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A DIASPORIC WELCOME:
INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS THROUGH SPATIAL PATTERNS
SYRIAN CIRCASSIANS IN DÜZCE AS A CASE STUDY

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A Diasporic Welcome: Integration of Immigrants through Spatial Patterns

Syrian Circassians in Düzce as a Case Study

Diasporik Karşılama: Mekânsal Modeller Üzerinden Göçmen Entegrasyonu

Alan Çalışması Olarak Düzce İlinde Yaşayan Suriyeli Çerkesler

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- 5) social integration

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	ii
LIST OF TABLES AND IMAGES	v
ABSTRACT	vi
ÖZET.....	vii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 LOCAL AND GLOBAL CONTEXT OF THE STUDY.....	1
1.2 RESEARCH QUESTION.....	2
1.3 STATE OF THE ART: SPACE, MIGRATION & INTEGRATION	3
1.3.1 Shedding Light on Spatial Concepts in Migration Research.....	4
1.3.2 Mass Migrations: Departure and Arrival Points.....	10
1.3.3 Spatial Integration	13
1.4 RATIONALE OF THE RESEARCH.....	15
1.5 METHODOLOGY	16
1.6 SCOPE OF THE STUDY	20
CIRCASSIANS.....	21
2.1 WHO ARE THE CIRCASSIANS?.....	21
2.2 CIRCASSIANS AND MIGRATION	24
2.2.1 Exodus: The Historical Background and the Diaspora	27
2.3 CIRCASSIANS AND SPACE & PLACE	28
2.3.4. Acculturation and Cultural Landscape	34
2.4 CIRCASSIANS AND INTEGRATION	35

CASE STUDY: SYRIAN CIRCASSIANS IN DÜZCE	38
3.1 ABOUT THE RESEARCH	38
3.1.1 Routine Monitoring Processes	40
3.1.2 Occasioned Monitoring Processes	41
3.1.3 Intentional Information Seeking Processes	41
3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN	43
3.2.1 Düzce: Positioning.....	44
3.2.2 Villages: A Structural and Paternal Chase	45
3.2.3 Network: Significance of Social Space.....	47
3.3 RESEARCH FINDINGS	47
3.3.1 Space and Place Related Findings.....	47
3.3.2 Migration Related Findings	50
3.3.3 Integration Related Findings	51
CONCLUSION.....	53
4.1 DISCLOSURE STATEMENTS.....	53
4.1.2 Affiliation and Secureness.....	54
REFERENCES.....	58

LIST OF TABLES AND IMAGES

Table 2.1. A plan for reviving ancient Circassian gardens in Republic of Adygea

Table 2.2. Strategies of Acculturation

Image 3.1. Konaklı Village Map – Main Area of Settlement

Image 3.2. Küçükmeşmet Village Map – Main Area of Settlement

Image 3.3. Examples of Circassian tribal family signs still used for cultural and decorative purposes

ABSTRACT

In the course of a globalizing world, the concept of migration has evolved dynamically with its branches extending towards multiple fields of social sciences embracing education, health, identity, employment and other socio-demographic issues. However, after brief reviews of literature, it has been observed that there are limited number of studies that focus on migration within the context of space and place –by *space* meaning; the tangible physical form of a city, village, street or a building and by *place* meaning; a homeland, motherland or a neighborhood after the factor of ‘inhabitants’/ human relations and social integration gets in the picture.

In this sense, the initial purpose of this dissertation is to offer a meaningful synthesis of migration matters and spatial patterns of refugees. A comprehensive research is carried out to analyze the role of space and place during the integration and socialization processes of immigrants. Syrian Circassians in Düzce will be used as a sample case to track the wondered outcome of the research: can space and place –as an end in itself- play a facilitating / normalizing role through the challenging phases of migration?

ÖZET

Globalleşen dünyada, göç konsepti, sosyal bilimleri eğitimden, sağlığa, kimlik, istihdam ve diğer sosyo-demografik konulara uzanan birçok alandaki branşlarını kucaklayacak şekilde dinamik bir gelişim göstermektedir. Fakat, akademik literatürün özet taranması, göçü *mekân* ve *yer* kavramı çerçevesinde inceleyen- *mekân* kavramını; şehir, kasaba, cadde ve bir binanın somutlaşmış fiziksel formu, *yer* kavramını ise; memleket, anavatan veya komşuluk ilişkileri olarak ele alan, yerel halk/ insan ilişkileri ve sosyal entegrasyon konularının resme dahil olduğu sınırlı sayıda çalışma olduğu görülmektedir.

Bu bağlamda, tezimizin başlangıç amacı göç konuları ve mültecilerin mekânsal paternleri ile ilgili anlamlı çıkarımlar yapmaktır. Göçmenlerin entegrasyon ve sosyalleşme süreçleri esnasında mekân ve yer kavramlarının rolü kapsamlı bir araştırma ile analiz edilmiştir. Düzce'deki Suriyeli Çerkezler, *mekân* ve *yer* kavramlarının- kendi içerisinde bir son olarak- göçün problemleri safhalarında kolaylaştırıcı/normalleştirici bir rolü olup olmadığının inceleneceği örnek bir durum olarak kullanılacaktır.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 LOCAL AND GLOBAL CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

Regardless of whether it is regional or international; cultural structures play a facilitating role in giving a hint or lighting a bulb about topics to deliberate on. Accordingly, as an active member of the Circassian communities in Turkey; I had the observation that the issue of Syrian migrants had emerged as an increasingly important subject within not only the host countries and the countries of origin; but also in the diasporic societies. In this respect, from an initial perspective, I had the impression that; amongst the Circassian originated Turkish citizens, it was mutually accepted that Syrian migrants living now in Circassian villages around Turkey are widely known to be happier than the refugees living both at in-camp and other out-camp settlements. Coincidentally, this observation had overlapped with a time period in which theories on space and place had become a personal interest of mine. Following these sequence of events, I decided to analyze space-society relations on a more specific manner and started to contemplate on the connection between space, place and migration.

Up to date literature demonstrate the fact that; most of the studies conducted on migration has been associated with the notion of 'identity'. However, as the impact area of migration related problems has expanded on an enormous level within the last couple of years, it became inevitable for social scientists to develop a multi-directional approach in generating consistent resolutions for the refugee matters we are encountering nowadays. Hence, this dissertation will try to develop an interdisciplinary perspective including urban sociology, cultural studies and architecture in migration studies. By doing so, the aim is to contribute by serving as an example in offering explanations to the coherent bond between migration studies and other disciplines.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTION

While seeking for an answer to the research question interrogating ‘can space and place -as an end in itself- play a facilitating / normalizing role through the challenging phases of migration?’ the aim is to illuminate the underlying outcomes of the relationship between space, place and migration through an interdisciplinary perspective. Concordantly, the structure of this thesis has been built around the answers given to the following two questions:

- (1) *Taking spatial strategies in consideration, what kind of a route do the refugees follow while migrating?* By ‘route’ here, a settlement pattern is implied. For example, the mentioned path could be referring to a version of mobility from an apartment at the city center in Syria to an apartment in Turkey or from a single detached house with a garden in Syria to a refugee camp at the border. In this direction, through the upcoming parts of this dissertation, the spatial patterns shaped by Syrian Circassians in Düzce will be evaluated in order to have a better understanding of the influence of space and place related manners on social integration phases.

- (2) *What kind of social network patterns do the refugees follow while migrating?* Whilst leaning on social network patterns, a classification between the in-camp settlements and out-camp settlements is done. Taking the Syrian migrants in consideration, it has been observed that there are two options in building social network patterns for the refugees; networks set up through the relations built in refugee camp settlements or networks set up through (social, economic, religious, cultural, and ethnic) identity based relations. The study group of this research, Syrian Circassians in Düzce, represents the second category; migrants coming to Turkey by using their ethnic identities. Throughout the thesis, the story of this group will be served as a supportive example for policy making processes in migration studies. While doing so, the determinant elements of space and place will be highlighted from an architectural perspective. Accordingly, the notion of

‘cultural landscape’ will be illuminated in the context of Circassian villages in order to have a better understanding of the relationship between culture and nature.

1.3 STATE OF THE ART: SPACE, MIGRATION & INTEGRATION

We as the human kind are entering into an era in which designing the processes themselves have become more essential than solely designing substantial forms. This canalizes scholars of space and place studies, architects, urban sociologists, civil society organizations and policy makers to develop an interdisciplinary approach embracing the idea that “social change and spatial change are integral to each other” (Massey D. , 1994). Yet, the mentioned integration will be analyzed within the framework of a very popular matter of debate nowadays; ‘migration’. In this respect, the literature reviewed in writing this dissertation embraces the following three fields of theory: space, migration and integration.

Just as a pre-conceptual disclosure; as is evident from the title, throughout the dissertation, space, place and migration will be evaluated within different contexts. The concept of *space* is going to be used under circumstances in which a physical setting or composition is mentioned. In the meantime, the word *place* will be used when an intangible bond is constructed between space and the society who lives in it. For example, while the political map of a country with its boundaries drawn around may be referred to as *space*, the notions of ‘motherland’, ‘homeland’ or ‘neighborhood’ may be referred to as *place*.

On the other hand, regarding the refugees migrating from Syria since 2011, starting off with a preliminary terminology acceptance is also found to be necessary since there are various ways of approaching and naming movements of people. In this respect, throughout this dissertation, the term ‘crisis’ will not be used together with the notion of ‘refugee’ or ‘migration’. To be more precise; rather than calling the

incidents as a 'refugee crisis' or a 'migration crisis' the phrase 'mobility crisis' is going to be used.

1.3.1 Shedding Light on Spatial Concepts in Migration Research

It is confounding to notice the absence of spatial concepts within migration research when the definition of the notion itself immediately connotes ideas relevant to space such as; 'relocation', 'resettling', moving from one region to another or basically changing the zone of occupation. Not that the subject is intentionally excluded, but the essentialist and materialistic understanding does not perceive space and place as a term which is dependent on human action or interpretation. Therefore, it was noticed that the relational approach between migration and terminology of space is not efficacious enough. In this direction, the dissertation initially aims to highlight the significance of adaptation to a new physical setting or a different social environment within migration related studies.

Accordingly, at this phase of the dissertation, instead of asking questions such as; 'what is space', 'how is it', 'is it a cognitive subject' or 'is it only physical'; we should be analyzing the positioning of space within life itself. It has been observed that, in the earlier studies regarding space, the notion is treated as a tangible, empty container that simply needs to be filled. Scholars, sociologists and architects were highly criticized in this respect; because they were constantly trying to elucidate the already existing concrete 'space' by ignoring the fact that it is a notion which keeps producing itself along with the parameters brought by the society who lives in it. Hence, as Lefebvre –one of the most preeminent scholars on space and place- asserts; space is a notion which creates and perpetually produces itself; therefore, it is not reasonable to start off with lexical definitions. Rather, it is healthier to treat space as a formative area that keeps transforming along with social interactions. (Kurtar, 2012)

Namely, the questions to be posed should be integrative and social ones: ‘how does a communal living / social life reveal itself within space?’, ‘how does a human being realize him/herself within a certain place?’ etc. This study will not get into deep analysis of the answers to these questions; however, the approach will be accepted as a methodology while developing a theoretical perspective in understanding the relationship between space, place and migration. Accordingly, the upcoming paragraphs will break down into different perspectives of social scientist and architects from various disciplines.

