to combine economic, political and cultural elements if it is to explore how urban space is produced, and this perspective is reflected in the third paradigm within the sociology of space that this research turns to now. This third paradigm, the Spatial Dialectical Approach, takes a more holistic view, encompassing the physical, economic and socio-cultural characteristics of the city as well as the different backgrounds of its residents. This perspective is more recent, but also less developed than the other two. In so far as these two earlier paradigms see the spatiality of migrants as an enclosed geographical territory in urban contexts, separated from other parts of the city, and see a homogeneity of both migrant groups and the places in which they settle, they contradict my approach. I adopt that approach because, in a Turkish migration context, such as in Istanbul, spaces are used both natives and migrants together and cannot be talked about as closed and totally segregated areas. In addition to the differences in migrant people and common spatiality, migrants prefer to use different places in the cities, not only for settlement but also other activities. Furthermore, with the interaction in the spaces, new cultural patterns can be seen, and a new sense of place can be produced. In that sense, the Ecological and Neo-Marxist Political Economic approaches are too reductionist to fit in to my standpoint. Moreover, a structural determinism dominant in these ecological and political economic models which leads both discussions to underestimate the role of agency and contingency in place making (Gieryn, 2000: 469). These two widely used theoretical approaches show that another approach is needed. The new approach aims to blend all the

variables that make the space with the practices and experiences of ordinary people who are the Syrian migrants.

### *1.2.1. Sense of Place*

Underestimation of the agency, its interactions, and also too reductionist and structural approaches discussed above do not overlap with my approach. Since place is seen by me as always under construction, endlessly made, and based on interpretative practices and experiences of ordinary people, I aim to bring together different dimensions into the same approach. From this perspective, "sense of place describes the wide range of connections between people and places that develops based on the place meanings and attachment a person has for a particular setting" (Lewicka, 2011; Relph, 1976; Trentelman, 2009; Tuan, 1977 as cited in Rajala et al. 2020: 718-719). The sense of space can be best explained with the "Spatial Dialectical" approach by moving beyond economic-based explanations represents a holistic approach, as articulated by Gottdiener:

> The spatio-temporal matrix of social activities which surrounds places, involves an interrelated meshing of cultural, political, and economic forces. It cannot be specified by the reductionist arguments of either Marxian political economists or mainstream ecologists. (Gottdiener, 1985: 198 as cited in Iadicola, 1990: 57).

The dialectical approach is also useful to solve the problem referred to as the "spatiality paradigm" which is the issue of whether the relationship between space and society should be approached from a society to space direction, or from a space to society direction (Hillier, 2003). Early discussions of space generally put society first and thus tended to underestimate the importance of the real or physical dimension that underpin society. This was particularly characteristic of the Chicago School model, where urban areas were seen simply as spaces for the production of economic and social relations. Giddens (1984), in contrast, saw space itself as a key element in terms of the production and reproduction of society, and this perspective

is useful for this thesis (Hillier, 2003: 222). Since I aim to look at both society and space at the same time without underestimating either, the dialectical approach to space is very useful as a starting point; this should also be operationalized and expanded by combining sociological and geographical perspectives, however.

Henry Lefebvre is a key figure in the development of contemporary theoretical and substantive analysis of space, covering nature, the city, urban and everyday life. His theory mainly focuses on the production of space and the most crucial part of the theory is the understanding of space as both a product (of ideological, economic and political forces) and a producer of social relations and actions (1991). Although Lefebvre discussed the nature of space, he makes a distinction between town and city, wherein the latter is the place where modernity is felt most and where, under capitalism, urbanization and industrialization have the most effect on the production of space. For Lefebvre, cities are the centre for the development of capitalist modes of production and also for the production and reproduction of social relations and their organizations. In his words:

The urban is not a certain population, a geographical size or a collection of buildings. Nor is it a node, a trans-shipment point or centre of production. It is all of these together, and thus any definition must search for the essential quality of all these aspects. The urban is social reality, where the many elements and aspects of capitalism intersect in space, despite often merely being part of the place for a short time, as is the case with goods or people in transit. (1991:145).

According to Lefebvre, in contrast to the Neo-Marxist perspective, the urban does not just represent the transformation of space into a capitalist commodity (1987); more than that, it is a "production and reproduction of human beings by human beings" (1996: 101). His theory of "the production of space" is based on this dialectical relation. According to Zieleniec:

Dialectics is both a statement about what the world is, an ontology, as well as epistemology, a theory of knowledge, a critical study of validity, methods and range, by which one organises the world for the purpose of study and presentation. There is a fundamental dynamism in this dialectical approach as movement, interconnection and interaction of money, people, commodities, etc. occur in and through space. (2007, 68-69).

Lefebvre, therefore, stands against the arguments that space is a fixed material thing and that only social things are produced through social interactions and relations. He certainly sees space as having "object" and "thing" characteristics, but he adds to that discussion the social processes that make the changes and transformation within space possible. In other words, space is not only physical or natural but also mental and ideological.

To combine these two different perspectives, Lefebvre produces a social theory combining three necessary interlinked elements: spatial practices, representations of space and spaces of representation. According to Merrifield (2000, 170-171), the project of Lefebvre's "spatiology" contains a new approach relating physical space (nature), mental space (formal abstractions about space) and social space (human action). To put it in a different way, instead of separating these elements as in the past, Lefebvre examines the social construction of place and suggests that the production of space takes place in three interrelated ways, which he refers to as the 'trialectics of space' (Horton & Kraftl, 2013).

Lefebvre distinguishes between perceived social practices, conceived representations of space, and lived spaces of representation. He sees a dialectical relationship within the triad of the perceived, the conceived, and the lived. These are the three levels of social place so to understand the meaning of social space, the dialectical relations between three should be examined. The dialectical relations between these three dimensions are useful for my discussion because they help to clarify that socially constructed places are not always used in

the ways that planners or politicians expect, and that it is important to understand users' passive experiences and the signs and symbols generated by these spaces in everyday life. Thus, places are used in various ways by native Turks and meanings are assigned to those places by "ordinary people". Despite these constructions, however, those same places acquire different meanings as newcomers use them. Migrants with their own codes and expectations define the places again; hence the construction of meanings is a continuous process in which all three dimensions of social space contribute (Fuchs, 2018). In this regard, relations between conceived, perceived and lived spaces are always dynamic and their content and attributes are historically defined (Merrifield, 2000: 175).

Soja's "trialectics of spatiality" is mainly based on Lefebvre's theory of the "Production of Space". According to Soja (1996: 29), Lefebvre was the first to describe the third space. While Lefebvre uses the terms perceived, conceived and lived spaces, Soja prefers to use the terms Firstspace, Secondspace and Thirdspace. With the concept of Thirdspace, his aim "is to encourage you to think differently about the meanings and significance of space and those related concepts that compose and comprise the inherent spatiality of human life: place, location, locality, landscape, environment, home, city, region, territory, and geography" (Soja, 1996:1).

Firstspace epistemology seeks to analyse the physical characteristics in perceived space as in the conceptualization of Lefebvre. Secondspace focuses on getting ideas from the conceived space and using them as the experiences. Secondspace, "is the space of designers, planners, urbanists and so on, and also, importantly for this piece of work, artists. Secondspace is conceptualised as a custodian space not only of knowledge and signs but also of 'utopian thought and vision' (Soja, 1996: 67).

Thirdspace, meanwhile, refers to the deconstruction and reconstruction of perceived space and conceived space by introducing new possibilities into the "lived space" (Li & Zhau, 2018:3). Soja sees a parallel with Foucault's concept of heterotopia because "this space remains somehow unexplored and unconsciousness, simultaneously real-and-imagined, rich in flesh and dreams and lived experience, and replete with all kinds of possibilities and opportunities for resisting the hegemony of First and Secondspace" (Merrifield, 1999: 346). In other words, according to Foucault, heterotopia refers to places and spaces that function in non-hegemonic conditions. The process of migration produces new spaces of otherness that become the places of resistance, because as networks and tactics of new identities evolve, so spaces in cities gain new meanings. With the new identities, heterotopic spaces are constructed (Stravrides, 2016: 152- 153). In that sense, in addition to the new atmosphere within cities, specific spaces are being constructed. To cover this Foucauldian concept, Soja (1996) uses the concept "thirding" or "thirding-as-others". Soja describes "thirding-as-othering" as ""the first and most important step in transforming the categorical and closed logic of either/or to the dialectically open logic of both…" The third-as-other is not just a new term that stands between the two opposites, but it creates a disordering, a deconstruction and a reconstruction of the opposites" (Soja, 1996 cited in Geoghraphy, 2012). Thirding-as-othering is the basis of the concept of Thirdspace.

With the Thirdspace concept, he tries to create a balanced trialectics of a "spatiality-historicality-sociality" (Soja, 1996: 10). The three dimensions in Soja's and Lefebvre's theories are always interdependent in-migrant spaces in Istanbul. Thus, this research seeks to analyse the reconstruction and deconstructions in those spaces, in the sense of those spaces' physical and historical characteristics (as Firstspace), the meanings ascribed to them and imagined representations (as Secondspace) and the step experiences, signs and symbols of users so their lived everyday life (as Thirdspace) by considering its potential in terms of being

the spaces of otherness and resistance should be added to the discussion. This is because, as Soja puts it:

> In the Thirdspace everything, subjectivity and objectivity, the abstract and the concrete, the real and the imagined, the knowable and the unimaginable, the repetitive and the differential, structure and agency, mind and body, consciousness and the unconscious, the disciplined and the transdisciplinary, everyday life and unending history comes together (Soja, 1996: 57).

The Thirdspace concept opens a gate to understanding contradictory relations in shared places. However, when it is examined the relations within the same city are in the existing literature, it is generally concluded that immigrant or minority groups are either excluded or included in different spaces of the city. The study of Fangen (2010) "Social exclusion and inclusion of young immigrants" argue that in some small places young immigrants meet foreigners with inclusion; however, in other places, they feel exclusion, racism, and antagonist feelings. These feelings produce hierarchy between spaces and young migrants escape the negative connotations of the labelled spaces. Moreover, many migrants do not want to live in a place in which there are so many 'foreigners".

The article of Gough and Franch (2006) "Spaces of the street: Socio-spatial mobility and exclusion of youth in Recife" similarly discusses varying experiences of exclusions and inclusions of young people in the different spaces of the street in Brazil. The street has very different meanings to different youth because they experience the street according to their social differences. There are some spaces that they feel inclusion or exclusion, and the same space can take on different meanings at differing times of the day. They see living in the city as mainly about negotiating relationships with others. Middle-class or low-class students negotiate the streets differently, so they produce various meanings at the end of this negotiation.

Hochcschild (2010) in his study by discussing the negotiation of collective belongings takes attention to emotional aspects of spaces where common feelings and collective belongings are produced. According to him, the research highlights the fact that places also function as emotional connections for group members. When people share meaningful experiences within a particular social setting, the environment transforms from an undefined space to a separate place where shared histories and collective memories are developed. As a result, these places become highly protected communal sanctuaries. These places are important for the production of belonging and being "in" the place. As in the study of Young (2004), street children can only feel themselves in the place by producing their sites of meaning and transforming the cityscape.

In addition to producing meaningful attachments and emotional connotations, being in the space is also possible with the interaction of people from different backgrounds in shared places. Amin (2006:1012) argues the meaning of "small achievements in the good city" by focusing on the civil exchanges and the importance of creating spaces of interdependence to improve intercultural relations. As his understanding (2002: 959) "micro-publics of everyday social contact and encounter" have a crucial role in everyday geographies. Nigel Thrift (2005:147) understands this encounter in everyday life as "reservoirs of hope" which makes a possible connection between strangers.

The existing literature accepts and discusses that the same immigrant group feels a sense of inclusion and exclusion for different spaces of the city. While I accept this, I believe that the discussion should be taken one step further to understand contradictory functions of the spaces. In this regard, whether there will be both inclusion and exclusion functions of the same space for the same migrant group is a subject of a new debate. In this regard, the third space concept opens up a suitable discussion for how contradictory feelings come together

and produce a new sense of space. Two articles below clarify this point of view in a very similar way to my approach.

The article of Marie Price and Courtney Whitworth (2004) discusses soccer and Latino cultural space with the third space concept of Soja. They look at the tension between Washington as physical space (Firstspace) and remembered space of the country of origin (Secondspace) to see existence between them. Under Firstspace they discuss immigrant metropolitan Washington and how immigrants accept the need for leagues. However, rather than playing existing leagues, they prefer to create their leagues, which push the discussion into Secondspace. The practices in the Secondspace depend on the memory of home and perception of the host country so shared memories of the native country. Third space, on the other hand, comes from the duality of the existence between two different cultural backgrounds. The reconciliation between these different worlds leads migrants to place in between. Trough gathering their memories and accepting the existence of league in the new country, they produce third space. In their research, Thirdspace is a soccer field because this space satisfies their needs for status in the new context. Migrants improve their social positions and power in the host society by the aid of soccer. This status claim is interpreted via shared histories and understanding of practices and interactions.

In the study of " 'Thirdspace' as Transnational Space" (2014), Emily Skop also argues how migrants located between here and there over Internet-based activities which are seen as Thirdspace in the discussion. Her perspective considers identity as a composition of complex lifestyles and worldviews and is always under negotiation. Within this negotiation, Internet as "Thirdspace" mediates the existence of migrants between host and backcountry. While some migrants look for ways to empower themselves, others can feel isolated within Thirdspace. In this regard, Thirdspace can provide negotiation of identities and also temporarily escape from hierarchies and power. Via Internet, technologies, practices, representations, places are bound

by the intersections of culture in the lives of the migrant population. From this perspective, instead of escaping exclusions and isolating themselves, migrants can produce new way when they feel stuck in between of past and today.

If place has exclusionary and inclusionary functions, how migratory subjects present themselves in the shared places and deal with the feeling of exclusion and inclusion? "*Symbolic interactionism"* is tool to see how they make connections between the objective and subjective components of social space (Wilson, 1980). Symbolic interactionism sees "social space" as the direct production of people's interactions. It focuses on how individuals' behaviours and expression of themselves are dynamic and contextual, thus directing scholars' attention to the socio-spatial interactions of members within groups. Human beings interpret each other's actions by the use of symbols. According to Mead (1934), group relations and interactions between a person and others act as declarations of his/her "self", and individuals can be the object of their own actions; indeed, "practically all shared meaning that a person acquires toward others and place is acquired as result of these acts" (Wilson, 1980: 140-141). Moreover, this relationship between self and spatial interaction is always dynamic. The ability to deal with changing situations determines one's success and directly depends on the dynamism between spatial interaction and self. Interaction of immigrants may expand their spatial routes in daily life and necessary information can be acquired with the activities in the space to interpret the relations with others.

The identity of human beings is always in a state of becoming and express their own existences in a space, so it is argued that place-based social relations are vital for the continuity of self and the development of groups. In that sense, place-based interactions of migrants underpin inclusion or exclusion in relation to the community and space itself. The ability to gain a better understanding of the relationship between social meaning and spatial experiences makes symbolic interactionism an important tool.

Similar to other scholars of symbolic interactionalism, Goffmann (1989) argued that self cannot be explained with inner experiences alone because it is socially constructed and thus can be changed depending on situation or context. To allow this theory to be operationalized, however, he added the concepts of the theatre (backstage/front stage), the game and the ritual. From this 'dramaturgical perspective', he focuses on face-to-face interactions as "living in a drama" (Kristiansen, 2009). In his book "The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life" he identifies the similarity between everyday life and theatre performance, and from this basis discusses the possibility of conflict between "front stage" and "backstage" roles in human behaviours. He argued that actors intentionally and manipulatively play roles to manage others' impressions of themselves, referring to this as 'impression management'. If actors draw positive attention with these roles, they maintain them so as to affect others. In other words, in everyday life, humans behave like actors, choosing to develop roles as part of a strategic game (Goffman, 1959).

In my approach, I handle social space as a "theatre" in which different groups, or groups and individuals, interact, and where people behave like performance actors to maintain their daily life. The dynamism of this "impression management" is therefore based on the dynamism of interaction and interpretation between people within these spaces.

So far as I understand the migration in relation to a dynamic perception of space, I have focused on the impact of dynamic space perception on the past and present in the discussions. But it also has an aspect that builds the future. So, Doreen Massey's Geographical approach with transnational theories is crucial to see how the future is being built with transnational ties from today. Many different concepts have been proposed in the social science literature to understand the relationship between migration and globalisation. These include "flows" (Lash and Urry, 1994), "nonplaceness" (Augé, 1995), "networks" (Castells, 1997) the "new mobilities paradigm" (Sheller and Urry, 2006) and the "mobility turn" (Urry, 2007). This

interest in the relationship between migration and globalisation has been driven in particular by the fact that cultural organization evolved significantly in the late twentieth century because people are not just more physically mobile but are also able to communicate ideas more widely and easily (Hannerz, 1996: 19).

To overcome a narrow dichotomy between local (continuity) and global (change) (Hannerz, 1996), Massey focuses attention on global conditions to show that "geography matters" (1984). She theorizes globalized flows by applying concepts of "socially formed, socially evaluate and differentiated ways", "politics of mobility and access" and "power-geometry of time–space compression" (1993: 60-61). The most brilliant part of her study is the ability to see place as non-static so dynamic. She argues that mobility rebuilds and locates the space. From this perspective, Massey's "A Global Sense of Place" is important in showing the place as open and hybrid—a product of interconnecting flows—of routes rather than roots (1994). The interrelation between routes and roots is critical because a completely rooted sense of identity is challenged by mobility. She uses "routes" to show the dynamic relations within migration. These relations show the possibility of transformation from local to global but also that the local and global cannot be separated from each other. Despite the argument of Harvey (1997) that global flows of people, information, products and capital are anxiety provoking by mostly focusing "on negative consequences for individuals and society, and the process itself is largely related to the imperative of speeding-up and acceleration of capital turnover time" (Parthasarathy: 2009:1), Massey argues that such views are the product of seeing global processes purely in terms of capitalism, contending that they are also gendered and racial components to migration flows. Moreover, she argues that movements are not homogeneous because some are forced to move, some are willing, others are forced to stay (1997).

Massey presents empirical evidence of the theory's validity, taking the example of Kilburn, in London. Massey's Kilburn is a place of ethnic diversity and hybridity, a meeting place where

a particular ‘constellation of social relations’ comes together. Her observations of Kilburn draw her toward a new ’extrovert’, progressive and global sense of place marked. Massey’s understanding of Kilburn allows her to suggest that it is crucial to seek identity in place because the identity is never fixed and bounded (Cresswell, 2006). Rather, the place-making process is a never-ending one that is only understandable through individuals’ own theoretical perspectives. Like Massey, I see place as a process, defined by outside interactions, and a site of multiple identities. From this perspective, the definition of place and the concept of “routes” are crucial concepts in my research for operationalizing the meaning of flows within migration. In addition to the example of Kilburn, in her study “The Spatial Construction of Youth Cultures” (1998), Massey discusses the relationship between local and global identities, specifically in the context of young migrants. She shows the possibility of multiple identities and the different sides of the spatiality of the construction of youth cultures.

Her study makes clear why local identities still matter, revealing how the interrelationship between roots and routes opens the door to the concept of “negotiation” between youth migrants and natives, focusing on the dynamism between place and identity. This negotiation can also be understood through the theory of transnationality because it argues that “rapid improvements in transport and communications make it possible for migrants to maintain their links with co-ethnics in the place of origin and elsewhere, while also building communities in the place of residence” (Glick Schiller et al., 1995: 48). These types of migrants are called trans-migrants and they depend on various interconnections across international borders and relate to more than one national state (Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Basch et al., 1994 as cited in Glick Schiller et al., 1995) In this sense, the contribution of transnationality is crucial to see new beginnings in unfamiliar places.

In addition to boundaries between nations, in a Turkish-Syrian migration context, since Syrian migration to Turkey is forced migration, Syrian migrants are under a status of

temporary protection, and cannot move even within Turkey. By connecting with other parts of world via technology and also by getting Turkish citizenship these Syrian migrants can eliminate this disadvantage, and this can still be conceptualized as falling within the transnational migrants of today even if their path to that status is not as efficient as assumed in transnational theories. When Massey's approach is brought together with transnational theories, however, it can be seen that new migrants undertake processes of familiarization and appropriation as they move in (route) and through new places of residence, and they 'learn to be local'. Moreover, Massey's work draws attention to the place and identity relation by considering the everyday life of both migrants and local people. Hence, according to her, every place is different because the ways of interaction, social relations, experiences, signs and symbols are specific to the space itself: "A portion of those relations are constructed on a far larger scale than what we happen to define for that moment as the place itself" (Massey, 1993: 66). Places are meeting points of different routes of people (residents, non-residents, migrants, tourists) who make connections physically, by phone, post, social media or memory between here and the rest of the world. From this perspective, it can be seen that a coherent identity cannot be associated with place, either on a local or global level.

Because this perception aimed to see place as meeting place instead of coherent place, open rather than bounded, always production so not pre-given (Massey, 2006: 34), the "Landscape" concept is also parallel to my understanding of space. Despite the definitions which stand space as opposed to time which will be discussed in the following chapter, Like Massey, I emplace space and landscape as "provisionally intertwined simultaneities of ongoing, unfinished, stories" (2006: 46). Moreover, the landscape is more than the restrictions within one disciplined. Time (History) and space (Geography), or between nature (Science) and culture (Social Anthropology) (Massey, 2006). Similar to Massey, Ingold (2010: 151-155) argues that landscape is more than land, nature, or space. Firstly, he clarifies that Landscape is

more than land because it does not refer to physical objects and it is qualitative and heterogeneous. The landscape is also different from nature because the distinction between the inner and outer worlds does not give reality behind the understanding of Landscape. Both nature and we have parts from each other. According to his conceptualization landscape is different from space. At that point he uses space differently from my perception; however, his landscape understanding is closer to mine. This is because, landscape perception tries to combine the data to produce a single picture that is independent of observation of any space, so it is always in progress. It gives a more complex picture than the space. “Thus whereas with space, meanings are attached to the world, with the landscape they are gathered from it” (2010:155). As a result, “a sense of place is what ties humans, culture, and the environment together and that place must be felt emotionally to make any sense” (Carrabine, 2018: 463). From this perspective, I see space by combining its spatial (performative) and temporal (landscape) functions. Similar to landscape understanding, I centralized temporality into the discussions; however, different from it, I see it as an inseparable function of spatiality. The relation between temporality and landscape is very similar to my perception because “landscape is where the past and future are copresent with the present- through processes of memory and imagination. Past, present, and future are continuously reprocessed while the materiality of the landscape is worked by, and marks, this process" (Cloke& Jones, 2001: 652). As a result, in landscapes, it is looked at how nature and culture are inseparable within temporality which covers the past, present, and the future. Although my understanding of space covers nature (physical futures), culture, and temporality to produce a coherent picture to understand the migrant group by gathering data from different spaces, it is more than that. My definition of space adds to different perspectives discussed above in addition to landscape conceptualization. In this regard, my theoretical framework integrates landscape understanding into this thesis and I have a more complex image of space. “The idea of

“landscapes” brings into light a central dimension of the migration experience that makes it particularly well suited for an approach that privileges the lens of emotion: its multi-connectivity in spatial, cultural, and temporal terms”. The Spatial, cultural, and temporal spaces and self in its historical context produce dialectical relation between space and emotions (Borges et al., 2021: 6-9). Migration is critical in that point because migrants change places and cultural contexts, produce new relations in the host country with relation to back country. In other words, migrant groups create emotions in relationship with the present that makes them migrants, the past of the home left behind, and the future represented by their social, cultural, economic capitals.

### *1.2.2. Temporality Along with Space Making Process in a Migration Context*

In addition to contributing to migration studies by adding the concept of place and place making process, I also sustain my argument by incorporating the idea of temporality, because without time, history and memory, understanding the space is not possible with its dynamic nature (Ashworth & Graham, 2005). This means that “space as process and in process (that is space and time combined in becoming)” (Crang & Thrift, 2000:3). By considering how time and space complement each other, in this part, I will discuss different perspectives on the meaning of time, its organization, and how it is perceived and transformed by agents during the migration process. The main aim of this part is to reach an understanding of how migrants practise and experience time in their host country, so as to make clear the relationship between the attributes of time and migrants’ socio-spatial experiences.

Similar to the way that social geographers see space as inter-relational and much more than just an external construction, anthropologists and sociologists offer crucial reconceptualization of the social relations between different communities by considering time

as a central relational concept (Bastian, 2011: 97). Moreover, today, many sociologists and human geographers see both space and time as being socially constructed, rather than independent, neutral concepts (Massey, 2005). Thus, space and time together shape social life. For example, by considering time and space together at the heart of social theorizing (Hillier, 2003: 222) Giddens see the possibility of social structures with the production and reproduction of practices within the time–space (Giddens, 1979; 1983; 1984). This means that, as with all social relations, time and space are contextual and based on practices (Bourdieu, 1977; Harvey, 1990). Thus, it is argued that time–space is heterogeneous and relational rather than linear (Massey, 2005; Cope, 2007; Panelli, 2007), and that it contains dynamic flows, mobilities, networks (Ellegard & Vilhelmson, 2004), negotiations, discontinuities (Hörschelmann, 2011), differentiations, such as class, gender, religion (Harvey, 1990) and it is "always open, being made" (Massey, 2005: 189).

The connection between migration and space-time opens a place to explore why it is problematic that human migration has generally been associated only with space and seen simply as a mobility between spaces (Cwerner, 2001: 7). Its temporal characteristic has been underestimated, yet time must be seen as an implicit element of migration (Griffiths, Rogers& Anderson, 2013). According to Roberts, for example, migration is a "process as much concerned with time as it is with space" (1995: 42). This is because, migration does not only change spatial practices, but also temporal constructions and activities. Although there are different approaches to the construction of time in social science, coming from different perspectives (objective, socio-cultural, organizational, anthropological and psychological), by discussing time as a concept and trying to investigate how it affects different aspects of an individual's life, and how, in turn, these aspects of life affect people's perceptions of time it is possible to understand migration in a more complete way (Sorokin, 1964; Rifkin, 1987; Harvey, 1989; Hall, 1990; Hofstede, 1999; Hassard, 2002; Rosa, 2003; Hassan, 2003;

Friedman, 2005; Warf, 2008; Rosa & Scheuerman, 2009; Shove et al., 2009; Evans-Pritchard, 2013). Migration possesses a complex temporal dimension (Hörschelmann, 2011) and one "consisting of an intersection of various times" (Cwerner, 2001: 14). Barbara Adam, who sees time as combination of different relations, also highlights a wider perspective when she points out:

> We can grasp time in its complexity only if we seek the relations between time, temporality, tempo and timing, between clock time, chronology, social time and time-consciousness, between motion, process, change, continuity and the temporal modalities of past, present and future, between time as resource, as ordering principle and as becoming of the possible, or between any combination of these" (1994: 13).

From this perspective, immigrants, who are under the influence of the past and the present, as well as the temporality of the back and host country, are the most important group to examine their time structures. Since my study attempts to explore the everyday geographies of migrant youths in urban contexts, it also needs to take into account their temporal and spatial constructions to reveal the interplay between their youth identity and their migration. In that regard, however, it must be noted that just as temporal dimensions have been neglected in migration studies as a whole, there have also been very few studies considering the temporality of youth migrants specifically.

Temporality is generally incorporated into youth studies in the form of life course theory. Life course discussions in sociology and also migration studies mainly look at socially constructed roles and different positions of people across various ages, family backgrounds and social relations (King et al., 2004: 19). In other words, life course theory looks at human agents' lives within a structural, social and cultural context (Collins & Shubin, 2015). Elder (1994) discusses four different principles of life courses: the role of human agency, the relation between lives and historical times (i.e., the relation between a socio-historical approach and

geographical approach), linked lives and social-ties to others, and time of life, which refers to life transitions and turning points in terms of life direction and chain of experiences (Collins & Shubin, 2015: 97). While this approach looks across these four different types of timing, historical timing is the most relevant one for this study because it refers to large-scale societal changes that produce discontinuities in individuals' lives, such as war and economic-social crises. Civil war in Syria is a clear example of an event in historical time which has created a break or turning point in the life of migrants (Price, McKenry & Murphy 2000). Instead of plan-based perspectives lives which assumes that individuals are constructed through choices (Elder et al., 2004) and they are under transition from childhood to adulthood in a linear or chronological sequence, I prefer relational life course studies focusing on interconnected social-cultural and structural variables (van Blerk, 2008). Collins and Shubin in their study "Migrant times beyond the life course: The temporalities of foreign English teachers in South Korea" use Heideggerian analysis to explore young English teachers' migration experiences through a relational time and space approach. Instead of handling issues such as youth-adult transition, they look at the issue with "temporal openness" (2015: 96), meaning that they focus on "surprising and divergent experiences", "living on the move" and "always becoming" (2015: 96-97). This means that migration is more than planned life courses, social constructions, youth transitions and future trajectories because young migrants found themselves in various different ambiguous positions at the same time such as "youth, adulthood, education, work, travel, migration" (2015: 102). They have to organize all these positions and find a place in the new context.

While Collins and Shubin's study is of voluntary migration, it still points to the uncertain and productive possibilities of the adaptations provoked by migration. The context of my research is more complicated because Syrian forced migration to Turkey was compelled by circumstances and, in respect to young people, occurred without any plan and future life

course trajectories. To explain the experiences of forced migrants, Cwerner (2001) uses Games' (1997) concept of "catastrophic time". According to Cwerner, "catastrophic time" refers to the interruption of "temporal normalcy of behaviour and synchronisation of social activities" (Cwerner, 2001: 16). In that sense, instead of understanding the transition of life course from one development stage to another, I am questioning the issue in the context of the "unpredictability and precariousness of lives" (Hörschelmann, 2011: 379). For instance, the loss of their parents pushes young migrants to more rapid transition to adulthood (Ansell et al., 2011: 541); and migration has produced many such different life courses among Syrian migrants when compared with their peer groups. For example, many of them now put pressure on themselves to complete their education at later ages than normal as they seek to "catch up" after the turning point of forced migration. According to King et al. (2004: 27), life course studies should take into account forced migration context so its long-term and short-term effects should be considered. Secondly, migration needs to be focused on family and temporal conditions. Thirdly, immigrants' economic calculations can be effective in each age period. Fourthly, the effect of migrants' social networks, especially relatives, on the decision-making process should be explored. In the last step, migration policies, and the social/structural context of the host country should be examined.

Although a life course perspective encourages a move beyond the individual unit in relational time–space to a focus on wider relations, life course studies are generally criticized for giving less attention to time and space. Space should be seen as a dynamic concept and its structural relations should be also considered. According to Findlay et al. (2015: 397):

Space needs to be considered as an active context rather than a passive property associated with mobilities across the life course. Not only have the space–time contexts of mobilities been transformed by processes of time–space convergence, time–space compression, and distantiation, but the interpretation of mobilities needs to be read through a relational

understanding of the uneven meanings of mobility reported by different actors and in different places.

In that sense, temporality and migration together offers a wider perspective which also concentrates on structural, social, cultural temporal and spatial mobilities in the context of the host country. The mobility approach in turn sustains the discussion with broader conceptual dualities such as individual-society, time–space, ecology–place. Moreover, it provides the consideration of individual and collective life-paths along space and time (King et al., 2004: 10).

> King et al. (2004) in their report "Gender, Age and Generations" introduce two main scholars, Torsten Hägerstrand and Saulo Cwerner, who have addressed the issue of migration from a mobility perspective to show how migration, time and mobility are co-constructed. While Hägerstrand contributes time–geography to migration studies by arguing for the "mobile life path webs of individuals" in time and space, (King et al., 2004: 10), Cwerner (2001), in his study "Times of migration" presents a conceptual framework based on the mobilities literature to investigate the multiple embeddedness of time in migration or vice versa (King et al., 2004: 9).

As Cwerner (2001: 16) reminds us, it is impossible to provide a holistic framework covering all potential times of migration so my ambition in this research is limited to examining both mobility of migrants within time/space and "how non-linearity in individual life courses can be understood, how discontinuities are produced, experienced and negotiated" (Hörschelmann, 2011: 378) to show the interconnections between social, structural, spatial, temporal and life changes. Migrants negotiate multiple times with different groups, such as friends, families and employers, in an attempt to meet each of their expectations. Even if their families are in different countries, they can use technology to manage the time both according to their family's temporalities and the temporality of the country they live in currently (Baas & Yeah, 2018: 165). According to Edensor (2006: 541), local, regional, national and global

issues are thus engaged and produce heterogeneous temporalities, even though national and local habits remain crucial. People reintegrate their familiar temporal routines to the new places and reproduce "home" with their connections and habits based on their past. The rhythms of the national context are embedded in the practices of everyday life, yet this is heterogeneous, open to change and has the potential to contain complex temporal synchronizations at the same place. In this regard, despite the Turkish temporality and its own daily life rhythms, the participation of new migrants in those rhythms means that it is inevitable that different rhythms will penetrate Turkish temporality. As a result, this has produced complex temporalities within the host country and the lives of migrants. This complexity could be understood with cross-cutting themes of the past, present and future, however (Bastian, 2014: 137), as well as with cross-cutting axes of analysis by considering gender, age/generation, length of the individuals' stay in the new country (King et al., 2006; Griffiths et al., 2013). This inevitably leads to multiple/ mixed approaches.

I prefer to produce a conceptual framework for holistic approach to show how intersection of various times and also multiple variables are possible in the same context. In other words, I argue that different time constructions can be simultaneously possible in the same country. From this perspective, in the first step, the following will be discussed in relation to the temporal constructions of Syrian youths in Istanbul: "objective perspective of time", "subjective/socio-cultural time" and then, secondly I will focus on "strange times" and "remembered times". These are discussed in turn below.

Objective time sees time as universal, independent from human consciousness, unable to be extended (Mancini, 2007), holistic and continuous (McGrath & Kelly, 1986). From this perspective, time is controllable, future based and manageable. In that sense this approach to time is the one that underpins the clock time model and is thus directly related to modern Western capitalist labour organization. This model of time, however, is problematic for

underestimating cultural differences and putting all people into the same category because different forms of time can be perceived differently (Birth, 2004) and also each individual may not internalize the time principles of the society in which they live (Aminzade, 1992). Furthermore, the objective time model cannot by itself explain the temporal relations of migrations because those relations depend also on the social-cultural perspective of time. Time pressures, and approaches to time schedules and leisure time can differ from culture to culture. In other words, different forms of "tempo, timing, duration, sequence and rhythm as the mutually implicating structures of time" (Adam, 1998: 202) and patterns of everyday life, arrangements, punctuality norms and weight of clock time are still imposed onto migrants by the host countries in which they live (Cwerner, 2001: 13).

Although it is often argued that individualistic Western cultures focus on goal-oriented performance and punctuality, while collectivist cultures focus on social harmony and ignore time pressures (Arman & Adir, 2012), I reject such generalizations because, although Turkey is seen as a more goal-oriented and individualistic culture by Syrian youths, historically and culturally Turkey cannot be categorized as a Western capitalist society. So by regarding various types of modern-cultural society, I prefer to explore the contextual differences of each case individually. This is directly related to ongoing discussions in respect to modernism regarding how modernity overlaps with the historical and social background of countries in particular ways, rather than necessarily being a linear process of improvement (Costa et al., 2008). So, my position is different from the generalizations that Turkey or Syria are singularly modern capitalist societies or traditional societies.

Although the understanding of social-cultural time opens the door to see differences between Turkish and Syrian culture in terms of pace of time, this approach inevitably underestimates individualistic differences in the same culture such as gender, age, religious beliefs, sexuality and immigration status (Griffiths et al., 2013). Clearly, even migrants with the same spatial

experiences may interpret time differently (Spurk, 2004: 46). In addition, youth itself is as variable a concept as “migrant”. In this regard, being young and a migrant together is effective to perceive their time constructions. Hence, although there are elements of both objectivist and socio-cultural approaches in a Turkish migration context, neither can explain the issue entirely because time or temporalities can affect cultures in different ways and may not be shared by people, even when they exist in the same timeframe or spatial areas (Adam, 2013). From this perspective, migrants, are inherently under the influence of different past experiences, cultural-social constructions and objective time constructions than peers in their new country. In this regard, firstly, youth groups’ sense of time should be understood as between that of the host and home country. Within the host country immigrants live under two times, past and present. These can be public temporalities when associated with public spaces that require compliance with different time rituals or schedules. In addition, immigrants have their own temporality, which is applied after entering their private or personal space. Therefore, immigrants may need to have more than one identity (Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2013) based on different time conceptualizations in order to exhibit appropriate behaviour in a particular cultural or social environment. Moreover, since migrants are still under the influence of the typical spatial time habits in their home country, their behaviour in their new country is not independent from cultural traditions. Nonetheless, that behaviour is always open to change as new constructions develop over time. In addition to the past and present, their future time plans are not independent from the past and today. Their past experiences and current temporal spatial practices construct their future from the current moment, and the imagined future of these youths is the production of two cultures (host and home) and two-time constructions as well. According to Spurk (2004: 42) “the process of social formation is characterized by temporality; it possesses a past, a present and a future,

although this future is never certain". In other words, existence is opened towards the future, but it is a combination of the experiences of both the past and the present.

The above discussion shows that the concept of time cannot be understood through a single approach. As I mentioned above, therefore, this research adopts the position that there are heterogeneous temporalities overlapping at the same time and place so secondly, I will focus mainly on Cwerner's (2001) three concepts of strange, remembered and liminal times, which he introduced when discussing the temporal experiences of Brazilians in London. Cwerner's demonstration of different conceptualizations of time even within one research context shows the complexities involved in synchronizing time and experiences (Baas & Yeoh, 2018: 165). Here, I discuss these concepts in order to show the possibility of the simultaneity of different time constructions in addition to objective and subjective time models. In other words, they may all exist and construct the temporality of migrants even in the same place.

The concept of "Strange Times" refers to the beginning of migrants' life in their new host country. They have come to an unfamiliar space with their "temporal baggage" which includes social norms, codes and elements of social interaction. Although some aspects of the new country can be go used to easily, others can take longer time. The interaction with the citizens of the country changes the duration of this time. In addition to the rhythms of that interaction, the cyclical and rhythmical characteristics of work and leisure, weekdays and weekends, patterns of days and nights are aspects of "time" that can feel strange to migrants. According to Cwerner (2001: 20) "this is the case because, despite the standardization of clock time, the week and the year across various regions and countries in the world, these cycles retain a local degree of flexibility and elasticity" (2001: 20). As was discussed in respect to "clock time" and "social-cultural time discussions, even if there is a universal clock time construction, "meanings of time are themselves variable and unsettled" (Greenhouse & Powell, 2003: 93) so patterns, tempos, activities may change from culture to culture. Cwerner

(2001: 20) sees one of the main signs of strange time among Brazilian migrants as being the relationship between time and weather. Weather effect the sociability and mood of Brazilians and thus their time perceptions. Moreover, the lack of a street culture in favour of a pub culture in London is another rhythmic and temporal difference based on culture. Similar to Brazilians, Syrian youths complain about how they find it difficult to understand and get used to Turkish cafes closing earlier, Turkish people not liking to sit up for long hours at night-time and sleeping earlier, and the long working hours in Turkey. These different time constructions inevitably appear strange to newcomers and produce challenges that range from adapting to education, home and work life to personal relations with native Turks.

"Remembered times" is another concept discussed in Cwerner's study, "Times of Migration". He uses the term to explain how temporality and memory are relational, arguing how the practices in migrants' new life supplant their experiences of in their home country, potentially causing them to forget individual or collective memories. The sensation of being in their home country, the sights, photographs, smells of national foods and sounds of national music are vital for their memory (Cwerner, 2001:23-24). Moreover, the memory of immigration itself relates to self-image depending on experience, status, adaptation, stories of displacement, etc. These types of collective and individual memories produced through sharing experiences and memories based on migration narratives also fosters their sense of time (Cwerner, 2001: 25).

Hence, temporality contains different dimensions in the life course of immigrants and their mobility. All these discussions show that migration is more than displacement and the experiences in a new country. Temporality is therefore another dimension that needs to be understood alongside space as a socially constructed issue. The process of analysing constructed temporality, however, should not only focus on the relations between communities and individuals but on the infrastructures of host nations, such as the status

given to migrants, and the processes for gaining citizenship or permanent residency (Baas & Yeoh, 2019: 166).

The discussions of temporality and spatiality lead us to negotiation between the structural relationships in the new country and immigrants as agents of this research. This is only possible with the theories that can examine the interaction between structure and agency covers temporality and spatiality. Because I see the agent who is in relation with structure "as a temporally embedded process of social engagement, informed by the past (in its "iterational" or habitual aspect) but also oriented toward the future (as a "projective" capacity to imagine alternative possibilities) and toward the present (as a "practical-evaluative" capacity to contextualize past habits and future projects within the contingencies of the moment)" (Emirbayer& Mische, 1998: 962). In this regard, the new discussion below covers the basic concepts that determine how I will approach this duality.

### *1.2.3. Emplacing Differences in Space-Making Process*

If time and space matters, how can we handle existing differences and hierarchy within spatiality and temporality?

According to classical structuralist paradigm, this is possible by understanding how forces are reproduced into everyday material places and people invest meanings in these places. However, this approach is underestimating the role of the agents, its choosing capacity, and dynamic potential of the place. In this point, Giddens open a gate to reposition the relation between agent and structure for the place making process. According to him (1984), the agency is the power of individuals to make choices freely and perform actions that affect the course of their lives, while the structure is a system of rules and resources that shape the extent to which those choices and actions are possible. Instead of constructing his theory on macro (structural based understanding) or micro (individuals) relations, he prefers to

understand society through the practices of individuals and society. (Giddens, 1979; Giddens, 1984; Craib 1992). In other words, “the basic domain of study of the social sciences, according to the “theory of structuration”, is neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of societal totality, but social practices ordered across space and time” (Giddens, 1984: 2). In this regard, space is key element both for the production and reproduction of society.

