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Determination of Syrians re-making home interiors through visual research methods: The Sultanbeyli case

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Abstract
One of the most important problems of Syrians subjected to forced migration since 2011 is obtaining shelter. This study explores how displaced Syrians living in Sultanbeyli, a district in Istanbul, Turkey, are re-making their home interiors. Syrians in Sultanbeyli are transforming their residences, especially indoors, based on their physical and psychological needs and cultural habits. This paper begins with a brief introduction followed by background information about such related concepts as "house," "home," and "home-making," and home re-making practices in the context of forced migration. The Sultanbeyli case is then explored. Sultanbeyli is chosen as a study area because it maintains a supportive living environment for displaced Syrians. The case study was conducted with Syrian families of middle or lower income groups in their home environment. The method of the study was based on visual research methods, including the use of photographs, drawings, physical traces and annotated diagrams. Data were obtained regarding family structure and composition, lifestyle, activities, spatial use and organization, and furniture layout. The findings show that social, cultural, and behavioral codes have an important role in home re-making processes and practices. They also show that the supportive relationship between people and their living environment has an effect on developing a sense of belonging and place attachment. More specifically, they show that a supportive living environment also enhances cultural hybridization over time. Because of this, it is crucial to conduct new research studies with participant groups to follow the changes that take place over time.

1. Introduction

Since March 2011, millions of people have migrated to neighboring countries due to the civil war and conflict in the Syrian Arab Republic. Turkey has the longest land border with Syria (911 km); therefore, it has been directly affected by this drastic situation. As a result of this mass displacement, Turkey has become a country both hosting and providing a transition zone for refugees and migrants. In the early years of the crisis, Syrians were perceived as guests, with an "open door policy" being implemented by the Turkish Government and "host-migrant" discourse being adopted. In 2014, the *Temporary Protection Regulation* (Directorate General of Migration Management [DGMM], 2020; a) was issued especially for Syrians, whose numbers have increased steadily in Turkey. Although the situation and conditions of Syrians require them to become refugees, their legal status was designated as "temporary protection" in Provisional Article 1 of this regulation.

At the time of this writing (2020), Turkey hosts approximately 3.6 million registered Syrians, the vast majority of whom are facing the problem of obtaining shelter. Shelter is one of the most basic human needs and a human right guaranteed by international conventions such as Article 25 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (United Nations [UN], 1948) and Article 11/1 of the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (United Nations Human Rights [UNHR], 1976)*. Because of this, one of the most important indicators of survival in a newly settled environment is whether or not the need for shelter is being met. Despite all the negativities that have taken place, the need for shelter of some of the Syrians in Turkey was solved by temporary accommodation centers consisting of tent and container camp sites in the short and medium term. However, Erdoğan (2018) noted that more than 93% of Syrians have dispersed in different urban areas and cities in Turkey. It is known that Syrians, especially lower income groups, prefer slum or previous slum areas for living because of economic, religious and lifestyle similarities between the newcomers and the local inhabitants. These areas in major cities such as İstanbul have become the main sites of settlement for Syrians (Kılıçaslan, 2016).

There are several studies, reflecting the perspectives of several disciplines, about the life and the physical conditions of the temporary accommodation centers and refugee camps where many Syrians are living. However, there are not enough studies focusing on the development of a peaceful coexistence for ensuring both temporary and long-term adaptation, which is one of the most vital issues for both Syrians and their host communities and countries. The spatial aspect of adaptation needs to be taken into account along with its social, cultural, political, and economic aspects. In other words, it is essential to ensure peaceful living with local inhabitants to truly solve the problem of sheltering Syrians in Turkey (or sheltering any refugees anywhere, for that matter). Thus, finding a solution in the existing residential areas is socially, economically, and politically sustainable and humanely supportive in the long term.

In forced migration situations resulting from "push factors" such as civil war, conflict, persecution, coercion, and survival, home-making practices cannot be considered a process detached from previous life experiences. As Jansen and Löfving (2009) state the home making in new surroundings means establishing a new life in accordance with the life lost and left behind. Therefore, the perceptions of people's personal and cultural identity are closely related not only to the loss of their homes, but also to their loss of "home". Home is considered a socio-cultural unit and is mainly identified by the family. In addition, home is not only a place where daily life usually takes place, but also a "symbolic space" (Boccagni & Brighenti, 2015, p.1). The new home then becomes an important place where future expectations are built and traumas are rehabilitated, especially for displaced people and those forced to migrate.