In order to have a better understanding of the keys terms, it was important to begin the analysis by getting deeper into the transformation of ‘citizenship’ in the course of a globalizing and yet ‘glocalizing’ world. Accordingly, *Globalization, The State and Violence* edited by John Friedman has been used to explain the redrawing of citizenship and transformations in ‘territoriality’ correlated with ‘de-nationalization’ (Friedman, 2003). The contemplation on Friedman’s work also opened subject to notions such as; ‘de-bordering’ and ‘re-localizing’, ‘post-national citizenship’ and ‘de-nationalized citizenship’. To understand the connection between the integration processes of the refugees and their living environment, the initial aim was to build a steady bridge between migration and place. Therefore, dwelling upon the given terminology helped construct a sound basis for the subject. In the meanwhile, Saskia Sassen’s *Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages* was used to comprehend the above stated concepts too. (Sassen, 2006). As is known, Sassen at the end of 20th century gave researchers a lead on the nature of space and migration within the global economy; its role, causes and effects. Her approach towards space has put studies on migration at the center of globalization and triggered theorists on space to consider geographies of global economy while putting forward ideas on migration. From this point forth, her works including *Globalization and its Discontents* and *Guests and Aliens* highlight the challenges, inequalities and difficulties immigrants face and while doing so, they refer to an institutionalization of globalization and its effects on space and place. Her studies shed a light for this dissertation because Sassen basically sparks the idea

that geographies of global economy have a direct relationship with the production of social space; which forms a basis for my research question regarding the facilitating factors during the integration processes of refugees (Faulconbridge, 2018).

Speaking of ‘production of space’; as a matter of course, Henri Lefebvre’s ideas and sentiment on the notion of space has become the keystone for the theoretical background of this study. As earlier touched upon, space may be defined with materialistic / abstract features; but on the other hand, it has a social dimension including daily routines specific to certain groups and cultures in particular, economic prospects, interpersonal relations or experiences. The idea that evaluates space as “an active designer of our social relations” guides us towards a perspective which aims to explore the junction point of the social, physical and abstract extents of it (Weinert, 2015). Accordingly, the analysis done within this dissertation in the following chapters aims to encapsulate a historical overview of how spatial experience of human-kind has evolved over time depending upon social conditions. While doing so, French sociologist Henry Lefebvre’s theories regarding ‘social space’ will be briefly highlighted (Lefebvre, 2014).

Lefebvre’s basic approach was not to talk about a certain theory on social space; but to rather contemplate on the meaning of space itself; and also to analyze the struggles faced or how social space assigns cultural inferences to specific places (Shields, 2018). In this sense, for Lefebvre, real social change can happen only if the space we live in allow us the freedom to “create, appropriate and play with it. Power over space is power over life” (Weinert, 2015). Taking this strong stance in consideration, it may easily be asserted that Lefebvre attempted to “establish the importance of lived grassroots, experiences and understandings of geographical space as fundamentally social” (Mehler, 2011). Yet, the basis of this significant approach has integrated itself so well within the case study of this dissertation on Syrian Circassians; that it served as one of the most important supporting evidences for the arguments and intentions of this thesis.

While skimming through relevant literature, being able to build meaningful connections between concepts, notions and theories was amongst the most challenging phases of writing this dissertation. In this respect, Dorian Massey's two works; *Spatial Divisions of Labour: Social Structures and the Geography of Production* and *Space, Place and Gender* grew into the guidebooks of inter-conceptual perspectives on; space, social relations, spatial organization of production, place and identity (Massey D. , 2001). Massey, a very significant geographer and social scientist in her area, passionately supported the idea that we should be rethinking about our sense of space and place. Her emphasis on the spatial organization of social relations reinterpreted the existing bond between space, place, identity and inequality; and yet throughout the debates in her mentioned books, migration is seen as a unit of measure in explaining this relationship. As a matter of fact, Massey very often states that; "quite centrally, location and geographical mobility are key factors in the conflict between labour and capital within production" (Massey D. , 1995).

As mentioned earlier in the previous paragraphs; having the compelling stages of migration in consideration, this dissertation is trying to verify if any resolutions could be put forward through space and place related theories, concepts or terminology. Yet, while seeking for explanations, the integration process of Syrian Circassians in Düzce is found to be a suitable example; since it was thought to be offering solution oriented formulas to the echoing aspects of earlier debates about migration and cultural identity studies, reflecting on the predicament of mobility crisis Syrians and the host countries face nowadays. In this respect, in order to strengthen the logic lying behind this relationship, a brief conceptual introduction to the notions of globalization, locality and remobilization had to be done.

John Rennie Short's book called *Global Dimension: Space, Place and the Contemporary World* was one of best examples in summarizing the key components in answering the research question of this study. His approach towards

the notion of locality for the contemporary world paves the way for this dissertation's academic objectives. John Rennie Short basically asserts that:

“Locality itself is a historical product. The processes that shape localities are not one-way interactions, they are dynamic and multifaceted, so that hybrids of the ‘newly arrived’ and the ‘previously there’ are constantly reconfigured and remobilized through global flows” (Short, 2001).

Locality is produced with the help of cultural motives and practices; therefore when the dynamics and activeness of culture is merged with various other contexts and sub issues of space, the integration process of the emphasized migrants in this text is better understood. Accordingly, this particular book has become a guide in developing a versatile perspective on both the ‘newly arrived’ and the ‘previously there’. Since this study's focus group is the Syrian Circassians –whom now are categorized as the ‘diaspora of the diaspora’ due to their forced mobilization first from Caucasia to Syria and from Syria to Turkey- it is confounding to analyze the bottom lines of the relationship between space, locality and the new stances in defining ‘diaspora’.

All in all, if all the above mentioned literature and relevant concepts on space and place are taken into consideration, it may easily be concluded that almost each and every social scientist working on the subject touch upon the significance of social processes in producing spatial forms. While integrating these thoughts on my dissertation topic regarding Syrian Circassians' integration processes; for the assembling argument-building phases, David Harvey's line of vision on the issue has also shed a light in structuring the conceptual framework of this study.

Harvey's Marxist stance lead up to a compulsive interest towards capitalism and its mechanisms. In speculating on production of space, he insisted on the importance of theory in building consistent and rational explanations. Hence, the intention on creating a Marxist theory on the production of geography within the operations of a capitalist economy in 1980s resulted with his theoretical book ‘The Limits to Capital’ (Harvey, 2012). However, the term ‘geography’ here does not refer to the

conventional discipline; but rather it insinuates the tangible landscape of the networks in urban environments functioning as the arterial roads of capitalism. Since Marx hadn't earlier taken care of geography's effects on capitalism; 'the Limits to Capital' is an important book in the sense that it is an expansion and a reconstruction of the Marxist theory.

This situation had helped me form an assessment on both the facilitating and complicating impacts of space on migrant integration in diasporic societies. Because scaling a balance between the interactive role of space and society was a challenging attempt. Putting too much emphasis on space without considering the dynamism and changes in societies was not a desired perspective due to the potential of deceptive outcomes. In this respect, Harvey basically asserts that; social practice and processes lead to production of space and these spaces dialectically enable and change the mentioned practice and processes too. This situation is later called as the 'socio-spatial dialect' by Ed Soja. The called vantage point of him is a proof of Harvey's opposition to the idea which sharply features the supremacy of spatial patterns over societal changes. His position in the middle locates space – tangible forms of processes showing up as buildings, infrastructure, consumption areas etc. - both as the cause and effect of social life (Castree, 2018).

This reciprocal cause and effect relationship between space and societies is very significant in disentangling the knots while contemplating on migration and mobility related distresses. Accordingly, the advantage of referring to authorities and experts here in Turkey was a facilitating factor in understanding the incoming and outgoing settlement patterns within the diaspora here. In this respect, perspectives of names including; İlhan Tekeli, Uğur Tanyeli and Korkut Tuna were also analyzed and considered. While doing so, the content of key terms including 'place identity', 'acculturation', 'spatial integration' and 'place attachment' were shortly reviewed.

1.3.2 Mass Migrations: Departure and Arrival Points

Having noticed the aforementioned ‘power of space’, the notion of migration emerges as a very essential topic to discuss, since “it happens in a process where we, in practice and narrative, shape our surroundings in accordance with our orientations and dispositions even in the most limited situations, but always in collaboration or conflict with our fellow creatures.” (Simonsen & Koefoed, 2015) However, the definition of being a foreigner or the ‘other’ has now evolved into something very complex during the last decade. Anti-immigration attitudes have alarmed social scientists, local authorities and other policy makers to develop new perspectives towards the issue. This dissertation asserts that involving space related terminology is one of these emergent approaches. So, within the context of migration studies, the question to be forwarded at this point is; ‘Does the character of the space as a ‘world of strangers’ open up special possibilities of coexistence?’ (Simonsen & Koefoed, 2015)

According to Elisabeth Scheibelhofer, as stated in her article named *Space-Sensible Sociology of Migration*, it is not necessary to develop or discover a ‘start-up’ perspective for what she calls the ‘space-sensible’ theories. Therefore, she briefly recalls to intellectuals including Georg Simmel, Pierre Bourdieu, Henry Lefebvre and David Harvey. Without getting into a deep analysis, she skims through the theories brought forward by these proclaimed thinkers regarding sociology of space. For example, she recaptures Simmel’s arguments brought forward in 1992 saying; “we already know since many years that space is socially constructed, that it is a capacity of our mind (“Verstand”) and that the spatial is not a pre-given condition for human beings.” (Scheibelhofer, 2010) However, we also are aware of the fact that there are also tangible and concrete components in spatiality and at that point, intellectuals who combine the social and materialistic aspects of space can be mentioned: Henry Lefebvre, David Harvey or Pierre Bourdieu. Getting inspired from these pioneers of the subject, just like Scheibelhofer does, this dissertation

tries to propose fresh ways of adapting space and place theories into migration studies.

While doing so, based on the overview of relevant literature conducted by the above-mentioned names, an analysis of Elisabeth Scheibelhofer's 'Dimensions of space-sensible migration research' will be presented: essentialist, relational and constructivist. An essentialist understanding of space in this level of analysis is shaped by the tangible, concrete characteristics of space itself. This approach does not comprehend space as something that is dependent on human behaviors. On the other hand, the relational approach places human-beings as an important component of space and highlights the significance of social relations within spatial theories. Finally, the constructive perspective is aiming to merge and balance the first two aspects: a material and social dimension of space at the same time.

In this respect, if all the aforementioned concepts of space are taken into consideration, it may be concluded that, there is a reciprocal relationship between spatial arrangements and everyday life actions of the society. Because, "we are forming space through our actions but that our actions are at the same time formed spatial arrangements that we have learned to perceive as given and 'natural'" (Scheibelhofer, 2010). These spatial arrangements consist of forms including; neighborhoods, natural landscapes, regions or countries. Having overviewed the conventional research on migration, it has been observed that enough emphasis has not been put on this duality.

Along with the potential it harbors, throughout history, migration has both been an opening and closing gate to a life with either better or worst standards. The called mobility of large populations during critical social events such as; wars, religious spreads or natural disasters; should urge social scientists to focus on the notion of 'space' as much as 'identity'. Because in the course of a globalizing world, the 'change' is not only over ethnic or religious *identities*; but it is also through *space*.