In the process of space making, instead of giving priority to either structure or agent, I accept that there is a dialectical relationship between the two so that neither migrant Syrian youths nor structural relations in the Turkish context have a dominant effect during place making process. In other words, instead of duality, I see dynamic interaction between the space-making activities of youth actors and structural relations in the places of Istanbul, affecting each other simultaneously. Since the focus of this research is to explore space-based practices in the new context where youth migrants actively produce new sense of space, in the first step, this requires significant emphasis on the study of actions and interactions between agents. Goffman points out that social distinctions are managed within social interactions and each actor is positioned in multiple ways in respect to these interactions and social relations. Since each interaction is contextual, however, the practices of agents cannot be considered independent from the time and space in which they are undertaken (Giddens, 1979, 1984; Goffman, 1959, 1983; Turner 1991). Based on the interactions in daily life, all human beings are knowledgeable agents and so, as all social actors, young Syrian migrants also understand the conditions and consequences of what they do in their daily life relations within time and space. This knowledge is based on the practical complexity of everyday life. The practices of agents may also produce unintended consequences, however, so space is always open to surprises and protects its dynamism with the unintended characteristics of everyday practices. This is directly related to routinized practices, which are the expression of the duality of

structure which is both conditions and consequences of action and provides continuity of social life. In this regard, structure is conceptualized not only as something that restricts human action, but also as a factor that ensures it (Giddens, 1979; Barley & Tolbert, 1997).

While the practices of any actors are effective in producing norms and values within the structure, it is always possible that these norms and values may not be reproduced by individuals and communities. This means that social values that are generally produced without being questioned may be questioned and changed in a relation based on space and time. Syrian migrants who are under influenced by the structural relations of their home country (such as in relation to family, norms, values, customs, traditions and gender roles), but also by the institutions, norms and values of the host country, thus ultimately reproducing a way of life that conforms with both structures. Sometimes, however, these two structures conflict with each other, and at that point Giddens' structuration theory becomes an effective analytical tool.

According to his theorization, migrants may not prefer to produce to values suitable to structures that affect them. Actors have the potential to change these structural relations and produce new norms and values within the routinization of everyday life. Expecting structural changes in the short term is not realistic, however. The changes in the actors may produce repeated and routinized activities with both intended and unintended consequences that will lead to long-term changes in the structure. Social systems, which consist of routine social interactions, become regular and stereotyped with the reproduction of events in certain places and in certain time periods. Structure is both a tool and a result of this reproduction. In that sense, both change and continuity is possible within society.

According to Kaspersen (2000), the actions that create the social system produce the space in which social practice is carried out: for example, the practices of teachers and students

produce “school” as a social space, and this space has a dominant effect on the students and teachers under a time and space connection. Thus, each social practice has power to produce new social spaces. This power depends on the agents because the transformation of space lies in the power of agents’ “make a difference” capacity (Giddens,1979; 1984: 14,15). That capacity is based on the resources that actors possess, however. Even subordinated individuals or groups always have some resources with which to change the balance of power relationships. This finding does not indicate that power relations are equivalent or that the balance of powers will reverse, but it does show that people are never completely helpless, even when they are subject to the power or control of others (Layder, 2006). Giddens (1984) refers to this as the “dialectic of control” and the concept gives clues about how migrant youth students have the potential to change the relations in their new country, and how, by using their resources, they can produce new meanings in daily life.

However, the theory of Giddens less helps us to use it as a methodological tool. Nevertheless, it is very crucial to let see post migration context as an historical process through gathering together structure and agent. Like Giddens, Bourdieu seeks theoretical escape from oppositions of objective subjective. He introduced us with the concept of practice to explain the similar process which is explained by Giddens as structuration theory. Bourdieu expands his theory by adding the concepts game, field, capital and Habitus to clarify two ways relation between structure and agent during place making process. Habitus is critical concept to understand migration in the new spaces. According to him (1984):

The habitus is not only a structuring structure, which organizes practices and the perception of practices, but also a structured structure: the principle of division into logical classes which organizes the perception of the social world is itself the product of internalization of the division into social classes”

This means that habitus is the basic stock of information that people possess as a result of living in particular cultures and set of “dispositions” (Layder, 2006), so it is the resource of knowledge about the ways in which people view and understand the world (Huang, 2019). Arguing that habitus is a way of producing and reproducing the social conditions in which people live leads to a similar understanding as that of Giddens, that structures are both the medium and the result of the activity (Layder, 2006: 176-177).

When the approaches of Giddens and Bourdieu are brought together by researchers who want to understand the social life governing the practices of subjects within the urban spaces, the concept of habitus can be seen to be an important tool in migration studies (Morawska, 2009). This is because, although the habitus has been developed from an early age in the home country, moving to a new place requires the development of new habitus for dealing with new environments and situations (Easthope, 74: 2009). As structures change with the effect of practices and relations, habitus may also change. Individuals and their lifestyles are not a closed system: people can be influenced by different lifestyles; actors learn different perception styles and apply them in communication.

When discussing habitus, Bourdieu makes the distinction between physical and social space. The social space is an invisible set of relationships that tends to transform itself into the physical space in the form of a specific distribution of agents and features. Each agent occupies a place, and this social place is a crucial indicator of the agent’s position in the social life. This means both that an agent is not independent from the structural relations within the social space and that the space is not independent from the agent (Bourdieu, 1996: 12). In other words, “Social space is inscribed both in the objectivity of spatial structures and in the subjectivity of mental structures, which are in part the product of the embodiment of these objectified structures” (Bourdieu; 2018: 108). While one can physically occupy a place

without having a proper habitus, it is impossible for one to make a place a social place without habitus, or dispositions which make that place a “habitat”.

Bourdieu also explores how the social position of an agent is directly related to different forms of capital. Entering in a place requires different forms of capital: sometimes places can give different forms of capital; however, sometimes various forms of capital can push the agents to the social places. The case of Algerian families who faced with problems in their social spaces in terms of financial means and way of life (Bourdieu, 2018: 108-109) gives clues for this research about how the lack of social and cultural capitals of migrant youth groups should be taken into consideration. In this regard, as well as their economic capital, other forms of capital should be examined. In contrast to the reductionist approach which emphasizes economic relations, Bourdieu’s approach provides an opportunity to incorporate historical, socio-economic, socio-cultural and similar dimensions to the space-making process (Bourdieu, 1986: 10). It opens the door to the possibility of integration into the city by producing new forms of capital. Especially as an educated group, Syrian youths are creating/recreating symbolic, cultural and social ties based on their new places in society. Although there are of course barriers arising from the structural inequalities faced by forced immigrants, these actors remain active agents able to use their habitus or produce new a habitus and different forms of capitals to overcome these inequalities in the shared places. In contrast to the disadvantages of financial problems and ethnic discrimination, these young students use their cultural (educational) and social (national and international networks) capitals to choose places within which to integrate and also eliminate exclusion in any shared places. However, their national and international ties not only cover the relations past and present but also, they have implications for the future. This means that they bring to the new country or context to their habitus and adapting their own expectations to the expectations of

the host country. However, the combination of past and present also should include future which is uncertain. As Emirbayer and Mische (1998: 1012) points out that

> One key to understanding the variable orientations of agency toward its structural contexts lies in a more adequate theorization of the temporal nature of human experience. Actors are always living simultaneously in the past, future, and present, and adjusting the various temporalities of their empirical existence to one another (and to their empirical circumstances) in more or less imaginative or reflective ways. They continuously engage patterns and repertoires from the past, project hypothetical pathways forward in time, and adjust their actions to the exigencies of emerging situations. Moreover, there are times and places when actors are more oriented toward the past, more directive toward the future, or more evaluative of the present; actors may switch between (and reflexively transform) their orientations toward action, thereby changing their degrees of flexible, inventive, and critical response toward structuring contexts.

Stones (2005), Morawska (2009), and O'Reilly (2012) open space with practice theory against the abstract understanding of structuration theory. They apply structuration theory to the migration studies. By doing so, they expand structuration and migration studies with historical and geographical frameworks (Stones, 2005) by integrating the quadripartite cycle of structuration against to duality of structure as a complicated picture between the interaction of "*external structures* as conditions of action, *internal structures* within the agent, *active agency (practices),* including a range of aspects involved when agents draw upon internal structures in producing practical action, and *outcomes* (as external and internal structures and as events)" (Stones, 2005:9).

Mainly external structures are exist before the actions and agent. They are more or less malleable as proximate structural layers. According to O'Reilly (2012: 20), global inequalities are a good example of external structures to understand migration. External structures are enabling and constraining actions.

Structures are also internalised in the form of habitus and conjuncturally-specific internal structures in addition to external structures which produce conditions of action. Stones clarify Habitus as both formed (a structural force) and continuing to be formed (an action), an attribute of individuals and of groups so conjuncturally-specific internal structures are different from dispositions. It refers to some knowledge (on the part of the agent) of networks, roles, norms and power relations, how they interpret the world around them, and acting. With these practical situations and knowledge necessary to interpretation of world, they have new resources, and they can redesign the schemes (Morawska, 2009) in the new context. From this perspective, it is dynamic than Habitus the concept of Bourdieu (O'Reilly, 2012:22). Practices which can be understood with the active agency of actors are directly related to communities of practice and conjuncturally-specific external structures. Although agents are constrained by habitus and conjuncturally-specific internal structures, their actions are not predictable still because they are both routine and reflexive (thoughtful, purposive, strategic) action.

Their agency comes from their habitus being as much an individual as a group one and surrounded by norms, expectations and more important by different positions and identities such as being student, woman, migrant, daughter, refugee, Muslim and so on which fit the frame of this research and will be discussed later. Communities of practice (social and institutional life) gives the context, and an agent is constrained and enabled by the external structures within this context. These contexts are embodied and enacted through roles and

positions of those within an agent's communities of practice. *Conjuncturally-specific external structures* are a way of bringing different roles and positions as element of action and reproduction and transformation of structures. Conjuncturally-specific external structures similar to conjuncturally-specific internal structures have a position to solve tension between structures and actions, within communities of practice.

Finally, outcomes intentionally or unintentionally are produced with the interaction of perceptions, expectations, conjuncturally-specific internal structures and habitus, communities of practice and conjuncturally-specific external structures. Transformations and differences are all result of the multidimensional connections of structures and agents. From this perspective, in addition to wider perspective of structuration theory, different roles and positions of actors and their structural connections should be added to the discussion.

Because agents have different backgrounds, expectations, identities, status and power (Wenger, 1998), "place sustains difference and hierarchy both by routinizing daily rounds in ways that exclude and segregate categories of people, and by embodying in visible and tangible ways the cultural meanings variously ascribed to them" (Gieryn, 2000: 474).

From this perspective, I add gender to the negotiation between agent and structure in the space-making process because geographic and architecture of buildings as places foster to the subordination of women by defining places as insecure, far, or threatening. Because urban environments are the places where gendered meanings are developed, cities are seen as a male dominant place where the differences and hierarchies are produced. Women and minorities have survived in its interstices in their way (Raju& Paul, 2016: 128). This understanding let the questions which spaces are used by whom? The dichotomy between the public and private sphere is the main answer given to this question. Public space can be defined as the place of

interaction between different interest groups (Borja, 2003), accessible to everyone (Chelkooff& Thibaud, 1992; 1993), contributing to the community's collective identity (Quinones-Del Valle, 1997). Although public space refers to plurality and diversity, men are associated with public space and women with private space (Kamla, 2014: 603-604). Massey (1994) adds that the spatial and social organization of the cities is based on the combination of public and private space. This inevitably produces hierarchical order of power which allows women to be stuck in the home. It is not only spatial but also symbolic (Sadiqi, 2006:10 as cited in Kamla, 2014). Men show their authority in public affairs and managing the economy and marketplace by excluding women (Kamla, 2014: 605). However, the answer given with the division between private and public is not enough to answer question properly because even women participate in work life and go out private places, they cluster in the same jobs by excluding different occupational spaces. Researches point that uneducated women were working in the agricultural sector (Seifan, 2010) and educated ones generally were working in the government sector despite the low wages of public sector (Wieland, 2006) in the Syrian context just before the civil war. The study of Zamzam and her colleagues (2013) expands discussion by showing that women's participation in the formal sector is mainly in the 'feminized' sectors such as education and nursing. Hanson and Pratt (1995) argue that women in Syria through working in the feminized sector such as teaching, and nursing serves the geography of women's labour markets and the segregation even in workplaces. After 1970 with liberal policies, participation of women in private working life was reinforced; however, in the Syrian society, still traditional and patriarchal constructions are dominant in terms of perspectives of gender-based spatial segregation (Kamla, 2012). However, according to Hanson and Pratt (1995, 212), there is no evidence that women take jobs in female-dominated works to maximize their earnings and living standards. Rather, "such jobs – and taking them close to home- is usually part of a time-management strategy to

meet the simultaneous, and very immediate, daily demands of earning a wage and caring for a family. Particularly women and workers looking for a lower occupational status find jobs close to home (Hanson& Pratt, 1995).

Although both voluntary or forced migrants experience highly precarious work experiences at the bottom end of labour markets in Western capitalist countries (Standing, 2011), gender roles are changing, and power relations are distributed within the domestic sphere with the effect of migration. In other words, migration reinforces the transformation of gender roles and restructuring the gender relationship. New social order produces new diversities and flexibilities in the family (Havlin, 2015: 185). Today young women are not restricted in domestic relations. Instead, they socialize outside with their friends, explore the streets of the city, contribute to the family budget, so they have acquired more decision-making power within the houses (Hondagneu- Sotelo& Cranford, 2006: 118). In doing so, time-space patterns in everyday life make changes in the perceptions of Syrian migrants regarding working, study hours, and distance. All these inevitably open a new gate to the negotiation of gender roles within a family. However, according to Weinstein Bever (2002:226), while women's gender roles are re-defined with the effect of migration, both men and women continue to defend traditional gender ideology even if they are younger (2002: 226). In this regard, expecting a strict transformation is not realistic despite the negotiations and changes in gender roles.

The intersectional approach which refers to the social divisions of race, ethnicity gender, and class (Yuval-Dalis, 2006) is crucial to understanding differences in the social hierarchy and power relations. Although I have seen it as an important tool, it is further complicated than assumed. To solve this problem, Anthias (2008) offers a new concept of translocational positionality. This concept is directly related to my understanding because it directs attention to relocations, the multiplicity of locations involved in time and space, and how these

locations have connections between the past, the present, and the future. Moreover, it extends the discussion by implying that social spaces are inter-related, multiple, situational, temporal, and subject to different meanings and inflections. From this perspective, I argue that in addition to embracing the theoretical concept of intersectionality by considering gender, ethnicity, culture, and class, expanding the intersectional approach by adding space, time, and everydayness is vital to analyse research with all dimensions.

This concept is also parallel to the structuration theory because according to Anthias (2008:15)

> "A translocational positionality is one structured by the interplay of different locations relating to gender, ethnicity, race, and class (amongst others), and their at times contradictory effects. Positionality combines a reference to social position (as a set of effectivities: as outcome) and social positioning (as a set of practices, actions and meanings: as process). That is, positionality is the space at the intersection of structure (social position/social effects) and agency (social positioning/meaning and practice). The notion of 'location' recognises the importance of context, the situated nature of claims and attributions and their production in complex and shifting locales"

The negotiations between differences and hierarchies within different locations extend the literature with the power relations between migrants and natives in different spaces of the host country, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

### *1.2.4. Power Relations Between Majority and Minority Groups Behind Places*

If society produces space and space produces society in a dialectical relation, territoriality is an inseparable part of the organization of social power so the control of resources and people

should be understood within spatiality discussions (Cresswell, 1996: 11-12). “In place" and "out of place" are not simply geographical concepts because "we exist in and are surrounded by places centres of meaning" (Miller, 1998 as cited in Cresswell, 1996: 13). These meanings are produced and favoured by dominant social groups so meaning is rarely innocent. It is bound up with power relations, so it is ideological (Miller, 1998: 737). In this regard, symbols, beliefs (ideologies), meanings are all the production of power relations in the space, and hence place is a powerful tool for manipulating social action because places are the essential creator of difference and this differentiation is constructed between “us” and “them”. People (both dominant and subordinate) contrast themselves in relation to opposites and differences in a shared place. The more powerful in any context, however, will create widely accepted distinctions. What is good, what is accepted and what is bad are all redefined after power relations. It is possible to be an insider or an outsider of any place with this manipulative power of space itself (Cresswell, 1996). In general, outsiders are the deviants of the society, insiders are those who know and obey the rules of dominant culture. Becker (1996:25 as cited in Creswell 2020), for example, uses deviant synonymously with “outsider”, arguing that:

Social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labelling them as outsiders. From this point of view deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an “offender”. The deviant is one to whom that label has successfully been applied; deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label.

Norbert Elias and John L. Scotsan’s study, “The Established and The Orders” (1969) uses the concepts of “established” and “newcomers” to articulate the logic behind the power relations constructed between residents (insiders) and newcomers (outsiders/deviants). They created a way to understand both the relations between newcomers and residents and the reasons

behind the hierarchical relations created in daily life. This means that the established are those who have known each other for two or three generations but newcomers have no relations with old residents nor with each other. In other words, knowing each other is a powerful tool to maintain identity, assert superiority and keep others firmly in their place. Knowing each other enables the attribution of bad characteristics to whole minority groups and good features to themselves. In this way, group stigmatization and social prejudice are re/produced within social relations between migrants and old residents: with the latter seeing the former as breakers of laws and norms and as dirty people. These prejudices are an emotional barrier against closer contact with outsiders; they are developed as weapons of ideology to justify the superiority of the established groups, who close ranks against the newcomers and totally exclude them.

Scotsan and Elias studied Winston Parva in the Leicester. They defined three zones which have hierarchical relations between each other. Zone 1 is for the middle class and zones 2 and 3 for factory workers. Although they did not differ from each other in terms of income, zone 1 and zone 2 felts themselves to be superior to zone 3. The reason for this, according to Scotsan and Elias, is that zone 2 was composed of old residents and zone 3 of newcomers.

In my thesis, understanding the relationship between “outsiders” and “established” is crucial to seeing the background of the dominant discourse in daily life. This not only stigmatizes the migrant identity itself, but also the places where they survive. The relationship between immigrants and perceptions about them is only possible at an irrational level rather than a rational one. This makes outsiders (Syrian migrants) feel defensive, anomic and worthless their places.

“Power” itself is also a controversial concept discussed from different perspectives based on macro and micro theoretical backgrounds. Macro orientations generally see power as an

abstract and general thing flowing from the top to the bottom of organizational hierarchies, whether symmetrically or asymmetrically. They also focus on "power resources" to control society as a whole (Pulantzas, 1975; Dahrendorf, 1959; Weber, 1947; Mill, 1956; Dahl, 1958; Dahl 1957). Functionalist and Structuralist spatial discussions are the reflections of the above approaches to power. Micro perspectives on the other hand emphasise the processes of negotiation and bargaining between actors, and thus see power as symmetrical between agents, thereby highlighting the processes of interaction inherent in power (Blau, 1964). James Scott added he concept of "resistance" to the discussion of power relations in his book "Weapons of the Weak" (1985). Specifically, Scott rejects the idea that society is a single unit. In that context, "resistance" does not aim to change the system and is not organized, but generally hidden and belonging to subaltern groups. Scott shows us that the behaviour of subordinated groups (*foot-dragging, escape, passivity, laziness, misunderstandings, disloyalty, avoidance)* is not always what it seems to be, but instead a form of resistance. Scott argues that these activities are tactics which dominated people use in order to undermine power (Scott, 1985, cited in Karamese, 2017: 85).

In my perspective, both the macro and micro theoretical discussions are incomplete. What is needed is a complementary approach that brings together the negotiated power relations between agents (from the micro perspective) and the creation of objective conditions in the social relations within a place (from the macro structural approach). I see dialectical cooperation between these two perspectives because although the binary power relation between outsiders and insiders shows maintenance and shifts in power relations and differences between people in specific arenas/practices, this only gets us to part of the social reality. This is a reality that only studying discriminatory processes oversimplifies the picture. For instance, Elias solves this problem with the theory of configuration or figuration theory which refers to focusing on the structures that mutually dependent human beings establish

(Quintaneiro, 2006). Individuals are dependent to each other to full fill their needs and to do this they prefer to be part of social networks. According to Petintsava (2015: 1):

The central point is that although various characteristics (e.g., ethnicity, legal position) can be assigned importance in human figurations, the relationships of othering, inequality, and domination need to be seen in the light of the configuration of social relationships and power imbalances.

Such interdependences extend to ever more complex levels of integration: family, friends, neighbourhood, commercial establishments, professional activities, health and religious institutions, city, state or supra-national organizations. This means that established–outsider figurations are more than irrational or material inequalities and that implies a need to consider social relations, networks and inter-dependencies. In this regard, I see outsiders (Syrian migrants) as the agents who have relations and connection with established (native Turks) within the spaces of Turkey. This interdependency makes outsiders as active agents and part of power relations within shared places.

In this final discussion, I am combining parts of Anthony Giddens' and Michel De Certau's theoretical legacies to explore the possibility of integration in the common places used by both migrants and natives. Giddens' "structuration theory" looks at power from a dialectical perspective, and both theories consider structural and individualistic aspects of the society. Giddens criticizes objectivist schools or structural sociological understanding for claiming that individuals have no choice under power pressures, arguing that "make a difference" capacity actions have transformative potential. "Make a difference" capacity means that actors always have some resources to change relations which are targeted or intended by power or dominant groups. Power within social systems which has a continuous character within time and space needs autonomic relations and interdependency between actors during

social interaction. All types of dependent relations are possible with some resources, however, and with the aid of these resources subordinate groups can influence the activities of dominant ones or the desired outcomes of power groups, which Giddens refers to as a “dialectic of control” (Giddens, 1984: 16-18).

Like Giddens, de Certeau is aware of social actors' structural positioning (de Certeau, 1988a, 1997b, 77 as cited in Karner, 2008: 255) and the role of these agents during power relations. Both scholars agree that power is not independent from actors and they are not passive victims of structural relations. While Giddens articulates this through his “make a difference” capacity, de Certeau calls it “the art of the weak”. Crucially, however, and unlike Giddens, de Certeau provides operational tools to apply his theory for empirical research from micro perspective. Accordingly, the “strategy/tactic” concepts of de Certeau’s theory will be used during the research.

Before discussing the theorization of de Certeau, it should be clarified that I use power in the sense of an agent’s or group’s ability to have an effect on other agents’/groups’ actions, or on their dispositions to act; however, this ability is understood by me as resulting from a complex relation of various social factors (ethnicity, gender, age, class) between dominant and subordinate groups. (Menge, 2018).

The relations of ordinary people in everyday life often appears incomprehensible since these people are perceived as passive and oppressed. De Certeau, however, tries to make relations in everyday life visible, concrete and understandable rather than abstract generalizations of structural assumptions. At this point, he begins by explaining the strategies and tactics as basic concepts for this purpose, applying in that regard Scott’s concept of “resistance” (Scott, 1985; 1989). According to de Certeau, strategy is about power relations with authority and dominant groups, and needs power, loyalty and space to create political, economic or rational

hegemony over ordinary people. Unlike strategy, however, tactics do not need new space, because they use the space belonging to dominant group and get slightly into the space. Since tactics have no particular area, they always seek their own interests against the suppression of interest groups: the weak are always trying to find opportunities to eliminate unequal power relations. As ordinary people our actions, practices, reproduction in daily life are tactics against power groups. Thus, what is perceived as the weakness of weak people, is actually "the power of weak" because the weak have potential to change or manipulate the power systems in their own interests. This operational performance is based on knowledge, transforming from past experiences and heritage. From Giddens' perspective, meanwhile, "resources" can also be seen as the essence of this transformative capacity of operational performance. Tactics show us that rationality cannot be considered separate from daily struggles; however, they are also hidden in the place of power for objective calculation (Giddens, 1984). In other words, strategies are related to space / place; tactics are about time. Against the space of power, the weak have time to change and manipulate the intended consequences of power relations.

As a result, people who produce their own tactics and use their "make a difference" capacity can be found in each minority group like migrants. Migrant Syrian students fit what de Certeau and Giddens intend to explain about ordinary resistance groups and invisible pluralities. In this research, migrant youths are seen as subordinate groups, native Turks are dominant groups, and ethnicity, race and gender are different social factors in Turkish migration context. Syrian youth under structural relations in the spaces of Turkey are in relation with power (native Turks) and, despite their weakness in terms of structural inequalities, they are not passive. In contrast, since they produce tactics against the strategies of power to eliminate exclusion in the shared places of Istanbul, they are active, dynamic and always in interaction within the spaces of power.

### 1.3. Mapping Empirical Study: Summary of My Theoretical Framework Within the Literature

Hence, I would like to highlight my theoretical framework drawn from the literature articulated above:

1. Like all places, every settlement place should be understood in parallel with its temporality. This means that both spatiality and temporality produce social relations and its practices and are produced by them. Moreover, there is a direct interdependent relation between time and space. The time constructions of migrants can be changed by their settlements and, according to their places, the sense of time could be alterable. This understanding leads to the placing of time and space at the heart of migration studies.
2. Neither the identity of migrant settlements nor migrants' identities are static and pre-given. Both are in fact derived from the negotiations and power relations between immigrants and native people, and hence they are also dynamic and open to the change. In this regard, structure and agents should be taken into consideration and discussed simultaneously.
3. Space is the intersection of social, cultural, economic and physical features. In that sense, if we eliminate the spatiality paradigm, which argues that the problem should be handled from society to space or space to society, it is evident that a dialectical approach is needed.
4. Migrants are not passive victims of power relations. They are active agents who have "make a difference capacity" and the opportunity to resist the hegemonic discourses in the shared places. Against the capacity of place for producing differences, agents have the power to change or manipulate inequalities and disadvantages in their own interests.

5. The meaning of space may be varied among social actors. In addition to different constructions of native people and migrants, different positions of immigrants such as age, gender, occupation attribute various meanings to the places, because of the inequalities and heterogeneities within society. Generally, migratory subjects are seen as ‘out of space’, but these variables can sometimes produce inclusion just as much as exclusion in the same place. More interestingly, since place is the totality of emotional and bodily exercise, the possibilities of space that include inclusion and exclusion simultaneously should be taken into account, even if they seem contradictory.
6. Despite the relative weakness of migrants within their host country at the beginning of their migration experience, there are also immigrant groups that strengthen themselves with symbolic, cultural, social and economic capital, and these should also be taken into consideration. For example, these groups may become the professionals of the host country in the future and hence their current everyday practices and spatial patterns are important elements if we are to discern the place-making process of different groups clearly.
7. Space is more than local relations so an approach combining the local and global characteristics of space should be discussed if we are to explore the place constructions of youth migratory subjects. Transnational movements and transnational connections; in other words, continuity and change between the subjects of forced migration and the places themselves also need more discussion.

It is undeniable, however, that the bulk of the literature underestimates this theoretical framework focusing on intersected features of place in terms of social, cultural, ideological and physical in migration studies. I aim to show that it is possible for immigrants to have a

space-making process by actively interacting with the host country, and this is also directly related to the concept of time. By ensuring that migration is perceived as a totality of meaning that includes the past, present and future this combination of temporality and spatiality produces new and multiple senses of spaces.

# CHAPTER TWO

# 2. METHODOLOGY

## 2.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the details of the data collection process, the adopted methods of this qualitative research, how these methods address the research questions and, finally, I reflect on my personal experiences in carrying out social research. As a Turkish, Muslim, student, and also migrant woman in the UK, my main target is to contribute to the debate on youth and migrant identities by analysing the production/reproduction of socio-spatial negotiation in the urban context. My thesis examines the everyday geographies of young Syrian student groups to shed light on how Syrian student identities and the sense of space are co-constructed in Istanbul. Its heterogenous city population, different identities of its districts and its people from different background make possible that Syrian students not only produce a new sense of place but also negotiate their identities through this placemaking process. Istanbul was the center of ethnographic richness with its unique character from the very beginning of the fieldwork. During the eight months from August 2019 to March 2020 in this city as a researcher contribute to understand city with its own characteristics. As a biggest city of Turkey built on two Continents, divided by the Bosphorus, Istanbul is the combination of a modern western city and a traditional eastern city. However, Istanbul is more complex and chaotic than estimated from outside with physical features. As a Turkish citizen, Istanbul was the city where I have forgotten that I have been in Turkey with its different languages, cultural patterns, and different colors. Sometimes English was turning into first language in the daily life I was speaking.

Understanding these deep and complex relations is possible using qualitative research because through this research, a wide dimension of the social world, the weave of everyday life, the

social constructs of the participants, and their meanings can be explored best (Mason, 2002:1). Since this type of research is more than a set of specific techniques, being a complex process (Corbetta, 2003), my dynamic relationship with it has led me to enhance it with the methods related to ethnography because this approach is useful when researchers observe and/or interact with a study's participants in their real-life environments. In that sense, to explore the active placemaking process of Syrian students from their perspective as accurately as possible, qualitative research methods ethnographic observations, unstructured interviews, virtual methods via the Internet and semi-structured in-depth interviews, and focus groups best fit my research.

By asking Syrian youth migrants about the construction processes of both their identities and sense of place in everyday geographies of Istanbul as the main research question, I have tried to design the research in a meaningful and sensitive way to overcome the main challenges in the field, such as by protecting their anonymity and considering the complexity of city life and the place-based differences. Moreover, by adding gender, everydayness, asymmetric majority-minority relations, and social interactions into the discussion, I aim to see the connection between the Syrian youth migrants (agents) and their social context (structure) in the host country. From this perspective, enhancing this qualitative research with ethnographic methodologies is the best way to answer my research questions. This is because ethnography depicting social life as the outcome of the interaction between structures and agencies through the practice of everyday life examines social life as it unfolds, looks at and expresses the context of communities, and analyses the wider structures (O'Reilly, 2012: 6).

Particularly, in the first part of the research, ethnographic observations and interviews helped me to understand what is going on in the field and the natural environment from the participants' perspectives. Participating and observing go together in this step because, without being in the field, it is not possible to get a full picture by just observing. As Sarah

Pink (2009, 2012) pointed out, sensory ethnography, by tasting, smelling, touching, hearing, shows how observations can be more than observing. I experienced this myself; maybe I can forget many things I learned in the field, but I am sure I will never forget the smells of Arabic cafés in the streets of Istanbul, the taste of the food which I ate with the students, or their everyday language as the background noise to their daily lives. Moreover, the 20 thousand steps I took every day and the eight kilos I lost were part of my both observation and participation.

Unstructured ethnographic interviews are an inseparable part of ethnographic observations. They generally start with casual chats and informal questions. Because an unstructured interview is more free flowing, the interviewees have an opportunity to respond in a relaxed way (O'Reilly, 2012: 116-120). In the first part of the research, I learned more from these informal conversations. They allowed me to produce appropriate questions without disturbing the relationships with my respondents later during the in-depth interviews and group interviews. They also clarified my target group and how to reach them. Moreover, by combining these methods with the virtual method via social media, I was not only able to see the different constructs of the youth migrants' lives, but I was also able to check their facial expressions and body language to ensure the validity of their responses. This is because understanding whether a person is misleading you or not is possible by using internal triangulation, which means getting the same data from the same person using different techniques (O'Reilly, 2012:155), although I accept that it is impossible to reach the truth itself as a whole. In addition to ethnographic unstructured interviews, I conducted semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions to explore the space-making process from the perspectives of the respondents. In addition to ethnographic group interviewing, I also conducted focus groups with the students to broaden the discussion to gender-based differences concerning the sense of space.

While methods were planned to some extent before entering the field, they changed upon entering and operating within the field, which shows the essence of field and research dynamics. In this way, the nature of the qualitative research overlapped with the dynamic process of my fieldwork, which explored the negotiations and dialectical relations between the Syrian migrant identity and the spaces of Istanbul.

### 2.2. Entering the Field

Although I targeted Istanbul as my focus area and Syrian youth as my focus group, it was not an easy decision to study place-based relations between the home population and migrants. This is because, although I have been familiar with Istanbul, it was shocking to see the changes in dynamics and relationships between Syrians and native-born Turks that have taken place since I left Turkey. When I decided to study place-based relations between two groups before going to the UK for my PhD, I saw more tolerance, integration and relation within the spaces of Istanbul. Discourses and perceptions were based on the importance of being a host community. However, today, this has changed, and segregation, negative discourses, and discrimination have increased. While I was away from Turkey, I did follow this tendency; however, understanding that this was a reality of the field and not a fiction was a shocking experience for me.

Since the beginning of the field research, I have faced segregation in such direct experiences as travelling on buses, chatting in the streets, and dialogues with taxi drivers, etc. The reasons behind this change could be the economic crisis in Turkey, political tensions, and the realisation that Syrians are now an inseparable part of Turkish society, i.e., they are no longer guests who will eventually return back to their countries. Whatever the reasons behind this contextual change at the beginning of the research were, the context was changing.

From this point of view, it can be said that the most important disadvantage of studying place and migration together is the dynamic nature of both concepts. Not only migrants but also places are gaining new meanings in the perceptions of urban populations. These perceptions create their reality and direct the researchers to the reality behind these social constructs.

During this period, I visited different well-known Syrian places (neighbourhoods, cafes, restaurants, streets, etc.) several times and tried to observe and take notes. It was an interesting experience for me to understand how Syrian places are labelled. For instance, when I entered the field from Fatih, many people from different districts pointed out Yusufpaşa as a Syrian street and they recommended I went there to understand Syrians. However, after several observations, the advantage of understanding Arabs and chatting with workers and the owners of stores, despite the common belief, Yusufpaşa was not a segregated Syrian place. Instead, it was a meeting place in which Arab communities from different ethnic backgrounds came together. When I described my experiences in Yusufpaşa, Syrians were accused by the native Turks there of disguising the reality to avoid paying the same taxes as the Syrian community by claiming to be different from other nationalities. Unfortunately, because they speak Arabic, Syrian migrants' and Arab tourists' interests in Turkey overlap and all Arabs, from different ethnic backgrounds, are perceived as Syrians; thus, all the prejudices held against them turn into discrimination and hate against the Syrian identity. Rich Arabs from Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Palestine, with their consumption patterns and expensive lifestyles contribute in particular to creating this discrimination and reaction against the settlement of Syrians in Turkey. Especially, symbolic places accused of having dense Syrian populations, such as Taksim and Yusufpaşa, with their high prices, are not, in reality, Syrian dominated places. It was the first sign in the field that told me a more critical approach was needed.

## 2.3. First Part of the Research

The first part of the research is based on the time period - approximately two months - before the decision to specify my target group. This process involved not only the clarification of the target group but also understanding their characteristics, producing appropriate questions to make their complex relationships visible, and identifying the changes, along with the transformations, in the spaces of Istanbul through the perspectives of different groups. In other words, in this process, I became familiar with not only the Syrian youth but also different places in Istanbul.

### *2.3.1. Ethnographic Observations*

I started the field research with observations and taking notes, which are known as the main features of the methodology of ethnography. I started with casual conversations and informal chats. In this part, I can define my role as an observer, with little participation. Since I aimed to access specific focus groups and the spaces used by them, this part was the gateway into in-depth questions. I not only became familiar with the field but also, I introduced myself to the field as a researcher.

This part was the most difficult part of the research because I was faced with social, emotional and physical dynamics of the challenges. Moreover, it was the time of "asking difficult questions about observation to ensure that you do not only prepare yourself as fully as possible in advance, but also continue to make informed and strategic decisions throughout the whole process of data generation" (Mason, 2002: 87). I tried to understand the physical and social place together. Not only did I get physically tired when exploring the physical space, but I also encountered mental and emotional difficulties when analysing the social relations within the space.

Since I started my fieldwork in Fatih, I looked at mainly Akşemseddin Caddesi, Hırka-ı Şerif, Malta Street, Yusufpaşa, Aksaray and Millet Street, the main centres of dense Syrian populations in Fatih. The observations in these places allowed me to see the life patterns and place production processes of Syrian youths. For instance, even examining the menus of restaurants gave me many clues about the tastes of these migrant groups, and how the sense of place was being produced in a new country. Seeing dishes being divided under the heading Western and Eastern Kitchen in some menus was interesting data for me. I realized that the target group of the Western cuisine, based on fast food, appealed to young Syrians, while the Eastern cuisine, which was based on the traditional kitchen, was being prepared mainly for the older generations. Sometimes, different restaurants targeted different specific age groups, so I determined to focus on those restaurants that were preferred by the young migrants for more purposive-oriented observations. As a result, by spending time in these restaurants and consuming their food, I had a chance to observe, taste and experience the logic behind these cafés and restaurants where Syrian youths mainly socialized.

In addition to restaurants, I tried to observe and take photos of shops furnished in a Syrian style, streets with Arabic signs, Arabic real estate ads, street advertisements and the symbolic transformations on the streets that came with the Syrian migration. This type of observation helped me to see the perspectives of the Turkish population. Sometimes, it is possible to feel yourself in Syria on the streets of Istanbul. As a Turkish citizen, the smells of food, different from the usual Turkish food, became a vital experience to feel the transformation in public spaces. In addition to tastes, hearing Arabic as the dominant language and finding it difficult to encounter people speaking Turkish on the streets of Fatih were further tangible examples of the transformation that was taking place. Moreover, finding all the signs in the stores in Arabic sometimes made it difficult to find the place I wanted to visit or how I would like to get there. Since I had been there many times before doing my field research, along with

migration flow, this transformation had started to create a change in my spatial memory of Fatih. However, Turks who never left there seemed more fortunate than me. Many young Turkish people have already become accustomed to Syrian food, the best Syrian restaurants have been recommended in many Turkish food blogs, and they have started to celebrate their birthdays in these relatively cheaper places. However, being someone who knows the before and after of the field and being aware of the transformations there improved both my insider and outsider positions.

As a result, with the aid of observations, I became familiar with well-known physical and social places critical in the daily life of Syrian youths, came to understand the transformations and I had a chance to gather data to produce the right questions for my further research methods. Moreover, the people in the field became familiar with me.

### *2.3.2. Informal Interviews*

Patton argues there are three different types of qualitative interviews and **"**the informal conversational interview" is one of them. This interview can resemble an informal conversation. (Patton, 1987: 111-112).

At the beginning, I conducted many informal interviews with Turkish store owners and the local people of Fatih. All these subjects gave me background information to understand the relationship between the home population and Syrians. It was an interesting experience to go to the woman's day in Fatih, in the home of my brother's mother-in-law. They have been settled in Fatih for three generations and they have a collective memory of the changes in this district. They told me a great deal about the critical historical changes and transformations in the district. They complained that Fatih had become "occupied" by Syrians, that they could not even enter the famous Wednesday market in Istanbul, that they had had to sell their

homes, that they could not agree with their neighbours and that there were cultural differences between them.

The constructed segregation was remarkable, not only in the minds of local people but also the owners of the Turkish stores. Many owners complained that none of the Syrian people was shopping from Turkish stores. At the same time, when I asked local residents, they said that they do prefer not to shop from Syrian stores.

During conversations, I realized that neither the locals nor the owners felt close to the Syrian immigrants and that they perceived their reality only their common belief and the external appearances of people. During my observations, I came to understand that it was not so easy to distinguish the Syrian youth from the Turkish youth from the outside, and that the reality was much more than what was seen and perceived.

In addition to Turkish people, I started to chat with the owners of and workers in Syrian stores, restaurants and cafés to understand their motivations, daily life routines, the customer backgrounds, and the reasons behind the establishment of their stores, using the informal conversational interview method. Then, I added Syrian women to this research. I talked with them about their domestic relations by visiting their homes and witnessing their daily life routines. As the last step, I had a chance to interview Syrian students at several universities and be part of their lives. This was achieved with the help of my university student friends living in Istanbul.

### *2.3.3. Organizing the Data Retrieved from The First Phase and the Planning of the Second Phase*

Following two months of research, I still could not decide how to limit my research because I was caught between two approaches. Should I choose a specific space and focus on the

relationships there, or choose a specific target group and look at their relationships within the spaces and their perceptions of them? Examining the specific space as the first purpose of the thesis runs the risk of making the research more abstract, and it has the potential preventing a clear description of the spatial perceptions of migrants and the migrants' changing social relations within the host country. On the other hand, understanding space using a specific target group gives clues about the networks, perceptions and negotiations within different spaces in everyday life. So, I chose the second approach and decided to study space with a specific target group to understand youth migration in a Turkish urban context.

The second difficulty was choosing the target group. Based on my proposal, I was planning to examine relations with different groups in different spaces. Women in the home, workers at workplaces, owners of businesses, students attending formal (universities) and informal educational institutions were my potential target groups. In the first part of the research, I focused on and contacted all of them.

Through interviewing women and having a chance to understand the relations in their homes, I saw that they drew a mental map and had daily routines running between their homes and the bazaar. They spent much of their time at home because of the language barrier. Although some changes had occurred with migration, they generally followed a lifestyle similar to the one back in Syria. Language was the most important reason for them persisting with their comfort zones, so segregation and exclusion were important issues to consider when understanding their relations within the space shared with the host community. Since my approach required a more dynamic and negotiated relationship between the host country and migrant groups, these were not the right group for the target of my research.

Moreover, by examining workers' and business owners' life patterns, I realized that their stories did not excite me either. With long working hours, the coming and going between

home and work, exclusion at work, the low wages and segregation, these issues related only indirectly to the aim of this research.

The group that most attracted my attention was the Syrian students because they had adapted to daily life by attending different places, creating a new sense of space with a new lifestyle, transforming and negotiating their own identities, speaking Turkish, being integrated into the education system and socializing through interactions with different groups. This group attracted me in terms of their relations with and perceptions of the spaces in Istanbul. I mainly focused on the students over 18 who were studying for the university entrance exams, and undergraduate and master's students still studying at their universities. These students had come to Turkey either with their families or individually under the harsh conditions of forced migration. Although they had all come to Turkey following the start of the civil war in Syria, some of them had chosen Turkey purposively and individually for the educational opportunities it offered. Others had come to try to continue their education after the settlement of their families in the country.

Briefly, I chose Syrian youth for three main reasons:

a) They lead a more active social life. They are more mobile, touch different places, and socialize in various parts of the city. Additionally, they construct new meanings for the spaces they use, and they are active in different spaces for different reasons.
b) They are the professionals of the future and are engaged in full-time or part-time jobs or internships, so they have more social networks. They are aware of the dynamics in the host country. They are negotiating their identities through considering these dynamics and producing new cultural patterns in different contexts.
c) They are migrant students, and their experiences are similar to my experiences, so studying them both as an insider and outsider is possible. As a migrant student in another country, I have had similar experiences to theirs. However, I am an outsider as

well because I am not Syrian and have not gone to another country because of forced migration. These similarities and differences create further broader perspectives to see the exact relations covering a range of experiences.

After deciding upon my target group, I contacted my networks in the field. My Syrian activist friend, Iman, became an important person as the first step, as she had connections with students. At the same time, I formed a connection with my other friends who had crucial information about Syrian migrants and their experiences. Since I was also a visiting researcher at Sehir University Urban Studies Centre, I had a chance to form a network with Syrian students there. These students had been very helpful in assisting me to reach student communities and directing me to NGOs. At the same time, I re/designed my further and more systematic research methods.