As Rapoport (2005) states that "Habitat selection involves both rejecting or leaving undesirable, unsuitable, unsupportive, or inhibiting environments (what are called pushes) and seeking out desired, suitable, and supportive environments (what are called pulls)", (p.11). The Sultanbeyli case is than explored in this study as it is a supportive living environment for displaced and forced migrated Syrians.

The aim of this study is to determine the home interior re-making practices of Syrian families based on their physical and psychological needs and cultural habits in the district of Sultanbeyli, where the practice of living together spontaneously developed. The data-gathering process of the study was based on visual research methods[1], including the use of photographs, drawings, physical traces, and annotated diagrams for obtaining data regarding spatial use and cultural and behavioral habits of Syrians.

The paper begins with background regarding the concepts of house, home, and home-making and more specifically home re-making within the context of forced migration. Then follows a case study focusing on the home interior re-making practices of a participant group of Syrian families living in Sultanbeyli, in İstanbul, Turkey. The data collection, data analysis, and findings frame the study. Finally, the paper proposes conclusions and suggestions for future researches.

2. Background

As Somerville (1997) states, "An adequate theory of the meaning of home must explain it as a complex, multi-leveled or multi-dimensional construct" (p.226). Aside from negative meanings of home explored in gender studies as well as possible negative material and economic associations, the home, associated with private space and family and family life, is a physical, social, cultural, psychological, emotional, and symbolic place where privacy needs are met and family members are protected and secure.

Tuan (2011) emphasizes that the home is "a place where every day is multiplied by all the days before it." (p.144). In this sense, "The house is a physical unit that defines and limits the space for the members of the household" (Lawrence, 1987, p.155). However, Dovey (1985), Lawrence (1987) and Mallet (2004) states that "home" refers to the relationship and interaction between humans and spaces and contains symbolic, intangible, and invisible aspects. Hayward (1975), Dovey (1985), Lawrence (1987), Somerville (1997), (2012) and Kreuzer et al. (2017) define the different aspects of home through its physical, psychological, social, individual and cultural dimensions. To define a holistic conceptual framework, Fox (2011) groups multi-layered types regarding home as a "physical structure", "territory", "identity–as a symbol of one's self" and a "social and cultural unit."

Rapoport (1969) emphasizes the cultural dimension of home. According to him, the "house form is not simply the result of physical forces or any single casual factor, but is the consequence of a whole range of socio-cultural factors seen in their broadest terms." (p.47). In addition, the cultural aspect of home is associated with worldviews, values, ideals, images, schemata, meaning, and so forth as well as lifestyle and activity systems (Rapoport, 2005). In this sense, behavioral patterns are very important components regarding lifestyle and activities. Altman's (1975) approach is "to view the environment from a twofold perspective—as a determinant of behavior and as a form or extension of behavior." (p.5). Lang (1987) states that changes in behavior depend on culture, environment, or various personal identities and structures.

Home-making prioritizes needs in the new location through consideration of activities, social relations, behavioral and cultural codes, needs, images, and symbols, both personally and communally. In this regard, sense of belonging, place attachment, and identity are quite effective parameters for establishing the relationship between people and their environment in the process of home-making. As Fox (2011) cited from Sixsmith (1986), "Home provides the spatial framework of the occupier's life, and through its familiarity can foster a sense of belonging", (p.10). Likewise, place attachment

is defined as "an emotional, affective bond between people and place" by Antonsich (2010, p.654), and Low and Altman (1992) explain it as "a complex phenomenon that incorporates several aspects of people-place bonding" (p.4) and argue that place attachment is "generated by the identification of place and person over time." (p.179). In addition, the reflection of identity has a crucial role in the process of home-making, developing in time. As Rollero and Piccoli (2010) state that identity is more time-dependent compared to place attachment.