Migration is an *international* matter; yet the procedures and solutions coming along with it should be *local*. In this respect, a distribution of work must be constituted to ensure that all countries, cities, districts and even villages are “adequately prepared and organized to withstand the added pressures of supporting a mass influx of people, while at the same time protecting the well-being of their own residents” (Jakab, 2015). In doing so, it can easily be argued that; the policy making and problem-solving processes of the mobility crisis we are facing nowadays should be taking locality, belongingness and accordingly the notion of a ‘stranger’ in consideration. Taking such a stance, this dissertation has built a considerable amount of its arguments with the help of one of Zygmunt Bauman’s latest studies: *Strangers at Our Door*. Because while writing a dissertation on such a sensitive manner, it was very important to understand the ‘migration panic and its (mis)uses’. Bauman in his book very clearly states that;

“As I write these words, another tragedy – one born of callous unconcern and moral blindness – lies in wait to strike. Signs are piling up that public opinion, in cahoots with the ratings-covetous media, is gradually yet relentlessly approaching the point of ‘refugee tragedy fatigue’. Drowned children, hastily erected walls, barbed-wire fences, overcrowded concentration camps and governments vying with each other to add the insult of treating the migrants as hot potatoes to the injuries of exile, narrow escape and the nerve-racking perils of the voyage to safety – all such moral outrages are ever less news and ever more seldom ‘in the news’. Alas, the fate of shocks is to turn into the dull routine of normality – and of moral panics to spend themselves and vanish from view and from consciences wrapped in the veil of oblivion” (Bauman, 2016)

In structuring the research question for this dissertation, the idea of combining space and migration in bringing out solutions for the integration processes of Syrian migrants emerged exactly because of this perception of ‘refugee tragedy fatigue’ Bauman is talking about. Placing one-self either on the victim or the partner-in-crime side for the ongoing concerns regarding the mass movement of Syrians to other countries has become an everyday routine; almost that it is no longer a subject of morality for many people. Therefore, this situation has initially forced me to categorize the reviewed literature for migration matters under titles including: being

and hosting a ‘stranger’, security, securitization and adiaphorization. This research then evolved into the urge for investigating more on the *culture of living together*; hence the relationship between the space as an end itself and the notion of being a stranger.

In this respect, while Bauman’s studies were guiding this phase, it also lead the way to many other names working on dynamics of migration processes including Paul Collier, Robin Cohen, Patrick Ireland, Nicholas Van Hear, Ruud Koopmans and Paul Statham, Joanna Herbert, Franck Düvell, Daniel Conway and Pauline Leonard, Paolo Boccagni, and many other enthusiasts on the issue. For example, it is widely accepted and observed that migrants often settle in metropolitan areas not only because of the ease in access to public services, social networks and other opportunities; but also because of the exigence of being camouflaged within the chaos and crowd of the city. In this sense, the listed names above helped me structure my arguments around a deeper analysis of concepts and theories including ‘institutional channeling theory’, diaspora, ‘policy of securitization’, mixophilia and mixophobia, ‘relocalizing citizenship’ etc.

1.3.3 Spatial Integration

Along with the dynamism ‘migration’ brings with itself, it replaces and transforms both the society that changes its territory (immigrants) and the locals of the migrated region. In this respect, as the interaction area of these two groups; space and place is centered on the contemporary discussions regarding immigrant integration. (Karameşe, 2018). When relevant literature is skimmed, it has been realized that the emphasis on migration flows since the 1990s are not the same as those of the post-war period. Motivations of the immigrants, their length of stay and migration patterns had changed. Yet, this situation paved the way for the urge to contextualize the dynamic relationship between geopolitical and geo-economic transformations at a local level. In this respect, a reframed conceptual approach called ‘the new migration’ had been developed by social scientists and experts on the area. Having

the called dynamism in consideration, in order to make a deeper analysis of the challenges in integration and especially the limits of citizenship as a strategy for integration; Fabiola Pablo's recent book named *Challenging the Paradoxes of Integration Policies* has been used as a guide (Pardo, 2018). Contemporary perspectives on civic dynamics, migrant labor, diversity and ethnic representation have been scrutinized.

In order to tackle integration struggles, cities have strategically created shared spaces as results of collaborations enhanced for the local integration of migrants. Therefore, in company with the ideas of pre-eminent scholars; up-to-date reports of certain institutions have been used in order to have a full command of the policy and strategy building phases. In this respect, reports such as OECD's *Working Together for Local Integration of Migrants and Refugees* (OECD, 2018) or Council of Europe / COMMIT (Community Media Institute)'s *Spaces of Inclusion: An Explorative Study on Needs of Refugees and Migrants in the Domain of Media Communication and on Responses by Community Media* had been used in having a better understanding of issues including the complexity of international migration flows, multicultural host society groups, introduction of multiculturalism in integration policies and strategies etc. (Bellardi, Busch, Hassemer, Peissl, & Scifo, 2018)

On the other hand, there is also a widely accepted opinion asserting that; "immigrants have become the visible face of globalization and have rapidly changed the population composition of the cities... [and] international migration and the formation of ethnic minorities are rapidly transforming postindustrial cities" (Pardo, 2018, s. 19). Accordingly, the dissertation puts emphasis on 'rural-urban segregation' evolving into 'rural-urban nexus' and the effects of this conceptual change on migrant integration processes. While doing so, as the approach is rather new in academia, political and legislative documents as well as newspaper articles and journals in urban and migration matters have also been used.

Finally, since the case studied in this dissertation is a diasporic society -Syrian Circassians- the study also focuses on the advantages and disadvantages of being a diasporic society during mass migrations. It interrogates and seeks for the already existing spaces of inclusion created by the previous diasporas who have settled in the same region earlier in history. In this sense, observations on the detachment phases, networks and pathways of the Syrian Circassians will be studied and shared. The academic series *Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship* edited by Zig Layton-Henry and Robin Cohen will be used in understanding the layers of diasporic societies: the homing of diaspora, forced displacement, diaspora cooperation in urban environments, diasporas as cultures of cooperation etc.

1.4 RATIONALE OF THE RESEARCH

In the modern era, there is usually a consensus on the idea that migration flows are usually towards the urban -specifically to metropolitan areas- not only because of the ease in accessing public services, social facilities and networks; but also because of the impulse of being disguised and camouflaged. However, on the other hand, when the capitalist parameters of today's societies are taken into consideration; along with the mass flux of immigrants to the cities, the balance between the urban and rural in terms of production has become highly destabilized. In this respect, rural areas especially in Europe are observed to be seeking for new residents to revive their economic and demographic structures. (OECD, 2018)

However, the attention-grabbing case regarding this study gets into picture right at the point when I realized that the Syrian Circassian migrants in Düzce were pleasantly heading to rural areas towards the spatial form of a 'Circassian Village' without any enforcement. The dissertation is aiming to analyze this case as an example for other ethnic minority groups whom face integration based problems after their mobility from the country of origin. The interrogation and search for space and place oriented solutions in migration and integration studies are not uncovered as desired. Accordingly, the rationale is to highlight the approach.

Also, when historically gazed, in many societies before industrialization, there had been a general strategy of locating the minorities in the peripheral areas of the city. However, after traffic in trade started to increase with the influence of industrialization; shared spaces of commerce were established. Therefore a movement by the minorities towards the center initiated. This may nowadays be interpreted as the starting point of urban space usage according to economic class rather than race, nationality or religion. Yet, the study group in this dissertation is an exceptional sample. Syrian Circassian migrants in Düzce are observed to be using space and place according to national tendencies rather than economic ones. Concordantly, the intention of the study is to once more serve a new perspective to policy makers and strategy builders.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

This dissertation has used a qualitative methodological approach in order to analyze and gather as much information as possible on its focus. Its structure is organized around the combination of several methods. To meet its objectives and intentions, each method targets to fully contribute in answering the main research questions and objectives.

At the beginning, a three-phased desk research had been conducted. The first phase aimed to have a grasp of the terminology on space and place theories in terms of migration studies. Other than the already mentioned ones in the literature review, concepts including; mobility, dispossession, social inclusion, cultural landscape, urban refugees, cultural intimacy, affinity, acculturation, integration and many others were defined in order to have a better understanding of the case that is being worked on. The second phase was targeting migration related theory in order to understand certain motives and behavioral patterns of the Circassian diaspora in Turkey. The preserved features of the community; their history, culture, migration pathways, addresses etc. were analyzed within the framework of migration terminology. Finally, theories and literature on the junction point of space and

migration had been studied: integration. By doing so, the aim was to explain the reasonable motivations for deciding upon carrying out a research especially for this particular group. The conceptual framework presented in this study backs up the arguments while justifying its intentions. The research basically provides a theoretical analysis based on relevant books, publications, policy papers and reports as well as newspaper articles on space, place, migration and integration issues.

Later on, in order to provide a concrete example for the propounded ideas in this thesis, Syrian Circassians living in Düzce had been examined in detail with the help of a mini-case study. As a first step, Circassian villages in Düzce had been visited to observe the neighborhood and houses of the refugees. For pre-information gathering purposes, local Turkish-Circassian families who live in Düzce had been contacted. Quick-talks were conducted in order to attain detailed information regarding the duration of migrants' integration processes; notes were taken.

Fieldwork studies comprised various types of interaction both with the studied communities. Both with the support of local neighbors and ethnic identity networks such as; *derneks* -regional ethnic fellowships- and *thamates* -elder authorities highly respected within the Circassian communities- I got in contact with Turkish-Circassian and Syrian-Circassian families. Direct and indirect ways of interaction and in-depth interviews were practiced. The in-depth interviews' basis later on evolved to group discussions; so that the attitudes and approaches in sharing a particular idea in public could also be understood. At the same time, the purpose in carrying these conversations was to create an atmosphere of sincerity and respect with the respondents. An open dialogue was intended: the provided opportunity to express their opinion in their own language and frame of reference was very significant in terms of what is targeted.

Nevertheless, qualitative case studies consisting of human interaction and feedback inevitably put a researcher under significant pressure in terms of objectivity.

Retaining the balance between researcher-as-member-of-society and researcher-as-analyst had been one of the most challenging phases of this research since;

“we are all produced as subjects with subjectivity, through our experiences, through the interpretation of these experiences and through time. The interpretations of our experiences, as researcher, researched, known and knowing, are always historically located, a product of the different positions available to us in discourse, in theory. This differential positioning presents difficulties when producing representations” (Skeggs, 1997).

However, after skimming through certain resources on research methods in social sciences, in order to explain and justify the academic and scientific adequateness of the research, Bourdieu’s brand of reflexivity was taken as a reference. Because “his analysis of intellectuals and of the objectifying gaze of sociology, in particular, like his dissection of language as an instrument and arena of social power, imply very directly, and in turn rest upon, a self-analysis of the researcher as cultural producer and reflection on the sociohistorical conditions of possibility of a science of society” (Wacquant, 1992).

To be more precise; reflexivity, *re-flectere* or bending back of science aims to extend the solidity and scope of a social scientific knowledge by dreaming *the utterly detached observer* in social sciences under possible and realistic circumstances. “Its primary target is not the individual analyst but the social and intellectual unconscious embedded in analytic tools and operations; second, it must be a collective enterprise rather than the burden of the lone academic; and, third, it seeks not to assault but to buttress the epistemological security of sociology” (Wacquant, 1992).

Accordingly, thanks to the approaches developed on *reflexivity*, while conducting a case study with the Syrian Circassians in Düzce, the range from self-reference to self-awareness could be sensitively and precisely coordinated. Therefore, the initial target was to pursue a systematic exploration of the undiscovered perspectives and

thoughts on the subject reflected from the field itself to a credible scientific study; theoretical and practical points of view were respectively noted while unpacking the processes involved under objective circumstances. So, in this respect, in order to put a self-distance while coping with the pre-consciousness of possible replies to come from interviewees, each step repetitively questioned the focus of the study, how is it to be effected by any analysis made or the underlying purposes in attaining and using certain information. For example, before addressing questions to families and Syrian inhabitants living in Circassian villages at Düzce, I carefully specified my possible positions of conceivability from a third eye to minimize and avoid bias: my position in many different ways including gender, age, nation, class etc. Because these positions may also effect the content of the study or when and how we do it; access to institutional organizations (local communities and ethnic identity networks in my case), our stance towards disciplinary practices or even the phases during (re)production of knowledge. However, it may shortly be concluded that; “there is no straightforward correspondence between our circumstances and how we think: we are positioned in but not determined by our locations” (Skeggs, 1997).