Consequently, the observations of and informal interviews in different spaces and with different groups gave me a chance to clarify the target group and the further methods required to support my research. I was able to produce a set of effective, in-depth interview questions based on the experiences I had already encountered. In other words, the first part of my research had offered a way to access my target group, shown me the places and people with whom they were in contact and, at the same time, allowed me to design an effective integrated research method.

### 2.4. Second Part: Collecting the Data on Syrian Youth Migrants via In-Depth Interviews, Participant Observation, and a Focus Group

Interviewing and listening while spending time together with people may mean there is no clear distinction between doing participant observation and conducting interviews (O'Reilly, 2012). In other words, "the qualitative interview can be seen as the verbal counterpart to

participant observation, the former involving questioning and the latter involving observing" (Corbetta, 2003: 264). My personal experience in the field confirmed this view; interviewing, group interviewing and observing go together, feed off each other, and cannot be easily separated.

### *2.4.1. Introducing Participants: Backgrounds*

During the research, in-depth interviews were conducted with 30 students and two focus groups, which were composed of 12 different students. The students were born in different cities and regions of Syria, being Aleppo, Damascus, Haseke, Humus and Deraa. Women made up 24 of the participants, and 18 were men. Of the respondents, 13 of them were preparing for university entrance exams, 15 were undergraduates, and 13 were graduate students. Their ages ranged between 18-26.

After establishing this initial data on the respondents, to understand their interactions with the host society more was needed to establish who they had been before they had arrived in Istanbul. Regarding this, gathering information about their families, their socio-economic backgrounds, what their aspirations were before coming to Turkey, and their living conditions in their homeland was important. Moreover, the kinds of work they did and what they were studying in Turkey are also crucial because these factors might have shaped their experiences and views of Turkey.

#### *2.4.1.1. Their families*

Except for one informant's father, the parents of all the students were alive. Thirty of the students are living with their families and 12 of them were living in student accommodation. Most of the students' parents have faced problems finding a job because of language barriers and their age. Because of this, the students had to take responsibility for meeting the basic

daily needs. Twenty-six of them had to work at part-time jobs to support their families or to survive in Istanbul without the help of their families.

Eight of the informants' mothers were university graduates and had had a professional job when they were living in Syria. Almost all of these women were teachers; however, now, they could not find such a job, so they had to work in manufacturing or do low paid jobs. Most of the women, however, stayed at home and did not work. Similar downward mobility was seen among the fathers. Although almost all of them had been employed in factories/workplaces or had been professionals, such as teachers or engineers, after coming to Turkey, they had been unable to continue in the same occupations. Apart from one respondent's father, who was a doctor in a Syrian hospital that had been established in Turkey, the others were suffering worse conditions in the host country when compared to their home country.

Six of the students' families were still in Syria. The other six students' families were living in other countries: Sweden, Germany, Saudi Arabia, and Qatar. All the informants had relatives spread across many countries in the world.

Family structure was based on having many children. Mostly, the students had four or more siblings. Generally, the eldest child had the greatest responsibility, so if s/he wanted to continue their education, they had to work simultaneously.

All the students either lived in rented houses together with their parents or with friends. Student houses were generally shared by six people. One informant, whose family was in Saudi Arabia, lived with her brother, who was a university student. Instead of living in dormitories, which is more expensive than renting a house, students preferred to be together with other Arabic speakers in shared houses. Only one student, who spoke Turkish fluently, was planning to share a house with Turkish friends from the university in the following academic year.

#### *2.4.1.2. Socio-Economic Backgrounds*

In Syria generally, the family structure is based on the extended family, so the students generally lived with their grandparents, uncles and cousins. They had lived in their own country in big houses with other family members, so family-based relations were crucial. Social life was constructed around relationships with family members and relatives. Contrary to life in Istanbul, they mainly had close relationships with neighbours, and they were familiar with each other. Even if they lived in Aleppo or Damascus, the biggest cities of Syria, when they compare them with Istanbul, they were relatively small. Since settlement depends on small neighbourhoods, knowing each other in Syria was easier than in Istanbul.

As their families' workplaces were close to their homes, the parents had a chance to come home during work breaks to rest; thus, they were able to spend more time with all the family. Even civil servants had this opportunity. They found that their time management in their home country was easier than in Istanbul. They used to divide the day into two: before and after the afternoon prayer. Because of the relatively short work hours, some of the fathers had had a chance to do second jobs.

Almost all the informants described their socio-economic levels as being good or medium when compared to Turkey. They had their own houses and cars. They stressed how life was easy when they were in Syria. Before the war, Syria was considered very cheap, offering better living standards. While one person working from one home was enough, now they all had to contribute to the family budget to survive. In Syria, the men were responsible for shopping outside and working; women were only responsible for domestic work. Even if a woman worked, her working time was shorter and the workplaces were closer to their homes. If their mothers were in work, both the girls and boys were more tolerant towards women in

education and as work colleagues. Moreover, this group took a positive view of the division of labour within the home.

Cultural patriarchal relations dominated in Syria. Many of the migrants said that they had to get permission from the eldest member of the family to fulfil the daily routine or for vital decisions. While women generally spent their time at home or out with their family members, the men had the chance to go to cafés, hookah cafés or restaurants until late in the evening. Many men complained about how their day ended earlier in Turkey.

Fridays and Saturdays were holidays. Especially, religious holidays were crucial in Syria, and they lasted longer than in Turkey. Instead of three or four days, in Syria, they would celebrate for approximately one month with their whole family. The mosques were the centre of festivals. The migrants mentioned their disappointment at religious festivals in Turkey not being accorded the appropriate respect.

The relationship between the state and individuals were stricter in Syria. They were ruled by an autocracy, so they did not feel free to express their ideas in their social lives or the social media. Organisations and associations were under the control of the government, so they had less space to come together to form civil initiatives. Almost all the male respondents were deserters. They had escaped from Syria so as not to participate in military service for civil war. The students' families in Syria had encouraged their children to escape to Turkey to protect them from military service.

#### *2.4.1.3. Life in Turkey (Social, Economic (Work life) and Educational Aspects)*

The participants had been in Turkey for an average of 5.5 years. The students had used different ways to enter the country: arriving by plane from another country, arriving in Mersin Province by ship from Lebanon, entering via checkpoints, entering illegally by crossing the

border where there was no checkpoint, coming to the border in a car with their relatives, etc. The method of arrival of the interviewees varied regarding the date, whether they had a passport or not, and what the financial situation of the family was. Some of the respondents whose family's financial situation was better and who had passports, had the opportunity to arrive by plane from Lebanon or Egypt. These students were given the status of temporary protection. Due to this protection regime, despite improvements in the rights of the migrants , their final status and rights were not clear. They had to live in the city where they were registered to get this status. Many of them and their families suffered from not being able to go to another city, even within the Turkish borders. Moreover, they had work without insurance because of difficulties in getting work permission.

For some of the students under this regime, Istanbul was not their first destination. Almost all the interviewees thought that the war would end in a short time after leaving Syria. The fact that they did not take too many items with them supported this assumption. After arriving at border cities such as Hatay, Gaziantep and Şanlıurfa, they tried to survive there because they thought that they would soon be returning to Syria. However, once they saw that war would not end quickly and there were too few job opportunities for the crowded migrant populations, they moved to Istanbul on the advice of their relatives. Almost all of them were happy to be in Istanbul because of its opportunities in terms of social life, work and education. Because of these advantages, even if they could not pass it, the young Syrians would repeat their preparations for the university entrance exams so as not to have to move out of Istanbul.

The respondents who were aged between 18-20 had completed their high school education in Turkey and were competent at speaking Turkish. Their motivation was to fulfil their basic needs, such as eating, living and working with their families, when they first came to Turkey. Some of the boys who came to Turkey to escape military service or to protect the right of life

and whose ages were between 22-26 first tried to employ surviving strategies with the help of their relatives, friends or NGOs. After learning about the city and the Turkish language, as a first step, they then worked to support themselves and then they sought education opportunities. This group included high school graduates, university students or university graduate students. Some of them, having had the chance to prove their educational abilities in Syria, continued their education in Turkey. However, most of them had to start university from the beginning because of a lack of legal papers and the internal war conditions. All of them either spoke English or Turkish fluently in their daily lives. In school or work, they learned the required language. They said whether they were secular or religious, that Turkey was their first and best option because of its open-door policy. They also claimed that the harsh policies of developed countries against migrants made Turkey best place to establish a life.

Six students whose families lived in another country had intentionally chosen Turkey for education. Although, after forced migration, they had settled in another country, they preferred to send their children to Turkey. Their aspirations to come to Turkey were specifically based on getting an education. They found it the most appropriate place because of the religious and cultural closeness between the two countries. Moreover, whether they came from Syria or another country, they saw Turkey as a bridge between the East and the West. This group felt luckier than others because they received a residence permit. Contrary to temporary protection status, they had a chance to work and travel in Turkey. Moreover, this card protected them from discrimination in official administrative situations.

By getting Turkish citizenship, the students under temporary protection would be able to overcome all disadvantages of being immigrants. Moreover, they would consider a Turkish passport more prestigious and a gateway to another country for work and education opportunities.

The socio-economic level of the respondents and their families were worse than had been when they were in Syria. In the Turkish context, the socio-economic background of Syrian migrants is not high. They did not come from affluent backgrounds. Those who did have a high socio-economic level were generally accepted by European countries, which suited them since they preferred to live in a more developed country rather than in Turkey. Because of this background, the migrants in Turkey had to employ surviving strategies and they saw education as the first step which offered them higher social status. Similar patterns are seen among secular families. Most of the secular Syrians explored a way to go to European countries because they could not find many religious and historical similarities to attach themselves to in Turkey. For these two reasons, it was difficult to find either secular or affluent families there.

The participants were studying at either private or state universities. To get into the university, they had to pass YOS (the foreign student exam). Generally, they attended private courses to pass this exam. They were accepted by private universities with scholarships and tried to pay anything the scholarship did not cover by working at part-time jobs. The effects of post-war trauma can be seen in the departments they chose. They generally registered in engineering, medicine and various other departments in health faculties. They stressed that they thought the workers in the health sector were vital. Moreover, they expected the war would end, so they though that engineering would be crucial in reconstructing the country. At the same time, cultural expectations dominated in the choice of these departments. They also chose according to gender. Boys generally studied in the engineering and medicine faculties, while the girls were enrolled in the nursing, pharmacy, medicine, and psychology departments. Medicine was a common faculty for both genders, and it was seen as being very prestigious. The first option for all of them was the medical faculty with the aim of being a doctor.

They generally worked in low paid part-time jobs such as waitress, pharmacist's assistant, company secretaries, Arab-Turkish translators, etc. Master's students had more opportunities to find professional jobs based on their educational background, including a teacher, an international marketing specialist, the owner of an online gastronomy marketing company and a professional translator. However, they still thought that they were low paid and found it difficult to find work that was parallel to their education. The lack of social and cultural capital was seen as the main reason for this situation.

While social life in Syria was based on kinship relations, in Turkey, secondary relationships dominated, such as friendship and working in voluntary organisations. Two reasons were responsible for this difference. The first is that the transition from extended family relations to more individual relations and the second arises from a greater awareness of the importance of humanitarian aid due to the difficulties they had experienced as migrants. The NGOs they volunteered for generally had a religious background because when Syrian migrants first arrived in Turkey, religious-based organisations were the first to react to the humanitarian crisis. However, it would later appear that these students were trying to participate in more inclusive organisations with people from different backgrounds.

Relations and friendship with Turkish people were limited, even if the migrants spoke Turkish adequately. Discrimination, low self-esteem because of negative views of their backgrounds attributed by the host population, poor control of the host language and being new in a different culture were the main reasons given for the poor integration by the two groups of respondents. Generally, they preferred social groups where Arabic was spoken, or English with friends. They complained that Turkish students were not eager to speak English or other foreign languages. However, friendships developed through their involvement in NGOs or friend groups were increasing day by day, parallel to their increasing attachment to the host country. Similarly, friendships between majority and minority groups further fostered

an attachment to Turkish society. The developing relationships between them led to a decrease in the discrepancy in their perceptions towards cultural distance. In other words, the close relationships showed how two societies could become close to each other despite their differences.

In the future, they all aimed to participate in professional work life. Particularly, the boys wanted to establish their own international work. Syria, Turkey, and European countries were seen as potential centres for marketing and living. Even if the war ended, they were planning to keep their relationships with Turkey.

### *2.4.2. In-Depth Interviews*

Using in-depth interviews is thought to be more efficient in obtaining more detailed information about the respondents' perceptions; their interpretations, experiences, interactions and practices are expected to be collected. This is because an in-depth interview gives a broader and more meaningful picture about the relations in the field (Mason, 2002; Boyce & Neale, 2006: 3). I conducted 42 in-depth interviews. Twelve of them were unstructured ethnographic interviews and 30 of them were semi-structured. Different from the informal interviews, I needed to sit with people in their places (homes, neighbourhoods, cafes, education centres, etc.) to explore issues in more depth. The interviews were unstructured in that neither the content nor the form of the questions were predetermined, and they varied from one participant to another (Corbetta, 2003: 272). They were conducted with key informants from youth associations, NGOs and education centres. Open-ended questions were used in the interviews, and many topics were raised related to the research. The most important contribution of unstructured interviews was that rich data could be gathered and refined to form further semi-structured interview questions. Semi-structured interviews, the content of which was designed, but not the form (Corbetta, 2003: 272), were conducted with

the main research group, the Syrian migrant students. The most important benefit of semi-structured interviews was that all the respondents were asked the same questions, making the data easier to compare among the students.

#### *2.4.2.1. Functions of Youth Associations, NGOs and Education Centres during the Data Collection Process*

The main aim of this part of the research is concerned with how I was to approach the migrant students and gather information about their activities, and their spatial and social practices. Finding people who had a deep knowledge of the field would make it more comprehendible for me. The information would help me compose appropriate questions. During the research, I realized that centres like the NGOs were functional in the life of the youths and their placemaking processes. From the outset, I wanted to use these centres to get information about Syrian youth; however, I later understood that they should be independently categorized, and they played a vital role in the findings. As a result, during the fieldwork, these centres became both the object and the subject of the research. The people working in the NGOs not only had special expertise or knowledge regarding this phenomenon, but also these keys occupied a specific position with the young Syrian population, reflecting the migrants' opinions (Corbetta, 2003: 275).

I conducted 12 unstructured formal interviews with these key informants, all of whom had affiliations with different organizations and education centres. They were formal interviews because their status required more formal conversations. During my interviews, in addition to the observations, I collected documents and archival records showing the structure and functions of these centres. With some of these organisations, I was planning to conduct an interview before entering the field. However, most of them were reached after beginning the research. Other than Himma Youth Association and Hikmet Organisation, I could only create

a relationship with them through the help of my network in the field. I explained my purpose and got permission from each interviewee. By taking notes and/or making voice recordings, I was able to conduct my research. The best interviews were held based on the help of my field network. It was advantageous that I was able to conduct the interviews in a friendly environment. Thus, I once again understood why networks are important and are required for research.

Table 1:List of interviews with key informants (representatives of NGOs and education centres)

| **Name of the Organization/Centre** | **Functions of the Organization** | **Person interviewed** | **Who helped for meeting** | **Type of Record** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bab-ı Ihsan | An association that brought young men and women of different backgrounds and cultures to help mainly children. | Head of Organisation | Via volunteer in Organisation | Refused to tape recording/Taking Notes |
| IHH(Humanitarian Relief Foundation) | Providing assistance to countries and regions affected by war and producing social projects such as education, health and special days. | Volunteer and Activist | Via my mother (friend of her) | Tape Recorded |
| Himma Youth Association | Youth Syrian Integration to Turkish society and at the same time protect their culture. | Head of Organisation | Just entered and asked the secretary for interviewing | By taking notes |
| Himma Youth Association | Youth Syrian Integration to Turkish society and at the same time to protect their culture. | Head of Youth Women Department | Via Head of Association | Tape Recorded |
| IKADDER | Strengthen women and family statues with communication, consultation and developing collaboration models via NGOs and other organisations. | Head of Organisation | I just called and asked my questions via phone | By Taking Notes |
| Bab-ı Ihsan | An association that brought young men and women of different backgrounds and cultures to help mainly children. | Volunteer | Via Head of Org. | Tape Recorded |
| Syrian-Turkmen Federation | Supporting Syrian migrants financially, opening schools for migrant children and providing scholarships for students | Head of Organisation | Via my cousin who is a lawyer | By Taking Notes |
| Syrian-Turkmen Federation | Supporting Syrian migrants financially, opening schools for migrant children and providing scholarships for students | Volunteer | Via Head of Organisation | Tape Recorded |
| Istanbul &I | Empowering young people to participate, engage, and lead volunteer projects for those same | Volunteer | Via my friend | Tape Recorded |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | disadvantaged and displaced communities. | | | |
| Hikmet Organisation | Helping Arabic youths from all over the world, opening courses for professional works, helping them in their education. | Secretary of Organisation | Just entered his room and asked for the interview | By Taking Notes |
| Public Education Centre | By depending on Turkish National Ministry of Education, the aim is to open courses as informal education centres, teach and integrate migrants into Turkish society. | Teacher | By Myself | By Taking Notes |
| Public Education Centre | By depending on Turkish National Ministry of Education, the aim is to open to courses as informal education centres, teach and integrate migrants into Turkish society. | Teacher | By Myself | By Taking Notes |

During my unstructured interviews with key informants, the interviews generally followed this pattern:

- The history of the associations,
- Its functions, motivations, and collaborations,
- Its target groups, and
- To what extent they had a relationship with Syrian students.

#### *2.4.2.2. Introducing the Syrian Student Participants: Semi-structured In-depth Interviews*

With the advantages of all the information gathered from the key informants and my observations, I prepared semi-structured interviews and interviewed 30 Syrian students: 13 of them were men and 17 of them were women. They varied in terms of their level of education, ages and work life. I reached them using the snowballing method. I continued the interviews until reaching saturation level. After hearing similar answers and experiences, I ended the interviews. Several issues can affect sample size in qualitative research; however, the guiding principle should be the concept of saturation, which refers to the collection of new data that

does not shed any further light on the issue under investigation (Mason, 2010; Glaser& Strauss, 1967).

The in-depth interviews were focused on three dimensions. The first related to the respondents' perceptions of their neighbourhoods and choice of settlement in Istanbul. Here, I tried to uncover the reasons and motivations behind their settlement in Istanbul and their particular neighbourhoods. Moreover, I looked for the effects of the city's identity and the lifestyles to be found in Istanbul related to the construction of their sense of place. The second dimension concerns the places in their social life and their social activities. I asked mainly about daily life routines, where they spent their time, how and with whom they socialized, and their favourite places. The last dimension concerned their relations with Turkish society and their future plans. In this part, I mainly looked for the level of communication with Turks, whether they felt discriminated against or experienced prejudice, their relationships with peer groups and neighbours, and their perceptions of the similarities and differences between them and the host population. Furthermore, I wanted to know to what extent these relationships would affect their plans and their expectations of Turkey.

The age of the participants ranged between 18-26; they were all students preparing for university exams or current university students either at graduate or undergraduate level. Most of them were both working and studying together. Each student could speak Turkish to some extent; however, some of them spoke English better so the interviews were conducted in either English or Turkish according to the preference of the students.

Apart from two students, I received consent to tape-record the interviews with the assurance that their names would be kept anonymous. The remaining two interviews were conducted by taking notes. There were no third parties present during the interviews. The interviews were usually conducted in the afternoons or in the evening after work or school. Each interview

was conducted one-on-one. I did not interview more than two times in a day so as not to experience too much mental fatigue. The interviews lasted, on average, about one and a half hours. They were conducted in cafés or at suitable quiet places in universities and education centres. The most important aspect of these interviews was that I could compare the answers to the same questions from different respondents.

### *2.4.3. Participant Observation and Ethnographic Field Notes*

Participant observations, which are not simply observations for gathering data on non-verbal behaviour, create a direct relationship between the researcher and the interviewee. Although I accept that observation without participation is not possible, the most important difference between these observations and the observations with a little participation, which I discussed above, is that the observation is accompanied by participation. Such an observation often involves doing something with the respondents. This method was developed in anthropological research by Malinowski and has been used in the sociological field to understand urban culture, having been adapted by the Chicago School (Corbetta, 2003: 235-237).

I have divided the activities in this method. The first part concerns the organisations and associations. These places stood at the centre of my research. The second part concerns my personal relationships after becoming friends with the respondents who worked for them. I worked with two types of organisations. The first type was voluntary, and they held events organized by the Syrian students: charity bazaars and offering support to classes for Syrian children. The second was directly related to the research group and involved events organised by the NGOs: calculus and Turkish lessons, taught to the Syrian students to support them in universities and social life.

I participated in these activities to observe the respondents in their natural environment. Through getting involved in group activities such as the distribution of stationery needs for Syrian students and gathering clothes by contacting Turkish families, I directly became a part of the voluntary actions. On the one hand, I learned about the relationships between these students and other groups and how they communicated in daily life. On the other hand, I established my own relationship with them. I had a chance to listen to them while they chatted about their problems and expectations. Moreover, I had a chance to go out to drink with them after their courses. During these sessions, I learned more about their favourite cafés, restaurants, shopping malls, and other meaningful locations in their everyday lives.

It was valuable to understand the role of the public education centre in Fatih, not only because Syrian students came there for Turkish lessons and to study EU projects, but also because there were two Syrian teachers. These two teachers, both of whom lived and worked in Fatih, spoke Turkish fluently and knew my target group and introduced me to students. They allowed me to participate in the Turkish lessons for the Syrian students and to attend the course titled Social Integration to Turkish Society, which had been organized by the Lifelong Learning General Directorate of the Ministry of Education. As with my involvement with the NGOs, I was able to learn more about the participants' lives than I could have through interviews and chats. Sometimes we went out together and I had a chance to meet and chat with their families. Hence, because of my relationship with the associations and NGOs, I was not only able to observe, meet, question and listen to youths from the organisations, but also, I was provided with documents such as letters, reports, advertisements, and I could follow them on their social media webpages.

The second approach of this method involved my independent and close relations with the participants. I had a chance to meet with them more than once. Sometimes, we met for a chat in cafés merely to see each other, sometimes to solve their administrative problems. These

close relations taught me more about their lives and this added multi-dimensional perspectives to the research. For instance, I corrected some letters of intention written by three students who had asked me to help them apply for university scholarships. By doing this, I understood the deep meanings they attached to education, and I also learned more about their plans. Besides this, I faced a more interesting reality. Although the students spoke Turkish at a good level, I witnessed their difficulties in spelling. It was not just a matter of not mastering a language, it was another side of reality that I had not seen before, one which broke their self-confidence in all their administrative affairs, job applications, and educational opportunities.

The ideal field relationship has long been imagined in classical ethnography as mutual trust between the researcher and the participants. At the beginning of the research, I expected this type of relationship. However, during the research, I realised why this type of relationship is more idealistic and that I should be more careful about the invisible walls that exist between the researcher and the informants. For instance, when I first asked students about the places they used for social activities, some told me that they did not have much time for socialization, others that they had no time to go out because of their lifestyles balanced between school and home. However, after establishing a close relationship and making considerable efforts to become ‘a part and parcel of their life’ (Malinowski, 1922: 8, cited in Clifford, 1992: 98), I became aware of their wider relations and spatial practices, and they became more honest about their lives. For instance, being a friend on social media, such as Instagram or Facebook, gave me the chance to see their spatial experiences and the time-space patterns in their daily lives. As discussed above, through adding different methods, like virtual ethnography, I was able to increase the validity of the research. As O’Reilly (2012:155) discussed, using internal triangulation, which is gathering the same data from the same person using different techniques, is a way of checking whether a person is misleading

you or not. However, as she also added, that there is an ongoing debate about contradictory data within the same research. James Clifford (1986: 6) forcefully argued that ethnographic narratives themselves are constructed fictions that only ever tell part of a story as they are "built on systematic, and contestable, exclusions". From my standpoint, lies people tell or constructed fictions or stories are cultural data, and they let me how informants feel rather than present me with reality or truth as a whole. For instance, students saying that they have no time to go outside may be using that as a defence against the discriminatory Turkish discourses that imply Syrians do not work, and that they are very happy and spend their days freely in Turkey because the Turkish government supports them financially.

By considering the importance of observations based on social media, I integrated them using qualitative observation techniques. Virtual ethnography through Internet-based connections is an inseparable part of this research. This is because many networks, connections, and communities are produced in the virtual world and such worlds of the respondents require a holistic view (Hine, 2000). Students added me to their Facebook groups through which Syrian students communicated in Istanbul. I have seen, in these groups, how universities were introduced to students, the required information was provided about the necessary formal documents, help was offered in finding household goods, new popular Syrian places were advertised, and positive and negative news in the Turkish media was discussed. Moreover, changes in Syrian universities were discussed and criticized. The respondents had concerns about their futures and tried to be in contact with Syria because of the possibility of returning to their country after the end of the war. Consequently, with the aid of participant observations, in addition to having multi-dimensional realities about the lives of Syrian students in both the social media and their daily routine, I also had the opportunity to do further analysis using documents and materials such as events brochures, press releases, announcements on social media pages, and community centre websites.

My field notes were written in two stages; first, wherever I went, I wrote the name of the place as a heading in my research diary, and I took notes of the points that most drew my attention under it. Then, after leaving the centres, I took notes in detail as much as possible related to my research questions. Although I was known to be researching, I decided that it would be better not to take notes openly; it could happen that the notes could be distributed, and the research might be affected negatively. It has been stated that "Writing field notes depends on what you consider those field notes to represent" (Mason, 2002:99), so I preferred to add detailed descriptions, impressions, my own analytical ideas, and my feelings in retrospect. One disadvantage of this type of data collection is that it is very time-consuming. Sometimes, I had to spend as much as18 hours a day to manage the fieldwork properly.

### *2.4.4. Focus Group*

The focus group method, which is also known as group interviewing, can be based on structured, semi-structured, or unstructured interviews. It allows the researcher to ask questions to several individuals systematically and simultaneously to see different perspectives at the same time (Babbie, 2002: 301). I conducted two focus groups with semi-structured interviews mainly to understand the gender-based differences involved in the placemaking processes of both groups. This helped me to understand perspectives related to gender. Without organizing them in a formal way, I also had the opportunity to be in spontaneous, naturally occurring group discussions. I had the chance to listen and discuss the same topics with the same people at different times.

First, a semi-structured interview was conducted with four women as a mini focus group. It took place at a quiet café one morning. With the advantages of time and place, it was a very effective setting. Since the respondents were both working and studying at the same time and they wished to avoid being together with the opposite gender, it was very difficult for me to

arrange an interview with a wider group. However, two months later, with the help of the Syrian Turkmen Federation leader, I was able to arrange a second focus group meeting comprising 10 women and men. The second group discussion was conducted in the federation centre. They had reserved a special place for conducting the meeting effectively.

The first focus group lasted around one and a half hours and the second lasted around two hours. The mix of men and women in the second discussion enriched it through their different social constructs in terms of their identities. Since the greatest disadvantage of this research method is that the researcher has less control and needs special skills (Babbie, 2002:301), I felt more successful in the second having held the first focus group.

### 2.5. Ethical Concerns and Positionality of Researcher

I carried out the research according to the ethical principles outlined by the British Sociological Association and also, I obtained ethical approval from the University of Essex. All of the research was conducted openly. The research participants were informed about my research objectives before getting their consent for the interviews. I informed my research participants formally and asked them to fill in consent forms before their interviews. In presenting the results, I changed not only their names with another Arabic Syrian names but also certain other details in their stories, such as names of places, or I used a broader location name (instead of using a specific street name, I used Fatih as a district in which the street was located). By doing this, I sought to protect my informants' anonymity. However, I used the real names of the NGOs or associations after getting their permission.

My first crucial ethical decision was about when to reveal my identity in the field. Since my existence in the field started with casual conversations, it was important to determine the appropriate time to say that I was a researcher. I decided to reveal my researcher identity when the conversations went beyond casual interaction and turned to the research topic

specifically. However, in the field, making a distinction between a casual conversation and a research interview was not an easy issue, so I tried to do overt research and never hid my identity. Sometimes direct questions, sometimes the questions in my eyes, and sometimes the conversations allowed me to reveal my identity. However, sometimes identifying and positioning yourself may harm the nature of casual language. At such points, I tried not to disturb the natural flow.

Besides the ethical concerns, the positionality of the researcher is also crucial regarding qualitative research. Since this research cannot be reduced to particular techniques, not only did the dynamic process of the methods and theories need to be taken into consideration but also the dynamic relations between the researcher and the participants. In other words, if the positionality is dynamic, the identity of the researcher is questionable. At that point, reflexivity is a crucial concept needed to understand the researcher's position. This is because reflexivity can be defined as exercising an 'immediate, continuing, dynamic and subjective self-awareness' (Finlay, 2002: 533; as cited in Mason-Bish, 2010). Reflexivity shows that researcher is part of the social world being studied and participants are subjects, not objects (Lumsden, 2019).

The discussion about positionality and power in qualitative research aims to evaluate how different characteristics of the researcher and the research subject can affect the research process.

Positionality is also related to the insider/outsider status of the researcher. Especially in ethnographic research, the binary position of researchers, between insiderness and outsiderness, is more challenging. This can make the negotiation of the researchers' identities significant in shaping the relationships with the participants (Ergun, Erdemir, 2010: 34). The possibility of the negotiation of my identities at various levels produced both insider and

outsider positions in my research. While being a migrant student in another country and being a Muslim were producing the insider position, being Turkish and speaking another language produced the outsider position during the research. However, since the identity of researchers can be negotiated, sometimes my student migrant identity became dominant; sometimes being Turkish became more important. In that sense, I tried to eliminate power relations and increase empathy through being part of the respondents' lives.

In addition to reflexive positioning according to Benson and O'Reilly (2022: 177) reflexive navigating and reflexive interpreting or sense-making are the potential strategies for engaging in the reflexive practice. From their perspective reflexive navigating refers to "reflexive practice extends this to the navigation of new opportunities and technologies, and to consideration of how communicating in 'real time' shapes the research and the production of knowledge. We remind readers that reflexivity should be an enduring practice that is collaborative, responsible, iterative, engaged, and creative" (2022: 184). Online and offline data is also part of navigating research so emotional and material impacts of migration and differences between data coming from social media or real-life during the research have produced a sense that I have been learning about the complex world of the participants. From this perspective, explaining data is more complicated than expected. With data, my explanations have become dynamic during the field research.

"Our *interpretations* of the social world are made through and informed by our engagement in these lives and our reflexive practice methodologically conceived" (2022: 187). After data collection process, during the interpretation of data process in terms of producing categorization and themes, I have aware that this process is directly related to my experiences. For instance, "modernized religious times" concept which will be discussed under first empirical chapter is directly related my own engagement in the daily life. If I weren't a

religious woman living in modernized Turkey, where religious codes are constantly being negotiated, I would not have produced this concept.

I never acted only as a researcher who reached her goals and left the field. On the contrary, I made sure that I always interacted with the participants. Doing an ethnographic study was an advantage at all stages of the research, and I realized how important qualitative research was when you wanted to penetrate the worlds of the respondents and to become more aware of their relationships. Some of the students that I wanted to research said that if the research was in the form of a survey, they had done this many times before, so they were happy to speak and express themselves. They were relieved when I said that my research was based on negotiation. This experience gives us clues about the importance of establishing a close relationship, which I needed to do with these students.

From the beginning of the research, since I was aware how building a rapport was crucial, I activated my personal experiences regarding being a young immigrant. Since the UK was not my first experience in terms of living abroad - I had lived in Germany for two years without speaking the German language - my experiences helped me more than I expected. Hearing similar experiences expressed my participants encouraged me to criticize the inequalities in Turkish society by eliminating my ethnic identity. Sometimes, my outsider position increased confidentiality in the research. For instance, not understanding their Arabic dialect turned into an advantage for me. This is because they looked at people who spoke Arabic with suspicion, and they were afraid of the intelligence services in their native country. So, being a Turkish was an advantage in the fieldwork.

Moreover, common experiences, my gender and emotions helped build close relations. Being a woman made it easy to talk to the female respondents. It let me establish close relationships with them without the hindrance of religious concerns and the boundaries between men and

women in their culture. In the 1980s, in the context of feminist research, it was found that research participants enjoyed qualitative interviews and found them ‘therapeutic’ (Phoenix, 2010:163, as cited in Akdemir, 2016). My women participants told me that they found the interview to be a therapy and made them think about things in their daily lives they had not thought about before. While struggling with difficulties in the hustle and bustle of everyday life, they had few opportunities to think about these problems. Moreover, they said that nobody had listened to them like that before, and they had a desire to tell me more when they got this opportunity.

Hence, the dynamic process of qualitative ethnographic research coincides with the advantages of simultaneously being an outsider and insider. Negotiation between my identities as a researcher and my changing position fostered the research.

### 2.6. Data Analysis

The transcription process, for me, is more than a technical issue involving the transformation of spoken words into written data. It is more than written words. For example, pauses, smiles, highlights, feelings are all parts of qualitative research. Although the content of our conversations did not involve information that could be considered overly sensitive or that might cause harm to me or my respondents, I performed the transcriptions personally to control the research in all its aspects and to remember and include the body language that made sense at that moment. Although transcribing approximately 80,000 words by myself was tiring and time-consuming, it was valuable. English and Turkish were used during our conversations, so I translated Turkish utterances into English.

After the transcription, I used the NVIVO programme to make the analysis more systematic. Moreover, not to miss any valuable data, I read the transcription in conjunction with my field notes from my research diary to categorise the common points and classify them according to

common themes. Although some of the themes were elicited during the fieldwork, I also added new ones after systematically arranging all the written data.

## 2.7. Field Experiences

Field research is a multi-dimensional process based on well-designed planning, but there are challenges and unexpected problems. In addition to the dynamic nature of qualitative research, managing unforeseen circumstances such as stress and human relations forced me to change my direction. At the end of the fieldwork, I found myself more resistant to unexpected situations - especially concerning time management and my reactions to changed plans - and more adaptable regarding different aspects of city culture. I could see that my perceptions of Istanbul had changed a lot.

Although I finished my master's programme in Istanbul, thanks to this research, I had the opportunity to get to know the streets of Istanbul in detail with long walks. Again, I must admit that the Syrian food, which has become an inseparable part of Istanbul with its flavours that taste heavy at first, is my favourite now. However, while transformations cause positive results, sometimes they can produce limitations and problems.

### *2.7.1. Challenges and Limitations*

There have been limitations in this research. In the first stage, many students defined themselves as having religious identities. Because of their religious concerns, developing close relations with the male respondents was very difficult. Instead of meeting with them outside or in cafés, I tried to gain their trust with more formal relations in associations and charity organisations, my role being in the participant observe mode. Moreover, accessing male-dominated places such as hookah cafés, where men often spend long hours and women are excluded, became very difficult. Sitting in these places as a woman, caused me to feel

uncomfortable. It was not only me; the men sitting there also felt uncomfortable because they got used to mentioning these places as male places. Since they are not used to women sitting in that place, I did not want to make them feel like I am observing them. I tried to eliminate this limitation by sitting as close to these cafés as possible and observing them from the outside.

It was also difficult to arrange the mixed focus group using my personal connections. I overcame this problem by using the head of one of the organizations. The participants did not hesitate in coming together and discussing for a long time because they respected their host because of his age and his position in the organization. However, sometimes people these positions turned into gatekeepers, which made the relations and plans more difficult. Especially, workers in youth associations had to obtain permission from their leaders. It was not only them who needed permission but I, also, had to get permission from these gatekeepers to have interviews outside with my interviewees. While this process of permission occasionally disrupted my plans in the first phase, I was also concerned about whether there was any pressure on the students. For this reason, I avoided interviewing those who had ties with the associations.

This study focuses on young Syrian students and excludes other young Syrian groups. Apart from this group, which interferes with a social life with the advantage of being a student and language superiority, the perceptions and experiences of other young people are left out. So, this is another limitation of the study. The relationship of the Syrian student group I observed in the field with time and space was very dynamic and variable. In the long run, I believe that comparative studies will be conducted with the integration of other groups into social life. Spatial comparison between different groups of Syrian youth can give more comprehensive findings but requires more time. The relations of various youth migrant groups with space may produce different inclusionary and/or exclusionary functions. At the beginning of Syrian

migration in the Turkish context, focusing on specific group as much as possible gave me more detailed information. However, in the long term with more social integration of other groups and dynamism of space (today it is very limited between home and workplace or totally within domestic relations), there can be more contribution to youth migration studies as well. Although I visit my respondents at home and participate in family and friendship relationships, language has always produced limitations as a barrier. I spent time with them long hours, but I could not observe them enough in natural environments where they spoke Arabic comfortably. Although I speak Arabic in formal level, I think that I stayed away from the jokes, ironic uses, and allusions that are part of the daily use of Arabic, and I see this as a limitation.

# CHAPTER THREE

## 3. UNDERSTANDING TEMPORALITY THROUGH THE ORGANIZATION OF SPATIALITY IN THE NEW COUNTRY

*It was the fifth day of my fieldwork. I was in a park in Karagümrük- Fatih. A well-known Syrian Hodja (teacher) was introduced to me by my neighbours as an educated person who could give me information for my field research. Mehmet Hodja was 60 years old and had four children who were university students. After speaking a while, he gave me an appointment to interview his daughter named Sirin, who was a graduate student in a university and was also a translator in a private hospital. Because his daughter had just one free day, he told me that I could come to their home on Friday. At this point, everything was normal. When I asked him "What time should I come?", he answered that I could come after the noon prayer. It was a new experience for me because although I knew the prayer times approximately, I could not understand what he meant by "after the noon prayer". This was because, according to my sense of time, this time can extend until the next prayer time. I immediately started to calculate the approximate time. It covered a period of nearly three hours. Since I was not sure, I asked again if we could meet half an hour after the call to prayer. He said to me to calculate how long it would take me to make ablutions, pray, and come out here. I was confused.*

*I had a friend waiting for me in the park. When I told her that I would come back here after the noon prayer on Friday, she asked me "So, what time?". I said that I did not understand. My understanding was after five o'clock in the evening.*

It was the first time when I was aware that migration and sense of place should be understood with temporality because time is contextually and socially constructed. With the

acknowledgement that space and time are effective together in organizing social life, and they both lie at the heart of social relations between communities (Giddens, 1979; 1983; 1984; Hillier, 2003; Massey, 2005), I see space as a process created through combining migration with time, always changing and being transformed by social relationships into new contexts (Crang& Thrift, 2000:3). This is because every social interaction consists of social practices which are positioned in time-space and organized knowingly by human agents (Giddens,1981). Migrants have directly experienced the practices and relations of everyday life temporality and spatiality of both countries in the post-migration context. From this standpoint, the focus of this chapter is to analyse the dialectical relationship between the migratory subjects and the structure of the host country to understand how the sense of time is constructed under the influence of spatiality.

The possibility of creating a new habitus and social capital overlaps with what I saw in the field research, meaning that Syrian youth migrants can create a new sense of time and experience new socio-spatial relations different from the ones in Syria. Whereas some of these experiences are contradictory, some of them are complementary. In that sense, continuity and change work together (Adam, 1994), and expecting a total change is not realistic in the study in terms of their senses of time and place so it should be kept in mind that the new forms are not different from the past ones. Past experiences and new experiences are together effective in the production of a new sense of temporality and organization of everyday life. In this chapter, the tension between the past and the present will be discussed, and the main changes and roles in both societies will be questioned.

In a nutshell, I will mainly discuss the organization of everyday life patterns in light of the changes in the construction of time perception is the result of the negotiation between agent and structure in the new society. As a first step, the simultaneous possibility of different forms of temporality and the multiple senses of time in the new space will be discussed. However,

as part of the organization of everyday life patterns, the changes in socio-spatial networks will also be analysed because socio-spatial networks and a sense of time are the direct result of the new relations and the shifts in daily relations. Under this heading, I will discuss the effects of changes on social capital[3] and the changing responsibilities in the new forms of this capital.

### 3.1. From the Objective/Socio-Cultural Time Duality to the Multiple Senses of Time

Even if the practices of migrants are based on the same religion and similar cultural patterns, time is social and should be understood as heterogeneous in terms of migrant groups, natives, and place-based differences. The experience with Syrian Hodja I shared above helped me to understand temporality and the distinction between objective and social-cultural time constructs. Then I became aware that time is more than just these two. In the same time and space, simultaneity, non-simultaneity, individuality and collectivity can be brought together (Spurk, 2004).Thus, in this section, I aim to provide a holistic framework that covers all the potential times related to migration, continuity, discontinuity, negotiations, rhythms, tempos, mobility, and life courses which should be added to the discussion as crucial components of the interconnection between social, cultural, spatial and temporal variables (Cwerner, 2001; Hörschelmann, 2011; Urry, 2012; Edensor, 2006). Before discussing the issue using a more integrated perspective, I will focus on objective and subjective time duality, something which produced much confusion in my mind during the fieldwork. Objective time or clock time models, having first dominated Western capitalist society, assume a universal time structure, especially for productivity in the organisation of working life they are independent of human consciousness, holistic (McGrath& Kelly, 1986) and underestimate cultural dimensions. However, it should be kept in mind that time is both historically and socially constructed, so it is subjectively experienced. In that sense, time allocation according to clock time does not necessarily explain the relationship between the culture and the time (Almahmaud, 2016).

[3] It is defined on page 126.

Many scholars explain the reason behind this experience using the differences in time perception. Cultures have different meanings of punctuality and lateness as well as different time characterisations. For example, although Western individualistic cultures associate goal-related performance with punctuality and time pressures, collectivistic societies stress social harmony, ignoring fixed time schedules. Furthermore, cultures might differ in their norms regarding the appropriate allotment of time to work, leisure, and other activities (Hofstede, 1999). This kind of overgeneralization is troubling because neither Turkey nor Syria can be categorized as a Western capitalist society or a traditional society. Although some of the participants saw Turkey as having more goal-oriented and individualistic relationships when they compared it with their home country, by regarding different types of modernity, I handled the problem by using contextual differences. Also, instead of seeing the issue by employing linear modernity assumptions, I accepted "multiple modernity" (Eisenstadt, 2000) to understand the different societies. For instance, although the words of one participant (Hasan[4], man, 22, undergraduate student), who said: *"Sometimes I don't understand Turks at all. They work from morning to night, they do not wander around on weekdays, sleep earlier. They have small families and everyone on their own",* may push me to conceptualize Turkey as an individualistic and goal-oriented country, the reality is different when I compared Turkey to European countries, as I pointed out above. During my two years working as a mother tongue teacher in Germany, I witnessed many Turks saying the same things about Germans. For instance, going to sleep earlier, shopping for themselves in small amounts, working hard, etc. were the views of Turkish parents. As I have experienced migration from a migrant and a researcher position, I have seen how different contexts produce similar views in the migration process. Thus, I avoid the categorization of Turkey and Syria as either a traditional or a Western type of society. However, it should be accepted that the Western

[4] All names of interviewees were changed with Pseudonyms.

capitalist type of organization in working life inevitably produces a new sense of time coherent with its logic. Situations that the participants encounter for the first time - going to work every day between 7-8 in the morning and returning from work in the evening, the limited lunch break, the obligation to comply with those hours working for an organization, segregated workplaces, a work-based lifestyle - push them to think that Turkey is a place where more goal-oriented and individualistic patterns are reproduced. However, this does not mean that it is a place where the time construct is totally based on Western-type relations and organization. Socio-cultural differences are still dominant when the time is being conceptualized.