Rapoport (2005) states the importance of distinguishing the various elements as "fixed," "semi-fixed," and "non-fixed" in the home-making process. Altman et al. (1980) argue that "in contemporary situations, where people generally do not directly shape their environments, semi-fixed elements become particularly important and play a major role in personalization and other ways of expressing individual and group identity." (p.12). In this sense, furniture, mementos, and other objects transform a house into a familiar place, that is, a home.

Boccagni (2020), mainly working on the migration-home relations, draws attention to migrants' space appropriation and horizons of home making. According to him, the home re-making practices can be categorized into four; "ways of improving space", "ways of enabling cultural reproduction and biographical continuity" and "ways of privatizing space" and "ways of beautification of space" (p.9). In addition, the home is identified as "the place or cultural context of migrants' origins" (Kreuzer et al., 2017, p.335). Therefore, the background plays an important role for displaced people in the home-making process. it creates a tension between homeland and new cultural environment (Boccagni et al., 2020).

Considering these factors, it can be said that the loss of the home is a traumatic experience, particularly when the loss is outside of the person's choice and control. As Esentepe and Günçe (2019) state, "Migration movement is one of the forcefull phenomena that affect the well-being of individuals." (p.276). Therefore, it is important to create sup-portive living environments for people who have been subjected to forced migration. As Fadlalla (2011) states, "Refugees who had lost their original homes many times find themselves lost and detached in new environments." (p.139). In this sense, home re-making practices related to forced migration involve the lost and left behind living environment, that is, home and homeland and such connotations as culture, mementos, lifestyle, beliefs, values, and so forth. As Pala (2015) points out, home re-making can be read as practices to reconstruct a "place of existence" (p.88), which Fadlalla calls a "physical manifestation of identity" (p.139).

Loss of home is related to loss of economic assets (properties, goods, incomes) as well as loss of daily life practices, solidarity networks, and self-perception. Taylor (2015) depicts that "home and home-making are multi-layered and complex processes." (p.154). In this sense, time (specifically the duration of time since leaving home and homeland) is the most important element in the home-making process of displaced people. In other words, the home-making is related to time as it is spatial (Pala, 2015). Additionally, the way "how migrants' endeavours to make themselves at home" (Boccagni et al., 2020, p.9) are influenced by place, time and time-bound belonging and membership.

Studies in the fields of environment-behavior and social-cultural antropology reveal the importance of the relationship of culture, identity, and place with time in the construction of space and its meaning. In other words, they all affect the situation of being settled in the new environment. Developing a sense of belonging to a place over time, against the odds of being displaced from home and homeland, results in a better quality of life, better physical and mental health, more satisfying social relationships, and greater satisfaction with the physical and built environment. On the other hand, people who cannot develop a sense of belonging to their new home and home environment perceive their new home negatively compared with the previous one (Anton & Lawrence, 2014).

When displacement is due to forced migration, home has a meaning beyond its material and spatial aspects. In other words, the home is the place where a sense of belonging, place attachment, and identity are provided, where traumas are rehabilitated, and where there is a healthy return to daily activities and living habits. Thus, in the context of forced migration, home re-making constitutes an important practice for reconstructing domestic life blended with previous life perception and experiences and becomes a "place of existence in which relocation is built" (Pala, 2015, p.88) in the new environment.

3. The study

This study explores home interior re-making practices of Syrians who came to Turkey through forced migration to preserve their lives, safety, and security due to the civil war and conflict which has occurred in the Syrian Arab Republic since March 2011. As Biner and Soykan (2016) state that the process of re-making home has been focusing on future expectations. It is clear, however, that people's past experiences are an important factor in establishing current and future expectations. The future is determined by past and current cultural ties and social and physical relations both within and with the newly settled place. For this reason, it is important to explore and understand the way of life, family structure, relationships, roles, habits, values,

privacy thresholds, and behavioral and cultural codes in studies regarding home and the home environment. Within this larger context, the aim of this study is to determine the home interior re-making practices of Syrian families according to their cultural and living habits through visual research methods.

3.1. Study area

The field study area was determined by literature-based research such as published reports of various institutions and organizations, information from the authorities carrying out research on related issues, and studies that were conducted in the previous stage of this study. The city of Istanbul accommodates the largest Syrian population in Turkey (DGMM, 2020; b), and the Sultanbeyli district hosts the largest Syrian population in Anatolian site of the city of Istanbul (Erdoğan, 2017); therefore, Sultanbeyli was designated as the study area (Figure 1).