To sum up, passing off methodology gives rise to an absence of the mechanisms we utilize in producing knowledge; “relations of privilege are masked and knowers are not seen to be located... and yet methodology is itself theory. It is a theory of methods which informs a range of issues from who to study, how to study, which institutional practices to adopt (such as interpretative practices), how to write and which knowledge to use” (Skeggs, 1997). In this direction, the present paragraphs under this title aimed to unpack these processes: the three-phased desk research regarding contemporary literature on the three main pillars (migration, integration and space) of this dissertation; a pre-information gathering phase regarding Circassians, their history, culture, migration pathways; and at last the case study conducted on Syrian Circassians in Düzce. Following that; in order to purge away concerns on objectivity, the continual recognition regarding how my positioning informed methodological decisions was explained through Bourdieu’s conception of *reflexivity*.

1.6 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

While seeking answers for the research question, this study basically focuses on three main themes: space & place, migration and integration in all chapters under almost every title. In this respect, as already skimmed, chapter 1 consists of the local and global context, research question, state of the art, rationale of the research, methodology and scope. Chapter 2 aims to analyze the spatial dimension of migration and integration within the framework of Circassians by getting support from prominent social scientists' and experts' theoretical and conceptual studies. The aim here is to initially have an overall understanding of the relationship that is being built between Circassians and the main topics covered. On the other hand, chapter 3 reveals details of the case study; monitoring processes (routine, occasioned and intentional information seeking), research design and findings. At last, chapter 4 is the conclusion of the study.

CHAPTER 2

CIRCASSIANS

Throughout the second chapter of this dissertation, theoretical and conceptual approaches on the subject will be analyzed around the focus group of the study: Circassians. In this respect, rather than allocating separate sections, an integrative and holistic discourse is preferred. In order to justify the matters of concern and disclosure statements of the study, premising works and arguments of social scientists, architects and researchers have been scrutinized within the framework of Circassians; their culture, history and current issues. While doing so, after a brief presentation of the Circassians as a community; a conceptual and theoretical analysis will be structured around three categories: space & place, migration and integration.

2.1 WHO ARE THE CIRCASSIANS?

Circassians –also by their own designation ‘Adyghe’- are the oldest indigenous people of North Caucasus. North Caucasus is known to be inhabited in paleolithic times approximately 750.000 years ago although the first settlements are estimated to be appearing towards western coasts of the region around 100.000 years ago. Historians studying the region assert that; after the Dolmens pushing Maykopians eastward (two main cultures occurring in the middle of 3rd millennium), the Maykop culture with the impact of Dolmens provided a basis for today’s Circassian culture. However, the word Circassian was initially used in the 13th century for the people of Adygea in the Northern Caucasus region at a location bordering the Black and Azov Seas to the west, Russia to the north and east, and Georgia to the south. However; regardless of ethnicity, especially within the diaspora, the term nowadays is also used for the peoples of Dagestan, Chechnya, Ingushetia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Karachay Cherkessia and even Abkhazia. (Özgen, 2015).

On the other hand, when traced earlier, the story of Circassians root back to the Nart Sagas. Nart Sagas are a series of mythological and legendary tales based on various tribes living at “a rolling land with distant mountains rising behind” (Colarusso, 2016). These tales are highly significant when the ongoing cultural behavior patterns of the current Circassian society shaped by oral traditions is taken into consideration. The mannerism and mores of the knightly characters of Nart Sagas have shaped the course of conduct for the peoples of Caucasus both living in their homeland and at the diaspora. The individual and societal attributes of these legendary heroes have also provided a basis for manners and qualities of modern Circassian societies. “These qualities included love of the fatherland and its defense to the last, idolization of honor, bravery and concomitant abhorrence of cowardice, observance of the code of chivalry, loathing for oppression, loyalty to clan and kin, fealty to bonds of camaraderie, care of and fidelity to one’s horse” (Jaimoukha A. M., 2014).

Although the Circassians were never politically united, their culture is strongly formed around a warlike character. Such a strong domination of warrior ethic even symbolized the battle garb of men as one of the most indicative cultural motives of today’s Circassian societies. Despite their rigid temperament, Circassians are also envisioned as symbols of nobility, gentility, grace and kindship. The balance is soulfully kept with the guidance of an orally transmitted code of social norms and customs called ‘Adyghe Xabze’. “This rigid and complex system of morals had evolved to ensure that strict militaristic discipline was maintained at all times to defend the country against the many invaders who coveted Circassian lands. In addition, social niceties and graces greased the wheels of social interaction, and a person’s good conduct ensured his survival and prosperity” (Jaimoukha A. M., 2014).

Even though the rules had transformed and developed over time according to the circumstances of the lived era and geographies, the very core of the system managed to survive up until today. The conventional and authentic symbolism of Xabze

orders are still respected by a significant majority in the modern era especially at major events such as weddings, funerals and at least in public spheres of towns and cities. Although effects of globalization, capitalism and urbanization complicates and interferes in the strict observance, the existing social affairs between the Circassians are still mainly shaped by Xabze norms.

Another significant phenomenon that is highly associated with Xabze is the Adyghe ethics / *Circassianness* / *Adigaghe* or basically the quality of being Circassian. The central doctrines of this code of ethics are good breeding, nobleness and hospitality. Regardless of age; any Circassian individual who is deemed to have committed a dishonorable or shameful act is disgracefully denigrated with the question ‘how Circassian are you?!’ (Jaimoukha A. M., 2014). All in all, like other ethnic minorities who still struggle to preserve and insulate their distinctiveness and originality, Circassians also have unwritten social enforcements framed around a set of oral rules.

On the other hand, the genuine understanding of respect amongst Circassians is at a radical level when the mainstream values of modern societies are taken into consideration. In this respect, the strict norms and rules of the society are not only taught and practiced outdoors within the larger community, but it is also given great importance at private spaces inside the house and family. According to many Circassians, the nurture introduced at home; how to regard the elder, ways of treating the younger, when and under which circumstances to speak or even where to sit/stand sets ground for the relationships outside. Hence, it was important to observe and understand these patterns of behavior for the sake of this particular study; since the overall aim is to piece together the social space created by the Circassians and their contemporary challenges.

In order to provide an explanatory brief on the research topic of this dissertation, last two aspects -language and religion- of the Circassian community will be explicated. Majority of modern Circassians are Sunni Muslims; although there are

also Christian and Jewish Circassians. However, it is important to know the fact that; Circassian Muslims converted only about three-four hundred years ago. Therefore, also with the effects of their polytheistic myths, many of the remaining beliefs have similarities with ancient Greeks and Scandinavians.

Circassian, Adyghe or self-depicted *Adygabze* is one of the five Northwest Caucasian languages with its four main dialects *Shapsug*, *Abzeh*, *Bzehedukh* (*Temirgoj*), and *Chemgui*. Written standards of the language were established after the October Revolution in 1923 first with Latin and then with the Cyrillic alphabet. “In literary Adyghe, there are 50 letters of which 18 are digraphs (e.g. ЖЪ, ЖЬ, ГЪ). Cyrillic ordering is followed. However, there is no uniform ordering of equivalent letters in the languages, which causes some confusion.” (Jaimoukha A. , 2009). Due to the mentioned structure and essentially rooted oral literary tradition, the written language is still used very rarely.

To recapitulate, given the preliminary information on Circassians, their customs, culture, religion and language; a basis for the upcoming conceptual and theoretical framework had been formed. As earlier stated, the following titles of the chapter will be analyzing the case of Circassians in general with the help of existing literature on the three main scopes of the study: migration, space and integration. While doing so, each subject matter will be reviewed by its own specific means. For instance; the title ‘Circassians and Migration’ will mostly be shaped around the notions of diaspora and exodus, or ‘Circassians and Space’ will be conceptualized with an interdisciplinary point of view involving architecture, sociology, political science and cultural studies.

2.2 CIRCASSIANS AND MIGRATION

After a brief introduction to Circassians, this part of the dissertation is going to put emphasis on the significance of Circassians’ migration stories. The overall aim is to understand the reasons lying behind choosing this particular group as a case in

understanding the dynamics of migration processes and its connection between space and integration manners; while doing so, an emphasis on the notions ‘mass migration’, ‘diaspora’ and ‘stranger’ is put.

Mass migration is inherent in human nature; it is not a new phenomenon and it exists since the beginning of history. However, the parameters involved have changed over time and it became one of the most significant yet complex concepts of social studies. Along with its exceptional sophistication, for each specific case, it beats path to a constant development of newer perspectives since the subject will never evolve into being in a stabilized, standstill position. Because massive migration “accompanied the modern era from its very beginning (though time and again modifying, and occasionally reversing, its direction) – as our ‘modern way of life’ includes the production of ‘redundant people’ (locally ‘inutile’ – excessive and unemployable – due to economic progress, or locally intolerable – rejected as a result of unrest, conflicts and strife caused by social/political transformations and subsequent power struggles)” (Bauman, 2016). This is because; as time passes and modern societies transform, three interrelated points that block people from striking roots to wherever they live will keep existing.

- (1) The gap between life standards of developed and undeveloped countries is not getting closed; on the contrary, the poor keeps getting poorer and the rich keeps getting richer. This canalizes people to ‘leave’ for better circumstances from the “impoverished lands of no prospects to dreamlands rich in opportunities” (Bauman, 2016).
- (2) Supporting mechanisms for the aforementioned gap are very weak and this situation inhibits the problems to go deeper.
- (3) As the influx and outflow of people continue due to the first two restraints, we start observing accumulation of diasporas all around the richer world.

As Paul Collier in his book *Exodus: Immigration and Multiculturalism in the 21st Century* calls, this accumulation regarding international migration and diasporas is heading towards *the disequilibrium of epic proportions* (Collier, 2013). Hence, such a disequilibrium sets ground for newer definitions of the *stranger*; because there has always been a growing concern amongst the settlers of hosting countries regarding the possible harm these mass flows may cause to their existing values. This perspective is widely found to be problematic; however, it cannot be ignored since a *mutual regard* in creating solutions is highly significant.

On one hand, “strangers tend to cause anxiety precisely because of being ‘strange’ – and so, fearsomely unpredictable, unlike the people with whom we interact daily and from whom we believe we know what to expect” (Bauman, 2016). However, on the other hand, from a moral perspective, no one is feeling responsible for the force that pushes societies to change their place of accommodation; no one is feeling responsible for the lost bearings of the refugees; no one is feeling responsible for the feeling of no longer belonging anywhere.

Right at this point, the situation of Circassians gain importance in presenting an example for the above stated dilemma of societies. After their final defeat against the Russian conquest in Caucasia, the ancestors of the Circassian diaspora were exposed to a ‘deportation’ from their homeland. The natives who accepted to resign were marched off for resettlement on the plain to the north; however, the ones who refused the submission to the Tsar were sent down to the seashore to await expulsion mainly across the Black Sea to Anatolia. “Many others –men, women and children- fled from their burning villages to perish of hunger and exposure in the forest and mountains.” (Shenfield, 2006). During the early 1860s; victims of the Circassian genocide were hoping to be located in similar geographies to Caucasia; so that it would be easier for them to adapt.