So long as migration as a new cultural context inevitably produces changes in time perceptions of migrants and the relationships with the host country's people, today, the time-space patterns, organization, and perception of time of these migrant students should become different from those of Syria. Adaptation to a new society and producing a new and diverse sense of time takes a long time. Even for me, it was very difficult to adapt to the time constructs of the older Syrian migrants at the beginning of the field research. Instead of specifying meeting times according to modern clock time logic, such as, two o'clock and so on, they produced cultural-religious time expressions as they had in Syria. Thus, the example at the beginning of this chapter where a meeting was scheduled for me after the afternoon prayer. It was difficult for me to understand exactly what was meant because it was very imprecise, and I could not estimate how long a prayer took or what time it started. To solve this problem, I went to the meeting place and waited for the beginning of Salah. However, since establishing relations with the young generation, I have not faced this problem. All of them gave me an appointment at a specific time, as is done in Turkey. This difference directed me to a new understanding that time is also much more than a socio-cultural time construct.

Furthermore, in my approach, since time is always dynamic (Massey, 2005), differentiation and heterogeneities stand at the centre of this discussion. In temporality discussions, the diversity of the young people's experiences is generally understood with the help of life course theory, which focuses on socially constructed roles and the different positions held by people. Regardless of the life course discussions which accept the young migrants living in a linear process and which are based on choices, I focus on the ambiguous position of migrants in a new context. This is because, unlike planning and future-based youth expectations, I see that these migrants, following forced migration, are suffering the "unpredictability and precariousness of life" (Hörschelmann, 2011: 379) and the interruption of the "synchronization of social activities" (Cwerner, 2001: 16). So, migration is not an individual decision-making process, and the social-cultural context of the host country should be taken into account. Since, in the new context, these students have to work and study together differently from their plans and expectations when they were in Syria, adaptation to the Turkish context demands more compared to the older generation. Although young Syrians get used to using specific time appointments, adaptation to punctuality is still a problem. Many Turkish students complain that they must arrange a meeting time with their Syrian friends 10 minutes before the real-time because they cannot meet at the agreed exact time. I faced this problem with some of the participants, as well. From this perspective, although traces of the cultural practices are seen among the young migrants and the social-cultural time concept gives way to the temporality differences between Turkish and Syrian culture, more attention must be given to the varieties in the same culture in terms of gender, age, religious beliefs (Griffiths et al., 2013), and the different interpretations of time experiences (Spurk, 2004). In that sense, I conceptualize the youth as a different variable by being migrants because being a migrant is not a definitive enough categorization considering the differences in the experiences of the older and younger generations.

In brief, despite the traces of both the objectivist perspective of seeing time as universal, independent from human consciousness, unable to be extended (Mancini, 2007), holistic and continuous (McGrath & Kelly, 1986) and the socio-cultural approaches emphasizing cultural differences in the Turkish migration context, an explanation is missing of how temporalities are shared differently in different contexts by different actors. Migrants are affected by their past experiences, cultural social values, and the objective time constructs of a new country. In addition, they construct their temporal subjective daily lifetime routines, cycles, and tempos. In this regard, how the sense of time in this youth group has been located between the past and the present, the host and the home country should be analysed. Their past experiences and current temporal practices construct their future today, even if this future is not certain (Spurk, 2004) and is unpredictable (Urry, 2016). Although how the future is planned and constructed from today and what their implications are will be discussed in the next chapters, as a first step, lying between the past and today and managing the time with the tools of the home and the settled country direct the discussion. This is because "time should be viewed as historical, with past and future being deeply intertwined with the present" (Urry, 2016: 71). How the organization of everyday life can be changed and how different time constructs can be shared by different agents in the same period will be added to the discussion. In that sense, by accepting heterogeneity in time construction, my approach shows the possibility of differences in the organization of everyday life.

### *3.1.1. Organization of Everyday Life Pattern*

The organization of everyday life is directly related to the changes in the space and time constructs of migrants as their adaptation process goes back and forth between their past and present experiences through comparison. During the interviews and focus group discussions, they all talked about how they changed to get used to, particularly, Turkey's work/study hours. They used to divide one day into two (before afternoon prayer, after afternoon prayer)

and come home to rest just before afternoon prayer for approximately two hours, and then they would go out to work again or follow another pursuit. Now, in Turkey, they had to work or study between 8 am - 5 pm or 8 am -7 pm; they found the time management difficult and very tiring. Many of the students complained about how they suffered from the harsh working and living conditions in Istanbul.

Halit is one of them who had to work and study together, and he expressed the contextual differences between the two countries:

> *"The timing depends on the nature of the country. You have to work hard in your country. We were going to work at nine in the morning and returning to home at 2 pm. Then, we would rest. We didn't have to work for so long. In Syria, our salary was enough for us, we could meet with our friends after work and go for coffee. Here, no. After work, Turkish people go to bed directly." (Halit, male, 23, graduate student)*

Şirin, who is also a worker and student, supported to Halit with the following statement:

> *"Working hours in Syria were shorter. For example, my father was working between 8 am -1 pm. After he came from work, he would eat and sleep for one hour. Then he would give private lessons for two or three hours. It was still not eight pm. There is a lot of time there, not like here. I am looking forward to a holiday here. I am making a lot of plans so that I will sleep, I will rest. For example, my father says that 'today don't sit, go outside', but I don't want it. I want to have a rest because it is just one day." (Şirin, female, 22, graduate student)*

Although the interviews were conducted individually, I saw and deduced more from both Halit's and Şirin's eyes and body language than their words. Halit had come to the interview after work, and Şirin had agreed to meet me on her one vacation day. It was more than just tiredness; they seemed exhausted. Here were two different people still trying to adapt, both spiritually and physically. My observations led me to find that the change in organization of everyday life patterns was more than a mental activity; it was also a bodily exercise in that

“Time-geography also has as its principal concern the location of individuals in time-space but gives particular attention to constraints over activity deriving from physical properties of the body and of environments in which agents move.” (Giddens, 1984: 25). As a result, since time and space constructs cover both dimensions, the rhythms of time, the tempos of individuals, and the dynamics of space are directly embedded, and they complement each other, in my approach.

In addition to the tempo and speed of working life, there is a change in their holidays. When they were in Syria, Friday was their free day, as it is in every Muslim country because of Muslim Friday prayers. However, this is not so in Turkey. In this vein, time-space management produces real problems in daily life. In contrast to Turkish stores, many Syrian stores are closed on a Friday, especially during the prayer time. Although some of them have tried to adapt to the Turkish context and open their stores, it was an interesting experience for me when I went to a café in Fatih popular among Syrian students to eat something, but they refused to serve me because they were closed at prayer time. Since I was very hungry and could not find a Syrian restaurant, I had to go to a Turkish place to get something to eat.

This was an understandable attitude for me. According to Islamic tradition, shopping on Friday is not appropriate. The most important reason for this is to eliminate a situation that might prevent men from praying on a Friday. But this tradition is not implemented in the big cities, even though it is known in Turkey. Although the background to this practice is understood to be the influence of religion, the fact that Turks do not apply it in their daily life is an important example of the variability of the concept of time. Of course, Turks who follow their religious practices may close their workplaces on Friday, but it cannot be said that this is a common practice in Turkish daily life.

The women students in the focus group explained their adaptation process and the tensions between today and past experiences in terms of Friday as a free day in the following discussion:

Merve (female,19, undergraduate student*): On Fridays, every shopping place was closed, no one was in the streets. You could not understand the meaning of this.*

Ayşe (female, 18, YOS student): *For us, Friday was a holiday. Still my dad and mum say that today is the Friday holiday.*

Sahika (female, 18, YOS student): B*ut I've got used to it. Now I am asking: How can Friday be a free day? I cannot imagine it. Sunday should be a free day. When we talk with our relatives in Syria, they are surprised. Official places are closed on Friday and Saturday. The week starts on Sunday. Although I've got used to it, still, here it is surprising to see that pharmacies are closed on Sunday.*

My findings are consistent with the argument of Cwerner (2001) that there is a possibility of heterogeneous temporalities at the same time and space between natives and migrants or migrants of different ages. In other words, he takes attention to the possibility of multiple sense of time in migration context. He, by discussing how it is possible among Brazilians in London, shows the complexities of synchronizing time and experiences (Baas& Yeoh, 2018: 165). His "strange times" concept turns our attention to the beginning of life in the host country and the social interaction of migrants with their "temporal baggage", which refers to their social norms and cultural codes. When migrants come to a new country, they try to cope with the differences from their past experiences and adaptation takes a long time. Patterns, tempos, activities, holiday constructs are all parts of cyclical and rhythmical differences between two countries which make the youth migrants stranger of the everyday life. This is what the Syrian students experienced on arrival in Turkey. In addition to the required personal organisation, such as an adaptation of working and school hours and holiday constructs, they try to understand and adapt to the socialization process of Turkish people in their daily life

routines. During the research, many young people complained about how difficult it was to get used to the closing time of Turkish cafés earlier and Turkish people's habit of going to sleep earlier so this was not only a basic time difference, but it also extended the problem to integration and the inclusion of a new society.

However, while some aspects of a new country can be easily integrated, some other features may take longer because of a continuation of the organisational logic of the previous country in the new context. For instance, many Arabic or Syrian workplaces or civil organizations still have holidays on Friday, and their employees are generally Arabs. In addition to the continuity in the home, confronting the same logic in the workplace inevitably reproduces extended senses of time in the new context and makes the adaptation difficult. As a result, whether the adaptation to the new sense of time in the new context is easier or takes longer, "strange times" are both the result of exclusion and a concept that produces a feeling of exclusion. At the beginning of a new life, with the inconsistency of the two countries' time patterns, tempos, daily life activities in terms of work, school hours, and holidays, the Syrian students felt like strangers, excluded from society.

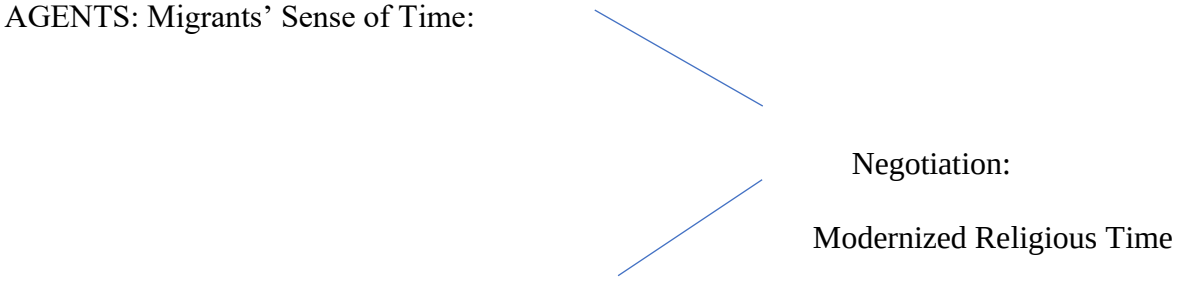
Through taking into consideration the "strange times", which refers to exclusion, I have named a new time concept, "modernized religious time", which is the negotiation of the students between the two contexts in this research. It is part of how the migrants cope with exclusion. This concept is produced by me as the result of their experiences based on modernization and religiosity patterns in daily life.

Modernized religious time includes various degrees of traditional and objective temporality patterns that fit the Turkish context. First, to understand this concept, conditions after the Turkish revolution in 1923 should be understood. After the Ottoman Empire fell, many changes occurred in Turkish society, including secularization (Berkes, 1964), modernization

(Lewis, 1993), and Westernization. Although these three concepts are used interchangeably, I prefer to use the concept of modernization like Bernard Lewis (1993) and to broaden the modernization perspective with the classifications of Gole (2011). She categorized them as plural modernity, alternative modernity, local modernity, and non-western modernity. According to her, the concept of non-western modernity best fits Turkish society, and she asks: Are the basic dynamics of the West functional in non-Western societies? So, she looks at the modernization coming out of the West. According to Gole, the qualities considered to be the basic dynamics of modernity are reinterpreted by non-Western societies. She looks again at modernity from the margins of non-Western societies. She has endeavoured to reinterpret modernity discussions without rejecting the dominant Western understanding of modernity, but also without being completely dependent on it. While criticizing the pairing of modernity with the West, she argues that societies other than Western ones could also create a new perspective to describe this process (Gole, 2011). In this regard, I see that both Syria and Turkey are under the process of non-Western modernization, but in a different way from each other. Neither country is an Islamic state, but the majority of the population in each is Muslim, and religious values still dominate in both communities. However, as I discussed above, their interpretations of Islam differ. In that sense, the time constructs and interpretation of the temporality of Syrian migrants are not only different from the Western type of modernization but also the Turkish one. So different cultures and the different types of modernity of Turkish and Syrian society push me to produce a new concept, that being "modernized religious time", which best explains the time constructs of migrants in Turkey.

Changes in time, clocks, and measurements are the basic components of the Turkish revolution and social changes to create synchronization with the West. According to Feroz Ahmad, "The Islamic way of keeping time, with the new day beginning with the evening prayer, made way for the international clock. These changes facilitated communications with

the outside world, especially in matters relating to business. For the same reason, in 1935, Sunday was made the weekly holiday, bringing the Turkish working week in line with that of the West" (1993: 80). Not only the adaptation to the Western type of clock but also the changes in holidays (Sunday instead of religious Friday) inevitably produced a new sense of time, one different from Islamic tradition, and from Syria in particular. The students today are still not only influenced by the Islamic traditions of their country in terms of time and holiday constructs but also by Turkish modernization. So, they feel both the effects of modernization and religiosity in the same context. As a result, I consider modernized religious time to be the product of the young migrants who negotiate between their past experiences of their home country and the new constructs of the host country in terms of a sense of time. If Syrian students were in Syria, they would still be under the influence of modernization, but in Turkey they are exposed to Turkish-style modernization and combine it the temporality they used to in Syria.




"Remembered times" (Cwerner, 2001) is another crucial concept that makes it possible to clarify the relationship between memory and time in the organization of everyday life based on his understanding of multiple senses of time. This categorization of time shows how temporality and memory are relational, and the sensation of being in their home country, the

sights, photographs, smells of national foods and sounds of national music are vital for their memory. Moreover, the memory of immigration itself relates to self-image depending on experience, status, adaptation, stories of displacement, etc. and foster their sense of time (Cwerner, 2001: 23-25).

In free time after school and work, the students try to organize social activities with their friends. These activities are generally in places where they remember their past and feel like they were in Syria.

When I asked Halit (male, 25, graduate) why he was socializing in Fatih with his friends, he explained it as follows:

> *"One does not feel foreign in Fatih. It satisfies your craving. Whenever I miss Syrian food, I go there. Fatih looks like old Damascus. We find ourselves in the streets of the past."*

Amr (male, 22, graduate student) continues by suggesting a similar reason lies behind why the Syrian migrant youth organize their social activities in Fatih with the statement below:

> *"Not only Fatih Mosque, but also some other places, stores seem similar to old Istanbul. Actually, old Istanbul is like Damascus. Fatih has similar places to the ones in Syria. That is why Syrians go there. A lot of Syrians go there because of this similarity. That is why we go there as well. There are a lot of places similar to places in Syria so that we feel like we're living in the past."*

Many students explained the importance of the Fatih district, which is called petty Syria, in terms of tasting Syrian food, smelling Syrian coffees, listening to Syrian music, and feeling in Turkish mosques as they do in Syrian mosques. Using Fatih as a meeting point keeping the memory alive as a temporal activity.

Remembered time is different from the strange time and modernized religious time concepts. Although I see strange time as being directly related to exclusion and modernized religious time as the negotiation with this exclusion, the function of remembered time is directly emotional and it targets the well-being of the students and the continuity of Syrian identity.

Hence, the organization of daily life involves the temporality and socialization process of the migrant youth. Especially, at the beginning of the migration, the first generation is faced with many difficulties, and they feel excluded from the new society. Syrian migrants as the agents of this study also undergo this process. They question these differences and try to solve the conflict between their "temporal baggage" and the structural constructs in the new society. However, in addition to the continuity of the time patterns, discontinuity is also seen. These migrants, wishing to be integrated into Turkish life, and questioning the differences, try to change themselves to achieve that integration. Although they change their time constructs, their cultural values and networks with their ethnic communities ensure continuity in daily life. The students, by negotiating with past and new experiences, produce a new concept: modernized religious time. Fighting against exclusion, they have produced a new sense of time. However, their emotions and memories are also inseparable from the components of time constructs and the continuity of their social organizations. Although modernized religious time is used to deal with exclusion and potentially produce segregation in specific spaces, such as Fatih, it is very good for the well-being of the students and the continuity of Syrian identity. As a result, in addition to the objective and socio-cultural time constructs, it becomes possible that strange times, modernized religious times, along with remembered times, go hand-in-hand with and are shared by the agents of migration in the Turkish migration context. Moreover, all these temporalities possible with migration and are related to the perception of space that changes with migration.

### *3.1.2. Reconstruction of Socio-Spatial Networks*

The socio-spatial network is also directly related to temporality in the organization of everyday life patterns in each social context. A different sense of time and the ability to manage the relationships in daily life inevitably change space-based networks. In this regard, expecting the reconstruction of new social interactions and a change in close relations are an inseparable part of migration discussions.

> *"In Syria, life was based on bigger families and relatives. But here, life is based on friends. Although we live with our families, all students are alone, like me, here."*

As quoted from the interview done with Rama (21, female, undergraduate), during the fieldwork, I learned that there were, at first, strong patriarchal relations, mainly based on family relations in Syria and that these relations had started to change. In this change, a different sense of time and the organization of social relationships had a dynamic effect. To understand this dynamism, I use the concept of the "socio-spatial network," to describe social relations inherent and embedded in the culture, and which can differ from one context to another. Today, the lifestyles and sense of time of these young migrants have started to change. The transformed pace of time directly affects their family relations, which was the dominant socio-spatial network in their lives immediately before their migration. In this regard, changes in responsibilities within the family have contributed to changes in socio-spatial networks. When they came to Turkey, the migrants were mostly faced with loneliness, and they produced individual survival strategies to help them adapt to Turkish society. Even though many of them migrated with their families, they generally complained about double burdens regarding adaptation to the new society and taking responsibility for the home since their family members were often too old to find a job. For these reasons, the younger members of migrant families had to take responsibility. This produced a discrepancy in their life course constructs. Most of them now put pressure on themselves to complete their

education by studying hard. As in the study of Ansell et al., the loss of parents pushed the young migrant students to leave school earlier (2011). Many of the young migrants left school permanently; however, some of them tried to graduate from universities at a late age, outside of the mainstream. Discontinuity in their lives and their role changes created different time constructs from Syria and resolved themselves in the family relations. Thus, the new division of labour within the family produced a new sense of temporal logic.

Şirin explained how a very busy lifestyle between home and education affected the relationships within families. In the past, she had more time to spend at home:

> *"Both studying and working have led to a lot of changes. In Syria, my father was working and meeting our needs. Nothing was missing. Here, the whole working order has changed. When I was in Syria, my father used to say that it was too late for me to go to the last lesson. He was afraid when it was late. Now, when I work until 10 pm on Sunday or when I have a class, he still asks where I am. But, when I say that I have some work, he cannot say anything because I have to work here. I have more responsibilities than before. We cannot see each other. I am generally outside. Just one day I stay at home. He is very sorry. He says that I should work and meet the needs of my family. However, he has got used to the change in the process of time." (Şirin, female, 22, graduate student)*

Pappé's book on modern Middle East social and cultural history (2019) argued that Middle Eastern countries have strong patriarchal relationships based on the family and the tribe as dominant units in society. Despite the expectations of modernization and urbanization theories, urbanization is partially weakened the strength of the extended families as cohesive social structures, but the patriarchal characteristics of the family still exist, even in the tiny structure of the nuclear family (2019: 273). Consequently, Syrian society and its socio-spatiality cannot be categorized as modern or traditional (Al Kharouf and Weir, 2008: 308, as cited in Kamla, 2014). The family, especially the extended family, as a social institution and the main form of the socio-spatial network, has had a crucial role to play in the lives of the

young Syrian migrants. I see the extended family and relative-based relations as social capital in the home society. The social capital concept is defined by Bourdieu (1985: 241) as "the sum of real or potential resources that stems from durable networks of more or less institutionalized relationships of knowledge or mutual recognition". This means that social capital provides opportunities that cannot be obtained individually by the members of the society. So, as social capital cannot be separated from the norms and cultures of society, the change in the context inevitably produces new social capital for migrants. In this regard, according to Zhang et al., "for migrants, to invest time and resources in building networks can be seen as the strategies, individual or collective, aiming at reproducing available relations (such as kinships and friendships) in the foreseeable future" (2019: 2011).

During the research, it was seen that the family was a basic unit, and the oldest member of the family, generally the father or grandfather, was dominant in the decisions of the younger members when they were in Syria, especially concerning public issues. In a like manner, the elder women have a dominant place within the domestic relationships. Kandiyoti (1991) argues that the power of Arab women increases parallel to their ages. Before migration, according to Metcalfe (2007; 2011), individuals in Syria relied on extended family relations rather than on statutory (legal) organizations. Although the social support of the extended family continues, to some extent, today, with the effects of migration and the different organization of daily life, other social networks have emerged. I have seen the effect of friend groups (especially if they are international), institutions, and organizations. Today, the young migrants are more social with their friend groups, and they use public spaces more often for socialization. Socialization has moved from private spaces (houses) to public spaces. Today, the students spend their time outside the home, where social networks were produced in Syria. Moreover, differently from Syria, they try to participate in different organizations and associations not only to get help but also to help others.

> *"My social life is at university. My social life is my friends. I go to different places with my friend groups and am generally familiar with the places where I hang out with them. They are Syrians, Palestinians, Egyptians, and Turkish. We have taken many courses together and we met at the university. Also, I work in an NGO. I act as a volunteer and teach migrant children. I have many friends from there as well." (Rama, female, 21, undergraduate student)*

Rama divides her social life between university and voluntary work in an organization. She produces social networks through education and the workplace. Even though she lives with her brother in Istanbul, there is a little space for her family even if it is not extended family. Although she lives comfortably with her brother, she prefers creating a social life without close family relations.

Due to the changes in traditional relationships, many young people now talk about how they feel free, and they have begun to individualize. I use the term of individualization as conceptualized by Beck, which is different from psychological literature that saw it as an emotional and inner separation process. According to Beck (1992), individualization, as a function of cultural de-structuring and reorganization processes, refers to increasing the making of major life decisions and finding communities with which to establish individual integrative bonds. It is "a flexible self-awareness as the individual must make decisions and choose identities from an increasingly complex range of options" (Wallace,1995 as cited in Côté́& Schwartz, 2002). Beck's individualization is directly related to his understanding of reflexive modernity. "After a process of 'disembedding' from traditional ties, comes a 're-embedding' in new coercive structures. The 'free' individual becomes entangled in a new network of regulations and patterns of behaviour" (Hustinx& Lammertyn, 2000:11). Beck's individualization is directly related to his understanding of reflexive modernity. Different from "simple" modernity assumptions, "reflexive" modernity should be understood as risk society going together with uncertainty. These students with an uncertain future try to be

individualized because reflexive modernity and risk society bring social changes. These changes produce contradictions in terms of individualization and globalization, changing relationships between men and women or between parents and children, and so on (Hustinx& Lammertyn, 2000).

Bilal's father died and his mother and siblings live in Saudi Arabia now. He has chosen Turkey for his education and would like to continue his life there. However, his family members have put pressure on him to return to them. He expressed his feelings with the statement below:

> *"I am stuck between two things. I have my family on one side. I have my own life on the other side. I am not a selfish person. I am currently fighting with both sides. But I want to be in Turkey in the future as well. I love this country due to the sense of freedom." (Bilal, male, 26, graduate student)*

It can be seen that Bilal stuck between his individuality and his family in the social change produced by the temporality and spatiality in the new society.

Hence, the changes in temporality contain two main differences in terms of the socio-spatial network in this research. The first one is the shift in the forms of social capital. Instead of extended family relations, they produce new forms of relations based on friends in the context of their education and workplaces. Secondly, a new busy lifestyle and changing responsibilities within the home decrease the influence of family on these students. The shift in the roles of family members has produced resolution in family relations. These two dimensions produce individualization patterns. In other words, with the creation of new forms of networks within new space and social relations in the post-migration period, the dynamics of decision-making are transformed from traditional forms to individual self-awareness. Space and time are at the centre of all these changes because there has been a shift from private spaces (homes) to public spaces. With these shifts, the organization of daily life logic

and the sense of time are being constructed under the lifestyles of the new country. Today, with the dominance of the public as the main space of social relations, extended family relations and traditional gender roles have been damaged and individualization patterns have emerged.

### 3.2. SUMMARY

In this chapter, the relations of Syrian students with time and space in the host country have been examined. Migration is more than displacement to and experiences in a new country. Temporality is another dimension that needs to be understood, alongside space, as a socially constructed issue. Syrian students as the agents of this study have experienced the practices and the relations of everyday life temporality and spatiality of both countries. This experience has affected two different dimensions, the sense of time and the organization of everyday life. Instead of understanding time as a one-sided concept fitted into the country, I argue that multiple senses of time are possible simultaneously in the same society and that the organization of everyday life is influenced by the multiple time constructs of the youth. In this regard, strange times and remembered times, and a new concept I call modernized religious time are the temporalities of Syrian migrants, existing in the Turkish context simultaneously. The strange times concept refers to the exclusion of Syrian students from the relationships in the daily life and places of the host country. These students are faced with a different sense of time, and they feel themselves to be strangers. To deal with this feeling, they produce a new time understanding, modernized religious time, which can be seen as a product of the negotiation between past and new experiences. In this regard, the main aim of this new time is to produce integration into Turkey. Differing from the others, remembered time is directly related to the emotions and memories of the Syrian youth. Even if being in the same place and time with people from the same background has the potential to produce segregation by

reproducing past experiences in Turkey, this time construct is valuable for the well-being of the migrant students and their relations with their past during the integration process.

In addition to multiple senses of temporality, I see that different paces of time and the organization of everyday life produce a new socio-spatial network in the new context. In the first stage, under the heading of socio-spatial network, I explained how social relations inherent to the culture can differ from place to place and from time to time. The changes in the network are the result of two main shifts. The first one is based on the new form of social capital. Today, instead of extended family relations, these students produce a new form of social capital dependent on friends from education, workplaces, or NGOs. The second reason for this change in socio-spatial network is a resolution in the family relations. Changing roles in the family is the main explanation for this difference. Today, these students, in place of the older members of their families, are responsible for the maintenance of social and economic life in the new context. Moreover, when the two dimensions come together at the same time, they inevitably create more individualized agents. This means that with the activation of new forms of networks in the post-migration period, agents are under the process of individualization rather than the traditional forms in the home country. These two main changes, which produce the individualization process of the students, are directly related to changes in the spaces and temporality as the centre of daily relations. Today, as opposed to the past, the main spaces are public spaces instead of domestic ones and time is managed according to the relations in public space. As a result, with the interaction between past and present experiences and structural and individual practices, in addition to new forms of social capitals, multiple senses of temporalities are possible in the new context.

# CHAPTER FOUR

## 4. EXPLORING THE PLACEMAKING OF SYRIAN STUDENTS IN ISTANBUL

How do people share the countless spaces of Istanbul as a megacity? Where are the immigrants in this sharing? Who is a migrant and who is not among the 15 million population? Are these spaces the same as before the Syrian migrant settlements? These are some of the various questions in my mind when I entered the field. However, before these complex questions about the relationship between the Syrian migration and Istanbul's spaces can be considered, there were many more basic questions that needed to be clarified. Based on "a saying common in the Anatolian hinterland of Turkey holds that the "streets of Istanbul are paved with gold," and millions of people have trekked from poor rural areas to this, the industrial heart of the country" (Wallace, 1987), the questions "Whose city is Istanbul" and "Who are the owners of the streets of this city?" need to be confronted first.

The following anecdote from a master's student, Abdulhey[5], brought my attention to the fact that the owners of this city, the population of which is increasing every day through both internal and external migration, are new and old immigrants. The conversation with him was the starting point for consideration of the questions I sought answers to above.

> *"Istanbul: I called it "the hometown of foreigners". The people who cannot find a place to live, they come and live in Istanbul. I do not mean only Arabs but also Africans, Chinese, Europeans. When I get the taxi, the taxi driver asks me "Nerelisin?*[*]*". I say I am from Syria. One of them said that I thought you are Turkish, so in Istanbul, even Turks ask each other "Nerelisin" because they are not from Istanbul. They come from other regions. They are from Izmir, Karadeniz (Black Sea), or so on."*

[5] All names of interviewees were changed with pseudonyms.
[*] "Nerelisin" is an informal way of asking "where are you from" in Turkish daily life.

If a city has so many different and diverse owners, of course, it should also have different belongings, emotions, organizations, and everyday usages. By doing and living, each group inevitably creates a suitable route in daily life and produces a sense of place.

Abdulhey continued to list his arguments that showed me a space-based sociological imagination from this perspective.

> *"I like being in Turkey. If you look for a conservative area, you can find Fatih. If you need different places like bars to drink in, you can go to Şişli. Here, each place has its own ideas, perspectives, way of living. I like the variety. So, I think whenever one needs to live whatever, one can find the place that one likes"*

Then from which theoretical and conceptual framework do I look at the concept of space that we use repeatedly in our daily lives? Mainly, space is understood to have a dynamic nature in my research. As space is the production of human relations, it is also a producer. While space is so effective in changing relationships in social life, it is expected that it will change itself and transform the meanings attributed to it. In this regard, Syrian students not only transform their belonging while interacting with space but also transform the space itself. Besides, they reproduce new spaces whether by producing new meanings or by changing the meanings. As a result, I consider this point as a crucial part of the thesis and how this dynamic effect creates what kind of differences on the space in itself will be discussed. All this effort to make sense led me to ask the following question: "How do everyday geographies of Syrian migrant students construct their sense of place in Istanbul?".

At the end of the fieldwork, I found that, sometimes, space refers to a district that gains a specific identity because of the practices of this migrant group. For instance, Fatih, as a district, has a specific identity, especially the very well-known neighbourhoods actively used by migrants. Sometimes, space refers to abstract places (social media) or more temporary units (public transportation). However, it is unrealistic to think that these students touch and

know each space of Istanbul. I mainly discuss the spaces which have a critical role in their daily lives. In this regard, through using everyday spaces which are dynamic and performative, I refer to young people's experiences of them in their everyday lives in terms of education, work, home, street, and public.

Different discourses, experiences, and institutions have roles in producing different social relations within these spaces. In addition to the experiences of the students, historical similarity, collective memory, and emotions are very effective in the reproduction of a sense of place. All the different experiences of Syrian students produce feelings of inclusion or exclusion or both at the same time regarding different spaces. Sense of space is not independent from its functions. Sometimes the space itself produces its functions, sometimes the functions produce the space. My analysis contributes to the literature by offering a socio-spatial perspective on the relationships of the Syrian students, making an argument to cover the possibility of the inclusion, exclusion and, simultaneously, exclusion and inclusion of refugee youth in different spaces of Istanbul.

My research shows that there is a range of dynamic spaces, which I call "segregated space", "judicial space", "private space", "comfort zones", "co-operational space", "open space", "social imaginary space", and "emotional space". As they are explained above, I will mainly discuss these spaces and their critical functions in the migrant youths' daily lives in terms of inclusion and exclusion. Their experiences suggest the categorization below. These categories are the result of the data analysis of the interviews, and were created during the coding process, taking into account the functions of the spaces. All these concepts were produced by me as the contribution to the literature.

Table 2: Exclusionary and/or Inclusionary Functions of the Spaces in Istanbul

| Exclusion | Inclusion |
|---|---|
| Segregated Spaces: Fatih, Esenler, Sultanbeyli, Bağcılar, Zeytinburnu | Comfort Zones: Üsküdar, Beşiktaş, Şişli. |
| Judicial Spaces: Public Transportation | Co-operational Space: NGOs |
| Private Spaces: Homes | Open Spaces:<br>Informal and Formal Education Centres (Universities, Private Courses) |
| Social Imaginary Spaces: Social Media | |
| Emotional Spaces: Fatih | |

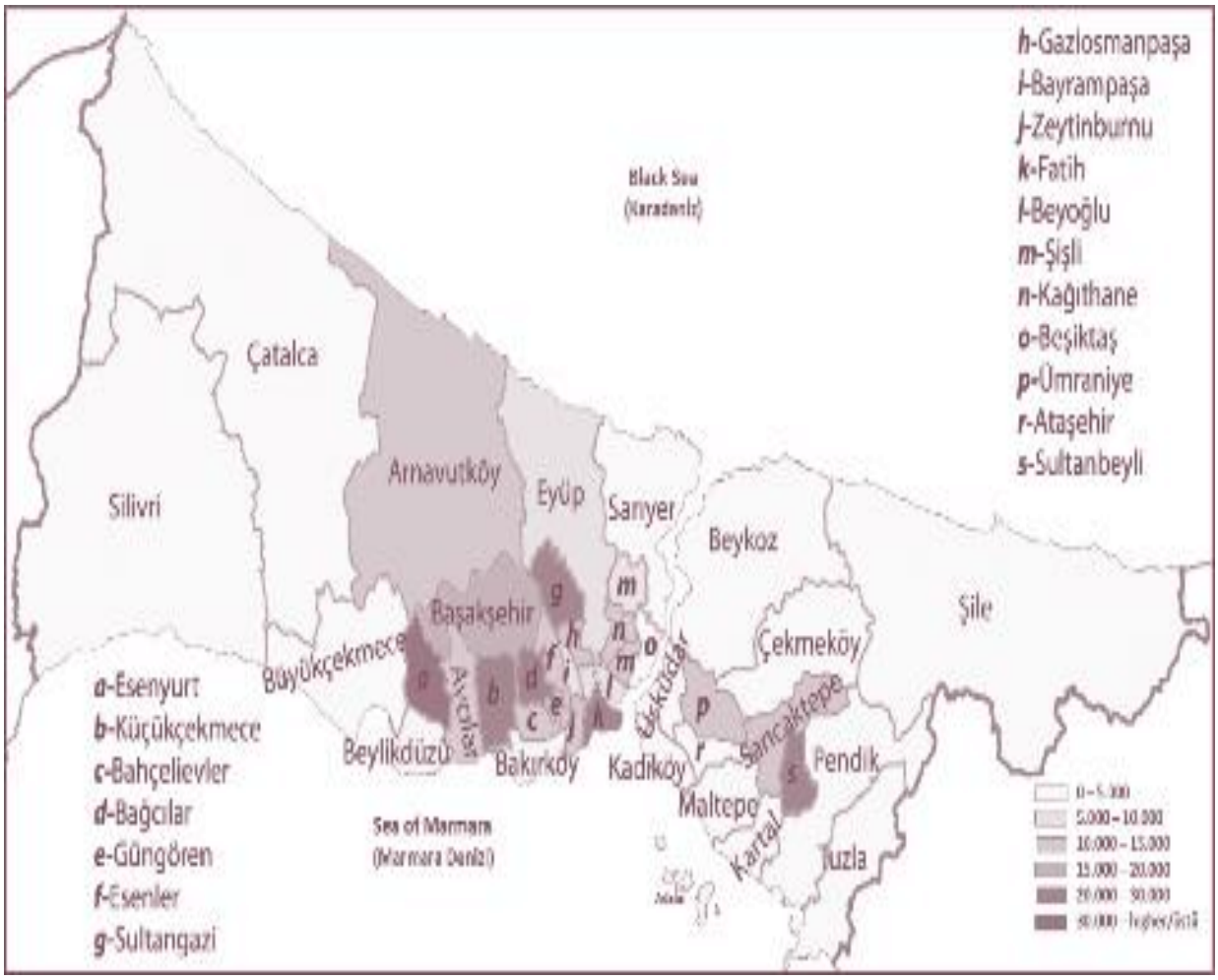



Illustration 2. Syrian Migrant Population in Districts of Istanbul[6]

**Source:** Ayhan Kaya and Aysu Kıraç, *Vulnerability Assessment of Syrian Refugees in Istanbul* (Istanbul: Hayat Destek, Nisan 2016), 13**.**

[6] k:Fatih: Historically Fatih district is known with its conservative Muslim communities but now it has reputation with international migrants, particularly as Syrian settlement.
d:Bağcılar: Very near urban neighbourhood. Well known with Kurdish population, informal Syrian labour force, and youth cultures such as rap and graffiti.
f: Esenler: Working class residential in the midst of its industrial neighbouring districts. It has dense internal and external migrant population.
j: Zeytinburnu: Working class neighbourhood, The character of Zeytinburnu changed when a large wave of internal immigrants came and settled there from 1950 on. Zeytinburnu is an important lesson for city planning in Turkey, because it was one of the first place for illegal buildings.
o: Beşiktaş: Very cosmopolitan touristic known with its high quality of life, prosperity, and cultural level. Ranked first in the individual indexes for income and education.
m:Şişli: Work centre of Istanbul, crowded, and there are many well-established cafes and restaurants, including fast-food for the students and shoppers.
:Üsküdar: Well-known place with tolerance, diversity, and other cosöopolitan characteristics. Touristic place and at the centre of public transportation network which connects the city to European side.

## 4.1. Exclusion spaces

The relations between the migrants and the Turkish population in the spaces of Istanbul produce a feeling of exclusion and discrimination expressed by the domination of the residents of the host country. However, the types and levels of exclusion are different from each other in terms of units of analysis, levels of interaction, and power relations. By considering these differences, I categorized exclusion spaces as segregated spaces, judicial spaces, and private spaces. Segregated spaces turn to exclusion spaces by being labelled as specific districts that are well-known places with settlements of Syrians. Negative images related to these districts not only produce a feeling of exclusion for Syrians but also offer new strategies to escape these segregated places as a long-term solution. Judicial spaces are different from segregated ones because they are based on temporary power relations within public transportation, such as the subway, public buses, etc. Differing from segregated spaces, instead of labelling one place as a whole with a Syrian identity, the migrants are excluded because their identities exist as an individual or group in a shared place. Although it is also an exclusion space, I see the function of private space different from these two categories. While the two spaces discussed above are public spaces, private spaces, such as houses, are spaces of protection and resistance against the exclusion of Syrian identity and they allow the migrants to escape them from their exclusion in public spaces. However, while providing protection, this kind of space also increases the level of exclusion as it prevents encounters and inclusion. The houses turn into an isolation area where there is no interaction with the local population, even in the form of guests.

### *4.1.1. Segregated Spaces*

Contextually, from past to present, Fatih district has had a reputation for having a religious-based identity. However, now, there is a shift in its identity following the influx of the Syrian

migrants. Today, the spatial memory of the Turkish people is based on the identity of Fatih having changed following the flow of migration since 2011. When I talked with the local people and Syrians, they all accepted Fatih as being petty Syria. However, this reputation and labelling of Fatih became a disadvantage and produced segregation between the local population and the Syrians.

Despite the main assumptions and common beliefs, Fatih is not just a meeting or relaxation point for the Syrian youth. Norbert Elias and John L. Scotsan (1994), in their study, use the concepts of "established" and "newcomers" to articulate the logic behind the power relations constructed between residents (insiders) and newcomers (outsiders/migrants). Through stigmatizing the zones of newcomers and attributing bad behaviour to them, residents exclude them from society. In addition to insider and outsider arguments, Wacquant contributes the idea of 'territorial stigmatisation', defined as 'a negative public image of specific places', which enforces symbolic dispossession of the settlers by depriving them of their collective representation and identity (Wacquant, 1993: 368). When it is combined with Goffman's concepts of physical stigma and the stigma of group identity (1963), it becomes clearer how certain districts are labelled as being despised and blemished places by their residents.

In all of these arguments, it is not just the places of Syrians that are stigmatized, their group identity is also subjected to stigmatization. I have seen the Syrian zones stigmatized as areas of poor security secure and bad behaviour and the Syrians themselves as being illiterate or rude. In this way, the local residents exclude them from society, so much so that many Syrian students feel unhappy about being labelled as a migrant linked with Fatih. They want to be there temporarily to shop at the Syrian markets and eat in the Syrian restaurants, but only for a short time. Then, they return to their comfort zones where they are not labelled and feel more integrated. Although comfort zones will be discussed later under the integration space categories, comfort zones are also important in understanding segregated spaces because they

have contradictory meanings in the daily life of the Syrian students. Contrary to the segregated spaces, in comfort zones, this group feels a more inclusive part of society.

However, not only Fatih but also Esenler, Başakşehir, and other districts, and other locations where the Syrian population has settled, create negative images in their minds and the students escape from these places to their comfort zones to feel they are part of society.

Abdullah, a graduate student in the engineering faculty, lives with his university friends in the Üsküdar district. He knows Fatih well and he has a route between there and Üsküdar he follows daily. However, the functions of these two destinations are different from each other. He explains the meaning of Fatih by saying that:

> *"When I first came, I only knew Fatih. I couldn't get out of there because I don't speak Turkish. But now I've learned the language, I've learned about everywhere. Now, I'm uncomfortable when I stay in Fatih because you're only dealing with Syrians there. I eat my food, take the Syrian bread, and immediately return to Uskudar." (Abdullah, male, 22, graduate student)*

In addition to Abdullah, Hasan, an undergraduate student, explained the importance of the Fatih district for him when he first arrived in Turkey. Because of his relatives and religious associations, he settled in Fatih. However, he stated that the Istanbul he had seen in the TV series was not the Istanbul he saw in Fatih, and he was disappointed when he first arrived. He explained that not being able to see the Maiden's Tower and the seaside, which is one of the main tourist areas of Istanbul, speaking only Arabic and being friends with Syrians, just like in Syria, made him uncomfortable. He said that when he got out of Fatih and his isolation, his life started to change. Leaving Fatih not only made it easier for him to learn Turkish quickly but it also increased his interactions with Turks.