Sultanbeyli is a unique place when compared with the other districts of Istanbul in terms of shelter, health, education, employment, and other services provided for Syrians by the Sultanbeyli Municipality. An old slum area, Sultanbeyli is preferred by Syrian families because they have similar beliefs (religious aspect), economic income, and cultural habits as the local inhabitants. In other words, Syrians prefer to live in environments that are similar to those they lived in back in Syria. This situation fosters the spontaneous social, cultural, psychological, and economic integration of Syrians with the locals and supports coexistent living practices between the two groups of people.

Sultanbeyli consists of 15 neighborhoods. However, Syrians mostly live in "Hamidiye Neighborhood," "Mecidiye Neighborhood", "Turgutreis Neighborhood", "Abdurrahmangazi Neighborhood", "Mehmetakif Neighborhood," and "Fatih Neighborhood," according to information obtained from the Coordination Center of Sultanbeyli Refugees and Asylum Seekers Assistance and Solidarity Association. Within this wider scope, the field study was limited to the area between Seyhan and Şalgamlı Streets in Fatih Neighborhood in

Figure 1. *Study area, Sultanbeyli, Istanbul.*

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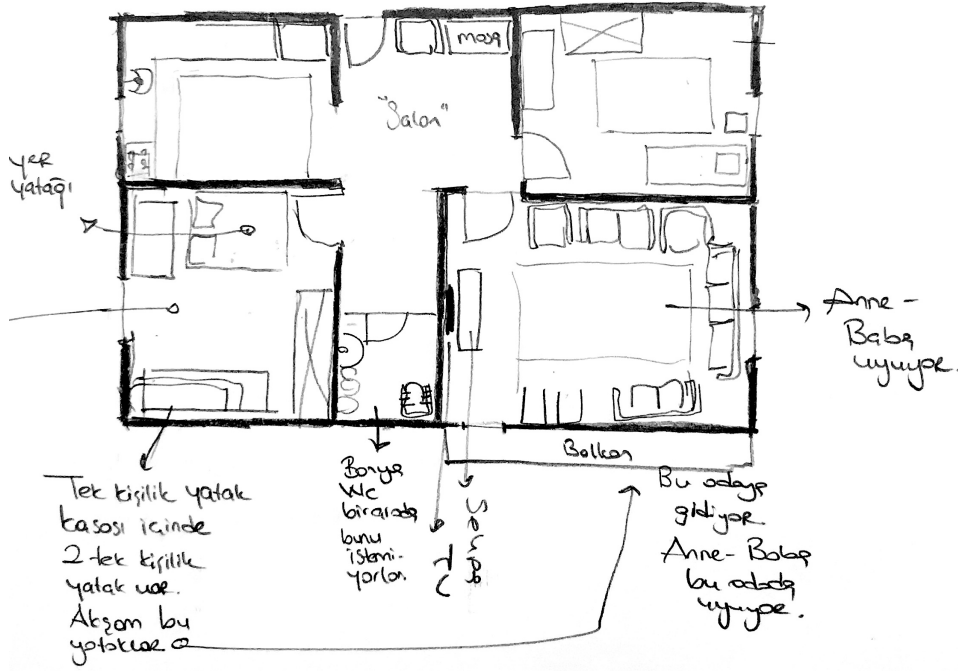
Figure 2. A schematic plan drawing at site.

Sultanbeyli district. It was determined that Syrians were living extensively in this neighborhood based on research conducted in 2017. Since the general housing typology in Sultanbeyli consists of 3-5 story apartment buildings, the study was limited to this type of building as well.

3.2. Participant group

As Rapoport (2005) states, it is "most important to consider the family when dealing with housing, particularly since many current changes in housing form and use are intimately related to various changes in the nature of the family unit" (p.111). Therefore, the participant group of the study consisted of 18 Syrian families of middle or lower income living in Fatih Neighborhood in Sultanbeyli district. Syrian Coordination Center [SUKOM], a web-based database developed by the Sultanbeyli Municipality, was used to determine the participants, who were selected randomly from among the 63 families considered adults (18+). The participants all signed the "Informed Consent Form" prepared in Arabic and Turkish and accepted site visits to their residences, that is, their home environments. There were two rounds of visits, one in January and February and the other one in June and July 2019.