Nowadays, we are able to trace the pathways of the exiled Circassians by referring to where the diaspora lives; Turkey, Syria, Jordan, Israel, Balkans, United States of

America, Canada and others. Yet, the reason lying behind the necessity to dig into such a subject; rather than merely giving a direct historical background; is the focus group of this study: Syrian Circassians living in Turkey. Being forced to leave home twice; first from Caucasia to Syria, now from Syria to Turkey makes them the *diaspora of the diaspora*. This exceptional and continuous tragedy of the Syrian Circassians must be highlighted to understand whether the aforementioned *refugee tragedy fatigue* is valid amongst the Circassian diaspora in Turkey towards the Syrians too or not. In other words, the purpose is to understand the integration process of Syrian Circassians initially by figuring out if they are seen as ‘strangers’ by the Circassian Diaspora in Turkey or not. The wondered outcomes will be presented at the case study chapter; however before narrating information on the past and contemporary migration stories of the Circassians, the underlying intention had to be explained. At last, having contemplated on the perspective this dissertation is going to use in connecting the dots of Circassians’ migration story, for a better understanding of the diaspora, a deeper focus on the exodus will be presented in the following paragraphs.

2.2.1 Exodus: The Historical Background and the Diaspora

The collapse of the Circassian nation started in a highly physical sense many years before 1860s and continued for decades after the genocide of 1864. “Once Catherine the Great decided in the 1760s that the northeastern shores of the Black Sea should be Russia’s, the Russian military worked to hem in the Circassians bit by bit until they were surrounded in the high mountains” (Richmond, 2013).

Although most of the population had already been killed by the 1820s or repelled to Western Circassia; in the spring of 1861, as an impulse back to the fierce plans of Russians, an alliance between the Ubykhs, Shapsughes and Abzehs had been formed which could only resist until 1864 when the Russian conquest on Northern Caucasia had been completed (Brock, 1956). “The eventual result of the Russian success in the region was a series of refugee waves in the third quarter of the

nineteenth century, by boats, carts and on foot” (Kaya, 2004). In the strategically important regions of the Northern Caucasus, the Russians did not allow Circassians to remain in their homelands and obliged them to migrate to other regions either in the Ottoman or Russian territory (Şahin, 2016). However, even after the exodus in 1864, survivors chased to the Balkans were exposed to a second ethnic cleansing in 1878 again by the Russians.

Since then, members of the last five generations -both the ones who managed to stay in their homelands and those in the diaspora- strived against assimilation with an eager to preserve their culture, language and traditions. Much of the Circassian communities are scattered around the world mostly in Turkey and other Middle Eastern countries. Having said so, the upcoming title will get deeper into the notion of ‘diaspora’ and the current challenges diasporic societies face nowadays in the contemporary world.

2.3 CIRCASSIANS AND SPACE & PLACE

Place identity is usually studied as a subtitle of the term ‘belongingness’ which is one of the basic necessities of humankind. The term is mostly used to define the identity which we develop for places that make us feel reassured and satisfied. In the following paragraphs, the elements strengthening the notion of ‘place identity’ will be listed; while addressing the benefits of the term to migration studies and specifically to my research purposes. Here below are the three interrelated questions that animate each of this section’s features:

- (1) What are the elements that strengthen the context of place identity?
- (2) When we develop an identity for a certain place, we automatically get in anticipation; yet, what is it that we really expect?
- (3) What is the role of architects in building a place identity?

While answering the first question, *time spent in the region, historical background of the place* and *engagement level to regional organizations and networks* are to be listed amongst the most essential constituents that strengthen the context of place identity.

2.3.1 Time Spent in The Region

Time is a concept which encapsulates two contradictive components; modernity and globalization. Because; along with modernity, time is passing by faster than it has ever been and on the other hand, globalization has transformed the world into a place in which the context of the term ‘belongingness’ has changed a lot. When these two arguments are taken into consideration, it may be argued that; what is meant by ‘time’ while developing a place identity has changed over time. To be more precise, a preliminary conclusion of the case study conducted in this dissertation will be brought forward: the situation of Syrian Circassians in Düzce.

Notes taken during the pre-observation process reveal the fact that; the first step Circassians had taken after their forced migration to Düzce was basically to turn ‘space’ into a ‘place’ for their families. They were given physically unfavorable land to live on and their first instinct was to turn these lands into ‘homes’ again. To do so, they would grow similar plants in their gardens, build their houses and design their landscapes accordingly, hold on to their culture, traditions and customs. For example, one of the Circassian families in a village called Küçük Mehmetler in Düzce shared a memory of their grandparents bringing seeds of certain plants during the deportation from Caucasia in the early 1900s. He reported; “my great-grandfather would say; I will forget what happened to our villages at Northern Caucasia after the seeds I planted on this unfamiliar soil stop growing. It is going to take tree-life long time; decades or even centuries”.

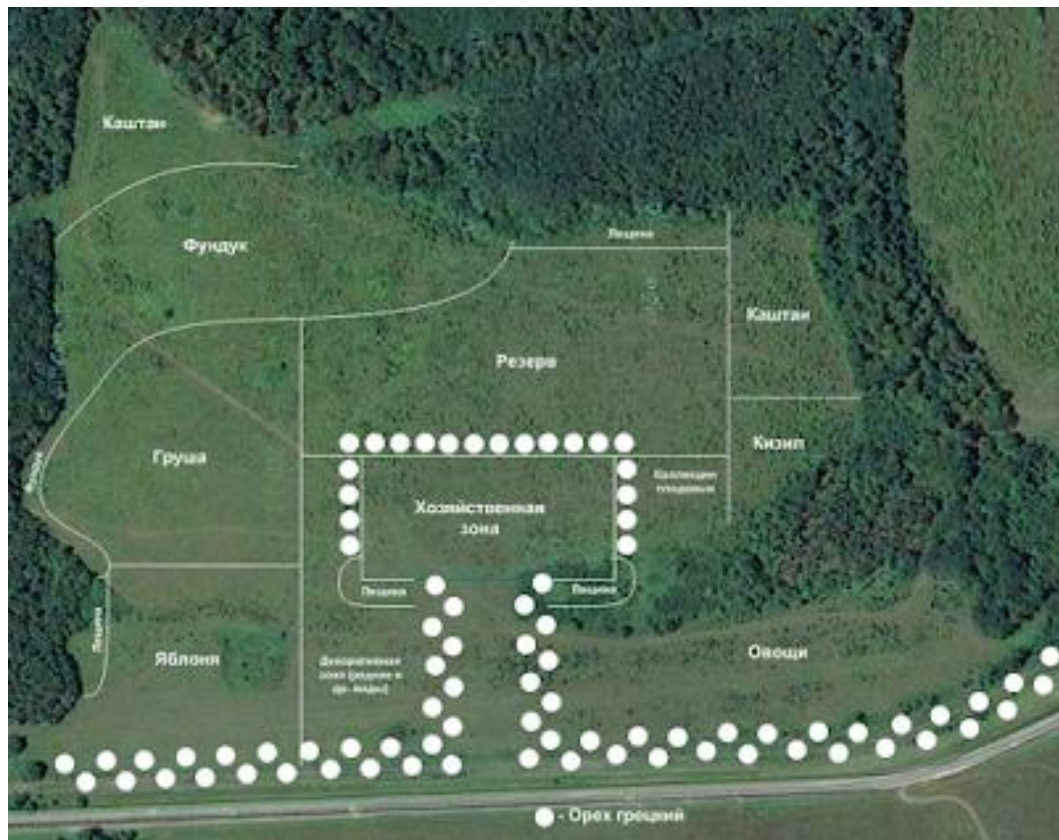


Table 2.1. A plan for reviving ancient Circassian gardens in Republic of Adygea - *The same type of apple and pear trees planted in Düzce’s villages are also planned to be grown*

After more than a century long time, the families from the Circassian diaspora in Syria were to move their re-produced places / homes once more. They had now become ‘the diaspora of the diaspora’; meaning a sub-minority among the Circassians living in Turkey. However, this time the circumstances had changed due to modernization and globalization; time had changed. Therefore, the duration for adaptation and integration to a new environment had shortened; yet become more difficult. Though, “the difficulty of handling increasing levels of cultural complexity, and the doubts and anxieties these often engender, are reasons why 'localism', or the desire to remain in a bounded locality or return to some notion of 'home', becomes an important theme. It can also be ventured that this is regardless of whether the home is real or imaginary, or whether it is temporary and syncretized

or a simulation, or whether it is manifest in a fascination with the sense of belonging, affiliation and community which are attributed to the homes of others, such as tribal people” (Featherstone, 1995)

2.3.2 Historical Background of The Place

Despite all difficulties, the difference between a Syrian Circassian refugee’s adaptation process and a non-Circassian one may easily be recognized. It is surprisingly observed that refugees who have been settled to the Circassian villages seem to be developing a stronger ‘place identity’ towards their new homes due to the settled architectural form of a Circassian village. The discriminating factors and details of the physical characteristics of a Circassian village are distributively explained under separate titles of the dissertation, but there are some particular matters to be addressed at this point.

Although majority of the Syrian immigrant population favor living in urban areas, the case study I did in Düzce revealed that refugees settled in the sub-urban Circassian villages are observed to be happier and does not want to move to another country which has better conditions than Turkey. In explaining this binding, the outcomes of my research disclose the fact that; the historical background of a place is one of the most essential components for the refugees to develop a stronger identity towards a region. For example, the former inhabitants of a Circassian village in Düzce carry always carry stories of migration somewhere at the back of their minds, regardless of what modernity and globalization had brought. Therefore, they are aware of the possibility that the Syrian refugees they are hosting nowadays might not be returning to their countries just like their ancestors had not many years ago. In this respect, this evaluation becomes quite important in explaining the easier adaptation of Syrian Circassians. It is because; the physical context of space carries a history of migration and presents the refugees an empathetic process for developing an identity towards the village they have just moved to.

To sum up with an approach supporting the above given arguments; it may be concluded that the reasons lying behind this finding can be rationalized with the explanations of Adam Robert in his study named *Identity and Identification: The Role of Architectural Identity in a Globalized World*. He argues, “the process of identity formation can never start from scratch; it always builds upon a pre-existing set of symbolic materials which form the bedrock of identity. As they are traditions rather than history, these symbols are not fixed. They can evolve with the community and even be invented, but in all cases, their effectiveness as traditional symbols require a convincing pedigree, real or imagined”. (Adam, Robert, 2012)

2.3.3. Engagement Level to Regional Organizations and Network

Along with the effects of globalization, ‘territorial identity’ had left its place to ‘place identity’ which inhabitants create themselves. Because “at earlier historical moments, identity was not so much an issue; when societies were more stable, identity was to a great extent assigned, rather than selected or adopted. In current times, however, the concept of identity carries the full weight of the need for a sense of who one is, together with an often-overwhelming pace of change in surrounding social contexts – changes in the groups and networks in which people and their identities are embedded and in the societal structures and practices in which those networks are themselves embedded.” (Jenkins, 2004)

When the relevant regulations in Turkey are skimmed through, it is observed that until 2013, migration related issues were mentioned together only with the notions ‘security’ or ‘foreign affairs’. It is a very recent phenomenon in Turkey that local administrations of cities are being involved immigration processes. Accordingly, right at this point, the engagement level to regional civil society organizations and other networks become extremely important. The details of this subject will be analyzed in a separate section; however just to give an example as a debrief; taking

the Syrian Circassians living in Düzce in consideration, immigrants seeking for a safer place to live in had to use their networks including derneks (regional Circassian organizations), KAFFED (Kafkas Dernekleri Federasyonu – Federation of the Caucasian Cultural Centers) or other sovereigntist organizations such as Patriots of Circassia, Caucasus Forum or Kafkas Vakfi. This situation had helped the mentioned group of refugees to find places for accommodation, get together with the people who know their language & culture and find jobs; in other words, networks were used as a supportive force in strengthening the identity that has to be developed towards a ‘space’ to turn it into a ‘place’ to be able to ease the process of integration.