As can be understood from the interviews with Abdullah and Hasan, segregated places are seen as places of "otherness". The size of the migrant population makes it more difficult to integrate into the new society in terms of learning the language, integrating into the culture, and being familiar with the routine of daily life. The feeling of being an 'other' or outsider inevitably produces a feeling of exclusion.

In addition to the feeling of isolation, the images of Turkish people in these places are very dominant in the perceptions of the Syrian students. As educated, bilingual, and more compatible individuals, they are trying to show that they are different from the other Syrian immigrants, who are seen by Turkish society as uneducated and unemployed.

Expressing her discomfort that all Syrians are seen the same by Turkish people, Rama said that she felt more stigmatization when she went to Fatih with these words:

> *"It is very nice to eat in Fatih, to hear people using your native language, and to do shopping from Syrian markets, but I am uncomfortable that every Syrian is considered the same. All Syrians are thought to be ignorant and uneducated. Since this perception bothers me so much, I try to spend as little time as possible among Syrians. My world is much wider than it is thought about the Syrians in Fatih. I wish they could see that Syrians can also be educated, speak other languages, and are no different from Turks ..." ( Female, 19, undergraduate student)*

As a result, both stigmatizations produced by the Turkish residents and the students' feelings of isolation and being an outsider among other Syrians make these places segregated zones for them. In other words, the exclusive functions of space produce the feelings of segregation which makes it easier to name them segregated places, areas where there is a dense Syrian population.

### *4.1.2. Judicial Spaces*

Everyday interaction between people cannot be possible in a space free from power relations. In this regard, every connection between various groups or individuals in the city cannot count as an encounter (Valentine, 2008:333). Instead of co-existence, it is seen as self-segregation within particular places because the power structures between people generally prevent successful bridges to construct social encounters (Phillips et al., 2014 as cited in Huizinga & van Hoven, 2018:311).

Hana (18) was one of the students with whom I first felt this self-segregation in public transport. I met her on the bus. One day, when I got on the bus with my luggage to go to the airport in Istanbul, I went to the back of the bus so as not to disturb anyone, even though the bus was empty. In the back seats, I sat next to a Syrian woman who I had difficulty even seeing sitting in the corner. I understood that she was Syrian because of the style of her headscarf. When I greeted her and started chatting, I realized how timid she was. This immigrant woman, who told me she was a student preparing for her university exams, caught my attention more. We chatted in English during our long journey. She talked very quietly, as if she did not want to be heard. When I asked why she was sitting in the back and speaking like that, the answer I got was meaningful. She said: *"In order not to be noticed, or rather not to be disturbed".*

I have chosen the word judicial to describe the power relationship between the majority (Turkish residents) and the minority (Syrians) which makes it difficult to have encounters between different groups. I call these judicial spaces, where physical closeness is possible within small spaces. These spaces have been one of the most interesting places for me following the experience with Hana. I have seen that there are symbolic courts in these places, which are created by the discomfort of physical contact and closeness. Examples of them

include public transportation, cafés, and restaurants. Two sides exist in them that are tried and judged. The judges have evidence in their hands, such as speaking Arabic and dressing like Syrians. When they see pieces of evidence, they immediately start to judge and dish out punishment. What the accused can do is remove the evidences as best as possible.

Meryem shared her experience with her friend in a queue to get a package with these words:

> *"We were speaking Arabic while two friends were waiting in a queue to receive a package. When the women in the back realized that we were Syrians, they immediately started to discuss how the package could be delivered to us as there was a war in Syria. Again, judgements began about us in terms of our economic support, how we are primitive people and require 'unnecessary' social support from the Turkish government. So, we had to speak Turkish among ourselves and talk about the fact that our university books had arrived and how we were educated migrants. How easy it is to judge without knowing anything about people. We all have to prove ourselves." (18, female, YOS student)*

Since language is one piece of evidence used for judgement, the students sometimes played games with it. Rama explains the judgement she faced in public transport during an ironic social experiment:

> *"We did a social experiment with my friend. One day we spoke Arabic in the subway. People looked at us critically and we heard them say that 'These Syrians are everywhere. They have occupied our country.' The following day, we spoke English very fluently and one of the Turkish women said 'Waowww. Look at these girls and how educated they are.' I am the same, but attitudes are totally different. It is really ridiculous." (Female, 20, undergraduate)*

Goffman (1963) discusses the role of "stigma symbols" in his classic book on stigma. He sees these symbols as a part of information control to understand others. Stigmatized people often use symbols as "disidentifiers" to try to pass as a "normal" person integrated into daily life. In my case, it is understood that speaking Arabic is a stigma symbol and can be used as evidence

for judgement. In addition to language, which is the main evidence for judgement, other pieces of evidence including dressing like a Syrian, should also be eliminated. Particularly, female students prefer to cover themselves like Turkish girls for their protection or to appear to be “normal” people.

Şirin, who is a graduate student and she also works as a translator for Arabs in a hospital, expressed her performativity in public transportation with the following statement:

> *“I cover my head as Turkish girls do to protect myself from critical views. I never speak Arabic. I always warn my Arabic friends. When my mother calls me on the bus, I do not answer the phone so as not to speak Arabic. I generally use earphones so as not to hear the criticism of Turkish people of Syrians. Some Syrians speak Arabic on the bus, and they do not understand what Turkish people say about them because of the language barrier. However, I understand and suffer.” (Female, 22)*

Goffman (1989) argued that the self cannot be explained by inner experiences alone because it is socially constructed and, thus, can be changed, depending on the situation or context. To allow this theory to be operationalized, however, he added the concepts of the theatre (backstage/front stage), the game, and the ritual. If actors draw positive attention to these roles, they are using them to influence others. In other words, in everyday life, humans behave like actors, choosing to develop roles as part of a strategic game (Goffman, 1959).

While people engage in front stage behaviour when they are aware that others are watching, backstage behaviour refers to what we do when no one is looking (Cole, 2019). In my context, the backstage of the students’ everyday lives is where they can express themselves and their identities. Homes as private spaces are good examples for the backstage that will be discussed in the following section. However, in this section, I see public transportation as a front stage where different groups or individuals interact closely, and people behave like actors performing to maintain their daily lives.

As a result, as performances in a theatre, judicial spaces become places of power games. As a living place, even if temporarily, the meaning of travel has changed following the interactions between the local residents and the migrant youth. However, this interaction produces exclusion and pushes young students to cover their identity as Syrians.

### *4.1.3. Private Spaces*

Although homes are the backstage where these students act free of the expectations and norms dictated by front stage behaviour, they become the main places where exclusion is felt. According to Valentine (2008: 329), public spaces are regulated by 'political correctness' and migrants produce negative feelings to express themselves and their values. Their actual values are allowed into 'privatized' spaces, such as houses. As in his study, I found that Syrian students could express themselves freely at home. However, these places turned into a place of otherness because whether they lived with their families or their friends, they did not have any connection with the local population. Turks do not come to their houses nor do they go to Turkish friends. They have little or no relations with their neighbours and generally complain about the discrimination inside their apartments.

When I was a guest in the homes of Syrian students, I felt how they expressed themselves more comfortably than when in the streets. During the participant observations, I saw that this group, who was afraid to show that they were Syrians outside, did not hesitate to reflect on their Syrian culture at home. Speaking Arabic, drinking Arabic coffee, wearing Syrian clothes were all indispensable components of the homes. However, while providing protection, this part of their lives also increased the dose of exclusion as it prevented encounters and inclusion. The homes turned into an isolation area where there was no interaction with the local residents, even as guests.

Bilal, who I met in an NGO when he was working as a volunteer for children, was a very social person in his daily life. He expressed the spatial differences between Turkey and Syria through the meaning of home by saying:

> *"Here, it is different from Syria. In Syria, we have neighbours, we have big gardens, and we have neighbourhoods. Everyone was familiar with each other. We were sitting, chatting, and eating together. But now, no one knocks on our doors even at religious festivals. I do not know my neighbours. When we first came to this house, we distributed desserts to introduce ourselves. But then, nobody visited us." (Male, graduate student, 26)*

Amr, who lives with Syrian students from the university, adds that even if there is an interaction with Turkish people in daily life, homes are not the main places where they take place. Instead of private spaces, public ones turn out to be the place of meeting and inclusion:

> *"I have Turkish friends, but we meet outside. Neither we nor they visit each other. I do not know why it is like that. Only Arab friends come to our house to play PlayStation, eat and spend free time. But no Turks." (Male, graduate student, 22)*

Hence, it could be argued that there is a clear border between outside (public space) and inside (home). The migrants have turned their house into a place of resistance. Public space-based interactions are used to protect themselves from exclusion; however, the migrants try to produce the continuity of cultural values through domestic relations and by choosing their homes as safe places. However, these safer places for the protection of their identity become places of exclusion in the long term.

### 4.2. Inclusion Spaces

Despite the exclusion in the space-making processes of the migrant youth, inclusion is possible local residents and migrant youth encounter each other in shared places. I have categorized these places as comfort zones, co-operational spaces, and open spaces. While they

all have inclusive functions, they affect different dimensions of the migrants' lives in terms of education, work life, free time activities, etc.

### *4.2.1. Comfort Zones*

Contrary to common beliefs, Syrian students do not like to spend long hours in segregated spaces. They see these spaces as temporary, and they escape to their comfort zones. This is not a simple spatial displacement, but rather it is a conscious route for these students to escape from labelling and exclusion. Because once they are in there, they are not labelled and different groups can come together, with students feeling more integrated into society and that they belong to Istanbul. As in the study of Debbie Philips (2006), I found that instead of being in places labelled as Syrian, they prefer to be in mixed places comprising people from different backgrounds. According to Phillips, although there is a common belief that British Muslims are self-segregating, when she looked at their home and neighbourhood choices, she found that they preferred to live in mixed neighbourhoods.

Üsküdar, a well-known Turkish District, is one of those mixed places where tourists, people from different nations, students and workers come together. Moreover, it is still a centre with its transportation network hub. The following quote from the official website of the Üsküdar District Governorship emphasizes that it is historically the centre of differences and it proves that the meaning Syrian students produce for Üsküdar is a result of its historical background.

> *"Due to the fact that the transportation between Asia and Europe passes through the Straits, Üsküdar has embraced different owners throughout history and hosted those who want to own it. The fact that Üsküdar is a natural bridgehead between two continents has invited invasions and has led to its domination by many different nations throughout history….*
>
> *M. Ö. Üsküdar, known and inhabited since the tenth century ... Üsküdar is the only work remaining from Byzantium; it is famous for its Maiden's Tower ...*

*Üsküdar or the Golden City, is the best example of TOLERANCE from Kuzguncuk, with its streets, groves, pavilions, bazaars and baths, mosques, churches and synagogues, none of which prevent the "right to see"; today, it is the Republic of Turkey 's 'Istanbul Province'...*

Hasan explained the meaning of *"TOLERANCE",* written in capital letters on the official website of Üsküdar, and explained the comfort zone the district offered with the following statement:

*"I was sitting there in a cafe when I discovered Üsküdar. There were people from different groups. There were people from each group: Conservatives, Islamists, Kemalists, Nationalists were all together. It was beautiful. I improved my Turkish there. I even used to smoke with my friends in cafes when we were chatting. Üsküdar has peace of mind. This peace is not anywhere else. When I get out of the subway and breathe the Üsküdar air, I take a deep breath ... and I feel like I'm back home. I feel I am in my country." (Hasan, male, 21, Undergraduate student)*

Halit also clarified the difference between segregated places and comfort zones by explaining the inclusive function of comfort zones:

*"As you know, everyone is Arab in the Fatih district. Even if they are not Syrians, they are seen as Syrian because of their language. When you get there, you only see immigrants. Am I not an immigrant? I'm also, but I want to see everybody, I want to forget I'm an immigrant. In Taksim or Besiktas, I'm getting into the crowd. I see people from different cultures. I'm like anyone else. No one says, "He is Syrian, our country returned to Syria". (Male, 23, Graduate student).*

This confrontation produces inclusion and covers all the possible new interactions by accepting the differences of newcomers in a shared place. Amin (2006:1012) discussed the meaning of "small achievements in a good city" by drawing attention to the civil exchanges and the importance of creating spaces of interdependence to improve intercultural relations. According to his understanding (2002: 959), "micro-publics of everyday social contact and

encounter" have a crucial role in the everyday geographies of Syrian students. Nigel Thrift (2005:147) sees this relationship in everyday life as "reservoirs of hope" which make a connection between strangers possible. As a result, to make possible inclusion and social cohesion with Turkish people, they assign importance to micro-level social relations in mixed neighbourhoods.

### *4.2.2. Co-operational Space*

Habitus is critical during interactions in the new country because it is the basic stock of information and a set of "dispositions" (Layder, 2006). Regarding this, the distinction of Bourdieu between physical and social space is crucial in the discussion of habitus in my dissertation. Since social space is an invisible set of relationships that tends to transform itself into physical space in the form of a specific distribution of agents and features (Bourdieu, 1996: 12), I look at how physical place can become a social place by producing new habitus. In this regard, habitus is the main tool needed to understand exclusion or inclusion in these spaces. It is thought that similar dispositions produce inclusion and different ones produce exclusion. However, with the interaction and dynamic nature of the spaces, the habitus may be changed in the long term. This is possible with the ongoing interplay between people and places, so the performative dimensions of belonging (Benson& Jackson, 2012: 797) and the "negotiation" between youth migrants and the locals in the places should be taken into consideration (Dwyer, 1998; Massey, 1998).

In this discussion, I have seen that moving to a new physical place makes it possible to enter a new social field and produce a new habitus that creates inclusive functions in the shared places. From this perspective, the concept of the NGO is very new for these students because in Syria, organizations and associations are supported by the regime and the Syrian state, so civilization and taking decisions freely, two dominant features of co-operational places, are

new concepts for them. Today, the students have their first experiences of these organizations and are trying to produce solutions in the host country. Since these students recognize themselves as independent individuals who have ideas, expectations, and emotions, they can identify migration-based problems and produce projects jointly for their solution. Moreover, by helping others, they try to lessen their traumas.

Rama, a volunteer in a Turkish organization, said:

> *"I can do something for the people in my country. We have suffered more. Our children have suffered. I work voluntarily for them. We try to create a bridge from heart to heart. There are lots of things to do. Not only for my people but also for Turkish people. The great happiness is making someone happy and seeing the happiness on their eyes" (Female, 20, undergraduate student)*

Since Syrian students are active in both Syrian and Turkish organizations, I see them as a place of interaction. These co-operational spaces are also the places of charitable activities and gateways to future connections because they have the potential to create transnational connections, which will be discussed in the last chapter. In this regard, as new places, they have an inclusive function both for the present and the future through producing relationships between the migrants and people from other countries, working for a common purpose.

Abdulhey, as a volunteer, expressed how the organizations make inclusion possible by producing national and international connections when he said:

> *"I go to foreign events, I am social. I am generally a member of NGOs of voluntary actions. For instance, Istanbul N&I. They have voluntary programmes. There are lots of Turkish and foreign people there. I met a friend of my friend in çay (tea) Talks for people from different countries. She works as a lawyer. She helped me a lot and she became my Turkish sister. She supported me; she is always there. If she has a problem, also, I am always there. We also support other foreign students together" (Male, 21, undergraduate).*

Abdulhey shows how these spaces not only allow different groups to come together but also produce national and international connections in the present for the future. However, these connections are the result of interactions in new social spaces in Istanbul. New physical spaces mean new social relations, and these social relations lead to the production of new habitus, such as cooperation for common targets, organizational abilities, or charitable activities.

### *4.2.3. Open Spaces*

Migration brings a new set of challenges to everyday life. Migrant youths must deal with language barriers, discrimination, and identity reconstruction but, at the same time, migration provides an opportunity to create space for negotiation. Education, the most important space, provides a door for negotiation and better living standards by helping the participants to find good jobs and understand the logic behind the relations in the host country.

It was my friend, who actively worked for Syrians and had communication with many of them, who helped me to meet Meryem. When I told her that I wanted to meet with Syrian students, she strongly advised me that I should meet with her. She explained that although she had lost one leg in the war, she had changed cities three times and had eventually come to Istanbul and that she attended her courses despite her prosthetic leg and had studied for the university entrance exam. I quickly contacted Meryem. As soon as I entered her home, a girl appeared, steady on her feet. Few things have impressed me in this field study as much as her struggle with life. Education was the most important among her struggles as she wished to know and strengthen herself.

Meryem, as a person who had lost one leg in the war, stressed the importance of education as follows:

> *"I am studying for the university entrance exam every day intensively because I need to have a professional job. I have to stand firm on my feet for my life, for my future. Even if my situation had been different, I would still like to receive training. As a girl who changed her country, I have to empower myself in every way. Uneducated people know nothing about life. I don't want to be like that." (21, female, YOS student)*

By differentiating themselves from other immigrants and uneducated people, Meryem, as do other educated young immigrants, believe that education makes them stronger individuals in society.

One of the male students, by quoting Nelson Mandela, also explained the meaning of education using the analogy of a weapon:

> *"Education is the most powerful weapon: we can use it to change the world" (Bilal, male, 26, graduate student).*

The most interesting part concerns the relationship between education and economic expectations. According to a report of compiled by Amo-Agyei (2020: 1-110), migrant workers in highly developed countries earn, on average, about 12.6 percent less than nationals do. Moreover, migrant workers are more likely to work in lower-skilled and lower-paid jobs that do not match their education and skills. Higher-educated migrant workers in high-income countries (HIC) are also less likely to attain jobs in higher occupational categories relative to non-migrant workers. This reflects the fact that migrants in HICs are likely to be affected by a skills mismatch and have difficulties transferring their skills and experience across countries due to a lack of adequate skills recognition systems for the qualifications of these workers. However, also according to the report, in the low and middle-level-income countries, the situation is the opposite because, on average, educated migrants tend to receive better returns on their educational endowment in terms of payment.

Although Turkey is categorized as a low and middle-income country, it can be said that Syrian migrants in Turkey are forced to work in insecure jobs because of the work rights accorded them with their temporary protection status. In this regard, educated migrants are paid less than the local population. Only three percent of working refugees were working formally and 71 percent of households were unable to access skilled or reliable jobs. This is further accentuated by rising unemployment rates, especially among the youth. Solving the migrants' problems - low employability (due to low levels of education and technical skills), limited language skills, and limited access to information and services (mainly due to the language barrier) - is seen as essential (ILO, 2020).

Considering all these problems in daily life, they see education as the solution and a starting point for better socio-economic opportunities. This is understandable given the forced migration situation; many of the Syrian students arrived in Turkey with their families having lost everything. Despite the disadvantages of being a migrant, as a first step, they see education as both a surviving strategy in the new country and as a bridge to the future, not only in Turkey but also concerning their transnational networks.

Muhammed, a graduate student who had received an education in gastronomy, explained how his education had influenced his international business the creation of international connections. When I texted him to arrange to meet, he suggested one of the most important and luxurious shopping centres in Istanbul as the meeting place. In addition, he said that we should sit in one of the luxurious cafés there. I was very surprised at first because the other students who had participated in my interviews preferred more modest places. I understood from the very beginning that the person I was going to meet was on a higher socio-economic level when compared with the others. I found out from what he said that education had made different opportunities possible for him and that it had provided him with a good job.

> *"I studied gastronomy in English. Even though I have a business in Turkey, I set up an online company, linked internationally. I trade food in other countries. I cannot renew my passport in Syria; I want to settle in Europe or New Zealand as soon as I get a Turkish passport. Frankly, I couldn't have imagined all this if I hadn't been educated". (Muhammed, 26, male, graduate student)*

Hence, despite the exclusion in the new context, for the Syrian youth, education is a tool that provides inclusion for both the present and the future. These students are constructing their future from today with the aid of education, and educational places turn into centres where dialogue is possible, and differences come together as an open space. This is because education is not only crucial for the production of cultural capital, which is possible with educational qualifications, but also social capital, defined by Bourdieu as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources, the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (1986:248).

### 4.3. Simultaneous Exclusion and Inclusion (Thirdspace)

Although exclusion and inclusion of the identities can be analysed in different places, simultaneously exclusion and inclusion can exist together in the same place. I have categorized two main concepts, social imaginary space and emotional space, to show how oppositions can live together in the same place based on the third space concept, which makes possible these contradictory relations. This is because, in the third space, everything, subjectivity and objectivity, the abstract and the concrete, the real and the imagined, the knowable and the unimaginable, the repetitive and the differential, structure and agency, mind and body, consciousness and the unconscious, the disciplined and the transdisciplinary, everyday life and unending history, come together. (Soja, 1996: 57). The third space concept is in parallel with Foucault's concept of heterotopia because it contains all kinds of possibilities and opportunities for resisting hegemony (Merrifield, 1999:346). In this regard,

both the third space and heterotopic places permit oppositions in the same place, so they can be inclusive spaces or exclusive spaces. Heterogeneous groups can produce contradictory functions at the same time. Thirdspace concept eliminate the duality of migrant existence between here and there. In other words, with this concept a tension between lived-in space (host country) and remembered space (back country) can be solved (Skop, 2014) with the negotiations. In this sense, Thirdspace and/or heterotopic spaces let negotiations between contradictory relations in the same place, and an acknowledgement that material and symbolic spatialization intersect with the production of included and excluded identities in the context of the placemaking process of the Syrian youth.

### *4.3.1. Social Imaginary Spaces*

Although social media is not seen as a real space, still, it produces new meanings and its reality symbolically. In this regard, I accept social media as a symbolic public space but at the same time real place in the sense that they provide a way how to think, see, feel, act, etc. (Popkewitz, 1998, p. 29 as cited in Lindgren, 1988:10). I also see social media as a public space because, "online social spaces are indeed loci of the public display rather than a private revelation: online profiles are structured with the view that "everyone can see them, even if the explicitly intended audience is more limited" (Burkell et al., 2014:974).

I have categorized these spaces under inclusion and exclusion at the same time because they are public places where the migrant students are faced with discrimination, yet they have a chance to disseminate positive news and generate responses to the discrimination.

Ola expressed this contradictory relationship by saying:

> *"Although my university friends know that we follow each other through social media, they share negative news about Syrians. They refer to us with a negative Syrian image in their minds. I'm very sorry, but I also share when there is news about discrimination.*

> *Especially for children who cannot be guilty. I directly share this news in the Turkish language. I want to show them. We're not all decent people, as not all of you are. So, I want to say that generalizations are very wrong. Some of my friends support me, but some of them say I think wrongly. I'm trying to produce the right news against the provocations of both sides ..." (Female, university student, 21)*

In addition to social networks through relations in daily life, a sense of place is being constructed via social media. This group is using social media very effectively, producing place attachment with the help of Facebook groups, Instagram, and WhatsApp. However, in addition to the discrimination against the Syrian migrants in social media in which Turkish people are dominant, inclusive and exclusive functions go together in the platforms where Syrian identity is dominant. Especially on Facebook, Syrian student groups are very effective in place construction in Istanbul. During the fieldwork, I learned many things from this group through reading discussions on their Facebook pages. Using these platforms, students are trying to integrate into Istanbul by answering many questions about the places where students can live there, the documents required at the university, and offering guidance concerning the problems to be encountered while in temporary protection status. At the same time, these groups give the place discourses against discrimination and the possible harassment by local residents the students may have to cope with in daily life. Sometimes, these groups also offer negative images of Turkish people from the perspective of Syrians.

Amr supported my observations regarding these contradictory relations in these groups by saying:

> *"There are groups where students can learn a lot about Istanbul. For example, I found my housemates through one of those groups. I learned the paperwork I had to do in Istanbul by asking there. But these groups also have disadvantages. They are effective in spreading negative news. Sometimes, I cannot say that there is no incitement against the Turks. Just as there is discrimination in Turkish websites, there are also in these groups." (25, male, graduate student)*

While the information about Istanbul in these groups, and especially the guidance on official affairs, increases integration into Turkish society, the negative news creates a feeling of exclusion.

As a result, posts on social media and groups sometimes produce a feeling of inclusion, but sometimes exclusion, not only regarding Istanbul but also Turkey, and the identities of the host population. Since, in social media, different places are introduced and positive/negative news is discussed around these spaces, news has the potential to increase or decrease an attachment to the place. Because of the segregation and stigmatization, many Syrian youths complain about the negative effects of media, both on them and on the local residents. Because the students follow both Turkish and Syrian mainstream media and social media, they are more aware of the contexts and can compare the representations of both sides. However, in the mainstream media, where Turkish people are dominant, they are turning to active agents to eliminate the negative images via social media and the social media disseminated by Turkish people. These places become a place of resistance against hegemony (Merrifield, 1999). In other words, using the Foucauldian concept (1999), this place is a heterotopia and, from the perspective of Soja (1996), it is a Thirdspace. In the second form of the social imaginary space where Syrian identity is dominant, students benefit from the information and acquire knowledge that will help them to adapt to the new society, but they also face the dimensions of exclusion by being exposed to negative news; so, I see the possibility of exclusion within the inclusion in the second form of the social imaginary space. As in the study of " 'Thirdspace' as Transnational Space" (2014) of Emily Skop, migrants located between here and there over Internet-based activities which are seen as Thirdspace in the discussion. Her perspective considers identity as a composition of complex lifestyles and worldviews and is always under negotiation. Within this negotiation, Internet as "Thirdspace" mediates the existence of migrants between host and backcountry. While some migrants look

for ways to empower themselves, others can feel isolated within Thirdspace. In this regard, Thirdspace can provide negotiation of identities and also temporarily escape from hierarchies and power. Via Internet, technologies, practices, representations, places are bound by the intersections of culture in the lives of the migrant population. From this perspective, Syrian students instead of escaping exclusions and isolating themselves from negative news in social media, they produce place attachment, disseminate positive news against negative discourses and new way to be integrated to Istanbul and Turkey with Facebook groups and other social media platforms when they feel stuck in between of past and today. In this regard, by considering the two forms, it can be said that whether Turkish people or Syrian people are dominant, these social imaginary spaces produce both exclusion and inclusion at the same time, whether they are called heterotopic space or third space.

### *4.3.2. Emotional Space*

Fatih district is also a clear example of emotional space despite being categorized as an exclusive segregation place. This is directly related to the characteristics of a third space because, in my theorization, third space produces the possibility of exclusion and inclusion at the same time.

In this regard, the choice by Syrian students of Fatih district as their main location is not a coincidence. Its similarity to the streets of Damascus and Aleppo in Syria is a reference to their spatial memory and how they feel themselves to be in their own home and country. During the interviews, many students created similarities in their minds. Both spatial memories and historical backgrounds as well as experiences reproduced in these places are influential in the creation of their new sense of place because these new experiences are the continuation of their past experiences and not independent from the places, they have come from.

We experience our present world in a context that is causally connected with past events and objects and, hence, concern events and objects we are not experiencing while we are experiencing the present. The area between and within an object in space becomes a place when occupied by some person, thing, or any other attribute. The remembrance of an event or events is a valuable identifier of space. Our personal histories and identities are interwoven with space and places. We attribute to places a personal memory-tagging which marks them in our mind. In this way, we might argue that we need to remember to have an identity and sense of place (Mowla, 2004: 2). Moreover, the idea of "landscapes" brings the lens of emotion into the centre of migration experienced by connecting spatial, cultural, and temporal dimension of migrants' everyday life. Based on the temporal and cultural dimension of landscape, in relation to the present that makes them migrants, the past of the home left behind, and the future represented by their social, cultural, economic capitals (Borges et al., 2021: 6-9), migrants not only produce spatial memory but also emotions.

Sewal, through making connections with her past experiences and her daily life in Istanbul, gave a clue about spatial memory when she said:

> *"Fatih reminds me of the old days. As if we were back in Syria. When I miss my country, I go to walk in the small streets of Fatih. I shop from the Grand Bazaar, which is almost the same as the bazaar in Aleppo. Fatih Mosque is similar to the Damascus Umayyad Mosque. I sit in its garden for relaxation, and I think about my past" (Sewal, 19, undergraduate student)*

Ali adds the senses of taste, smell, and hearing to the discussions of spatial memory by saying:

> *"The taste of Arabic coffee, the music I hear from my favourite singers, the Arabic language I hear takes me back to the old days when I was happy, before the war."*

The spatiality of memory is intriguing. The most potent images we can store are those in our mind's eye, those images that are unique and personal to our experience. It is very often through place-by-place association that we remember. Association, through the imagery of places that we know and are familiar to us, help us to remember sights, sounds, smells, people, conversations, events. These place-images are memory triggers. Sensory recollections take place in remembered places (Mowla, 2004: 2-3), which can be found also in the words of Ali above. The idea of landscape, imagery of the places and the emotions connected to the temporality of migrants are interconnected.

I have observed that while participants over the age of 22 mostly refer to spatial memory based on their own experiences, participants between the ages of 18-19 establish spatial similarities by referring to their parents. It was understandable that this group, who is now 18 years old but only 10 years old when they left Syria, did not establish a spatial memory and need to transfer this experience from their parents. Meryem told me how the Grand Bazaar in Istanbul excited her mother when she said:

> *"I cannot remember it clearly but whenever my mother goes to the Grand Bazaar, she remembers the big bazaar in Damascus. Sometimes she feels very happy, sometimes tears well up, and she says that she misses the old days and says I wish we could return to the past." (Meryem, female, 18, YOS student)*

These words clarify the connection between experience and spatial memory because whatever physical space is experienced, it is our five senses that give emotional meaning to that place. Since thirdspace solve the tension between lived-in space in Fatih (Firstspace) and remembered space of the country of origin (Secondspace), emotional space (thirdspace) try to solve the tension between two. However, when solving this tension these emotional zones produce integration into Turkish society, based on finding culture in another country and seeing historical and cultural similarities between the two countries and also produce

exclusion. Because of emotional closeness, ethnic groups may prefer to settle intensively there, and this one-way settlement has the potential to produce segregation from the other parts of the city, as in the example of Fatih.

### 4.4. SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have explored the relations between the dynamic production of space and the performative dimension of identity in terms of inclusion and/or exclusion of the Syrian youth in Istanbul. Migrants do not only select a place to live that matches their habitus; rather places are made through repeated everyday actions and interaction. In this regard, the dynamic nature of the place and the performative dimension of belonging influence the possible placemaking process for Syrian students. However, this cannot be thought of as independent of power relations. In my research, I found that power relations may produce a feeling of exclusion in segregated, judicial and private spaces, and also be included in comfort zones, co-operational and open spaces. However, the most interesting part of the findings is the possibility of the production of exclusion and inclusion simultaneously. I produced two main concepts, social imaginary and emotional space, to show how opposites can live together in the same place. Thirdspace, which is the place of opposites and binaries, allows this contradictory relationship to exist within the same space. As a result, in addition to the dynamic nature of the place, the performativity of the Syrian students in everyday spaces of Istanbul is at the heart of their placemaking process.

# CHAPTER FIVE

## 5. RETHINKING PLACE-BASED GENDER RELATIONS IN A NEW CONTEXT

Although the concept of gender as one of the main organizing principles of social life and increasing number of gender studies in migration literature, in this chapter, the analytical focus is on the integration of space, migration, and gender, together with sociological imagination. Since I aim to understand how migration affects men and women simultaneously, gender, as the main variable, should be added to the transformation into the new context in the spatiality discussions. It is important to understand geographical variation in gender discussions because gender experiences are socially constructed and differ from space to space. By changing the space and the space-based interactions, migration inevitably re-designs the roles in the new space and gives different responsibilities to young women and men youth different from those of their own countries, which they have left. To understand this, not only do I embrace the theoretical concept of intersectionality by considering gender, ethnicity, culture, and religion but I also expand the intersectional approach by adding space, time, and everydayness. At that point, translocational positionality (Anthias, 2008) concept is critical because it expands the discussion by arguing that in addition to different positions of agents, locations are also matter. Social spaces are inter-related, multiple, situational, temporal, and subject to different meanings and inflections.

In the first step, urban space is critical because urban environments are the places where gendered meanings are developed, represented and produced, although cities are seen as a male place and women and minorities have survived in its interstices in their way (Raju & Paul, 2016: 128).

Since migration produce transformative relations in both genders and, generally, women gain more power (Hondagneu & Stoelo, 1994), in the post-migration context, women actively

become part of the community in their settlements and negotiate their positions with new institutions such as schools, workplaces, or hospitals, which are directly related to their responsibilities in urban daily life. However, considering the dominant patriarchal structure of the Arab world (Olmsted, 2005), expecting a total transformation in gender roles is not realistic. The study of Weinstein Bever supports this point of view. She found that while women's gender roles are redefined following the influence of migration, both men and women continue to defend traditional gender ideology, even if they are younger (2002: 226). In this regard, I will seek to identify at which points space-based patriarchal transformation is possible and at which points there is continuity in the traditional gender roles, despite the changes in the socio-spatial organization in daily life.

In brief, the main contribution of this section is to look simultaneously at how migration has affected both men and women in terms of public space relations, working life and gender roles, and a sense of freedom. To do so, I intend to use the theoretical tool of intersectionality by expanding it with the concept of translocational positionality gathering different dimensions influencing the Turkish migration context.

### 5.1. Public Space Relations

The use of public space is a principal factor in the study of everyday relations of men and women in the urban context and should be analysed with an intersectional approach, which is generally reduced to the social divisions of race, ethnicity gender, and class (Yuval- Dalis, 2006). However, my list includes gender, race, ethnicity, culture, ability, age, religion, and education to cover different social divisions in the same context. Moreover, with the understanding of translocational positionality (Anthias, 2008) I expand the intersectionality discussion by adding time, space and everydayness.

Public space can be defined as the place of interaction between different interest groups (Borja, 2003), accessible to everyone (Chelkooff& Thibaud, 1992; 1993), and contributing to the community's collective identity (Del Valle, 1997). These places are also the centre of enjoyment, relaxation (Banerjee, 2001) and leisure (Shaftoe, 2008). Leisure is a very crucial notion as there is a direct relationship between leisure and identity. This is because it is an expression of social identity and part of a way of life (Willliams, 2002). Such interactions between different groups may improve social capital, strip away prejudices, along with stereotypes, and suggest more realistic images about "the other" (Allport, 1954; Putnam, 2002; Van Ingen & Van Eijck, 2009 as cited in Peters & De Haan, 2011:171). From this perspective, public space is not only about the possibility of increasing social contacts and interactions which improve cohesion and help integration between different ethnic groups but also has the potential to make possible changes of traditional norms, the questioning of past learnings, and the exchange of values. However, when the gender experiences are examined in terms of public and private duality in the Arab-Islamic context of Syria, when considering space-based traditional gender roles and modernity, men are associated with public space and women with the private space (Kamla, 2014: 603-604). This is not only spatial but also symbolic (Sadiqi, 2006:10, as cited in Kamla, 2014).

The mental, spatial and symbolic changes of my informants in terms of the regulation of male-female relations in public space are the result of social contacts. It can be seen as the common shift in both young men and women. Today, differently from Syria, the young migrants have friends of the other sex and they may socialize together. Hasan[7] expressed his inner transformation regarding his perception of the relationship between men and women with the following statement:

[7] All names of interviewees were changed with pseudonyms.

*"One asks oneself where am I and what should I live for? You are stuck in two things. You may say to yourself, 'I will live with my old views', and then you say, 'No, I should change myself, it does not last like that'. For example, the smallest example is having a girlfriend. I am not saying in the sense of a lover. There is no such thing as a girlfriend in Syria; there is no place to sit and make friends. What happens if a girl sits in this seat, what happens if a boy sits? Haaa which perception is right? In here or in there? It is another matter...*

*This is normal for Turks here, but still strange for someone coming from Syria. Girlfriends of my friends come and meet, they touch me, and hand contact is inevitable. It is normal for them, but it was not normal for me. So what should I do and how should I behave? There were a lot of questions in my mind. But now, it is not a problem for me: he is Mehmet, or she is Cemre, it does not matter. Here, Syrian girls are the same as boys. I see them in Yusufpaşa. They were wearing a headscarf, now they are not. The girls have become free and socialized, just like us." (Hasan, male, 21, undergraduate)*

Hasan clearly explains the changes in his perception of the friendship between women and men in daily life by referring to tolerance of the differences between the host and his home country. He draws our attention to unwritten rules, tolerance, and reciprocal respect unconsciously accepted by society (Goffman, 1963). These unwritten rules produce different results in different contexts. Wife, daughter or sister are perceived as the "sacred thing of the man" and a mechanism for protecting family' honour in Arab culture (Afsaruddin, 1999:10). However, the interaction of the opposite sex in the spaces of Istanbul has changed the meaning of honour and the borders. Today, the relationships between men and women are not seen as part of an Arab family's honour as they were in Syria. This young group communicates with Turkish social groups by both changing their perceptions and expanding their networks.

In addition to the differences in the form of activities, the women participants have been informed that they can socialize in the streets of Istanbul freely. Instead of only close family and relative interactions, they can go to parks, restaurants, cafés, festivals in the streets, and

can participate in the activities of civil organizations. Despite Syrian women feeling that they were violating male-based spaces when they were outside of their private spaces (homes) while in Syria (Kamla, 2014: 613), they have become more active in the public spaces of Istanbul.

> *"I am more active than I was in Syria. I believe that I can now live in any place in the world. I have friends of many different nationalities. I know every part of Istanbul. For instance, there was a coffee festival last week. We came together and had fun." (Meryem, female, 18, YOS Student)*

The reason behind the increased usage of public places by women can be found in the differences between Turkish and Syrian men's attitudes towards women. In Syria, "Public space becomes an important area which allows for alternative forms of masculine affirmation, including harassment" (Kamla, 2014: 613 as cited in Peoples, 2008:16). Unlike in Syria, according to the female migrants, men do not bother women with their gaze in Turkey. For instance, in public transportation, should a man start bothering them, they feel happy when they are protected by other people from such harassment. Regarding the usage of public spaces by Syrian women in Turkey, as women, they feel freer than in the identity of Syrian migrants. Rama associated the sense of freedom and the attitudes of men towards women in the following statement:

> *"I feel free when I can go alone and use transportation. I have new experiences here, but there, I did not have many. In Syria, a man would take us from one place to the other. Transportation was not easy. A man does not look or disturb a woman here. It is not accepted. That gives me a feeling of greater safety. This is the best thing because I can return home at night. Now, it is ten o'clock. It is really good. In Syria, my mother intervened in everything. I could go to the market. There, it was not strict but not as easy as it is in Turkey" (Rama, female, 21, undergraduate).*

It was interesting data for me because when I was in Europe, I was producing a similar argument against Turkish men. Women are also bothered by the insistent gaze of men, but the perception of Syrian women is that they feel free, and also free of such gaze. As a result, they create such an imagination of Turkish men as an opposition to the Syrian men.

Girls from the focus group who thought the same about their freedom as woman identity discussed this issue, saying:

Ayşe (female, 18, YOS student): *Despite the many discriminations against Syrians, Turkish boys are very respectful. They do not disturb us by looking. They do not use any words to disturb us as girls. It is much, much less.*
Sahika (female, 18, YOS student): *Yes, it is very little.*
*Şeyma: Did not have any experience?*
Merve (female, 19, undergraduate student): *Although I have been here for five years, I have faced misbehaviour just two times. Boys are very nice and very good at this issue. They only look at those who want to be looked at (smiles….). Unfortunately, young Syrian boys are looking at girls. I am afraid of Syrian guys more than Turkish guys. Not all of them, but the Turks are better.*
Beliz (female, 18, YOS student): *Yes. Actually, in Syria, I and my elder sister could not sit in a café alone. Trust me, we could not. Because a waiter could look at me, others could look at her. We could not speak freely because all the others around us looked at us. However here…*
Merve (female, 19, undergraduate student): *In the past, going to the cafe with a girl group or alone was very weird. Today, in Turkey, it is normal.*

At that point, it can be seen how the intersectional method is crucial because the migrant identity and the young women's identity are intertwined. While this group considers themselves free in their women's identity and feel more integrated into Turkish public space, they feel excluded as Syrian migrants and generally complain about discrimination against them. When I said to Şirin that I understood she felt safe as a woman but not as a Syrian, she answered, “Yes, it is a totally true determination”.

Religion should also be added to this intersectionality as a major dynamic because Islam determines the relations between men and women in public spaces, as in different spheres of everyday life. Moreover, during the field research, many students put their faith and beliefs at the centre as a crucial part of their identity. However, the intersections of religion, gender, and ethnicity may produce subjective and individual positioning because social categories are not experienced similarly by each group or its members. However, religion is still crucial because it is very difficult to separate it and cultural codes in a society. In other words, it is not clear which norms have come from religion and which ones from patriarchal relations in society. This is because the interpretation of religion is social and contextual. Although the majority of both Syrian and Turkish societies believe in it, the interpretation of Islam is very different in the two countries. Fundamentally, this confrontation can be seen in each different migrant context, whether the majority believes in Islam or not. For instance, Muslims from different Islamic nations bring their different interpretations and practices to non- Muslim countries. So, diverse mosques, expectations of women, and practices can be seen in a non-Muslim context (Haddad & Lummis, 1987). According to Khalidi and Tucker (1992), although many Western points of view understand that Islam denies equal rights between women and men, the Islamic perspective of women is not clear in the Quran, the hadith, or the rules of Islam (1992: 8-12). However, some gender and religious studies claim that while the original texts of the founders give an equal place to men and women, subsequently, texts were selected by religious leaders to legitimate the patriarchal structure of their society (Holm, 1994 as cited in Lummis, 2006: 601). For instance, Prophet Muhammed supported his wife Hatice to work as a trader in her social life (Guzel, 2012). However, after his death, the freedom of women was restricted in different spheres of public spaces in terms of working life, the relationships between men and women, women's participation in communal religious practices, and access to education. In this regard, the interpretations of Islam in terms of its perception of gender

equality are different from each other. In some cases, Islam has been used to reinforce patriarchal relations within the social and work systems consciously (Metcalfe, 2008:86).

The statement of Muhammed (25, male, graduate student) shows how he was surprised when he understood that Islam was not perceived universally:

> *"I lived in both Syria and Saudi Arabia. But when I came here, I was very surprised. I chose this place because it is a Muslim country. Yes, I can pray and fast easily, but other things are very different. Turks are more comfortable on the streets, especially the girls are more confident."*

This quote not only implies differences between the two countries' public space relations but also depicts the scope of Islam. In addition to the common practices of Islam, such as fasting and praying, the participant also understands gender relations in public space as in the direct sphere of religion. This approach also shows that the scope of Islam is also contextual and socially constructed.