3.3. Method

The data were collected through visual research methods. Data collected with visual research methods are a valuable source for observing, recording, and analyzing the visual characteristics of the physical environment to obtain initial ideas and insights. In addition, the use of visual research methods for obtaining data related to culture, space, and behavior in the home environment is quite common. Sanoff (2016) lists some of the many methods that can expand the recorded visual information base: diagramming, photo-interviewing, photo-sorting, mapping, notation, simulation, videotaping, and so forth.

Observing physical traces is a valuable visual method for obtaining qualified data as well. As Zeisel (2006) states, "Traces may have been unconsciously left behind (for example, paths acroos a field), or they may be conscious changes people have made in their surroundings" (p.159). Observing physical traces gives "an idea of what the people who use that place are like—their culture, their affiliations, and the way they present themselves" (Zeisel, 2006, p.159). The visual techniques used in this study were photographs, drawings, physical traces, and annotated diagrams. All materials were observed and recorded through field study at the sites, and 18

Table 1. *Example of analysis table for visual data.*

Family Code	Family Structure	Type of Plan	Place for Daily Activities	Place for Eating	Place for Sleeping	Place of Cushion Use
2201FE						
2201MA						
2301KZ						

EH: Entrance Hall	L: Livingroom	SR: Sleeping Room	T: Toilet	B: Bathroom	K: Kitchen	S: Storage

a-Example of plan scheme with entrance hall.
Home of 2002MH coded family

b-Example of plan scheme with corridor.
Home of 2301MT coded family

Figure 3. *a. Example of housing with the plan scheme of an entrance hall. b. Example of housing with the plan scheme of a corridor.*

families were visited in their residences. The photos were filtered, and video and audio recordings were not taken to ensure the personal privacy, rights, and security of the participants. Besides configuring family structure and composition, schematic plan drawings were created to define the floor-plan typology, spatial use and organization, furniture layout, activities, privacy thresholds and personalization, and the identification of the space through display of self (Figure 2). In addition, Zeisel's (2006) classification of physical traces used to analyzed the obtained data.

3.4. Analysis and findings

The data obtained through visual research methods were analyzed, interpreted, and evaluated in two steps:
- The first step involved the analysis and findings of visual data regarding family structure, floor-plan type, space use and organization, and furniture layout.
- The second step involved the analysis and findings of visual data regarding physical traces.

3.4.1. Analysis and findings of visual data regarding family structure, floor-plan type, space use and organization, and furniture layout

In the first step, the data, which were collected from 18 houses, were recorded with the help of analysis tables (Table 1), and the following information was obtained:
- Family structure and compositions were schematized,
- Floor-plan types were categorized either "plan schema with entrance hall" (EH) or "plan schema with corridor" (C),
- The daily living space was determined,

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- The eating area and its equipment (i.e., dining table or ground sofa) were defined,
- The bedroom(s) were determined in terms of family structure, relationship, roles, gender, and privacy thresholds, and
- The use of ground cushions and floor mattresses was determined.

According to the findings obtained from the study, the families (nine of them had extended family structure, five of them had nuclear family structure, and one consisted of multi-nuclear families) had large households and crowded living habits whether they were living in extended or nuclear families. Since Sultanbeyli has been an old slum area, the floor-plan typology has traces of the traditional housing schema with "intermediary space", that is, an entrance hall; 11 of the 18 houses had a floor-plan schema with "entrance hall" and 7 of them had a plan schema with "corridor." (Figure 3 a&b).

The plan schema with "entrance hall" best supports the Syrians' living habits. The term "mamak" in the Syrian native language, is used to describe this space. This room is used as an intermediary space into which other rooms' doors open and a daily living room for the household's different activities. In three of the houses visited during the field study, the daily activities took place in this space, while in other houses the daily living area was still the living room.

Meals were eaten in the living room and at the ground table in 15 families. The other three families can be considered exceptions. In this case, one family ate in the entrance hall at the dining table, whereas the other two families ate in the entrance hall at the ground table.