Coming to the second question after understanding why we feel the urge to develop an identity towards certain places, the expectations of immigrants from a certain place are going to be listed in short; the to be place differing from the others for one’s self; the place to be showing continuity / durableness; and finally, the place to be offering opportunities to develop one’s self.

As a concluding point, coming to the third question which had been interrogated at the beginning of this section; ‘what is the role of architects at this point?’; it is observed that the function of place identity is revealed more clearly. We are aware of the fact that architects do not directly aim their buildings to create ‘dependency’ on people. They only push for the structures to function like a machine or even a living organism. This approach corresponds as a ‘place identity’ on the people who start living in those structures. In other words, when the residents of a certain architectural structure or a landscape start to introduce themselves as a part of that construction; than it means that starting from that point, an identity is being developed towards that specific place.

2.3.4. Acculturation and Cultural Landscape

In cultural studies, the concept of migration is mostly affiliated with the interaction of different cultures. Acculturation in this sense refers to “changes that take place as a result of contact with culturally dissimilar people, groups, and social influences.” (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010, s. 1) The initial definition done on 1987 by Berry, Kim, Minde and Mok is still valid; however, mostly with the effects of globalization, it has been expanded and refined over years. “It now includes the acculturation that can take place without “firsthand, continuous contact” by way of international and domestic telecommunications [such as TV]. It also has become more multifaceted in our culturally-diverse societies, where not just two cultural groups are in contact, but takes place through multiple group contacts.” (Berry, 2018, s. 1)

Within the last two decades, social scientists began to analyze culturally diverse societies under two main domains: acculturation and ethnic relations. “Berry’s

		Do they value maintaining their identity and characteristics?	
		No	Yes
Do they value maintaining relationships with the larger society?	Yes	Assimilation	Integration
	No	Marginalization	Seperation

Table 2.2. Strategies of Acculturation

model of acculturation and psychological well-being is highly regarded and widely recognized in this field... His two-dimensional model of acculturation is based upon the multicultural ideology where individuals and groups are given the opportunity to choose among various elements of ethnic and host cultures to form their own unique blends of identity and culture. The findings support Berry's proposal that acculturation is two-dimensional (ethnic/cultural and host society identification) for acculturating immigrants." (Kıylioğlu & Wimmer, 2015).

Having the above given chart of acculturation in consideration, the adaptation and social integration processes of this dissertation's sample group; Syrian Circassians may be analyzed in suspense. Because the arguments of the study are propounding the idea that the physical and social conditions of a place effect the answers given to the two questions: 'Do they value maintaining their identity and characteristics?' and 'Do they value maintaining relationships with the larger society?' The potential answers to these two questions will be analyzed under the case study section; however, at this point, it is valuable to highlight the idea that being able to offer solutions to balance different parameters of integration, acculturation and place identity might be possible through understanding the space and place related motives.

To sum up, throughout this part of the dissertation, a relationship between Circassians and terminology on space and place studies have tried to be built. However, as earlier told, space will be interpreted as a supporting medium in understanding the processes of integration. Therefore, in the next few paragraphs of this chapter, dynamics of integration processes during the migration of Circassians will be illuminated.

2.4 CIRCASSIANS AND INTEGRATION

The dynamism that migration reveals out has a reciprocal and modifying effect both on the migrants and the local society. Accordingly, it is crucial to chase the

platforms in which this interaction can be observed; so that it is possible to develop strategies of co-existence and togetherness.

As the policy making processes remain as a national responsibility, authorities insert that integration needs to happen every single space human beings breath; in their homes, neighborhoods, workplaces, schools etc. Behind each and every migration story, there are individuals and families starting a new life in a new place. During the coordination processes of integrative practices, on the initial reception, a mutual participation of both the hosting authorities and locals settled in the area is necessary.

Circassians in this sense have a very strong network supported by tribal acquaintances. Opposite to the general perception which excludes newcomers as ‘strangers’; Circassians attribute an extraordinary meaning to guests. “They were known to go to extremes to ensure that a guest or wayfarer was properly regaled, and diligently ensure that he was put up in comfort. The saying, ‘Hesch’er zheschiysch yisme, binim ya schisch mex’wzh’ («ХьэщIэр жэщищ исмэ, быным ящыщ мэхъуж»; ‘If the guest stays for three nights, he becomes part of the family’), indicates both reverence for the guest and that after the expiry of the third day the guest was expected to help out in the household chores (just like any other member of the household)” (Jaimoukha A. M., 2014). Accordingly, the Syrian Circassians hosted by the diaspora in Turkey designate a specific approach for the design process of integration policies.

To summarize, throughout this chapter of the study, a general analysis on the relationship between Circassians and the three main focus themes of the research – space & place, migration and integration- have tried to be built. After a brief introduction on Circassians, their historical background, the exodus they have survived and the diasporas of today; an analysis on the dynamics of Circassians’ migration stories and their diaspora has been presented. Following that, a bridge between the terminology on space and place theories and concepts have been

constructed. Finally, an emphasis on Circassians and their integration processes have been put. Having done so, a ground for the case study which is going to be investigated on the next chapter of the study will be set.

CHAPTER 3

CASE STUDY: SYRIAN CIRCASSIANS IN DÜZCE

Throughout this chapter, details of the case study conducted on Syrian Circassians living in Düzce will be presented. While doing so, a brief information on the general line up of the study is going to be elucidated by both dwelling upon the reasons of speculation in constructing the research question and also the entanglements faced. On the other hand, the monitoring processes of the research is going to be categorized under ‘routine’, ‘occasional’ and ‘intentional information’. Following that, circumstances in designing the research are shared under three main focus points: Düzce, its villages and the networks built through it. At last, research findings are elucidated again under the three main themes of the dissertation in general: space & place, migration and integration.

3.1 ABOUT THE RESEARCH

As is understood from the first two parts of the dissertation, each title is following a circular pattern; it first constitutes a reason of speculation, then tries to answer the main research question by referring to the existing literature and then seeks for supporting examples. By reasons of speculation here; occasions and motives in justifying the research is meant and on the other hand, by supporting examples; the urge to build correlation between the variables of the research is aimed.

Reasons of speculation

As quoted several times throughout the text; it has been observed that the integration process of Syrian Circassian migrants in Düzce was observed to be passing in a comparatively smoother pace than the Non-Circassian ones. Having realized that the Syrian Circassians in Düzce have been located to diasporic areas –

Circassian villages- it was wondered if the physical form of a Circassian village and the architecture of the houses had impacts on their integration.

Additionally, *refugee tragedy fatigue* Zygmunt Bauman puts forward is a concerning shame of today's societies. Being uncontrollably exposed to the refugee stories, their problems, anxiety and distress has normalized the pain suffered in the eyes of hosting societies. In this respect, before starting this research I was wondering if the situation is the same for diasporic societies too. Does the Circassian diaspora have a similar fatigue even though their ancestors had lived through the same tragedy a few generations earlier? My hypothesis was that; the answer to this question would be negative. In other words, before starting the case study, I was expecting to find a new definition of 'stranger' framed around a significant amount of sympathy; since the Syrian Circassians living within the Turkish Circassians are now the *guests of the premier/senior guests* or the *diaspora of the diaspora*. Accordingly, once more, the relationship between this possible sympathy and migrant adaptation is wondered.

As a last and concluding speculation; when the reports of -especially European-civil society organizations and NGOs are read, it may easily be observed that a new policy making process for the incoming migrants is now being developed. Because, right after the political turmoil in Syria turned into a civil war and one of the most exhaustive humanitarian crisis in history began, more than half of the population in Syria had to evacuate their homes. A majority of this population also had to leave their country due to the fear of being persecuted. In this respect, Turkey and the hosting countries in Europe initially formed temporary solutions for the inflow of refugees. However, now that it is slowly being accepted and pronounced that these refugees will be permanent, a strategy of canalizing these newcomers to the rural areas for labor force is being offered. On that note, my intention on the issue for the Syrian Circassians living at the villages in rural areas was to question whether these people keep living there willingly or if they want to move if chances are offered. Because, if the answer to the question is positive, I am wondering if Circassians preferring rural areas could be a sample case for the new stream migration policies

Entanglements

During the intentional information seeking processes, I initially referred to Steniar Kvale's book named *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing* and especially to his *10 Internal Critiques of Interview Research* list. The list is a caution alert for researchers in overcoming the mentioned critiques and so tackling the challenges in this sense was an entanglement during the research. Kvale briefly asserts that, if the research is: individualistic, idealistic, intellectualistic, immobile, cognivist, verbalizing, alinguistic, atheoretical, artheoretical or insignificant; it means that the researcher is not on the right track (Kvale, 1996).

For example; by individualistic, he means that the research "focuses on the individual and neglects a person's embeddedness in social interactions" (Kvale, 1996). However, this was not the case for my research; because the interviews evolved into group talks since the participants tended to call their neighbors and relatives during our meetings. As another sample; by immobile, he means that "the subjects sit and talk, they do not move or act in the world" (Kvale, 1996). On the contrary, conversations during the interviews were usually cut with a small tour in the garden to show the plants they had brought from their homeland; or they were interrupted with a dance video shown ending up with the performance itself. To sum up, the questions asked and the structure of the conversations were aimed to be designed according to this list of warnings.

3.1.1 Routine Monitoring Processes

Routine monitoring processes refer to the initial phases of this research in which the environment, daily routine and actions are observed in order to state and point for the correct research problem. Many of the interview questions are formed during this instance of the study.

3.1.2 Occasioned Monitoring Processes

Occasioned monitoring processes in a research consists of activities prompted and conditioned by particular events. For this particular case study, the occasions were weddings, funerals and social gatherings of the Circassians; their dance shows, cultural displays, village council meetings etc.

3.1.3 Intentional Information Seeking Processes

Besides the routine and occasioned monitoring processes, a set of questions were designed under three categories: space & place, migration and integration. As it is explained more in detail at the research design section, the interviews were held in a semi-structured form. The flexibility given by this type of qualitative research techniques provides more comparable data based on developing a keen understanding of the topic. Here below are the precise questions which were asked for sure:

Space and Place Related Questions

- Can you please tell us a little bit about the Caucasia you dream of?
- Can you please list us the advantages and disadvantages of living in this place?
- Can you please tell us about the place you lived in before moving to this village?
- When compared with ones living in the apartments, which opportunities does living in a village offer you?
- Do you think living here in a village keeps you away from the opportunities of an urban life?
- In the village you live, do you believe that the public and private spaces are well distinguished?

Migration Related Questions

- How long have you been living in this village?
- Can you please tell us a little bit about your journey?
- Did you have the chance to decide in moving to this village or were you feeling obliged?
- Who were your contacts before coming to this village? (*Derneks*, relatives, friends?)
- What were your reasons in choosing Düzce as a destination?
- Did you choose to stay here because of the Circassians living here?
- Did you have any Circassian neighbors/friends/relatives at where you used to live in Syria?
- How do you think are Circassians treated in Turkey?
- Can you please compare the Circassian traditions you had back in Syria and the ones you encounter here in Düzce?

Integration Related Questions

- Are you happy to be here?
- Do you feel as if you are from this village or do you think you will feel like it in the future?
- How do you think are the social relations in your environment? Do you often meet your neighbors?
- How often do you meet your neighbors?
- Can you please indicate the places you meet with your Turkish acquaintances (at your/their home, at a café, at a park etc.)?
- When you compare the social relations Syrian migrants have in the city center and here in this village?
- Would you want to move to a different place which in your opinion has better conditions than where you live now?