Not only the male but also the female informants looked at the public relations between men and women in terms of the regulations of Islam and drew a border. Rama said:

> *"Even when I was living in Syria and Saudi Arabia, as Muslims, we wondered about men and women's relations. Turkish girls, even though they wear hijabs, I do not feel that they have concerns. I am shocked by their clothes, their hijabs are perfect, but they do not have concerns, even about touching. For me, touching is the border. If she has a boyfriend, she hugs him. We do not have this. This is something wrong. Normal friends are good, but a romantic relationship is not. Boundaries should exist. I do not like the idea of a boyfriend." (Rama, female, 21, undergraduate)*

To summarise, concerning interaction in public spaces, the migrant students compare the home and host societies' cultural values, traditional roles, and religious understandings. This tension re-designs the relationship between men and women, their places for socialization, and the nature of their leisure activities. Since intersectionality is seen as a notion, I add

religion as another component regulating social life and dictating its principles. This is because Islam plays an important role in forming economic, social, and identity relations (Metcalfe, 2008:90). It can be seen that contrary to the expectations of Syrian students, although Turkey is a mainly Muslim society, and that, thus, they should have similar lifestyles in public, they have experienced a different interpretation of religion. This differentiation produces different meanings regarding the different usage of public space. Today, public space is not seen as the place primarily of men, as it was in Syria. Women are also seen as a part of public spaces, not by women but also men. In that sense, through considering the different dynamics, it is accepted that public space relations are different in the two contexts and this affects the position of men and women differently.

### 5.2. Working Life and Gender Roles

Massey (1994), in her early work, discussed the regional restructuring in the UK and drew our attention to the differences in gender and the working relationships across localities. As with Massey, I aim to understand gender, work and space by focusing on local and contextual, rather than abstract, capitalist system theories at the global level. This is because the different types of industries are reorganized into peripheral regions and neighbourhoods instead of being organized the city in a unique form. In this regard, it is vital to understand local labour organizational culture in Istanbul to see what has changed with migration. It is important to understand the spatial and work-based organizational differences between Syria and Turkey as, by assuming abstract capitalist business relationships, we will miss out on local differences. This is because occupational segregation and gender-based experiences can be different from place to place, even within a metropolitan area.

In this regard, before discussing the relationship between working life and gender roles by putting the space, place, and gender as the main analytical focus of this chapter to understand

the differences between the two countries, focusing on the work context in Syria is a crucial first step. From the research in the field, it is understood that, generally, working life in Syria was the responsibility of men. Men practised their authority in public affairs and managed the economy and marketplace (Kamla, 2014: 605). Before the civil war in Syria, when we consider the participation of women in working life, it can be seen that uneducated women were working in the agricultural sector and educated ones were working in the governmental sector as teachers, doctors or engineers. Zamzam et al. (2013) expands these findings by showing that women's participation in the formal sector was mainly in the 'feminized' sectors, such as education and nursing. After 1970, with the adoption of liberal policies, the participation of women in private working life was reinforced; however, in Syrian society, traditional and patriarchal constructs were still dominant in terms of the perspectives of gender-based spatial segregation (Kamla, 2012).

According to Massey (1994), the spatial and social organization of cities is based on a combination of public and private space. This inevitably produces a hierarchical order of power which leads to women being stuck in the home. However, working outside the home has changed the organization of the relationships within the family. Women, through working, have begun to occupy male-dominated space.

> *"My mother did not work in Syria. However, here she works in textile manufacture from 8 am to 8 pm. It is too long, but she has to work because life is very expensive here. In Syria, one salary was enough; here, it is not. When we were in Syria, my father was working outside, my mother was at home. Now, everything has changed".*

Today, the migrant women have a new place, different from Syria, and they share common spaces with men. This inevitably produce a new logic and distribution of roles within the family which make women more powerful than ever, as will be discussed later. However, the discussion is wider than the dichotomy between men and women. As migrant Syrian women,

they face exclusion from workplaces. Şirin, who first worked in a low-qualified job, later found a better position. She showed the possibility of negotiating power relations in the workplace.

Şirin, by describing her experiences, clarified the meaning of changing positions in working life:

> *"There was a girl while I was working as a salesperson. She was constantly insulting me because I was Syrian. I endured her insults for one year. I told her that I had got a job as a translator at the hospital before I left that job. She asked me, laughing, "Did you find another job? So, you won't be working in the store anymore?" I said, "Yes, people like you stay in the store and work here for years. I have English and Arabic. You have no languages; you are not educated." If she had been a normal person, I wouldn't have talked like that, but she hurt me so much that I did. I wanted to upset her. She upset me so much ..." (Sirin, female, graduate student)*

Although power relations are divided in gendered spaces in terms of public and private, the example of Şirin also shows that activity spaces like the workplace can offer new hierarchical orders of power between the same gender. Being migrant is critical at that point. Although, as a woman, she has power as she is a breadwinner in the family and goes outside of the private space, she is still excluded in the public space. In that regard, describing gendered space as private and public alone is not enough to understand the working life of migrant women.

In addition to the problematization of public/private diversity and the new order of power arising from migration status, the meaning of working is not the same in each context. Although in Syria, women worked in the feminized sector, doing jobs such as teaching and nursing, which served the geography of the women's labour markets (Hanson & Pratt, 1995), today, in the Turkish context, this still continues, in a precarious manner, because of the legal restrictions engendered by temporary protection status. The women who want to hold on to life in Istanbul are still forced into women-based segregation jobs and finding a job in a

female-dominated occupation continues as an organizational culture in Istanbul. Instead of the government sectors, today, manufacturing is one of the dominant female workplaces.

> *"My mother was working in Syria as a teacher from 9 am to 2 pm. It was like a part-time job, and the workplace was close to our home. However, now she is a worker in a factory for long hours. My mum is having a hard time adapting to working life" (Hasan, 22, male, undergraduate).*

Hasan draws attention to the transition from one female-dominated occupation to another. However, more interestingly, he lets us understand that, as in the work of Hanson and Pratt (1995, 212), there is no evidence that women take jobs in female-dominated occupations to maximize their earnings and living standards. Rather, "such jobs – and taking them close to home - is usually part of a time-management strategy to meet the simultaneous, and very immediate, daily demands of earning a wage and caring for a family". When the Syrian student context in Istanbul is considered, the main motivation of the students is to earn a daily wage and study at the same time. Moreover, legal restrictions foster women segregated temporary positions. However, I do not see women students as the victims of migration. They are making decisions based on family structures, their educational responsibilities, their proximity to the home, and their social networks. In other words, they negotiate work opportunities and their organization of everyday life. For instance, working close to home is very common among the migrant students, not only as a surviving strategy but also a responsibility towards both the home and their educational institutions.

When Şirin first came to Turkey with her siblings, she was a female student who had to carry their responsibilities without her family elders. When I asked how she had got a job at the store near her home, she said she got it purely because of its physical proximity:

> *"I left the house and started looking for a job. The store preferred me because I know Arabic and Turkish. Because it was close to my house, I was able to get home from*

> *work and take care of my siblings. What made me find that job was the fact that it was close to the Syrians, again. The boss, who wanted to do business with Syrians, preferred me,"*

In addition to physical closeness, the social network within the suburb of Istanbul which was known as a Syrian neighbourhood helped her to find the work. On that point, local networks are crucial because many students have found work through them. Meryem, who works in a pharmacy, talked about the importance of social networks in the neighbourhood where they live. After a long process, her friend recommended her to the owner of the pharmacy.

> *"If I didn't have a friend, I would still be looking for a job, or if I had, I would have found it somewhere far away."*

This quotation illustrates how job information can be gathered from everyday interactions with friends, relatives, or neighbours. As has been found by Hanson and Pratt (1995:186), different groups of people rely on different social networks and information, which have distinctive geographies. I have also seen that the migrants' social networks are diverse, and the geographies are multiple and complex.

Although the women students find jobs close to their homes and are supported by neighbourhood-based social networks, men are supported by the wider community. Moreover, unlike women, since they do not have proximity concerns or security problems at night, they have a greater chance of finding a job in diverse geographies. Moreover, men are luckier than women because of the cultural expectations that produce socio-spatial organization in working and daily life. This is because, as men, they are culturally seen as breadwinners. In this regard, although they do part-time jobs or jobs with lower wages, they are supported more by their ethnic communities. Abdulhey found a job as a teacher in an Arabic international school because he speaks Arabic and English fluently, and because many of his work colleagues are men there. The continuity of traditional networks and roles foster

the exclusion of women from qualified jobs and push them to more informal networks offering precarious positions. Those women and workers looking for a lower occupational status find jobs close to home (Hanson & Pratt, 1995) and vice versa. Women who want to be close to home are pushed to unqualified jobs, as my research has shown. As Şirin's story showed, when she first came to Turkey, she agreed to work as a clerk near her home. A few years later, she started looking for a job that suited her qualifications. But more qualified work meant working further from home, longer working hours, and night shifts. Conversely, men can eliminate the disadvantages of being a migrant by using their gender-based occupational segregation parallel to the socio-spatial working organization.

Since, in the post-migration process, a new spatial organization for women has displaced traditional gender roles within the home, the correlation between working life and gender roles is vital. In other words, the change in spatiality and temporality in work life directly redistributes gender roles within the family. In this regard, the question “Does the transition from one gender role to another result in a redistribution of family roles?” is a crucial question that should be answered. Working experiences should also be considered. Gender roles are changing, and power relations are being reconstructed within the domestic sphere because of the influence of working life in a post-migration context. In other words, migration, with the effect of working life and a different social organization in daily life, reinforces the transformation of gender roles and restructures the gender relationship. New social organizations in the new space produces new diversities and flexibilities in the family (Havlin, 2015: 185). Today, young women are not restricted to the home. Instead, they socialize outside with their friends, explore the streets of the city, and contribute to the family budget; thus, they have acquired more decision-making power within the home (Hondagneu-Sotelo& Cranford, 2006: 118). In doing so, time-space patterns in everyday life have made changes in the perceptions of the Syrian migrants regarding work, study hours, and distance.

Although some of the participants had the chance to work close to their homes in part-time jobs as in Syria, as has been seen in the words of Hasan and Şirin, today, because of the testing conditions of Istanbul, many of them also have to work far away from their homes until late in the evening. This inevitably changes their perceptions of daily life routines. They try to manage time and space according to the conditions in Istanbul rather than those they were used to in Syria as it is clarified in the first empirical chapter in detail. The shift in the perception of temporality and spatiality have directly impacted the expectations of both genders.

Şirin described her experiences by saying:

> *"I have a friend at work. She is older than me. When we leave late from work, my friend calls her husband and tells him to cook. She couldn't do that in Syria because no woman would work so late." (Şirin, female, 22, graduate)*

Although women work in precarious positions, have lost their job security, and cannot manage the required time and space patterns because of their domestic responsibilities, this, inevitably, has produced mental changes, not only in the perception of women but also in men, changes that extend their influence on the workplace as well as their domestic relations. This is particularly so for men. In addition to becoming used to the adaptation of Syrian women to work life, they elaborated that it was difficult for them to work under a female supervisor (generally Turkish) because they were used to male hegemony when they were in Syria. My finding is consistent with the study of Rania Kamla (2014: 612) which found that in Syria, as part of professional working life, men refused to report to women managers because of the segregated gender relations in public and private spaces. They were not used to living in mixed-gender domains and the superiority of women. However, now, the Syrian migrant men had become used to working under a woman. Moreover, men in Syria were responsible for many kinds of jobs and encountered fewer women in working life. When they

see Turkish working women, they continuously question why they are employed to work in any position. Although in Syria, working women created "personal crises", particularly by frustrating men because they could not fulfil their patriarchal gender roles as being the sole breadwinner (Kamla, 2014:613), this is not the fact among the migrant men in the new context from their perceptions. This reality has created a logical transformation, and they have started to think that women should also work, and they should share the responsibilities of daily life, especially in terms of material requirements. This logical transformation can be found in the statement of Muhammed:

> *"Before coming to Turkey, I believed that getting bread was the job of men. However, here, life is too difficult so it should be shared. I see many women are working in hard conditions as men. So, it is possible." (Male, 25, graduate student)*

Patriarchy in the Arab world is constructed by the dominant Arab family structure, which "facilitates the strength of patriarchy, as it is both patrilinear and patrilocal; that is, the descent is based on the male line, and adult sons often continue to live with their parents, while daughters marry out" (Barakat 1985, as cited in Olmsted, 2005: 54-55). As has been stated, since women were seen as responsible for domestic relations and men for social and financial dimensions, there was a clear distinction between the private (home) and public (economic and social) spaces when they were in Syria (Kamla, 2014). In that regard, with migration, the long-term transformation in domestic patriarchy may also be linked to the increased autonomy and power of women with their participation in working life, as men do. In addition to this, the absence of the traditional authority figures -generally fathers - in the private space, when compared with Syria, fosters questions concerning gender roles. Because of the language barrier and his age, Hatice's father had been unable to find work in Turkey. During the interview, she explained how her working life was very heavy and she had many

responsibilities, both at home and outside. She expressed her expectations and compared her changing attitudes with the following statement:

> *"I think the responsibility of the home is everyone's duty now. Because we are busy, my mom does the housework, currently. My dad had never done before, but now he helps to remove the dinner plates. I was angry with my brothers because they were not doing anything. I was thinking like that in Syria, but I couldn't express it because they didn't see such examples. Now, they feel ashamed, and they do it here. However, there, they were saying that they were men. I'm getting my brothers to do housework because we all work now" (Hatice, female, 19, undergraduate student).*

According to Lopata (2006), contemporary family roles have been influenced in the past by changes in economic structure following industrialization and urbanization. It is a reality that these changes affected Syria, as can be seen in the example of Hatice's family. She questioned gender roles while in Syria but could not express this, which shows that the core of this change dates to pre-migration. However, questioning the roles and changing the requirements of these roles are two different concepts from each other. In pre-migration times, although they had the capacity to question the situation, the organization of time and space produced an active transformation in daily life because of the demands of work and education. The capabilities approach was introduced by Amartya Sen to explain the quality-of-life assessment pioneered in economics. In gender-based discussions, it is used to answer the question: "What is she actually able to do and to be?" (Nussbaum, 2002:123). It is not to ask just about the resources that are present, but about how resources do or do not work, enabling women to function. For instance, in the Syrian-Turkish migration context, women who can seek employment outside the home have more resources available to change the traditional gender roles within their domestic relations. In this regard, today, the Syrian female students are adapting to working life more than ever because many of them can see that following migration, having an occupation and surviving strategies are important and

they need to be integrated into the new context. In other words, these students are the groups that have been forced most to change their space-based organizations and sense of temporality. In other words, in Istanbul, young women migrants have more resources to change the logical organization that they were used to in Syria, so the continuation of patriarchal constructions is still seen among boys rather than girls.

The focus group, composed of men and women together, expressed the differences and shifts regarding their perceptions as follows:

*Rabia (female, 18, YOS student): A woman can work outside.*
*Mahmud (male, 18, undergraduate student): No, a man should work, and a woman should be at home.*
*Mustafa (male, 19, undergraduate): In the past, I thought in the same way as Muhammed but now my view has changed. In Syria, men work, generally. Here, I see that both men and women work so I support the idea of the working life of women. In Syria, girls could not be educated. They were not sent to school. But now the ideas of families have changed. They think that no responsibility is taken by boys, so girls are better. Girls can be successful much more than boys.*
*Maya (female, 18, undergraduate): In the past, my family and I had the same idea as Muhammed when we were in Syria. However, now, everything has changed.*
*Rabia (female, 18, YOS student): No, my family could support me if I was in Syria. But here they support me more than ever because migration has affected their point of view.*
*Ahmed: The new generation has seen how their families suffered. So, they are trying to get an education and adapt to working life.*

Based on the essence of the conversation above, it can be seen that traumatic conditions and space-based experiences have produced new meanings in the migration context. Many youths, along with their families have learned from their sufferings during the migration process and have given priority to the education of the girls, as well. Traumatic conditions and the different organization of the spatiality have pushed these students to get new resources, these

being education and a working life. According to Almahmoud, in Syria, prioritizing the education of men "is due to the common belief that girls' education is a fruitless family investment, whereas investment in boys' education is worth all the endeavour as they will become the providers of income for parents and the entire family" (2016: 15). In other words, educational institutions were seen as public spaces from which women were excluded.

However, although women have gained power and autonomy through their participation in a working life (Hondagneu- Stoelo, 1994), the trials of patriarchy and men benefitting from their status as men (Sotelo& Cranford, 2006: 117) continue. This can be seen, especially from the constructs of the male participants. Men still resist the new spatial organization of everyday life as they remember how it was in Syria.

Abdulhey (male, 25, graduate student) explains to what extent mental transformation becomes possible in working life in the new context:

> *"Personally, I do not prefer my wife to work because it is much too tiring. If she really wants to work, she can do it in a specific place, but not at all places. I was thinking like that when I was in Syria. My perception has not changed. But in daily life, social life has changed. Now I support them for going to cafes, riding, receiving university education"*

Although there is a change in his perception that women can do more regarding social life, a working wife is still problematic for him. When I asked the same question to Bilal (male, 26, graduate student) whether he supported his future wife's desire to work, I got a clearer negative answer as follows:

> *"I am working now, and, in the future, I will earn more, so it is not necessary for her contribution. Working life is not for women; it is too harsh. I prefer that she takes care of the children. Children need a mother".*

In brief, working life and gender roles are interrelated here because the organization of temporality and spatiality have changed with introduction of a working life in Turkey. In that sense, first I looked at working life in terms of the logic of local work organization instead of understanding it in terms of the abstract capitalist work organization which affects the world in each context in the same way. This is because I accept that each space produces its organizational logic different from other spaces. Today, in Turkey, different from Syria, most of the participants have been pushed into a working life to survive in Istanbul. In the first place, this has affected the women participants because, compared to Syria, they work more and they study at the same time. In other words, they are in public spaces more often than when they lived in Syria. They not only cope with the power relations based on the dichotomy between public and private space but also the new order of hierarchical relations in public spaces, especially in workplaces. As women, not only do they try to hold on to public spaces considered the space of men but also, as migrants, they try to survive despite the discrimination in Turkish society. Until better positions in more professional places become available, women will use local networks to find part-time jobs in nearby places to manage the temporality based on their education and domestic responsibilities. However, many of them still must travel to distant locations to survive. All these factors together, forming a new socio-spatial organization of everyday life in Turkey, inevitably displace the traditional gender roles the women were used to in Syria. Since they have more resources to change these roles, they share their responsibilities with the men (father or brother) in the home, manage the negative perceptions about gender-based diversity between private and public space and take responsibility for their own actions. However, exercising revolutionary change is not realistic in terms of the social expectations of men and women. Although the women tried to have a working life and education in public spaces, the male participants resisted,

protecting the traditional gender roles. In this regard, the women participants were more eager to adapt to the new spatial order of social life in terms of working life and gender roles.

### 5.3. Sense of Freedom

Liberty is generally "understood as the freedom to choose one's lifestyle, values, job, and relationships without government interference" (Finley, 1987). However, freedom is more than the individual ability to choose. Different structural interdependencies affect the autonomy of choice. In this regard, freedom and interdependency, which imply space-based social relationships and structural constructions, will now be taken into account.

The sense of freedom is directly related to space and its social constructs, which is the main theoretical framework of my dissertation; with the changes in space, the understanding of freedom has also changed. Since socio-spatiality in Syria is different from Turkey, the participants felt more restricted, based on the neighbourhood culture there. However, today, in Istanbul, past relationships have dissolved, and another form of spatiality and temporal relationship has emerged. Now the migrants are more anonymous, they are not excluded or labelled by their social networks because of their free choices, seen in the following statement by Tayima:

> *"I feel free now. In Istanbul, no one cares about anyone. You are anonymous. Everyone in Syria knew everyone. Before I went home, our neighbour was telling my mom where I was" (Tayima, female, 21, undergraduate student).*

In addition to the women being affected positively by the relaxation of restrictions in the neighbourhood, the young men also see advantages in terms of a sense of freedom. The most vital factor is being less dominated by neighbours, relatives, and the close social ties of the young people. Hasan said:

> *"When we first came, I liked being close to other Syrians to help each other but, afterwards, it bothered me that everything was known about me as if I was still in Syria. Being out of sight and going to different places made me feel more like an individual on my own in Istanbul." (undergraduate, male, 22)*

In addition to the relaxing of restrictions regarding the neighbourhood culture, the young women elaborated on their increased feeling of liberty and freedom after their migration to Istanbul, and the change of the dominant space they used in their daily lives. Today, girls are more active in social life; they both study and work, changing the perceptions about gender roles within the family. As has been discussed, today, instead of domestic spaces, public spaces are the main interaction spheres. In this regard, working and studying have increased the self-esteem of the women students and they are no longer confined to domestic-based relations. Birgül touched on this issue with the following statement:

> *"Here, Syrian women are liberated like Turkish women. Previously, they needed to get permission to work, shop, or go out. Now, if I was told not to work, not to study, I would not accept it. For example, it was very difficult to be a divorced woman there. I think it is not here. I know a lot of such women here. They are divorced because they can't get along. In Syria, it is not easy. Syrian women are liberated here. Another reason is that the men here are afraid of being complained about to the police. A man cannot shout at the woman as he wishes. They may complain that the woman does not cook but they cannot say anything. If he was in Syria, he would have expected cooking done by the woman." (Birgül, female, 25, graduate student)*

Many young women think that their fathers cannot rule over them anymore because they provide financial support to the home and they are free individuals, as breadwinners. They say that they may decide to marry anyone they want, or they can come home whenever they want, even at night. In the case of marriage, they would like to protect their new sense of freedom against their husbands. Şirin expressed this conflict by saying:

*"I have a Moroccan boyfriend. I want to marry him. Despite my father's opposition, he called him to meet. This is because he knows that I am not the same as before. Even if my father rejects him, I will insist on marrying him." (Şirin, female, 22, graduate student)*

Although the freedom to decide who to marry is crucial in our understanding of the changes in gender social roles and the attributed positions of women, the relationship between gender and freedom is more than a liberal construct (Carter& Shnayderman, 2018) which associates the issue with the concept of freedom of choice. Space-based power relations are not easily changed, and it is not easy to increase women's consciousness and perceptions about themselves. Even if patriarchal relations are weaker compared with Syria, and the effect of an increased level of education, financial self-support, and being more active outside involving the transition of the main space actively used in daily life, expecting a mental change is unrealistic. The study of Bever (2002), titled Migration and The Transformation of Gender Roles and Hierarchies In Yucata, compares migrant and non-migrant homes to understand the effect of migration on gender roles and ideologies. Although she found that the migration process had a crucial contribution to the transformation of gender roles, both genders still strongly defended traditional gender ideologies.

In my research, I found similar findings, to some extent. Some of the informants still thought that women should sacrifice their freedom by being careful about their relationships, considering domestic work to be their responsibility, and not working in the case of having children. For instance, although Şirin is aware of how working life is a way of producing freedom within the family relations, she still thinks that long working hours are not suitable for married women with children.

*"It is good to work and earn your own money, but it is very difficult to keep it up with marriage and a child. We are talking about this issue with my boyfriend. I guess I'll have to quit my job after getting married."*

Ayşe (female, 24, graduate student) explained that the demands of Syrian women for freedom were not acceptable and the changes in gender roles was criticized by other Syrian women as well, with the arguments below:

> *"There is no need for women to roam the streets so freely just because we settled in another country. Some of the married or single Syrian women have changed since they came here. They have taken off their headscarves, got divorced and they have had lovers. They forget who they were and have lost their identities."*

In brief, spatiality influences the sense of young migrants' freedom in two ways. First, it enables them to get out of the neighbourhood culture and close kinship relations, where everyone is familiar with each other. This allows them to move more comfortably. Second, it gives new roles to men and women by changing the dominant spaces in their daily lives. Traditional family roles inevitably change under the effect of different space-based interactions. However, this different socio-spatial organization does not necessarily produce transformation in terms of patriarchal ideology.

### 5.4. SUMMARY

The contribution of this section has been to analyse how migration has affected the male and female students simultaneously in terms of public space relations, gender relations and working life, and the sense of freedom, using an intersectional approach in the Turkish migration context by adding translocational positionality perception gathering space, time and everydayness as the main variables of the dissertation. With the changes in social and physical space and the direct relationship between the agents (Syrian youth) and the structure (norms, values, and institutions), these students now operate according to the norms, values, and institutions of both countries. According to this understanding not only positions of agents are changing, but also locations are multiple. Positionality is the space at the intersection of structure (social position) of both countries and agency (meaning and practice)

of Syrian students in Turkish everyday life. However, to understand the 'location' of these migrants, it should be focused on the importance of context, and the production process of complex and shifting locales.

In addition to the changes in different spheres of everyday life, they have the power to question the perspectives of gender. However, this power is based on the resources that the actors possess. Since the space-based organization has created different forms of capital and relations in the different contexts, finding different relationships between the male and female participants is inevitable. My informants have the potential and resources to change the structural relations and produce new norms and values within the routinization of everyday life in the new space. However, expecting fast and short-term changes is not realistic. In that sense, both change and continuity are possible within the Turkish migration context. However, it should be clarified that I focus on local based relations in Istanbul, so Istanbul provides different kind of societal, public space/ relationships than some other parts of Turkey with its cosmopolitan city dynamics. In this regard, local socio-spatial organization affects both genders on different levels, and the contextual differences produce different results. I found that the male students had acquired some flexibility, and benefitted in terms of public space, along with a sense of freedom, but young female students had benefitted the most. With all three categories discussed above, it can be seen that the relaxation in patriarchal restrictions and the new dynamic relationship between men and women seemed to be more beneficial for the women.

The intersectional approach is also very crucial in this context because I found that although women participants feel free and adapted to Turkish society under women identity, they feel as same as with men respondents under Syrian identity in terms of exclusion. Moreover, with the advantages of being a young, student (educated) and having cultural capital such as language as a tool in daily life, they are different from other migrant groups whether they are

men or women. Intersectional approach also aids to understand power relations between different agents in the same space. This research found that the power relation between men and women, which reduced to private/public space dichotomy in the existing literature is more than that. Being migrant, local time and space management show that power relations are reconstructed even when women exist in the public space.

An understanding of religion that is intertwined with culture is also an important part of the intersectional approach. Issues such as religiously attached male-female relations in public space and the right to work sometimes cause the continuation and sometimes the change of perception in the new context. The meanings attributed to religion also lead to a re-questioning of gender roles.

All in all, although both groups produce a new sense of place and negotiate their identities through the placemaking process, this process does not create the same results for both genders. Today, female students live more active lives in terms of work and education by expanding their socio-spatial networks and questioning gender roles in daily life, and they feel free and more individualized than male students when they compare their current life with their past life in Syria. So, in the Turkish context, migration produces more positive results in favour of the young female students and displaces the traditional gender roles they assumed in Syria. Hence, migration itself appears as a dynamic that displaces gender roles. When it is looked at the gender and migration literature, women are forcing themselves to adapt to the country through working, studying, etc. These automatically foster changes in their gender roles. But what is critical here is how local relationships and space-based organizational culture contribute to these changing roles. In this regard in addition to their positions, their localities are multiple, complicated and always under changing.

# CHAPTER SIX

## 6. COPING IN THE NEW SPACE: TACTICS AGAINST THE STRATEGIES OF DOMINANT POWER AS AN INTEGRATIONAL BRIDGE BETWEEN THE PAST AND THE FUTURE

Frankly, when I first started the field research, I saw myself as an unsuccessful observer when looking for Syrian youths in different places. Although I knew that feeling like this was normal at the beginning of fieldwork, the main issue that caused me to feel anxiety was the fact that I could not distinguish between Syrian and Turkish young people. Initially, I looked for some features that symbolized this immigrant group. The style of clothes and the language they spoke were at the top of the list. This is because, before deciding to study this topic and making an application to the university in 2016-2017, I could determine who was Syrian and who was not, based on ideas like Turkish and Syrian women had different ways of covering their heads, they had different styles of clothing; even the men dressed differently. Arabic was also the main language spoken among them. However, just four years later, many things had changed. Parallel to the increase in discrimination and exclusion against Syrians, they had become more invisible in the streets of Istanbul.

This invisibility is consistent with the main argument of this chapter because I see it as a result of the power relations made possible in the shared places used by the host population and newcomers. In other words, space is the main concept where power relations between the majority and minority are constructed. If space and society are examined as a dialectical relationship, spatiality is a vital dimension of the organization of social power, so the control of resources and people should be understood within spatiality discussions (Cresswell, 1996: 11-12). Since places are the essential creators of difference and this differentiation is constructed between “us” and “them”, people (both native and migrant) contrast themselves

in relation to the opposites and differences in a shared place. The more powerful position in any context, however, will create widely accepted distinctions. What is good, what is accepted and what is bad are all redefined based on the power relations. Meanings and symbols are the production of the power relations in the migratory spaces and, hence, the places of Istanbul are a powerful tool for manipulating social action.

I understand power in the sense of an agent's or group's ability to have an effect on other agents'/groups' actions, or on their dispositions to act; however, this ability is understood to result from a complex relation of various social factors (ethnicity, gender, age, class) between dominant and subordinate groups. (Menge, 2018). In the Turkish context, the power relations between the Syrian migrants and the local residents in Istanbul are seen everywhere in daily life, leading to increasing interaction between Turks and Syrians in terms of work, education, public space, and so on. But instead of assuming that one side is completely dominant in this power relationship and the other side is oppressed, it is necessary to admit that this relationship has different reflections on both sides. In that sense, despite the hegemonic discourses and the spatial and social exclusions by the host population of Syrian migrants, the members of this migrant group are not passive victims, and they produce tactics and resistance mechanisms to survive within the system. However, finding these power relations at the beginning of the field research was not easy because they were more hidden and not easily visible. This group, which was almost impossible to find through observation, started to express themselves openly to me only through in-depth interviews, close communication, and new behavioural patterns that I had started to learn.

In this regard, the fiction of knowledge; living, identifying, and playing in the city made it easier to understand what occurred in daily life. So, this section of the study is an attempt by the researcher, who has walked in the labyrinths of the city every day, to understand *"the art of the weak"*. To do so, I use the concepts of Michel De Certeau (1991): *strategy* and *tactic*.

Strategy involves the action of dominant groups that have the space and power to dominate ordinary people. To counter this hegemonic relation, ordinary people produce tactics against these strategies. In that sense, a tactic may replace dominance and seek its own interests. By using tactics, a weaker participant is always in a struggle to find opportunities to act against power groups. These tactics are used to manipulate the social order of power. Against the planned order of the Turkish context, the Syrian migrants, as the weaker group in this power relationship, cleverly produced their own way of life by existing within the system. In other words, by manipulating the system, they managed to be existed within it. I also use *resistance* as an operational tool by referring to the conceptualization of Scott, who sees it as an oppositional act in certain times, spaces and relations with different actors and discourses, based on power relations. This act is hidden and not politically organized. According to Scott, the behaviour of subaltern groups (*foot-dragging, escape, passivity, laziness, misunderstandings*, *disloyalty, avoidance*) is not always what it seems to be but is, instead, resistance. Scott argues that these activities are tactics that dominated people use or to undermine power (1985; 1989).

The discriminatory attitudes of Turkish people towards Syrian migrant groups in every sphere of daily life push them to produce tactics and resistance mechanisms to survive within the relations of everyday life. As they can understand Turkish, the Syrian students are more aware of discrimination and the strategies of Turkish people than other groups. So, they can react to the views of Turkish people who believe that Syrians are uneducated, they cannot speak and learn any other languages, they marry at early ages and have many children, their social structure is based on pre-modern relations and they live in Turkey in good conditions with the support of the government.

Since, mainly in the power relations within the space, migrants are not passive victims but are, conversely, proactive agents of this relationship, I asked and answered such questions in

this chapter as: What kinds of tactics are produced by the Syrian youth to negotiate power relations between the majority and minority in social and spatial context? How do Syrian youths become agents in Turkey being so far away from their motherland? Could we talk about practices hidden from power and authority? What is the place of resistance in their lives? How do they produce tactics against the social order of the dominant culture?

With the conceptualization of De Certeau (1984), I found the answers to these questions by focusing on how subordinate groups (Syrian migrants) play games within the spaces of the dominant group (local residents). Although I accept this approach and call their responses basic tactics, my research contributes to the literature with the concept of "forward-looking tactics" which aim for spatial integration into a new society and produce new spaces different from the spaces of the hegemonic group. In other words, different from the understanding of De Certeau, who sees these tactics as temporary acquisitions, I argue that the manipulations of the young migrants aim to be more than that. That is to say, these migrants construct their future with these tactics, so they are seeking permanent changes, both in themselves and in their relations in the host city.

The tactics based on the interviews conducted during the field research. First, I categorized the tactics by focusing on their relations with the present (basic tactics) and future (forward-looking tactics), and then I categorized them according to their functions. The names of the categorizations and themes under categorizations were named by me based on the relations with today and future, and also their functions get from the data analysis.

### 6.1. Basic Tactics

This type of tactic is for overcoming the power relations in daily life and for existing within the system without changing it, as in the theorization of De Certeau (1984). They involve calculation and are "a form of subversion of the logic of power, more than an attack" (Iñiguez

De Heredia, 2017: 64). Such tactics temporarily change the meanings in the space without aiming at structural change in the long run. That is the migrants are timid and invisible, and are focused on acting like a local.

### *6.1.1. Language Tactics*

Language is "a cognitive means of communication that represents the individual identity as a member of the whole group"; language cannot be understood separately from identity and they both complement each other (Felemban, 2012: 43). In this regard, language is the main tool for adaptation to the new society in terms of different identity constructions. In this sense, speaking a language is more than communication. Although learning a new language is not an easy process, today, many Syrian student migrants can speak another language, usually Turkish or English, fluently, in addition to Arabic.

In Turkish public space, because of the increasing negative images of Syrians, speaking Arabic is seen as the main sign of being Syrian. Although there are lots of other Arabic people in the streets of Istanbul, they are generalized and stigmatized as Syrians. To overcome this exclusion in public spaces, avoiding speaking Arabic is one of the basic language-based tactics. They try to speak Turkish or English, especially on public transport. Even when their phones ring, they want to avoid speaking in Arabic, so they do not answer them. When they see eyes looking at them, they immediately change their language if they are speaking in Arabic.

Mutschlechner, in his article The Hierarchies of Languages, argues similar categorization took place in the multi-ethnic Habsburg Monarchy. According to him, although more than a dozen different languages were spoken within the borders of region, some of them had higher prestige than others. (2020). Arabic, historically, is a low prestige language in Turkey because it symbolizes the East, along with backwardness. This is directly related to the logic of the

Turkish language revolution. This is because the language and cultural policies of the Republican period were shaped by the influence of the fundamental changes in mentality presented as a requirement of Westernization, on the one hand, and for the sake of national unity and integrity on the other (Sadoğlu, 2010:198). The main state policy was to remove the Arabic letters in usage and replace them with Latin letters. In that sense, speaking Arabic symbolizes going back into the past and moving away from the West to the East. Through considering all these historical continuities, it can be said that choosing English as a language is based on the hierarchical meaning of languages in the Turkish context and intentionally preferred by the Syrian students to eliminate perceptions which would place them at the bottom of society.

Rama[8] (21, undergraduate, female) is aware of this discrimination. She expressed how she manipulated the local people in public transport and played with the hierarchy in society.

As I discussed in the judicial space (page in 151), Rama's playing with social hierarchy by conducting a social experiment is also a tactic. In this sense, it is important that immigrants, who see that two different languages produce different results at two different times, prefer English and avoid speaking Arabic to eliminate exclusion in the shared place.

This is mainly a short-term tactic, either based on invisibility in common areas or temporarily perceived as a way to avoid discrimination by the local population. Even if they chose English intentionally, the main aim was to remove the disadvantages in daily life because of the historical reasons discussed above. Undergraduate student Elif (female, 20) explained her aim as a routine of her everyday life:

> *"If I am alone in the street or any other common places, I do not answer the phone. For instance, when my mother calls, to avoid speaking Arabic, I do not answer it or I try to*

[8] All names of interviewees were changed with pseudonyms.

> *speak quietly. If I have a group of friends with me, we intentionally speak Turkish. If my friend next to me does not speak Turkish, I feel very worried. Since I know Turkish, I can understand all the discriminatory words spoken. It is okay for her, but I feel very stressed".*

Although they avoid speaking Arabic to escape discrimination temporarily, Syrian students also use their Arabic language as symbolic capital to find jobs in working places established by Arabs from different countries, such as Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Palestine and Yemen. Social capital is a resource for newcomers, and it is based on a sense of belonging to a group. Social capital relations can be found in the material and/or symbolic relations of the society and the networks in it (Bourdieu, 1986). Belonging to the same family, community or ethnicity are some types of social capital relations. Since social capital is the result of environmental and cultural conditions, under these conditions, networks can be used with the trust and reciprocity of their members. In this sense, Syrian students, by using their ethnic backgrounds, are producing a tactic simply by using their common languages as social capital.

> *"Now I am doing my master's in Istanbul Şehir University. It is my second year, so I am writing my thesis, and, at the same time, I am working as a teacher. I am teaching maths at an international school. It is an international school, but the majority of the students are Arab. We are from Syria, Lebanon and Palestine. It is not an organisation; it is a private school. I am teaching children from 5$^{th}$ to 8$^{th}$ grade. I looked at international schools to use my languages effectively. But, if I knew Turkish properly, I would prefer to apply to Turkish places, not foreign ones" (Abdullah, 22, graduate student).*

Like speaking Turkish in public spaces and looking like a Turk, this is another form of temporary tactic. Until finding a better position in Turkish workplaces, the migrants use Arabic as a tool and behave as part of the Arab community. However, they see these workplaces as a transition, seeking later to hold better places in the host country.

In addition to the use of language as a tactic in public spaces, homes as private spaces offer an opportunity to use Arabic as a means of retaining their Arab identity. While these students use language as a tactical tool to survive in daily life in public spaces, the purpose of using their mother tongue in the private spaces (homes) is to ensure the continuity of identity.

These two students show how protecting their language protects their identity and is a resistance mechanism within domestic spheres that *"In the house, I always try to speak Arabic with my family. Our mother tongue is Arabic; forgetting it means forgetting yourself. My siblings speak Turkish at school and on the street. The only place they can speak Arabic is at home. What will happen if we go back one day? We have to consider this."* (Mahmut,18, male, undergraduate student). Ayşe (18, female, YOS student) added that *"I finished high school in Turkey. I wanted to learn Turkish very much, and I did. However, I'm also afraid to forget my native language. Since my parents can speak only Arabic, I won't forget my mother tongue. But I'm worried about the new generation. They are unlucky."*

In that sense, language is symbolic capital, and with this capital we can carry out operations. These operations should be read over the power relations because they are vital to see where the frame and limits of power struggles start and end. However, this struggle cannot be understood as a war, visible and open, between the powerful and the weak because its limits is hidden within the capability or potentiality of the weak one's tactics. Without disaffiliating from the system through consuming or using language (with past experiences, cultural heritage), subalterns convert the system through being in it, without having to go to war.

As a result, language is not only a tool for communication, but it also makes the continuity of identity possible. However, in the migration context, sometimes revealing identity in daily life can be dangerous. To eliminate this problem, the participants behave using codes different from those expected by the host country. This is because it is a reality that the people of a host country label the migrant with the behaviours they are used to seeing in daily life. Finding a person speaking Arabic is the easiest way of finding Syrian migrants in public space. In this

regard, sometimes, through speaking Turkish and English or trying to be invisible by staying silent as a tactic, they overcome stigmatization in public spaces. Another form of this tactic in the public space is using language as social capital to find a job with the aid of the Arab community network. In addition to these two different forms of language tactics, I see language as a resistance mechanism against forgetting the meaning of being Syrian. The migrants see it as ensuring the maintenance of their Syrian identity. In the private space, language turns into a tactic against all kinds of exclusion. They are still included in society; resistance to exclusion is still there, even if they cannot show themselves openly or cannot be seen systematically. They also try to protect their identity, culture and past without conflicting with the host society.

### *6.1.2. Consumption Tactics*

Since minorities are made to feel inferior by the dominant culture when they have settled in new places through the effect of power relations, to overcome this feeling, they try to consume the patterns of the dominant culture by manipulating stereotypical perceptions. The main reason behind the consumption tactic is to disturb the patterns of the dominant culture through acting differently from their expectations and labels (De Certeau, 1991).

Dressing like Turkish people is the first consumption tactic used for the manipulation of stereotypes. The main aim is to be invisible in shared places. Hoping that by appearing like a Turk to avoid exclusion in public areas is the main reason behind this tactic. Shopping from Turkish clothing stores, adapting to the style of Turkish youths of wearing sports clothes, the women not covering themselves with a headscarf or covering their heads in the same style as Turkish women if they use headscarves are different approaches of this tactic.

Esra expressed her attempt to avoid exclusion by saying:

> *"We say that we like Turkish clothes. But, in reality, the feeling inside me is we want to look like Turks. Because, when I dress like a Syrian, people think that I am strange. How I can express it I do not know, but it is always a feeling of protection. One day, my sister covered her head like a Syrian woman. Local residents abused her with the following words: Syrians are everywhere, and they have occupied our country" (Undergraduate student, female, 20).*

The migrants focus on their daily acquisitions rather than continuing ethnic networks or they try to change their cultural habits to integrate into Turkish society. They produce a balance, prioritizing their own economic situation. Regarding shopping, they mainly do it from cheaper Turkish markets for many products.

> *"I shop from there, wherever it is cheap. Mostly from markets such as Bim, Sok, A101. The best place is the cheapest place. I go to bazaars every week. I go to the Syrian markets just to buy Syrian coffee and bread" (Mumin, 23, graduate student).*

As can be seen, if they want to find any special Syrian products, such as Arab coffee, bread, wort (a traditional Syrian plant), they prefer to buy them from Syrian markets. Although they prefer the cheaper products from Turkish markets, consuming products specific to their own cultures in their own homes is another form of the consumption tactic. Immigrants who want to protect themselves from exclusion in common places live their own culture at home. As in the study of Yılmaz (2015), who discussed how Turkish people try to protect their cultural values and existence "as a living Turk" in their homes in Germany, I see similar attitudes among the Syrians. When I visited the students' homes, at first glance, they were exactly like Turkish homes. The main reason for this was that they had come from Syria without furniture or belongings and had started a new life here enduring post-forced migration conditions. However, after a while, I saw many signs of cultural consumption habits. Despite looking like a Turkish home from the outside, they served Syrian food, drinks and desserts in their homes. Cooking and manipulating ordinary things in the kitchen without making an exhibition of

itself is possible with intelligence. In this sense, activities in the kitchen symbolize the strong aspects of ordinary culture (De Certeau et al, 1998). Eating, in fact, is more than eating because it serves not only to maintain the biological activities of the body, but it also makes it easier to maintain a relationship between a person and the world, thus forming one of the essential relations in space-time. Eating is a reflection of identity and culture. In that sense, eating habits and ways of consumption give clues about culture, along with everyday activities based on identity and past experiences. Every food practice is culturalized and historicized, so diet can also be seen as a lifestyle. The dining room, as a crucial codification of lifestyle, gives us clues to understanding daily relations. According to De Certeau et al., "The table is a place of pleasure; this is an ancient discovery, but it holds on to its truth and its secret because eating is always much more than just eating" (1998: 151). In that sense, as with every practice in daily life, the kitchen, with its cooking activities, is a place where complex necessities and liberties overlap, tactics are explored, and ways of operating are individualized.