The visual data for identifying the bedroom(s) show that, in most cases, family members of different ages slept together according to factors such as hierarchy, gender, and privacy. The individual bedroom seen only in one family consisted of a widowed mother and her son and daughter. In three cases, the parents had a separate room for sleeping, whereas the children slept together.

The use of ground cushions and floor mattresses, identified as cultural fittings, was seen in most residences (in 12 of 18 families). One of the 12 families used the ground cushions for sleeping, two used them for sitting, and the other nine families used them both sleeping and sitting. In addition, it was determined that these families used ground cushions in their daily living room but the floor mattresses in their bedroom. Additionally, the ground cushions used for sitting were not stacked, whereas the floor mattresses used for sleeping were stacked neatly, mostly in the bedrooms. This indicates that there is a difference between day and night use of ground cushions and floor mattresses.
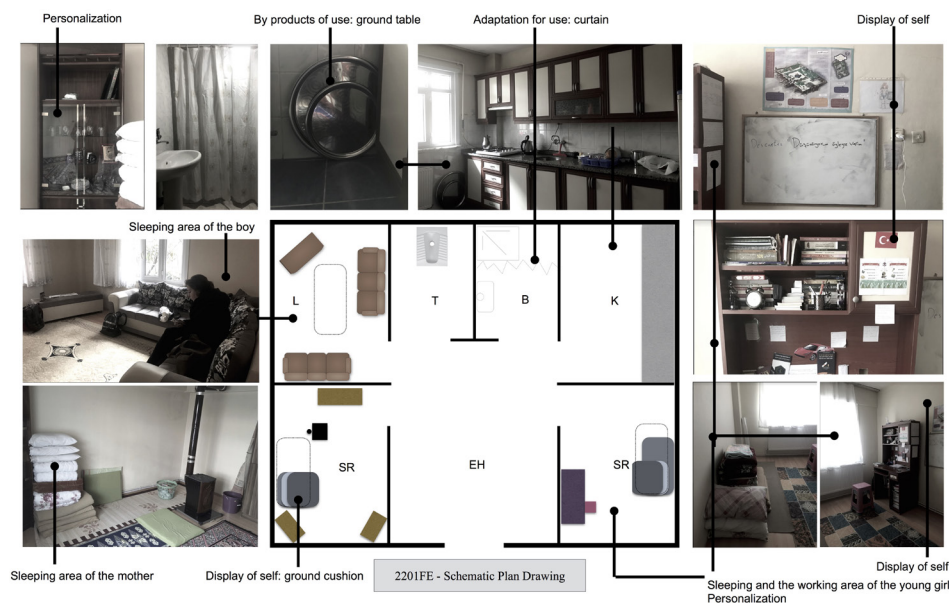

Figure 4. *Example of analysis chart for recording physical traces.*

Figure 5. Ground cushion usage in daily living area.

The data obtained in this step show that the Syrians studied, whether they have an extended or nuclear family structure, have large households and a crowded family life. Families, living in housing with a similar plan schema to that found in Syria, use their residences in accordance with their own living habits. The daily living room is a core place within the household for socializing and engaging in different activities. The majority of families have a tendency to eat their meals at the ground table in this room. In addition, it is quite common to use ground cushions for sleeping, resting, and sitting activities in the daily living room and to use floor mattresses for sleeping in bedrooms. Family roles, hierarchy, gender, and privacy are important factors for organizing spaces as well.

3.4.2. Analysis and findings of visual data on physical traces

In the second step, the physical traces observed from the field study were showed on the schematic plan drawings. In addition, the physical traces were shown with the help of the photographs

Figure 6. Use of curtain for providing privacy and storage area in balconies.

and descriptive notes on the analysis chart created for each single house visited during the site visit (Figure 4).