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

Since this is a multisite qualitative study which is conducted in 7 different Circassian villages in Düzce, a ‘modified analytic induction’ is preferred during observations. This type of study requires both experience in thinking analytically as well as some skills in data collection. “The procedure of analytic induction is employed when some specific problem, question, or issue becomes the focus of research. Data are collected and analyzed to develop a descriptive model that encompasses all cases of the phenomena. The procedure has been used extensively in open-ended interviewing, but it can be used with participant observation and document analysis as well” (Bogdan, 2007)

On the other hand, during the observation processes, conversations with the families were in the form of a semi-structured interview. “This format allows a series of questions to be asked, but in no fixed order. Additional questions may also be asked, as the interviewer sees fit, to examine associated issues that arise in the course of the interview” (Kvale, 1996). Observations and note taking processes in Çınarlı, Aydınpınar, Konaklı (Bayramcı), Küçük Mehmetler (Siraceviz), Köprübaşı Ömer Efendi, Bataklı Çiftlik and Arap Çiftlik villages fit mostly under this category since the members involved are real life participants contacted during their everyday routine and activities.

The interviews were processed by carefully avoiding the biased designations featured for Syrian refugees in Turkey, such as ‘oppressed groups’ or ‘the other’; rather than that, the respondents were merely classified as ‘objects of knowledge’. Yet, it was not possible to categorize participants under definitive categories including age, gender, profession or class; because even though I attended the interviews with an intention of asking questions to a single interviewee; due to social and cultural habits / accustomedness of the Circassian community, my visits were conceived as a social gathering opportunity to discuss contemporary troubles of the Syrian Circassians in Turkey; and correspondingly, there had been a tendency

towards answering the questions with their whole family (even calling their Turkish neighbors to also get involved in the conversation). However, in the ensuing phases of the research, the structured design of the case study transformed this situation into a systematic method in reproducing “traditional hierarchies of respectable knowledge whereby ‘pure’ theory untainted by the experiences of others is often the most highly regarded (and institutionally rewarded)” (Skeggs, 1997). Because after several interviews, it was understood that definite categories and classifications determined for such a study results with an ignorance of experiences. So, the target was to avoid replacing experience with concepts generated from subjectivity, produced through own experience, which then operate as normative. But rather, the goal in designing such a research -without ruling out the environment they are influenced by- had a conscious and intentional practice of reifying experiences that are specifically the participants’.

Within the context of this in-depth study, the particular research problem is analyzed through a comprehensive inquiry. In this respect, main elements that have the potential to affect the outcomes are listed in the following titles: Düzce and its positioning; the structural and paternal chase of the villages and significance of social space.

3.2.1 Düzce: Positioning

While designing the research, in order to retain the most valid information, the first question I had in my mind was about the place of the study. The first attention-grabbing remarks even before forming the research question were observed in Düzce; but I had to make sure that the positioning of the city would fit in the purposes of this study. In this respect, almost each source I referenced about Düzce; regarding specifications and population of the city or its role in the region; surprisingly would first refer to the word ‘cosmopolitan’. The first information that would be presented in summarizing the city of Düzce was almost always about the Circassian, Abkhazian, Georgian and Laz population it had. Accordingly, my

concluding decision on preferring Düzce was I believe an appropriate one and the city being narrated as a ‘mosaic of different ethnic cultures’ increased the novelty of it.

3.2.2 Villages: A Structural and Paternal Chase

Seven different Circassian villages were chosen in chasing the spatial patterns of the Syrian Circassian population in Düzce. Çınarlı, Aydınpınar, Konaklı (Bayramcı), Küçük Mehmetler (Sıraceviz), Köprübaşı Ömer Efendi, Bataklı Çiftlik and Arap Çiftlik were the selected Circassian villages.

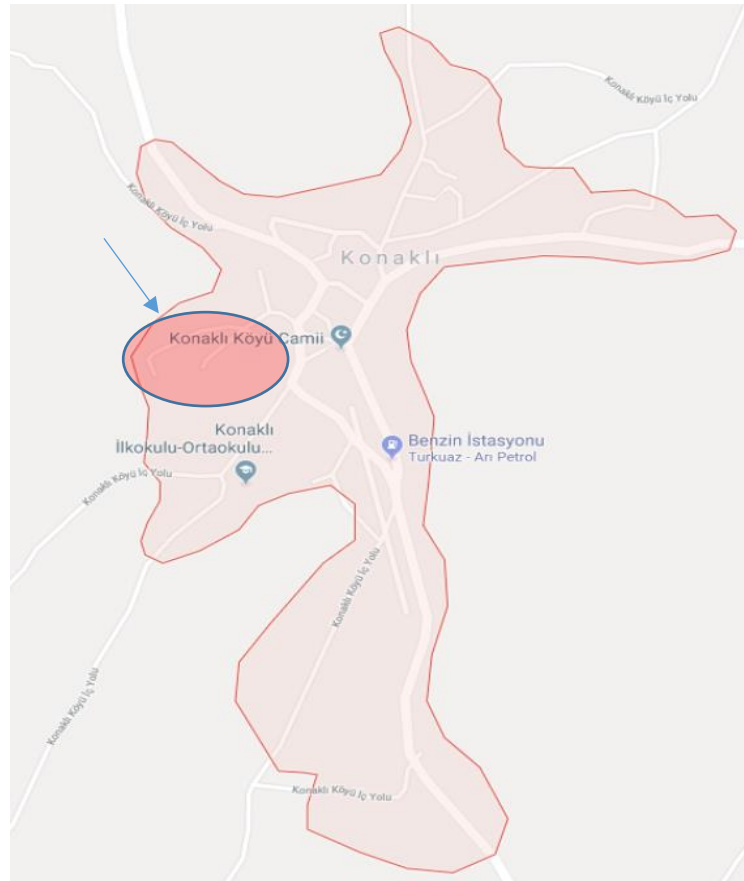


Image 3.1 Konaklı Village Map – Main Area of Settlement

Circassian villages in general are known to be located in mountainous areas with wide green open spaces, houses situated in a circular pattern leaving the middle court empty for rituals such as weddings, funerals and other social gatherings. Premises in the Circassian villages are mainly self-contained and detached from the main roads ending up to a dead-end with usually fields of trees (hazelnuts, chestnuts and poplar trees in the area of Düzce). This pattern is recognizable both at the villages at Caucasia and other countries where the Circassian diaspora lives.

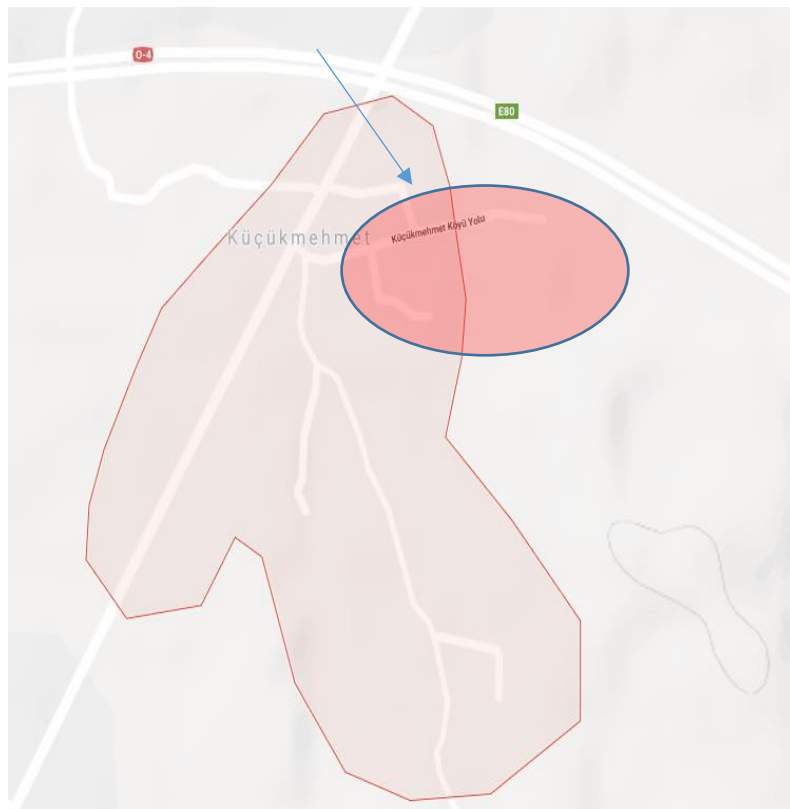


Image 3.2. Küçükmehtmet Village Map – Main Area of Settlement

The surveys were planned to be conducted on the run without taking long hours of the participants. However, family members were waiting at the doorways to welcome me. The kids had worn their *bayramlıks* (clean and preferably new clothes special for the Ramadan and *eid-al-adha* feasts). Deserts were prepared; tea or coffee was served at all houses visited. Other Turkish neighbors had come to watch and listen. The Syrian participants were continuously backed-up by their Turkish

neighbors; especially for translation from Circassian to Turkish. Both the Syrian and Turkish residents welcome each other to their homes.

When compared with the ones living in the city center, refugees who had settled in the villages were facing less language and communication problems since there was a higher population of Circassian speaking residents. One of the Circassian originated Turkish neighbors asserted; “after the Syrian and Jordan Circassians had begun immigrating to Düzce, even the prayers at funerals started to be done in Circassian”.

3.2.3 Network: Significance of Social Space

As earlier stated, participants of the study were chosen both with the support of local neighbors and ethnic identity networks such as; *derneks* (regional ethnic fellowships) and *thamates* (elder authorities highly respected within the Circassian communities). This was an important phase for the outcomes and the framing of the research because information gathering process started before the interviews; yet, as earlier expressed, this directed me to categorize the monitoring processes in three: routine monitoring processes, occasioned monitoring processes and intentional information seeking processes.

3.3 RESEARCH FINDINGS

3.3.1 Space and Place Related Findings

One of the most salient findings of the research was that the Syrian Circassians who are coming from the Qunaytera region -mostly Beerajam and Barika villages- located in the Golan hills argue that the villages they used to live in Syria and in Düzce are structurally and architecturally the same. A significant number of participants also added the information that the similarity is most probably because of the ‘order’ their ancestors from Caucasia inherited them. So, even though they

hadn't been to Adygea before, many of the participants were arguing that the spatial patterns both in the villages they live here in Turkey and the ones in Syria are also similar to the structure in Caucasia.

Another finding that is relevant to perception of space is regarding the mother tongue of the settlers. Although the landscaping of a Circassian village can be recognized and picked out more sharply in Turkey, the younger population of Syrian Circassians have a higher rate of proficiency in the Circassian language *Adygabze* than the Circassian diaspora in Turkey. There may be other political, economic, cultural or social explanations to this situation; I prefer to make a spatial one relying on the information gathered during my research.

Another concluding result of the research was regarding the concept of 'neighbor'. The migrant population living in Circassian settlements assert that; living in a village makes their life easier since the notion of 'vicinage' or neighborhood is practiced more sincerely when compared to the ones living in the apartments at the city center. It was important to observe such a claim, since the distinction between private space and public space is very clearly set in such discourses.

Having the abovementioned findings in consideration, design and structure of the research aimed to compare and contrast the triangular track between the Circassian villages at *homeland* / Caucasia, Syria and Düzce. In this respect, the architectural and paternal similarities and differences are to be presented as space and place related findings since they both have advantages and disadvantages. From this stance, the literature reviewed, pre-information gathered on the Circassian villages, visual observations and the results of the interviews conducted all show distinctive resemblance and discrepancies and they are to be listed in the upcoming paragraphs.

The first similarity extricates the common idea which a high majority of Circassians propose: the exclusive nature and environment of the villages without discriminating between the economic welfare, infrastructure or location. Clean-kept

streets and impressive gardening always ready and prepared for welcoming guests. Such an unconditioned and visceral ‘on-the-alert’ structure turns into an advantage in hosting and opening doors to possible migrants.