In addition to eating practices, I see that the transformation of cultural values, such as hospitality, respect for elders, the meaning of festivals, and neighbour relations are parts of the continuity of cultural values. The migrants consume and behave according to these values. For instance, during festivals, they cook as if they were in Syria, preparing food for many people, including guests, - even if they are Turkish. Thus, they prepare food and host guests according to their values within the boundaries of their homes. Although it is impossible to live as if they were in Syria, with all its dimensions, they try to protect their values and cultural patterns.

Tayıma clarified the difference between home and public space in her daily life by pointing to the cultural continuity of the home country in the host one:

> *"The house is different. The anxiety outside is not inside the house. It is safer. Cook what you want, speak in the language that you want. Is it like this outside? You have to pay attention to what you wear, what you eat, and the places you sit" (21, female, undergraduate student).*

At this point, it could be argued that there is a clear border between the outside (public space) and the inside (home). The migrants have turned their homes into a place of resistance. Public space-based consumption tactics are employed to protect themselves from exclusion; however, domestic-based consumption tactics try to produce a continuity of cultural values.

Hence, as with the language tactic, the consumption tactic mainly seeks to protect their own interests and is hidden within the place of power. The main aim is to cope with the disadvantages in Turkish society and produce temporary relations. Without conflicting with anyone, the newcomers survive within the system. In other words, they exist within society through coping with the exclusion strategies of the host society. Against the strategies (labelling with language, dressing, cultural codes) of the Turkish hosts, Syrian youths have employed basic tactics, mainly based on language and consumption patterns.

### 6.2. Forward-Looking Tactics

In the conceptualization of De Certeau, tactics are expressions of ordinary people's existence. It is an existence because ordinary people maintain their lifestyles and differences by resisting the system with such tactics. Since tactics do not have their own space, the game is played in the space of power, imposed and organized by the laws of a foreign power. So, tactics have neither a holistic projection nor do they make themselves visible. By using every opportunity, tactics play their games in time in the space of the dominant group. Tactics are used against strategies; however, they never want to capture or beat the system. Their aim is to disrupt the power.

However, with the tactics which I call forward-looking tactics, with their “make a difference capacity” (Giddens, 1984), young Syrians are planning their futures and targeting structural spatial changes to be integrated into Turkish society. In other words, they not only manipulate the time but also create new spaces for them which make mobility within the host society possible. They are planning their future as a project based on manipulation and their own resources such as education and social networks. In that sense, different from basic tactics, although they have still wanted to reduce discrimination in their daily lives and to protect themselves, long-term plans are included in daily relations to construct their future lives. These tactics are not hidden or temporary. In this type of tactic, integration into Turkish society is the crucial target.

### *6.2.1. Institutional Tactics*

Although there are different definitions of institutions, I accept that institutions are shared rules which are defined according to the identity of their agents and their relationships (Barley& Tolbert, 1997: 96). However, agents may have different relations with institutions because “there are formal and informal institutions, whereby the former are devised rules, and the latter are conventions and codes of behaviour. They constrain actors through sets of incentives and disincentives that channel human behaviour in a particular direction, thereby creating stable structures that promote efficiency in human interactions by reducing uncertainty and transaction costs. They provide structure and order by aligning the actions and expectations of individuals in a society.” (North, 1990 as cited in Friel, 2017: 212). From this perspective, the relations of individual migrants may sometimes be more flexible, with informal education institutions; however, sometimes the relation are more rigid with university education as formal institution.

Understanding the educational system properly, finding better educational facilities, and making themselves stronger with university education are main institutional tactics. Istanbul has the highest youth student population in Turkey (IDGMM, 2019). The refugees in different cities prefer getting their education in Istanbul because the best ranking universities are there. Moreover, there are more job opportunities in the city. However, choosing departments for study is tactical and based on the future expectations of the young people. This is because they are not only constructing a life in Turkey but also making plans regarding their future. The study of Erdogan and Erdogan (2018) supports this tendency. The students are planning to live either in Turkey or Syria, depending on the outcome of the war. In the case of the war ending and they return to Syria, they will have received education in sectors that will be useful and purposeful in their country. Medical services or engineering are main departments they choose. Medicine is required for human resources and engineering is necessary for reconstruction. Being a doctor is a common ideal for both the male and female students. However, since it is very difficult to become a doctor, women often choose to study in other departments of the medical faculty, such as nursing, pharmacy, or nutrition. On the other hand, the boys often choose to study engineering.

Muhammed, a civil engineering student at one of the best universities in Turkey, expressed his motivation in the following statement:

> *"If the war is over and we return, we have to rebuild Syria from scratch. One of the biggest reasons I chose the engineering department was that I was thinking about post-war conditions. Even if we don't return to Syria, the engineering department of the university I studied in is very prestigious. I think I will most probably find a job in Turkey as well. This is the reason that I chose to attend Istanbul Technical University." (Male, 25, Graduate Student).*

One of my participants, Meryem, asked me for help to correct some grammar problems in her motivation letter for scholarship. The following parts of the motivation letter clearly explains the meaning of education and motivations behind the department she chose:

> *"……. I want to become a doctor by studying at the Faculty of Medicine for my undergraduate education. The biggest reason is the health problems we encounter during the war in Syria, but the especial problem we have is the lack of doctors. I no longer want my hands to be tied when I meet someone who needs help. I aim to help all victims of war who die in front of me. My brother was hit by a bullet. If a doctor had been able to help him, I know he would have been with me now. I want to live with the happiness of not losing anyone. No mother, no brother, no father, no spouse should experience this sadness. No child should experience the pain I had when I was 11-12 yearsold……..*
> *I am aware that education is the best weapon; after all, we have experienced it. I want to help people from different parts of the world while working for both Syrian and Turkish people in the future." (Female, 18, preparing university exam (YOS student))*

Higher education in Turkey is highly competitive due to a supply and demand imbalance among the large young population (Erdogan & Erdogan, 2018). This is because, culturally, education is very valuable, and it means the possibility of upward mobility among Turkish people. The presence of the Syrian youth in such an environment and their demand for university education has increased this competition. Since the relationship between educational institutions is a way of creating better opportunities for the future, education is essential for both the local and the migrant youth. However, migrants are different from locals because they are not the product of the system. They need to adapt to educational institutions, try to learn surviving strategies in the new context, and also prepare themselves for uncertain conditions. Since it is not clear if they will live in Turkey or return to Syria, they prepare themselves for the conditions in both countries as a tactic.

Hence, an institutional tactic is the first form of the forward-looking tactic focused on education. Syrian youth have to support and strengthen themselves with education; to do this, they have to be integrated into educational institutions. Educational choices have been produced by taking into consideration the contexts of both countries. The migrants prefer to be educated in the departments after which they could find a job easily in both Turkey and Syria. Their diplomas turn to tools approved by the Turkish institutions. If there is a possibility of returning to Syria, they have prepared themselves for the post-war life there. Accordingly, their educational choices are directly affected by war conditions and traumas, alongside any consideration of job opportunities in their host country. Hence, they try to get an education from the best departments in the best universities in Turkey.

By having a good education, the migrants both fulfil the institutional requirements and eliminate the possibilities that institutions may prevent their aspirations from coming true in the future. So education is the main tool that enables all of these opportunities through opening a place to integration to Turkish society, along with high qualifications, in the new context of the cultural capital conceptualization of Bourdieu. He (1986) categorized cultural capital as being embodied, institutionalized and objectified. Institutionalized cultural capital includes formal education. Although cultural capital also includes informal education, which is transmitted through the family or cultural groups, in this section, formal education stands at the centre as an institutionalized tactic. Through professional qualifications via an institution's recognition, young migrant students build their future from today.

### *6.2.2. Spatial Tactics*

De Certeau used neighbourhoods to explain the relations between tactics and strategies, which can be applied in this dissertation. He sees the city as a place of strategy and the neighbourhood as a space of tactics, disrupting the strategies. In everyday usage, the

neighbourhood symbolizes the privatization of public space. It is a middle space within a dialectical existence, lying between a personal level and a social level. Moreover, it lies between the inside (private space) and outside (the totality of the city) (1998: 11).

According to this approach, the city is "poeticized" by the subject: the subjects have used and disrupted the urban space and it has been consumed. The subjects have also imposed their own laws on the city space. Relations with neighbours, the environment, and shopkeepers are part of the usage of the city. All the conditions are assembled there to favour this exercise. Relations with neighbours also open a space for tactics within the place of the other. The practice of the neighbourhood comes from a tactic whose place is with others. Experiences are important for operating power relations with others (De Certeau, 1984).

In this regard, the process of making a place (neighbourhood) can be understood as a resistance mechanism used by migrants against the domination of the local population. However, different from De Certeau and also contrary to common belief, this educated group is different from other migrants. Although migrants prefer to settle in the neighbourhoods where they have a chance to produce similar lifestyles, different from the dominant culture, the Syrian students avoid being in labelled places, and they prefer to be in more common places used by the locals. In other words, migrants turn to specific places into a resistance place where they can continue to follow their lifestyles. These neighbourhoods are hereafter known as specific Syrian places. The newcomers intentionally prefer to settle there for practical reasons, such as language, work opportunities, social support, etc. (Kaya, 2016). The Fatih district and its well-known neighbourhoods are a good example of this tendency. However, different from this generalization and the theory of De Certeau, this is seen less among young educated groups. For instance, these groups are happy to be in Fatih for a short time and to shop from the Syrian markets, but they then return to their comfort zones, where the Turkish population dominates. Yusufpaşa, a well-known Arabic district, is recognized as a

risky place and the young migrants put a distance between themselves and the Arabs who live there, who are from different backgrounds. They temporarily touch on the labelled spaces to get things done but then they continue their daily lives in common places with Turkish people. Touching on the places known to be Syrian shows a dependence on basic tactics to fulfil everyday needs; however, choosing Turkish districts to settle and enjoy free time activities in is aimed at being an integral part of Turkish society. Thus, I have categorized this tendency as forward-looking tactics.

Hasan, with the following statement, clarified the meanings of two different districts for himself:

> *"When I first came, I only knew Fatih. I couldn't get out of there because I could not speak Turkish. But now, I've learned this language, I've learned everywhere. Now I'm uncomfortable when I stay in Fatih because you're only dealing with Syrians there. I eat my food, take the Syrian bread, and immediately return to Uskudar" (Male, 21, undergraduate).*

He continued expressing the meaning of Üsküdar district for him with this:

> *"I was sitting there in a cafe when I discovered Uskudar. There were people from different social groups. There were people from each group: Conservatives, Islamists, Kemalists, Nationalists. We were all together. It was beautiful. Actually, I improved my Turkish there. I even used to want cigarettes from my friends in cafes when we were chatting. Uskudar has peace of mind. This peace is not anywhere else. When I get out of the subway and breathe in Uskudar, I take a deep breath ..... I feel I am in my country." (Hasan, 21, Undergraduate student)*

As opposed to to Fatih, which is a well-known place with its huge Syrian population, Üsküdar is famous for its touristic heterogeneity and also as a predominantly Turkish setting. It is a crossroads connecting Europe with the Anatolian continent and the centre of a transportation network. Due to this transition and fluidity, it is a place where many students

prefer to live, and to spend their free time in cafés. Being a part of diversity makes Üsküdar a centre of attraction for many Syrian students. In this regard, contrary to common belief, Syrian students do not like spending long hours in the segregated Syrian spaces. They see segregated spaces as temporary and they escape from them. This is not a simple spatial displacement, but rather it is a conscious route used by these students to escape from being labelled and excluded. By sharing the same place with Turkish people, students feel they have become more integrated into the new society and that they belong in Istanbul.

Using social media as a place to overcome negative discourses against Syrians is another spatial tactic. "Historically, social media was enough to have an online presence on the Internet for one-way broadcasting and dissemination of information. Today, social networks such as Facebook and Twitter are motivating new forms of social interaction, dialogue, exchange and collaboration. Social networking sites enable users to exchange their ideas, to post updates and comments, or to participate in activities and events, while sharing their wider interests" (Vyas and Trivedi, 2014:2). Moreover, according to Kapoor et al., "social media comprises communication websites that facilitate relationship-forming between users from diverse backgrounds, resulting in a rich social structure. User-generated content encourages inquiry and decision-making" (2017: 531).

I see social media as a public space rather than a private space, sharing arguments in the study of Burkell et al. According to their findings, "online social spaces are indeed loci of public display rather than private revelation: online profiles are structured with the view that 'everyone' can see them, even if the explicitly intended audience is more limited. These social norms are inconsistent with the claim that social media are private spaces; instead, it appears that participants view and treat online social networks as public venues." (2014: 974).

By considering social media as public space and all the functions and motivations behind it available for use, these students disseminate positive news and generate responses to negative ones to overcome discrimination. Today, many Syrian students, as activists, are trying to cope with the news produced against the existence of Syrians. In other words, social media as a place as been turned into a peaceful tool to change negative attitudes as a long-term plan. In this regard, the migrants are trying to encourage their target groups, who are also responsible for the production of negative images in society, to change their perceptions and embrace new decision-making processes.

The example below shows one of the responses of a university student activist against disinformation:

> *"It has been written in social media for a while that 40 billion dollars have been spent on Syrians. This money has been spent over the years for Syrians in refugee camps and to save a society from disaster. As Syrians, we work with the sweat of our forehead to make a life" (AhmetHamou, 2020).*

Although Ayşe has some concerns about the effect of disseminating reality against disinformation, she believes that common sensitivities in both countries increases the possibility of sharing the truth with the target group. She expressed her feelings in the following statement:

> *"Sometimes I get angry with my friends because of their posts on social media. I want to tell them the truth, but they look so one-way. I feel that whatever I post will not work. But I feel forced to share when a Syrian child is killed, or a woman is raped. Which person could ignore them? Then they may understand how difficult being Syrian is and how much we are excluded" (Female, 19, undergraduate student).*

When I asked whether her Turkish friends were aware of her and her friends on social media, Ayşe saw this as a tactic based on the place and added that she was ignored, despite being in the same place, explaining with these words:

> *"Wouldn't they be aware? Everyone is aware that they follow each other. Precisely for this reason they share. Most of the time they share out of stubbornness. They say via social media what they cannot say face to face".*

The social imaginary space, which I discussed as the concept of the third space, contains both exclusionary and inclusive features, showing also that students build their future as proactive agents and do not give permission to exclusion of themselves by stuck in the negative discourses.

In addition to disseminating positive news in the shared place, social media also becomes the place where people are called to participate in activities and events (Vyas and Trivedi, 2014). Nowadays, as with everywhere, Turkey is trying to cope with the COVID-19 outbreak. Social media has become the centre of cooperation for everyone in the country. Syrian students have shown that they are part of society and they are trying to do something for the sake of everyone in Turkey.

One of the Syrian students called on his friends to help with the following words via Twitter:

> *"Youth, you know, we do not leave the house except for our needs. But we should not forget our old neighbours; we should meet their needs. So, I'm going to give my number to the old people in our building. If they need anything, I will go and get it. You can do this, too." (AhmetHamou, 2020)*

Social media is also used for creating networks with immigrants from other countries. While getting Turkish citizenship and planning their futures in other countries, the migrant students are connecting with other Syrian youth. They are maintaining transnational contacts, mainly through social media. Moreover, Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and WhatsApp are the main

tools they use to contact their friends, relatives and target groups. In particular, YouTube is the main tool used to create relationships with their peer groups.

One of my participants, calling himself a YouTuber, explained his aim with these words;

> *"I am a YouTuber and I develop content…..such as life in İstanbul, travelling in Turkey, etc. I started with English but then I added content in Arabic. Because many Arabic people watch and like my content, I started to do it. I have a lot of videos. For instance, I introduced the Antakya Hatay Province in the south of Turkey. The food is very similar to Syrian food and most people speak Arabic. Entertainment, travel, and other issues are discussed by me in the videos. However, then I took negative comments from Syrian people from all over the world, even though I did not talk about politics. They said you say that Hatay is a Turkish Province, but originally it was a Syrian place. This is because it was taken from Syria after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey. I disagreed with them all that the country long ago was taken by another country. They said to me that I am not Syrian, and I am Turkish. However, I am just a traveller." (Bilal, 26, graduate student)*

As a result, whether they are real places, such as districts, or online places such as social media, the public spaces are used as the centre of tactics because the meaning of space is changed and perceived differently from that produced by the dominant culture following the participation of migrants in daily relations. For instance, today, neither the representations of Fatih or Üsküdar as districts nor the usage of social media are the same. In other words, using spatial tactics, these students target being an integral part of society and they see their future in Turkey. Moreover, they create wider transnational connections.

### 6.3. SUMMARY

Space based interactions cannot be understood without focusing on power relations between newcomers and a host society because mainly the dynamic nature of space allows it. In this chapter, it has been found that in this power relation, migrants are very active individuals

regarding improving today's conditions and planning the future's. To categorize the relationship between today and the future, I have divided the tactics into "basic" and "forward-looking". Basic tactics, as a tool and game of subordinate groups (young Syrian migrants), manipulate the relations in the shared places to make themselves invisible. This manipulation is mainly to protect themselves against inequalities and is a temporary solution. I use basic tactics as De Certeau uses everyday life theorization of (1984). In the basic tactics section, I discussed the language and consumption-based tactics. The main contribution and difference in this chapter is seeing tactics not only as temporary acquisitions but as tools that build for the future and provide long-term integration into society and calling them forward-looking tactics. By using the resources, they have such as education and social networks, the students use their capacity of "make a difference" in the long term. Two forms of this kind of tactic have been identified. Institutional tactics refers to those involved in fulfilling institutional requirements and eliminating the possibility that institutions may prevent the migrants' aspirations from coming true. They include the acquisition of a good education. Second, whether based on physical/practiced public space or online public space, spatial tactics are for the future aspirations and integration process of this youth. This integration process is possible at the national and international levels through using networked public spaces. So, in addition to the relations in the public spaces of Turkey, the migrants are producing transnational spaces and connections. As a result, institutional and spatial tactics, defined as forward-looking tactics, shows how the integration process of migrants is possible.

# CHAPTER SEVEN

## 7. FROM ROOTS TO ROUTES: TRANSNATIONAL SPACES AND IDENTITIES

As the last part of the dissertation, in this chapter, I will discuss how space and migration are not only directly related to the past and present but also the future. Space-based interactions are constructing our future from today, both in terms of national borders and an international context. Despite the relative weakness of the migrants in their host country at the beginning of their migration experience, the Syrian students have brought about changes in terms of space-based relations, and they have strengthened themselves by planning for their future.

This chapter highlights the future expectations of the students in Turkey by focusing on their everyday geographies. This is because these groups, as the professionals of the host country in the future, construct their life in Turkey today, with current everyday practices and spatial patterns in daily life. This chapter also contributes to the space discussions by showing how space is more than local relations, so an approach combining the local and global characteristics of space is needed an exploration of the place constructions of youth migratory subjects with all dimensions is required (Massey, 2005). In other words, by discussing the continuity and change between the subjects of forced migration and the places, the possibility of transnational movements and transnational connections must be considered.

National and transnational possibilities will be explored under two main subtitles. In the first, under the chapter of “Perspectives on Citizenship” the possible influence on new migration flows to third countries will be analysed. Strong transnational connections with Syrians in other countries are evident and may be used as a starting point to explore new destinations in the future. Then, “Transnational Spaces and Youth Engagements” will be discussed in a different way from the first section because, although this section gives clues about plans and

their possible effects, in this section, I will consider how transnational spaces are being constructed from today.

### 7.1. Perspectives on Citizenships

The citizenship demands on Syrians and their efforts to become Turkish citizens are one of the frequently discussed topics in the Turkish media and act as an exaggerated means of exclusion of the Syrians with the manipulative views. Although speculative figures emerge from time to time, according to the Interior Minister's statement, approximately 92 thousand Syrians have been given Turkish citizenship (T24, 2019). However, Turkey has laid down certain conditions when granting citizenship, and it has been stated that affirmative action will be taken for educated groups. Almost all the Syrian students I interviewed had applied for or had acquired citizenship.

Although citizenship is defined as equal rights and formal status for individuals under the collective identity of the nation (Joppke, 2007 as cited in Birkvad, 2019), explaining citizenship as a single national identity is not an easy issue. In this regard, I see the issue is with the perspective that there are multiple identities, including local, regional and global, intersecting with the loyalties and duties of people. As the crucial research of Soysal discussed in Limits of Citizenship, Turkish migrants are given the example of foreign residents of Berlin who negotiate and map collective identities as immigrants: Turks, Muslims, foreigners and Europeans (1994:166). Similarly, in this research, my target group, the Syrian migrant students, negotiate their multiple identities as being a Syrian, a migrant, a youth, a student, and a foreigner at the same time. However, when focusing on this negotiation, the attributed meaning and functions of citizenship for the migrant people should be understood. This is because, despite the many top-down analyses of citizenship in the literature, the in-depth understanding of ordinary people like migrants is underestimated in

terms of the practice of citizenship (Birkvard, 2019: 798). Although citizenship implies an individual's belonging to a land, it is a concept with different dimensions in terms of its practice. Al Sabeelah et al. (2015), in their study based on Jordanian University Students' understanding of citizenship, categorized three dimensions. The mental dimension of citizenship covers an individuals' belonging and loyalty to the state or nation. The cultural dimension refers to the feeling of loyalty to the existence of the culture, mentally and emotionally, of the new country. The civil dimension of citizenship is about an individuals' duties and rights within the state. Political dimension can be also categorized as part of the civil dimension. When all these dimensions are taken into consideration, in this study, the strategic, pragmatic or instrumental reasons behind Syrian students in Istanbul acquiring citizenship should be regarded. From this perspective, I have focused on Birkvad's study (2019) discussing the meaning of citizenship for immigrants in Norway. He categorized three functions of citizenship: stability, mobility and the recognition of immigrants.

In my study, getting citizenship is vital for the Syrian students because most of them have come to Turkey through forced migration and they have temporary protection status, which deprives them of many rights, such as intercity travel, international travel (due to the lack of a passport) and the right to work. Legal stability (Birkvad, 2019) provides comfort to migrants in precarious positions. The position of the Syrian students under temporary protection status has left the immigrant interviewees suffering from feelings of insecurity or legal ambiguity. This feeling of instability produces fundamental uncertainty about their future so, by getting citizenship, they seek stability through legal grounds, avoiding the possibility of deportation.

Tayıma[9] expressed the differences in the process before and after acquiring citizenship as follows:

[9] All names of interviewees were changed with pseudonyms.

> *"I have Turkish citizenship; it makes me safe. I got it three years ago and our relatives helped us. They prepared our papers. If I had not been a Turkish citizen, I would have faced many problems as others did. Hospitals, legal issues, papers, schools everything is difficult. For instance, all the time you have to have a new identity card. If, in your identity card, Istanbul is not written as the place of residence, they send you out of Istanbul. You have life, you have a school here, but you are sent away." (Tayıma, female, 21, undergraduate student)*

As can be understood from Tayıma's words, acquiring citizenship has a practical equivalent in daily life. However, despite all the experienced benefits, there is an invisible benefit: the feeling of safety. It opens the door to establishing a life for these young people who are in limbo under temporary protection status. Feeling safe is also directly related to integration into society because, if the students feel they are an integrated part of the society and are familiar with it, their feelings of safety in the country increase.

Unfortunately, although Syrian students study and live in Turkey, they have an isolated life. The temporary protection status increases this isolation and exclusion. The following sentences of Muhammad show how Turkish citizenship is a means of integration which acts against this isolation:

> *"We are studying hard to educate ourselves. We are trying to integrate into society and provide benefits to the society we live in. Unfortunately, government regulations do not help much. For instance, I have been here for six years, and I could not get Turkish citizenship or have the right to make investments. Not fair. I went to many cities. I tried to learn more. My Turkish friends have not been in as many Turkish cities as I have. I have also worked with Turkish people. Yes, I cannot speak Turkish fluently, but I will so I can be in a better situation. I want citizenship for better opportunities. I applied and it is still not certain." (Male, 25, undergraduate student)*

However, sometimes Turkish citizenship is seen as the key to establishing a sense of belonging in their new life, and for those students who do not have an identity card or

passport, a means of travelling abroad. Since they cannot return to Syria and their passports have been cancelled, Turkish citizenship is seen as a doorway. Hasan, by comparing two citizenships, says that:

> *"It is better than being Syrian. Not a big but advantage. You can move around. I want a country that I can call my country. I do not belong to Syria; I belong here where I am. I belong to Turkey more than Syria. I am also looking for better opportunities, a better health system, a better life for me." (Hasan, 21, undergraduate)*

Moreover, Hasan by saying "*I do not belong to Syria, I belong here, where I am"* draws a parallel by equating being in a new place with belonging to that place and having the citizenship and passport of that place. Although getting citizenship does not necessarily mean you belong to the host country, according to the study of Simonsen (2017), if the host population makes a close link between citizenship and national belonging, getting citizenship becomes crucial for migrants. In other words, citizenship matters for feelings of belonging, but only when it also matters for the host nationals in their perceptions of who belongs. However, as can be understood from the Turkish migrant context during the interviews, there is a positive relationship between citizenship and belonging. In this regard, as in the study of Birkvad (2019), in addition to legal stability, getting citizenship is crucial for the "*recognition of equality and belonging"* as it is understood from the words of Muhammed and Hasan. Lacking the full rights to work, to travel or to settle contributes to the feeling of inequality, alienation and second-class status. As minorities, the migrants need to prove their membership and equality against exclusion and inequality. At the beginning of the fieldwork, while talking to a Turkish man who had a café in the Fatih district among the dense Syrian population, I noticed that acquiring Turkish citizenship created a sense of second-class membership. The café owner, who had warned a Syrian woman and her children in the park about their "their inappropriate behaviour", said that he had discussed this the next day with the Syrian woman's husband. The man reacted negatively by showing his Turkish

identity card in his pocket and adding that, *"We are both Turkish citizens. You cannot consider yourself superior.".*

I heard similar arguments from the students during the interviews. I understood that Syrian students care about obtaining citizenship despite the statements by Turks that, "You are temporary here. We host you."

> *"It wasn't like this when we first arrived. It was said that you were a guest and had escaped from persecution. We liked this at first, but as time went on, things changed. They started to say that although we are citizens of this country, we cannot live as comfortably as you do." (Hasan, male, 21, undergraduate student)*

In the last section, it can be seen that having citizenship also provides mobility, enabling the internal and international movement of the migrants. In other words, mobility is differentiated internationally and internally between immigrant groups and citizens within the same country (Massey et al., 1993). So, it is in the Turkish context, with Syrian migrants, because of travel restrictions, unable to move either within Turkey or outside of it. This spatial mobility facilitates transnational connections, which I see as critical for the future of these migrants because, as of today, by accessing transnational connections they can construct a new life in a different country. This will be discussed in the following section in detail.

Although it has been discussed how getting citizenship is crucial for the "recognition of equality and belonging", foreign accents, names, or other features of Syrian identity may hinder belonging to and membership of Turkish society. In acquiring citizenship, the migrants develop new ways that will help their integration into society and eliminate disadvantages of Syrian identity features. In other words, they fulfil the other requirements of being a part of Turkish society along with citizenship. To do so, they choose Turkish names when they gain Turkish citizenship. In particular, they choose secular names to avoid both ethnic discrimination and religious discrimination in the long term. For instance, when I asked my

respondent why he chose the name of Erdinç, he said that it was because it was a secular Turkish name. It did not have any religious implications. When he goes to collect official papers, he thinks that he is protecting himself by avoiding two forms of discrimination (ethnic and religious) that the migrants experience.

Bilal described his journey with legal officers and the structures of institutions with the quotation below:

> *"My new name is Erdinç Yıldırım. I chose Yıldırım as a surname for its meaning for the environmental elements such as fire, light and air. I asked about the meaning of it and my friend explained its meaning, so I chose it. Erdinç: I wanted to choose a name that does not refer to my Arabic background. Bilal is still an Arabic name and it is also used in Turkey. So, I keep it, but as a second name. I wanted to change my name as a foreigner. I changed my identity, so this is the reason that I chose this name. My name makes my official problems easier. When I speak with them, they understand that I am a foreigner. I cannot speak Turkish fluently. I always lie that I spent my life in Saudi Arabia. I speak Arabic, that is why I do not know Turkish very well, but I am originally Turkish. In this way, they accept me as a part of society and with no discrimination. Civil servants do not do any discrimination against this solution. Also, Erdinç is a secular name, it is not religious, that is why I chose it. I protect myself both from the discrimination against religion and ethnicity" (Bilal, 23, undergraduate student).*

However, this is not the permanent solution to provide recognition of equality and belonging because space-based power relations are constructed on more citizenship rights in terms of liberal, political, social, and civic engagements. Engin Isın et al.'s (2008) framework of "acts of citizenship" is relevant here. According to their approach, "differentiations are created between themselves as citizens and strangers or outsiders by focusing on their performance, enactment, making and unmaking." (2005: 1).

Moreover, Isın and other scholars have argued that "the right to the city [involves] the right to claim a presence in the city, to wrest the use of the city from privileged new masters and democratize its spaces" (Isın, 2000: 14; Lefebvre, 1996a: 15; 1996b: 194-196 as cited in MacCann:77). The right to the city is directly related to urban citizenship, which allows access to information, truly broad participation and enfranchisement, unalienated labour, and it offers the opportunity to live life to the fullest, and which is certainly a goal worth pursuing.

The conversation between the café owner and the husband of the Syrian woman is a good example for the discussion of acts of citizenship, which focuses on creating differences between outsiders and insiders. The café owner stated that Syrians, who try to imply that they are equal by showing their Turkish citizen cards, are actually not equal: *"What citizenship bro? You don't know how to behave on the street yet".* With these words, he sought to exclude Syrians who tried to equate themselves with Turkish citizens using their legal citizenship status but did not obey social rules. When this general attitude is combined with the exclusion attitudes of Turks expressed by the students above, it is understood that although citizenship has many functions, it does not fully ensure one becomes a part of society.

In sum, although the functions of citizenship are categorized as legal legitimacy, mobility and feelings of equality in my discussion as well, claiming to actively practise citizenship is not yet possible. Although students try to minimize the inequality between themselves and the local people by obtaining citizenship, it does not seem functional in terms of reducing discrimination in Turkish society. This may be because this group is excluded under the general label of Syrian and it is emphasized to them that they do not fit into Turkish culture.

### *7.1.1. Transnational Connections*

In the citizenship debate, I have discussed how mobility is one of the meanings of citizenship for immigrants who want to travel to destinations within Turkey or abroad. However,

mobility is not a temporary target for these students. I see the traces of long terms efforts of investing in the future. In this regard, in addition to their transnational networks in other countries, such as friend groups, relatives and professional links, they would like to live both in Turkey and another country - mostly in Syria or any European country - after their education, and that they are planning to be have an international working life.

Muhammed expressed his feelings and his plans for the future like this:

> *"But I am here because I have to be here. There is no other option. I came here for education not to be a refugee. I moved first to Saudi Arabia. But then I heard about education in Turkey. I applied and enjoyed it in Turkey. If I had a chance to apply to another country, I would like to go. However, I cannot. Because of my paperwork. I had a Syrian passport and it expired. I applied for refugee status and could not renew my resident permit. I tried a lot; I paid a lot of money. But they said to me that I was late. They said that I had two options: either I leave the country (Turkey) or apply for refugee status. This refugee status is really bad here. First, you are like in prison here and cannot move anywhere. I am stuck in Istanbul and cannot move anywhere to enjoy myself. I cannot move to another country since I have been in Turkey. If I go abroad, I want to return to Turkey as well. I do not want to cut my options. I can do international work. But my dream is to go to New Zealand because my relatives are there. It is a well-developed country. Based on different ethnicities, religions. It is multicultural. Since I will marry a Ukrainian girl, she wants to move to different countries as well. After getting Turkish citizenship, we can move back and forth." (Male, 25, graduate student)*

Hasan talked about his future plans which were similar to Muhammed's:

> *"I know I do not want to move to Syria again because the situation will not be better. I have no idea when I will return there. Either I will move to another country where my relatives and friends are, or I will stay here." (Male, 21, undergraduate)*

In addition to work-based international plans, students are also planning their education beyond Turkey or Syria. Europe is their first option. They already have Syrian friends and

relatives in other countries, especially in Europe. They are planning to turn these ready connections into an opportunity for business and education in the future.

Ali explained the relationships of these students between work and study opportunities with these words:

> *"I want to go to Europe for a master's programme after my undergraduate education in Turkey. I want to add one more language for better work opportunities. With the advantage of Turkish, English and Arabic, we are planning a Turkey-based international business, even if we return to Syria with my friends, now in Sweden." (Male, 21, undergraduate)*

However, Turkey has always been the pillar of these plans and the transition to Turkish citizenship, which I discussed above, is the main reason behind this as it can be understood from the words of Ahmet that:

> *"I am studying business administration online at an American university as the second university. I am trying to improve my education by planning to do my master's in another country. After getting Turkish citizenship, I want to move, to experience studying in another country. I am planning to develop my food sector by improving the connections between different food cultures. A video series about food from all around the world is my plan. Inshallah (Hopefully), I cannot imagine myself stuck in Turkey. However, I want to come back again to Turkey because I will be Turkish, and this will be my country." (Male, 21, undergraduate)*

When I asked him that whether he was planning to be a person moving between countries, he continued:

> *"Yes, I am planning to buy a house here but, at the same time, I want to travel all the time because I believe travelling improves your human being side. Not just as a tourist, but to experience another country with its work opportunities".*

All these quotations give clues to how these students cannot be categorized under one identity, and how their sense of place is more than the places they have settled into date.

Like the theorization of Massey (1994), I see the place as non-static, so dynamic. She argues that mobility rebuilds and locates the space. From this perspective, Massey's A Global Sense of Place is important in showing the place as open and hybrid, a product of interconnecting flows, of routes rather than roots (1994). The interrelation between routes and roots is critical because a completely rooted sense of identity is challenged by mobility, which what Turkish citizenship for the Syrian students would appear to be. Massey uses routes to show the dynamic relations within the migration.

Massey also contributes here by noting that identity is never fixed and bounded (Cresswell, 2006). Rather, the placemaking process in relation to identity is never-ending, a process that is only understandable through individual perspectives. Like Massey, I see the place as a process, defined by outside interactions, and a site of multiple identities. From this perspective, the definition of place and the concept of routes are crucial concepts in my research for operationalizing the meaning of flows within migration (1998).

The interrelationship between roots and routes opens the door to the concept of negotiation between the young migrants and the locals, focusing on the dynamism between place and identity. This negotiation can also be understood through the theory of transnationality, which argues that "rapid improvements in transport and communications make it possible for migrants to maintain their links with co-ethnics in the place of origin and elsewhere, while also building communities in the place of residence" (Glick Schiller et al., 1995: 48). These types of migrants are called trans-migrants and they depend on various interconnections across international borders and relate to more than one national state (Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Basch et al., 1994 as cited in Glick Schiller et al., 1995).

When Massey's approach is brought together with transnational theories, however, it can be seen that new migrants undertake processes of familiarization and appropriation as they move into (route) and through new places of residence. Moreover, Massey's work draws attention to the place and identity relationship by considering the everyday life of both migrants and local people. Hence, according to her, every place is different because the ways that interaction, social relations, experiences, signs, and symbols are specific to space itself: "A portion of those relations are constructed on a far larger scale than what we happen to define for that moment as the place itself" (Massey, 1993: 66).

Here, it is suggested that this group, arriving through forced migration, are not only part of transnational places but also, in the future, will be the agents of transnational networks. This is because these students, by obtaining Turkish citizenship and getting an education in Turkey, will become a part of Turkish society. However, at the same time, they have transnational networks in other countries, such as friend groups, relatives, and professional links. They would like to live both in Turkey and another country - mostly in Syria or any European country after completing their education, and they are planning to be part of international work life. This would seem to be the product of interconnecting flows of routes rather than roots (Massey, 1994) because the transnational place perceptions and the identity construction of Syrian students in Istanbul are not fixed.

This connection is mostly true for male students. The most interesting finding is seeing the differences between male and female students in terms of attempting to construct a new life and their sense of place. Although the men are planning a life in other countries and they are eager to attain the transnational networks, women students are looking for a stable life in Turkey, with better work opportunities. If they cannot return to Syria, they are planning to settle in Turkey permanently.

Meryem, the only child in the home, who lost her brother during the war, and who moved to Turkey with her family, described her feelings, and the fatigue of starting a new life as follows:

> *"Sometimes, I imagine myself returning to Syria. Then, I realize that this is no longer possible. If I cannot return, I want to stay in Turkey. I do not dream of another country, frankly. I want to have a job and order. I'm exhausted. I am 20 years old. How many times will we build a new life and destroy it?" (Female, 20, undergraduate student)*

In addition to stable life expectations and using working opportunities, traditional gender roles are effective when making this decision.

Meryem continues to explain why settling permanently in Turkey is crucial for her parents:

> *"My parents are very old, and they have no one but me. I need to stay here, be close to them."*

Ayşe supported this argument with the following words:

> *"Although I plan to work, I am thinking of getting married in the future. Business life, marriage and children will be difficult, anyway. That's why I expect a quiet life in Turkey." (18, female, undergraduate)*

Şirin also agrees with Ayşe in terms of how settling in different countries may harm their family life:

> *"I don't know how I will continue when I get married in the future, with my work pace here. Some of my Syrian friends are planning to live and work both in Turkey and in another country as well. Even though I have an advanced level of English, I don't even dream of this because of my future responsibilities. It's best to get married and move on with my life here." (25, female, graduate student)*

According to Hanson and Pratt's crucial book Gender, Work, and Space (1995:7), feminist geographers have tried to understand how spatial constraints have affected women's

experiences in work life. Women tend to travel less frequently and over shorter distances, so the direct link between commuting time/distances and gender-based occupational segregation pushes women to shorter work trips. While I agree that women's preference for jobs where they will make short trips or not travel at all will cause gender-based segregation, I contribute to the literature by adding that this situation delays or harms women's effort to produce transnational connections.

As a result, in the Turkish context, it is expected that there are transnational spaces that male students will move back and forth in, between countries, in the future. However, this is not available for the women participants. These female students, who came with their families in forced migration conditions, are under the influence of cultural codes. Rather than establishing a new life in a new country, I saw a group expecting to have a more stable work and family life in Turkey. Family responsibilities, childcare, marriage, and other cultural codes were still dominant in their plans. However, as will be discussed in the next section, the female students avoid being a part of international connections only as physical movement. As active agents of social media, international charity organizations, and economic activities, they mentally show they are transnational individuals. In other words, they have internalized routes in their minds.

### 7.2. Transnational Spaces and Youth Engagements

In addition to plans for the future, it has been found that in Turkey, transnational spaces are being constructed today. In this regard, the thesis has identified three main areas where transnational activities are being enacted. Such transnational engagements include 1) economic engagement (the reconstruction of cuisine culture), 2) charitable activities and 3) maintaining contacts (with families and friends).

### *7.2.1. Economic Engagement/Reconstruction of Cuisine Culture*

From My Field Notes in Yusufpaşa/Fatih on 22.08.2019

*"Next to the many shops between Yusufpaşa tram stop and Aksaray stop, right and left on the main street was almost entirely decorated with Arabic signs. The most striking part was the excessive vitality of social life and easy access for the young population. When I was walking around the shops and was about to enter one of the Syrian restaurants, the waiter standing in front of the Turkish restaurant next to me understood that I was Turkish and insisted on deterring me with the words: "No, that was not a Turkish, this was a Turkish restaurant. Do not enter there, you should eat here". He insisted 2-3 times; however, I ignored him. A Turkish woman employee came towards me as soon as I entered the restaurant with an Arabic sign which I thought was a Syrian restaurant. Right at the entrance, I opened the menus on the table and started to examine them. The restaurant was very clean and decent. The majority of workers were male and Arab. I told the woman that I wanted to eat Syrian food and which dish would she recommend. When she showed me the kebab menus, I came across an alternative rich list. Although the name of the restaurant was only in Arabic, I had noticed that Arabic and Turkish names were written together and the menu was decorated with dishes from world cuisine. The menu was divided between Eastern and Western cuisine.*

*When I talked to the waiter, she said that the restaurant did not only have Syrian and Arab customers, but Turks often came. In addition, they had customers coming from all over the world as tourists. She stated that the boss was Russian, he knew Arabic, and that this restaurant had been established with the partnership of Arab, Russian, and Turkish people. She also stated that this restaurant, which was established when the Syrian immigration first started eight years ago, was always busy and that it was hygienic. She ate there as a Turk and recommended it to me. She said that she and her sister were the only Turks who worked there.*

*Her sister was working upstairs, and she looked after the ground floor and that they were employed especially for Turkish customers. She understood that I was a Turk from my appearance, and she came over to me because of that. "In here, Arab waiters serve Arab customers, and waiters who speak English are for costumers speaking English."*

The surprise for me was that I found transnational tastes, and workers and owners from different nations in a place which appeared to be a segregated Syrian street, where almost all of the businesses seemed to be Arab shops, as judged from the outside. However, according to Farrer (2015:8-9), the restaurant tables of the world's cities form culinary contact zones in which customers learn about cuisines from around the globe. Multicultural kitchens that foster culinary exchanges among various migrant and local culinary workers may be one general condition for successful culinary diffusion, and the elevation of the reputation of cuisine beyond the label of ethnic cuisine.

As cuisines and the people producing them move across borders, the spaces of food production and consumption become culinary contact zones which can be defined as "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination" (Pratt, 2007: 4 as cited in Farrer, 2015). I see the culinary contact zone is the restaurant itself. The restaurant is not merely a space of consumption but also of work, and restaurant work is professionally stratified. Because of the stress and relatively low pay of culinary work, restaurant kitchens in cities around the world are increasingly staffed by young migrant workers or unqualified young native people, as in the Turkish context. Many Syrian restaurants are not only places for Syrian youths but also Turkish youths. Almost all of my participants had passed through those restaurants, either as an employee or a customer. In particular, many of them used those restaurants as a steppingstone to hold on to life. Although they were now living with

scholarships or better salaries elsewhere, it is undeniable that these restaurants were a door and a hope for the future when they first arrived.