The spatial use (living space, bedrooms, kitchen, wet areas like bathroom and toilets, etc.) was marked and the furniture layouts were drawn on the schematic plans. Thus, data about the living habits and the means of self-expression of the Syrian families were obtained through observing and recording physical traces. The data obtained were analyzed according to Zeisel's (2006) classification of physical traces as follows:

- By-products of use
- Adaptations for use
- Display of self
- Public messages

By-products of use were quite visible in the use of ground cushions, which can be considered a cultural fitting. It showed that this fitting could be used for sitting, sleeping, and so forth in the day time, whereas it was used for sleeping at night. It also proved that the living room was used for multiple activities, which occurred in this space day and night (Figure 5). Additionally, due to religious beliefs, some toilets were not used because they were facing towards Qibla (the direction faced when praying in Islam religion). In addition, it was observed that most of the families, even if they had dining table in the kitchen, ate at the ground table in the daily living room.

Adaptations for use is a very broad category. For example, the use of a curtain both ensures the household's need for privacy is met and separates spaces. In some residences, the wet areas open to the entrance were separated by a curtain, and the wet spaces, if the bathroom and toilet were located in the same
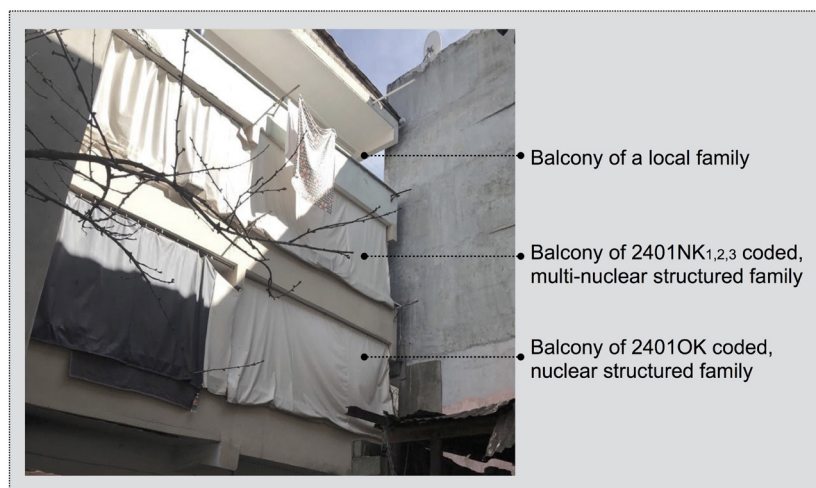
Figure 7. Use of entrance for a daily living space.

space, were divided with a curtain as well. In the field study, it was observed that the transparent parts of a room's doors were closed by using curtains or hanging various items. Curtains were used in outdoor spaces to provide privacy and increase storage capacity as well. Additionally, the exterior windows and doors of the residences were painted or coated with layers of film to ensure individual and family privacy (Figure 6).

Syrian families converted appropriate areas into storage areas that can also be evaluated in this category. Interventions made by Syrian families to increase storage areas in their home interiors were not limited to the kitchen space. Existing furniture was also used for storage purposes other than its usual functions (e.g., using the display case as a wardrobe, using the cradle as storage for quilts and pillows, and so forth). Shelves were also added to the walls for maximizing storage capacity. The propositions made according to life habits can also be considered in this category. Syrians, who are used to living in a warm climate, used balconies as a living space, especially in the summer season. More specifically, the use of the entrance as a living area is a spatial proposition that can be considered a reflection of the living habits in Syria (Figure 7).

The data obtained within the scope of *displays of self* are seen in the use of ground cushions for sitting, reclining, sleeping, eating and drinking, and so on. It can be considered a cultural non-fixed fitting element for maintaining the seating habits of the Syrians on the ground. In addition, the mementos (Arabic handwritings, family photos, drawings, jewelleries, toys, kitchen equipments, etc.) and the objects (calendars, religious objects, laces, vases, flowers, bird cages, and various other orna-

ments), which are symbols of pleasure, appreciation, and belonging, express both individual and cultural examples of display of self. It was quite common to see personal care products, dressing and making up items, and cosmetics in the bedrooms of Syrian women (Figure 8). The use of mirrors (sometimes with the comb and other cosmetics) in the kitchen space is another remarkable example of displaying of self.

Some Syrian families reflected their desires, wishes, and expectations through *public messages*. In one family, newspaper clippings showing the pictures of the youngest girl of the family with Turkish politicians could be considered in the categories of personalization and public message. In this family, the large-sized photographs of Turkish politicians were also remarkable. Another example of public message is the use of the Turkish flag. It can be said that the Syrian families use the Turkish flag in indoor and outdoor spaces of their residences to avoid negative discrimination and to be accepted by the locals (Figure 9). In other words, it should be

Figure 8. Display of personal items.