From an initial perspective, the asserted parallelism in the layout of the Circassian villages in *homeland* / Caucasia, Syria and Düzce is an advantage because the incoming diaspora is welcomed to a previously set-up array of environmental and social order / *cosmos*. The already existing communal rules regarding keeping the gardens clean, minding and protecting the rights of the neighbors in situating a house; deciding upon which direction to face the balconies and terraces in terms of privacy, how to locate the building itself (not to block the sunlight of the surrounding environment), how to use public space both in daily life and special occasions etc. For example, if a neighbor has a wedding, funeral or an ill family member everyone as a customary practice is supposed to keep their doors and lights wide open for a possible crowd of visitors. In this respect, I urge upon this situation to be an advantage for the integration processes of the Syrian Circassian refugees; because there is a pre-existing and unconditional tendency to host an outsider.

On the other hand, such a similarity in the architectural identity may sometimes be interpreted as a disadvantage due to the possibility of an involuntary maintenance of the defective practices or daily routine. For example, one of the Syrian Circassian participants who introduced himself as an expert on agriculture claimed that the specific agricultural methods (trimming of trees and irrigation etc.) used by Circassians since the ancient times is still applied in the villages at Caucasia, Syria and Düzce with a similar pace; yet due to the difference in climate, he attempted to adapt newer and contemporary mechanisms for increasing fertility. However, he asserted that he was highly criticized for damaging the visual order of the village (by trimming the trees shorter than accustomed or planting vegetables with unconventional techniques on more visible areas) and opposed by the *thamates* in the region.

3.3.2 Migration Related Findings

As earlier explained, Syrian Circassians escaping from the devastating consequences of the civil war had been contacted in order to get answers for a pre-determined set of questions. The participants were selected amongst the refugees living specifically in Circassian villages representing the ongoing destruction and migration traumas. Participants were chosen amongst the Syrian Circassians in the small town of Düzce due to two reasons relevant to migration. First because; despite its rather low population, when compared ratio-wise, population density of the Circassian diaspora in Düzce is one of the highest in Turkey. Second because, it seemed like communicating with a diaspora welcomed by a pre-settled diaspora from the same ethnicity would open a broader and different perspective for the migration studies regarding Syrian refugees.

In this sense, findings relevant to the migration stories of the participants were quite striking. Almost all of the families were directly migrating from their homes in Syria (only two of the families were coming from refugee camps) and yet it was easy to conceptualize and follow the route followed by the particular group I studied. The movement was mostly a transfer from a Circassian village in Syria to a Circassian village in Düzce. In this respect, there was an intended selection chasing similarities, a genetic memory with their former area of settlement.

On the other hand, the networking was done through a tribal chase. The refugees were mostly getting in contact with the other members of their family / tribe here in the diaspora. This was usually done through searching online for their family names –it is very common that Circassians use their family / tribe names in their social media and online account names – and after that getting in contact with the official or local communities of the Circassian diaspora in Turkey including *derneks* - regional ethnic fellowships – or institutions like KAFFED, ÇERKES-FED etc.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31	32	33	34	35
36	37	38	39	40	41	42
43	44	45	46	47	48	49
50	51	52	53	54	55	56
57	58	59	60	61	62	63
64	65	66	67	68	69	70

Image 3.3. Examples of Circassian tribal family signs still used for cultural and decorative purposes

3.3.3 Integration Related Findings

During the intentional information seeking processes of the research, repeated quotes asserting; ‘I feel home’, ‘I feel as if I am from this village’, ‘this place is home for my children, for the future generations of our family’, ‘we are not strangers here in this village’, ‘I will be buried in this village’, ‘my son’s wedding

will be in this village' etc. Having heard so, it is very difficult to claim that living in a Circassian village does not facilitate the integration process of the migrants.

On the other hand, four of the families confirmed that during their registration processes for Turkish citizenship, the documents of Circassians were treated as privileged aside from the other refugees. This situation puts forward an idea of 'transferrable belongingness', perpetuating place attachment through social networks rather than a stable physical / abstract form of space.

Lastly, if we are to analyze results of the surveys from an economic perspective, when compared with the uncommunicative attitude of the urban Circassian refugees, the ones living in the rural areas were observed to be wealthier. All were employed; some of them had even established their own business with a working permit. Most of the participants were here for more than 36 months and they do not plan to move back to their countries.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

4.1 DISCLOSURE STATEMENTS

4.1.1 Developing Approaches

Outcomes of this dissertation underlined the involvement of space / place within integration. However, findings regarding the interactive relationship between the two concepts gave rise to a concluding question which is to be explained as follows: the focus group of this study ended up being the (Syrian originated) Circassian diaspora welcomed by another Circassian diaspora (Turkish originated) in a Circassian village. In this respect I interrogated the generalizability of the given examples by asking; is the integration that is being deeply analyzed throughout the research an *isolated* one? What is it that the Syrian Circassians seem to really integrate into? Is it only Düzce itself, is it the life style or is it the environment as a whole (yet, which environment; the social one, religious one, cultural one)? Is it an economic integration? Or is it all of the listed above? Therefore, the final question emerged: at the end, how do I define integration?

As a remark proposed under disclosure statements, I am aware of the fact that it is odd and not as conventional to propose concluding remarks with additional questions. However, the list of questions aligned in the previous paragraph all has definite answers as concluding and justifying remarks to the research when focused carefully on the bond between migration, space / place and integration.

All in all, when the findings of this study in general are taken into consideration, no, the integration process of Syrian Circassians is not an isolated one due to several reasons. The first explanation is regarding the previously mentioned transformation of rural-urban divide into a rural-urban nexus. Unlike the usual perception, Circassian villages have a rather dynamic characteristic both in terms of social and economic activities. In other words, villages are not ‘abandoned’ with mostly an older population of inhabitants. On the contrary, the population of residents with

the age range of 25-40 increased in the last decade due to a perception by the younger working population that; it is both comfort and prestige-wise becoming more advantageous to live in rather rural areas since there is an increasing trend regarding a life closer to the nature, away from the chaos of the city.

Since Düzce is a smaller city located at a very close distance in the middle of two main metropolises of Turkey (İstanbul and Ankara), the called situation leads way to a density in the younger middle-class population in the rural areas. So, it is not only the Circassians who live in these villages, but rather other residents from several ethnicities. At the end, I find this observation to be quite significant; because it is a proof showing that the underlying reasons of preferring Circassian villages by outsiders -this may either be a Syrian refugee or a white collar escaping from the stress of larger cities- are not solely relevant to the ethnic and cultural paradigms; but also to the architectural and spatial form of a Circassian village; its lifestyle, positioning, environment etc.

As another remark explaining the non-isolatedness of integration processes in Circassian villages, it would be inevitable not to touch upon the economic circumstances of its residents. After observing the life standards of the refugees, learning the range of rent they pay, or their daily commercial routines and contribution to local economy, I figured out that the inclusive communitarian approach of the locals / Circassian diaspora fastens the phases of integration. Because the relationship between economic well-being and integration is significant in the long run while developing approaches towards a more permanent understanding for the refugees.

4.1.2 Affiliation and Secureness

The conclusion of this research would highlight the fact that refugees seem to feel themselves more affiliated and secure within the spatial patterns of a Circassian village when compared with the ones living at in-camp settlements or urban areas

with higher populations of migrant inhabitants. This situation turns the scales of widely accepted biases towards Syrian migrants both in Turkey and all around the world. Accordingly, the observed life standards of Syrian Circassians in Düzce reveal the fact that it is highly crucial to form typology of social space for the refugees in order to pave the way for qualified and efficient integration processes.

4.1.3 Policy Making

Policy making processes of refugee hosting countries mostly in Europe happen to increase the intensity and depth of their restrictive attitude towards refugees coming from Syria. Such restrictions result with *negative externalities* through tighter visa regimes, lower recognition rates or cut down of economic or social welfare benefits. However, the situation in Turkey is not quite the same due to geographical, political and social reasons and the historical background of the region. It is nowadays widely accepted that; in terms of governmentality, Syrian migrants are protected and presented privileges.

Yet, the key word in explaining Turkey's exceptionality in its attitude towards Syrian refugees is 'networking'. Networking is the key component in transforming the called negative externalities to positive ones. Because networks used at any phase of a migration process have the flexibility to extend beyond borders of a single source country. Even in a different country, due to the outcomes of globalization, migrants have the hope to settle in a region which is architecturally and space-wise proximate or linguistically similar.

Accordingly, it may be argued that Syrian Circassians may be presented as a sample community for observing the desirable outcomes of converting negative externalities to positive ones through networking. Because the focus group of this study which is welcomed and hosted by the Circassian diaspora here in Turkey are voluntarily imitating the patterns of an existing diaspora in their daily routine and habits; integrating faster to the city they live in, to the life style, environment etc.

Hence, this integration is catalyzed through perspectives other than the mainstream cultural paradigms policy makers have in mind for migrant populations. In short, these facilitating perspectives are the approaches presented throughout the dissertation regarding the three main pillars that have repetitively been analyzed under different contexts: space / place, migration and integration. For example, barriers built by a spatial dependence in migration flows fade away due to the advantages related with architectural patterns and landscaping in Circassian villages helping the easing the pace in integration processes of the refugees.

In this respect, I also came to the conclusion that; policies that are put in practice and designed by centralizing the relationship between space and integration both have advantages and disadvantages. Because the arguments questioning the possible resentment towards a second culture exposed -a culture that is ordinary and customary in Turkey including daily routines, special occasions such as weddings and funerals, cuisine, relations with the society, neighbors, relatives or even superstitions- in the hosting country has rather complex but somehow balanced consequences for Syrian Circassians. It is complex because, after skimming through the relevant literature and conducting a mini case study, I realized that this balance is between the mindfulness and habitualness of being a diaspora for a very long time and yet still seeing themselves as a *guest*. So, there is an ongoing friction between preservation of differences and adaption to differences. Therefore, as a closing argument, this dissertation presents this dilemma within the concept of *migration as habitus* to policy makers as a stimulating approach for Syrian refugees.

All in all, if all these examples and explanations are taken into consideration, it may easily be argued that, in the course of a globalizing world, there are basically two main approaches towards the refugees. The first approach proposes that a temporary layout can be planned for the refugees without paying attention to any integration manner. Space-wise, under usual circumstances, this approach canalizes immigrants to the refugee camps. Hence, on the other hand, the second approach

accepts that these immigrants are permanent in the region and we should as quickly as possible develop policies which support social integration processes.

Yet, results of this dissertations' case study revealed that; Syrian refugees living in the Circassian villages around Düzce turned into evidences in proving the fact that the second argument asserted in the previous paragraph is more valid. Because, an empathy could be built between the two diasporas due to the memories coming along with their ancestors; a return back to motherland could not be possible in a life-long period. Therefore, just like the Circassians forced to Anatolia at the late 1800s, Syrian Circassian refugees of the 21st century aim to set up and plan rather more permanent spaces than other refugees do. Throughout the dissertation, this situation is argued to be a facilitating element in easing the process of integration.

While doing so, in order to have a better understanding of the underlying reasons, information on the formation of Circassian villages in Düzce, their geographic and topographical structures, social practices, ways of using space and daily routine elements was given. After a brief analysis, a conclusion was drawn around the idea that without having to make any distinction based on ethnicity, religious praxis or family structure; refugees were feeling themselves more affiliated and secure within the spatial patterns of a Circassian village. While doing so, at every single stage of explanation, a correlation was meant to be built between the spatial patterns of a migration process and the components of integration.

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