These spaces were also direct contact areas. In these places, where interaction with the local population developed, the migrants learned the cultural codes of the Turkish people.

> *"While working in restaurants, I learned a lot from my Turkish colleagues. As it contributed to my learning Turkish, I understand how Turks think and what they expect here" (Muhammed, male, 25, graduate student)*

In this regard, in addition to cooperation between businesspeople, in these restaurants, both Turkish and Syrian people become familiar with each other. Restaurants are more than restaurants in terms of cultural practices. For instance, after school or on weekends, when Syrians come together to hang out with Turkish friends, they highlight this connection.

Muhammed, 25 years old, a master's degree student in Istanbul, stressed how restaurants turned into a space where their cultural codes were shared and also a space where they represented themselves in a positive way:

> *"Even though our Turkish friends liked us, we had a lot of trouble explaining our culture to them concerning our hospitality and showing them that we shared many common practices with Turkish people. But when we met in a Syrian restaurant, it turns out that we have something in common in terms of taste, smell, decoration. Telling is different but seeing and living are totally different."*

When I asked a question about whether the Syrian kitchen could be a bridge or not between two cultures, many Syrian people and students shared my point of view, as in the words of Muhammed (25), a master's student in Istanbul:

> *"Yes. Syrian cuisine is too strong. All the business in Syria went abroad. Many Syrian restaurants moved to Turkey. They are very successful. Many Turkish people also*

*started to enjoy Syrian food. It is tasty and also cheap. Cheaper than any Turkish restaurant in Istanbul. When I go to Aksaray, I see many Turkish people. The food started to be enjoyed. In the beginning, because of the discrimination, they do not go but now there are lots of people going there. Not only Turks. I see people from other nationalities. However, especially, Turkish people are more familiar with hummus and falafel. They started to try other delicious food as well. Dishes are very similar because they were inspired by the Ottoman kitchen. However, the Syrian version is different from the Turkish one. Something has been added, such as spices, which has changed the original Ottoman kitchen."*

Food, which is a part of cultural identity, is also a practice of placemaking. Since it connects a place in the heart to a place in the world, it takes the immigrant's relationship with his homeland beyond time and space (Ray, 2004). This is because culinary culture is the longest-standing part of culture and tradition (Roden, 2000: 153). Spaces where culinary culture leaves a mark enable a community to learn about and remember its history. This practice of relocation plays a fundamental role in the immigrant's maintenance of social, cultural, and familial ties with different places (Fernandez-Armesto, 2002), and this connection is shaped, maintained, and discussed through the multiple cultural forms that created it (Counihan & van Esterik, 2008).

Amr explains how these places reconstruct cultural, social, and historical ties in a different country by saying:

*"We meet with friends in restaurants in Fatih. The dishes we miss, the flavours, the smells, the conversation. In short, we find whatever belongs to the past that we miss." (Graduate student, male, 25)*

However, this is not simply an identification with the past. The future is being remade with the influence of the past. Their sense of space is designed with the codes of the home country. Today and the future are constructed with the practices of their own culture. Although preferences and living conditions change, this change is built on the past and is not

completely independent. This independence produces new networks for the future. The bridge between past, present and the future brings together people from different nations all over the world. However, this bridge is not just about taste but also about social interactions. Turks, Syrians and people from other nationalities come together in Turkey particularly. For instance, I was surprised when I realized that one of the cafés decorated like a Syrian café was owned by a Turkish man and the employees were young Syrians. When I spoke to the waiters, they introduced me to the owner of the café. While chatting with him, I learned that the café was not only for Syrians but a place of relaxation, especially for the Arab population from Iraq. In addition to the Arabic shops on this street, this café became a meeting place by gathering Arab customers, European tourists, Turkish owners, and the cheap Syrian immigrant workforce with social, cultural, and economic implications.

When the social meaning of these places is widened, it touches the homesickness of Syrian students in Istanbul. The food served, the music played, the design of the cafés, the spoken language all serves to maintain historical and cultural ties in a different country. This interaction not only combines the perceptions of Syrian students and immigrants with the past and the future, but also has such a strong effect that it causes a transformation in areas where Turks and other nations maintain their eating and drinking cultures, such as restaurants.

To conclude, since food is a cultural "separator" in determining social boundaries (Zubaida & Tapper, 2000: 36), it is a distinct element of culture and the basic element of collective memory, so discussion is about more than consumption. Food, and the places where it is served, have an important role in building a shared memory by contributing to the preservation of the common identity of the community for different generations. According to Nora (2006: 18), if we were still living with our memory today, we would not need to dedicate spaces to it, and without memory conveyed by history, places would not exist. These spaces produce the collective memory of the community through the presentation and transfer

of culture. In this respect, since meeting the basic needs of people requires continuity, the cultural design of the spaces that serve this need also includes the presentation of the community. However, these places mainly produce transnational networks based on economic activities by multinational partnerships, international trade for food supply, and employees of different nationalities. As a result, I see the main function of these restaurants is that they provide cultural continuity, the reconstruction of collective memory, expectations for the future by referring to the past with cultural habits, and, more interestingly, they support transnational networks with economic activities by changing the sense of space in the host country in terms of eating and drinking practices.

### *7.2.2. Charitable Activities*

Charities differ both in geographical location (local, international) and function. Volunteering can also be classified as either formal (organization-based) or informal (beyond formal organizations) (Lee & Brudney, 2012 as cited in Appau, Churchill& Farrell, 2019). In my research, charities are generally organization-based and both local and international. When we consider their functions, NGOs, organizations, and associations were found to be not only important for integration into Turkish society, but they were the gateway to creating a transnational network with other countries and people from different countries in Turkey. With the aid of charitable activities, these networks have been created whether the geographical location of the organizations was local or international. Moreover, the transnational engagements of the young Syrians I worked with and interviewed seemed to have both collective and individualistic functions.

Although Istanbul N&I is a local charity organization, it creates transnational engagements with people from different nations. As representatives of organizations, the students explained how charities were functional in meeting collective and individual motivation by creating

interaction among people from different nations. Hasan explained these two functions as transnational engagements by saying that:

> *"I go to foreign events, I am social. I am generally part of the NGOs of voluntary actions. For instance, Istanbul N&I. They have voluntary programmes. There are lots of Turkish and foreign people there. I met a friend of my friend in çay (tea) talks for people from different countries. She works as a lawyer. She helped me a lot and she became my Turkish sister. She supported me; she's always there. If she has a problem, also, I am always there. We also support other foreign students together." (Male, 21, undergraduate)*

The head of the Himma Youth Organization explained the transnational connections and functions of this NGO with these words:

> *"We have co-operations with regional and international communities. Kuwait, Europe, and America are some of them. There are three main connections we have collaborations with: international organizations, international businesspeople, and local organizations. We come together to help young people from all over the world."*

During the interviews, many student volunteers told me how these organization-based charity activities were new in their lives. Since, in Syria, the state was regulating organizations and it was very difficult to find non-governmental organizations, I see this attempt as a new habitus in their lives. Although this is a new activity in terms of producing transnational connections, there is a close relationship between Islamic tradition and transnational charity activities. According to Bourdieu, habitus is, among other things, acquired disposition towards attitudes and behavioural patterns that generates and determines all the social actions of an individual (Bourdieu 1982: 277-354). Charity and volunteering are habitualized dispositions, characterized by social upbringing, and religious and cultural heritage. These heritages may be explicitly religious – such as Zakat-ul-Fitr or Qurbani – but may also be less clearly

religious, such as the more mundane acts of giving to charity on a day-to-day basis to help others.

Rama expressed the contextual difference between Turkey and Syria in terms of both international and organization-based activities by saying that:

> *"In our religion and our culture, there is already helping others. We have been doing this in our daily life in Syria too, but here we come together for people all over the world who are different. We can act jointly for Syrians in Turkey and elsewhere." (Female, 21, undergraduate student)*

In this regard, transnational ties and rituals among Syrian students indicate that rituals may be religious – or seem to be – but they always intersect with culture and with ongoing negotiations of identity at an individual and collective level. I acknowledge how rituals not only connect the here and now with the hereafter, but they also create connections across geographic space. The everyday rituals of Islamic/cultural charity are located within the everyday lives of my research participants, where they take on meaning transnationally while motivating and intersecting with migrant development engagements.

As a result, in the Turkish-Syrian migration context, organization-based transnational charity activities are a new phenomenon that have both collective and individual functions. However, although it is a new habitus for them, it still has religious and cultural implications in the lives of the students.

### *7.2.3. Maintaining Contacts*

Young Syrian students maintain transnational contacts mainly through social media. Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and WhatsApp are the main tools used to contact their friends, relatives, and target groups. YouTube is the main tool used to create relationships with their peer groups and learn about their ideas regarding staying in Turkey. Bilal, whose point of

view I discussed under the spatial tactics (p. 167) calling himself a Youtuber drives the attention again by claiming that YouTube is a tool for him to connect to Syrians in different parts of the World. In this regard, YouTube does not only produce a new sense of space but also combines the people from other ethnic groups with transnational connections. Moreover, during their relations via social media, they affirm their identification with the homeland 'through memory, nostalgia or imagination' (Levitt and Schiller, 2004: 12). Although there are different perspectives about the borders of the home country, as explained in the example of Bilal, they contribute to collective identity constructions.

In addition to producing a connection between Syrians in different countries and collective identification, social media also constructs relations with the people from other cultures and reacts to common problems of humanity, as can be understood from the words of Muhammed:

> *"The meaning of social media is to keep my memories to see them in the future. To enjoy myself with my children by expressing things. My aim is neither religious nor political. Environmental issues, for instance, I explain how we can reduce plastic bags. My ideas are based on the development of technology or university education, to help other people from other countries. Is it helpful? Yes, I have a lot of positive comments. I am trying to live my life in Istanbul. For example, when I got engaged to my Ukrainian girlfriend, I talked about cultural differences. Many people found it very interesting." (Male, 25, graduate student)*

Although the concept of social spaces has been fused from sociological grounding, it extends to information technology. For instance, social spaces are defined to explain transnationalism: "a space that is both place-centred, in that it is embedded in particular and strategic locations, and it is trans-territorial because it connects sites that are not geographically proximate yet are intensely connected" (Sassen, 2000 as cited in Vivian & Sudweeks, 2003:1432). In this regard, to understand the transnational connections of the migrant youth, Internet-based

networks should be integrated into the discussion, so a holistic view is established to understand the issue with all its dimensions. This is because many individuals' online life should not be separated from their offline life (Miller, 2000). Within these placeless places, the migrants create a connection with Syrians in different countries, produce collective identities, and construct relations with people from other cultures to react to the common problems of humanity.

### 7.3. SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have discussed two different issues directly connected to the future. This is because migration is a starting point that produces spaces that include the past, present, and the future. The everyday activities and relations of the students give us clues about their futures and their routes from today. First, Perspective on Citizenship and Transnational Connections explored the plans of the Syrian students. Then, Transnational Spaces and Youth Engagements rather than look at the plans and projects for the future, focused on how these students construct their future from today with their economic activities, charity organizations, and activities via social media.

I found that, different from the past, the students were more mobile, and they prepared themselves for more transnational activities. Instead of having rooted identities in a national context, they were drawing up routes between countries, nationalities, friendships, and business networks. From this perspective, as in the discussion of Massey (1994), I see the place having dynamic and changeable features. Mobility rebuilds and locates the space, so it is open and a hybrid—a product of interconnecting flows—of routes rather than roots (1994). The interrelation between routes and roots is critical because a completely rooted sense of identity is challenged by mobility, which I see as the meaning of Turkish citizenship for Syrian students. As with Massey, I prefer to use routes to show the dynamic relations within

migration. These relations show the possibility of transformation from local to global as well as the fact that the local and global cannot be separated from each other. With the international connections, the migrants recreate both their sense of identity and memory of space, which I see as the signs of locality and the concept of the root. However, at the same time, within this locality, they produce global routes through connecting with other Syrian people and other nationalities, getting Turkish citizenship to be more mobile, and making plans for international business.

At this point, gender-based differences are significant in terms of the plan. Although both genders are eager to have citizenship to be mobile, the male students are only planning their future as transnational businesspeople or students and moving back and forth between Turkey, Syria and third countries. The female students prefer to have a more stable life, which I see consistent with societal gender expectations. As the mothers of the future and the responsible ones at home, they prefer to maintain more local relations within Turkey. However, this locality is still directly connected to globality. Since transnationality is different from mobility, mentally, women are transnational agents of the present and the future, just like men, though they would prefer not to be physically mobile like men. This is because places are meeting points of different routes of people (residents, non-residents, migrants, tourists) who make connections physically or by phone, post, social media, memory, between here and the rest of the world. From this perspective, it can be seen that a coherent identity cannot be associated with place, either on a local or global level (Massey, 1998). In this regard, it can be said that both genders learn how to be local within the globe.

# CONCLUSION

The beginning of this long, challenging, and equally enjoyable PhD journey, which I ended with the dream on the streets of Istanbul in my sleep, is based on my own immigration stories. If I am asked who I am today, I would mainly underline my migrant identity. Maybe I was the migrant woman I talked to in the dream. Because as someone who changed 12 cities and 4 countries for education, job and family reasons, I always questioned my relationship with the place. I finally brought my experiences, which I answered with sometimes meaningful and sometimes meaningless questions in daily life, to an academic platform, PhD. Is identity only important in the migration process? What is the effect of space with its dynamics and spatial relations on immigrant identities during the migration process? Does the place change and transform migrants or at the same time transform itself? were the basic questions I asked myself.

Through adding my migration experiences which sometimes produced insider but sometimes outsider position, this research has explored everyday geographies of Syrian students, which are overlooked or taken for granted in the sociological perspective. It has employed a qualitative study with a substantial sample of Syrian migrant students to examine how these individuals negotiate their social identities through space. The research starts with this principal question: “How do Syrian students construct and negotiate identities in their everyday geographies, and how does this impact their sense of place in Istanbul?” The themes I have addressed emerged out of ethnographic observations, virtual ethnographies, unstructured and semi-structured in-depth interviews, and group interviews with migrant students and NGOs of the space-time patterns of everyday activities.

The space in which we live but do not question, and which we look at as a context rather than as a research object, stands at the centre of this research. In addition to my personal

experiences, my academic interest started with discussions on the changing nature of the streets of Istanbul following the Syrian migration flows. Instead of understanding this change through the encounters and interactions of migrants in the spaces of Turkey, the issue was being discussed about boundaries and exclusionary contexts between two cultures and two groups as if they were homogenous in every sphere of Turkey. However, when I started my fieldwork, I saw that if there was a change in the nature of the spaces and the relations in them, it could not be understood through boundaries between identities. There was something common between these groups, so interactions were involved. This was the place in which social processes were not only created in a material sense but also meanings were produced that were attached to them (Massey, 1994). In this regard, not only the meaning and quality of the interactions were transforming but also the places, socially, culturally, and physically. From this perspective, I saw a dialectical relationship between identity and the places, which simultaneously transformed each other.

In addition to moving the migration studies from boundaries and conflicts to the dialectical relationship between identity and space, the thesis has two, more general contributions to the literature. Handling space with the sociological imagination is another contribution. Since space is mainly examined by human geographers, there is a gap in the literature. By bringing together the sociological perspective which focuses on the social aspects of human behaviour with a critical view and human geography and discussing how humanity adapts to the environment and that all behaviour is shaped by its cultural and spatial context, I seek to contribute to migration studies. In other words, the bulk of the literature underestimates the theoretical framework focusing on intersected features of place in terms of social, cultural, ideological and physical in migration studies. The last, but equally important, contribution is to youth studies because there is a gap in terms of theoretical and field research with sociological perspectives (Yaman, 2013:12). Generally, youth studies are examined with life

course theories which expect the similar patterns and order from young people in terms of education, finding job, and family responsibilities. These studies generally do not focus on how different groups cope with various difficulties at the same time. Moreover, this gap is more in refugee youth studies. In connection with this, I saw that most research on refugee youth tends to focus on their experiences with war and violence, their life in refugee camps/institutions and the humanitarian assistance given to them, or their legal or precarious positions in general. However, the negotiations of young migrants with different dynamics in urban contexts are generally underestimated. So, this research has explored how young Syrians in different places in Istanbul connect to their new environment, its buildings and its people from their own perceptions and experiences to help them find their way in the new society. In this regard, in addition to filling the gaps in youth studies in Turkey, I aimed to build a bridge between forced migration studies, urban studies, and youth studies.

With the ongoing migration flow, Turkish cities have gained a more complex character every day. I say this because I see the city as historically layered. Through altering a city's social, historical, and physical form, each newcomer continues to add to its layers and complexity. This complexity can be best understood by young migrants because they are not only undergoing the transformation of migration but also the transformation from childhood to adulthood. They must adapt to the new culture, find a job, or get an education. In this regard, they try to manage various responsibilities at the same time different from other young groups.

I mainly focused on the youth students over 18 who were studying for exams to get into a university, were undergraduates or master's students yet to complete their studies. I had three motivations to choose Syrian students as the focus group. First, they were more social in daily life and more mobile, moving between different places and producing meaning attached to these places. Second, as the professionals of the future and engaged in different jobs, they

were naturally part of more social networks. They were negotiating their identities within these dynamic networks, thus producing new cultural patterns. The last motivation was based on my reflexivity as a researcher. Studying as a migrant student for a PhD in the UK gave me both insider and outsider positions during the course of the research. While being a migrant student in another country provided an insider position, not being a Syrian and not having been with forced migrants produced an outsider position.

In this point one question might arise: Does leaving out young "women at home" and "workers at workplace", "owners of business" bias my arguments? That is, are space/time arguments applicable only to the youth students? I mentioned that one reason why I focused on youth is that they are the most "dynamic" and "networked" group. If the others are not as dynamic and not socially embedded, does this mean that they do not engage with space/time dimensions? If so, what does this mean regarding the migration perspective?

To answer these questions, first of all, it should be clarified that the history of migration from Syria to Turkey is still very new. It is a mistake to expect the adaptation of the migrants to the society, develop relationships and establish a similar temporality and spatial relationship in the same level at the very beginning of the migration process. While I expect the group that I categorize as young immigrants to produce almost similar spatiality, the main reason for me to consider studying the students is that they are separated from other young Syrian migrants in terms of socialization patterns. But in the future, this does not mean that the gap will not close. Other groups may socialize in similar spaces in the future, learn different languages, socialize with the host society and thus produce similar temporality and spatiality with the young students. In other words, in the future, we may follow a similar line, but there are currently fundamental differences between them.

This does not mean that young women, workers, and entrepreneurs, do not produce a temporality and spatiality in the new country. But their temporality and spatiality take place in a narrower space and a more isolated environment. At this point, I cannot find a distinguishing difference between young immigrants and other immigrants. I have determined that the expectations of the youth, whom we expect to pass from childhood to adulthood, such as sociability, education anxiety, finding a job, belonging to a group, are not in a group other than students. Women at home, workers, and entrepreneurs are more similar to adult immigrant groups and differ from the youth group. They are gathered in the same category in terms of being a Syrian immigrant. However, students experience the difficulties of being immigrants and young people together and manage two different processes together. They do not only work to survive or fulfil the gender expectations of their society. Youth students work, study, manage gender expectations, socialize, being adapt to social groups at the same time. In addition to them, because migration not only covers the past and present but also the future, they are constructing their future from today and give clues about the future patterns of Syrian migrants in Turkey.

In addition to three general contributions discussed above, I contribute to the literature on several points with the findings from different dimensions, along with the spatiality discussions.

Concerning spatiality, temporality discussions were generally underestimated yet stood at the centre because temporality is a concept that should be understood alongside space, showing migration is more than a displacement in the everyday patterns of Syrian students. In migration studies, over the past two decades, temporality discussions have become crucial analytical themes, but it is a new phenomenon for sociological approaches. This temporal focus covers different and diverse theoretical and methodological approaches. Moreover, it opens the gate to the production of new time-related concepts. This is because when the

organization of space is changed, the organization of time is also changed. After all, they are both dynamic, they transform each other, and they are socially constructed. By considering how time and space complement each other, I discussed different perspectives regarding the meaning of time, its organization, and how it is perceived and transformed by agents during the migration process. I aimed to reach an understanding of how migrants practise and experience time in their host country, to make clear the relationship between the attributes of time and migrants' socio-spatial experiences. Instead of discussing time as a one-sided concept, I contribute to the migration literature by discussing the possibility of multiple senses of time in the same context. In addition to strange times and remembered times, concepts of Cwerner (2001), I call on a new concept fitting the Syrian-Turkish migration concept, modernized religious time. In addition to temporality concepts in migration studies, I add to the literature a new time understanding that shows the possibility of the new sense of temporality in non- Western countries with the close interaction of religious and modernized patterns in the society. However, this does not mean that Syria is a religious country or Turkey is a modern country. Instead of these clear-cut generalizations and modernity discussions, I argue that both countries are under the effect of the religious and modernized codes. However, from a different sense. Although Syrian students were under the influence of modernization patterns and religious backgrounds in their home country, in Turkey they adapt themselves to Turkish modernization. Under this adaptation process, they produce a new concept which I call modernized religious time. In this new type of time, holiday dates, shopping times, festival habits are under transformation although both countries' population is mostly Muslim.

I discussed all three including their spatial functions. Strange times imply the exclusion of the students at the beginning of the migration, and it is the time when they felt like a stranger. Remembered times refer to their emotional and memorial well-being. Despite the potential of

the production of spatial segregation by gathering people from the same background, this time type allows them to remember past experiences in terms of their emotions. However, modernized religious time, which is a new concept produced to fit the Turkish migration context, is the result of the negotiation between the past and present experiences of the students. This is functional for their integration into Turkish society.

Furthermore, the different organizations of everyday life not only produce multiple senses of time but also reconstruct socio-spatial networks. Syrian students, through consuming their time outside of homes, caused the resolution of extended family relations, produced new social capital in the form of friends instead of family members, and also stimulated a sense of freedom. For example, in Şirin, who is a 22-year-old woman graduate student, and a translator in a hospital, I saw that her daily life was very different from her life in Syria. Since her father did not work in Turkey, she had to continue her education and work under harsh conditions. While she was organizing her life in Syria only according to studentship, she now had to coordinate her studies, working life and her relations within both the public and private space as a breadwinner. She managed her temporality according to her life tempos and cycles. This new organization of daily life created new social capital as a new socio-spatial network based on friendships, and it reduced her dependence on family and increased her sense of freedom.

In this regard, both multiple senses of time and socio-spatial networks were the result of this new organization of everyday life, adding new time-related concepts to the temporality discussions of sociological imagination. As a result, to understand migration with all dimensions place should be understood in parallel with its temporality. This means that both spatiality and temporality are effective for the production of social relations. Furthermore, there is close relation between time and space. During the migration process, the sense of time can change with the new sense of space and the new relations within the space can alter the

understanding of temporalities of the migrants and also new temporality construction produce. This understanding contributes to migration literature by placing of time and space at the centre of migration studies.

As the heart of the research, I explored the placemaking of Syrian students in Istanbul. I have focused on the dynamic interaction between the production of space and identity in terms of the inclusion and/or exclusion of the Syrian youth in Istanbul. This dynamic process makes possible the placemaking of the students. The research reported in the literature mainly focuses on the possibility of inclusion or exclusion in the migration context. However, my research still accepts that insider and outsider relations are inseparable parts of space discussions; both inclusion and exclusion are possible together in the same space with the third space concept. In my research, I found that power relations may produce a feeling of exclusion in segregated, judicial and private spaces and may also be included in comfort zones, co-operational and open spaces. However, I develop two further concepts, social imaginary and emotional space, that show how opposites can live together in the same place. The third space, which is the place of opposites and binaries, allows this contradictory relationship to exist in the same space. Although, I used an analytical framework for the analysis consisting of geographical and sociological perspectives, the socio-spatiality approach makes my research different from other research as it allows contradictory relations to operate in the same space. Instead of the human ecological approach and neo-Marxist approach, this theoretical standpoint allows for a multi-dimensional analysis of the space in terms of cultural, social, economic, ideological, and physical features.

Although temporality and spatiality are two concepts that cannot be separated, in the first two chapters, I have dealt with them separately. However, as I stated in the first empirical chapter, the concept of temporality has spatial functions, and these functions are connected to the space itself, with a possibility of inclusion or exclusion. For this reason, there is a

fundamental relationship between the temporality concepts in the first chapter and the spatiality concepts that I produced in the second chapter. Strange times parallel segregated, judicial, and private spaces because all of them produce an exclusionary sense of place. As in these spaces, under the effect of this temporality, students feel like strangers or deviants of the new country. Modernized religious time, on the other hand, has inclusive functions, such as comfort zones, co-operational, and open spaces, because all these concepts involve the negotiation of the students to hold on and integrate into the new society. However, the concept of remembered times has very similar characteristics with the emotional spaces that are both simultaneously exclusionary and inclusionary, which I analysed with the third space concept. The function of remembered time is directly emotional and it targets the well-being of the students and the continuity of Syrian identity between the groups and their origins, even if being in the same place and time with people from the same background has the potential to produce segregation by reproducing past experiences in Turkey.

The meaning of space may be varied among social actors. Different positions of immigrants such as age, gender, socio-economic background attribute various meanings to the places, because of the inequalities and heterogeneities within society. In this regard, I expand on the negotiation of spatiality and identity discussions by adding gender because men and women experience space-making processes differently. There is a gap in the literature in terms of the place of migrant women especially in an urban context. Since this context is seen where gendered meanings are developed, cities are understood to be male-dominated spaces. The dichotomy between the public and private sphere is commonly used to analyse gender-based differences. Since public space is connected to plurality, diversity, and working life, men are associated with it (Kamla, 2014: 603-604). This categorization inevitably produces a hierarchical order of power that pushes women into domestic relationships. However, to understand gender-based spatiality, the division between private and public is not enough

because even if women work and go out of houses, they cluster in the same jobs and exclude different occupational spaces. Through filling feminized spaces, such as nursing, teaching, etc., gender-based spatial segregation is produced. Moreover, women generally prefer jobs located close to their homes. However, this is usually part of a time-management strategy to meet the simultaneous, and very immediate, daily demands of earning a wage and caring for a family. In addition to all these discussions, my research shows that gender-based spatiality is not enough to understand the issue with all its dimensions. In this regard, I prefer to use the intersectional method, which adds to the discussion on migrant identity. Discussions of spatiality, which are based on an analysis of power between women and men, are always incomplete because, when a variable such as immigration is included in the analysis, a spatiality is reconstructed among women in the same space. Migrant women, even if responsible for the same job, are excluded with discriminatory discourses and low wages in the shared spaces. In this regard, this research argues that the post-migration context cannot be understood using just the dichotomy between men/women or private/public. The negotiations extend the literature with the power relations between migrants and the local population in different spaces of the host country. In that point, I underline the importance of local relations and dynamics in the space-based migration discussions. Istanbul, the most cosmopolitan city of Turkey has its own dynamics. It pushes its residents to harsh surviving conditions, working schedule, and living tactics to specific to itself. In this regard, I understand the issue with local dynamics instead of global capitalist discussions. Especially women, in this city where they live anonymously, by using local networks in Istanbul, benefit from their circle of friends and prefer to work in jobs below their qualifications so they manage the time-space patterns according to the conditions of local relations.

In addition to public space and working life embedded in the local relations, gender roles are directly affected by a new sense of spatiality. When it is applied to domestic relations, it is

seen that roles are redistributed in a private place as well. The new spatial organization produces new diversities and flexibilities in the family. Today, young women, instead of being restricted to domestic relations, socialize outside with their friends, explore the streets of the city, contribute to the family budget; this causes more decision-making power to extend its effect beyond domestic relations. In doing so, time-space patterns in everyday life make changes in the perceptions of the Syrian migrants regarding working, study hours, and distance. All these inevitably open a new gate to the negotiation of gender roles within a family. However, I have seen that expecting a quick transformation is not realistic, despite the negotiations and changes in gender roles.

While trying to understand the gender issue, the most interesting part for me is that women immigrants feel free under the identity of women and excluded from Turkish society under the identity of migrants. They stated that the main reason for them to feel free under their women identity is that they are not harassed by men, they are not controlled by glances of men, and they share the public space comfortably. At that point, I realized that the experience of gender is also directly related to expectations. As a middle-class, educated, Turkish woman, it was an interesting experience that the discomfort I felt from Turkish men was not seen as a problem by Syrian women. At that point, Syrian men are categorized directly opposite to Turkish men by them so mainly they argue that their positions in Turkey are more advantageous when compared to the relations in Syria.

In addition to contribution of intersectional method in terms of understanding between gender and ethnic identity, my research shows that other dimensions should also be added to the discussion. Education or being a student is crucial in this regard. Education through playing a function as resource to change relations in their life increase the power of young women in gender relations. They question their roles in the society and also gain have power to hold on in daily life. Religion should also be added to migration studies to improve intersectional

approaches. As a guiding principle of daily life, religion is also effective in the organization of spaces in migrants' lives. Without understanding the effect of religion, the approach to private/public space relations, gender interactions, and other point of views are all missing.

Power relations have always been an inseparable part of this dissertation and have been analysed along with the spatiality arguments. However, the main difference of my dissertation is that it sees migrants as active agents of these power relations, which are not only producing tactics for the present but also the future. The bulk of the literature sees migrants as passive victims who face exclusion, discrimination, and negative discourses. However, my approach brings different perspectives to the power relations between minority and majority groups. This perspective not only makes migrants the active actors of power relations but also look at both today and the future together to understand how the migrants construct it. I examine this with the conceptualizations of De Certeau (1991): tactics and resistance. Considering basic tactics, I have built on his theorization by calling language and consumption-based tactics tools and games of subordinate groups (the young Syrian migrants). They use these tactics to manipulate the relations in the shared places to make themselves invisible. The aim of this manipulation is mainly to protect themselves against discrimination. However, this is a temporary solution. Different from De Certeau, I found that minority groups do not only produce temporary solutions to protect today. They have also long-term solutions for the future with their "make a difference" capacity based on the resources they have. In this regard, forward-looking tactics, on the other hand, as the most important contribution and difference to migration studies in terms of power relations, not only provide protection from discrimination but also offer long-term integration into society. First, an institutional tactic is produced to meet the institutional requirements and eliminate the possibilities that institutions may prevent their expectations of the future. To do this, they try to have a good education. Second, either based on physical/practical public space or online public space, spatial tactics

are produced for the integration process of the Syrian students. This integration process is possible at both the national and international levels, so they are also producing transnational spaces and connections.

These long-term forward-looking tactics open a door for a new discussion in which I have explored, in detail, how space and migration are not only directly related to the past and present but also the future. Space-based interactions are constructing the futures of the young migrants today, both in national borders and an international context. In this regard, when discussing spatiality and temporality, the other contribution of this thesis is to show that migration cannot be understood through negotiations between the past and present alone; the everyday geographies of the students exist for the negotiation of the future. The concepts of Massey's roots and routes are the main tools used in the analysis in this chapter. Rather than being rooted in one place, these students prefer routes in their everyday geography. This is because mobility reconstructs the space as open and hybrid—a product of interconnecting flows of routes rather than roots (1994). To understand their future aspirations under the interaction of both roots and routes, their plans and engagements should be involved into migration studies in terms of their perception of citizenship, transnational connections, and transnational spaces. The connections of young migrants with today and the past give clues about the future so patterns should be understood closely. As it is seen in my research, today these students are more mobile and prepare themselves for more transnational activities. Instead of rooted identities in a national context, even if they gain Turkish citizenship, they are drawing up their routes between countries, nationalities, friendships, and business networks.

However, at this point, gender-based differences are significant in terms of future aspirations. Although I have discussed the gender issue in a different empirical chapter covering the students' negotiations based on past and present experiences, gender is one of the main

variables that extends its impact into the future. According to my findings, both genders are keen to get Turkish citizenship to be mobile. However, the male students are only planning their future as transnational businessmen or students and as individual's mobile between Turkey, Syria, and other third countries, mostly in Europe. The female students make plans for a more stable life, which I see consistent with societal gender expectations. As the mothers of the future, the wives and responsible people from private places, they feel themselves more local. However, this locality is not independent of global relations. Mentally, women are transnational agents of the present and the future, but not physically. For instance, they have international networks or work in international organizations as volunteers for the sake of other people from Turkey. According to my approach, places are more than physical constructions. Places are meeting points of different routes of people (residents, non-residents, migrants, tourists) who make connections, physically, mentally, memory-based, or via communication tools such as by phone, post, or social media, between here and the rest of the world. From this perspective, a coherent identity cannot be associated with place, whether on a local or global level (Massey, 1998). In this regard, both genders learn how to be local within the globe. In other words, by considering the dynamism of the space, categorizing the migrant students as local or global is not enough. The perception of space conceptualized as local and global consists of intertwined dynamics. As a result, although under space-based gender discussions (chapter 5), I found that local dynamics have a vital role to hold on to everyday life and produce surviving strategies, in this discussion, I defend that local relations alone are not enough to understand the migration dynamics with all dimensions because migration covers past, present and also future together. So, as Massey emphasized, local and global should be considered together. This perspective contributes to space-based gender/migration studies. This is because, when it is discussed gender-based segregation, researchers should both focus on gender-based segregations related to todays' work

experiences such as shorter work trips or avoiding from long travel and also the situations will be able to harm migrant women's effort to transnational connections.

As I clarified earlier, the placemaking practices of the Syrian students in their everyday geographies is at the heart of my theoretical approach. To understand these practices, I see their social life as the outcome of the interaction between the structure and its agents, rather than wider structures or agents. In this regard, I see a two-way relationship existing between them. However, instead of Giddens' structuration theory, my theoretical standpoint is closer to Bourdieu's social theory. There is a practical reason for this. While Giddens did not provide methodological tools for the use of his theory, Bourdieu made it easier for me to operationalize the theory with concepts such as habitus and different forms of capital. However, my research goes beyond his theorization of the original scope. My approach is more dynamic than Bourdieu's habitus. Actors, by practising and interacting in everyday life, adapt their goals and change their habits by reinterpreting and recreating the structures (Morawska, 2001; O'Reilly, 2012). From this sociological standpoint, I argue that although some aspects of habitus acquired in the previous society are not necessarily valid in the new space, others are protected or negotiated in the new environment. When I combine this sociological point of view with the socio-spatial geographical approach perceiving space as dynamic and always undergoing change, I see that the Syrian students sometimes produce a new sense of place, sometimes protect the sense of place in the countries they have migrated to, and sometimes reinterpret the places. For instance, in districts like Fatih, which I conceptualized as a segregated place with a dense Syrian population, the students live with the sense of place they used to have in Syria, and they try to protect it. On the other hand, NGOs produce a new sense of space different from the spaces in Syrian. Meanwhile, in emotional spaces, they try to find a balance through negotiation between new and past environments. Similar attempts can be seen in the temporality discussions. In remembered

times, students try to use the temporalities they used to in Syria. However, by producing modernized religious time, they negotiate the temporalities with the sense of time in Syria (home context) and in Turkey (new context). During the gender analysis, I also found that both men and women try to negotiate their positions and identities in terms of working life, gender roles, and power relations in private/public space. With the changing conditions and difficulties of forced migration, they must both work and study. The female participants, in particular, are in the position of needing to negotiate their identities and spatiality more than men. In this regard, I found that the women were more eager to negotiate between traditional gender roles and responsibilities in the new country. However, the scope of this negotiation is a blur because even if they work, they prefer feminized segregated jobs or jobs close to their homes to protect their private spaces. At the same time, I saw that some of my participants, men and women, defend their private spheres passionately, as they had done in Syria. This is also seen in their future aspirations, which I discussed in Chapter Seven, in detail. While they construct their relations with transnational networks, women still negotiate or defend the values and meanings expected of them by protecting their physical spaces. As a result, from this perspective, in my approach, the relationship and/or tension between the past, the present and the future, as well as the connection between here (Turkey) and there (Syria), without prioritizing one over the other, are constructed.

From this perspective, I also contribute to migration, youth studies, and structure/agent arguments together by seeing migration as an ongoing process with the dynamic nature of agents' identities and their structural relations. Although migrants are seen as weak at the beginning of their migration experience, they have the potential to strengthen themselves with symbolic, cultural, social, and economic capital. The broader migration literature makes the observation that migrants (voluntary or forced) are usually a selected population; that is those who go abroad (in comparison to those who don't), on the average, are more aspirational,

educated, and risk takers. Thus, it is expected that Syrians I am looking at would put high emphasis on education. However, youth groups as the professionals of the host country in the future, not only ensure empowerment of themselves with just education, but also use the dynamism within the space. Everyday practices, spatial patterns, and social ties so the place-making process of them produce a stronger place for them within the context of the new country. Since the place is the totality of emotional and bodily exercise, through constructing their sense of places, and also producing new capitals and habitus with the space-based interactions, they change their positions in the new country when compared to at the beginning of the migration.

Within the dialectical relation between agent and structure, how have I emplaced the space? My contribution to the literature, seeing space more than a context in which structural relations exist. During the dynamic relation between structure and agent space itself sometimes are under the transformation sometimes contribute to relations between structure and agent to transform the relations in the society. In this regard, through seeing space as the combination of physical, historical, geographical, memory-based, meaningful, cultural, bodily and emotional activities, I emplaced it at the centre of the dynamic relation between structure and agent relations. The inclusion of space as well as identity in the dynamic relationship between the structure and agent shows that the migration process is multidimensional and more complex than previously thought and studied.

Despite all these contributions, this thesis has some limitations. As a female researcher, it was very difficult to enter the closed male spaces which were defined by their religious sensitivities and cultural background. This is why I preferred to strengthen my research with semi-structured in-depth interviews. Being participating in a male group was difficult. While being a woman made my participation in the women's life easier and more fruitful, an invisible wall was created between the male participants and me. Although I was able to

organize group discussions with male students through the heads of associations or those who they accepted as authority figures, the possibility that such a meeting established authority and dominance over them also produced different and new limitations. In this regard, gender-based spatiality, along with migration discussions, should be studied specifically as the main research question. In addition to the limitations in the field, a lack of studies in terms of gender and space made this analysis the most difficult part of this thesis journey. Researchers who want to examine spatiality from different perspectives should focus on gender in the post-migration context as there is a serious gap in the literature. Moreover, I have discussed the place of Syrian women from their own perceptions in Turkish society with the patriarchal relations. The comparative studies between native women and migrant women through Turkish gender literature included may be able to provide more deep and multidimensional perspective to understand the positions of Turkish men in terms of construction of space based gender identities.

This study focuses on mainly young Syrian students and excludes other young Syrian groups because of their limited and isolated social interactions within the spaces of Istanbul. In the future, comparative studies between different young groups or other migrant groups can contribute the youth migration studies more. However, because of being at the beginning of migration process and also limited time for a broader perspective, I have restricted the research with young Syrian students. With the increasing interaction of other groups in the spaces of Istanbul, more comprehensive studies will be conducted.

Language is another dimension has produced limitations. At the beginning of the research, although I read and speak Arabic, I was aware that my Arabic language skills were not enough to totally capture their informal language usages. Despite the visiting my respondents at home and participate in family and friendship relationships in their natural environment, I

think that I stayed away from the jokes, ironic uses, and allusions that are part of the daily use of Arabic, and I see this as a limitation.

The days when the COVID-19 outbreak began to spread all over the world coincided with the last days of my fieldwork. I was one of the lucky researchers who had come to an end when Turkey decided to go into quarantine in mid-March 2020. But I believe that this new situation affected the students' perceptions of space in a different way. I was only able to analyse this new situation through virtual ethnography and social media. However, future research could go beyond this limitation of my research. It would be interesting to explore how COVID-19 the students and their sense of space and power relations, and, according to their gender, their temporality within the spatiality.

Appendix A: The lists and profiles of the participants

| **Name** | **Gender** | **Age** | **Education** | **How long in Turkey?** | **Part Time Work?** | **Language of interview** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hasan | Man | 21 | Undergraduate Student. | 10 years | ✓ | Turkish |
| Meryem | Woman | 18 | Preparing for Unv. Exam. | 9 years | ✗ | Turkish |
| Ola | Woman | 21 | Undergraduate Student. | 8 years | ✓ | English |
| Sevval | Woman | 19 | Preparing for Unv.Exam | 9 years | ✓ | Turkish |
| Bilal | Man | 26 | Graduate Student | 10 years | ✓ | English |
| Abdulhey | Man | 25 | Graduate Student. | 10 years | ✓ | English |
| Ayse | Woman | 18 | Preparing for Unv. Exam | 9 years | ✗ | Turkish |
| Mehmet | Man | 18 | Undergraduate Student | 8 years | ✗ | English |
| Şirin | Woman | 23 | Graduate Student | 10 years | ✓ | English |
| Reyyan | Woman | 18 | Preparing for Unv. Exam | 7 years | ✗ | Turkish |
| Rama | Woman | 20 | Undergraduate Student | 8 years | ✗ | English |
| Muhammed | Man | 25 | Graduate Student | 10 years | ✓ | English |
| Ali | Man | 21 | Undergraduate Student | 8 years | ✓ | English |
| Halit | Man | 23 | Graduate Student | 10 years | ✓ | English |
| Mustafa | Man | 19 | Undergraduate Student | 9 years | ✗ | English |
| Abdullah | Man | 22 | Graduate Student | 7 years | ✓ | English |
| Fadime | Woman | 18 | Preparing for Unv. Exam | 6 years | ✗ | Turkish |
| Tayıma | Woman | 21 | Undergraduate Student | 7 years | ✓ | Turkish |
| Sahika | Woman | 18 | Preparing for Unv. Exam | 7 years | ✗ | Turkish |
| Amr | Man | 22 | Graduate Student | 10 years | ✓ | English |
| Mumin | Man | 23 | Graduate Student | 6 years | ✓ | English |
| Beliz | Woman | 18 | Preparing for Unv. Exam | 7 years | ✗ | Turkish |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mahmut | Man | 18 | Undergraduate Student. | 7 years | ✕ | English |
| Hatice | Woman | 22 | Ungraduate Student | 8 years | ✓ | English |
| Rabia | Woman | 18 | Preparing for Unv. Exam | 7 years | ✕ | Turkish |
| Maya | Woman | 18 | Undergraduate Student | 8 years | ✓ | English |
| Emir | Man | 18 | Preparing for Unv.Exams. | 8 years | ✕ | English |
| Elif | Woman | 20 | Undergraduate Student. | 9 years | ✓ | Turkish |
| Birgül | Woman | 25 | Graduate Student | 10 years | ✓ | English |
| Merve | Woman | 19 | Undergraduate Student | 8 years | ✓ | English |

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