Figure 9. Using Turkish flag at indoor and outdoor surfaces.

taken into account in public messages as an indicator of the desire for adaptation and living together with the host society. Additionally, the Syrian teenage girl who wrote Descartes's statement, "I think; therefore, I am" on the wall board conveyed a message about herself at the same time.

The data obtained in this step show that the daily living room is used for both day and night and that privacy is an important need in spatial organization as well as for the household. Privacy within the house is provided by division of wet areas, bedrooms, and other spaces. It was also observed that appropriate areas are used for storage purposes and places such as balconies and entrances are converted to other types of use according to previous cultural and living habits. In addition, the use of objects, furnitures and accessories are related to display of self. As Boccogni and Brighenti (2015) stated, the deployment of a range of objects imported or brought back from the country of origin recall the homeland. In this sense, these objects, furnitures and accessories provide display of self through personalization, enable identity, and convey messages in both indoor and outdoor spaces. In contrast, it was observed that there were limited interventions to the fixed elements consisting of walls, floor, and ceiling in the home interiors. This can be explained by the fact that Syrians are tenants and that most have a low income.

4. Conclusion and future recommendations

Turkey has become the new home for millions of displaced and forced migrated Syrians. The home interior re-making practices of Syrians are related to the life lost and left behind. In this sense, this study focuses on this issue through the Sultanbeyli case. The field study was conducted within the borders of Fatih Neighborhood, between Seyhan and Şalgamlı Streets with 45 adults belonging to 18 Syrian families, who voluntarily participated in the study and were visited in their residences. The data were obtained through visual research methods through the techniques of photographs, drawings, physical traces, and annotated diagrams.

In this study:
- Family compositions of participating families were determined and floor-plan type, spatial use and organization, and furniture layout were shown on schematic plan drawings; and
- Physical traces were observed, visualized, and grouped.

The results obtained from the study shows that the Syrian families made new propositions to the existing living environment and they organized their home environments and its interiors according to their needs. It was determined that the family roles, hierarchy, gender, privacy and living habits are very effective factors influencing spatial use and space organization. These factors are also a strong bond to the cultural and behavioral codes (i.e., living habits) of Syrians. In addition, non-fixed and semi-fixed furniture and fittings are very important elements for appropriation of space in home re-making processes and practices. Regarding display of self, objects and culturally based furniture and accessories are considered as important physical traces for identification and personalization for displaced and forced migrated Syrians.

Besides being a physical structure, the home is a meaningful entity and a relationship between people and

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space that helps construct place attachment and a sense of belonging and identity. These issues are also tightly connected to the passage of time. In this sense, home re-making is a process of cultural hybridization, depending on the relationship with the new settled place and with the local culture in time. In this sense, it is important to keep track of changes in residential areas as well as those conveyed from the previous way of life and to conduct new studies at regular intervals with the target groups regarding the home re-making practices of displaced and forced migrated people. In this way, it will be possible to obtain data regarding cultural hybridization over time through visual research methods as well as a combination of ethnographic methods for further studies.

The data obtained from this field study and the analysis of these findings are intended to produce new research inquires and studies for construction of space and its meaning based on 'sense of belonging', 'place attachment' and 'identity' regarding the home environments and home re-making practices of displaced and forced migrated people. In addition, the findings of the study are to contribute to various departments and units of the Sultanbeyli Municipality, especially the Sultanbeyli Refugee Community Center, Sultanbeyli Refugees and Asylum Seekers Assistance and Solidarity Association (RASAS) and other NGOs, relevant stakeholders such as architects, interior architects and designers, developers, furniture designers and producers, academician, researchers, politicians, private and public institutions and organizations, and Syrians in Turkey for ensuring peaceful adaptation and co-existence between displaced Syrians and their host communities and societies.

Endnotes

[1] Data collection has been obtained through with visual and ethnographic methods and the technic of questionnaire in the research project, which was funded by The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TUBITAK). Within the scope of the mentioned research, this study focuses on the data collection with visual research methods and accentuate the data through it.

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